

REPORT OF THE OXFORD CENTRE FOR HEBREW AND JEWISH STUDIES 2019–2020

Report of the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies

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The Clarendon Institute

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President's Message

of private correspondence preserved in the Cairo Geniza. In February 2020 the Centre held a three-day film event, led by Professor Adriana X. Jacobs in the framework of the Brichto Israel Studies Fund. Three films from the celebrated documentary project *The Hebrews*, directed and produced by Yair Qedar, and concerning key figures in the Hebrew and Jewish literary canon were screened. Yair Qedar himself introduced films on the Yemenite Jewish poet Shalom Shabazi (1619-*c*.1720), the Levantine writer Jacqueline Kahanoff (1917–1979), and the Yiddish poet Avraham Sutzkever (1913–2010).

From October 2019 to March 2020 the Centre was delighted to host the ninth Oxford Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies, organized with the generous support of the Polonsky Foundation. Dr Diana Matut and Dr Deborah Rooke gathered leading specialists in the field of Jewish music from Australia, France, Germany, Hungary, Israel, Italy, the UK and the USA for an extended residential Seminar entitled *Between Sacred and Profane – Jewish Musical Cultures in Early Modern Europe*, reports of which appear in this volume. Participants examined Ashkenazi, Italian-Jewish and Western Sephardi musical expressions in Europe during the early modern period, with a special emphasis on interconnections between the liturgical and secular spheres, as well as on the processes of negotiation between Jewish religious expressions and popular cultures. They illustrated their cumulative research with a musical concert.

The Centre's involvement in a range of exciting academic projects and cultural events was made possible by the generosity of several foundations and private donors. We are immensely grateful for their unfailing support for academic Hebrew and Jewish Studies in the heart of Oxford.

Last but not least, I would like on behalf of the whole Centre to express our special gratitude to our Registrar, Martine Smith-Huvers, who left us this autumn after twenty-eight years. We will all miss her kindness, helpfulness and efficiency, and we wish her happiness for many years to come.

The Centre has now begun a new academic year that will bring new challenges, but also exciting new research projects and high-level academic events to which we all look forward with eager anticipation.

Judith Olszowy-Schlanger

September 2020

President's Message

The academic year 2019–2020 will undoubtedly be remembered as the most challenging one in decades. The pandemic has impacted on all our lives, and that of the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies is no exception. However, thanks to the dedication and resourcefulness of our Governors, Fellows and Staff the Centre navigated these daunting times with overall success. Despite the closure of our buildings and the Leopold Muller Memorial Library during the lockdown, as well as the postponement of many of our conferences and workshops, we were able to relocate and to make available a substantial part of our teaching and research activities online. The threats posed by the pandemic remain very real, but the Centre is now well prepared to pursue its teaching and research activities in conditions that are as secure and welcoming as possible.

The challenges of Covid–19 aside, this year was particularly rich in exciting events. There was much satisfaction when publications by two Fellows of the Centre received important book awards: Adriana X. Jacobs's *Strange Cocktail. Translation and the Making of Modern Hebrew Poetry*, and the Italian translation of Martin Goodman's *A History of Judaism.* Two other new publications were warmly welcomed: Yaacov Yadgar's *Israel's Jewish Identity Crisis: State and Politics in the Middle East*, and Martin Goodman's *Josephus's 'The Jewish War'*. We were also delighted to learn that Dr Jeremy Schonfield was appointed Professor of Liturgy at Leo Baeck College.

This year has also marked the beginning of our new partnership with the Taube Foundation, and we are pleased to report that the first holder of the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies / Taube Foundation Doctoral Scholarship joined us at the start of the new year. The Centre's research seminars, the Seminar on Jewish History in Graeco-Roman Period and the Seminar in Contemporary Jewish History, attracted fascinating speakers and learned audiences, while our regular Hebrew and Yiddish ulpanim successfully taught growing numbers of students. The weekly David Patterson Lectures in Michaelmas and Hilary terms provided fresh insights into recent developments across various fields of Hebrew and Jewish Studies.

Among the many highlights of this year, the Fourth Edward Ullendorff Memorial Lecture was delivered by Dr Esther-Miriam Wagner, who examined linguistic realities of medieval Jewish communities in Egypt through the prism



The Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies of the University of Oxford



Between Sacred and Profane – Jewish Musical Cultures in Early Modern Europe

The ninth Oxford Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies (OSAJS), entitled *Between Sacred and Profane – Jewish Musical Cultures in Early Modern Europe*, gathered together leading specialists in Jewish music to focus on Ashkenazi, Italian-Jewish and Western Sephardi musical expressions in Europe during the early modern period. Special emphasis was given to the connectivity of liturgical, semi-liturgical and secular spheres.



'A Celebration of French-Jewish Music'

26 Feb., 7.30pm, Maison Française d'Oxford

Convened by **Diana Matut** and **Alexandre Cerveux** (Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies OSAJS "Jewish Musical Cultures in Early Modern Europe")

Jewish songs in Hebrew, Yiddish, and French set to music by thirteenthto twentieth-century composers. Including pieces composed by Samuel Naumbourg, Ernest Bloch, Louis Aubert.

FREE ADMISSION



OXFORD CENTRE FOR HEBREW AND JEWISH STUDIES

The Seminar, which took place from October 2019 to March 2020, was generously supported by the Polonsky Foundation, and was led by Dr Diana Matut of the Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg and Dr Deborah Rooke of Regent's College, University of Oxford.

In addition to weekly seminars which were open to the public, other activities included a very well-attended concert at the Maison Française celebrating French-Jewish music. The project culminated in a two-day conference. A further concert had unfortunately to be cancelled due to coronavirus restrictions.

Oxford-Tel Aviv Programme in the Study of the Ancient World

This programme, designed to foster academic contact between graduate students at Oxford and Tel Aviv, engaged in the study of the ancient world and was held under the auspices of the Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies at Oxford, and of the Departments of Classics, History and Jewish Philosophy at the University of Tel Aviv. It was guided in Tel Aviv by Professors Gideon Bohak and Jonathan Price, and in Oxford by Professor Martin Goodman. The programme was generously supported by the Harold Hyam Wingate Foundation.

The focus of the programme in 2020 was on 'Text and Object' and, as in previous years, graduate students from every faculty in the Humanities Division were invited to apply. Nine Oxford students were selected to take part in a weekly graduate seminar at the Centre in Hilary Term 2020 and in a joint workshop with students from Tel Aviv University in Tel Aviv on 26–27 February 2020.

Edward Ullendorff Memorial Lecture

The fourth annual Edward Ullendorff Memorial Lecture, funded by a generous donation to the Centre by his widow, the late Mrs Dina Ullendorff, was delivered by Dr Esther-Miriam Wagner (Woolf Institute and University of Cambridge) on 19 November 2019 and was entitled 'Multilingualism in Mediaeval Egypt: An Exploration of Inclusion and Segregation'. The lecture offered fascinating insights into the linguistic reality of medieval Jewish communities in Egypt, viewed through the prism of private letters preserved in the Cairo Geniza.

Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies

THE FOURTH EDWARD ULLENDORFF MEMORIAL LECTURE



Tuesday 19 November 6:30 pm at the Clarendon Institute Walton Street, Oxford

Dr Esther-Miriam Wagner (Woolf Institute and University of Cambridge)

Multilingualism in Mediaeval Egypt: An Exploration of Inclusion and Segregation

Esther-Miriam Wagner is Executive Director at the Woolf Institute while continuing her work in the Genzah Research Unit. She obtained her PhD at the University of Cambridge on the language of mediaeval Judae-Arabic letters. Her main research interests include Judaeo-Arabic, historical linguistics of Arabic and Yiddish, sociolinguistics, scribal practice, and Jewish-Musim relations in Egypt and Musim Spains as reflected in the Genzah sources.

Reception to follow

ALL ARE WELCOME



LIVES OF GREAT RELIGIOUS BOOKS

New Publications by Fellows of the Centre

Four books by Centre Fellows received wide critical attention this year.

Adriana X. Jacobs's *Strange Cocktail. Translation and the Making of Modern Hebrew Poetry* (University of Michigan Press, 2018), whose publication was announced in last year's *Annual Report*, was a finalist in the category of Jewish Literature and Linguistics of the 2019 Jordan Schnitzer Book Awards (see: https://www.associationforjewishstudies.org/2019JSwinners)

Martin Goodman's *A History of Judaism*, which appeared in last year's *Report*, received a prize for its Italian edition, and his new book, *Josephus's 'The Jewish War'* (Princeton University Press, 2020) was described in one of the reviews as taking a 'biographical approach [that] imbues the text with a life of its own, not only presenting its contents and information about its author but focusing upon its history... This is a study of what scholars call "reception", namely, how *The Jewish War* was read and understood from its appearance until today and the factors that led to its popularity. Goodman stresses the reasons for its persistent and immense popularity and for its preservation and the evolution of its translations, adaptations, and interpretations.' (See: https://jcpa.org/article/martin-goodman-josephus-the-jewish-war-a-biography/)



Yaacov Yadgar's Israel's Jewish Identity Crisis: State and Politics in the Middle East (Cambridge University Press, 2020) 'tackles headon the main assumptions of the foundation of Israel as a Jewish state. Theoretically sophisticated and empirically rich, Yaacov Yadgar provides a novel analysis of the interplay between Israeli nationalism and Jewish tradition, arriving at a fresh understanding of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict through its focus on internal questions about Israeli identity.' (See: https:// newbooksnetwork.com/yaacovyadgar-israels-jewish-identity-crisisstate-and-politics-in-the-middleeast-cambridge-up-2020/)

In *Jewish Treasures from Oxford Libraries*, edited by Rebecca Abrams and César Merchán-Hamann (Oxford, Bodleian Publishing, 2020), a team of scholars examines some of the most prized holdings of the Hebrew and Jewish manuscript holdings of the Bodleian and Oxford college libraries. They also recount the lives of the collectors who built up over four centuries one of the

world's richest resources on the history, literature and culture of the Jews. (See: https://thecritic. co.uk/jewish-history-saved-forposterity/)

JEWISH TREASURES



FROM OXFORD LIBRARIES Edited by Rebecca Abrams and César Merchán-Hamann

Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies

Public Lectures

The Centre's David Patterson Lectures, which moved from Monday to Thursday evenings in Oxford, continued to cover a wide variety of topics in Hebrew and Jewish Studies, as well as a film and round-table discussion. Under the leadership of Professor Adriana X. Jacobs the Centre organized a three-day film event on the evenings of 11–13 February 2020, featuring three of Yair Qedar's productions from the celebrated documentary project *The Hebrews*. The first two films were on the Levantine writer Jacqueline Kahanoff (1917–79) and the Yemenite Jewish poet Shalom Shabazi (1619-*c*. 1720) and were introduced by Yair Qedar himself along with Centre scholars. The third was entitled *Black Honey: The Poetic Life of Abraham Sutzkever* (directed by Uri Barbash) and was introduced by Beruriah Wiegand and followed by a discussion with the film's producer Yair Qedar. These screenings, which were sponsored by the

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Brichto Israeli Arts and Culture Lecture and the David Patterson Lecture series, were followed by roundtable discussions and were very well

attended by the general public.



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Highlights

From January to February 2020 the Centre again offered a popular series of talks ranging from 'The Disraeli Family and the History of the Jews' by Martin Goodman and 'Why Jews Pray' by Jeremy Schonfield, to 'With Kind Words Lean Towards Her... Singing for the Groom and Bride in Early Modern Ashkenaz' by Diana Matut, for the public at JW3 in London. The lectures were very successful and each one attracted a large audience.

Biblical Hebrew Summer School

Stephen Herring organized and taught an intensive two-week course in Biblical Hebrew language for the fifth consecutive summer in 2020, this time to a cohort of 42 students and online. The school has become popular and student feedback enthusiastic, with comments ranging from 'It was the perfect course for me, providing me with a good foundation', from a total beginner, to 'I would definitely recommend this course for everyone, from the beginner, to the person needing a refresher and even for the intermediate student seeking to anchor down foundational Hebrew Grammar concepts!', from a person with some prior experience.

Oxford Summer Institute

on Contemporary and Modern Judaism

The seventh Oxford Summer Institute, run in collaboration with the Berman Center at Lehigh University and led by Miri Freud-Kandel (Oxford), Adam Ferziger (Bar-Ilan), Hartley Lachter (Lehigh), and Jodi Eichler-Levine (Lehigh), took place from 5 to 8 July 2020. The original plans for this gathering had to be changed in response to global lockdown restrictions associated with the Covid–19 pandemic, which prevented participants from physically coming together. Instead the first Virtual OSI was convened.

Around forty academics spread across Europe, Israel and the USA logged in online to attend the variety of virtual sessions held via Zoom. Although previously the OSI model has built around a central theme, this year the changed circumstances led to a more expansive programme. Former participants were encouraged to submit draft work that could gain from being discussed in the constructive interdisciplinary academic setting offered by the OSI. Lively sessions ensued and there was a strong sense that much could be achieved online, even when physical gatherings were prevented.



Academic Staff

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Professor Judith Olszowy-Schlanger, FBA Director, Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies, and Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford

Fellows

Junior Research Fellow Dr Hallel Baitner *Kennicott Fellow in Hebrew Studies, Oxford University*

Fellow in Modern Judaism

Dr Miri Freud-Kandel Fellow and Lecturer in Modern Judaism, Faculty of Theology and Religion, Oxford University

Fellow

Professor Martin Goodman, FBA Professor of Jewish Studies, Oxford University, and Professorial Fellow of Wolfson College, Oxford

Junior Research Fellow

Dr Daniel M. Herskowitz Stipendiary Career Research Fellow in Jewish Studies, Wolfson College, Oxford

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Professor Adriana X. Jacobs Associate Professor and Cowley Lecturer in Modern Hebrew Literature, Oxford University, and Fellow of St Cross College, Oxford

Dr Anna Krauß Arts and Humanities Research Council Postdoctoral Fellow

Fellow Librarian

Dr César Merchán-Hamann Bodleian Library, Oxford University

20 People

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Oxford Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies: Between Sacred and Profane – Jewish Musical Cultures in Early Modern Europe

Between Sacred and Profane – Jewish Musical Cultures in Early Modern Europe Dr Diana Matut University of Halle-Wittenberg

This year's Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies was dedicated to the study of Ashkenazi, Italian-Jewish and Western Sephardi musical expressions in Europe during the early modern period. Special emphasis was given to the connectivity of liturgical, semi-liturgical and secular spheres. As with all such markers, the terms 'early modern' and 'Europe' provide but two of several possible interpretative frameworks whose boundaries – physical as well as immaterial – are useful although artificial. Participants were concerned both with the inter-connectivity between major Jewish cultural spheres – especially in urban spaces where they were part of a complex inner-Jewish soundscape – and the external connectivity with the respective co-territorial European musical cultures. In the complex voiced and unvoiced negotiation processes between Jewish religious expressions and popular cultures, music and its performance were but one scene within a set of perpetually shifting, complex dependencies and demarcations that necessitated and provoked inner-Jewish positioning as well as non-Jewish responses.

Generously funded by the Polonsky Foundation, the ninth Oxford Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies, on 'Jewish Musical Cultures in Early Modern Europe', took place between October 2019 and March 2020. Scholars from Australia, France, Germany, Hungary, Israel, Italy, the UK and the USA presented their research at weekly public seminars. The group met a second time each week to discuss ongoing research projects, to read and translate sources together, as well as to present (online) tools and repositories. The

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final conference, originally planned to take place from 15 to 18 March 2020 and to include two concerts, had to be reduced to a two-day event due to the Coronavirus outbreak. Several scholars presented their papers online, but the format allowed for lively discussions.

Dr Diana Matut together with Dr Esther-Miriam Wagner organized a Research Day on 'Music in Jewish, Christian and Muslim Encounters' at the Woolf Institute of the University of Cambridge, which included a presentation of fragments relating to Jewish music from the Cairo Geniza collection, a keynote lecture by Dr Alexandre Cerveux on 'Musical Realia in Medieval Jewish Fustat', as well as an afternoon of eighteen short presentations by scholars from Oxford and Cambridge universities.

Furthermore, the group had the opportunity to engage in various extracurricular activities, among them a concert presenting French-Jewish music from the Medieval period to the twenty-first century organized by Dr Alexandre Cerveux and Dr Diana Matut at the Maison Française d'Oxford, an evening lecture on and singing of Hasidic *nigunim* by Dr Naomi Cohn Zentner at the Oxford Jewish Congregation, an introduction to and singing of Italian *piyyutim* by Dr Enrico Fink, the UK book launch of Professor Judit Frigyesi's *Writing on Water: The Sounds of Jewish Prayer*, a visit to Professor Jeremy Montagu and his outstanding collection of instruments and Jewish music, as well as meeting and working with Oxford-based Jewish composer Alexander Massey.

The Oxford Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies was made possible by the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies and its staff, who with warmth and professionalism created an environment that allowed the participants to pursue their research goals.

Early Modern Ashkenazi Cantors: Identity and Transformation Matthew Austerklein Congregation Beth El, Akron, Ohio

The cantor constitutes a bridge between sacred and secular Jewish life, embodying prescribed religious ideals while often introducing new, foreign and potentially contentious musical expressions into the sacred sphere. The early modern period witnessed the development of Ashkenazi cantors in Europe as distinctive musical professionals within emerging communities of



Images of cantors singing and playing instruments in honour of the birth of Leopold Johann of Habsburg in the Prager Aufzug (1716. Bodleian Library. Photos by Diana Matut)

practice, and as transmitters of new musical knowledge in religious contexts. My research followed several lines of inquiry revealing the topography of the otherwise lightly mapped history of these cantors.

One of the principal features of early modern Ashkenazi cantorial practice is the rise of *meshorerim* – child and adult choristers who supplemented the cantor's singing with extended, often improvised musical passages. This phenomenon, first described in Leon de Modena's 1605 art-music responsum as a practice of Ashkenazi Jews of Northern Italy, became widespread among Yiddish-speaking communities by the early eighteenth century. Its expansion into an Ashkenazi norm nevertheless remains unclear. Many of the cantors who introduced or championed the *meshorerim* were from Polish and / or Bohemian backgrounds – musical immigrants who exacerbated tensions with those of Ashkenaz *un Polack*, *c*. 1675). The most vociferous criticism appears in the undated, anonymous broadsheet *Shloshah Tso'akin Ve'Einan Ne'enin*, 'Three Cry Out and No One Answers', which inveighs against both Polish and German cantors for their personal and musical excesses.

My research uncovered three little-known copies of this critique: a printed copy in the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana; an eighteenth-century manuscript copy

Oxford Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies

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apparently from Amsterdam; and a reprinted octavo version in the Oppenheim Collection, Oxford, which incorporates additional text by a later editor. These discoveries help situate the document among others that witness cantorial conflict in this period. These include Yehuda Zelichower's *Sefer Shirei Yehudah* (1697) and Jacob Emden's *Megillat Sefer*, both of which describe contentious cantorial innovations in the Amsterdam Ashkenazi community at the turn of the eighteenth century. The octavo version of the aforementioned cantorial critique, catalogued in the Oppenheim Collection as *Tokhehah LeHazanim* (Opp. 8 1073), presents a later reprinting and rich expansion of the original document. The octavo's language also makes it the strongest candidate for being the anonymous anti-cantorial polemic against which Yoel Sirkis of Leipa penned his apologetic pamphlet, *Rei'ah Nihoah* (1724).

A second marker of this period is the growth of Ashkenazi cantorial professional consciousness. Solomon Lipschuetz's guide to cantors, *Te'udat Shlomo* (1718) and Yoel Sirkis' aforementioned apology, *Rei'ah Nihoah*, are both oriented towards cantors as a group, espousing ideals and defending practices from within a professional community. The cantorial community of Prague is noteworthy here for boasting singing societies, organs and cantorial authorities who instructed other cantors in the science of music. The instrumental talents of many Prague cantors are on display in the *Prager Aufzug* (1716), and are referred to on many of their gravestones. Musical specialization had long begun



to replace former cantorial occupations such as scribal arts, ritual slaughter and children's education (much to the chagrin of many rabbinic critics). But it also began to distinguish the cantor as equally a religious and a musical professional, for whom, as Lipschuetz wrote: 'Making music without the knowledge of music is like prayer without intention [*kavanah*]'.

This connection between prayer and music was strengthened by music's perceived ability to inspire joy, as emphasized in the Lurianic Kabbalah popularized in this period. The instrumental performances of cantors (such as during Shabbat services held prior to sundown) and their vocal activities in prayer were both seen as vehicles for banishing sadness and as having theurgical power to bring unity between God and his *shekhinah*. Cantors who adorned the prayers with secular melodies or extended singing were potentially doubly impious, profaning Kabbalistic *kavvanot* as well as effacing the plain meaning of the liturgy. Musical specialization under Kabbalah thus led to higher stakes for the emerging cantorial profession, in whose hands lay the theologically paramount task of proper prayer on behalf of the Jewish people.

A Blind Organist and Yohanan Alemanno 'About to Faint': Changes in the Jewish Conceptualization of Music at the Turn of the Sixteenth Century

Dr Alexandre Cerveux Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Paris

My research focused on the conceptualization of music in Jewish texts from Italy during the last quarter of the fifteenth and the first years of the sixteenth centuries. At this period Jewish thought faced an important change of paradigm. Jewish thinkers, acquainting themselves with humanist thought, culture and texts, produced significant changes in Jewish thought concerning the conception of human knowledge and of humanity's place in this world and relation with the godhead. Music found a place among the various speculative themes that early modern thinkers discussed. They tirelessly explored the ancient conception of music as a powerful means of changing human psychology or physiology, and of interacting with superior forces.

Recent scholarship has highlighted the magical and theurgical interpretation of music in early modern Jewish texts. The aim of my research project was first to reconsider the status of music in a broader intellectual perspective that the

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magical specification tends to narrow; and, second, to reveal notions pertaining to aesthetics in early modern texts, an aspect which proved to be fundamental with regard to the conceptualization of music. The starting point of this research was Yohanan Alemanno's recollection of a musical experience that apparently moved him to the point that he was 'about to faint' at a concert hosted at the Gonzagua court in Mantua in the 1470s. This major representative of early modern Jewish thought included in his work significant passages dealing with music. Questions that arose in my research included what is the *locus* of music in Alemanno's thought? Did his musical experience have an impact on it? More generally, does his work contain references to aesthetics? The research project also sought to study similarities and differences between the conceptualization of music according to Alemanno's Jewish and Christian contemporaries. The key to situating music in their philosophical systems is to consider art and science both in literal and figurative ways. Music allows and enhances speculative and spiritual activities, and provides a metaphorical and analogical framework by which to comprehend and transmit concepts such as harmony, knowledge, cognition, love or divine retribution. Early modern Jewish thinkers also discussed music's functions and properties, its power to mediate between man and the godhead, and its inherent reflection of the harmonious order of Creation. It also emerged that in their attempt to fill the gap between man and the godhead, to which words and prayers proved partly inadequate, Jewish scholars sometimes over-invested in the musical dimension.

Kol Mekadesh Shevi'i: Resounding Synagogue and Home in Early Modern Ashkenaz

Dr Naomi Cohn Zentner The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

My research was devoted to uncovering the background to *Kol Mekadesh Shevi'i*, one of the earliest melodies of *Zemirot Shabbat* (Sabbath table songs) still in current use. *Zemirot* repertoires show an unusual degree of openness to non-Jewish music, allowing a musical dialogue to take place that reached the liturgical sphere of the synagogue only much later. Non-Jewish parallels to this melody suggest that it was known to both Jews and non-Jews in Germany from the seventeenth century.

The poem Kol Mekadesh Shevi'i ('All who sanctify the seventh day') first

appeared in thirteenth-century manuscripts of *Mahzor Vitry*, and was included in a collection of *Zemirot* poems printed in Prague in 1514 that was much copied and became a staple of the canon of Central European *Zemirot*. By the seventeenth century the title *Kol Mekadesh* was associated with a specific melody, and was recommended by that name for a poem by the Mahrashal of Lublin (1603) and for a Western Yiddish text first printed in Sulzbach (1691). This tune was clearly well known among Central European Jews and was referred to by the opening Hebrew words of the poem.

Warnings against singing non-Jewish melodies such as *Kol Mekadesh*, by the seventeenth-century Rabbi Yusfa Hahn of Frankfurt, allude to an awareness of its non-Jewish origins. Indeed, musicological studies and collections point to numerous non-Jewish parallels to the melodic contour and pausal tones of the *Kol Mekadesh* melody, including the *Tonus Peregrinus* reciting tone in Gregorian chant (Hajdu and Herzog, 1968), French medieval forms (Idelsohn, 1933) and Bohemian and Spanish medieval melodies (Wiora, 1966).

One of the clearest examples is the German 'Bruder Veits Ton', associated in the sixteenth century with historical songs, but later set to both Catholic and Protestant polemical poetry. Such texts were initially printed in pamphlets, but were transmitted orally to a largely illiterate audience and could be heard in marketplace protests and in other public gatherings. It is presumably there that Jews became acquainted with it, eventually adopting it for the paraliturgical *Kol Mekadesh*.

In its Jewish context, the four-part melody of *Kol Mekadesh*, fitting the mono-rhymed quatrain of its text, was sung in a more flexible manner, similar to the *nusah* recitation style of the synagogue, in which an indeterminate number of recitation tones can adapt to the irregular syllable-count in the text, while remaining within the framework of the melody. Elements of the Sabbath morning prayers are sung to the same melodic formula as the *Kol Mekadesh* tune, which is known as the *Yishtabah* mode. We may therefore posit that contrary to Idelsohn's claim that the similarity of 'Bruder Veits Ton' to liturgical modes enabled its adoption into the domestic sphere, it was in fact the similarity to the four-lined prose of the Sabbath morning prayers to similar texts already sung to this melody in the domestic sphere that facilitated the adoption of *Kol Mekadesh*'s melodic formula into regular liturgical practice. It was through singing *Kol Mekadesh* around the family table that a well-known German folk song became part and parcel of Ashkenazi *nusah* for Shabbat.

Although it differs from other Zemirot melodies, Kol Mekadesh, with its echoes of the Sabbath liturgy, persisted in many Ashkenazi homes and became

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one of the most common of those sung around the Sabbath table every week at least up to the mid-twentieth century. Besides answering musical and historical questions regarding Jewish openness to non-Jewish traditions in early modernity, the trajectory of this melody throws new light on the source of Ashkenazi *nusah*, which is said to have crystallized around the same time.

Two Tribes: Jewish and Roma Popular Musicians in Eighteenth-century Hungary

Dr David Conway University College London

The picture reproduced here, which was painted in around 1770 and now hangs in the Gemer-Malahont Museum in Rimavská Sobota, Slovakia, is the earliest representation of both Roma and Jewish musicians in what was the former Kingdom of Hungary. It seems to represent a social meeting of representatives of two armies near the border between Austria and Hungary. On the left, Roma are playing to Hungarian Hussars, identifiable by their uniforms, some of whom perform the acrobatic *verbunkos* recruitment dance for which they were famous. The Jews on the right are playing what appears to be a more formal round dance for Austrian troops and their ladies.

Music-making for entertainment was relegated in Hungary to outsiders. Since peasant musicians were insufficiently sophisticated and music was deprecated by the Church, outsiders such as Jews and Roma were preferred as performers. Jewish musicians appear as entertainers for aristocracy and townsfolk in Western Hungary in Hungarian records and in writings by Csokonai and others. There is no record of klezmer music in this area, unlike in the Transylvanian regions of Eastern Hungary.



