
REPORT OF THE

**OXFORD CENTRE FOR
HEBREW AND JEWISH
STUDIES**

ACADEMIC YEAR
2011-2012



OXFORD CENTRE FOR
HEBREW AND JEWISH STUDIES

A Recognized Independent Centre of the University of Oxford





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ISSN 1368 9096

Cover illustration: Karl Marko, 'Waldlandschaft mit Hirtenknabe und Mädchen', seized in Vienna in 1939, restituted from Germany in 2012. See pages 199-206.

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PREFACE

This year the Centre celebrated its fortieth anniversary with a celebration at the Savoy Hotel, London, at which we honoured our Co-Chairman, Lord Fink of Northwood, heard from His Excellency Daniel Taub, Israel’s Ambassador, and from Clive Anderson, the television presenter, and were informed about the Centre’s achievements by Dan Patterson, son of our founder, David Patterson.

This past academic year began with the approval, by the Board of Governors, of a strategic plan that included the following new mission statement:

The mission of the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies is to restore the legacy of Jewish scholarship in Europe, continue the tradition of Hebrew studies at the University of Oxford, support advanced scholarship in academic Jewish studies, promote understanding of the interaction among Judaism, Christianity and Islam, and provide the scholarly understanding of contemporary Jewish life.

The Centre continues to have a significant impact on the University of Oxford. The development of Jewish studies there is the responsibility of the Centre, which provides most of the Hebrew, Jewish and Israel studies teaching at Oxford. Without the Centre, which contributes the primary tuition for nine degree courses in Hebrew and Jewish studies at undergraduate, postgraduate and doctoral level, the University would not be able to offer these courses. The Centre also provides tuition in ten additional courses in Classics, Theology, Modern Middle Eastern and Oriental Studies.

The Centre also makes a significant financial contribution to the University of Oxford. It funds the full cost of the Fellows who teach within the University. In addition, the Centre’s Fellows, Lectors and Lecturers generate tuition fees for

the University. The academic research staff also helps the University generate research funds through the Government's Research Assessment Exercise.

This year the Centre strengthened the academic partnership with the University by agreeing that all new Centre-funded academic appointments will be chosen by a Faculty of Oriental Studies selection committee appointed jointly with the Centre. This builds on the previous year's achievement of bringing our academic salaries back into alignment with University pay scales and employment policies.

The Centre's Fellows currently teach some 30 undergraduates, 15 Master of Studies and MPhil students, and 20 DPhil students. Several hundred other students attend lecture courses. Most graduates in Hebrew and Jewish studies express deep satisfaction with their experience and have been prepared well for careers in higher education, religious education, non-profit management, government and other sectors.

Yarnton Manor is a premier residential academic community that provides opportunities for Jewish studies scholars from around the world to live, work and collaborate on research projects. Yarnton Manor has been revitalized in the last four years through the European Seminars on Advanced Jewish Studies. The new 'Oxford Seminars in Advanced Jewish Studies' beginning in 2012-13 will allow similar extended research collaborations to continue over the next three years.

The Centre is committed to continuing the tradition of Hebrew studies at the University of Oxford. The Regius Professorship in Hebrew, established there in 1546 by Henry VIII, which is held by Professor Hugh Williamson, and the Professorship in Jewish Studies, held by Professor Martin Goodman, are both funded by the University. These posts are the cornerstones of the University's commitment to Hebrew and Jewish studies and are deeply integrated into the Centre.

The strategic plan articulated a coherent academic strategy that identified the Centre's academic priorities and provided clear guidelines for establishing posts and making decisions about appointments. The following posts, funded by the Centre, are also University appointments with college affiliations and reflect the Centre's commitment to Hebrew and Jewish studies at the University of Oxford:

- The Catherine Lewis Fellowship in Rabbinic Literature, which is held by

Dr Joanna Weinberg, is the University's James Mew Lectureship in Rabbinical Hebrew.

- The Polonsky Fellowship in Early Judaism and Christianity, held by Dr Alison Salvesen, is a University Research Lectureship, and promotes an understanding of the interaction between Judaism and Christianity.
- The Ricardo Fellowship in Modern Jewish History, held by Dr David Rechter, is a University Research Lectureship, and promotes a better understanding of European Jewish history.
- The Idel and Isaac Haase Fellowship in Eastern European Jewish Civilization, held by Dr Zehavit Stern, is a University Research Lectureship, and has helped to restore the study of Eastern European Jewish culture at the University.
- The Fellowship in Modern Hebrew Literature, which is also the University's Cowley Lectureship in Post-Biblical Hebrew, is a core post and should be filled by October 2013.

In addition, several new appointments were made this year:

- Dr César Merchán-Hamann, Deputy Director of the Muller Library, was appointed as Director of the Muller Library and Curator of the Hebrew and Judaica Collections at the Bodleian Library. He succeeds Dr Piet van Boxel, who retired from this post and was appointed as Emeritus Fellow in recognition of his outstanding achievements.
- Dr Hizky Shoham, who has taught at Bar-Ilan University, was appointed as the Sidney Brichto Fellow in Israel Studies, a University Research Lectureship created in memory of the Centre's long-time advisor and fundraiser, effective from 1 January 2013.
- Dr Miri Freud-Kandel was appointed Fellow in Modern Judaism; her work helps inform the scholarly understanding of contemporary Jewish life.
- Dr Jeremy Schonfield, Mason Lecturer in Jewish Studies, who also serves as Editor of the Annual Report and the Centre's publications, was appointed Research Fellow in Jewish Studies.
- Dr Khayke Beruriah Wiegand was appointed the Woolf Corob Lector in Yiddish Studies.

- Dr Joshua Teplitsky, who recently received his PhD from New York University, was appointed Albert and Rachel Lehmann Junior Research Fellow.

The Strategic Plan also called for creating two additional posts as funding becomes available:

- A Fellowship in Medieval Hebrew Literature and Thought with a focus on Kabbalah, Jewish Philosophy, Hebrew Bible commentaries and medieval Hebrew poetry.
- A Fellowship in Judaeo-Islamic studies with a focus on the Genizah and Judeo-Arabic or on the historical relationships between Muslims and Jews.

The Strategic Plan also recommended that the Centre should add new posts and initiatives, pending new funding, that can inform the scholarly understanding of contemporary Jewish life. The Centre's work in this area will be wholly academic and independent of any particular political or institutional interest. These recommendations include establishing a Fellowship in Contemporary Jewish Studies and a programme to prepare individuals for Jewish volunteer and professional leadership positions worldwide in philanthropic, non-profit, religious, educational and communal organizations.

The greatest concern of the Strategic Plan is the Centre's financial position. Previously, spending exceeded the available resources and considerable debt was accumulated. In the last four years, however, the administration has reduced costs and increased revenues. The Centre has ended the current financial year with a small surplus, successfully reducing operating costs, instituting tight fiscal controls and making progress towards reducing the accumulated deficit in the last two years. The Centre has also developed financial strategies that recover a greater portion of the cost of operating Yarnton Manor. The strategic planning process provided more meaningful financial information to the Board of Governors, resulting in more effective governance. The Board of Governors approved a proposal to sell one or more peripheral properties, the income from which will be used to pay off a bank overdraft.

The Centre has established the conditions for long-term fundraising success by creating a successful fundraising strategy, instituting an annual fundraising campaign, increasing donations from current donors, cultivating new donors, securing new major gifts, raising money from the Anniversary Dinner, increasing foundation grants and laying the groundwork for fundraising in

North America. 75% of this year's Annual Fundraising Campaign has come from 20% of the donors, a ratio indicating positive growth in new and larger contributions. The Centre raised £630,000 in unrestricted contributions (including £200,000 from the successful Fortieth Anniversary Dinner) and £344,000 in restricted contributions from trusts and foundations. The Centre also secured £573,000 in new grants, much of which is for future use starting in 2012-13. Despite this progress, the Centre's financial position is still challenging and the priority is still to raise significant new funds.

As you read through this annual *Report*, you will learn more about our academic activities, especially from the essays produced by our Fellows and Visiting Fellows.



DR DAVID ARIEL
President





VISION AND MISSION STATEMENT

The mission of the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies is to restore the legacy of Jewish scholarship in Europe, continue the tradition of Hebrew studies at the University of Oxford, support advanced scholarship in academic Jewish studies, promote understanding of the interaction among Judaism, Christianity and Islam, and provide the scholarly understanding of contemporary Jewish life.

With the destruction of European Jewry, the centres of Jewish scholarship in Europe - both theological and academic - were largely destroyed. Jewish studies were reconstituted after the Holocaust in yeshivot and universities primarily in North America and Israel. However, at the University of Oxford, one of the world's leading universities, Hebrew has been taught continuously since the establishment of the Regius Professorship of Hebrew in 1546. Moreover, the Bodleian Library, whose Jewish collections were founded in 1600, is the world's richest treasury of manuscripts and books related to medieval European Jewish civilization. Within its collections are preserved the remnants of a destroyed culture, making it possible to reconstruct the narrative of Jewish civilization. Its holdings include the entire canon of Hebrew and Aramaic literature, as well as records of Jewish-Christian and Jewish-Muslim cooperation. More recently, the Muller Library, an incomparable scholarly resource for understanding modern European Jewish life, has made available the Jewish intellectual tradition of the past two centuries. From the resources of these great collections it is possible to reconstruct a narrative of Jewish history that is not only about persecution and suffering, but addresses the indispensable contribution of the Jewish people to Western civilization.

The records of European Jewish culture were first preserved at the University of Oxford by Christian Hebraists who studied Hebrew and Jewish literature for theological and intellectual reasons. These pioneers provided a foundation that can support the many disciplines of academic Jewish studies today. Its development is now the responsibility of the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies, which is dedicated to continuing the legacy of Jewish studies in a contemporary vein.

The Centre disseminates knowledge about the interaction of Judaism with the Graeco-Roman world, Christianity, Islam and early modern Europe, and provides, through the University, the academic vision and human resources that can contribute to the renaissance of Jewish studies in Europe.

The Centre has created the largest and most important academic programme in Jewish studies in Europe, comprising undergraduate, postgraduate, doctoral and postdoctoral research and teaching. This has attracted Jewish, Christian, Muslim and other students and scholars. It promises to help prepare the next generation of Jewish studies scholars, thereby rebuilding this discipline in universities throughout Europe and further afield.

The Centre has a significant academic impact on the University of Oxford. Its 10 Fellows, 3 Lectors and 6 Lecturers provide the primary teaching for nine degree courses in Hebrew and Jewish Studies at the undergraduate, postgraduate and doctoral level.

The Centre's Fellows usually teach around 30 undergraduates, 15 Master of Studies and MPhil students, and 20 DPhil students. Several hundred other students attend lecture courses. Since 1985, Yarnton Manor has been home to 368 students and 450 visiting Fellows. Students come from a variety of backgrounds - Jewish, Christian, Muslim and other - and from more than 40 countries, including Israel, Iran, Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco and the former Soviet Union. Students taught by the Centre's Fellows have gone on to academic positions in Hebrew and Jewish studies, or in related fields such as history, religious studies and cultural studies, at leading universities in Asia, Europe, North America and the United Kingdom. The Centre has thus influenced Jewish studies in settings as diverse as China, Estonia, Germany, Japan, Korea, Netherlands, Romania and Switzerland.

Yarnton Manor is also a premier residential academic community providing

opportunities for Jewish studies scholars to live, work and cooperate on research projects. The unique resources of the Bodleian and the Muller libraries make it possible to create research teams that collaborate for six months or more around subject areas often unique to Oxford. The Centre is therefore now a second home to many leading scholars in Jewish studies. It also hosts the European Association of Jewish Studies and the *Journal of Jewish Studies*.

The Centre, by serving as an academic incubator to promote scholarship and collegiality, provides the intellectual sustenance to help reconstitute Jewish life in Europe. Jewish life in London and throughout Europe is growing, more than 200 new Jewish organizations having been created in the past decade. Yet European Jewish communities still lack sufficient access to the academic resources that illuminate contemporary issues, provide new perspectives, or inform policy decisions. The Centre is planning to expand its work beyond the humanities to include the social sciences, including sociology, anthropology and politics. It aims to create leading academic posts in Contemporary Jewish Studies and Israel Studies that should contribute to the wider understanding of policy, trends and issues that affect society at large and the Jewish community in particular.

The uniquely tranquil ambience of Yarnton Manor also makes the Centre an ideal destination for groups interested in conducting conferences, think-tanks and summer institutes. Oxford, located equidistant between North America and Israel, is the perfect location for bringing together students, leaders and others from around the world for learning events, and to benefit in addition from the University's outstanding pool of academic talent.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE 2011-12 ACADEMIC YEAR

European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies 'Old Yiddish: Old Texts, New Contexts'

Some twenty Visiting Fellows gathered at the Centre this year for a European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies, this time focusing on Yiddish. It was convened by Professor Simon Neuberger of Trier University and Dr Zehavit Stern of the Oxford Centre, and held during Michaelmas and Hilary terms. A highpoint of the packed programme of seminars and informal talks was a conference held in February entitled 'Words and Worlds of Old Yiddish Literature'. The coming months will see the publication of a volume of papers by the participants. To read more about the research carried out by participating scholars, turn to pages 75-146 and to the short reports on pages 167-186. This brought to a successful end the present series of annual European Seminars.

Visiting Genizah Scholars Piece Together Mediterranean Jewish Civilization

Among the visiting Fellows from around the world who came to the Centre this year to pursue research on a wide range of topics were three who worked as a team on aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls. They are pictured below, having taken leave of absence from the University of Oregon, Trinity Western University and Bar-Ilan University respectively. They were enabled to spend time in Oxford by receiving Harold Hyam Wingate Visiting Fellowships. Although the Dead Sea Scrolls themselves are housed in Israel, medieval copies of some of the texts

discovered there have been identified in the Cairo Genizah, the storehouse of manuscript treasures from the Mediterranean world now divided between Oxford, Cambridge, Manchester and several other places.



▲
Left to right: Dr Dorothy Peters, Dr Esther Eshel, Dr César Merchán-Hamann, Professor Daniel Falk

While at Yarnton during Michaelmas Term 2011, Dr Esti Eshel, Professor Daniel Falk and Dr Dorothy Peters had the opportunity to study the Bodleian and Cambridge fragments of the medieval Cairo Genizah copy of the Aramaic Levi Document. This writing, originally composed in the third century BCE and retelling the story of Levi and the rape of Dinah by Shechem, was particularly important for Dr Peters' work on the 'Sword in the Dead Sea Scrolls'. While she was discussing her work with the others, Dr Eshel recalled that there was a newly rediscovered but as-yet unpublished portion of the Aramaic Levi Document in the Rylands Library in Manchester. Subsequently the three scholars travelled

to Manchester to read the fragment for themselves, finding within it important new interpretations about the sword as it used against the Shechemites, together with hints about how this Jewish author of antiquity viewed the circumcision deception. Dr Eshel and Dr Peters are now producing a substantial article documenting their discoveries.

Centre Receives a First Grant to Develop Oxford Seminars in Advanced Jewish Studies

The Centre has been awarded major grants by the Polonsky Foundation and the Dorset Foundation to launch a new round of Seminars in Advanced Jewish Studies at Yarnton Manor. These extended research collaborations, each focusing on a specific research project, will draw together leading scholars from around the world to make discoveries and disseminate their fresh insights. The seminars draw on the unique collections and resources of the University of Oxford, the Bodleian Library and the Centre, and are designed to make important contributions to the field of Jewish studies. The first seminar, beginning in January 2013, will be entitled 'Orthodoxy, Theological Debate and Contemporary Judaism: Exploring Questions Raised in the Thought of Louis Jacobs'. The publication of Rabbi Jacobs' book *We Have Reason to Believe* in 1957 ignited a major theological controversy within the United Synagogue, the central organization of British Jewry, of which he was a leading rabbi and teacher. Rabbi Jacobs donated his library of almost 14,000 volumes to the Centre shortly before he passed away, making available this resource for the study of rabbinic Judaism, Kabbalah, Hasidism, Philosophy and Theology to the scholarly community. Louis Jacobs' writings for a wider reading public will help shape the research of this first team of scholars participating in the Oxford Seminars. Other research projects will be announced over the coming years.

Dr Hizky Shoham Appointed Sidney Brichto Fellow in Israel Studies

Dr Hizky Shoham has been appointed to a University Research Lecturership in Israel Studies by the Oriental Studies Faculty of the University of Oxford, a post combined with that of Sidney Brichto Fellow in Israel Studies at the Centre.

This new post is named after the late Rabbi Dr Sidney Brichto, a long-time governor and supporter of the Centre, who died three years ago. The Centre

is deeply indebted to Sidney's widow, Cathryn, who worked tirelessly to raise funds to make this new appointment possible.

Dr Shoham, who joins the academic staff of the Centre in early 2013, gained a doctorate at Bar-Ilan University and has taught at the University of Tel-Aviv. He was previously a postdoctoral fellow at Yale University and a fellow of the Shalom Hartman Institute in Jerusalem.



▲
Dr Hizky Shoham

Dr Joshua Teplitsky Appointed Lehmann Junior Research Fellow

The Centre has appointed Joshua Teplitsky as the new Albert and Rachel Lehmann Junior Research Fellow in Jewish History and Culture, a two-year post associated with St Peter's College, Oxford. Joshua's PhD from New York University was awarded for a dissertation on Rabbi David Oppenheim of Prague, whose vast collection of books is one of the glories of the Bodleian Library. He received his BA from Yeshiva University and his MA from New York University, before taking up his present post in October 2012.



▲
Dr Joshua Teplitsky

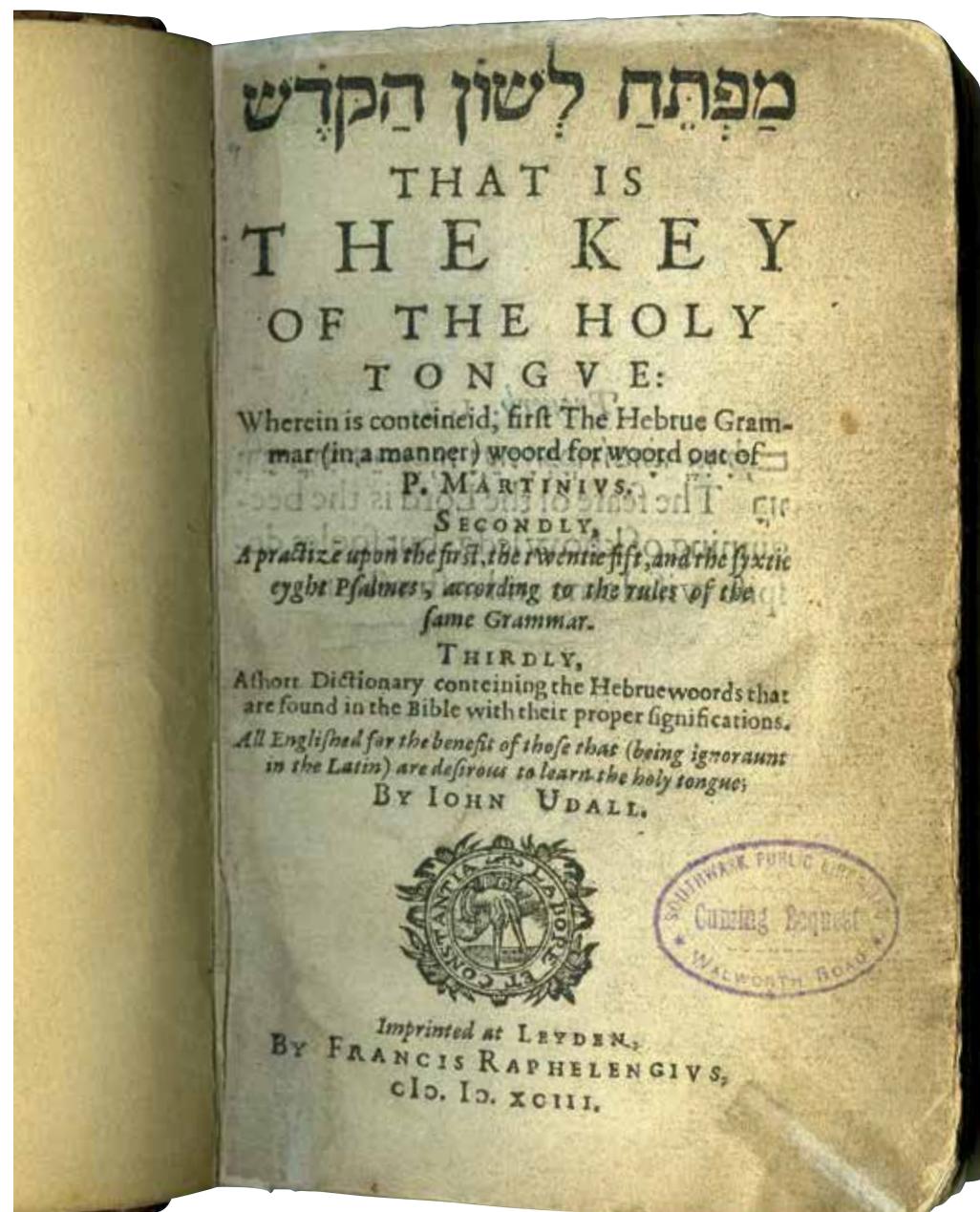
London Lecture Series

A series of six public lectures was held in London this year jointly with the Jewish Museum. Guests were able to explore the galleries prior to each event. The speakers, who were drawn from the Centre's own academic staff and

Visiting Fellows, included Professor Shlomo Berger (Amsterdam University), Dr Diana Matut (University of Halle-Wittenberg) and Professor Chava Turniansky (the Hebrew University of Jerusalem), as well as Oxford's Dr César Merchán-Hamann and Dr Zehavit Stern. One event, a panel discussion entitled 'The Significance of the Dead Sea Scrolls', attracted a particularly large audience. The international experts involved included Professor Geza Vermes (University of Oxford), Dr Dorothy Peters (Trinity Western University), Professor Daniel Falk (University of Oregon) and Dr Esther Eshel (Bar-Ilan University), who were introduced by Oxford's Professor Martin Goodman. They discussed the importance of the scrolls for understanding ancient interpretations of the Bible, the nature of Jewish society in the unsettled conditions of Judaea in the last days of the Second Temple, and the development of both Rabbinic Judaism and Christianity.

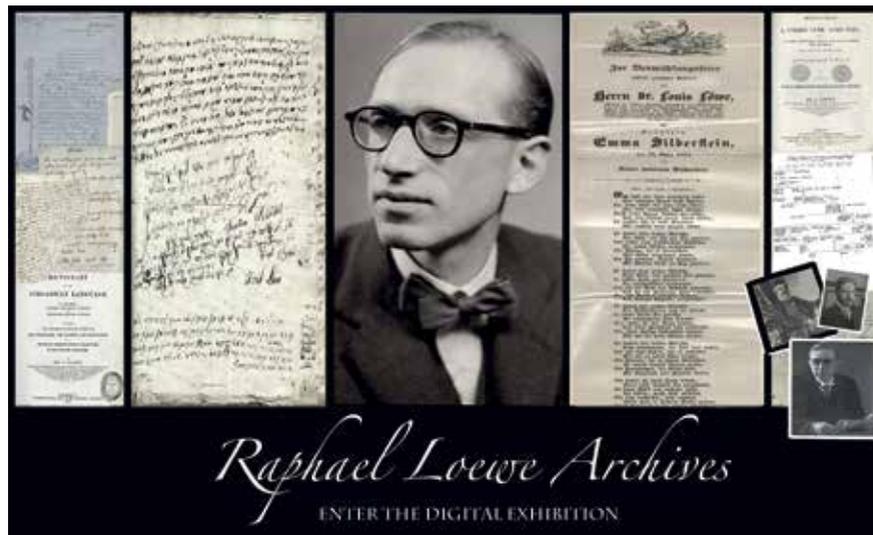
King James Bible Conference

A new English translation of the Holy Bible was issued by the King's printer in 1611 that is variously known to this day as the 'King James Version' or the 'Authorized Version' of the Bible. A team of theologians and academics worked for seven years on a book that, although not the first English Bible, is now regarded as the definitive edition from which all later ones spring. In recognition of the 400th anniversary of its publication, a Conference entitled 'The King James Bible: The Scholarly Context' was held in Oxford during the summer of 2011. Scholars from Oxford, Cambridge and Manchester, as well as from universities in the USA and Canada, gathered at Exeter College, Oxford, to participate in a programme of seminars and talks convened by the Centre's Dr Joanna Weinberg. Events covered various aspects of Christian Hebraism, the early-sixteenth-century glosses in Bomberg's Rabbinic Bible (1525), Hadrianus Saravia's contributions to the making of the King James Bible and the commentary on Exodus entitled 'iuxta Hebraeos', by Richard Kilby or Kilbie.

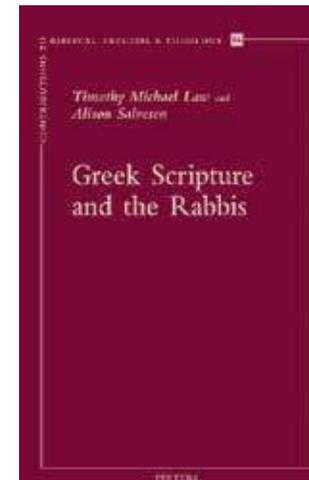


The Raphael Loewe Archive Exhibition

The personal and professional archive of Professor Raphael Loewe that was acquired by the Leopold Muller Library in 2012 after his death comprises personal letters, diaries and academic papers documenting four generations of a family that produced some of the leading Anglo-Jewish scholars in the field of Jewish Studies. This complements the Loewe Pamphlet Collection as well as the two Montefiore family archives that were already part of its holdings. Louis Loewe, Raphael's great-grandfather, had been secretary and assistant to Sir Moses Montefiore from the early nineteenth century, travelling with him to the Holy Land. Later Loewes made substantial contributions to Jewish scholarship. An exhibition on the Loewes' lives and work was launched on 23 May with a corresponding online display. The Centre hosted a reception attended by members of the Loewe family as well as many of Raphael's colleagues and friends, at which Dr Michael Loewe, Raphael's brother, and the Centre's previous President Peter Oppenheimer spoke about the Loewes' scholarship and Raphael himself. Dr Merchán-Hamann and his library staff presented a selection of material from the exhibition, and the evening concluded with a David Patterson Seminar dedicated to the memory of Professor Raphael Loewe by Dr Jeremy Schonfield, a former student of Raphael Loewe and a lecturer at the Centre.



Greek Scripture and the Rabbis



A European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies which took place at Oxford in 2009 has yielded a publication entitled *Greek Scripture and the Rabbis* (Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology; Leuven: Peeters Press, 2012), the cover of which is illustrated here. The role of Greek among Jewish communities in the eastern Mediterranean from the time of Alexander the Great until the Holocaust, particularly in the translation of Hebrew Scripture, had not previously received sustained attention. The Seminar provided the context for an international forum on the subject, and the new volume, edited by Dr Timothy Michael Law and Dr Alison Salvesen, makes available

the papers produced during this residential workshop. It covers areas such as biblical textual criticism, rabbinic attitudes towards Scripture in Greek, imperial legislation on Jews, the public reading of Scripture, and early Christian views on Jewish Greek versions.

Visit From the Ambassador of the State of Israel



His Excellency Daniel Taub, Ambassador of the State of Israel to the Court of St James, visited the Centre in December 2011 and addressed a small group of MST students and members of the academic and administrative staff. Ambassador Taub, himself an Oxford graduate and author of a book on Torah and modern

diplomacy, described how weekly readings illustrate strategies of negotiation and conflict resolution. His engaging teaching style, deep knowledge of Jewish sources and familiarity with diplomatic strategy made it a fascinating afternoon.

The Centre's Fortieth Anniversary and Fundraising Dinner

In honour of this year's fortieth anniversary of the Centre a fundraising dinner was held in the Savoy Hotel, London, in May. Guests heard how the founding President, the late David Patterson, CBE, determined to establish a centre for Jewish Studies at Oxford as soon as he was appointed to the Cowley Lecturership in Post-Biblical Hebrew at the University in 1956. Over several years he steered his proposal through a maze of committees and, with the help and advice, among others, of Professor Alan Jones, an Arabist colleague in the Oriental Studies Institute, he finally received authorization in 1972 to set up the Oxford Centre for Postgraduate Hebrew Studies, later re-named the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies.

The dinner also offered an opportunity to honour Stanley Fink, Chairman of the Board of Governors, recently raised to the peerage as Lord Fink of Northwood, who was presented with an original print by artist Carole Berman. Speakers at the dinner included His Excellency Daniel Taub, Ambassador of the State of Israel to the Court of St James, Dr David Ariel the Centre's President, Dan Patterson the TV producer and son of the founding President, and Clive Anderson the television personality. Funds raised at the event will help support teaching, Fellowships, Visiting Fellowships, student scholarships and the Muller Library.



▲
Lord Fink, Clive Anderson and Dan Patterson sharing a joke before the dinner



THE JEWISH LEGIONS IN THE BRITISH ARMY IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR¹

Michael and Shlomit Keren

When Lord Kitchener became Britain's Secretary of War in August 1914 he declared himself committed to the formation of a citizens' army. The War Office thereafter encouraged the recruitment of groups composed of the same ethnicities and social groupings, and in 1914 mooted the idea of an exclusively Jewish regiment. But Jewish leaders objected to a distinctly Jewish fighting force out of fear that it would call into question their loyalty to the overall British war effort and hinder Jewish assimilation in British society. They managed to quash the plan, but it continued to preoccupy the Jewish press and public. When Turkey joined the war on the side of the Central powers, Zionist leaders, notably Ze'ev (Vladimir) Jabotinsky and Joseph Trumpeldor, realized the importance of Jewish support of the Allies on that front, as a means to gaining national standing when the war ended. They obtained permission to organize a 'Zion Mule Corps', comprising mainly Jews exiled by the Ottoman authorities from Palestine to Alexandria. This participated in the fierce fighting on the Gallipoli Peninsula in 1915, but Jabotinsky considered it too minor a role, and set about persuading the British government to form a Jewish battalion.

¹ This article has been adapted from Michael and Shlomit Keren, *We are Coming, Unafraid: The Jewish Legions and the Promised Land in the First World War* (Lanham MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2010).

In 1917 pro-Zionist attitudes prevailing in Lloyd George's government, combined with Britain's decision to launch a campaign against the Ottomans in Palestine, paved the way for the War Cabinet's decision to recruit a Jewish force both in Britain and abroad. Three battalions, known as the Jewish Legions, were formed as part of the Royal Fusiliers. The 38th battalion was composed largely of British Jews forced into service by the Military Service Convention between Britain and Russia of July 1917, calling on Russian subjects of military age to choose between conscription and repatriation. The 39th battalion comprised mainly Jews from the United States, which allowed the recruitment of residents but not of citizens, and also from Canada and Argentina. The 40th battalion was recruited in the summer of 1918 among Jews in Palestine. About 7000 soldiers served in these battalions, under the command of Colonel John Henry Patterson, an Irish Protestant.

The Jewish Legions were the first Jewish military formation in modern times. Jews had fought for their respective countries in the past, but the new force included mostly Yiddish-speaking soldiers, and also provided them with a Jewish setting, including Kosher food, an ark with Torah scrolls, public celebration of Jewish holidays, performances of Jewish music and lectures on Jewish affairs. They were also endowed with a mission consistent with one of their ancient ideals: the liberation of the Promised Land. This unique set of circumstances helps explain how men from a culture that had lacked a military tradition for 2000 years acquired the norms and practices of soldiers, by adapting the war's rhetoric to a uniquely Jewish context. In our book we unveil diaries, letters and memoirs by a handful of legionnaires whose evolving consciousness as soldiers and Jews illuminates a new phase in Jewish history.

Writings by individual soldiers have only relatively recently been recognized as a major source of historical insight, and historians increasingly appreciate the subtle understanding they provide, especially of the Great War. Most of the life-writing discussed in our book was composed by soldiers unversed in the historical debates of the times, even within the Zionist movement, but whose writings add nuance to these debates.

The writings can be seen primarily as travelogues. Scholarly and literary works on the impact of war on soldiers have often used the notion of the journey to represent the transition in the individual's life. Eric Leed defines the Great War as an initiation process in the life of soldiers, and describes three stages of



▲ The Legion entering a Jewish settlement in Palestine



▲ Legionaries at the Western Wall in Jerusalem, 1917

that journey: separation, transformation and return.² The personal accounts that we discovered mainly in Israeli archives correspond closely to that typology.

For North American recruits the journey began at the British recruiting depot in Windsor, Nova Scotia, from where they sailed to the Crown Hill training camp near Plymouth, where they joined British recruits. The legionnaires then went by train and ship to Egypt and Palestine, this journey to the Promised Land corresponding with the notion prevailing in Canada of sending its young to fight for the British Empire overseas. In the United States the mission in 1917 was to come to the rescue of the free world. This became a common motif in diary entries written while crossing the Atlantic Ocean during the submarine war, on trains in Europe and Egypt and on the battlefields of Palestine.

The departure ceremonies described are characteristic of fighting men everywhere: marching bands, farewell kisses from girls and much else. Whatever other reasons led them to enlist, soldiers saw their departure as a noble mission consistent with the common view that the Great War would rescue nations from moral decay and bring people back to basic truths from which they had wandered.

Writings from Crown Hill depict the soldiers' process of adjustment to bad food, ill-fitting uniforms, snoring comrades, potato-peeling in the kitchen, drills, discipline and other features of barracks life. Writers express their will to fulfill their duty and become 'real' soldiers, a mode of existence unfamiliar to many. Many envied their Gentile comrades who seemed more disciplined than they were. Gradually, however, a martial culture with unique Jewish themes developed. Writings express proud excitement over the march in uniform to synagogue on the Sabbath, celebrating the Passover Seder in the Land of Israel or lying in trenches across the Turkish lines during Yom Kippur, the Day of Atonement.

As on all fronts in the First World War, however, the initial excitement of the journey to the battlefields was soon replaced by disenchantment. After fighting on the River Jordan, part of the Megiddo front, the legionnaires were preoccupied with building roads and fortifications, incursions across Turkish lines and guarding prisoners of war. The writing then takes a downward turn and begins to express the exhaustion resulting from widespread malaria,

² Eric J. Leed, *No Man's Land: Combat & Identity in World War I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

summer heat and boredom. Legionnaires describe the routine of guarding Turkish prisoners in the sandstorms of southern Palestine or in the malaria-stricken Jordan Valley in ways familiar from later Great War novels such as *A Farewell to Arms* or *All Quiet on the Western Front*.

One finds a sense of ambiguity, as though the writers felt they were living life on the brink. The end of the war seems near, but the dreams for personal or national redemption have not been fulfilled. The future seems uncertain and the soldiers have no control over their lives. Here the role of the chaplain, Reverend Leib Isaac Falk, became central. In contrast to Patterson, the commander to whom the presence of Jewish soldiers in the Holy Land itself meant the fulfillment of Gospel promises, the Jewish chaplain tried to invigorate the soldiers by characterizing the unpleasant experiences as part of a still incomplete journey to the Promised Land.

The writing reveals that despite disenchantment, the Legion allowed Jewish soldiers time to reflect on the comradeship, bravery, endurance, commitment and equality which they saw as a result of their common goal and would cherish for years to come. They wrote diary messages for each other idealizing the hardships they encountered, indulging in the comradeship they found as a result and expressing pride in serving as Jewish soldiers in the tradition of heroes such as the Maccabees and Bar-Kochba.

The feeling that the Jewish Legions represented a turning point in modern Jewish history and the continuation of a lost tradition was not shared by most of the Palestinian Jews they encountered, however, especially those belonging to the labour movement. But although they defined themselves as Zionists and viewed the legionnaires as non-Zionist, this distinction does not bear close analysis. In our book we noted the presence of both Zionists and non-Zionists among the Legionnaires. We also uncovered, among the thoughts and feelings of these young displaced immigrants in the British army, what one might describe as 'Existential Zionism', an identification with the cause of the redemption of Zion more related to religious sources than to ideological formulations.

The Jewish Legions never became poster heroes of the Zionist movement. Even their founder, Jabotinsky, who recognized their courage in the battles of 1918, could not reconcile his fantasy about a Jewish force that would conquer Canaan with these tailors and shoemakers. Legionnaires wrote about how little recognition they received from the Zionist movement, especially in the 1930s

when the Palestine-focused socialist wing of the movement took control of the World Zionist Federation and both Jabotinsky and the British government fell out of favour.

Yet the diaries provide strong evidence of the development of an authentic, Zionist consciousness among legionnaires. When Miguel Krel of Warsaw, Chaim Baruch Berezin of Mohileff-Podolsk, and Ira Jacob Liss of Russia came to the new world to find refuge from persecution, they were not necessarily versed in the Zionist writings of Max Nordau, Theodor Herzl or Ahad Ha'am. But when recruiters for the British Army called on them to liberate the Promised Land they saw themselves as descendants of biblical judges and kings, and of liberators like the Maccabees and Bar Kochba. This did not require them to dismiss their religious heritage or to acquire new Zionist or socialist personae. They could easily reconcile the soldiering to which they were exposed with the national mission familiar from their upbringing.

The legionnaires needed little help from Zionist ideologues to frame their soldiering experience as a journey to the Promised Land, a paradigm consistent with their heritage. One soldier sees the Straits of Gibraltar, as he passed them on the way to Palestine, as more sacred than when he had seen them on fleeing from Russia. His wish to stay in the Land of Israel after the war stemmed not from ideas debated in Zionist congresses, but from the refreshing cool breeze and from looking 'at the long mountain range, at the lovely valley and at the clear blue sky covered with small, white clouds'. Another legionnaire, the son of a teacher of religion, associated walking in the sandy Egyptian desert with his ancestors' march to the land during the Exodus. His parade to synagogue as one of 1500 Jews in khaki uniforms and helmets, wearing blue stars of David and with bayonets at their belts, made him and his comrades feel like 'heroes of Israel'. A war-widow who asked Reverend Falk in a letter that a stone rather than a cross be put on her husband's grave did so not out of concern for national emblems, but as a religious woman demanding proper burial for her husband.

The 'existential Zionism' of the legionnaires, emerging from deep cultural roots, contrasted with the Zionist vision of the Jewish State as a matter of renewal rather than of tradition. Theodor Herzl wrote in *The Jewish State* that 'a wondrous generation of Jews will spring into existence', who would demand, among other things, that they 'give up using those miserable stunted jargons, those Ghetto languages which we still employ, for these were the stealthy tongues

of prisoners'. But the legionnaires did not give up Yiddish, even when reflecting on their journey to the Promised Land, and they absorbed their experiences—military life, encounters with soldiers of other nations and visits to faraway lands—into their own folklore and tradition. In doing so, they provided a unique viewpoint of modern Jewish nationalism.

Zionism, the movement that called on Jews to live in the Land of Israel, has been called 'an authentic response to the existential situation of the modern Jew',³ and developed a purified and idealized model of the pioneer who would make the journey. But the legionnaires' response to the notion of the Promised Land showed cultural consistency with the biblical account of the Exodus—the prototype of liberation from a House of Bondage. That mission was entrusted not to a select *avant-garde* of pioneers. As Moses said to Pharaoh, 'we will go with our young and with our old, with our sons and with our daughters, with our flocks and with our herds will we go'. The men from London, New York, Montreal and Buenos Aires did not resemble the icons cherished by modern national movements, and drew in their life-writing a rich and colourful picture of the journey to the Promised Land in which everyone, not just poster heroes, takes part.

Our focus on the identity formation of individuals seems in line with the way legionnaires themselves perceived their experience. In December 1949 a group of veterans of the Jewish Legions met in Aviha'il, a rural settlement in central Israel where some of them settled after the war, and decided to build a Legions House as a museum and academy for military studies. Aware that their contribution was less acknowledged than that of the pre-state military formations associated with the symbolic 'New Jew', they determined to emphasize the individual dimension of their service in the Legions. They collected personal memoirs, diaries, newspaper clips and photos for display in the museum. The true tale of the Legions, they argued, is buried in the drawers of an old farmer in Britain, a scientist in New York or a settler in Israel.

At the Legions' fiftieth anniversary celebrations, Dov (Bernard) Joseph of the 39th Fusiliers declared:

³ Paul R. Mendes-Flohr, 'Between Existentialism and Zionism', *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 47 (1979) 429-40.



The Jewish Legions on parade in Whitechapel Road, East London led by Colonel Patterson



Ben-Gurion and Ben Zvi in Legion uniform

The Jewish Legion was a living symbol of the will and fervent aspiration of the Jews to national revival. The very idea of establishment [of] a Jewish Legion to redeem Palestine was in the nature of a revolution in the life of the Jewish people, dispersed as it was among the nations of the world, a nation not yet recognized by the world as such, a nation many of whose sons refused to consider it a nation. The recruitment and actual existence of such a Jewish Legion was decisive proof of the existence of a Jewish People, since it entailed, in a measure, the normalization of the people.⁴

It is striking that Joseph, a Canadian Zionist youth leader who became a cabinet minister in Israel, did not refer to the Legions' contribution to the establishment of the State. He knew, like many veterans, that the Legions were first and foremost a locus for the development of a military culture and national identity. While the consciousness of individual soldiers has always received less attention than the actions and rhetoric of the leaders and generals who sent them to war, our focus on identity formation among the rank and file may be seen as partial fulfillment of the legionnaires' own wish to be remembered.

⁴ Legions House, File 8d, Document 50.



Legionnaires at Portsmouth

THE LOEWE FAMILY – A SCHOLARLY DYNASTY

Milena Zeidler, Jane Barlow, Zsófia Buda,
César Merchán-Hamann

The substantial records preserved in the personal archive of Professor Raphael Loewe, recently presented to the Centre's library, open a window onto the personal lives and achievements of four generations of an Anglo-Jewish family. They recount a blend of change and continuity, as individuals moved from German lands now part of Poland, Germany and the Czech Republic, to contemporary England, with stops in France, Italy, Spain, Egypt, Ottoman and Mandate Palestine, Syria, Georgia and elsewhere in the Middle East. The archive chronicles their integration into a new community and national identity, a manifestation of flourishing religious internationalism, and illustrates, underlying their continuous scholarly activity at the highest level, a constant preoccupation and engagement with Jewish communal matters, as well as a deep commitment to British culture, politics and human welfare.

The 'Raphael Loewe Archives: Four Generations of Anglo-Jewish Scholarship' exhibition, launched by the Muller Library in May,¹ traces the Loewe family's responses to the challenges of modernity within the British and wider cross-national setting. It testifies to the family's rapid transit from

¹ The exhibition, which ended in November 2012, remains available permanently in its virtual format on the Muller Library website.

Ashkenazi life in German lands in the 1820s to integration into the Anglo-Sephardi community. This Sephardi connection, while maintaining their close links with relatives in Central and Eastern Europe, would guarantee the perpetuation of the family's transnational outlook. Based on primary sources preserved in the Raphael Loewe Archive, the exhibition presents a unique panorama of Anglo-Jewish life and scholarship, shedding light on questions of Anglo-Jewish identity and the community's reaction to emerging challenges and political movements in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In the present article we offer an account of the Archive, focusing on prominent yet understudied themes surrounding the activities of three members of the Loewe family: Louis, Herbert and Raphael. We hope not only to share discoveries made while preparing the exhibition, but to pave the way for historians by showing the potential in the Archive's contents for compiling an account of Anglo-Jewish life. In this it has few parallels for its detail.

Personal Archive

The personal archive of Professor Raphael Loewe, donated in 2011, enriches the Loewe Pamphlet Collection held at the Muller Library since 2005. That Collection comprises some 5000 items of rare ephemera relating to Jewish life. Both bodies of documents portray a unique image of Anglo-Jewish life during the nineteenth, twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. The Personal Archive includes items of historical significance to the history of Anglo-Jewish scholarship: a selection of personal papers and academic productions of four generations of scholars - Louis Loewe (1809-88), his son James Loewe (1852-1944), grandson Herbert Loewe (1882-1940), and great-grandson Raphael Loewe (1919-2011). The materials range from personal and professional correspondence with members of the international Jewish studies community, British politicians, friends and family, genealogical enquiries and schemas, through to newspaper cuttings, orders of service and Raphael Loewe's academic and personal writings, some of which are unpublished.

The documents are being archived according to Raphael Loewe's organizational system. Documents relating to family history are held together and arranged chronologically, as are items relating to individual projects, research and publications by Raphael Loewe, so that the development of his

work can be traced. Where there is correspondence or overlap between items, this is indicated in the catalogue so that such lines of enquiry can be pursued. The Archive dovetails with many items held in the Foyle-Montefiore Collection, Shandel-Lipson and Sebag-Montefiore archives and, wherever applicable, cross-references are supplied to maintain a researcher-friendly cataloguing system.

About the Exhibition

The exhibition was designed to reflect the trans-generational character of material in the Raphael Loewe Collection, four generations of Anglo-Jewish scholarship imbued with biographical detail. It was the result of an intense collaborative in-house team effort, involving three months of logging the material, researching the family, writing up captions and digitization. The Library team was helped by external contributors: Camilla Loewe, Penelope Feinstein, Professor Ada Rapoport-Albert, Dr Jeremy Schonfield and Sabine Arndt, who offered additional materials, photographs, support and advice. Ten display panels were installed in the Library foyer, which now serves as an exhibition space. The digital exhibition website was designed and built in-house, saving the Library a substantial expense. It spans over 100 pages, allowing the reader to explore archive material remotely, with the help of text and high-quality digital images. Within a day of its launch, individual pages were visited over a 1000 times, and it has been well received internationally. The material which has been digitized includes Louis Loewe's travel documents.

Louis Loewe's Peregrinations

After completing his primary and rabbinic schooling, first in Silesia and then at the Yeshiva of Pressburg led by the great Moses Schreiber (the 'Hatam Sofer'), Louis Loewe (Eliezer ha-Levi) left his homeland to pursue higher education at the University of Berlin. 'The deficient supply of higher education in these [Eastern European] regions' until the 1860s induced many talented prospects to migrate westwards to attend the prestigious universities of Paris, Göttingen or, in the early nineteenth century, also of Berlin, whose academic excellence and educational opportunities outweighed the Silesian and Moravian academic

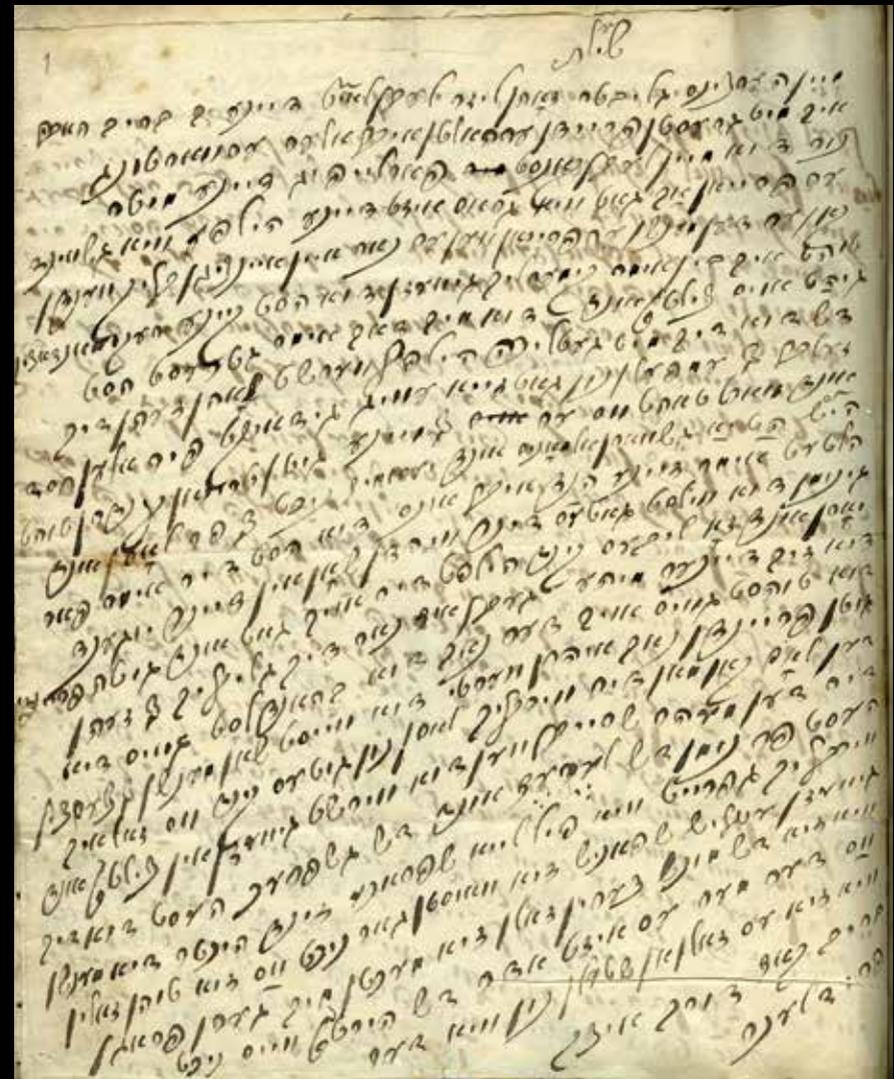
supply.² Therefore, Louis Loewe's migration agreed with the spirit of the times, even more justified by Berlin's role as a centre of *Haskalah*, cradle to the scholarly study of Judaism, *Wissenschaft des Judentums*. The young Loewe was much interested in theology, oriental studies and languages, having revealed linguistic talents in his early teens, long before he left for Berlin. Louis was familiar with several European languages, although the extent of this early familiarity is untraced. The prospect of studying at Berlin and mingling with the like-minded must have been enticing.

