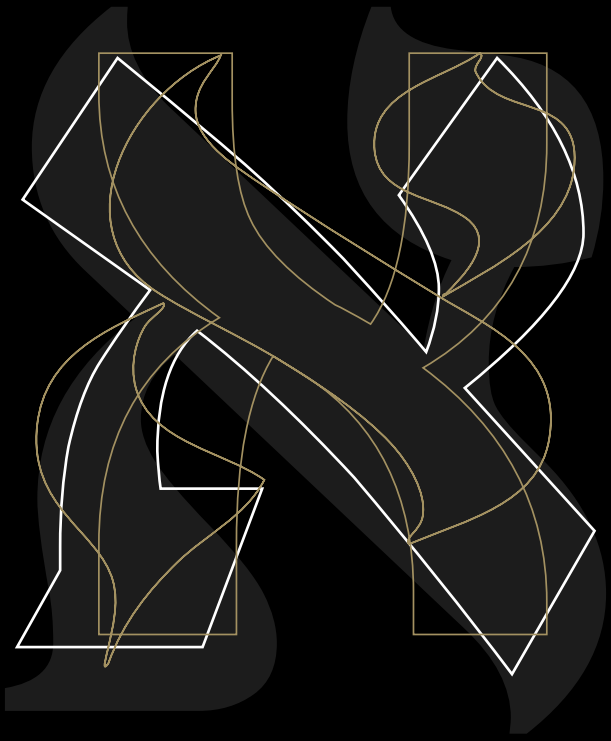
Report of the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies

Academic Year 2010-2011



OXFORD CENTRE FOR
HEBREW AND JEWISH STUDIES

A Recognized Independent Centre of the University of Oxford

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PREFACE

This year's *Report* highlights the work of the Centre in providing Jewish studies at the University of Oxford, where the Centre's Fellows, Lectors and Lecturers continue to provide most of the teaching in this area, as well as in Hebrew and Israel studies.

Without the Centre, which provides the primary tuition (i.e. instruction) for nine degree courses in Hebrew and Jewish studies at the undergraduate, postgraduate and doctoral level, the University would be unable to offer these courses. It also provides tuition in ten additional degree courses in Classics, Theology, Modern Middle Eastern and Oriental Studies.

The Centre has created the largest and most important academic programme in Jewish studies in Europe, based on undergraduate, postgraduate, doctoral and postdoctoral research and teaching. Through the University, the Centre provides the academic vision and human resources essential for preparing the next generation of Jewish studies scholars at universities throughout the world. In this way the Centre helps to rebuild Jewish studies in Europe and further afield.

The Centre's academic home, Yarnton Manor, is a premier residential academic community, providing opportunities for Jewish studies scholars to live, work and collaborate on research projects. It has become a second home to leading specialists in the field and serves as an academic incubator promoting scholarship, collegiality and community.

This year's *Report* focuses on the European Seminars in Advanced Jewish Studies. These bring together international teams of scholars for year-long research collaboration at Yarnton Manor around a central theme. The topic this year was the Bodleian Library's Genizah collection, a rich treasury of some 25,000 medieval manuscript folios retrieved from the archive (genizah) of the Ben Ezra Synagogue in Old Cairo more than a century ago.

The Bodleian Library's Genizah manuscripts are exceptional, including rare Talmud fragments that escaped the mass burnings of Talmud manuscripts in sixteenth-century Europe and unique liturgical material that sheds light on the beginnings of Jewish prayer. Other such collections, held at the University of Cambridge, the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, the John Rylands Library (Manchester) and the University of Pennsylvania, contain fewer sequential folios and complete works than the Bodleian assemblage, making this a particularly valuable source for researchers.

Nine Genizah scholars spent the year collaborating at Yarnton Manor, conducting research, making presentations and preparing material for publication on the following research projects:

- Early Judaeo-Arabic translations of the Hebrew Bible
- Unique Talmud manuscripts
- Maimonides's *Mishneh Torah* and other legal codes
- The transmission of classical philosophic teachings from Greek to Arabic and to Hebrew
- Jewish society in the eleventh-century Fatimid Egyptian Caliphate
- Judaeo-Arabic linguistics
- Magical amulets
- Therapeutic, exorcist and meteorological (rain-making) Jewish rituals

These seminars allowed scholars to benefit from regular interaction and cross-fertilization of ideas with colleagues within their own and other fields. Younger researchers had the opportunity to work alongside senior scholars, collaborating with them and sharing expertise built up over generations.

Seven Kennedy Leigh Visiting Fellows and Harold Hyam Wingate Visiting Fellows who spent much of the year at Yarnton Manor conducted research and made valuable contributions in the following areas:

- The trial against the Talmud at Paris in 1240
- Creating an index and classification of medieval Hebrew manuscripts
- Jewish-Christian relations in renaissance Florence
- Biblical Hebrew prose and poetry
- Midrash
- A comparison of the Holocaust and the Armenian genocide
- The treatment of the Holocaust in kibbutzim

It is hoped that this *Report* will introduce you to some exciting aspects of the work of the Centre.

DR DAVID ARIEL

President

VISION AND MISSION STATEMENT

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

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

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

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

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

The Centre has a significant academic impact on the University of Oxford. Its 11 Fellows and 8 Lectors and Lecturers provide the primary teaching for the BA in Oriental Studies (Hebrew), BA in Oriental Studies (Jewish Studies), BA in European and Middle Eastern Languages, MSt in Oriental Studies (Jewish Studies), MSt in Bible Interpretation (Oriental Studies), MSt in Modern Jewish Studies, MSt in Yiddish Studies, MPhil in Modern Jewish Studies, and MPhil in Oriental Studies (Modern Jewish Studies). They also teach in the following degree courses: BA in Arabic and Islamic Studies, BA in Classics, BA in Theology, MSt in Classical Hebrew Studies, MSt in Jewish Studies in the Graeco-Roman Period, MPhil in Oriental Studies (Jewish Studies in the Graeco-Roman Period), MPhil in Eastern Christian Studies, MPhil in Modern Middle Eastern Studies, MLitt in Oriental Studies (Jewish Studies) and DPhil in Oriental Studies (Jewish Studies).

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

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

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

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

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE 2010-2011 ACADEMIC YEAR

European Seminars focus on Genizah research

The European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies this year focused on the manuscripts from the Cairo Genizah – a mass of documents discarded in the Middle Ages and forgotten until their rediscovery in the late-nineteenth century. It is now recognized as a major source of information on ancient Jewish life in the Mediterranean region. But the Genizah has been scattered among various libraries, separating different parts even of single pages. At last a programme of digitization is making it possible to reunite fragments separated for centuries, and to discover their meaning - and importance. The seminar brought together a team of Genizah scholars from around the world for a year-long research collaboration at Yarnton Manor. The seminar held at the Centre, entitled 'Material Texts of the Genizah Collection at the Bodleian Library: A New Approach to Genizah Research', is covered in more detail on pages 54-106 of this *Report*.

Participants in the Genizah seminar (left to right): Malachi Beit Arié, Piet van Boxel, Ronny Vollandt (back), Sabine Arndt, Judith Olszowy-Schlanger, Emma Abate, Marina Rustow (with baby Petra), Roni Shweka, Paul Fenton.

University completes Centre review

The University of Oxford's Committee for the Coordination of Recognized Independent Centres conducted a review of the Centre in 2011. The report emphasized 'recognition of the very substantial contribution the Centre makes to the life of the University in terms of the teaching it provides, its input through research, and the contribution it makes to maintaining library facilities which are a remarkable resource'. It noted also 'the Centre's contribution to the field of Hebrew and Jewish studies within the University, nationally and internationally'. It considered particularly noteworthy the attention the Centre is giving to 'thinking strategically about its own future'.

Centre conducts strategic planning process

The President and the Board of Governors initiated a strategic planning process that examined the relationship of the Centre to the University of Oxford, the role of Yarnton Manor, the Centre's academic strategy, its fundraising plans and governance. Among its recommendations are the following:

- The Centre should maintain the status quo as a Recognized Independent Centre of the University of Oxford.
- The development of Jewish studies at the University of Oxford is the responsibility of the Centre which provides most of the Hebrew, Jewish and Israel studies at the University of Oxford.
- Without the Centre, which provides the primary tuition for nine degree courses in Hebrew and Jewish studies at the undergraduate, postgraduate and doctoral level at the University of Oxford, the University would not be able to offer these degree courses.
- Yarnton Manor is a premier residential academic community that provides opportunities for Jewish studies scholars from around the world to live, work and collaborate on research projects.
- The Centre's academic strategy is aligned with the mission, purpose, standards and traditions of the University of Oxford.
- The Centre is dedicated to the highest standards of academic excellence; devoted to the advancement of knowledge through research, scholarship, publication, teaching and service to the profession; and committed to the dissemination of knowledge for the greater good of society.
- The Centre should add new posts and initiatives that can provide a scholarly understanding of contemporary Jewish life, including a new Fellowship in Contemporary Jewish Studies and the Global Jewish Leadership Scholars Programme, whose goal is to prepare individuals for Jewish volunteer and professional leadership positions worldwide in philanthropic, non-profit, religious, educational and communal organizations.

- The primary fundraising strategy for the Centre should be a focus on growth (by expanding the donor base, securing major gifts and achieving higher giving-levels among current donors) and on long-term stability (by increasing the endowment).
- The Centre should create an international advisory council, consisting of major donors, public figures and internationally recognized scholars to meet annually to discuss broad issues affecting the Centre and to involve key stakeholders.

Centre completes an impact study of the Master of Studies (MSt) in Jewish Studies.

The Centre has completed an impact study among several hundred graduates of the MSt in Jewish Studies, its predecessor the Diploma in Jewish Studies, and the other academic degree programmes provided by the Fellows within the University. The study shows that the Centre has created the largest and most important academic programme in Jewish studies in Europe, based on undergraduate, postgraduate, doctoral and postdoctoral research and teaching. The Centre is helping to rebuild this discipline in universities throughout Europe and the world by preparing the next generation of scholars. Students have come from a variety of backgrounds – Jewish, Christian, Muslim and other – and from more than forty countries, including China, Iran, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco and the former Soviet Union. Many have then gone on to academic positions at leading universities in Asia, Europe, North America and the United Kingdom, lecturing in Hebrew and Jewish studies or in related fields such as history, religious studies and cultural studies. The contribution the Centre makes is not confined to the academic realm. As Oxford University is one of the elite universities in the world, its graduates rise to positions of influence and leadership in many spheres across the globe in subsequent decades. Further information can be found on the Centre's website ('Where Are They Now?').

Centre establishes the Sidney Brichto Fellowship in Israel Studies

The Oxford Centre has established the Sidney Brichto Fellowship in Israel Studies. Rabbi Dr Sidney Brichto, the first Executive Director of the Union of Liberal and Progressive Synagogues, devoted the most recent phase of his career to the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies as a Governor and fundraiser. His friends contributed £500,000 to establish a five-year Fellowship in Israel Studies at the Centre, with a joint appointment as a University Research Lectureship in the Faculty of Oriental Studies at the University of Oxford. This post will provide an academic programme designed to have a lasting impact on students in the MPhil in Modern Middle Eastern Studies and the MSt in Jewish Studies. The new Fellow is expected to arrive in February 2013.

Centre hosts Tikvah Summer Institute in Religion and Politics

An international group of students gathered at the Oxford Centre in August 2011 to discover with the help of world-renowned scholars how the great texts of Judaism, Christianity and Islam address both the enduring and timely questions of religion and politics.

Students at European, Israeli, North American, Russian and UK colleges and universities were invited to apply to the programme, organized jointly by the Tikvah Fund and the Centre.

During the conference, students studied classical texts and discussed contemporary issues with leading scholars from around the world, experts in the intellectual traditions of Judaism, Christianity and Islam. Instruction comprised a mixture of seminars and lectures based on prepared readings in political philosophy, law, history and theology. Topics included 'War and Morality', 'Dignity and Equality', and 'Culture, Nation and Democracy'. Special events were held in the evenings, including lectures, book talks and debates that featured British, European and Israeli public figures and writers.

Centre partners with *Kivunim* gap-year programme

Kivunim, one of North America's most innovative Jewish non-profit organizations, is an established gap-year programme that introduces fifty students each year to Jewish history through travel to Israel, Central and Eastern Europe, Greece, India and Morocco. The Centre provided academic supervision of Kivunim's academic courses, monitored student academic progress, and issued official transcripts indicating the academic credit equivalent earned by each student who requested credit on completing the courses.

Highlights of the 2010-2011 Academic Year

Centre adopts new logo

OXFORD CENTRE FOR
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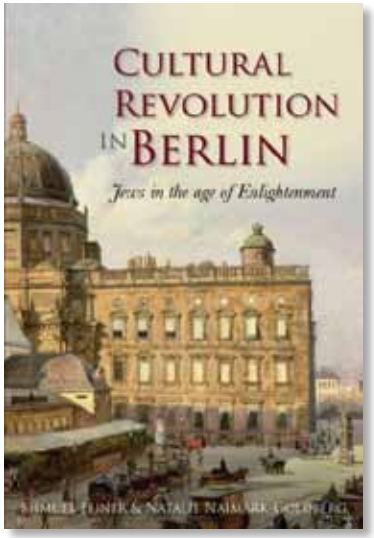
A Recognized Independent Centre of the University of Oxford

The Centre adopted a new logo that will add the Hebrew letter 'Aleph' alongside the University of Oxford's 'Belted Arms'. The addition of the Hebrew letter is meant to signify the tradition of Hebrew Studies at the University of Oxford dating back to the establishment of the Regius Professorship in Hebrew by Henry VIII in 1546. The 'Aleph' itself is the first letter of the Hebrew word 'Oxford' and is morphologically associated with the ancient pictogram of an 'ox'.



Exhibition on the 'Jewish Enlightenment' at the Bodleian Library

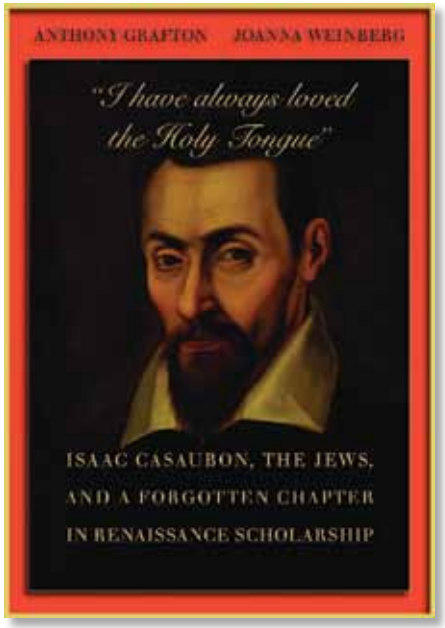
An exhibition on the 'Cultural Revolution in Berlin: Jews in the Age of Enlightenment' was held in the Proscholium of the Bodleian Library from February to March 2011. It told the story of the emergence of Jewish Enlightenment – *Haskalah* - in Germany and drew special attention to its most famous figure, Moses Mendelssohn (1729–86). The Enlightenment, which marked a social and philosophical turning away from religion and towards science and reason, swept across Europe in the eighteenth century, when civil and rational values were embraced also by Jewish intellectuals, bringing about a cultural revolution within traditional Jewish society.

The manuscripts and books on display were from the libraries of David Oppenheimer (1664–1736), Chief Rabbi of Prague, now held at the Bodleian Library, and of the nineteenth-century scholar Leopold Zunz, acquired by the Centre with the support of the Foyle Foundation.

The exhibition came about as a result of a research project conducted by Professor Shmuel Feiner and Dr Natalie Goldberg, whose close examination of the Foyle-Montefiore collection at Yarnton revealed unique material on *Haskalah*. The project culminated in the book *Cultural Revolution in Berlin*, the first joint publication of the Bodleian and the *Journal of Jewish Studies*. This traces the cultural transformation that took place mainly in Germany, from the moderate and scattered beginnings in the early 1700s, through the height of the movement in the second half of the eighteenth century, until its final stage around 1800, when the *Haskalah* began to give way to new movements and ideologies.

The book is richly illustrated with images of eighteenth-century manuscripts, books and pamphlets and provides an detailed guide to the cultural metamorphosis brought about by the Jewish Enlightenment. The launch of this publication was celebrated on 14 February at a reception in the Divinity School. A symposium convened by Dr Piet van Boxel took place at Exeter College on the same day, in which Professor Feiner, Dr Goldberg and other Visiting Fellows and scholars at the Centre took part.

Highlights of the 2010-2011 Academic Year



A new publication by Dr Joanna Weinberg

Dr Joanna Weinberg and Professor Anthony Grafton of Princeton University, president of the American Historical Association, have produced a compelling account of the strange world of early-modern scholarship. Devoted to the legendary classical scholar Isaac Casaubon (1559-1614), the book re-creates in painstaking detail Casaubon's little-known forays into Hebrew language, talmudic learning and biblical studies.

Their book, entitled *'I Have Always Loved the Holy Tongue': Isaac Casaubon, the Jews, and a Forgotten Chapter in Renaissance Scholarship* (Harvard University Press, 2011), uncovers a secret and extraordinary aspect of a legendary Renaissance scholar's already celebrated achievement. The French Protestant Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614) is best known through his pedantic namesake in George Eliot's *Middlemarch*. But in this book, the real Casaubon emerges as a genuine literary hero, an intrepid explorer in the world of books. With a flair for storytelling, Grafton and Weinberg follow Casaubon as he unearths the lost continent of Hebrew learning—and adds this ancient lore to the well-known Renaissance revival of Latin and Greek.

The mystery begins with Mark Pattison's nineteenth-century biography of Casaubon. Here we encounter the Protestant Casaubon embroiled in intellectual quarrels with the Italian and Catholic orator Cesare Baronio. Setting out to understand the nature of this imbroglio, Grafton and Weinberg discover Casaubon's knowledge of Hebrew. Close reading and sedulous inquiry were Casaubon's tools in recapturing the lost learning of the ancients—and these are the tools that serve Grafton and Weinberg as they pore through pre-1600 books in Hebrew, and Casaubon's own manuscript notebooks. Their search takes them from Oxford to Cambridge, from Dublin to Cambridge, Massachusetts, as they reveal how the scholar discovered the learning of the Hebrews—and at what cost.

Centre Hosts the British Association of Jewish Studies Annual Conference on 'Jewish Languages'

Dr Alison Salvesen, President of the British Association of Jewish Studies for 2011, organized the annual conference at Yarnton Manor in July 2011.

Covering three thousand years of history, and settlements spread throughout the world, Jewish Studies offers both opportunities and challenges in terms of the range of languages and discourses relevant to the field. The conference participants, around eighty in total, presented papers on languages spoken or written by Jews, and on modes of discourse as they relate to Jewish Studies, for instance in the realms of religion, politics, aesthetics, music, philosophy and more. The programme also included a joint session with the conference of the Society for Old Testament Study that took place simultaneously at St Hilda's College.

Dr Raffaella Del Sarto, Dr Jordan Finkin, Dr Aaron Rosen and Dr Adam Silverstein accept new posts

Dr Raffaella Del Sarto (Pears Fellow in Israel and Mediterranean Studies) has taken up a new post as Professor at the European University Institute in Florence and Adjunct Professor of Middle East Studies and International Relations at the Bologna Center of the Johns Hopkins University - Paul H. Nitze School for Advanced International Studies, Bologna Campus.

Dr Jordan Finkin (Woolf Corob Fellow in Yiddish and Fellow in Modern Hebrew Literature) has moved to Harvard University where he is the Weinstock Visiting Lecturer on Jewish Studies.

Dr Aaron Rosen (Albert and Rachel Lehmann Junior Research Fellow in Jewish History and Culture) ended his two-year fixed-term post, and is now lecturer in Sacred Traditions and the Arts at King's College London.

Dr Adam Silverstein (Fellow in Jewish-Muslim Relations) has accepted a new post at King's College London, where he is now Senior Lecturer in Jewish Studies and the Abrahamic Religions.