This involvement of Roma and Jews as musicians to the Hungarian army and gentry can have been of only comparatively recent origin. The withdrawal of Ottoman forces from Hungary at the start of the eighteenth century left the country depopulated and economically and culturally shattered. Most Jews fled with the Turks, leaving only a tiny Jewish population. We have little or no record of the acceptability and none of the virtuosity of Roma musicians until it became fashionable for Hungarian aristocrats to train 'gypsy bands' from about 1730 onwards. Extensive Jewish immigration into Western Hungary began in 1700, driven by the Habsburg restriction of Jewish rights in Bohemia and Moravia, as well as the desire of the Esterhazy and other Hungarian nobles to develop trade and the economy. The records name many Jewish musicians and refer to their virtuosic techniques and knowledge of the Western dance styles coveted by a Hungary eager for wider cultural contacts.

I suggest that the Jewish musicians may have been a model in both style and technique for the Roma musicians' so-called 'gypsy style', derived from the *verbunkos* favoured by the aristocracy, that in the early nineteenth century became a symbol of the Hungarian nationalist movement. A number of 'gypsy' musicians associated with this movement, including the composer Márk Rózsavölgyi (born Mordechai Rosenthal) and the violinist Ede Reményi (born Eduard Hoffman), who for Franz Liszt exemplified the gypsy spirit, were Jewish; Jewish composers including Joachim, Tausig and Goldmark all composed 'Hungarian' 'gypsy' music.

Roma benefited from this vogue by finding work in cafés throughout Europe and the USA, while Jewish musicians performed it in the concert halls. Two 'outsider' tribes thus found differing acceptance in wider society through supplying their Hungarian hosts with a confected 'national' music.

Ottoman Musical Sources as Antecedents for the Ottoman Stock within the Klezmer Musical Fusion

Professor Walter Zev Feldman New York University, Abu Dhabi

In recent work I described the East European klezmer repertoire as a 'fusion music', employing five specific musical 'stocks': 1. Renaissance dance music, 2. Baroque music, 3. Ashkenazi prayer *nusah*, 4. Ottoman ('Graeco-Turkish') music and 5. Moldo-Wallachian urban music. Focusing on no. 4, literary

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references from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries demonstrate that Ashkenazi *klezmorim* (professional instrumentalists) were adept at performing certain genres of Ottoman music for Gentile aristocratic clients in Poland-Lithuania and Bohemia.

The most active geographical nexus linking Ottoman musical practices and Ashkenazi Jews was the Principality of Moldova, which had been an Ottoman tributary state since the early sixteenth century. After 1711 the Ottomans drew it closer to the Porte by installing Greek governors from the Phanar district of Constantinople, the so-called 'Phanariots'. A larger settlement of Ashkenazim in Moldova began under the Phanariot rulers after the beginning of the eighteenth century. Among the Ashkenazi settlers were *klezmorim*, who quickly teamed up with the urban Gypsy members of the local musicians' guild. This Greco-Turkish (Ottoman) musical stock was distinct from the Moldovan musical stock proper, which then had little currency in the urban centres. The 'national' Moldovan musical stock became significant for Jewish music only after the gradual withdrawal of the Ottomans from Moldo-Wallachia, following the Russo-Turkish War of 1828 and then the Crimean War.

Ashkenazi *klezmorim* played for the Phanariot Greek governors of Moldova in the mid-eighteenth century, and Ashkenazi musicians – both *klezmorim* and *hazanim* – in Polish-Lithuanian and Habsburg territories were aware of this Greco-Turkish urban repertoire. But uniquely, by the latter part of this period there was also a Jewish influence on the local Gentile Moldovan dance and wedding repertoire. The Greco-Ottoman musical stock remained strong in the klezmer compositions of the *khazn* (*hazan*) Hirsch Weintraub of Dubno in the 1830s.

In Oxford I was able to examine several pieces from two major Ottoman notated sources from between 1650 and 1700: the collections of the Polish Muslim Ali Ufki Bey (Wojciech Bobowski, 1610–75) and the Moldovan Prince Demetrius Cantemir (1673–1723). In this period many of the instrumental pieces known as *peşrev* were typical of the ceremonial music of the Janissaries, known as *mehter*. What seems to emerge from analysing *peşrevs* in both collections – and most especially that of Bobowski – is a possible reflex of some structural techniques within the quasi-mystical solo dance and ceremonial klezmer melodies known as *khosidl*. Within the *khosidl* repertoire, documented mainly at the beginning of the twentieth century, we see that any possible Ottoman *mehter* influence has been subsumed into Jewish melodic construction emphasizing discrete 'gestural' sections. Given the dearth of intermediary written documents it is unlikely that we will be able to do more than hypothesize how the *mehter peşrev* may have offered a model for the creation of 'dignified' processional and dance melodies in modalities already familiar to East European Jews. Similar conclusions might be drawn for several *tsum tish* wedding melodies, in connection with the *mehter semai* genre in 6/8 or 6/4.

Traces of Kabbalah in the Musical Traditions of Italian Jews

Dr Enrico Fink Leo Levi Association for the Study of Jewish Italian Liturgy

Ideas from the Safed Kabbalistic school spread significantly among Italian Jews in the second half of the sixteenth century, gaining a much larger following than previous mystical trends. Printed editions of the *Zohar* started to circulate from the late 1550s; Mordecai Dato returned from a period of study in Safed with Moses Cordovero, brother-in-law and disciple of Shlomo Alkabetz, author of *Lecha Dodi* in 1561; Menachem Azaria Da Fano started publicly teaching Cordovero's *Pardes Rimmonim* in the Venice Ghetto in 1575; and a *mahzor* according to the Italian rite was published in Venice in 1588 with corrections according to Da Fano's teaching. Printed and manuscript prayer books for synagogue and home worship, many held in Oxford libraries, show how liturgies were influenced by these new Kabbalistic ideas.

In my research I sought to map the emergence of religious poetry connected with Kabbalistic rituals in various Italian centres, and to conduct a comparative analysis of the extant musical sources for such poetry, although these are usually later in date. Mordecai Dato wrote extensively in connection with the developing ritual of *Kabbalat Shabbat*, with which his teacher Cordovero had been involved. He wrote poems ranging from the Judeo-Italian composition *Ora Vien O Bella Sposa*, to Hebrew poems such as *Likhvod Shabbat Bat Kevavat* and *Le El Olam* that are found in several seventeenth-century prayer books. The popularity of *Le El Olam* in particular is clear from its inclusion in many manuscripts and printed books for public and private devotion. Although it is apparently no longer used in any Italian synagogue on Friday night, it was attested in the 1950s and I have gained access to direct and indirect testimony to the melody to which it was then sung.

Sephardi mahzorim from Venice and reports such as Morosini's La Via

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degli Ebrei testify to *hakafot* for *Simhat Torah* in seventeenth-century Italy; the *mahzorim* include poetry of Spanish origin in use for the ritual. Isaac Luria's circle in Safed initiated another form of the ritual at the end of the same century which started to spread to Europe only some 150 years later, with the publication of books such as *Hemdat Yamim* and *Nagid Umetsaveh* that cite the diary of Hayim Vital, disciple of Cordovero and Luria. Its diffusion was initiated or facilitated by emissaries sent to gather funds for Jewish communities in the Holy Land. This version of the ritual, in which the Kabbalistic structure is much more evident, attained wide diffusion in and outside Italian territories, particularly in the form devised by perhaps the best-known such emissary Hayim David Azulay (better known by his acronym 'Hida') while he was in Livorno.

An analysis of period prayer books has permitted me to follow the diffusion of the rite, sometimes in conflicting forms, and to initiate an analysis of the associated poetry and its surviving melodies. Written sources reflecting the diffusion of Kabbalistic ideas, often via tales of the Safed masters, offer novel insights into forms of worship and music used in synagogues of the early modern period.

The Development and Disappearance of the Old Practice of East-Ashkenazi Prayer Chant

Professor Judit Frigyesi Niran Bar-Ilan University

Manuscripts and published musical notations suggest that, at least by the eighteenth century, the traditional synagogue melodies of the Eastern European Jews consisted of two distinct layers. The first was the rendition of sacred texts in a flowing rhythm recitative that I refer to as the core layer, and the second comprised metric and typically strophic songs and song-like fragments. The foundation for the musical style of the core layer was the simple, spontaneous, improvised and personal prayer recitation called *davenen*. In Yiddish, the word *davenen* means to pray, but *davenen* is used also to term a specific practice and style of prayer recitation. My study focused on the core layer, with special emphasis on *davenen*. The central question of my research was to establish, first, where and how the practice of *davenen* might have originated, and second, how *davenen* connects to the more developed melodic lore – *nusah* – the prayer leader (*ba'al tefillah*).

Research carried out in Oxford, including discussions with Seminar participants, led me to understand more deeply recent theories about the history of East European Jews and the origins of Yiddish, and these new studies gave the impetus to formulating a scenario for the emergence and development of *davenen* and *nusah*. I realized that the fact that the melodic basis of this culture was first notated by cantors active in the German lands in the late eighteenth century does not prove the German origin of these practices and/ or melodic systems. In fact various sources, such as written accounts of cantors from Central and Eastern European territories and recorded sound material of the German and the Eastern European tradition, as well as modern socio-cultural and demographic studies, suggest that the cultural influence may have moved in the opposite direction. If so, the East European prayer chant and its melodic basis might have been created in Central-Eastern Europe – in a large cultural zone running from Bohemia to Lithuania – and transmitted by cantors from Polish-Lithuanian territories to Germany.

The absence of pre-eighteenth-century documentation makes it impossible to determine the origins of the East-European Jewish prayer chant with certainty, but the suggestion that it may have been created in Central-Eastern Europe opens up a new direction in the study of this music.

The Older Layer in the Yiddish Folk Balladic Repertoire

Dr Michael Lukin The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Yiddish folk songs, like all such songs, differ from the products of both elite culture and mechanical-media-driven popular culture and are shared by a vast community. They are governed by a distinctive folklore aesthetic rooted in creative freedom of improvization within a traditional canon. Most were documented during the first half of the twentieth century, but some elements of their tunes and texts appear to have emerged among the Yiddish-speaking population much earlier, arguably during the early modern period.

When and how, and within which languages and regions did such songs evolve? To achieve a fuller understanding of this issue, I focused on folk ballads in Eastern Yiddish – a group of songs resembling the pan-European 'medieval ballad' tradition. My scrutiny was based on a descriptive analysis of various aspects of the poetics and music of Yiddish ballads, and was informed

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by research in parallel non-Jewish traditions – German, English, Ukrainian, Belorussian and Polish.

Examining the oldest known strata of this Yiddish repertoire does not reveal German traditions that Jews migrating eastward might have brought with them. Rather, it exhibits a new style that resonates both with Western traditions that have generic counterparts among Slavic peoples, and with the Eastern Ashkenazi way of life. This style in all probability crystallized in the early modern Jewish communities of Eastern Europe. The deviation of Yiddish ballads from German and Slavic counterparts is evident in prosody and thematic motifs, as well as in musical rhythms, forms and modes. Some of the tunes of old Yiddish ballads resemble old Central European dance music, while others provide an 'objective' neutral background for their emotionally charged texts.

Comparing three tunes from this repertoire reveals some characteristic commonalities. $^{\scriptscriptstyle 1}$



1. 'Impossible Tasks' (Homel, Belorussia), in E. Grözinger and S. Hudak-Lazić (eds) 'Unser Rebbe, unser Stalin ...': jiddische Lieder aus den St. Petersburger Sammlungen von Moishe Beregowski (1892–1961) und Sofia Magid (1892–1954) (Wiesbaden, 2008) 345; 'Death and the Maiden' (Radom, Poland), in M. Kipnis, 80 Folkslider ['80 Folk Songs'] (Warsaw, 1925) 44; 'Humble Hannah' (s. l.), S. Magid, Ballada v evreiskom folklore ['The Ballad in Jewish Folklore'], Doctoral diss., typescript. (Institut iazyka i myshleniia im. N. J. Marra, 1938) 288.



Melodic similarities between the three tunes are salient. The first two follow the *ionicus minore* triple rhythm with a subdivided first beat. This rhythmical pattern is characteristic of many Yiddish ballads which differ from tunes anchored in a popular nineteenth-century pan-European style, and is paramount in Hasidic *nigunim*. The dominance of like rhythms in two quite distant Eastern Ashkenazi repertoires may shed light on the musical context in which this stylistic predilection evolved. Although in the late modern period *ionicus minore* became widely acknowledged as the characteristic 'Polish' or 'mazurka' rhythm, its use in Yiddish ballads and in the Hasidic corpus is much closer to the early modern Central European examples described by P. P. Domokos and E. Dahlig-Turek, than to extant documentation of Polish 'mazurka' or 'chodzony' tunes from the eighteenth to twentieth centuries.

These commonalties may attest to the existence of a ballad-specific set of tunes, typical neither of lyrical nor of functional Yiddish songs, and differing from them in rhythm, reduced phrase length and their narrow range. In all likelihood the Yiddish ballad repertoire was consolidated owing to two main characteristics of the cross-cultural ballad paradigm: its openness to a wide variety of sources, and its orientation towards emotional responses to everyday life.

> The Music Traditions of the Jews in Early Modern Venice Dr Piergabriele Mancuso The Medici Archive Project, Florence

The Venetian ghetto, established on 29 March 1516 in the *jeto novo*, the former state foundry, stands on one of several islands making up the city of Venice. It is located relatively far from Rialto, the main economic-financial area, and from Saint Mark's religious and political institutional centres, but is still within the city boundaries. It was set up at the end of a period of extraordinary geopolitical distress for the republic, whose mainland territories had been conquered by the



Plate 1 Map of Venice, the ghetto indicated by an arrow

anti-Venetian Cambrai League in 1508, before being retaken by the Venetians in a long and financially taxing military campaign coupled with a well-executed diplomatic strategy.

Giving a minority group a specific area in the city in which to live and operate was quite commonplace in Venetian politics and internal administration, since Venice itself relied on foreign contacts. But the creation of a specifically Jewish district had to be publicly explained and justified, both because it legitimized the Jewish presence in Christian society, and because the Christian population might perceive it as a breach of its political prerogatives. It also required the forced relocation of Jews who until that time had been granted rights and privileges and had lived more or less freely in the city, and often established strong personal and professional ties with Christians. The Venetian Senate first pointed out in its official Deliberationi document the historical-ideological reasons for separating Jews from Christians and for marking a physical-spatial division between faithful Christians and Jewish 'infidels'. It also commented on violations said to have taken place in Venice, such as male and female Christians attending synagogue services and singing Hebrew tunes, which - affirmed the Venetian Senate - violated Canon law and *de facto* forced the Marcian State to segregate the Jews:

> [...] ulterius essendo cossa vergognosa et de pessimo exemplo che essi zudei hano fatto per tuta la terra sinagoge dove se reducono christiani et christiane et cantano li sui officii alta voce cum universal exclamatione [...]

'Moreover, being such a shame and deplorable an example that they, the Jews, have established synagogues all over country where male and female Christians met together, singing their [the Jews'] offices with full voice...'

There is no concrete evidence of this specific 'crime' in Venetian and Church archives, but many documents record minor events concerning Jewish-Christian interactions due to or involving music. These include Jewish teachers being fined for teaching music to Christian students, privileges granted to Venetian Patricians to hire Jewish dance and music teachers, Jewish musicians being illegally hired by Christians to play at private parties, and Jews having sexual intercourse with Christians. The most plausible hypothesis is that the Senate dramatized minor irregularities that had repeatedly come to the attention of the authorities, and combined these into a judicially more coherent picture that might justify establishing a separate Jewish district in the heart of Venice.

Until the mid-seventeenth century the Venetian ghetto was the epicentre of lively artistic activity. Salamone Rossi's *Ha-shirim asher li-Shelomoh* ('Song of Solomon'), published in 1622–3 is only one tessera – admittedly the most sophisticated and from several points of view aesthetically the most striking – of a complex mosaic that included the performance of art music directly borrowed from the Christian cultural milieu. Evidence of this can be found in *Via della Fede – Derech Emunah*, a massive book on Jewish ritual written by a Jewish convert, Giulio Morosini alias Samuel Nachmias, former student of Leone Modena in the Venetian ghetto. In a passage concerning the celebration of Simhat Torah in 1628, Morosini reports on a vocal-instrumental performance in which a double choir or *coro spezzato* had performed on the model of the Marcian repertoire.



Plate 2 Hebrew signature of Giulio Morosini

The Yiddish Art of Lamentation – Kine and Kloglid

Dr Diana Matut University of Halle-Wittenberg

During the early modern period a hitherto unknown number of songs written in Western Yiddish or bilingually in Hebrew and Yiddish were copied or published in printed form. The variety of subjects and topics covered is impressively diverse, ranging from historical songs to those designed to celebrate Shabbat and holidays (for instance Purim and Simhat Torah) or



'A Lament with the Melody of Rabi Shimen', published by Khayim Druker (Amsterdam, 1695), Bodleian Library, Opp. 80 460 (11), title page.

life-cycle events such as weddings or circumcisions. There were also psalmadaptations, songs in praise of biblical or Jewish historical figures, or *vikukhim* (contests between two or more ideas or principles). Laments, dirges or elegies feature prominently, serving as historical songs, *ipesh-lider* on traumatic events such as outbreaks of pestilence or fever, *sreyfe-lider* about devastating fires, or *kadoyshim-lider* about Jewish martyrs. Many narrate or recall traumatic events that befell specific Jewish individuals or communities, or Jews more generally as part of their respective wider co-territorial societies. Some fall into the category of memento mori, admonishing the singer and listener to remember their mortality and ephemeral nature.

For this research project I compiled an overview of the laments preserved in the Oppenheimer Collection of the Bodleian Library, which has allowed me to develop a typology of Yiddish songs and to define the literary as well as musical dependence of Yiddish and bilingual laments on inner-Jewish traditions, or to view the songs as transcriptions or adaptations of European literary material, and thus as markers of a shared cultural space.

While analysing the paratexts of Yiddish laments, as well as secondary sources such as Yiddish books on ethics and morals or the accounts of Christian Hebraists, various contexts for performances crystallized, ranging from communal days of remembrance and fast days to extra Purims, or the express request to sing a particular song 'every day' in order 'to gladden the heart', and to help the singer 'reflect and recollect' and 'to increase the fear of God' or the 'fear of punishment'. The intended audience ranged from women and girls to 'every Jew'.

The functions of Yiddish or bilingual laments, dirges or elegies in early modern Ashkenazi society were both individual and communal. Mourning through song offered ways of coping and establishing patterns of memory by narrating and interpreting history, and in turn helped form the identities of Jewish communities. Laments helped establish wider societal norms of ethics and behaviour, often with the ultimate objective of preparing the singer or reader for the end of their lives. Depending on the remoteness of the disaster, laments could acquire other functions such as entertainment or, especially when integrated into Purim plays, as parodies. The Hebrew Oratorio: Esther According to Lidarti Dr Deborah Rooke University of Oxford

In 1997 Cambridge University Library acquired a unique music manuscript that on investigation was found to be a previously unknown musical setting of an equally unique composition - a Hebrew rendering of the libretto for Handel's oratorio Esther. The libretto was known from the Ets Haim library of the Portuguese Synagogue in Amsterdam, where it had survived among the papers of David Franco Mendes (1713-92), a poet, intellectual and entrepreneur who was an influential member of the Portuguese Jewish community, and from 1769 its honorary secretary. Franco Mendes himself, however, was not the author of the Hebrew libretto; that honour belongs to Jacob Raphael Saraval (?1707-82) who is named on the title page of one of the copies. Saraval, a scholar, poet, preacher and translator, had been born in Venice and became rabbi in Mantua in 1752. It appears that he produced the translation into Hebrew with Handel's musical setting in mind, since the same copy that bears his name also bears the inscription 'per muzica dal S. Handel'. Additionally, the lines of Saraval's translation reproduce the metre and syllable count of its English Vorlage, which would facilitate its being sung to the Handelian musical setting, with some adjustments. Nevertheless, no other setting was known for his translation until the manuscript in Cambridge was identified as just such a setting.

The music manuscript is dated to 1774 and proclaims the work it contains to have been written by one Cristiano Giuseppe Lidarti, an Italian composer who settled in Pisa in the 1750s and worked there for many years as a musician at the Church of Santo Stefano dei Cavalieri. At some time in his life, Lidarti seems to have developed an association with the Portuguese Jewish community in Amsterdam, since among the community's eighteenth-century musical manuscripts are several liturgical compositions that are either attributed to Lidarti or adapted from his music. To date, however, nothing is known of how Lidarti's association with the Amsterdam congregation came into existence, or of how Lidarti came to write the musical setting for Saraval's *Esther*. The two possibilities suggested by current evidence are that Saraval commissioned the setting, or, more probably, that (someone in) the Amsterdam community did so, perhaps Franco Mendes. Neither is there any information about a performance of Lidarti's setting in Amsterdam or elsewhere during the eighteenth century, although the noted Jewish musicologist Israel Adler, who was instrumental in identifying the music manuscript in 1998, views such a performance as 'very plausible', given the nature of the Amsterdam community and the esteem in which they held Lidarti's compositions.

The musical style of Lidarti's setting is not identifiably 'Jewish'. He writes in the early classical style of the eighteenth century, using the standard instrumental and vocal forces of eighteenth-century art music - strings, with oboes, flutes and horns at various points; soprano, tenor and bass soloists; and a threepart chorus. The tonality is largely major, with only three items in minor keys, by comparison with the underlying Handelian Esther, which has eight items in minor keys; this implies that Lidarti's reading of the plot was rather more upbeat than Handel's, which in turn may reflect the Jewish tradition of Esther as comedy rather than tragedy. On several occasions Lidarti employs coloratura effectively, in one instance extending the final syllable of the word 'Adonai' over eleven bars as Mordecai emphasizes to Esther that the Lord will be with her when she goes to see the king. As this indicates, the setting of the score's romanized Hebrew text is remarkably adept, raising the question of whether Lidarti knew any Hebrew or whether he was helped, and if so, by whom. But perhaps the most intriguing aspect of the Hebrew oratorio in the context of this Seminar series is its 'in-between' nature: a Jewish narrative is rendered into poetry and music by Christian poets and a Christian composer in England, and then re-rendered into Hebrew by a Jewish poet; both versions are based on sacred texts, but are effectively entertainment rather than liturgy; and the Jewish re-rendering is provided with a musical setting by a Christian composer, so that it becomes a composite work, a shared enterprise between Jews and Christians. Thus, Lidarti's rendering makes of Saraval's libretto a composition that truly does sit between - or encompasses - both sacred and secular spheres, just as it sits between - or encompasses - both Jewish and Christian cultures.

There is still much that is unknown about the Hebrew oratorio *Esther*, and the mystery of its origins may never be solved. But it is a fascinating instance of the intermingling of eighteenth-century musical cultures from within and outside the Jewish community that deserves to be much better known and studied than has so far been the case.

It is worth noting here that Dr David Conway undertook to arrange for a performance of Lidarti's *Esther* in London as a result of this research being shared with the seminar. This had to be postponed due to the Covid–19 pandemic, but we are optimistic that it will eventually go ahead.

Ethnochoreology in Early Modern Ashkenaz. An Approach through Iconography, Ethnography, Music and Jewish Thought

Andreas Schmitges University of Music Franz Liszt, Weimar

Dance traditions among Ashkenazi Jews in Europe were not a major object of musicological and ethnographic research between the nineteenth and twenty-first centuries. Given the importance that folk and modern dance have achieved in modern-day Israel, and given a growing worldwide interest in klezmer music as dance music, it is surprising that the article in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (2007) remains the only overview of Jewish dance in the early modern period.

The main focus of my work in Oxford was to trace Ashkenazi dance customs by using an anthropological and ethnographic approach. The ethnographic research, conducted several centuries after the lifetime of the informants, had to be based on material that was often created for entirely different purposes, but which happened to include relevant information. This includes descriptions by Christian Hebraists, Jewish authors of moral treatises (often in dispute with each other), collectors of *minhagim* (local customs), and information derived from Western and Eastern Yiddish and Hebrew poetry and other literary works, as well as talmudic debates and discussions, *takanot* (legal decisions), biographies, drawings in *sifrei evronot* (calendrical tables), and other documents, manuscripts and descriptions of historic events.

A preliminary conclusion to be drawn from this diverse source material is that 'dancing and jumping', as it was mostly referred to, was an important aspect of Jewish life in the early modern period and was debated vividly in regard to its morality and its threat to a pious and respectable lifestyle. This discussion was led by both Jewish and Christian scholars, authors and authorities. While dancing at a Jewish wedding was mostly considered a *mitsvah*, bringing joy to bride and groom, dancing on other occasions (unless for certain holidays like *Simhat Torah* or *Purim*) was often disapproved of, especially when it led to proximity between Jews and non-Jews, or between men and women.

This leads to a set of diverse questions about dance in early modern Jewish life, including cultural connections between Western and Eastern Ashkenaz, the prevalence of instrumental dance music and dance songs, and the relation of dancing to the religious and secular as well as to the Jewish and non-Jewish spheres. A picture is emerging from research undertaken so far that will lead to a better understanding of the role of dance in many aspects of life in early modern Ashkenaz.

Music, Exile and the Idea of Redemption in Early Modern Jewish Culture Dr Yael Sela Open University, Israel

Singing and music-making constitute in the rabbinic Jewish tradition a pivotal modality of intimacy between the people and their God. Hebrew Scriptures allude to lyrical poetry or song as the modality through which the covenantal bond was initially established – seminally in the desert after the Exodus from Egypt, and later in prophecies, through which it would forever be marked. The book of Psalms, followed by the Jewish prayer book, are imbued with the sound of the human voice singing God's praise accompanied by musical instruments. Already in early rabbinic literature, music is imagined to be as desirable to God as the scent of burnt offerings. Yet following the destruction of the Second Temple, Diaspora Judaism had to negotiate the discrepancy between the mythical soundscape of public worship in Jerusalem and its absence in exile.

Rabbinic Judaism thus bound exile inextricably with the obliteration of music from Jewish religious worship, as can be seen in midrashic literature from as early as the fourth century CE, in which the destruction of the Temple is identified as the moment when the Levites' singing and the sounds of musical instruments were silenced. According to this myth, which continued to reverberate in Jewish thought throughout the Middle Ages and the early modern period, and continues into modernity, music will return to Israel with messianic redemption and the reinstatement of the Levites in the newly rebuilt temple on Zion. Jewish historical time is thus demarcated by this *topos*, its boundaries paradigmatically epitomized in Psalm 137 ('By the Waters of Babylon'), describing the impossibility of singing in exile; and Psalm 126 (*Shir ha-Ma'alot*), describing the restoration of music and song upon redemption, making the crisis in the bond between God and his nation audible through silence.

In medieval and early modern thought Jews responded to the disparity between the biblical promise of continuous Jewish sovereignty until the messianic age and the reality of exile. Through historical and theological explanations, Jews could acknowledge and even embrace exile as a temporary historical fact, taking comfort either in the prospect of their eventual redemption and restoration, by fashioning imaginary Jewish states such as the one beyond the Sambatyon, or by lamenting the loss of sovereignty and cultural glory of ancient Israel in the Holy Land. The increasingly close encounters between Jews and non-Jews in various areas of thought, everyday life and culture that marked the early modern period in large parts of Europe, perhaps most remarkably in Renaissance Italy, left their mark also on the ways by which Jews contemplated their exilic existence against the backdrop of non-Jewish majority culture and its theology. In early modern Jewish theological and exegetical thought, as well as in narratives, poetry and grammar books, we often find the *topos* of music and poetry of ancient Israel – an art and a science lost in exile – used in a variety of guises to describe, explicate and even justify the state of exile, or to imagine the idea of redemption, however defined.

