REPORT OF THE
OXFORD CENTRE FOR HEBREW AND JEWISH STUDIES

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2003–2004

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HEBREW AND JEWISH STUDIES

Contents

Preface

PRODUCING a rather fatter annual *Report* than usual has its dangers. Prospective readers may be daunted. Others may look forward to something equally bulky in the following year, and be disappointed. We accept these risks, preferring to present the variety of discussion and research at the Centre as it becomes available.

Contributions from Governors are a rarity, and from royal Governors still more so. The reflections offered by HRH Prince Hassan bin Talal of Jordan on democracy and the Abrahamic faiths are a particular bonus. His text enriches the discussion of contemporary values raised last year by Ilan Peleg's article on problems of Israeli democracy and by Benyamin Neuberger this year on a closely related theme. More distant, and therefore to us less turbulent, domains of scholarship are surveyed by Shlomo Avayou, Alison Salvesen and Brad Sabin Hill. Igal Sarna's semi-fictional excerpt returns us vividly and disquietingly to the world of today as do the poems of Haya Ester Godlevsky.

The Leopold Muller Memorial Library has had an *annus mirabilis*, and our indefatigable librarian, Piet van Boxel, is wearing feathers in his cap and a smile on his face. A donation of £450,000 from the Foyle Foundation enabled the Centre to acquire the Montefiore ('Foyle-Montefiore' henceforth) book- and pamphlet-collection of some 4000 items including many rarities. The significance of the collection — outlined by the librarian on pages 137–9 below — puts it in line of succession to Oxford's (more precisely, the Bodleian Library's) great acquisitions of Hebraica in the sixteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

As if that were not enough unpacking for one year, we welcome in addition the considerable library of the late Rabbi Hugo Gryn, whose heirs have entrusted it to us to ensure a fitting commemoration. Among other achievements, Rabbi Gryn was especially admired by British radio listeners for his lucid and humane contributions to *The Moral Maze*, a panel discussion programme on ethical dilemmas. The programme lost much of its quality after Rabbi Gryn's death in 1996. Interested readers may consult his memoires, *Chasing Shadows*, written together with his daughter Naomi (Viking 2000).

Special events at the Centre during the year included two further Isaiah Berlin Lectures on Middle-East Dialogue. Michael Oren of the Shalem Centre in Jerusalem spoke about the historiography of the Six-Day War of 1967 and its significance for understanding the contemporary Middle East. Yossi Klein Halevi's reflections on the question, 'Can Religion Heal the Wounds of the Middle East?' constituted a fitting sequel to his book-length account (*At the Entrance to the Garden of Eden*) of the search for shared religious experience with Christians and Muslims.

Under a separate heading, Shlomo Ben-Ami, who among other things was Israel's foreign minister during the abortive Oslo peace negotiations, previewed his book on the history of Arab-Israel relations in a series of four lectures during Hilary Term. Professor Ben-Ami was a Visiting Scholar of the Centre throughout the academic year, and in July was appointed a Governor of the Centre.

Conferences held at Yarnton Manor during the summer of 2004 included an EAJS Colloquium (5-8 July) entitled 'Epigonism and the Dynamics of Jewish Culture'; a BAJS Conference (12-14 July — with standing room only) on Midrash, convened by Joanna Weinberg; and finally three days (6-9 September) on the hot Bible topic ('were they or weren't they there?') of Radiocarbon Dating and the Iron Age Archaeology of the Southern Levant, convened by Thomas Levy. Dr Ghazi Bisheh, former Director-General of the Department of Antiquities of the Kingdom of Jordan, read a message of welcome from HRH Prince Hassan who regretted being unable to attend in person.

In addition to Shlomo Ben-Ami (see above) three other new Governors were appointed during the year, two from London and one from Oxford. Stanley Fink, Chief Executive of the MAN Group (the world's largest quoted management company of hedge funds), has, to our great delight, agreed to succeed Sir Richard Greenbury as Chairman of the Governors with effect from December 2004. Meanwhile, he has already put us enormously in his debt by establishing a Fellowship in memory of his paternal grandmother, Rachel Finkelstein. The Fellowship's first holder (with effect from the academic year 2004-5) is Dr David Rechter.

We likewise welcome as Governors Charles Sebag-Montefiore, businessman and bibliophile, who was already a member of the Library

Committee; and Dr David Taylor, University lecturer in Aramaic and Syriac (and Fellow of Wolfson College), who represents the Faculty Board of Oriental Studies.

Among our senior academic staff, Dr Glenda Abramson reached the threshold of retirement and her previous post as Schreiber Fellow in Modern Jewish Studies has now terminated. She has, however, been appointed to a new Fellowship in Hebrew for a pre-retirement term of three years. Ronald Nettler, Fellow in Muslim-Jewish Relations, has officially retired but remains active in various capacities, notably teaching courses for the MSt. Fergus Millar, Camden Professor of Ancient History Emeritus, has this year taught a module for the MSt entitled 'The Diaspora in the Roman Empire: Jews, Pagans and Christians to 450 CE'. He has also been a valued personal focus of academic socializing in the Oriental Institute.

At the other end of the age scale, Jonathan Kirkpatrick, Departmental lecturer *pro tem* in the absence on leave of Martin Goodman, taught Jewish History 200 BCE to 70 CE. Madhavi Nevader, the Centre's new Junior Research Fellow (and Kennicott Hebrew Fellow) made her presence felt not only academically but also musically, being a first-rate cellist and a dynamic organizer of memorable chamber concerts. Finally, Jill Middlemas, Lector in Biblical Hebrew, obtained her doctorate, and our congratulations, in time for New Year 2004.

The Centre also had to record the sad loss of three old friends. A tribute to F. Burton Nelson appears on pages 5–7 of this *Report*. On the more specifically domestic front, in one of the Centre's email Bulletins (No. 21, in mid-2004) Sue Forteath wrote:

> The funeral took place on Monday 28 June of Ron Cox, former minibus driver at the Centre. Between 1989 and his retirement in the autumn of 1996, when the Centre held a reception in his honour, Ronnie ferried hundreds of students and scholars to and from central Oxford. His association with Yarnton Manor dates back to 1940 when after leaving school he was employed as a gardener's boy. He will be remembered with much warmth by the many friends he made during his time with us. We extend our deepest condolences to Ena, his wife of more than fifty years (and herself a onetime member of the domestic staff) and to the rest of the family.

Last but not least, we were unable in our annual *Report* for 2002-3 to salute the memory of Rafael 'Felek' Scharf, who died in September

2003. Felek had only months earlier delivered the Centre's Goldman Lecture on Jewish-Polish relations, a subject on which he was a leading witness and educator (see R. F. Scharf, *Poland, What Have I to Do With Thee*…[Vallentine Mitchell, London, 1997]). His insistence on the need to confront the most painful facts and yet not give in to bitterness or despair was remarkable, because it was anything but facile. Finding it not easy to live up to his own precepts, he was visibly determined to do so. That, surely, is one definition of nobility of soul.

September 2004   PETER OPPENHEIMER
President

In Memoriam
F. BURTON NELSON
1924–2004

F. BURTON NELSON, Senior Associate of the Centre and Research Professor of Theology and Ethics at North Park Theological Seminary in Chicago, passed away on 22 March 2004 aged seventy-nine, after a brief illness. Deeply committed to the study and promotion of Christian social ethics and ecumenism, Nelson was known particularly as a Bonhoeffer scholar and for his work in Jewish-Christian relations and Holocaust studies.

The son of a Swedish-born physician father and a second-generation Swedish-American mother who were medical missionaries of the Evangelical Covenant Church, Burton Nelson was born in Mt Luling, Hupeh, China. The family was forced to evacuate because of war in 1926 and returned to America. Following studies at North Park, Nelson earned degrees at Brown University (AB), Yale Divinity School (BD), and Northwestern University (PhD). Ordained in the Covenant Church in 1949, he served six congregations before joining the faculty at North Park Theological Seminary in 1960. He retired in 1996, but continued as Research Professor and maintained his at times daunting schedule of teaching, lecturing and writing, as well as his involvement in numerous professional and religious organizations. He was teaching two courses at the time of his death.

While studying with H. Richard Niebuhr at Yale, Nelson began focusing his attention on Christian ethics and to develop a growing passion for the life and writings of Dietrich Bonhoeffer, the German theologian and martyr at the hands of the Nazis. Having written his doctoral dissertation on the topic of ecumenism – he had been a pastor in Evanston, Illinois, the site of the second general assembly of the World Council of Churches in 1954 – Nelson was a frequent visitor to the WCC headquarters in Geneva and was recognized for his work in interfaith relations. A founding member of the Annual Scholars' Conference on the Holocaust and the Churches, he was honoured by the conference in 2000 with its Eternal Flame Award. He was a

member of the adjunct faculty for the Holocaust Memorial Foundation of Illinois, a member of the Church Relations Committee of the Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC, and a consultant to many filmed documentaries on Bonhoeffer, including 'Hitler and the Pastor', to be released in 2006 on the centenary of Bonhoeffer's birth.

Among his published writings, those which emerged from his long-time collaboration with his friend and colleague, Geffrey Kelly of LaSalle University, especially earned critical acclaim. These included *A Testament to Freedom: The Essential Writings of Dietrich Bonhoeffer* (1990), and *The Cost of Moral Leadership: The Spirituality of Dietrich Bonhoeffer* (2003). A Festschrift in honour of his seventy-fifth birthday appeared in 1999, entitled *Reflections on Bonhoeffer*, and took the form of a collection of seminal essays by virtually all the leading Bonhoeffer scholars. In addition, Nelson took a special interest in the Bonhoeffer family, by whom he was warmly received. He edited the English-language edition of *The Bonhoeffers: Portrait of a Family*, written by Dietrich's twin sister, Sabine Leibholz-Bonhoeffer.

Burton Nelson first came to the Centre as a Visiting Scholar in 1993

and returned annually for extended periods. He was appointed Senior Associate in 1997. He treasured his time at Yarnton Manor, forging friendships with scholars and writers from around the world, as well as with the staff of the Centre. Besides researching and writing while there, he travelled throughout Britain and Europe, lecturing on Bonhoeffer and the Holocaust. The affection in which he was held for his warmth, humour and devotion to students, friends, colleagues and the oppressed in general, can be guaged by the fact that memorial services were held simultaneously in Chicago, Britain and Germany.

Philip J. Anderson
North Park Theological Seminary, Chicago

Democracy and the Children of Abraham

HRH PRINCE EL HASSAN BIN TALAL

AT THE CLOSE of the twentieth century, it became clear that globalizing forces had led to the creation of a single world civilization composed of many cultures. 'Culture' is still the repository for people's feeling of being a discrete part of a greater whole and the social mechanism which upholds norms as 'inalienably ours'. It is made up of diverse elements, among them customs, traditions and religious beliefs, which respond in distinctive ways to modernity and secular ideals. While I do not claim to represent Arab or Muslim culture, conversation across cultural boundaries is the only means, in the words of Imam Shatibi, to 'enhance the universal and respect differences'. Conversation precedes comprehension; and comprehension precedes consensus.

When I say 'Arab or Muslim culture', I do not mean to imply that my region, the Middle East, is ethnically or religiously homogeneous. Pan-Islamism and pan-Arabism failed to unite Middle Eastern states and peoples in the post-World War I and post-colonial periods owing, in part, to the inability of their advocates to recognize this simple fact. Iraq alone has a population that is Arab, Kurdish, Turkman and Assyrian and that worships the same God according to Christian, Sunni and Shi'i norms. If we are to forget our differences and celebrate our diversity, whether in Iraq or in the other countries of the Middle East, we need political systems that provide each individual with the sense of belonging and being an indispensable part of society.

In discussing beneficial government of the relationships between individuals, religions and society, I would argue from the outset for flexibility of terminology. Currently, the ideal proposed by materially powerful nations is 'secular democracy', but in other contexts or times we might use terms such as 'righteousness', 'Islam', 'popular participation', or 'good governance'. Certainly, we cannot do without clear agreements on principles and desired outcomes; then, through

exchange of experience and ideas, we may conceive of different kinds of institutional models to bring about these outcomes in different cultural contexts.

The free movement and adaptation of ideas is the key to prosperity. Hence, my hope that more institutions like the Parliament of Cultures that was recently formed in Ankara will serve as fora for cross-cultural discussion of the issues preoccupying us today: terrorism, of course, but also finite energy resources, lack of water, environmental degradation and the disease, poverty and migration to which they can lead.

In the absence of inclusive or effective government, the networks that function most efficiently are religious in nature. This is why I believe and have long argued that it is high time to address religion (or ideology) less as an 'add-on' to the issue of democratization than as a crucial determining factor.

The validity of other traditions, religious and otherwise, is central to Muslim identity, since Muslim practice evolved in the context of Judaism and Christianity as acknowledged (if imperfect) revelations. But unlike its two predecessors, whose adherents suffered persecution and martyrdom in hostile environments, Islam resembles post-Enlightenment secular rationalism in that it has almost no history of itself as 'the other (minority) tradition'. For both Islam and the West, until recently, ideological conviction went hand in hand with a reassuring broadening of control over physical territories.[1]

With the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), we rejected moral relativism in principle. I mention the UDHR because it represented the first attempt in the secular tradition to define basic ideal humanitarian principles in a form that might be readily comprehended across different traditions and ideologies. Even its partial success gives rise to hope. It is joined today by numerous subsequent formulations of human rights and by the important Universal Declaration of Human Responsibilities – drafted by Helmut Schmidt and the

[1] Christian thinking developed with a strong awareness of Christians as 'the minority', while Islamic thinkers conceived of Muslims as 'the majority'; it has been argued that neither faith has sure scriptural footing for the reverse position (Christianity as majority, Muslims as minority); see A. Feldtkeller and K. Janbek, 'Toward a Framework for Muslim-Christian Relations', *Studies in InterReligious Dialogue* 7 (1997) 33. However, more immediate geo-politico-religious parallels can perhaps be drawn between the post-Christian industrialized empire and, until the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, the ideal of the Caliphate as material demonstrations of ideological truth value.

Christian thinker, Hans Küng – which is also formulated as a secular document.[2]

But in social traditions which have not, like ex-Christendom, separated Church from State, secularism constitutes a 'religious' position that may or may not seem an acceptable basis on which to build claims for universal truth. Judaism and Islam today thus face comparable questions about their religio-political future, both internally and in relation to other, secularized polities.[3]

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is deficient not in the specifics of its ideology so much as in the perception, by non-secular, non-Western signatories, that they were not encouraged to contribute to its articles from their own principles, rooted in their own specific quality of 'being us' as marked by faith assertion, history, language, symbol, ritual, custom and style.

It was important to create the document quickly and to ratify it at the governmental level – and that was done. But if it has become, *de facto*, a step in a process rather than an end in itself, then there may now be necessary stages – involving arguments, protests and alternative, examples, analogies and time to think – toward genuine comprehension of the document, willingness to implement it and a sense of responsibility toward contributing to and enriching it.

Should every citizen of a signatory nation be required to read and understand the Declaration, or even sign it on reaching the age of majority? Should such declarations contain the provision that their contents be taught to every child as part of the educational process in signatory nations? Do the populations of each signatory nation realize that a binding commitment is being made (at least in principle) that affects not only them, but their descendants in perpetuity? Can there be religious commitment to a secular document?

The UDHR aside, the tension between secular and religious claims to 'own' universality is problematic in itself. Western 'fundamental secularists' who insist that the only acceptable political system involves limiting religion's influence to the private sphere do not recognize

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[2] In Hans Küng and Helmut Schmidt (eds) *A Global Ethic and Global Responsibilities: Two Declarations* (London: SCM Press, 1998) 12-42 (even).

[3] In the context of Judaism, see, for example, Ilan Peleg, 'Israel between Democratic Universalism and Particularist Judaism: Challenging a Sacred Formula', *Report of the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies. 2002-2002* (2003) 5-20.

their secularist model as a local particularity. The roots of Western democracy lie in different seventeenth- and eighteenth-century movements of political and religious dissent that were Protestant and Puritan in nature. These movements 'had their eventual fruits both in the English form of democracy, which retained political structural links with the Anglican Church, and in the American expression, which embraced radical separation between Church and state'.[4] The anticlericalism of the French Revolution reminds us that such transitions could be bloody, while the case of Italy shows that they could also be very slow in coming.

This separation of Church and State has a parallel in the Islamic world, but at a much earlier date. According to Ira Lapidus, thirteenth-century Baghdad was the scene of a confrontation between Muslim theologians and the Abbasid Caliphate in which the latter was finally forced to content itself with 'the administrative and executive interests of Islam while the scholars and Sufis [mystics] defined Islamic beliefs'.[5] And although the principle of separation did not lead to democracy in the Arab world at that time – the Mongol occupation of Baghdad ended the Abbasid Caliphate shortly after – its establishment at the insistence of Muslim theologians clearly indicates that Islam does not favour despotism or theocracy. Indeed, the absence of a priestly class in Islam means that theocracy, in the strict sense, is an impossibility. Even if the definition of theocracy is relaxed, only a few Muslim countries can provide examples of Muslim theologians even holding office, both historically and in the present day.

Western secularists at their most rigid lay claim to the sole truth as monopolistically as any theologian ever did. Consequently, many practising Jews, Christians and Muslims feel alienated from the discourse and decision-making process in secular democratic societies. Expressing this sentiment in the context of his own community, the Catholic theologian, Alan Race, writes: 'The Christian voice in public debate struggles to receive a hearing'.[6] He reiterates Richard Neuhaus' argument that religious communities are 'vehicles of cultural values' and

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[4] Alan Race, 'Taking Democracy into a Global Ethic: The Christian Next Step', in Alan Race and Ingrid Shafer (eds) *Religions in Dialogue: From Theocracy to Democracy* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002) 74.

[5] Ira Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

[6] Race (see n. 4) 75.

that their exclusion from the '"naked public square" at the heart of secularized democracy will leave it without 'moral seriousness and ethical direction'. Worse still, 'the vacuum will be filled by the agent left in control ... the state', which is less concerned with informed ethical debate than the pursuit of its material interests.

Failure to distinguish between principles and goals, on the one hand, and the means of implementation, on the other, has led to 'with us or against us' formulations or, alternatively, a moral spectrum with so many shades of grey that it becomes impossible to evaluate anything on moral grounds. Too great a dichotomy between theory and praxis has its own pitfalls – the inability to meet individual and social objectives.

It is questionable whether a religious state can ever address human rights and democracy separately, for religious formulations of the one necessarily involve the other. Muslim codes, like those of the other Abrahamic faiths, are phrased using a combination of negative and positive injunctions according to which the implementation of the (human) rights of each person corresponds with the capacity and responsibility of all others to participate in the community.

As I have said many times, what is striking about recent efforts to improve the human condition is how often it is described as work *against* this or that perceived departure from democratic society conceived as a 'natural' ideal: hence, the wars against Semiticophobia, Islamophobia and other xenophobias, against terrorism, against human rights abuses. The secular model of maintaining democracy is founded on 'correction of error'. But, at the same time, human rights and humanitarian norms are formulated as concessions from a historical law of war which seems to assume that the best that we can do is to ameliorate the horrors that people will, according to their flawed human nature, always commit against one another. A positive 'law of peace' is relegated to the religious domain which, in Western terms, has been categorically eliminated from the state system of governing social behaviour.

Overt religious education as we practise it, though it may be deeply flawed in particular instances, does have the merit of inculcating a sense of individual responsibility for upholding certain universal principles. The faith traditions have, at various times and in various places, formulated the fundamental principle of democracy as some version of

the Golden Rule amounting, in all cases, to an injunction to *imagine* oneself as the 'other' in order to judge the ethical acceptability of one's actions. From this one can derive principles of charity, compassion, humility, justice, equality and so forth.

The deficiency of the Golden Rule is that its universalism encounters particularisms (and often, today, cultural differences) in the uniqueness of each individual. Your neighbour may not wish you to love him as you love yourself in some respect or may even fail to understand what you are doing. This has led to reformulations such as 'Treat others as you *know they would wish you* to treat them'. This, of course, implicitly requires you to understand and accept the ways in which your neighbour differs from you and this, in turn, requires the exchange of valid information.

In Judaic thought, in harmony with the principle of exceptionalism suggested by the status of a Chosen People, Maimonides undercut the 'particularist universality' of Mosaic law with his explanation of a seven-point Noachide code that guaranteed the possibility of righteousness to all peoples. Many orthodox Christian theologians struggled with the fate of the righteous non-Christian; hence Limbo, among other more or less satisfactory solutions, before Christian society decided on non-religious yardsticks of rightness and wrongness. In Islam, acknowledgment of acceptable difference is not uncomplicated, but it is explicit. Authoritative examples, such as the Prophet's formulation of the Medina Charter, offer instances of the practical implementation of the principle. They are supported by Qur'anic verses on the variety of God's creation and assertions that all who are righteous can expect a reward.

> ... Of all fruits He created two mates. He causes the night to cover the day. In all these there are signs to people who contemplate. In the earth there are adjacent tracts of land, and gardens of grapes, plants, and palm trees: both twins and non-twins, all of which are irrigated with one and the same water, yet we differentiate between them in taste. Truly, in this there are signs for people who realize (13 [al-Ra'd]: 3-4).

> Had your Lord willed, all people on earth would have believed [in Islam]. Can you force people to be believers? No soul shall believe save with God's will. And He inflicts punishment on those who do not realize. (10 [Yunus]: 99-100)

… Say, 'Oh people, the truth has come to you from your Lord. He who [chooses] guidance, that would be to his own benefit; and he who goes astray does so to his own loss. I am not appointed to be in charge of you.' Follow what is inspired to you and be patient until God judges. He is the best of judges (10 [Yunus]: 108-9).

… Say 'Oh you unbelievers! I do not worship what you do, nor do you worship what I do. Neither shall I ever worship what you do, nor indeed shall you worship what I do. You have your own religion, and I have my own!' (109 [al-Kafirun]: 1-6).

In Islam, reactions to the UDHR and Western formulations of democratic principles have tended to concentrate on exceptions, determined on the basis of the seniority of Muslim principle. Thus, an Islamic version of the UDHR adapts the document point by point with amendments to some sections and notes of those instances in which agreement is possible only if the provision does not contradict *shari'a* or Islamic law.[7] An earlier Muslim commentator more emphatically (and, it must be said, chauvinistically) indicated areas where he felt that it was indisputable that the UDHR contradicted *shari'a*.[8] By contrast, Riffat Hassan derives a list of human rights from authoritative Islamic sources that overlaps with the UDHR, but does not entirely coincide with it.[9]

Since there is no central authorizing body for correct Muslim principle, valid interpretations differ widely. Traditional Islam recognizes degrees of right and wrong action for a Muslim, ranging from 'required', through 'recommended', 'permitted' and 'frowned upon', to 'forbidden'. However, most Muslim countries have adopted civil codes from ex-colonial countries, such as Britain and France, and retain *shari'a* solely to govern issues of personal status (marriage,

[7] For example, 'Subject to the Law, every individual in the community (*Ummah*) is entitled to assume public office'; section XIa of *Universal Islamic Declaration of Human Rights* (London: Islamic Council, 1981) 10.

[8] For example, on Article 16 (rights in marriage), Sultanhussein Tabandeh wrote that the right to start divorce proceedings is confined to men: 'The reason is that women are touchy and hasty, volatile and imprudent …. Men, on the other hand, are generally more sagacious and level-headed and not prone to rush into an action so final as divorce'; *A Muslim Commentary on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, tr. F. J. Goulding (London: F. T. Goulding and Co., 1970) 39.

[9] R. Hassan, 'Rights of Women within Islamic Communities', in J. Witte Jr. and Johan D. van der Vyver (eds) *Religious Human Rights in Global Perspective: Religious Perspectives* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1996) 361–86.

divorce and inheritance) among the Muslim community. A precedent for such borrowings existed in the former Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire and in Turkey itself, for the Ottomans had not restricted themselves to *shari'a*, but had also created laws based on pre-Islamic tribal practices and, much later, developments in Europe.

Conservative Islamists argue that political sovereignty is derived from God and is indivisible and universal, leaving little room for human autonomy save for the degree to which the laws of the ruler (and, therefore, God) are obeyed. This conception is seen as being incompatible with a democratic system in which sovereignty is based on the concept of equality, with the common man (or woman) awarded the franchise and a voice in choosing a government and making laws. However, when this theoretical construct of divine sovereignty is translated into reality, it soon becomes apparent that it is a formula for tyranny, for divine sovereignty must be delegated to some human beings – but only to an élite. Needless to say, this sort of rationale is not unique to Islam: it sustained the Davidic kingdom of the ancient Israelites and, until quite recently, the divine right of Christian monarchs in Europe. Ironically, the strongest proponents of this view of Islam in the West today are scholars and thinkers in the Orientalist tradition.

By contrast, moderate Muslims point to the early Islamic period to indicate not only that 'some notion of democracy was present from the outset but that this notion has been perceived as something positive all along'. Khalid Duran avoids anachronism by describing this tendency as 'crypto-democracy',[10] in order to emphasize its implicit nature. Going beyond sociological theories about tribal egalitarianism, he argues that integrity – or, more precisely, 'righteousness' – is generally recognized as the essential criterion for political leadership among Muslims.

Because he had named no successor, the death of the Prophet Muhammad posed something of a dilemma for the early Muslims, with support ultimately coalescing around three different positions. One was dynastic and argued that the Prophet's successor should be 'Ali, his nephew and Fatima's husband, and their offspring after him. The second view, upheld by the Sunni majority, gave precedence to

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[10] Khalid Duran, 'How Democratic is Islam?' in Race and Shafer (see n. 4) 111-20.

the Arabs and, especially, to the Prophet's tribe. But the third view 'rejected all tribal or ethnic restrictions and insisted that the only criterion for the caliph should be righteousness'. Duran points out that although the second view prevailed at the time, research conducted in 1976 indicated that most Sunni Muslims thought that their group had been the one to argue in favour of righteousness alone. Moreover, the majority of them also expressed the view that 'Islam and democracy were not only reconcilable, but that Islam was politically not properly expressed except through democracy'.

The Qur'an enjoins Muslims to: 'Obey God, and obey the Conveyer of the Message (of God) and those from among you who have been entrusted with authority by you (4 [Al-Nisa']:59)'. This verse is interpreted by moderate Muslims as indicating that the choice of a political leadership ought to lie in the hands of the community, which is the source of political legitimacy. In the opinion of Fathi Osman, the phrase, 'those from among you who have been entrusted with authority by you', is reminiscent of the American democratic formula supporting 'government of the people, by the people and for the people'.[11] The last element of this formula, 'for the people', reminds us that, once chosen, new rulers still had to be confirmed through some form of public acclamation (*bay'a*). Osman describes this acclamation as a 'binding contract' between ruled and ruler, with the former recognizing the latter's authority in return for his pledge to uphold *shari'a* and to govern justly. Even then the ruler's power was not absolute, for he was subject, in some matters, to the authority of a chief justice.

The ruler was also bound by the principle of consultation (*shura*). The word '*shura*' appears only twice in the Qur'an, which leads some scholars to caution against giving it undue importance. Yet, it is one of the few political principles explicitly given in the Qur'an and, on one of the two occasions that it is mentioned, it is the Prophet Muhammad who is being addressed: 'Take counsel with them in all matters of common concern: then, when you have made a decision, place your trust in God (2 [Al-Baqara]:233)'.

History records a number of instances when the Prophet and his companions heeded this command. Before the battle of Uhud (AH

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[11] Fathi Osman, 'Democracy and the Concept of Shura' (ibid) 85-97.

3/AD 625), for example, the Prophet consulted with his companions for advice on whether to meet the large, advancing Meccan force in the field or to defend Medina from within the city's walls. When the majority of his advisors chose the first option, he reluctantly acquiesced. Similarly, while on his deathbed, one of the Prophet's early successors, Caliph 'Umar, appointed a committee to consult with the people before deciding, by majority, which of six candidates would succeed him. Examples such as these have led some scholars to contend that *shura* is obligatory if believers are faced with the necessity of making a decision in the absence of a specific divine revelation to guide them. In many of these cases, the decision of the majority was binding; the ruler did not consult with advisors and then refuse to take their advice.

Like the other two Abrahamic religions, Judaism and Christianity, Islam possess texts and traditions favouring the idea that legitimate government requires the consent of the majority, as well as the basic political rights that this entails: freedom to assemble, to dissent and to form political parties. Perhaps more importantly, one of the most basic premises of all three faiths is the idea that each of us – man, woman and child – has a capacity for choice in moral matters; if we did not possess the power of choice, and if we do not exercise it, morality becomes meaningless.

Non-Muslims can play an active role in Islamic government and have done so throughout history; several current Muslim governments include Christian or Jewish representatives and some also provide a fixed number of seats for ethnic minorities and women in order to ensure representation. However, at present, governments in the Muslim Middle East are feeling immense pressure coming from their own citizens. People are no longer content that a few liberal-minded autocracies have instituted half-hearted reforms that are often reversed once their hopes and expectations are raised. Yet although reform is now up for discussion in the wider region, current American pressure for reform – which is unfortunately often assumed to reflect American interests rather than those of Western Asia – may ironically have the opposite effect by stifling people's enthusiasm for initiatives before they can be born.

Earlier this year, I testified at a Senate hearing on the United States' Greater Middle East initiative. One of the members of the committee,

Senator Lugar, suggested the establishment of a twenty-first-century trust for the region (which I hope will include non-Arab states). Such a trust might be managed along Islamic financial lines, which would indicate cultural sensitivity and affinity. But would such an initiative represent a partnership or merely more patronage? To paraphrase Senator Lugar, if we are going to win the war on terrorism, we must give economic and diplomatic capacities the same high strategic priority that we give military capabilities. There are no shortcuts to victory.

The question is not whether the United States and the G8 can 'fix' the Middle East. The real question is whether we in the Islamic world can redeploy our intellectual resources in partnership with them so that the front lines between East and West are transformed into a meeting ground for security, cooperation and prosperity. How may we move from principles to instruments and mechanisms?

In a recent conference on Islam and Elections that was held in the Jordanian capital, participants from various parts of the world – including the Arab world, Indonesia and north and central Africa – concluded that there is no incompatibility between Islam and a system of electoral democracy: democratization is simply a matter of political will. Yet, we must also remember that we cannot import democracy wholesale like some consumer product. Democracy, as Cherif Bassiouni has argued, can be seen as process, conditionality and also end result; it is a concept and a set of mechanisms that are continuously reconceptualized and adapted to suit different times, places and circumstances. And perhaps we should keep in mind, as well, Ilan Peleg's notion of democracy 'not as a dichotomy (in the sense that a polity either has it or not), but as a continuum, meaning that the question is rather how much democracy a polity has'.[12]

Promoting 'Muslim democracy' means, first of all, promoting the voices of Muslim thinkers and communicators, on order to get the conversation started. However, it also means involving ordinary people, for they must create their own democracies in their own states in true democratic fashion. If not, the inauthenticity of the process and results will quickly become painfully clear to all involved. Moreover, we must elevate the moral stature of the Muslim holy cities *above* political machinations. I hope that American Jewish thinkers would

[12] Peleg (see n. 3) 12.

speak, owing to their own cultural affinity, with Israeli Jews about the same principle. In the Christian context, I was grateful to His Holiness Pope John Paul II when he sent an envoy to the United States before the war on Iraq to say that war could be waged for any number of reasons but never in the name of God. This is a principle which we surely all cherish.

Muslims must also take account of our own different sects, our various cultures, our many political systems (from North Africa to Indonesia) and the minority status of Muslims in the diaspora who are living under non-Muslim rule. However, the four schools of Sunni Islam, the numerous sects of Shi'i Islam and the Sufi traditions are not communicating. Meanwhile, there is no inherent and authoritative hierarchy to communicate with the majority Sunni *umma* at large. If we recall the Qur'anic verse on how mankind was created as tribes and peoples in order for us to come to know one other, we might also recall the following in an inclusive, *universalist* context:

> Let a group emerge from amongst you which calls for that which is good, orders whatever is right, and prohibits whatever is wrong. Such persons are the ones who are successful (3 [Al-'Imran]: 104).

> Call people to your Lord's path with wise and tactful preaching, and argue with them in the better way. Your Lord knows better who strays from his Path, and who are guided to it (16 [Al-Nahl]: 125).

> Tell My servants to use good speech in their parlance, because Satan arouses animosity between them (17 [Al-Isra']: 53).

Of course, power-seekers with an eye for political expediency can always direct attention away from those sacred texts and readings which are best suited to developing a common purpose and to inclusionism. There are still thinkers devoted to the tradition of the common good, as Shimon Shamir notes in his study on acceptance of the 'other'.[13] But, lately, the political struggle to win credibility among frightened populations by appropriating religious status and terminology has led instead to an emphasis on literalism with respect to the most difficult texts in our various traditions – texts that specify the conditions under which it is acceptable to use force or violence. These

[13] Shimon Shamir, 'Acceptance of the Other: Liberal Interpretations of Islam and Judaism in Egypt and Israel', *Journal of Jewish Studies* 53 (2002) 201-22.

are the texts we need to control not by attempts to suppress them – as though we had learned nothing from the fall of the Berlin Wall – but through honest discussion across cultural boundaries as well as within them.

The children of Abraham do not learn enough about their own heterodoxies, yet awareness and acceptance are the keys to a functional democracy. Stories of the creation of the world and of the virtuous sufferer (Job) were written in cuneiform long before they became part of the Middle Eastern monotheistic canon. In the history of the Silk Road, the Syriac word for 'merchant' was the same as that for 'missionary'. The Silk Road brought Manichaeism to St Augustine; it gives us images of Jesus ascending to heaven in a crescent-shaped boat and of a Nestorian Christian saint preaching cross-legged in Buddhist-style robes. What does such a history attest to if not the human need for meaning, inclusion and diversity in each individual's life?

My call is for a Middle East Citizens' Assembly (MECA) or a politically-nonaligned citizens' movement for peace aimed at starting a grassroots conversation as a democratizing activity – one fully in harmony with Muslim tradition and, in my view, called for in the Qur'an.

The Literature of the Judeo-Muslim Dönme[1]

SHLOMO AVAYOU

THE DÖNME, a tiny offshoot of the Jewish Sabbatean movement, has, despite its small size, left its mark on Hebrew and Aramaic literature. Shabbetai Zevi was born in 1626, declared himself messiah in 1648, met Sultan Mehmet IV (1648–87) in 1666, 'the year of the redemption', and soon after converted with about 200 families to Islam. Thereafter, Aziz Mehmet Efendi, as he was known from then on, was expelled to Albania in 1673, where he died in 1676. Another 300 families followed him into Islam in Thessalonica in 1683. A few descendants of these people, referred to in Turkey as Dönme, meaning 'converts', still survive, a little-known case of Judeo-Muslim syncretism, rejected by traditional Judaism and marginalized by orthodox Islam. This article will examine some of their writings, represented by a group of seven extremely rare manuscripts. The fact that so few texts are known may be because others were destroyed to avoid detection by those who regarded members of the sect as 'immoral heretics'.

Shabbetai's followers believed less in the sociopolitical *ge'ullah*, 'redemption', promised by rabbinic Judaism, than in a mystic salvation taking place within the divinity itself. According to this new system of belief, Shabbetai Zevi was himself elevated to a part of God and included in the *telat qishre meheimanuta*, approximating to a 'Holy Trinity'. His transformation inaugurated the replacement of *Torah di Ber'iah*, 'Torah of Creation' (i.e. the present Torah), with *Torah de Atsilut*, 'the Torah of Emanation', and the abolition of Jewish precepts including sexual and other taboos. The final redemption will come on his second coming, or *parussia*. Among the precedents or possible influences on the Dönme are the thirteenth-century *Zohar* from Spain and sixteenth-century Lurianic mysticism from Ottoman Palestine.