His motives for migrating to Berlin, however, were not solely of an intellectual nature. Louis settled there also because some members of his family had already lived in Berlin for at least a generation (including one Isaac Friedländer). As appears from letters sent to Louis by his mother Gittel ha-Levi from Zülz in Silesia, the ha-Levi family could not afford to support Louis' student life abroad, so it heavily relied on family connections and divine providence. His father, Rabbi Mordechai ha-Levi, died when Louis was thirteen, and the responsibility for raising the numerous offspring (one brother and six sisters), rested mostly on Gittel and her immediate relatives. Louis' brother Adolf (Abraham) also emigrated, settling first in Dresden and then presumably in Paris to earn his living as an apprentice in a bookbindery and, very likely, to support his family in Zülz, just as Louis did once he had found a paid position. As he wrote in a letter to his sisters: 'tomorrow, God willing, I will send you money so that you will get it with the next mail'.³ Gittel and Abraham ha-Levi were traditionally religious and it is possible that had his father been around in his formative years Louis' career would have led to the rabbinate rather than to secular learning. In an undated letter from about 1830, Gittel refers to Louis' calling: 'you always intended to devote yourself to God's service...and so dear boy, God has helped you, as well as have those good friends who...keep a loving watch over you'.⁴ His talents were many and his social aspirations apparent, and aside from being versed in the Torah, he took a serious interest in *Madda* (secular knowledge).

² V. Karady, 'Student Mobility and Western Universities: Patterns of Unequal Exchange in the European Academic Market, 1880-1939', in: C. Charle, J. Schriewer, P. Wagner (eds) *Transnational Intellectual Networks: Forms of Academic Knowledge and the Search for Cultural Identities* (Chicago: University of Chicago 2004) 374.

³ L. Loewe, 'Letter to Dear Sisters', London 10 Sept. 1839, photocopy of a manuscript, Raphael Loewe Personal Archive.

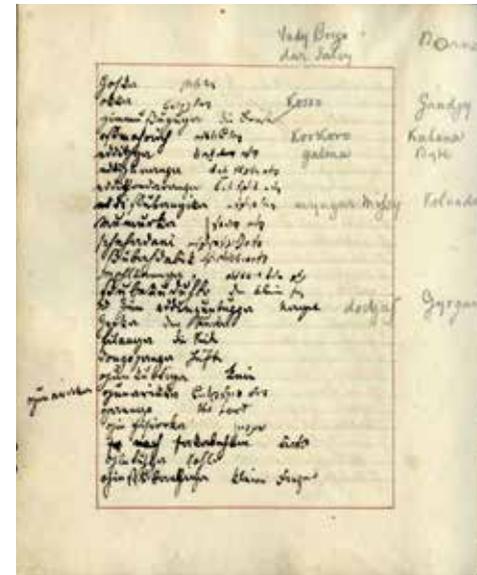
⁴ Gittel ha-Levi, *Letter no. 1*, manuscript, Raphael Loewe Personal Archive.



▲ Letter from Louis Loewe's mother, Gittel Ha-Levi. A collection of over twenty survive in an album bound in a way consistent with other items from the library of Louis Loewe; at the foot of its spine appear the initials 'LL'. The spine is labelled *Theueres Andeken von meiner seligen Mutter*, 'Treasured Memories of my Late Mother'.

Louis Loewe's ambition took him from Berlin to Hamburg to Sussex and further. As a true academic rather than a 'vagrant scholar',⁵ he pursued freelance scholarship while assisting patrons and long-term supporters. The first of these was the Duke of Sussex (1835-42), later joined by Sir Moses Montefiore (1840-1888), both of whom appreciated his knowledge of languages and oriental culture. Well before settling in a more stable position in Montefiore's entourage and starting a family (1844), in 'a ritual or initiation ceremony marking the transition from adolescence to maturity',⁶ he embarked on his own version of the Grand Tour that took him to Africa and Asia (1836-9) to study what he claimed to be the unexplored languages and cultures of Nubia and Circassia, among others.⁷ Although slightly older than a typical 'Grand Tourist', and with a specific research focus rather than an interest in personal recreation, Louis was well within the paradigm. His travels yielded notebooks, correspondence and one surviving handwritten diary, all bearing some characteristics of the travelogue genre, as will be discussed later.

Of Loewe's travel notebooks in the Raphael Loewe Personal Archive, the *Nubian Vocabulary* is a compilation of descriptions and research results in the form of a brief dictionary based on interactions with the local population.⁸ The narrative starts with the words: 'the country which I had crossed, from Assouan to Derr, is divided by its inhabitants into two parts';⁹ Louis then proceeds to discuss the inhabitants and their inter-tribal conflicts, as well as to analyse their languages, thereby collecting 'qualitative information of a middling degree of relevance on countries or regions still insufficiently known'.¹⁰ Loewe's remarks are far from subjective, however, since the first person 'I' narrating the story, characteristic of travelogues, appears side by side with scholarly descriptions. The *Nubian Vocabulary* was not the only travel-book Louis wrote. It is believed (although no written source has been identified) that Loewe, while travelling



◀ Louis Loewe's 'Nubian vocabulary' notebook (late 1830s - early 1840s). One column of Nubian appears parallel to a column with a German translation in Hebrew characters. Further pages (not displayed here) contain notes on and in other languages, such as Borgo Bornou, Arabic and Hebrew written in Rashi, block and modern script.

in Palestine in 1839, was robbed of his travel notebooks that were ready for publication (note that he intended to publish them), and left naked in the desert, after which he had to travel dressed as a Bedouin.¹¹ This account, sustained by Louis' descendants who commemorated his deliverance for generations by dressing up as Bedouins on Purim, is also a feature of travel writing, where travellers write of extraordinary adventures to family and friends. Through his notebooks and letters he thus educates, thrills and entertains. From photocopies of Louis Loewe's letters to his sisters, written in German, but in Hebrew characters, preserved in the Raphael Loewe Personal Archive, it can be seen that he wrote extensively of his journeys: 'I do not want you to notice that I am away from you; before I go to sleep I want to tell you how I spent the day, so that you may know everything'.¹² It is likely that in other letters, now lost, Loewe described also his Palestinian adventures.

While bearing some resemblance to the literary genre of travelogue, as

5 J. Stagl, *A History of Curiosity: The Theory of Travel, 1550-1800* (Reading: Harwood Academic Publishers 1995) 65.

6 S. Berger, *Travel among Jews and Gentiles: Abraham Levie's Travelogue, Amsterdam 1764* (Leiden: Brill 2002) 12.

7 L. Loewe, *A Dictionary of the Circassian Language* (Brighton 1854) 7-8; Foyle-Montefiore Collection.

8 After Charles Batten's *Pleasurable Instruction* (Berkeley 1978) 32-6, Berger repeats that a travelogue, or a travel-book, in simple terms, must contain a 'register' of the journey as well as present its results. In a travelogue one might expect to read descriptions of places the traveller visits (countries, cities, political and social systems, buildings, etc.), of peoples and their customs. Berger, p. 13.

9 L. Loewe, *Nubian Vocabulary*, manuscript, Raphael Loewe Personal Archive.

10 Stagl, p. 281.

11 'Loewe, Louis', in: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004-2012), accessed online at: <http://ezproxy.ouls.ox.ac.uk:2117/view/printable/16928> (06 March 2012).

12 L. Loewe, *Letter to Beloved Sisters*, Liegnitz 2 Feb. 1842, photocopied manuscript, Raphael Loewe Personal Archive.

London 55 Mansell St Goodmans Fields
7th of July 1840. (1840)

I am about to start for Damascus - accompanying
Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore on their holy Mission to
that place. May the Almighty grant us all the success,
for the sake of the unfortunate victims, may he give
us strength of mind & body ^{so as to be able} ~~that we may~~ persevere in
the vindicating of the innocence of our brethren.
I prepared myself ^{by reading a number of books bearing on the subject} to answer
to any question which ^{might} be put to the Mission ^{referring to} ~~regarding~~ Hebrew, ^{Moslem} ~~Arabian~~, or Christian
theology, and to explain any passages ^{that might be} pointed out ^{to the mission} in the
Talmud, Midrashim, or other, ~~as I want in the way~~
engaged for the Sir Moses engaged for the mission to act in
the quality of a Secretary and Interpreter of Oriental and
Modern languages - At four o'clock I left Mansell St.
my brother and Mr Cameron went to the waterside, & my
servant repaired to the Alliance office. I only met there
Mr Sebag. Mr Moses was not yet out of his bedroom - on
account of having retired at nearly three o'clock in the
morning

mentioned above, Louis Loewe's travel writings do not entirely conform to the genre's requirements. Other elements are interspersed especially in his later work, and particularly the *Damascus Diary*. There, in a relatively dry manner, Louis describes the actions of Sir Moses Montefiore, Adolphe Crémieux and others involved in the Damascus Mission.¹³ He chronicles events and meetings as they occurred, notes conversations, dates and times, and copies official letters. He does not omit himself from the descriptions, yet tends to restrict self-reference to opinions rather than feelings.¹⁴ The narrative is rich in tales of intercultural encounters, including dialogues, enhancing the reading experience without losing sight of the Mission's historic significance. The diary was composed while travelling, as the detailed descriptions witness, so is little affected by fading memories. It starts with a poem of a highly personal nature, revealing surprising similarities to Abraham Levie's travelogue discussed by Shlomo Berger in his study entitled *Travels Among the Jews and Gentiles*.¹⁵ Levie's text is preceded by a liturgical poem (*piyyut*), a personal composition that also serves as a table of contents: 'this concise poetic account of his travels is a personal statement, and as such it provides an emotional evocation to the Almighty...'.¹⁶ Loewe quotes a poem by Richard Heinzelman (nineteenth-century German dramatist) which, in contrast to the emotionless body of the diary, probably refers to Loewe's own views, without bearing directly on the diary's contents. The poem reads:

¹³ In the Damascus Affair (1840), the Jews of Damascus, Syria, were accused of ritually murdering a Capuchin Monk Father Thomas, charges supported by the French consul Ratti Menton.

¹⁴ C. D. van Strien, 'Thomas Penson: Precursors of the Sentimental Traveller', in Zweder von Martel (ed.) *Travel Fact and Travel Fiction: Studies on Fiction, Literary Tradition, Scholarly Discovery and Observation in Travel Writing* (Leiden: Brill 1994) 197.

¹⁵ Berger, p. 24-6.

¹⁶ Berger, p. 24.

◀ The 'Damascus Affair Diary' of Louis Loewe, 1840. On the outbreak of the Damascus Affair in 1840, when the Jews of Damascus were accused of ritually murdering a Capuchin Monk, Father Thomas, Montefiore travelled to Syria, accompanied by Loewe as his secretary and interpreter of Oriental languages. The intervention of the wider international Jewish community, including Montefiore and Loewe, resulted in the recognition by Mehmet Ali, the Pasha of Egypt, of the Jews' innocence. They were unconditionally released.

Be and continue poor, young man, while others around you grow rich by fraud and disloyalty.

Be without place or power while others beg their way upwards.

Bear the pain of disappointed hopes while others gain the accomplishment of theirs by flattery.

Forgo the gracious pressure of the hand for which others cringe and crawl.

Wrap yourself in your own virtue and seek a friend and your daily bread.

If you have in such a course grown grey with unblenched honour, Bless God and die.

The manuscript of Louis' *Damascus Diary* ended up in his grandson Herbert Loewe's hands, as indicated in the preface to its printed version, which Herbert dictated on his deathbed. It is very likely it was passed to him by Louis' son, James. According to Paul Goodman, author of the preface, for Herbert Loewe the publishing of the Diary was a *Mitzvah*, a duty: 'performance of this labour of love ... was to him an act of ancestral pietas that kept the sinking spirit of his valiant soul alive'.¹⁷ We cannot be sure whether James, busy as he was with his career in business and banking ever tried to publish the material. Noteworthy is the fact that Louis' poetic quotation is missing from the *Diary's* printed edition.

Much as another Jewish traveller, Shmuel Romanelli, 'made his book a valuable source of information for historians and ethnographers',¹⁸ so Loewe accrued resources and information which he later turned into scholarly publications. He first disseminated it 'through means of letters, travel reports, and collections of material objects',¹⁹ just like early masters of *ars apodemica* (such as Theodor Zwinger or Hugo Blotius), taking it to the next level by publishing some of his writings. The 'Loewe travelogue' phenomenon requires further comparative investigation, especially into his application of the genre. The extensive and as yet unexplored primary resources in Raphael Loewe's personal archive are an ideal point of departure for further research of this and other topics related to the life and scholarship of his descendants.

¹⁷ P. Goodman, 'Introduction', in: *The Damascus Affair: Diary of Dr. Louis Loewe July–November 1840* (Ramsgate 1940) 11.

¹⁸ M. Pelli, 'The Literary Genre of Travelogue in Hebrew Haskalah Literature: Shmuel Romanelli's Masa Ba' Rav', in *Modern Judaism*, 11:2 (May 1991) 242.

¹⁹ Stagl, p. 65.

Herbert Loewe in Oxford

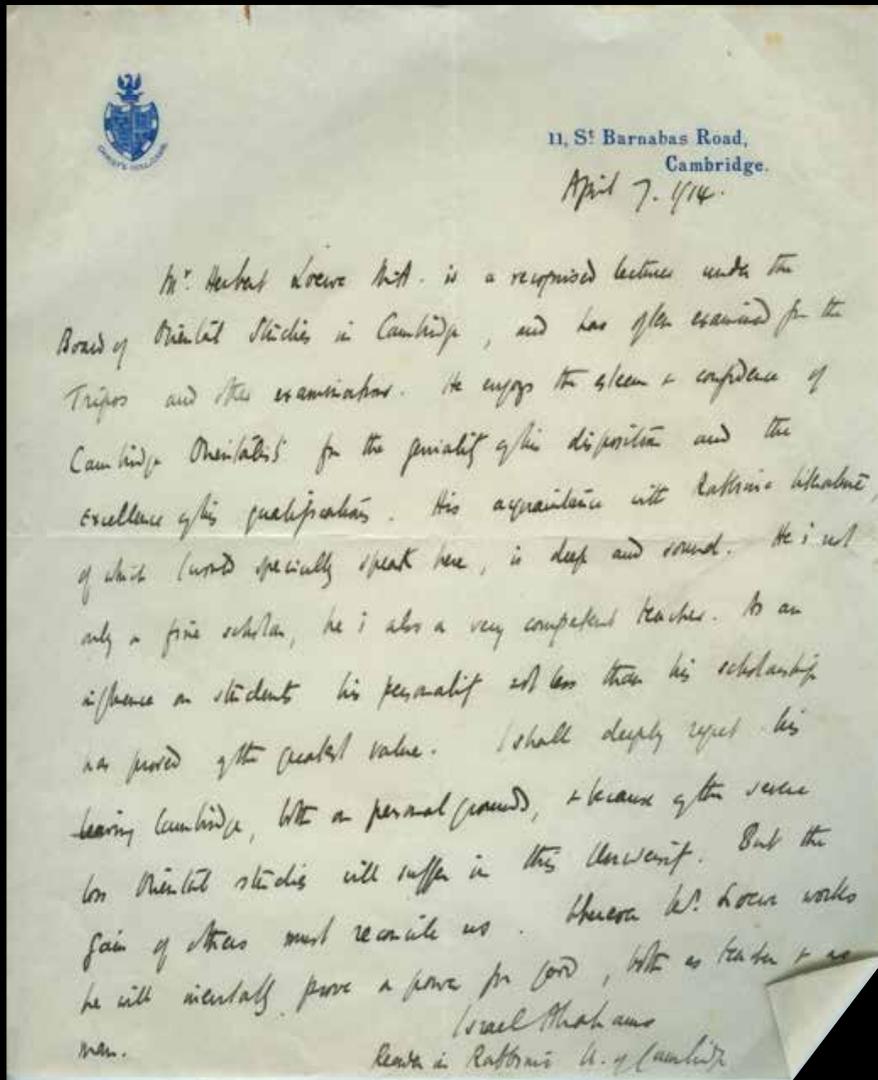
Louis' grandson, Herbert, also devoted his life to Oriental Studies and built a career as a scholar, teacher and pastoral leader. His father, James Lowe, was a banker by profession, but he also engaged in rabbinical studies and was Herbert's first teacher.



Commemorative stamp with the signature of James Lowe. In 1899 James Lowe, already an experienced banker, applied for the position of Director of the Colonial Bank, and was appointed Secretary of the newly established Jewish Colonial Trust. Israeli stamps were issued with photographs of the original share certificates to commemorate 100 years of the Jewish Colonial Trust in 1999.

Shortly before the First World War, the Jewish congregation of Oxford was struggling with the apparent lack of interest of Jewish undergraduates in communal affairs and in Jewish identity in general. Jewish life in Cambridge was much more flourishing and developed in comparison. A possible solution to the problem was to appoint a Jewish Lecturer in Rabbis at the University who would function at the same time as a chaplain for Jewish students. Basil Henriques, who had a significant role in invigorating Jewish social and religious life in Oxford, thought his brother-in-law, Herbert Loewe, would be an ideal candidate for the position. Herbert Loewe graduated at the University of Cambridge, remained there as a lecturer and soon became a prominent member of the Cambridge congregation.

As a result of Basil Henriques' efforts, Herbert Loewe was indeed appointed Lecturer in Rabbis at Exeter College, Oxford in 1914. In the Raphael Loewe Archive are a number of documents relating to his activities in Oxford. On applying for the position, Herbert received letters of recommendation from his teachers at Cambridge, including the well-known historian Israel Abrahams. In his letter Abrahams praises Herbert's educational skills as well as his human values: 'He is not only a fine scholar, he is also a very competent teacher. As an



11, St Barnabas Road,
Cambridge.
April 7. 1914.

Mr. Herbert Loewe M.A. is a recognized lecturer under the Board of Oriental Studies in Cambridge, and has often examined for the Tripos and other examinations. He enjoys the esteem & confidence of Cambridge Orientalists for the gentleness of his disposition and the excellence of his qualifications. His acquaintance with Rabbis Abraham of which I would specially speak here, is deep and sound. He is not only a fine scholar, he is also a very competent teacher. As an influence on students his personality will be more than his scholarship as proved by the great value. I shall deeply regret his leaving Cambridge, both on personal grounds, & because of the severe loss Oriental studies will suffer in this University. But the gain of others must reconcile us. Henceforth Loewe works he will inevitably prove a power for good, both as teacher & as man.

Israel Abrahams
Rector of Rabbini U. of Cambridge

▲ Israel Abrahams' letter of recommendation for Herbert Loewe, 1914.

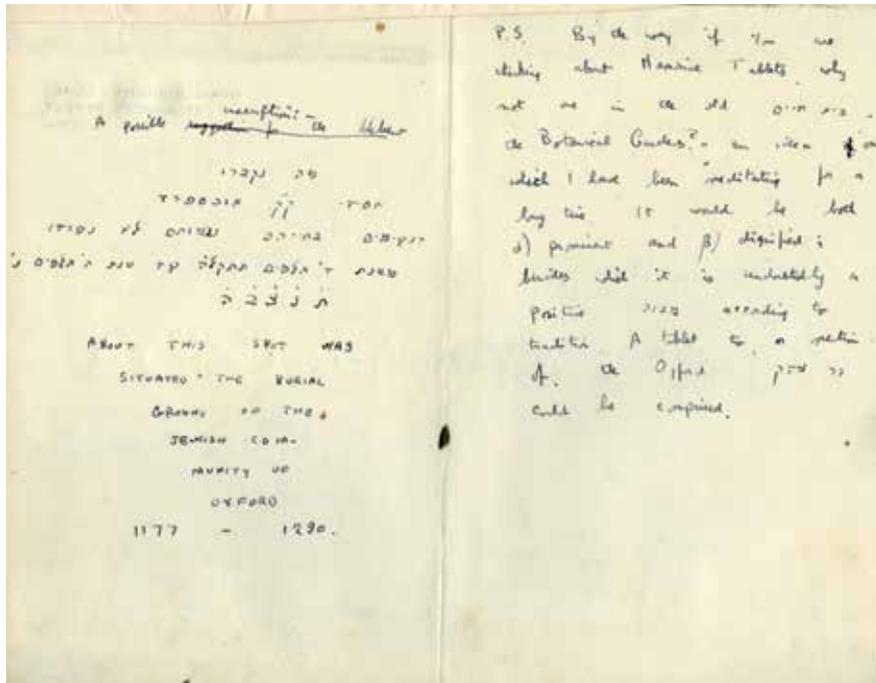
influence on students his personality not less than his scholarship has proved of the greatest value.'

Herbert Loewe spent more than a decade in Oxford as a lecturer and community leader until his return to Cambridge in 1931. Apart from his academic duties, he devoted much time and energy to building up a resilient Jewish community, and soon became the focal point of Jewish Oxford.²⁰ He invited students to his home at 29 Beaumont Street for Shabbat and Jewish festivals, conducted services that were inclusive of various Jewish denominations, engaged in organizing an annual Jewish Summer School, and was active in various Jewish societies, including the freshly established Oxford Branch of the Anglo-Jewish Association. His last project in Oxford was the organization of the centenary celebrations of the birth of Adolf Neubauer (1831-1907), the sub-librarian of the Bodleian Library and reader in Rabbinics, and from 1890 an honorary fellow at Exeter College. One of Neubauer's greatest achievements is the catalogue of the Hebrew manuscripts at the Bodleian Library, the result of eighteen years of untiring work, which has proved indispensable. Neubauer's oeuvre is of great importance for Anglo-Jewish scholarship as well as Hebrew scholarship in general, and this was reflected in the magnitude of his centenary celebrations. Representatives of academic institutions, scholarly societies and Jewish congregations from all over the country were delegated to participate in the event. Invitations, tickets, speeches, luncheon programmes and correspondence are preserved in the archive, testifying to the scale of the preparations. As letters attest, Herbert Loewe had extensive international connections and sent invitations to academic institutions and scholars on the Continent as well as in Britain, among them Ismar Elbogen of the *Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums* in Berlin.

The Neubauer centenary held on 21 June 1931 was intertwined with the formal reception of two Torah scrolls from the Canterbury Jewish Congregation. When this community ceased to exist, its members entrusted the Oxford Congregation with the care of its scrolls. Herbert Loewe signed the chirograph as a witness with his Hebrew name: Tsvi Mordekhai ben Yaakov Hayyim ha-Levi. In the photograph of the occasion, Herbert is in the back row, second from the right.

The occasion was also an opportunity to pay respect to the Jews of medieval

²⁰ Harold Pollins, 'Herbert Martin James Loewe in Oxford', *Jewish Journal of Sociology* 48:2 (2006) 45-7.



▲ Cecil Roth's letter to Herbert Loewe about the commemorative tablets, 1931.

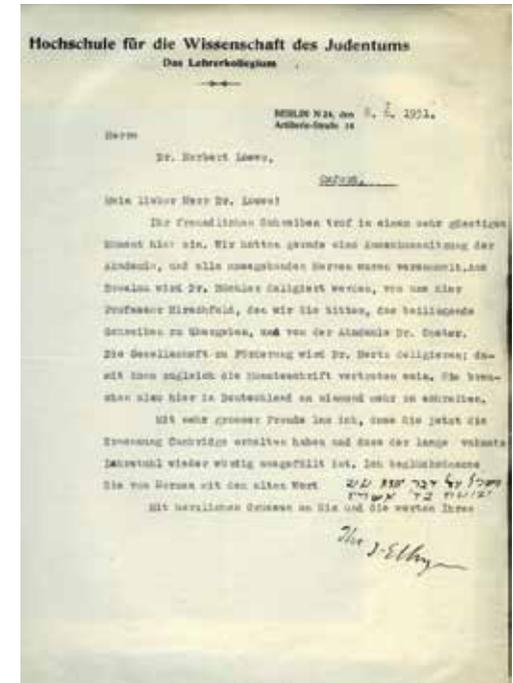


◀ The ceremonial deposit of two Torah-scrolls from Canterbury with the Cambridge congregation, 1931.

Oxford. Three commemorative tablets were unveiled: one at Osney to commemorate the martyrdom of Haggai, a Dominican friar who converted to Judaism; one in the Town Hall to mark the site of the old synagogue; and one in the Botanic Garden, to mark the site of the old Jewish cemetery. The idea of these memorial tablets was clearly Herbert's. As his son, Raphael, recalled later, Herbert, in his article 'Oxford Passover Memories', dated to Passover in 1930, compared the fading memories of the Jewish martyrs and historical places in medieval Oxford with the fresh commemoration of Christian martyrs of the town.²¹ Our archive preserves Cecil Roth's reply to Herbert's invitation to the centenary in which he suggested the Botanical Garden as a possible place for the memorial tablets. '...an idea on which I have been meditating for a long time'.

Thus Herbert Loewe indeed fulfilled the expectations laid out at his appointment. In 1931, when he left for Cambridge, to occupy the position of Reader in Rabbinics at the University, he left behind in Oxford a flourishing Jewish cultural life.

²¹ Herbert Loewe, 'Oxford Passover Memories', *The Jewish Guardian* (11 April 1930); Raphael Loewe letter, 24 March 1968, both in the Archive (Oxford II, 13).



▲ Ismar Elbogen's letter to Herbert Loewe about the Neubauer centenary, 1931.

Raphael Loewe: *The Rylands Haggadah, Poetic Translations and Letters*

Raphael Loewe's archive attests to the way that he was inspired by his father's promotion of Jewish cultural life. In some ways Raphael's most prominent lasting legacy may be his body of poetic translations. These open up the medieval world to a wider Jewish and academic audience, as they perhaps uniquely maintain the integrity of the original text. The Raphael Loewe archive contains many documents relating to these translations, including copies of his published work, his preliminary notes and proof-copies of several manuscript facsimiles, alongside much unpublished material. Raphael Loewe was involved in several facsimile productions which included his translations.

Developments in reproduction and digitization in the last thirty years have rendered manuscripts accessible to a larger audience. Producing high-quality facsimile editions and interactive websites serves to protect manuscripts from excessive use, as well as raising their profile.

Reproductions of Hebrew manuscripts began in Germany with the Sarajevo Haggadah in 1891. In a second version, edited by Cecil Roth in 1963, Roth outlines the increasing research into medieval Jewish figurative art following the discovery of the Dura Europos Synagogue in 1932-5.²² Reproductions of Ashkenazi manuscripts also appeared, such as the *Darmstadt Haggadah* (1927, 1971) and the *Leipzig Mahzor* (1964). These editions generally focused on folios perceived to be important for their aesthetics and rarely contained academic analysis or introductions.

The renewal of interest in Hebrew manuscripts, particularly from an art-historical perspective, led to a surge in the number of facsimiles being produced in the 1970s and 1980s, but the quality and extent of scholarly input varied. In 1981 Facsimile Editions was founded in London by Linda and Michael Falter, setting a new standard at the high end of the market by producing lavish replicas that replicated even the parchment density of the originals. Dr Jeremy Schonfield invited Raphael Loewe to work on an edition of the Rylands Haggadah (Passover liturgical narrative) for Thames and Hudson of London, which appeared in 1988 with a full photographic reproduction of every folio and with an academic

introduction and translation by Raphael Loewe. The volume contains textual and codicological notes, as well as transcriptions of all the Hebrew texts, including the marginal commentary and micrography. E. G. L. Schrijver states in a review that the edition is 'in many ways an example of how a facsimile edition of an illuminated Hebrew manuscript should be manufactured: exquisite reproductions of all the pages of the manuscript, accompanied by a thoroughly scholarly introduction, and all of that at a relatively low price'. This contribution to medieval Sephardi literary and artistic research is today seen as a primary source for English translations of many *piyyutim* (liturgical poems).

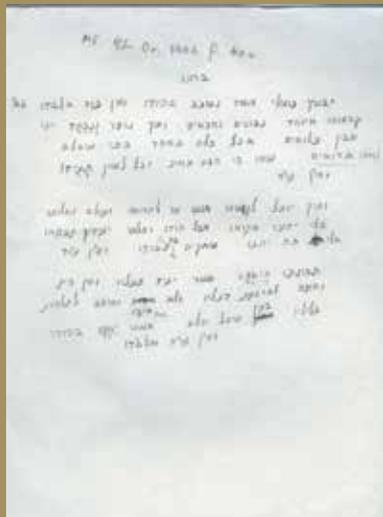
The archive contains letters and notes leading up to the publication of the book and an album, compiled after the book's launch, containing reviews, letters of praise from the Jewish and national press and personal correspondence. There are notes from Frank Kermode, Peter Lineham, Stefan Reif, David Patterson, Nicholas de Lange and the former ambassador of Israel to the court of St James, amongst many others. The book received international acclaim, with reviews appearing in English, Hebrew, Dutch, French, Italian and Spanish.

Raphael Loewe was subsequently involved in translations and facsimile editions of manuscripts for Facsimile Editions, producing notes and translations for the *Barcelona Haggadah* (1992), the *Rothschild Haggadah* (1999) and *The North French Miscellany* (2004). Raphael's bilingual publication of the Spanish Jewish moral narratives *Meshal Haqadmoni* (2004) by Ibn Sahula (b. 1244), the culmination of almost a decade of work, was inspired by its inclusion in *The Rothschild Miscellany*, another manuscript reproduced by Facsimile Editions.

In 2006 Loewe also began work on the *Shealtiel Haggadah* (BL Or. 1404). This manuscript, more commonly known as the Rylands 'Brother Haggadah', housed in the British Library, has sadly never been published, although Raphael prepared material for an edition.²³ Copies of his draft introduction and translations of some uncommon *piyyutim* (liturgical poems) are housed in the Raphael Loewe Archive. This project built on his earlier research into the relationship between the two manuscripts, since in 1988 Loewe had demonstrated, on textual evidence, that the British Library manuscript was

²² For a list of Hebrew facsimiles produced up to 1988 see Leonard Singer Gold (ed.) *A Sign and a Witness* (New York and Oxford: New York Public Library and Oxford University Press 1988) 183-5; Cecil Roth, *The Sarajevo Haggadah* (London: W. H. Allen 1963) 36-7.

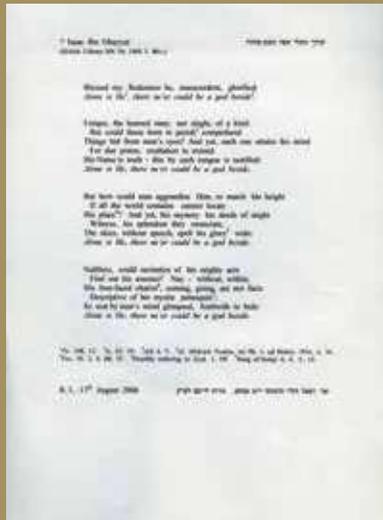
²³ Its ownership can be traced back to the early sixteenth century in Crete through the Shealtiel family, hence this alternative name for it. See Box 35 of RL Archive.



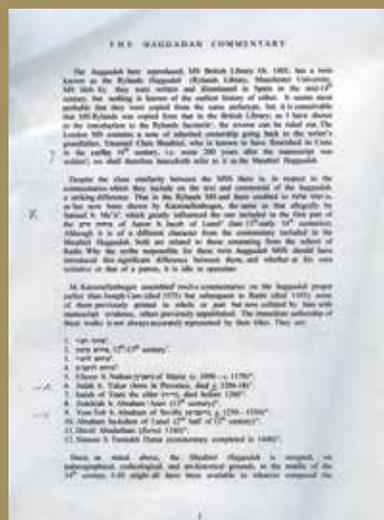
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1-3: Raphael Loewe's translation of a poem by Isaac Ibn Ghayyat, from the manuscript BL Or. 1404 fol. 40v. The three images demonstrate Raphael Loewe's method of transcribing, translating and then typing medieval Hebrew poetry.

4: Unpublished typescript of Raphael Loewe's 'The Haggadah Commentary', about the Shealtiel haggadah.

likely to have been produced before the *Rylands Haggadah*. This theory has recently been supported by art-historical research.²⁴ In his 2006 draft Loewe further suggests that the manuscripts should not necessarily be considered as 'related', but more as individual products. Art-historians in 2011 supported Loewe's unpublished hypothesis from five years previously.

The manuscript contains a picture cycle followed by the haggadah text with some marginal illumination, and a commentary in smaller characters in the upper and lower margins of the haggadah text. Loewe points out that the commentaries in the Shealtiel and Rylands haggadot can both be traced to the Rashi School, but are different from each other. He identifies commentaries that may have been available to the scribe, and by analysing errors and occasional 'virtual identity of wording' suggests possible sources. He points out that in *tosaphist* circles (medieval European commentators of the Talmud after Rashi) it was culturally important to identify yourself with Rashi and his descendants, which led to a large number of similar commentaries. This does not necessarily indicate a familial relationship between the two haggadah manuscripts.

Most groundbreaking is his supposition that this version tells us about Rashi's own 'Seder-table'. The haggadah text, and particularly the descriptions of the Four Sons, is an 'exposition' and background explanation to the ritual performance of the Seder-meal. This exposition and commentary enable families to recall their own previous Seders, the first Seder in Egypt, as well as practices of the wider contemporary Jewish community. Raphael Loewe points towards a shared cultural memory. Although Rashi himself probably did not write a haggadah commentary, it is likely that family memory passed by his children and grandchildren was disseminated to their pupils as a tradition of high cultural value, and that 'what these commentaries provide is a glimpse of Rashi's own table-talk – something that is, from the aspect of social history, probably more significant than a formal commentary from his own pen'. It suggests a more personal approach to the haggadah than has sometimes been assumed. Raphael hints at this in his introduction in 1988, where he describes the 'emotional pull' of the haggadah.

24 Raphael Loewe, *The Rylands Haggadah* (London: Thames and Hudson 1988) 16-17; Marc Michael Epstein, *The Medieval Haggadah* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press 2011) 223-5; Katrin Kogman-Appel, *Illuminated Haggadot from Medieval Spain* (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press 2006) 91, 227.

The archive holds handwritten and typescript versions of a *piyyut* (liturgical poem) from this British Library manuscript, MS BL Or. 1404, which has not been published elsewhere in Hebrew, or in Loewe's translation into English. These are just some examples of how Raphael Loewe contributed to the body of knowledge about medieval Jewish culture.

Also central to Raphael Loewe's personal archive are the many poems he wrote in Hebrew, Latin or Greek, in some cases with verse translations in other languages, occasionally reflecting a theological awareness that owes much to the medieval Hebrew poet with whom he felt most affinity, Solomon Ibn Gabirol. He once said of a poem he wrote for recital at the end of Yom Kippur that 'I felt Ibn Gabirol leaning over my shoulder as I wrote'. Manuscripts of many of these poems are preserved in the archive, as well as versions of those published in 2010 in his *Hebrew Poems and Translations*, an edition funded through his former student Dr Jacob Haberman.

The archive contains many other unpublished documents that contribute to our understanding not only of the history of the Loewe family, but of the history of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Anglo-Jewish intellectual life. The wide range of the Loewes' interests, combined with the remarkable consistency of their viewpoints, offers us a unique panorama of Anglo-Jewish life and scholarship, sheds light on questions of Anglo-Jewish identity and the community's reaction to emerging challenges and political movements in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It also offers a personal account of their involvement in these issues, connecting the personal with the collective and political in a way that will be of use to present and future historians.

The authors of this piece hope that making this rich collection of sources available, made possible by the Loewe family's generosity, will enable further research to be undertaken, as well as opening to the general public, by means of the digital version of the Exhibition, a view of Anglo-Jewish life that has few parallels, if any. This endeavour aims to ensure the preservation and dissemination of the collection, and in this way to continue the Library's effort to preserve and ensure the availability of scholarly material in the field of Jewish Studies in general and of Anglo-Jewish scholarship in particular.

For more information see:

<http://www.ochjs.ac.uk/library>

MENASSEH BEN ISRAEL

César Merchán-Hamann

As Menasseh ben Israel lay dying in Middelburg in the Netherlands at the home of his brother-in-law Ephraim Abravanel in 1657, he may well have felt that he had not achieved much. On the face of it, his plans for the readmission of the Jews into England had indeed not succeeded; a 'decided failure', as Jonathan Israel has put it.¹ He had lost his two sons in recent years: his son Joseph died in 1650 during a business trip to Poland, while the other, Samuel, died in London on 10 September 1657. Menasseh had just returned to the Netherlands to bury him. His business enterprises had suffered heavy financial losses and were teetering on the brink of bankruptcy, and his plans to recover money that he had invested from Queen Christina of Sweden had also come to naught.

After his death in Middelburg on 20 November 1657, his body was buried in the Oudekerk Cemetery of Amsterdam. So ended the life of a scholar, teacher, rabbi, publisher, businessman and community leader, who was arguably the best-known Jew among scholarly circles in Northern Europe in the seventeenth century.

This article aims to review his multiple activities as reflected in the rich holdings of the Leopold Muller Memorial Library, specifically in the Foyle-Montefiore and Copenhagen collections, as well as in the long-term loans from the Lewis Family Interests and in other, minor collections. The Copenhagen

¹ Jonathan I. Israel, 'The Dutch Sephardic Colonization Movement', in Yosef Kaplan *et al.* (eds) *Menasseh ben Israel and His World* (Leiden: Brill, 1989) 162.



Collection, with its concentration on Dutch-Jewish materials, including seventeenth-century Amsterdam Hebrew publications as well as the works of Christian Hebraists, is particularly rich, while the Foyle-Montefiore Collection, which contains the library of Leopold Zunz and thus accurately reflects the scholarly interests of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, illuminates the reception of Early Modern scholarship by its successors in the nineteenth century.

It will also shed light on the extraordinary journey of the Marranos, the Crypto-Jews of the Iberian Peninsula, in the seventeenth century from their native lands to the United Provinces of the Netherlands, and from a unique type of Roman Catholic Christianity to a form of Judaism which would eventually be open to the coming Messianic movement around Sabbathai Zevi. They quickly found a place in the flourishing economy of the United Provinces and established a series of communal institutions, including an educational system without equal among Jewish communities of the time. All this while remaining immersed in their native Iberian culture, speaking Portuguese and Spanish, continuing to write and publish in both languages and simultaneously participating in the high European culture of the time as physicians, theologians and philosophers, on a par with their Christian colleagues, or, at least, so it would seem. In this they would appear to have been the first acculturated, modern Jews in Northern Europe. This new identity is exemplified by Menasseh ben Israel, which is why this article is devoted to him.

Background

Menasseh ben Israel was born Manoel Diaz Soeiro, probably in the island of Madeira in 1604. Madeira was part of the Kingdom of Portugal, although this was ruled by the King of Spain from 1580 to 1640, and Portugal integrated with the other peninsular kingdoms, so that many Portuguese gentry, merchants and scholars settled in the rest of the Iberian peninsula as well as in other possessions of the King, such as the Kingdom of Naples and the Two Sicilies, and in the Low Countries, particularly Antwerp. A high proportion of these émigrés seem to have been New Christians, the descendants of Jews forcibly converted to Christianity, and of these a significant proportion may have been Crypto-



Rembrandt's etching of Menasseh ben Israel.

Jews, so-called Marranos. The reason for their emigration would not simply have been the search for economic and social advancement, but also to escape the attentions of the Inquisition and return to the faith of their ancestors. Their universe encompassed a considerable part of the then known world, large areas of which were under Spanish/Portuguese control. They had trading links with these parts of the world, and often family ties as well.

Menasseh's parents were Gaspar Rodrigues Nuñez (Joseph ben Israel) and Antonia Soeiro, supposedly a descendant of Don Isaac Abravanel. His father had been a prisoner of the Inquisition in Lisboa, together with his first wife who had gone insane after her detention. Having rebuilt his life, he managed to reach the French port of La Rochelle, whence the family reached Amsterdam, following the route taken by many Crypto-Jews.

Menasseh made full use of the educational facilities set up by the community, which had been in existence since at least 1601, and had finally been granted the freedom to worship in 1615 by the States General. The school set up by the community was structured according to a novel and rationally designed curriculum, which had levels through which the students had to progress, and which mixed secular subjects with more traditional Jewish topics of study. The curriculum included mathematics, history, geography and modern languages.

He was not unique in enjoying this, as pointed out by Lionel Iffrah: 'Menasseh [...] belonged [...] to a brilliant constellation of young Jews of the "second generation", [...] some of whom went on to distinguish themselves for their intellectual breadth and their communal engagement'. He mentions Isaac Athias, David Pardo, Isaac Aboab da Fonseca, Benjamin Mussafia, Jacob Juda de León (called Templo), David Cohen de Lara and Abraham Farrar, but their names are nowadays mostly unknown to the uninitiated.² The system initiated into Judaism a generation that had only the faintest idea of the tenets of their new faith, while allowing them to create a new identity for themselves.

Menasseh's biographer Cecil Roth has pointed out that 'his knowledge of languages was phenomenal. [...] Portuguese was his native tongue, and that in which he was most eloquent. The more polished Spanish was the alternative

2 Lionel Iffrah, *L'aigle d'Amsterdam: Menasseh ben Israël (1604-1657)* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2001) 44.

vernacular, and the literary medium, of the Amsterdam community. A majority of Menasseh's books were written in that language, and he frequently made use of it even in his letters to non-Jewish savants. [...] Contemporaries, accustomed only to the intellectual standards of the less cultured Jews of Germany, were amazed at Menasseh's command of [Latin], whether for purposes of conversation or composition.'³

Menasseh ben Israel introduced António de Montezinos in *Esperança de Israel* (Hope of Israel) as 'Portuguese in nation, and a Jew in religion', as cited by Lionel Iffrah,⁴ or, as translated by Moses Wall, 'a Portuguese and a Jew of our order'.⁵ This is how members of the newly born community saw themselves – they had become so integral to the economic life of the United Provinces, and would participate in the intellectual and social life to such an extent, that one could call them the first 'modern' Jews.

Menasseh would later describe himself in the dedication of the second part of his *Conciliador* (Conciliator) (1641), as a 'Portuguese of Dutch culture'.⁶ More precisely, as Méchoulán and Nahon phrase it, 'he described himself as "Portuguese by birth but Batavian in spirit" meaning to express, at the same time, his origins and his loyalty to his adoptive country, which gave him both security and tolerance'.⁷ The actual wording in Spanish reads: *siendo yo Lusitano con animo Bataveo*.⁸

It was thanks to the education he received from the likes of Saul Levi Morteira and Isaac Uziel that Menasseh would be well-equipped to play the roles he chose in adult years – an educator helping to bring up the young and lead adult coreligionists back to Judaism; a publisher helping to enlighten his people; a theologian deep in the struggle against scepticism and atheism; a pioneer of Jewish-Christian dialogue; a diplomat seeking to help his people; and a philosopher addressing himself to the learned Christian world.

3 Cecil Roth, *A Life of Menasseh ben Israel: Rabbi, Printer and Diplomat* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1945) 41-2.

4 Iffrah, *L'aigle d'Amsterdam*, p. 112.

5 Henry Méchoulán and Gérard Nahon (eds) *Menasseh ben Israel: The Hope of Israel: The English Translation by Moses Wall, 1652* (Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1987) 124.

6 As cited in Iffrah, *L'aigle d'Amsterdam*, p. 33.

7 Méchoulán and Nahon (eds) *Menasseh ben Israel*, p. 24.

8 Menasseh ben Israel, *Segunda parte del Conciliador* (Amsterdam: Nicolaus de Ravesteyn, 5041 [sic] unpaginated 'Epistola dedicatoria').

Educator and Publisher

Menasseh ben Israel succeeded Rabbi Isaac Uziel of the *Neveh Shalom* community on his teacher's death in 1622. He married Rachel Abravanel, reputedly a descendant of Don Isaac Abravanel. They had three children, Gracia, Joseph and Samuel. His first work, a Hebrew grammar entitled *Safa Berurah* (Clear Tongue) was redacted when he was merely seventeen. He also taught in the community school and was head of the *Neveh Shalom* community until 1639, when the three Jewish congregations merged to form the unified community *Talmud Tora*, which he served as the third rabbi, under Saul Levi Morteira and Isaac Aboab. His impetuosity was probably a hindrance to his advancement. In 1642 he was promoted to second rabbi of the community, and hence of the rabbinical court, as well as head of the community school.

Menasseh also devoted himself to rendering Judaism and its daily practices accessible to the newly arrived Crypto-Jews. For that purpose he wrote and published a manual of practice in Portuguese, the everyday language of the

majority. As Cecil Roth observed, 'the compendium, which was written in Portuguese (for this, rather than Spanish, was the native language of the majority of the community), was entitled *Thesouro dos Dinim* [Treasury of the Commandments]'.⁹

He also made available to them translations of the Bible and the prayer-book, but into Spanish rather than Portuguese, because, as Méchoulan and Nahon observe, 'Spanish [...] was almost always preferred for sacred or secular literature'.¹⁰ Thus he eased the path to Judaism for those adults with little or no command of Hebrew.

⁹ Roth, *Life of Menasseh ben Israel*, p. 100-1.

¹⁰ Méchoulan and Nahon (eds) *Menasseh ben Israel*, p. 14.



Left: *Thesouro dos dinim* (Treasury of the Commandments) (Amsterdam 1645).

Right: Spanish Pentateuch (Amsterdam 1655).

Sefer Nishmat Hayyim (Amsterdam 1642).

Conversely, he tried to make contemporary scientific knowledge available to the general Jewish public, and in 1629 published in Hebrew his friend Joseph Solomon Delmedigo's *Sefer Elim*. Delmedigo, who had been born in Candia (Crete) in 1591 and studied medicine in Padua, travelled through Europe, staying for a time in Amsterdam, where he became Menasseh's friend. According to Roth, he 'was one of the most remarkable characters and scholars of his day'.¹¹ Through his book Menasseh put Jews who could read only Hebrew in touch with technological advances.

In order to achieve this he founded a printing house, had Hebrew type cast, and was also a bookseller. As Méchoulan and Nahon noted, 'in 1627 [he] published the first Hebrew book in Amsterdam. His presses operated until 1656, under Menasseh's own direction until 1643 when his sons Joseph and Samuel took over the running of the enterprise'.¹² The press, as Ifrah remarks, 'marked the start-point of an intense activity which made Amsterdam, from the end of the 17th- to the end of the 19th century, the capital of the Jewish book. Our rabbi-printer edited over sixty works in Hebrew, but also in Latin, Spanish, Portuguese, English and even Judeo-German'.¹³ The printing house had as its device a pilgrim.

He also helped prepare for publication the text of the Hebrew Bible, for the use of Christian

Hebraists, published by more than one Christian publisher, viz. Hendrik Laurentz and Johannes Janszoon. Thus he cultivated contacts with Christian scholars, as we will see below, which would lead to his wide recognition.

Philosopher and Theologian

It was as a scholar that he came to be best-known in the Christian world. Cecil Roth notes that 'his intellectual attainments were very considerable; though they were wide rather than profound. He was by no means a great rabbinical scholar (it is somewhat curious that not a single *Responsum* by him is extant)'.¹⁴ His status as an original thinker is not the point, however; what made him renowned was his ability to bring traditional Jewish knowledge into debates raging in his day, starting with the spread of scepticism about the truth of the biblical accounts.