My research in Oxford sought to trace the role of the *topos* of music and the aesthetics of biblical poetry as presented in early modern Jewish thought, particularly in rationalist traditions from Italy, in relation to the consciousness of exile within various often overlapping contexts – religious, cultural and philosophical. It was my aim to explicate how Hebrew poetry and its mythological musical origins enabled Jewish thinkers to negotiate their exilic condition, and in turn to imagine, anticipate and even enact redemption. Examining treatises on the grammar of the Holy Tongue, commentaries, moral literature and exegetical writings as far back as midrashic literature from late antiquity, I mapped some of the roots of this *topos* to establish an initial genealogy. Based on printed sources mainly from sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Italy and eighteenth-century Germany, as well as evidence attesting to their contemporaneous reception, I explored each case within its immediate theological and cultural context, while looking for sensibilities, tropes and doctrines shared throughout the centuries in continuous traditions.

Rabbi Israel Najara in Europe

Professor Edwin Seroussi The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Rabbi Israel Najara (c. 1550-c. 1625), arguably one of the most notable Hebrew poets of the early modern period, lived mostly in Damascus. He assigned

Turkish, Arabic, Spanish, Greek and Hebrew tunes to the songs in his major publication, *Zemirot Yisra'el* (Safed 1587, Salonika 1599 and Venice 1599–1600), although the main section was arranged according to the modes of Turkish music known as *makamlar* (sing. *makam*). Najara's musical poetry was associated mostly with Ottoman and North African Jewish centres, but also had a strong presence in Italy, Amsterdam and even in Central European Jewish communities only a few decades after his death.

Italy, especially the Veneto area and later Livorno, emerged as the main hub of its distribution and performance in Europe. The most lavish edition of *Zemirot Yisra'el* appeared in Venice, giving rise to the performance of his poetry in synagogue services and family celebrations in Venice, Ferrara, Padua and Livorno. It arrived also in Amsterdam and made inroads even in Ashkenaz. His *Yah Ribbon Olam* became a staple of the Ashkenazi Sabbath *zemirot*, sung around the family table during and after festive meals.

Najara's poetry arrived in Amsterdam as early as 1614, a decade before the poet's death. While the background to its publication in Venice is obscure, the agent who brought his poetry to Amsterdam, Yossef Shalom Gallego, was a poet and cantor who moved from Salonika to Amsterdam to serve the newly established Portuguese Jewish community. His own *diwan*, titled *Imrei No'am*, was published by the rabbi and printer Manasseh ben Israel in 1628 and was one of the earliest Hebrew books to appear in Western Europe beyond Italy. Najara's poems appeared alongside Gallego's own songs and others from Sephardi al-Andalus and the contemporary Ottoman world.

Indicative of Najara's early popularity in Western Europe is a selection that circulated in Italy in manuscript entitled *Kitzur Zemirot Yisra'el* ('Abridged *Zemirot Yisra'el*'). These include many of Najara's poems as well as those of mostly Italian Hebrew poets (some of them Kabbalists), such as Menahem di Lonzano (a colleague and foe of Najara in Jerusalem and Damascus), Yaacov ben Isaac Zahalon, Aaron Berachia of Modena and Mordecai Dato.

The twenty-three manuscript copies I have located attest to interest in, and most likely performance of, Najara's poetry in Italy since at least the midseventeenth century, and show that the demand for printed copies of *Zemirot Yisra'el* exceeded supply. The vast majority of these copies stem from the Sephardi (or Levantine) community of Ferrara, where the collection apparently originates, and are dated from 1705 (Jewish Theological Seminary Ms. 10813, *Keminhag k"k Levantini*) to the mid-nineteenth century.

The manuscripts comprise mainly selections of Najara's poems drawn from the sections *Olat HaHodesh* and *Olat HaShabbat* of the Venetian edition of *Zemirot Yisra'el*, arranged according to the weekly, monthly and yearly liturgy.

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Interestingly, *Olat HaTamid*, the most substantial section of *Zemirot Yisra'el*, frequently reproduced and performed in the Eastern Mediterranean and North Africa, is absent. Headings to individual poems inform cantors how to insert them correctly into the liturgy, and supply the names of melodies, although these appear more rarely than in Najara's works.

The manuscripts attest to the continuous practice of singing Najara's poetry liturgically in the Veneto and later in Livorno, almost from the lifetime of the poet until the end of the nineteenth century. By contrast, in Salonika, Turkey, North Africa and the Arab world his work was included in special paraliturgical vigils performed on Sabbath nights during the autumn and winter seasons.

While it is not surprising to find Najara's poetry published, copied and performed in Amsterdam and Italy, and especially in the Veneto with its Ottoman political and commercial connections, its presence in Ashkenaz demands closer examination. In 1712 a small-format eight-page pamphlet entitled *Tefillot Nora'ot u-Shvahot ve-Hoda'ot ve-Zemirot Yisra'el* ('Awe-inspiring Prayers and Praises and Confessions and Songs of Israel') was issued in Frankfurt am Main by Rabbi Meshulam Zalman ben Yaakov Eliezer Fishhoff, great-grandson of Rabbi Shimon Wolf Auerbach, one of the leading rabbis of Poland.

Its title led nineteenth-century scholars to regard the pamphlet as a kind of 'derivative edition' of Najara's *Zemirot Yisra'el*. But although it includes only eight of Najara's poems, it indicates the performance of his poetry in Kabbalistic circles (and perhaps also among Sabbatians) in the axis linking Prague, Nikolsburg and Vienna in the late seventeenth century. The cover page of *Tefillot Nora'ot* describes Rabbi Meshulam as *magid mesharim* in Nikolsburg, literally a preacher, but also alluding to possible skills in practical Kabbalah.

Rabbi Meshulam Zalman Fishhoff published it allegedly to praise God for miraculously rescuing him and his mother from an ambush by bandits, as is described in detail in the introduction to the pamphlet. The effort invested in printing this pamphlet, let alone in performing the poems of Najara with *kavanah* ('devotion'), testifies to their theurgic power, and implies a belief that Divine Mercy might be prompted by singing the works of a poet endorsed by Rabbi Isaac Luria.

Musical Iconography in Early Jewish Books: Exposition, Development and Recapitulation Professor Suzanne Wijsman University of Western Australia

The iconography of early modern Jewish manuscripts and printed books often has antecedents in earlier art, and particularly in medieval Hebrew illuminated manuscripts. Tradition and convention clearly governed the inclusion and placement of particular musical *topoi* in Jewish textual contexts, especially those with emblematic significance dating back to antiquity, such as images of the *shofar* or of David with his lyre or harp. Yet questions remain about the intentions of their creators and their reception by early modern Jewish audiences, and how such imagery accords with, or diverges from, the iconographical conventions governing images of music in medieval Hebrew manuscripts.

The recurrence of particular musical motifs in early modern Jewish books is in large part the result of the mass-production and distribution of printed books, such as the Prague Haggadah (*c*. 1526), Venice Haggadah (1609) and Amsterdam Haggadah (1695 and 1712), which helped to disseminate existing models to wider geographical areas. Images such as that of David with his harp in the Prague Haggadah reappear in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century illuminated manuscripts and printed books, often adapted into new contexts. Ink drawings in a seventeenth-century *Sefer Evronot* (illustrated calendar) from the Ukraine by an unnamed artist, for example, faithfully replicate details of this woodcut illustration of David standing with his harp.¹ The fact that this occurs repeatedly suggests that fidelity to the printed model was important to the artist.

Initial findings suggest that despite a superficial impression of repetitiveness in the iconographic programmes of eighteenth-century illuminated manuscripts – especially *haggadot* – artists of early modern Jewish manuscripts show significant individuality, creativity and interpretive difference when recapitulating traditional musical motifs. A good example are the frequent depictions of 'David as Psalmist' that appear in printed books and eighteenth-

1. Estense University Library, Campori Collection: Gamma.Z.2.5 (App. 2802), fols. 13r and 19v.



Figure 1. Zürich, Braginsky Collection, B284, f. 13r: https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/bc/b-0284/13r

century illuminated manuscripts, including those of the so-called Hamburg-Altona school. Many scenes and illuminations by eighteenth-century Jewish artists were modelled on the widely distributed printed Amsterdam Haggadah, engraved by a German convert, Abraham ben Jacob (*c*. 1669–1730), who based his illustrations closely on engravings in the *Icones Biblicae* by a Christian artist, Mattheus Merian (1593–1650), while adapting them to a Jewish context. In the Amsterdam Haggadah and its later derivations David kneels, usually in front of an open book, the inscribed text of which identifies it as either the book of Psalms or is the opening of one of the Psalms (often Psalm 30). His hands are conjoined in prayer and he gazes upwards at a light-radiating celestial orb, usually inscribed with the Hebrew words *Ruaḥ ha-Kodesh* ('Holy Spirit') (Fig. 1).¹ His harp is usually nearby, or more rarely held (Fig. 2).² Although it has been suggested that this scene is related to Merian's engraving, *The Pharisee*

1. Zürich, Braginsky Collection, B284, f. 13r – Haggadah with Yiddish instructions and translations of concluding songs (Herlingen Haggadah) (https://www.e-codices.ch/en/list/one/bc/b-0284).

2. Zürich, Braginsky Collection, B285, f. 38r – Passover Haggadah with commentaries (Hijman Binger Haggadah) (https://www.e-codices.ch/en/list/one/bc/ b-0285).

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Figure 2. Zürich, Braginsky Collection, B285, f. 38r: https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/bc/b-0285/38r

and the Publican, David's prayer posture, regalia and gesture in the Amsterdam Haggadah are more closely modelled on another engraving by Merian, *Solomon's Prayer at the Consecration of the Temple*, although elements derive from other sources.

This image of David has no precedent in medieval Jewish illuminated manuscripts. However, three of the four main elements – David's kneeling posture, his harp and the celestial orb at which he looks – are commonly seen in late-medieval Christian illuminated manuscripts, often in historiated initials for the start of Psalm 6, where penitential psalms begin in the Latin Psalter.¹ Yet, the musical details are often rendered in subtly individualistic ways by different eighteenth-century Jewish artists. Variations include the presence, absence and position of David's harp and its implied relationship to him; additional instruments; the inclusion of visible text in the open book referring to psalm singing; and even notated music alongside David's Psalter. Indeed, nearly always inscribed in the border of this scene is the quotation: 'Hanani, with the musical instruments of David, the man of God' (Neh. 12:36), a clear indication of the centrality of music – implied and depicted – in this scene.

1. For example, British Library MS Yates Thompson 3, fol. 157r, the 'Dunois Hours', France after 1436.

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work they wanted to discuss in the rigorous yet constructive interdisciplinary academic setting that we have established for the OSI model.

There were some concerns that by July, after four months of shifting to working online, some people would already have had their fill of Zoom sessions. Yet the feedback from participants was overwhelmingly positive. Although we undoubtedly missed the opportunities to discuss ideas in person, in the convivial setting normally enjoyed, the intellectual engagement was outstanding. It offered a welcome opportunity in the midst of lockdown to recreate a constructive academic community, drawing together scholars from a broad range of disciplinary backgrounds, committed to thinking creatively about the varied issues under consideration. For convenors and participants alike, the sadness at not being able to come together physically in Oxford was somewhat offset by an appreciation of how far the OSI model has come since its first gathering in 2014. A clear benefit of the virtual gathering was how it also enabled different cohorts from previous gatherings to be brought together, offering a further indication of how the OSI model is establishing its own form of academic community. This sense was reinforced by celebrating the publication in the last year of a volume drawing together the contributions from the inaugural OSI, Yitz Greenberg and Modern Orthodoxy: The Road Not Taken, edited by Adam Ferziger, Miri Freud-Kandel and Steven Bayme (Boston, MA: Academic Studies Press, 2019). On a more sombre note, one of the sessions was dedicated to the memory of the late Ada Rapoport-Albert, a former participant who died earlier this summer.

Although everyone agreed that returning to a physical gathering is undoubtedly the ideal, this year's Virtual OSI indicated what it is possible to achieve online. It highlighted the strengths of the OSI and offered a possible model for planning future gatherings in which scholars from across the globe can be brought together creatively to think about some of the challenging issues facing contemporary Jews and Judaism.

Jewish Religious Practice Among Jews in Hiding or Passing as Non-Jews during the Holocaust Professor Natalia Aleksiun Touro College, New York

This paper offered a close reading of the correspondence between Fajga Ginsburg – a Polish Jewish survivor – and her rescuer Tadeusz Kobyłko – a Polish non-Jewish man whom she married and whose son she bore during

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Virtual Oxford Summer Institute on Modern and Contemporary Judaism Dr Miri Freud-Kandel University of Oxford

The plans for this year's annual Oxford Summer Institute on Modern and Contemporary Judaism, due to be the seventh meeting, were all in place when lockdowns were introduced in many of the countries where the scholars invited to attend this year's gathering are based. Our intended topic for 2020 was 'Worship, Space and Performance in Modern and Contemporary Judaism'. When the decision was reluctantly made by the convenors to postpone this year's physical gathering, we were at least reassured that the topic could be even more relevant next year, offering an opportunity to think about how Jewish communities have creatively tried to adapt to the conditions of lockdown. However, the possibility was then raised for thinking about organizing a virtual gathering of the OSI. On one level, this grew from an understanding of how much of academic life has successfully been relocated online - albeit with certain associated limitations. On another level, the interest in pursuing this option developed from an appreciation of the growing appeal of the OSI model and the considerable numbers of 'alumni' it has produced over the preceding six years. And that was how this year's innovative V-OSI came into being.

Following the model that we have applied since 2015, when the Berman Centre at Lehigh University joined in organizing the OSI, the four convenors – Miri Freud-Kandel of Oxford, Adam Ferziger of Bar-Ilan University, and Hartley Lachter and Jodi Eichler-Levine of Lehigh – set about inviting previous OSI participants to propose papers for an online event. Spread across four of the days in July when the OSI was meant to convene physically in Oxford, around forty academics dispersed across Europe, Israel and America logged in online to attend the variety of virtual sessions held on Zoom. As the programme below indicates, in contrast to our normal model, the virtual gathering was not built around a central topic. Instead, it brought together past participants who had

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the Holocaust. It reflects the difficult choices made by Jews seeking to pass as Christians under German occupation and the emotional turmoil of the aftermath of the Holocaust, when survivors faced questions about reclaiming their Jewish identity and aspects of religious practice. Their postwar correspondence reveals how people who hid others and those who were hidden came to continue their lives, what life decisions they made and their reverberations. In particular, the letters touch on the future upbringing of their son and Fajga's decision to have him circumcised ahead of their arrival in Palestine (Israel) in the fall of 1947. The documents discussed in the paper reveal two completely different sides of a relationship presented vis-à-vis different intended audiences. Fajga who had decided to leave Poland and reunite with her Jewish family, wrote intimate and private letters meant for her husband's eyes only. On the other hand, Tadeusz's letters appealed to a number of agencies - Jewish and Polish - and thus adopted a more official format. Fajga's account reflects more intimately on the emotional trauma of the aftermath of the Holocaust for Jewish survivors. Yet, it is not difficult to understand Tadeusz's anger as he turned against 'the Jews', while fighting for his wife and children. His account outlines the pressures that postwar Jewish organizations brought to bear on Jews emerging from hiding, a topic which is not often discussed in academic discourse. It emphasizes the tension some Jews felt toward being torn by obligations to their rescuer or spouse, versus an expectation to return to the Jewish community. Their letters shed light on the intricacies of wartime relations and assumed identities. These unions often defied prewar class divisions, as well as religious and cultural norms in Jewish and non-Jewish communities. While some of the personal drama stemmed directly from the history of rescue and from a relationship that emerged from it or was key to it, this unique story needs to be interpreted in the context of other wartime arrangements between Jews and their non-Jewish rescuers. Before the People's Republic of Poland ostensibly lifted religious and class restrictions on 'mixed marriages', Jewish attempts to survive created a platform for these unlikely unions. As this paper demonstrated, the relationship of Fajga and Tadeusz is a remarkable example of this.

Changes in Jerusalem's Jewish Sacred Space: The Sanctification of Kivrei Tsadikim in Three of the City's Cemeteries

Professor Doron Bar Schechter Institute of Jewish Studies, Jerusalem

The current map of Jewish sacred space in the area of Jerusalem comprises most obviously the tomb of Samuel the Prophet, Rachel's tomb and the Western Wall – places that were throughout Jewish history objects of Jewish pilgrimage. But it also includes *kivrei tsadikim*: hundreds of burial sites of modern-day rabbis and righteous persons. The tomb of Rabbi Ovadia Yosef in Jerusalem's Sanhedria cemetery is just one example of the many graves that have been turned into sacred places and attract thousands of visitors each year.

Throughout history the main motivation for visiting the region was its status as the cradle of religion and a promised land filled with dozens of holy sites connected to its mythical past as the land of the Bible and the sages. Journeying to the Holy Land and prayer at sacred sites in the Galilee, the coastal plain and Jerusalem enabled Jewish pilgrims to touch the very bases of their belief. By travelling from North Africa, Europe and Asia they attached themselves to the ancient land and to its Jewish past.

During the late 1970s it seems that Jewish sacred space started to change. The later map of pilgrimage is based increasingly on visiting the tombs of rabbis and *tsadikim* from recent history who are buried in 'ordinary' cemeteries. These are chiefly the Mount of Olives cemetery that has changed dramatically in recent decades, and Har Hamenuchot cemetery in western Jerusalem where during the last few years dozens of such sacred tombs have been located. Another example of this change is the Sheikh-Bader cemetery, where the presence of the tomb of the Rebbe of Zvhil (Gedalia Moshe Goldman) turned this rather neglected location into a prime pilgrimage destination.

Jewish sacred space is now more local in its character as well as less connected to the formal Jewish calendar and to the sanctity of Jerusalem and the rest of the country. Pilgrims' behaviour is less formal and more personal and spontaneous.

There are in Jerusalem and in Israel at least two parallel categories of sacred space that serve Jewish worshippers. There is the historical-mythical sacred

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space that includes many of the biblical holy places, sites connected to the destroyed temple in Jerusalem. The other kind owes its sanctity not to ancient history, but to day-to-day religious needs. This is developed almost exclusively from 'below', and sacred time there is determined not by the Jewish-universal calendar but rather by the annual days when the *tsadikim* passed away. This recently developed sacred space is open to all, can be 'consumed' with little mediation, and gives visitors an opportunity to find answers to religious needs in an environment which is geographically and culturally closer to their homes and their heritage.

This change is connected to the fact that Israeli society has became more traditional and religious: the appearance of the *baal teshuvah* movement, the growing tendency of Hasidic groups to venerate tombs of *tsadikim*, and a growing need for more accessible holy places. The outcome of the process is a dramatic expansion of sacred space in the State of Israel and in Jerusalem.

Big-Tent Bioethics: Turning to the Rabbinic Tradition for a Better Pluralism

Keenan Davis Emory University, Atlanta

The discipline of bioethics originated in the 1960s and 1970s, primarily in response to major public scandals in medical research. In these early years, theologians and scholars of religion played a prominent role not only pushing for regulatory measures, but in publicly demanding thoughtful engagement with ethically fraught issues, ranging from end-of-life care to genetic screening and organ transplantation. It was not long, though, before these central theological voices were displaced by interlocutors using more philosophical and legalistic vocabularies. With increasing public interest came increased pressure to frame issues in a shared secular manner. Bioethical questions were soon largely discussed in terms of public policy, with particular focus on individual rights, patient autonomy and procedural or legal details, while deemphasizing questions of moral value and meaning. Liberal individualism became the dominant paradigm, effectively excluding approaches that openly relied on metaphysical or theological language. My paper argued for a partial reversal of course. In an effort to promote a more pluralistic and theologically engaged public bioethics, it is worth considering the 'big-tent' approach to decision-making exemplified by the rabbinic tradition. Not only providing for a richer exchange of ideas, this approach will also better account for the complexities of human experience in the face of charged bioethical dilemmas.

The rabbinic approach to debate is grounded in what one might call a theology of diversity that recognizes the value in the interaction of different perspectives. Fundamentally hermeneutic and interpretive, participation in this halakhic paradigm is not procedurally or even theoretically straightforward; and this is for the best. Gerald Bruns explains that the rabbis did not see themselves as 'problem solving, settling things once and for all, or working toward a final agreement'.1 Rather than a linear, logical, mental exercise, the rabbinic interpretive approach is more like a Wittgensteinian 'form of life', figuring interpretation 'as something social and dialogical'.² While the rabbis debate in order to determine correct practice, that is not all they are doing. They are embodying and inhabiting a culture of argument, 'participating in Torah rather than operating on it at an analytic distance'.³ Theirs is a pluralistic metapractice that allows the tradition not only to provide guidance with respect to discrete dilemmas, but to shape the way different people understand, perceive and respond to the world more generally. This results in what is ultimately a more holistic, context-sensitive understanding of how questions of ethics should be understood.

The tradition is characterized by a number of distinct features that might be useful for augmenting the practice of public bioethics: the preservation of minority opinion (*'Elu v'Elu'*); the coexistence of different schools of thought and practice; sensitivity to contextual details and deference to local authorities; and the use of extra-legal materials such as narrative and theology. There is no universalistic, *a priori* understanding or application of halakhah. In our postmodern era it has become clear that no universalistic foundation exists for a shared bioethics either. In place of a distortive liberal individualism, we should strive for a more nuanced and truly inclusive approach grounded in the affirmation of diverse metaphysical traditions. At the very least – to adapt the principle of *Elu v'Elu* – their inclusion will serve significantly to enhance the vocabulary available for discussing complex bioethical issues.

^{1.} Gerald L. Bruns, *Hermeneutics Ancient and Modern*. New Haven: Yale University Press (1992) 110.

^{2.} Ibid. 107.

^{3.} Ibid. 115.

Faith in Lockdown: Building Blocks to a Contemporary Jewish Theology Dr Miri Freud-Kandel University of Oxford

In thinking about the impact of lockdown on religious believers, as they try to engage with their religious traditions under the conditions of confinement, my paper argued that aspects of D. W. Winnicott's thought can help in formulating a contemporary Jewish theology. This theology tries to respond to some of the particular challenges to faith experienced during lockdown, while also considering the broader difficulties of defending religious belief today.

Two key ways in which lockdown challenges Jewish religious life are, first, by undermining physical community – forcing people into their homes; and, second, by encouraging a questioning of religious authority – regarding rabbinic rulings that failed to shut down places of worship or condone the use of technology. Yet religious life is anyway challenged, with the central premises of religious belief critiqued from a variety of disciplinary perspectives. A question this raises is whether there is a defensible strategy for constructing a Jewish theology that can simultaneously withstand critique while retaining its grounding in Judaism – nurturing a committed yet questioning account of Judaism?

My interest in this question draws from a consciousness of the present postsecular context that, at least in some quarters, encourages a yearning to seek out the sacred even while recognizing the challenges directed against religion. Under lockdown, the instinct to seek out meaning can increase, as efforts to make sense of senseless suffering often encourage a turn to religion. Yet postsecularism tends to challenge established religions and the types of religious authority on which they are built. While religion has been resurrected as a possible response to the need to make sense of the world once the secularization thesis has been questioned, it is merely one option among others. Any claims to certainty are challenged and religion is expected to adapt to a spiritual marketplace where individual choice trumps religious authority.

My research on Louis Jacobs suggests that a questioning yet committed Jewish theology can be constructed by nurturing attachments to ritual practice, study of Jewish sources and participation in communal life. Winnicott describes how ritual practice and the 'holding' environment of community can help individuals navigate to an 'intermediate area of experience' which

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offers a creative space for religious engagement. Winnicott is situated in a psychoanalytic tradition that expresses concerns about religion when it encourages individuals to live in an illusory world. In some ways, this reflects philosophical critiques that also attack religious teachings as illusions, incapable of being substantiated either through rational argument or propositional claims. Yet what Winnicott offers, through his defence of an intermediate area of experience, is an understanding of religion that is not seeking to set out propositional truths. He indicates how ritual, study and engagement in community can provide the grounding to rethink how notions of religious authority and truth can be reinterpreted.

Pre-lockdown, a notable feature of the religious landscape was the increasing turn away from established institutions. Independent, emergent, startup communities were developing using the internet to create new religious models. These build on accounts of religious authority often less concerned with religious truths than with nurturing opportunities for religious engagement. Responding to the breakdown of community life under isolation, established religious institutions have begun to rethink how to engage with their communities. But can they adapt post-lockdown to the contemporary spiritual marketplace? It appears that what post-secularism demands most from a developing Jewish theology is an understanding of the need to rethink notions of religious authority and truth. My paper identifies building blocks that can help creativity and belief to develop alongside one another.

The Löwith-Blumenberg Secularization Debate, and the Jewish Reception of Martin Heidegger Dr Daniel M. Herskowitz University of Oxford

One of the most impactful debates in twentieth-century intellectual history is that between Karl Löwith and Hans Blumenberg over the efficacy of the term 'secularization' for modern times. The former highlights the continuity between the secularity of modernity and theological past, claiming it is secularized, i.e., pre-determined by its religious past. The latter stresses modernity's break and independence from the determinations of its theistic origin, maintaining that modernity is 'legitimate' as independent and self-standing. In my paper, I argued that this seminal debate provides an appropriate framing for some of the main patterns of twentieth-century Jewish responses to the philosophy of Martin Heidegger and sheds much light on the motivations and ambitions of these responses.

The reason for this is that while he sought to develop an account of human existence as an alternative to traditional philosophy and Christianity, one finds in his alternative picture various features that appear to bear the stamp of Christianity. In other words, they seem to be secularized Christian notions, taken from the world of religion but operating in the non-religious, secular context of his philosophy. Heidegger of course denied these are secularized Christian categories, but many of his readers - and many of his Jewish readers - were not convinced. The question of secularization, the Löwith-Blumenberg debate, can prove helpful in reflecting on his Jewish reception. For if Jewish thought seeks to stay clear of Christian influences, then the question of whether or not Heidegger's thought harbours layers of Christian tradition even after they have become secular may have ramifications for the possibility of its application in a Jewish context. If Heidegger's philosophy is detached from any Christian categories, then it can, potentially, be appropriated by Jewish thinkers; but if something of their Christian origin is still preserved even after their secularization, then Heidegger's system may still be stamped by Christianity and as such be at odds with Judaism - regardless of the absence of any explicit Christian message.

This line of thinking was exactly what a number of key Jewish thinkers had in mind, and there is a repeated tendency to understand the secularized Christian notions in Heidegger's thought as still, in some way or another, bearing the mark of Christianity. For Ernst Cassirer, Martin Buber and Leo Strauss (as well as others), key elements of Heidegger's philosophy are identified not as secular but as secularized, and this is seen as evidence of his dependence on a specific religion - Christianity - which continues to resonate in his thought. Moreover, Cassirer, Buber and Strauss all link Heidegger's secularized existential analytic to his notorious Nazism, and construct a version of Judaism or Jewishness as an alternative to Heidegger that stays clear of what they take to be the moral and political pitfalls of secularism and the theological traditions than make it possible. This Jewish alternative is perceived by them as superior not only philosophically, but also politically and morally - an account that does not lead to Nazism, as they believed Heidegger's philosophy does. Since Heidegger's life and thought is seen as encapsulating the philosophical, theological, ethical and political pathologies of modernity, these Jewish thinkers were proposing not only an alternative theoretical programme to Heidegger's faulty one, but also an alternative modernity, a 'Jewish' modernity, as it were.