Particularly promiment in the writings of the sect is Shabbetai's 'prophet' and principal theologian Nathan of Gaza (*d.* 1680) who,

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[1] This is a version of a David Patterson Seminar delivered on 12 May 2004.

unlike many, sought to justify Sabbatai's conversion, even though he did not follow him into Islam. A later supporter who likewise remained Jewish was Abraham Miguel Cardozo (*d.* 1760), a crypto-Jew from Spain described by Dönme writers as an intimate friend of Shabbetai and who wrote about the 'privilege' of living with a double religious identity.

Dönme worship was led by singers known as *paytanim*, who in some cases also composed the hymns they recited. These were performed probably in ways similar to the song and dance of Sufis, who meet in buildings known as Tekkes. They wrote mainly in Ladino (Judeo-Spanish), employed among the Dönme as a sacred language, and partly in Ottoman Turkish, both languages being laced with Hebrew and Aramaic, the source of much of their mystical terminology. The literature of this tiny sect paradoxically constitutes the largest body of Jewish mystic verse to survive. One such poet and singer in Ladino and Turkish was Rabbi Judah Levi Tovah (*d. c.* 1780), who was also a commentator, teacher and preacher and probably had messianic pretensions of his own. His followers included Hiyya Albo, who co-wrote some of Tovah's hymns, and Shlomo Zihri or Zahri (*d. c.* 1800).

These poets and others wrote large numbers of liturgical hymns for events in the Shabbetean calendar. Most of these occasions were identifiably Jewish, such as *Yom Kippur*, *Rosh Hashanah* and *Pessah*. But the fast commemorating the fall of the temples of Jerusalem, *Tisha be'Av*, became a feast, as did those on the tenth of *Tevet* and the seventeenth of *Tammuz*. New commemorative dates were also introduced, including the messianic *Hag ha-Keves*, 'festival of the lamb', which resembled the Turkish *Kurban Bayrami*, and the *Purim de-Adonenu*, commemorating Shabbetai's struggle with the Dragon at the Sea. Shabbetai's *Mevlut*, 'birthday', had much in common with the Muslim *Mevlut en-Nabi* and may have reflected the influence of the heterodox Islamic cult of Ali Ibn Abu Talib. The surviving writings in general show no trace of the influence of the Muslim *Qur'an*, *Hadith* or *Shari'a* literatures, but have strong links with those of Sufi orders such as the *Mevlevi* and *Bektashi*. From these they adopted not only styles of life and worship, including breathing exercises and ecstatic practices, but philosophical and literary interests.

The main concentration of Dönme in Thessalonica was estimated in 1904 to number 10,000, but these were expelled from Greece in 1924

and moved to Turkey together with the Greek Muslim population. Prior to the 1914–18 War they comprised three main groups. The Izmirlis (Kapancilar) were founded by close followers of the Messiah, were reorganized in around 1720, lost their archive in a fire in 1917 and assimilated to the general population following the expulsion to Turkey. The second, the Jacobcilar, who traced their origins to the 1683 conversion under the leadership of Jacob Philosoph or Qerido (*d. c.* 1699), separated from the Izmirlis in 1700–16 and similarly disintegrated following the exile from Greece. The third group, the Karakashlar (Honyozos), ideologically more extreme than the others, was led by revolutionary figures such as Baruh-Ya Russo (*fl. c.* 1750) who advocated sexual freedoms bordering on anarchy. This still survives as a distinct group, its members referring to themselves in Hebrew as *Ma'minim*, 'believers', and maintaining communal posts such as *Rosh Kahal*, 'head of the community', *Haham*, 'sage' or 'rabbi', *Darshan*, 'preacher', *Paytan*, 'poet', and *Bet Din*, 'religious court'. Their Istanbul cemetery is at Bülbül Dere, a name meaning 'Gorge of the Nightingale', which is rich in Shabbetean symbolism.

The Manuscripts

The present writer is involved in a joint project with Dr Avraham Elqayam, Director of the Dr Shlomo Moussaieff Center for Kabbalah Research, at Bar-Ilan University, to publish transliterations and translations into Hebrew of a group of seven manuscripts, two in prose and the remainder in poetry. The works were written phonetically in Hebrew in a cursive Sephardi hand. The details are as follows:

1. A commentary by Rabbi Judah Levi Tovah on *Parashat Bereshit* (Genesis 1:1–6:8), translated and transcribed by Shlomo Avayou, but so far unpublished.

2. A commentary by Rabbi Judah Levi Tovah on *Parashat Lekh Lekha* (Genesis 12:1–17:27), published by Professor Rivka Shats Uffenheimer.

3. MS Ben Zevi 2270, 'Athias A', published by Moses Athias in his book *Shirot ve-Tishbahot shel ha-Shabta'im*.

4. MS Ben Zevi 2271, 'Athias B', transliterated and translated by Moshe Athias, but still unpublished.

5. MS Ben Zevi 2272, containing 180 hymns transliterated and translated by Shlomo Avayou, but still unpublished. This is probably the oldest manuscript of the group.

6. MS Ben Zevi 2273, currently being transliterated and translated by Shlomo Avayou.

7. MS Harvard Univ. No. 80, transliterated and translated by Shlomo Avayou, but still unpublished.

These contain roughly 1500 different poems, many of which appear in more than one manuscript.

Prose Writings

Relatively little prose has survived, but some generalizations are possible. Besides traditional Sephardi rabbinic reading-techniques, Judah Levi Tovah made intensive use of *gematria* (interpretations based on the numerical value of Hebrew letters), as well as calculations of dates and speculations concerning Dönme messianic theology.

The commentary cites the original Hebrew text of the Bible and was written in normative fluent Ladino, with some additional Hebrew and Turkish words. This produces, for example, a description of Shabbetai Zevi as *Tsadik temel del mundo* ('the righteous man [in Hebrew] who is foundation [in Turkish] of the world [in Ladino]'. Knowledge of the Ladino language and some Jewish terminology survived at least until the Ottoman modernization of around 1850.

Poetry

The poetic corpus is too rich to summarize here, but a few samples will help give an impression of its scope. *Meliselda, la Ija del Emperante*, is a well-known medieval Spanish *romanza* about 'Meliselda the Daughter of the Emperor', written in elevated Castilian-sounding Ladino. This text was chanted by Shabbetai Zevi and his followers to celebrate the erotic unity of the Messiah with *Malkhut* (a female emanation of God).

Melizelda, Melizelda,	Meliselda, Meliselda
La ija del Emperante	Daughter of the emperor
Ke veniya delos banyos	Coming from the bath
Delos banyos de lavarse	In which she bathed herself
Ansi traiya du puerpo [!]	Graceful is her body
Komo roza en rozale	Like a rose on its bough
La su frente reluzyente	Full of light is her forehead
Espada dulse kortare	A sweet sword that cuts
La kara alva klara	Her cheek – morning rose
Komo leche i la sangre	A mixture of blood and milk
La su sejika narkada	Her eyebrow curved
Komo el arkol de [?] tirante	Like a warrior's bow
La [!] sus ojos son pretikas [!]	Her dark black eyes
Parese fino zabache	Just like pure ebony
La su nariz perfilada	Her delicate nose
Pendolikas [!] de notare	Like a notary's pencil
La [!] sus besos koloradas [!]	Her crimson kisses
Parece fino korale	Like pure coral
La su boka agudika	And her tiny mouth
Kon un pinyon latapare [!]	As small as a pine kernel
La su barva redondika	Her round chin
Mansanikas de jugare	Like one of the tiny apples
La tavla de los sus pechos	And her chest between her breasts
Ados o atres jugare [!]	Fit for playing 'one-or-three'

Less well known is *The Love of the Nightingale for the Rose Bud*, written by Rabbi Judah Levi Tovah in pure Ottoman Turkish. The use of this language marks out Dönme poets from Sephardi ones, who generally wrote the language only poorly. This apparently homosexual love song describes the fatal attraction of the mystic (the nightingale) for unfathomable mystical secrets (the rosebud). Like most hymns, this is in the form of an oriental *gazzel*, a genre used by Muslim Sufis.

Ruhin Gül Koncayi bani [?] fihadir
Sözün bülbül gibi ruha nidadir
Onun için canim sana fedadir
          Aşkina düstüm, senin, hey, nivcivan
          Senin için eylerim, hey, fican

Ah ederim maha cimalin göreyim
Gok yüzünde maha nicin ereyim?
Bir canim var – sana feda edeyim [?]
          Aşkina...

Sana oldum bende aşik öfkendi?
Gözden brakma beni gelsendi
Feryad eder bülbül bende gülsende
          Aşkina...

Your spirit is a Rosebud, its heart
Your voice like the Nightingale evokes the spirit
That is why I sacrifice myself for you
          Ensnared in your love, I am yours, oh, bold young man
          Of you I speak, oh pain!

I sigh when I behold the moon's beauty
Upon the skies, why cannot I reach the moon?
One soul I have and I sacrifice it to you
          Ensnared...

I am yours, my beloved, are you angry with me?
Do not take your eyes off me, do not burn me, come to me!
Help, since you are the Rose – I, the Nightingale, crave for you
          Ensnared...

[MS 2272, hymn no.] 34

The third example, the anonymous *Shabbetai Zevi Before the Sultan*, is in the form of a *copla* or *compla*, a less elevated Spanish genre than the *romanza*, written in simple Ladino for the benefit of the unlearned, but with occasional Hebrew words. It describes in idealized Dönme terms the meeting between Shabbetai Zevi and the   Turkish Sultan.

Hahamim van ayrando detras del muestro Goel
    Sha'z malkenu, kela Shekhina es el i por bien
    Es por bien de Yisrael i por bien

Shishim ribon [!] de Juderiyya, todos ivan detras del
    Sha'z malkenu…

Tanto hue su fama buena keen oyidos del Rey
    Sha'z malkenu…

I el Rey deskelo supo – mandara a trayer
    Sha'z malkenu…

Alantrada dela puerta Shekhina pozo enel
    Sha'z malkenu…

Alantrada del palasio – el Rey se alevanto ael
    S h a 'z malkenu…

Kito toka de su kavesa, I el su samur tanbien [!]
    Sha'z malkenu…

Izo alifi, el dyo kapidcis vayan konel
    Sha'z malkenu…

I izyera un konbiti – lo mandaron atrayer
    Sha'z malkenu…

Le izyeron poka kuenta I poka estima del Rey
    Sha'z malkenu…

De entonses asta agora, trabajado por Yisrael
    Sha'z malkenu…

Presto veyamos su kara ila Shekhina konel
    Sha'z malkenu…

Se kontenta [!] almas pretas [?] I todos ke kreyen enel
    Sha'z malkenu…

Todos digamos auna: Shabbetai Zevi es Goel!
    Sha'z malkenu…

27

Admiring sages followed our Saviour
>> Sha'z [Shabbetai Zevi] our king, who is the Shekhinah, for
>> good
>> It is for Israel's good, for good

Six hundred thousand Jews, all of them following him
>> Sha'z. . .

His fame was so sublime that the king heard of him
>> Sha'z. . .

As soon as the king heard he summoned him
>> Sha'z. . .

Entering the gate — the Shekhinah rested on him
>> Sha'z. . .

Entering the palace — the king rose to his feet
>> Sha'z. . .

Taking off his turban, his fur-edged gown too
>> Sha'z. . .

He bestowed on him [the title of] Khalif, and appointed gate-keepers
>> as company
>> Sha'z. . .

He made a feast and sent for him
>> Sha'z. . .

Respected and beloved almost as the king
>> Sha'z. . .

From then until now he toils for Israel
>> Sha'z. . .

Very soon we shall behold his face, accompanied by the Shekhinah
>> Sha'z. . .

Oppressed souls will rejoice, all those who in him believe
>> Sha'z. . .

Let us acclaim all in unison: Shabbetai Zevi is the Redeemer
>> Sha'z. . .

A final example, *Shabbetai Zevi, the Celestial Lion*, is again anonymous, like most Dönme poems, and is devoted to a subject typical of many in this corpus: the glory of Shabbetai Zevi. The third verse contains a narrative gap in which the reader is left to insert the name of the kind of *Torah*, 'teaching', to be internalized.

> *Seyamos aparejados akantar*
> > *De noche I diya non estajar*
> *La grandeza del Dio Santo rekontar*
> > *De noche I diya non estajar*

> *Bet Amikdash de oro alto abashar*
> > *Ael mundo por entero adovar*
> *Maldad enel mundo no adeshar*
> > *Ael mundo por entero adovar*

> *Torat entrava en los [!] entranyas*
> > *Ke konoskan kada uno Adonay*
> *Keno kede enel mundo estranyar*
> > *Ke konoskan kada uno Adonay*

> *Ya es ora kemos venga el Goel*
> > *Shabbetai Zevi 'Arye de Bey Ilay'*
> *La su luz muncha grande es konel*
> > *Shabbetai Zevi 'Arye de Bey Ilay'*

Let us all be prepared
> Night and day without delay
To tell and recount the glory of God
> Night and day without delay

To bring down from above the golden temple
> The whole world to redeem
To allow no evil upon the earth
> The whole world to redeem

His teachings will be absorbed deep within
> And everyone will know the Lord
No strangeness will remain on earth
> And everyone will know the Lord

> It is time, we deserve the coming of the saviour
>> Shabbetai Zevi, lion of the sublime abode
> His plenitude of light be with him
>> Shabbetai Zevi, lion of the sublime abode

The attempt to press Ladino and Turkish syntax into Arabic classical metric patterns, complete with end-rhymes, produced some occasionally unfortunate effects. But music and rhythm took precedence over lyrical meaning, much as they often do in Western opera, and these oddities were tolerated. Other deviations from normative Ladino, such as the failure to distinguish between feminine and masculine, passive and active, and even singular and plural, may be attributed to the influence of the Turkish normally spoken by Dönme. Some archaicisms may derive from older Ladino translations of Hebrew texts in use among followers of the sect. An example of this is the use of the term *tonga* for 'shirt' (probably derived from *tunica*) instead of the familiar *kamiza*.

Poetic genres are derived mainly from the Sufi heritage and others from the Sephardi world. The Dönme made extensive use of the Sufi *gazzel* genre, originally of Pakistani-Persian origin, the last stanza of which contains information about the poet. Much of the little we know about Judah Levi Tovah and other Dönme *paytanim* is derived from the last stanzas of their *gazzels*. Besides poems entirely in Ladino and others in Turkish, based on the secular songs known as *sharkilar*, some are mixed, being partly in Ladino and partly in Turkish. The Dönme liturgy is consequently poised between the Sephardi and the Turkish-Muslim Sunni, or even heterodox Shi'a, traditions. Many of the prayers follow Jewish models and resemble *piyyutim*, poetical inserts into statutory prose prayers, including hymns in praise of Shabbetai. Some are free translations of prose texts and were clearly designed for recital rather than to be chanted.

The literary output of the Dönme, having for centuries suffered from efforts to keep it secret, later succumbed to the social disruption and breakdown caused by the expulsion from Greece. The anti-religious movement in Turkey produced further losses of material. There are also fewer Dönme, for they, like Ladino speakers in general, are fast disappearing as a result of assimilation. Almost no-one now even recognizes the alphabet in which their ancestors wrote.

The present group of manuscripts offers a unique opportunity to

hear the voice of Shabbetai Zevi's followers and may enable us to learn more about messianic groups in general. Besides the importance of these texts for Jewish studies, they contain material of relevance both to Hispanic and to Turkish studies, because they preserve writings which have survived nowhere else.

Education and Liberal Democracy in Israel: Constraints and Dilemmas*

BENYAMIN NEUBERGER

THE LINK BETWEEN education and politics was explicitly recognized in Ancient Greece. Aristotle considered education to be vital to the stability of political regimes, arguing that even the best laws cannot be effective if citizens are not educated in the spirit of government. If the laws are democratic, education must be in a democratic spirit, if they are oligarchic, in an oligarchic spirit. For Rousseau and Tolstoy, on the other hand, the 'noble savage' and the 'common people' are by nature good, harmonious and peace loving, but have been corrupted by Western civilization. With this, twenty-first-century fundamentalists of all breeds would agree.

Empirical studies tell a different story, however. According to Lipset, the political culture of manual labourers is authoritarian, even in a deeply rooted democracy like the USA.[1] We now know that the spread of democratic values depends on literacy, education and 'civilization'. Rousseau's 'noble savage' is far from noble and mainly savage.

Education of the wider public is a necessary, but not a sufficient, condition for a stable democracy. Even more important is the creation of a democratic consensus in the 'political stratum', consisting of the elites in government, political parties, bureaucracy, media, security establishment, religion and culture. In the 1920s and 1930s the democratic 'political stratum' in Great Britain and the US protected democracy, while the largely anti-democratic elites in Italy and Germany tipped the scales in favour of fascist totalitarianism. The real dangers to democracy are not the 'street thugs', but anti-democratic intellectuals, students, generals, priests and businessmen who easily mobilize the anti-democratic potential of the masses in times of crisis, as could be seen in Italy, Germany, Russia and China and in Iran in the late 1970s. In short, no democracy can survive without a leading democratic elite.

* This is a version of a David Patterson Seminar presented on 28 January 2004.
[1] S. M. Lipset, *Political Man – The Social Bases of Politics*. New York: Doubleday, 1960.

The fate of democracies in societies where deep cleavages are apparent depends on the ability of the elites to cooperate, compromise, establish coalitions and project moderation. It is precisely because of this capacity that Belgium, Holland and Switzerland are stable democracies; and due to its lack that democracy collapsed in the 1960s and 1970s in Lebanon, Cyprus and Ulster. The dissensus of elites led to the collapse of democracy in Austria between the two world wars, and elite cooperation to its stabilization after the Second World War.[2]

The role of the educational system in a democracy is to 'teach' coexistence, tolerance, cooperation, compromise and the capacity for at least some rational choice. In this way democratic education creates a 'democratic personality'. Democracy is built not only on constitutions, laws and institutions, but depends on a political culture of social trust, moderation and participation, and thus to a large extent on democratic socialization, both at home and in school.[3]

Democratic Education in Israel: Empirical Findings

Since the mid-1970s research in Israel has shown a high level of non-democratic and even anti-democratic attitudes among Israeli high-school students. Similar findings in the adult population indicate that this is not a 'childhood disorder' that evaporates with age, but that it could pose a threat to Israel's young and fragile democracy.

In 1978 Rappaport, Levi and Rimor found that 44 per cent of 9th graders opposed the right of Arabs to study at universities, and that 47 per cent advocated that Israeli citizens with anti-Israeli attitudes be denied civil rights.[4] According to another 1978 survey, by Ofira Seliktar of Haifa University, 52 per cent of 11th graders opposed political rights of the Israeli Arabs.[5]

In a major 1984 research project for the prestigious Van Leer

[2] A. Lijphart, 'Consociational Politics', *World Politics* 21 (1969) 207–25; and *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty Six Countries.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.

[3] T. W. Adorno et al., *The Authoritarian Personality.* New York: Norton, 1969.

[4] A. Levi, C. Rappaport and M. Rimor, *Aspects and Achievements of the Israeli School System.* Tel Aviv, Ramot Publishers, Tel Aviv University, 1978. [Hebrew]

[5] O. Seliktar, *Attitudes of High-School Students towards the Arab-Israeli Conflict.* Haifa: Jewish-Arab Center/University of Haifa, 1978. See also O. Seliktar, 'Socialization to National Ideology: The Case of Zionist Attitudes Among Young Israelis', *Political Psychology* (Fall/Winter 1980) Vol. 2, No. 3/4, pp. 66–94.

Institute, Mina Zemach reported the following findings among 11th and 12th graders:[6]

21% supported more censorship of the media;

24% were for curtailing freedom to criticize the   government;

27% declared it legitimate to limit Israel's democracy in order to prevent opponents of the government expressing their views in public;

44% supported legislation prohibiting criticism of the government's policy on Jewish-Arab affairs;

12% supported the restriction of courts' independence;

52% were in favour of limiting the right to strike;

19% were for curtailing the rights of trades unions;

47% advocated limiting the rights of Israeli Arabs;

23% supported more religious laws, even if that implies less democracy;

36% opposed freedom of expression in the media for religious extremists, who are in favour of a law prohibiting all transportation (public and private) on the Sabbath;

16% supported curtailing democracy in order to grant more privileges to specific communities;

37% declared their support for limiting the rights of Christians;

42% were for limiting the rights of all non-Jews;

47% agreed that Muslims and Christians should not be allowed to fill high-level positions in the civil service;

60% denied Israeli Arabs' right to full equality;

64% opposed granting Arabs from the Occupied Territories the right to vote (should the territories be annexed);

46% advocated freedom of association for groups that support violence against Israeli Arabs (part of this group was in favour of *more* freedom of association for such groups);

38% were in favour of the activities of private organizations whose aim it is to take revenge against Arabs who attacked Jews;

43% wished to deny freedom of expression to Jews supporting the idea of a Palestinian State;

66% denied freedom of expression to Arabs supporting a Palestinian State.

[6] M. Zemach and R. Zinn, *Attitudes of Youth towards Democratic Values.* Jerusalem: Van Leer Institute, 1984. [Hebrew]

A repeat study by the Van Leer Institute in 1987 revealed that 21 per cent of the students would prefer a 'strong government' independent of parties, while 25 per cent supported more religious legislation and less democracy, 36 per cent opposed the right to demonstrate against religious coercion, and 54 per cent opposed the right to demonstrate for a ban on public transportation on the Sabbath. Clearly, the Orthodox and Secular each opposed the rights of the other. A further 35 per cent supported a ban on the right of Arabs to study at university, and an equally staggering 35 per cent wanted Arabs to be denied the right to vote.[7]

The research findings of Ze'ev Ben Sira of Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, in a study entitled 'Democracy in Jewish High School Education – Substance, Support and Implications for Education for Democracy', conducted in 1990 for the Ministry of Education, were no less alarming:[8]

74% strongly supported, supported, or supported to some degree the statement that what the State now needs is strong leaders whom the people can trust, while there is no need for debates and discussion in the Knesset or in the parties;

68% strongly supported, supported, or supported to some degree a prohibition against voicing in public social and political viewpoints that may violate society's basic values;

30% strongly opposed, opposed, or opposed to some degree the right to criticize publicly the government and the State on any issue;

53% strongly opposed, opposed, or opposed to some degree the right of groups that support peace to demonstrate in the Occupied Territories; and

39% strongly opposed, opposed, or opposed to some degree the right of groups supporting a 'Whole Land of Israel' to demonstrate in the Occupied Territories (two responses which again show opposing groups denying each other's rights);

27% strongly opposed, opposed, or opposed to some degree the freedom of worship of everybody according to his/her belief;

41% saw in democracy a very great danger (5%), a danger (10%) or a danger to some degree (26%).

[7] M. Zemach, *Attitudes of Youth towards Democratic Values.* Jerusalem: Van Leer Institute, 1987. [Hebrew]

[8] S. Ben-Sira, *Democracy in Jewish High School Education – Support and Implications for Education for Democracy.* Jerusalem: Ministry of Education, 1990. [Hebrew] See also Z. Ben-Sira, *Zionism versus Democracy.* Jerusalem: Magnes, 1995.

Ben Sira also inquired about the attitudes of high-school students towards members of parties and movements of the Left and the Right. The results were as follows:

'Their views are dangerous and they should be expelled from the country.'	'Their views are dangerous and they have to be brought to court.'	'I oppose their views and support a prohibition to voice them in public.'	Party/Movement
			'Left'
12 %	6 %	14 %	Peace Now
14 %	9 %	13 %	Citizens' Rights Movement (currently part of Yahad)
17 %	8 %	12 %	Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (largely Communist and Arab)
5 %	3 %	7 %	Labour Party
			'Right'
2 %	2 %	6 %	Gush Emunim (the Bloc of the Faithful)
2 %	4 %	7 %	Moledet
1 %	1 %	2 %	Likud

Another major research project, 'Post-Oslo Youth – A Profile', was conducted in 1996 for the Israeli Ministry of Education by Dr Reuven Gal (who had previously headed the Social Research Department of the Israeli Army) and Dr Ya'acov Ezrahi of the Carmel Institute. Surprisingly, the study concluded that the democratic attitudes of pre- and

post-Oslo young people were very similar. The study group comprised 3700 high-school students, of whom 37 per cent said they hated Arabs, 40 per cent wanted a 'strong regime with a strong leader who will not depend on parties and coalitions' and 24 per cent (18 per cent in the General School System and 42 per cent in the Religious State System) advocated the tightening of censorship.[9]

A 1996 survey of democratic, nationalist and racist attitudes among high-school students in 27 countries, most of them European, put Israel nearly at the bottom of the scale (the Israeli team was headed by Professor Dan Bar-On of Ben-Gurion University, Dr Amda Or and Shifra Sagui). Schools in areas under Palestinian control came last. Other surveys, conducted in the 1990s, by Professor Orit Ichilov and Dr Yair Auron yielded similar results.[10]

All these findings suggest that about a quarter of students hold consistently non-democratic views while one third is strongly democratic. The largest group holds mixed or confused views. The results further suggest an astonishing continuity from the mid-1970s to the present. One must also take into account that none of the research projects included the ultra-Orthodox Independent School System (comprising approximately 10 per cent of the school population). It may be assumed that a very large majority of students in those schools uphold consistently anti-democratic views.

Constraints and Dilemmas in Education for Democracy

We suggest nine major constraints to effective democratic education in Israel:

1) *Non-democratic Countries of Origin*

A vast majority of Israelis have non-democratic backgrounds. More than 90 per cent of the parents or grandparents of high-school students (and

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[9] R. Gal and Y. Ezrahi, *Post-Oslo Youth – A Profile.* Jerusalem: Ministry of Education, 1996. [Hebrew]

[10] O. Ichilov, *Citizenship Orientations of 11th Grade Students and Teachers in the Israeli Hebrew and Arab High Schools – National Report.* Jerusalem: Ministry of Education, 2000. [Hebrew] See also Y. Auron, *The Attitudes of Jewish and Arab Youth on Coexistence and Democracy in Israel in the Years 1985–1996 – An Interim Report of the Steering Committee on Education for Democracy and Jewish-Arab Coexistence in the School System.* Jerusalem: Ministry of Education, 1997. pp. 18–29.

of their teachers) emigrated from countries without a democratic tradition – whether European (Poland, Russia, Ukraine, Romania, Hungary) or Middle Eastern (Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Egypt, Iraq, Yemen). This is equally true of the latest Aliyah from the former Soviet Union and Ethiopia. In addition, neither the Haredi 'Old Yishuv' of pre-Mandatory Palestine nor the Arab population have a democratic background either. Only Jews from the Western democracies have a deeper democratic socialization (although their parents probably also came from Eastern Europe or, in the case of French Jews, North Africa).[11]

2) *Non-democratic Political Traditions*

All three 'historical' political camps in the Zionist Movement, the pre-State Yishuv and the State of Israel – namely the Zionist Left, the National Right and the Orthodox – hold non-democratic elements in their political traditions, culture and ideology.[12]

The Orthodox *Weltanschauung* is to a large extent incompatible with liberal democracy. While there is a populist-democratic ingredient in the concept of *kehilah*, 'community', which assigns political authority to the public, there is no room in the concept for liberal individual rights, and the community has the right to impose its moral code on every individual. In the name of what it sees as the 'general will', it has the right to ostracize dissidents. Rashba's statement that 'no part of the community is permitted to do as they please, unless the entire community consents', contains both the populistic-democratic and illiberal components of the Judaic tradition. The idea that the community has the right to impose its code of morals and conduct on each of its members was also part of early Calvinist and Puritan tradition. The major difference between the US and Israel is that in the US the Christian Protestant congregations gave up their power to impose their morality on a heterogeneous society by force of law, while in Israel the Orthodox parties see nothing wrong in imposing their beliefs and rules of behaviour on believers and non-believers alike, through the authority of the State.

The Orthodox tradition conflicts in other ways with the basic tenets of liberal democracy. The Orthodox camp sees religious law as the

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[11] See also B. Neuberger, *Democracy in Israel – Origins and Development*. Tel Aviv: The Open University of Israel, 1998. pp. 38–55. [Hebrew]

[12] Ibid.

highest authority, superior to any man-made law or constitution. This 'higher law tradition' does have a democratic facet because it prevents arbitrary autocracy and limits the power of government. It is however – as Baruch Susser and Eliezer Don Yehiya have pointed out – contrary to the political sovereignty on which every liberal democracy is based. They call the Orthodox position 'absolutism of law'.[13] Daniel Elazar explains that for the Orthodox 'God is the sovereign of the Jewish people and His authority is ultimate and unchallengeable'.

All Orthodox parties in Israel have rejected the introduction of a written constitution on the grounds that the Jewish people already have a constitution, the Torah, and deny that it could ever be replaced by a secular constitution. The Constituent Assembly, elected in January 1949 with the express purpose of writing a constitution for the newly established state, soon became a regular parliament because of Orthodox opposition to a liberal-democratic constitution. The Orthodox knew that a constitution that incorporates liberal-democratic principles such as those of the Declaration of Independence would lead to the collapse of the *status quo*. It is indeed likely that a liberal constitution would have challenged the constitutionality of important aspects of religious law, especially in matters of marriage and divorce. For all Orthodox parties 'man-made law has to give way to divine law'.[14] The ultra-Orthodox Agudat Yisrael therefore bluntly declared that they would encourage their followers to break any secular law forcing Orthodox Yeshivah students or Orthodox women to serve in the army. The Orthodox-nationalist Gush Emunim movement declared that the West Bank and the Gaza Strip are integral parts of Israel by divine law, declaring openly that they would reject any democratic decision to the contrary by an elected government because no one may go against the word of God (which they claim to represent). Liebman and Don Yehiya have called Gush Emunim and Agudat Yisrael a 'potential threat to Israel's democratic order'.[15] For them, 'the parallel between Agudat Yisrael and Gush Emunim is that, regardless of their different political styles and goals, both groups deny that society itself is a source of

[13] B. Susser and E. Don Yehiya, 'Prolegomena to Jewish Political Theory', D. Elazar (ed.) *Kinship and Consent – The Jewish Political Tradition and its Contemporary Uses.* Washington: University Press of America, 1983. p. 100.

[14] C. Liebman and E. Don Yehiyah, *Civil Religion in Israel – Traditional Judaism and Political Culture in the Jewish State.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983. p. 135.

[15] Ibid, 136.

supreme authority and that the voting public can legitimately determine fundamental social policy and appropriate values'.[16]

Three of Israel's Orthodox parties represented in parliament – Agudat Yisrael, Degel Torah ('Flag of Torah') and SHAS ('Sephardi Torah Guardians') – even subordinate their parliamentary representatives to rabbinical authorities: the Council of Torah Greats and the Council of Torah Sages. Subject to religious law and religious authorities, these parties must be regarded as fully-fledged theocratic parties which accept the democratic system only as an arena in which to gain power and extract rewards.[17]

The Orthodox *Weltanschauung* conflicts with the prescriptions of a liberal-democratic state in one more domain. In Western democracies the state does not enforce religious laws. Both freedom of religion and freedom from religion are thus protected. Islam does not distinguish between the political-secular and the religious-spiritual realm, which is a major obstacle to the adoption of liberal democracy in Islamic lands. In this respect, Judaism is positioned somewhere between Christianity and Islam. Traditional Judaism does not clearly distinguish between politics and religion. The Jewish monarchs or the council of a *kehillah* ruled on both religious and secular matters because they were simultaneously religious and political authorities. In principle, Jewish Orthodoxy does not recognize the autonomy, and certainly not the supremacy, of liberal-democratic governments, constitutions and laws. In the eyes of Orthodox parties, the government has every right to impose religious rules on all people, but this view is incompatible with the values and practices of liberal democracy.

The attitude of the Labour Camp towards liberal democracy was also problematical, although the Left had developed a commitment to liberal democracy by the 1960s. Liebman and Don Yehiya have enumerated the core historical values of the Labour camp as follows: *halutsiut* ('pioneering'), manual labour, redemption of the land, equality, asceticism, military valour, nationalism, class consciousness, reversal of the *galut* ('exile') and the creation of a 'new Jew'.[18] Liberal democracy is not mentioned as a basic value. For the early Socialist Zionists, the

[16] Ibid, 135.
[17] On Israel's Orthodox Parties see B. Neuberger, *Political Parties in Israel.* Tel Aviv: The Open University of Israel, 1997. pp. 135–63. [Hebrew]
[18] Liebman and Don Yehiya (see n. 14) 25–8.

establishment of a democracy was clearly subordinate to the fulfilment of the Zionist idea. Berl Katzenelson, the dominant labour leader of the 1920s and 1930s, said bluntly that 'our goal is *aliyah* ['immigration'] and settlement ... and not pure democracy without them'.[19] He differentiated between 'material democracy', which is the fulfilment of Zionist goals, and 'formal democracy', which devotes, in his view, too much time and energy to *Geschäftsordnung* and *Generaldebatte*.[20]

David Ben-Gurion, Katzenelson's successor as leader of Mapai in the 1940s and 1950s, also emphasized that 'democratic slogans should not stand in the way of what has to be done'.[21] While Katzenelson and Ben-Gurion accepted the basic principles of liberal democracy in the 1930s and 1940s, their remarks clearly reflect their doubts about the effectiveness of democratic government. The mainstream socialist and dominant Mapai gradually came to accept the rules and values of parliamentary democracy. In the left-socialist Hashomer Hatza'ir, however, there were strong forces promoting a 'dictatorship of the proletariat' as against a 'false' and 'bourgeois' democracy that 'exploits' the working class.[22]

The collectivism of the early Socialist-Zionist parties was also incompatible with the liberal-democratic tradition. For the Zionist Left, the collective – the 'people' or the 'working class' – was the supreme value to which individual rights ought to be subordinated. In the left-socialist Kibbutz Ha'artzi and in Mapam, the illiberal principles of 'ideological collectivism' and 'democratic centralism' were applied. These principles dictated that ideological minorities in the kibbutzim were prohibited from engaging in political activities outside the kibbutz or from participating in political meetings within the kibbutz. Until the late 1950s dissidents were frequently pushed out of the kibbutz, and if they had enough support, the kibbutz would split. The collective also determined what views, and even what clothing or dances, were 'proper' for a 'good' socialist, and what had to be condemned as 'bourgeois' and 'reactionary'. The general meeting of the kibbutz often intruded into the most personal and intimate details of is members' lives.

In the Labour camp of the Yishuv, the 'general will' (represented by

[19] J. Gorni, Achdut Ha'avodah 1919–1930 – Ideological Principles and the Political System. Ramat-Gan: Hakibbutz Hame'uchad, 1973. pp. 179. [Hebrew]

[20] Ibid, 172.

[21] Ibid.