Jordan Finkin (photo: *Garth Gilmour*)

Retirement of Dr Piet van Boxel

The Centre staff bade farewell at the end of the year to Dr Piet van Boxel, Fellow Librarian of the Centre, and Hebraica and Judaica Curator at the Bodleian Library, on his retirement.

Dr van Boxel had been working at the Centre since February 2002 and was appointed to his position at the Bodleian in March 2007. His years at the Centre saw the Muller Memorial Library transformed into a major resource internationally for Jewish Studies, by the acquisition of no fewer than six major collections and the development of new library buildings. These developments are outlined in the report on the Library on pages 149-55. His dual appointment reflected the strengthening of ties with the Bodleian Library. He promoted the richness and variety of the various collections, highlighting their importance and rarity though organizing conferences, workshops, seminar programmes and master classes, and initiated a whole range of technologies, including digitization programmes aimed at making these unique resources accessible to scholars worldwide.

Piet was presented with a standard bay tree - an evergreen reminder of his time here that we hope he will enjoy for years to come. He was wished well by his many friends and colleagues.

Dr César Merchán-Hamann – the new Hebraica and Judaica Curator at the Bodleian Library and Director of the Leopold Muller Memorial Library

Dr César Merchán-Hamann, the former Deputy Librarian, has succeeded Dr Piet van Boxel as Librarian to the Centre and Hebraica and Judaica Curator at the Bodleian Library.

César arrived at the Centre in 2007, and has since managed the Library, directing acquisitions and training personnel in the use of the Library's programmes and databases. He did so initially under the direction of Dr van Boxel and in close coordination with the Bodleian Library and other libraries at the University with Jewish and Oriental collections. He also started cataloguing the Rabbi Dr Louis Jacobs Collection, with its wealth of responsa literature and Hasidic writings, and underwent training in Hebrew codicology with Professor Malachi Beit-Arié. He is currently coordinating the migration of the Leopold Muller Memorial Library Hebrew Online Public Access Catalogue database to the Aleph System that is about to be introduced in the online library catalogue.

César will continue the work of Dr van Boxel, and plans to explore sections of the collections that will yield new areas of research, highlighting their importance and rarity, and ensuring that the resources are kept up to date and available to Jewish Studies scholars at the University and further afield. For more on the Library, see pages 149-55 of this *Report*.

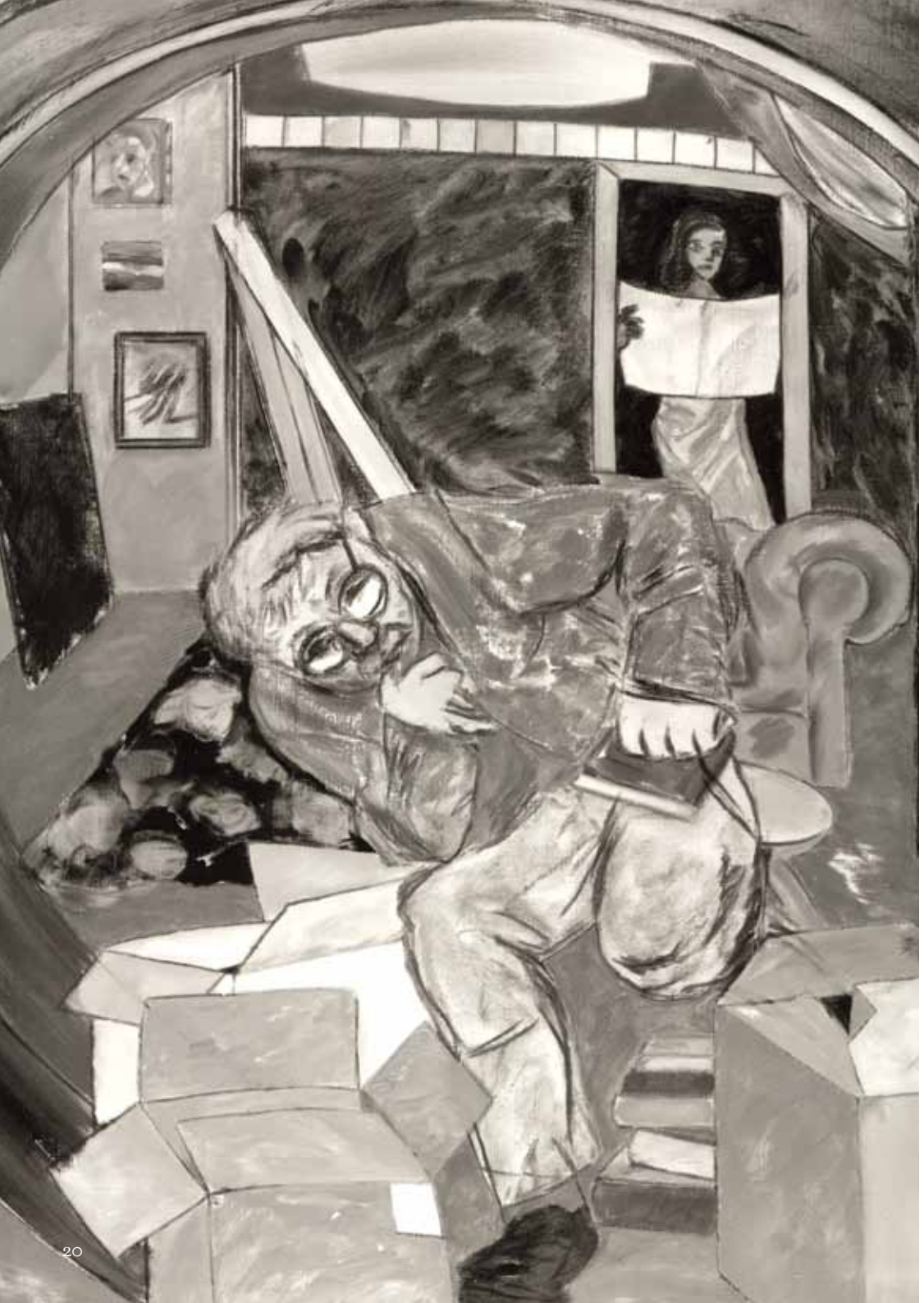
In Memoriam Dr Baruch Blumberg

Baruch ('Barry') Blumberg served as a Governor of the Centre from 1989 until his death in 2011 at the age of 85. This was a privilege for the Centre not only due to his stature as a medical scientist who saved countless lives through his conquest of hepatitis B, for which he received a Nobel Prize, but for his omnivorous intelligence and zest for inquiry. We are reproducing here an article he wrote for an earlier edition of this *Report*, see pages 157-163.

In Memoriam Professor Edward Ullendorff

Professor Edward Ullendorff, a leading scholar in the field of Semitic studies in the international world of learning, died in Oxford on 6 March 2011. He is particularly associated with the languages and cultures of Ethiopia, yet his Ethiopian studies were part of a much wider picture, for Ullendorff had an exceptionally wide firsthand familiarity with Semitic civilizations, ancient and modern. A fuller obituary appears on pages 167-170 of this *Report*.

NEW RESEARCH



R. B. KITAJ: PAINTING THE WAY HOME

Aaron Rosen

His hair tousled madly, and his fusty garments bunched and rumpled, a collector stoops excitedly to inspect his books. The eccentric bibliophile in this painted scene is the artist himself, R. B. Kitaj, and the painting — *Unpacking My Library* (1990–9) — captures a common practice for the peripatetic artist. 'I'm always unpacking my library like that', muses the painter, '[a]lways packing part of it up and unpacking sometimes years later, thrilled with forgotten treasures and surprises'.

At times, Kitaj's library explicitly provides the imagery for his works, as in his series of screen prints *In Our Time: Covers for a Small Library after the Life for the Most Part* (1969). More often, Kitaj's library is the absent presence in his works, supplying the loose weave of literary allusions which connects the artist's oeuvre. From his early career onward, Kitaj found that 'books are for me what trees are for a landscape painter. They inspire'. Not only do books inspire Kitaj's paintings, they also seem to have stimulated his desire to write, and over the past two decades — until his death in 2007 — Kitaj increasingly penned what he called explanatory 'prefaces' to his paintings.

In his later years, Kitaj came to conceive of these prefaces as acts of Jewish exegesis. As he commented in 1994, 'I get a kick out of writing neo-Talmudic disquisitions about my pictures'. In addition to composing prefaces, Kitaj believed that his wider artistic affinities with the written word were also bound up with his Jewish identity. 'I was text-centred as a painter long before I realized how much of a Jew I am', remarks Kitaj, 'It's in my blood!'. While the notion that Jews are natively 'text-centred' has historically been tied to claims of aniconism, Kitaj makes no attempt to break down this trope. Instead, Kitaj actively embraces the idea of Jewish text-centricity; not as a quality inimical to visual aptitude, but precisely the opposite. Jewish texts — as well as the ways in which texts have been produced, interpreted and collected — represent in Kitaj's eyes unique resources for Jewish visual art.

Kitaj's willingness to infuse his works with themes and practices derived from texts has often met with a bristly reception from critics. When his retrospective opened at the Tate Gallery in 1994, several major London papers took aim at Kitaj's literary tendencies, with Tim Hilton claiming that Kitaj is 'imprisoned by his library'. Rather than viewing Kitaj's library as something that constrains the impact of his images, I want to take a quite different approach to Kitaj's artistic practice. I will unapologetically pull down volumes from the artist's shelves for assistance. More than that, though, I hope to explore how the concept of the library as a whole might be used to investigate

Plate 1 (left). R. B. Kitaj, *Unpacking My Library*. 1990–1. Oil on canvas. Private Collection, Los Angeles. Copyright the artist, photograph courtesy of Marlborough Fine Art (London) Ltd.

Kitaj's approach to art history. To do this we need to turn to the writings of Walter Benjamin; and here again Kitaj's *Unpacking My Library* serves as our compass. While the work is a self-portrait of the artist, it is also a tantalizing image of role-playing. Kitaj is caught up in the act of imagining himself as Benjamin, donning the cultural critic's signature moustache and spectacles to play the part. More specifically, Kitaj drew his inspiration for the painting from Benjamin's essay 'Unpacking My Library: A Talk about Book Collecting'.

Originally published in 1931, Benjamin's musings on book collecting appeared in English in 1968 as part of *Illuminations*. By the early 1970s, Kitaj was deeply immersed in Benjamin's work, finding striking affinities between Benjamin's allusive style and his own practice as a painter. Commenting on these intersections, Kitaj writes that:

> In the life and work and death of Benjamin, I found a parable and a real analogue to the very methods and ideas I had pursued in my own painting: a shifting urban context of film-like fragmentation, an additive, free-verse of an art.

At the same time that Benjamin helped Kitaj clarify and reflect on the structure of his paintings, his writings also suggested new themes for Kitaj's art. Kitaj explains:

> his peculiar Jewish life spoke to me [. . .] Benjamin was crucial in my turn towards a Jewish aspect in art [. . .] He sent me back to read the wondrous Kafka whom I had not read since Vienna and forward to Scholem and the endless questions of assimilation, Diaspora, [and] Homeland [. . .] which would disturb my painting.

Taking my cue from these broad methodological and thematic parallels which Kitaj sketches between his work and Benjamin's, I want to pursue a more specific analogy between author and artist, beginning with a close reading of Benjamin's 'Unpacking My Library'. Kitaj, I will suggest, gathers together images, styles and ideas from the history of art in much the same fashion that Benjamin collects books. Moreover, as I hope to demonstrate, the iconographical library which Kitaj thus assembles provides the key to understanding how the Jewish concepts of 'assimilation, Diaspora, [and] Homeland' intersect in his work.

'A Talk about Book Collecting'

Benjamin revels in the intimate, 'magical' experience of collecting, 'a relationship to objects which does not emphasize their functional, utilitarian value...but studies and loves them as the scene, the stage, of their fate'. The collector seeks the past in worn bindings and scribbled marginalia, the marks of individual anecdotal memory. Benjamin writes:

> [F]or a true collector the whole background of an item adds up to a magic encyclopedia whose quintessence is the fate of his object. In this circumscribed area, then, it may be surmised how the great physiognomists — and collectors are the physiognomists of the world of objects — turn into interpreters of fate.

Each book is a memory of acquisition — from a shop, at an auction, or in a market where the collector found it 'lonely and abandoned [. . .] and bought it to give it its freedom'. Intimately entwined with place, these memories are the signposts of a personal geography. 'Collectors are people with a tactical instinct; their experience teaches them that when they capture a strange city, the smallest antique shop can be a fortress, the most remote stationery store a key position. How many cities', exclaims Benjamin, 'have revealed themselves to me in the marches I undertook in the pursuit of books!'. While the order of a catalogue might offer orientation, only the collector can truly chart this landscape by the cairns of his books. '[A] real library [. . .] is always somewhat impenetrable and at the same time uniquely itself'. And in this way, as an edifice of personal, secret memory, the library is also a refuge, a home. Benjamin concludes:

> for a collector — and I mean a real collector, a collector as he ought to be — ownership is the most intimate relationship that one can have to objects. Not that they come alive in him; it is he who lives in them. So I have erected one of his dwellings, with books as the building stones, before you, and now he is going to disappear inside, as is only fitting.

As I look at Kitaj's paintings, the first element I want to stress from Benjamin's essay is his intimate, reverent method of collecting; his personal, romantic attachment to provenance — to the memories of how he came upon his acquisitions. In a similar fashion, the iconography which Kitaj pulls from the artistic past becomes a highly personal index for the artist's memories, as he makes clear in his prefaces. The second, related trait that I want to draw from Benjamin is the collector's obsession with breathing life into the past. As Benjamin combs through his cartons of dusty volumes, so too I want to suggest that Kitaj sifts through the works of the old masters with the hope of bringing new life to their forgotten or abandoned techniques and images. Kitaj relishes this epigonic role. Happily out of step with what he sees as contemporary fads, Kitaj does not 'wish to escape the tremors of European host-art from Giotto to Matisse. I'm too old', he says, 'and I love those DWEMs [Dead White European Males] too much'. Just as Benjamin is at home surrounded by his library, Kitaj is most content nestled 'In the Aura of Cézanne and Other Masters', the title of his 2001–2 exhibition at the National Gallery in London.

This is not to say, however, that Kitaj simply apes his artistic idols, or ignores his historical context. The critical term for Kitaj is '*identity*' and in his case that came to mean responding to the dilemmas of his 'tribe', the Jews. He takes as his motto the words of the Jewish novelist Isaac Bashevis Singer: 'Only dilettantes try to be universal; a real artist knows that he's connected with a certain people'. Kitaj began to sense this connection in the 1970s as he read assiduously about the Holocaust. Discovering 'that it didn't matter if you thought you were a Jew or not [. . .] they'd kill you anyway', Kitaj came to see the Shoah

as the central experience both uniting and challenging modern Jews. From 1980 onward, the murder of European Jewry became an underlying, orientating condition for his work. Rephrasing Cézanne's stated desire to do Poussin over again after nature, Kitaj takes it as his own ambition 'to do Cézanne and Degas and Kafka over again, after Auschwitz'. Out of this project, which he sees as the creation of a specifically Jewish art, Kitaj extrapolates a broader, encompassing category which he calls 'Diasporist art'. In his *First Diasporist Manifesto* of 1989, Kitaj defines a Diasporist work as 'one in which a pariah people, an unpopular, stigmatized people, is taken up, pondered in their dilemmas'. Visually, Kitaj describes Diasporist paintings as 'instinctive *paint-dramas* of incertitude, views wrapped around imagined themes and variations, the contradictions of Diasporic life, apotheoses of groundlessness'. While Kitaj claims multiple precursors from the history of art, he insists that there are 'no traditional Diasporist procedures [for painting]'. Rather than drawing from this an aesthetic of radical newness, as might seem to befit a self-declared manifesto, Kitaj suggests instead that the Diasporist scrounges more than he invents, 'improvis[ing] from picture to picture [...] like an itinerant pedlar'.

What Kitaj does not make clear in his manifesto is what role this epigonic, pedlar's practice — exemplified by his intention to repaint his mentors 'after Auschwitz' — plays within his Diasporist project. A recognition of this gap seemed to motivate Kitaj's comment in 1991 that 'If I were to write down a second manifesto [. . .] I think it would wish to address what I have called assimilationist aesthetics'; or, indeed, what I have referred to as Kitaj's iconographical library. While Kitaj did publish a *Second Diasporist Manifesto* in 2007, this new work continues to leave unresolved the question of just how his approach to art history functions within his vision of Diasporist art. As the manifesto's subtitle — *A New Kind of Long Poem in 615 Free Verses* — suggests, this compendium is intended more to illuminate the artist's working methods and his wide-ranging inspirations than to offer any sustained arguments about the implications of his practice. While the manifesto's aphorisms touch obliquely on the ramifications of the artist's 'assimilationist aesthetics', for the most part we are forced to look elsewhere for answers.

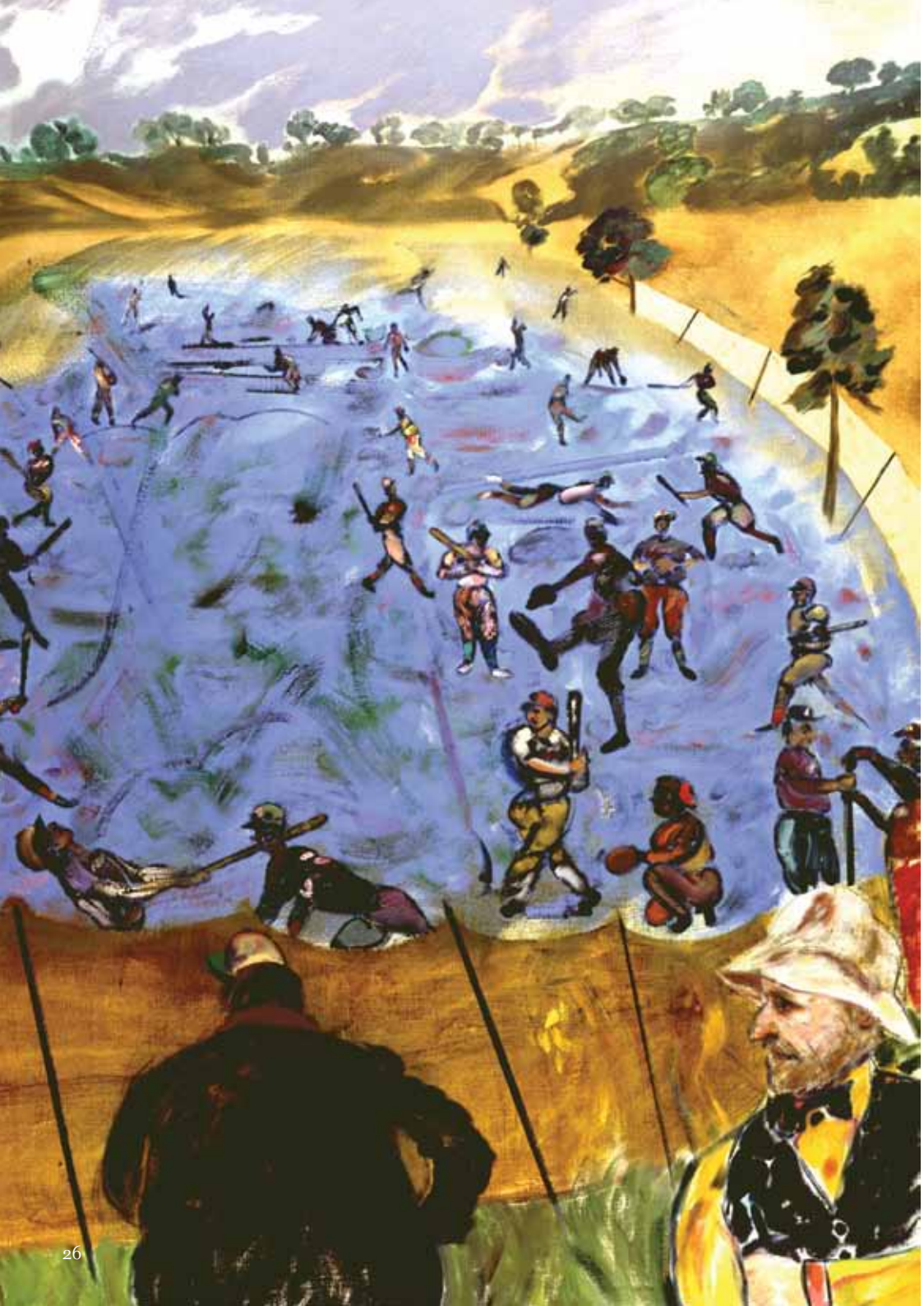
A comparison with Benjamin, I want to suggest, can be of help here in a third and final way. In a diaspora where painting 'feels like the last days in a transit camp, with your thin mattress in a roll at the foot of the bed', Kitaj's library functions, like Benjamin's, as a conceptual landscape and refuge. Through all his travels, it is to the iconographic familiarity of Cézanne, Degas and other masters that Kitaj consistently returns. 'Painting is a great idea I carry from place to place', comments Kitaj. 'It is an idea full of ideas, like a refugee's suitcase, a portable Ark of the Covenant'. By thinking of painting as a library, I want to take on board some of the properties of both these formulations. On the one hand, the past images which Kitaj bundles together are, like the contents of a suitcase, the products and trappings of homelessness. At the same time, like the Ark of the Covenant, the imagery which Kitaj carries with him might also serve as a guarantor for the idea of a Jewish home, even in the midst of homelessness. What begins as a descriptive process for Kitaj — the collecting of images whose own disjunctions and displacements mirror the experience of Diasporic life — also becomes something constructive. What Kitaj paints towards, then, is a vision of a Jewish home; not so much a 'real' home, but an idea

which one can inhabit nonetheless. In what follows, I want to look at how this idea of a home assembled out of images takes shape in two paintings by Kitaj, both of which draw extensively on works he admired in the National Gallery in London.