The Impact of the 1967 (*Six-Day*) *War on Diaspora Jewish Life*

Dr Sara Hirschhorn Northwestern University, Illinois

My second book project, tentatively entitled 'New Day in Babylon and Jerusalem: Zionism, Jewish Power and Identity Politics Since 1967', is a kind of sequel to my first book, in which I consider the fate of Jewish Zionists who remained in the United States after 1967 and found that the war(s) in the Middle East brought new battles over their own identity home to America.

Today, as Zionism seems increasingly incompatible with other forms of identity politics, this study seeks to trace these developments over the past five decades. With 1967 as its point of departure, the book explores how the Six-Day War and its aftermath transformed Zionism from a national liberation movement of the Jewish people to a colonialist enterprise in the Middle East in international eyes, and how the Arab-Israel conflict abroad subsequently 'disrupted' the construction of Jewish-Zionist communities at home. Building on the scholarship in the field, one of the main arguments of the book is that the Six-Day War played a central role in the process of 'whitening' Diaspora Jewry, problematizing the position of Israel's allies in progressive spaces on the left, promoting an alignment with a new 'Judeo-Christian' establishment on the right, and creating profound polarization over Israel ever since. As 'whiteness' has evolved into a larger conversation about 'privilege' since 1967, questions about 'Jewish Power' and Israel seem more pressing and politicized than ever.

The book begins in the summer of 1967 with the earliest confrontations between two duelling transnational movements, 'Jewish Power' and 'Black Power', and follows these clashes over the next decade, culminating in the 'Zionism is Racism' debates of the mid-1970s. I then juxtapose this heady chapter of history with contemporary issues, analysing a resurgence of these conflicts in the Women's March, Black Lives Matter, and the LGBTQIA community (among others) and how reanimated discourses may precipitate a wedge in American electoral politics. Of particular interest to this study is the university and educational space, which has been a primary battleground of these contests of identity and questions of 'the new antisemitism' for over five decades. The book offers a bird's-eye view from within the ivory tower and helps situate the rise of Jewish, Middle Eastern and Israel Studies within this history itself.

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Drawing from interdisciplinary methodology combining survey data and oral history with traditional archival and periodical press research (especially the campus literature of the Radical Zionist movement), this project will offer a transnational approach to Diaspora-Israel relations since 1967.

> Rabbinic Response to Covid–19: The Case of Triage Professor Alan Jotkowitz Ben-Gurion University of the Negev

The worldwide Covid-19 pandemic has raised many complicated halakhic issues, particularly related to questions concerning medical ethics. The ethical problem of the allocation of scarce resources is not a new halakhic dilemma, as it is discussed in the Talmud in two main sources. Until modern times there was relatively little discussion of it, although with the advent of modern medicine, halakhic decisors had to relate to these sources to build a halakhic ethic. They were faced with two main problems. First, the social-worth criteria elucidated in the Mishnah in tractate Horayot (particularly the requirement to save a man before a woman) go against modern sensibilities. Secondly, it is necessary to translate modern probability-based utilitarian ethics into an acceptable halakhic paradigm. We identified three stages in this process. Modern decisors such as the Chazon Ish, Rabbi Moshe Feinstein, Rabbi Eliezer Waldenberg and Rabbi Shmuel Wosner set the groundwork by downplaying, for various halakhic reasons, the importance of social-worth considerations, and attempted to synthesize halakhic thinking with modern utilitarian-based ethics.

The next stage we identified comprises what we can call the interpreters of those decisors. These are usually physician-scientists with extensive rabbinic expertise and knowledge, although not on the same level as their predecessors. They include Rabbi Dr Avraham Steinberg, Rabbi Dr Moshe Tendler and Rabbi Dr Abraham Abraham, who are usually conversant with rabbinic discourse, medical knowledge and secular ethics, and excel in explaining and interpreting the sometimes complex halakhic positions of these decisors to the public. Sometimes the difficulty is simply a question of language. But at other times it is due to the fact that rabbinic thinking and nuance can be very challenging for someone not trained in the halakhic dialectic. However, we have found that

in some instances, particularly related to the issue of triage, these people have gone beyond merely explicating, to issuing opinions of their own, so that it is sometimes difficult to ascertain if they are interpreters or innovators.

The final stage includes contemporary decisors, exemplified by the American Rabbi Hershel Schacter and the Israeli Rabbi Asher Weiss, who further integrate the modern utilitarian-based ethics into a halakhic framework with various degrees of success. They take it for granted that probability of cure is a dominant factor in triage decisions, notwithstanding the weak halakhic basis for that position, and address the controversial issues of age and disability in making decisions. They also deal with the unique issues raised by the Covid pandemic in a timely and decisive manner.

Using Technology to Address Diverse Audiences: The Jewish Museum of Lecce During the Covid–19 Pandemic as a Case Study

Dr Fabrizio Lelli University of Salento, Lecce

The months leading up to this Summer Institute saw the start of a pandemic that endangered human existence and disrupted social contacts and international travel. A concern that became crucial in the first weeks of this crisis related to the nature and circulation of scientific information. In recent decades Western society has created a complex system of data circulation that mainly relies on the media. The information provided by journalists and opinion makers parallels and frequently overlaps with research activity carried out in academic institutions. Until the pandemic broke out, these two kinds of information generally travelled on different pathways and reached out to different segments of the population. Being obliged to spend most of our time in our homes, we necessarily adapted to maintaining contact with each other with the help of a wide range of technological devices. The opportunity offered by the spread of valid non-scientific information through the media could be seized on to induce non-professional scholars to delve into cultural fields of which they hardly knew.

Four years ago, I co-founded a Jewish Museum in Lecce. Following the lockdown, I took the opportunity to develop a calendar of online conversations or dialogues to keep the museum active. At first, I assumed that those conversations should follow the pattern of the live events that I organized when

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the museum was open, and as our audience mainly consisted of local people, this seemed to me the kind of target to aim for. Our first guests were therefore invited to bear this kind of public in mind.

However, after a short experimental phase, I realized that the virtual audience of our conversations was not the same as attended our live initiatives, and that potential viewers / listeners came from all over the world. This made it necessary to use English, and not only Italian, to reach the non-local audience. But would such 'outsiders' be interested in the hidden Jewish legacy of such a peripheral region of the world? We decided to widen the horizon of our quest and explore the relations of local Jewish communities with other diasporas that preserve memories of Apulian Jewry. Over a period of three months we dealt with varied subjects, ranging from the proposed reorganization of tourist activities in Puglia after the end of the lockdown (with a special emphasis on Jewish itineraries) to the virtual reconstruction of Jewish sites that disappeared long ago. We dealt with a range of Judaica and contemporary Jewish art through past or future exhibits at our museum, and highlighted the importance of private collections of Judaica located outside Italy for reconstructing the Apulian Jewish past and its legacy.

Our videos were broadcast on our Facebook page and are now available on Facebook and YouTube.

Charismatic Hasidim – Both Male and Female – in Contemporary Habad Dr Naftali Loewenthal University College London

In the study of Hasidism, the focus of academic and other attention has tended to be on the Hasidic leader, the Zaddik or Rebbe. However, an interesting feature of Habad through the generations is the highlighting of certain Hasidic followers ('Hasidim'), seeing them as charismatic figures in their own right. Rabbi Shneur Zalman (1745–1812) sought to empower all his followers spiritually through his *Tanya* and designated certain Hasidim as the 'great ones in the city', who could help others understand this work. The term *mashpia*, literally 'influencer', was applied to a Hasid whose role is to provide spiritual guidance to others.

In the 1930s the sixth Rebbe, Rabbi Yosef Yitshak Schneersohn (d. 1950), published biographies of prominent past Hasidim. He also sent many *shluhim*, 'emissaries', round the USA, empowering them to represent him. His successor, Rabbi Menachem Mendel Schneerson (d. 1994), greatly increased the number of *shluhim*, sending them all over the world. It was at this stage that the female emissary, the *shluhah*, became a highly significant figure in her own right: not just as a secretary to her husband, but as a dynamic spiritual force. Like her husband, the *shluhah* is in effect a *mashpia*. Some *shluhot* became known as inspiring figures far beyond their local communities.

In 1986 the Rebbe began emphasizing the role of a personal *mashpia*, a spiritual guide, in the life of every Hasid. A man should choose a male *mashpia*, a woman a female one. This added to the significance of the *mashpia* role in Habad society for both men and women.

Evidence for the prominence of such figures is provided by the publication of some twenty monographs devoted to the lives and teachings of individual *shluhim / mashpi'im*. Two such volumes present the teachings of a woman, Nachama Greisman, famous as a *mashpiah*. These are not critical historical works, but their existence indicates the significance that the subjects of these monographs bear for the Lubavitch community.

One such figure is Rabbi Mendel Futerfas (1906–95), a Habad activist in the USSR, who was accused of helping Jews escape from Russia and was imprisoned for nearly nine years. During this time, it is said, he neither broke Shabbat nor ate non-kosher food. In 1963 he was permitted to leave for London to join his wife Leah and their children, who had been there since the 1940s. Reb Mendel's name is famous around the Lubavitch world, and DVDs of his inspiring *farbrengens* (Hasidic gatherings) are published. Many of his stories concern incidents during his imprisonment, which he described as 'a long *farbrengen* without *mashke* (liquor)'.

Another is Nechama Greisman (1953–92), mentioned above. She and her husband were part of a group of ten young couples sent by Rabbi Menachem Mendel to Israel in 1976. As she said in a speech at a reception for emissaries at the home of the President, Ephraim Katzir, her role was to inspire women in Israel to see the spiritual power of the woman as the *akeret habayit*: 'she is not the second fiddle, but the *ikar*, the mainstay, of her home'. Her goal was to convey her sense of the heightened significance of traditional Jewish womanhood, as drawn from the teachings of the Lubavitcher Rebbe.

Living examples are Rabbi Shmuel and Hindy Lew, based in London, both prominent as speakers in international Habad conferences, and each chosen by many individuals as their personal guide. After the passing of the Rebbe in 1994 new *shluhim* and *shluhot* continue to be appointed by the central Lubavitch organization, and many achieve international prominence within the movement. This focus on the hasid may contribute to the refusal of twenty-first

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century Habad to appoint another Rebbe. It appears that the general Hasidic public views charismatic figures such as these as representing the abiding conduit for the teachings of the Lubavitcher Rebbe. As they often quote: 'If his children are alive, he is alive' (BT Taanit 5b).

The African Hebrew Israelites and the Building of Peace with Israel

Dr Michael Miller Friedrich-Alexander Universität, Erlangen-Nuremberg

My recent research on the African Hebrew Israelite community, an African American group who have been based in Dimona, Israel, since 1969, shows how relations between the community and the state of Israel have progressed through different phases of good and bad feeling before becoming resolved in a way that is positive for all.

After describing the group and their background in the USA, I offered in my paper a history of relations in the 1970s and 1980s, the period of highest tension, but also of the beginning of their resolution. These two decades constituted a difficult period for the community, with distrust and misunderstanding on both sides, and also initial attempts at working together which failed. As rhetoric became increasingly heated, many thought it was only a matter of time before the community would be expelled, although others warned against this path. The road from there has been long and at times disappointing for the community, but they have slowly made gains and have incrementally become integrated into Israeli society, receiving glowing public endorsements from several political figures.

Their success and transition from radical apocalyptic cult to model minority proves not only that this is possible, but helps show how such situations might best be dealt with in the future. The unwinding of tensions happened very gradually, and trust was built slowly, with each knowing that the other held a potentially positive or disastrous stake in their future.

The group and their history stand as an important exemplar of several issues, and understanding them can help us think about many different aspects of the contemporary global situation. First, they are demonstrably intersectional, standing somewhere on the interstices between the Jewish and Black worlds. Secondly, they are migrants who fled a situation of oppression to make a better life elsewhere and have managed to do this with surprising success. Thirdly,

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they are globally conscious, with a holistic outlook. The interconnectedness of the wellbeing of all living things is a core part of the thought of the Black-Jewish leader Ben Ammi, and is expressed in their return to agriculture, their simple, relationship- and community-driven lifestyles (while still embracing modern technology when it is beneficial), their veganism, and their emphasis on physical health as part of a rounded spiritual life. Fourthly, and related to the last point, they evoke an interesting combination of progressive thinking and conservatism. Their community knew the problems of deep-rooted prejudice and systemic racism and knew they had to rethink life completely once they had escaped America. But this rethinking had to be grounded in something they perceived as eternal and necessary, which is how they saw the rules in the Torah. So there is a clear patriarchal authoritarianism in their outlook, in contrast to the perceived flaws of modern liberalism which denies a determined human nature. The community helps to break the rigidity of discourse about Israel and the sometimes monolithic nature of progressive leftist thought, while also being one of many groups that help challenge assumptions about who is a

Negative Spaces in the Triangle of Gender, Religion and New Media: A Case Study of the Ultra-Orthodox Community in Israel

Dr Rivka Neriah Ben-Shahar Sapir Academic College, Sderot

Jew and what Judaism is.

My paper focused on the multiple and complex relationships between gender, religion and new media through a case study of the Ultra-Orthodox community in Israel. The main argument was that we should see gender, religion and new media as a triangle comprising a system in which each part influences the others in multiple ways. This argument implies that a contemporary study of any one aspect should use an intersectional analysis that takes both of the others and also their interactions into account.

This triangulation adds another level of complexity to intersectional analysis. The new level is illustrated through the artistic concept of 'negative space' which is located around or between-subjects' or 'the area surrounding a

1. Stephen A. Buetow, 'Something in Nothing: Negative Space in the Clinician-Patient Relationship', *Annals of Family Medicine* 7:10 (2009) 80–3.
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figure that makes the figure stand out'. The crucial point this concept makes is that when the most visible element of the positive space occupied by the object itself becomes the focus, we neglect not only what is missing or absent or set apart, but the relationships *between* the spaces.

Therefore, the basic understanding about analysing intersections of gender, religion and new media requires attention not only to the relations and continuums, but to the negative spaces that are both created and emerge from the pairing of ostensibly oppositional categories of women / men, religion / secularization, new / traditional media. Supplementing triangulation with attention to negative spaces leads us to an approach that locates an intersection not only between the external forces, but between the internal relations. When conceptualized in this way, intersectionality must understand gender by taking into account the relationships between social constructions for men and women. Similarly, careful attention to religion is not possible without addressing secularization. Likewise, for a deeper understanding of the contemporary opportunities offered by new media, we should carefully consider traditional media as well.

The Ultra-Orthodox community in Israel provides a case study that can demonstrate how these intersections between gender, religion and new media necessarily entail changing boundaries between women and men, religion and secularization, traditional and new media. Triangulation of these factors demonstrates how Ultra-Orthodox women take advantage of opportunities to use secular and religious media and new media, and also to make decisions about family consumption of a variety of things, media included. This more complex analysis helps to highlight the particular opportunities and forms of empowerment that Ultra-Orthodox women can create in a cultural and technological context.

The nature of this complicated process of empowering and of social change was captured through my study's in-depth interviews. For example, women's perceptions towards the Internet are characterized by ambivalence and multiplicity. These views are situated on a continuum ranging from perceptions of the Internet as a Satanic tool that will destroy community values and undermine rabbinic authority, to treating it as a tool necessary for work. I found gatekeepers that invest a lot of effort into living this ideology. On the other side of the continuum, we can find agents of change that navigate between the ideology of non-use and the pragmatic practice of limited use.

Fear: The Prominent Emotional Feature of Prohibitions in Kabbalah

Dr Leore Sachs-Shmueli Bar-Ilan University

Distinguishing prohibitions from the active system of ritual reveals distinctive motivations and moral attitudes within the multifaceted system of Jewish law. While scholars tend to use the framework of ritual as the dominant tool in understanding Kabbalistic rationalizations of the commandments, my paper suggested that it should be more narrowly applied to deciphering only the role of positive commandments. Analysing Jewish law through the positive system of prescribed actions, the focal category of prohibitions, overlooks the negative commandments and the religious motivations attributed to them. Hence, I argued that differentiating between the religious functions of prohibitions and positive commandments advances the study of Jewish law and the expansive literature rationalizing the commandments. By contrast to ritual, which invites performance, prohibitions require passivity, restricting interaction with tempting objects, demanding avoidance and preventative steps. Maimonides viewed fear as a key factor in motivating people to abide by prohibitions, while he considered love the driving force behind the practice of positive commandments. Kabbalists further developed this idea into a metaphysical system that explains the distinctive ontological root of the negative commandments.

I suggested reading the Kabbalistic texts comparatively, alongside Thomas Aquinas' affirmation that there is no formal difference between positive and negative commandments. Thus, while Aquinas accepted the material difference between positive and negative commandments, he dismissed the emphasis on a formal difference between them, as found in Maimonides's *Book of the Commandments*. The Kabbalists not only accepted the formal distinction between positive and negative, but perceived it as signifying an ontological difference in the theosophical world. Such a comparison stresses the distinctiveness of the ontologically charged system of law developed by the Kabbalists.

Furthermore, my paper examined the role of fear as the main moral emotion prompting compliance with prohibitions in Kabbalistic rationalizations. Inspired by social historians' growing attention to the masses and the emotions motivating 'ordinary' people in medieval times, beyond the ruling and learned

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elites, this paper discussed the function that Kabbalistic rationalizations of the negative commandments ascribe to fear. Therefore, when studying texts that seek to rationalize the commandments, it is not sufficient to consider ideas alone. The emotional motives that medieval Jewish writers accorded to the commandments are a key element in understanding the social and cultural power of such works. I proposed that the term fear (*yirah* in Hebrew, and *ha'uf* in Arabic) designate the moral attitude towards a negative action combined with a negative emotion in the context of observing the commandments. This moral attitude is intertwined with negative feelings of dread, horror, guilt and anxiety at the defects, harm and negative consequences deriving from sin. Accordingly, when fear is used to induce obedience, this reflects not (only) a mental attitude of awe towards the metaphysical being of God, but a moral commitment to avoiding transgression.

My analysis shed light on the cultural role of Kabbalistic works in enhancing internalized discipline and contributing to the 'civilization process' in the Jewish community, focusing particularly on fear, the prominent emotion in eliciting obedience to the prohibitions.

On the Role of Age in Jungjüdisch Zionist Thought and Visual Culture: Lesser Ury and Martin Buber in Dialogue Rose Stair University of Oxford

At the turn of the twentieth century the *jungjüdisch*, 'young-Jewish', cultural Zionist community argued that Jewish art played a crucial role in cultivating the Jewish national sentiment that was necessary to the future success of Zionism. They organized an exhibition of Jewish art at the fifth Zionist Congress in 1901 and published several books collating and promoting the work of Jewish artists. One recurring favourite was the so-called 'impressionist-expressionist' painter Lesser Ury. Born in Prussia to a Jewish family, Ury's art was for the most part ignored or denigrated during his lifetime, with the exception of the praise repeatedly bestowed upon it by the *jungjüdisch* community and their self-appointed spokesman on Jewish art, Martin Buber. In my paper I suggested that one of the reasons that Buber devoted such attention to Ury's work was that it provided him with a visual language to articulate views on age, that played a central role in his conception of Jewish history and the Zionist future.

I presented a selection of Ury's monumental paintings and sketches on biblical themes alongside Buber's analyses of them, in which he reads the elderly figures as representing exilic Jewish suffering and the youthful figures as paradigms of future-oriented Zionist energy and activity. Far from a straightforward rejection of the exilic past and the aged characters who represented it, however, I suggested that Buber invoked a 'family-drama' narrative of Jewish history in which the differently aged representatives of the Jewish past, present and future each had a role to play. Born of genealogical ties to the past and the corporeal inheritance of previous generations' lived experience, Buber's model of youthful Zionist activity and creativity was intelligible only in the context of his views on other age groups and generations. By examining Buber's articulation of these views as the product of a dialogue with Ury's images, I considered the burden placed on bodily appearance to signify age and its associated values, and examined the choices Buber made in interpreting the age identity of several Ury's subjects. Viewing age as a constellation of power relations and contingent cultural expectations that cannot be separated from its wider social context, I argued that Buber's stratification and evaluation of age groups was entangled in his conservative bourgeois views on gender and reproduction.

Three Pioneers: The First Three Orthodox Women Rabbis

Dr Lindsey Taylor-Guthartz King's College London / London School of Jewish Studies

Several programmes currently offer Orthodox rabbinic ordination to women, including Yeshivat Maharat (New York; first ordination 2009) and Yeshivat Har'el (Israel; 2015). Others, such as the Susi Bradfield Halakhic Leadership at Midreshet Lindenbaum in Israel (2012), give women thorough rabbinic training but award them other titles, such as 'spiritual leader'. This rapid development makes it easy to forget three remarkable women who received ordination on an individual basis before these institutions existed. In my paper I quoted from interviews I had conducted with them to examine their paths to ordination, their understanding of it, and the context in which they sought this path.

Rabbi Dr Reb Mimi Feigelson was ordained in 1994, but kept her ordination secret until 2006. Her studies with Rabbi Shlomo Carlebach made her think

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of it as 'an affirmation, not an aspiration'. She saw the process as mirroring the classical pattern of serving a rabbinic teacher (*shimush talmid hakham*), learning the tradition, and 'learning to walk in the world'. She aimed to 'have a link' to the chain of tradition of which her teacher was part, and to be able 'to walk in the lineage of the hasidic *rebbes*'. Since 2001 she has served as *mashpiah ruhanit* in Conservative rabbinical schools in Los Angeles and Jerusalem. For Reb Mimi, ordination was a recognition of her membership in the spiritual and mystical world of Hasidism rather than a feminist statement.

Rabbi Dr Eveline Goodman-Thau, a Holocaust survivor born in Vienna in 1934, moved to Israel in 1956. Most of her professional life was spent as an academic, mainly in Germany. She had never considered seeking ordination, and regarded herself as capable of acting as a Jewish spiritual leader without it. However, when in 1999 she was asked by a Reform congregation in Vienna to serve as their rabbi she agreed and received ordination from Rabbi Jonathan Chipman in 2000. She led the community for a year, before returning to academia. She regards herself as an 'unorthodox Orthodox woman', independent of institutions and opposed to institutionalized religion. She understands her own ordination as an opportunity to create change and open possibilities for other women.

Rabbi Haviva Ner-David's memoir of her feminist journey in faith describes how she started wearing *tallit* and *tefilin* at twenty-two. In 1993 she applied to the rabbinical programme at Yeshiva University; her application went unanswered. She attended advanced Torah-study institutions in New York and Jerusalem, and studied privately for ten years with Rabbi Aryeh Strikovsky, who ordained her in 2006. She had always felt marginalized within the Orthodox world, and eventually redefined herself as 'post-denominational'. She received ordination as an interfaith minister in 2016, trained as a spiritual counsellor, and now runs an open *mikveh* at Kibbutz Hanaton. Rabbi Ner-David saw her ordination as a step towards women's equal access to Jewish ritual and halakhic process, and as part of her feminist activism. She noted that both she and the other two 'pioneers' who had 'started the ball rolling' were all on the outskirts of Orthodoxy.

All three women are strong individuals, deeply committed to Judaism and to feminist or humanistic values and immersed in spirituality. Each carved out a unique path, persevered despite opposition and found her own way of resolving her marginal status within Orthodoxy – whether by working in academia, working in non-Orthodox contexts, or moving beyond Orthodoxy. None has ordained other women or founded a school or movement to promote women's ordination. Nor have they joined or been acknowledged by the recently founded institutions now offering women's ordination programmes.

These women began the long process of normalization of women rabbis within Orthodoxy, following their Reform and Conservative predecessors. As pioneers, they are still too 'dangerous' politically to be associated with institutions currently working for recognition and acceptance in the Orthodox world. Nevertheless, their very existence raises the issue of women's ordination, however violently it is opposed. Their personal paths provide new models of rabbinic roles in the twenty-first century that bypass prevailing modes of hierarchical authority and control, and are integral to the history of women's Orthodox ordination.

Nostalgia, Canonization and the Messianic Renewal: The Case of the Habad Hasidic Movement

Dr Wojciech Tworek University of Wrocław

Focusing on the stories by Yosef Yitshak Schneersohn (1880–1950), the leader of the Habad Hasidic movement, my paper explored the significance of nostalgia for the survival of Hasidic communities following the First and the Second World Wars. It showed how Schneersohn's nostalgic depictions of his lost ancestral home translated into ideas, collective memories, tangible practices and brick-and-mortar institutions, helped him coalesce a new Habad community in interwar Poland, and safeguard its survival in 1940s America.

Established in the end of the eighteenth century, the Habad Hasidic movement settled in the Russian town of Lubavitch in 1813. The Habad centre survived and thrived in Lubavitch for over a century. In 1915 the Schneersohn family left the town never to return as the German army advanced. Roughly a decade later, Yosef Yitshak Schneersohn was exiled from the Soviet Union, and eventually settled in Poland, where Habad had but a marginal presence. In the Polish context, Schneersohn's Hebrew and Yiddish stories became an important means aimed at reviving the Habad community, as they re-imagined Habad's lost ancestral town as an idealized space to which all Habad followers – both veterans and newcomers – could relate. When Schneersohn escaped from Nazi-occupied Poland to New York in 1940, the feeling of loss and displacement became only more acute. Schneersohn responded with calling out to American

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Jewry for an immediate return to traditional observance, which he argued would bring immediate redemption. Creative uses of nostalgia played a key role in this project. Yet again Schneersohn asked his audience to take a leap into the past, so that the ultimate future might arrive. And yet again Lubavitch, re-imagined in a series of stories in a Yiddish newspaper as 'the city of brotherly love', played an important identity- and community-building role. Rather than simply a yearning for the halcyon past which was abruptly brought to an end by modernity, wars and the Holocaust, nostalgia in Schneersohn's writings was a conscious means of revising the Habad ethos and of re-constructing Lubavitch, a place on the Russian map, as a spiritual, imaginary space for the new Habad community.

Additionally, the paper argued that the deployment of nostalgia in Schneersohn's stories testifies to the realignment of the medium of Hasidic story to contemporary trends in modern Jewish literature. Scholars have long dismissed nostalgic literary depictions of the destroyed East European Jewish towns as the simplification and idealization of a complex past. Hasidic stories about these towns have been viewed with even greater suspicion. This paper offered a critique of the customary analytical approach, which considers Hasidic stories an unreliable historical source, and instead focuses on the social and performative function of Hasidic nostalgia for the lost home in Eastern Europe.

Reports by Visiting Fellows and Scholars

Matthew Austerklein

Cantor Matthew Austerklein of Congregation Beth El, Ohio, stayed at the Centre from 16 January to 18 March 2020 and participated in the Oxford Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies – Between Sacred and Profane: Jewish Musical Cultures in Early Modern Europe. He conducted research on theology and on writings documenting the musical innovations of Ashkenazi cantors, and his presentation to the Seminar, 'Early Modern Ashkenazi Cantors: Identity and Transformation', focused on the musical development, conflicts and major primary sources describing these cantors in early modern Europe. He also gave a lecture entitled 'The Secular Sulzer: Art and Politics of the First Modern Cantor', at the Woolf Institute in Cambridge, and sang at the Celebration of French-Jewish Music organized at the Maison Française d'Oxford by Dr Diana Matut and Dr Alexandre Cerveux. In late January he gave a talk called 'The Cantor and the American Synagogue: 1980 to the Present' at the European Cantors Convention in Hanover, Germany. He benefited during his stay from access to the Leopold Muller and Bodleian libraries, especially the latter's Oppenheim Collection, and from the knowledge and support of their librarians. He also made trips to London for additional primary sources in the British Library. He is grateful for the friendship and intellectual depth of the Oxford Seminar's unique constellation of visiting scholars and for the expertise and vision of its convenor, Dr Diana Matut.