[22] E. Margalit, *Hashomer Hatzair – From Youth Community to Revolutionary Marxism 1913–1936*. Ramat-Gan: Hakkibutz Hameuchad, 1971. pp. 128, 301. [Hebrew]

the Histadrut, the Labour Movement, Ahdut Ha'avodah – the domi-
nant party in the Yishuv in the 1920s – or Mapai) was often alluded to.
This implied that the non-labour forces or the minority parties within
the Labour camp were of dubious legitimacy since they were opposed
to the 'general will'. Ben-Gurion associated the majority will with the
volonté générale. His view that the majority represents the 'true' will of
the people was widespread. Former Knesset Speaker, Yisrael Yishayahu,
even characterized democracy as a 'dictatorship of the majority'[23] (a
concept he viewed in a positive light). This Jacobin perception of
democracy was not that of a liberal democracy, that stresses individual
rights and fears the 'tyranny of the majority'. The rhetoric and practice
of the Zionist Left was marked by a deep suspicion of 'egoistic individu-
alism', 'voluntary anarchism', and an 'atomist society'.[24] It perceived
individualism as opposed to the 'general will', 'the common good', 'the
movement' and the Zionist revolution. At times, the 'Jacobin' elements
of Socialist-Zionism that stressed 'unity' and the 'people's will' or the
Bolshevik traditions that emphasized party hierarchy and discipline
were stronger than the liberal emphasis on individual rights. Mapam
leader Meir Ya'ari openly admitted that his party had been intolerant in
the past and had suppressed freedoms of thought and speech in its kib-
butzim.[25] The ambivalent attitude towards individual rights is the rea-
son why Yonathan Shapiro found it necessary to differentiate between
the Israeli tradition of 'formal democracy', which accepts elections and
majority rule, and Western 'liberal democracy', which emphasizes indi-
vidual rights and freedoms.[26]

Another facet of Socialist-Zionist ideology which was problematical
from a democratic point of view was its elitist self-perception. The
Labour Zionists were clearly under the influence of Russia's revolution-
ary socialism, especially of Lenin's 'What Is To Be Done?' From the
beginning of the twentieth century until the 1950s the concept of a rev-
olutionary avant-garde appeared in many Socialist-Zionist writings.
The concept of the *haluts* ('pioneer'), the Socialist-Zionist who returns
to the land as an agricultural labourer and joins a collectivist, egalitarian
and idealistic settlement, inevitably led to feelings of superiority

[23] Y. Shapiro, *Democracy in Israel.* Ramat-Gan: Massada, 1977. p. 37. [Hebrew]

[24] Gorni (see n. 19) 169–81.

[25] Margalit (see n. 22) 108.

[26] Shapiro (see n. 23) 135.

towards the industrial working-class or the 'bourgeois' middle-class in the cities. The notion that the *halutsim*, the Socialist-Zionists, the revolutionary avant-garde, and not necessarily the formal-technical majority must show the way was deeply rooted in the Zionist Labour Movement. In Mapai, talk about the 'avant-garde' was mitigated by pragmatic electoral politics; Hashomer Hatzair of the 1920s, however, saw itself as a 'selective community' and a 'Jewish order' along the Leninist vanguard model.

That Socialist-Zionism was influenced by Russian revolutionary Socialism can be inferred from its attitude towards the Soviet Union. Well into the 1950s Mapam saw in the Soviet Union a 'second homeland'. Only the revelation of Stalin's crimes led to a complete break with the Soviet Union. In the 1920s, mainstream Ahdut Ha'avodah too was strongly influenced by the October Revolution; by the 1930s, however, its successor (Mapai) had become disillusioned with 'class struggle', 'revolution', 'dictatorship of the proletariat', and with the Soviet Union. While Mapai abandoned any Bolshevik revolutionary ideology long before the State of Israel was founded, illiberal attitudes and modes of behaviour lingered on well into the 1950s. Mapai continued to be influenced by the theory and practice of Eastern European revolutionary Socialism. In the 1920s talk about the need for a 'disciplined Labour army which will order and manage all labour'[27] was not uncommon in the Labour Camp. This military-revolutionary language (expressions such as 'labour army' and 'labour batallions') was quite similar to the language used by Engels, Lenin and other revolutionary socialists. Although they had no explicitly oligarchic anti-democratic ideology, the parties of the Labour Camp (Ahdut Ha-avodah, Mapai or Mapam) were highly centralized, bureaucratized and oligarchic. In Mapam the leader was 'approved' by acclamation. For almost fifty years the same leaders, Me'ir Ya'ari and Ya'acov Hazan, led the party. In Mapai open internal electoral contests for high office were unknown. The first contest for leadership in the Labour Party (which succeeded Mapai in 1968) was held in 1974 when Rabin and Peres competed for the prime-ministership. Leaders had until then been selected by informal consultations among the party elite and were then 'approved' by the formal party institutions. The same so-called voting procedures

[27] D. Ben-Gurion, as quoted by Gorni (see n. 19) 173.

were common in unions, party branches and kibbutzim. Until the 1984 elections, candidates presented by the party in Knesset elections were frequently selected by small, informal committees and not by intra-party democratic contests. The Israeli political scientist Nathan Yanai has described this system – one that accepts free debate, majority princi-ple and democratic approval of all appointments, but disdains demo-cratic competition for office – as a 'system of democratic approval', to distinguish it from the Western-style 'system of democratic choice', where rank-and-file party members and formal party insitutions are faced with real competition and real choice.[28]

The third political force, the traditions of which contain a good mea-sure of authoritarianism, is the Nationalist Right. Its main representa-tives in the Yishuv period were the Revisionist Party and the National Military Organization. After 1948 they combined to establish the Herut Party, which has since formed the core of the Nationalist Right and, later on, the main component of Likud.

The tradition of the Nationalist Right viewed the state as something supreme and holy and the nation as an 'organic' whole. The Revisionist founding father, Ze'ev Jabotinsky, supported the 'subjugation of the individual and the class to the absolute rule of the idea of the State'.[29] The 'organic' view of the nation led to a profound suspicion of plural-ism, multi-party competition and individual rights. Spokesmen of the Nationalist Right were always quick to denounce their political rivals as traitors. Individuals were seen as parts of a whole nation, rather than as autonomous citizens bound by the liberal idea of social contract. The Revisionists stressed military values, heroism, order, discipline and power. They believed in the power of the gun to solve international conflicts, and ridiculed liberals and socialists for trying to infuse moral-ity into politics. The symbol of the National Military Organization (*Irgun*) – the military arm of the Revisionist Camp in the 1930s and 40s – was a gun on the map of the Land of Israel, on both sides of the Jor-dan, with the slogan *Rak Kach* ('only thus'). They saw the conflict between Arabs and Jews in Palestine as irreconcilable and inevitable, and believed that only the power of the gun could resolve the conflict. They also categorically refused to consider any idea of partition or terri-

[28] N. Yanai, *Party Leadership in Israel*. Ramat-Gan: Turtledove Publishing, 1981. pp. 196–203.

[29] Liebman and Don Yehiya (see n. 14) 62.

torial compromise, but wanted a Jewish State in its biblical boundaries. In the 1930s and 40s their military organizations – Irgun and Lehi (acronym for 'Fighters for the Freedom of Israel') – refused to accept any directives from the elected representative institutions of the Yishuv. They regarded the parties of the left and centre as 'collaborators' with the British and as traitors to the Zionist cause. They denied the legitimacy of the autonomous 'yishuv democracy' and therefore refused to participate in elections or accept the verdict of the electorate. For many years the principle of undisputed leadership ruled in the Herut Party; indeed, Menachem Begin remained the leader of Herut from its foundation in 1948 (as a successor of the Irgun) to 1983. He was called the 'Commander', and all opposition to his rule was crushed by what was called the 'fighting family', as the Irgun/Herut elite was called. Only with Begin's resignation in 1983 did electoral competition for leadership within the party become legitimate. Revisionists had also talked about a 'corporate economy', the need to outlaw strikes and the compulsory arbitration of labour disputes.

The revisionist idolization of the State, its scorn for political rivals and proneness to resort to violence were obviously incompatible with the concept of liberal democracy. Nevertheless, after 1948 Revisionism gradually made its peace with parliamentary democracy, free elections, the rule of law and the need for tolerance.

Though many of these non-democratic traditions belong to history, they still have an influence on the political culture in Israel, and many of today's parents and teachers grew up in families belonging to one of these three camps.

3) *Lack of a Written Constitution*

Israel lacks a written constitution that would enshrine democratic values and serve as an educational tool and, other than Britain, is the only democracy without such a constitution.[30] The often-made analogy with Britain is misleading, however, since it has an unwritten constitution, based on deeply rooted traditions, legal precedents and a democratic consensus. In Israel there is no formal constitution for the opposite rea-

[30] On the constitutional issue see E. Gutmann, 'Israel: Democracy without a Constitution', in V. Bogdanor (ed.) *Constitutions in Democratic Politics.* Gower: Policy Studies, 1988. pp. 290–308 and B. Neuberger, *The Constitution Debate in Israel.* Tel Aviv: The Open University of Israel, 1997. [Hebrew]

son: the deep dissension on matters of principle has made agreement on the contents of a constitution impossible. Israel lacks not only a constitution, but also a Bill of Rights and regular laws to enshrine basic liberties. By signing the European Human Rights Convention and by accepting the verdicts of the European Human Rights Court as binding, Britain now has a *de facto* constitutional Bill of Rights.

Indeed, there seems to be no way of overcoming the disparity between a liberal Bill of Rights and the status quo with regard to the relationship between religion and State. The Basic Law on Human Dignity and Freedom and the Basic Law on Freedom of Occupation, both enacted in the 1990s, cover some important freedoms like the right to life and human dignity, the right to privacy, freedom of movement and freedom of occupation. But they do not cover most 'classical' freedoms such as freedom of speech and assembly, freedom of conscience and religion, freedom of the press and equality before the law.[31]

4) *Lack of National Consensus*

There is no national consensus on the fundamental characteristics of the polity, especially on the Occupied Territories, settlements, boundaries, State and Religion. A basic requisite for any stable democracy is a national consensus on fundamentals. In the USA, for instance, there is almost unanimous agreement on the constitution, the federal structure, the democratic system, the non-establishment of religion and the boundaries. A similar consensus holds for Holland, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, the UK and other stable democracies. Profound dissensus may lead to the non-acceptance of democratic decision-making on issues vital to large parts of the population (such as the West Bank, Gaza, Jerusalem and civil marriage), posing a serious threat to democracy. In Weimar Germany there was no consensus on the republican form of government, on

[31] On the disagreements on the Basic Laws of the 1990s, see D. Kretzmer, 'The New Basic Laws on Human Rights: A Mini Revolution in Israeli Constitutional Law', *Israeli Law Review*. Vol. 26, No. 2 (1992) 238–49; G. Alon, 'There was no Constitutional Revolution – An Interview with Justice Moshe Landau', *Ha'aretz*, 27 Jan. 1995 [Hebrew]; A. Barak, 'Basic Law: Freedom of Occupation', *Mishpat WeMimshal* II (1994/5) 195–217 [Hebrew]; 'Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom', *Hamishpat* 4 (1994) 4–6 [Hebrew], and 'The Constitutional Revolution – Basic Rights Protected', *Mishpat WeMimshal* (1992/3) 9–35 [Hebrew]; J. Karp, 'Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom', *Hamishpat* 2 (October 1992) 14–15 [Hebrew] and 'Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom – A Biography of Power Struggles', *Mishpat WeMimshal* (1993/4) 323–84 [Hebrew]; Neuberger (see n. 30) 68–79.

democracy, boundaries or socio-economic policies, and there was a similar lack of consensus in, for example, Italy in the 1920s, Spain in the 1930s, France in the 1930s and 40s and Argentine and Chile in the 1970s.[32]

Since the Six Day War there has been a strong dissensus in Israel on the future of the West Bank, East Jerusalem, the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights, setting adherents of the 'Whole Land of Israel' against supporters of 'Land for Peace'. There are also deep and highly emotional disagreements on the settlements in the Occupied Territories. This dissensus is not merely over whether the Green Line or the Jordan ought to be the border of the State, but over whether the State of Israel should be a Jewish Democratic State, a Jewish non-Democratic State, a non-Jewish Democratic or non-Jewish non-Democratic State. Ever since the foundation of the State, the public has been highly polarized on the issue of Religion and State, an issue temporarily stabilized by a shaky status quo.[33]

Some positions that should be discussed openly and dispassionately in the classroom are not only highly emotive, but anti-democratic per se, such as the so-called 'transfer' of the Arab population or the desirability of a halakhic State. As discussions about politics easily become polarized and emotional, teachers tend to shun the subject in class. Even education about democracy touches on politics and is therefore neglected to avoid the 'trouble' of heated debates and emotional outbursts. Teachers may also be afraid of being accused of partisanship since many Orthodox and Radical Rightists regard liberal democracy itself as partisan and 'leftist'.

5) *The Problem Posed by the Occupied Territories*

The territories occupied in 1967 constitute an additional obstacle to education in democracy. Strong forces aim for the partial or total annexation of the lands without granting its Arab population the democratic right to vote, and if these prevail, then Israel's democratic system of government would be gravely jeopardized. Even without formal annexation, if present conditions persist, Israel will rule directly or indirectly over a large population without citizenship, many basic democratic rights (such as freedom of assembly, or the right to demonstrate,

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[32] On the role of consensus in democracies, see H. Partridge, *Consent and Consensus*. London: Mamillan, 1971.

[33] On the role of consensus in Israel's Democracy, see Neuberger (see n. 11) 66–85.

create parties or vote) and representation in Israel's parliament. The situation is exacerbated from a democratic point of view because Jewish settlers in these areas do possess these democratic rights, including the right to vote in Knesset elections. No (other) liberal democracy is divided into a home area where all enjoy equal rights in principle, and an adjacent one where the dominant nation has democratic rights and the other nation none.

It is difficult to inculcate democratic values in schools when large parts of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and their Palestinian majority, de facto under Israeli military rule, lack an elected government and the freedom to demonstrate or associate, while the sizeable Jewish minority enjoys all these rights. Many Israelis living within the Green Line have relatives 'over there', making open debate in schools about the implications of continued Israeli rule for Israel's democracy almost impossible. For many students and parents today, this is the only reality they have ever known.

Even more worryingly, since occupation is built on force and the need to suppress violent resistance and terrorism, non-democratic, 'military' patterns of behaviour gradually spill over from the territories into Israel proper. The army which maintains the occupation is composed of ordinary Israelis, including high-school students' parents and teachers. Maintaining rational and purposeful collective dialogue on the major issues facing society is the mainstay of any democratic society, yet polarized dissensus makes it difficult, if not impossible, to conduct democratic debate in Israeli classrooms.

6) *The Problem of Survival and Security*

Survival and security are such central issues in Jewish history and Israeli life that many high-school students, like their parents and teachers, view democracy and human rights as luxuries that a society under siege can ill afford. They believe that only an authoritarian approach can be effective at a time of war and against terrorist attacks, and that press freedom and the rule of law often unnecessarily limit effective warfare.

Recent history has in fact shown that the advantages of autocracies in wartime may be short-term only and that democracies are more likely to prevail in the long term, as is illustrated by Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany, Saddam's Iraq and North Korea. Authoritarian perceptions in war- or war-like situations are, however, hard to contest.

7) *Democracy, Jewish Majority and Arab Minority*

Demos kratos, which means literally 'government by the people', implies rule by majority and minority segements of the population and not simply majority rule. Indeed, it might be argued that minority rights are a better yardstick by which to measure democracy than majority rule. Yet there is no full equality between Jews and Arabs even within the Green Line, because the Arab minority is discriminated against in matters such as the distribution of land, allocation of water quotas, education, the expansion of existing towns and villages, the establishment of new settlements, jobs in public administration and budgetary allocations for religious institutions. The Jewish Agency and the Jewish National Fund are defined as 'National Institutions' and allocate services and funds only to Jews and Jewish settlements. Arabs are excluded from participation in certain areas for security reasons, such as the IDF, military industries, the diplomatic service and sensitive ministries. In addition, Arab political parties are prohibited by law from declaring their opposition to Israel being a 'Jewish-Democratic' state.[34]

The problems associated with Israel's Arab minority are well known to Jews and Arabs, but is almost taboo in their schools. Jewish teachers consider it 'sensitive' and better avoided, while others find it difficult to admit that Israel's democracy should contain such major flaws. Arab teachers are equally reluctant to relate to political issues for fear of 'getting into trouble' with officials of the Ministry of Education and the Security Establishment.

8) *The Problem of Religion and State*

The liberal-democratic model does not necessarily demand a strict separation of religion and state, since liberal democracies such as the United Kingdom, Norway, Belgium or Germany do not follow the American practice of separating Church and State. Britain and Norway have established Churches, while in Belgium, Germany and Switzerland the State regards the provision of religious services for all major religious communities as a function of the State. What all liberal democracies

[34] On the status of Israel's Arab minority in Israel, see I. Lustick, *Arabs in the Jewish State – Israel's Control of a National Minority.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 1980; and B. Neuberger, 'The Arab Minority in Israeli Politics – Between "Ethnic Democracy" and "Democratic Integration"', A. Guelke (ed.) *Democracy and Ethnic Conflict.* Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2004. pp. 52–79.

have in common is freedom of religion and freedom from religion.[35] In Israel, freedom of religion – in other words, the freedom to practise one's chosen faith in private and public – is definitely protected, especially after a 1962 Supreme Court ruling that the Reform community of Kfar Shmaryahu be granted the right to rent a municipal building for its religious services. Freedom of worship is legally based on a 1922 British King's Order in Council, which stated that 'all people will enjoy complete freedom of conscience and freedom to practise their religion as long as public order and morality are maintained'.[36]

With regard to freedom from religion – in other words, the freedom not to be religious or subject to religious prescriptions and laws – Israel lives up neither to liberal-democratic standards nor to its own Declaration of Independence, which promises 'freedom of conscience'. The fact that in matters of marriage and divorce all Israeli citizens are, by law, subject to religious jurisdiction, deviates from the Western-liberal model. Israeli High Court Justice Moshe Landau stated unequivocally that 'religious restrictions in matters of marriage and divorce which are rooted in religious law and based on rabbinical jurisdiction are incompatible with freedom of conscience and free choice'.[37] In Israel there is no civil marriage, and every person who wishes to be legally married has to perform a religious act administered by a religious authority and subject to religious law. There can be no doubt that for non-believers the legal situation in matters of marriage and divorce is a grave infringement of their freedom of conscience.

The law on marriage and divorce also violates some other basic liberties. Freedom of marriage in Israel is restricted in several ways: the marriage between people of different faiths (Jewish, Christian or Muslim, for instance) is legally impossible since there is no civil marriage, unless one of the partners converts. Even more politically sensitive and explosive is the fact that, according to the Jewish Orthodox law of *psulei chitun*, certain categories of men and women are forbidden by law to marry each other. For instance, a man who is a *cohen*, 'of priestly descent', cannot marry a divorcée. This conflicts not only with any liberal-democratic norm, but with the Universal Declaration of Human

[35] A. Rubinstein, *The Constitutional Law of the State of Israel*. Tel Aviv: Shocken Publishing House, 1974. p. 126.
[36] Ibid, 126.
[37] Ibid, 137

Rights, which includes a clause on freedom of marriage stating that 'men and women of full age without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion have the right to marry and found a family'. The 'Status Quo', as the shaky compromise formula regulating the State-Religion issue is called in Israel, violates not only the universal freedom of marriage, but also the principle of equality before the law.

The liberal core idea of equality before the law for all faiths and for all citizens holding different religious beliefs is violated also by the legal monopoly enjoyed by Orthodox Judaism and the refusal to grant legal recognition to Conservative and Reform Judaism. Israeli law bars Reform and Conservative rabbis from performing marriages and ruling on divorces, or from serving as members of Rabbinical Courts or as rabbis in the army. In personal matters, Reform, Conservative and non-believing Jews are compelled by law to subject themselves to the *dayanim* (religious judges) in Orthodox courts. Reform and Conservative Jews are also discriminated against in that the State does not finance the construction of their synagogues or fund their rabbis out of the national or municipal payroll. According to the Israeli sociologist Yonathan Shapiro, the 'Status Quo' is in conflict with 'the rights of free citizens and the rule of law in a democratic polity'.[38]

The religious issue affects education for democracy in various ways. Democracy is viewed in the ultra-Orthodox Independent School System almost as a foreign heresy, while in the State Religious School System many teachers and parents see a contradiction between a Jewish and a Democratic State. Together, both networks cover about 35% of Israel's school population (and in Jerusalem an overwhelming majority). Even in General State Schools there is a profound reluctance to debate aspects of Israeli law that contradict tenets of liberal democracy. The illiberal components of some of Israel's religion-based laws are frequently defended as necessary components of a Jewish State, thus indirectly accepting the Orthodox religious interpretation of what the Jewishness of the State means.

9) *Non-democratic Example Set by the Political Leadership*

The national leadership often sets a non-democratic example, thus undoing the work of thousands of teaching hours. Prime Minister

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[38] Shapiro (see n. 23) 24.

Shamir's reaction to the 'Bus 300 Affair' (in which Israeli security forces killed terrorists after they had been captured) was 'don't waste my time with the rule of law'. In the 2001 elections, the Labour Central Committee elected Ehud Barak as Labour Party candidate for Prime Minister in 60 seconds, without debate or contest. The inclusion in coalition governments of clearly anti-democratic politicians such as Rehavam Ze'evi, Efi Eitam and Avigdor Lieberman, as well as parties that support the idea of the 'transfer' of the Arab population, sets an undemocratic example, just as would the inclusion of the Front National in France or the BNP in the UK. Major political leaders uninhibitedly label their political rivals 'traitors', 'enemy agents' or 'Quislings', making it difficult for teachers to educate the younger generation to tolerance, compromise, the rule of law and human rights.

What Should be Done?

A great deal is done with regard to democratic education in schools, youth movements and the army, but it is not sufficient. Civics education should concentrate much more on the principles of democracy and less on formal institutions and rules.

One has to overcome the notion that education for democracy is politically partisan and equivalent to indoctrination. Education for democracy is political, but not party-oriented. It should teach the value of pluralism, tolerance, human rights, the legitimacy of divergent points of view and the peaceful resolution of conflict through cooperation, compromise and adherence to the rules of the game. But one cannot disregard the fact that the basic constraints and dilemmas in education for democracy in Israel are structural and that they derive from the background of its population, the history of its political camps, its constitutional framework, the Arab-Israeli conflict and the problems of security and arising out of uncertainties in Religion-State relations.

Hebrew Printing in Baghdad

BRAD SABIN HILL

THE DISCOVERY OF JEWISH BOOKS and documents in the base-
ment of the Baathist secret police (*Mukhabarat*) headquarters in Bagh-
dad, as reported in the press in 2003, served as a public reminder of the
historical and literary legacy of the now vanished Jewish community of
Babylonia and Iraq.[1] Since antiquity, Babylonia has been one of the
foremost centres of intellectual life and literary creativity in the Jewish
diaspora. The Babylonian Talmud, the massive compilation of Jewish
law and lore redacted between the second and seventh centuries,
became – after the Hebrew Bible – the central text of traditional Jewish
study and the object of thousands of commentaries by Talmudic schol-
ars over the generations. Baghdad was the seat of the Exilarch, and
Babylonia the home of the greatest rabbinic sages and a cradle of
medieval Arabic-Jewish civilization.

The art of printing was first introduced in the Islamic lands by Jews at
Istanbul, in the incunable period. Indeed, the Hebrew press launched
by Spanish exiles in Istanbul in 1493 was the first use of movable type in
the Orient. In the sixteenth century Hebrew printing spread to Fez in
Morocco, to Salonika in Ottoman Greece, to Edirne (Adrianople) in
European Turkey, to Cairo in Egypt and to Safed in Palestine. The
Hebrew press at Istanbul became the most important one outside of
Christian Europe, and the first Jewish Polyglot, a Pentateuch contain-
ing the Judeo-Arabic version by Saadiah Gaon and the Judeo-Persian
by Tavus, was issued here in 1546. In 1605 a single Hebrew book was
printed at Damascus; later in the century Hebrew printing was
launched at Izmir in Turkey; and in the eighteenth century a single
Hebrew book appeared at Tunis.

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[1] A report on the restoration of these waterlogged materials, prepared by Doris A.
Hamburg and Mary Lynn Ritzenthaler of the National Archives and Records Administra-
tion in Washington, was delivered at the conference of the Association of Jewish Libraries
in New York in June 2004. Cf. also 'The Iraqi Jewish Archive: Preservation Report', pub-
lished on the internet by the Committee on Iraqi Libraries of the Middle East Libraries
Association.

ספר
מסעות של
רבי בנימין ז"ל
קודם נדפס בעיר
פיראָרא
ועתה ליוקר מציאותו נכתב
בעיר הגדולה המהוללה
ונדפס בשנת
ולבנימין א מ"ר ידיד י"י
ישכן לבטח עליו
פה בג יע"א

Benjamin of Tudela, *Sefer Masaʿot*
[travelogue] (Baghdad, 1866).
Lithograph.

Before the establishment of a local Hebrew printing press at Baghdad, authors from Baghdad sent their writings to be issued at famous presses abroad, at Istanbul in the eighteenth century and at Leghorn (Livorno) in Italy in the nineteenth. Shortly after Hebrew printing was introduced in Jerusalem in 1841, émigré Jews from Baghdad took up this new art with enthusiasm. Henceforth Baghdadi Jews exercised an enormous influence on the course of Hebrew printing in the East, especially in India. Many of the Hebrew books printed in Calcutta, Bombay, Poona and Cochin were issued either by printers from Baghdad or for the use of Jews from Baghdad.

The Hebrew press in Baghdad itself was one of the last Hebrew presses established in the Orient. In 1863, inspired by the publication of the journal *Ha-Levanon* in Jerusalem, a Hebrew journal entitled *Ha-Dover* was issued at Baghdad by Barukh Moses Mizrahi. This was printed by lithography ('stone-printing', reproduced from hand-writing), as were four or more books, among them *Masa'ot shel Rabi Binyamin*, the medieval travelogue of Benjamin of Tudela, printed in 1866. Movable Hebrew type was introduced in that same year by the printer Rahamim ben Reuben ben Mordecai, who had trained in Bombay. (In this period Hebrew typography was also introduced at Aleppo in Syria.) One of the first Hebrew books printed in Baghdad by movable type, and perhaps the first, was *Shivhe Rav Hayim Vital* [also known as *Sefer ha-hezyonot*], the autobiography written in Damascus in the early seventeenth century by the famous Palestinian kabbalist who was a disciple of Isaac Luria.

Despite the late date of the introduction of printing, Baghdad became the most prolific centre of Hebrew printing in the Orient (outside of Palestine), after Istanbul. Its total output – in sheer numbers of imprints if not in substance – was similar to that of Izmir, where printing had been undertaken for hundreds of years. (Other prolific centres in western Arab lands included Tunis and Djerba in North Africa.) Over the course of seventy-five years some dozen Hebrew printers were active in Baghdad, issuing about 500 books, pamphlets, single-leaf texts, and broadsheets.

The most active of the early Hebrew printers at Baghdad was Solomon Bekhor Hutsin [Hozin] (1843–92), who as early as 1863 had turned to Moses Montefiore, the Anglo-Jewish philanthropist, for assistance in establishing a Hebrew printing press. Scholar, entrepreneur,

ספר

מעשיות

זה הספר כלול בו מעשים רבים · מהמנה ענינים
ודברים שונים · מקורות הזמנים · של חכמים
ונבונים · אשר תורת אמת שונים · ונגעי רשעים אנשי
מרמה ודונים · ומוסרי השכל לדעתנים · וענין מוטרים
וקונים · והרבה מעניני העולם בצחות הגיונים · ומעשיות
רב האר"י גדול הרבנים · בעל המראות והאחרונים ·
נתקבצו המונים המונים · לרוות בו נפשות אביונים · ה'
עליהם יחיו ויהיו רעננים

פה בגדאד יע"א

שנת
אֹרֶךְ יָמִים אַשְׂבִּיעֵהוּ
לפ"ק

Sefer Maʿasiyot [book of tales]
(Baghdad, 1869).

56

talmudist and communal figure, Hutsin was initially active as a Hebrew bookseller, supplying both to the Orient ('to India, Persia, the Arab lands and Kurdistan') and to Europe, in particular to the British Museum in London. In 1872 the Fetaya brothers, who had succeeded Mizrahi as Hebrew printers, printed Hutsin's catalogue of his current stock, which was the first Hebrew bookseller's catalogue printed anywhere in the Orient.

The press opened by Hutsin in 1888 made use of type imported from Leghorn, the major Hebrew printing centre around the Mediterranean, and the books issued at this press resemble those printed at Livorno, and indeed the two are sometimes indistinguishable. (The first books printed at Hutsin's press bear no imprint, and some draw explicit attention to the Livorno fonts.) The products of this press stand out in both their aesthetic and their content from those of Hustin's predecessors. Hutsin issued not only liturgical works for local use and the writings of Baghdadi scholars of previous generations, but also reprints of Hebrew books first issued in India and Europe, from presses in Istanbul, Amsterdam, Berlin, Livorno, Bombay, and even Vilna and Pinsk. Altogether over seventy-five books were issued from the press of Solomon Hutsin and his son Joshua, who maintained the press after his father's death until 1913.

With the permission of the Ottoman Sultan Abdul Hamid, a new Hebrew printing house was established at Baghdad in 1904. The printer Ezra Reuben Dangur (Dangoor, 1848–1930), a native of Baghdad who had served as rabbi of Rangoon in Burma, employed presses and type imported from Europe. In one of Dangur's books, his edition of *Kanun al-Nisa* [laws of women] by Joseph Hayim al-Hakam, the imprint reads '*be-o[tiyot] Livorno*' [in Livorno fonts], with these words set in prominent type. The emphasis on Livorno, without reference to Baghdad, was here apparently to avoid governmental notice of the book and its title (specifically the word *Kanun*, the use of which was normally limited to Islamic works). In another of Dangur's books, a psalter, the title-page was printed by Dangur in Baghdad, but the rest of the book was actually printed in Livorno. Dangur printed over 100 books, most of them edited by himself. Dangur's own writings, which include a history of Baghdad since the mid-eighteenth century, remained unpublished, but survive in manuscript. A memorial volume for Dangur, printed by his sons, includes the English text of a eulogy

for this scholar-printer by D. S. Sassoon (reprinted from the London *Jewish Chronicle* of 14 February 1930).

During the British Mandate several new Hebrew presses were established in Baghdad, notably El Wataniyah Israiliyah, and the press of Elisha Shohet which functioned until 1940. Most of the books issued by these presses were popular tales in Judeo-Arabic, reflecting the first stage of the shift to Arabic literary culture which characterized Baghdad Jewry in its last period. Some Hebrew works of local interest included several volumes by the poet and literary scholar David S. Tsemah. The products of the Hebrew presses during the British Mandate period, and the books issued after this period, are noticeably inferior to their predecessors. A small number of Hebrew and Judeo-Arabic books were printed at Baghdad during and after the Second World War, the last of them in 1955.

Subjects

The Hebrew books printed at Baghdad cover a limited range of traditional Jewish literature, especially liturgical texts and hagiographic literature. These include perhaps the widest variety, proportionally, of special liturgies ever issued in a single Hebrew printing centre (more diverse, say, than the liturgies printed at Prague in Bohemia, or at Dyhernfuerth in Silesia, or at Djerba in Tunisia, all known for their liturgical printing). Additionally, the Hebrew books issued at Baghdad comprise a rich resource for Hebrew liturgical poetry and related poetic compositions (*piyyutim*), which are often included in or appended to non-liturgical books. One of the liturgical curiosities is *Seder Birkat ha-hamah*, the rare booklet of prayers for the solar eclipse, which occurred only once in the course of Hebrew printing at Baghdad (as was the case in so many other late centres of Hebrew printing in the diaspora), in 1925. Of historical interest is the *Kinah* (lament) published in 1917 after the massacre of Jews at Baghdad, just before the departure of the Turks at the end of Ottoman rule.

It is notable that no complete tractate of the Babylonian Talmud was ever printed at Baghdad. Among the traditional Jewish texts printed in Baghdad are seven editions of the Mishnaic ethical treatise *Pirke Avot*, most with the Judeo-Arabic *sharh*, and fourteen editions of the Passover *Haggadah*, most of them likewise with Judeo-Arabic transla-

קוואנין אל תגארייה

טבע פי בגׄדאד

סנת

סת מאייא ותׄלאתׄין

Kawanin al-Tajariyah [commercial laws],
in Judeo-Arabic (Baghdad, 1870).

סדר הקפות

לשמחת תורה

עם הבקשות מאת גאון עוזנו
מוהר״ר חיד״א ז״ל ועם פזמונים
יפים ונחמדים אשר נוהגים בעו׳בי
בגדאד יע״א לאומרם בין הקפה
להקפה :

נדפס

ליוורנו

בשנת אתה תקום תרח̇ם̇ ציון

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tion. It is worth noting that the Baghdad edition of the medieval satyrical midrash *Alfa Beta de-Ben Sira* (which, *à propos*, includes a story of Ben Sira at the court of the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar) is based on the edition published by the famous bibliographer Moritz Steinschneider in Berlin.

Although most of the works printed at Baghdad are of Iraqi or oriental authorship, few are by scholars resident at Baghdad, who were accustomed to send their books to be published in Calcutta, Istanbul, Leghorn or Jerusalem. Important among contemporary local authors were the rabbinic scholars Abdallah ben Abraham Somekh (1813–89) and his illustrious student Joseph Hayim ben Elijah al-Hakam (1835–1909), also called *Ben Ish Hai* after the title of one of his books. Mention should also be made of three volumes of biblical commentary and Jewish law by Solomon Twena, who later settled in India and in 1888 founded the last major Hebrew press at Calcutta, where he published over seventy books. A small number of the works printed at Baghdad are of Ashkenazic composition, taken from European sources. One volume includes *segulot* (charms) by Hillel Lichtenstein, rabbi of Kolomea in Galicia (then Austro-Hungary). There are also a few moral treatises by Judah Leyb Hurwitz and Meir b. Elijah of Vilna, reprinted from European editions.

A number of secular works were issued at Baghdad. Indeed, it is striking that one of the first Hebrew books printed here, and the first *dated* book, was a secular work, the travelogue of Benjamin of Tudela. It is uncommon in Hebrew printing for the first book printed in a town to be a secular work, and it may be a reflection of the literary and historical interests of the Jews of Baghdad that Benjamin's travelogue was among the first imprints. However, there may be another reason, namely, that this greatest of medieval Jewish travellers gives a more detailed account of Baghdad than of any other town he visited. Another early secular text is an edition of *Mishle shu'alim*, the medieval 'fox fables' composed in Oxford *c.* 1200 and based in part on Marie de France and the Latin Aesop. Both these editions, of which many earlier ones had appeared in Europe, were the only editions of the said works to appear in the Orient. There are also volumes of communal regulations, eulogies, Hebrew language texts, calendars and treatises on calendation, as well as story-books and historical writings, mostly in Judeo-Arabic. Among the latter are selections from the Arabian Nights and the tales of

Sindbad the Sailor, neither surprising for Baghdad, as well as an unlikely account of the House of Rothschild in Judeo-Arabic.

Languages

Hebrew-character printing at Baghdad is comprised not only of books or texts in Hebrew. Baghdad was one of more than twenty towns where Judeo-Arabic was printed, from Fez and Tunis in the Maghreb to Bombay and Calcutta in Asia. Indeed, Baghdad was the most important centre of Judeo-Arabic printing after Tunis. A large proportion of the Hebrew-titled books printed at Baghdad contain some text or instructions in Judeo-Arabic, even when the title-pages are entirely in Hebrew. Moreover, over seventy-five of the Hebrew-character books printed in Baghdad are entirely in Judeo-Arabic, with Judeo-Arabic titles and other title-page text in Judeo-Arabic, or even fully and explicitly in Arabic in Hebrew characters. Perhaps the first of these is the *Kawanin al-Tajariyah* [commercial laws] of 1870, if not the undated pamphlet *Kitsat al-Mathal*, printed at the Fetaya press sometime between 1870 and 1880.