These debates were occurring within his community and the Jewish world also. As Yosef Kaplan has observed, 'The "New Christians" who reached the safe haven of Amsterdam and were caught up in the ferment of the intellectual world that characterized the Dutch province of the new Republic, were not all of one mind'.¹⁵

He put together a compendium of explanations for apparent contradictions in the biblical text, and published the first part in Spanish and in Latin in 1632 under the title *Conciliador/Conciliator*. As Roth has it, 'it was from this date



▲ **Conciliator.**
First part (Amsterdam 1633).

11 Roth, *Life of Menasseh ben Israel*, p. 132.

12 Méchoulan and Nahon (eds) *Menasseh ben Israel*, p. 28.

13 Ifrah, *L'aigle d'Amsterdam*, p. 55.

14 Roth, *Life of Menasseh ben Israel*, p. 40.

15 Yosef Kaplan, 'The Intellectual Ferment in the Spanish-Portuguese Community of Seventeenth Century Amsterdam', in Haim Beinart (ed.) *Moshet Sephard: The Sephardi Legacy* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1992) 272-90.



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1 Illustration to *Sefer Elim*.

2 Menasseh ben Israel's printer's device.

3 Torah (Amsterdam 1636).

that Menasseh ben Israel began to represent Jewish scholarship to the outside world, and that he began his career as the official exponent of Judaism to the Gentiles'.¹⁶ He went on to publish three more parts, bringing him into contact with some of the great scholars of his day who would write prefatory poems to his works and with whom he would correspond for the rest of his life. As Ifrah has it, 'the originality of the *Conciliador* consisted in collecting in a single work, explanations until then dispersed, bringing to light the convergence of spirits from very different epochs, countries and cultures'.¹⁷

He would continue to publish works addressing questions of great import to the intellectual life of the time from the Jewish point of view, but also bringing in the opinions of Greek and Roman philosophers, as well as those of the Fathers of the Church. He first dealt with the subject of creation, which had been denied by Aristotle, a position which found adherents at the time. He published *De Creatione Problemata XXX* (Thirty Problems on the Creation) in 1635. As Roth puts it, 'it [was] the first work of the sort written in modern times by a Jew primarily for the information of the outside world'.¹⁸

De Creatione Problemata XXX contains a poem dedicated to Menasseh by the Christian scholar Caspar Barlaeus (van Baerle) which, as Méchoulán and Nahon maintain, 'expresses the feelings of mutual respect between Christians and Jews, as translated by Richenda George: 'Even though your religion differs from mine / We live as friends to serve God. / May your wisdom and mine / Be valued everywhere according to their worth! / Such, Menasseh, is the object of my friendship. / Believe me, it is very straightforward. / As long as I live, I will remain a Christian, / and you live for ever as a Jew''.¹⁹

In the same volume Jona Abravanel dedicates a poem in Spanish to Menasseh, in which the respect in which scholars hold his works is underlined, at the end of which he is compared to Plato and Cicero, a comparison less to be expected from a coreligionist than from a Christian scholar: 'In sum, he [God] has given you / Plato's pen / And Tully's eloquence':

¹⁶ Roth, *Life of Menasseh ben Israel*, pp. 90-1.

¹⁷ Ifrah, *L'aigle d'Amsterdam*, p. 79.

¹⁸ Roth, *Life of Menasseh ben Israel*, p. 91.

¹⁹ Méchoulán and Nahon (eds) *Menasseh ben Israel: The Hope of Israel*, p. 31.



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1 *De Creatione Problemata XXX* (Amsterdam 1635).

2 *De Resurrectione Mortuorum* (Amsterdam 1636).

3 *De Termino Vitae* (Amsterdam 1639).

4 *De Fragilitate Humana* (Amsterdam 1642).

*Y si el claro entendimiento / Es una luz soberana / Del tuyo admirable emana / Luzes del eterno aciento / del orbe y su criacion / Pintas con admiracion / De los doctos y letrados Que a tus problemas sagrados / Tienen en veneracion. // El soberano reparte / Sus gracias por los mortales / Y aun que no pates y iguales / Quada qual tiene su parte / unos gozan ingenio y arte / otros de ejacta sciencia / A Apolo hacen competencia / Pero a ti te ha dado en suma / De Platon divina pluma / Y de Tulio la elocuencia.*²⁰

Menasseh dealt also with the problem of the resurrection in *De Resurrectione Mortuorum Libri III / De la Resurrección de los muertos* (On the Resurrection of the Dead), published in 1636. It is almost certain that Menasseh composed this in response to Uriel da Costa's doubts about resurrection.²¹ As quoted by Rivka Schatz, Menasseh in the introduction states that 'the most important teachers of Judaism wrote their most scholarly works in a "foreign language" (*lingua vulgar*)' and he proceeds to cite Maimonides, Philo and Judah Abravanel.²² Perhaps he felt he had to justify the fact that he was not writing in Hebrew, and was conscious that he was addressing his works primarily to Gentiles.

By writing in Latin, Menasseh ben Israel was in fact entering the polemics of his day and addressing himself mainly to a Christian audience, as Méchoulán and Nahon note. This is particularly evident in *De Termino Vitae* published in 1639,²³ in response to the question raised by a doctor, Beverovicus, about whether the duration of human life was divinely ordained. This engagement with the Christian world became even more evident in his next work, *De Fragilitate humana / De la fragilidad humana* (On Human Frailty), published in 1642, where he addressed the question of man's propensity to sin, and directly refuted the Calvinist notion of predestination.

As Rivka Schatz has rightly observed, 'Menasseh was the first Jewish thinker, who, besides his concern for a Jewish revival, was deeply interested in partaking in a dialogue with the Protestant world he was living in.'²⁴ By the 1640s he was

20 Menasseh ben Israel, *De Creatione Problemata XXX* (Amsterdam, 1635) unpaginated introductory leaves.

21 Ifrah, *L'áigle d'Amsterdam*, p. 77.

22 Rivka Schatz, 'Menasseh ben Israel's Approach to Messianism in the Jewish-Christian Context', in Kaplan *et al.* (eds) *Menasseh ben Israel and His World*, p. 246.

23 Méchoulán and Nahon (eds) *Menasseh ben Israel: The Hope of Israel*, p. 34.

24 Rivka Schatz, 'Menasseh ben Israel's Approach to Messianism in the Jewish-Christian Context', in Kaplan *et al.* (eds) *Menasseh ben Israel and His World*, p. 245.

in personal or epistolary dialogue with some of the greatest Christian thinkers of the time, who would mention and cite him respectfully. The name of Hugo Grotius is probably the best known in a phalanx of associates.

His membership in the republic of letters was not without problems and conflicts. Méchoulán and Nahon observe his caution and skill in adapting his language to that of his interlocutors, while never losing sight of his objectives – 'courteous, intelligent, open, [...] a skilful negotiator, he knew how to win sympathy [...]. He also knew when to keep quiet and use cunning.'²⁵ As they and others have observed, Menasseh was one of the pioneers of 'Jewish-Christian dialogue'.

Méchoulán and Nahon must be right in summarizing the opinion of Roth and others that he was not an original, deep, innovative or comprehensive thinker; and his views were clearly concerned with maintaining the rabbinic world view. Yet, 'he did, by his wide learning not confined merely to a knowledge of Jewish writers, and by his lively expectation of happiness and universal justice, force the Christian world to recognize that a Jewish thinker might also be a good man'.²⁶

It is interesting to note the conjecture of Méchoulán and Nahon that Menasseh's openness towards the Christian world may have influenced the young Spinoza.²⁷ Whether or not this is the case, Spinoza could have viewed him as an example of a Jewish scholar capable of arguing on a par with his Christian contemporaries. It is also true that Menasseh addressed one of his philosophical works to a Jewish intellectual audience. *Nishmat Hayyim* (Breath of Life), published in Amsterdam in 1652, shows a different side of Menasseh. Dealing as it does with the existence of the soul, it permits us to glimpse his messianic beliefs, while being, as Yosef Dan has put it, 'our most important source for Menasseh's attitude towards Jewish mysticism'.²⁸

Following pages: Joseph Delmedigo's *Sefer Elim* (Amsterdam 1629). ►

25 Méchoulán and Nahon (eds) *Menasseh ben Israel: The Hope of Israel*, p. 25.

26 *Ibid.* 26.

27 *Ibid.* 38.

28 Joseph Dan, 'Menasseh ben Israel: Attitude towards the Zohar and Lurianic Kabbalah', in Kaplan *et al.* (eds) *Menasseh ben Israel and His World*, p. 199.

הקדמת המחבר

אהוז כחבלי הכלי יושבי הרל בין שיחים נוהק ונואה תחת הרול סופח ולתענוגי בני האדם לא לבי הלך יכרה כעבי ירמח וכנשר ידאה ואני בתוך הגולה אויה לי כי גרתי מסך שכנתי עם אהלי קרד בקצה ארץ ליוניא ארץ נרה ירכתי צפון הרחק מאר מארס העיר אשכנז לוחטים השכרתי קדרתי רוח לכב ונכאה כושל ברכים נעקש דרכים שרד כצהרים בין תנור וכירים מתחמם ועל כנף שקוצים מסומם כעצל טומן ירו כצלחת ולהשיכה אל פיהו גלאה ילדי הזמן סכבוני נטיש חרצות ירקוני ירקעני וירעצו וירוצצו שעיפי ועמורי שמי רעיוני ירופפו נמו שנרם פקו פליליה שנו כרואה נכהל לתמורות הימים כתנים כימים מתחולל באימים וכולם שקמים מלקט אורות לוחך עפרות מדרף בלי חשך ממזרות כרוב לשמש מיחל על ררך אשור אם אראה אור כי יהל מחריש משחאת ואשא עיני ואראה והנה שמים מגלות ועל ראשן גלות כמראה זוהר בעין חשמשלות בקנה אחר עולות כסופח וכסערה רכין ודרך לחזיו קולות ספירים מעולפות וכרוח אלים מרחפות על פני רפירתן זכב הן וכבוד רצופות כפתחי עמרת מרעיר ואשתומם על המראה כי אלים ראיתי עולים אור גרול כמושכותי כנות מלכים ביקרתי הכתולות היפות ולהנה כנפים כננפי החסירה ככני רשף ינכחו עוף כצפורים עפות והנה מלוכשות בגדים המחלצות והמעשפות ועשישותם תחל אור הלך ושפוף תלכנה וכרגליהם תעכסנה בתוך עלמות תופפות וכפיהן כארבע רוחות השמים פרושות אכני נור מתנססור עש כמיל וכינה מכסות אצות רצות ולא חשות חור וחרר לכושות ואשמע את קול כנפיהם כקול מים רבים כלהט החרב המתהפכת והכרובים פלצות בעתתני לא ירעתי נפשי שמתני שמה הת החוקרני וחלתי ואירא תסמר שערתי בשרי כעין הקרח הנורא וממורים קרה והנחת זרועותיהם התרתי התירה ואפול על פני ואחכא בחנוי הסלע נאלמתי רומיה וחחי עלי סתיה והנה עגלה שלישיה תעור קשתך עריה ותאמר הך הכפתור וירעשו הספים והיתה כאזני כמחש כבשר החי וכפצצירת פים מעוררת רעיוני הנרפים והגיוני לבי העטופים ולא שוח לי עד כי כרשת המליצה נלכדה רגלי כמו דועה אוילי כי בין שורותם יצהירו ממזרח יאירו יעירוני ויעוררוני באהבה ואחות שלום רודים הריוני ושבכי אשם שאכופי שבוני שאפוני והענינים אשר הפחוני המה חרהיכני והנה תסוכנה אלומותיהם ויתרחחוונה השכעתי ארנכם בנות ירושלים תור ויונה הנה ופגניה מה תבקשנה מי אלה כעך תעופנה אשר כאחו תרענה וברכורים תעשנה

ותאמרנה איש משרי אשר מראה עירא היארי שלחנו אליך למשש ולראות את כל בית כלך ואת כל אשר נמצא באוצרות היבליך יחי שלום בחילך ותכהין עיני מראות כמראות הצוכאות ונפשי יצאה ברכים עמי ואחי משמים בתוכם אשכל הכפר הנתון אמרי שפר למי שיג ושיח ירוע אף יצרות למי נשמת חיים יפיה הלבתיים תעשה פלא חרוין עלי שיש חרפר תחת הנעצוק יעלה כרוש התהרה חסרפ והאנכי איש שחור רמה גווש עפר דקמתי בתחרות ארץ והזמן פרץ עלי פרץ ונפשי שכונה בעלית קיר קטנה וכיצע התחרונה והתנודדה כמלונה ואיך תשאני על כנפי נשרים ותביאני אל הר קרדך אל הר המור נבעת הלכונה אכן מאסו הכונים היתה לראש פנה איך נפלה משמים הללי כן שחר כי תכלול עלי מכלולים כרבר אחר הנבלים ולכלי דעת תכביד מילין ועל עיר קטנה בנית מעורים גדולים וכחרישם ברניות ומגדלים וסלעים מוחסה לשפנים שמת כחריש הנבוחים ליעלים הכרע הכרעתי חלעג ואין מכלים מעשה כוכסים מעשה שועלים אמרתי להוללים אל תהולו סלו לרופכ בערכות כי תהולו ויך עגרו ראשי הפעם וכלגני אישי רכקח לעפר נפשי וחשירים השלוחים אלי הרימו עטרתך



Ex pictura W.C. Duxster; W. Delff. sculpsit.

Most scholars agree with Rivka Schatz's description of Menasseh's theological position as 'liberal'. 'He emphasized the principles of free will, of personal accountability, and of the possibility of redressing human sin by human deeds; however he admitted original sin, whilst repudiating the dogma of divine grace and compassion.'²⁹ This is not to say that modern day readers would find all his opinions unobjectionable. Like many other Crypto-Jews, his mental world shared several of the less agreeable features of Iberian thought. Menasseh was not averse to discriminating against those suspected of the taint of not having 'pure blood', an internalization of the Spanish concept of *pureza de sangre*, 'purity of blood', as established by Yosef Kaplan in his study.³⁰

Apologist and Diplomat

It is clear that Menasseh used his international reputation to try and alleviate the conditions of the rest of the 'Portuguese nation'. He had been involved in business with the northeast area of Brazil which had been taken for a time by the Dutch, and its recapture by the Portuguese affected him directly. In the 1650s it was becoming clear that the social and economic crisis in the Jewish world needed a radical remedy.

It was as part of an effort to solve these problems, united with a deep messianic conviction, that Menasseh published *Spes Israelis / Esperança de Israel / The Hope of Israel* in Amsterdam in 1650, the English translation by Moses Wall appearing in London in 1652. The work, which recounted the tale of a certain Antonio Montezinos, a Crypto-Jew who claimed to have found the Lost Tribes of Israel in then New Granada (present-day Colombia), tapped into the messianic and millenarian ferment of the time in the British Isles, and argued that only with the presence of Jews in all corners of the earth could redemption take place. The work was reprinted several times.

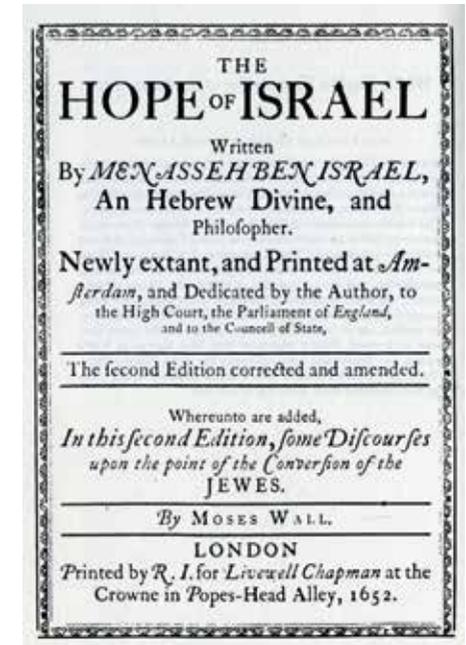
The Hope of Israel may have been composed in response to enquiries from his Christian friends as to the reliability of Montezinos's account, Méchoulan

²⁹ Rivka Schatz, 'Menasseh ben Israel's Approach to Messianism in the Jewish-Christian Context', in Kaplan *et al.* (eds) *Menasseh ben Israel and His World*, p. 247.

³⁰ Yosef Kaplan, 'The Portuguese Jews of Amsterdam', in Yosef Kaplan *et al.* (eds) *Menasseh ben Israel and His World*, pp. 45-62, *passim*.



▲
Spe Israelis (Basle 1661).



▲
The Hope of Israel (London 1652).

and Nahon maintain.³¹ But it is also clear that the work was directed not only at Gentiles, or simply designed to harness Christian messianic hopes to the cause of readmitting Jews to settle lands where their presence had been hitherto forbidden. Méchoulan and Nahon point out the messianic redemptive charge with which the term *Hope (Esperança)* was imbued for Crypto-Jews and their persecutors in the Iberian Peninsula.³² The fact that these convictions were shared with Christians, making their use seem now merely politically expedient, does not gainsay the sincerity and depth with which they were held.

It is to his credit that, as Méchoulan summarizes it: 'without concessions, and without acrimony, Menasseh ben Israel knew how to answer the questions of the

³¹ Méchoulan and Nahon (eds) *Menasseh ben Israel: The Hope of Israel*, p. 64.

³² *Ibid.* 66.

non-Jewish world, to inform it of the theological and political status conferred on it by Scripture, to share with it the expectation of the Messiah – without ever confounding its hopes with those of the Jews'.³³ One can go further and state that he could address the same message to two very different constituencies, and reach them both with equal effectiveness and without compromising his standards.

In September 1655 Menasseh ben Israel left Amsterdam with his son Samuel for London. His mission was to petition Oliver Cromwell to allow the resettlement of the Jews in the British Isles. The Conference of Whitehall, which met in December 1655, occasioned virulently hostile reactions to the Jews, causing him to compose a purely apologetic work, the *Vindiciae Judaearum* (Vindication of the Jews).³⁴ This spirited defence of Judaism and the Jews became immediately popular and has been frequently reprinted.

As mentioned above, Menasseh's mission would seem to have failed completely, so that at the end of his life he may have felt his efforts had been in vain. But the result was a triumph. The fact that Jews were allowed to reside in England de facto, and that there was no Cromwellian charter which might have been repealed with the Restoration, meant that Jewish settlement in the British Isles became a reality which would soon be judicially guaranteed, although it would take two centuries to achieve civil equality.

It is true that after the seventeenth century his stature seemed diminished. It may be that in the generation after Menasseh, with the growth of stability and the hardening of boundaries, 'there is no longer a place for an intermediate personality like Menasseh', as Michael Heyd maintains.³⁵ The slow decline of interest in his figure was partially reversed only in the first half of the twentieth century; and, after decades of oblivion, as Henry Méchoulan notes in his appreciation of Menasseh ben Israel's significance, 'from the 1980s however, this picture changed with the devotion of articles, papers and conferences to his [Menasseh ben Israel's] life and work, especially to his part in the history of European Judaism and the theology of his age'.³⁶

³³ Henry Méchoulan, 'Menasseh and the World of the Non-Jew', in Kaplan *et al.* (eds) *Menasseh ben Israel and His World*, p. 97.

³⁴ Ifrah, *L'áigle d'Amsterdam*, p. 86.

³⁵ Michael Heyd, 'Summary Comments', in Kaplan *et al.* (eds) *Menasseh ben Israel and His World*, p. 266.

³⁶ Henry Méchoulan, 'Menasseh ben Israel', in Haim Beinart (ed.) *Moreshet Sepharad: The Sephardi Legacy*, p. 315.

Roth is clearly right to conclude that 'no Jewish authority in Europe [...] had ever represented Hebrew learning to the outside world to anything like the same extent',³⁷ as are Méchoulan and Nahon to assert that, together with Spinoza, the figure of Menasseh ben Israel, so well captured by Rembrandt, is the most notable to have issued from the Jewish community of Amsterdam.³⁸

This article could not have been written without the riches of the collections at the Leopold Muller Memorial Library, which illustrate the activities of its subject better than anything else could. For these the author is grateful to the Foyle Foundation and to the Lewis Family interests.

³⁷ Roth, *Life of Menasseh ben Israel*, p. 65.

³⁸ Méchoulan and Nahon (eds) *Menasseh ben Israel: The Hope of Israel*, p. 26.



COINS FROM GALILEE: THE EVIDENCE OF COIN FINDS AS A TOOL FOR HISTORICAL RECONSTRUCTION¹

Danny Syon

The original stimulus for my doctoral dissertation came when I started working on the identification of coins from the Gamla excavations in 1987, in the Golan Heights: I was baffled by the huge number of Tyrian coins found at the site. It had previously been noted that Galilee was somehow in the economic sphere of the city of Tyre, but the conclusions drawn by researchers trying to reconstruct social and economic realities in ancient Galilee were often clearly wrong. In the course of my work with the Israel Antiquities Authority, studying coins from excavations in Galilee, the question of the circulation of coins in Galilee took on a new dimension, prompting me to extend the question to the whole of Galilee and Golan.

Once I started arranging the coin-distribution data on maps, patterns emerged that I had not anticipated, concerning especially the Jewish settlement in Galilee from the Hasmonean period onward, with its dramatic impact on coin circulation.

¹ Dr Danny Syon of the Israel Antiquities Authority stayed at the Centre as a Kennedy Leigh Fellow from 14 May to 14 August 2012.

The main difference between this study and other coin-distribution and coin-circulation studies is that while most of them focus on economy and trade patterns, this one is influenced by the current trend towards studying the 'archaeology of difference'. Being both a field archaeologist and something of a historian, I integrate archaeological and textual data with coin-distribution patterns to relate to the problems in considering the ethnic make-up, boundaries and settlement dynamics of ancient Galilee.

Why Galilee?

The fact that I live and work in Galilee has not blinded me to the fact that the region has received religious and scholarly attention far disproportionate to its size, because it is the stage for the ministry of Jesus and the centre for post-135 CE Judaism. The number of works offering reconstructions of daily life, social and economic conditions, state affairs, culture, language and ties with Jerusalem in first-century and later Galilee is simply bewildering. For these reconstructions all scholars rely on the same range of textual and archaeological evidence. Because the evidence is rather meagre, it is often supplemented with anachronistic and completely irrelevant data, leading to diametrically opposed conclusions. Coin finds have been widely used in this discussion and often grossly misinterpreted, so I hope that evidence from the many sites in this study will provide support for a hopefully more sensible reconstruction of life in Roman Galilee. In my study I focus also on the Hasmonean period, with some rather interesting insights. The modern Golan Heights are included because for parts of the period discussed here it formed culturally part of Galilee.

Jewish Galilee and Golan

In recent years, researchers have used a large number of archaeological objects to define differences in the use, appearance and implementation of things used or done by both Jews and non-Jews (especially Phoenicians) in antiquity. These include mainly pottery, lamps and burial customs. There are also aspects of material culture and history that are unique to Jews and cannot be compared to anything that non-Jews were doing at the time. The well-known archaeological examples are *miqva'ot*, or Jewish ritual baths, and soft-limestone vessels. Less prominent in scholarship are ossuaries and the hiding complexes

in Galilean villages. From rabbinic sources we have the supposed Galilean (re) location sites of the twenty-four priestly courses who served in Jerusalem, and the homes of various sages mentioned in connection with Galilee. Important surveys conducted in various parts of Galilee and Golan have added much information on settlement dynamics between the Hasmonean period and the Arab conquest and beyond. All the above however, include databases of between ten and sixty sites.

My study is based on data from 250 sites in Galilee and the Golan, mapping the distribution of small change through the Hellenistic and Roman periods (300 BCE–c. 270 CE). The *distribution* of coin finds is assumed to approximate well enough to the coin *circulation* in those periods and is used as an independent tool in evaluating historical processes in ancient Galilee.

From the first century BCE onward, I also to analyse the dynamics of the ethnic make up of the population in Galilee and its boundaries, supporting (and occasionally contradicting) other available archaeological and historical evidence, and in some cases supplying evidence not available from other sources.

The Interpretation of Coin Finds

Unlike other classes of archaeological artefacts, coins are not dumb relics of past societies. They carry an explicit message. But this does not make them any easier to interpret; rather the contrary. Apart from the more obvious economic facets, coins have political, cultural, social, aesthetic and even personal aspects.

The number of parameters to consider when evaluating why a coin is found where it is, and what can be learned from it, is very large. Unsurprisingly, there might be different ways to interpret the same data, so I also present the reasons why I choose to interpret them the way I do, and indicate what interpretations of the evidence are *not* possible. I use distribution patterns of small change—bronze coins only—as they are far better suited to this purpose than hoards of precious metal coins, which are selective and do not represent the majority of the population and the coins they used.

The Evidence

After presenting the history of research, the geographical boundaries of the

study and the methodology employed, each period can be identified more closely. The data was culled from published material, collections (mainly from kibbutzim) and studies in progress both by myself and by colleagues. The raw data was entered into a database, manipulated statistically, and fed into a geographic information system that made it possible to locate all sites accurately on a map, together with the related numismatic information. The results are presented for each period as a series of colour maps, with miniature pie charts for each site followed by a discussion of the pattern and conclusions. Seven sites outside Galilee are used as ‘controls’, to assess the value of the conclusions on a wider scale.

Period 1: The Ptolemaic period (300–200 BCE). Because of the difficulty in identifying the mint that produced many of the Ptolemaic coins, the conclusions are partial. The distribution pattern observed conforms largely to that expected in the closed monetary system of Egypt, with only Ptolemaic coins circulating. The most prolific mints are best represented (Alexandria and Tyre), with a natural diffusion of coins from other more remote mints (Sidon and ‘Akko-Ptolemais).

Period 2: The Seleucid period (200–125 BCE). In the early part of the period (200–162 BCE) the patterns show that the mint of ‘Akko-Ptolemais was the most prolific in terms of bronze coins, not only for Galilee, but for supplying coinage on administrative authority to most of Palestine, except in the area of Upper Galilee. There coins of Tyre are more abundant, indicating that this was in the economic orbit of this city. Following 162 BCE a dramatic change in the pattern is observed, which I propose to relate to vague textual evidence from the book of Maccabees suggesting administrative reorganizations of the Seleucid *paralia* district and its boundaries. At this time the mint of ‘Akko-Ptolemais reduced its output dramatically, turning in effect into a minor local mint, while the mint of Tyre became the major supplier of coinage in the region. Some anomalous clusters of Tyrian coins and finds of coins of Antiochus VII from the mint of Jerusalem are a possible indication of Jewish presence in Galilee before its annexation to the Hasmonean state.

Period 3: The Hasmonean period (125–63 BCE). The distribution of Hasmonean coins is seen to reflect the maximum extent of the Hasmonean state. The clearly delineated border of coin distribution is interpreted as an ethnic boundary, indicating on one hand state-controlled coin circulation, but also a

deliberate preference for Hasmonean coins by Jews and the avoidance of these by the Phoenician population in Western Galilee. At many sites with Hasmonean coins a dramatic change in pottery is observed also, showing the Hasmonean takeover of Galilee, included the displacement of the former population. A clustering of Sidonian coins in the northern Hula valley and near Paneas are interpreted as Iturean presence in contact with the Beqa'a valley in Lebanon, supporting evidence given by the pottery.

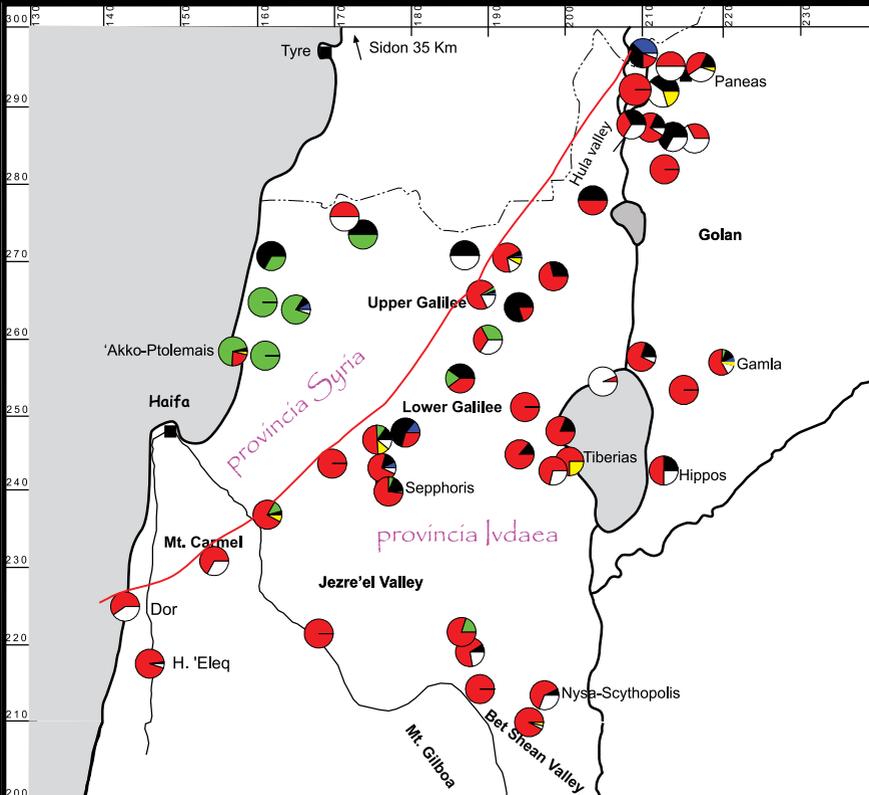
Period 4: The Early Roman period I (63 BCE–70 CE). The distribution of Jewish coins in this period (Herodian coins and those of the Roman governors) is still seen to reflect an ethnic boundary, following the reorganizations of Pompey and Gabinius (63–55 BCE) that fragmented the former Hasmonean state. This boundary eventually became the provincial boundary between Judaea and Syria. The non-figurative coins minted by Herod, and especially those of the Roman governors and King Agrippa I minted in Jerusalem for the population of Judaea, form the majority of coins in circulation in Galilee, which was for most of this time a tetrarchy governed by Antipas and not part of Judaea. This reinforces the conclusion that preference on an ethnic background played a part in coin circulation. The number of Tyrian coins circulating in Galilee also reaches its lowest. Practically all sites that show *miquva'ot*, soft-limestone vessels, hiding complexes and later synagogues, show 'Jewish' coins in this period.

Period 5: The Early Roman period II (70–138 CE). In this period 'Jewish' coins disappear entirely and, apart from the coins of various cities, there begin to appear coins from the mint of Rome. However, the cities of Sepphoris (until 117 CE) and Tiberias, still Jewish and run by (largely) Jewish councils, produce large quantities of coins. Though they have the portrait of the emperor on one side, the reverse shows designs not offensive to Jews. These coins circulate practically only in the areas inhabited by Jews, so I suggest that they were an effort of the cities to revitalize the economy following the Jewish War, and they replace the 'Jewish' coins of the preceding period.

Period 6: The Middle Roman period (138–260 CE). This period, following the Bar-Kokhba revolt in Judaea and the creation of the Province of Palestine instead of Judaea, is marked by a heterogeneous circulation of city coins, mostly local, but some from farther away, such as Caesarea, Bostra and other major cities. This shows the increased monetization of the economy and reflects mint output and local trade patterns. The coinage of Tyre again clearly predominates

all over Galilee and the Golan. The Jewish communities can no longer be seen through the coin distribution patterns, and we are left mainly with the evidence of the rabbinic sources for information on the homes of tannaitic sages, and the evidence of pottery and the later synagogues for the extent of Jewish settlement in Galilee and Golan. Interestingly, the distribution pattern of the coins of Rome is seen to be in the former 'Jewish' territories, and not in the Phoenician areas of Western Galilee and Northern Golan. This I propose to see as evidence of the increased presence of the Roman army specifically in Jewish areas for policing purposes, something that was not necessary in the Gentile areas.

Please see overleaf for a map showing the distribution of coins in period 4 and the provincial boundary.



- Sidon
- Tyre
- 'Akko-Ptolemais
- Jewish coins
- Other local coins
- Roman Imperial

▲
The distribution of coins in period 4 and the provincial boundary.

THE EUROPEAN SEMINAR ON ADVANCED JEWISH STUDIES

OLD YIDDISH: OLD TEXTS, NEW CONTEXTS

The European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies held in Oxford during the 2011-2012 academic year was concerned with Early Yiddish texts, and entitled ‘Old Yiddish: Old Texts, New Contexts’. It made use of the unique resources of the Bodleian Library, the most important collection anywhere of Early Yiddish manuscripts and printed texts. The work of the Seminar, the topics dealt with in its public sessions and its other weekly discussions are covered in reports by individual scholars elsewhere in this volume.

The Western Yiddish literary documents the participants worked on date mainly from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries. These texts lie at the core of the following essays, culminating in my own presentation of some of the basic tools of Yiddish book studies. Some of the essays introduce some genres this literature developed. That of Ingedore Rüdlin illustrates the various guises of the biblical Ruth in Early Yiddish literature, and Rebekka Voß the image of the ‘Red Jews’. Other contributors concentrate on one group or subgroup of texts, such as Diana Matut who focuses on songs, Chava Turniansky who discusses historical songs, and Oren Roman the genre of epic poetry based on biblical narrative. Still others analyse in depth a single text, such as Claudia Rosenzweig’s paper on Yiddish poetry from the Italian renaissance, or apply modern tools to a collection of texts, as does Wiebke Rasumny’s on the Yiddish folktale.

My own text presents a few philological tools applied to Early Yiddish printed books and manuscripts, illustrating the problems that must be faced by any scholar approaching the unrivalled riches of the Oppenheim Collection at the Bodleian Library.

Professor Simon Neuberg



Participants in the European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies (from left to right): Professor Erika Timm, Professor Simon Neuberg, (unknown, partly obscured), Professor Chava Turniansky, Professor Shlomo Berger, Professor Marion Aptroot

RUTH – SUCCESSFULLY INTEGRATING A STRANGER, AS DEPICTED IN OLD YIDDISH LITERATURE

Ingedore Rüdlin

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The story of Ruth describes how an immigrant woman finds her way to a new country and is accepted by its leadership. It forms one of the five *megillot*, ‘scrolls’, in the Hebrew Bible and is included in the synagogue liturgy for the festival of Shavuot.

The central protagonist is a Moabite woman, Ruth, who married an Israelite, Mahlon, son of Elimelech and Naomi, originally from Bethlehem in Judah. The family migrated to the land of Moab, a traditional enemy of Israel, to escape a famine at home, shortly after which Elimelech died, leaving his wife Naomi and their sons Mahlon and Chilion, both of whom then married Moabite women, named Ruth and Orpah. When the sons also died, Naomi was left with her two recently widowed daughters-in-law, whereupon, hearing that there was no longer a famine in Judah, she decided to return home. The daughters-in-law accompanied her to the border, where she urged them to return to their original families. Orpah did so, but Ruth insisted on accompanying her mother-in-law to Bethlehem. Once there, Ruth offered to glean in the fields to provide for

them both. By good fortune she began to work in the fields of Boaz, a relative of Naomi's, who took care to ensure that Ruth would gather enough for two people. Naomi suggested that Ruth go at night to Boaz's threshing floor, wait for him to go to sleep and then lay herself at his feet. She did so, and when Boaz awoke to find her there he promised to arrange for her needs, before sending her back to Naomi with as much grain as she could carry. Although the duties of rebuying Naomi's field and of Levirate marriage (the obligation to ensure that the widow of a relative is given a child to perpetuate her husband's name) actually fell on another closer member of the family, Boaz obtained this man's permission to perform them himself and marry Ruth. Ruth and Boaz later had a son, Obed, who, the text concludes by explaining, would become an ancestor of King David, underscoring the impact of the successful integration of this foreign woman into Judean society.

The scroll of Ruth is special in many ways. It is one of the rare books in the Hebrew Bible to be named after a woman, and most of its central characters are also women. The fact that it is written mainly in the form of dialogue may also have been designed to make it more suitable for females. Since one of the legal matters touched on in the work is the prohibition against marrying Moabite women, it may have been designed as a counter-argument to Ezra and Nehemiah's banning of marriages between Jews and foreigners. This would certainly explain why the book emphasizes the positive outcome of such a union.

As so often in the Hebrew Bible, certain events in the narrative are enigmatic, such as Elimelech's departure from Bethlehem (in Hebrew 'the house of bread') due to a famine, or Ruth's desire to accompany Naomi rather than return to her original family. Questions such as these are covered in midrashic literature, mainly *Ruth Rabbah* and *Ruth Zuta*, and also in the works of major medieval commentators such as Rashi and ibn Ezra.

It became customary during the Babylonian Exile to translate biblical portions read in synagogue into the vernacular, at that time Aramaic. Many translations survive in languages spoken by Jews at different times, including Old Yiddish, the language of Jews in central Europe, or 'Ashkenaz', for several centuries. The earliest versions were glosses explaining difficult Hebrew words in their order of appearance, designed as an aid to the *melamed*, 'teacher', who instructed Jewish children. Such glosses were meant as pedagogical tools, rather than to be read in their own right. Such translations might cover the

Torah alone, the Torah with *haftarot* (parallel prophetic readings) and *megillot* used in the synagogue, or even all twenty-four books of the Tanakh.

Bible translations in Old Yiddish fall into three major categories. First to appear were renditions so literal that they are hard to understand without knowing the original Hebrew, since words were translated from Hebrew into Yiddish without regard to Yiddish syntax. A good example of such a translation of Ruth appears in a manuscript from Venice held in the Oppenheim Collection at the Bodleian Library (Can. Or. 12, Neubauer no. 1217). This book was commissioned as a wedding present and contains a variety of texts, including customs, penitential prayers, seven stories from the *Maysebukh*, riddles, songs by Elye Bokher and also a translation of the five scrolls including Ruth. It is translated word-for-word from the Hebrew and is difficult to follow without knowing the plot of the biblical story.

Later came more literary translations of the complete Hebrew Bible, most prominently those by Blitz (Opp. Coll. 108) and Witzelhausen (Opp. Coll. 107), both printed around 1679 in Amsterdam. These are written in clear Yiddish and are simple to read, making them a convenient base for biblical translations later produced during the *haskalah*, Jewish Enlightenment.

Lastly one encounters translations of Torah, *haftarot* and *megillot* including more or less elaborate explications based on Midrash and rabbinic commentaries. The most prominent of these is *Tsene Urene*, written by Jacob ben Isaac Ashkenazi around 1600 in Poland, which amounts to a homiletic commentary interweaving translation with explanation. It became one of the bestselling works in Yiddish. The earliest known edition was printed 1622 in Hanau (Opp. Coll. 113), and is just one of nineteen held in the Bodleian Library, some of them differing from the first in content and style.

This third kind of Bible translation makes various attempts to adapt the representation of biblical customs so that they will be more familiar to their readers. The handling of Ruth's successful integration into Israelite society, for instance, provides insights into the status and perception of customs such as Levirate marriage during the early-modern period, as mentioned above.

One of these translations is the *Seyfer Mizmer Letoudo* written by David ben Menakhem Hakouen and published 1644 in Amsterdam (Opp. 4. 156) and again later in 1717 in Hanau (Opp. 4. 157). Its rhymed translation of parts of the Torah



▲
Woodcut depiction of Ruth gleaning in Boaz's field, from *Tsene Urene*, printed in Amsterdam, 1710.

and four of the scrolls is fairly short since it includes little midrashic or rabbinic elaboration, but it does explain that Ruth and Orpah converted to Judaism before marrying Naomi's sons, a rabbinic assumption¹ rarely mentioned in Old Yiddish Bible translations. After the death of Naomi's sons, Orpah returned to her foreign gods while Ruth persisted in her commitment to Naomi's religion and people. In the Hebrew she is not even described as a Moabite by Boaz's workers in the field, thereby showing her integration. The delicate scene in the threshing floor at the feet of Boaz emphasizes that Ruth is asking him to

¹ Zohar, Ruth 1:4 and 14; Midrash Ruth Zuta 47; Midrash Lekah Tov 48 and 49.

marry her, confirming the description of her as a devout, modest woman. Her conversion prior to her marriage to Mahlon ensures that she is easily integrated into Judean society.

A similar work is the *Targum shel Khamesh Megilles* written by Jacob ben Shmuel Koppelman and published in 1584 in Freiburg (Opp. 8. 535). Here the Yiddish translation of the rhymed story of Ruth is printed in black, but translations of some Aramaic words are printed in Hebrew - and once in Yiddish - above the line in red. These originate from the ancient Aramaic *Targum* to Ruth, and primarily address unfamiliar or difficult words in the Hebrew. As the title indicates, this is not an adaptation from the Hebrew, but from the *Targum*, making it already a translation and explication of the book. In this, for instance, Elimelech is constructed as a counterpart to Ruth, who is put to death since he refuses to share his wealth in hard times with the poor and leaves the country. Moab, where he and his family flee, is said to be impure. In order to explain his sons' choice of partners they are described as earls, while Ruth is said to be the daughter of King Eglon of Moab, ensuring that she is of similarly high status. Ruth and Orpah both treat their mother-in-law kindly, want to accompany her back to Judah, and are eager to adopt her religion. But when Naomi asks them to return, only Orpah obeys. There is a strong emphasis on Ruth wishing to become Jewish, which is assumed to explain why she chooses to accompany her mother-in-law. Ruth, a pious woman, was sent by God to the fields of Boaz who, as a righteous man, knows that, due to a change in the law, Moabite women may now be married to Israelite men. The scene in the threshing floor is rendered still more modest, since Ruth merely wanted to ask Boaz for advice. The custom of exchanging shoes as a symbol for transference is said to be outdated, showing that Levirate marriage was not practiced any more in Ashkenazi Europe in the early-modern period. Again because of her conversion and piety Ruth is easily integrated into Judean society.

A Yiddish version of Ruth by Leyb Bresh can be found in his *Khamishe Khumshe Toyre*, printed 1560 in Cremona (Opp. Fol. 109), including material from Rashi's commentary and midrashic literature. The story of Ruth and extracts from Rashi are printed side by side, and the Yiddish translation, the same as one published 1543 in Augsburg (R. 4. 6. Th), resembles one for use in the *kheder* by the *melamed*. Elimelech is described as a former leader of the community of King David, who left the country because of his miserliness,

allowing the commentator to observe that the departure of the righteous damages a city. Ruth's conversion is assumed, making her equal to Naomi, and both she and Boaz are said to be pious. Once again, becoming Jewish opens the door for integration, her righteousness being explained by her piety.

The longest and freest paraphrase of Ruth is in *Tsene Urene*, which has been mentioned before. It attributes Elimelech's death to his stinginess, his departure from the Holy Land and the fact that he mingled with non-Jews. It also mentions that since the law concerning marriage with Moabites had not been changed yet, it was forbidden for Naomi's sons to marry Moabites. According to this version Ruth did not convert to Judaism prior to or even in conjunction with her marriage to Mahlon, but only when she insisted on accompanying Naomi to Bethlehem, saying 'your God is my God'. This prompts the author to explain in detail those commandments Jews are required to observe, as distinct from those incumbent on non-Jews. Only after the conversion is Ruth treated as Naomi's equal and completely integrated. Her piety is pointed out especially in the description of Ruth's night-time visit to Boaz on the threshing floor. But the first of her three acts of grace was that conversion. In *Tsene Urene* one finds practical advice derived from the story of Ruth, such as the importance of giving charity without the recipients noticing it, or the custom of having one set of clothes for weekdays and another for Shabbat. In the discussion of Levirate marriage in Ruth 4:17 it is explained that although formerly any transference of goods had been sealed by removing gloves, the custom was later for the witnesses to use their clothes. The failure to make a clear connection with Levirate marriage shows that it was rarely performed in seventeenth-century Ashkenazi settings, although the detailed description of Ruth's conversion suggests that this was a problem in the early-modern period.

In these early-modern texts, therefore, integration is imagined via conversion, an idea derived from rabbinic thinking about the text, rather than made explicit in the biblical book of Ruth.

Suggested further reading

Marion Aptroot, '“In Galkhes They Do Not Say So, But the Taytsh is as it Stands Here”': Notes on the Amsterdam Yiddish Bible Translations by Blitz and Witzenhäusen', *Studia Rosenthaliana* 27:1-2 (1993) 136-58

Jean Baumgarten, *Introduction to Old Yiddish Literature* (Oxford 2005) 82-127

Shlomo Berger (ed.) *The Bible in/and Yiddish, Amsterdam Yiddish Symposium I* (Amsterdam 2007) including articles by Marion Aptroot, Erika Timm and Chava Turniansky

Athalya Brenner (ed.) *A Feminist Companion to Ruth* (Sheffield 2001)

Louis Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* (Philadelphia 1968) 4:30-4, 85f., 88

Peter S. Hawkins, Lesleigh Cushing Stahlberg (eds) *Scrolls of Love. Ruth and the Song of Songs* (New York 2006) 9-144

Simon Neuberg, 'The First Yiddish Book Printed in Amsterdam: Sefer Mismor Lethode', *European Journal of Jewish Studies* 4:1 (2010; Special Issue - Yiddish: Past and Present Perspectives) 7 – 21



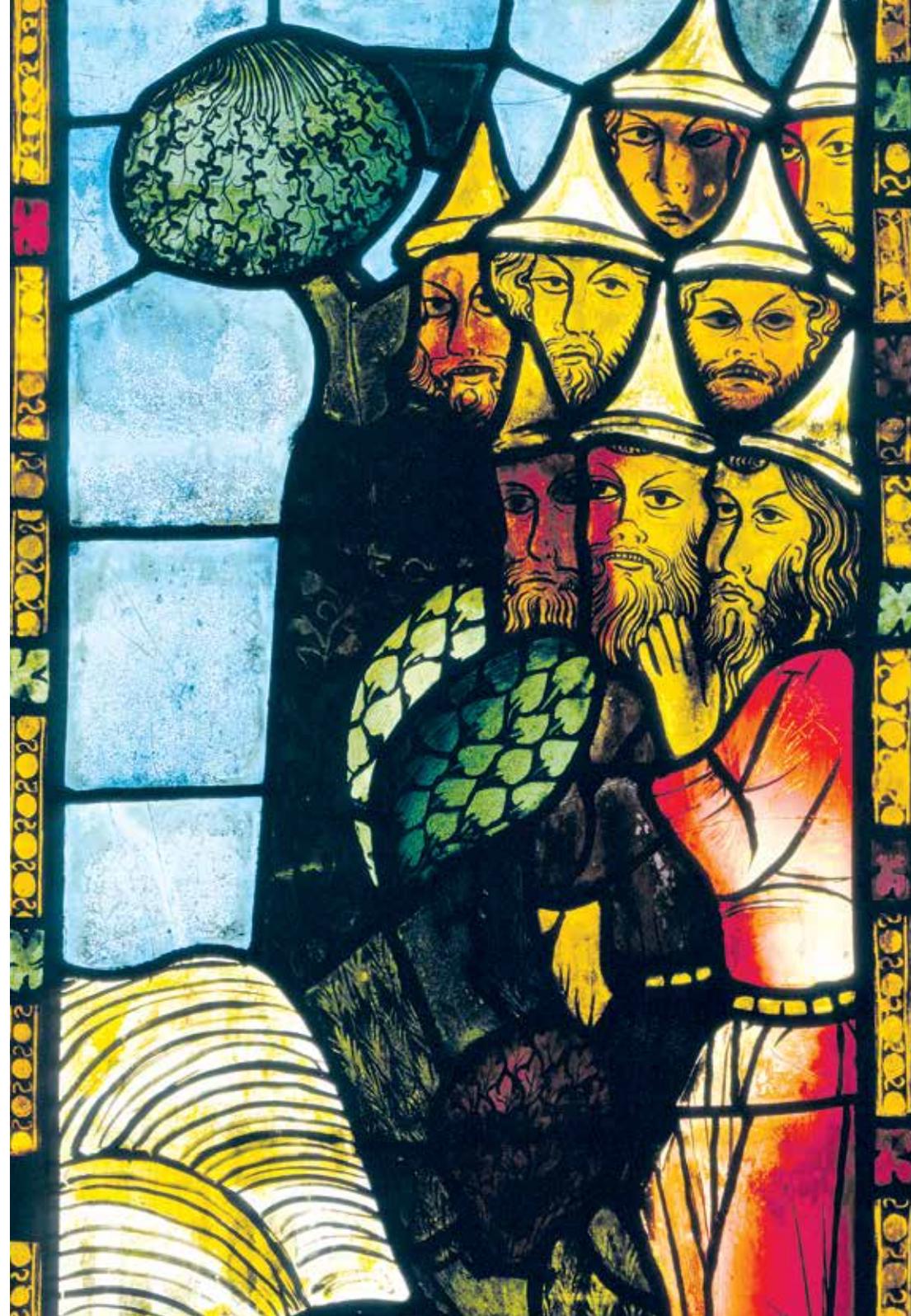
WHY ARE JEWS RED, BEYOND THE SAMBATYON?