Dr Peter Bergamin

Dr Peter Bergamin, an independent researcher at Mansfield College, stayed at the Centre from 1 October 2019 to 30 September 2020 and completed his book on the British Government's reactions to the three overarching causes of its unsuccessful termination of the Mandate for Palestine. The first was the increased international pressure to resolve the issue of a Jewish National Home in the wake of the Holocaust, in anticipation of growing tension between Eastern and Western Allied powers (the international level); the second was the slow erosion of the British Empire, more specifically the declaration of Indian independence in 1947 (the British level); and the third was the increased Jewish anti-British resistance – led by the Irgun, but including the Lehi and the Haganah – in Mandate Palestine itself (the local, 'Palestinian', level).

Dr Bergamin's book, *The Making of the Israeli Far-Right: Abba Ahimeir and Zionist Ideology*, based on his doctoral thesis, which was published by I. B. Tauris-Bloomsbury in November 2019, traces the ideological genesis of Abba Ahimeir, one of the more notorious figures in Zionist history during the British Mandate and is the first biographical work in English dedicated solely to him. The book launch, which took place in the Middle East Centre Archive, St Antony's College, was chaired by Professor Yaacov Yadgar.

With Professor Yadgar, Dr Bergamin co-convened a new seminar series, 'Reconsidering Early Jewish Nationalist Ideologies', which will run throughout the next academic year. The Centre was helpful in getting this seminar off the ground and will play a central role in its future administration.

Dr Bergamin also regularly attended the Israel Studies Seminar (in which he co-presented with Professor Yadgar the results of the Israeli elections in March 2020), the Modern Jewish Studies Seminar and the Jewish Music Seminar.

Dr Alexandre Cerveux

Dr Alexandre Cerveux of the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Paris, stayed at the Centre from 14 October 2019 to 18 March 2020 as a Polonsky Fellow and participated in the Oxford Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies – Between Sacred and Profane: Jewish Musical Cultures in Early Modern Europe. While in Oxford he researched the conceptualization of music according to Jewish texts composed in Italy in the last quarter of the fifteenth century and in the first years of the sixteenth century. At this period, Jewish thinkers acquainted themselves with humanist thought, culture and texts, but also continued the medieval philosophical tradition. The case of music illustrates the subtle, although sometimes radical, changes in Jewish thought that the persistence of earlier paradigms and the assimilation of new concepts created.

He made intensive use of the Leopold Muller Memorial and Bodleian libraries during his stay and participated in various lectures and activities of the Centre. He delivered a David Patterson Lecture entitled 'The Conceptualization of Music in Hebrew Philosophical Texts around 1500' and a keynote lecture, 'The Musical *Realia* from Medieval Jewish Fustat' at the Woolf Institute, Cambridge. In collaboration with Dr Diana Matut he also co-organized a concert of French-Jewish music at the Maison Française d'Oxford.

He felt privileged to participate in the Seminar on Jewish musical culture and is grateful to its convenors, Dr Diana Matut and Dr Deborah Rooke, for their support. He wishes to thank the faculty, librarians and other staff of the Centre for their valuable help and hospitality.

Dr Naomi Cohn Zentner

Dr Naomi Cohn Zentner of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem stayed at the Centre between 23 October and 8 December 2019 and participated in the Oxford Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies – Between Sacred and Profane: Jewish Musical Cultures in Early Modern Europe. She presented a paper to the Seminar entitled '*Kol Mekadesh Shevii*: Resounding Synagogue and Home in Early Modern Ashkenaz', and explored the dissemination and non-Jewish sources of the melody for this Shabbat table song from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as a model for a shared musical culture in Germanspeaking lands.

Dr Cohn Zentner benefited greatly from access to manuscript collections at the Bodleian Library and is especially grateful for the valuable assistance of Dr César Merchán-Hamann in locating material. Her research was enriched by the chance to discuss her work with other Seminar members, as well as with faculty and Fellows of the Centre who contributed valuable insights. She felt privileged to be part of the Seminar and is especially grateful to Dr Diana Matut for her guidance and support.

She also engaged in a variety of public activities, such as delivering a lecture on the shared soundscape of Jews and Arabs in Ottoman-era Safed, in collaboration with the Woolf Institute in Cambridge. In addition, she delivered a lecture and workshop at the Oxford Jewish Congregation in collaboration with the Centre and with University College London's project on contemporary Hasidic Yiddish. She wishes to thank Martine Smith-Huvers in particular for her gracious assistance.

Dr David Conway

Dr David Conway of University College London is an independent researcher who was based at the Centre as a Polonsky Visiting Fellow from 10 October 2019 to 18 March 2020, and participated in the Oxford Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies - Between Sacred and Profane: Jewish Musical Cultures in Early Modern Europe. He delivered a paper on the engagement between Jewish and Roma musicians in eighteenth-century Hungary on which he carried out research at both the Bodleian and Leopold Muller Memorial libraries. In response to comments and suggestions by Seminar participants he travelled in the break between Michaelmas and Hilary terms to carry out research at the Gemersko-malohontské Museum at Rimavská Sobota, Slovakia, and at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences' Institute for Musicology in Budapest. In Hilary Term he participated with other Seminar members in a one-day event, 'The Marvellous Art of In-Between', at the Woolf Institute, Cambridge, where he gave a compressed version of his findings. At the Seminar's final conference, he presented a revised version of his initial talk, expanded thanks to further research and discussions with colleagues. The resulting materials will form part of a book-length project in which he intends to study the Jewish-Roma musical encounter in Western Hungary between 1700 and 1900 and the cultural issues raised by the self-presentation of many Jewish musicians, both in the concert hall and in popular music, as creators and performers of so-called 'gypsy music'. Inspired by his colleague Dr Deborah Rooke's presentation on C. G. Lidarti's oratorio Ester, he arranged for the UK premiere of this work with the forces of Hampstead Garden Opera (of which he is Chairman) and the chamber choir Londinium, which was scheduled to take place in London in May 2020. He greatly benefited from the wide variety of topics addressed during the Seminar, especially during the weekly reading sessions, and is very grateful for the advice and support of colleagues and staff at the Centre.

Dr Danielle Drori

Dr Danielle Drori of the Brooklyn Institute for Social Research stayed at the Centre from 19 January to 19 June 2020 and carried out research on Zionism and literary translation at the Leopold Muller Memorial Library and the Oriental Institute Library. She completed a book chapter on translation and assimilation in works by the influential Zionist thinker Ahad Ha'am, and began collecting materials for an article about the first Hebrew translations of Benjamin Disraeli's novels. She presented her work as part of the Seminars in Jewish Studies Series, benefiting from the questions and comments of Centre Fellows who attended the meeting. Professor Martin Goodman, Dr Hallel Baitner and Dr Yael Fisch helped her analyse the frequent allusions to the Septuagint in Hebrew nonfictional works from the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, and Professor Adriana Jacobs provided valuable advice and additional examples from her own research on translation and modern Hebrew literature. While at the Centre, Dr Drori also proofread a forthcoming article about the Arab-Jewish writers Jacqueline Kahanoff and Naim Kattan as 'translated people', discovering information about Kahanoff's reception in Israel in the Kressel Collection. This collection, which offers ample evidence of the centrality of translated literature in Hebrew cultural discourse throughout the twentieth century, allowed her to develop her understanding of relations between translation and the building of a modern Jewish national consciousness. She is grateful for access to this collection as well as to others in Oxford and even more so for the opportunity to converse with scholars affiliated with the Centre, particularly Professor Goodman, Professor Jacobs, Dr Baitner, Dr Fisch and Professor David Rechter. She wishes to thank them, as well as Priscilla Lange and Martine Smith-Huvers, for welcoming her to Oxford.

Professor Walter Zev Feldman

Professor Walter Zev Feldman of New York University Abu Dhabi stayed at the Centre from 24 January to 18 March 2020 and participated as a Polonsky Visiting Fellow in the Oxford Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies – Between Sacred and Profane: Jewish Musical Cultures in Early Modern Europe. He was concurrently a Visiting Fellow at Wolfson College. As an ethnomusicologist, Feldman researches the music both of Ottoman Turkey and of Eastern European Jews.

He presented to the Seminar one paper entitled 'Ottoman Musical Sources as Antecedents for the Ottoman Stock within the Klezmer Musical Fusion',

which dealt with the distant transformations of seventeenth- and earlyeighteenth-century Ottoman Mehter (Janissary) music within the later klezmer khosid genre, and another on 'Demographics, Linguistics and Music: Toward a Definition of the Music of Jews in Eastern Europe', followed by a discussion. He presented part of his research into musical relations between Jews, Christians and Muslims in post-Ottoman Moldova (supported by NYU Abu Dhabi), at the Woolf Institute in Cambridge, in a lecture entitled 'Klezmer Tunes for the Christian Bride: Wedding Table Songs from Moldova'. His paper entitled 'Music, Poetry and Mysticism in the Ottoman Empire: The Mevlevi Ayin Ceremony', presented for the Agha Khan Centre for Islamic Civilizations in London, will form part of his forthcoming book From Rumi to the Whirling Dervishes: Music, Poetry and Mysticism in the Ottoman Empire, supported by the Agha Khan University. He delivered a paper and a dance demonstration entitled 'Gesture, Music and Personality in Ashkenazic Solo Dance', at Yom Limmud: Seminar in Jewish Studies at the Chabad Society, Oxford, which emerged from his ongoing research into speech gesture and Eastern European Jewish dance. For the Seminar's final conference he presented a paper entitled 'Profession and Musical Style of the Klezmer: What We Can Learn from the Gedanken'.

Oxford provided a congenial environment for fruitful discussion, first and foremost with the international team of the Seminar led by Dr Diana Matut, but also with Dr Alexander Knapp of SOAS, London, Dr Jonathan Katz of All Souls College, Dr Reinhard Strohm of the Oxford Faculty of Music and Dr Naftali Loewenthal of University College London.

Dr Enrico Fink

Dr Enrico Fink of the Leo Levi Association for the Study of Jewish Italian Liturgy stayed at the Centre from 14 January to 17 March 2020 and participated in the Oxford Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies – Between Sacred and Profane: Jewish Musical Cultures in Early Modern Europe. His research focused on *piyutim* in the *minhagim* of Italian Jewish communities from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, with particular focus on works by *paytanim* of that era, and on *piyutim* for rituals of kabbalistic origin. He presented his findings in one talk to the Seminar entitled 'Piyutim in Early Modern Italian Liturgies', and another at the concluding conference called '*Reshimu*: Traces of the Passage of Lurianic Kabbalah in Italian Minhagim'. In Siena he gave a talk on, '*Shokhant Bassadeh*: Music from the Jewish Tradition of the Community of Siena in Leo Levi's Recordings', at the conference entitled Dentro e Fuori

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Ghetto: Vita e Cultura Ebraica a Siena in Età Moderna. He also presented Italian traditional melodies for *piyutim*, entitled '*Kehi Kinnor*', in collaboration with Dr Andreas Schmitges at the Centre; gave a Purim concert at the David Slager Chabad Jewish Student Centre, and participated generally in the life of the Centre. He benefited greatly from the resources of the Leopold Muller Memorial and the Bodleian libraries, and for the opportunity for discussions with fellows and colleagues. He wishes to thank Dr Diana Matut in particular for her insights, and Martine Smith-Huvers, Priscilla Lange and Sarah Montagu for their invaluable support.

Dr Yael Fisch

Dr Fisch of the University of Oxford stayed at the Centre from 1 October 2019 to 30 September 2020. She organized an international workshop titled 'Hermeneutic Interventions' on literary theory and the study of ancient texts together with Professor Hindy Najman and Professor Adriana Jacobs, as well as delivered papers in the Oxford New Testament Seminar, and in the University of Edinburgh's Christian Origins Seminar hosted by Dr Matthew Novenson, with a response from Professor Timothy Lim. She also gave a paper in the British Association for Jewish Studies conference that spotlighted emerging talent in Jewish Studies.

An article on 'The Origins of Oral Torah: A New Pauline Perspective' appeared in the *Journal for the Study of Judaism*, and another, entitled "Midrash-Pesher": A Shared Technique of Interpretation in Qumran, Paul and the Tannaim', is forthcoming in *Revue de Qumran*. She finalized another article titled 'Reading Unveiled: The Exposed Face in Ancient Jewish Literature as a Hermeneutical Metaphor'.

She developed a research project on Jewish architectural *ekphrasis* and the description of the Jerusalem Temple in Mishnah Middot in collaboration with Dr Hallel Baitner, the current Kennicott Fellow, and they delivered a joint paper in the Early Biblical Interpretation Seminar at the Centre for the Study of the Bible in the Humanities in Oxford. They began preparing a joint article for publication on Chapter 1 of Mishnah Middot as a case study for the formation of the Mishnah.

She also attended the Seminar on Jewish History and Literature in the Graeco-Roman period, the David Patterson Lectures, the Hebrew Bible / Old Testament Seminar, the Early Biblical Interpretation Seminar, the Ethical Reading Seminar and the New Testament Seminar. She benefited from the intellectual community at the Centre, and is particularly grateful to Professor Judith Olszowy-Schlanger, Professor Martin Goodman and Dr César

Merchán-Hamann for their academic support and intellectual conversation. She is grateful also to the staff of the Leopold Muller Memorial Library and to Martine Smith-Huvers for their work and support.

Professor Judit Frigyesi Niran

Professor Judit Frigyesi Niran of Bar-Ilan University stayed at the Centre from 24 January to 18 March 2020 and participated as a Polonsky Visiting Fellow in the Oxford Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies - Between Sacred and Profane: Jewish Musical Cultures in Early Modern Europe. She has worked since the late 1970s on a project to document the traditional prayer chant of Eastern European Jews, and is the only scholar to have researched the semi-secretly practised chanting in Communist countries after the Second World War. In a first lecture to the Seminar she focused on the aesthetics and learning process of individual prayer chanting, which was followed by a workshop on its musical structure, and a concluding lecture in which she analysed the philosophical implications of the 'sound' of the prayer-based ritual. She also lectured at a study session at the Chabad Jewish Student Centre and at the conference on Jewish, Christian and Muslim encounters held at the Woolf Institute, Cambridge. Her book Writing on Water: The Sounds of Jewish Prayer (CEU Press, 1918) was launched with a screening of her documentary film, followed by a conversation between her and Dr Diana Matut.

She was grateful for the opportunity to work in Oxford libraries and to participate in scholarly seminars and other events, including the Beethoven conference, the Renaissance music seminar convened by Dr Margaret Bent and the lecture series of Professor Judith Olszowy-Schlanger. Her private discussions with scholars were of particular value, principally those with Dr Margaret Bent, Professor Reinhard Strohm, Professor Jonathan Cross and Professor Laura Tunbridge of the Faculty of Music, Oxford, as well as with Dr Alexander Knapp (SOAS, London), Dr Jonathan Katz (All Souls College), Dr Naftali Loewenthal and Dr Helen Beer (University College London) and with scholars of the Centre, among them Professor Judith Olszowy-Schlanger, Professor Martin Goodman and Professor Adriana Jacobs. Dr Diana Matut created a welcoming atmosphere for a diverse group of scholars with whom it was inspiring to work.

Professor Aaron W. Hughes

Professor Aaron W. Hughes of the University of Rochester, New York, stayed at the Centre from 1 October 2019 until 31 July 2020 and finished a book-length manuscript tentatively entitled 'An Anxious Inheritance: Religious Others and

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the Shaping of Muslim Orthodoxy'. Access to the Bodleian Library and the Oriental Institute enabled him to finish his manuscript prior to lockdown in March. He submitted two articles to journals in the field of religious studies, delivered a David Patterson Lecture and presented a paper to the Oxford Seminar in Critical and Decolonial Approaches to Religion, convened by Dr Alexander Henley of Mansfield College and Lauren Morrey, a DPhil student at Lady Margaret Hall. In addition, Professor Hughes was invited to give lectures at Cambridge, Chester, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Liverpool and Manchester universities, as well as at the Aga Khan University. His stay was made all the more enjoyable by the collegiality he encountered among scholars both in Oxford and across the UK. His research was supported by the USA's National Endowment for the Humanities.

Dr Binyamin Katzoff

Dr Binyamin Katzoff of Bar-Ilan University stayed at the Centre from 16 October to 19 December 2019 and worked on his critical edition of the second part of *Tosefta* Nezikin, in collaboration with Professor Adiel Schremer. This edition will be a continuation of Saul Lieberman's edition of the *Tosefta* and will serve as a basis for a critical commentary on the work. His research was enriched by having access to the manuscript collection at the Bodleian Library and by discussions on aspects of producing Hebrew manuscripts in the medieval period with Professor Judith Olszowy-Schlanger. He also completed an article titled 'The Second-Hand Scribe: The Intellectual Environment of the Production of a Unique *Tosefta* Fragment from the Levant', to be published in *Dots, Marginalia and Peritexts in Middle Eastern Cultures*, edited by Sabine Schmidtke and George A. Kiraz.

Dr Katzoff additionally presented a paper, 'The *Tosefta* in the Cairo Geniza and European Bookbindings', at the Seminar on Jewish History and Literature in the Graeco-Roman Period convened by Professor Martin Goodman, as well as delivered a David Patterson Lecture entitled 'The "Eighteen Benedictions": Traditions from Babylonia and the Land of Israel'. He is particularly grateful to Professor Olszowy-Schlanger, Professor Goodman and Dr César Merchán-Hamann for their support and advice, and to Martine Smith-Huvers and Priscilla Lange of the Centre for their administrative help.

Dr Michael Lukin

Dr Michael Lukin of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem stayed at the Centre from 22 October to 8 December 2019 and participated as a Polonsky Visiting Fellow in the Oxford Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies – Between Sacred and Profane: Jewish Musical Cultures in Early Modern Europe. His research focused on the older layers in the folk music of Eastern Yiddish speakers in general and the repertoire of old Yiddish folk ballads in particular. While in Oxford he was able to examine the rare Central European early modern Yiddish printed material containing songs, held in the Bodleian Library's Oppenheim Collection, whose unparalleled collections of printed documentation of texts and tunes of German, French, Polish and Ukrainian folk songs immensely enriched his work. He is also grateful to have had access to the vast scholarship on these topics available at the Weston, Music Faculty and Taylor Institution libraries, as well as to the Centre's library staff and especially to Dr César Merchán-Hamann for their assistance in locating these materials.

Dr Lukin particularly benefited from the opportunity to discuss his work with other members of the group and wishes to thank Dr Diana Matut, Dr Andreas Schmitges, Dr Naomi Cohn Zentner, Dr Alexandre Cerveux, Dr Deborah Rooke and Dr David Conway for their helpful comments. No less important for his research was the chance to participate in other academic activities and resources, such as the David Patterson Lectures, a guided tour of Professor Jeremy Montagu's musical instruments collection, acquaintance with the Oxford Digital Musicology projects, and the TORCH Ancient Music and Theology Conference.

Besides presenting papers to the Seminar and at its concluding conference, Dr Lukin delivered a lecture, 'Why Sing? Virtues of Music according to Early Hasidic Sources', at the David Slager Chabad Jewish Student Centre. The feedback from experts in Yiddish studies and Jewish thought who attended these lectures – Professor Helen Beer, Dr Beruriah Wiegand, Professor Naftali Loewenthal, Rabbi Dr Norman Solomon and others – was helpful and stimulating, and he would like to thank the Centre and the convenors of for making this enriching experience possible.

Dr Piergabriele Mancuso

Dr Piergabriele Mancuso of the Medici Archive Project, Florence, stayed at the Centre from 15 January to 18 March 2020 and participated as a Polonsky Visiting Fellow in the Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies – Between Sacred and Profane: Jewish Musical Cultures in Early Modern Europe. He took part in the weekly sessions of the reading group and in the study group activities, and gave a paper to the Seminar entitled 'The Music Traditions of the Jews in Early Modern Venice'. At the David Slager Chabad Jewish Student Centre he gave the Isaac Meyers Memorial Lecture on a similar topic. His research focused mainly on the role and socio-cultural features of music interactions in early modern Jewish Venice in the light of archival sources, especially Venetian state papers, as well as Hebrew and non-Hebrew primary and secondary sources such as rabbinical responsa (*teshuvot*), Jewish community minutes, Thomas Coryat's 'Coryat's Crudities' and Giulio Morosini's 'Via delle Fede/Derekh Emunah'. He benefited greatly from the resources of the Bodleian Library where he also found materials on Jewish music in eighteenth-century Italy.

Dr Diana Matut

Dr Diana Matut of the University of Halle-Wittenberg stayed at the Centre from 7 September 2019 to 21 March 2020 and was convenor (with Dr Deborah Rooke) of the Oxford Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies – Between Sacred and Profane: Jewish Musical Cultures in Early Modern Europe. Her research focused on Old Yiddish song material from the Oppenheim Collection in the Bodleian Library, which she used for her research on Early Yiddish lamentations and dirges. She also continued to work on her commentated edition of early-modern Yiddish wedding songs.

She delivered a David Patterson Lecture at the Centre and presented her research during the Seminar, at its final conference, and also at University College London's Department for Hebrew and Jewish Studies, at Cambridge's Faculty of Divinity as well as the Woolf Institute, at Limmud, at London's Jewish Community Centre JW3 and at Hampstead Synagogue (with Raoul Wallenberg Lodge B'nai B'rith). She also lectured at the Oxford Chabad Society, and was invited by the author to present Professor Frigyesi Niran's book *Writing on Water: The Sounds of Jewish Prayer* (2018) in the form of an interview at the Centre.

Dr Matut led the weekly sessions of the Seminar and organized several events, among them the Music Research Day at the Woolf Institute in Cambridge entitled 'The Marvellous Art of In Between: Music in Jewish, Christian and Muslim Encounters' (with Dr Esther-Miriam Wagner), the 'Celebration of French-Jewish Music' concert at the Maison Française d'Oxford (with Dr Alexandre Cerveux) and the final Seminar conference. (Several other concerts and events organized for March 2020 had to be cancelled because of the Coronavirus pandemic.)

Dr Ran Ortner

Dr Ran Ortner of Bar-Ilan University stayed at the Centre from 7 October 2019 to 15 March 2020 as a visiting scholar, and continued his postdoctoral project on the location of the military base of the Tenth Fretensis Roman Legion in Jerusalem after 70 CE which is part of wider research to reconstruct the nature and layout of late Roman Jerusalem. It has become clear over the past 130 years that the Tenth Legion's base had a significant influence on the nature and layout of the city, but there is a lack of decisive archaeological proof about its location. Dr Ortner proposed, on the basis of recent archaeological data, a new location on the upper Temple Mount, in a paper entitled 'The Location of the Base of the Legio X Fretensis in Jerusalem after 70 CE' at the Centre's Seminar in Jewish Studies. He greatly benefited from the comments and discussion that this provoked. Other aspects of his work were presented at the Oxford Chabad Society and will be published in association with the Centre.

Dr Ortner participated in the Centre's weekly Seminar on Jewish History and Literature in the Graeco-Roman Period convened by Professor Martin Goodman, who invited him to attend the Ancient World Research Cluster at Wolfson College as well as other college events, including the 'Time and Cost of Construction in the Ancient World' conference, which he found particularly valuable.

Dr Ortner attended other seminars, courses and lectures at the Centre, as well as at the University's Faculty of Classics and the Institute of Archaeology, where he presented a paper entitled 'The Campaign of C. Cestius Gallus and the Roman Twelfth Legion against Jerusalem in AD 66: Historical and Strategic Consequences' in Professor Nicolas Purcell's seminar. He also attended Professor Andrew Wilson's 'The Roman Discussion Forum' at the Institute and delivered a paper, 'My Home is My Castle: Multi-level and Subterranean Urban Fighting during the Jewish Revolt'.

Dr Ortner's research was enriched by the resources of the Oxford Bodleian libraries and faculties, particularly the Sackler Archaeology and Art Library and the Leopold Muller Memorial Library. He wishes to thank Professor Goodman for his generous guidance and supervision, and Professor Judith Olszowy-Schlanger and the faculty, librarians and other staff, especially Priscilla Lange and Martine Smith-Huvers, for their patience and support.

Andreas Schmitges

Andreas Schmitges, Research Associate to the UNESCO Chair of Transcultural Music Studies at the Franz Liszt University of Music in Weimar, stayed at the Centre from 7 September 2019 to 21 March 2020 and participated in the Oxford Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies – Between Sacred and Profane: Jewish Musical Cultures in Early Modern Europe. He delivered a paper entitled 'Dancing in Early Modern Ashkenaz', and gave a presentation on historical ethnochoreology at the final conference. Since his current focus of research is Jewish dance and dance-music traditions in Ashkenaz, the Centre was the ideal place to explore this field, both because of the rich holdings of the Leopold Muller Memorial Library and the manuscripts and early-modern printed material in the Bodleian Library. He was able to expand his research on this topic and its implications in Jewish thought, ethnography, iconography and moral literature, including the Talmud and later rabbinic literature. He would like to thank the staff of the Centre and the other participants in the Seminar for their valuable advice and support.

Dr Daniel Schumann

Dr Daniel Schumann of the University of Oxford stayed at the Centre from 1 October 2019 to 13 March 2020 as a Marie Skłodowska-Curie Fellow, and continued his work on his project entitled 'A New Methodology for Comparative Analysis of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Cognate Literature'. Together with Dr Benjamin Williams, Dr Yael Fisch and Dr Hallel Baiter he ran an introductory workshop on researching rabbinic texts at the Centre with about twenty-five participants from Jewish Studies, Theology and other fields. In his presentation he talked about the place and value of printed editions and the use of online resources for the study of the textual traditions of Mishnah and Tosefta. He delivered a paper at the Seminar on Jewish History and Literature in the Graeco-Roman Period entitled 'The Prohibitive Vow in Hebrew and Greek Discourse of the Late Second Temple Period' as a case study in his Methodology project. By applying Foucault's theory of discourse, he showed that it is possible to compare Jewish texts from the late Second Temple period in Greek and Hebrew with traditions from early rabbinic literature, without presupposing genealogical dependence between these texts. As witnesses of their authors' involvement in this discourse, they reveal how the writers understood its contents and scope.

Dr Yael Sela

Dr Yael Sela of the Open University of Israel stayed at the Centre from 16 January to 18 March 2020 and participated in the Oxford Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies –Between Sacred and Profane: Jewish Musical Cultures in

Early Modern Europe. In her research she made particular use of the Bodleian Library's Oppenheim Collection, with its rich resources for exploring the music and the oral aesthetics of Hebrew and its poetry in Jewish thought, and focused on writings composed in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Italy and eighteenth-century Germany. Her main aim was to understand the place of aesthetic consciousness and the idea of the musical essence of biblical poetry in the Jewish mythology of exile and in notions of redemption and salvation (both collective and individual). Her presentation to the Seminar, entitled 'Music, Exile and the Idea of Redemption in Early Modern Jewish Culture', outlined a topos of music as a foundational myth in exilic Jewish thought and offered a genealogy, tracing it through rabbinic literature, Hebrew narratives, commentaries, exegesis, liturgical traditions and visual representations from as early as fourth-century Midrashic literature to early modern and modern times. She delivered a paper at the Woolf Institute for Christian-Jewish Relations, University of Cambridge, on the role of translating biblical poetry as a strategy for negotiating both inclusion and particularity in eighteenth-century Berlin and as ultimately reflecting transformations in the concept of Jewish exile. At the concluding conference of the Seminar she delivered a paper entitled 'Poetry and Music in Early Modern Jewish Thought: Myth, Intuition, Scepticism', which focused on one volume, probably dating to the late-sixteenth century, from the Oppenheim Collection. The paper suggested that this volume, containing three Hebrew treatises all printed within a few decades in sixteenthcentury Venice (on biblical poetry, the orality of Scripture and its lost musical origins, and on practices of mourning over the destruction of the Temple as experienced through biblical poetry of destruction) reflects the doctrine that seeks salvation of the soul, or eternal felicity, through the transcendental experience of the sublime aesthetics of divine poetry. Being a member of the Seminar group was a privilege and she is grateful to all the participants as well as to the convenors, Dr Diana Matut and Dr Deborah Rooke.