Other Judeo-Arabic titles include the *Daftar Risalat al-Hisab* [a primer for arithmetic], of which an announced second part seems not to have appeared; the aforementioned *Mu'anis al-Tsibyan* [tales of Sindbad]; very rare editions of *Kitsat Abu al-Niya wa-Abu al-Niyatin* [tale of Abu al-Niya and Abu al-Niyatin] and *Hadhi Kitsat al-'Usfur* [tale of the bird]; *Hazurayat wa-tafsirhom* [riddles and their interpretations] by Joseph Hayim al-Hakam; and *Kitsat 'Antar ibn Shadad* [the romance of 'Antar], which according to the title-page was explicitly rendered into Hebrew characters from the Arabic (and of which the planned second part, announced at the end of the first volume, was never printed). It is worth noting that the printing of *Hazurayat wa-tafsirhom* was financially sponsored by a woman, Rebecca bat Joseph Abraham.

Aside from books or texts in Hebrew and Judeo-Arabic, there are also several editions of Aramaic texts from the Zohar, including the *Idra zuta* and the *Idra raba*. Some of the editions of biblical and liturgical works contain parallel text or translation (*targum*) in Aramaic as well as the Judeo-Arabic translation (*sharh*). There is even one edition of the Passover *Haggadah* with a translation into Judeo-Persian, likewise in Hebrew characters.

Title-pages and Imprints

It is an idiosyncrasy of Hebrew printing at Baghdad that a disproportionate number of books – one out of ten – were printed without any title-page at all, the largest proportion of books in this category from any Hebrew press in the world. Whether this is a reflection of the closeness of Baghdadi printing to the manuscript tradition, where title-pages are less common, is not clear. (In fact, numerous manuscripts from Baghdad do bear title-pages, sometimes copied from or imitating the title-pages of European Hebrew printed books.) It is notable, too, that where books have 'title-pages', these pages are often printed only as paper covers, i.e., the title-page text is printed merely on the paper cover of the book or booklet. As these covers are sometimes of coloured paper, it is often the case that the title-page exists only on coloured paper, e.g. bright red or orange or green.

Several other details of the title-pages are noteworthy. A number of the earliest Hebrew books printed at Baghdad bear the imprint *Bavel* (i.e. Babel, or Babylonia) and not 'Baghdad'. It is occasionally disorienting to the bibliographer that some of the Hebrew books have lengthy imprint statements or other title-page text in Judeo-Arabic, even when the rest of the book is in Hebrew. Many of the Baghdad imprints bear no indication of date, and only on the basis of typography and other evidence can their date be estimated. In the years before the Second World War, a few Hebrew liturgies according to the Baghdad rite bear a 'Baghdad' imprint on their title-pages, but were in fact printed in Livorno.

Typography and Lithography

A major proportion of the books printed at Baghdad are in square Hebrew characters, and of these nearly a third are pointed (i.e., use vowel points). Over sixty volumes are entirely or partly in 'Rashi characters' (i.e., a rabbinic cursive font). Some volumes use both fonts, one for the main text and the other for the commentaries, as is the norm in Hebrew printing. The Judeo-Arabic books are uniformly in square characters, except for the *Daftar*s of 1892 and 1899, which are in Rashi characters, as is the earlier *Kawanin al-Tajariyah*. A few of the Judeo-Arabic books are in pointed square characters, and these texts are useful for the pronunciation of Baghdadi Judeo-Arabic. These include the

קצת

ענתר אבן שדאד

ﭏ עכסי

ﭏ קסﭏ ﭏ אוﭏ

נﭏשרהו ﭏﭏ ﭏ עבראנייה שמעון מﭏﭏם
נסﭏם אחד מעﭏמי אסכור ﭏ ﭏייאנﭏ ﭏ
אסראילי פי בגדאד ·

שנת התר"סט

אנטבע במטבעת דנגור ٭ בגדאד

Cover of *Kitsat 'Antar ibn Shadad*
[romance of Antar], in Judeo-Arabic
(Baghdad, 1908).

כתאב

חואדת ١ זמאן

מגמועה

תחתוי כונה ٤ אלתצאר ٠ תאריך צלאטין
דוורת ١ עלייה ٠ וקועאה אלדי גרת באייאם
אר אביריה ٠ מעלומאת עלא כנראד ٠ כעץ
מערומאת ען ١ יהוד ٠ כעץ אמר תארכייה
וגיר ת״יד ٠

פי סנת התר״ע עו׳ ٠٠٠٠ מרתייה

חקוק אועאדת ١ טבע מחפוץ לעטבעה דנגור

אנטבע פי מטבעה דנגור

כנראד

Cover of S. Nisim, *Kitab Hawadat
al-Zaman: majmu'ah*, in Judeo-Arabic
(Baghdad, 1910).

Sindbad of 1908, the undated *Kitsat al-Ahdab* from the Arabian Nights, and the *Sharh Ekhah* [Book of Lamentations] of 1924. As noted earlier, many of the books are set in handsome fonts imported from Leghorn, the Italian port famed as an international centre of Hebrew printing, which provided books to all of the Mediterranean and oriental Jewish communities.

Lithographic printing was common in the early Hebrew presses in the Orient. As in India, where Hebrew printing was carried out by Iraqi-born scholars, lithography was used at Baghdad before the introduction of movable type. It is noteworthy that the Baghdad edition of the travelogue of Benjamin of Tudela, *Masa'ot shel Rabi Binyamin*, issued by Barukh Moses Mizrahi in 1866 in eighty pages, is one of the lengthiest Hebrew works ever printed by lithography. Aside from the Hebrew journal and the handful of Hebrew books issued by Mizrahi, one further lithographic booklet, a *Daftar waridat wa-musarifat* in Judeo-Arabic, was issued in 1914 by the Shabindar press. This seems to be the only book from this press, or at any rate the only one in Hebrew characters; oddly, its title-page was printed with movable type. In the context of lithography one should also mention three pamphlets printed by hectograph in 1930–1, one of them illustrated and two in an Ashkenazic cursive hand, their texts derived from Central European sources.

Illustration, Ornamention and Coloured Ink

Like other Hebrew books from the Orient, the books printed at Baghdad bear minimal ornamentation, though sometimes it is the ornamentation which allows for identification of the place of printing and the printer. The variety of simple ornamental borders used on the title-pages, generally European in style but often oriental in effect, is notable. Among other ornamental devices are a bird on a tree, a basket of flowers and fruit, a cluster of grapes, and the royal Turkish arms – in Arabic calligraphy – on the official *Tarjamat* of 1908 regarding military conscription. The few illustrations include woodcuts of a man blessing wine, a sailing-boat and a table laden with fruits and vegetables. One volume has an image of the smoke and smoke-stack of a locomotive, a reflection of the railway linking Baghdad with other parts of the Ottoman Empire. A few volumes printed at Baghdad contain portraits

ספר

פרקי אבות

עם שרח ערבי

כמנהג ק״ק בגדאד ואנפיה
אשר נוהגים לאומרם בשבתות שבין פסח
לעצרת . ויען שלא הקדמנו אדם מעולם
להדפיסו בערבי מנוקד . לזאת גזירה גזרנו
לבלתי יקרב איש זר להשיג את גבולינו
לעשות כמעשינו . בטוחים אנו שהשארית
ישראל לא יעשו עולה ועליהם תבא ברכת טוב :

Mishnah *Avot* [tractate on ethics],
with pointed Judeo-Arabic translation
(Baghdad, *sine anno*).

67

of the authors, such as Daud S. Tsemah in his *Kitab wurud al-Da'udiyah*. The appearance of such portraits is an uncommon phenomenon in Hebrew books. Two books printed by Ezra Reuben Dangur's sons after their father's death contain a portrait of the elder Dangur, certainly one of the rare instances of a portrait of a diaspora Hebrew printer.

A few volumes make use of coloured inks. In one curious volume, *Pizmon la-Hanukah* [readings for Hanukah], without a title-page and undated, the first page of text is printed in gold ink. In another case, *Shanah hadashah*, printed by Dangur in 1912, a special copy of the whole booklet has been printed with gold ink. In a third case, an undated *Simhat Purim* [blessings over the Esther scroll] from Hutsin's press, the title-page text is printed only on the red paper cover in gold ink, a most unusual combination. (This rarity is held in the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary in America.) In another instance, a unique copy from the Sassoon collection, prepared in honour of Sliman David Sassoon, includes dedicatory leaves printed in gold ink. In a few cases, such as the editions of the Zoharic *Idra zuta* and *Idra raba*, the title-pages are printed entirely in red ink. One book, apparently a special copy of *Seder Tikun hatsot u-selihot* [midnight and penitential prayers] printed by Dangur in 1906, is entirely in red ink. (Although red ink was at times used on the title-pages of Hebrew books printed in Europe, especially in Eastern Europe in the nineteenth century, it is normally seen alternating with black ink on the same page. Only a very few Hebrew books have been printed entirely in red ink.)

Format

Of the 300 Baghdad imprints recorded heretofore by the bibliographer Yaari (see below), most are small books, both in length and in physical dimensions. About 180 titles are octavos, most of the rest are duodecimos, and 14 are sextodecimos. Only 8 are quartos, and there are 5 folio volumes. The books were usually paper-bound. Nearly half of them, 150 titles, are no longer than short pamphlets, from 4 to 20 pages. Some 120 titles are of 21 to 100 pages in length, and 35 titles are 100 to 200 pages in length. Fewer than a dozen titles are over 200 pages in length, two of them coming to 275 and 280 pages, both from the press of Elisha Shohet: *Likute Imre El* compiled by Ezekiel Meir, and *Va-yivhar*

מואנס אל צבייאן

והוא כתאב

עَגַّאייב אל אספّאר

וגّראייב אל אכבّאר

והّייא

מגמועאת צّאמנת סבעת אקסّאם עَן אספّאר
אל סّנדבّאר אל בّחרי תדّל עَלَי קدّרת אל לّٰה
סُבّחאנהו ותעَّאלَי וקَד הנّّاَاسّרנא עَלَא נשّرהא
מתסّرّסّלת קסّם בّעَד קסّم لَّתّכّون וסّّ ילّרّّ
ניתّסّّرّي אל אّوּקّאת لّّר צّבّ ייّّان ורّّا סּّّ יّّ ّ ّ מّّّّ
(ומّכّّؤّّّّّ) פّ י رّّ ّّ יّ ّ אّل ّ שّ תّّ א ّ נّ ّ صّّ אّ ל ّ בّّ א ّ רّّ י
תّّ ّ עّّ ّ ّ ّ ّ ّ ّ ّ ّ ّ ّ ّ ّ ּ ّ :

קסّّّם אל אווّّل

בנפّקّתّّ כّו ّ שّّ מّעّّ וّ ןّّ מّّّ עّّ ' נּّّ סّّّ יּّّ סّّّ

אّّّّّّّّّّّّ

סּّ נּّתّّ   ס65   עּّ כּّّ ّ ّ ּ ّ ּ ּ

אّّ נּّّ טּّ בּّّ עּّ בּّ ּّّ

נצֿאמנאמת
אפֿד 4 עסכר

מן ט תבעת ט גֿר מסלמה

אנטבע פי מטבעת רנגור * בגדאד

١٣٢٥

Nizamnamat akhad al-Askar
[on conscription of non-Muslims],
in Judeo-Arabic (Baghdad, 1907).

Mosheh by Moses Hariri, printed in 1934 and 1930 respectively. The longest work, totalling 467 pages, was printed by Joshua Hutsin in 1904. This is the two-part compendium of rabbinic law entitled *Zivhe Tsedek* by Abdallah Somekh, a classic of Baghdadi rabbinic literature. It is noteworthy that this longest book was by a local author: Somekh was Hakham of Baghdad, and his authority was recognized by Baghdadi communities throughout the Orient. Mention should also be made of about a dozen surviving items recorded by the bibliographers as comprising no more than a single sheet, some of them full-text broadsheets.

Two of the most curious of the Baghdad Hebrew imprints are scrolls. In 1909 *Megilat Ester*, the biblical book of Esther, was printed as a scroll at the Dangur press, and in 1925 the book was again printed as a scroll by Elisha Shohet. These are among the few instances in Hebrew booklore of printed Esther scrolls. (The printing of the Esther scroll was disallowed by rabbis in the sixteenth century, as rabbinic tradition demands that the text, read on the Feast of Purim, must be chanted only from a manuscript scroll prepared by the hand of a scribe.)

Libraries and Collections

A number of the Hebrew and Judeo-Arabic books from Baghdad are held in various research libraries and in a few private collections around the world, among them the Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem, the Harvard College Library, the New York Public Library, the Jewish Theological Seminary Library in New York and the Klau Library of Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati. A small number are held in the British Library and in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, the latter recorded in Cowley's *Concise Catalogue of the Hebrew Printed Books in the Bodleian Library* (e.g. p. 406, *s.v.* 'Ma'ase' and p. 648, *s.v.* 'Solomon Bekhor Husain'). The largest collections of Hebrew books from Baghdad have been held in private libraries, two of them in England and both distinguished in the annals of Hebrew bibliography, the Sassoon collection and the Valmadonna Trust Library.

The famous Anglo-Jewish bibliophile David Solomon Sassoon (1880–1942) was descended from an ancient Baghdadi family of merchants and scholars who left for Persia and then removed to India in the

early nineteenth century, later settling in England.[2] Widely travelled, Sassoon assembled a magnificent library of Hebrew manuscripts and books from the Orient, including the finest collection of Hebrew printing from Baghdad and India. His Hebrew and Samaritan manuscripts and a few lithographs were described in a sumptuous two-volume catalogue, *Ohel Dawid*, published by Oxford University Press in 1932. The library passed to his son, Solomon David Sassoon, also a Hebrew scholar and editor of several Bodleian manuscripts, who augmented it considerably. Originally housed in Letchworth and London (the most precious manuscripts evacuated to Aberystwyth in Wales for safekeeping during the War), the Sassoon collection was later transferred to Jerusalem.

Although many of the Sassoon manuscripts and early printed treasures were scattered to the four corners of the earth in a series of celebrated auctions at Sotheby's, the Hebrew and Judeo-Arabic books from India and Baghdad were retained by the family. The Sassoons cherished these books, which were closely associated with their own history. A few of the Baghdad volumes in the Sassoon collection included printed dedications to David Solomon's grandfather David Suleman Sassoon, or in one case to his mother Flora, which were specially inserted by the printer in the copy intended for the Sassoon family library.

The Baghdad imprints in the Sassoon collection (and, secondarily, those in the Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem, as of 1940) served as the basis for the first bibliographical account of this oriental printing centre. These books were recorded in detail by the Polish-born printing historian A. Yaari, one of the greatest of Hebrew bibliographers of the twentieth century. Yaari's preliminary bibliography of Hebrew (including Judeo-Arabic) printing at Baghdad, which comprises most of part II of his comprehensive *Hebrew Printing in the East* (Jerusalem, 1936–40), lists 300 items, to which some addenda were published later.[3] The more recent and definitive *Bibliography of the*

[2] David Solomon's uncle Abdullah, later Sir Albert, founded a Jewish school in Bombay for which the Hebrew and Judeo-Arabic bibliographer Steinschneider in Berlin wrote a primer. A friend of the Prince of Wales, he was knighted by Queen Victoria in 1890. David Solomon's mother Flora, herself a renowned Hebraist, moved from Bombay to London in 1901. Among the cousins in this family were the English poet Siegfried Sassoon and the aesthetes Sir Philip Sassoon and his sister Sybil, wife of the Marquess of Cholmondeley, alternate hereditary Lord Great Chamberlain.

[3] The private collection of the Hebrew literary scholar and bibliographer Meir Benayahu (son of the Baghdad-born Chief Rabbi of Israel Isaac Nissim) is said to hold more than 100 Baghdad imprints not recorded by Yaari or in the supplements to Yaari; cf.

תרגמת

(צ כט צ שריף צ צלטאני)

וצ קאנון צ אסאסי

אנטבע פי בגדאד במטבעת דנגור

١٣٢٦

Tarjamat (al-khat al-sharif al-sultani),
in Judeo-Arabic (Baghdad, 1908).

73

Hebrew Book, issued on CD-ROM by the Hebrew Bibliographic Project at the National Library in Jerusalem and based on holdings in various libraries aside from the Sassoon collection, now records nearly 500 titles in Hebrew characters printed in Baghdad.

In 1999, many of the remaining oriental printed rarities still held in the Sassoon family collection in Jerusalem were returned to England, acquired by the Valmadonna Trust. Housed in London, the Valmadonna Trust Library is recognized as the world's foremost private collection of early and rare Hebraica, especially printed books from Italy, Ottoman Greece, Turkey and Palestine, Amsterdam, India and Baghdad.[4] Already rich in Baghdad imprints before the acquisition of the Sassoon books, the Valmadonna Trust today holds nearly 350 of these imprints, the largest accessible collection in the world of Hebrew books from Baghdad. The carefully restored, bound and preserved volumes in the Trust's collection include more than fifty previously unrecorded titles, numerous variant copies and a large number of *unica*, unique surviving copies. Among the many rarities are the earliest lithographs and other early, undated, Hebrew liturgies; numerous previously unrecorded editions in Judeo-Arabic; and the Judeo-Persian *Haggadah* of 1896.

Altogether the Hebrew and Judeo-Arabic books from Baghdad comprise an unparalleled resource for research on oriental printing, Hebrew liturgical history, Judeo-Arabic literature, and the history and culture of the most ancient Jewish diaspora community. In order to preserve this inheritance of rare, scattered and often fugitive printed material, the entire Valmadonna collection of Baghdad imprints was in 2004 reproduced on microfiche, and thus made accessible to a broader audience of libraries and researchers around the world.[5] This compact facsimile

Benayahu, *Hebrew Books Composed in Bagdad*, p. 27, n. 44. The Benayahu collection, of which there is no published catalogue, is held in Jerusalem.

[4] The Valmadonna library is described in more detail in the *Report of the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies, 2001-2002* (Oxford, 2002), p. 124. The custodian of the Trust, Mr J. V. Lunzer, was one of the last pupils of Suliman Sassoon.

[5] The microfiche collection, entitled *Hebrew and Judeo-Arabic Printing in Baghdad*, has been published by IDC of Leiden in the Netherlands. A bibliographic list of the contents of the collection, with an additional list sorted according to language (Hebrew, Judeo-Arabic, Aramaic, Judeo-Persian), is available on-line at www.idc.nl. This IDC collection is apparently the most comprehensive film preservation project devoted to a specific place of imprint *cum* specific language/script, a project which could be easily undertaken only in a comprehensive and imprint-based (i.e. geographically arranged)

reproduction of nearly the entire corpus of Hebrew printing from Baghdad allows not only for its preservation and dissemination in our Benjaminian 'age of mechanical reproduction', but also for the recovery and reexamination of a whole literature, a linguistic tradition and a cultural legacy in print which would otherwise have remained inaccessible and in large part relegated to bibliographic oblivion.

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library like that of the Valmadonna Trust. Similar preservation projects – whether by film or digital reproduction – could be carried out for other oriental and European imprints, such as those from India, Istanbul, Salonika and Leghorn.

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The Hexapla Institute: Ancient Jewish Bibles in Greek

ALISON SALVESEN

IN 2003, when the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies granted me the title 'Fellow in Jewish Bible Versions', a colleague who holds a chair of Jewish Studies in an American university surprised me by commenting that he believed this to be the only such post in the world.

Given the centrality of Talmud and rabbinics for the study of Judaism in antiquity, why are Jewish Bible versions not regarded as more important? Principally this must be because the Hebrew Bible is seen as the only truly Jewish version. But although it is the original one, it is not the only one. Many Jews in the period of the Second Temple, especially those in the Diaspora, had lost their ancestors' and teachers' familiarity with Hebrew, and tuned to Aramaic, Greek or Latin. Translations were produced for the needs of such people, including the official rabbinic Aramaic Targums: Targum Onkelos to the Torah, and Targum Jonathan to the Prophets.

A daughter-form of Aramaic is Syriac, originating in northern Mesopotamia and having a semi-cursive script more like Arabic than Hebrew. The earliest Syriac version of the Old Testament, known as the Peshitta, was translated directly from the Hebrew so must have been the work of Jews or of Jewish converts to Christianity. In fact Michael Weitzman, the late British scholar, believed the Peshitta of the Old Testament to be the work of Jews in the late second century CE who converted to Christianity and took their Syriac Bible version into the Church. By the medieval period the Syriac Church had spread all over the Middle East and into India and China.

For centuries the city of Alexandria in Egypt had a large Jewish population and the Greek Septuagint version was produced for them from the third century BCE onwards. A work called the *Letter of Aristeas* seems to have been written precisely to defend the use of the Septuagint by Jews, since its author, a Jew writing in the guise of a non-Jew, says the Torah was translated from the best Hebrew manuscripts by seventy-

two learned elders from the Land of Israel representing all the tribes of Israel, at the request of King Ptolemy of Egypt and with the approval of the high priest in Jerusalem.

It was no easy task to translate Hebrew concepts into Greek and, as the form of the Hebrew text became standardized in Palestine, there was a corresponding trend to revise the Septuagint towards the Hebrew. This culminated in the versions of Aquila, Theodotion and Symmachus, all of whom, according to the early Christian writer Epiphanius, were converts to Judaism who lived in the second century CE. Aquila in particular received rabbinic approval for his work. However, by this time Greek-speaking Christians had adopted the Septuagint as their Old Testament, seeing it as an inspired version provided by God himself for the Gentiles. Jews therefore began to shy away from the Septuagint and to use revised versions such as those of Aquila and Symmachus. With the growth of the rabbinic movement, however, the Hebrew text itself became more and more central, since the rabbis interpreted details of the Hebrew that could not be reflected in the Greek. Nevertheless, manuscripts from the Cairo Genizah and an inscription from Turkey show that the versions of Aquila and Symmachus continued to be used at least until the sixth century CE. There are even traces of Aquila's version in an eleventh-century Jewish manuscript.

Christians also used these Jewish versions, including the great scholar Origen whose interfaith discussions with Jews in the first half of the third century CE led him to realize that the Hebrew text sometimes differed from the Septuagint used by the Church. To enable Christians to compare what the versions say he composed the Hexapla, a monumental six-columned work in which he lined up the Hebrew text and all the Jewish Greek versions next to the Septuagint. The Hexapla was far from easy to copy in the days before printing and must have filled many volumes if it covered every book of the Hebrew canon. It seems unlikely that more than one complete set ever existed. We do know that scholars who visited the library in Caesarea (where the original copy of the Hexapla was kept) jotted down notes for themselves about the different versions, doing this either in the margins of their own Bibles or as the odd phrase in commentaries explaining obscurities in the Septuagint.

One notable user of the Hexapla was St Jerome who, in the late fourth century, described how he originally set out to learn Hebrew as a

monk in the Syrian desert to keep sinful thoughts under control. After much study he became convinced that the Hebrew Bible represented the truest form of the Old Testament, and he continued to learn Hebrew with the help of Jewish informants and converts to Christianity. He also relied on the work of his predecessor Origen, as well as on the versions of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion which Origen had included in the Hexapla. Jerome then translated the Hebrew Scriptures into elegant Latin, producing a version which came to form the backbone of what was later called the Vulgate, the Bible of the Catholic Church. Jerome's opponents wrongly accused him of 'judaizing' the Christian Bible, but he certainly 'hebraized' it to some extent.

The Hexapla itself was destroyed probably during the Persian and Arab invasions of the Holy Land in the seventh century, and almost all we have left are the notes made by Christian scholars and scribes. In addition, however, there are a few pages copied from the Hexapla of Psalms with some of the columnar structure intact. These were found in the Cairo Genizah, where they survived as palimpsest fragments: the ink had been partially scraped off the valuable parchment so that it could be overwritten with medieval Hebrew poetry. The original remains faintly visible nonetheless. Parts survive also of the Syriac translation of the Septuagint column of the Hexapla, including marginal notes recording alternative words used by the Jewish revisions. This was copied not long before the upheavals of the seventh century. Much of this evidence for the Hexapla was collected by scholars over the centuries, most notably by the Victorian parson Frederick Field, who published them in two volumes with copious Latin notes. Other material has turned up since, such as some palimpsest pages of a fifth- or sixth-century Jewish copy of Aquila's version of Kings, also found in the Cairo Genizah, demonstrating that Jews continued to use Greek versions in the early medieval period and beyond.

Almost all these readings have been included in the standard scholarly editions of the Septuagint books produced in Gsttingen in Germany, but the editors did not attempt to attribute readings to Aquila, Symmachus or Theodotion, and the format of the volumes does not allow for the inclusion of any discussion of the significance of each reading, or consideration of how the Jewish revisers understood the text and whether they had a Hebrew version which differed from our Masoretic Text.

In 1994 I organized the Rich Seminar on Origen's Hexapla at the Hebrew Centre, a ten-day workshop for international scholars involved in the later Greek Bible versions. From that small seed has grown the Hexapla Institute, a team involving myself, Dr Bas ter Haar Romeny (Leiden) and Professor Peter Gentry (Kentucky). We are overseeing a project to edit the remnants of the later Jewish Greek versions, including those of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion (and collaborating also with Professor Nicholas de Lange of Cambridge University, who works on the use of Jewish Greek biblical versions in the medieval period). We are doing this with the aid of an initial five-year grant from Southern Baptist Seminary in Louisville, whichh will fund a website and database, information from which will also be published in book-form by Peeters Press in Belgium.

Thanks to the work of the Gsttingen Septuagint editors we do not need to check every original manuscript. Our task involves assessing whether traditional attributions to one reviser or another are correct, by comparing the style of translation and discussing the interpretation of the Hebrew text that they reflect. Apart from certain passages where continuous text has come down to us, such as in Psalms or Kings, we have only a few words and phrases in each chapter of Scripture to work with. However, it is often the more significant readings that have been preserved since these attracted the attention of the scholars who noted them down, and so even this small amount of material gives considerable insight into how Greek-speaking Jews of the first and second centuries CE understood the Bible.

The Greek Jewish biblical versions are a neglected part of Jewish heritage. I see my task as Fellow in Jewish Bible Versions to help recover them and promote their study. The work of the Hexapla Institute is designed also to show Christians the debt they owe to Jewish translators and scholars for preservating and elucidating Scripture.

Muzungu*

IGAL SARNA

LATE IN SEPTEMBER 1998, when a small passenger aircraft crashed
on the Ruwenzori mountain range at the Uganda-Congo border, I
was, by a strange coincidence, attending a writing workshop in Iowa,
in the heart of peaceful America, along with a Ugandan writer by the
name of Ayeta Wangusa. Neither of us heard about the crash. While
hunters and soldiers were scouring the jungle in search of the nine pas-
sengers and the pilot, Ayeta was telling me about the days of Idi Amin,
about the darkness in Kampala, and the belief that a dead infant
returns to its mother's womb for the next birth. When the five sur-
vivors were found, I was in Iowa reading Ayeta's story about a preg-
nant girl, who, squatting to pee in her backyard, was rammed in the
buttocks by a bull.

Although I hadn't heard anything about the plane that crashed on
the mountain, Uganda was engraved in my memory as a place I would
go to someday to meet Ayeta and her father, the poet Timothy, and to
see the country that had been freed from the monster's rule. Two years
later, like the answer to a secret wish, I was offered the assignment of
writing the story of the crashed plane. Then for the first time I read
what had been written about Ze'ev Shiff, the Israeli who had disap-
peared in the bush, the searches for him and his rescue. In early 2001, I
flew to Kampala and spent two prolonged periods of time in Uganda on
my research.

I lived in the home of Ze'ev Shiff and his wife, Tamar. I met the
Indian Arif, and other survivors, the members of the dead pilot's family,
journalists who had covered the crash, poets, soldiers and intellectuals
who knew the history of Uganda as well as a man knows his own
wounded soul. I interviewed people like Sam the geologist, who knows

* Igal Sarna wrote the book from which these passages are extracted, which records
the background and aftermath of an aircrash, while staying at Yarnton Manor as a Visiting
Hebrew Writer in 2001. It was based on research conducted in Uganda and elsewhere and
published in Hebrew in 2003. These sections appear here for the first time in English.
During a further stay at the Centre in the past year he completed *Flood*, a novel about life
during the Intifada.

everything there is to know about diamonds and gold in Uganda, and its legendary neighbour, Congo. My notebooks were filled with details of a country where rumours are as well received as facts, and sometimes given more credence than government statements. On more than one occasion I felt like one of the survivors cutting his way through the treacherous bush of information, with the ground threatening to open up under his feet at any moment.

In Kampala, I met Ayeta who became my guide and interpreter. I traveled to her father's village home. I spent time poring through the archives of the *New Vision* and *The Monitor*, listening to radio programs, attending snake rituals, talking to well-informed newspaper editors, and to rumour-mongers. I observed the election campaign and the flight of the Marabou bird and, together with Shiff, drove down dusty, bumpy roads back to the mountain where the plane had crashed. I was captivated by the country that lies close to the valley where man took his first steps, but is still locked into the memory of the massacre that occurred there one generation ago.

This, then, is a story about a continent in which the borders drawn by its former white rulers are gradually fading. It is about the Uganda of President Museveni and his young brother and the city in which it all began, sweet Kampala, where I first heard the soft murmur of the word Muzungu – 'white man' – whispered behind my back. But first and foremost, it's a story about a plane that flew in search of gold and fell on the mountains of the moon.

The Plane

Trying desperately to pass over the ridge that was slightly lower than the peak, the pilot lifted the nose of his small plane, pressing the passengers' backs to their seats. Lowering their morning papers, all they could see out of the front window was the sky. The roar of the engine was the only noise they heard as the motor of the Islander struggled to gain its breath, and then, in the cockpit, the mad ringing of the stall-warning sounded, and the vast mountain-side came rushing towards them. It drew closer. Trees furiously emerged from the low bush, shrubs, and then the ground. A horrible thud as the plane was thrown and shattered. The wings tore off and trees exploded, the propeller smashed through the wall of the plane, and then came that moment when they

thought they had fallen asleep or lost consciousness, and were awakening to the sharp odour of grass mixed with fuel, the smell of an old lawnmower.

The pilot, who was thrown against the instrument panel, stumbled outside, bleeding, and they all climbed out, through openings and gashes in the fuselage, pulling Shiff, who was wounded, down to the ground, fearful that the plane might explode. Looking around them, the passengers of the gold flight saw the edge of the ridge just metres above them, as if the Islander had been trying to land with its last ounce of strength, and had nearly succeeded, leaving a ploughed trail on which lay three trees that rose out of the dense shrubs of the bush like the fur of a huge wooly animal.

It was cold on the mountain, rain was falling, a fierce wind was blowing. They stood there battered and trembling in their lightweight clothing, close to the imaginary line of the Congo border. Cumulus clouds moved beneath them, and the temperature was 6 degrees Centigrade at a height of 10,360 feet above sea level, on the Ruwenzori, the largest mountain range in Africa. Their tall peaks covered by ice, these are called the mountains of the moon.

The Bush

The stunned survivors stood next to the plane, and when they saw it had not caught fire, climbed inside. From among the uprooted seats they pulled out a bag they'd forgotten, a coat, found a first-aid kit containing a roll of bandages. Someone checked the radio and saw it had been damaged. They left the chocolate they had bought in Entebbe, no one took gasoline. They only thought about running down below, and took for the road several bottles of long-life milk, mineral water and their cell phones. That month the local MTN company had advertised that it was now covering the Kampala and Entebbe areas too. In another year, the towns of Fort Portal and Kasese at the foot of the Ruwenzori would be on the map of coverage too. Their ad showed a businessman at the end of the African world talking into his phone. 'We at MTN believe that you can be linked up to the rest of the world even from the middle of nowhere. You used to need phone lines that crawled over thousands of kilometres of savannah, rain forests and swamps. We are investing seventy million dollars in Uganda, so that you can talk and

be heard clearly any time and any place.' The cell phones were silent; the source of Uganda's pride was of no use.

Shiff was bleeding, but he felt no pain, and Arif bandaged his open wound. Pushing the torn flesh inward, he set the broken arm and wound Jet's tie around Shiff's neck. Everyone had been bruised on the back, head or hands. Jet could tell that he had a broken rib, it was hard for him to breathe.

Looking down at the incline from the high open peak, they could see the distant glitter of a tin roof. 'What direction are we looking in?' they asked, and Jet said: 'Kasese'. They were on the Ugandan side of the mountain. It was the district where he was born, where he had fought and hid as a boy when they were fighting Obote. He had returned there in 1996, responding to his brother's urgent request to come and help get rid of the rebels. Now this memory only aroused Jet's anxiety. He was exposed, without any soldiers or heavy weapons, beaten. The thought of the rebels entered his mind like a constantly gnawing worm, the way a worry in a brain shaken by disaster takes root. It swells, pushing out every clear thought.

Shiff looked down but saw nothing. Everything was blurred. He had lost his glasses, and now he took another pair out of his pocket and saw roofs. 'Five hours and we're down below. We've got to move fast,' Jet said, 'the mountain is swarming with rebels.' He took an automatic revolver out of its case, stuck it into his belt and threw away the case. The pilot stood there and said nothing. No one spoke to him. The anger had passed, leaving only shock. On his back he had the knapsack and the grease gun held in its strap. Shiff and Jet decided they would all walk together in a column. They were soldiers thinking of the movement of a small platoon in enemy territory. The trees were low, and the terrain rocky and very humid. They walked together, Rosebelle in front of Shiff. When the two Congolese and the pilot began running, believing that whoever ran would get down below faster, two groups were formed on the first steep slope; Jet and Arif around the wounded Shiff and with them a gold-trader called Andrew Gore, Jet's friend, and the others – the woman, the three Congolese and Rashid – hurrying after the pilot, who was fleeing from their anger. 'Tell those who are rushing ahead where the military base is in Kasese', Shiff said to Jet. 'If they get there before us, they can inform the brother where we are.' Jet told them, 'Go on ahead, but be careful of the rebels. If it gets dark, sleep

close together, so you won't freeze.' It was morning and the sun was shining, warming them a bit, but the descent was getting steeper and steeper, and Jet could see that Shiff had a hard time holding on to the branches with his one hand to keep from falling. He told him, 'Sit down on your backside and slide down the slope.' Now there were only the four of them. The others had vanished from sight. A light rain began to fall and they sat down to rest. Then they got up and went on walking, and stopped again. Whenever one of them moved ahead faster, he disappeared at once. You could vanish in the bush only a few metres from the rest of the group. Shiff yelled: 'Arif, Arif', and the Indian answered, and again they got together. They moved in single file, and then saw a path trampled underfoot by someone running ahead of them. As they walked, they sensed the light growing dim. Thrown from the sky into the jungle, they were like a baby hurtled into the world. Stripped of protection, stunned like someone whose past has been erased, the four men watched darkness, cold and damp and thick, descend on them, while they had lost the other members of the group. For a little while more, they heard the voices of people in the bush, the sound of breaking branches, a distant cry, and then it all faded away. Silence.