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St Mary's Church in the city of Frankfurt on the Oder in Brandenburg boasts three monumental windows, each a splendid work of stained glass from the late fourteenth century. One window tells the biblical creation story, another is about the life of Jesus and a third renders the biography of Antichrist, the satanic antagonist of Jesus. The Antichrist window contains two scenes featuring the so-called Red Jews. Characterized as Jews by their pointed hats, the Red Jews – with red clothes and faces – wait beyond the mysterious Sambatyon River for the end of days to aid the Antichrist in his expected eschatological persecution of Christian believers.

German Jews of the late Middle Ages as well as Christians were familiar with the idea of Red Jews. The term exists not only in German, but in Yiddish, the mother-tongue of Ashkenazi Jews of Central Europe. But who are these Red Jews or, in Yiddish, *di royte yidelekh*? Why are they red? And why do Jews beyond the legendary River Sambatyon take on this colour in both Yiddish and German, a feature present in no other Jewish or European language?

▶ **Antichrist Window of St Mary's Church, Frankfurt an der Oder, c. 1360.**
(Brandenburgisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege und Archäologisches Landesmuseum, Photo Archives, no. s II 4b, photo: Peter Thieme/Florian Profitlich, 2006)



The Red Jews' Origin

The term 'Red Jews' first crops up in German during the second half of the thirteenth century. As Andrew Gow has shown in his seminal study on the Red Jews in Christian thought, this Christian construct is a distorted variant of the well-known Jewish legend of the Ten Lost Tribes. In the eighth century BCE these tribes, who had comprised the Northern Kingdom of Israel, were exiled by the Assyrians. Over time, the myth of their return emerged. The Ten Tribes were believed to live in an uncharted location beyond the mysterious Sambatyon River, and were expected to emerge on the Messiah's arrival at the end of time to rejoin the rest of the Jewish people.

The German fable conflated this Jewish belief with two unrelated legends, one from classical antiquity and another from the Bible. According to one of these, Alexander the Great locked away barbarian peoples, the 'unclean nations', in Asia to protect the civilized world. This legend came to be merged with the tradition of the apocalyptic destroyers, Gog and Magog, in Ezekiel 38–9. This fusion of tales yielded a powerful myth about the Ten Tribes as 'unclean apocalyptic Jewish destroyers of Christianity'. Christians in Germany were terrified of the Red Jews, a horrific people who would arise during the Last Days to wreak havoc on believers. But as the army of Antichrist, Jesus's arch-enemy and the personification of evil, they would triumph for only a short time, before being defeated by Jesus on his return to earth.

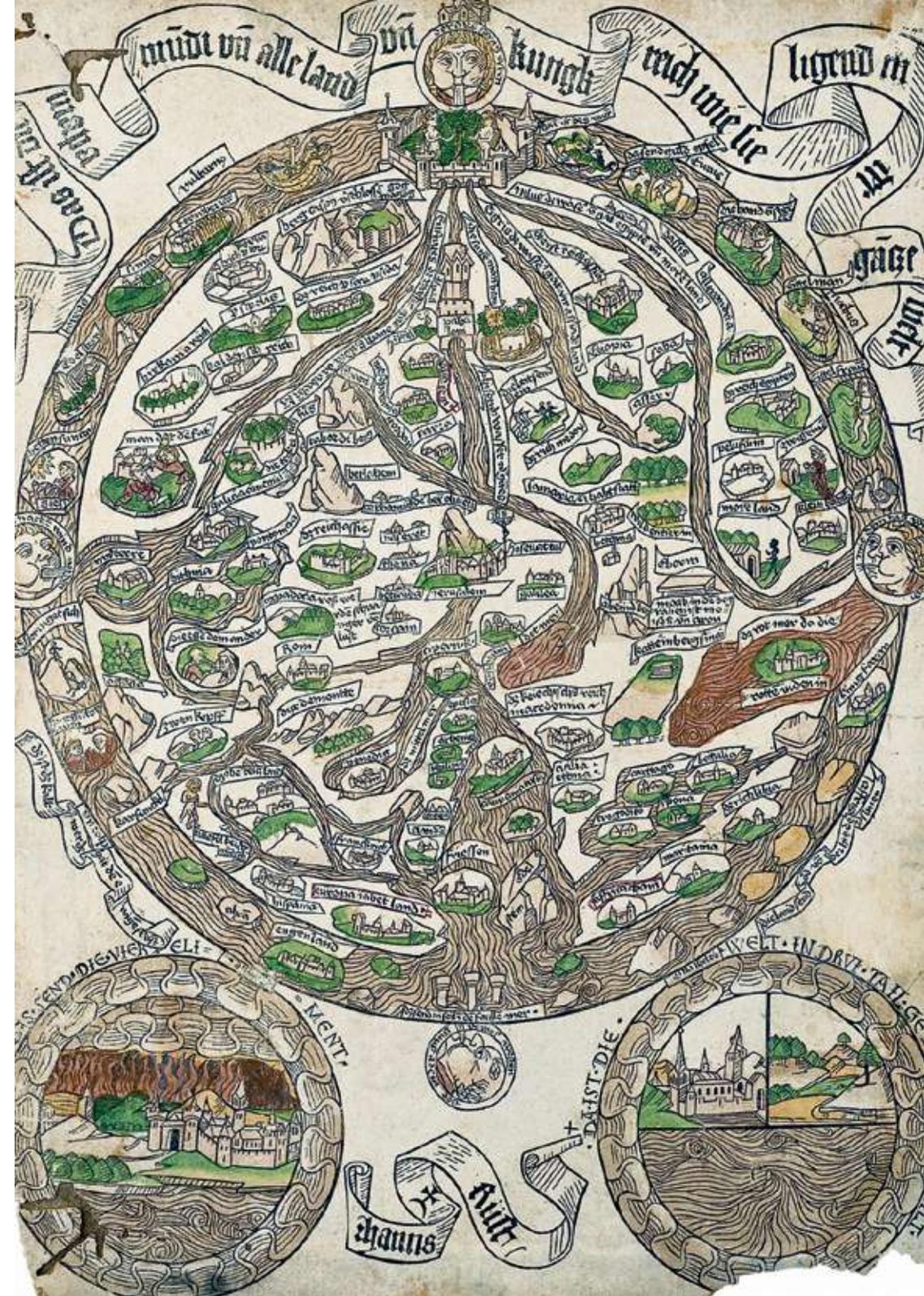
By the sixteenth century the expression 'Red Jews' had become a vernacular term for the Ten Lost Tribes even among Jews in the German-speaking lands. It can be assumed that the term entered Yiddish usage soon after its appearance in German in the late thirteenth century. It seems to have passed directly from German into Yiddish, given that the expression and the tale that developed around it relate directly to Christian tradition.

Shared Beliefs

The Red Jews assumed a role in Jewish apocalyptic thought that was almost identical to their function in the Christian version of the events of the Last Days.



Hans Rüst, *Mappa mundi* (Augsburg, c. 1480).
(Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, PML 19921)



These mighty warriors were expected to free Israel from the yoke of Edom, a symbol of Rome, equated in the sixteenth century with the Holy Roman Empire or Christianity. Since exacting revenge on the Christians was a central feature of Ashkenazi messianism in medieval and early modern Central Europe, as the Israeli historian Israel Yuval has shown, Jews longed for their red brethren both as eschatological avengers and as messianic saviours.

For pre-modern Jews and Christians the Red Jews did not belong merely in the realm of legend. Through the Reformation, their existence somewhere in the unknown vastness of the world was regarded as a virtually undisputed fact. They were considered a political-military entity like any other nation until well into the sixteenth century, and could be found on numerous world maps, usually in the far northeastern reaches of Asia, before they disappeared from cartography when geographical knowledge of distant regions became more accurate in the age of exploration. On the *mappa mundi* by Hans Rüst of Augsburg, published as a pamphlet in three different editions in 1480, a figure wearing a Jewish hat represents the Red Jews' empire. The German inscription explains, with reference to the Alexander legend, how Gog and Magog, i.e. the Red Jews, are 'contained' behind the Caspian mountain range, which is why their Latin cartographic name is *iudei clausi*, 'enclosed Jews'. Hebrew and Yiddish texts from the Middle Ages and the early-modern period likewise refer to the Ten Tribes as *genuzim*, 'enclosed' or 'hidden' – perhaps behind the Sambatyon? – while the Jewish Alexander legend also links their dwelling place to the 'mountains of darkness'.

In 1523, a year of heightened apocalyptic expectation, several German pamphlets reported that the Red Jews were finally marching towards the land of Israel. One of these bears the title, *Concerning a great multitude and host of Jews, long enclosed and hidden by uninhabitable deserts, who have now broken out and appeared, encamped thirty days' journey from Jerusalem*. Its frontispiece illustrates the Red Jews as a powerful army, wearing armour and bearing lances, emerging from a mountain range and about to cross the Sambatyon flowing calmly before them. They wear the pointed Jewish hat, which also appears on their flag characterizing them as Jews. Jews and Christians in Germany discussed this expected news of the Red Jews' return, as shown by another pamphlet from 1523. Developments beyond the Sambatyon were of concern to both religious communities, even though one group viewed the predicted

changes with joy and the other with terror.

Inter-religious discourse naturally bore polemical overtones, and the Jewish adaptation of the Christian story of the Red Jews contains an implicit polemic against the Christian usage and the idea behind it. While the Red Jews had originally been characters in a Christian anti-Jewish counter-(hi)story to Jewish hopes for the return of the Ten Tribes, older Yiddish prose responded to the challenge with its own anti-Christian counter-(hi)story, or counter-counter-story.



▲
 'Von einer grosse meng vnd gewalt der Juden' (Augsburg) 1523. (Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, A: 131.1 Theol. [27])



▲
 Michael Kramer, *Eyn vnderredung vom glawben*, Erfurt 1523. (Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, H: Yv 2272.8° Helmst.)

Polemical Construction

The key to the polemical construction of the Red Jews is the association of Jews with the colour red. Various explanations have been advanced about why Jewish and Christian fantasies linked the image of the Ten Tribes with redness. Older theories trace it to real ethnic groups that have been identified with the Ten Tribes in some way: an Arab tribe known as *Himir* (the root of which means 'red' in Arabic), red-skinned people in China, Native Americans, the Mongols who invaded Europe in the thirteenth century wearing red garments and headdresses, or the Khazars. The sources do not support any of these speculations.

Andrew Gow noted that for Christians the hue of the Jews beyond the Sambatyon fits medieval colour symbolism. While the logic behind the definition of colours is both ambiguous and subjective, red often held strongly negative connotations in medieval Europe, being equated with maliciousness and deceitfulness. Red hair was presumed to be an outward sign of a vicious and false character, which is why Christian art commonly portrayed the enemies of Christ with red hair, beard and sometimes even complexion.

The Red Jews epitomized this negative symbolism of the colour, personifying the ultimate evil-doers, the final and worst antagonists of Jesus, in league with his arch-enemy, the Antichrist. It is therefore not surprising that the Ten Tribes were imagined as Jews with red hair and beards in a fifteenth-century illustrated historical Bible, in which Alexander, with blond or light-brown hair, is seen closing off Jews who have red hair and beards. Similarly, the Antichrist window of St Mary's Church depicts the Red Jews in red clothing and with red faces, emphasizing their hostility and aggression. But while the negative implications of the colour fit the myth of the Ten Tribes in German apocalyptic lore and suggest the mutual influence of image and text, it is unlikely that this entirely explains the etymology of the name of this imagined people. Additional traditions must be taken into consideration.

By the sixteenth century the polemical motif of the Red Jews was linked to the respective Jewish and Christian typological interpretations of the biblical brothers, Esau/Edom and Jacob/Israel. Before giving birth to the twins, God announced to their mother, Rebecca: "Two nations are in thy womb, and two peoples shall be separated from thy bowels; and the one people shall be stronger

than the other people; and the elder shall serve the younger' (Gen. 25:23). The older son is Esau and the younger one Jacob, the father of the people of Israel, who eventually takes possession of his brother's birthright as firstborn. Both Jews and Christians claimed the victorious identity of Israel and attributed the role of Edom, the servant, to the other.



▲
Historical Bible, fifteenth century.
 (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer
 Kulturbesitz, Handschriftenabteilung,
 Ms. germ. fol. 565, f. 531v)



▲
***Ayn shen vunderlikh mayse*,**
 Fürth 1694. (The Bodleian Libraries,
 University of Oxford, Opp. 8° 1103
 (10), fol. 1a)

The biblical name 'Edom' is derived from the Hebrew word for the colour red, *adom*, and has the same trilateral root. 'The red one' is therefore in the figurative sense the loser in the drama of *Heilsgeschichte*, the narrative of divine redemption. Sixteenth-century German writers who described the Ten Tribes as Red Jews were drawing on the long-established formula that equated Jews with Edom, meaning red. But the term that supports the Christian typology equating Edom with Jews, inverts the Jewish scenario that casts Edom, i.e. Christians, as condemned to perish. The Christian narrative transfers the role of red underdogs from Christians to the Ten Tribes—who, in the rival Jewish view, are Edom's expected destroyers.

The Yiddish reworking of the Christian legend uses the etymology of the expression 'Red Jews', and the association of Jews with the colour red, however, only as its starting point. In the Yiddish counter-story the redness of the Jews beyond the Sambatyon is derived not from Edom, but from a different biblical narrative: the description of the future King David, when he was brought before Samuel while still a boy, as *'admoni*, 'ruddy' (1 Sam. 16:12). In this way, older Yiddish literature created a polemical satire that negated the Christian significance of the Red Jews. A second passage in the book of Samuel ascribing ruddiness to David appears at the start of his fight with the Philistine giant Goliath, from which David emerged the victor (1. Sam. 17:42). The Yiddish tale reinvents the myth of Red Jews in the context of 'David versus Goliath', restoring its protagonists' glory.

The Yiddish Red Jews' story, of which various printed and manuscript versions are held in the Oppenheim Collection at the Bodleian Library, reflects a Jewish community under threat from Christian hostility. A vicious Christian sorcerer, a master of the dark arts, uses magic to kill thousands of Jews. When they turn to the authorities for protection the sorcerer declares that he will cease harming the Jews provided that within one year they produce someone who can match his magical skills. Should they fail, the sorcerer will destroy them all. The Jews have no choice but to agree, and start to seek a miracle worker able to compete with the magician. The search extends even beyond the Sambatyon, where a messenger is sent to the Red Jews, who agree to dispatch one of their own to help those in distress. At the climax of the tale, the Red Jew duels with the Christian in a sorcery contest, defeats him and saves his brothers from doom.

The motifs shared by these Yiddish narratives of the Red Jews and the biblical story about David and Goliath are unambiguous. The Christian oppressor plays the role of Goliath, while his adversary, the Red Jew, represents David. This explains why the story in Old Yiddish defines only this one Red Jew, the saviour from beyond the Sambatyon, as a *rot yudlayn*, 'little Red Jew'. The 'trans-Sambatyoniks' are always called collectively *rote yudn*, 'Red Jews', without a diminutive ending as in modern Yiddish, *royte yidelekh*. The little Red Jew is described as 'old', 'limping' and 'lame', and introduced to the reader as a weak character, by no means a prototype of the mighty, terrifying and muscular Red Jews of German lore. He is a feeble David ready to face an enemy whose supernatural powers seem superior in every respect, a boy with no apparent chance in an unequal competition.

The Yiddish story switches the allocation of good and evil in the German drama by replacing the Red Jews' descent from Edom with a Davidic lineage, making them the heroes in the Yiddish version of the tale. The evil Christian, in turn, becomes a metaphor for the wickedness of Edom portrayed in both Jewish and Christian traditions.

The Red Jews as a people of the apocalypse in both Jewish and Christian thought shed light on an inter-religious discourse reflecting the interdependence of central aspects in the two religions' apocalyptic concepts. The migrations of this motif point to the complex processes by which Jewish and Christian ideas and culture developed in continuous dialogue with one another, at once embedded in, but also in marked opposition to, the culture of the other.

The term 'Red Jews' encountered in older Yiddish literature emerged from familiarity with its German counterpart, itself a counter-story to the Jewish narrative of the Ten Tribes. But what we see here is not just a disentangling of the Jewish original from Christian distortions. The Yiddish legend of the Red Jews served two complementary ends. First, it subverted the German apocalyptic myth by following its logic, while substituting an alternative narrative that renders explicit the anti-Christian twist in the Hebrew Ten Tribes' legend. The Red Jews are both messianic saviours and, as in the German nightmare, destroyers of Christendom who avenge the age-old oppression of the Jews. The Yiddish story of the Red Jews also confirmed the Jewish messianic belief that Edom's fall would be brought about by the Ten Tribes. Using vernacular language and literature, messianic resistance against Christianity as personified by the Red Jews became deep-seated in German-Jewish culture. The story of the Red Jews demonstrates how expressions of Jewish messianism and Christian apocalypticism in the century of the Reformation informed one another, how Jews and Christians mutually perceived, reacted to and influenced each other's messianic claims and apocalyptic beliefs – communicating with a common language.

Suggested further reading

Andrew C. Gow, *The Red Jews: Antisemitism in an Apocalyptic Age, 1200–1600* (Leiden: Brill 1995).

Rebekka Voß, 'Entangled Stories: The Red Jews in Early Modern Jewish and Christian Lore', *AJS Review* 36:1 (2012) 1-41

YIDDISH SONG IN EARLY MODERN ASHKENAZ

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For most people nowadays, Yiddish song is associated with the traditions of Eastern European Jewry, the earliest known folksong collections dating from that region in the nineteenth century. There existed, however, an entire world of Yiddish song culture that was integral to the pan-European Ashkenazi continuum in a time we now call the early modern period.

This lasted roughly from 1500 to 1800, coinciding linguistically with the Middle Yiddish phase and musically with three periods: the Renaissance, the Baroque and even the early Classical. At this time the Ashkenazi community had a clear inner awareness of forming its own cultural unit in contrast to Sephardi culture (especially with the influx of Sephardi refugees into Ashkenazi territories), but also a growing differentiation within Ashkenazi Jewry according to geographical and political regions. These changes affected the common language, Yiddish, but also religious customs, music, folklore and most aspects of daily life. In terms of Yiddish literature, however, early modern Jewry remained a cultural continuum, which meant, for instance, that books printed in Amsterdam and Venice were sold in Poland and pamphlets from Prague reached Frankfurt etc.¹ This exchange of printed matter included, of course, song-material.

¹ Leading printing centres for Western Yiddish songs included Amsterdam, Prague, Fuerth, Frankfurt am Main, Krakow, Venice, Frankfurt an der Oder, Berlin, Homburg, Lublin, Wandsbek and Offenbach.

Material Culture

Songs were sold relatively cheaply, mainly in the form of pamphlets containing one to four or five texts. Sometimes a private individual or a professional scribe would copy a few texts by hand or collect them in printed form. But we must assume that most songs were known by heart and performed without a written text or musical notation. Those which made it into print were often lost in time due to factors such as the upheavals in general European and Jewish history, changing moral standards and self-censorship, material decay and declining popularity, as well as the forgetting of melodies. All in all, it is probable that only an extremely small percentage of the full repertoire of songs in Western Yiddish has come down to us.

Song pamphlets could be bought in several ways: from book peddlers at markets and fairs, directly from printing shops, through people selling them on hawker's trays, and so on.

The Yiddish songs we know from the early modern Period stem from various sources and came into the Jewish context by a variety of means. Ashkenazi men and women eagerly bought pamphlets from book-peddlers or directly from printers or at the fair. But they also copied texts they liked or ordered a scribe to duplicate certain pages for them. Jewish suppliers were not the only source for song-material, and printed versions were frequently bought from Christians as well. Someone unable to read Latin script might turn to a Jewish scribe for help in transcribing the text. Efraim Yehuda Gumprecht Levi complains in this context:

Since I saw many boys and girls running to buy books in Latin script [*galches bicher*] – and then they came to me to have these books copied [transcribed?] [*ous-schreiben*], in order to be able to spend their time with this vulgar language [*nibel-pe*] – I considered and thought that I wanted to give these young people a gift.²

A New Song on the Megilo (Amsterdam, 1649)

² This gift was, of course, his 'New Song'. For a transcription of this verse see Wulf-Otto Dreeßen, 'Goliaths Schwestern und Brüder', in Jürgen Jaehrling et al. (eds) *Röllwagenbüchlein. Festschrift für Walter Röll zum 65. Geburtstag* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2002) 384.



▲ Cris de Paris *beaux abc belles heures*, 16th century, Paris

[Source: <http://sheetmusic.berkeley.edu/colportm.jpg>; last accessed, 2 August 2012.
Bibliothèque nationale de France; cote cliché RC-B-03364]

All in all, only very few song-manuscripts have survived,³ the overwhelming majority now held in major libraries such as the Bodleian Library, Oxford, the Rosenthaliana in Amsterdam, and the university libraries of Frankfurt and Rostock.

The Melodies

Songs were commonly printed without musical notation. But if customers had only the text, how did they know the melody?

Sometimes a title page would state that the text could be sung to any melody the costumer thought suitable, as in the case of the famous *Bovo-Bukh* (Isny, 1541) whose author Elia Levita Bakhur (1469-1549) stated:

But the melody which will fit this (text)/ I can't inform you about./
If one would know music or solfège/ I would well be able to help
him/ but I do sing it with an Italian melody/ if one can make a
better one for it, I'll thank him.⁴

In many cases, however, a melody was indicated. To specify a tune, the author or publisher would add a phrase such as 'to the melody/tune of...' and then give the first line of a well-known song. For the old Yiddish material this song-melody could come either from the Hebrew or Yiddish repertoire or from a secular or even specifically Christian song or hymn. The process of writing a new text for a well-loved tune is known as 'creating a contrafactum', a standard procedure in the early modern period, when popular 'catchy' tunes might travel throughout Europe, crossing between religions and denominations, strata of society and so on, constantly being equipped with new texts, translated and adapted in different languages, secularized, Christianized, Judaized, made acceptable to Protestants or Catholics, or suitable for the court or the cloister, sometimes even changing their musical form to some extent.

In the Old Yiddish context the researcher sometimes has difficulty identifying

³ Among them the famous manuscript collected by Menkhem ben Naftali ben Yehuda Oldendorf with mainly Hebrew, but also some Hebrew-Yiddish bilingual songs (completed 1516; now in the University Library Frankfurt am Main), or the equally famous Wallich Manuscript (around 1600; one part in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and another in the University Library, Frankfurt am Main) with Yiddish, Hebrew-Yiddish bilingual and German songs in Yiddish transcription.

⁴ See Erika Timm: *Von Raschi zu Moses Mendelssohn. Zeugnisse des Jiddischen. Begleitheft zur Ausstellung* (Trier: Univ. Trier, Fachber. Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft, Abt. Jiddistik, 1986) 11.

what the melody may have been. If a Hebrew or Yiddish song is indicated as melodic model the chances of finding the right melody are extremely limited.



▲ Woodcut with *vanitas*-symbolism, indicating vanity and the impermanence of human beauty and life. Also an example indicating the melody by means of another old Yiddish song: 'A beautiful new bride-song in the tune/melody (of) *Gut Shabbes, gut Shabbes*' (Bodleian Library, Oxford Sign. Opp. 8° 556 [9]).

From time to time, several melodies for a text may have existed, and it seems that people of the period were generally quite creative and flexible when it came to applying melodies to a text. The application of melodies sometimes had another layer of meaning as well: a text could turn into a satire or have its meaning reversed when sung to the melody of a song that represented a completely different attitude or statement.

Furthermore, book peddlers and printers occasionally performed the songs they wanted to sell, as is clear from the way this is specifically prohibited by, for instance, the town of Frankfurt, that issued an 'ernest prohibition' (*ernstliches Verbot*) in 1589, forbidding

'Bücher, Tractätlein, neue Zeitungen, Gesang, Lieder und Sprüche [...] in Wirtshäusern auszutragen, auf offenen Gassen auszurufen oder zu singen'.⁵



▲ Woodcut from a pamphlet, Germany, c. 1530, showing a group of singers gathered around a booklet with the well-known *Gesang vom Schlemmer*, 'Wo soll ich mich hinkehren' (Collections of the Castle Coburg, Inv. Nr. XIII,41,68).

⁵ 'To announce books, tractates, news, singing, songs, and proverbs [...] at the inn/tavern, to shout them out or sing them on the open street.'

Authors

A considerable number of song-writers are known to us by name because they identify themselves at the beginning of a song or, most commonly, in the so-called *Verfasserstrophe* ('author's verse' or envoi) at the very end. Out of 100 songs printed between 1550 and 1800 held in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, about fifty mention their author. Until today, little is known about them, but sometimes they would indicate the town of their origin (such as Buda, Krakow, Vilnius, Prague, Minden, Raudnitz) or their profession. Among them were, unsurprisingly, cantors, rabbis and scribes, and also a few women (Taube bas Loeb Pisker, a certain Miriam, Shoendele wife of Gershon ben Samuel as well as the famous Rivke bas Meir of Tiktin).

The Content of the Songs

An entire repertoire existed whose content was deeply entwined with Jewish religious customs, learning, values, traditions and interpretations. These included songs for Jewish festivals, Shabbat, about the Torah and the Ten Commandments, as well as wedding-songs for Bride and Bridegroom.

Other texts have no clearly defined religious context or setting, despite occasional references and allusions to Jewish belief and practice. Some may have had been intended for performance on specific dates (such as Purim, Chanukah, Tisha B'Av), but often several occasions might have been conceivable. Among these feature prominently a variety of historical songs, psalm adaptations, texts with biblical figures and stories, lamentations (on martyrs, expulsions, or the destruction of the Temple), *Vikukhim* (contest-songs), parodies, satires, songs of praise (such as for a public figure) and on conduct and moral behaviour. This large body of texts also encompasses transcriptions and adaptations of secular songs and ballads from co-territorial cultures, mainly from the German repertoire, with themes such as love and adultery, farewell and return, history and news, work, hunting, lies, seasons, riddles, jests, jokes, farce, the gourmand (*Schlemmer*), drinking, dance, comfort, songs on daybreak (*Tagelied*) or nightfall, on time and mortality, knights and nobility, beggars and thieves. But sometimes psalm- and biblical songs, partly even from the Protestant hymn-book, were transcribed and modified for a Jewish audience.



Die schoene Historia Von Joseph/ In ein Gesang verfasst/ Im Thon: Kommt her zu mir spricht Gottes Sohn/ etc. c. 1670 (Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg. Sign. Will. II. 450[34]. 8°).⁶



Ain schen lid fun Josef hazadik ('A beautiful song about Josef the righteous'). The Yiddish version contains the German song in transcription as well as several strophes added by a Jewish author (Bodleian Library, Oxford Opp. 8° 1103 [20]).

⁶ I am grateful to Professor Simon Neuberger (University of Trier) for introducing this fascinating text to the Old Yiddish study group during the European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies at the Oxford Centre.

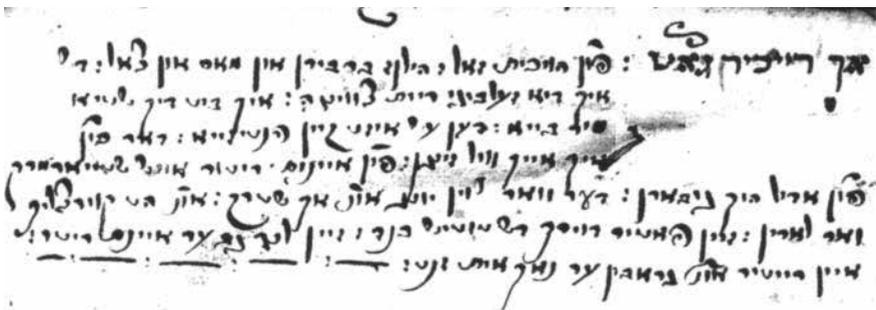
In some rare instances, several versions of these songs exist in older Yiddish literature, especially when they were copied privately and appeared in print as well:



▲ *The knight from Steyermarch*. Title page of the German version, printed in Nuernberg by J. Gutknecht, c. 1515 (Herzogin Anna-Amalia-Bibliothek, Weimar; Sign. 14, 6:60 [e]).



▲ *The knight from Steiermark*. Yiddish print, Prague, c. 1650 (Bodleian Library, Oxf., Opp 8° 1103 [35]).



▲ *The knight from Steiermark*. Yiddish manuscript (known as the Wallich-manuscript), Germany c. 1600 (Bodleian Library, Oxf., Opp. add. 4o 136, Ms. p. 40).

As in the Christian world, not all songs were welcomed by the authorities, due to their sometimes morally problematic content. Elkhanan Kirchhan, author of the famous *Simkhass Hanefesh* (second volume printed 1727 in Fürth), complained:

There are many women who drink a lot of wine at a wedding or circumcision. [...] And at the same time they are impudent and laugh out loud with men and boys. And as they are behaving – their daughters do as well. The wedding customs are not [all] worth mentioning either; one hears words of Torah rather seldom. Sometimes they run away and rush about, and the women and girls let their voices sound like whores and it is impossible to keep them from doing so. Therefore one has to stop in the middle of the *droshe*.⁷ If the *droshe* is over, the *khutspe lider* [impudent songs] are brought fourth. They cheer and romp and sing, they clap their hands and feet and they jump on the table.⁸

This description of celebrations in an Ashkenazi community at the first half of the eighteenth century may apply more generally since the early modern era lasted from about 1500 to 1800. But the picture may have differed greatly, depending on how strictly a community was led by its *parnassim* or the rabbi, if there was one.

Summary

The Yiddish song of the early modern period is a significant example of cultural transfer on several levels. It shows clearly the sharing of motifs and themes, as well as the direct transmission of texts and melodies, reflecting how embedded Ashkenazi Jewry was within a certain fragment of the literary and musical culture of its time, and how obviously at ease it was with the reception and use of non-Jewish material. Equally, however, the songs embody a unique voice within Ashkenazi life of the period, allowing one to glimpse the ‘ordinary people’

⁷ ‘Sermon’ or interpretation of a biblical text.

⁸ For the original see the facsimile in Jacob Shatzky, *Simath Hanefesh* (Delight of the Soul). A Book of Yiddish Poems by Elanan Kirchhan. An exact facsimile reproduction of the first and only edition published in Fürth, in the year 1727 (New York: Max N. Maisel, 1926) 84. Elkhanan Kirchhan speaks there about the *khutspe lider*, or ‘impudent songs’. One should not forget that he was trying to sell his own volume of festive songs as a substitute for what was usually performed. He frequently resorts to self-advertisement in this publication.

beyond scholarly discourse and the everyday life of communities, including the perception of ideas, morals and satire, religious thinking, political stability and unrest, favourite themes, musical tastes, the formation of norms and normativity as well as inner-Jewish critique and non-conformist thoughts. All in all, a fascinatingly rich spectrum of information is provided by these extraordinary sources.



PARODY, INFAMY AND HISTORY IN A YIDDISH MANUSCRIPT OF THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE¹

Dr Claudia Rosenzweig
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So he took out a magpie
and said: look Ester, my beloved Ester
use this to grease the sheets everywhere
keep me *honoured* this *night*.

Tell everyone I have been a (real) man
so I will be at your service as much as I can
command me whatever you desire
but let me off troubles until *night*.²

These are hardly the words a young bride might want to hear on her wedding night, but we find them in a Yiddish manuscript copied for a bride named Serlina

[24]
דו צוך ער הר בוך דער אגילאשטר ..
אונ' זייט זע אסתר מיין ליבי אסתר
דו מיט שמיר דו לייליך אי לענגר אי ועשטר ..
ביהלט מיך ביי כבוד דיזוי לילה ..

[25]
זג אידרמן איך זייא גוועזן איין מן
זו וויל איך דיר דינן מיט ווו איך קן
ווו דו בגערשט דו הייש מיר אן .
לוש מיך נוירט און ור ווארן ביי דער לילה .

¹ This paper is based on a project submitted to the Seminar. Some initial findings have been published in *Rime contro. in Elye Bokher. Due canti yiddish. Rime di un poeta ashkenazita nella Venezia del Cinquecento* (Arezzo: Bibliotheca Aretina 2010) 9–71, and 'Rhymes to Sing and Rhymes to Hang Up. Some Remarks on a Lampon in Yiddish by Elye Bokher (Venice 1514)', in *Italia Judaica*, Brill (forthcoming). I am indebted to the Centre and would like to take this opportunity to thank in particular Professor Simon Neuberger, Dr César Merchán-Hamann, Dr Zehavit Stern and the participants in the Seminar for the cooperative and fruitful atmosphere they succeeded in creating. I am also grateful to Jennie Feldman for revising the English of this paper.

² Can. Or. 12, Neubauer N. 1217, Bodleian Library, 204v, Stanzas 24–25.

in Venice in the middle of the sixteenth century. The manuscript, housed in the Bodleian Library with the signature Can. Or. 12, Neubauer N. 1217, is a miscellany copied by a scribe named Kalman (Kalonimus) ben Shimon Pescarol for an Ashkenazi Jew, Menahem Katz, as a wedding gift for his daughter. It includes a collection of *Minhagim* (religious customs), a text of the genre known as *Frauen-bikhlen* (books of halakhic instruction for women), a translation into Yiddish of the five *Megillot* ('scrolls', that is the Song of Songs, the book of Ruth, the book of Lamentations, Ecclesiastes and the book of Esther), a number of liturgical texts and seven *mayyses* ('stories') as well as songs and riddles.³ We also find two poems by the poet and grammarian Eliyahu ben Asher ha-Levi Ashkenazi (1469-1549), often known as Elia Levita or, in the field of Yiddish literature, as Elye Bokher. Born near Nuremberg, he left for Italy apparently at the end of the fifteenth century where he lived first in Padua, then Venice, Rome and finally, after the sack of Rome, in Venice again. It was after his return there that he was invited by the Hebraist Paulus Fagius to have his books printed in Isny, Germany. His final years were spent in Venice, where he died and was buried.⁴

Elia Levita and Elye Bokher could easily have been two different men. The first was a Hebraist, *Eliyahu ha-Medakdek* (Elijah the Grammarian), one of the major figures of the turbulent Renaissance era, when Christian Hebraism flourished and reformist stirrings within the Church produced new interpretations of the Bible, such as Luther's. Protected by Cardinal Gilles of Viterbo and hosted in his house in Rome, Levita might well have met the likes of David Reuveni and Giovan Lioni Africano (al-Hasan al-Wazzan), the Arab scholar whose life and impact on Italian culture has been well described in the inspiring work by Natalie Zemon Davis.⁵ Levita's *Massoret ha-Massoret* became a classic in the history of biblical studies, and was at the centre of a long dispute between different currents of Jewish and Christian scholarship. On the other hand, Elye Bokher (as he is known in Yiddish philology) was one of the most important poets in Old Yiddish literature. His *Bovo d'Antona*, a remarkably rich

literary achievement, later reprinted with the title *Bovo-bukh*, is a chivalric poem in *ottava rima*, a romance that was read and reread, printed and reprinted, written and rewritten by Ashkenazi Jews up to the last century. Is *Paris un' Wiene* the fruit of his pen? Who else could have composed this other romance, also in *ottava rima*, an example of the masterful rewriting of an Italian work?⁶ Elye Bokher also translated into Yiddish the book of Psalms, the first Yiddish book printed in Italy (1545). Two other poems by him have survived; dismissed by the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, as lacking 'any literary value',⁷ they merit - and reward - closer study.

The stanzas quoted above are taken from one of these poems, known as *Hamavdil-lid*, on account of the opening word, 'He who divides [*Ha-mavdil*] the sacred from the profane', the first word of a liturgical poem in the *Havdalah* service that concludes each Sabbath. Like the second Yiddish poem, *Sreyfe-lid*, on the burning of the Rialto Bridge in Venice, it was composed in 1514 and was apparently aimed at the poet's personal enemy, Hillel Cohen. This fact, and Elye Bokher's reference to the practice of hanging defamatory rhymes on walls, led some early-twentieth-century scholars and philologists, notably Max Erik, to attribute the text to the genre of the Italian *pasquinata*.⁸ The genre is probably old, but in this form it was especially widespread during the sixteenth century, as attested in particular in Venice and Rome, where *pasquinate* began to be printed and their circulation became influential. The name derives from a Roman-era statue, given the name Pasquino, on which were affixed short texts, usually sonnets, in Latin, Italian or the Roman dialect, a practice which continues today. Usually the texts were sharply critical of the Church and the Papal State.⁹ They often posed a challenge to the ruling power, as illustrated in the Italian film *Nell'anno del Signore* by Luigi Magni (1969), where Pasquino becomes the

3 For a description of the manuscript see Nokhum Shtif, 'A geshribene yidishe bibliotek in a yidish hoyz in Venetsye in mitn dem zekhtsntn yorhundert', in *Tsaytshrift 1* (Minsk 1926) 141-50, and 2-3 (1928) 525-44, and Chava Turniansky and Erika Timm, *Yiddish in Italia*, with the collaboration of Claudia Rosenzweig, Associazione Italiana degli Amici dell'Università di Gerusalemme (Milan 2003) N. 47, 96-9. During the project on Old Yiddish at the Oxford Centre this manuscript was the object of detailed study.

4 Gérard E. Weil, *Élie Lévi. Humaniste et massorète* (1469-1549), (Leiden: Brill 1963).

5 Natalie Zemon Davis, *Trickster Travels. A Sixteenth-Century Muslim Between Worlds* (Faber and Faber, London 2008; 1st ed. New York: Hill and Wang 2006).

6 See the critical editions: *Paris un' Viena*, edited with introduction, notes and appendices by Chone Shmeruk, in collaboration with Erika Timm (Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities 1996); *Paris un Wiene. Ein jiddischer Stanzenroman des 16. Jahrhunderts von (oder aus dem Umkreis von) Elia Levita*, Eingeleitet, in Transkription herausgegeben und kommentiert von Erika Timm unter Mitarbeit von Gustav Adolf Beckmann (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag 1996).

7 [Meir Medan], 'Levita, Elijah', in Michael Berenbaum and Fred Skolnik (eds) *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (2nd ed. Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA 2007) 12: 730-2, 22.

8 Maks Erik, *Di geshikhte fun der yidisher literatur fun di elste tsaytn biz der Haskole-kupe* (Warsaw: Farlag Kultur-Lige 1928) 180.

9 The bibliography on this subject is extensive. See Ottavia Niccoli, *Voci d'inchostro*, in *Atlante della letteratura italiana*, A cura di Sergio Luzzatto e Gabriele Pedullà, vol. I, *Dalle origini al Rinascimento*, A cura di Amedeo De Vincentiis, Einaudi, Torino (2010) 719-25, and the bibliography quoted there.

anonymous voice of the Carbonari movement at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The genre was presumably known all over Europe in different forms and the term *pasquinata* widely used. Apparently through its German form, *Pasquill*, it was adopted in the Ashkenazi world, where it has flourished across the centuries to the present day, when *pashkviln* can be still found among Haredi Jews.

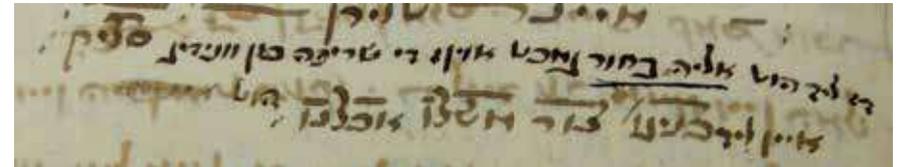
Elye Bokher's *Hamavdil* poem is thus the earliest evidence we have of the public display, and later the dissemination in printed form, of stinging personal attacks:

Oh <i>ignorant</i> [ignoramus]! oh <i>furfant</i> [rascal]! Look at the slip of paper on the wall I composed it with my own hand you write one like it this very <i>night!</i> [...]	[49] אז איניירנט און פורפאנט .. דו זיך דען ציטל און די וואנט .. דען הון איך גימכט מיט מיין הנט .. מך אויך איין זולכן דיזי לילה ..
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And see, I will go to Pesaro so that the rhymes come out well in print and far as a bat [...] in the <i>night</i> . ¹⁰	[51] אונ' הון זיך איך וועל גי פיזר ציהן . די ריים זולן נוך אין דער שטאנפא ווערן גידיהן . אז ווייט אז די ולעדער מוין ביי דער לילה ..
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Unlike printed books, manuscripts often reflect the local language. In these lines we are given an insight into the nature of Yiddish in Italy in the sixteenth century: offensive terms such as *ignorant* and *furfant* are in Venetian dialect and were common in the infamy literature of the period.¹¹ The mention of Pesaro reflects the fact that when the poet was writing, this Italian coastal town was a centre of Hebrew printing, thanks to Gershon Soncino who had a workshop there. The song contains the names of local people and places, with many attendant details of everyday life. A Venetian told me only recently how reading it gives the impression of stepping back in time in the *calli* of Venice, meeting people whom the author and his audience knew well, with the gossip, jokes and anxieties of a living Jewish community. The stanzas quoted at the start of this paper certainly appear to be gossip: after the wedding night the impotent husband is afraid that his

failure will become known. Sexual behaviour and the fear of shame are prevalent themes in Italian *pasquinate*, but take on particular significance in a manuscript copied as a wedding gift for a young girl, in which they feature immediately after the *Minhagim* in Yiddish, the five *Megillot* and other works connected to the observance of the precepts and ritual cycle of the year.



'This song, Elye Bokher wrote it on the burning on Venice. A song to the melody of *Tsur mishelo akhalnu*.' The title of the *Sreyfe-lid*, about the burning of the Rialto bridge [Bodleian Library, Can. Or. 12, 258r].

The second poem mentioned above, about the burning of the Rialto bridge, was written a short time before *Hamavdil*. This event occurred on 13 January 1514 and the song must have been written in the following months, as it concludes with wishes for a happy Purim. According to the song, the poet was imprisoned following a false accusation by Hillel Cohen and subsequently released. In the concluding verses he writes:

Nothing else makes me really rage as when a poor man does something [wrong] he is lost here and there everyone would happily drink his blood. But what the rich do here is always all right people let it pass may God [<i>Abonay</i>] ¹² have pity!	[21] ניט אנדרש טוט מיר צורן דו ווער איין ארמר עצווש טויט . זו איז ער היא אונ' דורט בור לורן אידרמן טרענק גערן זיין בלויט . ווי דא טונן די רייכן דו איז מן אין אלש גויט . מן לושט עז אלש הין שלייכן דו דר בארם דער אבוניי :
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¹⁰ Can. Or. 12, Neubauer N. 1217, Bodleian Library, 206v, Stanzas 49 and 51.

¹¹ See Elisabeth Horodowich, *Language and Statecraft in Early Modern Venice* (New York: Cambridge University Press 2008) 100-1 and especially 125.

¹² *Abonay* is a tabuistic form of the Name of God, used in other works by Elye Bokher as well as in other Yiddish texts from the same period.

A poor man commits [a sin] in secret
 this is because poverty drives him to it
 while rich men usually do it openly
 and if I were to tell everything
 they do within one year
 the days of my life would not suffice
 the days that God [Abonay] gave me.

And even as far as Italy
 things look bad
 no sin is [considered] shameful
 everyone does as they please
 a pious man is seldom found
 either among the young or the old
 Jewish faith advances on crutches
 nobody recognizes God [Abonay].

Cursed be the war
 and cursed those who launched it
 Many are those whose souls
 the war has destroyed
 and has it not been enough
 that a war was started just now?
 That I may say a lie
 this God [Abonay] may concede!

Now I want to name
 the one who conceived this song
 so that you should recognize him
 he is well known because of his works
 he is one of the *bokherim*
 who always take pleasure in revelling
 and with this, a good happy Purim
 may God [Abonay] grant you!¹³

[22]

איין . ארמר טוט עז היימליך .
 אונ' די גוט די דרינגט אין וואר
 אונ' די רייכן אל גמיינליכן
 די טונן עז אופן בור .
 אונ' זולט איך אל דינג זגן
 דו זי אונן אובר יאר
 מיך קלעקט ניט מיי טגן
 בון טגן דו אבוניי :

[23]

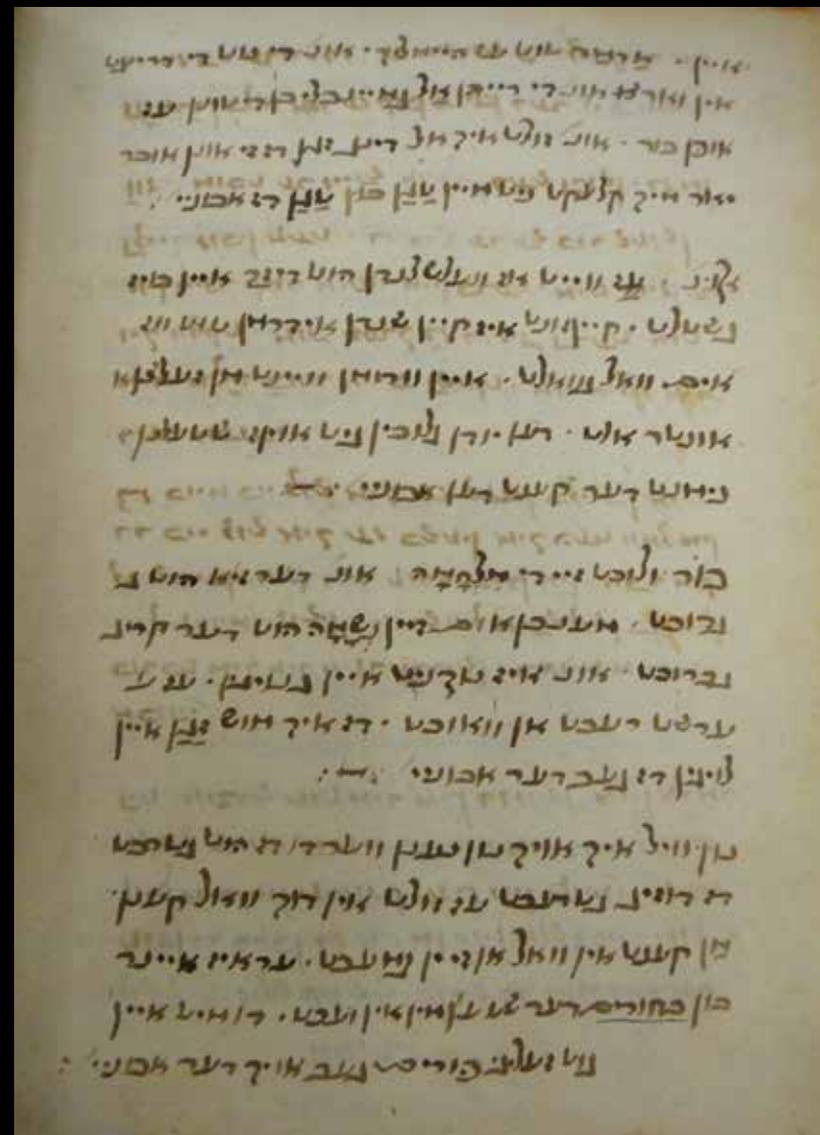
אונ' . אז וויט אז וועלשלנדן
 הוט זי זך איין בויו גשטלט .
 קיין זונט איז קיין שנדן
 אידרמן טוט וז איך וואל גוואלט .
 איין וורמן וויינט מן זעלצן
 אונטר אלט .
 דען יודן גלובין גיט אויף שטעלצן
 נימנט דער קענט דען אבוניי :

[24]

בור ולוכט זיי די מלחמה .
 אונ' דער זיא הוט גדוכט .
 מענכן אום זיין נשמה
 הוט דער קריג גברוכט .
 אונ' איז נוך ניט איין גנויגן .
 עז ערשט רעכט אן וואוכט .
 דו איך מוש זגן איין לויגין
 דו געב דער אבוניי :

[25]

גון וויל איך אויך נון נענן
 ווער דו דו הוט גטרעכט דו דוויג גטרעכט
 עז זולט אין דוך וואל קענן .
 מן קענט אין וואל אן זיין גמעכט .
 ער איז איינר בון בתורים
 דער שטעץ מין [מיט] אין ועכט .
 דו מיט איין גוט זעליגי [זעליג] פורים
 געב אויך דער אבוניי :



Sreyfe-*lid*, the song about the burning of the Rialto bridge (Bodleian Library, Can. Or. 12, 261v, stanzas 22–5).