Amerika

Kitaj painted *Amerika (Baseball)* (1983–4) during a period in England when he recalls feeling 'quite homesick' for the United States. Kitaj takes the title *Amerika* from the name of Kafka's rambling, unfinished novel on the country he never visited. The novel opens with the exile of its European protagonist to New York. While Kitaj chose to emigrate from America, and of his own accord, he finds that the illusory nature of Kafka's 'Amerika' maps onto the *fata morgana* of his own remembered and imagined America. By painting his reflections around Kafka's ersatz 'Amerika', Kitaj commented while working on the painting, he was able to 'register my American self from afar and in exilic fantasy'. As Kitaj hints, in addition to helping him diagnose and evaluate his sense of estrangement, the process of painting out this 'fantasy' offers at least a partial remedy for his 'exilic' feelings. What Kitaj assembles at the heart of *Amerika* — welding together art-historical models with childhood memories and cultural miscellany — is something more than its parts: an idea of home which bears the imprint of the artist's Jewish identity. The guiding art-historical model for Kitaj's *Amerika* is Velázquez's *La Tela Real*, otherwise titled *Philip IV Hunting Wild Boar* (c. 1632–7). In a preface to *Amerika*, Kitaj describes how seeing the Velázquez in the National Gallery jogged his childhood memories 'of the low hills of home which often framed the playing fields where we toiled at pick-up ball'. In addition to the horizon from the painting, Kitaj's *Amerika* quotes '*la tela real*' from Velázquez — the canvas enclosure within which the Spanish kings hunted their game. However, in place of Philip IV and his noble coterie, Kitaj populates what he calls his 'vast metaphoric field' with a distinctly American breed of royalty. This Golden Age belongs not to Spain but to America, and within it reign home-run kings and 'sultans of swat'. The great African-American pitcher Leroy 'Satchel' Paige holds court in the painting, occupying the same position as Philip IV in Velázquez's hunt. When Paige entered the newly integrated Major Leagues in 1948 he promptly helped Kitaj's hometown Cleveland Indians win a World Championship. By calling to mind this triumphant moment for the artist's home team, the pitcher anchors *Amerika* in Kitaj's childhood memories.

Kitaj's exploration of memory in the painting was accentuated a year after he started *Amerika* when David Hockney took him to see a seventy-foot-long Chinese scroll at the British Museum. For Kitaj, the scroll helped him realize how 'The depiction of time, different kinds of time...deeply scored my baseball picture'. These furrows of memory reflect the chronological obsession of his subject. Baseball is a sport obsessed with keeping track of decades-long curses, tabulating hits and redrawing lists of the all-time best. This process of remembrance is typified by the national hobby of collecting baseball cards; a tradition which Kitaj seems to echo in the various iconic poses of his ballplayers. While Satchel Paige could quip 'Don't look back; something may be gaining on you', he played a sport which did, and still does, constantly look over its shoulder.



Not only is baseball saturated with memory, it is also caught up in a broader phenomenon of cultural remembrance. Baseball, 'America's favourite pastime' as it is popularly called, is intimately entwined in a process by which an entire country looks back to remind itself of its halcyon days. For Kitaj, his detachment from the sport is code for larger feelings of national dislocation. 'I've lived most of my life far away from the Summer Game of my childhood', writes Kitaj, 'it is rarely out of my thoughts and I still follow baseball every day'. Baseball also offers a unique imaginative capacity for reconnecting to the United States. He writes: 'From time to time I have to make a baseball painting to express a deep national love...I mean where you come from, grow up, get formed, national pride, etc.' In this felt rather than physical America, geography is inverted. According to the lyrics of the anthem 'America, the Beautiful', the country stretches 'from sea to shining sea'. Here, however, in Kitaj's imagined geography, it is the sea — that blue field on which the players gambol — which lies at the heart of *Amerika*. At a biographical level, *Amerika*'s central sea resonates with Kitaj's voyages as a young sailor, especially his migrations 'across the pond' between America and England. Beyond Kitaj's personal peregrinations, *Amerika*'s oceanic centre also stirs associations with the mass immigration of European Jews, including Kitaj's own relatives, to America in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; often fleeing poverty, pogroms and later the devastation of the Shoah.

These intimations of diasporic trauma are further hinted at by the gaping space that swirls at the centre of Kitaj's field *cum* ocean. '[A]fter I'd begun to dispose the players one sees from afar', remembers the artist, '[there] was an unaccountable urge to open up the centre...to endanger the players, to suck them toward a barren middle ground'. An ambivalent site of both escape and potential entrapment, Kitaj's clearing evokes the Red Sea of Exodus. But where the biblical waters miraculously parted for the Israelites' safe passage, there is a lurking suggestion that these waters might murderously swell back up at any time, reversing the salvific narrative. Satchel Paige and the rest of Kitaj's Cleveland Indians — 'the Tribe' as they are affectionately known to their fans — double up in Kitaj's *Amerika* as members of his other 'tribe', the Jews, a connection which Kitaj encourages by referring to his ballplayers as 'my poor *lost tribe* of Cleveland Indians'. The diasporic destiny of these professional wanderers is reflected in the anarchic, intersecting paths they trace across the canvas. Baseball is a game predicated on 'coming home', the batter circling the bases with the aim of returning back to set his foot on 'home plate'. Remarkably, for a baseball painting, there is no home plate, or indeed any other 'bases'. This tribe of Jewish Indians may practise their sprints and slides, but no player can be declared 'safe'.

What is *played* out on Kitaj's field, then, is more than just a feeling of national yearning, it is a deeper, more fundamental meditation on homelessness, inflected by the artist's sense of Jewish identity. Kitaj borrows Velázquez's open middle ground to stake out a conceptual arena within his painting. Thus, while Kitaj depicts himself standing in the foreground of *Amerika*, he does not so much observe the game in progress as *project*

Plate 2 (left). R. B. Kitaj, *Amerika* (Baseball). 1983–4. Oil on Canvas. 152.4 × 152.4 cm. Private collection, New York. Copyright the artist, photograph courtesy of Marlborough Fine Art (London) Ltd.

it. With its perimeter delineated in the shape of a cloud, the blue field forms a thought-bubble emanating from the artist's head. In formulating this 'Amerikan dream' Kitaj was inspired, he remarks, by the fragmentary coda of Kafka's unfinished novel. After answering a wanted ad for the Theater of Oklahoma, Kafka's protagonist stumbles into a quasi-afterworld in which his long-lost friends curiously reappear; one of them calls out to him from a group of a 'hundred women dressed as angels in white cloths [. . .] blowing into golden trumpets'. According to Max Brod, Kafka even 'used to hint smilingly, that within this "almost limitless" theatre his young hero was going to find again [. . .] his old home and his parents, as if by some celestial witchery'. This dream of home, its tantalizing promise and — in the same breath — its unattainability, is for Kitaj the very essence of the Diasporist's dilemma. What he crafts in *Amerika* — inside the magic circle of *la tela real* — is not a resolution of this dilemma, but precisely a place in which to act it out, to dream of 'some celestial witchery'. In the memories and fantasies excited by the artistic past, the artist catches glimpses of an old-new home; a reverie, as we will see, which he raises to a fever pitch in his final paintings.

Los Angeles

'*In the end*', Kitaj wrote in his *First Diasporist Manifesto*, *'the Diasporist knows he is one*, even though he may one day settle down and sort of cease to be one'. This insistence on Diasporism as a state of mind found particular relevance from 1997 to 2007, in what Kitaj termed his 'Third Act back home in America'. On the one hand, while Kitaj may never have felt entirely at home as an expatriate Jew in England, departing for his native country — especially on the terms he did, in the wake of Sandra's death and his ongoing war with critics — felt as much like an exile to him as it did a homecoming. Moreover, in shaping the story of his resettlement, Kitaj makes explicit recourse to Jewish narratives of expulsion. In the years following his wife's death, Kitaj increasingly came to identify Sandra with the Jewish notion of the *Shekhinah*, the female presence of God. Just as according to the Talmud the *Shekhinah* followed the Jewish people into exile after the destruction of the First Temple, Kitaj believed that Sandra had similarly accompanied him to his own personal Babylon: Los Angeles. The city itself has a historic Jewish significance for Kitaj, who notes that during the 1930s and 1940s Los Angeles served as a refuge for prominent Jewish artists and intellectuals fleeing Europe, including Arnold Schoenberg and Peter Lorre. Lorre is but one representative of what Kitaj considers the pre-eminent Jewish presence in Los Angeles, the film industry. 'Hollywood is its own Diasporist Manifesto,' writes Kitaj, '100 years old, made largely by Jews'. There is no better setting than Los Angeles, Kitaj's comments suggest, for staging the 'Third Act' in his Diasporist drama. If in *Amerika* he aimed to capture some of the ambiance of Kafka's Oklahoma Theater, Kitaj uses his dozens of *Los Angeles* paintings almost like the storyboards for an updated, cinematic version. What would it be like, the artist asks in these paintings, to put Kafka's 'Amerikan' dream in motion — in the City of Angels no less?

Though he makes occasional recourse to figures from Titian, Rembrandt and others, the recurring players in Kitaj's *Los Angeles* paintings are derived from Cézanne.

Plate 3. R. B. Kitaj, *Los Angeles No. 1*. 2000–1. Oil on canvas. 121.9 × 121.9 cm. Private Collection. Copyright the artist, photograph courtesy of Marlborough Fine Art (London) Ltd.

Kitaj recalls: 'I don't think I looked carefully at Cézanne until the seventies when a Cézanne madness crept upon me'. In the late nineties, this infatuation came to centre on Cézanne's *Large Bathers II* (c.1900–06) in the National Gallery; the artist's long-declared 'favourite painting in London'. Together with Cézanne's two other expansive bather compositions from his last years — one in the Philadelphia Museum of Art and the other in the Barnes Foundation — the *London Bathers* constitutes the primary fount of inspiration not only for Kitaj's *Los Angeles* series, but for his self-declared 'old-age style' at large.

Above all, what Kitaj seeks to emulate in Cézanne's *Bathers* is the aesthetic of 'unfinish' which reverberates through these works. Similar to Kafka's three unfinished novels, notes Kitaj, when Cézanne died in 1906 he left all three of his last great *Bathers* in ambiguous states of completion. 'He may never have finished them,' muses Kitaj, in fact 'he may never wished to have finished them'. It is precisely this heritage of unfinish which, more than any other element, connects Kitaj's late paintings to his Diasporist project. In 2004 Kitaj wrote: 'in art, I still fail to gain the Promised Land, which the great leader of the Hebrews never did — Cézanne said that in one of his last letters. I'll never get there but I can dare it before I die.' While for Cézanne the intangibility of the Promised Land describes an aesthetic goal — a visual perfection just beyond reach — for Kitaj this untouchable Jewish vista is also, more literally, the subject of his paintings. Stylistic unfinish provides Kitaj with the expressive means by which to articulate his Diasporist vision: the idea of a home hovering at the horizon, forever out of reach.

Landmarks seldom appear in Kitaj's *Los Angeles* series, and there are few people other than himself and his late wife. Rather than broad views of the city he inhabits, Kitaj paints Los Angeles as a more intimate haven — an imagined dwelling place he sets out to create for himself and Sandra. The fleeting nature of this 'celestial witchery' is already evident in *Los Angeles No. 1*. As Sandra curls over a table, her rainbow-coloured wings beating furiously, pulling her back to the heavens, Kitaj leans over her, attempting to stay her departure. In contrast to the pale blue clouds that billow beneath her, Kitaj stands rooted to the bottom of the canvas, patches of brown and green between his legs emphasizing his earth-bound nature. While he too has wings — one orange, the other a moribund black — they lie inert, seemingly incapable of pursuing Sandra into the ether. As Sandra pulls away, however, Kitaj does, if only momentarily, manage to reconnect with her. With his right arm he reaches across the table, and — finding Sandra's left — the two fuse seamlessly into one. In this act of 'drawing' Sandra to him, Kitaj's hunched position over the table and his wide-eyed, concentrated stare take on a new significance. The table reveals itself as the artist's workbench, and it is Kitaj's feverish artistic act which summons Sandra's angelic presence. In a revision of the life drawing which he practised so avidly earlier in his career, the artist now draws his wife not so much *from* life, but *into* life.

The unfinish of the process is integral to its magic. 'I want to keep working on some of these Los Angeles pictures till I die,' writes Kitaj, 'because they're about Sandra and me and they keep her flame alive in my studio'. Whereas a completed image would fix

her motionless in the past, Sandra lives for Kitaj in these images in the daily process of creation, entering his studio with him in the morning and departing each evening. Some lines from Emily Dickinson, whose poems Kitaj kept beside his easel, come to mind:

> God permits industrious Angels — Afternoons — to play —
> [. . .] God calls home — the Angels — promptly — At the Setting Sun —

Ever in search of these afternoons with Sandra, Kitaj imagines Los Angeles as a place perpetually suspended in the moments before God's evening summons. At the top of the canvas, the orange circle that forms the crest of Kitaj's wing is — at the same time — a double image for the smouldering Californian sun, poised on the verge of making its descent. Twilit shades of blue and purple have just begun to gather in tiny pockets within the painting, but they have not yet won out against the sun. The day's last sunlight continues to alight on the connected arms of Kitaj and Sandra. If the white, untouched stretches of the composition seem to leave this drama unresolved, this only serves to prolong the couple's reunion, inviting still other 'Afternoons — to play'. Even beyond its own canvas, in the open-endedness of *Los Angeles No. 1* we might glimpse the animus for Kitaj's *Los Angeles* series at large. Each unfinished canvas calls forth the next, another City of Angels to be assembled out of paint.

In recasting Cézanne's bathers as angels, Kitaj also anoints them as honorary Jews. Playing on the outdoor setting of Cézanne's paintings as well as the liminal nature of Diasporist life, Kitaj identifies these figures as an 'imaginary race of Outsider-Bathers'. If all art history is a stage for Kitaj, in his late works all its players are Jewish. Between them, Kitaj and Sandra — 'Los Angeles Judios' as he calls them — play every role, sliding from one pair of bathers to the next as the series progresses. In *Los Angeles No. 1*, Kitaj is the so-called 'Strider' who appears in each of the three grand *Bathers*. Sandra, meanwhile, is a combination of two figures drawn specifically from the *London Bathers*, her curling posture recalling the 'Squatter' on the far right of the canvas, and her pendulous breasts evoking the 'Temptress' who stands alongside the 'Strider' to the far left. This connection with London returns Kitaj — or at least his angelic alter ego — to the scene of Sandra's death in 1994. London, and the loss which the city signifies for Kitaj, clings to the artistic past from which he seeks to fashion his imagined paradise. At its heart, Kitaj inscribes *Los Angeles* with the memory of his displacement, scumbling together his sensations of exile and of homecoming. As so often in Kitaj's painting, however, what begins as the depiction of a personal narrative ends by gesturing towards a vision of the wider Jewish condition. The hazy frontier he depicts between a remembered home and an imagined one is ultimately not merely a tension between London and Los Angeles, but a more fundamental description of the Diasporist's wayfaring. The home left behind leaks into the vision of a home not yet, nor ever, fully attained. Jews may have invented Hollywood, as Kitaj claims, but for the Diasporist — he insists — there can never be a true 'Hollywood ending'. Even when you live in Los Angeles.

Conclusion

In 1901, in the periodical *Ost und West*, Martin Buber posed himself the question, 'Is Jewish art possible today?' Buber responds decisively in the negative, explaining:

> A national art requires a homeland out of which it develops and a heaven towards which it strives. We Jews of today have neither of these. We are the slaves of many lands, and our thoughts fly to various heavens [. . .] A national art needs a unified community of people, out of which it stems and for which it exists.

On one level, this argument provides the perfect foil against which to define Kitaj's Diasporist project. The tensions and instabilities which Buber considers to be crippling for creative life in the Diaspora become — by Kitaj's reckoning — the very subjects which Jewish art should most seek to address. Rather than gesturing towards any single, unified vision, Kitaj aims to depict precisely the 'various heavens' towards which Jews aspire, the horizons of their diasporic yearnings. As we saw in *Amerika* and *Los Angeles*, Kitaj's idea of a Jewish home is set amidst these heavens rather than rising out of any specific Jewish soil. Against Buber's insistence that it is a homeland which must precede and enable artistic production, Kitaj follows the intuition of Benjamin's book collector — that it belongs to the *imagination* to create a true home.

For all the clear differences, however, between the positions of Benjamin and Kitaj on the one hand, and Buber on the other, it might ultimately be the capacity of Kitaj's vision of an imagined Jewish home to continue to speak *alongside* the existence of a 'real' home, which makes it most relevant for contemporary Jews. At a time when Jews as a whole live more comfortably, more securely than they have in any other period, the vestigial instincts of 'unhousedness' may yet find unexpected relevance. Life in the Diaspora need not be as abject or unsafe as Kitaj often portrays it in order for the imagination of a home to remain a necessary or meaningful act. Even if the ability to look inward for a home originated out of self-preservation, an adaptation to the demands placed on Jews by expulsion and persecution, this imaginative faculty can still be retrained to other ends. Kitaj himself seems to hint at this possibility in the more positive tones he uses to describe the diasporic experience in his *Second Diasporist Manifesto*, penned from what he calls the 'generous Diaspora' of Los Angeles. And while Israel certainly presents a more problematic case, it does not necessarily follow that the existence of a homeland so-conceived must negate, or conclude, the process of imagining a home. The insights and imaginative techniques gleaned from nearly two millennia of life in the Diaspora may find new meaning not only despite, but perhaps especially *within*, the context of a Jewish state. The ability to construct a dwelling place out of books, or to draw boundaries out of paint, may — in its very abstraction — provide an ethical counterbalance to the exigencies of political life. However settled Jewish existence may become, there will always remain an important place for the act of unpacking; especially in art.