Tamar got up at night to feed her crying baby. She had recovered from the cancer that had afflicted her in the United States, waited patiently as the doctors had told her, and then gave birth to the two children she had always wanted. A thin veneer of normal life covering the fear. A son and daughter, Dan and Aviah. On this wild continent where they lived, her husband was constantly on flights to Rwandan Kigali, to Congo, to small gold towns in the jungle, flying over Africa in dilapidated planes. She remained on the ground, needing courage no less than her husband did. When she was stuck at home with the children, with the nursemaid who lived in a hut in the yard, with the gardener, the dog and the small antelope, Tamar always felt lucky just to be alive, lucky to have given birth as she had decided to. Every few months she flew to Israel for periodic checkups, shaking as she waited for the results as if for a delayed sentence.

There were hours when she knew happiness in Africa, when she saw alongside the road a caravan of women with yellow bananas on their heads, at sunset or on a quiet morning on the terrace of their house.

Like a scene in a film that brings tears to your eyes. But for her the blacks were a legend, a world of fantasies, lies and anxieties, and she was afraid of being swallowed up in Africa, of 'becoming one of them'. She had her own laws to protect her from that: to travel every two months to Israel, to keep her visits short.

She felt protected in the spa at the Sheraton, at *muzungu* sites like the terrace of Keller, the American, or in restaurants like *Le Chateau* that imported oysters from Belgium, in the French Fountain of Love, or at Sam's place, the rock garden with the little bridge over the water, Mrs Fang's Chinese restaurants, the Indian Khana-Kazana with its large garden. The Kabira health club, Andy the Greek's Greek restaurant. The new shops in the petrol stations. All those bubbles of pleasure scattered throughout Kampala for the whites and the blacks who live *muzungu*-style.

She hated Ze'ev's flights, although he never confided in her about the rough times he experienced in the sky or in the small towns down below. When he began flying, Tamar was in her second pregnancy, worn out from her illness and her first pregnancy, from being uprooted from her home and moving between continents. She remembered she had once been a protected child. Once her father had been a senior army officer. Once she had lived in her own country as a daughter of the ruling military tribe. When still a soldier, she had met the officer, Shiff, who reminded her of men who provided security, like her father, Colonel Joe. Security and stability. But when they began wandering, when she was uprooted from her tribe, she fell ill and everything fell apart.

Until she met Ze'ev she had always been half of a pair of identical twins: Tamar and Yael. That was also a kind of protection. A photographer immortalized them as a lovely girl and her reflection in a mirror. They were so similar, so telepathic. When Tamar left with Ze'ev for their trip to America, her twin Yael cried at the airport as if she had been orphaned. There's a price to pay when you're uprooted. Tamar let her life sweep her along – Asia, America, Africa, the troubles, Ze'ev's businesses. The births.

In Kampala too they had Israeli friends, and yet the two of them called to mind the two white men stranded at Joseph Conrad's Congolese river station: 'They lived like blind men in a large room, aware only of what came into contact with them (and that only imperfectly)

but unable to see the general aspect of things. The river, the forest, all the great land throbbing with life were like a great emptiness.' ('An Outpost of Progress', in *Tales of Unrest.*)

The pilot went ahead of the group. Haunted, bleeding, hardly speaking. The blow to his head had shaken him, the anger of the passengers propelled him forward, to the forest. Without a machete with which to cut the bush, he barged ahead like a bulldozer. Hands, feet. His body was the knife that penetrated the bush. Blood filled his eyes, blocking his vision. The greenery concealed rocks covered with slippery moss. You couldn't see a thing and you couldn't anticipate anything. The ground was muddy. Beyond the bushes, a cliff or a waterfall was waiting, a ravine that led nowhere. You lost your way again and again. At times the jungle looked like a wild animal covered with thick fur. You slipped. The ground disappeared under your feet. You were swallowed up. The first group followed him because he was the one who had brought them there. Because he had a map that he sometimes glanced at. Taban, who was walking behind the pilot, saw that although he was a strong man, he seemed to be weakening, because of some internal bleeding, the immense tension, the confusion. The pilot asked someone to bandage him to stop his bleeding, but no one was prepared to give up a shirt or any other part of his clothing. They descended in the ravine of a river that led down below. Momentarily they again saw the glitter of a tin roof, and then it disappeared. They stumbled downwards without a visible point of reference. Even if you walk aimlessly on a plain, you always find yourself moving in circles around the weak leg. In the jungle they walked like blind men. When they stood on a high point they saw the shape of the terrain and immediately descended to make some progress, but then they were stopped by a cliff or a waterfall or a too-steep slope, hidden in the bush.

At nearly six in the evening, when the light was dimming, the group came to a steep cliff, and together with the pilot decided not to go back but to keep going, pushed forward by the thought that behind the next tree they'd find the path or its end. The pilot went first and stood on the edge of a rock, bending down to get a better view below. Taban, the Congolese, was standing close behind him when the pilot's shoe slipped on the moist edge of the rock. His hands flailed in the air, trying to find something to hold on to, and Taban saw that he was sliding off

the rock, falling down, hitting his head on a rock. It was the last day-light hour, and no one dared go down to the place where the pilot was lying. They left him there and climbed, retracing their steps.

Now they all took their shoes off. Shoes were their enemies, Taban said. Rosebelle was already barefoot because she had thrown off her high-heeled shoes as soon as she boarded the plane. As they walked barefoot on the ground, on twigs and rocks, on the cold mud, they found it was hard even to walk. The soles of their feet froze and swelled. It was dark, and they heard no sound from Jet's group. They climbed up and down and up again, until they despaired and decided to rest. They had no one to command or lead them. They found a place under a large tree surrounded by rocks, and recalled that before they left Jet, he had told them to stick close together at night to preserve their body heat. As they huddled together, Rosebelle asked Jojo to give her his jacket. She was trembling from the cold, the soles of her feet ached from the cold. Jojo held on to his jacket, ignoring her request, com-pletely immersed in the trance of a conversation with God.

'God,' he cried, 'it's too bad you didn't take our lives in the crash, instead of leaving us to die such a horrible death alone in the jungle.' He talked and cried, and the others begged him to stop because he was frightening them. Jojo stopped, and they talked to one another for hours because they couldn't sleep. When it was almost dawn, they saw him get up and begin walking. 'Jojo,' Taban cried. 'Don't go, stay with us, you'll fall if you're on your own.' Rosebelle begged him to stay, say-ing they'd lose him if he moved far away in the dark. But Jojo walked away into the bush. They waited, and when he didn't return, they began calling his name but without moving. They called and called until they grew weak and decided to look for him at daylight.

At six, they got up and looked around, but saw nothing. Taban kneeled and said: 'God, make a miracle and find my friend Jojo.' Again he called in a loud voice, 'Jojo,' and then he heard a voice through the trees. He moved ahead in the bush and discovered the narrow opening of a deep crevice shaped like a pit. Jojo was sitting inside, holding in one hand a white sheet of paper he was scrutinizing, and in the other, a passport and a sheaf of paper money. 'Climb out, let's move. It's day-light,' Taban said. It was already seven o'clock so the sun was lighting up the inside of the tiny crevice, and Taban saw that Jojo was laughing. 'Nothing can save me,' he said. 'God dug this pit for me and prepared

my way to heaven. Don't risk your life for me, because you'll fall inside too. Just remember me in your prayers.' He was speaking like Jonah from the belly of the whale, and looked peaceful in his open grave. Taban was as scared as if he had been looking at his own end. They had neither a map nor a guide, not a compass nor any sight of the roofs. Their feet were injured and their bodies were weak from the cold. 'I'll leave you to God,' he said, 'and if we get down, I'll see that someone rescues you.' Jojo said goodbye to his family and gave their names to Taban, and Taban cried a little on the edge of the pit, and then went away. From that moment, his memory is fuzzy about what happened.

Fort Portal

'In the beginning we only looked for bodies', Patrick told Shiff. Near a town called Ishaka, the road makes a ninety-degree turn eastwards, moving parallel to the border with Rwanda and then with Tanzania, passing through the area of the president's tribe of cattle growers. In that tiny town, that has neither electricity nor telephone, I see a hand-written sign on a hut, 'Internet, three dollars'. Adjacent to the church there's a small room with a computer and an improvised radio antenna on the roof, through which e-mail crawls to the world. A solar plate provides electricity. Alongside our car, a small boy rides a Robinson Crusoe scooter, made of huge boards and two wooden wheels. A fair-haired girl hitches a ride with us. A twenty-one-year-old Canadian, as fragile as a Barbie doll, she's been criss-crossing Africa for months, hitching rides on heavy trucks carrying coffee and weapons through the most forbidding countries, unharmed, passing alongside tribal wars as if she were a transparent fairy. Careful only to stay off the roads at night. She gets off at the nearest five-dollar hostel, where she's already learned, from an Internet check she made on the way, at what time there'll be hot water.

'We knew that anyone who had survived the crash had no food or heat. So we thought they'd all died in the bush. All the time we spoke about "finding the bodies". That's why we sent the hunters up top.' Patrick was in the village when the wounded began to arrive, and they heard that Shiff had been found alive on the mountain.

Now Shiff listens, all choked up. There was one moment during the rescue when Kwame, the brother's assistant, asked him to show some

sign of life on the radio the soldier had handed him. Shiff heard the familiar voice from down below, but he was unable to reply, 'I'm alive'. The realization that he was saved flooded him. Dams inside him, which had withstood the great storm, collapsed when it was all over. Choked up now too, Shiff tries to conceal his tears, to keep from falling apart again, in front of Patrick. The memory of the familiar voice he heard on the radio causes him to break down more than any other memory. He had flown to do business, he had fallen from the heavens, he had survived when others had not. Someone, like an angel, had come to save him.

Shiff is a member of my tribe and I believe his version of the story. Despite the rumours, despite the story told by the pilot's brother, despite all the whispering, I believe that Shiff is not a man who would have remained indifferent to a bullet in the head, who would cover up a murder, who would seek revenge. His eyes dry, he gets organized, pulls himself together, becomes his old self again on the hotel terrace.

Patrick was there when Shiff was led into the classroom, as terrified as a hunted animal. Patrick looked at the *muzungu* with the same curiosity as the *muzungu* look at him and his black brothers. He has heard the villagers saying that the passengers of the plane had not shown respect to the mountain. They had thought they could pass over it as if it were a small hill, not the domain of ice and winds. The *muzungu* wanted to get to the gold and return home in the evening. But the mountain deceived them. He knocked them down and then showed them houses down below, so they'd run until they fell again. There they were assaulted by the madness of fatigue, illusions. The mountain toyed with them. It seemed to you that if you hurried you'd get down alive, but when you ran, you fell. That's what people said.

The *muzungu* always play with danger, like children. Sail on frozen water, fly in thin air, dive into the depths. They've got sophisticated devices to do all that, but when something happens to the device – they're dead, frozen, drowned or lost. Patrick saw the resourcefulness and the cruelty. 'What I learned then', he tells Shiff at the end of their way home, on the outskirts of Kampala, 'is that when you compete with one another, you want the other guy to disappear'.

Translated by Chaya Naor

Two Poems

HAYA ESTER GODLEVSKY*

What is pain?

When a sculptor carves a beautiful statue, the stone fragments
which have been torn asunder from the whole
those splinters, that is the pain
The tearing which the creation left behind
that is the victim

Translated by Shira Twersky Cassel

How can I pour words
what I was up above
I stripped the heavenly body like a dress
my soul remained a melody in its nakedness
how much heaven I flowed, I have no numbers
the pleasure of the white wind
and I have no *and they were completed*
the heights of godliness
mounds of psalms cannot
heavenly music
I fell so much in love
God's deep beauty

Translated by Linda Zisquit

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* These poems are part of a cycle written by Haya Ester Godlevsky during her stay at Yarnton.

מַהוּ כְּאֵב?

כְּשֶׁפַּסָּל מְפַסֵּל פֶּסֶל יָפֵיפֶה
שִׁבְרֵי הָאֶבֶן שֶׁנִּשְׁאֲרוּ מֵהַשָּׁלֵם
הַקְּרָעִים – זֶה הַכְּאֵב
הַכְּאֵב הוּא הַקְּרָעִים שֶׁהוֹתִירָה אַחֲרֶיהָ הַיְצִירָה
הוּא הַקָּרְבָּן

אֵיךְ אוּכַל לִמְזֹג מִלִּים
אֶת שֶׁהָיִיתִי לְמַעְלָה
הִפְשַׁטְתִּי הַגּוּף הַשָּׁמֵימִי כְּמוֹ שִׂמְלָה
נִשְׁמָתִי נִשְׁאֲרָה נָגוֹן בְּעֵירָמָּה
כַּמָּה שָׁמַיִם זָרַמְתִּי אֵין לִי מִסְפָּרִים
עֶדְנַת הָרוּחַ הַלְּבָנָה
וְאֵין לִי וַיִּכְלוּ
מְרוֹמֵי הָאֱלֹהוּת
תְּלֵי תְּהִלִּים לֹא יוּכְלוּ
מוּסִיקָה שֶׁל מַעְלָה
כָּל כָּךְ הִתְאָהַבְתִּי
יָפְיוֹ הֶעָמֹק שֶׁל אֱלֹהִים

THE ACADEMIC YEAR

Michaelmas Term 2003

Lectures, Seminars and Classes

The Study of Ancient Israelite Religion   *Madhavi Nevader*

Introduction to Judaism   *Dr Jeremy Schonfield*

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

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

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

   Judaism and Hellenism in Retrospect   *Dr James Aitken*

   The Eschatological Adversary and the Return of Enoch and Elijah: The Formation of a Tradition   *Seth Turner*

   Targum Lamentations and the Tradition of Mourning for Zion in the Post-70 Period   *Professor Philip Alexander*

   Syriac, Jewish and Other Lunar Calendars in the Late Antique Near East: A Cross-cultural Approach   *Dr Sacha Stern*

   Heaven on Earth: Helios and the Zodiac Cycle in Ancient Palestinian Synagogues   *Professor Jodi Magness*

   Titus as a Commander: The Perspective of Josephus
   Dr James McLaren

   Targum Tehillim in relation to Rabbinic Tradition: A Creative Partner or Dependent Child?   *Timothy Edwards*

   The Monsters of Egypt: Philo on the Animal Cults of Egypt
   Dr Sarah Pearce

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

Introduction to the Septuagint   *Dr Alison Salvesen*

Midrash   *Dr Joanna Weinberg*

Talmud Seminar   *Dr Norman Solomon*

Introduction to Islamic Religion   *Ronald Nettler*

Judaism and Islam: Medieval Intellectual and Cultural Traditions
   Ronald Nettler

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

   What is Yiddish? Its Origins and Prospects   *Dr Kerstin Hoge*

   The Nobel Prize and Yiddish Literature   *Dr Joseph Sherman*

   Yiddish Dialects, or, You Speak How You Eat   *Dr Kerstin Hoge*

   The Jewish Pope and Yiddish Literature   *Dr Joseph Sherman*

Questions of Jewish Identity in Yiddish Literature
   Dr Joseph Sherman

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

Topics in the History of Modern Hebrew Literature
   Dr Glenda Abramson

Modern Hebrew Fiction   *Dr Glenda Abramson*

Modern Hebrew Poetry   *Dr Glenda Abramson*

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

Witnessing the Holocaust   *Dr Zoë Waxman*

Biblical Hebrew Classes   *Jill Middlemas*

Modern Hebrew Classes   *Tali Argov and Noa Brume*

Yiddish Language Classes   *Dr Kerstin Hoge and Szonja Komoróczy*

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

From Translation to Commentary: The Bilingual Editions of the *Kav
   ha-Yosher* (Frankfurt, 1705)   *Professor Jean Baumgarten*

Jewish Legalism in English Literature   *Dr Anthony Julius*

Byzantine-period Hebrew Poetry: Religious Literature as Art
   Dr Michael Rand

Discourses of Negotiation: The Writing of Orthodox Women in Israel
   Dr Tsila Ratner

Hilary Term 2004

Lectures, Seminars and Classes

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

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

  Dura-Europos and the Middle Euphrates. Some Remarks on
  Diaspora and the Construction of Cultural Identities in Partho-
  Roman Mesopotamia *Dr Michael Sommer*

  The Jewish priesthood of Christ in Early Syriac Thought
  Dr David Taylor

  Power and Pity: The Image of Herod in Josephus' *Bellum
  Judaicum* *Dr Tamar Landau*

  Justified War in Josephus' *Antiquities* 15.127–46
  Professor Jan Willem van Henten

  Agrarian Economics, Essene and Early Chrisitan Covenantal
  Sharing and Jesus' Anointing as Messiah of the Poor
  Dr Brian Capper

  What Kind of Jew was Paul? *Helenann Hartley*

  The Early Versions of the Amidah Prayer in the Light of a New
  Genizah Research Project *Dr Uri Ehrlich*

The Qumran Forum
(*Convened by Jonathan Kirkpatrick and Professor Geza Vermes*)

  Historical Allusions and Names in the Dead Sea Scrolls
  Professor Geza Vermes

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

Septuagint *Dr Alison Salvesen*

Septuagint Texts *Dr Alison Salvesen*

From Cuneiform to Qur'an: Iraq in the First Millennium CE –
  Binding Spells in the Aramaic Incantation Bowls from Babylonia
  Dr Alison Salvesen

Mishnah   *Dr Joanna Weinberg*

Midrash   *Dr Joanna Weinberg*

Introduction to Talmud   *Dr Norman Solomon*

Talmud   *Dr Norman Solomon*

Talmud Seminar   *Dr Norman Solomon*

Introduction to Islamic Religion   *Ronald Nettler*

Ibn al-'Arabi Texts   *Ronald Nettler*

The Religious and Cultural Legacy of Moses Maimonides
   Dr Joanna Weinberg

Modern European Jewish History   *Dr David Rechter*

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

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

   The Trouble with Isaac Bashevis Singer   *Dr Joseph Sherman*

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

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

Topics in the History of Modern Hebrew Literature
   Dr Glenda Abramson

Speech and Silence: Methods of Response in Modern Hebrew
Literature
   Dr Glenda Abramson

Modern Hebrew Fiction   *Dr Glenda Abramson*

Modern Hebrew Poetry   *Dr Glenda Abramson*

Litpos et hashamayim, 'To Catch the Sky': A Drama Series
   Dr Glenda Abramson

Government and Politics of Israel   *Dr Emanuele Ottolenghi*

Biblical Hebrew   *Dr Jill Middlemas*

Modern Hebrew   *Tali Argov and Noa Brume*

Yiddish Language Classes   *Dr Kerstin Hoge and Szonja Komoróczy*

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

The Prophet's Wife: Milton Steinberg's Unfinished Masterpiece
  Professor Ari Goldman

Education and Democracy in Israel – Dilemmas and Constraints
  Professor Benjamin Neuberger

Family *Tzorus* – A Settlement from the Cairo Geniza
  Petra Sijpesteijn

'Where the Dog Lies Buried…': Hidden Problem Areas in Medieval
  and Modern Theological Systems   *Professor Leonard Kravitz*

Jews and Judaism in Early Shi'i Religious Literature
  Dr Meir Bar-Asher

Hebrew Mathematics and Jewish Culture in the Middle Ages
  Dr Tony Lévy

Ibn Sahula's *Meshal Haqadmoni*: A Failed Educational Endeavour
  Professor Raphael Loewe

Special Lectures

Isaiah Berlin Public Lecture in Middle East Dialogue:

  Revelations of 1967: New Research on the Six Day War and
  Understanding the Contemporary Middle East   *Dr Michael Oren*

The Quest for Peace in the Arab-Israeli Conflict: A Lecture Series
  Professor Shlomo Ben-Ami

  The Early Years: A Missed Opportunity?

  1967–1977: The Tortuous Road to Jerusalem

  From Camp David to Madrid

  The Rise and Fall of the Oslo Process

Special Seminar

The Hindu-Jewish Seminar
(*Convened by Dr Francis Clooney and Dr Miri Freud-Kandel*)
  Truths of Translation   *Dr Julius Lipner and Dr Norman Solomon*

Trinity Term 2004

Lectures, Seminars and Classes

The Qumran Forum
(*Convened by Jonathan Kirkpatrick and Professor Geza Vermes*)

Diversity and Development in the Community Rule Traditions
Dr Charlotte Hempel

Reconsidering the Material Reconstruction of 4Q285
Professor Philip Alexander

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

The Jews of Late Antiquity: Reading Identity in Material Remains
Chris Beall

Educating Jesus: The Search for a Plausible Context
Dr Paul Foster

Biblical Greek   *Dr Alison Salvesen*

Septuagint and *Luxta Hebraeos* Versions of Psalms   *Dr Alison Salvesen*

Midrash   *Dr Joanna Weinberg*

Rabbinic and Medieval Hebrew Texts   *Dr Joanna Weinberg*

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

An Alternative to Revolution? The Liberal Milieu in the Russian Province, 1900–1917   *Professor Manfred Hildermeier*

British Attitudes to Questions of Yugoslav 'Race' in the Early Twentieth Century   *James Evans*

The Romanian Solution to the 'Jewish Problem': Deportation to Transdnistria, 1941–44   *Professor Dennis Deletant*

YIVO and the Economy of Yiddish Culture in Interwar Eastern Europe   *Professor Cecile Kuznitz*

The Modernist Mental Hospital in Vienna and the Habsburg Empire, 1900–1910   *Dr Leslie Topp*

The Dynastic Cult and Popular Patriotism in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1870–1914   *Dr Laurence Cole*

Reconciling Empire and Liberty in Seventeenth-century Central Europe: Leibniz and the Polish Royal Election of 1669 *Robert Bartczak*

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

Modern Hebrew Fiction   *Dr Glenda Abramson*

Modern Hebrew Poetry   *Dr Glenda Abramson*

Biblical Hebrew   *Dr Jill Middlemas*

Modern Hebrew   *Tali Argov and Noa Brume*

Yiddish Language Classes   *Kerstin Hoge and Szonja Komoróczy*

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

Mourning a Father Lost: A Kibbutz Childhood Remembered *Professor Avraham Balaban*

Is Israel a Colonial State? Reflections on the Relationship Between Zionism, Colonialism and Post-colonialism   *Professor Derek Penslar*

The Dönme Literature in Ladino prose and Poetry: Form and Language   *Shlomo Avayou*

New Research of the Liturgy: How the Amidah Prayer was Created *Dr Uri Ehrlich*

Spiritual Interconnections Between Body and Soul *Haya Ester Godlevsky*

Yiddish Scholarship and Politics: YIVO in Interwar Eastern Europe *Professor Cecile Kuznitz*

The Zohar, Masterpiece of Kabbalah: A New Annotated Translation *Dr Daniel Matt*

Contemporary Martyrs and Violence: Victims and/or Perpetrators? *Professor Jan Willem van Henten*

Special Lectures

Isaiah Berlin Public Lecture in Middle East Dialogue: Can Religion Heal the Wounds of the Middle East   *Yossi Klein-Halevi*

Special Seminar

The Hindu-Jewish Seminar
(*Convened by Dr Francis Clooney and Dr Miri Freud-Kandel*)

A Jewish Understanding of Monotheism in the Hebrew Bible – in Conversation with Hindu Perspectives   *Madhavi Nevader*

MSt in Jewish Studies
University of Oxford

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

The Faculty

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

Courses

Students studied Biblical Hebrew, Modern Hebrew or Yiddish. In addition, they chose six courses from the list below and submitted dissertations. The following courses were offered during the 2003–2004 academic year:

- Government and Politics of Israel   *Dr Emanuele Ottolenghi*
- Introduction to Judaism   *Dr Jeremy Schonfield*
- Introduction to Talmud   *Dr Norman Solomon*
- Jewish and Christian Bible
  Translation and Interpretation in Antiquity   *Dr Alison Salvesen*
- Jewish History 200 BCE to 70 CE   *Jonathan Kirkpatrick*
- Judaism and Islam: Medieval Intellectual and Cultural Traditions
  Ronald Nettler
- Modern European Jewish History   *Dr David Rechter*
- Questions of Jewish Identity in Yiddish Literature
  Dr Joseph Sherman
- Septuagint   *Dr Alison Salvesen*

- Speech and Silence: Methods of Response in Modern Hebrew Literature   *Dr Glenda Abramson*
- The Diaspora in the Roman Empire: Jews, Pagans and Christians to 450 CE   *Professor Fergus Millar*
- The Emergence of Modern Religious Movements in Judaism *Dr Miri Freud-Kandel*
- The Religious and Cultural Legacy of Moses Maimonides *Dr Joanna Weinberg*
- The Rise of Normative Judaism and Christianity *Dr Piet van Boxel*
- The Study of Ancient Israelite Religion   *Madhavi Nevader*
- Witnessing the Holocaust   *Dr Zoë Waxman*

Languages:
- Biblical Hebrew (intermediate)   *Dr Jill Middlemas*
- Modern Hebrew (elementary, intermediate and advanced) *Tali Argov*
- Yiddish (intermediate)   *Dr Kerstin Hoge*

The Students

The students came from Australia, Belgium, Canada, Germany, Norway, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and the United States of America.

Stig Berdal (*b.* 1969), who completed his Candid. Philol. in the Faculty of Theology at the University of Oslo in Autumn 2000, looks forward to writing a doctoral thesis. The interest in early Judaism that he developed during his theological studies was further stimulated by a year at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1998–9. He is particularly interested in notions of kingdom and kingship in early Judaism and came to Oxford in part to improve his language skills. He taught a course on 'Christian Doctrine and Philosophy of Religion' at the University of Oslo and has served as a part-time pastor in the Norwegian Church. Stig applied for suspension of status at the end of the second term in 2003 for personal reasons, and returned to Oxford to resume his studies in April 2004. He submitted a dissertation entitled 'Paul's Persecution of the Church: Its Nature and Purpose' and passed the MSt with distinction.

Lincoln Blumell (*b.* 1975) graduated in Classics at the University of Calgary in 2003, going on to receive an MA in Religious Studies, focusing on early Christianity and Second Temple Judaism. He also played quarterback for the University of Calgary football club and won a national award for the player who best exemplifies academic achievement, football skill and good citizenship. He plans to specialize in Second Temple Judaism and Josephus Flavius in particular. His dissertation was entitled 'Galilean Social Bandits? An Examination of the Nature of Galilean Banditry from Herod the Great to the Outbreak of the First Jewish Revolt'.

Brandon Alan Cook (*b.* 1980) graduated in History and Jewish Studies at Brandeis University in May 2003, having previously read Biblical Studies at Wheaton College, Illinois. He also studied Middle Eastern History, Jewish Studies and modern Israeli history at University College, Jerusalem, to broaden his view of Judaism and Christianity past and present. He is particularly interested in the Second Temple period and the emergence of the theological and philosophical concepts that have helped shape Western history and thought. He hopes to research this area and to discover ground for dialogue and discussion between Christianity and Judaism. His dissertation was entitled 'Orphic Thought and Greek Harmony in Alexandrian Jewish Theodicy: God's Being Over All Things'.

Katherine Craddy (*b.* 1982) graduated in Theology from the University of Birmingham in June 2003, having focused on Jewish and Holocaust Studies, and taken courses on Hebrew Bible, Christian-Jewish relations, classical Jewish texts and women in Judaism. Her undergraduate dissertation concerned the memorialization of the Holocaust at the Auschwitz-Birkenau museum, and her long-term plan is to undertake research in Holocaust Studies. Her dissertation was entitled ' "From the Holocaust to Rwanda: Lessons Learnt, Lessons Still to Learn". British Holocaust Memorial Day, This Year's Theme, and the (Lack of) Importance of Public Remembrance of the Holocaust'.

Pascale Laliv Falek (*b.* 1981) grew up in Belgium with Hebrew-speaking parents and Yiddish-speaking grandparents. She graduated from the Université Libre de Bruxelles in May 2003 in Contemporary History, having served as President of the Belgian Union of Jewish

Students during her final year. Her undergraduate thesis, entitled 'History of Jewish Women in Belgium, 1880–1914, Studied from a Philanthropic Perspective', examined women's paradoxical position between integration and the maintenance of traditions. She hopes to carry out research into the disappearance of Jewish communities as a result of assimilation. Her dissertation was entitled 'From *Tsedaka* to Philanthropy: Marguerite Philippson-Wiener (1884–1958)'.

Peodair Seamus Leihy (*b.* 1978) graduated in Jewish Studies and Classics at the University of Melbourne in 1999, receiving a Masters there in 2003. He was involved in the postgraduate seminar programme of the Melbourne Centre for Jewish History and Culture, presenting under their auspices aspects of his research on ancient Jewish and Christian history at various international conferences. Some of this has been published in the *Australian Journal of Jewish Studies*. He came to Oxford to strengthen his Yiddish skills. His dissertation was entitled 'Leonard Cohen's Holocaust'.

Philip Lindholm (*b.* 1980) received a Liberal Arts degree at Green River Community College, USA, acting as Student Exchange Coordinator for Japanese and Irish student programmes. He subsequently graduated from Central Washington University in 2003, having studied Philosophy with Religious Studies Specialization, including Philology and Exegesis. He also worked as a teaching assistant for Biblical Hebrew and gave an introductory course in Religion. He came to Oxford in particular to study Second Temple and early rabbinic period history, and also to Dead Sea Scrolls and Sheol studies (the ambiguous concept of an after-life in Jewish theology). His dissertation was entitled 'Emmanuel Levinas, Judaism, and the Annihilation of the Universe'.

Yael Rebecca Lipschutz (*b.* 1979) graduated in History from the University of Wisconsin in 2002, having participated during her final year in a graduate seminar on Modern European Jewish History, a comparative history seminar on Blacks and Jews in urban America, and a course surveying key moments in Yiddish cultural history. She subsequently attended YIVO's summer programme in Yiddish at Columbia University and looks forward writing a PhD thesis in Yiddish studies. Her dissertation was entitled 'Bohemian Bridges:

Russian Jewish Artists, New York's First Social Settlement, and the Creation of American Modern Art'.

Isaac J. Meyers (*b.* 1979) studied Yiddish at the MEDEM programme in Paris before going to Yale University, where he graduated in Classics in 2001. He plans to do postgraduate work on Latin literature, focussing on the phenomenon of literary emulation and on the theory and practice of translation, areas relevant to Judaic studies, with their emphasis on translation, interpretation and tradition. After graduating he spent sixteen months in Israel studying modern Hebrew literature and gaining experience in translating. His dissertation was entitled 'Shaul Tshernikhovski's Translations of Horace: Background, Themes and Technique', and he completed the MSt with distinction.

Hendilaha Chiemeka Okite (*b.* 1968) graduated in Theology from the Bigard Memorial Seminary, Enugu, Nigeria in 1994, became a Catholic priest, and then pursued postgraduate Biblical Studies at the Pontifical Biblical Institute in Rome, where he gained a Licentiate in Sacred Scriptures in June 2002. He served as rector and tutor in the Annunciation Seminary in Amuadara-Aba, and as vice-rector at St Mary's Propaedeutic Seminary in Azumini, Nigeria. He intends to continue teaching, to lead study groups to Israel, and to undertake doctoral studies in Jewish-Christian relations. His dissertation was entitled 'Violence in Its Origins: A Rhetorical Analysis of the Story of Cain and Abel in Gen. 4,1–16'.

Dahlia Reed (*b.* 1980), who graduated in History from Florida University in 2002, has a long-standing interest in the modern history of East Central European Jews. She was first exposed to this while studying at Charles University in Prague, and her undergraduate thesis focused on the writings of Kafka and his identity as a Jew, Czech or German. She plans to pursue a career in International Affairs, focusing on human rights and conflict resolution, recurring themes in Jewish Studies. Her dissertation was entitled 'A Conscientious Objection? The American Jewish Community and the 1982 Lebanon War'.

Tilde Rosmer (*b.* 1974) became interested in Jewish Studies and Modern Hebrew while serving as a volunteer at Kibbutz Yiron in 1994–5 and went on to graduate in History of Religion from the

University of Oslo in 1999. She then attended a Modern Hebrew summer course at the Rothberg School in Jerusalem, and continued with 'hovedfag' (extended MA studies) in Oslo at the Area Study programme for the Middle East and North Africa, an international cooperative research project focusing on religious movements and development in the Middle East. Her Masters thesis, on the sociopolitical role of the Israeli Shas party, was based on two study trips to Israel. There are few opportunities to study Jewish subjects at an advanced level in Norway, and she hopes to pursue the subject at doctoral level and eventually to help fill this gap. Her dissertation was entitled 'A Discussion of Jewish Middle East and North African Identity in Israel Comparing Mizrahi Academics and Shas'.

Judith Samson (*b.* 1977) was one of the first students to graduate from an innovative BA study-programme at the University of Bayreuth in 2002. Her Cultural Science course consisted of cultural studies with a special focus on religions, and she also arranged student activities and organized a conference on Religious Studies involving participants from other German universities. She came to Oxford to gain a working knowledge of Yiddish language and some insight into Yiddish literature, and plans to work in the field of interfaith dialogue. Her dissertation was entitled 'The Criticism of Sholem Asch's *The Nazarene* and *Mary* from Different Perspectives'.

Matthew Todd Thiessen (*b.* 1977) graduated in Religious Studies at Tyndale College, Toronto, and completed a Masters in Biblical Studies at Trinity Western University in April 2003, with a dissertation based on the use of Deuteronomy 32 in Romans 9–11. He also worked as a teaching and research assistant to two professors. He came to Oxford to learn more about the Second Temple period and early Jewish and Christian interpretation of Scripture and to gain greater fluency in Biblical Hebrew, as a tool for understanding the New Testament more completely. He hopes to write a doctoral thesis and eventually to teach and publish. His dissertation entitled 'The Testament of Moses and the Restoration of Israel' won the prize for the best dissertation and he passed the MSt with distinction.

Mary Fraser Wunnenberg (*b.* 1980) graduated in History from the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg, USA, in 2002, having

taken courses on Biblical Hebrew, Jewish Thought, the Holocaust and the Religion and History of Ancient Israel. Her particular interest in modern French Jewry was inspired by a visit to the Jewish quarter in Paris, the Pletzel, in 2001, when inhabitants described to her life in the community before the War. She was moved by the many monuments to Holocaust victims and especially the memorial plaque to deportees outside a former school. She hopes to research Jewish history at doctoral level and to lecture on French Jews before and after the Holocaust. Her dissertation was entitled ' "I Shall Forever Be Left to Wander": Questions of Religious Identity Concerning Jewish Children Hidden in France during the Holocaust'.

End-of-year Party

At an end-of-year party held at Yarnton Manor on 23 June 2004 the President, Peter Oppenheimer, addressed the students and their guests. The Academic Director, Dr Joseph Sherman, presented Matthew Thiessen with the prize for the best dissertation.

MSt in Jewish Studies, 2003–2004

Front Row (left to right)
Dr Joanna Weinberg, Dr Piet van Boxel, Tali Argov, Dr Joseph Sherman,
Dr Alison Salvesen, Peter Oppenheimer (PRESIDENT), Madhavi Nevader,
Dr Jeremy Schonfield, Dr Emanuele Ottolenghi, Dr David Rechter

Second Row (left to right)
Małgorzata Sochańska, Anat Sulitzeanu-Kenan, Katherine Craddy (UK),
Judith Samson (Germany), Celia Siegel (Australia/USA), Pascale Falek (Belgium),
Yael Lipschutz (USA), Dr Jill Middlemas, Professor Martin Goodman

Third Row (left to right)
Lincoln Blumell (Canada), Matthijs Kronemeijer (Netherlands),
Philip Lindholm (USA), Brandon Cook (USA), Matthew Thiessen (Canada),
Simon Cooper (UK), Peodair Leihy (Australia), Jonathan Kirkpatrick

Fourth Row (left to right)
Isaac Meyers (USA), Martine Smith-Huvers (STUDENT REGISTRAR),
Sue Forteath (ADMINISTRATOR)

Other Activities

In Trinity Term, Professor Geza Vermes presented a two-part seminar on Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls. Students participated in the weekly evening seminars and talks held at Yarnton Manor during the year, and a number presented papers in graduate seminars in the University.