13 Can. Or. 12, Neubauer N. 1217, Bodleian Library, 261r–v, Stanzas 21–25.

Is this a song for Purim? Is it about historical events – the burning of the bridge and the War of the League of Cambrai (1508-16) – according to a well-attested tradition in Old Yiddish literature? Is it part of a contest between poets? Or is it a personal campaign against Hillel Cohen? Is it the complaint of a poor Jew, of someone from the impoverished margins of Jewish society? These are just some of the possible interpretations of this Yiddish text. It should be noted that both songs were composed ‘according to the *nign* (“melody”)’ of Hebrew texts: the *Hamavdil*, as mentioned above, to that of the homonymous *piyyut* for the ceremony of *Havdalah*, and the *Sreyfe-lid* to that of the Shabbat *zemirah* (‘table-hymn’) *Tzur mishelo akhalnu*, ‘The Rock from which we ate’. This suggests that both songs could be sung aloud, as a kind of parody of sacred texts that the audience knew well. What was the role of such texts? Were they to be hung up on a wall? Were they ever sung? Or were they perhaps designed to be read at home for entertainment, as this miscellany seems to indicate?

These and many other questions remain to be explored. I hope to be able to contribute to this effort in my proposed project for a new philological edition of both songs, with a comprehensive introduction. They have already been the subject of research: the *Hamavdil-lid* from the manuscript kept in Bodleian Library was published by Nokhem Shtif in the Yiddish journal *Tsaytshrift* (1926),¹⁴ and the version discovered in Cambridge (F. 12.45 – Cod. Loewe N. 136) in the first volume of *Shrifn* (1928).¹⁵ The song on the burning of the Rialto Bridge was published by Chone Shmeruk in 1966.¹⁶ Jerold C. Frakes more recently included the text of both songs in his anthology.¹⁷ Since these initial publications there has been considerable further research into the philological aspect of Old Yiddish literature, creating the need for a new edition. At the same time, related research has been carried out in Italy on the genre of the *pasquinate* and the sixteenth-century *letteratura dell’infamia*, as well as on the place of sexuality in Jewish life, from which many new insights can be drawn.

Elye Bokher’s lampoons are written in complex language, rich in Italianisms and continually playing between a ‘high’ style related to the Sacred Tongue in

terms of textual framework and allusions to the Bible and other sources, and a ‘low’ style of highly versatile Yiddish including wit and vulgarity. These poems, far from ‘lacking any literary value’, are evidence, together with the chivalric poems, of the talent and inventive exuberance of a major poet.

Research has reconfirmed the importance of this Italian chapter of Yiddish literature. With over a hundred works in different genres, dating from the second half of the fifteenth to the beginning of the seventeenth century, many of them held in the Bodleian Library, this period has much to reveal to us, and working on the original manuscripts is essential for understanding them to the fullest extent.



¹⁴ Nokhem Shtif, ‘Elye Halevi’s lid “Hamavdil”’, *Tsaytshrift* 1 (Minsk 1926) 150-8.

¹⁵ Nokhem Shtif, ‘Naye materialn tsu Elye Halevi’s Hamavdil-lid’ in *Shrifn* 1 (Kiev 1928). This manuscript copied around 1530 and held in the Trinity College Library, Cambridge (MS F. 12.45 [Cod. Loewe n. 136]), includes a variant of both songs.

¹⁶ Chone Shmeruk, ‘Hashir ‘al hasrefa bi-Venetziya le-Eliyahu Bachur’, *Kobez al Yad*, 16, II (1966) 343-68.

¹⁷ Jerold C. Frakes (ed.), *Early Yiddish Texts 1100-1750* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press 2004).

OLD YIDDISH BIBLE TRANSLATION AND EPIC POETRY ON BIBLICAL THEMES

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Like in most Jewish communities in the world, those in Ashkenazi lands generally reserved Hebrew for sacred matters such as prayer and the reading of Holy Scripture. Hebrew was traditionally referred to in Yiddish as *loshn koydesh* - the 'Holy Tongue' – a status that also embraced the Aramaic language used alongside Hebrew in the biblical books of Daniel and Ezra, as well as in the Talmud and the prayer book.

In contrast with this 'Holy Tongue', or 'Tongues', stands the humble vernacular, which for most European Jews was Yiddish. Many common people were unable to understand the sacred texts they were supposed to utter with devotion or listen to with care. A similar barrier had been encountered during previous exiles, which had been overcome by teaching children not only the original Hebrew and Aramaic texts, but how to translate them into the current vernacular.

Ashkenazi Jews created a unique way of translating the Bible, called the *taytsh* tradition. Old-Yiddish speakers commonly referred to their language as *taytsh* (related to 'Deutsch'), probably because they did not distinguish it from the language of their Christian neighbours. This was the name they gave also to the rendering of texts into it. The *taytsh* tradition of translation is believed to have

originated in the classical method of teaching Torah to little children. This *taytsh* tradition, a central phenomenon in Yiddish literature, is assumed to be as old as the Yiddish language itself. *Taytsh* began as an oral tradition, and continued to be so even when it was written down. In 1544 *taytsh* translations first appeared in print, one in Augsburg and one in Konstanz, spanning only the Pentateuch and other biblical texts ceremonially read in the synagogue - the Haftorahs (prophetic readings) and the Five Scrolls. Only in the seventeenth century did Yiddish translations of the entire Tanach (but not *taytsh* in style) appear: by Blitz in 1678 and Witzhausen in 1679, both in Amsterdam.

Even today, *taytsh* translation is practised orally in some ultra-Orthodox *kheyder* settings. No canonized version in Yiddish has ever appeared, since the *taytsh* tradition is supposed to accompany the Hebrew original, not to replace it. Instead, meticulous translations from the original texts are performed anew each time. At their core, *taytsh* translations, such as in the Bibles printed in Augsburg and Konstanz, provide texts in which the words appear in exactly the same order as the Hebrew original, regardless of Yiddish rules of grammar and syntax. They also adhere to the literary convention of excluding Hebrew words, even though Yiddish contained Hebrew words from its very beginning.

Later *taytsh* translations are more elaborate and do use some Hebrew words, as well as functions that at earlier times were presumably performed orally in order to make the translation easier to understand. Those functions are called *khiber* (חיבור), which means translating each sentence as a grammatical unit, and *oysredenish* (אויסרעדעניש), supplementing it with material of an exegetical character (midrash and commentary).

The *taytsh* translations of the Tanach were soon confronted with a different kind of literature, much more popular because it was easily understood by Ashkenazi Jews, even though it was less religiously oriented: namely the German chivalric romances. This encounter between two different genres brought about the creation of something new in Jewish culture and one of the most important genres of Old Yiddish literature: the Old Yiddish epic on biblical themes.

This new genre consisted of popular renditions that, without accurately translating the original texts, still acquainted Yiddish readers with the plot or stories of certain biblical books. Even before the printing of complete translations of Tanach, Yiddish renditions of certain biblical books had appeared in print, such as *Shmuel-bukh* (Augsburg 1544) on the book of Samuel,

Melokhim-bukh (Augsburg 1543) on the book of Kings, and *Seyfer Shoftim* (Mantua 1564) on the book of Judges. The epics on the Prophets contain many fragments of *taytsh* translation other than those found in the Haftorahs, which were otherwise translated only much later. The question of how these *taytsh* texts were formed is still unanswered.

The genre of Old Yiddish epics on biblical themes stood at the centre of Yiddish literature from at least the late fourteenth century (represented by the so-called Cambridge Manuscript, from the Cairo Genizah, containing poems about Joseph, Aaron and Abraham among others), until the early seventeenth century. It is clear that we do not know the entire history of this genre as many works have reached us in a single copy and others must have completely disappeared.¹

It is assumed came to have served as a compromise solution to the conflict caused by the popularity of German epics (such as *Dietrich von Bern*, or *Herzog Ernst*) in Ashkenazi society during the early-modern era and perhaps the Middle Ages as well. Christian elements were ‘Judaized’ as the works were transcribed into Hebrew letters, although some conservative Jews still accused them of containing ‘improper language’ and ‘lies and fantasies’.

Yiddish works that drew their narratives from the Bible transposed them into medieval European royal and chivalric settings by utilizing a typical German epic stanza. Most of the Yiddish epics mention a melody called *Niggun Shmuel-Bukh*, ‘the tune of the Shmuel-Bukh’, to which they were to be sung. It is now unfortunately unknown what this represents, but it does indicate that the epics were meant to be sung.

The epics are typically presented by a poet allegedly speaking to a live audience using formulaic speech. One commonly finds words such as ‘listen and I will tell you’, or ‘I say this to you truthfully’, giving rise in the 1920s to the so-called Spielmann Theory, according to which epics were created by travelling Jewish minstrels who performed them at inns and town squares in return for money, food or drink. This theory was rejected in the 1970s when scholars pointed out the possibility of ‘fictitious’ orality, and argued that the great length of some epics might have prevented them from being orally transmitted.

These Old Yiddish poems presented the Hebrew Bible in terms familiar to their readership, including elements of the daily life of Jews, such as the rich idiomatic language spoken by the characters. This makes them a good source for Old Yiddish expressions, proverbs, idioms, greetings and even curses. Terms are used which bring the biblical reality closer to the daily reality of sixteenth-century Europe, such as the word *goles*, ‘diaspora’, and allusions to life in a Christian country, such as announcing time by ringing a (church) bell, or calling a non-Jewish house of worship a *kirch*, ‘church’. Biblical warfare similarly resembles that in German chivalric romances, involving weapons such as *biksn*, ‘guns’, and *pulver*, ‘gun-powder’, while Jericho is portrayed surrounded by water-filled moats to protect her against invasion - an absurdity for those aware of the desert surroundings of the historical Jericho.

Jewish religious customs (*minhagim*) of the European Middle Ages and the early-modern era are also mentioned in the epics, such as when biblical characters pray on Saturday mornings in a synagogue, recite the *mi-shebeyrekh* prayer and even employ a *shabes goy*. Life-cycle events such as weddings or circumcisions in the Tanach are also described in a manner consistent with life in early-modern Ashkenaz.

In the above-mentioned cases one might accuse the authors of insensitivity to historical facts, but such historical inaccuracy could equally be interpreted as comically intended, especially as the Yiddish biblical epics are belletristic in nature and designed to entertain their audience. Professor Chava Turniansky has noted that Yiddish biblical epic is deeply influenced by midrashic literature, where anachronism and the overriding of chronological order are typical. An example of this is the report that the Patriarchs studied at the *Yeshiva* (rabbinical academy) of Shem and Eber. Turniansky suggests that we accept anachronism in the Yiddish epics as it is, and proposes that the authors truly envisaged the biblical stories in this way. Circumcision in the Tanach was believed to be the same as what was familiar from daily life at the time of composition. This kind of translation was not only verbal, but also conceptual – making the faraway familiar to a later generation.

¹ This phenomenon is sadly common to the research of Old Yiddish in general, and one must mention the vital role played by the Bodleian Library in the research of Old Yiddish literature, thanks to its collection of Old Yiddish works.

Suggested further reading

Khone Shmeruk, *Yiddish Literature: Aspects of Its History* (Hebrew; Tel Aviv 1978) 110-117.

Chava Turniansky, 'On Old-Yiddish Biblical Epics', *International Folklore Review* 8 (1991) 26-33.

Chava Turniansky, 'Le-toldot ha-"taytsh-khumesh" - khumesh mit "khiber"', in *Iyunim be-sifrut: Dvarim she-ne'emru ba-erev likhvod Dov Sadan bimlot lo shmonim ve-chamesh shana* (Hebrew; Jerusalem 1988) 21-58.

Erika Timm, *Historische jiddische Semantik: Die Bibelübersetzungssprache als Faktor der Auseinanderentwicklung des jiddischen und des deutschen Wortschatzes* (German; Tübingen 2005).

YIDDISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE IN THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD AND THE YIDDISH 'HISTORICAL' SONG

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During the early-modern period, Yiddish, the Jewish vernacular originating in German-speaking lands, was the only naturally spoken language of Jews, regardless of age, gender, social, cultural or economic status, throughout the Ashkenazi Diaspora. At that time this included Germany, Bohemia and Moravia, Poland-Lithuania, Northern Italy (only until the seventeenth century), the Netherlands (only from the mid-seventeenth century), and several locations within the Ottoman Empire. As a result of this wide dispersion, Slavic, Italian, Dutch, Arabic or Turkish elements entered the spoken language in these respective locations and, together with the earlier German, Hebrew-Aramaic and Romance components of Yiddish, generated a great many regional variations in the language. Although no formal coordinating body existed, such regional elements of the spoken language were carefully kept out of Yiddish printed books, in order to make their contents comprehensible to all potential readers, wherever they might be. A literary language was thus created, which systematically distanced itself from local usages and, until the end of the eighteenth century, maintained the link of Yiddish speakers to the same body

of literature. Yiddish books, written anywhere within the Ashkenazi Diaspora, were printed in various cities of Poland, Germany and Italy, as well as in Prague and Amsterdam, and distributed throughout the Diaspora in order to reach their main addressees: men and women, young and old, who could read Hebrew but had not achieved proficiency in understanding the Hebrew literary sources.

At least until the end of the eighteenth century, Yiddish literature was largely involved in the transmission of knowledge from the Hebrew corpus. Inevitably, only the learned – mainly religious officials – could act as mediators between that corpus and the Yiddish reader. Their sense of the reader's ability to comprehend, combined with their view of his or her intellectual, spiritual and behavioural needs or duties, helped determine the selection of particular segments of the Hebrew corpus and the methods of transmission to be employed. Thus Hebrew prayers were translated literally, while the books of the Hebrew Bible were rendered in a variety of either simple or complex prose or rhyme translations, in some cases adapted and reworked into homiletic prose and even turned into sophisticated epic poetry. Translations and adaptations of Hebrew ethical literature appeared alongside original compositions in Yiddish inspired by one or several Hebrew works. They had a clear didactic and moralistic purpose, and contributed to the diffusion of popular religion in much the same way as the adaptations of books of customs instructing the reader in domestic or synagogue duties on holidays or special occasions such as weddings, circumcisions and funerals. One therefore finds translations of special collections of texts to be recited or sung during festive ceremonies performed at home, and Yiddish or bilingual Hebrew and Yiddish songs specifically composed for such occasions and marked by the fusion of Hebrew liturgical poetry and German folk song. Fables and tales, mainly exemplary and hagiographical, were drawn from classical rabbinic sources, or developed from homilies and oral tradition. Women in particular were provided with books that focused on their formal religious duties and other feminine functions, and with voluntary supplicatory prayers covering the full range of events marking the life-cycle. Translations of Hebrew travelogues and historiographies, together with some works in this genre composed originally in Yiddish, conveyed knowledge about distant places and the historical past.

Most Yiddish works drawing on Hebrew sources were made more accessible by means of explanation, repetition and rewording, simplification, itemization

and exemplification, assisted at times by poetical devices and graphic illustrations. The typical outcome was a paraphrastic narrative interlaced with stories, exempla, proverbs and parables, the author's digressions and interpolations, direct appeals to the reader and allusions to the reality of daily life. Some of these features pervade the few extant Yiddish or memoirs or autobiographical accounts (e.g. Glik Hamel's memoirs written between 1691 and 1719, and Leyb Oyzer's report on the Sabbatean movement of 1711) as well as the numerous Yiddish private letters that have come down to us from this period.

Besides serving as a vehicle for personal expression, and mediating Hebrew to those who could read but not understand it, Yiddish also mediated German, a language they understood but could not read, since the association between the Roman alphabet and the Christian priesthood created an apprehension which most Ashkenazi Jews shared at least until the late eighteenth century. Those who read Latin script (generally officials in charge of the community's external affairs) provided transcriptions into Hebrew characters of German works in which they mainly intervened by eliminating, neutralizing, deprecating or Judaizing overtly Christian elements.

There can be no doubt about the importance of the role Yiddish played in the transmission of knowledge to 'unlearned' men, women and children. It not only gave them a significant degree of familiarity with many components of the current body of knowledge, but taught, educated and enlightened them in an array of topics, creating a broad and eager reading public. The alluring nature of the contents and literary devices of the Yiddish works – a result of the authors' obvious intentions to offer interesting and 'pleasurable instruction' to a popular audience – seem to have appealed not just to the Yiddish, but to the Hebrew readership as well, mainly, but not only, as regards genres and works that had no counterpart in the body of contemporary Hebrew literature. The Yiddish 'historical' song is one of these genres.

The Yiddish 'historical' song (*'historish' lid*) – a traditional and long-lasting Yiddish genre – was not designed to describe past events for posterity. Its purpose was to supply the contemporary reader with fresh information on current events, playing a similar role to that of the newspaper, since – apart from one isolated and short-lived venture in Amsterdam – no Yiddish newspaper appeared before the mid-nineteenth century. Like the newspaper, the Yiddish 'historical' song, because it immediately printed a realistic portrayal of an event,

can be used to some extent as an historical source, but cannot be classified as an historiographical work.

This literary genre is almost the only kind of Yiddish literary expression of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries which deals directly and entirely with contemporary events. Compared to its parallels in European literature – mainly in German and Polish – it shows similarities as well as differences: the Yiddish songs do not fall into the category of folklore, and there is no evidence of their ever having become part of the oral tradition, been converted into folksongs, or undergone popular abridgements or adaptations.

‘Historical’ songs are known in European literature from the sixteenth century, after the spread and decrease in cost of printing. In Yiddish, however, the first known song of this kind was printed in 1616, and from then to the end of the eighteenth century around fifty have come down to us. Almost all are preserved in one single copy, and more than half in the Bodleian Library in Oxford as part of the collection of one man, Rabbi David Oppenheim of Prague, whose activity as collector of Jewish books and manuscripts ceased around 1720.

The songs we have are no doubt a small part of a much larger number printed during this period that did not reach us for various reasons: the size and quality of the editions – most were printed in small, cheap booklets of four, eight or twelve octavo-size leaves; the short-lived interest they aroused owing to the fleeting nature of the events they deal with; the insecurity of Jewish life; and the need to preserve books of greater value, mainly in Hebrew. These and other factors seem to explain why the Oppenheim collection lacks even songs printed during the collector’s lifetime in his own city. The fact that each discovery of a collection of Yiddish books from this period reveals hitherto unknown ‘historical’ songs or editions of them, strengthens the assumption that their numbers, as in other literatures, must have reached into hundreds.

The extant songs deal with events occurring in one or more of the Jewish communities across the entire Ashkenazi, Yiddish-speaking area, from Amsterdam and Metz in the west, to Wilno and Uman in the east. The events dealt with are mainly fires and plagues, sieges and wars, persecutions and expulsions, trials and executions, natural disasters and other calamities, and even the deaths of famous rabbis or other important people.

The authors, mainly religious functionaries such as scribes, preachers,

beadles, teachers or cantors, were quite often eye-witnesses to the events they described, for the most part writing in Yiddish but sometimes in bilingual form with parallel Hebrew and Yiddish versions. In accordance with the journalistic nature of the genre – and whether the author actually witnessed the event described or not – the songs were mainly written immediately after the event occurred and printed very soon after that, even though Prague and Amsterdam served as printing places for most of the songs, and some of the events took place far away from these cities.

Yiddish ‘historical’ songs combine elements of the Hebrew lamentation tradition with stylistic and structural devices borrowed from the German ‘historical’ song. While only a few are written in rhymed prose, the great majority make use of various kinds of stanza structure that originated either in Hebrew or German poetry. Some are accompanied by a refrain, often in Hebrew (*e.g. amen amen ve-amen, oyna lanu ki hatanu*) and seldom in Yiddish (*fater kinig*), and many are explicitly intended to be sung with a well-known tune, taken sometimes from the Jewish liturgical tradition, such as the tune of *Adir ayom venora*, the *Akedah* (liturgical poem on the binding of Isaac), the memorial prayer *El male rahamim*, and at times from German popular songs such as *Die Schlacht von Pavia*, *Der Graf von Rom*, or *Einmal das ich Lust bekam*.

There is no doubt that although the songs respond to literary traditions and conventions as well as to the taste of the period, the thoughts and emotions of the authors reflect the taste, viewpoint, stance, feelings, fears and hopes aroused by an event in the community as a whole. In addition Yiddish, the language of the songs, spoken and understood by all, depicts events in an incomparably more concrete and detailed manner than does the traditional Hebrew *kinah*, elegiac responses to events of this kind intended to be recited in the community’s synagogue at the anniversary of the event at least for several years, and thus to play a ritual commemorative role. Hebrew *kinoth* - Lamentations recited on the ninth of Av - omitted the vivid description and detail of remembered events, producing a far more abstract text.

From the viewpoint of the historian the most important Yiddish ‘historical’ songs are those which describe events formerly unknown to historical research. However, even where the historical events are well known, the songs serve to expand or enrich our knowledge to a greater or lesser degree in different ways. They may add hitherto unknown details or clarify the known ones. They may

bring to light aspects that are not displayed in other sources, or shed a new light from a different perspective on others. But what makes this genre unique are the vivid and detailed depictions of the event and the people involved, the fresh illustration of their – as well as the authors’ – attitudes and reactions to the occurrences, and the insight they provide into diverse aspects of the spiritual and material world of the time.

Although Yiddish ‘historical’ songs were clearly written and printed for the benefit of their authors’ contemporaries, in surviving they have become historical source-material of great importance, as well as a treasure of information on Old Yiddish literature in general and on the ways in which it made possible the immediate diffusion of news about actual events.



POETICS OF OLD YIDDISH LITERATURE: THE CASE OF THE *MAYSEBUKH*

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Literature in Yiddish, the language of Ashkenazi Jewry, was still a young phenomenon in the sixteenth century, although it had come a long way since 1272 when the earliest complete Yiddish sentence known to us had been written: a blessing in a prayer book for the High Holidays, known as the Worms Mahzor.

Yiddish paraphrases of the Hebrew Bible, prayers and collections of religious customs had been written and printed after this date, but it was only in the sixteenth century that Yiddish literature developed non-religious genres. The invention of movable type revolutionized printing, allowing Jewish books to reach an ever-growing reading public, the rise of the book market in the early-modern period making books of every kind more accessible to a wider readership. Yiddish books came to be printed and read from Venice to Lublin. In the following pages I will outline some of the historical conditions which contributed to the shaping of Yiddish literature and examine how one early-modern editor conceived of the role and style of Yiddish literature for his time.

When Ya’akov bar Avraham decided to have a Yiddish collection of stories printed called *Eyn shoel Mayse bukh*, ‘A nice book of stories’, what poetics governed this enterprise? The collection first appeared in print 1602 and is often



The earliest complete Yiddish sentence to have survived appears in the Worms mahzor, dated 1272. It is a blessing written within the body of the letters of the opening word of *tefillat hatal*, 'the prayer for dew', recited on the first day of Pesach, and says: *Gut tac im betag, she der dis mahzor in beis ha-kneses trag*, 'May he who carries this mahzor to the synagogue have a good day'. The manuscript is held in the National Library of Israel (volume 1, folio 54a).

regarded as one of the most important Yiddish books of its period. Its tales are mainly culled from the Talmud and medieval Hebrew literature, but some – as far as we can be sure today – are unknown in earlier Jewish literature. The anthology became an instant classic and has been reprinted so often that today it is commonly referred to as 'the' *Maysebukh* – although only an indefinite article appears on the actual title page, suggesting that it was then just one of many such *maysebikher*. Its initial print run is unknown, but it is known to have been popular. Nonetheless, only three copies have survived, one in the British Library (Asia Pacific 1954.c.42), another in the University Library of Basel (FA IX 113), and the last in the University Library of Latvia. The fact that one of the bestsellers of its time has been reduced to so few copies is not unusual for books from the early-modern period. Their very popularity led to them being worn out, as they passed from reader to reader. Soon after the first printing, the *Maysebukh* came to be viewed as a canonical work in its own right and was reprinted fifteen times prior to 1753, although neither the idea of compiling stories from the Talmud nor the stories themselves were new. Earlier manuscripts have survived, of

which two from the end of the sixteenth century are similar in style and content, although less comprehensive than the printed edition. One of these, written in 1580 in Rovere, Northern Italy, is in the Bavarian State Library in Munich (cod. hebr. 495), and the other, produced in Innsbruck in 1596, in the National Library in Jerusalem (Heb 8° 5245). Whether a direct link exists between the manuscripts and the first printed edition is as yet unclear. The use of the indefinite article in the book's title seems to indicate an understanding of the text as a flexible entity with several possible realizations, the printed edition being just one such possibility. Later reprints of the *Maysebukh* did not significantly alter the text from the first printed edition.

The volume was compiled by Ya'akov bar Avraham from Mezritsh, a small town near Brest, today in Belarus, and was first printed in Basel in Konrad Waldkirch's print shop in 1602. Although Konrad Waldkirch was a Christian, he issued numerous Hebrew and Yiddish works between 1593 and 1615.

The circumstances of the *Maysebukh*'s printing suggest that the conditions under which Yiddish literature developed differed in certain respects from those governing older European literatures. Nearly 400 years after the first surviving Yiddish sentence, we are still dealing with an early phase of Yiddish literary history. Yiddish is younger than many other European vernaculars, and stands out both as a minority language in the Diaspora, and because its main reference point is the Hebrew-Aramaic rabbinic tradition rather than the Latin and Greek ones. In addition, Yiddish covered a much larger geographical area than any other European vernacular, being spoken not only in the German-speaking lands where it originated, to judge by its similarities to Middle High German. As we see from the route the *Maysebukh*'s editor travelled, the Yiddish world stretched from Brest to Basle and beyond.

The preface to the *Maysebukh* is of particular importance for understanding Ya'akov bar Avraham's thinking, as this is where he explained his view of the state of Yiddish literature and his aims in publishing the work. He begins by stating that he has 'published many holy books' (MB f. 1v), referring to a daily prayer book and one of penitential prayers he printed in 1599, each containing Yiddish instructions for how the prayers should be performed, alongside the Hebrew prayer texts. He also issued an edition of the grace after meals in 1600, with the Hebrew and a Yiddish translation in two columns. All three books were produced at Konrad Waldkirch's press.



Ya'akov bar Avraham explained in his preface to the *Maysebukh* how those books were insignificant compared to this new compilation of stories written solely in Yiddish. This claim seems bold, since prayer books lie at the core of Jewish practice and Hebrew has higher religious authority, as a holy language, than the Yiddish vernacular. It soon becomes clear, however, that he did not wish to devalue the previous books, but to emphasize the value of Yiddish and to elevate the status of the *Maysebukh*. According to the preface, this Yiddish book contains no less than the whole Torah, an apparently hyperbolic assertion that becomes understandable in the light of the Jewish traditional view that the written Torah is incomplete without the oral Torah. The latter was initially transmitted by word of mouth and later in written form in the Mishnah and Talmud, from which, as mentioned, a majority of the stories in the *Maysebukh* were derived. The *Maysebukh*'s claim is to bring the essence of Mishnah and Talmud home to the Yiddish reader.

For this reason, the *Maysebukh* has relevance for male readers who were divinely commanded to study traditional Hebrew-Aramaic texts in the original languages, even if simplified Yiddish versions were popularly supposed to hold little value for the educated male reader. As women were not required to learn Hebrew or read the holy texts, Yiddish books were often pejoratively labelled 'women's literature'. But even for men, studying the holy text in the original Hebrew was never an easy task, and it is quite likely that this activity was supported by Yiddish versions of talmudic stories of the kind given in the *Maysebukh*. This supports the editor's assertion in the preface that 'even the Rabbi and his wife' (MB f. 1v) – exemplifying learned Jews – will read the *Maysebukh*, which he implies will make 'kosher' reading. As the editor emphasizes, the collection provides 'Midrashim, Ma'asim and Aggadot' (MB f. 1v), terms used to describe narrative literary genres of Jewish religious tradition. Medieval or early-modern narrative commentaries to the Torah are described as *Midrashim*, case examples used for halakhic decisions and their discussions as *Ma'asim*, and narrative parts of the Talmud as *Aggadot*.

◀ Title page of the first printed edition of the *Maysebukh*, Basel 1602. The use of *putti*, although Christian in origin, is not unusual for early-modern Jewish books, since Jewish and Christian editors and printers worked together in the same print shops. Elaborately illustrated examples such as this were costly, so were used for several books. This one appeared in various other Christian and Hebrew works.

Reading the *Maysebukh* can therefore be considered a means of self-improvement: ‘Some fables and examples are apt to teach you many a good thing and to keep you honest and of good reputation’ (MB f. 1v). In this respect, the *Maysebukh* resembles the moralistic *Musar*-literature, although the editor does not explain exactly how he intends to achieve this aim. It becomes clearer when he says he will not give the reader ‘stories about Dietrich of Bern and Meister Hildebrand’ (MB f. 1v), works commonly named as a negative contrast in early-modern Yiddish prefaces, such as those to the translation of Psalms by Elia Levita (printed by Cornelius Adelkind in Venice in 1545) or the Song of Songs by Isaak Sulkes (printed in Krakow in 1579). The frequency of such allusions suggests that these heroic epics were popular with Jewish readers, even if we know of Yiddish versions of them mostly through references. Popularity again may have compromised the survival of copies. The only other evidence to come down to us is a Yiddish version of *Sigenot* printed by Aaron Prostitz in Krakow 1597. The only surviving copy is today in the Bavarian State Library in Munich (Rar. 110), its rarity perhaps again reflecting its popularity since there are numerous negative references to it in the prefaces of religious books, suggesting the rejection of such secular entertainment literature by religious authorities.

In his preface to the *Maysebukh*, Ya’akov bar Avraham distances himself from the merely entertaining function of popular works and expresses a didactic intention. The words he uses bring to mind the dichotomy of poetics formulated by Horace - *delectare aut docere*, literature may either entertain or teach. The *Maysebukh* is designed to keep the reader focused on religious matters and to teach faith and virtues. If it also manages to entertain, so much the better. Ya’akov bar Avraham is clearly reacting to the fact that Jewish men and women had started to read for entertainment – as had Christians at that time. The editor of the *Maysebukh* saw that nothing could be done about this, so set out to produce edifying literature - ‘If you want to pass time reading, I’ll write you a nice story book’ (MB f. 1v) - and to make parts of the Hebrew-Aramaic tradition accessible in Yiddish.

Ya’akov bar Avraham does not restrict his critique to the heroic epics. A collection of Yiddish fables called the *Kuhbukh* also serves him as a negative contrast, even though the fable had been a moralistic genre since antiquity. Aesop’s high reputation led to him being echoed by medieval and early-modern Hebrew and vernacular authors. In the preface to the *Kuhbukh* we find didactic



◀ Title page of a Yiddish heroic epic, *Sigenot*, printed in Krakow, 1597, depicting motifs from the Nibelungen saga. Texts printed and distributed among Jewish readers included not only religious literature, but Yiddish paraphrases of heroic epics and other popular literature adapted from the surrounding vernacular culture.



◀ Title page of the *Kuhbukh*, edited by Abraham ben Matitya Bat-Sheva, and printed in Verona in 1595. The scene of women spinning yarn and weaving typifies the situation of story-telling in medieval and early-modern times. It was in such settings that working women (and quite likely men) might have been read to from Yiddish books.

intentions quite similar to those in the *Maysebukh*, and Avraham ben Matitya, the editor of the *Kuhbukh*, likewise dedicates his book to pious women and men. He goes on to emphasize the fables' value for entertainment and instruction, and that the *Kuhbukh* should be used for teaching children in the home. He also says that engaging with the fables would hasten the coming of the Messiah. That formula, often found also in the *Maysebukh*, reflects the Jewish view that individual behaviour has an impact on collective history and eventual salvation. By keeping the commandments and delving into Torah, Jews speed the advent of the Messiah – and by failing to do so, deter it.

For Ya'akov bar Avraham, however, fables were not pious enough in themselves. His preface implies that any merit derived from advancing values and teachings in line with the Jewish religion would be outweighed if the stories were not derived from Torah. The sole justification for narrating stories is their holy origin, any entertainment value being clearly subordinated to its source. In practice, however, the intention to include stories found only in written or oral Torah seems not to be maintained, because 6 out of 258 stories have no Hebrew-Aramaic antetype that can now be identified. Just one (no. 228) of the remaining 252 derives from the Hebrew Bible, 146 can be traced to the Babylonian or Jerusalem talmuds, and 105 go back to medieval Hebrew sources. For a story to be authorized in the eyes of the *Maysebukh*'s editor it must have been written in Hebrew or Aramaic, and Yiddish literature may not transgress the scope of the Hebrew-Aramaic tradition. The few exceptions to this rule carefully fit into Jewish religious tradition or serve, by negative contrast, to accentuate Jewish piety. Secular texts in Yiddish were anathema to Ya'akov bar Avraham, not because he had anything against the Yiddish language, but because he believed that Yiddish language and literature needed to be subordinated to the Jewish religion.

This discussion shows how the analysis of Old Yiddish poetics may contribute to our understanding of Ashkenazi and Yiddish culture. In the *Maysebukh*, Yiddish storytelling is entwined with rabbinic literature not so much a secular alternative to religious writing, but as an expansion of the Hebrew-Aramaic tradition into the vernacular.

ADVENTURES IN BIBLIOGRAPHY

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In the following pages I would like to present a few philological tools applied to Early Yiddish printed books and manuscripts. I will give examples based on a manuscript that was actually analysed during the Seminar, but I will start with printed material that resembles some of that presented by other contributors to this volume. In particular I offer here two 'discoveries' relating to texts in the Oppenheim Collection at the Bodleian Library, a vast collection rich in rarities that await any scholar who examines it.

A Song of Three Women

Two Yiddish titles mentioning דרייַ ווייבן (three women) appear in the catalogues, and the bibliographer M. Steinschneider points out that these relate to different stories told in divergent forms.¹ One is a song about three women happily drinking away their husbands' money, while the other is a prose work about three women betting on which of them can play the best trick on her husband. The anti-feminist stance is not the only trait shared by the texts, since each is derived from contemporary non-Jewish sources. The novel ultimately goes back to a Spanish text by the Baroque dramatist Tirso de Molina: 'Los cigarrales de Toledo, cigarral quinto', through a further translation,² while the language of the song shows it to have a German source.

¹ These are not to be confused with *ain schèng historie fun drei' leit*, Fürth 1789, in which the heroes are three men.

Many early German texts up to the seventeenth century are available on the internet through German libraries, giving one a better chance of discovering such sources than ever before. More general internet platforms are also of use, but Gothic script still proves stoutly resistant to automatic recognition. In this case, it is possible to identify it as a fairly faithful version of a German song, the first of three appearing in a volume whose title-page reads in full: ‘Drey schöne Neue Weltliche Lieder: Das Erste. Von dreyen Weibern/ so zum Weine gewesen/ [et]c. Im Thon: Warum solln wir denn trawren/ [et]c. Das Ander. Von der Weiber Freyheit. Im Thon: Venus du und dein Kind. Das dritte. Von einem armen Bawern/ welcher einem Hund einen halben/ [et]c. Im Thon: Hencke Knecht wat wultu thaun/[et]c. [S.l.], [ca. 1650]’. The German text is available in digital form on the internet (<http://www.gbv.de/vd/vd17/1:687684S>). This identification reveals the title of the song, and also identifies the melody to which it was to be sung, the same as is used for ‘Warum solln wir denn trawren’, which is to be found in Erk and Böhme’s collection, but without the music. The Yiddish text, however, says merely that it was *mit ain schèn nigèn gémächt gëworen* (‘put to a nice tune’). The variants between the versions are few, as a few stanzas will show, and the only ‘original’ part of this text is a more or less stereotypical advertising text on the title page.

//1
 ach du’ got mein herèn
 unsér sind fër-zei’èn tust
 weil mir izundèrt lebèn
 als iṣ grôßèr ibèr-mit
 als loutèr sind un` schänd
 si’ gengèn in den schwank
 frumkait iṣ fër-lorèn
 böṣ-hait nemt ibèr-hánt

[1]
 Ach du mein Gott und HERRE /
 unser Sünd verzeihen thue /
 dieweil wir jetzund leben
 in so groß Übermuth /
 all Laster / Sünd und Schand /
 die gehen jetze im schwang /
 Frömkeit ist gar verlosche[n] /
 Boßheit nimbt überhand.

2 (viz. ‘The Ring’ by Johann Goldwerth Müller.) The Yiddish prose work has been described in more detail in S. Zfatman’s account of early Yiddish narrative prose. It relates an often-told story of which the various versions have been scrutinized in Francis Raas, *Die Wette der drei Frauen: Beiträge zur Motivesgeschichte und zur literarischen Interpretation der Schwankdichtung* (Basler Studien zur deutschen Sprache und Literatur 58; Bern 1983), who also discusses variants known to folklorists, adducing a Yiddish variant found in Olsvanger’s *Rosinkess mit mandlen* (p. 18, no. 5).

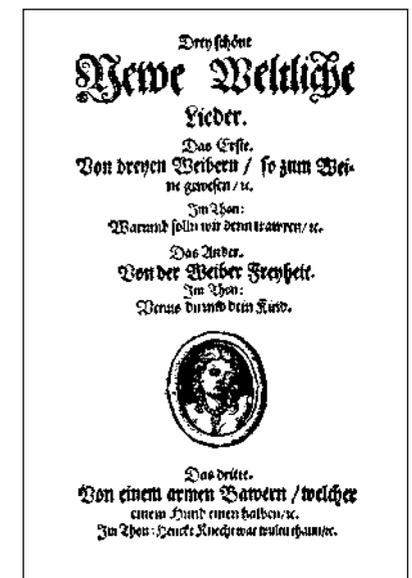
//2
 menchèr man tut fër-soufèn
 sein sin un` wiz un` fër-stånd
 niks tut er sich bedenken
 fër-suft gelt un` ach tfand
 wen er sich štelt arouṣ
 sein weib un` kind mit krouṣ [1’]
 menchèr mol woltèn si’ gern eṣèn
 un` habèn kain bröt in hous

[2]
 Mancher Mann thut versa[u]ffen /
 seinen Witz und Verstand /
 wenig thut er bedencken /
 versäuft auch Geld unnd Pfand /
 wenn er so schlemmet draus /
 sihe Weib und Kind mit grauß /
 sie wolten oft gern essen /
 haben kein Brod im Hauß.

//1 Oh, you my God and my Lord, / do pardon our sins / because we now live in such wanton-ness! / Everywhere is sin and shame; / as they hold sway, / all piety is lost, / evil has its say. //2 Many a man does drink away / his wits and understanding. / Little does he think, / drinks away money and pledge / while he eats and squanders. / Look in horror at his wife and children: / they would often like to eat / but have no bread at home.



▲ ‘Ain schen lid fun drei’ weiber’. (Bodleian Libraries. Opp. 8° 556 (2), fol. 1r.)



▲ Title-page of *Drey schöne Neue Weltliche Lieder*. (Staatsbibliothek Berlin. Ye 1770 = R, fol. 1r.)

The Yiddish version may not show much originality, but it is of historical value because the minor variants are revealing, and because the fact that such a song was borrowed from a non-Jewish repertoire reflects the taste of the Jewish public. (For another identification of the German source of a song, see the contribution of Diana Matut.) Most older Yiddish popular songs of this kind must have been lost without trace, a fate shared by similar works in other European vernaculars. As a result, any Yiddish song evidently derived from a German original might even be the sole testimony to an otherwise lost source.

A Case of Surreptitious Advertisement

The second example to be looked at here is a text of entirely Jewish origin. It appears in an apparently unspectacular octavo of just eight unnumbered leaves without a title, place or date of printing, or even very promising content. It is presented in the catalogues under the title ‘Hasoges’ (‘criticism’), a word handwritten on the endpaper because it is mainly a list of corrections of errors found in previously printed Yiddish books about Jewish customs. But this seemingly unpromising work offers ample rewards: it testifies to a sort of Yiddish library and even creates a rich Yiddish ‘intertext’ by citing books deemed available to any pious Jew at the time (because, as the author explains, since so many books have appeared in Yiddish no one can be excused for not knowing the law). It appears that its author, who lived in the eighteenth century, when piety was no longer the obvious choice and when those who endeavoured to adhere to Jewish ritual law had to be doubly cautious and strict, was none other than the well-known Elkhonen Henele Kirchhan, the author of the famed ‘Simkhes-hanefesh’. That famous example of ethical literature (*musar*) comprises two volumes, the second of which was republished by Shatzky as a facsimile on its bicentennial. Its fame is based on the printed musical notation for the (pious) songs by the author, interspersed between detailed explanations of customs and one moral tale. This second part had never previously been reprinted, although the first part was reissued dozens of times and soon stood on the shelves of many pious Ashkenazi households. Fragments of various editions can be found in every genizah in Ashkenaz.

This first part of ‘Simkhes-hanefesh’ – with its many moral tales and lengthy moralizations followed by explanations of the finer points of Jewish customs –

was first printed anonymously in Frankfurt am Main in 1707. It shares many traits with the booklet we are considering now, since both are anonymous, present a rigorist view of Jewish practice and criticize more permissive or erroneous earlier Yiddish publications. They also share linguistic peculiarities and, perhaps more strikingly, make use of the same Yiddish library, the above-mentioned ‘intertextuality’ appearing in the first part of ‘Simkhes-hanefesh’ that quotes the same books. Decisively, our booklet repeatedly mentions ‘Simkhes-hanefesh’ as the best authority and, when amending it, instead of protesting ‘this is wrong’ as with other sources, suggests only that a word is missing or that a misprint needs correction. He even knows the intentions of the author, and consistently advertises his work. Reference is made to the same earlier Yiddish books in this thin booklet and in the first part of the bulkier ‘Simkhes-hanefesh’, as is shown below in boldface. Even some of the same linguistic peculiarities appear here and in the work of Elkhonen, such as the following words which are relatively uncommon in Western Yiddish:

- *bis datè* (‘to date, up to now’) on 4v echoes five occurrences in ‘Simkhes-hanefesh’ (plus one in the second part).
- *mestn* (‘measure’ with a [t] as in modern Eastern Yiddish, but contrary to standard German and to most older Yiddish texts appears twice in the infinitive in ‘Hasoges’, and is also the infinitive used in ‘Simkhes-hanefesh’ (where the corresponding strong participle *gèmostén* is also found).
- the verb *zi’én*, *gèzògèn* (a [g] appearing usually only in the participle in Yiddish, as in Ger-man) here also exhibits the [g] in the present tense (2^r: *èerman di’ thefilin zu-zigt*). This is also the (unusual) norm in ‘Simkhes-hanefesh’ (which contains over 50 examples including present and infinitive forms in both volumes).
- the verbal prefix *ein-* appears in ‘Hasoges’ as *in-* (2^v: *in-hébt*, 3^r *in-macht*, three times), as also in ‘Simkhes-hanefesh’ over 120 times in the first volume alone, not counting the parallel *arin-* (not attested in ‘Hasoges’).
- occasionally the prefix *fèr-* in *fèr-richtèn* is written together with the verbal stem as one word (with only one [r] and only in the case of this verb); this is found once in ‘Hasoges’ and over 20 times in ‘Simkhes-hanefesh’.

This allows us confidently to ascribe the booklet to the same author as ‘Simkhes-hanefesh’, which is why we should not be surprised to see him

describing points in which he has noticed people going astray (*tsitses*), just as he does in the second part of ‘Simkhes-hanefesh’ (for *tkhum-shabes* and *eyrev*). But it remains unclear where and when this booklet was printed, and even whether it is complete or just the last quire of a now-lost larger work. It seems possible that it predates the second part of ‘Simkhes-hanefesh’, since it is anonymous, like the first volume, and follows a different strategy in enhancing sales of the (probably already very successful) first part.

You will see below on the left passages from our booklet (‘Hasoges’) citing other Yiddish books in their order of appearance, and, on the right, similar quotations from ‘Simkhes-hanefesh’. The similarity of the ‘bookshelf’ is striking (although ‘Simkhes-hanefesh’ cites more, see the quotation from 23^r).

Hašogess

1^v

un` dèr-weil hazadik Michèl Epštain, ‘olev-hašolem, selbsten gèbetèn hot in seinèr thè-filè, wer ain to‘ess gèfind, sol dem ‘olem mòdiè‘ sein, drum wil ich erst schreibèn di’ dinim, was nit recht seinèn in seinèr **Thèfilè-derech-jèšore** un` in sein **Der-ech-hajošer**, was to‘ess seinèn un` andèrst teitschèn kan; :

4^v

biš datè hab ich gèfundèn in Thèfilè-derech-jèšore vèš` Derech-hajošer; nun wil ich schreibèn di’ to‘ess un` um-rechtè dinim, was in dem **š` haHajim** štèt, was be’Amstèrdàm iš gèdrukt gèworèn; :

6^v

nun welèn mir schreibèn etlichè dinim, di’ in **Lev-tòv** štenèn, di’ nit recht seinèn; :

7^v

ʿX in **Minhogim** štèt: „wen mán fèr-gest Athè-ḥananthonu, un` er wer in ain land, wu kain wein wakšt, muš er noch amol Šmòne‘Ešre orèn;“ das iš ain to‘ess: [...]

Šimḥass-hanefēš

i^r

den in **weibèr-bichèlchè** seinèn etlichè to-ess drinèn un` ach nit alès gèštelt; das wert ir alès in disèm šefèr gèfindèn. . ach alè **dinè-bircass-hanhogin** gèštelt fulkumlich; seinèn schön gèdrukt atail in šeforim, seinèn filè to‘ess drinèn, . in disèm šefèr recht gèštelt, der-noch zu richtèn. .

ii^v

es seinèn wol gèdrukt atail dinim ouf teitsch, seinèn fil to‘ess drinèn; kenèn leit dran nichšèl werèn, ubifrát [Amst. 1703, C.B.7201–1] **š` haHajim**, was beAmstèrdàm iš gèdrukt gèworèn, seinèn fil to‘ess drinèn; mán kan sich nit der-noch richtèn.

23^r

bifrat izund seinèn gèdrukt gèworèn gròßè thòre, dinim vèšifre-mušer ouf teitsch: b` hèlokim Kāv-hajošer, . **š` Derech-hajošer**, . **Thèfilè-derech-jèšore**, . b` hèlokim Ma‘éše H, . Abir-Jakoṽ, . Orḥèss-zadikim, . **Lev-tòv**, . Brand-špigèl . un` sunstèn andèrè šè-forim;

7^v

ʿI in **weibèr-bichèlchè** štèt nit recht mit weiš an-lègèn; ach nit recht: wen mán sich sol pòreš sein me’išthò ach nit dèr-noch zu richtèn den ši‘er fun cèssomim; :

7^v

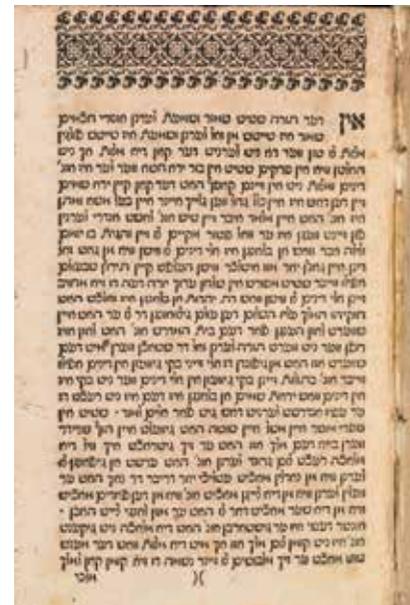
ach seinèn wi’ fil mol gèdrukt gèworèn klainè [8^r] bichlèch, wu **brochess-han-ho[g]in** drinèn štèt, seinèn fil [felèr] [drinèn]; [...] solchè dinim alè gèfind mán in **š` Šimhass-hanefēš**, alès dèr-klert.

71^b

dinè cašèrn seinèn in **Minhogim** gèdrukt. ach was itlèchèr wol; doch sol mán nišhèr sein an ereṽ-Pešah gar nit zu cašèrn. .

84^a

in **weibèr-bichèlchè** štèt gèdrukt drei’ lin-sèn gròs, ḥaš-vèšolem, ain frau’ selbsten sich dèr-noch zu richtèn; . ach nit richtèn [84^b] noch dem **weibèr-bichèl** mit dem weiš-an-lègèn, štèt ach nit recht. .



The first page of *Hasogess*. (Bodleian Libraries. Opp. 8° 210, fol. 1r.)