Professor Edwin Seroussi

Professor Edwin Seroussi of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem stayed at the Centre from 29 January to 18 March 2020 and participated in the Oxford Seminar for Advanced Jewish Studies – Between Sacred and Profane: Jewish Musical Cultures in Early Modern Europe. He presented a paper to the Seminar entitled 'A Spark of King David: The Poetry of Rabbi Israel Najara in Europe', focusing on how Najara's poetry and musical models, conceived in the Ottoman sphere, circulated in Europe via Italy and Bohemia.

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He also delivered a David Patterson Lecture entitled 'Hatikvah: An Oriental Piyyut' at the Centre, and the keynote paper entitled 'Judeo-Arabic Musical Spaces from the Middle Ages to the Present' at Yalla: Judeo-Arabic Music Conference and Workshop, organized by the Jewish Music Institute at SOAS in London. At the Department of Music at the University of Cambridge he delivered a seminar on 'Liturgy, an Overlooked Corner of the Moroccan Jewish Musical Map' on behalf of scholars participating in the ERC project Past and Present Musical Encounters across the *Strait of Gibraltar*. He also gave a talk on the poetry of Najara (c. 1550–c. 1625) for the general public at the Chabad Jewish Student Centre in Oxford.

Professor Seroussi devoted most of his time in Oxford to completing his edition of the late poetry and music of Najara, in collaboration with Professor Tova Beeri of the University of Tel Aviv. He benefited from spending many hours in the Rare Books and Manuscripts reading room of the Bodleian Library investigating manuscripts of Najara's poetry as well as manuscripts and rare printed sources associated with Najara's followers.

Professor Suzanne Wijsman

Professor Suzanne Wijsman of the University of Western Australia stayed at the Centre from 16 January to 17 March 2020 and participated as a Polonsky Fellow in the Oxford Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies – Between Sacred and Profane: Jewish Musical Culture in Early Modern Europe. She presented a paper in the final conference entitled 'Envisioning Music in Early Jewish Books: Exposition, Development and Recapitulation' and participated in the weekly reading group of the Seminar, as well as other events at the Centre and elsewhere in Oxford related to the Seminar and her research.

Her main research activity comprised work on her database of musical iconography in medieval manuscripts and expanding this to include early modern Jewish manuscripts and printed books. She undertook an initial survey drawing on the rich resources of the Bodleian and Leopold Muller Memorial libraries, as well as others available through the Oxford University Libraries online system, SOLO, which enabled her to add many new images of musical instruments, music-making and dance to her database, as well as to carry out preliminary analysis of the genealogy of some of these in relation to the corpus of medieval images. Notable trends that emerged are the variations on repeated musical topoi, especially scenes with David and his harp and the *shofar* (horn) being blown. Some are associated with Jewish ritual and customs, while others are creative expressions or visualizations associated with specific texts. Musical

images appear in a variety of textual genres, including illuminations in *haggadot* and *mohel* (circumcision) books by artists of the so-called eighteenth-century Hamburg-Altona school; illustrations in *Sifrei Evronot* (calendrical tables) that were copied and decorated for personal use; Esther scrolls from different regions with illustrations of musicians; and images as text markers for Psalms and for liturgical and other miscellaneous works.

Professor Wijsman also reconsidered the database in order to explore its compatibility with the framework of the Musiconis project metabase (http:// musiconis.huma-num.fr/), which includes fields that encompass interpretive aspects of the iconography and allows all elements to be examined together at the highest hierarchical level in the metabase. She explored the potential for the musical images she had already documented to be added to the Musiconis metabase. This led to discussions about collaborating with both leaders of the Musiconis project and with Dr César Merchán-Hamann, the Centre's librarian and Curator of Hebrew Manuscripts and Judaica at the Bodleian Library, as well as exploring wider collaboration with other Seminar participants. The integration of Jewish musical iconography into this searchable metabase would facilitate comparative study of similar musical motifs that appear in both Jewish and Christian visual cultures.

The stimulating dialogue and interactions with other participants in the Seminar, both in informal social settings and during weekly seminars and reading group sessions, were of tremendous value to Professor Wijsman and significantly broadened her understanding of Jewish music in the early modern era.



Michaelmas Term

The David Patterson Lectures

Thomas Wakefield (1500-75) and the Study of the Hebrew Bible in Tudor England Dr Benjamin Williams (University of Oxford)
The Conceptualization of Music in Hebrew Philosophical Texts Around 1500 Dr Alexandre Cerveux (Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Paris)
Ancient Architectural Descriptions of the Second Temple – History and Ideology Dr Hallel Baitner (University of Oxford)
How Many Benedictions in the 'Eighteen Benedictions'? Traditions of Babylonia and the Land of Israel Dr Binyamin Katzoff (Bar-Ilan

University) Muhammad's Jews: Arabian Judaism in the Seventh Century Professor Aaron Hughes (University of Rochester, New York State)

A Nazi in the Holy Language? On the Translation of Martin Heidegger into Hebrew Dr Daniel M. Herskowitz (Wolfson College, Oxford)

Tehran Children: On the Trail of WWII Refugees in Central Asia and the Middle East Professor Mikhal Dekel (City College of the City University of New York)

With Kind Words Lean Towards Her... Singing for the Bride and Groom in Early Modern Ashkenaz Dr Diana Matut (University of Halle-Wittenberg)

Language Classes

Biblical Hebrew: Beginners and Continuers Dr Stephen L. Herring Modern Hebrew Ulpan: Beginners and Intermediate Esther Yadgar Yiddish Classes: Beginners, Intermediate and Advanced Dr Beruriah Wiegand

Hilary Term

The David Patterson Lectures

The 'No-place' in Contemporary Israeli TV and Film Dr Oded Nir (Queens College, City University New York)

- Negotiating Art, Memory and the Holocaust in Contemporary Poland Dr Roman Nieczyporowski (Gdańsk Academy of Fine Arts)
- William of Auvergne, Bishop of Paris (d. 1249), and the Jews *Professor Lesley Smith (University of Oxford)*
- Black Honey, The Poetic Life of Abraham Sutzkever (dir. Uri Barbash): A Screening and Discussion of the Film. (Supported by the annual Brichto Israeli Arts and Culture Lecture Fund)
- Public Forum: The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls
- The Nooks and Crannies of the Cairo Genizah Professor Gideon Bohak (University of Tel Aviv)
- Hatikvah: An Oriental Piyyut Professor Edwin Seroussi (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)
- [•]I Had Heard You With My Ears[•]: Modern Jews and Christians Listening to Job *Professor Ruth HaCohen (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)* (Lecture cancelled due to illness)

Brichto-Israeli Arts and Culture Series Film Festival: The Hebrews (Convened by Professor Adriana X. Jacobs)

- Director and producer Yair Qedar introduced three films from his celebrated documentary project 'The Hebrews', each followed by a roundtable discussion
- *Leväntine: Jacqueline Kahanoff* (dir. Rafael Balulu) on Egyptian-born writer Jacqueline Kahanoff (1917–79) *Discussion with Professor Adriana X. Jacobs*
- Mori: Shabazi's Riddle (dir. Israela Shaer-Meoded) on Yemenite Jewish poet Shalom Shabazi (1619-c. 1720) Discussion with Professor Yaacov Yadgar and Professor Edwin Seroussi
- Black Honey: The Poetic Life of Abraham Sutzkever (dir. Uri Barbash) on Yiddish poet Avraham Sutzkever (1913–2010) Discussion with Beruriah Wiegand

London Lectures at JW3

The Disraeli Family and the History of the Jews Professor Martin Goodman (University of Oxford)
Why Jews Pray Dr Jeremy Schonfield (University of Oxford)
With Kind Words Lean Towards Her... Singing for the Groom and Bride in Early Modern Ashkenaz Dr Diana Matut (University of Halle-Wittenberg)

Language Classes

Biblical Hebrew: Beginners and Continuers Dr Stephen L. Herring Modern Hebrew Ulpan: Beginners and Intermediate Esther Yadgar Yiddish Classes: Beginners, Intermediate and Advanced Dr Beruriah Wiegand

Journal of Jewish Studies

The *Journal of Jewish Studies* continued its regular and punctual publication during the academic year 2019–20, under the joint editorship of Professor Sacha Stern (University College London) and Professor Alison Salvesen (University of Oxford), Margaret Vermes (Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies) as Executive Editor, Dr Benjamin Williams (Leo Baeck College, London/ University of Oxford) as Book Reviews Editor and Dr Alinda Damsma (University College London) as Assistant Editor.

Volume 70, no. 2 (Autumn 2019) has articles on Roman Judaea (Martin Goodman), the Jerusalem Talmud (Emmanuel Mastey), medieval exegesis (Eran Viezel) and Kabbalah (Jonathan Dauber, Oded Yisraeli), the reception of Maimonides (Amir Mazor), manuscripts in Crimea (Golda Akhiezer), early modern German society (Tal Kogman), and Elizabeth Taylor (Felice Lifshitz).

Volume 71, no. 1 (Spring 2020) has articles on the Jerusalem Talmud (Moshe Simon-Shoshan), medieval manuscripts (Yosef Ofer), Jews in China (Li Dawei and Meng Fanjun), early modern *musar* (Patrick Benjamin Koch) and messianism (Federico dal Bo), Yiddish literature (Claudia Rosenzweig), Anglo-Jewish history (Martin Goodman), and the Danish-Jewish museum (Hilda Nissimi).

Both issues include book reviews of titles ranging from the ancient to the modern world.

The Institute for Polish-Jewish Studies

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The print and online versions of the *Journal* both remain in high demand among our institutional subscribers across all five continents. The Middle East and the Far East display a strong preference for the digital format only. North America and Europe continue to cherish print or maintain interest in subscriptions to both formats.

The *Journal* has developed its copyright guidelines and licences for Gold and Green Open Access as well as Individual Author's Copyright Agreements, in order to comply with recent Open Access regulations while maintaining academic excellence, publication quality and the present financial model. The information is displayed on our website: https://www.jjs-online.net/about-us/ copyrights.



We are delighted to report that a third volume of the Supplement Series, entitled the *People and the Peoples: Syriac Dialogue Poems from Late Antiquity*, by Sebastian P. Brock was released in October 2019. These anonymous dialogue poems reflect the conflict between the early Christian Church and Judaism between the fifth and eighth centuries CE. The volume contains critical editions of the Syriac texts and fully annotated English translations, published together for the first time. More details and a review can be found at https://www.jjs-online. net/supplements/series 3.

Institute for Polish–Jewish Studies

The Institute for Polish–Jewish Studies (IPJS), an associated institute of the Centre, organized six events in 2019–20, although two of them had to be rescheduled because of the Coronavirus crisis.

The annual event cycle started with the second Jewish Roots Workshop, on 22 September 2019, as mentioned in last year's *Annual Report*; it focused on how genealogical research can address the lacunae in family histories caused by the cataclysms of the Second World War and the Holocaust. It also encouraged the ever-growing number of people on the Institute's mailing list to consider joining the full-year course 'History of the Jews in Poland' taught by Dr François Guesnet at the Department of Hebrew and Jewish Studies at University College London. The Institute hosted a screening of the film *Who will Write our History* (USA, 2018) at the Phoenix Cinema in East Finchley, London, on 27 October 2019. The screening was followed by a panel discussion, featuring Antony Polonsky in conversation with François Guesnet, assessing the historical significance of the efforts undertaken by the underground Oyneg Shabes archive in occupied Warsaw.

The Institute invited representatives of diplomatic delegations, Jewish charities and the Jewish community in London and the UK, as well as distinguished friends, to join an evening of celebration at the Athenaeum Club in London on 26 November 2019, honouring Sir Ben Helfgott on the occasion of his knighthood and his ninetieth birthday. Sir Ben's achievements in Polish-Jewish reconciliation and in Holocaust education, and his more than three decades of services as chair of the Institute for Polish-Jewish Studies, were reviewed by Professor Antony Polonsky and Dr François Guesnet. Professor Philippe Sands, QC (University College London Faculty of Laws), celebrated author of East West Street: On the Origins of 'Genocide' and 'Crimes against Humanity', then delivered a lecture entitled 'On Commemoration'. Emphasizing the difficulties in defining genocide, he proposed avoiding attempts to rank human suffering caused by other human beings on a mass scale, but rather to dedicate efforts to help in preventing such suffering. The evening concluded with a moving vote of thanks by Maurice Helfgott, Ben's eldest son, who described his father's love, respect and appreciation of the British way of life and how he did not allow his family to be burdened with feelings of guilt, remorse or fear; on the contrary, he refused to look back at Poles or Germans simply in a negative or accusing way but encouraged people to look forward and treat everyone on the basis of their merits.

A one-day conference entitled 'Jews and Music-Making in the Polish Lands' was held at the Embassy of the Republic of Poland in London on 23 January 2020 to launch volume 32 of *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry*, published for the IPJS and the American Association for Polish–Jewish Studies by the Littman Library of Jewish Civilization in association with Liverpool University Press. The astounding variety of music of all genres and styles produced by musicians of Jewish heritage in Europe since 1750 has hitherto been examined almost entirely in the context of German-speaking Europe or in studies of a group of composers who strongly self-identified as Jews. This multi-disciplinary volume, however, presents the main genres produced by musicians of Jewish origin in Polish lands. Its 500 pages provide a rich coverage of the subject

through a focus on five thematic sections: cantorial and religious music; Jews in popular musical culture in Poland; Jews in the Polish classical music scene; the Holocaust as reflected in Jewish music; and klezmer in Poland today. It does not attempt to define 'Jewish music' as such, but to explore the activities and creativity of 'musicians of the Jewish faith', covering the area of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth and its successor states from 1750 to the present.

After the formal opening by H. E. Arkady Rzegocki, ambassador of the Republic of Poland, and Vivian Wineman and François Guesnet, respectively president and chairman of the Institute for Polish–Jewish Studies, the first session was devoted to a general introduction to the topic and the volume and a discussion of changes in Jewish cantorial practice in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This took the form of an exchange between two of the editors of the volume, Antony Polonsky, chief historian of the Polin Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Warsaw, and Cantor Benjamin Matis, spiritual leader of the Agudath Achim Congregation of Altoona, Pennsylvania. Cantor Matis also performed some examples of cantorial music.

The second session was devoted to the subject of Jews in Polish popular music. Tamara Sztyma (Polin Museum, Warsaw) delivered a paper on 'Popular Music in the Interwar Period: Polish, Jewish, Shared'. Beth Holmgren (Duke University) unfortunately could not attend because of illness, and her paper, 'The Jews in the Band: Anders Army's Special Troupes', was read by François Guesnet. It was one of the most stimulating presentations of the conference, highlighting the paradox that General Anders, in spite of his somewhat prejudiced view of Jews, was eager to recruit Jews for his army's entertainment corps.

The afternoon session was devoted to Yiddish folk-song and klezmer, beginning with a paper by the independent scholar Michael Aylward on 'Gimpel's Theatre, Lemberg: The Sounds of a Popular Yiddish Theatre Preserved on Gramophone Records, 1904–1910', and followed by a paper on 'Klezmer for All Occasions: The Consumption of "Jewish Music" in Contemporary Poland' by Magdalena Waligórska of the University of Bremen.

The day ended with a concert of popular Polish songs from the interwar years, many of them either written or performed by Jews. The singer was Katy Carr, a British recording artist with Polish roots. The audience greatly appreciated Katy's performance, and plans are in hand to produce a CD of these and other similar songs.

The conference was organized with support from the Institute of Jewish Studies, University College London; the Embassy of the Republic of Poland, London; the Polish Cultural Institute, London; and Slipaczek Chartered Financial Planners. Attended by over a hundred people, it was a most stimulating and enjoyable event and highlighted an aspect of Polish life in which people of Catholic, agnostic and Jewish backgrounds cooperated to produce art which still moves audiences today.

The Institute held an event in cooperation with University College London's Department of Hebrew and Jewish Studies on 11 February 2020, at which Kamil Kijek, Assistant Professor at the University of Wrocław, presented new evidence on the events preceding the pogrom in Przytyk in March 1936. In contrast to the existing academic consensus that this and similar events of the period reflected the mobilization of traditional forms of rural Jew-hatred, Kijek argued that the violence was the direct outcome of a targeted mobilization by members of Polish radical right-wing movements, including the National Democratic Party (Endecja), in the countryside. Some of these findings were dismissed by a small group of members of the audience as stereotypical accusations of Poland, though they were unable to provide evidence to support their argument. Other members of the audience produced family correspondence going back to the period and reflecting the sense of panic prevailing in a number of small Jewish communities in Poland in the 1930s.

An event dedicated to the recently published memoir of Agnes Kaposi, *Yellow Star–Red Star*, planned for 12 March 2020 in cooperation with the Wiener Library, as well as a lecture on General Anders planned for 7 May 2020, had to be cancelled because of the Coronavirus crisis. It is hoped to hold these events next academic year.

The Leopold Muller Memorial Library

This was an extraordinary year for the Library due to the Coronavirus pandemic and the associated lockdown which presented us all with unprecedented challenges. Inspired by the Bodleian Libraries' motto to 'Keep Oxford reading', we managed to continue helping our users nonetheless.

In the first part of the year our team, comprising Milena Zeidler, Michael Fischer, Radhika Jones and Dr Simon Ford, and our invigilators Mark Lorenzo and Dr Muireann Leech, continued to offer readers an unchanged service.

With the help of the Bodleian Library staff – particularly Dr Gillian Evison, Keeper of Oriental Collections – we continued to help our readers even after

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the lockdown began. We especially wish to thank Elisabet Almunia, Catriona Cannon, Dr Chris Fletcher, James Legg, Richard Ovenden, Nathalie Schulz, Susan Thomas, Alex Walker and Sarah Wheale for their unfailing help. We also continued to work closely with Professor Judith Olszowy-Schlanger, the Centre's President, whose support was as ever vital to the work of the Library.

In February our Assistant Librarian, Michael Fischer, returned to Germany after being associated with the Library since 2005. For three years he helped catalogue thousands of books and pamphlets, particularly the Library of Leopold Zunz in the Lady Montefiore Rabbinical College collection, and he gave invaluable help during the move from Yarnton to Oxford. He returned to the post of Assistant Librarian in 2016. We and our readers will miss his deep knowledge of the Library's collections, as well as his helpfulness, kindness and expertise. We wish him much luck in his new life.

Notably, during the past year and before the lockdown, we completed consolidating the Library collections. Material on single topics that used to be held in several different collections (with the exception of the Coppenhagen Collection) was gathered in one location, making it much easier to browse through what is available. The task of moving thousands of books to combine collections with minimal disruption was completed quickly thanks to the planning and work of Milena Zeidler, Michael Fischer, Radhika Jones and Mark Lorenzo.

We continued to make room for new acquisitions and for the planned installation of a lift by sending thousands of underused books and pamphlets to the Book Storage Facility in Swindon. Once ingested there, they will all be available for immediate recall via the online catalogue SOLO. Again, the job was accomplished swiftly and at very short notice thanks to the planning and work of Milena Zeidler, Michael Fischer, Radhika Jones and Mark Lorenzo.

During the 2019–2020 academic year we registered 171 new patrons, including 71 undergraduates, 60 postgraduates and 19 faculty, as well as local or visiting researchers. This overall figure, lower than last year's due to the pandemic, brings the total number of readers registered in the Library since the Centre's move to Walton Street to 1414. The number of entries into the Library between August 2019 and February 2020 was similar to the figure for the same period in the year before. Between 1 August 2019 and 16 March 2020 we made 3487 loans, a higher figure than during the same period the previous year. But the overall figure for the 2019–20 academic year was lower than for 2018–19 due to the Library's closure on 17 March 2020. Furthermore, this closure also entailed a diminished number of Reading Room requests – just 751 – of books from the Book Storage Facility in Swindon.



 Zemiros Jisroél : Chants hébraïques : Jewish Hymns : Gesänge des Judentums : Joodsche gezangen. Collected and arranged by S. M. Englander. Amsterdam: Muziek en letteren, [1930].
 Danspopje. Lyrics by Frederik van Monsjou, music by Hans Kauffmann.

2. Danspopje. Lyrics by Frederik van Monsjou, music by Hans Kaujjmann. Amsterdam: N.V. de Nieuwe Muziekhandel, n.d.

Visiting Fellows participating in the Centre's Oxford Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies on 'Between Sacred and Profane – Jewish Musical Cultures in Early Modern Europe', which ran from October to March 2020, made full use of the Library's holdings as well as of the Bodleian's rich store of early modern Jewish music. Particularly important to the Seminar were musical items in the Coppenhagen Collection, including Dutch-Jewish contributions to cabaret and the liturgical repertoire (See figs 1 and 2). Visiting Fellows specializing in these areas emphasized the value of the sheet-music collection, which includes many pieces by musicians who were banned, persecuted or murdered during the Nazi occupation. The Seminar culminated in a conference in mid-March just before lockdown, part of which had to be held online. Those participants who did manage to be in Oxford for the conference made full use of our facilities.

Further related to Jewish history in Holland, we began preparing scans of unique records held in the Coppenhagen Collection on the activities of the Dutch-Jewish Council during the Holocaust for *Yad Vashem*, which has

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requested copies of rare records concerning the Holocaust in the Netherlands, confirming the importance of the Collection and the richness of its holdings.

We revised our social media policy following Bodleian Library guidelines and increased our activity significantly on Facebook, Twitter and our blog. Our Facebook account is used to announce events linked to Jewish Studies and the Bodleian Libraries, while our Twitter account serves mainly to increase awareness of our collections and makes possible for us to gauge public reactions to our activities. Our blog helps us to draw attention to interesting and rare items in our collections at greater length than Twitter does. Responses show that we have notably raised our online profile, and gained ten-fold increase in our overall number of visitors. This achievement is the direct result of Milena Zeidler's planning and work, assisted by Radhika Jones and Michael Fischer. Additionally we are grateful to Howard Lewis for his suggestions.

We also sought to improve the accessibility of our collections this year as part of a larger Bodleian Library Project on Navigation and Wayfinding. Radhika Jones, who spearheaded our participation in this project, used various methods to help our readers navigate the collections more easily. Once we return to normality and to full access to the Library for our users we will use her work to improve our services and access to our collections both onsite and at the Book Storage Facility in Swindon.

Unfortunately the Fifth Hebrew Manuscript Studies Summer Workshop, organized by Professor Judith Olszowy-Schlanger and Dr César Merchán-Hamann at the Bodleian Library, had to be postponed due to the pandemic, with the agreement of the Rothschild Foundation Europe, the workshop's funding body. The programme will be run next summer, circumstances permitting, and in the meantime we are planning a series of online talks about Hebrew manuscripts.

The lockdown in March did not come as a complete surprise to Library staff who had been monitoring the situation since January. As a result, Faculty and students were able to borrow in advance all the materials they needed for the extended closure. Additionally, Scan and Deliver+ went into action during the last week of Hilary Term 2020, allowing readers to request scans they needed urgently. Our three invigilators were furloughed, because they could not work from home. The hours of the remaining staff were adjusted to help cope with the increased work load and to fill the gap left by Michael Fischer's departure.

The full shutdown forced the team to work from home, but surprisingly the amount of work grew rather than diminished during that time. This increase in workload was attributable to our needing to use social media extensively for communication with readers – a difficult thing to maintain given the extreme fluidity of the situation, and the constant changes as University policies kept up with government advice. The overhaul of our social media presence, which we had just completed, proved very useful.

Our staff quickly learned to use Microsoft Teams and became proficient in other software programmes necessary for working at distance. We were in touch daily throughout the lockdown via video-conference, and on the whole the migration to a digital environment went smoothly. Throughout the lockdown Dr Simon Ford ensured checks of the Library site were made regularly.

The first large-scale project achieved by our staff from home was the acquisition of works in Hebrew missing from our shelves, mostly in the fields of Hebrew literature, Jewish philosophy and history, and the history of the Zionist movement and the State of Israel. Further, the lockdown created an opportunity to check our online catalogue against publishers' catalogues and to fill in identified gaps, revealing approximately 1330 Hebrew volumes plus others in English that were needed. Some of the orders of these works, placed by Milena Zeidler, were received by Israel-based booksellers and publishers after they had shut down; nevertheless, the orders were accepted and the volumes will be arriving soon.

Also during the period of home working, we produced and circulated amongst faculty and students lists of just under 2500 Hebrew and Judaica volumes which were made temporarily accessible (and a few permanently) after the closure of libraries prevented access to physical copies. Many of these online volumes were time-sensitive and blocked at the end of June, July or August, although the Hathi Trust continued until the end of September. We also mined E-resources lists to identify 480 necessary acquisitions for the Library in Hebrew and Jewish Studies. All this was made possible by the work of Bodleian librarians tasked with acquiring electronic surrogates for physical books.

Preparations for reopening the Library took most of the summer and involved drafting nine risk-assessment documents covering every aspect of our activities. It also included paperwork, completed mostly by Milena Zeidler, for bringing staff out of furlough and back to onsite work. Preparations including those for PPE and signage were coordinated between the Centre and the Linguistics Department, the other occupiers of the building.

We also helped lecturers prepare for the next academic year by assisting them to digitize reading lists, copyright laws permitting, and by uploading them to the ORLO system. Such digitization of materials will allow for class preparation and teaching to take place online where required.

Cataloguing

Michael Fischer, Milena Zeidler and the rest of the Library's team catalogued 3154 items throughout the year, including 797 new bibliographic records comprising new acquisitions as well as uncatalogued items from loan collections. The University's closure made it impossible to receive fresh acquisitions or to catalogue books that were awaiting processing, so we decided to spend our time photographing as many of our rare printed books as possible. The Librarian continued to prepare an inventory, prior to fully cataloguing the collection, and we completed photographing the section of the Ullendorff Library generously secured for us by the Nicky Oppenheimer Foundation, mostly dealing with Hebrew, Semitics, Biblical Studies and Jewish History and Literature including pamphlets. We produced a total of 1284 bibliographic entries, corresponding to over 2000 volumes and about 4000 offprints, letters and typescripts, catalogued mostly by Michael Fischer and, after his departure, by Dr Simon Ford. The Frankel Pamphlet Collection was also completely catalogued and sent to the Book Storage Facility in Swindon. The Rosenthal Archive, comprising the records of the Oxford booksellers, was also finalized and awaits ingestion there. The newspaper part of the Coppenhagen Collection, and the corresponding inventory, was also scanned in bulk.

Acquisitions

In coordination with other Bodleian libraries, the Library continued to acquire books focusing on the State of Israel, Second Temple Judaism, Modern Hebrew Literature, Rabbinics, Jewish Thought (including Philosophy and Theology), and the Shoah and Jewish History. Over the year we acquired 522 books and periodical issues, again due to Milena Zeidler's work which continued into the lockdown.