Acknowledgements

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

The Qumran Forum

DURING HILARY TERM, Dr Brian Capper (Christ Church, Canterbury) presented a paper entitled 'Agrarian Economics, Essene and Early Christian Covenantal Sharing and Jesus' Anointing as Messiah of the Poor', under the auspices of the Seminar on Jewish History and Literature in the Graeco-Roman Period. In this he applied a sociological model to Second Temple Palestine as revealed in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Gospels, and arrived at some startling conclusions. He argued that Jesus was anointed head of a wealth-distribution network and that Bethany was one of the four hostels for the impure located outside Jerusalem as mentioned in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

The Qumran Forum convened at the end of Hilary Term when Professor Geza Vermes spoke on 'Historical Names and Allusions in the Dead Sea Scrolls'. In this he surveyed the tantalizingly few explicit references to historical events and characters in the Scrolls, and firmly rejected a suggestion from the audience that the Teacher of Righteousness could be identified with Jesus.

Dr Charlotte Hempel presented a paper on 'Diversity and Development in the Community Rule Traditions' in Trinity Term. Her rigorous reading of the textual variations found in different copies of the Community Rule led to various conclusions concerning the redaction history of the text. She rejected the usual view that an individual text underwent modification over time in a particular textual tradition, and argued that various textual versions operated concurrently, influenced by particular local circumstances.

In the final Qumran Forum of the year, Professor Philip Alexander of the University of Manchester spoke on 'Reconsidering the Material Reconstruction of 4Q285'. Jonathan Norton (Wolfson College) had recently challenged Professor Alexander's reconstruction of 4Q285 in an article in *Revue de Qumran* and Professor Alexander's response took the form of a marvellously technical presentation turning on the physical compatibility of two small papyrus fragments. Jonathan Norton defended his views after the paper, and the audience was treated to an invaluable insight into Scrolls scholarship at the most basic, nitty-gritty level.

International Conference on Yiddish After the Holocaust

DR JOSEPH SHERMAN convened an international conference entitled 'Yiddish After the Holocaust' at which twenty-five sessions were offered by scholars from Canada, France, Israel, Poland, South Africa, the United Kingdom and the United States. It was held at Yarnton Manor between Tuesday 26 and Friday 29 August 2003, under the auspices of the Centre.

The Yiddish language, which appeared to have vanished as the *lingua franca* of Eastern European Jewry for most of the sixty years since the Nazi Holocaust, has proved remarkably resilient. Although Yiddish was for centuries held in contempt by many Jews and non-Jews for a variety of ideological, political and racist reasons, it has survived to become a focus of serious intellectual, artistic and scholarly activity. Large numbers of reading and conversation circles in the United States and Europe have been inspired by its vibrancy and relevance as a marker of Jewish identity, culture and survival, as have novelists and poets in Israel and America. Yiddish words and phrases have been adopted into colloquial English, the language has been elevated to a new *loshn koydesh* by Hasidic sects, while new literature has appeared in Yiddish and existing works translated into modern European languages.

In the academic world, Yiddish philology is a major field of study in German universities, and France provides some of the world's leading scholars of Old and Middle Yiddish. Comparative literary studies in the United States include the Yiddish literary heritage as a matter of course, and scholars in Poland, where Yiddish was spoken for almost a millennium, produce meticulous analyses of its historical, literary and linguistic dimensions. The government of Sweden has even recognized Yiddish as one of the four minority languages of that country and provides state funds for its promotion.

The conference sessions, in order of presentation were as follows

Wanted, Dead or Alive: Theorizing Yiddish in the Post-Holocaust Era
Dr Jeffrey Shandler (Rutgers University, New Jersey)

Yiddish Publishing from 1945 to 1970   *Zachary Baker* (Stanford
University Libraries)

Commitment to Yiddish Language in Two Divergent Jewish Schools:
A Montreal Case Study   *Professor William Shaffir* (McMaster
University, Hamilton, Ontario) and *Dr Anna Fishman Gonshor*
(McGill University, Montreal)

English/Shmenglish: Yiddish Borrowings into Canadian English
Dr Elaine Gold (University of Toronto, Ontario)

Languages Sometimes in Contact: Components of Yiddish in Hasidic
Children's Literature   *Dr Miriam Isaacs* (Meyerhoff Center for
Jewish Studies, University of Maryland)

The Perils of Idealizing Yiddish   *Dr Ewa Geller* (Warsaw University)

The Renewed 'Association of Yiddish Writers and Journalists' in
Poland and its Activities, 1945–48   *Dr Nathan Cohen* (Bar-Ilan
University)

Yidish Shriftn: The Yiddish Literary Journal in Post-War Poland
Joanna Nalewajko-Kulikov (Polish Academy of Sciences)

The Attitude towards Yiddish in Israel, 1948–58   *Dr Rachel Rojanski*
(University of Haifa)

Avrom-Ber Tabatshnik's Interview with Yankev Glatshteyn in New
York, 1955   *Dr Jan Schwarz* (University of Chicago)

Panel Discussion: 'The State of Yiddish Language and Literature,
Sixty Years after the Holocaust'

Farvandlen vel ikh toyt in lebn: Transformations of the Holocaust in
the Post-War Poetry of Abraham Sutzkever   *Dr Heather Valencia*
(University of Stirling)

Vision and Redemption: Abraham Sutzkever's Poems of Zion(ism)
Dr Justin Cammy (Smith College, Northhampton, MA)

'A Smile Learned in Sadness': The Poetry of Rivka Basman Ben-
Hayim   *Dr Zelda Kahan Newman* (Lehmann College, City
University of New York)

Gum Trees, Kangaroos and Yiddish: *dos shtetele melburn*
 Dr Helen Beer (University College London)

A Short-Lived Revival: Yiddish Theatre in South Africa, 1945–1960
 Veronica Belling (Kaplan Centre for Jewish Studies and Research,
 University of Cape Town)

Hungarian Yiddish after the Holocaust   *Szonja Komoróczy* (St John's
 College, Oxford)

The Translation of Holocaust Memorial Books into English
 Dr Jacob S. Berger (Independent Researcher)

Di velt fun nekhtn: Post-Holocaust Translation and Jewish Identity
 Amy Blau (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign)

Catching Arrows: Translating Yiddish Folk Sayings   *Shirley Kumove*
 (Independent Researcher)

Panel Discussion: 'Translating Yiddish Literature: Problems and
 Publishers' (*Ray Keenoy*, Boulevard Books; *David Paul*, David Paul
 Publishers)

Shabesdike shvebelekh: Mikhoel Felsenbaum's New Novel
 Dr Astrid Starck-Adler (Université de Haute Alsace, Mulhouse)

Pour l'amour du yidish: The Literary Itinerary of Régine Robin
 Professor Ben-Zion Shek (University of Toronto)

The End of an Era? Forty Years of *Dorem Afrike* and Yiddish *Kultur*
 in South Africa   *Cedric Ginsberg* (University of South Africa)

Modernist Apologies/Postmodern Exigencies   *Dr David Miller*
 (Ohio State University, Columbus)

A volume of papers presented to the conference, edited by Dr
Sherman and entitled *Yiddish After the Holocaust*, continues the
Centre's tradition of publishing Yiddish studies. Its seventeen essays,
each by a leading scholar or researcher in the field, survey the contem-
porary state of Yiddish language and literature and contribute to some
major areas of Yiddish scholarship.

The first section examines the rescue- and renewal-work immedi-
ately after the *Shoah*, especially in Poland, where arguably the greatest
number of native speakers lived. Attempts by a small band of survivors
to revive the language were frustrated by endemic Jew-hatred and the

grip of Communism. More disturbing is the way the prejudice against Yiddish articulated in Israel by Ben-Gurion and his disciples contributed to its destruction as a language of modern Jews. Incredibly, the cultural destruction initiated by Nazism and continued by Communism was virtually completed by the founders of the new Jewish State.

Achievements since the Second World War have been more encouraging. Large numbers of books have appeared in Yiddish, bearing witness to the determination of writers, poets, critics and teachers to keep Yiddish language and culture alive. One paper analyses the views of Jacob Glatstein, one of the greatest of modern Yiddish poets, about the role of Yiddish literature in America, and another the quixotic attempts in the post-Holocaust period to build a viable Yiddish theatre in South Africa.

The second section, on the state of Yiddish studies today, examines instruction methods in schools run by Hasidim and other ultra-Orthodox Jews for whom Yiddish has become the preferred language of daily communication. The language is most alive in the *haredi* enclaves of Jerusalem, New York, London and elsewhere, but it differs in content and structure from what is generally accepted as Standard Yiddish. However, if Yiddish is to live on, it may well depart significantly from conventional norms. One contributor argues that what is now accepted as Standard Yiddish fails to take account of the language's wide range of variants, and that the accepted theory of the origin and linguistic structures of Yiddish may be open to challenge. Another contributor, looking at the influence of Yiddish on the hegemonic languages of host countries, shows how Canadian English has freely borrowed Yiddish words that now appear in normal colloquial speech and even the daily press.

The third section reviews literature produced since the Holocaust. One study looks at the way the poet Avrom Sutzkever transformed his experiences as a partisan fighter and a survivor of the genocide in Vilna into a reaffirmation of his duty to live and to inspire Jews to reshape their future. Another study examines Sutzkever's relationship with Zionism and the State of Israel, offering a reading of his poetry that addresses problems of modern Jewish identity. Rivka Basman's verse was also informed by her experiences in the death camps, celebrating Jewish sources and faith amid pain.

The desire to live as a Jew is asserted in the prose writings of Régine Robin, a survivor of the Nazi roundup of Jews in Occupied France and now a leading sociologist, historian, critic and novelist. For her, Yiddish is the utterance of dispossession and helplessness, a *langue de mort*, but one which she insists can be transformed into a *langue de vie*. She also highlights a dilemma, for if Yiddish does indeed survive and live, how will it do so and what will it be?

On the surface [...] we are witnessing a revival of Jewish culture and of Yiddish. On the surface, things 'Jewish' have become fashionable [...] In Berlin and elsewhere, there is the growing success of *klezmer* music, of Yiddish theatre, of traditional cuisine, of lullabies and of everything that evokes a 'fiddler-on-the-roof' culture. [...] The revival creates an illusion of the absence of the tragic [...] Nostalgia for what one did not experience can become something wrapped in a false and imitative form. (Régine Robin, *La Mémoire saturée*, 2003)

However, as she argues elsewhere:

[...] a culture never disappears unless one's memory of it disappears, whether it be an historic memory, a people's memory, a cultural and, indeed, a national memory. When our older generation will have passed on, a certain number of us will still keep the memory of Yiddish-land alive, and transmit it to new generations, if only through other languages. This memory lives and trembles like a fragile flame, but it lives none the less [...] As long as there will be a memory of Yiddish, a desire for Yiddish, and a love of Yiddish, then, I am convinced, Yiddish will live in us and beyond us. (Régine Robin, *L'amour du yidish*, 1984)

A final contribution surveys a new Yiddish novel – *Shabesdike shvebelekh*, by Mikhoel Felsenbaum. This book, published in June 2004, draws on the long tradition in Yiddish fiction of *meshiekh troymen*, dreams of the Messiah, and of the redemption promised by the Jewish faith. Felsenbaum's novel is alive with breathtaking postmodern wit and a crackling tension of plot that builds suspense with poignancy and laughter, and its appearance in print proves again that reports of the death of Yiddish have been exaggerated.

Plans for another Yiddish conference in 2005, on the theme of 'Tradition and Modernity: Interactions and Conflicts', are well advanced. This will be a joint venture of the Centre and of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique in Paris.

The David Patterson Seminars

Mourning a Father Lost: A Kibbutz Childhood Remembered
Professor Avraham Balaban

Professor Balaban's autobiographical work, *Mourning a Father Lost: A Kibbutz Childhood Remembered* (New Jersey: Rowan & Littlefield, 2004), is an elegy on the individual, the family, the kibbutz and on Israel in general. It is set during the *shiva*, the seven days of formal mourning, for his father, and describes the second generation of kibbutz members from the point of view both of an outsider and of a child of the kibbutz. In exploring the layers of identity formed during his early childhood on Kibbutz Hulda, where he was born, he emphasizes the damage inflicted by the kibbutz movement's attempt to establish a non-biological family and by its educational system. In the lecture he also explained how difficult it was switching to fiction after publishing three volumes of poetry, and how he maintained poetic intensity by writing in short chapters, each devoted to a single dramatic scene.

Jews and Judaism in Early Shi'i Religious Literature
Professor Meir Bar-Asher

As distinct from Sunni thought, Shi'i doctrines of election and superiority define Jews, Christians and Zoroastrians – the 'People of the Book' – as ritually unclean. These beliefs have far-reaching implications for Shi'i-Jewish interaction. Marriage with and the consumption of food prepared by Jews are permitted by the Sunna, but the Shi'a, like Zoroastrians, consider foreigners impure, and have enacted strict laws of separation which emphasize the superiority of 'holy Shi'a' over others.

Nevertheless, certain Shi'a sages were more lenient in their attitude to the laws of separation and, alongside a theology of separation, developed an attitude of identification with Israel, seeing it as an ancient prototype of the Shi'a. These attitudes reflect a distinction present in the Qur'an itself, which views ancient Israel favourably, while criticizing contemporary Jews.

From Translation to Commentary: The Bilingual Edition of *Kav ha-Yosher* **by Tsvi Hirsch Koidonover**   *Professor Jean Baumgarten*

Tsvi Hirsch Koidonover's *Kav ha-Yosher*, one of the most popular works of mysticism and ethics in Jewish literature, appeared in Frankfurt in 1705–6 in Hebrew only, and in Frankfurt in 1709 in a Hebrew-and-Old-Yiddish bilingual version. Its advice on improving spiritual and ethical life illustrates how kabbalistic ideas were broadcast and popularized in the vernacular at the end of the seventeenth century. It combines aggadic homilies, midrashic exegesis and ethical teachings derived from the Zohar and Lurianic kabbalah, and covers themes such as reward and punishment, individual sin, collective redemption, demonology, magic, survival after death and relations between body and soul, exemplifying kabbalistic influence on popular beliefs and spirituality.

The Yiddish version of the *Kav ha-Yosher* appears to be a faithful translation, but in fact the literal meaning of the Hebrew original is so embellished with interpretations that it constitutes a creative commentary rather than a rendition of the primary text. The meaning of the original Hebrew is usually given as it is in the traditional heder, but is then supplemented with glosses and expansions that in some passages outweigh the translation. These parallel approaches reflect a meeting of 'scholarly' and the 'lay' traditions in which the Yiddish vernacular gives greater scope to magic, demonology, tales, legends (*mayses* or *sippurim*) and social criticism.

The *Kav ha-Yosher* in this way illustrates the development of popular Jewish literature, showing how translation from Hebrew was a major source of innovation in Jewish vernaculars such as Yiddish and the complementarity and friction between Hebrew and the vernacular.

The Prophet's Wife: **Milton Steinberg's Unfinished Masterpiece**
Professor Ari Goldman

When Milton Steinberg, the celebrated American rabbi, theologian, philosopher and novelist, died in 1950, he left the incomplete 400–page manuscript of a novel entitled *The Prophet's Wife*, based on the life of the biblical prophet Hosea, who had been commanded by God to marry a prostitute. Steinberg's tale of passion and intrigue, set

in the early-First-Temple period, has a sophisticated plot and several major characters, but ends abruptly, leaving its themes unconcluded.

Professor Goldman described the place of *The Prophet's Wife* in Steinberg's writings, especially in relation to his novel *As a Driven Leaf*, published in 1939, based on another enigmatic character from antiquity, Elishah ben Avuya. He summarized major influences on Steinberg's life and thought, such as his upbringing in Rochester, New York, his training at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America and his relationships with leaders such as Mordecai Kaplan and Morris Raphael Cohen. He also outlined his own plans to edit and complete *The Prophet's Wife* for publication.

'Where the Dog Lies Buried...' Hidden Problem-areas in Medieval and Modern Theological Systems
Professor Leonard Kravitz

'There the dog lies buried' – a Yiddish expression describing how a concealed problem may be solved – can be applied to thinking about a particular problem in medieval theology. Theology, in a broad sense, is the interface between a religious tradition and reasoned reflection about it according to a philosophical system. It seems to be a match between disparate partners, and in the medieval context the philosophical partner overwhelmed the religious one.

For a religious thinker, God is a responsive Person, but for the philosophical one, an unchanging Idea. Between the Person and the Idea lies the 'buried dog' whose presence affected the synthesis and ruined the match.

The notion of God as Idea is most clearly presented by the philosopher described in the *Kuzari*, the theological novella by Judah Halevi (1080–1141/2). In the first scene a king dreams he is told that 'your intentions are acceptable, but not your actions'. Troubled, he calls for advice from a philosopher, a Christian, a Muslim and a Jew. The philosopher's Deity is a perfect and unchanging Idea, without desire or knowledge of changing individuals, and does nothing that a religionist's God might do. He is willing to use the religious term 'create', but if the world, as he believes, is eternal, then this is a meaningless metaphor, as is the idea that an unchanging Deity can reveal. The philosopher therefore holds both that one must use reason

to study the world as it really is, and that religion has a use. He therefore advises the king to choose or invent a religion for the management of himself and his people.

The notions that God is unchanging and that religion is a metaphor of reason and a means of management appear repeatedly in the works of Jewish medieval philosophers such as Sa'adia Gaon (882–942), Bahya Ibn Pakuda (eleventh century), Judah Halevi and Moses Maimonides (1135–1204).

Yiddish Scholarship and Politics: YIVO in Interwar Eastern Europe *Professor Cecile Kuznitz*

The YIVO Institute for Jewish Research was founded in 1925 in Wilno, Poland (now Vilnius, Lithuania) as the first centre for scholarly research into the history and culture of East European Jewry and its Yiddish vernacular. It sought to demonstrate that Yiddish-speaking Jewry constituted a distinct national group and thereby to bolster the demand of Jewish diaspora nationalists for minority rights in Eastern Europe. YIVO's research was carried out by thousands of volunteer *zamlers* ('collectors') who gathered the folklore material that was already in decline due to rapid modernization. The organization equally set about standardizing Yiddish terminology and spelling, considered essential for maintaining a Yiddish secular school network in Eastern Europe.

Key support came from left-wing, pro-Yiddish parties (such as the Jewish Labour Bund and the Poale Zion), but despite antagonism between Yiddishists, Zionists and traditional Orthodox Jews, YIVO's leaders sought to avoid overt political involvement and presented their institute as an academic body representing all segments of East European Jewry. This nonpartisan stance came under attack by the mid- and late-1930s, when the Jewish community faced mounting pressure from right-wing political movements and economic depression. But by maintaining their ideal of objective yet engaged scholarship, YIVO's leaders produced work of immediate relevance in interwar Eastern Europe and of lasting value to Jewish studies everywhere.

Hebrew Mathematics and Jewish Culture in the Middle Ages
Dr Tony Lévy

The first dated mathematical writings in Hebrew appeared in the twelfth century, the work of two scholars of Spanish origin, Abraham bar Hiyya (*c.* 1065–1145) and Abraham Ibn Ezra (*d.* 1167). These can be considered the founders of Hebrew mathematical culture, Bar Hiyya's geometrical composition achieving great success across medieval Europe in Latin translation. Ibn Ezra's *Book of the Number*, which was also widely disseminated, formed the basis of an arithmetical tradition that lasted until the sixteenth century.

Between the second third of the thirteenth century and the first third of the fourteenth century most of the mathematical classics were translated from Arabic into Hebrew. This work, done mostly in Provence, but also in the Iberian peninsula and Italy, encompassed a fairly coherent corpus of texts written originally in Arabic and based for the most part on the fruits of Greek mathematics. These, the writings of Euclid, Archimedes and others and various works on mathematical astronomy, together constituted the typical mathematical bookshelf of medieval Hebrew scholars.

The success of these translations can be measured by the ease and naturalness with which later scientists, such as Levi ben Gershom and Immanuel ben Jacob in fourteenth-century Provence, were able to contribute to Greek-Arabic mathematics.

The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries showed a movement toward Italy that was more than geographical, since Hebrew texts were increasingly influenced by Latin and even by vernacular Italian. Mordecai Finzi (*d.* 1475), for example, played a significant role in the diffusion of algebraic knowledge.

The Judeo-Byzantine scholarly world at this period showed a revived interest in mathematical learning, but based on Greek-Byzantine texts rather than those available in Hebrew or uniquely in Arabic.

Ibn Sahula's *Meshal Haqadmoni*: A Failed Educational Endeavour
Professor Raphael Loewe

Isaac ibn Sahula, a wandering physician with an absorbing interest in folklore who appreciated the potentiality of the fable form for moral education, was writing in Spain around 1282. Despite claims to originality, some of his sources are clear enough – notably the Indian *Kalila wadimna* cycle which reached the West through Persian, then Arabic, whence Hebrew and Spanish translations. Ibn Sahula's theme is the defence of Jewish ethical values against a cynical materialism, but he grafts onto this, first, the endeavour to wean the general Jewish public off Arabic (and incipient Spanish) belles lettres by encouraging them to read the Hebrew counterpart, and, second, that of widening the *yeshivah* syllabus by linking it to a training in the liberal arts of the Western trivium and quadri-vium.

The stories in his five sections satirize moral shortcomings, whether general or specifically Jewish, while also sometimes reflecting contemporary events, political and other, in contemporary Spain. Thus the story of the lion, fox and hart, although its skeleton comes from *Kalila wadimna*, seems clearly to sketch the confrontation of Alfonso X of Castile by his nobles in 1271–3, the motif of anti-Jewish intrigue being woven into it, although contemporary Spanish records give no grounds for such. In order to stimulate enlarged academic interest he attaches to his fables digressions (some of inordinate length and, from the dramatic point of view, unsuccessfully integrated) on philosophy and science. Coverage includes logic, the ethics of friendship, psychology, several aspects of medicine and clinical practice, psychotherapy, geography, climatology and astronomy, the sources being traceable through the standard Arabic authorities back to Aristotle, Ptolemy, Galen, etc. The whole is carefully constructed so as to lead up to the denunciation of astrology (following Maimonides) as lacking scientific basis.

The influence of Maimonides is profound throughout and, thinly disguised as 'a man of God', he appears at the beginning and end in scenes that frame the story-collection. The paucity of manuscripts is doubtless due, at least in part, to Ibn Sahula's having failed to persuade the forces of conservatism to widen Jewish education.

Is Israel a Colonial State? Reflections on the Relationship Between Zionism, Colonialism and Post-Colonialism
Professor Derek Penslar

Public and academic discourse on the relationship between Zionism and colonialism usually attempts to establish complete congruence or total separation between the two phenomena. Such discourse fails to include additional categories of analysis such as anti-colonialism (Zionism as an act of resistance by a colonized people) and post-colonial state-building (understanding Israel within the political and economic framework of twentieth-century Asia and Africa). The lecturer contended that Zionism was historically and conceptually situated between colonial, anti-colonial and post-colonial discourse and practice. He drew on essential texts in post-colonial studies, which throw new light on the relationship in the modern world between colonizing and colonized societies. Dialectically, his use of post-colonial theory to deconstruct current conceptions of Zionism's relationship with colonialism deconstructs post-colonialism itself, for it is prone to essentialize anti-colonial movements and underplay their grounding in classic European nationalism. In other words, by depicting Zionism as in many ways an anti-colonial movement and Israel as a post-colonial state – by placing Zionism in Asia, as it were – he re-places Zionism in Europe, a continent distinguished by not only the great overseas empires of the West, but also a sizeable body of colonized, stateless peoples, including Jews.

Looking Back on the Third Reich: German and Austrian Historians in Comparison   *Professor Peter Pulzer*

Precisely how to interpret the origins, course and legacy of the Third Reich remains a challenge to professional historians everywhere, but particularly in Germany and Austria. In the immediate aftermath of the Second World War, German scholars were convinced that they could not escape this challenge, however painful it might be: the Third Reich was clearly part of Germany's past. The great majority of their Austrian colleagues, however, felt exempt from this task, since there had been no Austrian State between 1938 and 1945, and the Allies' Moscow Declaration had pronounced Austria to be the Nazis'

'first victim'. The Third Reich therefore did not appear to be part the Austrian past.

The earliest German postwar historians were not anxious to integrate National Socialism into German historical traditions. For older scholars like Gerhard Ritter, Nazism was distinctly 'un-German' and simply part of a general European trend towards tyranny and barbarism, while Friedrich Meinecke saw the Third Reich as a 'foreign occupation'. Such self-exculpation could not last long. A new generation of scholars, including Karl Dietrich Bracher and Fritz Fischer, detected the origins of Nazism in the faulty development of earlier German history. They and their successors developed a consensus that Germany had pursued a course that deviated from 'Western' development or, as it came to be known, a *Sonderweg*. In Austria too, a new generation saw to it that old taboos were lifted and that it was time to acknowledge that Hitler was widely welcomed in Austria, at least initially, that anti-Semitism was not introduced into Austria with the *Anschluss* of 1938 and that Austrians were heavily involved in war crimes, deportations and the *Shoah*. The Third Reich, in their narrative, was as much part of the Austrian as of the German past.

In this convergence of interpretations there was also a political motive. To legitimize the postwar democracies of Germany and Austria it was necessary to show how they differed from previous forms of their States and their ideological traditions. Studying the Third Reich has therefore had, at least in the long run, a therapeutic effect.

Byzantine-period Hebrew Poetry: Religious Literature as Art
Dr Michael Rand

The evolution of post-biblical Hebrew poetry in Palestine, as documented in the Book of Ben Sira, the Dead Sea Scrolls, the *Hekhalot* hymns and the Byzantine-period *piyyut*, appears to be a discontinuous process. Whereas the poetic corpus of Ben Sira and the Dead Sea Scrolls shows an intimate familiarity with the main constitutive device of biblical poetry – *parallelismus membrorum* – this device recedes to the background in the liturgical creations of the Palestinian *payyetanim*, although without disappearing entirely. In its place we

find three major formal elements governing the prosody of *piyyut*: the acrostic at the beginning of the poetic line, metre throughout the line, and rhyme at its end.

In order to appreciate the evolution of the major and minor *piyyut* genres from the pre-classical to the classical periods, we need to investigate the ways in which these three constitutive devices entered the compositions and interacted to produce the great variety of strophic forms used to build up *piyyut* compositions. This task is complicated by two factors: first, the *payyetanim* themselves left no trace of (and apparently did not produce) a theoretical literature explicating the principles that animated their poetics, and second, whereas the study of *parallelismus membrorum* within the Western philological tradition dates back to Lowth's *De Sacra Poesi Hebraeorum* (1753), the philological study of *piyyut* begins only with *Wissenschaft des Judentums* and the works of Zunz in the second half of the nineteenth century.

One of the clearest examples of the usefulness of the formalist approach to the study of the evolution of *piyyut* genres is the *tekiata*, recited during the Additional Service on Rosh Hashanah. Whereas the earliest known text, the *tekiata deve Rav*, employs only a stress-counting metre in its strophic structure, the *tekiata* of Yose ben Yose contains both a simple acrostic series and a simple fixed-word rhyme pattern. Killir's *tekiata* show a still greater degree of formal organization in that they retain all the innovations of Yose, while adding a line-internal rhyme pattern.

Petrus Alfonsi: A Twelfth-century Jewish Convert to Christianity Reflects on his Past   *Professor Irven Resnick*

The twelfth century was a turning point in the long history of *adversus Iudaeos* literature generated by anti-Jewish polemics. The number of polemics increased dramatically and new tactics were employed. Conservative Christian polemicists continued to cite Scripture in defence of Christian doctrine, but appealed almost exclusively to philosophical reason in their attempts to convince Jews of their error. Odo of Tournai's *Disputation with a Jew Named Leo on the Advent of the Christ* typically eschews appeals to the Bible and aims to demonstrate the truth of the Incarnation *sola ratione*. The twelfth century

also saw the first accusations that the Talmud, or postbiblical Jewish literature in general, is a source of error, together with the paradoxical attempt to discover in the Talmud implicit recognition of the truth of Christian claims. One also finds the first attempts to use science – astronomy, medicine and physics – to overthrow Jewish claims.

Petrus Alfonsi's *Dialogues Against the Jews* (*c.* 1106), which became one of the most popular anti-Jewish polemics, employs all these methods, and also contains the first systematic Latin polemic against Islam to draw on first-hand knowledge of Arabic sources such as the Qur'an and Hadith. Alfonsi, known as Moses Sefardi until his baptism, cites aggadic material from the Talmud in support of his argument that Judaism requires one to believe things about God or creation that contradict both reason and science. In so doing he reflects an already heated debate among Jews over the authority of *aggadot*, and prepares the ground for later trends in anti-Jewish debate, especially the attempt at the Barcelona disputation to compel Moses Nachmanides to disavow the authority of at least some *aggadot*.

Family *Tzorus* – A Settlement from the Cairo *Geniza*
Petra M. Sijpesteijn

The Ben Ezra synagogue of Old Cairo housed one of the richest collections of manuscript fragments and documents in the medieval Mediterranean world. The small white building in Old Cairo, almost indistinguishable from the Fatimid buildings surrounding it, bears no sign that it was for several centuries the home of a flourishing Jewish community.

Like many synagogues, the Ben Ezra had a special room for storing discarded writings that contained biblical verses or references to God, a so-called *genizah*. The Cairene Jewish community deposited there the total of its written output – including religious writings, texts of a popular-religious nature such as amulets and heretical writings, as well as private letters and legal contracts. Document collections such as this present us with a uniquely direct and 'unmediated' view of how legal, religious and cultural rules were implemented in daily life. The eleventh to thirteenth centuries, when the community was at its height, produced the bulk of the material, making it possible to reconstruct in

great detail what daily life for Egyptian Jews was like at this time. The rich and varied documents of the *genizah* can be used also to study the Mediterranean world beyond the Jewish Cairene community.

One of these documents contains three testimonies, in Hebrew, Aramaic and Judeo-Arabic (Arabic written in Jewish characters) respectively, given in a Jewish court in 1027. This records the amicable settlement between a widow and her daughter on one side, and the minor children of the widow's son on the other, over the inheritance of the widow's husband, the daughter's father and the minor children's grandfather. The widow's statement is quoted verbatim and gives a fascinatingly lively and immediate view into the courtroom. The relative freedom of widows, as opposed to married women, becomes clear from the way she behaved in court, since the widow spoke for herself while the daughter was represented by her husband. It is evident also from the legal conditions imposed on their taking possession of their inheritance.

Contemporary Martyrs and Violence: Victims and/or Perpetrators? *Professor Jan Willem van Henten*

Who is a martyr in contemporary terms and how has the term shifted in meaning from ancient or 'classical' models? The internet contains many databases, reports, articles, comments and websites devoted partly or entirely to martyrdom which are ideal for examining modern usage of the term. Google helpfully presents its results in order of frequency of citation by other web pages and by number of visitors. By analysing the top 100 results of several searches during the 2001–2 academic year, it is possible to focus on concepts and definitions, and the links between martyrdom and group identities, and between martyrdom and violence.

Martyrdom has now become much broader in usage than in older sources, and there are conflicting views about the relations between martyrdom and violence. The vocabulary of martyrdom tends to be related to so narrow an identity or point of view that one person's martyr is another's terrorist. There are few references to the Hebrew or Christian Bible or Koran in the internet materials, but many to the 'martyrs' of various Christian denominations. There has also been a

shift away from Jewish and Christian images of passive martyrs preferring suffering or death to compromising over beliefs or practices, although this plays no role in collective cases such as the so-called Holocaust martyrs.

Calling someone a 'martyr' suggests they should be commemorated as victims of senseless violence, although merely supporting a cause seems enough reason to be called a martyr. In many contemporary cases, however, martyrs are initiators or perpetrators of violence, turning them into highly dangerous figures. An earlier version of the lecture can be found on http://www.religiestudies.nl .

CONTINUING ACTIVITIES

The Leopold Muller Memorial Library

This academic year has seen important events in the history of the Library that promise to transform its value for scholars. The following report will begin by looking at work begun in previous years.

Staff

At the end of the 2003–4 academic year Anat Sulitzeanu-Kenan, employed to catalogue our Hebrew holdings, returned with her family to Israel after working for a year in the Library. Anat, who initially worked as a full-time Hebrew cataloguer and library assistant, but who had to reduce her working hours due to other commitments, has been a devoted member of staff and will be missed. Her full-time successor, Peter Drag, studied in Jerusalem (Ratisbonne) and Cambridge (Centre for Jewish Christian Relations) and is currently preparing his doctorate at the Department of Jewish Studies at the Jagiellonian University in Krakow.

Computerization

Significant progress has been made with the cataloguing of Hebrew holdings. Joop van Klink, the Library's computer programmer, has updated the computer catalogue programme to meet the latest developments (XP for Windows and Unicode). Thanks to his expertise and devotion, the Library now has the most advanced cataloguing tools available.

Acquisition Policy

An important step forward has been taken with regard to the acquisition policy of Oxford libraries for Oriental, Jewish and Ancient Near East Studies. The committee established to oversee the library provisions for these fields – COLPOSANE – decided after its first meeting to set up a subcommittee consisting of the area librarians of the Bodleian, Sackler and Taylorian libraries, together with the librarians of the Oriental

Institute, the Department of Theology and of the Oxford Centre. The subcommittee's task is to provide an overview of the holdings in the libraries concerned and to establish the acquisition needs for teaching and research in Oriental, Jewish and Ancient Near East Studies at the University of Oxford. It is intended that each library will be responsible for specific acquisitions, and in this way to keep the number of duplicates to a minimum. It is a positive development that the Leopold Muller Memorial Library has been invited to participate in this endeavour.

Donations, Permanent Loans and Acquisitions

The Library is extremely grateful to the Rich Foundation for a substantial contribution of $150,000. This donation, earmarked for the automation of the Library, including computer programmes and cataloguing of the Hebrew holdings, will make it possible to complete this major operation within three years.

A donation of $5000 has been received by Professor Judith Romney Wegner and Professor Peter Wegner, which will be used for the acquisition of further rabbinic texts and translations.

The continuing support of the Catherine Lewis Foundation has enabled the Librarian to acquire eighty-one more *Yizkor* books during the academic year. A list of these new acquisitions appears on pages 201–208 of this *Report*. The Foundation has additionally donated a sum of £6000 for general purposes.

The Hans and Rita Oppenheimer Fund is gratefully acknowledged for increasing its endowment and making it possible to purchase a number of books on the Holocaust. These are listed on page 208 of this *Report*.

The Elizabeth and Daniel Peltz Trust is thanked for a donation of £4000 for general purposes.

The Goldsmith family made the unusual donation of a fine portrait of their grandfather Lazarus Goldschmidt (1871–1950), translator of the Babylonian Talmud into German. It is particularly pleasing to report that the Library has been enriched in this way.

The Library's holdings have also been augmented by many donations of books, for which the Librarian wishes to express gratitude. The donors are listed on page 200 of this *Report*.