Manuscript Can. Or. 12

We will now turn to a famous Yiddish manuscript and draw some conclusions as to its making. The manuscript held in the Bodleian Library identified as Can. or. 12 is famous on many accounts. It has a touching history, having been written in Venice in the last months of 1553, probably as a wedding present for a young

woman. As the most comprehensive early collection of Yiddish writings, it was at the centre of several discussions in the Seminar, several of whose members focused on at least one of the texts it contains. Individual parts of the manuscript are addressed by Claudia Rosenzweig and Ingedore Rüdlin in this volume. We hoped that by concentrating on the manuscript in this way our combined efforts would give us an overview of the entirety and give us a better understanding of the young writer responsible for copying most of the volume: *hana'ar Kalmen bar Šimé'on šalit Péskāról*' as he calls himself in the first colophon (90^r). The manuscript has been thoroughly described and analysed in Yiddish by Nokhem Shtif;³ a description in English and in Italian is included in the catalogue 'Italia';⁴ and several of its texts have been edited in scholarly journals. We have tried to go beyond this, however, as the following discussion will show.

The little that is known about the writer's family has been summarized by Claudia Rosenzweig;⁵ and Abraham Pescarol b. Kalonymos (cf. C.B. 7731; corr. Ven. 1544, Cremon. 1565) may be added as a probable member of the same family. The colophon reveals that he was young when he worked on it, and it may have been his first substantial project, since beginners were entrusted with Yiddish manuscripts rather than Hebrew ones, which were higher on the scale of holiness. He nevertheless made many mistakes, perhaps because he understood little of what he was writing. He has generously peppered the manuscript with dated colophons (90^r, 207^r, 241^r), using first the secular variant of his name, *Kalmen*, then the Hebraized *Kalonymos*, and more importantly we can measure his pace of writing. He began the first part (*Minhogim*) on Thursday 2 November 1553 and finished on Sunday 12 November, meaning that he wrote ten leaves a day on nine writing days, resting on Saturdays. He seems to have maintained a regular pace, reaching fol. 207^r in 'mid-Teveth 31[4]', although he mentions also having written the *renténis*, 'riddles', by then, which appear on fol. 214f., suggesting that the order of quires may have been altered. He started the 'Sayings of the Fathers' on Monday 25th on 216^r, and finished them on fol. 241^r on Wednesday 27 December 1553.

3 A geshribene biblyotek in a yidish hoyz in Venetsye in mitn dem 16tn y"l, *Tsaytshrift*, Minsk 1 (1926), cols 141-50 & 3/4 (1928), cols 525-44.

4 Erika Timm and Chava Turniansky, *Yiddish in Italia. Manoscritti e libri a stampa in yiddish dei secoli XV-XVII / Yiddish in Italia. Yiddish Manuscripts and Printed Books from the 15th to the 17th century* (Milano 2003) 96f., no. 47.

5 *Elye Bokher. Due canti Yiddish. Rime di un poeta ashkenazita nella Venezia del Cinquecento*, a cura di Claudia Rosenzweig (Arezzo: Bibliotheca Aretina 2010) = Quaderni di traduzione 4 (2010), here p. 33.

Only one text in the collection might be his own composition rather than a copy: the riddles just mentioned. There are no known parallels in Yiddish for these, although comparable material can sometimes be found in Hebrew, suggesting that he might have written down riddles he learned orally. All of these, except for one,⁶ are amusing arithmetical puzzles followed by their solutions, although there is no indication of how to solve them. It is difficult to draw any firm conclusions from five riddles on three pages, but it is worth looking at one example. The first example, which fills the first page, is transcribed here:

[214^r] dó wil ich schreibèn hipschē
renténis; un` di thérüzì` wil ich ach
schreibèn vār di lāng weil;
wi' gèt dās zu: eš gēnēn drei' pou'èrin
an plāz; klichè hót ain kōrb mit air; ainē
hót zēhēn air in irēn kōrb un` ainē drei-
bik un` ainē vūfzik; . un` mächēn ain
maškōnē; wi'-vil di pou'èrin vūn zēhēn
air gībt, asō müsēn si alē gebēn; un` ku-
mēn an plāz, un` iklichè vēr-kāft ir air
al, un` dēr-nōch zēlēn si ir gelt, dó hót
ainē gēlēst gleich aš vil aš di anāndēr;
wi' kumt dās? wer eš kān dēr-rōtēn, dēn
wil ich di air zālēn; der thērez: an erstēn
gebēn si sibēn um ain pfenig; vūn zēhēn
air bleibēn ibēr drei air, un` hót ain pfe-
nig gēlēst; di vūn dreibik, di hót gēlēst
vir pfenig, dās sein echt-un` zwainzik,
un` bleibēn ibēr zwai air; un` di
pou'èrin vūn vū[fz]lik, di hót [vè]r-kāft
nōun-un` virzik un` hót gēlēst sibēn
pfenig- un` ir bleibt ibēr ain ai; dēr-
nōch vēr-kāft di vūn zēhēn iklichēs ai
um drei pfenig, un` asō mübēn si al vēr-

[214^r] Here I shall write nice riddles,
and the answers I shall write too to whi-
le away the time.

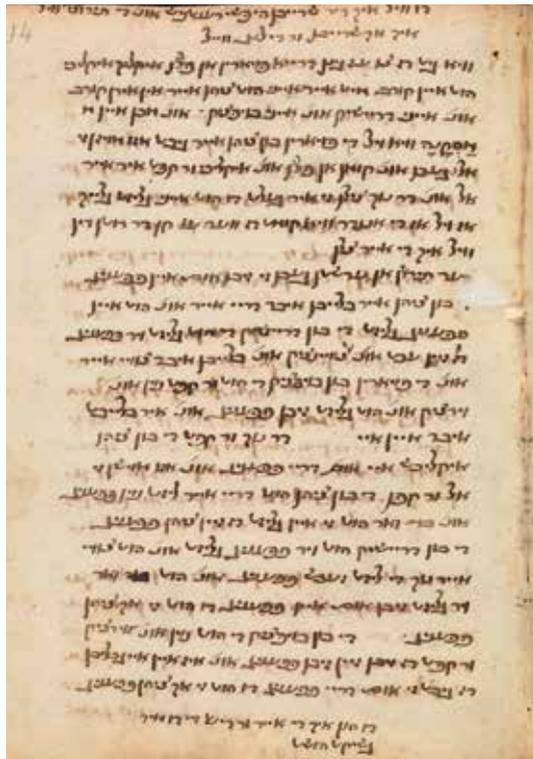
How can this be: three peasant women
are on their way to the [market] place;
each one with an egg basket. one has ten
eggs in her basket, one has thirty of
them and one fifty. They agree that
whatever the women with ten eggs will
ask for them, the others must do the sa-
me. They reach the [market] place. and
they sell all their eggs and in the end
they count their money: every one of
them has earned the same amount as the
others. how come? Who can guess that
gets the price of the eggs from me!

The answer: first they sell seven eggs
for one penny; of ten eggs, three remain
and she has earned one penny. the one
with thirty has earned four pence (that is
28 [eggs]) and she still has two eggs;
and the woman with 50 eggs has sold 49
and earned seven pence and she has one
egg left; – after that the women with the

6 The fourth one, still well known, was cunningly slipped in among the others: a peasant and his daughter and a monk and his cook go for a walk and find three apples that they share without cutting. How? They are but three people altogether. This is the only riddle that has so far been edited, see Jerold C. Frakes, *Early Yiddish Texts 1100-1750: With Introduction and Commentary* (Oxford: OUP 2004) 286f., no. 54.

káfen; . di v̄un zèhèn hòt drei air, lèst nōun pfenig, un' v̄u vor hòt si ain gelèst, dàs sein zèhèn pfenig; di v̄un dreißik hòt vir pfenig gelèst un' hòt zwai air nōch; di lèst sechs pfenig un' hòt v̄of vor vir gelèst sibèn um ain pfenig, dò hòt si ach zèhèn pfenig; . di v̄un vūfzik, di hòt nōun-un ṽvirzik vèr-káft, dàs sibèn sein sibèn pfenig, un' is ain ai geblibèn; dàs gibt si um drei pfenig, dò hòt si ach zèhèn pfenig; dò hòn ich di air vèr-dint, di du mir gé-schikt hòst;

10 eggs sells them at three pence an egg – and all of them must do as she does. the one with ten eggs has three eggs [left], she earns nine pence and since she had already earned one, she has now got ten pence; the one with thirty [eggs] has earned four pence and she still has two eggs. She earns six more pence to her previous four and she also has got ten pence. the one with fifty [eggs] has already sold 49 for seven pence, and one egg is left, she sells it for three pence, so that she also has got 10 pence. Now I have deserved the eggs that you sent me!



The first mathematical puzzle. (Bodleian Libraries. Manuscript Can. Or. 12, fol. 214r.)

The witty remark at the end seems to be a standard way of concluding the solution to a riddle, since he concludes the second riddle (about apples) in a similar way: ‘now I have really deserved my apples!’ The egg riddle supposes a contrived situation, and a product that might be sold at six times its initial price, but it is not unique. It can be found in early books of reckoning such as the *Plenaria arithmetica: oder, Rechen buch auff linien vnd ziffern, samp...* by Nicolaus Kauffunger (Cassel 1647) 133, where the initial situation is slightly different: the three daughters of a peasant carry respectively ten, thirty and fifty apples to the market, although the concept, numbers and solution are the same (and the author says he draws this puzzle from an earlier authority). There is an earlier example in a Hebrew mathematical manuscript also kept at the Bodleian Library (MS Mich. 60 = Neubauer 1271) written in Frankfurt am Main in 1537, which ends with 27 puzzles, the last of which (on fol. 174^v) is identical to ours (three women selling eggs) although told more succinctly.⁷ Steinschneider thought the manuscript had a German source,⁸ but this has not been proven. The puzzle may have been popular among Jews for some time without leaving other written traces.⁹

In order to gain an overall impression of the manuscript, one would have to present all its texts, but for the sake of brevity I shall only mention some of these.

The second text in the collection presents the ritual commandments affecting women, in rhyming couplets.¹⁰ The numbering of its chapters here differs from that in the printed editions, since it starts with chapter 70 (corresponding to 67 of the printed ‘Mitsves-noshim’, Venice 1552/3) because, as the scribe says on fol. 90^v: ‘I will not write the rules of *nide*, because you already have them in writing, therefore I won't write it’. Another manuscript must once have been on the shelf of *Sorline bass Mendele Caz*, but this seems not to have survived. The extant text on women's commandments is otherwise akin to ‘Mitsves-noshim’ Venice 1552/3, but includes occasional lines of verse not found in the printed editions,

7 For other parallels and variants to this problem, the earliest European one dating from the thirteenth century, cf. David Singmaster's internet publication: ‘Sources in recreational mathematics’ (eighth preliminary edition) § 7.P.5: Selling different amounts ‘at same prices’ yielding the same.

8 M. Steinschneider, *Mathematik bei den Juden* (Berlin/Leipzig 1893/1899 and Frankfurt 1901) 216.

9 The fifth and last puzzle in our collection also has a parallel in the previous number, 26, in the same Hebrew manuscript, though with changed numbers, even though the Hebrew text offers two variants.

10 On this genre see Edward Fram, *My Dear Daughter: Rabbi Benjamin Slonik and the Education of Jewish Women in Sixteenth-Century Poland* (Cincinnati 2007), with an appendix describing the different printed and extant manuscript versions and characterizing their main types, pp. 139-49; for our manuscript, see pp. 142f.

perhaps for reasons of (self-) censorship.

Our scribe tried to reproduce his source without improving or altering the text, even to the extent of respecting the spellings of the version he was copying. Spellings therefore vary, as one can see by comparing three distinct segments. The verb °*sagén*, ‘to say’, is usually spelled with ן (a) in the ‘Minhogim’ + ‘Frauen-büchlein’ (1) but without ן (á) in the Five Scrolls (2) and ‘Pirkey-oves’ (3). Here, I list only the most frequent forms of the simplex °*sagen* °*sagt* and °*gesagt*, in numbered columns corresponding to these three sections:¹¹

	(1)	(2)	(3)	
gesagt	13	0	0	גזאגט
gesagt	1	0	0	גזאגט
sagén	24	1	1	זאגן
sagén	87	1	0	זאגין
sagt	354	2	0	זאגט
geságt	12	18	5	גזגט
ságén	14	27	23	זגן
ságén	6	3	0	זגין
ságt	147	105	143	זגט

The writer would have been especially careful accurately to reproduce rare or archaic forms he could not understand, and thus struggled with the ‘Sayings of the Fathers’ (PO = ‘Pirkey-oves’) and with three of the ‘Five Scrolls’ (Lamentations, Esther and Ecclesiastes) which were more archaic in language than the other two (Ruth and the Song of Songs). PO stands out with *den-pfahén*, *den-pfing*, where the other texts use *anpfangén*, *anpfing* (‘receive’). Especially striking while reading 149v (‘Eykhe’ = Lamentations 4.8-4.16) are such spellings as (l. 3) /*holin*/ for /*holz*/ and l. 22 /*antlein*/ for /*antliz*/. Here the source text clearly used a final *tsadik* (ץ) that could be easily misread as *yud-nun* (ן). With handwriting such as that of our scribe, this could not have happened since the additional stroke of the *tsadik* is much higher than his *yud*. A final *tsadik* similar

¹¹ I omit less frequent forms, compounds and a few barely legible occurrences, but these would not alter the overall impression. Of course (1) is much longer than the other excerpts together, so that only the relative proportions can be compared.

to the ones that misled our writer can be found in the Cambridge manuscript (1382) and in a tractate on bloodletting (1396). Some of the latest known examples are reproduced in the catalogue ‘Italia’: nos 15 (written in 1450) and 77 (a letter written in 1476). A final *tsadik* such as led *Kalonymos* astray seems to have disappeared before 1500.

Nevertheless, the fact that the word /*antliz*/ went repeatedly unrecognized is also revealing: here is a list of the distribution of the forms /*enzlit*/ and /*antliz*/ in our manuscript:

antliz & *enzlit* in MS Can. Or. 12

[...]	
Ruth:	[2,10] 118 ^v -14 ouf ir enzlitén
Ct:	[7,9] 140 ^r -6 v̄un seiném enzlit
.....	
*Th:	[4,16] 149 ^v -(-1) antli[z] der cohanim
	[5,11] 150 ^v -18 antli[z] der sékenim
*Esther	[1,14] 154 ^r -18 antli[z] des kunigs
	[7,8] 162 ^v -15 un` antli[z] Homen si wordén v̄or-schmet
*Eccl.	[8,1] 176 ^r -16 sein entli[z]
.....	
	[...] סליק חמש מגילות : חזק / חזק
.....	
182 ^r	הַצְדִּיקָה לְךָ הַגִּדְרָה zu dir gót iṣ di / gērechtikait un` / zu uns vver-schemt enzlit waṣ sólén mir klágén un`
187 ^r -(-1)	[Ps 103,8] lāng zórn enzlét
197 ^v -17	sein hout v̄un sein enzlit
.....	
*219 ^v -8-9	[PO 1,15] antliz
*227 ^r -11	[PO 3,22] ouf sein antli[z]
*230 ^v -(-1)	[PO 4,29] nit den-pfahung antliz
*236 ^r -1-2	[PO 5,23] ain štárkés antliz zu den géhéném / . un` ain schemigés antliz
.....	
242 ^r -1	[ma‘éše] enzlit zu den reichén
255 ^v -4	aṣ-báld vil si ouf ir enzlit
267 ^v -(-1)	dó wár / dein anzlit luchtén

Our writer has no problem with the word *enzlit*, but does not recognize it as */antliz/*. According to Timm,¹² *antliz* disappeared before 1500, ‘Antlitz’ becoming established in German and *enzlit* in Yiddish, though mostly in biblical translations or elevated style. The written source for the last three Scrolls must therefore have been over fifty years old when Kalmen copied it, as a young man. ‘Pirkey-oves’ must also have been taken from an old source text, although it was probably in another hand since *tsadik* is never mistaken for *yud-nun*. Or perhaps Kalmen had made some progress by then – besides which, the PO part of the manuscript has other linguistic peculiarities. Another difference between the first two and the last three Scrolls is a preference for *das* and *es* spelled with *sin* (ש, i.e. שד and שע) in the first two, as opposed to *zayen* (ז, i.e. זד and זע) in the other three, confirming the scribe's desire to reproduce his source faithfully.

	116 ^v –142 ^v (Ruth & Song of Songs)	143 ^v –181 ^v (Lamentations, Esther & Ecclesiastes)	
dás	200	42	שד
es	43	32	עש
dás	90	352	זד
es	16	142	עז

These glimpses into his working practice help us understand one of the main actors in the production of this manuscript, and often to commiserate with his plight.

¹² Erika Timm, *Historische jiddische Semantik. Die Bibelübersetzungssprache als Faktor der Auseinanderentwicklung des jiddischen und des deutschen Wortschatzes* (Tübingen 2005) 213f, s.v. ‘enz-lit’.

THE ACADEMIC YEAR



COURSES, LECTURES, CONFERENCES, PUBLICATIONS AND OTHER ACTIVITIES BY FELLOWS OF THE CENTRE

Courses Taught by Fellows of the Centre

Dr Miri Freud-Kandel

Modern Judaism (BA in Jewish Studies; BA in Theology and Oriental Studies)

Judaism in History and Society (BA in Theology)

Modern Judaism (MSt in the Study of Religions)

The Development of Religious Movements in Judaism from c. 1700 to the Present Day (MPhil in Modern Jewish Studies)

The Emergence of Modern Religious Movements in Judaism (MSt in Jewish Studies)

Professor Martin Goodman

Jewish History 200 BCE to 70 CE (MSt in Jewish Studies)

The Formation of Rabbinic Judaism (with Ben Williams) (BA in Theology and BA in Theology and Oriental Studies)

Hellenistic Jewish Literature (MSt in Jewish Studies in the Graeco-Roman Period)

Courses, Lectures, Conferences, Publications and Other Activities by Fellows of the Centre

Dead Sea Scrolls (MSt in Jewish Studies in the Graeco-Roman Period)

Religions in the Greek and Roman Worlds, 31 BC - AD 312 (BA in Literae Humaniores)

Varieties of Judaism in the Late Second Temple Period (MSt in Jewish Studies and BA in Theology)

Dr David Rechter

Modern European Jewish History (MSt in Jewish Studies)

Modern Jewish History (MPhil in Modern Jewish Studies)

Dr Alison Salvesen

Septuagint (MSt in Jewish Studies)

Wisdom of Solomon (MSt in Jewish Studies in the Graeco-Roman Period; MPhil Eastern Christian Studies)

Ben Sira (MSt in Jewish Studies in the Graeco-Roman Period; MPhil Eastern Christian Studies)

Dr Zehavit Stern

Eastern European Jewish Culture: Tradition, Crisis and Innovation (MSt in Jewish Studies)

Modern Yiddish Literature, 1864-1939 (MSt in Yiddish)

Modern Yiddish Poetry (MSt in Yiddish)

Modern Judaism: The Hasidic Story (BA in Theology and Oriental Studies)

Dr Joanna Weinberg

A Survey of Rabbinic Literature (MSt in Jewish Studies, taught on her behalf by Dr Piet van Boxel)

Professor Hugh Williamson

Genesis 1-11 (BA in Hebrew Studies; MSt in Classical Hebrew Studies)

Isaiah 40-45 (BA in Hebrew Studies; BA in Theology;
MSt in Classical Hebrew Studies)

Isaiah 52-55 (BA in Hebrew Studies)

Zechariah 1-8 (BA in Hebrew Studies)

Habakkuk 1-2 and the Habakkuk Commentary from Qumran
(MSt in Classical Hebrew Studies)

Selected Psalms (BA in Hebrew Studies; MSt in Classical Hebrew Studies)

Proverbs 1, 7-9 (BA in Hebrew Studies; MSt in Classical Hebrew Studies)

Topics in Biblical History (Hebrew Studies Prelims)

Biblical Hebrew Language (1st year)
(Hebrew Studies Prelims; BA in Theology)

Biblical Hebrew Language (2nd year) (BA in Hebrew Studies)

Biblical Hebrew Language (3rd year)
(BA in Hebrew Studies; MSt in Classical Hebrew Studies)

Lectures and Papers by Fellows of the Centre

Professor Martin Goodman

‘Jewish Resistance to Rome’, Classical Association, Reading University

‘Jews on Josephus and the Roman Empire’,
Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore

‘Divine Providence, Sadducees and Epicureans in Late-antique Judaism’,
Research Seminar on Ancient History, Classics Faculty, University of Oxford

‘Toleration within Judaism’, Schechter Lecture,
Cambridge University Jewish Society

‘Richard Walzer’, Colloquium on Wartime Refugee Academics in Oxford,
Corpus Christi College, Oxford

‘Writing the Roman World’, Harry and Zoe Josephs Memorial Lecture,
Birmingham Jewish Graduates

‘Jews and the Constitutio Antoniniana’, All Souls’ College, Oxford

‘Rome in Jerusalem’, BAJA Annual Conference, University College London

Dr Miri Freud-Kandel

‘The Language of Theology in Judaism’,
British Association of Jewish Studies, Oxford

‘The Legacy of Louis Jacobs and the Place of Theological Debate in Judaism’,
Oxford Centre and Friends of Louis Jacobs, London Jewish Cultural Centre,
London

Dr David Rechter

‘A Jewish El-Dorado? Myth and Politics in Habsburg Bukovina’,
New Europe College, Bucharest, Romania

Dr Alison Salvesen

‘“Make it According to the Pattern Shown You on the Mountain”:
The Tabernacle in Exodus and the Canonization Process in the Second
Temple Period’, symposium on ‘Changes in Sacred Texts and Traditions’,
Saariselkä, Finland; and Seminar on Jewish History and Literature in the
Graeco-Roman Period, Oxford

Dr Zehavit Stern

‘The Re-imagination of Folk Performance in Modernist Poetry:
The Case of Moyshe Broderzon’, Centre for Jewish Studies,
School of Oriental and African Studies, London

Dr Joanna Weinberg

‘Real or Virtual Contact? Johannes Buxtorf’s Reading of Jewish Literature’,
at the ninth Early Modern Workshop in Jewish History, Brown University

A workshop on Isaac Casaubon at the Centre de Recherches d'Histoire Moderne, the Sorbonne, Paris

Professor Hugh Williamson

'Biblical Justice Then and Now', inaugural series of (four) Trinity Lectures at the Trinity Theological Seminary, Singapore

The Lund Lectures, North Park University, Chicago

'A Christian View of Wealth and Possessions: An Old Testament Perspective', seminar paper at North Park University

'Jacob in Isaiah 40–66', Prophecy Network, Aberdeen

'The Setting of Deutero-Isaiah: Some Linguistic Considerations', conference on 'Exile and Return' at University College London

'Redaction by Addition: Exilic *Fortschreibungen* in Isaiah', Society of Biblical Literature, San Francisco

'The Vindication of Redaction Criticism', Gothenberg University, Sweden

Publications by Fellows of the Centre

Professor Martin Goodman, *The Roman World 44 B.C. - A.D. 180*. London: Routledge (1997; Second edition, Routledge: London 2012)

– 'Jewish History, 331 BCE – 135 CE', in A. J. Levine and M. Z. Brettler (eds) *The Jewish Annotated New Testament*. New York: Oxford University Press (2011) 507-13

– 'Religious Reactions to 70: The Limitations of the Evidence', in D. R. Schwartz, Z. Weiss and R.A. Clements (eds) *Was 70 CE a Watershed in Jewish History?: On Jews and Judaism Before and After the Destruction of the Second Temple*. Leiden: Brill (2012) 509-16

– 'Philo as a Philosopher in Rome', in B. Decharneux and S. Inowlocki (eds) *Philon d'Alexandrie. Un penseur à l'intersection des cultures gréco-romaine, orientale, juive et Chrétienne*. Turnhout: Brepols (2011) 37-45

– 'Titus, Berenice and Agrippa: The Last Days of the Temple in Jerusalem', in Benjamin Isaac and Israel Yuval (eds) *Judaea-Palaestina, Babylon and Rome: Jews in Antiquity*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck (2012) 181-90

– 'Memory and its Uses in Judaism and Christianity in the Early Roman Empire: The Portrayal of Abraham', in B. Dignas and R. R. R. Smith (eds) *Historical and Religious Memory in the Ancient World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (2012) 69-82

Dr Alison Salvesen, with Timothy M. Law (eds) *Greek Scripture and the Rabbis* (Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology 66) Leuven: Peeters (2012) [publication of papers from the European Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies workshop held at Yarnton Manor, January–June 2010.]

– 'Did Aquila and Symmachus shelter under the Rabbinic Umbrella?' in Timothy M. Law and Alison G. Salvesen (eds) *Greek Scripture and the Rabbis* (Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology 66) Leuven: Peeters (2012) 107–26

– 'Midrash in Greek? An Exploration of the Versions of Aquila and Symmachus in Exodus', in J. K. Aitken, K. J. Dell and B. A. Mastin (eds) *On Stone and Scroll. Essays in Honour of Graham Ivor Davies*. BZAW 420. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter (2011) 523-36

Dr Zehavit Stern, 'Cinema as a Site of Memory: The Dybbuk 1937 and the Burden of Holocaust Commemoration', in Lawrence Baron (ed.) *The Modern Jewish Experiences in World Cinema*. Brandeis: Brandeis University Press (2011) 82-8

Dr Joanna Weinberg, 'Azariah de' Rossi and Pythagoras, or What Has Classical Antiquity to Do With "Halakhah"?' in Elisheva Baumgarten, Amnon Raz-Krakotzkin, Roni Weinstein (eds) *Tov Elem - Memory, Community and Gender in Medieval and Early Modern Jewish Societies: Essays in Honor of Robert Bonfil*. Jerusalem: Mossad Bialik (2011) 178-87

– 'La quête de Philon dans l'historiographie juive du XVIème siècle', in B. Decharneux and S. Inowlocki (eds) *Philon d'Alexandrie. Un penseur à l'intersection des cultures gréco-romaine, orientale, juive et Chrétienne*. Turnhout: Brepols (2011) 403-32

Professor Hugh Williamson, *He Has Shown You What is Good: Old Testament Justice Then and Now*. Cambridge: Lutterworth (2012)

- ‘1 Esdras as Rewritten Bible?’, in L. S. Freed (ed.) *Was 1 Esdras First? An Investigation into the Priority and Nature of 1 Esdras*. Ancient Israel and its Literature 7. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature (2011) 237–49
- ‘The Practicalities of Prophetic Writing in Isaiah 8:1’, in J. K. Aitken, K. J. Dell and B. A. Mastin (eds) *On Stone and Scroll: Essays in Honour of Graham Ivor Davies*. BZAW 420. Berlin: de Gruyter (2011) 357–69
- ‘God and Cyrus in Isaiah 41.2–3’, in D. J. A. Clines and E. van Wolde (eds) *A Critical Engagement: Essays on the Hebrew Bible in Honour of J. Cheryl Exum*. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press (2011) 372–79
- ‘A Sign and a Portent in Isaiah 8.18’, in G. Khan and D. Lipton (eds) *Studies in the Text and Versions of the Hebrew Bible in Honour of Robert Gordon*. VTSup 149. Leiden: Brill (2012) 77–86

Fellows Activities and Other News

Dr Miri Freud-Kandel

Dr Freud-Kandel was an examiner for the MSt in Jewish Studies and supervised a number of dissertations from undergraduate level through to DPhil. She convened a series of seminars focused on Gender Issues in Religions for the Theology Faculty, in their series of Interdisciplinary Seminars in the Study of Religions. She sat on the editorial board for the Academic Studies Press series on Orthodoxy. She continued to pursue her ongoing research on the theology of Louis Jacobs, and to this end has also been involved in organizing an Oxford Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies for January-June 2013, to be focused on the topic of Orthodoxy, Theological Debate and Contemporary Judaism: Exploring Questions Raised in the Thought of Louis Jacobs.

Professor Martin Goodman

Professor Goodman served as Chairman of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society, as a Member of the Council of the World Union of Jewish Studies and as a Member of the Executive Committee of the European Association of Jewish Studies. He was Director of Graduate Admissions for the Faculty of Oriental Studies, Academic Director of the Centre and Member of

the Committee of the Oxford Centre for Late Antiquity. He served also as Executive Editor of the *Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* series published by Brill of Leiden.

Dr David Rechter

Dr Rechter was on Sabbatical in Michaelmas Term, during which he completed his book entitled *Becoming Habsburg: The Jews of Austrian Bukovina, 1774-1914*. He served as a member of the Executive Committee, Leo Baeck Institute, London, and Vice-President, Leo Baeck Institute International. He is a member of the Management Committee, Cantemir Institute (Eastern and Central Europe), History Faculty; A member of the Advisory Board, Jewish Museum, Chernivtsi; and Ukraine Chair of Management Committee, Unit for Hebrew and Jewish Studies, Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Oxford.

Dr Alison Salvesen

Dr Salvesen was President of the British Association for Jewish Studies during 2011, and organized the annual conference at Yarnton Manor between 19 and 21 July. The subject was ‘Jewish Languages’, and included over sixty papers on subjects ranging from Judeo-Turkish to Stanley Kubrick’s Midrashic ‘Film Language’. The speakers were drawn mainly from institutions in the UK, but a number came also from Israel, Germany, Turkey, the Czech Republic and Eire. There was also a joint session with BAJJS’ sister organization the Society for Old Testament Study, including a discussion on the interaction between Jewish Studies and Hebrew Bible Scholarship.

From October 2011 Dr Salvesen was on research leave for the academic year, following a year spent as Academic Director of the Centre. She nevertheless taught her course in Septuagint for the MSt in Jewish Studies, and two classes for other Masters students at the Oriental Institute. She also continued with her supervision of two doctoral students and oversight of Oriental Studies students at Mansfield College.

Dr Zehavit Stern

Dr Stern co-convened the ‘European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies – Old Yiddish: Old Texts, New Contexts’, and organized the final conference held at the Bodleian Library. She supervised an MSt dissertation on Yiddish Poetry.

Dr Joanna Weinberg

Dr Weinberg was on academic leave throughout the year. From January onwards she was a recipient of an AHRC award to enable her to work on a joint project with Professor Anthony Grafton of Princeton University on Johannes Buxtorf the elder (1564-1629), one of the greatest Hebraists of the early modern period. The research focuses on Buxtorf’s common-place book, which yields illuminating information about his reading practices, and attempts to set his work in the context of late Renaissance scholarship. Research was undertaken in the University of Basel’s library which holds not only Buxtorf’s copybook, but manuscripts and books that he owned. She also examined the important holdings of Buxtorf correspondence in Zurich and joined a group on reading practices and canonical books in Berlin at the Max Planck Institute for the History of Science.

Professor Hugh Williamson

In addition to the formal lecturing listed elsewhere, Professor Williamson gave a summer lecture at Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford, led a study day for the chapter of Winchester Cathedral, was a guest speaker at a book launch in the University of Malta, and was an ‘opponent’ at pre-disputation doctoral examination in Sweden. In the summer of 2011 he completed his term as Vice-President of the British Academy. He continues as Secretary of the Semantics of Ancient Hebrew Database project, Librarian of Christ Church, Chairman of Examiners for the Faculty of Oriental Studies, and as an editorial board member of *Vetus Testamentum*, *Bulletin of Biblical Research* and *Oudtestamentische Studiën*.

SEMINARS, CONFERENCES AND SPECIAL LECTURES INVOLVING CENTRE FELLOWS

Summer Conference

The King James Bible: The Scholarly Context

(Convened by Dr Joanna Weinberg; sponsored by the James Mew Fund, the Oxford Centre for Early Modern Studies and the Oxford Unit for Hebrew and Jewish Studies)

The King James Bible in the History of Scholarship
Scott Mandelbrote (University of Cambridge)

Lambeth Palace in 1611: Its Contribution to Christian Hebraism
Professor James Carley (York University, Toronto)

‘This Text is a Monument’: Scriptural Citation and Sources in the Sermons of Lancelot Andrewes
Dr Alison Knight (University of Cambridge)

Miles Smith and the Languages of Scripture
Dr Thomas Roebuck (University of Oxford) and Karen Collis (University of Oxford)

John Bois’ Annotated Septuagint
Nicholas Hardy (University of Oxford)

Preparing the Way: Lively, Edward (c. 1545-1605)
Professor Anthony Grafton (Princeton University)

Early Oxford Hebraism (1586-1617): The View from New College
Dr William Poole (University of Oxford)

The Early-seventeenth Century Glosses in Bomberg’s Rabbinic Bible (1525) in Chetham’s Library, Manchester
Professor Philip Alexander (University of Manchester)

Conduits of Continental Scholarship: Hadrianus Saravia's Contributions to the Making of the King James Bible *Theodor Dunkelgrün (University of Chicago)*

Richard Kilby[e, ie]'s Commentary on Exodus 'iuxta Hebraeos' *Dr Joanna Weinberg (University of Oxford)*

British Association of Jewish Studies, Annual Conference
(Convened by *Dr Alison Salvesen, President of BAJIS, and held at Yarnton Manor*)

Jewish Languages (including over sixty papers)

Michaelmas Term

Seminar on Jewish History and Literature in the Graeco-Roman Period: The Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Topics
(Convened by *Professor Martin Goodman*)

Essenes in Second- to Fourth-century Literature
Dr Joan Taylor (King's College London)

Reading, Searching and Blessing: A Functional Approach to the Genres of Scriptural Interpretation in the Yahad
Professor George Brooke (University of Manchester)

Petition and Ideology in the Dead Sea Scrolls *Dr Daniel Falk (University of Oregon)*

The Yahad's Table: Meals in the Serekh Tradition *Dr Charlotte Hempel (University of Birmingham)*

The Giant's Regret in a New Fragment of Enoch *Dr Esther Eshel (Bar-Ilan University)*

Spartans in Disguise? Josephus, Essenes and Qumran
Professor James McLaren (Australian Catholic University)

In Whose Hand the Sword? Divine and Human Initiatives in the Dead Sea Scrolls *Dr Dorothy Peters (Trinity Western University, Canada)*

The 60th Anniversary of the First Doctorate on the Dead Sea Scrolls: The History of Research *Professor Geza Vermes (University of Oxford)*

European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies - Old Yiddish: Old Texts, New Contexts

(Convened by *Professor Simon Neuberger and Dr Zehavit Stern*)

Components of Western Yiddish Literature: The Shorter Genres (Part 1)
Professor Simon Neuberger (University of Trier)

Rhymes to Sing and Rhymes to Hang Up: Preparing a New Edition of Two Lampoons by Elye Bokher *Dr Claudia Rosenzweig (Bar-Ilan University)*

Between Yiddish and Hebrew: Describing Daily Life and Current Events in the Early Modern Period *Professor Chava Turniansky (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)*

The Text on the Cologne Slate Tablet, 596-10 *Professor Erika Timm (University of Trier)*

Components of Western Yiddish Literature: The Shorter Genres (Part 2)
Professor Simon Neuberger (University of Trier)

'Ashkenaz un' Polak': Yiddish Sources on a Complex Relationship in Early Modern Times *Dr Diana Matut (Martin-Luther-Universität, Halle-Wittenberg)*

Faculty of Theology Interdisciplinary Seminars in the Study of Religion: Gender and Religions

(Convened by *Dr Miri Freud-Kandel and Dr Simon Podmore*)

Meandering Through the Gender Maze: The Impact of the Gender-Critical Turn on the Study of Religions *Professor Ursula King (University of Bristol)*

Judaism, Gender and the Image: The Destruction of Idols or a Cancellation of Transcendence? *Professor Melissa Raphael-Levine (University of Gloucestershire)*

Aspects of the Yogini: A Hierarchy of Practice *Dr Sondra Hausner (University of Oxford)*

Men as Providers: The Unmaking of a Legal Fiction in Muslim Family Laws
Dr Ziba Mir-Hosseini (School of Oriental and African Studies, London)

London Lecture Series*(in association with the Jewish Museum)*

Tfu-tfu-tfu!: Cursing and Blessing in Yiddish *Professor Chava Turniansky (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)*

The Significance of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Panel Discussion *Dr Esther Eshel, Dr Daniel Falk, Professor Martin Goodman (Chairman), Dr Dorothy Peters, Professor Geza Vermes*

Seminars in Jewish Studies

Divine Substitution: Humans as the Manifestation of Deity in the Hebrew Bible *Dr Stephen Herring*

A Caveat: These Poems Are Meant to Empty You - Lyric Poetry, History and David Avidan *Riki Ophir (University of California, Berkeley)*

The David Patterson Seminars

How it Began: Europe v. the Middle East in the Orientation of the First Zionist Settlers *Professor Alan Dowty (University of Notre Dame, Indiana)*

Penitence and Supplication in 4 Ezra *Dr Daniel Falk (University of Oregon)*

Between Amsterdam and Prague: On 'Information on the Jews of Cochin' *Professor Shlomo Berger (University of Amsterdam)*

Regressed, Corrupt, 'Hypo-correct'? The Origin and Evolution of Judaeo-Arabic *Dr Miriam Wagner (University of Cambridge)*

A Woman's Life: The Memoirs of Glikl Hamel (1645-1724) *Professor Chava Turniansky (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)*

The (re) Birth of the Purim-shpil from the Spirit of Russian Avant-garde: Moyshe Broderzon and the Jewish Pierrot *Dr Zehavit Stern (Oxford Centre)*

Hilary Term

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

The Synagogue Paintings of Dura Europos: Triumphalism and Competition *Professor Tessa Rajak (Oriental Institute and Somerville College, Oxford)*

The Byzantine Context of the Yerushalmi *Dr Holger Zellentin (University of Nottingham)*

Ritual Purity at Qumran and in the Dead Sea Scrolls *Dr Dennis Mizzi (University of Malta)*

Philo and the Physiognomic Tradition *Dr David Lincicum (Mansfield College, Oxford)*

The Significance of Greek Translations of Non-canonical Works *Dr James Aitken (University of Cambridge)*

Omissions in the Textual Transmission of the Hebrew Bible *Dr Juha Pakkala (University of Helsinki)*

Adventures of the Solymoi *Professor Tim Whitmarsh (Corpus Christi College, Oxford)*

The Many Portraits of Solomon *Dr Michael Law (Oriental Institute, Oxford)*

European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies – Old Yiddish: Old Texts, New Contexts

(Convened by Professor Simon Neuberg and Dr Zehavit Stern)

Formal and Thematic Units in the Maysebukh *Wiebke Rasumny (Ludwig-Maximilians Universität, Munich)*

Yiddish Literary Genres of the Early Modern Period Seen Through the Lens of an Eighteenth-century Parody *Professor Marion Aptroot (Heinrich-Heine-Universität, Düsseldorf)*

The Book of Ruth in the Yiddish Tradition *Ingedore Rüdlin (Europa Universität Viadrina, Frankfurt an der Oder)*

'Five Beautiful New Songs': An Anthropological Reading of Old Yiddish Texts *Professor Shlomo Berger (University of Amsterdam)*

Idiomatic Expressions in Non-spoken Language *Oren Roman (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)*

Murder in the Ghetto: Urban Space, Yiddish Narrative and the Medieval Past in Early Modern Worms *Dr Lucia Raspe (Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt am Main)*

The Mildest and Wildest of Men: Di Royte Yidlekh in Jewish and Christian Imagination *Dr Rebekka Voß (Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt am Main)*

European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies Conference – Words and Worlds of Old Yiddish Literature

(Convened by Professor Simon Neuberg and Dr Zehavit Stern)

Session 1: Printing, Reading, Performing

The Yiddish Printed Book and the Development of New Modes of Reading
Professor Shlomo Berger (University of Amsterdam)

Between Italy and Poland: On the Early History of *Minhogim Books* in Yiddish
Dr Lucia Raspe (Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt am Main)

The Spielmann Theory and the Myth of the Jewish Performer in Modern Yiddish Culture
Dr Zehavit Stern (University of Oxford)

Session 2: Yiddish: The Language of Love

A Carrot in Lieu of the Stick: A Yiddish Love Letter in the Context of Pietist Missionizing of the Jews
Dr Rebekka Voß (Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt am Main)

Towards a Genre of Religious-Ethical Love Letters
Professor Marion Aptroot (Heinrich-Heine-Universität, Düsseldorf)

Session 3: Rewriting the Bible

Levirate Marriage in *Tsene-urene*
Ingedore Rüdlin (Europa Universität Viadrina, Frankfurt and der Oder)

Narrative Omission in *Shmuel Bukh*: Krakow 1578
Rachel Wamsley (University of California, Berkeley)

Session 4: On Songs and Manuscripts

Yiddish sources and European History
Dr César Merchán-Hamann (Oxford Centre and the Bodleian Library)

Fun khosn-kale, toyre un aseres hadibres: Towards a Typology of Yiddish Song in the Early Modern Period
Dr Diana Matut (Martin-Luther-Universität, Halle-Wittenberg)

Session 5: Wonder upon Wonders

Ordinary and Extraordinary Moments in the Lives of European Jews in the Sixteenth Century
Oren Roman (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

Miracle Stories in the *Maysebukh*
Wiebke Rasumny (Ludwig-Maximilians Universität, Munich)

Session 6: Out of Italy

‘To a King, To a Pig’: A Song on the Ages of Man from a Venetian Yiddish Manuscript
Dr Claudia Rosenzweig (Bar-Ilan University)

Ulrich Boner’s *Der Edelstein and the Kuhbuch*
Jennifer Juilliard-Maniece (Brasenose College, Oxford)

The *Kuhbuch*: In Search of Origins
Professor Simon Neuberg (University of Trier)

Faculty of Theology Interdisciplinary Seminars in the Study of Religion: Gender and Religions

(Convened by Dr Miri Freud-Kandel and Dr Simon Podmore)

Women in Scripture: A Panel Discussion
Rabbi Dr Deborah Kahn-Harris (Leo Baeck College, London)
Dr Elizabeth Harris (Liverpool Hope University)
Dr Shuruq Naguib (University of Lancaster)
Professor Janet Soskice (University of Cambridge)

London Lecture Series

(in association with the Jewish Museum)

Jew, Read *Mame Loshn*: On the Culture of the Yiddish Book
Professor Shlomo Berger (University of Amsterdam)

The 2012 Sidney Corob Memorial Lecture: Yiddish Song in Early Modern Ashkenaz: Background, Sources and Performance
Dr Diana Matut (Martin-Luther-Universität, Halle-Wittenberg)

Seminar in Jewish Studies

Early Medieval Jews at the Nexus of Islamic Urbanization, the Meteoric Growth of Arabic Literature and the Introduction of Paper
Professor Fred Astren (San Francisco State University)

The David Patterson Seminars

The Jewish Legions in the British Army in the First World War: A Life-writing Perspective
Professor Michael Keren and Professor Shlomit Keren (University of Calgary)

The Printing of Yiddish Quartos Around 1600
Professor Simon Neuberg (University of Trier)

Light and Enlightenment: Jewish and Scientific Conceptions of Redemption and the End of Days
Professor Norbert Samuelson (Arizona State University)

The Significance of Moses Gaster (1856-1939): The Gaster Collection at the John Rylands University Library
Dr Maria Haralambakis (University of Manchester)

The Dating of Deuteronomy
Dr Juha Pakkala (University of Helsinki)

The Nature of the Jewish State and Society in the Thought of Zeev Yavetz
Dr Asaf Yehida (Bar-Ilan University)

Western Yiddish Purim Papers
Professor Marion Aptroot (Heinrich-Heine-Universität, Düsseldorf)

Trinity Term

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

‘Make it According to the Pattern Shown You on the Mountain’:

The Tabernacle in Exodus and the Canonization Process in the Second Temple Period
Dr Alison Salvesen (University of Oxford)

Jewish Travel in Graeco-Roman Antiquity
Professor Catherine Hezser (School of Oriental and African Studies, London)

The Dating of the Talmud Yerushalmi
Dr Hillel Newman (University of Haifa)

Reclaiming the Land: Simon’s Rhetoric in 1 Maccabees 15, Between Biblical References and Seleucid Discourse
Dr Katell Berthelot (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Aix-en-Provence)

Rethinking Rewritten Bible
Dr Jonathan Campbell (University of Bristol)

History from Coin Distribution in Hellenistic-Roman Galilee
Dr Danny Syon (Israel Antiquities Authority)

The Debate Over the Dating of ‘Galilean’ Type Synagogues: New Light from the Excavations at Kh. Hamam in Eastern Galilee
Dr Uzi Leibner (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

Seminar Series

Illumination and the Making of the Hebrew Book
Dr Sarit Shalev-Eyni (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)
(Convened by Dr César Merchán-Hamann)

Tradition in Transition: The Hebrew Biblical Codex in Spain, Germany, France and Italy (Session 1)

Tradition in Transition: The Hebrew Biblical Codex in Spain, Germany, France and Italy (Session 2)

Painted Interpretation: The Ashkenazi Prayer Book

New Horizons: Illuminating Manuscripts in Italy

Seminars in Jewish Studies

What Happened Inside and Outside Treblinka II and Treblinka I: A Presentation of New Findings
Fr Paweł Rytel-Andrianik (St Cross College and Oriental Institute, Oxford)

Marian Greenberg from ‘Hadassah’ and the Saving of Thousands of Jewish Youngsters During the Holocaust: A Joint Effort Across the USA, Palestine, Europe and Great Britain
Dr Shira Koren (Bar-Ilan University)

‘Phrast Poasin’ - A Riddle from the Cairo Genizah
Dr Oded Rosenblum (University of Haifa)

The ‘Federation’ of Salonika, a Sephardic Bund?
Kostas Skordyles (St Peter’s College, Oxford)

London Lecture Series

(in association with the Jewish Museum)

‘Menasseh ben Israel’ *Dr César Merchán-Hamann (Library Director at the Centre and Hebraica and Judaica Curator at the Bodleian)*

‘Selling *Yiddishkayt* to the Jews: Folk Performance and the Quest for Authenticity in Yiddish Film’ *Dr Zehavit Stern (Inaugural Lecture as the Idel and Isaac Haase Fellow in Eastern European Jewish Civilization)*

The David Patterson Seminars

What did they Read? The Shtetl and its Books, 1780-1830 *Professor Yohanan Petrovsky-Shtern (Northwestern University, Illinois)*

‘Torah from Heaven’ (Book Launch) *Dr Norman Solomon (Oriental Institute, Oxford)*

Beyond Melancholia: A Close Reading of Arendt’s *Eichmann in Jerusalem* *Dr Michal Ben-Naftali (University of Tel-Aviv)*

Wrestling with Judas: On Jews and Literature in Turkey *Dr Laurent Mignon (St Antony’s College, Oxford)*

The Amidah – New Narrative Directions (In Memory of Professor Raphael Loewe) *Dr Jeremy Schonfield (Oxford Centre and Leo Baeck College, London)*

Teyku: The Insoluble Contradictions in the Life and Thought of Louis Jacobs *Rabbi Dr Elliot Cosgrove (Park Avenue Synagogue, New York)*

Lorenzo de’ Medici’s State Censorship of Hebrew Manuscripts: Florence, August 1472 *Dr Nurit Pasternak (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)*

The Dialectical Transformation from Orthodoxy to Zionism: Lilienblum as a Case Study *Dr Bracha Ben-Shamai (University of Tel-Aviv)*

VISITING SCHOLARS’ AND FELLOWS’ REPORTS

Dr Yonatan Adler

Dr Yonatan Adler of Bar-Ilan University stayed at the Centre from 3 May until 1 September. He discussed in his doctoral dissertation and several published studies the question of how archaeology and the study of rabbinic texts can be mutually supportive. While at the Centre he focused on the methodological problems arising out of conflating archaeological and textual evidence relating to rabbinic-era Palestine, which exemplify the complex relationships between archaeology, history and literature in many periods and places. He explored how ‘talmudic archaeology’ can draw on findings in the fields of classical archaeology, European medieval archaeology and American historical archaeology. During his stay he delivered a work-in-progress paper entitled ‘Towards Establishing a Meaningful Dialogue between Archaeology and Talmudic Texts’ at the Seminar on Jewish History and Literature in the Graeco-Roman Period, convened by Professor Martin Goodman.

Professor Marion Aptroot

Professor Aptroot of the Heinrich-Heine-Universität, Düsseldorf, stayed at the Centre from 3 October 2011 until 16 March 2012, and participated in the European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies - Old Yiddish: Old Texts, New Contexts. She worked on an eighteenth-century Yiddish text from Amsterdam for use on Purim, containing parodies, pastiches and burlesques of Yiddish genres from the late Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period, woven into

a tale of crime and adventure. She examined early-modern Yiddish printed books held in the Bodleian Library which may have influenced the author of this manuscript, as well as similar collections produced before this manuscript, apparently as part of a wider Purim tradition.