With the help of the endowment in memory of Sir Isaiah Berlin the Library acquired works on Jewish thought since antiquity which are listed below on pages 141–2. These works address topics such as modern Jewish theology, medieval Jewish thought, modern Jewish ethics, modern Reform Judaism and its relation to evolution and Zionism, Hasidism, religious Zionism, the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* (the scholarly study of Judaism), and scepticism in Jewish thought and Jewish identity. We also purchased volumes on or by Abraham Ibn Ezra, Maimonides, Joseph Ibn Kaspi, Simone Luzzatto, Shneur Zalman of Liady and Isaac M. Wise.

The Hans and Rita Oppenheimer Fund for books related to the Holocaust and Modern Jewish History allowed us to acquire works that are listed below on page 143. These include works on Antisemitism in Northern Europe, contemporary Antisemitism, Jewish refugees in Italy after the Shoah and their move to Israel, transgenerational views of the Shoah, Jews in Slovakia after the Shoah and their identity, the fate of Polish Jews in the Soviet Union during the Second World War and its aftermath, memoirs of survivors, and the translation of three of the works by Auschwitz survivor Rachmiel Bryks, originally published in Yiddish.



3. Signatures of H. N. Bialik, Zalman Shazar and Solomon Buber from letters in the Kressel Collection.

Making the Kressel Letters Available

As reported last year, a grant from the Rothschild Foundation Europe enabled Professor Glenda Abramson to catalogue over 2600 letters in the Kressel Archive. These were also conserved and rehoused, and a selection of over 700 of them digitized. Previously, several sealed boxes, hidden within the old library's walls since the 1980s, were discovered while moving the Library from Yarnton to Oxford. The boxes turned out to contain an additional selection of around 2000 Kressel letters that have now been unpacked, but which still require sorting, cataloguing, digitizing and conservation. A further generous grant from the Rothschild Foundation Europe will permit Professor Abramson to continue the work of cataloguing in the next academic year, after which we will conserve and rehouse the letters and digitize a selection.

Lewis Family Loans

We received six works on long-term loan from the Lewis Family, which are listed below on page 109. These include the translation into Hebrew of Thomas Aquinas' work of Christian apologetics, the *Summa contra gentiles*, by



4, 5. Aquinas, Thomas. Summa divi Thomae Aquinatis ordinis praedicatorum Contra Gentiles = קיצור מהקדוש תומאס מאקינו מכת הדרשנים נגד הגויים [Ķitsur meha-ķadosh Tom'as me-Aķino mi-ket ha-darshanim neged hagoyim]. Rome: Giacomo Fei, 1657. Title page (left), Introduction (right).

Bishop Giuseppe Maria Ciantes and former members of the Jewish community who were forced to listen to his sermons in the seventeenth century. The translation is part of the proselytizing efforts of the Counter-reformation Church.

One curious item included in the loan is a guide to the geography of the Surinam colony, written by Julius de Aaron Bueno Bibaz, a member of a wellknown Dutch Sephardi family. This guide examines one of the earliest sites for the settlement in the New World of Portuguese Crypto-Jews who had come from the Netherlands and been displaced from the Dutch colony in northeast Brazil after the Portuguese retook it and the Inquisition started to persecute them. The guide complements the holdings of the Dutch-Jewish Coppenhagen Collection.

Three of the other Lewis loans exemplify seventeenth- and eighteenthcentury biblical scholarship. Friedrich Lanckisch's trilingual German-Hebrew-Greek biblical concordance, was used until well into the nineteenth century. Dom Augustin Calmet's Dictionary of the Holy Scriptures, originally composed in French and translated into Latin, was employed all over Europe.





6, 7, 8. Calmet, Augustin. Dictionarium historicum, criticum, chronologicum, geographicum, et literale, Sacrae Scripturae, cum figuris antiquitates Judaicas repraesentantibus. Venice: Sebastiano Coleti, 1766. Volume 1, title page (left), The High Priest (right), Noah's descendants (above).

The Latin translation, published in Venice in 1766, contains illustrations, unlike some other editions. There is also Abbé Claude Fleury's *Short History of the Israelites*, translated from the French.



9. Marochitanus, Samuel. Tractatus Rabby Samuelis, errorem iudeorum indicans. N. p.: n. n., 1538. Title page.

Lastly the loan contains the Latin translation of an anti-Jewish polemic originally composed in Arabic by a twelfth-century convert to Islam, Samau'al ben Judah Ibn Abbās al-Maghribī Marochitanus, and later translated and adapted to a Christian point of view.

The Library is grateful to David Lewis and his family for continuing to lend works that enrich our collections and for enabling us to make them available to our readers.

Donations

On page 141 we record our gratitude to those who have enriched the Library collections this year with gifts of books, all of which were very useful to students, faculty and visiting scholars at the University. We would like to single out the following donations that are of particular importance.

Professor Glenda Abramson again generously donated books and other printed material in the areas of Modern Hebrew drama and literature.

Professor Yuval Dror once more donated books in the fields of Jewish education, Modern Hebrew literature, Israeli history, society and politics.

Dr Jeremy Schonfield continued to donate books on Anglo-Jewish history, Hebrew literature and Jewish liturgy. He also contributed a collection of papers including music and photos on the mezzo-soprano Esther Salaman, as well as material on the Salaman family. These papers join the books authored or owned by Nina Salaman given us a few years ago by heirs of Redcliffe and Nina Salaman, and enrich our Anglo-Jewish holdings.

Julia Rosenthal gave us a selection of volumes on German-Jewish and Anglo-Jewish themes, as well as some of American-Jewish interest.

We are grateful to the *Journal of Jewish Studies* for continuing to donate review copies of works on all areas of Jewish Studies.

We also wish to record our sadness at the passing in March 2020 of George Weisz, who donated to the Library the Weisz Western Sephardi Collection and only last year gave us a complete set of the edition of the Talmud edition printed in Vilna by Rosenkrantz and Schriftsetzer in 1902–1903. His generosity was outstanding and he will be missed.

Books on Long-term Loan from the Lewis Family Interests

- Aquinas, Thomas. Summa divi Thomae Aquinatis ordinis praedicatorum Contra Gentiles = קיצור מהקדוש תומאס מאקינו מכת הדרשנים נגד הגויים [Ķitsur meha-ķadosh Tom'as me-Akino mi-ket ha-darshanim neged ha-goyim]. Translation from Latin into Hebrew by Giuseppe Maria Ciantes of Thomas Aquinas' work of Christian apologetics, the Summa contra gentiles. Rome: Giacomo Fei, 1657.
- Bueno Bibaz, Julius de Aaron. *Beknopte handleiding voor de aardrijkskunde van de kolonie Suriname*. Amsterdam: Schröder, 1879. [Brief guide to the geography of the colony of Surinam]
- Calmet, Augustin. *Dictionarium historicum, criticum, chronologicum, geographicum, et literale, Sacrae Scripturae, cum figuris antiquitates Judaicas repraesentantibus.* Venice: Sebastiano Coleti, 1766. [2 volumes. Latin translation by Gian Domenico Mansi of the original French]
- Fleury, Claude, Abbé. *A Short History of the Israelites. With an Account of their Manners, Customs, Laws, Polity and Religion.* [...] Translated from the French of Abbé Fleury, Author of the Ecclesiastical History, by Ellis Farneworth. London: J. Whiston & B. White and R. Baldwin, 1756.

Lanckisch, Friedrich. *Concordantiae Bibliorum Germanico–Hebraico–Graecae* = Deutsche / Hebräische / und Griechische Concordantz Bibel. [Tri-lingual

biblical concordance] Leipzig and Frankfurt: Johann Heinrich Richter, 1688. Marochitanus, Samuel. *Tractatus Rabby Samuelis, errorem iudeorum indicans*.

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

Courses Taught by Fellows of the Centre

Dr Hallel Baitner

Mishnaic Hebrew (MSt in Classical Hebrew, MPhil in Theology) Numbers 35 and Deuteronomy 19 (MSt in Classical Hebrew)

Dr Miri Freud-Kandel Religion and Religions (BA in Theology) Modern Judaism (BA in Theology) Further Studies in Judaism (BA in Theology) Feminist Approaches to Religions (BA in Theology) Judaism (MSt in Study of Religions) Nature of Religion (MSt in Study of Religions) Emergence of Modern Religious Movements in Judaism (MSt in Jewish Studies)

Professor Martin Goodman

The Formation of Rabbinic Judaism (with Dr Benjamin Williams) (BA in Theology)
Varieties of Judaism, 100 BCE–100 CE (BA in Theology)
Religions in the Greek and Roman World (BA in Classics and Oriental Studies and MPhil in Greek and / or Roman History)
Jewish History, 200 BCE to 70 CE (MSt in Jewish Studies)
Judaism from 200 BCE to 200 CE (MPhil in Judaism and Christianity in the Graeco-Roman World)
Jewish Historiography (MPhil in Judaism and Christianity)

Dr Daniel M. Herskowitz World Religions (BA in Theology) Religion and Religions (BA in Philosophy and Theology) Modern Judaism (MSt in Study of Religions)

Professor Adriana X. Jacobs

Modern Hebrew Literature, 1900 – Present (MSt and MPhil in Jewish Studies) Modern Hebrew Literature (BA in Oriental Studies)

Professor Alison Salvesen
Origen on 1 Samuel 28 (MSt in Bible Interpretation, MPhil in Eastern Christian Studies)
Theodoret of Cyrus, Questions and Answers on Ruth (MSt in Bible Interpretation)
Gregory Thaumatourgos, Paraphrase of Ecclesiastes (MPhil in Eastern Christian Studies)
Cyril of Jerusalem, Catechetical Lectures (MPhil in Eastern Christian Studies)
Targums to Genesis 22 (MPhil in Judaism and Christianity)
Genesis Apocryphon (MPhil in Judaism and Christianity)
1 Maccabees (MPhil in Judaism and Christianity)
New Testament Texts (Greek and Syriac) (MSt in Bible Interpretation)
Septuagint and Peshitta of Proverbs (DPhil in Theology)
Latin, Greek, Hebrew Psalms (MSt in Theology)

Dr John Screnock

Dead Sea Scrolls (with others; MSt in Classical Hebrew) Esther (MSt in Classical Hebrew, MSt and MPhil in Theology) Hebrew Composition (MSt in Classical Hebrew) Phoenician (with Vladimir Olivero) (MSt in Classical Hebrew) Psalms (MSt in Classical Hebrew) Seminar in Textual Criticism (DPhil in Oriental Studies, MSt in Classical Hebrew, MSt and MPhil in Theology) Ugaritic Grammar (with Vladimir Olivero) (MSt in Classical Hebrew)

Dr Benjamin Williams Midrashic Texts (BA in Classics with Oriental Studies, BA in Arabic with Hebrew)

Lectures and Papers by Fellows

Introductory Rabbinic Texts (MSt in Jewish Studies)
Jewish Bible Interpretation: Rabbinic Texts (MPhil in Judaism and Christianity in the Graeco-Roman World)
Mishnaic Texts (BA in Classics with Oriental Studies)
Formation of Rabbinic Judaism (with Professor Martin Goodman) (BA in Theology with Religious Studies)

Professor Yaacov Yadgar

Main Themes in Israeli Society and Politics (MPhil in Modern Middle East Studies, MSt in Jewish Studies, MPhil in Politics)

Lectures and Papers by Fellows of the Centre

Dr Hallel Baitner

'Ancient Architectural Descriptions of the Second Temple – History and Ideology', David Patterson Lecture, Oxford

'Levitical Singers in Rabbinic Sources: Echoes of an Ancient Dispute', Seminar on Jewish History and Literature in the Graeco-Roman Period, Oxford

'The Textual Temple: Mishnah Middot, Context and Methodology', Early Biblical Interpretation Seminar, Oxford; with Dr Yael Fisch (Oriel College, Oxford)

Dr Miri Freud-Kandel

'Faith in Lockdown: Building Blocks to a Contemporary Jewish Theology', Oxford Summer Institute, Oxford
'The Books of Louis Jacobs', Judaism Unbound – Exploring the Legacy of Rabbi Louis Jacobs, JW₃, London

Professor Martin Goodman

'Philo on Extreme Allegorists', Leo Baeck College, London
'Philo on Extreme Allegorists', New Testament and Early Christianity Seminar, University of Durham
'Disraeli's Father', Jewish Historical Society of England, University College London
'Benjamin Disraeli, Isaac D'Israeli and the Jew Bill Debate', Long Nineteenth Century Seminar, Oxford
'King Herod and Rome', Forum, New North London Synagogue

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'The Disraeli Family and the History of the Jews', JW3, London 'The History of Judaism', University of the Third Age, Oxford 'Josephus and Other Jews', Jewish Book Week, London 'The Presentation of the Past in the Mishnah', Early Bible Interpretation

Seminar, Oxford

'Herod's Temple and the Roman Revolution', Oxford Jewish Congregation

Dr Daniel M. Herskowitz

- 'Elitism and Esotericism in the Medieval Thought of Moses Maimonides', Interdisciplinary Graduate Research Seminar in Study of Religions, Oxford
- 'A Nazi in the Holy Language? On the Translation of Martin Heidegger into Hebrew', David Patterson Lecture, Oxford
- 'Karl Barth and Nostra Aetate: New Evidence from the Second Vatican Council', The Center for the Study of Conversion and Inter-Religious Encounters, University of Beer Sheva
- 'Between Barth and Heidegger: Michael Wyschogrod's Biblical Hermeneutics', Conference of the British Association of Jewish Studies, Oxford
- 'Between Barth and Heidegger: Michael Wyschogrod's Biblical Hermeneutics', Conference of the Jewish Association for Jewish Studies, San Diego
- ^eThe Löwith-Blumenburg Secularization Debate and the Jewish Reception of Heidegger', Oxford Summer Institute, Oxford

Professor Adriana X. Jacobs

- 'Strange Cocktail. Translation and the Making of Modern Hebrew Poetry', University of California-Irvine
- 'The Catastrophe of Translation', Mahindra Humanities Center, Rethinking Translation Seminar, Harvard University
- 'Hebrew Poetry and Zombies', Association for Jewish Studies, San Diego
- 'Poetry as Afterlife', Hermeneutic Interventions and Practices of Reading: Between Modernity and Antiquity, Oriel College (Co-organizer)
- 'Extreme Translation', 'Zombie Translation', 'The Catastrophe of Translation', CHCI Global Humanities Institute, Challenges of Translation, Universidad de Chile, Santiago

Professor Judith Olszowy-Schlanger

'VII° corso intensivo di paleografia ebraica', Ravenna, Dipartimento di Beni Culturali, Bologna University College, Oxford

- 'Teaching Hebrew Palaeography', Colloquium Teaching the Codex, Merton
- 'Origins of Hebrew Calligraphy: from Abbasid Baghdad to Fatimid Cairo', Research Seminar of the Khalili Research Centre, Oxford
- 'Scribes des livres, scribes des documents dans la Genizah du Caire', Conference: Appréhender la culture écrite des Anciens: les catégories 'documentaire' et 'littéraire' en papyrologie et leurs limites, Collège de France, Paris
- 'Hebrew Palaeography Workshop', The Hebrew University of Jerusalem
- 'Hebrew Documents for Medieval Anglo-Jewish History', Workshop of the New Gallia-Germania Judaica Workshop: England between 1066 and 1290: New Perspectives for an Anglia Judaica, Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies
- 'Mediaeval Hebraists and their Hebrew Manuscripts', Council of Christians and Jews, Oxford
- 'Literate Business Encounters: Hebrew and Judaeo-Arabic Notes in the Archive of a Tuscan Merchant (ca. 1400)' (with I. Houssaye Michienzi), Research Workshop of the Israel Science Foundation: Literacy and Everyday Culture among Medieval Jews, Christians and Muslims, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem
- "The Hebrew-Latin Manuscripts of the Library of Corpus Christi College", E. A. Lowe Lectures in Palaeography, Corpus Christi College, Oxford, a series of three lectures

Professor Alison Salvesen

'Fear and Loathing in Alexandria? Terms for Disgust in the Septuagint', International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies at the International Society for Study of the Old Testament conference, Aberdeen 'Jerome and the Secrets of Hebrew Learning', Montefiore Lecture on Jewish-

Christian Relations at the James Parkes Centre, University of Southampton

Dr Jeremy Schonfield

'Putting the Matriarchs in the Amidah', Finchley Progressive Synagogue 'Why Jews Pray', JW3, London

'Ibn Gabirol's *Shahar avakeshkha*', Leo Baeck College Lehrhaus 'Ibn Gabirol's *Terem Heyoti*', Leo Baeck College Lehrhaus

Dr John Screnock 'Public Forum: The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls', Oxford

Dr Benjamin Williams

- "In the Clothes of Men": Commenting on Ruth in Sixteenth-century Safed', Conference of the British Association of Jewish Studies, Oxford
- "Some Fanciful Midrash Explanation" Derash on the Te 'amim in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period', Society of Biblical Literature Annual Meeting, San Diego
- 'Thomas Wakefield (1500–75) and the Study of the Hebrew Bible in Tudor England', David Patterson Lecture, Oxford
- "Great Mountains Suspended from Every Single Letter": Thomas Wakefield and his Hebrew Bibles', Leo Baeck College, London
- 'What Did the Rabbis Know About Grammar? Exegesis and Grammatical Gender in Late Antiquity', Seminar on Jewish History and Literature in the Graeco-Roman Period, Oxford

Professor Yaacov Yadgar

'Jewish Tradition in a European Straitjacket: Some Thoughts on the "Nationalization" of Jewish Identity', a joint session of the Reconsidering Early Jewish Nationalist Ideologies Seminar and Critical Approaches to Religion Seminar

Publications by Fellows of the Centre

Dr Miri Freud-Kandel

Review of Meir Persoff, *Closed Doors Open Minds: British Jewry's Secret Disputations*, H-Judaic (October 2019)

Review of Meir Persoff, Closed Doors Open Minds: British Jewry's Secret Disputations, and Hats in the Ring: Choosing Britain's Chief Rabbis from Adler to Sacks, in Journal of Modern Jewish Studies 18:4 (2019) 520–1

Professor Martin Goodman

Josephus's The Jewish War: A Biography. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press (2019)

- 'The Disraeli Family and the History of the Jews', *Journal of Jewish Studies* 71 (2020) 141–60
- 'Josephus, Isaac D'Israeli and a History of the Jews', *Jerusalem and Eretz Israel* 12–13 (2020) 263*–78* (Joshua Schwartz Volume)

Dr Daniel M. Herskowitz

'Between Exclusion and Intersection: Heidegger's Philosophy and Jewish Volkism', *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 65:1 (2020)

'The Husserl-Heidegger Relationship in the Jewish Imagination', *Jewish Quarterly Review* 110:3 (2020) 491–522

⁶Everything is Under Control: Buber's Critique of Heidegger's Magic', International Journal for Philosophy of Religion 86:2 (October 2019) 111–30

'Objections and Opportunities: Karl Barth, the Jews, and Judaism', *Modern Theology* 35:4 (October 2019) 788–93

Professor Adriana X. Jacobs

'Extreme Translation', in Matthew Reynolds (ed.) *Prismatic Translation*. Oxford: Legenda (2020) 156–72

Review of Shimon Adaf, *Aviva-No*, trans. Yael Segalovitz, *Three Percent* (May 2020) Online

⁶On Literary Translation', *In Geveb: A Journal of Jewish Studies* (November 2019) Online.

Professor Judith Olszowy-Schlanger

- 'La Genizah du Vieux-Caire et son apport pour l'histoire', in S.-A. Goldberg (ed.) *Comment s'écrit l'histoire juive*. Paris: Albin Michel (2019) 34–47
- ^cThe Making of the Bologna Scroll: Palaeography and Scribal Traditions', in M. Perani (ed.) *The Ancient Sefer Torah of Bologna. Features and History*. Leiden-Boston: Brill (2019) 107–34
- 'Some Palaeographical Observations on the Torah Scrolls from Medieval Cracow: Binding Fragments from the Jagellonian Library', in A. Lehnardt (ed.) *European Genizah: Newly Discovered Hebrew Fragments in Context*, 'European Genizah Texts and Studies'. Leiden, Boston: Brill (2020) 228–57
- With I. Houssaye Michienzi, 'Echanges marchands et pratiques langagières: la communication entre chrétiens, juifs et convertis à Majorque en 1400'. Cahiers électroniques d'histoire textuelle du LaMOP 10 (2019) 64–88

With E. Abate and D. Proverbio, 'Giovanni Giorgi and Andrea Molza scriptores. Due volti dell'Orientalistica romana', in A. Rita (ed.) *Storia della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, vol. V, La Biblioteca Vaticana dall'occupazione francese all'ultimo Papa re* (1797–1878). Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (2020)

Professor David Rechter

- ⁶The Education of Leon Kellner: A Galician Jew Between East and West', in Francisca Solomon and Ion Lihaciu (eds) *Terra Iudiaca: Literarische, kulturelle und historische Perspektiven auf das Judentum in der Bukowina und in Galizien.* Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre Verlag (2020) 101–22
- With Kateřina Čapková (eds) *Židé nebo Němci? Německy mluvící Židé v poválečné střední Evropě*. Prague: NLN Nakladatelství Lidové noviny (2019)
- With Abigail Green and Juliet Carey (eds) *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* (Special Issue) 'Beyond the Pale: The Country Houses of the Jewish Elite' 18/4 (2019)

Professor Alison Salvesen

'Textual Criticism, Translation Studies, and Symmachus's Version in the Book of Job', *Textus* 29/2 (Horizons in Texual Criticism volume, ed. John Screnock) (2020) 1–21

Dr Jeremy Schonfield

- 'Kaddish for Gaza: Some Liturgical Ground Clearing', *European Judaism* 53:1 (2020) 130–41
- Editor, Sabbath Prayers of the Spanish and Portuguese Sephardi Community, London. London: The Society of Heshaim (2020)

Dr John Screnock

'Reading Esther in the Levantine Literary Tradition', *Biblica* 100 (2019) 321–38

Dr Benjamin Williams

⁶The Pococke Collection', in C. Merchán-Hamann and R. Abrams (eds) *Jewish Treasures from Oxford Libraries*. Bodleian: Oxford (2020) 67–88

Professor Yaacov Yadgar

Israel's Jewish Identity Crisis: State and Politics in the Middle East. Cambridge University Press (2020)

Fellows' Activities and Other News

Dr Hallel Baitner

Dr Baitner, who became Kennicott Fellow in Hebrew Studies this year, carried out research into literary descriptions of the architecture of the Second Temple, comparing rabbinic depictions such as those in Mishnah Middot (which he read in collaboration with Dr Yael Fisch) with parallels from Josephus, Qumran and elsewhere. Others have used literary evidence to reconstruct the architecture of the Herodian Temple, but he explored how religious discourse on the Temple and its worship is reflected in textual material. He delivered one paper entitled 'Ancient Architectural Descriptions of the Second Temple – History and Ideology' as a David Patterson Lecture; another called 'Levitical Singers in Rabbinic Sources: Echoes of an Ancient Dispute' to the Seminar on Jewish History and Literature in the Graeco-Roman Period; and presented 'The Textual Temple: Mishnah Middot, Context and Methodology' to the Early Biblical Interpretation Seminar, Oxford (with Dr Yael Fisch). He also prepared academic papers for publication.

Dr Miri Freud-Kandel

Dr Freud-Kandel continued to teach undergraduate students and different stages of graduate study in both the faculties of Oriental Studies and of Theology and Religion. She also took on various examining roles across both faculties. She published book reviews as well as an edited volume of papers from the inaugural Oxford Summer Institute on Modern and Contemporary Judaism, and assessed a number of articles and book manuscripts for publication. She also submitted the manuscript of her book examining the theology of Louis Jacobs, a long-standing project which is due to be published by the Littman Library of Jewish Civilization. Although she gave some public lectures this year, others had to be postponed due to the Covid–19 pandemic. This also transformed plans for the seventh annual Oxford Summer Institute on Modern and Contemporary Judaism in July 2020. She was involved in convening a Virtual OSI, details of which appear elsewhere in this volume.

Professor Martin Goodman

Professor Goodman taught students over the course of the year at all levels from undergraduate to doctoral. Two of his doctoral students completed their studies in the course of the year. He convened in each term the regular research

seminar on Jewish History and Literature in the Graeco-Roman period (online in Trinity Term) and led the Oxford–Tel Aviv Programme in the Study of the Ancient World, including a workshop for students of both universities held in Oxford in February 2020. He served as Director of Research for the Faculty of Oriental Studies. The Italian edition of his book, *A History of Judaism* (2017), published by Einaudi as *Storia dell'ebraismo* (2019), was awarded the National Cherasco Prize for History for 2020. His talks for the general public included sessions on his most recent book, *Josephus's The Jewish War: A Biography* (2019), and on his discoveries relating to a history of the Jews apparently written by members of the Disraeli family. He began research which will lead to a new biography of Herod the Great.

Dr Daniel M. Herskowitz

Dr Herskowitz taught undergraduate and graduate papers and supervised a Master's thesis. He presented papers in several seminars, workshops and conferences in Oxford and elsewhere. He co-convened, with Professor Anna Sapir Abulafia, the Abrahamic Religions Graduate Seminar on Violence and its Justification, and organized a shared Cambridge-Oxford workshop on modern Jewish thought that was postponed due to Covid–19. He published a number of articles, one of which, 'Between Exclusion and Intersection: Heidegger's Philosophy and Jewish Volkism', was awarded the Leo Baeck Year Book Essay Prize for 2020. Dr Herskowitz's first book, *Heidegger and His Jewish Reception*, was published by Cambridge University Press in October 2020. He is working on a new research project on modern philosophical appropriations of Maimonides.

Professor Adriana X. Jacobs

Professor Jacobs lectured on her research in contemporary Hebrew poetry and translation culture at Harvard University and the University of California-Irvine, events that took place before the global Covid–19 pandemic broke out. Her monograph *Strange Cocktail: Translation and the Making of Modern Hebrew Poetry*, published in August 2018 by University of Michigan Press, was named a 2019 Jordan Schnitzer Book Award Finalist by the Association for Jewish Studies. Reviews have appeared in the *Journal of Jewish Identities*, *Journal of Jewish Studies*, *AJS Review* and *Translation Review*, praising the book for its contribution to translation studies and Modern Hebrew literature scholarship. In the words of Natasha Gordinsky, '[Jacobs's] book offers a fascinating study – which at times reads with the suspense of a detective story – of how translation was crucial to the creation of Modern Hebrew poetry' (*Journal of Jewish Studies*).

In February she co-organized with Dr Miri Freud-Kandel and Professor Yaacov Yadgar a three-day film festival under the aegis of Centre featuring works from the series *The Hebrews*. Director and producer Yair Qedar came to the Centre to introduce these films and participate in post-screening discussions, which also included Professor Yadgar, Professor Edwin Seroussi and Dr Beruriah Wiegand. In November she hosted the US / Israeli poet Peter Cole at Oxford Comparative Criticism and Translation, a translation research hub based at St Anne's College.

Professor Jacobs continued teaching Modern Hebrew literature for the undergraduate degrees in Hebrew and Jewish Studies and Arabic with subsidiary Hebrew. She supervised undergraduate dissertations on Yehuda Amichai's influence on the British poet Ted Hughes and a comparative study of Israeli and Palestinian poetry. As a member of the core faculty of the new MSt in Comparative Literature and Critical Translation, she gave lectures on multilingual poetry, comparative literary theory and translation metaphors. Additionally, she offered a seminar on untranslatability for the MSt in World Literature. This year her graduate course on Modern Hebrew literature attracted students from the MSt and MPhil in Jewish Studies, the MSt in Comparative Literature and Critical Translation and the MPhil in Modern Middle East Studies.