The Foyle-Montefiore Library

An event of great importance has been the acquisition of the book collection of the Montefiore Endowment, made possible by a munificent donation from the Foyle Foundation.

The collection bears the name of Sir Moses Montefiore (1784–1885), the most famous Jew of the nineteenth century. He was born in Leghorn, brought up in London and, after a successful career as a stockbroker in the City, retired before he was aged forty to devote the rest of his long life to the social and material enhancement of existence for Jews everywhere. He remained an observant Jew until his death, but chose integration as the route to emancipation. He was appointed Sheriff of London in 1837–8 and was knighted by Queen Victoria on her first visit to the City. He was later made a baronet. A leading article in *The Times* of 24 October 1884 showed how his achievements for the Jewish community were perceived as a contribution to society in general, describing the celebration of his hundredth birthday as 'an almost national event'. 'He has been the victorious defender of persecuted Jews, because he was the perfect English gentleman. In his own person he has solved once for all the problem of the competence of the most faithful of Jews to be not the less a complete Englishman. Englishmen without distinction of creeds contemplate Sir Moses Montefiore's career with as much pleasure as his co-religionists. The English are a mixed race: and Englishmen believe they are greatly indebted to the mixture.' It was as an Englishman that he represented Jewish interest to foreign rulers.

It is usual to highlight Montefiore's charitable achievements, but his contribution to Jewish intellectual life is at least of equal importance. Without pretensions to scholarship himself, he was a patron of scholars and promotor of education, in particular of future community leaders. Understanding the demands of the new age of Enlightenment, emancipation and Anglicization, he supported the establishment of a college for training Jewish ministers, which in 1855 resulted in the formation of Jews' College. In 1869 he founded the Judith Montefiore College in memory of his late wife, 'to promote the study and advancement of the holy Law and general Hebrew literature'. Learned men were invited to teach at the college, the first principal of which was the eminent orientalist Louis Loewe.

It is for this institution that a most remarkable library was accumulated, reflecting by its holdings Montefiore's strong desire to promote Jewish integration into wider society. Its 4000 books and rare pamphlets include the library of the father of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* ('Science of Judaism'), Leopold Zunz, making it one of the most important collections of its kind in the world. It contains many early editions from important printing houses in Venice, Leghorn, Izmir, Amsterdam, Berlin and Leipzig.

The main emphasis in the collection is on the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century history of Jews in Europe, their fight for emancipation and integration into wider society while retaining a Jewish identity. About 25 titles deal with the history of the Jews in European countries, regions and cities such as Britain, France, Poland, Alsace, Vienna, Baden and Cologne. Over 150 titles, many of them rare eighteenth-century pamphlets, relate to the legal position of Jews in various states, including England, France, Holland, Prussia and Sicily, covering issues such as enfranchisement, judicial autonomy and the position of Jews vis-à-vis Christian governments. The integration of Jews into wider society and their commitment to secular rulers come to light in a number of eulogies on the occasion of the enthronement or death of emperors, kings or princes. Some 200 titles dealing with explanations of biblical law and the history of Jewish doctrine were written either by Jews to instruct Jewish communities of the time or by Christians whose interest in biblical institutions and Jewish traditions was not always for the sake of history. These often have a polemical edge, giving interesting insights into the complexity of Jewish emancipation and the struggle for Jewish identity. Publications on Jewish institutions, such as annual reports of rabbinical schools, or works concerning education in general, shed light on the organization of Jewish communities in modern Europe. The library contains over 330 titles on liturgy (Spanish and German rite) in Hebrew, Yiddish and the vernacular, published in 40 locations all over Europe. A series of orders of service for special occasions, including over 40 for the opening of new synagogues, thanksgivings on royal occasions or eulogies of various kinds, offer a unique source on Anglo-Jewish history.

Together with over fifty works by or on Moses Mendelssohn, and the oeuvre of Abraham Geiger (founder of the Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums), the section on the religious and social history

of Jews in modern Europe is one of the most important collections in the world.

The library also contains a small but important collection of early works of a polemical nature, such as Martin Luther's *Von den Juden und ihren Lügen* (Wittenberg 1543), Raymundus Martini, *Pugio fidei* (Paris 1651), Johann Wagenseil's *Tela ignea Satanæ* (Altdorf 1681) and over 100 eighteenth- and nineteenth-century polemical treatises and pamphlets. Special mention should be made of works by famous Christian Hebraists and bibliographers such as Johannes Buxtorf (1564–1629), Johann Leusden (1624–99), John Selden (1584–1654), John Lightfoot (1602–75), Giovanni Bernardo De'Rossi (1742–1831) and Moritz Steinschneider (1816–1907).

It also contains a large collection of about 200 dictionaries, grammars, concordances and language studies, which are of great importance for the comparative study of Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac and Arabic.

The Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies is delighted that the Foyle Foundation has made it possible to acquire this exceptional collection, thereby saving it from being broken up and disappearing into private hands. To give permanent recognition to this generosity, it will be known as the Foyle-Montefiore collection. It is planned to produce an online catalogue within a year.

The Shandel -Lipson Collection

The Library is pleased to announce that, following the acquisition by the Centre of the Foyle-Montefiore collection, the Trustees of the Shandel-Lipson Collection decided to deposit their archive on permanent loan with the Centre's Library.

The Shandel-Lipson Collection, a unique assemblage of material relating to Sir Moses Montefiore, was formed by the Revd Herman Shandel, Hazan of the Ramsgate Synagogue for forty-eight years from 1876. He acted as minister, reader and shochet during the last years of Sir Moses Montefiore, founder and patron of the Synagogue, at whose funeral he helped officiate, and administered the Synagogue, College and East Cliff Lodge Estate during the difficult years following Sir Moses's death in 1885.

Herman Shandel was a widely read scholar who built up a large library and collection of Montefioriana. When Sir Joseph Sebag-Montefiore,

Sir Moses's heir, carried out his uncle's instructions to burn his personal papers, the Revd Shandel rescued some of the documents from the pyre. He was also a keen amateur photographer who made copies of documents and photographs in the Montefiore collection and left hundreds of glass photographic plates bearing views of Montefioriana and the Holy Land for use in the public lectures he gave on Sir Moses's and his own travels. After his death in 1924 most of his collection passed to his son, the Revd Solomon Lipson, a United Synagogue minister and, like his father, Chaplain to the Forces. The archive of documents, letters and ephemera, now called the Shandel-Lipson Collection, then passed to his son, Eric Lipson, and to other members of his family.

The Shandel part of the collection contains particularly valuable items, including two unpublished manuscript diaries of Lady Montefiore, letters by her and Sir Moses and Sir Moses's passport. The Lipson items provide insight into the work of a United Synagogue minister and Chaplain to the Forces. The entire collection has been chronologically catalogued by Rabbi Dr Andrew Goldstein.

Hugo Gryn Book Collection

The Library is honoured to have been appointed custodian of the Hugo Gryn Collection, which his family has deposited at the Centre on indefinite loan. Rabbi Hugo Gryn was born in the Carpathian town of Berehovo in 1930, deported to Auschwitz at the age of thirteen and came to Britain with a group of child survivors after the War. He later went to America to train for the rabbinate, serving first in Bombay (1957–60) and from 1964 at the West London Synagogue, a post he held for thirty-two years until his death in 1996.

Hugo Gryn contributed not only to his own congregation but to the wider Jewish community in various ways. In 1960 he became the Executive Director of the World Union for Progressive Judaism and in 1962 a Senior Executive for the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, taking on difficult assignments in Prague and in Budapest. In 1980 he was appointed Chairman of the European Board of the World Union for Progressive Judaism. Over a long period he also taught practical rabbinics at Leo Baeck College, the rabbinical training centre for Progressive Judaism, and during his association with the College helped shape more than 100 rabbis.

Hugo Gryn also engaged intensively in inter-religious dialogue, serving as Chairman of the Standing Committee of Interfaith Dialogue in Education in 1972 and as co-chairman in 1975 of the Rainbow Group founded by the Revd Peter Schneider. In 1987 he founded and served as first chairman of the Interfaith Network UK.

He was perhaps best known for his regular appearances on the BBC Radio 4 programme the Moral Maze, but was frequently interviewed on television when issues of concern to the Jewish community were discussed, and participated in many panel discussions and religious programmes on radio and television. In letters and articles in the national press he was an eloquent spokesman for a religious vision of our time.

Hugo Gryn's central role in shaping postwar Anglo-Jewry as a religious leader and discussion partner is clear from his archive of hundreds of eulogies, lectures, wedding addresses and sermons now held at the Leopold Muller Memorial Library. His library reflects his work as a rabbi in Bombay, New York and London, his devotion to Anglo-Jewry and the Jewish community at large and his deep involvement in all aspects of the Jewish tradition. It offers a broad spectrum of Jewish theology from various perspectives, including works by Solomon Schechter, Abraham Geiger, Claude Montefiore, Leo Baeck and Martin Buber, as well as studies on Bible, Midrash, Talmud and Jewish philosophy. There are works on the history of Anglo-Jewry and of Jewry in general by scholars such as Dubnow, Baron and Graetz, and on the development of his own Progressive movement. His particular interest in liturgy – he chaired the committee responsible for the standard Reform prayer book *Forms of Prayer* (1977) – is reflected in the extensive collection of prayer books and *haggadot*. His ecumenical commitment is clear from his carefully assembled collection of pamphlets on interfaith dialogue and religious education, offering an insight into the development of inter-religious encounter in Britain during the second half of the twentieth century. His library also shows him to have been interested in literature, art, psychology, philosophy and general history.

The Hugo Gryn Book Collection, and the archive of his sermons, addresses and letters, together constitute a monument to a formative figure in postwar Anglo-Jewry and a valuable scholarly resource which the Leopold Muller Memorial Library will preserve for the future.

The Oxford Levantine
Archaeology Laboratory

In the spirit of helping to build on the Centre's strengths in ancient Jewish studies, the newly founded Oxford Levantine Archaeology Laboratory (OLAL) housed at the Centre spent much of the year preparing for an international conference concerning the Hebrew Bible, the Iron Age (*c.* 1200–586 BCE) and radiocarbon dating.

Over the past decade, advances in high-precision radiocarbon dating have made it possible to test hypotheses concerning the historicity of events mentioned in the Hebrew Bible that have an archaeological signature in the Iron Age soils of the Holy Land. Specifically, scholars have been fascinated by the thorny issue of trying to attribute destruction levels at key biblical sites, such as Megiddo and Tel Rehov, to the campaign of the Egyptian Pharaoh Shoshenq I (or Shishak in the Bible), presumed to have taken place some five years after the death of King Solomon. The absolute dating of these destruction layers can help tell scholars whether monumental architecture ascribed to Solomon does indeed tie in with the biblical account and, as a consequence, whether Solomon was king over a magnificent kingdom as depicted in the Hebrew Bible or a 'petty chieftain' inflated in importance by biblical authors.

Professor Thomas Levy, director of the OLAL, spent a sabbatical at Yarnton in 2003 studying radiocarbon dating and Iron Age sites in southern Jordan and, in collaboration with Dr Thomas Higham, Deputy Director of the Oxford Radiocarbon Accelerator Unit at the University of Oxford, organized an international conference on 'Radiocarbon Dating and the Iron Age of the Southern Levant', to take place at Yarnton in September 2004. Participants will include archaeologists, radiocarbon specialists, Egyptologists, tree-ring-dating specialists and biblical scholars. Meanwhile, new archaeological data from neighbouring Edom in southern Jordan, excavated by a team from the University of California, San Diego, and the Department of Antiquities of Jordan, and led by Professor Levy, will help test some of the chronological and historical problems at the centre of Iron Age archaeology debate in Israel today.

Yiddish in St Petersburg

YIDDISH PLAYED only a marginal role in St Petersburg's everyday life, but the city was central to the development of Yiddish culture in Russia. The capital of Imperial Russia was excluded from the Pale of Jewish Settlement, so never had a significant Jewish population. But during the second half of the nineteenth century the city emerged as a major centre of Jewish publishing and research in both Russian and Yiddish, and saw the establishment in 1903 of *Der Fraynd*, the first Yiddish daily in Europe. After the radical transformation of the country in 1917 the city, renamed Leningrad, developed into one of the largest centres of urban Jewish population in the Soviet Union. Although it was home to world-famous collections of Hebrew and Yiddish books and manuscripts, most Soviet Jewish publishing houses, periodicals, theatres and university departments were concentrated in other cities, particularly Moscow, Kiev and Minsk. Yet in the late 1950s, during Nikita Khrushchev's 'Thaw', Leningrad emerged as one of the few cities where amateur Yiddish theatre collectives were allowed to function. The Leningrad Philharmonic Society employed Yiddish actors, including the popular concert troupes of Anna Guzik and Nehama Lifshitz. And when clandestine informal Jewish academic circles appeared in the Soviet Union during the 1980s, that in Leningrad was virtually the only one interested in the cultural legacy of the shtetl, rather than in more 'exotic' non-Ashkenazi communities.

A growing fascination with the East European Jewish past brought people to Yiddish, the language of the shtetl civilization annihilated during the Holocaust. The Western-assisted St Petersburg Jewish Communal Centre (directed by Alexander Frenkel) plays an important role in the Yiddish cultural revival by maintaining a Yiddish book collection at its library and supporting Yiddish classes and choirs, as well as running an annual international summer school for professional musicians which served as a model for the London KlezFest. At the academic level, the Judaica Programme at the Western-assisted St Petersburg European University, chaired by Dr Valery Dymshits Shimon Yakerson, an established scholar, translator and expert in Hebrew booklore, includes Yiddish Studies in its curriculum and sponsors both

the translation of Yiddish literature into Russian and the publication of the only Yiddish literary almanac in Russia. Yiddish studies have also been introduced at the European, State and Jewish universities.

Thanks to a Hanadiv Foundation grant, two Research Fellows of the Oxford Centre, Dr Gennady Estraikh (Rauch Visiting Associated Professor of Yiddish Studies, New York University) and Dr Mikhail Krutikov (Assistant Professor of Jewish-Slavic Cultural Relations at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor), are working on a two-year project to facilitate Yiddish studies in St Petersburg. This project continues the cooperation between scholars from Oxford and Yiddish enthusiasts in St Petersburg which dates back to the Soviet period. Apart from regular intensive seminars and lecture cycles conducted for Yiddish teachers, students and translators, they prepare teaching materials suited to Russian-speaking academic audiences. Dr Estraikh is working on a book-length survey of Yiddish cultural life in Soviet Moscow, while Dr Krutikov is preparing a Russian translation of the classical history of nineteenth-century Yiddish literature by Meir Wiener.

Journal of Jewish Studies

THE *Journal of Jewish Studies* continues its biannual appearance. Volume 54, no. 2 (2003) was published under the editorship of Professor Geza Vermes FBA (University of Oxford) and Professor Tessa Rajak (University of Reading). At the end of 2003 Professor Rajak relinquished her editorial office, which she had carried with marvellous efficiency for four years. The Oxford Centre and the editorial staff wish to record their profound and heartfelt gratitude to Tessa for her invaluable contribution to the success and well-being of *JJS*. Dr Sarah Pearce (University of Southampton) acted as Reviews Editor and Margaret Vermes continues a administrator of the *Journal*. The table of contents of the whole set of *JJS* from 1948 to the current issue is freely available and widely used on the *Journal*'s website (www.jjs-online.net) and the digitalization of the contents of the first fifty volumes is approaching completion.

Tessa Rajak's post has been taken over from January 2004 by Dr Sacha Stern (School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London). He is warmly welcomed and we hope he will enjoy a task which is far from being a sinecure.

Volume 54, no. 2 appeared in the autumn of 2003 with the lead article written by the incoming editor, Sacha Stern, on 'Rabbi and the Origin of the Patriarchate'. Other studies cover literary topics from the Second Temple period, ossuaries from Jerusalem, rabbinic literature and medieval Bible commentary in Arabic and in Hebrew.

Volume 55, no. 1 appeared in the spring of 2004. It leads with a brilliant study of the attitude of the Christian emperors and the Church towards the Jews in the Greek East by Professor Fergus Millar. Other subjects include the Septuagint, the Testament of Naphthali, the names of the apostle Peter in Jewish sources and medieval Hebrew conveyance deeds relating to Merton College, Oxford.

Both issues offer a rich variety of book reviews on Jewish subjects from the Bible to the present day.

The European Association of Jewish Studies

THE SECRETARIAT OF the European Association of Jewish Studies, based at Yarnton since 1995, was administered throughout the year by Dr Karina Stern under the supervision of the EAJS Secretary, Dr Sacha Stern (School of Oriental and African Studies, London). In July 2003 the EAJS held its annual colloquium at Yarnton on the theme of 'Teaching the Holocaust in Higher Education in Europe', convened by Professor Jonathan Webber and Dr Isabel Wollaston (University of Birmingham); support for this colloquium was granted by the British Academy and the Institute for Polish-Jewish Studies, facilitating the participation of scholars from Central and Eastern Europe.

The twenty-eight participants, from Germany, Hungary, Lithuania, Poland, Russia, Sweden and the UK, represented a wide range of disciplines, including history and the philosophy of history, Jewish studies, literature, museum studies, sociology, social anthropology, social psychology and theology. They included individuals working at Holocaust memorial sites and in Holocaust educational outreach. The seven sessions focused on the problems of reading personal testimony, religious approaches, alternative teaching models, history as a core discipline for Holocaust teaching, intellectual and practical cooperation between universities and Holocaust pedagogy in German settings, and interdisciplinary teaching of the Holocaust from a British perspective.

The subsequent Colloquium was held from 5 to 8 July 2004 on 'Epigonism and the Dynamics of Jewish Culture'. It will be described in the next *Report*. The EAJS also launched a new project this year, to create a website and on-line directory of Jewish Studies in Europe; the project is managed at Yarnton by Dr Garth Gilmour, and funded by the Hanadiv Charitable Foundation.

Looted Art Research Unit

UNDER THE DIRECTORSHIP of Anne Webber, the Unit expanded both its staff and the range of its work. In October 2003 a new deputy director, Dr Paul Sanders, was appointed. An historian whose thesis on the black market in Nazi-occupied Europe was published in France in 2001, he has also researched and published the biographies of twenty Channel Islanders who died in concentration camps. His expertise includes extensive knowledge of German and French archives, a major source of information for the Unit.

Also in October 2003 Andrea Lehmann, the Unit's senior researcher, completed a project in which she charted, through original surveys of over eighty German and Austrian museums and libraries, the processes of confiscation, dispossession and re-appropriation of Nazi-looted Jewish cultural property in Germany and Austria. The results are available on the Central Registry's web pages and include a summary chart evaluating the dates and sources of appropriation of looted Jewish cultural property by German institutions, as well as the names of families from whom the looted property was taken.

In November 2003 the Registry obtained funding for a further project by Andrea Lehmann, a six-month study of the processes by which looted cultural property was transferred to Latin America via Switzerland and other neutral countries, and its fate on arrival. Project advisors and collaborators included Professor Georg Kreis of the Europa Institut in Basel, a member of the Swiss Government Commission of Experts; Dr Ignacio Klich, Board member and academic administrator of the Argentinian government's CEANA commission; and Professor Jonathan Petropoulos, former director of art research for the US Presidential Commission on Holocaust Era Assets and author of *Art as Politics in the Third Reich* and *The Faustian Bargain*.

Under Anika Skogstrom's management since June 2003, the Registry's unique looted-object database now contains details of over 20,000 objects. These include over 1000 objects in Germany, entered in a collaboration with the Claims Conference, and 4000 works of art from Hungary, resulting from a joint project with the Hungarian National Gallery. The latter in particular is a major contribution to the

international availability of information on looted works of art.

Anika Skogstrom has also managed a new digitization project, designed to make original documents available on the Registry website. These will include Allied and other intelligence reports, as well as auction records from the state-owned Dorotheum in Vienna, to which looted cultural property was brought for sale directly after confiscation by the Vugesta from 1938 onwards. Three reports have been completed. These are the *Tentative List of Jewish Cultural Treasures in Axis Occupied Countries*, 1946; the *Art Looting Intelligence Unit Detailed Intelligence Report on Hans Wendland*, 18 September 1946; and the *Einstatztab Reichsleiter Rosenberg: Art Looting Activities in France*, Allied Intelligence Report 1945.

In the spring of 2004 Dr Sanders instigated an internship programme, offering practical experience and specialized knowledge in a number of areas. This brings to the Registry a regular number of interesting and very able interns, from undergraduate to post-doctoral level and from overseas as well as the UK. Among the programme's first 'graduates' were two from Germany. One of these, with degrees in both art history and law, examined and reported on archival documents relating to the history of a German collection. The other, with degrees in Russian and Eastern European history, focused on trophy art and books, producing short reports on the provenance of libraries and museums in Russia and original research on the loss of Judaica and other cultural property in Belarus. This research is available on the Registry's database.

Long-term plans under discussion include a joint project with the Getty Research Institute in California, and collaboration with the EU which is planning a legal directive on looted art. The latter will require a database of looted artworks, and initial discussions have taken place with a view to making the Central Registry's database available to the EU for this purpose.

Institute for Polish-Jewish Studies

The Institute for Polish-Jewish Studies, an associated institute of the Centre, this year published volume 16 of *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry*, edited by Michael C. Steinlauf and Antony Polonsky. Focusing on Jewish popular culture in Poland, it contains eighteen papers, examining historical topics such as klezmer musicians, *badkhones* (traditional Yiddish wedding songs), Jewish theatre, folksongs, the Yiddish press and illustrated postcards, as well as present-day revivals such as Jewish wooden figurines and the annual festival of Jewish culture in Cracow. The volume, which at 600 pages is the largest yet produced in the *Polin* series, also includes seven other papers, three review essays, a full complement of book reviews, two obituaries and the editor's introduction. The volume is dedicated to Rafael Sharf, a founding member of the Institute's Council, whose Goldman Lecture, delivered at the Centre, was published last year. In November a one-day international conference, convened by Professor Jonathan Webber, was held to launch the volume. The conference, which was co-sponsored by the Polish Cultural Institute and held at the Polish Embassy in London, was opened by a presentation given by the Polish Ambassador on the importance for Polish culture of Jewish popular culture in Poland. Papers were then given by scholars from England, Israel and the USA, as well as two personalities from Poland both deeply engaged in promoting Jewish cultural activities there; two short films were screened; and a Gerer hasid from north-west London, himself a *badkhn,* spoke on the art of *badkhones* as still practised in his community and gave a short performance, with his daughter accompanying him on the piano. Professor Polonsky delivered a tribute in memory of Rafael Scharf, who had passed away two months before.

The Institute also held a one-day seminar in July, held at the Central Synagogue in London, on the subject 'Contemporary Polish Attitudes to the Holocaust'. The seminar was convened by Professor Halina Taborska, Dr Zbigniew Pelczynski, and Dr Michael Fleming; six young Polish scholars came over to England specially for the purpose. The subjects they covered were the Holocaust in Catholic theological perspective, the position of the Holocaust in Polish history, the treatment

of the Holocaust in the Polish mass media, the teaching of the Holocaust in Polish schools, the presentation of the Holocaust in contemporary Polish literature, and the representation of the Holocaust on present-day Holocaust memorials in Poland. These important but relatively little-known subjects generated a lively and productive discussion.

The Website of the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies

This year the website was accessed by over 4000 visitors. The details most regularly accessed were the termly lecture lists and news bulletins. The site provides information on how to apply for scholarships and fellowships, and in general on the MSt in Jewish Studies. Past students of the Centre have continued to contribute their news for the Alumni section. To attract financial support, a downloadable version of the support form for Friends of the Centre is available on the home page. The Centre's latest financial accounts also now appear on the website. The Library has significantly enhanced its online aspect with the addition of searchable catalogues. Finally, a new section on the site highlights Centre projects, such as the Oxford Levantine Archaeology Laboratory and the Looted Art Project (at http://www.lootedart.com), which operate under the auspices of the Centre.

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

Fellows' Reports

Dr Glenda Abramson

Dr Abramson continued to work on the new edition of her *Blackwell Companion to Jewish Culture*, now entitled *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Modern Jewish Culture* and due to appear in 2005. She served as Chairman of the Sub-Faculty for Near Eastern Studies and of the Standing Committee for Near Eastern Studies until June 2004, and also taught courses thoughout the year on 'Modern Hebrew Poetry', 'Modern Hebrew Fiction' and 'Topics in the History of Modern Hebrew Literature'. In Hilary Term she delivered a course entitled 'Speech and Silence: Methods of Response in Modern Hebrew Literature' for the Centre's MSt programme. She continues to serve as editor of *The Journal of Modern Jewish Studies*.

Dr Miri Freud-Kandel

Dr Freud-Kandel has been co-editing with Professor Nicholas de Lange *Modern Judaism: An Oxford Guide*, a new publication commissioned by Oxford University Press. She has also continued her research into how the concept of the 'faithful remnant' has been appropriated by certain English-speaking Orthodox communities. In March 2004 she delivered a paper entitled 'Immanuel Jakobovits and Contemporary Interpretations of *Torah im Derekh Eretz*', in the Senior Seminar in Hebrew, Jewish and Early Christian Studies, of the Faculty of Divinity, Cambridge University. In this she drew together ideas related to her research on Anglo-Jewish Orthodoxy, its Chief Rabbinate and theological shifts facilitating the development of the concept of the 'faithful remnant'. She also contributed articles on 'Modern Orthodoxy' and 'J. H. Hertz' to the forthcoming *Routledge Encyclopedia of Modern Jewish Culture*, edited by Dr Glenda Abramson, and to the section on Judaism in the 'Religion' entry of Keesing's *The Annual Register 2003*.

Throughout the year she taught undergraduates and graduates from the Faculties of Theology and Oriental Studies, serving as an assessor and examiner for these two faculties, while also acting as tutorial secretary for Hebrew and Jewish Studies in the Oriental Institute. She delivered lecture courses entitled 'An Introduction to Jewish Life, Thought,

and Worship', 'Modern Judaism in History and Society' and, for the MSt in Jewish Studies, 'The Emergence of Modern Religious Movements in Judaism'. She taught and examined undergraduates and graduates in the Faculty of Divinity at the University of Cambridge and, in collaboration with the Centre for Vaishnava and Hindu Studies, was involved in organizing an ongoing series of seminars co-sponsored by the Centre.

Professor Martin Goodman

Professor Goodman was on full-time research leave as a British Academy Research Reader throughout the year and worked on a comparison between Jewish and Roman cultures in the first centuries of the Common Era, aiming to explain the growth and consolidation of Roman hostility towards Jews. This is to be published by Penguin books.

In December 2003 *The Oxford Handbook of Jewish Studies*, published under his editorship in 2002, was awarded the 2003 National Jewish Book Award for Scholarship by the Jewish Book Council at a ceremony at the Center for Jewish History in New York.

Ronald Nettler

Ronald Nettler continued to teach for the BA, MSt, and MPhil degrees in Jewish Studies, Modern Jewish Studies, Arabic and Modern Middle Eastern Studies. In Michaelmas Term he served as coordinator for the MPhil and MSt degrees in Modern Middle Eastern Studies. He served on various committees in both the Faculty and the Centre. In Hilary Term he served as examiner for the qualifying examination for the MPhil in Modern Middle Eastern Studies, and in Trinity Term as coordinator and examiner for the Prelims examinations in Arabic.

He continued his research into Jewish-Islamic intellectual and cultural interaction, and in this connection began new research on 'Jewish Sufism' in late-medieval Egypt, an interaction explored also in his recently published book on the thirteenth-century Muslim mystic Ibn 'Arabi. In addition he continued to work on Mohamed Talbi's modern Islamic theory of religious pluralism, with special reference to the Abrahamic faiths.

Madhavi Nevader

Madhavi Nevader joined the academic staff of the Centre in October 2003 as a Junior Research Fellow, in conjunction with her appointment as the University's Kennicott Hebrew Fellow. She is currently completing her doctoral work on the legislation of institutional authority in the books of Deuteronomy and Ezekiel. In Trinity Term she delivered a paper for the termly meeting of the joint Hindu-Jewish Seminar organized by Dr Miri Freud-Kandel, entitled 'A Jewish Understanding of Monotheism in the Hebrew Bible: In Conversation with Hindu Perspectives'. She also presented a paper to the Theology Faculty's Old Testament Graduate Seminar on a section of her doctoral work, 'Legislating the Sacred: Spatial Orientation in Ez 40–48 and Deuteronomy'. Ms Nevader also taught and lectured for the Theology Faculty and the Oriental Institute.

Dr Emanuele Ottolenghi

In the summer of 2003 Dr Ottolenghi was the first Scholar in Residence at Shalom College, University of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia, where he delivered a course on Israeli history, society and culture. He also lectured on 'Is it Time for a New Middle East?' at the Department of Political Studies of the University of Wollongong, near Sydney, and gave a series of seminars on Israel's current affairs at the Australian Centre for the Study of Jewish Civilization, Monash University, Melbourne. He also lectured on the Arab-Israeli conflict at the Australian National University, Canberra. During Michaelmas Term he was on sabbatical and lectured on the same topic at the Rome campus of John Cabot University, and attended an Aspen Institute Italy conference on Transatlantic Relations in Rome and a roundtable discussion on terrorism at Luiss University, Rome.

He continued to work on a book on Israel's electoral reform, due to be published in 2005 by Palgrave; finished an article for a special issue of the *Journal of Legislative Studies* devoted to executive leadership in parliamentary systems; and completed an analysis of the collapse of the Oslo process for the spring 2004 issue of *Survival*, the quarterly journal of the International Institute for Strategic Studies. He also submitted two papers – one on Zionism and another on post-Zionism – for a book on Modern Judaism to be published by Oxford University Press late in 2004. His publications included a book review in *Israel Studies Forum*,

a review article on post-Zionism for *Israel Studies*, an article on EU-Israel relations to the Italian journal *Diritto e Libertá*, one on terrorism for the Italian bi-monthly *Liberal*, and a study of Israel's new history for a special issue of the Italian journal *Palomar* on Nationalist History. An article on the rise and fall of Israel's direct election system appeared late in 2004 in the Italian journal *Rivista di Storia Politica*. He wrote a chapter on Italian anti-Semitism for an edited volume on European extremism for the London-based Institute for Jewish Policy Research, and two for a book on Israel's constitutional system, which he is also co-editing for publication by Giappichelli Editore, Turin.

During Hilary and Trinity terms he organized two Isaiah Berlin Public Lectures in Middle East Dialogue for the Centre, one delivered by Michael Oren and the other by Yossi Klein Halevi.

In March he delivered an Edward Cadbury Lecture in Religious Studies at the University of Birmingham's Theology Faculty, on Religion and State in Israel (to be published late in 2004), and lectured on 'Europe's New Anti-Semitism: Media, Images and Prejudice' at the Bologna Campus of the Johns Hopkins University SAIS. In April and May he was a guest of the Milan-based IRDI (Institute for Research and Inter-cultural Dialogue) for a one-day conference on anti-Semitism, and subsequently participated in a panel discussion on terrorism organized by the Milan Press Association. In June he briefed the Foreign Affairs Committee at the House of Commons on the current situation in the Middle East and delivered the annual Sir Sidney and Lady Hamburger Memorial Lecture in Manchester.

During the year he lectured on the current conflict in the Middle East at the Oxford Department of Continuing Education Summer programme, and in Rome as a special guest of the local branch of the Keren Hayesod in November 2003. He lectured also in Turin and as a guest of the Jewish National Fund, the Women's International Zionist Organization, the Zionist Federation and the Anglo-Israel Association in Britain, as well as in various Jewish community centres across the UK.

He appears regularly on the Italian Radio News Channel *Radio 24*, continues to contribute regularly to the Italian daily *Il Foglio* (over fifty op-eds and analysis pieces in the past year), has a regular column in the Italian Jewish monthly *Shalom*, and since April writes regularly for the Italian daily *Il Quotidiano Nazionale* and for Israel's English-language daily *The Jerusalem Post*.

Dr David Patterson, CBE

Dr Patterson wrote an article on Avraham Mapu for the *Encyclopaedia of the Romantic Era*, published by Routledge, New York; articles on Bialik and Brenner for *The Dictionary of Jewish-Christian Relations*, published by Cambridge University Press; and a review of *Meshal Haqadmoni*, edited and translated by Raphael Loewe, for the *Jewish Chronicle*. He gave several lectures, including 'The Renaissance of Modern Hebrew Literature' at the Limmud Conference in Bournemouth.

He continues to serve on the Fundraising Committee of the Centre and attended a meeting of the Board of the American Friends of the Centre in New York in June.

Dr David Rechter

Dr Rechter was on sabbatical leave in Michaelmas Term, enabling him to continue work on his history of the Jews of Habsburg Bukovina (1775–1918). He is also compiling and editing a source book on Jewish politics and the 'Jewish Question' in Europe in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, intended primarily for use in undergraduate courses. He continued to serve as Director of Studies of the Centre's MSt in Jewish Studies and, with Professor R. J. W. Evans and Professor R. Crampton, convened a Seminar on East and East-Central Europe in the Modern History Faculty.

Dr Alison Salvesen

In July 2003 Dr Salvesen gave a paper on 'The User Versus the Lexicographer: Practical and Scientific Issues in Creating Entries' at the Syriac lexicography session of the Society of Biblical Literature Meeting in Cambridge. In October she was involved in discussions at Leuven University, Belgium, on the methodology of creating dictionary entries. These took place at a symposium entitled 'Septuagint Lexicography and Beyond: Symmachus, Aquila and Theodotion', in honour of the publication of the revised edition of the Lust-Eynikel-Hauspie *Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, where she also presented a paper on the vocabulary used by the Jewish reviser Symmachus for the Greek version of Exodus.

In January 2004 she spoke on the place of ancient Jewish Greek revisions of Scripture in modern Bible commentaries at the Society for Bib-

lical Literature Winter Meeting in Birmingham, and delivered a similar paper to a seminar at the Faculty of Theology in Durham University in March. Also in Hilary Term Dr Salvesen participated in a seminar series on Iraq in the First Millennium CE at the Oriental Institute, Oxford, and presented a talk on the significance of Aramaic incantation bowls found in Babylonia. She examined a PhD at Durham on the Psalms of Solomon and one at Cambridge on the role of angels in Jewish and Christian orthodoxy in antiquity.

Dr Salvesen developed a new course on the Septuagint for the Centre's MSt degree and delivered a lecture series on the subject at the Oriental Institute. Besides supervising doctoral students she organized graduate classes on Jerome's Latin rendering of the Hebrew Psalms and taught biblical and patristic Greek texts for the Theology Faculty's MPhil in Eastern Christian Studies.

She was invited to become a member of the editorial board of the journal *Aramaic Studies*, and wrote a chapter on the Apocrypha for *The Oxford Bible Handbook*.

Dr Joseph Sherman

Dr Sherman convened an International Conference entitled 'Yiddish after the Holocaust' during August 2003 at Yarnton Manor, a report of which appears on pages 116–120 of this volume. In August he also participated in the Third Stockholm Seminar of Yiddish and Yiddish Culture, organized by the Swedish Society for Yiddish and Yiddish Culture, where he delivered three lectures in English – 'Sholem Aleichem's "Dreyfus in Kasrilevke"', 'The Myth of the Jewish Pope in Yiddish Literature', 'South African Yiddish Writing' – and two in Yiddish – 'Dovid Bergelson als prozaiker' and 'Y. Y. Zinger un der realizm'.