She also worked with Dr Rebekka Voß on plans for a scholarly edition of Isaac Wetzlar's *Libes briv* (two of the nine surviving manuscripts of which are held at the Bodleian), and presented new research on the *Libes briv* at the Seminar's conference in February.

The atmosphere in the Seminar group was excellent and the discussions stimulating. She made real progress with her research, despite having occasionally to fulfil obligations at her home university, and believes that the new contacts among researchers will have an enduring impact on the study of Old Yiddish in Europe.

Dr Michal Ben-Naftali

Dr Ben-Naftali of the University of Tel-Aviv stayed at the Centre from 7 May until 15 June 2012. During this time she was able to plan a book on the Israeli poet, Leah Goldberg, in which she plans to employ an approach that has been successful in the case of Virginia Woolf: to focus on her main oeuvre through the prism of other writings. As Woolf's novels have been read in the context of her essays, Goldberg's poetry can be viewed through her prose compositions, diaries and plays. She will also analyse why Goldberg's essays were almost neglected during her lifetime and even after her death.

She will reexamine Goldberg's work on the basis of a phenomenology of the essay (inspired by Graham Good's book on the genre), tracing its manifestations in Hebrew from the beginning of the twentieth century, and emphasizing Goldberg's singular approach. She will also distinguish her work from academic writing on literature which was produced at the time and with which she was acquainted. Woolf would serve also as a benchmark to speak about Goldberg's aesthetics, sense of gender and relation to the notion and experience of madness.

She additionally worked on an analysis of Gershom Scholem's letter to Franz Rosenzweig concerning the Hebrew language, having previously translated and commented Derrida's essay on Scholem. Both papers will appear

in *Mikan – Journal of Literature*, published by the Ben-Gurion University of the Negev. She went on to read the letter from other perspectives than the auto-deconstructive one. First, she reviewed Scholem's implicit notion of madness; secondly, she discussed Scholem's avoidance of the secular potential inherent in Hebrew in relation to the haunting process of actualization which he describes. This essay, due to appear in the new literary journal, *Makaf*, in 2013, will be followed by more work on Scholem.

Dr Bracha Ben-Shamai

Dr Ben-Shamai of the University of Tel-Aviv stayed at the Centre from 24 May until 15 June 2012. She made substantial progress with her book on Moses Leib Lilienblum (1843-1910), the leader of Hovevei Zion, and discovered, among other things in the Kressel Archive, that his son had settled in Rishon LeZion, a town founded by the father from Odessa.

She completed an analysis of the controversy between Lilienblum and Ahad Ha-Am (Asher Zvi Hirsch Ginsberg), proponent of spiritual Zionism. Lilienblum, as one of the first leaders of Hovevei Zion following Eliezer Ben-Yehuda and Peretz Smolenskin, wrote hundreds of letters and dozens of articles in Hebrew, Yiddish and Russian, and delivered speeches on every issue affecting the pre-state Yishuv. He was honoured in his lifetime for his achievements, but the conflict with Ahad Ha-Am caused him sorrow.

Decades after the founding of the State of Israel a major problem raised by Ahad Ha-Am remains relevant: the need to define the nature of a national identity founded on 'secular' Judaism. Ahad Ha-Am foresaw some of the conflicts now submerging Israeli society, especially the tensions between the 'Land of Israel' and the 'State of Israel'.

She presented some initial findings in a David Patterson Seminar entitled 'The Dialectical Transformation from Orthodoxy to Zionism: Lilienblum as a Case Study', and was grateful to the staff of the Bodleian and Muller libraries for the help she received in carrying out her research.

Professor Shlomo Berger

Professor Berger of the University of Amsterdam stayed at the Centre from 5

October 2011 until 15 March 2012 and participated in the European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies - Old Yiddish: Old Texts, New Contexts. In this time he focused on two major projects. The first of these was to write a series of articles on different aspects of Old Yiddish book history. These included two on Yiddish books from Prague, one to appear in the *Bodleian Library Record*, and another in a catalogue of an exhibition of the Jewish Museum in Prague. There was also an article on two seventeenth-century Yiddish editions of a Portuguese description of the Jewish community of Cochin in India, and one on Yeoyesh's Yiddish Bible translation. The second project involved assembling primary material held in the Bodleian Library for a book whose working title is: Ashkenazi Life Experiences: *Anthropological Reading of Early Modern Yiddish Texts*.

Professor Berger delivered a paper entitled 'Five New Beautiful Songs: Anthropological Reading of Early Modern Yiddish Texts' in the group's weekly seminar and a paper entitled 'Modes of Reading in Early Modern Yiddish' in the concluding symposium. He gave a David Patterson Seminar entitled 'Between Amsterdam and Prague: On "On the formation of Jewish Cochin"', and lectures entitled 'Jew! Read Yiddish: On the Culture of the Yiddish Book' at the Jewish Museum in London, and on 'The Bible in Yiddish: Three Books and Three Methods' for the Oxford Chabad Society.

Dr Christina Eschner

Dr Eschner, a postdoctoral research fellow at the Faculty of Theology in the Department of New Testament at Humboldt University, Berlin, stayed at the Centre from 8 November 2011 to 30 April 2012, and worked on concepts of law in Second Temple Period Judaism, reflected especially in the Dead Sea Scrolls, Jewish writings in Greek and in early rabbinic texts. Her larger project is to compare halakhic processes in the Synoptic tradition with statements in Jewish sources about *halakhah* in relation to daily life, and to discuss the early Christian practice of the law in a wider context. She found that debates about the law in early Christianity correspond to early Jewish discourses about the law relating to the Sabbath, food and purity requirements, marital matters and relations with Gentiles. Since the questions of marriage and the Sabbath have already been studied extensively,

she focused mainly on food. In early Christianity this topic appears in relation to rules concerning prohibited and permitted food (Acts 15:20, 23-9; 1 Cor. 8-10; Rom. 14), permitted modes of food intake (Luke 11:39/Matt. 23:25-6; Mark 7:1-23) and table fellowship (Mark 2:14-17; Luke 7:33-5/Matt. 11:18-19; Acts 10-11).

In Second Temple Judaism the use of halakhic standards to establish difference was employed not only against Gentiles, but between groups within the Jewish community. Clearly, Jews of the Second Temple Period comprised a variety of groups disputing among themselves. The conflicts were halakhic in nature, and groups defined their identity primarily by differences in the practice of the law. But if *halakhah* served to demarcate between Jews it is important to examine *how* different groups interpreted the law. This also speaks against the complete abolition of the law as implied by early Christian texts such as Mark 7:1-23. Mark seemed to adopt the idea that the Torah defined the community of Jesus as it did other groups in Jewish sources. The Jesus of Mark determined this border by interpreting the Torah in a moral sense.

Dr Esther Eshel

Dr Eshel of Bar-Ilan University stayed at the Centre from 15 October until 15 December 2011, working on a commentary of the *Genesis Apocryphon*. She also began collaborating with Dr Dorothy Peters on an article about the Aramaic Levi Document recently discovered at the Rylands Collection in Manchester. Since Dr Peters lives in Canada, this was a unique opportunity to work together. They were able to review previously-known Genizah fragments of this text in the Bodleian and Cambridge libraries.

In addition to this research, she delivered a lecture entitled 'The Giant's Regret in a New Fragment of Enoch' for the Seminar on Jewish History and Literature in the Graeco-Roman Period: The Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Topics, convened by Professor Martin Goodman. She also gave a lecture entitled 'A New Fragment of Nehemiah from Qumran' and participated in 'Dead Sea Scrolls Question Time', a panel discussion with Professor Daniel Falk and Dr Dorothy Peters at the University of Birmingham. She lectured on 'Old and New Inscriptions found in Herodium' for the Anglo-Israel-

Archaeological Society in Manchester, and participated in an international panel of leading Dead Sea Scrolls experts (together with Professor Geza Vermes, Professor Daniel Falk and Dr Dorothy Peters) in the Centre's London Lecture Series in association with the Jewish Museum London. The event was on 'The Significance of the Dead Sea Scrolls' and her topic was entitled 'Early Jewish Interpretation - From the Dead Sea Scrolls to the Midrash'.

Professor Daniel Falk

Professor Falk of the University of Oregon stayed at the Centre from 1 September 2011 until 30 June 2012, and pursued his research on religious life in the Dead Sea Scrolls. The Centre's decision to host two other fellows engaged in research on the Scrolls - Dr Esther Eshel and Dr Dorothy Peters - established a dynamic community of scholarship with many opportunities to share ideas both at scheduled events and more informally.

The unexpected highlight of the term was the opportunity for all three to examine fragments of the Aramaic Levi Document in the Cairo Geniza collections at the Rylands Library in Manchester, the Bodleian Library in Oxford and the Cambridge University Library. This important pre-Christian Jewish document is found in a few small fragments at Qumran and otherwise in a fragmentary manuscript discovered in the Cairo Geniza. Dr Eshel took part in the team that published a critical edition of the Bodleian and Cambridge pages, but an additional fragment has since been discovered among the Geniza fragments at the Rylands Library, which is still unpublished. The document is important to the research projects of all three scholars, who examined the fragments at the three libraries and discussed disputed readings. They also viewed two other treasures from the Cairo Geniza collection in Cambridge of importance for their research: the Damascus Document, a sectarian work found also among the Dead Sea Scrolls, and Ben Sira, a pre-Christian Jewish wisdom text.

Professor Falk's research focused on three tasks. First, he carried out close study of two prayer texts - a collection of hymns known as 4QBarkhi Nafshi, and the blessings and curses known as 4QBerakhot - and completed articles on these for the *Companion of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Second, he reviewed recent research on myth and ritual in order to apply their insights to the

Dead Sea Scrolls. Third, he compiled a database of mythic elements in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Much of his research on religious life in the Dead Sea Scrolls concerns the relationship between mythology and ritual practice, and he presented the results of this work in a paper entitled 'Mythologies of Evil in the Dead Sea Scrolls', delivered at the Society of Biblical Literature Conference in San Francisco. In this he focused on texts such as 4QBerakhot, in which the community utters curses against a chief agent of evil (Belial or Melchiresha) and the evil angels and humans allied with him.

He presented six other papers on his research. One paper, entitled 'Petition and Ideology in the Dead Sea Scrolls', delivered at Professor Goodman's Seminar on Jewish History and Literature in the Graeco-Roman Period, examined the tension between a deterministic theology in the Qumran texts and the use of petition in the community. His paper on the rhetorical function of 'Penitence and Supplication in 4 Ezra' was presented as a David Patterson Seminar; and he spoke on 'The Function of Penitence in 1QH^a 4:29-37', at the University of Birmingham, offering a detailed analysis of a hymn from Qumran that is based on the model of penitential prayer. He also participated in a panel discussion on the Dead Sea Scrolls, as part of the Biblical Studies Research Day at Birmingham, with Dr Eshel and Dr Peters. He presented a paper entitled 'Material Aspects of Prayer in the Dead Sea Scrolls', to the Jewish Studies Seminar at the University of Manchester, in which he explored the distinctive physical features of scrolls of prayers found at Qumran, and their significance for understanding the practice of communal prayer. He presented a paper on the 'Religious Life in the Dead Sea Scrolls' at the Oxford Seminar in Jewish Studies held at the Slager Jewish Student and Community Centre as part of their Yom Limmud program; and a presentation on 'Qumran Prayer and the Synagogue Liturgy' as part of a panel on 'The Significance of the Dead Sea Scrolls' for the Centre's London Lecture Series at the Jewish Museum London.

Jennifer Juillard-Maniece

Jennifer Juillard-Maniece, a doctoral student at the University of Oxford, who participated in the European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies - Old Yiddish: Old Texts, New Contexts, described how this formed the defining

feature of the second year of her research. She was grateful that this brought her into contact with a strong Yiddish scholarly contingent and provided a combination of formal structures of presentation with more informal sessions. It made possible intensive interaction with a variety of texts and research methods, and equipped her with analytical tools invaluable for her research. The conference in late February gave her the opportunity to receive helpful feedback concerning her research on the *Kuhbukh* and its relationship to its German source.

Dr Shira Koren

Dr Koren of Bar-Ilan University stayed at the Centre from 17 April until 17 June 2012 and completed an article about the Anglo-Jewish poet, translator and scholar Nina Salaman (1877-1925). She located material about her in the Muller and Bodleian libraries at Oxford, as well as in the Cambridge University Library which holds her manuscripts and correspondence. Dr Koren also examined the careers of some of Salaman's contemporary female Jewish writers, some of whom she incorporated in her article. She presented a short lecture about Salaman in the Oxford synagogue.

She also lectured about Marian Greenberg, the first chairman of Youth Aliyah, to the Faculty for Oriental Studies, emphasizing her role in saving youngsters before and during the Holocaust in the context of the Kindertransport and the internment of enemy aliens.

She benefited from the opportunity to participate in lectures at the Centre, the Jewish Museum in London and the Oriental Institute in Oxford, as well as in courses on the history of Islam and the anthropology of Europe, and in a conference on legal reform and political changes affecting women in the Middle East.

She was able to advise Israeli colleagues on preparing lectures and articles by translating, correcting and editing their English, and even delivered a lecture on behalf of one of them. She is grateful to the Centre for making possible her research particularly about Jewish women, and looks forward to the opportunity to expanding this work.

Dr Diana Matut

Dr Matut of the Martin-Luther-Universität, Halle-Wittenberg, stayed at the Centre from 3 October 2011 until 1 March 2012 and participated in the European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies - Old Yiddish: Old Texts, New Contexts. She carried out research in the unique collections of Yiddish literature of the Bodleian Library, including an examination of the relationship between Jews from Polish and German territories during the Early Modern Period, a review of Early Modern mathematical literature in Yiddish, and initial planning for a work with the working-title 'Towards a typology of Yiddish song from 1500-1800'. She collected and copied books and pamphlets, and started work on the fine collection of secondary literature.

Her study of the relationship between Polish and German Jews appears in Professor Marion Aptroot, Efrat Gal-Ed, Dr Roland Gruschka and Professor Simon Neuberg's collection of essays on Yiddish themes on the occasion of the fifteenth anniversary of the Yiddish Symposium in Germany (Düsseldorf University Press, 2012). Another on mathematics in Yiddish during the Early Modern Period will appear, at the request of the editors, in the journal *Aleph* (ed. Gad Freudenthal), dedicated to Jewish scientific literature and studies. The typology of Yiddish song has been accepted for publication, and several presentations about it are being planned.

She welcomed the opportunity to present her work to both academic and general audiences. She gave a lecture entitled 'Ashkenaz un' Polak. Yiddish Sources on a Complex Relationship in Early Modern Times' to the Old Yiddish seminar, and another entitled 'Fun khosn-kale, toyre un aseres hadibres: Towards a Typology of Yiddish Song in the Early Modern Period', at the Old Yiddish Studies Conference.

She was honoured to deliver the Sidney Corob Memorial Lecture, as one of the Centre's series of lectures held in conjunction with the Jewish Museum, London. In this she brought together the results of literary research in Old Yiddish she had conducted over recent years, and an historically informed approach to the performance of Renaissance music.

She is very grateful to the Centre for organizing the Old Yiddish Study group, which gave scholars the opportunity to share expertise and generate new insights.

Professor Simon Neuberg

Professor Neuberg of the University of Trier stayed at the Centre from 30 September 2011 until 21 March 2012, serving as Project Leader of the European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies - Old Yiddish: Old Texts, New Contexts. This Seminar brought together scholars who would normally meet only rarely, since they live and teach in different cities and countries. At the Centre they could discuss problems of modern Yiddish linguistics and the history of the language and its literature, besides singing and conversing in Yiddish.

Oxford is the obvious place for specialists of Old Yiddish to meet since the Bodleian Library houses the world's major collection of Old Yiddish material. Although collections elsewhere hold unique copies of some Yiddish printed books, the Oppenheim collection (the core of the Bodleian's holdings) contains more such works than any other, in addition to many manuscripts. Most scholars in the group had worked for years on copies or micro-reproductions of books they could at last hold in their hands, in order to check previously tentative readings.

Participants met three times weekly: taking turns to present their research, usually in the presence of the books themselves, again to discuss philological and other problems, and informally to close the week, when they made their work accessible to a wider (albeit Yiddish speaking) audience. The group worked closely, in spite of changes of personnel, and significant progress was made with several projects. Participants discovered new approaches which promise to bear fruit in final publications, and were glimpsed in the conference entitled 'Words and Worlds of Old Yiddish Literature'. This will itself form the basis of a book to be published in the near future. Among common projects to have emerged is one on the 'prehistory' of the *Kü'-buch*. This was inspired by the analysis offered by one of the participants, and gave rise to a paper by Professor Neuberg entitled 'The *Kü'-buch*, in Search of Origins'.

Old Yiddish language and literature - in spite of some laudable efforts since the last decades of the twentieth century - still lacks comprehensive and reliable handbook resources. This convening of senior specialists with a vast expertise in the field and of younger ones undertaking in-depth research on

specific texts or areas has proved extremely beneficial to all the participants. Contacts have been established that will be of permanent value and many participants have asked for the possibility of organizing further meetings to elaborate on themes in greater depth.

Professor Neuberg was able to check doubtful readings in over fifty transcriptions of Yiddish texts he had prepared before gaining access to the originals, worked on sixty new ones (mainly of short books or of the Yiddish parts of bilingual books), and made notes on linguistic, literary or historical features requiring further research. These transcriptions relate to a project aiming at applying the lessons of analytical bibliography to Yiddish materials and at making accessible digital editions of Old Yiddish materials. Material bibliography applied to some of these texts was the subject of a David Patterson Seminar he delivered entitled 'The Printing of Yiddish Quartos around 1600'.

He led two seminar sessions relating to book and text history, in each case using unique octavo copies of works in very popular genres with an unfavourable survival rate. The first linked a little-known song text about the righteous Joseph to its German source and to a reappraisal of the Yiddish author's efforts to render the text more accessible and palatable to his audience. The second illustrated the possibility of tracing links between writings, by focusing on a group of four texts in rhymed prose, which, although neither dated nor localized, can be shown to have originated from the same printer and most probably to be by the same anonymous author.

Dr Juha Pakkala

Dr Pakkala of the University of Helsinki stayed at the Centre from 4 January until 19 April 2012, carrying out research on textual omissions in the transmission of the Hebrew Bible. It is conventionally assumed that the older texts would have been regarded by the redactors and editors as so holy and authoritative that no omissions could be made, although they could be expanded. This axiom is particularly evident in literary and redaction critical approaches to the Hebrew Bible. But Pakkala has shown that omissions did indeed take place, using examples from different parts of the Hebrew Bible and related literature, and allowing him to construct a new model for

understanding how the texts developed.

While in Oxford he checked text-critical evidence and the additional literature, benefiting from its excellent libraries and from colleagues who contributed significant new perspectives and argued for some adjustments to the approach being taken. The Centre is an excellent setting for anyone carrying out research on the Hebrew Bible.

Dr Dorothy M. Peters

Dr Peters of Trinity Western University stayed at the Centre from 3 October until 5 December 2011 and continued work on the eight chapters of a proposed book tentatively entitled *In Whose Hand the Sword?: The Pursuit of Peace and Justice in the Dead Sea Scrolls*. She completed three papers to be given during her stay that would test some of the results of her research. She was able to consult about *The Aramaic Levi Document* with Dr Esther Eshel, co-author of the critical edition of this text, who had just arrived at the Centre. That work had originally been composed in the third century BCE and survives in seven of the Dead Sea Scrolls and one medieval copy, part of which is in the Bodleian Genizah collection and the other in Cambridge. The portion concerning the rape of Dinah by Shechem and the forceful response by the sword, which is particularly important for her work, is badly preserved and only a few broken lines are extant in the Cambridge fragment.

Her research plan took an unexpected turn when Dr Eshel recalled a newly rediscovered but not-yet-published portion of the *Aramaic Levi Document* in the Rylands library at the University of Manchester. This fragment continued the retelling of the Dinah story, including a reference to the circumcision deception and the sword. Dr Eshel obtained permission from Professor Gideon Bohak (of the University of Tel-Aviv) for herself and Dr Peters to study his pre-publication photographs, transcription and translation of the manuscript, and to present these in seminar papers. They, together with Professor Daniel Falk, another Scrolls scholar and a skilled epigrapher staying at the Centre, arranged to study both the Bodleian and the Rylands fragments themselves.

She and Dr Eshel agreed to collaborate in writing a substantial article containing a transcription, reconstruction and translation of the new

fragment, and setting the work in the context of other Levi traditions in the Second Temple period. Her own seminar papers needed some modification in light of the new evidence. Since the Manchester fragment promised to shed light on uncertain readings in the broken text of the Cambridge manuscript, all three scholars travelled to Cambridge with Dr Alison Salvesen, and viewed the manuscript under high magnification.

Dr Peters presented a paper entitled 'In Whose Hand the Sword? Pacifism and War in the Dead Sea Scrolls' at the Biblical Studies Research Day, University of Birmingham; another on 'The Sword and Its Substitutes: Activism and Pacifism in the Dead Sea Scrolls' at the Ehrhardt Seminar, University of Manchester; and lectured on 'In Whose Hand the Sword? Divine and Human Initiatives in the Dead Sea Scrolls', to the Jewish History and Literature in the Graeco-Roman Period Seminar convened by Professor Martin Goodman. She also participated as a member of the panel at 'The Significance of the Dead Sea Scrolls' event, which formed part of the Centre's London Lecture Series at the Jewish Museum London.

Dr Lucia Raspe

Dr Raspe of the Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt am Main, stayed at the Centre from 8 February until 16 March 2012 and participated in the European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies - Old Yiddish: Old Texts, New Contexts. She benefited from access to the Bodleian Library's holdings related to Yiddish *minhagim* compilations – descriptions of local ritual customs - that stand at the heart of her current research. She consulted two manuscripts which she had previously seen only on microfilm, on the basis of which she was able to refine several readings. In addition, access to the Oppenheim Collection of early printed works in both Hebrew and Yiddish gave her a better sense of the printing history of Shimon Günzburg's Yiddish book of customs, which first appeared in Venice in 1589.

She examined all seventeen different editions of Günzburg's work in the Bodleian, and compared these with early editions of the Hebrew composition of Ayzik Tirna, often considered Günzburg's immediate model, which was often printed as part of a set of prayerbooks. The respective formats and contexts of each helps explain their specific functions, and also their

relationship to the Hebrew work entitled *Sefer haminhagim*, four editions of which are held at the Bodleian and two others at the British Library, all published in Amsterdam. The bibliographer Steinschneider differentiates between the *Sefer haminhagim* and Günzburg's Yiddish compilation, but does not elaborate on their respective contents. The former has been treated as an illustrated Hebrew equivalent of the latter in more recent bibliographies.

The various editions suggest that the title *Sefer haminhagim* is in fact misleading, since although the booklet shares some of the woodcut illustrations characteristic of the Yiddish *minhagim* tradition, it is in fact not a *minhagim* book, but a collection of prayers and benedictions according to the Sephardi rite. As such, it resembles the bilingual *bentsherlekh*, or books of benedictions, produced for Yiddish-speakers which were illustrated in a similar way. It would thus seem that in the field of *berakhot* collections, separate fairly stable traditions of specific works catered to various ethnic subgroups. Her findings corroborate Shmeruk's initial claim that no illustrated *minhagim* were printed in Hebrew. Comparing the illustrations used in both *minhagim* and other works helps explain the economic considerations that went into making this early modern best seller: a printer who had invested in a set of appropriate woodcuts would wish to find ways of using it more than once. Her research at Oxford has brought the list of confirmed editions of Günzburg's Yiddish *minhagim* to more than fifty.

She looked also a number of other works indirectly related to her project, such as printed editions of the *selihot*, 'penitential prayers', according to various Ashkenazi rites, whose evolution is reflected in the early history of the *minhagim* in Yiddish. Examining several versions of *selihot* in Yiddish translation helped sharpen her thinking about how the audience of Yiddish works related to the liturgy and was supposed to use them.

Dr Raspe was able to further her research in several other fields, and gave a seminar presentation about a story in the *Mayse nissim* (Amsterdam 1696), a collection of some twenty-five legends relating to the Jews of Worms, of which the Bodleian has a copy of the editio princeps, as well as three of the four known manuscripts for an earlier Hebrew parallel of this particular tale. Access to the originals makes a huge difference in such research, as well as in preparing it for publication in a learned journal. She was able to check

details in number of narrative collections in both Hebrew and Yiddish on which she had worked but which she had never actually seen, such as MS Bodl. Or. 135 or the several editions of the *Mayse bukh*. She also succeeded in tracing the printing history of the Midrash on the Ten Commandments, itself a major source of the narrative tradition in Yiddish, on which she hopes to work in future.

Wiebke Rasumny

Wiebke Rasumny of the Ludwig-Maximilians Universität, Munich, stayed at the Centre from 6 January until 29 February 2012 and participated in the European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies - Old Yiddish: Old Texts, New Contexts. She benefited from access to the Bodleian Library, and especially to the manuscripts and early printed books of the Oppenheim Collection, and was able to work on the genesis of the Old Yiddish *Mayse bukh*, first printed in Basle 1602. This collection of short stories - *mayses* - largely draws on talmudic and medieval Hebrew and Aramaic sources. Especially interesting proved to be the edition of Yaakov ibn Haviv's compilation *Ein Yaakov* printed in Venice 1566, of which there are two copies in the Bodleian Library, that is likely to have been the edition the compiler/translator of the *Mayse bukh* used. It was also useful to work, together with other fellows, on manuscript Can. Or. 12, which contains seven mayses among other texts, and helps clarify the circulation and variation of *mayses* in other corpora.

The Centre provided an excellent setting for her work on Old Yiddish manuscripts and printed books, which benefited from the opportunity to exchange views with other scholars of Old Yiddish literature who are usually dispersed over the world. Four weekly meetings proved an ideal setting for such exchanges. The informal seminar/workshop on Tuesdays made it possible to discuss problems that arose during days working with manuscripts and old prints at the library; the David Patterson Seminar on Wednesdays broadened the perspective by providing talks on a variety of themes regarding Jewish culture, religion and history; and lastly the Old Yiddish seminar on Thursdays and a Modern Yiddish discussion group on Fridays. The findings of the Old Yiddish Project were summed up during a conference that took place in the Bodleian Library.

She gave one talk at a Thursday seminar and another during the conference, which will be published with the other findings of the Old Yiddish project.

Oren Roman

Oren Roman of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem stayed at the Centre from 1 February until 16 March 2012 and participated in the European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies - Old Yiddish: Old Texts, New Contexts. The doctoral dissertation on which he is working focuses on epic renditions of the biblical books of the Former Prophets into Old Yiddish, and tries to trace their origins and *Sitz im Leben*, and their writers' artistic choices. He is looking in particular at two versions of the book of Joshua and two of the book of Judges. He found most of the literature he needed in the library at Yarnton, but did travel to Oxford to spend time with the original of *Sefer Yehoshua*, printed in Cracow in 1594, an epic rendition of the book of Joshua that features in his dissertation. He had prepared an edition based on a photocopy, but this was unclear in some places, and it was essential to consult the original.

It was particularly useful to be able to consult other scholars of Old Yiddish, and to lay the foundations for future collaboration in the field of Yiddish research. He gave two papers during his stay. The first, about idiomatic expressions in Old Yiddish was presented to the Seminar, and the second, on the depiction of religious customs of the Early Modern period, to the 'Words and Worlds of Old Yiddish Literature' conference. He benefited from comments and insights from other members of the Seminar after both events.

Dr Claudia Rosenzweig

Dr Rosenzweig of Bar-Ilan University stayed at the Centre from 3 October until 10 November 2011, and from 7 February to 1 March 2012, to participate in the European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies - Old Yiddish: Old Texts, New Contexts. Her main project was to prepare a new edition of two Yiddish songs composed in 1514 by the polymath Eliyahu ben Asher haLevi Ashkenazi (1469-1549), also known as Elia Levita, and in the field of Yiddish literature as Elye Bokher. He was born near Nuremberg and later left for Italy – apparently at the end of the fifteenth century – first to live in Padua, then Venice and Rome. In

Venice he was invited by the Hebraist Paulus Fagius to have his books printed in Isny, Germany. He is buried in Venice, where he spent his final years.

Both songs are found in two manuscripts, one of them in the Bodleian Library, with the signature Cod. Neubauer 1217 (Canon. Or. 12), Department of Oriental Books. They were copied in Venice in 1553 and 1561. During her stay in Oxford she had the opportunity to work on this manuscript, transcribe the songs and check her transcription. Working directly from the manuscript, rather than from microfilm, has made possible a precise reading of the text, based on a re-evaluation of the manuscript itself, a miscellanea defined as a 'house-library' as early as 1926. It comprises several works representing different genres, from *Minhagim* (lists of ritual customs) to songs that some scholars have defined as 'popular', and had been studied also by other scholars in the group, in particular Professor Chava Turniansky, Professor Simon Neuberg, Dr Lucia Raspe and Ingedore Rüdlin. In reconsidering the various problems it poses, they were able to formulate further questions regarding Ashkenazi culture in sixteenth-century Italy.

She delivered a lecture called 'Rhymes to Sing and Rhymes to Hang Up. Preparing a New Edition of Two Lampoons by Elye Bokher' to the Seminar, and another entitled 'To a King, To a Pig'. A Song on the Ages of Man from a Venetian Yiddish Manuscript' at the Conference 'Words and Worlds of Old Yiddish Literature', in which she presented a bilingual poem from the same manuscript (Cod. Neubauer 1217), on the ages of man in Yiddish and in a dialect from Northern Italy.

Ingedore Rüdlin

Ingedore Rüdlin of Europa Universität Viadrina, Frankfurt an der Oder stayed at the Centre from 3 October 2011 until 16 March 2012 to participate in the European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies - Old Yiddish: Old Texts, New Contexts. The PhD thesis on which she is working is concerned with the reception of the biblical book of Ruth in Yiddish literature, and during her stay she worked on Ruth in Old Yiddish literature, making extensive use of the Oppenheim Collection at the Bodleian Library, which contains nearly all the important Yiddish Bible translations and paraphrases needed for her research.

She examined and photographed especially the oldest available edition of the *Tsene u-Rene*, from 1622, a paraphrase of Torah, *Megillot* (shorter biblical books including Ruth) and *Haftarot*, looking at later prints to trace subsequent changes to the text. Particularly interesting were the *Seyfer mizmor letoude*, a rhymed version of the *Megillot* printed first in Amsterdam in 1644 and then in Hanau in 1717, both of which editions are available at the Bodleian. In the *Targum* of the five *Megillot*, a rhymed version printed 1584, a glossary of Aramaic words is printed in red above the Yiddish translation, which required a special effort to print, but would not have been noticed had she been working with a monochrome copy. A Bible translation with Rashi's commentary by Leyb Bresh printed 1560 in Cremona was also valuable. In these four books she was looking for differences in the way the commandments of the Torah are regarded and which verses are augmented for the sake of better understanding.

She found it exciting and beneficial to work with other scholars concerned with similar topics. The meetings, seminars and discussions were extremely fruitful for her research.

Professor Chava Turniansky

Professor Turniansky of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem stayed at the Centre as a Kennedy Leigh Fellow from 3 October until 30 November 2011 and participated in the European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies - Old Yiddish: Old Texts, New Contexts. She carried out research towards a critical edition of Yiddish 'historical' songs published in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, most of which survive in unique copies in the Bodleian Library. Her seminar presentation addressed the characteristics of the bilingual song in Ashkenaz – those written by one author at the same time in Hebrew and in Yiddish – by analysing a poetical contest between wine and water from the sixteenth century. She gave a talk entitled 'Tfu-tfu-tfu!: Cursing and Blessing in Yiddish', in the Centre's London Lecture Series in association with the Jewish Museum London, and a David Patterson Seminar on 'A Woman's Life: The Memoirs of Glikl Hamel (1645–1724)'.

Dr Rebekka Voß

Dr Voß of the Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt am Main, stayed at the Centre from 3 to 21 October 2011 and from 26 December 2011 to 16 March 2012 and participated in the European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies - Old Yiddish: Old Texts, New Contexts. She worked mainly on a book describing 'The Red Jews in Jewish Popular Culture', a Yiddish variant of the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel that is first documented in Old Yiddish literature. Her project - situated at the intersection of cultural history, Yiddish literature and folklore studies - deals with the motif of the Red Jews and its place in Ashkenazi culture. She examined the migrations of the idea of the Red Jews in Yiddish literature, culture and thought from the late Middle Ages to modernity and its adaptation and development in a changing cultural, intellectual and political context. She is interested in the different meanings the Red Jews acquired, to what ends they were employed, in what contexts they appeared and especially how these new contexts related to the origins of the motif in Old Yiddish texts, the earliest variants of which are to be found in the Oppenheim Collection housed in the Bodleian Library.

Her other project – in collaboration with another Seminar fellow, Professor Marion Aprotroot – was tentatively entitled 'Yiddish, the Language of Love: Isaac Wetzlar's *Libes briv* (1748–9) in the Context of Pietism, Enlightenment and Ethics'. While *Libes briv*, of which two manuscripts are in the Bodleian Library, has to date been placed between the traditional genre of ethical Mussar literature and the early Haskalah, this new project focuses on its relationship to German Pietism. She introduced a new aspect into the discussion about the relationship of Wetzlar's *Libes briv* to Pietism: the Pietist missionizing of the Jews, which seems to have served as a framework for Wetzlar's involvement with the Christian movement and its ideals. Wetzlar's *Libes briv* seems to have been influenced in form and content by the Pietist 'love letter' that Pietist missionaries addressed – often in Yiddish – to Jews whom they wished to win over with a carrot in lieu of the stick.

Rachel Wamsley

Rachel Wamsley of the University of California, Berkeley, stayed at the Centre from 13 January until 12 March 2012 and conducted research on the biblical

epic in early Yiddish printing. She focused mainly on the Old Yiddish biblical epic known as *Shmuel Bukh*, a rendering of the biblical books I and II Samuel in a Germanic epic verse-form closely related to that of *Das Nibelungenlied*. The Bodleian Library holds three early printed editions of *Shmuel Bukh* in Hebrew characters, and a fourth in Latin characters which had been considered either a transcription or a translation of the Yiddish original. Having noted that *Shmuel Bukh* was composed not only in exegetical, but in literary relation its biblical antecedent, she explored patterns of editorial intervention among the various editions, to see whether they represented differences from one edition to another, or between *Shmuel Bukh* and that of I and II Samuel.

She set out to note everything from orthographic variations and minor alterations in syntax and lexicon to significant manipulations of larger narrative units, producing a great volume of material that will take some time to analyse. But she did formulate a preliminary hypothesis in relation to one of the Bodleian's four editions. She suspects that the Krakow 1578 edition shows a tendency to biblical conservatism, adhering more closely to the narrative structure of the biblical original than any other version of *Shmuel Bukh* in print or manuscript. She has yet to determine why this tendency should have appeared when and where it did, and hopes that a detailed comparison with the remaining editions will cast light on the existing scholarly view that the later Old Yiddish biblical epics were marked by a greater degree of biblical fidelity. Her research should ultimately yield a profile of the changing editorial policies of *Shmuel Bukh*'s adaptors over the sixteenth century.

Dr Asaf Yedidya

Dr Yedidya of Bar-Ilan University stayed at the Centre as a Kennedy Leigh Fellow from 17 January until 28 March 2012. He drafted a biography of Ze'ev Jawitz (1847-1924), the Orthodox writer and historian, making use of several collections in the Muller Library, including the Kressel and Montefiore archives. He also wrote an article entitled '“In Days to Come”: The Nature of the Jewish State and Society in the Thought of Ze'ev Jawitz', extending a David Patterson Seminar he delivered at the Centre. He was particularly grateful to the Centre Library's staff for their help during his research.

MST IN JEWISH STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

Nine students graduated this year (including a resit candidate from the previous year). The eight students who studied at the Centre this year came from Denmark, Germany, Malta, Slovakia and the United Kingdom and eight students graduated (three with distinction). Fellows and Lectors of the Centre taught most of the courses and languages presented in the MSt programme, with additional modules provided by Dr Garth Gilmour, Research Associate, Institute of Archaeology, Oxford University; Professor Sir Fergus Millar FBA, Emeritus Camden Professor of Ancient History, Oxford University; Dr Deborah Rooke, Regent's Park College; and Dr Piet van Boxel, Emeritus Fellow. Professor Martin Goodman served as Course Coordinator, and Martine Smith-Huvers, Academic Registrar, administered the course together with Sue Forteach, Academic Administrator.

Courses

This year's students studied either Biblical or Modern Hebrew. In addition, they selected four courses from the list below and submitted dissertations.

The following courses were offered during the 2011-2012 academic year:

- A Survey of Rabbinic Literature *Dr Piet van Boxel*
- Eastern European Jewish Culture: Tradition, Crisis and Innovation *Dr Zehavit Stern*
- Introduction to the Archaeology of Ancient Israel: The Iron Age (1200-332 BCE) *Dr Garth Gilmour*
- Jewish History 200 BCE to 70 CE *Professor Martin Goodman*

- Jewish Liturgy *Dr Jeremy Schonfield*
- Modern European Jewish History *Dr David Rechter*
- Septuagint *Dr Alison Salvesen*
- The Diaspora in the Roman Empire: Jews, Pagans and Christians to 450 CE
Professor Sir Fergus Millar
- The Emergence of Modern Religious Movements in Judaism
Dr Miri Freud-Kandel
- The Jewish Mystical Tradition: Rabbinic Esotericism, Kabbalah and Hasidism *Dr David Ariel*
- The Religion of Israel *Dr Deborah Rooke*

Languages:

- Biblical Hebrew (elementary) *Dr Stephen Herring*
- Modern Hebrew (elementary) *Daphna Witztum*
- Yiddish *Dr Khayke Beruriah Wiegand*

The Students Graduating This Year

Maryam Ali (*b. 1989*) graduated from the University of Westminster in Politics and International Relations, which she studied in order to understand the politics of the Middle East. She chose to pursue the MSt in Jewish Studies to consolidate her knowledge of Modern Hebrew and explore the history and culture of Jews up to the modern State of Israel. Her goal is to become an ‘expert in this area, in order to disperse misconceptions in Arab minds regarding Jewish culture, history and identity’. Her dissertation was entitled ‘Expelled or Detained? Exploring the Policies of Arab States Towards their Jewish Communities’.

Jana Bernatova (*b. 1987*), who is from Slovakia, graduated from Charles University, Prague, in Protestant Theology. She was a visiting student at the Woolf Institute in Cambridge, and is going on to research for a doctorate in Jewish-Christian relations. Her dissertation was entitled ‘Jewish-Christian Dialogue Online: Encounters and Alienation’.

Kimberley Louise Czajkowski (*b. 1987*) graduated in Literae Humaniores (Classics) at Oxford and took a Master’s in Ancient History at St Andrews. She is going on to research for a DPhil at Oxford in Ancient History, and hopes to examine attitudes to diversity in Judaism from 70 to 200 CE. She passed the MSt with distinction. The dissertation she submitted for the MSt was entitled ‘Jews in Irenaeus: Judaism in the Construction of Christian Identity’.

Costanza Ficorella (*b. 1985*) has undergraduate and Master’s degrees in Egyptology and Near Eastern Archaeology from ‘La Sapienza’ University of Rome. She planned to become an Egyptologist, but became interested in the history, religion and archaeology of Ancient Israel, applying to take the MSt in Jewish Studies in order to further her knowledge of Jewish history, religion and culture in antiquity. She is particularly interested in the Iron Age and the Hellenistic and Roman eras, and hopes that the MSt degree will enable her to approach the area ‘in a more critical way’. Her dissertation focused on ‘Hebrew and Aramaic Loanwords in the Septuagint’.

James Christopher Fidler (*b. 1988*) was awarded a Master’s in Divinity at the University of Edinburgh and wishes to pursue an academic career. The MSt provided him with a solid grounding in Biblical Hebrew which will help him ‘interact better with the primary source material’. His dissertation was entitled ‘Paul as Persecutor in the Early Church’.

Anna Haswell (*b. 1987*) graduated in Media and Communications at Goldsmiths College, University of London, and found that Judaism and Jewish culture were emerging as ‘a particular intellectual preoccupation’ that she felt she should study formally. She is particularly interested in ‘debates over Jewish identity in relation to conversion and was eager to explore the potential differences of approach to the question of *who is a Jew* in Israel, the diaspora and differing local configurations’. She passed the MSt with distinction. Her dissertation was entitled ‘The Machinic Jew: Embodied Experience in Narratives of Jewish Becoming’.

Søren Lund Sørensen (*b. 1983*) has undergraduate and Master’s degrees from the University of Copenhagen in the Linguistics of Ancient and Classical Languages, and also a Postgraduate Diploma in Hebrew and Biblical Hebrew. He went to the Royal Danish Defence College after being drafted into the Armed Forces for two years after leaving university, where he completed training as a language officer thanks to his knowledge of languages, and as a cultural specialist in Arabic. His background in the Classics gave him a

good understanding of the Hellenistic world in which Jews and others lived and interacted, and he took the MSt course to enhance that knowledge. He passed the MSt with distinction. His MSt dissertation, entitled ‘Merging the Eupolemoi’, won the David Patterson Award for the Best Dissertation in 2012.

Krystyna-Maria Redeker (b.1989) studied Protestant Theology at the Georg-August University, Göttingen, receiving her *Zwischenprüfung/Vordiplom* in February 2011. She decided to come to Oxford to deepen her command of Hebrew, build on her knowledge of biblical literature and history, and to experience the intensive academic support of Oxford’s tutorial system. She wishes to become a pastor or scholar, and feels that gaining an insight into Judaism and other non-Christian religions is vital, before returning to Göttingen to complete a higher degree and the Church Examination. Her dissertation was entitled ‘The Rhetorical Structure of Isaiah 40:12-31 and its Development Within the Theology of Isaiah 40-48’.

Abigail Zammit (b.1987) has an undergraduate and Master’s degrees in Archaeology from the University of Malta, with a particular interest in Near Eastern Studies, especially Phoenician archaeology and the Punic culture of the West. She focused in her MA on Punic cultural aspects in the Maltese Islands, Pantelleria and western Sicily during Roman rule. She came to Oxford to broaden her knowledge of the Ancient Near East and Western Semitic languages, particularly Biblical Hebrew, and of Ancient Israel and Early Judaism, and plans to study Phoenician-Punic language and epigraphy at doctoral level. Her MSt dissertation was entitled ‘The Epigraphic Evidence for the History of Religion in the Kingdom of Judah’.

End-of-year Party

At the end-of-year party, held at Yarnton Manor on Wednesday 20 June 2012, the President welcomed students, their guests, the visiting fellows and scholars. Long-service presentations were made to Martine Smith-Huvers and Derek Cox, both of whom have worked at the Centre for twenty years and Annabel Young who has been at the Centre for ten years. Professor Martin Goodman, Academic Director, complimented the students on completing the intensive MSt programme, and for the breadth of their research, reflected in the titles of the varied dissertations that were submitted. The David Patterson Award for the best

dissertation submitted for the MSt in Jewish Studies 2012 was awarded to Søren Lund Sørensen for his dissertation entitled ‘Merging the Eupolemoi’.

Acknowledgements

The Centre wishes to record its thanks to the Dorset Foundation which assisted with the ‘Harry M. Weinrebe’ scholarships this year.



▲ MSt in Jewish Studies, 2011-2012

Front Row (left to right): Professor Martin Goodman, Dr Alison Salvesen, Dr Zehavit Stern, Dr David Ariel, Dr Jeremy Schonfield, Dr David Rechter, Professor Sir Fergus Millar

Second Row: Daphna Witztum, Dr César Merchán-Hamann, Søren Lund Sørensen (Denmark), Kim Czajkowski (UK), Maryam Ali (UK), Krystyna Redeker (Germany), Dr Stephen Herring

Third Row: Martine Smith-Huvers, Dr Garth Gilmour, Anna Haswell (UK), Sue Forteach, Abigail Zammit (Malta)

Missing from the photograph:

Jana Bernatova (Slovakia), Dr Piet van Boxel, James Fidler (UK), Dr Miri Freud-Kandel, Dr Deborah Rooke, Dr Joanna Weinberg, Dr Khakye Beruriah Wiegand

JOURNAL OF JEWISH STUDIES

During the academic year 2011-2012 the *Journal of Jewish Studies* continued its regular publication under the editorship of Professor Geza Vermes FBA, FEA, of Oxford University, who completed forty years of editorship in 2011, and Professor Sacha Stern of University College London, with Dr Andrea Schatz of King's College, London, as book-reviews editor.

Volume 62, no. 2 (Autumn 2011) includes, among others articles, studies by Judah Galinski, on 'Custom, Ordinance or Commandment? The Evolution of the Medieval Monetary-tithe in Ashkenaz'; by Boaz Zissu *et al.* on 'Archaeological Remains of the Bar Kokhba Revolt in the Te'omim Cave'; and by Paul Lawrence Rose on 'When Was the Talmud Burnt in Paris... : June 1241'.

Volume 63, no. 1 (Spring 2012) contains articles by Alan Appelbaum on 'Rabbi's Successors: The Later Jewish Patriarchs of the Third Century'; by Chad Spiegel on 'Reconsidering the Question of Separate Seating in Ancient Synagogues'; by Zohar Segev on 'Universalism, Ethnic Identity and Divided Nationality: Abba Hillel Silver's Role in American Zionism'; and by Andrew B. Perrin on 'The Variants of 4Q (Reworked) Pentateuch'. Both issues end with lengthy book review sections.

The print version of the Journal has been further redesigned under the direction of the executive editor Margaret Vermes. The Autumn 2011 issue published for the first time colour photographs of the latest archeological finds of the Bar Kokhba revolt from a site in the Western Jerusalem Hills. Uniformity of the printed text has been achieved with the help of a fresh *Style guide for contributors* which will soon be available on the website. Since Spring 2012 a new copy-editor is improving and polishing the English of our many foreign authors. The redesign of the printed format of the *Journal* has reached its final stages.



▲ A remote section of the Te'omim Cave in the Jerusalem Hills where archaeologists found coins, weapons, human bones, oil lamps and pottery, showing it to have served as a last refuge for rebels who died during the Bar Kokhba Revolt. (For a full discussion, see the *Journal* volume 62, number 2, pp. 262-83.)





▲
The only hoard of silver coins struck by the Bar Kokhba administration to have been discovered in a scientific archaeological excavation, rather than plundered, shown here after cleaning and in situ overleaf. (For a full discussion, see the *Journal* volume 62, number 2, pp. 262-83.)

The website of the *Journal* is being comprehensively redesigned, as we enter the era of e-publishing, and now holds over sixty years of the *Journal* online from its first to the latest issue. Over a thousand articles are fully searchable and indexed by keywords, and there are over two thousand searchable book reviews. All are accessible to subscribers and non-subscribers, individuals and institutions, at the click of the button. The archives, apart from being easily retrievable, also require comprehensive yet universal legal protection, and for this reason the *Journal* joined in February 2012 the very liberal National Information Standards Organization and follows its guidelines for a Shared Electronic Resource Understanding. The website also holds information for agents about changing subscription rates, for publishers about advertising possibilities, guidelines for future contributors, statistical data for libraries, and provides information and sells automatically individual PDF files and Supplements issues to the public at large. It requires the support of the latest cutting-edge technology.

THE EUROPEAN ASSOCIATION FOR JEWISH STUDIES

The European Association for Jewish Studies (EAJS) is the sole umbrella organization representing the academic field of Jewish Studies in Europe. Its main aims are to promote and support teaching and research in Jewish studies at European universities and other institutions of higher education, and to further an understanding of the importance of Jewish culture and civilization and of the impact it has had on European cultures over many centuries.

The EAJS organizes annual Colloquia in Oxford and quadrennial Congresses in various European locations. These major academic events are attended by scholars from all over Europe as well as from other parts of the world. In July 2011 the annual EAJS Summer Colloquium was held in Oxford entitled 'Books within Books – New Discoveries in Old Book Bindings'. The 2012 colloquium, to be held in July also in Oxford, is entitled '*Wissenschaft des Judentums* in Europe: Comparative Perspectives'. Details of all EAJS congresses and colloquia are available on the EAJS website: <http://eurojewishstudies.org>.

Other ongoing projects of the EAJS include the *European Journal of Jewish Studies*, published by Brill, the Association's website that incorporates a number of online news and information features, a New Books page, a monthly Newflash, the online Directory of Jewish Studies in Europe, and the EAJS Funders Database. The last mentioned is part of the EAJS Funding Advisory Service, which aims to collate a comprehensive database of Jewish Studies-related funding and grant opportunities throughout Europe for its members.