This article is adapted from Dr Aaron Rosen's book, *Imagining Jewish Art: Encounters with the Masters in Chagall, Guston, and Kitaj* (Legenda, 2009). He is currently completing a second book entitled, *The Hospitality of Images: Modern Art and Interfaith Dialogue*.

WHAT IS THE FUTURE OF THE BRITISH CHIEF RABBINATE?[1]

Miri Freud-Kandel

The current chief rabbi, Lord Sacks, is due to retire from his post in 2013. As the time for appointing a new incumbent approaches, it is customary for the Jewish press to begin speculating about a suitable successor. It is commonly also asked, indeed, whether any new appointment should in fact be made.[2] Questions over the future of the British chief rabbinate have been a recurring feature of the office, reflecting the fragile foundations on which the post is built, a product of its gradual evolution from the rabbinate of the Great Synagogue in London.

The chief rabbinate is not an office imposed on Jews in Britain by the government. Nor is it a rabbinical post that has achieved authority over British Jews through the halakhic brilliance of its various occupants. Considering Anglo-Jewry's history of nominal rather than strict Orthodoxy, and the relative paucity of rabbinic scholars it has produced, this last point is perhaps unsurprising. As has been noted elsewhere, efforts to establish a chief rabbi formally as the religious representative of Jews in Britain, or, at the very least, of their largest synagogal institution, the United Synagogue, were explicitly rejected by the British government.[3] In certain respects, looking beyond the merely British context, the difficulties faced by the chief rabbinate reflect the problematic nature of the very concept of a chief rabbi. Consider, for example, how in the modern State of Israel different chief rabbis often occupy highly politicized positions.

Nonetheless, the efforts of the rabbis who have filled the post in Britain have enabled the chief rabbinate to acquire a status that has allowed its incumbents, at times, to be perceived as the religious representatives of Jews in Britain. Different chief rabbis have enjoyed varying levels of success at this task, although definitions of success vary. Concern over the value and indeed validity of efforts to construct a single representative leadership-figure for British Jews makes questioning the lasting merit of the office unsurprising.

1. This paper is a revised version of my paper entitled 'The British Chief Rabbinate: A Viable Institution?' *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies*, vol. 10:1 (2011) 43-64.
2. See for example *The Jewish Chronicle*, 25 September 2009, 9 October 2009, 12 March 2010. Examples of earlier debate, often in the letters pages of *The Jewish Chronicle*, on the nature of the office and its representation, include 26 January 1912, 21 June 1912, 9 May 1947, 29 October 1965, 14 April 1967.
3. See G. Alderman, *Modern British Jewry* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1998) 88f; A. Newman, *The United Synagogue, 1870-1970* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul 1976) 14.

Plate 1. The election of Rabbi Nathan Marcus Adler at the New Synagogue, Great St Helen's, London, from *The Illustrated London News*, 1845.

Plate 2. The Induction of Rabbi Joseph Herman Hertz at the Great Synagogue, Duke's Place, London, from *The Illustrated London News*, 19 April 1913.

Before an electoral process was introduced to appoint chief rabbis, religious leadership of Ashkenazi Jews, both in Britain and throughout the Empire, was generally provided by the rabbi of the Great Synagogue in London. This was often necessitated by the absence of suitably trained alternatives. As new synagogues were established and new rabbis recruited, attempts were made to usurp the authority of the rabbi of the Great. However the leadership provided by Solomon Hirschell between 1802 and 1842, from the pulpit of the Great Synagogue, helped entrench the idea of centralized rabbinic leadership. The idea of a chief rabbinate came to be established both in Anglo-Jewish minds and more broadly in British society. Following his death a Committee of Delegates was formed, representing varied communities, to maintain the tradition of a chief rabbinate and formally elect a new representative.[4] Their choice was Nathan Marcus Adler (1803-90) appointed in 1845. The principle of election has been maintained since. There have been repeated disputes regarding the makeup of the electoral committees. A variety of synagogal institutions invited to participate have rejected the offer, unwilling to accept the authority of the chief rabbinate.[5] Problems posed by the office have thus long been evident.

It is worth considering the religious leadership structures of Jewish communities outside Britain in the same period. In continental Europe, those areas with a more extensive history of Jewish settlement and with better provision of Jewish education had greater access to rabbinic leadership. Some of the benefits and problems this entailed would play out in the theological controversies Judaism faced in nineteenth-century Europe, as the extent of rabbinical authority was questioned. Government interference in religious structures in Europe was also an important issue generally missing in Britain. Eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century America, in contrast, experienced similar difficulties with rabbinical leadership and its provision to British Jews. In America there was no established Church offering a model of centralized leadership, to influence Jews in their development of religious institutions. While a variety of other factors – social, political and theological – would influence the subsequent directions in which both Jewries developed, the significance of the Church of England is considerable here.

N. M. Adler was succeeded by his son, Hermann Adler (1839-1911), who had been appointed Delegate Chief Rabbi in 1880 due to his father's ill health, before assuming the office in his own right in 1891. Like his father he remained in the post until his death. He was succeeded by Joseph Herman Hertz (1872-1946) who was chief rabbi between 1913 and 1946. At the time of the next chief rabbinate elections an age of retirement was introduced. Hence Israel Brodie (1895-1979) served between 1948 and

4. For the development of the chief rabbinate see for instance C. Roth, 'Britain's Three Chief Rabbis', in L. Jung (ed.) *Jewish Leaders 1750-1940* (New York: Bloch Publishing Company 1953) 477-90; and G. Alderman, 'The British Chief Rabbinate: A Most Peculiar Practice', *European Judaism* 23:2 (1990) 45-58.

5. One such example was the formality of a chief rabbinate election in 1890-1. The West London Synagogue (Reform) was invited but declined to participate in the election. See *The Jewish Chronicle*, 25 July 1890. This reflects the tendency towards unification among the lay leadership who would rubber-stamp Hermann Adler's position as chief rabbi.

1965. He was succeeded by Immanuel Jakobovits (1921-99) who was chief rabbi between 1967 and 1991, and Jonathan Sacks (b.1948) who was appointed in 1991.

The latest statistical research on British Jewry highlights how a community in which the centre has traditionally dominated, reveals a tendency towards religious polarization. Between 1900 and 1940 some 97 percent of Jewish marriages occurring in synagogues were held under the auspices of mainstream Orthodoxy. Between 1990 and 2010 membership of mainstream Orthodox communities in Britain decreased by 31 percent. During the same period, membership of the more ultra-Orthodox Union of Orthodox Hebrew Congregations (UOHC) more than doubled, growing by 102 percent. Part of this growth can be attributed to the far higher birth rates among families affiliated to the UOHC. Yet in proportional terms, changes in synagogue affiliation have now left mainstream Orthodoxy accounting for 55 percent of Jewish households in Britain. During the same period UOHC membership has risen from 4.5 to 11 percent.[6]

These changes in religious affiliation reflect, at least partially, trends that have been identified in contemporary Orthodox Judaism worldwide. Modern Orthodox Judaism as a whole is moving away from the rather lax Orthodoxy countenanced in an earlier age, towards more stringent observance.[7]

As in the United States, a disinclination to encourage Anglo-Jewish youth to pursue careers in the rabbinate has led to a reliance on rabbis who do not identify with the type of modern Orthodox Judaism with which mainstream Anglo-Jewish Orthodoxy has generally been associated. Instead, communities are often served by rabbis who are either Lubavitch in orientation, have been trained abroad, or educated in British *Haredi yeshivot* like Gateshead or Manchester.

Another parallel with American modern Orthodoxy has been the increasing popularity of publications by the *Haredi Artscroll* publishing house. The English translations produced by Artscroll of basic Jewish texts like prayerbooks and the Pentateuch have been displacing the so-called 'Singer's prayerbook' and 'Hertz Chumash' that have traditionally dominated in British synagogues.[8] Significantly, Jonathan Sacks made an effort to counter some of this influence by producing his

6. See David Graham and Daniel Vulkan, *Synagogue Membership in the United Kingdom in 2010* (London: The Board of Deputies of British Jews and the Institute for Jewish Policy Research 2010) especially 12-13.

7. See Samuel Heilman, *Sliding to the Right: The Contest for the Future of American Jewish Orthodoxy* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press 2006). See also *Contemporary Jewry* 25:1 (December 2005) which contains a summary of Heilman's argument in this work as well as responses from M. B. Shapiro and D. Ellenson. See also Charles Liebman, 'Extremism as a Religious Norm', *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 22:1 (March 1983) 75-86; Chaim Waxman, 'The Haredization of American Orthodox Jewry', *Jerusalem Letter/Viewpoints*, Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs (15 February 1998); Lawrence Kaplan, Revisionism and the Rav: The Struggle for the Soul of Modern Orthodoxy', *Judaism* 48:3 (Summer 1999) 290-311; M. B. Shapiro, *The Limits of Orthodox Theology: Maimonides' Thirteen Principles Reappraised* (London: Littman 2004).

8. *The Authorised Daily Prayer Book of the United Hebrew Congregations of the British Empire with a new Translation by the Rev. S. Singer* (London: Wertheimer, Lea & Co. 1890); J. H. Hertz (ed.) *The Pentateuch and Haftorahs: Hebrew Text, English Translation and Commentary* (London: Soncino Press 1938).

own translation and commentary on the prayerbook.[9] Following on from Chief Rabbi Hertz's efforts with his Pentateuch, both these works indicate how Britain's chief rabbis have sought to determine the religious direction of Anglo-Jewry. Both have also exerted an influence outside Britain. At the same time, considering the broader shifts in modern Orthodoxy, it is worth questioning the extent of the influence that chief rabbis can genuinely hope to exert. Often it is only in *Haredi* circles that rabbinical leaders can enjoy real influence .

Notwithstanding shifts in Orthodox Judaism, the statistics on contemporary Anglo-Jewry do point to sustained mainstream Orthodox dominance in Britain. This supports the view that the chief rabbi continues to represent a sufficient proportion of Anglo-Jewry to function appropriately as its representative. Indeed, even collectively the non-Orthodox – comprising those who identify with Reform, Liberal and Masorti Judaism – make up only 35 percent of British Jews affiliated to a synagogue. Nonetheless, the statistics reflect how mainstream Orthodoxy's traditional dominance of Anglo-Jewry is in decline. Even if the ultra-Orthodox have, at times, shown a willingness to defend the chief rabbinate, in an effort to maintain Orthodox hegemony in Anglo-Jewry, there is much that separates them too from mainstream Orthodoxy. As such, the proportion of British Jews, on both the religious right and left, who find themselves questioning the authority of a chief rabbi to represent them, occasionally at least, appears to be increasing. Alternative viewpoints in the community are strengthening, undermining any chief rabbi's ability to claim to speak on behalf of British Jewry.

It is worth considering here the extent to which the evolution of the chief rabbinate as a representative office for British Jews, and indeed the later creation of the United Synagogue as a centralized synagogal institution, were influenced by Victorian models of religious propriety. It is clear that societal influences were of considerable importance in Anglo-Jewry's development, both in institutional terms and more broadly. As societal shifts away from Victorian norms have occurred in Britain their impact on Anglo-Jewry could be expected to have left its mark.

Hence, quite aside from internal shifts in Anglo-Jewry and Orthodox Judaism more broadly, the transformation of British sensibilities towards religion in the post-Victorian period is also significant. It was Victorian values, with their emphasis on religious respectability rather than specific religious observances, which helped prioritize membership of mainstream Orthodoxy without concomitant religious practice. By the middle of the twentieth century, British society was engaged in a battle to define a new identity as the prevailing establishment views came to be discredited. The Suez crisis highlighted Britain's loss of Empire and the need to find new ways of

9. *The Authorised Daily Prayer Book of the United Hebrew Congregations of the Commonwealth with a new Translation and Commentary by Sir Jonathan Sacks* (London: Collins 2006). An alternative edition for the American/Canadian market was published by Koren Publishers, Jerusalem, 2009.

defining the country's sense of itself. While few members of the Anglo-Jewish laity were engaged in matters of theology, the sense of a battle between established and newer ways of identifying as Jewish in Britain was similarly present. Indeed on one level, the Jacobs Affair in Anglo-Jewry, one of the biggest religious controversies faced by the community, which began in the late 1950s, related to just such a battle over the lasting validity of the established mores of Anglo-Jewry.

As British society has become more multicultural the alignment between Jewish and British identities has unsurprisingly altered. Instead of using religion to help establish English credentials in terms of moral respectability, the scope for using it to buttress layered identities has emerged. Through much of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries Jews in many Western societies were inclined to downplay or at least privatize Jewish identity in an effort to demonstrate their good citizenship of the countries they inhabited. In Victorian Britain this played out in the development of an attachment to Judaism that often concentrated more on the spirit than the letter of the law, what I have termed elsewhere a spiritist Judaism.[10] As multiculturalism has exerted a growing influence, efforts to reconstruct Jewishness in cultural or ethnic terms that fit secular sensibilities have increased.[11] Cultural forms of Jewish identity have strengthened.

One of the most remarkable successes in Anglo-Jewish life in recent years has been the creation of Limmud, a forum for bringing together any British Jews who wish to participate in an immensely broad expression of Jewishness and Judaism. The format has proven so successful that it has been exported to Jewish communities abroad.[12] This reverses the prevailing Anglo-Jewish trend of importing ideas from Jewries elsewhere. London's first Jewish Community Centre (JCC) offers an additional example of a new effort among British Jews to engage in Judaism and Jewishness without recourse primarily to synagogues.[13] Similarly, there has been increasing participation in annual events such as Jewish Book Week and the Jewish Film Festival, and demand for occasions like 'Klezmer in the Park', in London's Regent's Park, and 'Simcha on the Square', in Trafalgar Square. These gatherings have celebrated musical and other elements of Jewish culture.[14] The appeal of adult education has also blossomed.[15] Together, these phenomena highlight the strengthening of constructions

10. M. J. Freud-Kandel, *Orthodox Judaism in Britain Since 1913: An Ideology Forsaken* (London & Portland, Oregon: Vallentine Mitchell 2006).

11. For a critique of how these identities are constructed see Byron Sherwin, *Faith Finding Meaning, A Theology of Judaism* (New York: OUP 2009).

12. For Limmud and its international spinoffs see http://www.limmud.org/home/about/.

13. For Dame Vivien Duffield's efforts to establish a JCC in London see *The Jewish Chronicle*, 3 October 2003: 1, 3. See also http://www.jcclondon.org.uk/about-us/our-vision.

14. For the Jewish Film Festival see http://www.ukjewishfilmfestival.org.uk/. The 2010 Jewish Book Week programme appears at http://www.jewishbookweek.com/2010/programme.php. For Simcha in the Park see http://www.simcha.org.uk/about.htm. The programme of Klezmer in the Park is outlined at http://www.jmi.org.uk/performance/2010/programme.htm.

15. For courses offered at the London School of Jewish Studies see http://www.lsjs.ac.uk/. For the variety of programmes at another adult education forum, the London Jewish Cultural Centre, see http://www.ljcc.org.uk/.

of Jewish identity in Britain that bypass traditional synagogue membership that had previously been such a high priority.

While the growth of cultural Jewish identity may reflect broader trends in world Jewry, it has taken British Jews notably longer to vocalize a distinctive voice in Britain; especially one that is not bound up with representation from chief rabbis or other establishment bodies. The recognition that a multicultural Britain could include space for a proudly Jewish voice, willing, occasionally at least, to assert a distinct position, has taken time to become established. There has frequently been a clear inclination not to allow a 'Jewish lobby' to appear to exert influence on behalf of Jewish causes. British Jews have made their way into a wide range of positions of authority and influence. Nonetheless their Jewishness has rarely featured as an explicit part of their identity. Indeed, a recent study of the changing nature of the contemporary British Jewish community noted 'the paradoxical position of Jews in the UK as both ubiquitous and marginal'.[16] Through events like Simcha in the Square, supported by the office of the London Mayor, the strengthening of Jewish cultural identity is ensuring that this marginalization is shifting.

As ethnic forms of Jewish identity increasingly battle with religious identifiers among Jews in Britain, so questions about the usefulness of relying for representation on religious institutions with Victorian antecedents gain in frequency. The chief rabbinate poses a particular problem for British Jews. On one level, many in Anglo-Jewry appreciate having a representative religious leadership figure who can give a voice to Jews in Britain. The chief rabbinate offers some reflected glory from the personal moral authority the chief rabbi can achieve, both in Britain and beyond. A recent article in the *Jerusalem Post* newspaper noted how 'among other things, [the chief rabbinate] brings prestige to Anglo-Jewry from the outside world'.[17] At the same time, the religious voice provided by the chief rabbi, coming from the rabbi who heads an Orthodox synagogal institution, of necessity represents and promotes Orthodox views with which not all are in agreement. As the dominance of mainstream Orthodoxy in the community wanes, and increasing numbers of British Jews no longer view their Jewish identity primarily in religious terms, a growing proportion of Anglo-Jewry disagrees with principles that are espoused by the chief rabbi.

Yet it is worth considering how an Orthodox rabbinical leader can be expected to provide non-Orthodox members of Anglo-Jewry with representation. Too often views cited as 'the Jewish position' are reflective solely of Orthodox positions. The question is: how could they be anything else? Only in the most generalized setting can they be more broadly representative. Chief Rabbi Hertz could offer diverse representation, including Seventh Day Adventists under his banner, when he famously engaged in what he

16. K. Kahn-Harris and B. Gidley, *Turbulent Times: The British Jewish Community Today* (London & New York: Continuum 2010) 7.

17. Hyam Corney, *Jerusalem Post*, 25 June 2010; review of Meir Persoff, *Another Way, Another Time*, available at http://www.jpost.com/Home/Article.aspx?id=179390

characterized as *The Battle for the Sabbath at Geneva*. In this instance he presented the arguments against calendar reforms suggested to the League of Nations by economists who were trying to create a calendar that could be divided into four equal parts. The threat to Sabbath observance was clear and the need for leadership apparent because this would create a system in which the Sabbath would have been forced to move to a different day in the week each year, a consequence of introducing a floating day at the end of each 364-day year. [18]

This may be contrasted with the ongoing crisis in Anglo-Jewry on how Jewish identity is to be defined for the purposes of admission to Jewish schools. Many Jews in Britain are dissatisfied with the decision of the country's Supreme Court to brand as illegal on racial grounds the use of parentage as the primary criterion for determining eligibility for acceptance to Jewish schools. In the 2008-10 court cases, JFS, Europe's largest Jewish secondary school, formerly known as the Jews' Free School, argued against a variety of plaintiffs who were appealing against their children's failure to be offered places at the school. The plaintiffs represented families whose children had been barred entry to the school on the basis of rulings by the Chief Rabbi questioning their status as Jews because of conversion issues.

The consensus in Anglo-Jewry is broadly opposed to the racial implications of the Supreme Court's decision. There is also widespread concern about the new system for determining eligibility for entry to Jewish schools, which requires Jewish identity to be determined on the basis of practice, and revolves around the allocation of points for a variety of Jewish observances. Despite the broad consensus, the Chief Rabbi cannot secure the backing of Progressive groups in his efforts to battle this issue, as they insist that non-Orthodox forms of conversion would have to be included in any efforts to achieve a change in the law. At the time of writing, no solution to this conflict has yet been found. Anglo-Jewry consequently still awaits a coordinated response from its leaders, highlighting limitations in the chief rabbi's authority.

In certain respects this conflict captures the nature of the difficulties faced by a chief rabbi. Whatever benefits the post may have brought Anglo-Jewry in the past, the changing shape of Anglo-Jewry's religious affiliations would seem to have made the question of the chief rabbinate's future an unavoidable one for Jews in Britain to address. What is noticeable is an apparent lack of appetite among the silent majority of Anglo-Jewry to engage with this issue. Notwithstanding agitation against the chief rabbinate from varied groups, all too often crises have exploded in the pages of *The Jewish Chronicle* with very little follow up.