In February 2004 he gave an all-day seminar to the Institute of Jewish Studies and the Yiddish Reading Group of the University of Antwerp on 'The Myth of the Jewish Pope in Yiddish Literature' and delivered a lecture entitled 'Fiddler on the Train: The Railway as Metaphor in Modern Yiddish Fiction'. Also in February he was a guest at Paideia, The European Institute for Jewish Studies in Sweden and the Yiddish Society, Stockholm, where he gave three seminars in English and two lectures in Yiddish, among them 'Holding Fast to Integrity: Sholem Rabinovitsh, Sholem Aleichem and Tevye the Dairyman' and 'The Brothers Singer: A Century On'. In the same month he

delivered a lecture entitled 'Isaac Bashevis Singer, 1904–1991: A Centenary Tribute', to the Oxford Jewish Society.

In March he was a panellist in a session entitled 'Humanities and Europe', included in 'The Future of the Humanities' conference organized by the European Humanities Research Centre, St Hugh's College, Oxford.

In May he delivered a lecture entitled 'Yiddish in South Africa: Between Zionism and Apartheid' as part of the Festival of Yiddish Literature Day held at the Spiro Ark, Yiddish Hoyz, London.

Together with Dr Kerstin Hoge Dr Sherman continued the programme of lectures in Yiddish during Michaelmas and Hilary terms, and arranged for a beginner's group in Yiddish to be taught for the whole of the academic year 2003–4 by Szonja Komoróczy, as part of the development of Yiddish studies within the University. In Hilary Term he offered his course entitled 'Questions of Jewish Identity in Modern Yiddish Fiction' to students in the Centre's MSt programme.

He served as Academic Director of the Centre for the academic year, as well as remaining on the editorial board of the New Yiddish Library (Yale University Press). He served as a co-editor of *Slavic Almanac* (University of South Africa), book reviews editor of the *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* (University of Oxford), and associate editor of the internet online journal *The Mendele Review (TMR)*. He also continues as Honorary Research Associate of the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

Dr Joanna Weinberg

Dr Weinberg continued to serve as Chair of the Oxford University Teaching and Research in Jewish Studies Unit, and in Michaelmas Term acted as Director of Studies of the Centre's MSt in Jewish Studies. She taught rabbinic texts for the undergraduate degree in Hebrew and Jewish Studies, convened an MSt degree course on Jewish Studies in the Graeco-Roman Period for which she also taught courses on Mishnah and Midrash, and delivered a course on Maimonides for the Centre's MSt in Jewish Studies.

In September she completed her edition with an English translation of Azariah de' Rossi's Italian work on the Syriac New Testament, to be published in the Studies and Texts Series of the Warburg Institute. In November she presented a paper at a colloquium on Marcus Jastrow held under the auspices of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

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

During her presidency of the British Association for Jewish Studies (BAJS) she organized the annual conference, devoted this year to Midrash, held at Yarnton Manor in July 2004. The proceedings are to be published in book-form.

Visiting Fellows' and Scholars' Report

Dr Natan Aridan

Dr Natan Aridan of Ben-Gurion University of the Negev stayed at the Centre from 13 July to 22 August 2003 and completed a book entitled *Britain, Israel and Anglo-Jewry, 1949–1957*, since published by Frank Cass. This first detailed study of the subject is based on primary material from twenty-four public archives and sixty-three private collections in Israel, Britain and the US, as well as thirty-five interviews with contemporary decision-makers and personalities. The Centre's Kressel collection also contributed important sources.

In the book the author examines the complex relations which developed between Britain and Israel out of Britain's ambivalent policy towards the *Yishuv* and the establishment of the State of Israel. These relations have been described by British and Israeli policy makers as those between a 'foster mother' and a 'foster child'.

Shlomo Avayou (Hebrew Writer Fellow)

Shlomo Avayou of Bar-Ilan University, who stayed at the Centre from 19 March to 12 July 2004, deciphered and translated into Modern Hebrew a collection of Ladino and Ottoman Turkish hymns contained in Manuscript Ben Zvi 227. This is one of five poetic and two prose manuscripts containing religious writings of the Turkish-based Judeo-Muslim sect known as Dönme, which traces its origins to the mid-seventeenth-century messianic leader Shabbetai Zevi. The work was undertaken as part of a collaborative project with Dr Avraham Elqayam, Director of the Dr Shlomo Moussaieff Center for Kabbalah Research at Bar-Ilan University.

He also completed *The Sea Flows from the Heart*, a volume of fifty of his own Hebrew poems with English translations prepared by the author and others, including Isaac Meyers, a student at the Centr, to be published in the Poetry Series Project of the Colorado College, Colorado Springs, USA. This follows three volumes of poetry in Hebrew and two in Spanish.

The text of a lecture he presented while at Yarnton appears on pages 21–31 of this *Report*.

Professor Meir Bar-Asher (*Skirball Fellow*)

Professor Bar-Asher stayed at the Centre from 3 February to 2 July 2004 and continued his research into the depiction of Jews and Judaism in early Shi'i religious literature, and especially the view of the biblical Children of Israel as an ancient prototype of the Shi'is.

His work supplemented articles written during a previous stay at Yarnton: 'On Judaism and the Jews in Early Shi'i Religious Literature', *Pe'amim: Studies in Oriental Jewry* 61 (1994) 16–36; and 'Les fils d'Israël, prototypes de la Chi'a: notes sur quelques traditions exégétiques du chi'isme duodécimain', *Perspectives: Revue de l'Université de Jérusalem* 9 (2002) 125–37.

He also collaborated with with Dr Fritz Zimmermann of St Cross College, Oxford, on a critical edition of *Shukuk 'ala Jalinus*, 'Doubts Concerning Galen', written by Abu Bakr al-Razi, a tenth-century philosopher and physician known in Latin as Rhazes.

A summary of a lecture he delivered while at Yarnton appears on page 121 of this *Report*.

Professor Jean Baumgarten (*Skirball Fellow*)

During his stay at the Centre, from 18 September 2003 to 18 February 2004, Professor Baumgarten of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (Université Paris 7) continued his research into Tsvi Hirsch Koidanover's mystical-ethical book, *Kav ha-Yosher*, written in Hebrew and Old Yiddish. He completed the introduction to his book on the subject, drafted a French translation of the Old Yiddish element of the book and carried out research on the embedded quotations from Bible, Midrash, Talmud, Zohar, stories (*mayses*) and parables (*mesholim*). He lectured on his work at the Annual Conference of the American Association of Jewish Studies (Boston) and wrote two articles: one for a memorial volume for Charles Mopsik (1956–2003), edited by Elliot Wolfson and Daniel Abrams, and another for *The Journal of Modern Jewish Studies*.

He also prepared an Italian edition of his book on Jewish hagiographical stories and a series of lectures on Hasidism. He particularly benefited from discussions with colleagues at University College London, at the Oriental Institute, Oxford, and elsewhere. He and Dr Joseph Sherman are planning an international conference on Yiddish in Europe to be held in 2005.

A summary of the lecture he delivered while at Yarnton appears on page 122 of this *Report*.

Professor Shlomo Ben-Ami

Professor Ben-Ami was a Visiting Scholar at the Centre from 1 October 2003 to 30 June 2004 and completed a book on the peace-talks which took place during the final stages of Clinton's presidency and in which he was involved as Israel's Foreign Minister. This has since been published in Hebrew as *A Front Without a Home Front: A Voyage to the Boundaries of the Peace Process* by *Yediot Aharonot*. He also worked on a book on the Arab-Israeli conflict from 1936 to the present day, tentatively entitled *Scars of War, Wounds of Peace*, to be published by Weidenfeld and Nicolson in Britain and Oxford University Press in the USA.

Dr Uri Ehrlich (Skirball Fellow)

Dr Uri Ehrlich of Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, who stayed at the Centre from 6 January to 31 May 2004, continued his research into the Amidah prayer. He has examined hundreds of Genizah and other manuscripts, some of them preserved in the Bodleian Library, and aims to publish a scientific edition of ancient versions of the Amidah. He also completed the English edition of *The Nonverbal Language of Prayer: A New Approach to Jewish Liturgy*, which was published first in Hebrew and has since appeared in the Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism series of the Mohr Siebeck Press. During his stay he delivered lectures at the universities of Oxford, Cambridge and Manchester.

Haya Ester Godlevsky (Hebrew Writer Fellow)

Haya Ester Godlevsky, who stayed at the Centre between 17 February and 17 June 2004, added two chapters to her autobiographical novel. In this, a woman in her 40s goes to the Kabbalah shelves in the National Library in Jerusalem, takes down a volume of the Zohar and finds herself reading a precise description of a recent dream. This leads her to discover connections between body and spirit, to gain liberation from memories of childhood, to discover the sources of her poetry in a setting of children, husband and to encounter someone of whom she had dreamed five years before. This person, who comes from within herself, enables her to focus on human essences without the veiling sounds of

chaos, allowing the spirit to celebrate interconnections between the senses and emotions, blending religious experience and desire.

She also wrote part of a volume of poetry, her eighth, which will comprise paintings as well as a cycle of poems based on her experience at the Centre. In addition she completed an essay on the interconnections between her poetry and graphic work.

Two poems she wrote while in Yarnton appear on pages 92–3 of this *Report*.

Professor Ari L. Goldman (*Skirball Fellow*)

Professor Ari Goldman of Columbia University, New York, who stayed at the Centre from 9 January to 4 June 2004, edited Milton Steinberg's unfinished manuscript *The Prophet's Wife*, set in the eighth century BCE, and supplemented it with a concluding chapter. This was based on research into the prophet Hosea, the main character of the novel, as well as on the life and thought of Steinberg himself. Milton Steinberg (1903–50), an American rabbi, died while working on the book, but left writings, articles and sermons that suggested the direction in which he intended it to continue. Access to Oxford's libraries and to the suggestions and recollections of colleagues at the Centre were helpful in completing this work.

Professor Goldman also contributed articles to *The Times* and the *International Herald Tribune*. His paper on journalism and *lashon hara*, the biblical prohibition against gossip, appeared in the Centre's *Newsletter* in the autumn of 2004. A lecture he gave at Yarnton is summarized on pages 122–3 of this *Report*.

Michael Grunfeld (*Visiting Research Student*)

Michael Grunfeld, a student from the School of History in Tel Aviv University, stayed at the Centre from 1 August 2003 to 31 July 2004 and wrote most of a doctoral thesis entitled 'Mental Illness in Medieval Jewish Medical Writings (12th-15th Century)'. In this he focuses on the way Jewish physicians understood, described, explained and treated insanity, and considers the adoption of ancient medical systems shaped by Islamic medical thought. He examined the writings of six physicians on melancholy, mania, epilepsy and other mental disorders, and reviewed the contribution to this of the social and cultural contexts. He also wrote most of the concluding chapter on the influence of medical

thinking on the way medieval Jewish philosophy and legal writings deal with mental illness.

Dr Martin Jacobs (*Skirball Fellow*)

Dr Jacobs of Washington University, St Louis, stayed at the Centre from 5 March to 31 July 2003 and completed a book on Islamic history in Jewish chronicles, since published as *Islamische Geschichte in jüdischen Chroniken: Hebräische Historiographie des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck). In the first part he examines the works of the sixteenth-century Jewish writers Eliyahu Capsali of Crete and Yosef ha-Kohen of Genoa, and compares these with Italian histories of the Ottoman world, showing how their Jewish perspective on the Turks reflects migration from the Iberian Peninsula to the Ottoman Empire. In the second part he contrasts their depiction of Islam with that of Yosef Sambari, a seventeenth-century Jewish chronicler from Cairo who revised Capsali's and ha-Kohen's more European representation of Islamic history with the help of Arabic historiography. Sambari provides a critical, sometimes even polemical, depiction of Islam and of conditions for Jews in the Islamic world.

Dr Jacobs also examined Jewish responses to Muslim Bible criticism, comparing the tracts against Islam written by Shlomo ibn Adret of Barcelona in the thirteenth century, and Shim'on ben Semah Duran in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, with the polemical treatises against Muslim Bible criticism of Ibn Hazm of Cordoba. He argues that the former, in refuting classical Muslim literature, were really opposing contemporary Christian Bible interpretation. He made use a manuscript of Duran's treatise held by the Bodleian Library.

A summary of the David Patterson Seminar he delivered while in Yarnton appeared on pages 63–4 of the annual *Report*, 2002–3.

Professor Leonard Kravitz

Professor Kravitz of Hebrew Union College – Jewish Institute of Religion, New York, stayed at the Centre from 15 January to 16 June 2004 and carried out research on problems in medieval and modern Jewish theology, comparing the philosophical notion of Deity as an unchanging entity with the scriptural image of a responsive God. He compared the medieval thinking of Saadia, Bahya, Halevi and Maimonides on God's relationship to persons with that of Hermann Cohen, Leo

Baeck, Franz Rosenzweig, Mordecai Kaplan and Emmanuel Levinas, whose views were influenced by the Enlightenment and Emancipation. He also prepared a lecture on hidden meanings in the *Guide for the Perplexed* in honour of the 800th anniversary of the death of Maimonides.

A summary of a lecture delivered while at Yarnton appears on pages 23–4 of this *Report*.

Professor Cecile Kuznitz (Skirball Fellow)

Professor Cecile Kuznitz of Bard College, New York, stayed at the Centre from 11 February to 11 July 2004 and worked on the first full-length study of the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research. This was the leading institution for scholarship on Yiddish and the history and culture of East European Jewry between its foundation in 1925 in Vilna (now Vilnius, Lithuania) and the Second World War. She revised several chapters of her doctoral thesis on the origins of Yiddish scholarship and of the institute.

She also completed a 5000–word entry on the Institute for *Jews in Eastern Europe: The YIVO Encyclopedia*; an article entitled 'Ansky's Legacy: The Vilna Historic-Ethnographic Society and the Shaping of Modern Jewish Culture' (to appear in *Between Two Worlds: S. Ansky at the Turn of the Century*); an entry for *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Culture in the Era of Modernization and Secularization*; and a review of I. N. Gottesman's *Defining the Yiddish Nation: The Jewish Folklorists of Poland* (to appear in *Polin*). She delivered a lecture on 'The Economy of Yiddish Culture in Interwar Europe' to the Seminar on East and East-Central Europe, and a David Patterson Seminar on 'Yiddish Scholarship and Politics: YIVO in Interwar Eastern Europe'.

A summary of the latter appears on page 124 of this *Report*.

Professor Thomas Levy (Skirball Fellow)

Professor Levy of the University of California, San Diego, stayed at the Centre from 17 February to 20 July 2003 and carried out research for a book entitled *Kings, Metals and Social Change – Excavations at Khirbat en-Nahas (Jordan) – An Iron Age Metal Production Center in Ancient Edom*. In this he explores the role of copper-ore procurement and early metallurgy in the emergence of the kingdom of Edom, one of ancient Israel's neighbours frequently mentioned in the Hebrew Bible. In recent years the Iron Age chronology of the southern Levant, which touches on the historicity of the earliest Hebrew kings, has been hotly

debated by archaeologists who increasingly rely on refinements of radiocarbon-dating methods.

Professor Levy's recent excavations at Khirbat en-Nahas, where a four-chamber fortress gate and a building devoted to metal production were exposed, provide an important opportunity to examine these chronological issues in the context of one of ancient Israel's neighbours. Professor Levy worked closely with Dr Tom Higham of the Oxford Radiocarbon Accelerator Unit (Research Laboratory for Archaeology and History of Art, University of Oxford) in dating key samples that will provide a chronological framework for testing models of social change during the Iron Age. He also established the new Oxford Levantine Archaeology Laboratory at the Centre, the work of which was outlined on pages 83–4 of the annual *Report*, 2002–3.

A summary of a lecture he delivered while at Yarnton also appears on pages 68–9 of that *Report*.

Dr Tony Lévy (*Skirball Fellow*)

Dr Tony Lévy of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (Paris/Villejuif), stayed at the Centre from 9 February to 9 July 2004 and worked on a new scholarly edition of *Sefer ha-Mispar*, 'Book of Numbers', by Abraham Ibn Ezra, the most influential Hebrew mathematical text of the Middle Ages. The first printed edition of this twelfth-century work in 1895 was based on only few of the over forty manuscripts known to have survived. Dr Lévy has now examined all of these and concludes that while thirty-five represent the original text, the remainder are commentaries or adaptations. By analysing shared features he identified at least two major recensions, both probably the work of Ibn Ezra. His new edition will contain the Hebrew text and a translation, together with a commentary on the Arabic sources and comparisons with Latin texts of the same genre.

He also worked on a hitherto unknown mathematical text attributed to Ibn Ezra, translated into Latin apparently during the twelfth century and perhaps during the author's lifetime. The Hebrew text and and annotated translation, both completed in Yarnton, will be published together with the Latin version edited by Professor Charles Burnett of the Warburg Institute, London.

A Summary of a lecture delivered while at Yarnton appears on page 125 of this *Report*.

Piergabriele Mancuso (*Visiting Research Student*)

Piergabriele Mancuso of University College London stayed at the Centre from 7 October 2003 to 3 June 2004 and wrote the introductory section and central chapters of his doctoral dissertation entitled *Shabbatai Donnolo's Sefer Hakmoni: A Commentary on Sefer Yetzirah and a Medical Text*. Shabbatai Donnolo, a tenth-century physician, astronomer-astrologer and rabbi from Apulia (southern Italy), presented his work as a commentary on *Sefer Yetzirah* ('The Book of Creation'), an enigmatic short text written in Palestine between the third and sixth centuries. This and his other medical and astrological texts were the first of their kind to be written in Hebrew in medieval Europe. Mr Mancuso also completed and published an Italian translation of *Kohelet Rabbah*, a midrash on the book of Ecclesiastes.

Professor Benyamin Neuberger

Professor Neuberger from the Open University of Israel was a non-resident Visiting Scholar at the Centre from 30 September 2003 to 30 July 2004, and Senior Associate Member at St Antony's College. He carried out research for a book entitled *Religion and State in Democracies* and also wrote articles entitled 'The Arab Minority in Israeli Politics', 'Between Ethnic Democracy and Democratic Integration', 'Parties and Cleavages in Israel' and 'Israel's Ethno-cultural Party System'. He is continuing his research in Oxford during 2004–5.

A version of the lecture he delivered while at Yarnton appears on pages 32–52 of this *Report*.

Dr Michael Rand (*Skirball Fellow*)

Dr Michael Rand of the Shalom Spiegel Centre for Medieval Hebrew Poetry at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York, stayed at the Centre from 9 October 2003 to 3 March 2004 and prepared for publication his recent PhD thesis on grammar in the liturgical poetry (*piyyut*) of Eleazar Killir. He delivered a David Patterson Seminar on the formal or structural aspects of Byzantine-period *piyyut*, and wrote an article on 'The Evolution of the *Seder Beriot* in Byzantine-period *Piyyut*', to appear in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* in 2005. He also wrote a lecture on morphological and syntactic change in the verbal system reflected in the classical *piyyut*, later delivered at Bar-Ilan University.

A summary of the lecture he delivered while at Yarnton appears on pages 128–9 of this *Report*.

Professor Irven Resnick

Professor Irven Resnick of the University of Tennessee stayed at the Centre from 2 July until 10 December 2003 and directed a summer seminar entitled 'Representations of the "Other": Jews in Medieval Christendom' from 9 July to 13 August, in which twenty-five academics from the United States and elsewhere participated. He also carried out research on medieval disputations, the subject of a David Patterson Seminar entitled 'Petrus Alfonsi's *Dialogi:* A Twelfth-century Convert to Christianity Reflects on his Past'.

He lectured at the Wellcome Trust Unit in History of Medicine, University College London, on 'Albert the Great's *Quaestiones super de animalibus*, focusing on Albert's discussion of the somatic condition of Jews, and at the University of Lancaster (sponsored by the Department of Religion) on 'Representations of the "Other": Jews in Medieval Christendom'.

A summary of the lecture he delivered while at Yarnton appears on pages 129–130 of this *Report*.

Professor Ora Schwarzwald

Professor Ora Schwarzwald of Bar-Ilan University stayed at the Centre from 1 October 2002 to 30 September 2003 and worked on a *Hebrew-Ladino Ladino-Hebrew Dictionary of the Ladino Haggadot*. Her sources were the Ladino elements of eighteen *Haggadot* dating from 1609 to 1965, originating from Belgrade, Budapest, Leghorn, Pisa, Salonika, Vienna and Venice. She discovered, when her work was already far advanced, a Ladino *Haggadah* in a women's prayer book from Salonika published prior to 1586 which made considerable revision necessary.

She also wrote an entry on 'Ladino Publishing' for *From Cave Paintings to the Internet: An Encyclopedia of the Written and Printed Word*; an article entitled 'Transition in Modern Hebrew Word Formation: From Discontinuous to Linear Formation' for the XVII Congress of Linguists in Prague; a review of Haralambos Symeonidis' book *Das Judenspanische von Thessaloniki* to appear in the *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, and three articles on Hebrew morphology in Hebrew: 'Additional Derivations?' to appear in *Israeli Applied Linguistics (ILASH) Special Volume*,

'Some Notes on Consonant Reduplication in Hebrew' to appear in *Mehkere Morashtenu*, and 'Internal and External Developments in Hebrew: Between Historical and Foreign Tendencies' to appear in a *Festschrift* for Professor Aharon Dotan. She also began work on an encyclopaedia entry entitled 'Hebrew' to be published in *Languages in West Europe*.

She delivered a David Patterson Seminar entitled 'The Lexicon of the Ladino Haggadot', a talk for the Romance Linguistic seminar series in Oxford entitled 'The Evolution of Judeo-Spanish', another in the Linguistics Colloquium in Oxford entitled 'Hebrew Consonant Clusters', a guest lecture in Cambridge entitled 'Judeo-Spanish Influences on Colloquial Modern Hebrew', and lectures at the University of Surrey on 'Hebrew Gender', and at UCLA on 'Foreign Influence on Modern Hebrew' and 'Modern Hebrew Consonant Clusters'. She also participated in conferences in Prague and London and two in Israel, presenting different papers in each on Judeo-Spanish or Modern Hebrew morphology.

A summary of the lecture she delivered while at Yarnton appeared on page 74 of the annual *Report*, 2002–3.

Youval Shimoni (*Hebrew Writer Fellow*)

Youval Shimoni, who stayed at the Centre from 2 October 2003 to 2 February 2004, worked on his third novel and almost completed those parts set outside Israel. The Centre's hospitality will be acknowledged in the book and a copy presented to the Library.

Professor Jan Willem van Henten (*Skirball Fellow*)

Professor Jan Willem van Henten of the University of Amsterdam stayed at the Centre from 5 February to 5 July 2004 working on behalf of the Brill Josephus Project, and prepared the second half of his new English translation of Flavius Josephus's *Jewish Antiquities* 15–17 and several sections of his commentary. The latter covered in particular Herod the Great's commander speech and battles against 'the Arabs', his interactions with Cleopatra, and Josephus's highly negative portrait of the Egyptian queen; it also discussed the purpose and audience of *Jewish Antiquities* in general.

He delivered a lecture entitled 'Conventional Motifs in Herod's Commander Speech in Josephus, *Ant.* 15.127–146' to the Seminar on

Judaism in the Graeco-Roman Period, another on 'Anti-Judaism in a Jewish Text: The Case of the Revelation of John' to the Parkes Centre at the University of Southampton; and one on 'The Publication of Josephus's *Jewish Antiquities*: Purpose and Audience' to the Amsterdam Colloquium on What is Publishing?

A summary of the lecture he delivered while at Yarnton appears on pages 131–32 of this *Report*.

Professor Witold Witakowski (*Skirball Fellow*)

Professor Witold Witakowski of the Institute of Asian and African Languages, Uppsala University, stayed at the Centre from 12 February until 9 July 2003 (with a break from mid-April to the end of May). He carried out research on medieval Hebrew historiography, specifically on the tenth-century *Sefer Yosippon*, 'Chronicle of Yosippon', and the twelfth-thirteenth-century 'Chronicle of Yerahme'el', recently published as *Sefer ha-Zikhronot*.

One line of research was to determine the character of these works and to discover their sources, especially Christian ones. Jews in the Middle Ages had no Hebrew records concerning the history of the Second Temple, and had abandoned nearly all Jewish writings in Greek, including the historiographical ones. Chroniclers trying to reconstruct this 'dark age' for their contemporaries had to turn to sources transmitted outside the Jewish tradition, including Christian ones as well as others which, although they were of Jewish origin, had been transmitted by Christians. The most important influence on *Yosippon* were the works of Flavius Josephus, while the key source for 'Yerahme'el' was Peter Comestor's twelfth-century *Historia Scholastica* in Latin.

He also examined the spread of *Yosippon* outside the Jewish community, comparing its text with the Ethiopic *Zena Ayhud*, 'The History of the Jews'. The latter follows a redaction which it will be possible to identify only when the Arabic version from which the Ethiopic derives has been published with full critical apparatus.

A summary of the David Patterson Seminar he delivered while at Yarnton appears on pages 75–6 of the annual *Report*, 2002–3.

Publications

Centre Publications

Journal of Jewish Studies, edited by Professor Geza Vermes and Dr Tessa
    Rajak, volume 54:2 (2003)

Journal of Jewish Studies, edited by Professor Geza Vermes and Dr Tessa
    Rajak, volume 55:1 (2004)

Report of the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies, 2002–2003, edited
    by Dr Jeremy Schonfield (2003)

A Short History of Yarnton Manor, compiled by Dr Jeremy Schonfield
    (2004)

Fellows' Publications

ABRAMSON, GLENDA, 'Israeli Drama and the Bible: Kings on the Stage',
    Association of Jewish Studies Review 28:1 (2004)

—— 'Anglicising the Holocaust', *The Journal of Theatre and Drama*
    (2004)

—— (editor) *The Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* 2:2, 2:3 (2003), 3:1 (2004)

FREUD-KANDEL, MIRI, 'Religion: Judaism', *The Annual Register: A Record
    of World Events 2003*, Bethseda: Keesing's Worldwide (2004) 473–4

GOODMAN, MARTIN, 'The Jewish Image of God in Late Antiquity', in
    Richard Kalmin and Seth Schwartz (eds) *Jewish Culture and Society
    under the Christian Roman Empire*, Leuven: Peters (2003) 133–45

——'Trajan and the Origins of the Bar Kokhba War', in Peter Schäfer (ed.)
    The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck (2003)
    23–9

——'Modeling the "Parting of the Ways"', in Adam H. Becker and
    Annette Yoshiko Reed (eds) *The Ways that Never Parted*, Tübingen:
    Mohr Siebeck (2003) 119–29

——'Early Judaism', in Ernest Nicholson (ed.) *A Century of Theological
    and Religious Studies in Britain*, Oxford: The British Academy
    (2003) 135–51

—— 'Trajan and the Origins of Roman Hostility to the Jews', *Past & Pre-
    sent* 182 (2004) 3–29

NETTLER, RONALD, *Sufi Metaphysics and Qur'anic Prophets: Ibn 'Arabi's
    Thought and Method in the Fusus al-Hikam*, Cambridge: Islamic
    Texts Society (2003)

—— 'Mohamed Talbi on Understanding the Qur'an', in Suha Taji-Farouki (ed.) *Modern Muslim Intellectuals and the Qur'an*, Oxford: Oxford University Press (2004) 225–91

OTTOLENGHI, EMANUELE, 'The United States and the Middle East Question', *Il Mulino* 3/2003 (July 2003, in Italian)

—— 'Why the Arab World Hates the West', *Australian Financial Review*, 11 September 2003

—— 'Paradise Lost: A Review Article on Laurence Silberstein, *Postzionism Debates*', in *Israel Studies* 8,3 (Summer 2003)

—— 'Anti-Zionism is Anti-Semitism', *The Guardian*, Saturday 29 November 2003

—— review of Jonathan Mendilow, *Ideology, Party Change and Electoral Campaigns in Israel, 1965–2001*, in *Israel Studies Forum* 19,1 (Winter 2004)

—— 'Europe's Jewish Problem', *Canadian Jewish News*, 8 January 2004

—— 'New Europe, Old Prejudice', *Australian Jewish News*, 9 January 2004

—— 'A Backlash Against Militant Islam?' *The Jerusalem Report*, 8 March 2004

—— 'The Madrid Lessons', *Canadian Jewish News*, 8 April 2004

—— 'Israel-EU relations', *Diritto e Libertá* (2004, in Italian)

—— 'Why Israelis and Palestinians are Not Ready for Peace', *Survival* 46, 1 (Spring 2004)

—— 'Revisionism and Post-Zionism', *Palomar* 17,1 (Spring 2004)

—— 'The Cage of Self-Reform', *Liberal*, April 2004

—— 'Call it Fear', *The Jerusalem Post*, Friday 30 April 2004

—— 'Europe's Messy Backyard', *The Jerusalem Post*, 9 May 2004

—— 'Faith and Liberty', *The Jerusalem Post*, Friday 28 May 2004

—— 'The Second Dreyfus Trial', *The Jerusalem Post*, Friday 11 June 2004

—— 'Choosing a Prime Minister: Executive-Legislative Relations in Israel in the 1990s', *The Journal of Legislative Studies* 10, 2/3 (Summer/Autumn 2004)

SALVESEN, ALISON, 'A Convergence of the Ways? The Judaizing of Christian Scripture by Origen and Jerome', in Adam H. Becker and Annette Yoshiko Reed (eds) *The Ways that Never Parted*, Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism 95, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck (2003) 233–58

—— Commentary on Psalm 151, in J. D. G. Dunn and J. Rogerson (eds) *Eerdmans Commentary on the Bible*, Grand Rapids/Cambridge: Eerdmans (2004) 862–4

—— with K. D. Jenner, R. B. ter Haar Romeny and W. T. van Peursen, 'The New Annotated Translation of the Syriac Bible (NEATSB): Retrospect and Prospect', *Aramaic Studies* 2.1 (January 2004) 85–106

SHERMAN, JOSEPH, 'Stories with a Vocation: An Appreciation of Ayzik-Meir Dik', *Midstream* 39/5 (July/August 2003) 22–6

—— 'Copyright Problems with Yiddish Literature', *The Mendele Review (TMR)*, edited by Leonard Prager, vol. 07.007 [sequential no. 133] (22 July 2003) http://www2.trincoll.edu/~mendele/tmrarc.htm

—— 'Spring' by Dovid Bergelson, translated from the Yiddish by Joseph Sherman, in Sandra Bark (ed.) *Beautiful as the Moon, Radiant as the Stars*, New York: Warner Books (2003) 191–210

—— 'The Non-Reflecting Mirror: Gogol's Influence on Sholem Aleichem', *Essays in Poetics: The Journal of the British Neo-Formalist Circle* 28 (Autumn 2003) 101–23

—— 'In the Boardinghouse' by Dovid Bergelson, translated from the Yiddish by Joseph Sherman, in Sandra Bark (ed.) *Beautiful as the Moon, Radiant as the Stars*, New York: Warner Books (2003) 247–58

—— 'Two Tales About Dreams' by Ayzik-Meir Dik, translated from the Yiddish by Joseph Sherman, *Midstream* 39/5 (July/August 2003) 27–8

—— 'Androgynous' by Isaac Bashevis Singer, translated from the Yiddish by Joseph Sherman, in Sandra Bark (ed.) *Beautiful as the Moon, Radiant as the Stars*, New York: Warner Books (2003) 145–62; republished in *The New Yorker*, 29 September 2003, pp. 94–100

—— Review article: 'Yiddish Fiction and the Crisis of Modernity', *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* 2:2 (October 2003) 196–201

—— (co-author with Seth L. Wolitz) 'Isaac Bashevis Singer: jako lubelski regionalista' ['Bashevis Singer as a Regionalist of Lublin Province'], *Akcent* 24:(93) (2003) 24–7 [in Polish]

—— 'Singing with the Silence: The Poetry of David Fram', *The Mendele Review (TMR)*, edited by Leonard Prager, vol. 08.001 [sequential no. 135] (14 January 2004) http://www2.trincoll.edu/~mendele/tmrarc.htm

—— *Shabesdike shvebelekh* ['Little Sabbath Fires'], a translation of chapters 1, 2 and the beginning of 3 of the novel by Mikhoel Felsenbaum, in *The Mendele Review (TMR)*, edited by Leonard Prager, vol. 08.002 [sequential no. 141] (15 February 2004) http://www2.trincoll.edu/~mendele/tmrarc.htm

—— Review of Joel Berkowitz, *Shakespeare on the American Yiddish Stage*,

in *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* 3:1 (March 2004) 114–21
—— (ed.) *Yiddish After the Holocaust* (Oxford: Boulevard Books, 2004)
WEINBERG, JOANNA, 'The Beautiful Soul: Azariah de' Rossi's Search for
Truth', in D. Ruderman and G. Veltri (eds) *Cultural Intermediaries:
Jewish Intellectuals in Early Modern Italy*, Philadelphia (2004) 109–26

Dissertations Submitted at the Centre, 2004*

Compiled by

MARTINE SMITH-HUVERS

BERDAL, STIG. *Paul's Persecution of the Church: Its Nature and Purpose.* 32 pp.

BLUMELL, LINCOLN H. *Galilean Social Bandits? An Examination of the Nature of Galilean Banditry from Herod the Great to the Outbreak of the First Jewish Revolt.* 37 pp.

COOK, BRANDON. *Orphic Thought and Greek Harmony in Alexandrian Jewish Theodicy: God's Being Over All Things.* 26 pp.

CRADDY, KATHERINE. *'From the Holocaust to Rwanda: Lessons Learnt, Lessons Still to Learn'. British Holocaust Memorial Day, This Year's Theme, and the (Lack of) Importance of Public Remembrance of the Holocaust.* 38 pp.

FALEK, PASCALE LALIV. *From* Tsedaka *to Philanthropy: Marguerite Philippson-Wiener (1884–1958).* 33 pp.

LEIHY, PEODAIR SEAMUS. *Leonard Cohen's Holocaust.* 37 pp.

LINDHOLM, PHILIP M. *Emmanuel Levinas, Judaism, and the Annihilation of the Universe.* 36 pp.

LIPSCHUTZ, YAEL REBECCA. *Bohemian Bridges: Russian Jewish Artists, New York's First Social Settlement, and the Creation of American Modern Art.* 35 pp, 45 plates.

MEYERS, ISAAC. *Shaul Tshernikhovski's Translations of Horace: Background, Themes and Technique.* 43 pp.

OKITE, HENDILAHA CHIEMEKA. *Violence in Its Origins: A Rhetorical Analysis of the Story of Cain and Abel (Gen 4, 1–16).* 44 pp.

REED, DAHLIA. *A Conscientious Objection? The American Jewish Community and the 1982 Lebanon War.* 52 pp.

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

ROSMER, TILDE. *A Discussion of Jewish Middle East and North African Identity in Israel. Comparing Mizrahi Academics and Shas.* 36 pp.

SAMSON, JUDITH. *The Criticism of Sholem Asch's* The Nazarene *and* Mary *from Different Perspectives.* 36 pp.

THIESSEN, MATTHEW T. *The Testament of Moses and the Restoration of Israel.* 33 pp.

WUNNENBERG, MARY FRASER. *'I Shall Forever Be Left to Wander': Questions of Religious Identity Concerning Jewish Children Hidden in France during the Holocaust.* 38 pp.

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201

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C) Books Acquired Through the Generosity of the Hans and Rita Oppenheimer Fund

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