The EAJS was founded as a voluntary academic association in 1981, and its Secretariat has been based at Yarnton Manor since 1995. In 2010 the Association

became a company limited by guarantee and a registered charity (Charity Commission no. 1136128). It is currently administered by Dr Garth Gilmour, and managed by the EAJS Secretary, Professor Daniel Langton (University of Manchester).



INSTITUTE FOR POLISH–JEWISH STUDIES

The Institute for Polish–Jewish Studies, an associated institute of the Centre, this year published volume 24 of *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry*. This volume, edited by Israel Bartal, Antony Polonsky and Scott Ury, was devoted to the subject of ‘Jews and Their Neighbours in Eastern Europe since 1750’. Instead of viewing these as a series of ideological conflicts, the contributors to this volume were asked to explore new or neglected aspects of inter-group interaction in the vast area between the Elbe and the Urals populated by Jews, Poles, Russians, Ukrainians, Germans and other groups. Contributions came from more than twenty scholars from Israel, Poland, the UK and the USA, exploring the political, social, religious and literary dimensions of relations between Jews and non-Jews in the modern era.

In December a one-day international conference convened by Professor Antony Polonsky and Dr François Guesnet was held to launch the volume, disseminate its chief findings and discuss a series of relevant topics in some depth. On the eve of the conference, the Spiro Ark, in cooperation with the Polish Cultural Institute and the New London Synagogue, screened the film *Alfred Schreyer from Drohobycz* (Poland, 2010), combined with a short performance by Alfred Schreyer, a musician from Drohobycz and Holocaust survivor, with his band.

The conference, which was held the next day at the Hallam Conference Centre and the Polish Embassy, was formally opened by the ambassador of the Republic of Poland, H.E. Barbara Tuge-Erecińska. The conference was organized in cooperation with the Institute of Jewish Studies at University College London,

and was generously sponsored by the Rothschild Foundation (Hanadiv) Europe, the Polish Cultural Institute, the Polish Embassy, the American Association for Polish–Jewish Studies and the Instytut Książki (Kraków). The programme investigated the boundaries between the various communities in the multi-ethnic fabric of eastern Europe, offered in-depth discussions revolving around Jewish/non-Jewish relations, and included a round-table discussion of Antony Polonsky’s major new three-volume work, *The Jews in Poland and Russia* (published by the Littman Library of Jewish Civilization in 2010–11). Speakers came from Canada, Israel, Poland and the United States. The conference was attended by more than 120 people, and concluded with a remarkable concert by Alfred Schreyer and his band in the premises of the Polish Embassy.

In March 2012 the Institute organized a course of four lectures on ‘Polish–Jewish Relations in the Twentieth Century’, held at the London Jewish Cultural Centre in northwest London. Professor Antony Polonsky gave two lectures, the first on ‘Polish Society and the Holocaust’ and the second on ‘Polish–Jewish Relations since the Second World War’. These were followed by a lecture by Ben Helfgott, speaking on ‘Polish–Jewish Relations: A Personal Perspective’, and a lecture by Kate Gerrard, on the subject ‘Polish–Jewish Relations: Into the Twenty-First Century’. The course was attended by about twenty people, and each session was followed by a lively discussion.

In April 2012 Professor Yohanan Petrovsky-Stern from Northwestern University (Evanston, Illinois) presented a lecture on ‘Crime and Punishment in the Shtetl (1790–1850)’, discussing the peculiarities of legal offences committed by Jews in tsarist Russia in the early decades of the nineteenth century. The event was held in cooperation with the Institute of Jewish Studies at University College London, and drew a considerable audience.

Inadvertently omitted from last year’s report was a lecture in May 2011 by Professor Shimon Redlich of the Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, on the occasion of the publication of his latest book *Life in Transit: Jews in Postwar Łódź, 1945–50*. The lecture was followed by an extended discussion, moderated by Professor Antony Polonsky, and the screening of *Unzere Kinder* (1948), the last Yiddish-language film ever made in Poland. The event, organized in cooperation with the Institute of Jewish Studies at University College London, drew a capacity audience of over 150 people—bringing about additional screenings of *Unzere Kinder* later in the year.

LOOTED ART RESEARCH UNIT

One of this year’s highlights was the agreement secured with the UK Foreign Secretary to bring to the UK a digital copy of the Archive of the International Tracing Service (ITS) at Bad Arolsen, Germany. The Archive contains some 30 million documents and 50 million records on 17.5 million individuals caught up in Hitler’s war and its aftermath. It is to be housed at the Wiener Library in London, with primary funding of £500,000 from the Government negotiated by the Director of the Unit. It will be available to families, researchers and historians by the end of 2012. A launch took place at the Foreign Office in December 2011, co-hosted by the Foreign Secretary and the Director of the Unit as Chair of the UK International Tracing Service Stakeholder Group.

The Stakeholder Group, convened in 2007 by the Director, comprises the UK’s leading historians and organizations engaged with the 1933–55 period, including Richard Evans, Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge, Sir Martin Gilbert and David Cesarani, Professor of History at Royal Holloway London, the Association of Jewish Refugees, the Board of Deputies of British Jews, the Camp and Ghetto Survivors Committee of the Holocaust Survivors Centre, the Federation of Poles of Great Britain, the Gypsy Council, the Holocaust Educational Development Programme, the Holocaust Educational Trust, the Jewish Genealogical Society of Great Britain, the Association of Jewish Refugees Kindertransport Committee, the UK Umbrella Group of Holocaust Survivors and Refugee Organizations and the Wiener Library.

The Group agreed that it was of critical importance that a copy of the archive be made available in the UK as soon as possible, so that survivors, refugees and their families could find the information they still urgently sought about lost relatives. Scholars and those concerned with Holocaust research and education, it was felt, should also have direct access to one of the largest and most important

archives about the Holocaust, its aftermath and consequences, which had been denied for so many years. The International Tracing Service documents are considered the most important new body of material to become available to historians and researchers of the mid-twentieth century for decades.

Case Research

Many new research resources have become available online, in archives and in other centres over the eleven years since the Unit was established. These include digitized auction catalogues covering the years 1930-1945 from Austria, Germany, The Netherlands and Switzerland, made available through a partnership between the Getty Research Institute, the Kunstbibliothek—Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, the Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg and the Forschungsstelle ‘Entartete Kunst’ at the Universität Hamburg.

Records of the looting and post-war restitution which have been digitized include twentieth-century German and US dealers’ records, Allied records of art found at the end of the war, records of the Nazi looting agency, the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg, and national archival collections. While these are of great assistance to the work of the Unit, they generally relate to the more obvious ‘legal’ or official forms of seizure of cultural property. More subtle types of dispossession were widespread in Germany in the 1930s and less easy, although just as important, to document. These include forced sales, looting and plunder, coercion and various types of transactions under duress. The different strategies of expropriation have only recently become a serious area of research, and two important conferences on ‘aryanization’ have taken place in Germany during the last year alone. Research by the Unit into some of these less obvious expropriations has, in the last few months, led to the identification and location of a number of missing works of art.

A painting at the Städel Museum Frankfurt, *Gruppe von fünf Männern*, after Frans Francken, was recorded as having been sold to the Museum on 10 January 1935 by the lawyer Siegmund Levi. The Museum stated that it had only one item of documentation about the acquisition: a short letter from Mr Levi’s brother, Ernst, a retired judge in Frankfurt, that his brother agreed the sale for the sum of 60 Reichsmarks. Judge Levi’s letter was notable for its brevity and intimation of obligation: *Der Eigentümer ist einverstanden* (‘The owner gives his agreement’).



▲ *Gruppe von fünf Männern*, Franz Francken.

Research undertaken by the Unit clarified the circumstances which had led to this sale in 1935. The Unit established that *Justizrat* Dr Siegmund Levi was born on 14 June 1864 in Mainz and perished on 2 February 1943 in Theresienstadt. A lawyer and art collector, he lived for many years in the house at Uferstraße 57, Mainz, which had previously belonged to his parents. In 1938 he was forced by Nazi persecution to sell the house, and his last recorded address was Bockenheimer Landstraße 111, Frankfurt am Main. At the age of 78 he was deported to Theresienstadt on 18 August 1942, and perished there just over five months later.

Dr Levi's distinguished legal career lasted for almost fifty years from 1888, when he was admitted to the *Großherzogliches Landgericht der Provinz Rheinhessen*. Until the era of Nazi persecution and discrimination he was a member of the Council of the *Hessische Anwaltskammer*.

The book entitled *'...fühlte ich mich durchaus als Deutscher'. Das Schicksal der Mainzer Anwälte jüdischer Herkunft nach 1933*, edited by Tillmann Krach and published by the *Rechtanwaltskammer Koblenz* in 2007, comments that:

Das Beispiel Siegmund Levi zeigt in aller Brutalität und tödlichen Konsequenz die Vernichtungsstrategie der Nationalsozialisten. Er verlor alles...

'The example of Siegmund Levi illustrates the strategy of annihilation of the National Socialists in all its brutality and deadly consequences. He lost everything ...'

Archival records show that in 1930 Dr Levi was a successful lawyer with a comfortable income of 14,500 Reichsmarks. From the time of the Nazis' rise to power, like other lawyers, he was subject to a series of discriminatory measures and, in March 1933, prevented from practising law. In April 1933 he was ejected from the *Hessischen Anwaltskammer*, as Jews were no longer allowed to participate. On 25 August 1933, like other Jews, he was obliged to complete the *Anzeige auf Grund des Volksverratsgesetzes*, registering all his assets, a prelude to their gradual expropriation. By April 1934 he had been forced to give up rooms in his house as he could no longer afford to keep them. His income in that year was registered by the tax authorities as zero.

It was at this point, in January 1935, that Dr Levi's painting, *Gruppe von fünf Männern*, was sold to the Städel Museum. Even in the absence of correspondence which might shed more light on how this transaction came to take place, the circumstances and price paid for the painting make it clear that the sale was forced on Dr Levi by Nazi persecution, which throughout 1933 and 1934 had deprived him of any income and means of support.

By June 1937 much of his collection of books and works of art on paper was sold at the Max Perl auction house in Berlin, and in November 1937 he was finally obliged to sell his house and its contents. Throughout 1938, 1939, 1940 and 1941 it is recorded that Dr Levi was obliged to sell off or give to the Pawn Office his

remaining assets, including a collection of books, maps, photographs and prints of Mainz, his coin collection, silverware and other items. In his last place of residence in Frankfurt he is described as having had some small remnants of his life around him, a life that was soon to be erased completely. The *Vernichtungsstrategie der Nationalsozialisten* had achieved its goal.

In France, meanwhile, the Vichy government adopted its own strategies for the sequestration of artworks. One collection subject to these measures was that of Federico Gentili di Giuseppe, an Italian Jew who lived in Paris and whose collection has now been researched by the Unit. In the early years of the twentieth century Gentili di Giuseppe built up a collection of paintings at his home in the Avenue Foch. He died of natural causes in Paris on 20 April 1940, less than one month before the Nazi invasion. His daughter and three children fled Paris on 19 June, three days after anti-Jewish measures were put in place, and made their way via England to North America, one of the children later joining the Free French forces. A grandmother, aunt, uncle and cousin were unable to leave France and perished in concentration camps.

As a result of the anti-Jewish measures of 16 June 1940, a French court ordered in March 1941 that the Gentili di Giuseppe art collection be compulsorily liquidated. The sale of over seventy paintings took place in April 1941 at the Paris auction house Drouot. A subsequent anti-Jewish law of 27 September 1940 expressly forbade Jews who had fled to return. The direct link between anti-Jewish measures and the sale of the paintings was clearly established by the French Appeal Court which, only in 1999, declared the sale null and void and ordered the return of five paintings at the Louvre.

Two other paintings were traced to the Brera Museum of Milan which is owned by the Italian state. This refuses to countenance restitution. One of the paintings was *Cristo Portacroce* by Girolamo Romanino. Research by the Unit established that the painting was bought by a Monsieur 'Lemar' in the 1941 forced sale, was subsequently in the collection of a Milanese collector and in 1998 passed into the collection of the Brera in Milan as a bequest, having been in the same Italian family from 1941 to 1998. In 2011 the painting was sent on loan to the Mary Brogan Museum in Tallahassee, Florida, where in November 2011 it was seized by the US authorities and returned to the family in April 2012. The research of the Unit was relied on by the US authorities in their submissions to the Florida court.



Waldlandschaft mit Hirtenknabe und Mädchen, Karl Marko. Located at the Kaiser Wilhelm Museum, Krefeld.



Grossmutter mit drei Enkelinnen, Ferdinand Waldmüller. Located at the Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte, Oldenburg.



Cristo Portacroce, Girolamo Romanino.



Other cases researched by the Unit were resolved during the year. In September 2012 the German government agreed claims for two paintings which had been forcibly taken from a Viennese family in 1939 and were then offered to Hitler, subsequently becoming part of his Linz Collection. The Unit had traced them to museums in Germany.

In October another claim was finalized when research by the Unit enabled a family to recover a painting located in Munich. It was shown that the painting had entered the collection of Martin Bormann following its forcible sale in Vienna.

Other claims are currently being negotiated for paintings variously in Germany, Japan and the USA, identified through the art-historical and historical research of the Unit.

The Website of the Unit – www.lootedart.com

The website, which is internationally considered the main source on developments in the subject, is kept updated with news stories, policy changes and case news, as well as information about new research resources and publications.

The distribution of the weekly newsletter of the Unit has expanded considerably over the last year and reaches users in twenty-five countries. Readers include researchers, curators, auction houses, art historians, historians, lawyers and governments. The website itself is now ranked highly by Google at 6/10 (the BBC is page rank 9), such rankings referring to the degree of authority and importance Google assesses the website to have. This correlates to regular change and update of content, relevance, inbound links from other authoritative sites, traffic to the site, quality of writing and use of images, and search-engine friendliness, among other criteria.

THE LEOPOLD MULLER MEMORIAL LIBRARY

During the academic year 2011-2012 the Library continued to be a major resource for students of the MSt at the Centre, as well as for other students and researchers in the University and in other academic institutions, by means of the Inter-Library Loan system. Additionally, it played a crucial role in the European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies (see the reports on pages 75-146 of this *Report*), in particular for those scholars taking part in the seminar on ‘Old Yiddish: Old Texts, New Contexts’, who took full advantage of the holdings of the Library.

Coinciding with the retirement of the Fellow Librarian, the Library Committee Chairman, Mr David Lewis has also relinquished his post, and although we continue to benefit from his generous hospitality as well as from his donations to the Library, this is a fitting time to pay tribute to his labours and benefactions, which have helped to bring the Library from what it was thirty years ago, a minor reference collection, to what is now - quite independently from the rest of the Judaica collections in Oxford – one of the major Judaica libraries in Europe, with substantial holdings and unique archives; particularly in the fields of Yizkor books, Israeli personalities, rabbinics, Early Modern Hebrew prints (especially those published in Amsterdam), Christian Hebraists’ works, Dutch-Jewish communities and the Montefiore Archives, to mention only a few.

The Library extends its welcome to the new Library Committee Chairman, Mr Charles Sebag-Montefiore, whose wide knowledge, enthusiasm and interest in its activities have greatly impressed the staff. We look forward to a fruitful collaboration in the years to come.

The retirement of the Fellow Librarian, Dr Piet van Boxel, has given us the opportunity to reflect on his tremendous achievements of the last ten years, and to plan the future course of the Library. The new Library Director's activities have centred on the establishment of the Library's priorities. With that aim the Director has carried out a survey of the holdings and needs of the Library. The explosive growth in accessions over the past ten years has meant that the Library faced the enormous task of cataloguing and making all these materials available. This was compounded by the urgent need to put the catalogue online, which led to the use of several cataloguing systems – the OLIS central system for non-Hebrew books and the SEFER in-house system for Hebrew and Yiddish books, together with various in-house systems to accommodate the Archives and the Loewe Pamphlet Collection. In the summer of 2011 the Bodleian Libraries introduced a new cataloguing system, ALEPH, which enables us to catalogue books in Hebrew as well; this has simplified the tasks, and eventually all the Library's holdings will be found in this single system. The conclusion is that the time has come to consolidate the collections, by continuing to catalogue the holdings and to digitise the archival material.

Following the decision to concentrate on cataloguing the holdings and digitizing the archival material, it became necessary to recruit new staff. This has been carried out in three steps. First, Jane Barlow continued as Library Assistant, while Milena Zeidler was promoted to Senior Assistant Librarian, with increased responsibilities, including some of the duties previously discharged by the Deputy Librarian. Both have successfully performed their roles. Ms Zeidler has undertaken her manifold duties with energy and enthusiasm. Ms Barlow has been extremely helpful and competent, a source of constant support and common sense. Second, Zsófia Buda was recruited in mid-December, as a temporary Library Assistant. Having completed the Bodleian Library training (and, incidentally, in April also a PhD in Jewish Studies in her native Budapest), she has now qualified as a Cataloguer, and from 1 April was the new Assistant Librarian. Dr Buda is a promising young scholar, specializing in the field of medieval Hebrew manuscripts. She has quickly become an indispensable part of the Library team, and her assistance was invaluable in the preparation of our latest exhibition. The third phase will be the appointment of the Director's Deputy, who will hopefully be in place by the beginning of the next academic year.

Furthermore, the cataloguing of the Library holdings has continued, adding over 2400 books to the OLIS University online catalogue in 2011-2012. Of the catalogued items, over 900 were new acquisitions, while the rest was retrospective cataloguing. As part of this process, the Library's periodical collection is being added to the online catalogue, including Hebrew periodicals from the Elkoshi and Kressel collections, a substantial number of them in single-issues, some of them long since discontinued and not to be found in any other of the University's libraries. The Senior Assistant Librarian, Milena Zeidler, has continued to work on this project and has continued cataloguing Hebrew and non-Hebrew journals, covering a total of 187 periodicals in the course of the year.

Thanks to the generous support of Mr and Mrs Robin Sebag-Montefiore, the Senior Assistant Librarian, Milena Zeidler, continued to catalogue the contents of the Arthur Sebag-Montefiore Archive, which is being made available online as work progresses.

European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies

The European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies for the year 2011-2012 which began in Michaelmas Term was entitled 'Old Yiddish: Old Texts, New Contexts'. The participants, who came from Europe and Israel, made use of the holdings of the Centre's library and of the Bodleian Library, especially the Oppenheim Collection, enlivening the intellectual life of the Centre, and helping to bring to light lost treasures from the astonishing range of production of Yiddish literary works between the fourteenth and the eighteenth centuries, most of it surviving in unique copies in the Oppenheim Collection. The Seminar came to a successful conclusion in Hilary Term with a conference – 'Words and Worlds of Old Yiddish Literature', in which fourteen speakers from Europe and Israel took part. The proceedings will be published in the near future.

Advanced Seminar

Thanks to the Centre's generous contribution, Dr Sarit Shalev-Eyni of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem gave a series of seminars at the Bodleian Library during Trinity Term, entitled 'Illustration and the Making of the Medieval Hebrew Book'. The series concentrated on the relation between image and

text in medieval Hebrew manuscripts, filling the Group Study Room to capacity and attracting scholars from outside Oxford. Dr Shalev-Eyni masterfully led the participants through a detailed analysis of the functions of images in numerous Sephardi, Ashkenazi and Italian manuscripts, making use of the Bodleian Library's unequalled collection.

Acquisitions

The Library has continued to coordinate its acquisition policy with the Bodleian Libraries. In the field of Hebrew literature (modern and medieval), it has continued the retrospective purchase of titles in Modern Hebrew literature which are not to be found elsewhere in University of Oxford libraries. It has acquired over 400 books in the field of Hebrew literature, Rabbinics and History, which have all been catalogued, making them accessible to scholars. In addition to this, the Library has acquired an important collection of Yiddish books, thanks to the good offices of one of the Visiting Fellows taking part in the Old Yiddish Seminar. The collection comprises 470 books from the Medem Yiddish Library in Paris, and filling gaps which we could not otherwise have easily remedied.

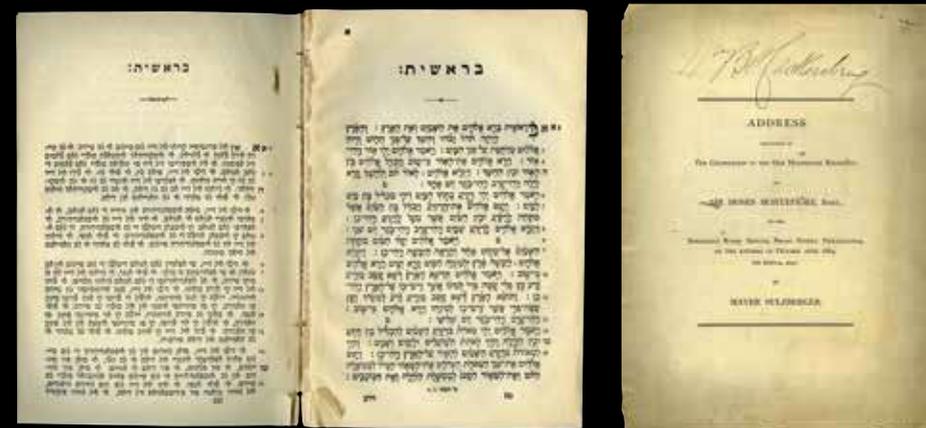
Loans of Rare Books

Listed at the end of this Library report are the books that have been given to the Centre on long-term loan by the Lewis Family interests, for which the Library is most grateful. It is worth noting in particular the works of Portuguese Christian Hebraists, which enrich the holdings in the Foyle-Montefiore Collection. Also notable is the work by Joseph Penso de la Vega, published in Spanish in Antwerp, which joins similar works in the Copenhagen Collection. An example of a Bible in Hebrew and Ladino (in rabbinic type) on facing pages illustrates the culture developed by Sephardim in the Ottoman Empire, whose progress contrasts that of their brethren in the Low Countries. A sermon written in honour of Sir Moses Montefiore on the occasion of the 100th birthday he did not live to celebrate, must also be mentioned. It comes to enrich the Library's Shandel-Lipson and Sebag-Montefiore Archives. Avraham de Fonseca's work joins the numerous Hebrew publications already in the Library's various collections. The Library is most grateful to Mr David Lewis for his help in acquiring these works, which once again enrich our holdings precisely in those areas where our strengths lie.



Joannes Ab Incarnatione's *Dikduk Leshon ha-Kedoshah, or Grammatica Linguae Sanctae*. Printed in Coimbra in 1789. A rare work by a Portuguese Christian Hebraist.

Joseph Penso de la Vega's *Rumbos Peligrosos*, published in Antwerp in 1683, is an example of a work in Spanish published in Antwerp, part of the Spanish Netherlands, whose author belonged to the Jewish community in Amsterdam.



A bilingual Bible in Hebrew and Ladino, published in Istanbul in 1905. The community still uses the Ladino language 400 years after the expulsion from Spain.

Sir Moses Montefiore's centenary in 1884 was celebrated by Jewish communities all over the world. A sample from Philadelphia.

Donations

We are delighted to record our gratitude to those donors who have enriched the Library collections with their gifts in the past year. Their donations have enhanced our collections and have proven to be of immediate use to scholars and students at the Centre and the University. A list of donors can be found below (see page 238), but we would like to mention a few that are of particular importance.

First, the Library has received the Loewe Family Archives, comprising the personal and scholarly correspondence of four generations of this important Anglo-Jewish family, starting with Sir Moses Montefiore's secretary and first Principal of the Lady Montefiore College in Ramsgate, Louis Loewe; his grandson, Herbert Loewe, first a lecturer at Exeter College, Oxford, and then Reader in Rabbinics at Cambridge University, and Herbert Loewe's son Raphael, Goldsmid Professor of Hebrew at University College London. This material complements the Montefiore Archives due to Louis Loewe's close connection with the Montefiore family as Sir Moses' private secretary, and also the holdings of the Loewe Pamphlet Collection, which holds copies of articles by some of the preeminent scholars in Jewish Studies in the last 150 years, including members of the Loewe family, but is now joined by correspondence with them. The Library is grateful to Elisabeth Talbot and Camilla Loewe, daughters of the late Professor Raphael Loewe, as well as to Dr Jeremy Schonfield for helping to secure the archive for the Library.

Dr Nina Wedderburn graciously donated letters written by Herbert Loewe to her grandfather, Redcliffe Salaman, FRS, as well as limericks written for Redcliffe and his siblings by Israel Zangwill, who was a friend of her grandmother Nina Salaman. Through the Taylor Institution we received several works on modern Yiddish literature from Mrs Zoe Silverman. Professor Marion Aptroot sent several books in the field of Yiddish Studies. Dr Edward Gelles has presented the Library with copies of his works.

The Library also received a rich collection of Hebrew plays, some of them in typescript, as well as books and periodicals on Hebrew drama, numbering over a hundred volumes, from Professor Glenda Abramson. These materials will be of great use to researchers.

Professor Yuval Dror has continued to donate many books in the fields of modern Israeli society, politics and education, helping to augment the Library's modern Israeli section.

Using the endowment in memory of the late Sir Isaiah Berlin, the library has acquired scholarly works on Jewish thought, theology and mysticism ranging from Kabbalah to Rabbi Hugo Gryn. The list of these volumes can be found on pages 239-240.

The Hans and Rita Oppenheimer Fund for books related to the Holocaust enabled us to purchase several volumes, mostly on aspects of historiography of the Holocaust and on the righteous among the nations. The bibliographic details all these volumes can be found on pages 240-241.

The *Journal of Jewish Studies* generously continues to supply us with review copies, in all areas of Jewish Studies.

Raphael Loewe Archives Exhibition

Following our receipt of the Loewe Family Archives, with the help of Elisabeth Talbot and Camilla Loewe, daughters of the late Professor Raphael Loewe, as well as of his brother Dr Michael Loewe and of Dr Jeremy Schonfield, we organized an exhibition entitled 'Raphael Loewe Archives: Four Generations of Anglo-Jewish Scholarship', which ran until November 2012. This was accompanied by an online exhibition in which a selection of the material was displayed. This remains available at:

http://www.ochjs.ac.uk/mullerlibrary/digital_library/Intranet/Loewe/stainedglassdesign/exhibition.html

An event was held in the spring to celebrate the opening of the exhibition, at which Peter Oppenheimer, Dr Michael Loewe and the Library team gave brief talks about Raphael Loewe, Jewish scholarship and the exhibition. Dr Jeremy Schonfield dedicated the David Patterson Seminar which he gave on that same evening to Raphael Loewe's memory. The exhibition was a great success due in no small measure thanks to the imaginative labours of Milena Zeidler and the rest of the staff who selected and arranged the material. See the article about the family and its archive on pages 29-48.

London Lecture Series

As part of the Centre's London Lecture Series at the Jewish Museum, the Director gave a talk on Menasseh ben Israel on 30 April, making use of books either written or published by Menasseh in our collection, some of which are part of the Copenhagen and Foyle-Montefiore collections, with a substantial part on long-term loan from the Lewis Family Trusts. The talk illustrated the riches of the Library's collections. The text of this lecture can be read on pages 49-67.

Digital Haskalah Library

The Digital Haskalah Library, following from the 2011 Exhibition in the Bodleian Library, organized by the former Fellow Librarian Dr Piet van Boxel and managed by the Senior Assistant Librarian Milena Zeidler, was planned as a reader to the exhibition's companion book, *Cultural Revolution in Berlin: Jews in the Age of Enlightenment*, by Shmuel Feiner and Natalie Naimark-Goldberg. It has proved an invaluable resource, attracting many readers. The Library is grateful to the Foyle Foundation for its generous support of this project.

Books on Long-Term Loan from the Lewis Family Interests

Joannes Ab Incarnatione. לקדוק לשון הקדשה *Dikduk Leshon ha-Kedoshah / Grammatica Linguae Sanctae*. Coimbra: Typis Academiae, 1789.

(Bible). ספר תורה נביאים וכתובים: איל ליברו די לה ליי, לוס פרופ'טאס, אי לאס איסקריטוראס. *Sepher Torah Nevi'im Uktuvim - El Libro de la Ley, los Profetas y las Escrituras*. Two vols. Constantinople: A.H. Boyagian, 1905.

Fonseca, Avraham de. ספר עיני אברהם *Sefer Eyne Avraham*. Amsterdam: Daniel de Fonseca, 1627-8.

Paz, Francisco da. *Compendio dos Principios da Grammatica Hebraica*. Lisbon: Royal Typographic Office, 1773.

Sulzberger, Mayer. *Address Delivered at the Celebration of the One Hundredth Birth-Day of Sir Moses Montefiore at the Synagogue Rodef Sholom, Philadelphia*. Philadelphia, 1884.

Vega, Joseph Penso de la. *Rumbos Peligrosos* ['Dangerous Directions']. Antwerp, 1683.

THE TIKVAH SUMMER INSTITUTE ON RELIGION AND POLITICS

What does religion have to do with politics and politics with religion? The question is as old as civilization itself and lies at core of some of today's greatest governmental and leadership challenges. An international group of outstandingly able students gathered at the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies in August 2011 to discover, with the help of a number of world-renowned scholars, how the great texts of Judaism, Christianity and Islam address both the enduring and timely questions of religion and politics.

Students at UK, European, Russian, Israeli and North American colleges and universities were invited to apply to the programme, jointly organized by the Tikvah Fund and the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies. In addition to the usual references, applicants were required to provide two essays, in English, of 500-1000 words each, the first describing a philosophical, literary or religious text that had had a profound impact on the way he or she viewed and understood the world, and the second a discussion of an issue pertaining to religion, politics or their intersection which was relevant to his or her own local, national or regional community.

During the conference, students studied classical texts and discussed contemporary issues with scholars from around the world, including some of the Centre's Fellows. These scholars, led by Academic Dean Suzanne Last Stone (Cardozo School of Law), were experts in the intellectual traditions of Judaism, Christianity and Islam. Instruction comprised seminars and lectures based on prepared readings in political philosophy, law, history and theology. Topics included 'War and Morality', 'Dignity and Equality', and 'Culture, Nation and Democracy'.

KIVUNIM PROGRAMME

This year the Centre continued its relationship with *Kivunim*, one of North America's Jewish non-profit organizations. *Kivunim* offers an established gap-year programme to pre-university students who study courses in Hebrew, Arabic, Middle East Studies, Civilization and Society, and Visual Learning. All aspects of the educational programme and the grading of students' essays and examination papers is provided by *Kivunim*.

The Centre again this year established an academic committee consisting of three Fellows, to review and approve representative samples of students' work after the first term. *Kivunim* provided a final report on individual student progress, together with representative work samples for each level of achievement. Any discrepancies in grading were discussed and resolved by *Kivunim* and the Centre's academic committee. An official transcript from the Centre was issued to each student on successful completion of the course.



LISTINGS

THE ACADEMIC COUNCIL



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Dr David Ariel

Fellows



Lecturer in Modern Judaism
Dr Miri Freud-Kandel



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Fellow in Eastern European
Jewish Civilization*
Dr Zehavit Stern
University Research Lecturer,
Oxford University



Professor Martin Goodman, FBA
Professor of Jewish Studies, Oxford University, and Professorial Fellow, Wolfson College, Oxford



*Catherine Lewis
Fellow in Rabbinics*
Dr Joanna Weinberg
Reader and James Mew Lecturer in Rabbinic Hebrew, Oxford University



*Ricardo Fellow
in Modern Jewish History*
Dr David Rechter
University Research Lecturer, Oxford University, and Research Fellow of St Antony's College, Oxford



Professor Hugh Williamson, FBA
Regius Professor of Hebrew, Oxford University;
Ex-officio Fellow



*Polonsky Fellow and Fellow
in Jewish Bible Versions*
Dr Alison Salvesen
University Research Lecturer, Oxford University and Fellow of Mansfield College

Other Teaching Staff

Dr Garth Gilmour
Professor Sir Fergus Millar, FBA
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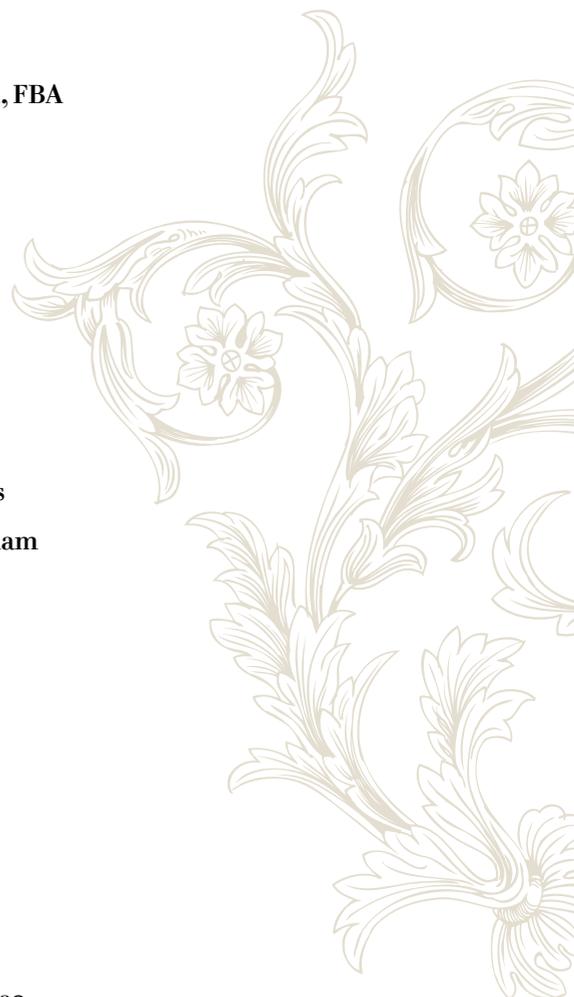
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BIOGRAPHIES OF THE GOVERNORS

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David Ariel has been President of the Centre from October 2008, and previously served as President of Siegal College of Jewish Studies (Cleveland, Ohio) for twenty-five years. He has lectured widely on Jewish subjects throughout North America, Israel and the former Soviet Union and served as a consultant to universities, foundations and academic accrediting agencies. Dr Ariel has written four books, including *Kabbalah: The Mystic Quest in Judaism* and *What do Jews Believe? The Spiritual Foundations of Judaism*.

HRH Prince El Hassan bin Talal

A pluralist, believing in consensus and respect for the other, His Royal Highness Prince El Hassan bin Talal of Jordan is Chairman and Co-Founder of The Royal Scientific Society; The Arab Thought Forum; The Higher Council for Science and Technology, The Royal Institute for Inter-Faith Studies and The West Asia - North Africa Forum. He has been decorated by over twenty nations for his humanitarian works, is the author of nine books and contributes regularly to publications worldwide.

Sir Ivor Crewe

Sir Ivor Crewe is Master of University College Oxford. He was a Professor of Government at the University of Essex from 1982 to 2007, and its Vice Chancellor from 1995 to 2007. He chaired the 1994 Group of universities from 1999 to 2003 and was President of Universities UK from 2003 to 2005. He is a

governor of the School of Oriental and African Studies, the University of Arts London and the European University Institute, Florence.

Lord Fink

Lord Fink has been Chief Executive Officer of International Standard Asset Management (ISAM) since 2008. Prior to this he was CEO and Deputy Chairman of Man Group plc. Lord Fink was appointed co-Treasurer of the Conservative Party in 2009 and became a member of the House of Lords in 2011. A well-known philanthropist, his focus is health, education and the environment, involving roles within many related organisations. Active in Jewish affairs, Lord Fink is a vice-president of the Jewish Leadership Council.

Professor Martin Goodman

Martin Goodman is Professor of Jewish Studies in the University of Oxford and a Fellow of Wolfson College. After studying Classics at Oxford and holding a Junior Research Fellowship at the Centre in 1976-7, he taught Roman History at the University of Birmingham before returning to Oxford in 1986 as a Fellow of the Centre. He has served as a Governor of the Centre since 1991.

Field Marshal the Lord Guthrie of Craigiebank

Field Marshal Lord Guthrie joined the British Army in 1957. He served in the Welsh Guards and SAS and held a number of senior appointments in the Ministry of Defence. His last three appointments were Commander in Chief in Germany, CGS and CDS (Head of all three services). On retiring he became a Director of N.M. Rothschild & Sons. He currently has a number of non-executive Directorships and is involved with several charities.

Professor Alan Jones

Alan Jones taught Arabic and Islamic studies at Oxford from 1957 to 2000, retiring as Professor of Classical Arabic.

David Joseph, QC

David Joseph, QC, has been Queen's Counsel since 2003 and a practising barrister at Essex Court Chambers since 1985. He sits on the Executive Board of the Commercial Bar Organization, COMBAR, and numerous other professional legal committees both in Britain and overseas.

Dr Paul Joyce

Paul Joyce studied Theology at Oxford University before completing doctoral studies in Old Testament at Oxford, where he was Kennicott Hebrew Fellow. His first post was as Lecturer and subsequently Director of Studies at Ripon College, Cuddesdon, a Theological College of the Church of England. He then moved to the University of Birmingham as a Lecturer and subsequently back to Oxford University, where he has been University Lecturer in Old Testament and a Fellow of St Peter's College. He served as Chairman of the Oxford Theology Faculty Board in 2008-2011. He leaves the Governing Body of the Oxford Centre in 2012, on his appointment as Samuel Davidson Professor of Old Testament/Hebrew Bible at King's College London.

David Lewis

David Lewis graduated from London University. He qualified as a Chartered Surveyor in 1961, forming his own firm in 1964. He has held a number of public company positions in the UK. He is Chairman of various privately controlled investment companies and his family interests include wide-ranging collections of works of art and first edition books. Mr Lewis has held numerous charitable and communal positions, including, currently, Deputy Chairman of the Board of the London Jewish Cultural Centre and Co-chair of the Commission for Looted Art in Europe. He is a member of the Board of the Jewish Museum, and is a member of the Advisor Committee of The New Culture Forum. He is a Trustee of the Birmingham Museums Trust.

Lord Marks of Broughton

Lord Marks has supported many Jewish causes both in the UK and in Israel.

Dr John Muddiman

The Reverend Dr John Muddiman recently retired as the G. B. Caird Fellow in New Testament Theology at Mansfield College, Oxford. Among other academic works he has produced a critically acclaimed examination of authorship in the Epistle to the Ephesians and, together with John Barton, co-edited the *Oxford Bible Commentary*, a favourite among undergraduate theologians. His most recent publication is a study of the authenticity of the Pauline Epistles.

Martin Paisner, CBE

Martin Paisner attended St Paul's School, London, the Sorbonne, Worcester College, Oxford, and the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, USA, obtaining an MA from Oxford, an LL.M from Michigan and Honorary Doctorates from the Weizmann Institute of Science, Israel, and the University of Glasgow. He is an Honorary Fellow of Queen Mary University of London, Worcester College, Oxford, and King's College London.

He became a partner with Paisner & Co. in 1972 (merging with Berwin Leighton to form Berwin Leighton Paisner in May 2001). He has specialized throughout his career in the areas of charity law and private client practice. Martin is a member of the Garrick and Reform Clubs.

Daniel Patterson

Dan Patterson was educated at Magdalen College School, Oxford, and University College London where he received the highest first-class honours degree in his year in the subject of History. He took an MA in Television and Film at the University of Michigan and was a Teaching Assistant at North Western University Chicago in 1983-6. He joined BBC Radio in 1986 and moved to television in 1988 where he worked for Hat Trick Productions. He has been nominated for many awards and won a Bafta and the Royal Television Society Award for 'Whose Line Is It Anyway'. He is also responsible for 'Mock the Week', 'Clive Anderson Talks Back', 'Room 101', 'The Peter Principle' and 'Fast and Loose'. In America he has produced 'Whose Line Is It Anyway', 'The Kelsey Grammer Show', 'Sketch Show' and 'Trust Us With Your Life'.

Daniel Peltz

Daniel Peltz is Chief Executive of London Freeholds Plc, a company he founded in 2002 following a career in property and asset management with companies including GUS Plc and The British Land Company. His other interests include being a Member of the International Council of the Tate, Chairman of the Technion (UK) and a member of its Board of Governors, Trustee of the City of London School Bursary Trust, Treasurer of the Institute of Jewish Studies and a member of King's College London Development Board. He also sits on both the Finance and Estates Committees of the Marylebone Cricket Club. He has recently just completed a Masters in Renaissance Studies at London University.

George Pinto

George Pinto is a retired merchant banker, having been with Robert Benson Lonsdale and (after its merger) Kleinwort Benson for almost forty years. He has been involved for more than fifty years with various charities.

Marc Polonsky

Marc Polonsky is a partner of an international law firm based in London, and a trustee of the Polonsky Foundation and of the Van Leer Jerusalem Institute.

Lord Justice Rix

Sir Bernard Rix has been a Lord Justice of Appeal since 2000. He is an honorary fellow of New College, Oxford, and of Queen Mary, University of London, president of the Harvard Law School Alumni Association of the UK, Chairman of the Advisory Council of the Centre for Commercial Law Studies at Queen Mary, University of London, and a board director of the London Philharmonic Orchestra. He has also been chairman and is vice-president of the UK Friends of Bar-Ilan University and a member of its Board of Trustees, among other charities.

Stuart Roden

Stuart Roden joined Lansdowne Partners in June 2001, is a member of the management committee and is jointly responsible for the Developed Markets Strategy, previously known as the UK Strategy. He is also a Senior Limited Partner of Lansdowne Partners Limited Partnership. Prior to that, Stuart was a Managing Director of Merrill Lynch Investment Managers (MLIM), managing \$5bn of UK Equity high-performance pension funds. He had previously been a Management Consultant at McKinsey & Co, where he served industrial, retail and financial-services clients on profit improvement and strategic issues. Stuart started his career in the City in 1984, joining S. G. Warburg & Co. He received a first-class honours degree in Economics (BSc) from the London School of Economics in 1984.

Charles Sebag-Montefiore

Charles Sebag-Montefiore qualified as a Chartered Accountant in 1974 and is a director of Ludgate Investments Limited, an environmental fund-management company. He is a Trustee of the National Gallery and Hon. Treasurer of the Friends of the National Libraries, the National Manuscripts Conservation Trust and of other charities in the field of books, libraries and works of art. He is the joint author of *The British as Art Collectors: From the Tudors to the Present* (2012). His book entitled *A Dynasty of Dealers: John Smith and Successors 1801-1924* (forthcoming 2012) is a study of the art market for pictures in nineteenth-century London.

Dr David Taylor

Dr David Taylor is a University Lecturer in Aramaic and Syriac in the Oriental Institute, Oxford. His primary research interests are in Syriac literature, language, theology and history (from their origins to the present); and his secondary field Aramaic dialectology. At present he is writing a series of books and articles on the Syriac Psalms, their text and exegesis; multilingualism in the Late Antique Near East; the politics of Syriac language use in Early Modern South India; and Syriac lexicography.

Professor Hugh Williamson

Hugh Williamson was educated at Rugby School and at Cambridge University where he taught Hebrew and Aramaic from 1975 to 1992. Since then he has been Regius Professor of Hebrew in Oxford and a Student of Christ Church. He is a Fellow of the British Academy (Vice-President in 2010-11) and his main research is on the language and literature of the Hebrew Bible.

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Mr Wingate is currently a trustee of the Harold Hyam Wingate Foundation.



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FINANCIAL REVIEW FOR THE YEAR 2011 – 2012

A brief overview of the financial position at 31 July 2012 shows the following:

Unrestricted voluntary income plus income from endowment funds has matched total unrestricted expenditure with a small surplus of funds, £49,509, at the end of the year, reducing the accumulated deficit to £886,633 from £936,142 at 31 July 2011.

Included in the total of £594,717 in *unrestricted* donations received in the year, £215,663 was received as a result of the Fortieth Anniversary Dinner held in May 2012. This made a significant contribution to the fundraising goal for the year.

Restricted donations have fallen this year to £356,903, compared with £453,902 for the previous year. The drop in income results from the end of funding for one Fellowship in 2011 with a second post for a Lecturer becoming vacant at the beginning of the academic year 2011-12. The funding for a replacement has been held on deferred income.

Income from Charitable Activities is just over £100,000 less in this year than in the last, but this is entirely due to self-funded projects (Looted Art Research Unit and a lecture series) not requiring the same level of funding because of credit balances brought forward from 31 July 2011 being available.

In general, expenditure has been fairly well contained and Costs of Generating Funds and Governance costs are only marginally higher than last year. Total costs allocated to Charitable Activities were down by £293,000.

As explained above, this is due to two academic posts being vacant, as well as spending in general being closely monitored and controlled.

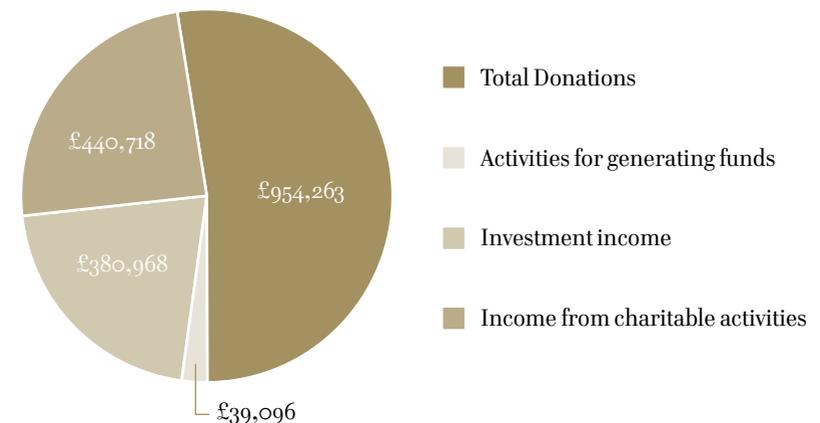
As a result of selling two peripheral properties after 31 July 2012, the Centre's overdraft is being repaid. Emphasis on fundraising will be maintained and a variety of fundraising events are planned for 2012-13 with the aim of matching the level of donations received as a result of the Fortieth Anniversary Dinner.

In the Figure shown below the consolidated deficit of £100,039 is before transfers from endowment income, the effect of realized and unrealized investment gains and losses, and the allocation of funds brought forward at 1 August 2011. After taking these items into account the out-turn for the year is as shown in the Table below, namely:

Unrestricted funds deficit	£886,633
Designated funds surplus	£72,716
Restricted funds surplus	£278,273
Endowment funds	£10,095,606
Total funds of the Centre	£9,559,962

For more detail, the Table overleaf is a summary statement of financial activities (SOFA).

Figures



Listings

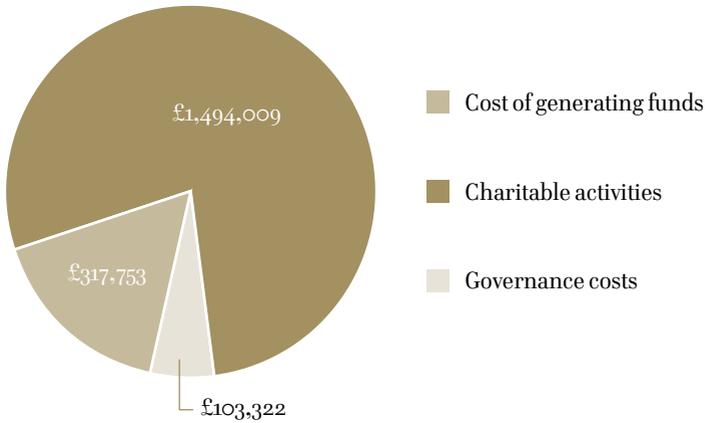


Table: Income less expenditure for the year to 31 July 2012 £(100,039)

	Unrestricted	Designated	Restricted	Endowment	Total
	£	£	£	£	£
Total incoming resources	774,069	86,723	573,517	380,736	1,815,045
Total resources expended	(950,052)	(61,446)	(870,014)	(33,572)	(1,915,084)
Net transfers	225,492	(26,531)	225,339	(424,300)	
Net (outgoing/incoming) resources before revaluations and investment asset disposals	49,509	(1,254)	(71,158)	(77,136)	(100,039)
Net realized & unrealized gains/losses				(381,681)	(381,681)
Fund balances at 1 August 2011	(936,142)	73,970	349,431	10,554,423	10,041,682
Fund balances at 31 July 2012	(886,633)	72,716	278,273	10,095,606	9,559,962

The audited accounts of the Centre are published in full during December 2012, both in hard copy and on the Centre's website at www.ochjs.ac.uk