It is interesting to consider in this context what has often been viewed as an Anglo-Jewish obsession with unity. The issue of religious representation is repeatedly raised yet rarely addressed in depth. During the celebrations that marked the tercentenary of

18. See J. H. Hertz, *The Battle for the Sabbath at Geneva* (London: OUP 1932).

Jewish re-settlement in Britain, one British-trained rabbi, at the time serving overseas, wrote an article for *The Jewish Chronicle* reflecting rather negatively on Anglo-Jewry's contribution to the development of Judaism. The author commented on Anglo-Jewry's failure to produce either scholars of great calibre or genuinely original ways of thinking about Judaism. He asked;

> Why, then, has Anglo-Jewish history proved so singularly unproductive in the field of religion? The answer may be largely in the hankering after uniformity and centralization peculiar to the Anglo-Jewish communal set-up. Only in a society which promotes, or at least sympathetically tolerates, variety and institutional diversity, can the seeds of independent inquiry, the quest for fresh values really bear fruit. Rigid conformity, on the other hand, is bound to stifle the ambition in search of new paths. Anglo-Jewry is probably more monolithic in character than any other Jewish community, past or present. It has an authorized (Chief) Rabbinate, an authorized (United) Synagogue, an authorized (Jews') College, and an authorized (Jewish) 'Chronicle' as well as an Authorized (Singer's) '*Prayer-Book*,' and whoever and whatever is not thus 'authorized' enjoys at best some unofficial de facto recognition of a partly naturalized alien that will never attain to completely equal rights ... It is obvious that such conditions do not conduce to spiritual productivity. [19]

That the author of these words, Immanuel Jakobovits, would proceed the following decade to become chief rabbi, introduces a note of irony into this critique of Anglo-Jewry. Yet following his retirement as chief rabbi he returned to this theme, again in the pages of *The Jewish Chronicle*:

> The obsession with communal unity is a peculiarly Anglo-Jewish trait. It does not feature in such a form among American or European Jews – and certainly not in Israel. It is time we shifted our concern from form to substance: how to live as fuller and better Jews, rather than how to gloss over differences and proclaim a unity which turns out to be a mirage. [20]

During his chief rabbinate his willingness to criticize his office was less forthcoming, but Jakobovits did express concern about the lack of sufficient engagement with Judaism by Jews in Britain. The inclination of British Jews to maintain received traditions without thinking afresh about what their Judaism might mean to them as individuals, can in many respects be seen to have motivated Jakobovits' educational emphasis through his chief rabbinate.

19. Immanuel Jakobovits, 'The Anglo-Jewish Contribution to Judaism: Tercentary Reflections', *The Jewish Chronicle*, 31 August 1956.

20. *Jewish Chronicle*, 10 January 1997.

Jonathan Sacks, in his *One People*? stated that 75 percent of British Jews affiliated to a community identified with mainstream Orthodoxy.[21] Yet it is clear, as Jakobovits lamented, that commitment to religious observance among mainstream Anglo-Jewish Orthodoxy remains distinct from religious affiliation. The consistent downward trend of the affiliation figures since Sacks made his claim reflects this gulf. While Orthodoxy is strengthening in Britain, it is the Orthodoxy that sits to the religious right of the mainstream that is primarily benefiting. The constituency formally represented by a chief rabbi is consequently shrinking.

Observed from outside it is often viewed as notable that an Orthodox chief rabbi retains the ability to represent Jews in Britain in at least some ways. The same applies to mainstream Orthodoxy's ability to retain a dominant share of those Jews wishing to identify as Jewish, albeit only just. It may suggest that some notion of a *minhag* Anglia lives on. Even if religious observance may be less than Orthodox, the willingness to acknowledge that Orthodoxy represents the dominant perception of how to be Jewish in Britain remains significant.

In certain respects the apparent strength of Anglo-Jewish Orthodoxy could be regarded as a product of little more than laziness, a disinclination to think about Judaism sufficiently to transfer allegiance to alternative positions, either within Judaism or outside. Yet it may also be construed as implying that under the right circumstances, scope may remain to arrest the centre's decline, rather than inexorably leaving the United Synagogue, for either a more stringent Orthodoxy, or disaffiliation.[22] Indeed, if we consider the state of modern Orthodox Judaism more broadly, it is clear that certain efforts are being made to defend the centre. Examples include the two institutions of Jewish learning founded in the USA by Rabbi Avi Weiss, *Yeshivat Chovevei Torah* (YCT) and the more recent groundbreaking *Yeshivat Maharat*, designed to train women to be spiritual guides and religious leaders. The growth of feminist Orthodox prayer groups, and of scholarly literature defending their positions, can also be included under this heading.[23] It seems significant that the reconstituted Jews' College now identifies itself as promoting modern Orthodoxy,[24] and the recently retired United Synagogue President, Simon Hochhauser, publicly declared his support for the United Synagogue to function as a 'self-confident, modern Orthodox flagship community'.[25]

21. *One People, Tradition, Modernity, and Jewish Unity* (London: Littman Library 1993) x.

22. Chief Rabbi Jakobovits likening this trend to the separation of wheat from chaff, implying that Orthodoxy may be strengthened if Jews committed to their Judaism in name only, drift away. See 'Milestones and Millstones', Address delivered at the Centenary Service of the United Synagogue, 19 July 1970, in *The Timely and the Timeless* (London: Vallentine, Mitchell 1977) 61-8.

23. The ethos of *YCT* is outlined at: http://www.yctorah.org/content/blogcategory/13/49. *Meorot - A Forum of Modern Orthodox Discourse*, the online journal hosted by YCT, includes articles on women's roles in Judaism alongside other issues. See http://www.yctorah.org/content/view/331/77. The ethos of a leading feminist Orthodox community, *Shira Hadasha* in Jerusalem, is outlined at http://www.shirahadasha.org.il/english/index.php?page=25. Similar communities are noted at http://www.shirahadasha.org.il/english/index.php?page=21.

24. See the website of the London School of Jewish Studies http://www.lsjs.ac.uk/content.asp?submID=3

25. *The Jewish Chronicle*, 23 September 2005: 26.

If the chief rabbinate could be freed from efforts to project a unity that is dissipating in Anglo-Jewry, the Orthodoxy with which the post is identified could acquire an influential leadership figure. The need to pool resources from synagogue membership fees functioned as a key motivator behind earlier efforts to foster Anglo-Jewish unity. As this ceases to be such an important influence, demographic shifts in religious affiliation make it increasingly difficult to maintain a mirage of unity. The proportion of British Jews who do not feel that a chief rabbi represents them is simply growing too large.

The need for change is therefore becoming increasingly manifest, and a relatively straightforward solution exists to resolve the problem. This could be implemented without requiring any specific acknowledgement of religious alternatives. It simply makes explicit what the role of the chief rabbi has always primarily been. The chief rabbi is the rabbinical representative only of those mainstream Orthodox communities that formally recognize his authority. The United Synagogue recognizes this to the extent that it functions as the primary financial underwriter of the post. There are an abundance of communities to the religious right and left of this camp who never have been represented by a chief rabbi.

Efforts to suggest that the chief rabbi could be viewed as more broadly representative, have the effect of inappropriately extending the role beyond its formal parameters. Aside from the external motivations behind this attempt to project unity, as already noted, the absence of many clear sources of real power for the chief rabbinate is also relevant. The post has evolved over time, often responding to circumstances rather than being carefully thought through. Its legislative resources are consequently limited.

Soon after his arrival in Britain, Nathan Marcus Adler composed his *Laws and Regulations for all the Synagogues in the British Empire*, in an effort to delineate his understanding of the nature of his post. Yet few of his pronouncements over religious matters were based on established and accepted practice. They reflected his attempt to create clear structures of authority for his office at a time when the Jewish community was small and only just beginning to encounter the idea of religious reform.[26] There have been times when some benefit has accrued from allowing a chief rabbi to seek to extend the appearance of his authority. But this broader authority is not and never has been inherent to the office. Moreover, it is unnecessary, given that even with an acknowledgement of the more limited nature of his representation a chief rabbi would still represent the largest single synagogue grouping of Jews in Britain.

26. N. M. Adler, *Laws and Regulations for all the Synagogues in the British Empire* (London: Office of the Chief Rabbi 1847) was produced after a tour of those communities ostensibly under his authority revealed the lax state of Jewish life in Britain.

By moving away from the assertion that a chief rabbi represents all Jews, the fact that he represents such a significant proportion of those in Britain could again become a source of strength, at least in theory. There are two main official sources of authority for the chief rabbi. The first is the United Synagogue, whose constitution formally established the chief rabbi as its sole religious authority. The second is the Board of Deputies. The Board's constitution initially stated that it 'shall be guided on religious matters' by the chief rabbi and the spiritual leader of the Sephardi community, the Haham. [27]

Jakobovits, while he was chief rabbi, oversaw an amendment to this clause that enabled the Board 'to consult with those designated by such groups and congregations as their respective religious leaders on religious matters in any matter whatsoever concerning them'.[28] This decision led UOHC deputies to leave the Board, protesting against such a diminution in the chief rabbi's authority. Ironically, they made this move although they do not themselves accept the authority of the chief rabbi. They have subsequently refused to overturn their decision. Nonetheless, the amendment was later undermined by the introduction, under pressure from certain elements among United Synagogue representatives, of a Code of Practice intentionally designed to limit the influence of broader consultation. This required the Board in practice 'to follow the guidance of its ecclesiastical authorities, and to support such guidance in all ways possible and with all due speed'.[29] Progressive groups sought to have an additional requirement added to this Code, binding the Board to acknowledge the existence of minority views in instances where a consensus had not been reached. However these efforts were thwarted. In effect, then, the Board was required to consult religious representatives beyond the chief rabbi and haham, but was tied to following the guidance only of the accepted religious authorities.

What all these debates regarding consultation emphasize is how the Board of Deputies is not itself a religious body. This is precisely why it is required to consult with religious leaders before addressing issues related to religious matters. It is a representative institution that brings together elected deputies from a variety of Jewish organizations in Britain that include both synagogues and secular groups.[30] As such, notwithstanding the grandstanding of the UOHC in the 1980s, recognition of non-

27. The Registration Act of 1836 gave authority to the chief rabbi, but left it to the Board of Deputies to define whether a synagogue should be registered for the purposes of certifying marriages. They delegated the decision to the chief rabbi or haham.

28. Amendment introduced in October 1971. See A. Bornstein and B. Homa, *Tell it in Gath: British Jewry & Clause 43: The Inside Story* (London: privately published 1972).

29. Amendment introduced in 1984 to what had by then become Clause 74.

30. For a recent somewhat uncritical study of the history of the Board of Deputies see Raphael Langham, *250 Years of Convention and Contention: A History of the Board of Deputies of British Jews 1760-2010* (London: Vallentine Mitchell 2010). For the limitations of representation provided by the Board see A Community of Communities, Commission on Representation of the Interests of the British Jewish Community (London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research 2000).

Orthodox forms of Judaism by the Board of Deputies need not involve the Orthodox establishment in granting formal legitimacy to these groups. Indeed, chief rabbis have previously, in their role as the accepted religious authority of the Board, been willing to recognize non-Orthodox synagogues as containing 'persons professing the Jewish religion' for the purposes of marriage registration, a function delegated to the Board. What is required is a willingness on the part of lay leaders to participate in a representative Anglo-Jewish body that encompasses as many sectors of Anglo-Jewry as possible. Once the Board is seen in those terms, and it must be acknowledged that considerable work is needed before this is possible, it could assume the role of genuinely representing the varied views and voices of the Jews in Britain. The strength, vitality, and dynamism of Jews who encompass a broad spectrum of positions, both religiously and culturally, could then be acknowledged. The disinclination so far to seize this opportunity suggests, in contrast, an absence of confidence in the strength of Anglo-Jewry.

For mainstream Orthodoxy, freed of efforts to be broadly representative, with all the machinations that requires, the chief rabbi could acquire a new type of authority. By more clearly defining the type of Judaism represented by the chief rabbinate, the office could be energized with a new-found freedom to be true to its constituency. It would be divested of the need to try in vain to speak for the diverse communities of Jews in Britain. All pretence that a chief rabbi can offer representation for non-Orthodox forms of Judaism could in this way be removed.

By ceasing efforts to represent the whole community, the office could finally represent the communities who formally recognize the chief rabbi's authority, participate in his election, and bankroll his position. In this way, the office of chief rabbi would clearly re-establish its credentials as the religious authority of mainstream Orthodoxy, removing it from the influence of ultra-Orthodoxy. By tying the office more explicitly to its actual constituency, the importance of its incumbent engaging with the religious concerns of the mainstream could re-emerge as a focus.

This transition would give scope to a future chief rabbi to take the stage as defender and representative of a clearly defined constituency within Anglo-Jewry. If ultra-Orthodox bodies criticize certain leniencies that may come to be permitted by a chief rabbi, they could be defended as mainstream Orthodox positions not designed to appeal to adherents of ultra-Orthodoxy. The same would apply to non-Orthodox bodies. As important, acknowledging the limits of the chief rabbinate, would establish the scope for other Jewish bodies to establish more clearly the authority of their own religious leaders.

In certain respects this could undoubtedly create added confusion; the simplicity of relying on a single representative would be lost. But ultimately, enabling diverse groups to represent themselves honestly should foster the sort of clarity that a multicultural, postmodern society should understand.

The office of chief rabbi has associations in Britain that many may wish to retain. In practice, the holder of this post would function as the chief rabbi of those synagogues who formally recognize his authority. All pretensions to be more broadly representative would be relinquished. By allowing the Board of Deputies to fulfil its intended purpose of serving as a representative institution, with no real religious function, the majority and minority opinions in the community could be given their voice with limited theological consequences for Orthodoxy. In the process, mainstream Orthodoxy could regain a religious leadership figure. Such a chief rabbi could guide his constituents and forcefully represent the particular theological position of a Centrist, Modern or even Inclusive Orthodoxy.

Of course even if all these sorts of modifications were introduced, an additional important question remains. Is there a need for any rabbi to be formally appointed over his peers in an often autocratic process? Purely from a financial perspective, the costs incurred by maintaining the chief rabbinate impose a significant burden on the communities that fund the post. It is worth considering whether these funds could be better used. There is a bigger issue also. At times in the past it has been deemed necessary to import someone into Britain to provide the community with representation. The assumption has been that the serving rabbis in Britain lack sufficient authority. Yet if rabbis were freed from concerns about how an hierarchical system would react to individual initiatives, a better calibre of rabbi might emerge or be attracted to British communities. There is undoubtedly an argument in favour of maintaining some sort of official rabbinic body to represent mainstream Jewish viewpoints on a variety of religious issues. Whether this function needs to be performed by a chief rabbi is less clear.

As a contrived post, with limited inherent sources of power, which has often relied on the personality of its incumbent to navigate political and social intrigues, the chief rabbinate has consistently been a problematic institution within Anglo-Jewry. Its ability to influence the religious direction of Jews in Britain has been questionable. It has at times usefully provided religious leadership for certain sectors of the community. Yet it has repeatedly been a source of conflict and confusion. For the sake of all Jews in Britain, for Anglo-Jewry's mainstream, and for any future holders of the post, there is an urgent need to consider on what basis a chief rabbinate created in the nineteenth century can function as the twenty-first century progresses.

MOTHER'S BOY, *PITTAM* ENVY AND THE BROTHERHOOD OF THE WEAK IN SHOLEM ALEICHEM'S 'DER ESREG'

Zehavit Stern

For many readers Sholem Aleichem is the authentic voice of the *shtetl*: sad yet optimistic, lavish with curses and jokes that 'sound best in Yiddish'. The author himself contributed to this image by adopting a simple greeting as his pen-name, 'Sholem Aleichem', and by writing, among other things, what he referred to as *mayses* (tales) for children and stories relating to the festivals. However, the simplicity and humour of these texts thinly veil ironic studies of the cruelty of the human condition. [31]

The festival stories and *mayses* have so far received little critical attention, although they are as complex as his other texts and clearly aimed not only at children. In these, as in all Sholem Aleichem's work, hopes are raised only to be dashed on the hard ground of reality. Here, as elsewhere in his writing, the great Yiddish writer offers the readers penetrating social critiques that transcend the boundaries of small-town life and address universal human experiences. In '*Der esreg*' (The *Etrog*), as in other tales, the author adopts a child's point of view. The child's a refusal to accept adult conventions serves as the basis for acute social critique, a hallmark of Sholem Aleichem's writing.[32]

The plot of this story, first published in 1902, can be summed up briefly. The father of the child narrator (Arye-Leyb, Leybl, or 'Leybl-Dreyb-Abdirik', as he is mockingly known in *kheyder*, the village school) decides, for the first time, to buy himself an *etrog* (*esreg* in Yiddish) for Sukkot, like a rich man, instead of reciting the blessing over the community's *etrog*. When the precious fruit arrives, the child is warned by his parents not to spoil it and, most of all, not to harm its *pittam* (the protrusion at its tip, which must be intact for it to be ritually valid). However, perhaps precisely because of the warnings, the boy secretly bites off the *pittam*, before panicking and trying to stick it back with his saliva. The deed is exposed when the neighbour, Zalmen, turns the *etrog* upside down to recite the blessing and it falls off. Zalmen the carpenter, is instantly blamed for holding the *etrog* too roughly, an accusation which relies on the assumed clumsiness of the manual worker. The child, the only one who knows the

31. This has been discussed lately in detail in Dan Miron's *Ha-tsad ha-afel bi-tsehoko shel Sholem Aleichem*, *The Dark Side of Sholem Aleichem's Laugh* (Tel-Aviv: Am Oved, 2004).

32. '*Der esreg*' appears in the second volume of Sholem Aleichem's holiday tales (*Lekoved Yontev*). See Sholem Aleichem, *Ale Verk* (Buenos Aires: Ikuf, 1952-9) 8:188-202. It can also be found online in Archive.org. An English translation appears in *Holiday Tales of Sholom Aleichem*, selected and translated by Aliza Shevrin (New York: Charles Scribner Sons, 1979) 69-85. Quotations in this article are from Shevrin's translation.

truth, remains silent. This simple plotline generates a powerful feeling of suspense, as the reader ambivalently identifies with the 'villain', i.e. the narrator, whose temptation, followed by dread, guilt and relief at evading punishment, are vividly described.

Interestingly, the story takes place during the festival of Sukkot, on which Jewish families exchange the safety of their homes for the humble, leafy-roofed *sukah*. This Jewish holiday presents an opportunity for disrupting, albeit temporarily, the constructs of society, as all alike sit in a *sukah*, sometimes sharing the same one. Espousing humility and equality is, however, only one aspect of the feast. '*Der esreg*' highlights the reinforcing of social differences between rich and poor, men and women, adults and children, those obligated to perform the rituals of the four species and the *sukah* and those who are exempt, those who can afford to 'beautify' the commandment of holding the *lulav* and those who cannot.

'*Der esreg*' offers its readers not only emotional complexity, however, but close observation of the covenants, hidden and explicit, established and broken between those at the bottom of the social hierarchy in the *shtetl*: the poor, workers, children and women. Repeatedly these fail in their attempts to break away from the existing order. Purchasing the *etrog* and blaming the carpenter are clearly relevant to this. In what follows I will try to show that the seemingly childish and arbitrary act of rendering the *etrog* ritually unfit should also be regarded as part of this 'brotherhood of the weak'. This unruly act, I argue, represents not only a rebellion against prohibitions imposed by adults, but an implicitly proposed covenant between those excluded from fulfilling the ritual of the *etrog* – women and children.

The events in the story are sparked by the father's decision to behave like a rich man and buy himself an *etrog* for Sukkot: 'I don't care if the world turns upside down!'[33] he says, as long as he has his own *etrog*.The son identifies with this fantasy, imagining his father standing among the *balebatim* (literally 'householders' and more generally the wealthy and more respectable members of the community) in the synagogue, rather than among the poor, and hurries to brag about it to the children in his *kheyder*. Yet the father's dream not only remains unrealized, but indirectly causes further injustice, since the carpenter, who is even lower on the social ladder than the narrator's family, is accused of the crime and even accepts the charge, as though justifying the prejudice against manual labour.