Her translations of Modern Hebrew poetry featured this year on the podcast *Israel in Translation, Poetry International* and *The Ilanot Review.* For her translation of Tahel Frosh's debut collection *Betsa* (Avarice), she was awarded a 2020 National Endowment for the Arts Translation Fellowship. Her translation of *The Truffle Eye* by Vaan Nguyen will appear with Zephyr Press.

Articles on Hebrew translations of Sappho and world literature in Hebrew are currently in press. With Claire Williams she is editing the volume *After Clarice: Reading Lispector's Legacy in the Twenty-First Century*, which is due to appear in 2021 with Legenda Press. In the coming academic year she will co-head the Frankel Institute 'Translating Jewish Cultures' at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. She worked also on a second book project on contemporary poetry of crisis.

Fellows' Activities

Professor Judith Olszowy-Schlanger

This year, Professor Judith Olszowy-Schlanger gave Master's supervisions at Oxford and taught a course in Hebrew Palaeography and Cairo Geniza Studies as Professor of Hebrew Manuscript Studies at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Paris, where she also supervised doctoral students. She taught Hebrew palaeography at intensive workshops in Bologna and Jerusalem, and participated in several colloquia and international conferences in Oxford, Paris and Jerusalem. She was honoured to deliver the E. A. Lowe Lectures in Palaeography at Corpus Christi College, Oxford. This series of three lectures was dedicated to the bilingual Hebrew-Latin manuscripts of the collection of Corpus Christi College and their place in Christian Hebraism in thirteenthcentury England. She continued directing the international project 'Books within Books: Hebrew Fragments in European Libraries'. Since April 2020, she is the Principal Investigator of a new research project 'The History of the Jewish Book in the Islamicate World', carried out in collaboration with Professor Ronny Vollandt of the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) and the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG).

Professor David Rechter

David Rechter was on leave, acting for the University as director of the Open-Oxford-Cambridge Doctoral Training Partnership.

Professor Alison Salvesen

Professor Salvesen was involved in assessing and examining research students: an Oxford doctorate on Septuagint Isaiah, a Transfer of Status on legal interpretation in the Septuagint Pentateuch and two others in Syriac studies, as well as a Confirmation of Status in Islamic Studies. A DPhil student working on demonology in the Gospel of Luke and co-supervised by Professor Salvesen submitted her thesis in Trinity Term. Professor Salvesen co-supervised DPhil dissertations on literary vocabulary in the Old Greek translation of Job, diachrony in the Hebrew of 2 Kings, legal interpretation in the Septuagint Pentateuch, the Septuagint and Hebrew of Proverbs, and rhetoric in 1 Esdras. She also supervised a student for the MSt in Bible Interpretation whose thesis centred on the motif of Elijah's control of rain and its reception in Jewish and Christian sources. She taught and examined papers for the MPhil in Eastern Christian Studies and the MPhil in Judaism and Christianity in the GraecoRoman Period. She acted as mentor for the new appointee to the instructorship in Hebrew for the Faculties of Theology and Religion and Oriental Studies.

In Mansfield College she resumed the role of college advisor to graduate students in Oriental Studies, and continued to act as Tutor in Oriental Studies to the undergraduates reading Arabic and Hebrew / Jewish Studies. In December she was involved in the college admissions cycle as usual, interviewing for Arabic and Hebrew / Jewish Studies. This year's undergraduate open days are not taking place because of the Covid–19 crisis, so she recorded a 'Zoom' talk for prospective applicants.

Professor Salvesen continued as editor of *Journal of Jewish Studies* along with Professor Sacha Stern of University College London. She oversaw the publication of a new issue of the JSS Supplement Series, *The People and the Peoples* by Sebastian Brock. She continues on the editorial board of the journal *Aramaic Studies* and has written a number of peer reviews for the journal.

In August she travelled to Aberdeen to the triannual meeting of the International Society for Study of the Old Testament, mainly to attend the sessions of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, of which she is the current Vice-President. There she presented a paper on words rendering the concept of abomination in the Septuagint and the relevance of social scientific 'disgust' theory. This has been submitted to the volume of conference proceedings. She had an article accepted for the journal *Parole de l'Orient*, 'Imitating the Watchers: Restoring the Angelic Life of Adam in Early Syriac Thought'.

In November she gave the annual Montefiore Lecture on Jewish-Christian Relations at the James Parkes Centre in the University of Southampton, presenting a paper entitled 'Jerome and the Secrets of Hebrew Learning'.

The unexpected combination of lockdown and sabbatical leave in Trinity Term proved invaluable for finishing editing work on the *Oxford Handbook of the Septuagint*, and co-editing the *Israel in Egypt* volume of papers from the Oxford Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies project in 2016 with Sarah Pearce and Miriam Frenkel. Both volumes are now in production with Oxford University Press and Brill respectively. The main focus of her research leave was further work on the monograph on Jacob of Edessa started during leave in 2016–2017.

Owing to Covid-19 restrictions Professor Salvesen was unable to travel to conferences in Tbilisi and Paris to which she had been invited as a keynote speaker, but both have been postponed until 2021.

Dr Jeremy Schonfield

Dr Schonfield continued to work on his survey of the daily liturgy entitled *Why Jews Pray*, to be published by the Littman Library of Jewish Civilization. He delivered a lecture in the London series at JW₃, published a journal article on a liturgical question, and completed editing a bilingual edition of the Sabbath Prayers for the Spanish and Portuguese Sephardi Congregation, London. At Leo Baeck College, London, where he was this year appointed Professor of Liturgy, he taught five courses on liturgical development and interpretation, piyyut and rabbinic texts, supervised and examined an MA dissertation, continued to co-supervise a doctoral thesis and delivered extra-mural lectures. He advised academically on projects offered for publication by the Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, and continued to serve as Contributing Editor to *Jewish Historical Studies: Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England* and edit the Centre's *Annual Report*.

Dr John Screnock

Dr Screnock continued to oversee 'Critical Editions of the Hebrew Bible', an Arts and Humanities Research Council-funded project. As part of that project, he held workshops on Psalms with a team of international collaborators, and organized the public forum 'The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls'. With support from the John Fell Fund and the Leverhulme Trust, he launched two related projects, 'Modelling Textuality in Ancient Hebrew Texts' and 'Modelling Textuality in the Hebrew Bible'. These projects partner with the University of Chicago's 'Critical Editions for Digital Analysis and Research' project to pioneer new methods for engaging ancient Jewish texts and the Hebrew Bible. Dr Screnock also taught and advised for the MSt in Classical Hebrew, and served as coordinator of the MSt in Classical Hebrew during Michaelmas Term. He published in *Biblica*, and continued research on the syntax of Hebrew cardinal numerals and textual criticism of the Psalms.

Dr Benjamin Williams

Dr Williams was appointed James Mew Lecturer in Rabbinic Hebrew at the Faculty of Oriental Studies, holding this post alongside his role as Senior Lecturer in Biblical and Rabbinic Studies at Leo Baeck College. In the course of the year he taught Mishnaic and Midrashic texts at undergraduate and Master's levels. He was appointed visiting Senior Lecturer at King's College London where he also acts as a doctoral supervisor. Dr Williams continued to publish and present research papers on Midrash and its reception in the early modern period. He spoke on the use of Midrashic interpretive techniques to explain the Masorah at the Midrash Section of the Society of Biblical Literature Annual Meeting in San Diego. A project on the knowledge of Hebrew grammatical gender displayed in Midrash and the Babylonian Talmud was the topic of a contribution to the seminar on Jewish History and Literature in the Graeco-Roman Period. Dr Williams' work on two Christian scholars of Hebrew, Thomas Wakefield and Edward Pococke, was the subject of public lectures in Oxford and London, and a chapter on the Pococke collection in the Bodleian Library was published in *Jewish Treasures from Oxford Libraries*.

In Hilary Term Dr Williams organized a collaborative research workshop on rabbinic texts, attended by graduate students and staff in the faculties of Oriental Studies, Theology and Religion, and Classics. At the Centre, Dr Williams continued to serve as Review Editor of the *Journal of Jewish Studies*.

Professor Yaacov Yadgar

Professor Yadgar's new book, *Israel's Jewish Identity Crisis: State and Politics in the Middle East*, dealing with fundamental issues underlying the State of Israel's construction of Jewish politics, was published by Cambridge University Press in early 2020. He offered a new graduate option course, entitled 'Main Themes in Israeli Society and Politics', which was taken by students from faculties including Oriental Studies and Social Sciences. He convened the Seminar in Israel Studies, in which experts from various fields offered a broad view of culture, society, history and politics in Israel. This was open to the public. He served as an academic referee for books and manuscripts submitted to various publishing houses and journals. Several lectures he was scheduled to deliver, as well as an international workshop he convened, have been postponed due to the global health crisis.

Seminars, Conferences and Special Lectures Involving Centre Fellows

Michaelmas Term

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

The Pseudepigrapha in Greek and Egyptian Judaism Professor Martha Himmelfarb (Princeton University)

Levitical Singers in Rabbinic Sources: Echoes of an Ancient Dispute Dr Hallel Baitner (University of Oxford)

The Septuagint in Ezekiel's *Exagoge* Dr Marieke Dhont (University of Cambridge)

The Tosefta in the Cairo Geniza and European Bookbindings Dr Binyamin Katzoff (Bar-Ilan University)

Midrash Torat Cohanim (Sifra) on Intermarriage Dr Laliv Clenman (Leo Baeck College, London)

A Genealogy of Greed: Hesiod's *Theogony* and the Greek Translation of the Books of Proverbs *Vladimir Olivero (Wolfson College, Oxford)*

Oxford Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies: Between Sacred and Profane – Jewish Musical Cultures in Early Modern Europe (Convened by Dr Diana Matut [University of Halle-Wittenberg] and Dr Deborah Rooke [University of Oxford])

Two Tribes: Jews and Roma as Popular Musicians in Central Europe, 1500– 1800 Dr David Conway (University College London)

The Yiddish Art of Lamentation – *Kine un Kloglid* Dr Diana Matut (University of Halle-Wittenberg)

The Old Layers in the Tunes of Yiddish Folk Songs Dr Michael Lukin (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

The Hebrew Oratorio: *Esther* According to Lidarti Dr Deborah Rooke (University of Oxford)

Kol Mekadesh Shevii: Resounding Synagogue and Home in Early Modern Ashkenaz Dr Naomi Cohn Zentner (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem) A Blind Organist and Yohanan Alemanno 'About to Faint': Changes in the Jewish Conception of Hearing Music at the Turn of the Sixteenth Century Dr Alexandre Cerveux (Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Paris) Dancing in Early Modern Ashkenaz Andreas Schmitges (Researcher)

The Fourth Ullendorff Memorial Lecture

Multilingualism in Medieval Egypt: An Exploration of Inclusion and Segregation Dr Esther-Miriam Wagner (University of Cambridge)

Joint Session of the Modern Jewish History Seminar and Long Nineteenth Century Seminar (Convened by Professor Abigail Green, Professor David Rechter, Dr Zoë Waxman, Dr Jaclyn Granick)

Between Tradition and Modernity: Nineteenth-century Baghdadi Jewish Networks Sasha Goldstein-Sabbah (University of Leiden)

Israel Studies Seminar (Convened by Professor Yaacov Yadgar)

A Tale of Sand and Snow: Bar-Lev Line and the Hermon Ski Site as Material Fantasies Dr Moriel Ram (SOAS, University of London)

Fear and Insecurity: Competing Narratives of the Iran-Israel Relationship Dr Jonathan Leslie (SOAS, University of London)

Nocturnal Inequality: Ethnographies of Social Selection and Waiting in Line for Night Clubs in Tel-Aviv Dr Avihu Shoshana (University of Haifa)

Love, Zionism and Melancholy in the Prose of Micha Yosef Berdichevsky Dr Yoav Ronel (Bezalel Academy of Arts and Design, Jerusalem)

Palestinian Multilingualism: A Perfectly Normal Adaptation to Colonialism, Conflict and Late Capitalism Dr Nancy Hawker (The Aga Khan University, London)

Palestinian Arab Citizens of Israel, Equality Struggle Dr Hadeel Abu-Hussein (University of Oxford)

Hilary Term

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

Material Aspects of Reading Psalms: Observations on the Dead Sea Psalms Scroll Dr Anna Krauß (Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies)

- Halakhah in Greek: The Value of Motive in the Septuagint's Laws on Sacrifice and Theft Jelle Verburg (University of Tübingen)
- Rome and the Jews: Genocidal Perspectives Dr Gil Gambash (University of Haifa)

Divine Epithets in Jewish-Hellenistic Literature Dr Antonella Bellantuono (University of Strasbourg)

The King's Man? Nicolaus of Damascus on Herod the Great Dr Kim Czajkowski and Dr Benedikt Eckhardt (University of Edinburgh)

- Josephus on Moses' Constitution in Light of Plutarch's *Lycurgus* Ursula Westwood (Wolfson College)
- The Significance of the Coins of Agrippa II Professor David Jacobson (King's College London)
- The Prohibitive Vow in Greek and Hebrew Discourse Dr Daniel Schumann (University of Oxford)

Oxford-Tel Aviv Programme in the Study of the Ancient World: Text and Object (Convened by Professor Martin Goodman)

- The Diogenes Inscription at Oenoanda Anthony Pavoni (Merton College, Oxford)
- A Comparative Historiography of the Crisis of the Third Century *Adam Dawson (St Peter's College, Oxford)*
- Weights and Measures in the Medieval Middle East Rapela Zaman (St Stephen's College, Oxford)
- Text and Object: The Evidence of Armenian Epigraphy Daniel Gallaher (Balliol College, Oxford)
- Dining in Second Temple Palestine: The Roman Triclinium *Kaitlyn Hawn* (*Wycliffe Hall, Oxford*)
- Text and Image in the Mosaics of the Huqoq Synagogue *Eddie Maza (Jesus College, Oxford)*

Literary Dream Accounts and Real Dream Practice: Examining a Distinction in Ancient Jewish Dreaming Lizzie Stell (Oriel College, Oxford)

- Unmasking Virtue and Vice in the Legatio: Philo's Employment of a Theatrical Paradigm Jordan Cardenas (Keble College, Oxford)
- Text and Image on Late-Antique Sarcophagi Alexis Gorby (St John's College, Oxford)

Oxford Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies: Between Sacred and Profane – Jewish Musical Cultures in Early Modern Europe (Convened by Dr Diana Matut [University of Halle-Wittenberg] and Dr Deborah Rooke [University of Oxford])

- Piyutim in Early Modern Italian Liturgies Dr Enrico Fink (Leo Levi Association for the Study of Jewish Italian Liturgy)
- Music, Exile and the Idea of Redemption in Early Modern Jewish Culture Dr Yael Sela (Open University, Israel)

Seeing the Sounds: Music and Musicians in Jewish Book Art, c. 1500– 1700 Professor Suzanne Wijsman (University of Western Australia)

A Spark of King David: The Musical Poetry of Rabbi Israel Najara in Europe Professor Edwin Seroussi (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

- The Music Traditions of the Jews in Early Modern Venice Dr Piergabriele Mancuso (Medici Archive Project, Florence)
- Ashkenazi Cantors A Transformation of Identity Matthew Austerklein (Congregation Beth El, Ohio)
- Ottoman Musical Sources as Antecedents for the Ottoman Stock within the Klezmer Musical Fusion Professor Walter Zev Feldman (New York University, Abu Dhabi)
- The Development and Disappearance of the Old Practice of East-Ashkenazic Prayer Chant Professor Judit Frigyesi Niran (Bar-Ilan University)

Conference: Between Sacred and Profane – Jewish Musical Cultures in Early Modern Europe (Convened by Dr Diana Matut [University of Halle-Wittenberg] and Dr Deborah Rooke [University of Oxford] in cooperation with the Woolf Institute, University of Cambridge)

Exploring the Musical Treasures of the Geniza

Musical Realia from Medieval Jewish Fustat Dr Alexandre Cerveux (Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Paris)

The Marvellous Art of In-between. Music in Jewish, Christian and Muslim Encounters *Lectures, Performances and Projects*

Between Sacred and Profane Jewish Musical Cultures in Early Modern Europe

Final Conference – Oxford Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies: Between Sacred and Profane – Jewish Musical Cultures in Early Modern Europe (Convened by Dr Diana Matut [University of Halle-Wittenberg] and Dr Deborah Rooke [University of Oxford])

Concert: A Journey Through Ashkenaz. The Travels of Abraham Levie, 1719– 1723. Early Yiddish Music *Ensemble Simkhat Hanefesh* (Cancelled due to the Covid–19 outbreak)

Music in Early Modern Jewish Thought

Isn't Music Beautiful? An Inquiry in the Perspective of Early Modern Jewish Thought Dr Alexandre Cerveux (Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Paris)
Poetry and Music in Early Modern Jewish Thought: Myth, Intuition, Scepticism Dr Yael Sela (Open University, Israel)

Envisioning the Other, Creating the Self

- Envisioning Music in the Iconography of Early Jewish Books: Exposition, Development and Recapitulation *Professor Suzanne Wijsman (University of Western Australia)*
- Jews Nomads, Noisy and Harmonious: The 'Music Libel' in the Age of Exploration *Professor Ruth HaCohen (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)*
- Walls Built of Prayer Sound and Space in the East-European Prayer Chant Professor Judit Frigyesi Niran (Bar-Ilan University

Between Vernacular and Art Music

Profession and Musical Style of the Klezmer Professor Walter Zev Feldman (New York University, Abu Dhabi)

Two Tribes: Jewish and Roma Musicians in Eighteenth-century Hungary Dr David Conway (University College London)

> *The Elusive Art – The (Semi-)Liturgical Sphere During the Early Modern Period*

Reshimu – Traces of the Passage of Lurianic Kabbalah in Italian Minhagim Dr Enrico Fink (Leo Levi Association for the Study of Jewish Italian Liturgy)

- *Teudat Shlomo*: Cantorial Theology and Musical Professionalization in an Eighteenth-century Cantor's Manual *Matt Austerklein (Congregation Beth El, Ohio)*
- Kol Mekadesh Shevii: Resounding Synagogue and Home in Early Modern Ashkenaz Dr Naomi Cohn Zentner (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)
- The Hebrew Oratorio: *Esther* According to Lidarti Dr Deborah Rooke (University of Oxford)
- Some Questions Arising from Christoph Schilling's Four-part Harmonization of Johannes Reuchlin's Early-sixteenth-century Ashkenazi Pentateuchal Chant Transcription Dr Alexander Knapp (SOAS, University of London)

Vernacular Music and Dance

- A Song for Serlina: Secular Poetry and Vocal Performance in Ms. Oxford Canon. Or. 12 Avery Gosfield (Orpheus Institute / Amsterdam School for Cultural Analysis of the University of Amsterdam)
- Yiddish Old Ballad as a Phenomenon of Early Modern Eastern Ashkenaz Dr Michael Lukin (Bar-Ilan University)
- Ethnochoreology in Early Modern Ashkenaz. An Approach Through Iconography, Ethnography, Music and Jewish Thought Andreas Schmitges (Researcher)
- **Concert** A Celebration of French-Jewish Music. Jewish music for choir, soloists and piano with members of the Oxford Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies and guest pianist Rabbi Dr Norman Solomon (in cooperation with Maison Française d'Oxford)

Seminar in Modern Jewish History (Convened by Dr Jaclyn Granick, Professor Abigail Green, Professor David Rechter, Dr Zoë Waxman)

- Harbin Berlin Geneva Shanghai New York. Shaping New Global Spaces Through Jewish Relief Networks During World War II Sarah Hagmann (University of Basel)
- A Blood-Dark Sea? Greek Antisemitism Across the Eastern Mediterranean, 1830–1912 Paris Chronakis (Royal Holloway, University of London)

Israel Studies Seminar (Convened by Professor Yaacov Yadgar)

Iran and Palestine: Past, Present, Future Dr Seyed Ali Alavi (SOAS, University of London)

- Ashkenazi Hegemony in Haredi Israeli Society and Implications for the Future *Heather Munro (University of Durham)*
- Ethnic Segregation in the Haredi Education in Israel: Policies and Practices Dr Lotem Perry-Hazan (University of Haifa)

Palestinian Arab Citizens in Israel, Equality Struggle Dr Hadeel Abu-Hussein (University of Oxford)

The Israeli Diaspora in Berlin: Back to Being Jewish? Professor Larissa Remennick (Bar-Ilan University)

- The Emotional Scripting of Boycotts: The Nazi-Zionist Agreement in Jewish Public Culture During the 1930s Dr Hizky Shoham (Bar-Ilan University)
- On Zionism and Melancholia: An Alternative History *Professor Nitzan Lebovic (Lehigh University)*
- Emptied Lands: A Legal Geography of Bedouin Rights in the Negev Professor Sandy Kedar (University of Haifa)

Reconsidering Early Jewish Nationalist Ideologies

Seminars (Convened by Dr Peter Bergamin [Mansfield College, Oxford] and Professor Yaacov Yadgar)

Jewish Tradition in a European Straitjacket: Some Thoughts on the 'Nationalization' of Jewish Identity Professor Yaacov Yadgar (University of Oxford)

Gershon Shofman: A Hebrew Writer between Cultural and Territorial Zionism Dr Sandra Goldstein (University of Vienna)

Theodor Herzl's 'Heart of Darkness': Africa and Africans in Early Zionist Thought *Professor Derek Penslar (Harvard University)*

Trinity Term

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

The 'Law of the Land' in the Land of the Lagides: The Old Greek Covenant Code and Graeco-Egyptian Law Joel Korytko (St Anne's College, Oxford)
The 'Parting of the Ways' and the (A)Symmetry of Early Jewish-Christian Relations Professor Adele Reinhartz (University of Ottawa)
What Did the Rabbis Know About Grammar? Exegesis and Grammatical Gender in Late Antiquity Dr Benjamin Williams (University of Oxford) The Making of the Theme of Immortality in the Wisdom of Solomon *Professor Ekaterina Matusova (University of Tübingen)*

> Jewish Country Houses at the Modern Jewish History Seminar (Convened by Dr Jaclyn Granick, Professor Abigail Green, Professor David Rechter, Dr Zoë Waxman)

- At Home in Britain? Jewish Country Houses, Collections and National Memory Professor Abigail Green (University of Oxford) and Dr Tom Stammers (University of Durham)
- The Rothschilds of Russia: Gender, Ethnicity and the Political Economy of Intimacy in the Diaries of Zinaida Poliakova *Professor ChaeRan Freeze (Brandeis University)* (Joint meeting with the Long Nineteenth Century Seminar)
- Philanthropy, Flowers and Furlongs The Forgotten Stories of the Sterns at Highdown, Sussex Hamish MacGillivray (Acme Museum Services) on behalf of Highdown Gardens / Worthing Council
- James McAuley on His Book *The House of Fragile Things A History of Jewish Art Collectors in France*, 1870–1945

Modern Jewish Studies Reading Group and Workshop (Convened by Rose Stair [Wolfson College, Oxford])

- Pauline Wengeroff, *Memoirs of a Grandmother: Scenes from the Cultural History of the Jews of Russia in the Nineteenth Century* (1910)
- Shulamit S. Magnus, *Between East and West: Pauline Wengeroff and her Cultural History of the Jews of Russia* (2015)

Barbanus Balint, '*My Sisters, Let God Bless and Protect You*': Gender and Youth in the Jewish Scouts of France during the Holocaust

- Shachar Pinsker, Odessa: Jewish Sages, Luftmenshen, Gangsters, and the Odessit in the Café (2018)
- Sarah Wobick-Segev, German-Jewish Spatial Cultures: Consuming and Refashioning Jewish Belonging in Berlin, 1890–1910 (2010)
- Riv-Ellen Prell, *The Jewish American Princess: Detachable Ethnicity, Gender Ambiguity and Middle-Class Anxiety* (1999)

Alan Dundes, The J. A. P. and the J. A. M. in American Jokelore (1985)

Virtual Oxford Summer Institute on Modern and Contemporary Judaism (in conjunction with the Philip and Muriel Berman Center for Jewish Studies, Lehigh University) (Convened by Dr Jodi Eichler-Levine [Lehigh University], Professor Adam Ferziger [Bar-Ilan University], Dr Miri Freud-Kandel [University of Oxford] and Professor Hartley Lachter [Lehigh University])

Secularism and Faith

The Löwith-Blumenberg Secularization Debate, and the Jewish Reception of Martin Heidegger Dr Daniel M. Herskowitz (University of Oxford)
Faith in Lockdown: Building Blocks to a Contemporary Jewish Theology Dr Miri Freud-Kandel (University of Oxford)

Material and Visual Culture - Past and Present

- Changes in Jerusalem's Jewish Sacred Space: The Sanctification of *Kivrei Tsadikim* in Three of the City's Cemeteries Professor Doron Bar (Schechter Institute of Jewish Studies, Jerusalem)
- Using Technology to Address Diverse Audiences: The Jewish Museum of Lecce During the Covid–19 Pandemic as a Case Study Dr Fabrizio Lelli (University of Salento, Italy)

Ideology and Practice in the First Half of the Twentieth Century

Jewish Religious Practice Among Jews in Hiding or Passing as Non-Jews during the Holocaust Professor Natalia Aleksiun (Touro College)
On the Role of Age in Jungjüdisch Zionist Thought and Visual Culture: Lesser Ury and Martin Buber in Dialogue Rose Stair (University of Oxford)

Gender and Orthodoxy

Negative Spaces in the Triangle of Gender, Religion and New Media: A Case Study of the Ultra-Orthodox Community in Israel Dr Rivka Neriah Ben-Shahar (Sapir Academic College, Sderot)

The Three Pioneers: The First Women to Receive Orthodox Ordination Dr Lindsey Taylor-Guthartz (London School of Jewish Studies)

Seminars, Conferences and Special Lectures

*Bioethics and Covid–*19

Big-Tent Bioethics: Turning to the Rabbinic Tradition for a Better Pluralism Keenan Davis (Emory University)
Rabbinic Responses to Triage: The Case of Covid–19 Professor Alan Jotkowitz (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev)

Mysticism and Hasidism

Fear: The Prominent Emotional Feature of Prohibitions in Kabbalah Dr Leore Sachs-Shmueli (Bar-Ilan University)

- Charismatic Hasidim in Contemporary Habad Professor Naftali Loewenthal (University College London)
- Nostalgia, Canonization and the Messianic Renewal: The Case of the Chabad Hasidic Movement Dr Wojciech Tworek (University of Wrocław)

Israel, Diaspora and Race

- The Impact of the 1967 (Six-Day) War on Diaspora Jewish Life Dr Sara Hirschhorn (Northwestern University, Illinois)
- The African Hebrew Israelites and the Building of Peace with Israel Dr Michael Miller (Friedrich-Alexander-Universität, Erlangen-Nuremberg)



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Isaiah Berlin Fund

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142 Listings

- Ibn 'Ezra, Avraham; Kohen, Yosef, Simon, Uri'el, eds. *Yesod mora ve-sod Torah = Foundation of Reverence and the Secret of the Torah: An Annotated Critical Edition.* Ramat-Gan: Universitat Bar-Ilan, 2018.
- Kahan, Moshe. Ha-Śafah ha-ʻivrit be-re'i hokhmat ha-higayon : mishnato ha-logit-ha-filosofit-ha-balshanit shel Rabi Yosef Kaspi = Hebrew in Light of Logic : Rabbi Joseph ibn Kaspi's Philosophical, Logical and Linguistic Approach. Ramat-Gan: Universitat Bar-Ilan, 2018.
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Hans and Rita Oppenheimer Fund

- Adams, Jonathan, Heß, Cordelia, eds. *Antisemitism in the north: history and state of research*. Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter, 2020.
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