33. עס זאָל זיך קערן די וועלט! (Es zol zikh kern di velt!).

The son, who identifies with the father's dream to become 'wealthy for a day', is at the same time the one who frustrates it. The reader struggles to understand his purposeless act of destruction, and even Leybl asks himself 'What did he have to do that for? What has he gained by it? . . . He ruined the fruit for no good reason . . . and such a beautiful *etrog*!'[34] He admits that he wished to know 'what the *pittam* of the *etrog* tastes like'.[35] But this cannot be the full explanation. The story itself indicates that something larger than this was going on by attributing the temptation to bite the *pittam* to 'the evil inclination' which took possession of the protagonist.

Yet what was behind this 'evil inclination'? How can we comprehend this act in psychological and sociological terms, rather than religious ones? Leybl is the smallest, weakest and poorest in the group of children. At *heder* he suffers the abuse of his peers, and at home the discipline of his parents. Beaten into submission, he expresses his bitterness in different ways, including the biting off the *pittam*. His rebellion, however, remains ultimately unacknowledged, since even the biting of the *pittam* is ascribed to someone else. More broadly one could also argue that the disruptive act of the child paradoxically originated in aspirations similar to those of his father. Through their contradictory acts of buying the *etrog* and damaging it, both father and son wished to rebel against the established order. But the son's rebellion remains ultimately unacknowledged, since the biting of the *pittam* is ascribed to someone else.

Leybl's rebellion is, however, directed less against his father, with whom he sympathizes, than towards his mother, who seems to conform to the eastern European Jewish stereotype of a strong and pragmatic woman. She responds to her husband's 'I don't care if the world turns upside down', with 'the world won't turn upside down and you will not have an *etrog*', regarding it as impossible for him to earn enough to afford an *etrog*. Towards Leybl she is suffocatingly protective, forcing her skinny boy to wear clothes stuffed with cotton wool to keep him warm, and succeeding in making him look dumpy. Leybl, on his side, tears out the cotton wool and distributes it among his classmates, thereby improving his social standing and regaining some degree of control. Her concern and bossiness focus also on his dripping nose which she wipes 'without mercy',[36] Leybl trying to please her by blowing as hard as he can, while she cries, 'More, more!'[37] Early in the story Leybl wants to get rid of his nose altogether, an idea paralleled later on by his desire to bite the *pittam*. The cotton-wool lining also seems to echo the linen wrapping of the *etrog*, creating fine threads of analogy between the desire to damage the *etrog* and the boy's repressed rebellion against his mother.

34. צו וואָס האָט ער דאָס באדאַרפֿט טאָן? וואָס איז אים דערפֿון אַרויסגעקומען?... אומזיסט-אומנישט גענומען און קאַליע געמאַכט אַ פּרי... אזא שיינעם אתרוג! (Tsu vos hot er dos badarft ton? Vos iz im derfun aroysgekumen? . . . Umzist-umnisht genumen un kalye gemakht a pri ... aza sheynem esreg!).

35. וואָס פֿאַר אַ טעם עס האָט אַ פּיטם פֿון אַן אתרוג (Vos far a tam es hot a pitem fun an esreg).

36. גאָר אומברחמנות (Gor umberakhmones).

37. נאָך, נאָך! (Nokh, nokh!).

While the mother rather than the father usually constitutes the main parental authority, the festival of Sukkot reverses the hierarchy, strengthening the father and lowering the position of the mother. Not only is the sceptical mother's prediction proved wrong when the father obtains an *etrog*, but, as women are not obligated to perform the commandment of the four species, the mother's status at home, which now revolves around the precious *etrog*, declines. She is prevented from taking the *etrog* in her hand, and may only smell it. Leybl, lower still on the social ladder, may not even approach the *etrog* to look at it.

It is perhaps in response to this exclusion that the mother insists that Leybl keep away from the *etrog*, saying 'Just give him half a chance and the next thing you know, he'll bite off the stem of the esrog'.[38] Leybl, however, feels like 'a cat that smells butter', and compares himself to the Adam and Eve, prohibited to eat from the tree of knowledge.

What prompted the mother to warn her son repeatedly in this way? Was it her concern for the *etrog*, her domineering nature, or a wish to reclaim some of the authority she had lost by being deprived of the commandment? Or perhaps, I would like to suggest, her recurrent warnings originate in her own will to damage the *etrog*. Perhaps the effect of her words – that he bites off of the *pittam* - was not an unintended side-effect of her prohibition, but the expression of her own repressed wish. In this interpretation, the mother's warnings conveyed a mixed message to the son.

A clue to understanding the mother's unusual interest in the *pittam* and in biting it off can be found in one of the central texts of classical Yiddish literature, the *Tsenerene*. This major source for understanding the world of women in Ashkenazi Jewish society, attributed to Rabbi Jacob ben Itzhak Ashkenazi (1550-1628), takes the form of a Yiddish paraphrase of the Pentateuch incorporating elements of traditional commentaries. It was intended 'for women and for men who are like women', meaning anyone who lacks a command of Hebrew. The *Tsenerene* comments at length on the verse 'When the woman saw that the fruit of the tree was good for food and pleasing to the eye, and also desirable for gaining wisdom, she took some and ate it. She also gave some to her husband, who was with her, and he ate it' (Gen. 3: 6). The author discusses what kind of tree the verse is referring to - fig, vine or *etrog* - and proceeds to describe a custom for a woman to bite off the tip of the *etrog* in order to secure an easy birth. After she has done so, according to the *Tsenerene*, which also serves as an ethical guide, she should make a charitable donation and then recite the following *tkhine* (woman's supplication or private prayer):

> Master of the Universe, because Eve ate of the Tree of Knowledge must we women all give birth in deathly pain? If I had been there I would have had no enjoyment from the fruit. I did not want to make the *esrog* invalid (by biting off the tip) during the seven days of Succos, because it is part of the *mitzvah*. Today is Hoshana Rabbah [the last day of the festival of Succos] and the commandment of the *esrog* is no longer upon us. I have rendered the *esrog* invalid, yet have not hastened to eat it. Just as I have derived almost no enjoyment from the tip of the *esrog*, so I would have derived no enjoyment from the Tree which you forbade. [39]

This text, which appears also in collections of *tkhines* for women, is an early testimony to the belief in Ashkenazi communities that biting off the *pittam* is a good recipe for an easy birth or, in other sources, for giving birth to a son or for curing infertility. In her book entitled *Voices of the Matriarchs: Listening to the Prayers of Early Modern Jewish Women*, Chava Weissler analyses the *tkhine* and the ritual it describes within the framework of 'popular religion' that evolved among women in Ashkenaz side by side with the official religion, and sometimes even in opposition to it.[40] She points out that the speaker's pride in her restraint suggests that other women may not have acted in such a manner, and that 'when *etrogim* were expensive and scarce, many a woman would not wait until the end of the holiday to bite off the end, fearing that some other woman might beat her to it'.[41] The *tkhine* therefore records the voice of an independent woman who dares to stand up against Eve, the female archetype, and strives to rein in women's popular religion from breaching the boundaries of normative religion.

This *tkhine* and the folk custom behind it may thus corroborate and explain the mother's repressed desire to bite off the tip of the *pittam*. If this is the case, the mother's repeated warnings may indeed be regarded as a means to convey this wish to her son – albeit in the form of a prohibition. The proud father points at the *etrog* on its arrival and says 'just like a precious, treasured child',[42] and we are told that it is wrapped up in linen 'as one would swaddle a delicate child to protect it from becoming chilled'.[43] While there is no direct evidence in the text that the mother is pregnant, the analogy between an *etrog* and a human being could possibly hint to that.

39. ריבונו של עולם. וויֵל חוה האָט געגעסן פֿון דעם עץ הדעת זאָלן מיר ווייבער אַלע לידן אַזאַ גרויסע צרה צו שטאַרבן? וועז איך וואָלט דערבייַ געווען וואָלט איך פֿון אים קיין הנאה געהאַט, אזוי ווייל וויי אַצינדערט האָב איך דעם אתרוג ניט געוואָלט פּסול מאַכן אַלע זיבן טעג, וויֵל ער האָט צו אַ מצוה געקערט. אָבער היינט אים הושענא רבה איז שוין די מצוה אויס, האָב איך אים פּסול געמאַכט, דאָך בין איך ניט געאיילט צו עסן אים. און אַזוי וויניק הנאה וי איך האָב פֿון דעם עוקץ, אַזוי וויניק הנאה וואָלט איך געהאַט פֿון דעם בוים וואָס דו האָסט פֿאַרבאָטן צו עסן.

From Tsenah ure'enah: The Classic Anthology of Torah Lore and Midrashic Comment, trans. Miriam Stark (Brooklyn, NY: Menorah Publications, 1983) 37.

40. See Chava Weissler, Voices of the Matriarchs: Listening to the Prayers of Early Modern Jewish Women (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1998) 178-80.

41. Ibid. 179.

42. ווי אויף אַ שיין טייער קינד (Vi af a sheyn tayer kind).

43. ווי מע הילט-איין אַ ציטעריק קינד, אַ בן-יחיד'ל, ס'זאָל זיך חלילה ניט צוקילן דאָס העלזל (Vi me hilt ayn a tsiterik kind, a ben-yokhidl, s'zol zikh khalile nit tsukiln dos helzl).

The Garden of Eden is a further link between the *tkhine* and the story. Leybl wonders what he would have done in Adam and Eve's place. But whereas the author of the *tkhine* claims that she would not have succumbed to temptation, Leybl imagines a world in which the prohibition does not exist at all. It is here that the narrator draws a direct link between the mother's warning and the boy's sinful inclination: 'Those suggestive words that his mother had uttered to her husband, "Just give him half a chance and the next thing you know, he'll bite off the stem of the *esrog*," worked in Leybl like a poison, entering into his very bones.'[44] The words 'to her husband'[45] present the mother as Eve, tempting her husband, and in this case her son, to sin. When Leybl secretly sneaks up to the *etrog* he can smell 'the fragrance of the Garden of Eden',[46] and when he takes it in his hand the *pittam* springs towards him and tempts him as the snake tempted Eve: 'Want to taste something delicious? Something out of this world? Come, bite me off! Don't be afraid, silly!' [47]

It also becomes clear that Leybl's rebellious act, directed first and foremost against his mother, is also a gesture of identification with her. Paradoxically, Leybl is a 'mother's boy', who internalizes and fulfils his mother's aspirations, both conscious and repressed. An Oedipal reading of the story is also plausible, as the boy's identification with the mother takes the form of a rebellion against paternal authority, or 'the Law of the Father', in Lacanian terminology.

On the sociological level the covenant between mother and son expresses the inferior status of women and children, excluded by rabbinic law from performing certain rituals. It is therefore unsurprising that this covenant is centred precisely on the etrog, and that it conflicts with the father's dream of becoming one of the *balebatim*. The story additonally acknowledges the socio-economic structure in which, for men located at the bottom of the ladder such as the father, Moyshe-Yankl ('the poorest among beggars'), and Zalmen the carpenter ('an ignoramus'), the *etrog* may offer an opportunity for social advancement, however temporary.

In the dramatic closing scene of the story all those who are excluded and marginalized find themselves facing the shattering of dreams embodied in the 'dead' *etrog*. From the tragic crescendo of 'the father's agony, the mother's tears, and the carpenter's shame', and while fear and terror grip Leybl, a new hero arises: Zalmen the carpenter, who in the boy's eyes is elevated to God's messenger, the redeeming angel. The author reserves for this ultimate scapegoat the last word, ironic and slightly bitter, that merely flashes through his mind as he looks at his rough hands after the deed: 'What a pair of loathsome paws! May they wither and fall off!'[48]

44. די עטלעכע ווערטער, וואָס בתיה-ביילע האָט אַ זאָג געטאָן צו איר מאַן: 'אָט לאָז אים נאָר צו, בייסט ער אָפּ דעם פּישום פֿונעם אתרוג', זענען געווען פֿאַר לייבלן אַ סם המוות, אַ גיפֿט אין די ביינער אַרײַן

(Di etlekhe verter, vos basya-beyle hot a zog geton tsu ir man: 'ot loz im nor tsu, beyst er op dem pitem funem esreg' zenen geven far leybln a sam-hamoves, a gift in beyner arayn).

45. צו איר מאַן (Tsu ir man).

46. ריח גן עדן (Reyakh gan-eydn).

47. וויילסטו פֿילן טעם גן-עדן? נעם בייס מיך אָפּ! האָב קיין מורא ניט! (Vilstu filn tam gan-eydn? Nem beys mikh op! Hob keyn moyra nit!).

48. אַ פּאָר ידיים – אָפּגעדאַרט זאָלן זיי וועלן! (A por yadayim – opgedart zoln zey vern!).

THE EUROPEAN SEMINAR ON ADVANCED JEWISH STUDIES

THE MATERIAL TEXTS OF THE GENIZAH COLLECTION AT THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY: A NEW APPROACH TO GENIZAH RESEARCH

Dr Piet van Boxel

The Cairo Genizah is a vast accumulation of some 280,000 Jewish manuscripts fragments discovered in the genizah, or store room, of the Ben Ezra Synagogue in Fustat (Old Cairo) late in the nineteenth century. A genizah is usually reserved for worn-out or discarded Hebrew books and papers on religious topics, prior to their ritual burial, which is how Jews dispose of writings containing the name of God. But because even personal letters and legal contracts sometimes open with a divine name, a genizah can also contain secular writings. The Ben Ezra Synagogue collection covers a virtually complete spectrum of Jewish life in the Middle Ages, from religious beliefs and practices, to the involvement of Jews in the economic and cultural life of the Middle East. The latter is reflected in rabbinical-court records, leases, title-deeds, endowment contracts, debt acknowledgments, marriage contracts and private letters. This unparalleled treasure trove makes it possible to reconstruct the socio-religious, cultural and economic history of Jews in the Middle Eastern and Mediterranean region from the ninth to the fourteenth centuries, an era previously little known to Jewish historians.

Reconstructing this data is complicated, however, because the archive has been scattered over many different collections and libraries. Cambridge University Library holds the largest part, with over 140,000 fragments brought there by Solomon Schechter. Other groups are now in libraries in Budapest, Geneva, Jerusalem, London, Manchester, New York, Oxford, Paris, St Petersburg, Philadelphia, Vienna, Washington and elsewhere. An unknown number of pieces are held in private collections. Not only was material placed in the Genizah in a haphazard way, but it was subsequently scattered unsystematically to collections all over the world. As a result, parts of the same manuscript or even of individual leaves have ended up in different continents, making it almost impossible to understand their significance. One of the challenges for researchers has been to identify those fragments that were originally together, so as to be able to interpret them as whole documents.

Digitizing the Cairo Genizah

For over a century scholars have struggled to make matches between fragmentary documents, relying on their long experience of the collection, deep learning and occasional strokes of good luck. This process has now been revolutionized by the digitization of large numbers of Genizah fragments. Major collections such as those at the University of Cambridge, the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, the John Rylands Library in Manchester and the Herbert Katz Center for Advanced Judaic Studies at the University of Pennsylvania, together with smaller collections, have either been, or are in the process of being digitized. It is planned eventually to generate a worldwide database of images, enhancing the accessibility of geographically remote Genizah collections and bringing them virtually together.

The Bodleian Collection

The Bodleian Library Genizah fragments were acquired by purchase or as gifts in the late nineteenth century. Skilful selection ensured that this became one of the most important collections worldwide, featuring Bible, Early Rabbinic literature (Midrash, Mishnah and Talmud), Liturgy (Piyyutim, Selihot) and legal documents.

Plate 1 (above). A fragment of Mishnah from the Genizah, showing tractate *Avot* (Ethics of the Fathers) from chapter 3:17. (MS Heb. c. 17, fol. 5a.)

It is remarkable for the size of many of the documents, since the 4000 fragments comprise about 25,000 leaves, averaging over six leaves per fragment, a number unparalleled elsewhere. Some items consist of whole quires, amounting almost to whole manuscripts rather than fragments. A particularly exciting example are the twenty pages of Maimonides's draft manuscript of his *Mishneh Torah* with corrections in his own hand.

Plate 2 . A page from Maimonides's draft of his Code of Jewish Law, showing the changes he made as he worked. (MS Heb. d 32, fol. 50b.)

Plate 3. The last page, with a dated colophon, of the oldest dated Talmud fragment, from tractate Keritot, completed in 1123. (MS Heb. b. 1, 20b.)

The Talmud fragments are especially rare because of mass burnings of manuscripts begun on Rome's Campo de' fiori in September 1553. Little is known of the early history of this text as a result. Yet Talmud fragments of ten pages or more are no exception in this collection, including one of thirty-two pages of tractate Berakhot (Ms. Heb. c. 17/32), and others of 160 pages of the tractates Sotah (Ms. Heb. d. 20/2) and Sukkah (Ms. Heb. e 51) 72. These large portions of text are invaluable for reconstructing the history of the Babylonian Talmud. The oldest dated fragment, from the tractate Keritot 4b (line 4) - 6a (line 31) and 18b (line 17 to end), can be traced to 1123 by the colophon at the end of the tractate.

The liturgical material includes over 1500 documents and is similarly important, shedding light on the little-known beginnings of Jewish prayer. Twenty-one fragments are dated to the eleventh century, the oldest being Ms. Heb. d 25/E, copied in 1024. There are also hundreds of fragments of liturgical poetry (piyyutim) from the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries.

The Bodleian Digital Library

The Bodleian Libraries were recently able to digitize their collection thanks to the generous contribution of Mr George Blumenthal, a New York philanthropist, pioneer in digital communications and President of the Center for Online Jewish Studies. The digitized images of the Bodleian collection, with an online catalogue, are now freely accessible worldwide.

The Bodleian online catalogue is based on printed and type-written catalogues produced in the early twentieth century, which are still considered to be generally of excellent quality, despite some problems with the identifications. The catalogue is linked to images in full colour at 600dpi, offering a wide range of search options. One can select fragments according to title, personal name, shelf mark, topic, date/period, language, material (paper, vellum, leather, papyrus), keyword, or combinations of these. Like the catalogues of other institutions with Cairo Genizah collections, the online catalogue is a most useful search engine for Genizah research. One can now compare fragments held in Oxford with others in Cambridge, Manchester, New York, Philadelphia or elsewhere, facilitating international exchange and inaugurating a new era in Genizah studies. Experts will be able to make unprecedented progress with the major research goal of identifying matching fragments held in different locations. Matching fragments in different collections remotely will make it possible to compare versions of particular texts and to deepen our knowledge of the transmission and history of biblical, rabbinic and liturgical literatures.

The Material Text of Hebrew Manuscripts

The past forty years has seen the growth of an awareness of the need to study not only the literary texts, but also the non-textual aspects of manuscripts, commonly called the material texts. A major tool for the study of the material text of Hebrew manuscripts, pioneered by Malachi Beit-Arié and Colet Sirat, is the codicological data-base of the Hebrew Palaeography project, *Sfardata*, a tool for localizing and dating Hebrew medieval manuscripts. Palaeography is usually confined to the study of the script as a criterion for dating. This data-base widens the codicological discipline by regarding manuscripts not merely as vessels for transmittingtexts, but as physical objects and cultural products reflecting the social context, technology and aesthetics of their time and place. This codicological discipline must concern itself, according to Beit-Arié, with many other categories of information, including writing materials, inks, quires, pricking and ruling techniques, format and layout, density of letters, devices for producing even left margins, graphic para-scriptural elements and auxiliary signs, decorations and illuminations, scribal formulae at the beginning and end of copying, and formulations of colophons, including the rendering of dates, names and so on. It must also include means for ensuring the right order of the quires, sheets, leaves or columns. Systematically describing all Hebrew manuscripts that bear dates establishes a typology of criteria for localizing and dating the many thousands of manuscripts without colophons.

The Genizah Seminar in Yarnton

The Bodleian digitization project coincided with a six-month-long seminar on the Bodleian Genizah collection, made possible through the generous support of the Rothschild Foundation Europe, as part of a European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies. The seminar, held at the Oxford Centre for Hebrew Studies from January to June 2011, was designed to focus not only on the texts of the Bodleian Genizah fragments, but on their material dimensions. This has so far been done only for some isolated cases. The project, expanding on the work of Malachi Beit-Arié and Colet Sirat, introduced a new method of classifying Genizah material by means of palaeographical and codicological features, designed to bring to light the geo-cultural provenance of fragments. It is predicted that this will in turn make it possible to identify the contents of ancient libraries and the reading patterns of local communities.

In a comprehensive summary Beit-Arié has laid out the interrelation between the textual and material analysis of Hebrew manuscripts and the place of Genizah fragments in the study of the material text, which has been the guideline for the Genizah seminar.

Genizah fragments should be analysed, characterized and classified not only by their textual contents, but in terms of the visual incarnation of the text: their physical, graphic and scribal embodiment and also by their social context. In most

cases the study of the verbal text cannot be adequately conducted without considering its physicality. This yields fundamental information relating to areas of reproduction and date ranges, and indicates the function of the manuscript, its transmission and the social environment of its producer. It also sheds light on various textual problems embedded in the written texts. Of course the study of handwritten books by palaeographers and codicologists as mere artefacts, without considering their contents and genre, is also to be avoided, since their physicality was bound to be affected or dictated by the nature of the text. Both approaches must be employed in the study of manuscripts.

Almost all literary manuscripts are copies or re-copies of composed, redacted or works produced long after their composition. Many stem from different stages of the text's crystallization or from diverging versions. Some 4000 colophons, as well as literary and documentary sources, attest to the predominantly individualistic mode of the production and consumption of Hebrew manuscripts. Texts in Hebrew characters were reproduced and propagated not by religious or communal authorities, but privately. They were not transmitted in organized frameworks, such as centres of learning or other supervising establishments, but produced by professional or occasional scribes hired by individuals, or copied by scholars or learned people for their own use. Such user-produced copies constitute at least half of the colophoned codices. These circumstances must have had an impact on the transmission of Jewish texts, and, indeed, colophons indicate either explicitly or implicitly that their copyists set out not only to reproduce texts, but also to emend critically and restore corrupted texts, collate models and edit them.

The scribal reproduction of texts involved reshaping their form and visual disposition, introducing hierarchical structure and designing semiotic layouts for the various genres, as well as inserting para-scriptural and peri-textual markings which affected the reader's perception, as well as the searchability of the copied text and its reception. This configuration of copied texts was both functional and interpretative. By enhancing legibility, it was also evolutionary. When we compare the configuration and readability of certain texts and genres over time, from the early strata of Genizah fragments, such as palimpsests, to later medieval codices, we notice gradual shifts in their appearance. Early texts are written in a uniform script, in which headings or endings of textual units are unmarked or just spaced slightly more widely, and thus assimilated within densely written blocks. Later ones are more structurally transparent, enhanced by the integration of auxiliary para-scriptural markings, leading to greater readability and searchability. The emergence of larger initial words, followed by ranges of graduated script sizes reflecting the hierarchy of textual units, as well as occasional decoration and illumination, contributed to readability. The evolution of semi-cursive hands from the last third of the tenth century in Babylonian Geonic writings (as suggested by Shelomo Goitein and substantiated by Judith Olzsowy-Schlanger), and their use from the early eleventh century in literary manuscripts combined with the square script, contributed to the transparency of the text's structure. The square mode was used for headings, initial words and lexical entries in copies written otherwise in a semi-square mode.The emergence of alternative modes of

Plate 4. Example of the numbering of paragraphs, ensuring greater searchability, in a fragment of Mishnah, tractate *Ahilot (Ohalot)* 4:1-3 and 5:1-3. (MS Heb. c. 17, 44a.)

Plate 5. An example of the use of square lettering to highlight headings in a Sephardi cursive text. The page is from the Canon of Avicenna (an encyclopedia of Galenic medicine), the end of book 11 of the Hebrew translation by Joseph Lorqi, dated 1441. (MS Heb. d. 64, 85a.)

writing the same script type made it possible to differentiate textual strata in composite, glossed and commentated texts. Scribes promoted legibility and comprehension by incorporating graphic markers for underlining certain words or passages, pointing out terms or roots, singling out foreign words or marking biblical citations and lemmata in commentaries, and so on.

Material aspects of manuscripts, such as writing materials, sizes, modes of script, calligraphic quality and codicological regularity, convey information about the producer or patron of the manuscript, as well as the function of the book and its significance. Moreover, an acquaintance with the various technical practices in the fabrication of codices, such as structures of quires and means of ensuring their right sequences, and with scribal practices such as line management and auxiliary signs, are essential in using manuscript texts.

The comprehensive documentation of Hebrew codices with dated colophons since the beginning of the tenth century has unveiled practices characteristic of geo-cultural zones. Because many of these were transformed over time and were characteristic of certain periods, they, and particularly combinations of them, provide solid criteria for identifying where and when manuscripts without colophons were produced. Dated book-scripts make it possible to establish a palaeographical classification and to set up or consolidate a diachronic typology of book-scripts. The combined palaeographical and codicological analysis of localized manuscripts written in immigrant script-types revealed that most of their codicological features were local. Script-type therefore does not necessarily attest to the area in which a manuscript was written, unless the codicological practices of the manuscript correspond to that area. About one fifth of dated codices were found to have been produced by immigrant scribes or copyists who retained their native type of script while adopting local techniques. Considering all such factors is clearly essential in dealing with Hebrew manuscripts, and constitutes a further justification for a material text approach.

Plate 6. Dated marriage contracts help establish typologies of scripts and writing methods. This example was signed in Fostat (Old Cairo), Wednesday 2? Adar, 1430 of the Seljuk era (corresponding to 1119 CE). The parties were Nathan bar מרוז Perahiah הזקן and מלוחה daughter of מרוז Japheth הזקן. (MS Heb. b. 3a.)

The Genizah literary documents are from fragmented codices, which is why codicological criteria will help identify their area and time of production. While their fragmentary survival and poor state of preservation reduce the possibility of observing some material facets, many dispersed leaves and bifolia from the same codex, kept under different shelf marks within the same or in disparate collections, have so far been identified by scholars. A recent groundbreaking achievement of the Friedberg Genizah Project team (with the active participation of Dr Ronny Shweka) is an automatic handwriting-matching tool able to identify possible joins among all the digitized images of the fragments. This, followed by manual verification, increases dramatically the number of reunified partial codices and allows for wider implementation of codicological criteria and material characteristics. Digital images and automated measurements can substitute the originals with regard to some codicological characteristics, while others can be noticed only by observing the originals, unless they are documented and displayed in the meta-data.

It will be helpful to mention here very briefly some material aspects which should be examined in analysing and characterizing Genizah fragments. It is important to observe whether the writing material is parchment or paper. This has chronological significance in relation to early fragments, since the earliest known extant paper dated literary manuscript does not date before 1005. The appearance of the parchment can indicate whether the manuscript was written in the Near East or elsewhere.

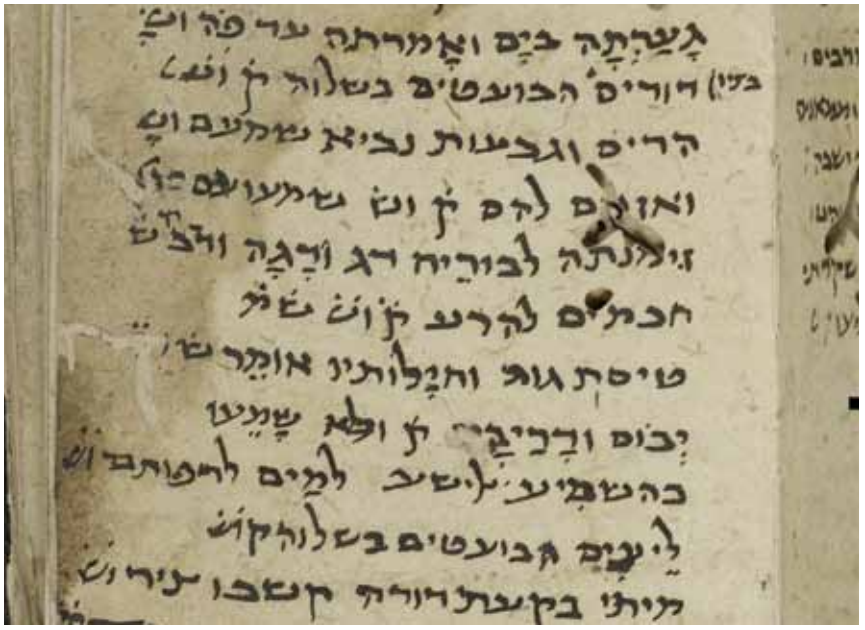


Plate 7. An early liturgical fragment on paper, dated 1034. (MS Heb. F. 36/6.)

Plate 8. A *rotulus* – a vertically written scroll – of the Talmudic tractate Betza. (MS Heb. e. 52 (R), fol. 1a.)

The pattern of laid and chain lines to be seen in Arabic paper can disclose the region and period of its production. A survey of the use of parchment in dated and datable documents would clarify its functional significance.

The classification of the *rotulus* book-form and its increased use will provide an additional criterion. Quire structure, which is essential for reconstructing codices, can be detected by the presence of signatures, catchwords, repeated words and marked central openings. Ruled lines and corresponding written lines on both sides of the folio reflect the nature of the document. The ruling technique can indicate origins: non-Oriental scribes use relief ruling with hard-point on the parchment's hair-side, but Oriental ones rule on the flesh-side. In addition, hard-point ruling guided by prickings in paper manuscripts predated the use of mistara mechanical ruling. Line justification practices and personal para-scriptural elements can help verify matching fragments. Classification can be defined according to size and layout, the proportions of pages and the written surface such as height and width, the use of oblong formats, or the number of columns.

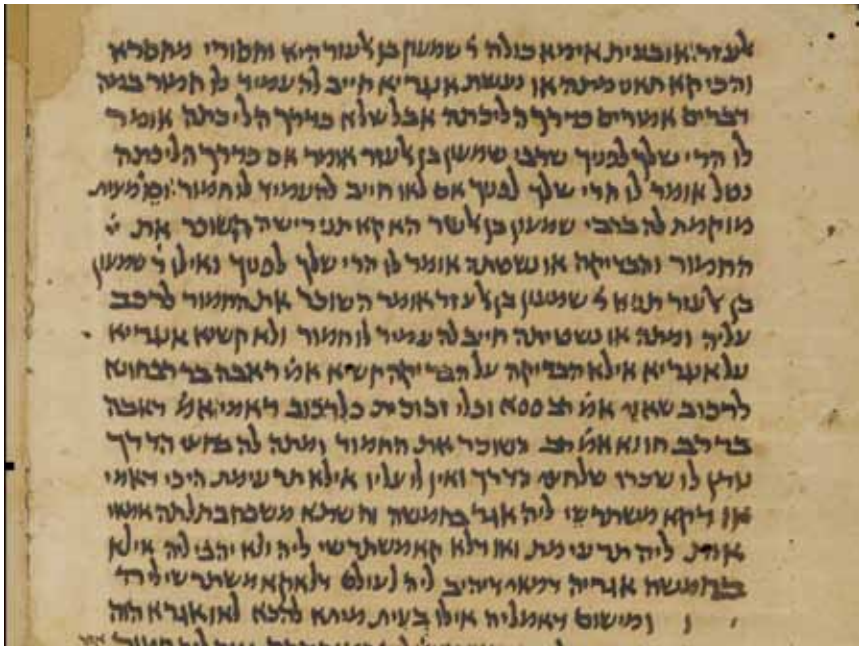


Plate 9. The right-hand margin has been pricked to guide the ruling of lines using a hard point. (MS Heb. C 17, 69b.)

The material approach relating to Genizah fragments needs further research and expansion. In particular, the small number of early dated Oriental codices, whole or fragmentary, calls for a comprehensive palaeographical study of dated and localized letters and documents, in order to establish a more elaborate diachronic and regional script typology.

The Material Texts of the Genizah Collection at the Bodleian Library

It was with this outline in mind that a Genizah research project was conceived to bring together a number of Genizah specialists to examine the material text of a selected number of Genizah fragments in the Bodleian Library and to establish a new method of classifying Genizah fragments. To date, Genizah fragments have been classified according to subject and rather general information about material aspects. Genizah studies have also tended to concentrate on textual variants and vocalization in the biblical text, and on linguistic developments in rabbinic literature and previously unknown liturgical material.[49] These discoveries are rarely datable more precisely than to about a thousand years ago. The new focus on the material text will make it possible for the picture derived from the Genizah material to be much more focused and specific. An examination of codicological and palaeographical aspects of the fragments reveals a lot about local Jewish history and the contribution of host societies to Jewish tradition, and this will in turn create an additional method of classification, different from that of the printed catalogues and electronic search engines. Identifying codicological features will allow us to classify material according to geo-cultural provenance, and therefore to attribute specific linguistic features, and formerly unknown traditions and practices, to local Jewish communities

The European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies involved an international group of scholars who held weekly meetings in Exeter College. They were occasionally joined by experts from the Taylor-Schechter Genizah Research Unit Institute (Cambridge) and from the Rylands Cairo Genizah Collection (Manchester). One seminar was held at the British Library in London, encompassing all the major Genizah collections of the United Kingdom. Participants had unrestricted access to the Bodleian Genizah fragments, and digitized images were available for the seminar presentations.

The following seminar-paper titles reflect the range of subjects covered:

Dr Emma Abate (University of Rome)

' "Rain-men" from the Genizah: An Analysis of Fragments from the Bodleian Library'

Professor Philip Alexander (University of Manchester)

'The Character of the Rylands Gaster Genizah as a Collection and its Relation to the Cairo Genizah Collection as a Whole'

Sabine Arndt (University of Oxford)

'Digitizing the Bodleian Genizah Fragments: A New Approach to Cataloguing?'

with contributions by Dr Ben Outhwaite (Head of the Genizah Research Unit, Cambridge) and Dr Roni Shweka (Friedberg Genizah Project)

49. See Stefan Reif (ed.) *The Cambridge Genizah Collections: Their Contents and Significance* (Cambridge University Press, 2002).

Professor Malachi Beit-Arié (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)
'Codicological and Palaeographical Characterization of Bodleian Genizah Fragments'

Dr Yehudah Cohn (Faculty of Oriental Studies, Oxford)
'Biblical Verses and Genizah Amulets'

Professor Paul Fenton (Université Paris Sorbonne)
'A Greek, Arabic and Jewish Philosophical Reconstruction – Fragments of the Longer Version of the *Theology of Aristotle* in the Cairo Genizah Collection'

Professor Shamma Friedman (Jewish Theological Seminary / Schechter Institute of Jewish Studies, Jerusalem)
'The Study of Extant Talmud (BT) Fragments Which Represent Generations of MSS Earlier Than Those Which Survived as Codices'

Professor Aharon Maman (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)
'Genizah Fragments in Hebrew Philology'

Professor Judith Olszowy-Schlanger (École Pratique des Hautes Études, Sorbonne)
'The Third Form of the Hebrew Book: Rotuli from the Cairo Genizah'

Professor Marina Rustow (Johns Hopkins University)
'Arabic Chancery Documents from the Genizah and Their Reuses'

Dr Roni Shweka (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)
'Italian Manuscripts of *Halakhot Gedolot* in the Cairo Genizah'

Dr Ronny Vollandt (Cambridge)
'Arabic Translations of the Pentateuch in the Genizah: Manuscripts, Traditions and Translation Technique'

There follow summaries of some of the research projects undertaken in the context of the seminar, and two proposals for future material-text projects relating to Genizah fragments.

THE FELLOWS AND THEIR RESEARCH

PRAYERS FROM THE GENIZAH: BETWEEN LITURGY AND MAGIC

Dr Emma Abate (*University of Rome*)

The Cairo Genizah is a rich source of information on the connections between liturgy, magic and medicine in medieval Judaism, especially if the Bodleian fragments are examined in the context of that library's magnificent collection of Hebrew manuscripts.

I took a dual approach to collating the material characteristics and philological aspects of a specific category of manuscripts: those associated with ritual occasions, located at the border between liturgical and magical literature.

I first gathered information about the manuscripts' codicological and palaeographical aspects, their redaction and composition; and secondly sought to understand and interpret the texts from both a comparative and a philological perspective.

In three lectures I examined various types of documents: therapeutic, apotropaic and divinatory texts, those for exorcism, and those designed to influence meteorological conditions.

One paper, entitled 'Prayers for Healing at the Genizah: An Insight into Bodleian Library's Sources', was presented at the concluding conference at the Bodleian Library. In this I outlined magical manuscripts used for medical purposes, starting from collections of formulae, recipes and *segullot* (remedies) intended for informal practical use, and then discussing more elaborate books of medicine, some employing conscious approaches and others a more holistic outlook in association with magic.[50]

The five earliest documents were oriental ones from between the eleventh and the thirteenth centuries, including anti-demonic texts and formulae for exorcism.[51] Then came three medical manuscripts from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (only the third actually from the Genizah) containing both liturgical and magical excerpts.[52] I compared these with *Moshi'a Hosim*, a short medical treatise regarding a cure for pestilence, by the sixteenth-century Northern Italian Jewish physician and astrologer Abraham Jagel.[53]

50. Cf. J. Neusner, E. S. Frerichs, P. V. McCracken Flesher (eds) *Religion, Science and Magic: In Concert and in Conflict* (New York, Oxford 1989); D. B. Ruderman, *Kabbalah, Magic, and Science: the Cultural Universe of a 16th Century Jewish Physician* (Cambridge, MA 1988).
51. MS Heb. e. 44. fols 78a-79b, MS Heb. e. 74. fol. 21, MS Heb. f. 59 fol. 73a, MS Heb. f. 61 fols 40a-41b, MS Heb. g. 3 fols 3-10.
52. MS Heb. d. 11, MS Heb. g. 1, c. 14th century, and MS Heb. f. 56 fols 105-119, c. 15th century.
53. Boldeian Library, Italian manuscript Mich. 179 entitled *Orah Hayim*.

Another presentation, entitled 'Rainmen from the Genizah: An Analysis of Fragments from the Bodleian Library', which I delivered at Exeter College on 12 May, concerned two types of texts dealing with weather-forecasting in the Middle Ages. Documents from between the eleventh and the fourteenth centuries contained a rain liturgy with *piyyutim* (poems) and *pizmonim* (hymns) to be sung on the last day of *Sukkot* or during the rainy season to propitiate rain.[54] I also examined the tradition of *seder re'amim*, a genre of *brontologia* or thunder-texts combining meteorological forecasts and astrological insights from around the eleventh century (see Plate 1).[55]

Thunder-texts mostly open with the apodosis 'if it will thunder in...', followed by the name of a zodiacal sign. This introduces a protasis, examining the harmful or (more rarely) beneficial effects of the thundering over nature and the social environment.

In one of these, MS Heb. e. 44, fol. 13b-14b, we read the forecast for the month of Shevat (between January and February):

Fol. 13b

7. In Shevat
8. if it thunders in the sign of Aquarius there will be war
9. against the nation living next to the sea. And if it thunders in Pisces
10. those coughing and expectorating will fall down in the nation; if it thunders in Aries
11. the vines and all the trees will improve
12. their fruits. And if it thunders in Taurus the trees

Fol. 14a

1. will die from the land. And if it thunders in Gemini
2. or in Cancer or in Leo the same will occur;
3. and if it thunders in Virgo or in Libra
4. there won't be anything. And if it thunders in Scorpio
5. the kings will rise up over the land and one of them
6. will die in war. And if it thunders in Sagittarius
7. or in Capricorn or in Aquarius or in Pisces a great
8. king will die and there will be a great calamity in the land.
9. And if it thunders in Aries there won't be anything.

54. These included MS Heb. d. 50 fols 33b-43b, MS Heb. d. 74 fol. 19a, MS Heb. d. 79 fol. 36b, MS Heb. e. 37 fol. 1, MS Heb. e. 40 fol. 18a, MS Heb. e. 93 fol. 68, MS Heb. f. 37 fols 22a-25a, MS Heb. f. 48 fols 1-24.

55. I focused on the material aspects and contents of MS Heb. a 3, fol. 25a, a *rotulus*, and of MS Heb. e. 44, fols 13-14. For the tradition of *seder re'*amim, cf. R. Leicht, *Astrologumena Judaica. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der astrologischen Literatur der Juden* (Tübingen 2006).

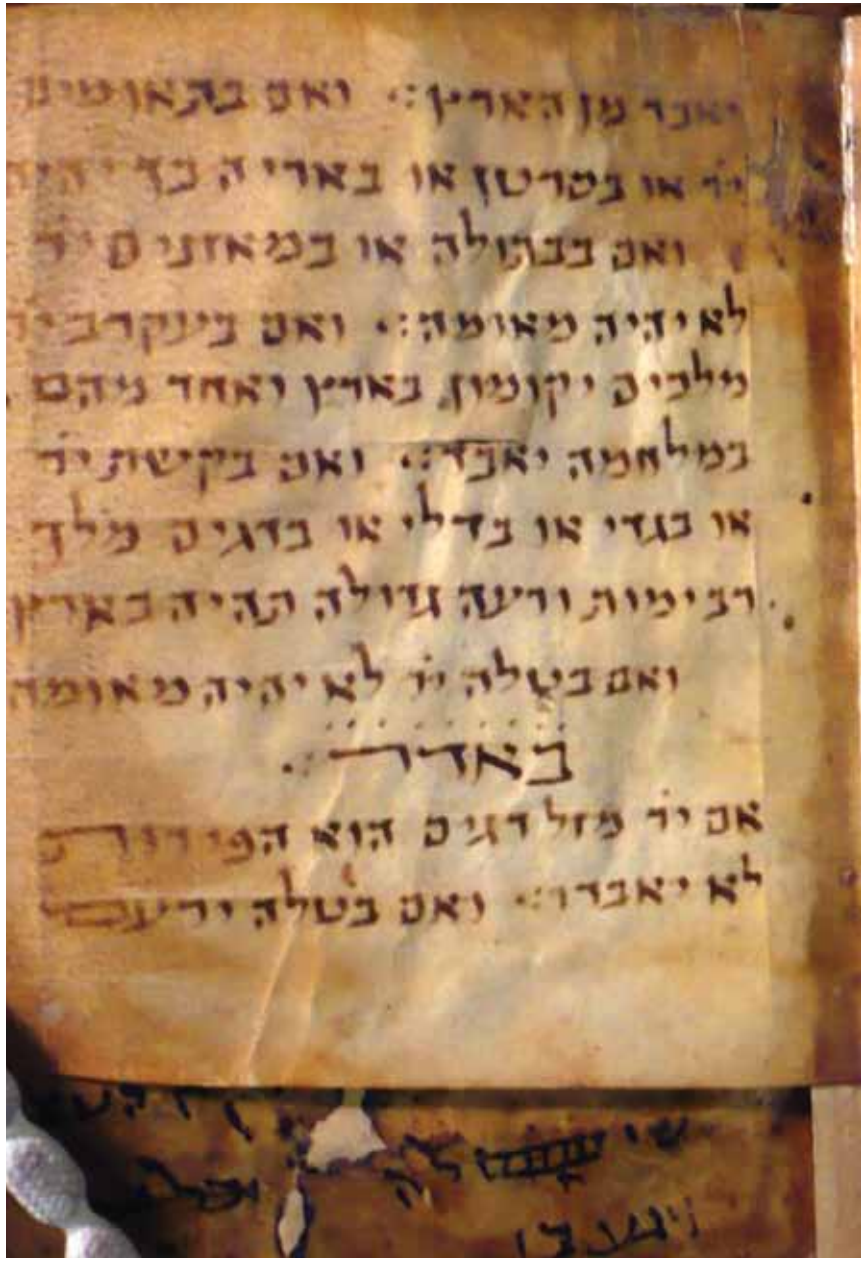


Plate 1. A bifolio fragment on parchment, formerly from a codex, in Oriental square writing, dating from around the eleventh century. It includes a text of divination based on thunder. (MS Heb. e. 44. fols 13b-14a.)

It is possible to link *seder re'amim* with the surviving liturgy of rain on *Sukkot*.

The wide circulation of *seder re'amim* in books of prayers,[56] and references to it in the liturgy for festivals falling in Tishrei, between *Yom Kippur* and *Shemini Atseret* (the last day of *Sukkot*) suggest that astrological divination may have been a more magical face of rituals for planning the course of the new year.[57]

In a third paper, entitled 'Prayers from the Genizah: Materials, Texts and Tradition of Medieval Jewish Liturgy', presented to the Jewish Studies Seminar at the Oriental Institute on 3 March, I compared prayer and magical formulae reflected in three manuscripts from different places and times. The first, a roughly eleventh-century text, contains a prayer for gaining supernatural powers by using the name of God (see Plates 2 and 3).[58] The second, of the sixteenth century, contains a traditional prayer for a circumcision, reflecting the influence of astrology and practical kabbalah on Jewish ritual.[59] The third, dating from the nineteenth century, contains a long prayer against plague that blends magical formulae, curses and blessings.[60]

I examined these fragments in terms of the occasions for which they were intended and the communal roles of their authors and receivers. This showed that both liturgical and magical traditions often emerged in the same religious milieu and involved the most cultivated ranks of society. The documents were related in most cases to everyday life, and were concerned with wealth and with important dates in respective communities. They show how professionals equipped with a synagogual, scribal or even rabbinic education played the role of magicians, using techniques and performances based on their knowledge of the Hebrew language and of biblical literature, and harnessing the power ascribed to liturgy and prayers.

The aforementioned prayer for gaining supernatural power (see Plates 2 and 3),[61] for instance, ms. Heb. c. 20, fols 41a-b, employs conventional elements in magical ways, combining this with images and features familiar from liturgical poetry and rabbinic wisdom.[62]

56. It can be found outside the Genizah collection for instance in a copy of *Mahzor Vitry*, MS Opp. 59, and in an Ashkenazi *mahzor* MS Mich. 569, both in the Bodleian Library.

57. This topic will be examined in a forthcoming article to be included in the proceedings of the Seminar.

58. MS Heb. c. 20, fol. 41.

59. MS Heb. e. 95, fols 30-31.

60. MS Heb. d. 57, fols 1-10.

61. MS Heb. c. 20, fol. 41.

62. M. D. Swartz, 'Scribal Magic and its Rhetoric. Formal Patterns in Hebrew and Aramaic Incantations Texts from the Cairo Geniza', *Harvard Theological Review* 83 (1990) 163-80; Y. Harari, 'What is a Magical Text?: Methodological Reflections Aimed at Redefining Early Jewish Magic', in S. Shaked (ed.) *Officina Magica. Essays on the Practice of Magic in Antiquity* (Leiden 2005) 91-124; G. Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic. A History* (Cambridge 2008).

It opens with a formula based on the adjuration of the 'Name of Holiness' - (ll. 1-2) using the *be-shem* formula – followed by biblical references. Quotations from Psalms 136:13 and Exodus 14:21 are conflated to highlight the name of God's power over natural phenomena.

Fol. 41a

1. In the name of Holiness [...] the water was turned into blood and so forth

2. on behalf of this name [God] split the sea into parts and so forth [...]

In lines 3-8, a listing that closely resembles ones in synagogue hymns enumerates the most suitable circumstances for, and effects of, the magical use of the Bible.[63] These aim to control the most critical situations in the human life, such as love, war and death.

Fol. 41a

3. [...] and everybody who has this book in his hands becomes one of the Saints.

4. And all his desire will be fulfilled because of it, whether for death or for life, whether for war,

5. whether to pacify or to frighten, whether for sickness or for healing, whether for [...]

6. or to get wisdom, whether for love or for hate, whether in the dry land or into the sea,

7. whether to forbid or to permit, whether to kill or to save, whether at a distance

8. or in close proximity, and everything that will be done according to your heart

63. M. D. Swartz, 'The Aesthetics of Blessing and Curses: Literary and Iconographic Dimensions of Hebrew and Aramaic Blessing and Curse Texts', *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions* 5 (2006) 187-211.

Plate 2

Plate 3

Plates 2 and 3. A parchment page, formerly from a codex, in Oriental square writing, dating from around the eleventh century. It includes both a ritual for purification and a prayer for gaining power by using secret names of God. An amulet containing magical names is illustrated at the end. (MS Heb. c. 20. fol. 41.)

In lines 8-18 a purification practice introduces the prayer itself,[64] prescribing cleanness, purity, a proper dress code and prohibition of social intercourse.

Fol. 41a

8. ...in order to make yourself

9. holy purify from all your impurity, and humble your spirit in front of it [the Book] and do not

10. exchange it for silver or gold and do not exchange it for a precious stone, and do not make anything

11. depending on it, other than at the proper time, and do not come near it other than wholeheartedly, and do not touch

12. it until you wash in spring water and wear white garments; and you will be

13. clean from all impurity and you will set aromatic plants in front of you on a fire

14. in order to purify your body and cleanse yourself; and do not eat and do not

15. drink with a menstruating woman in her impurity, in order that you will become like one

16 of the Princes, and you will write with the righteous since you venerate the Name of your Creator,

17. and you will understand, because His Name is beside you and then you will succeed in your way, and then

18. you will become wise because whoever finds it [the Name] has found life and whoever honours it will inherit its Glory.

Moral concerns particular to the rabbinic value-system are here emphasized, such as the performance of moral duties designed to attain perfection, and the attaining of supernatural knowledge and of intellectual power by means of religious acts.

64. Cf. M. D. Swartz, ' "Like the Ministering Angels": Ritual and Purity in Early Jewish Mysticism and Magic', *AJS Review* 19/2 (1994) 135-67.

The prayer designed to enable the practitioner to gain knowledge of the Name of Holiness and to fulfil his own desires, begins at the end of the first page (line 23). It consists of a hymn celebrating the glory of the Name over the heavenly court and nature, including quotations from the Bible, liturgy and a medieval book of magic called *Sefer Raziel*:[65]

Fol. 41a

23. Blessed, Blessed and Blessed

24. is Your Name and high over all benediction and praise, since Your Name is in You and in You is

25. Your Name, because Your Name comes before every right thing for ever and ever. Right is Your Name

26. and from Your Name the armies of fire tremble, praising Your Name, and the armies

Fol. 41b

1. of flame glorifying Your Name, and the Seraphim singing the praises of Your Name and the Hayyot consecrating

2. Your Name and the Hofanim purifying Your Name, because Your Name made all the creatures;

3. and they have not beheld Your Name and the sea will withdraw by Your Name and all his billows will magnify

4. Your Name and all those dwelling in Heaven, in all places, and springs will tremble and be afraid for the fear of Your Name;

5. the skies and the earth and those inhabiting them and the abyss and hell, the wilderness and the shadows of man,

6. animals, mountains, valleys and water and rivers, fire and hail, snow and steam,

7. great [wind], dew and rain, angels of fire and angels of water will vacillate on behalf of Your Name,

8. and everything that has the breath of life in its nostrils, with the melody of its tongue will offer glory

65. J. Dan, 'Raziel, Book of', *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (2nd ed.) 17:129.

9. to Your Name. And I am 'so and so' son of 'so and so' and I am but dust and ashes, a melancholic and humble heart, a worm

10. and a maggot, a passing shadow, a flower in the field. I have come to submit my supplication before You.

11. In order to beg compassion before Your Name and to find mercy before You, because

12. You are near to those who cry out to Your mercy and grace on behalf of God, Holy and Awesome all at once,

13. Good and benefactor because You are a good God and a benefactor, good and forgiving. Please accomplish my request!

14. Intentionally and quickly! ...

The page ends with a diagram including magical names marked by diacritics in order to be better understood. It is probably intended as an amulet containing formulae to be recited during the magical performance.

Was this manuscript designed to be used in association with an initiatory ascension like those we find in the Heikhalot and Merkavah material? Was it really devoted to acquiring supernatural powers to influence the physical world? Even if we do not know the intended use of this manuscript, it is clear that the sage who composed this ritual concerning the name of God was competent in both prayer and magic.

Prayer and magic commonly merged in the Middle Ages, generating new traditions that finally converging in Ben Ezra's synagogue Genizah, the treasure trove in which official and informal forms of Jewish worship rub shoulders, demonstrating the impossibility of forming a univocal notion of Jewish prayer.

66. Genesis 7:22.

67. Genesis 18:27.

68. Isaiah 40:6, Psalms 103:15.

BIBLICAL VERSES AND GENIZAH AMULETS

Dr Yehudah Cohn
(Hebrew and Jewish Studies Unit, Oxford)

In the year 2000 an amulet in the form of a tiny gold scroll inside a silver capsule, dated to the third century CE, was found in a necropolis close to the Austrian city of Halbturn. It was reported in 2008 that the inscription in the amulet consisted of Deuteronomy 6:4 - the first verse of the Shema - transliterated into Greek. In an article published in 2010 the late Hanan Eshel, together with Esther Eshel and Armin Lange, proposed that this find, like previously discovered magic bowls containing only biblical texts, demonstrates that biblical verses might have had a magical function, as Jacob Neusner had previously shown using talmudic evidence. A subsequent issue of the *Journal of Ancient Judaism*, in which the article about the Halbturn amulet had appeared, was devoted entirely to research arising from this find.

I was interested in this because of my prior work on tefillin, which I argued originated as popular amulets, and which similarly contain only biblical verses. In particular, the first verse of the Shema found in the Halbturn amulet, Deuteronomy 6:4, is central to the texts inscribed in tefillin and mezuzot. The claim I had made is that Jews began to interpret highly ambiguous biblical verses as referring to the practices we know as tefillin and mezuzah because of the suggestion in the second paragraph of the Shema that performing them would lead to having a long life. The evidence for my argument, in large measure from the Dead Sea Scrolls, is laid out in a book I published in 2008, entitled *Tangled Up in Text* (published by Brown Judiac Studies).

The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Genizah may be compared in various ways – Shlomo Goitein remarked that the Genizah can be regarded as the 'Living Sea Scrolls', while Solomon Schechter discovered the Damascus Document and Ben Sira (the apochryphal book of Ecclesiasticus) in the Genizah decades before their recovery among the Dead Sea Scrolls. The question that interested me is not whether tefillin and mezuzot were also found in the Genizah, as of course they were, but whether amulets were also found in the Genizah that were typologically similar to tefillin and mezuzot as recovered with the Dead Sea Scrolls and known from rabbinic literature. I wished to know not so much about amulets which happened to include biblical verses, which have been discussed by several scholars, but about those which consisted solely of such verses, and which have rarely been identified as magical texts. My research question as part of the Seminar at Yarnton could be framed as follows – is there a genre of magical Genizah texts that consists simply of biblical verses, perhaps with slight modifications or minor ritual instructions, but without any other significant text?

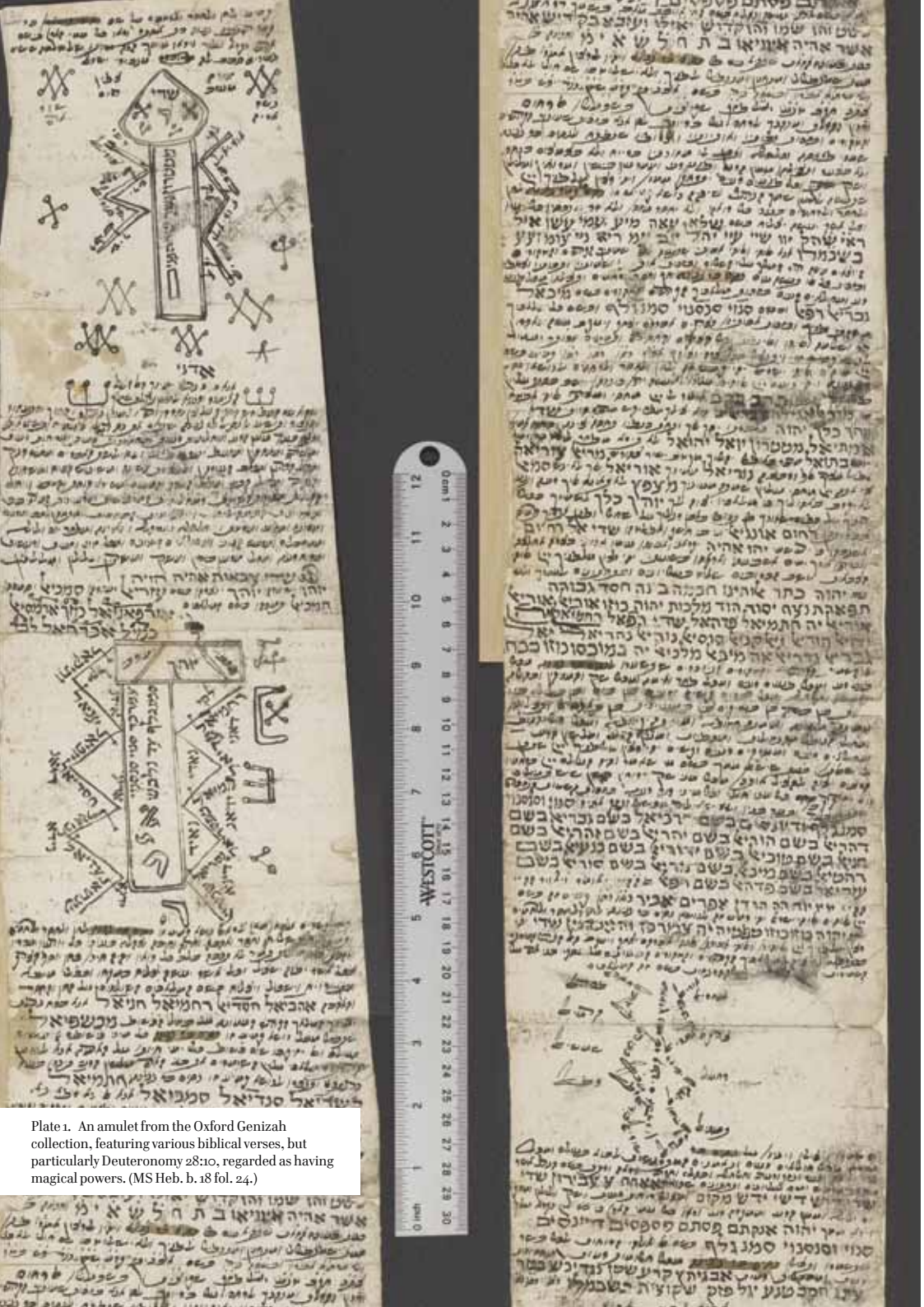


Plate 1. An amulet from the Oxford Genizah collection, featuring various biblical verses, but particularly Deuteronomy 28:10, regarded as having magical powers. (MS Heb. b. 18 fol. 24.)

The use of biblical verses is one of the defining characteristics of Jewish magical ritual. Rabbinic literature and Jewish folklore attributed the magical nature of the Tanakh to its status as God's revelation, and we know of magical techniques based on selected verses, such as bibliomancy, for predicting the future and other purposes. Numerous Talmudic texts mention the recital of particular verses for averting dangers, and the phenomenon of *shimmush tehillim* and similar literature in the Genizah points to the magical power of particular psalms and other verses.

It therefore seemed reasonable to see whether other Genizah texts consisting of selections of verses might have been used for magical purposes. Unlike a metal amulet or magic bowl, biblical verses written on paper or vellum may not have been employed for this purpose. Even when we can be fairly sure that verses were not part of a Bible scroll or codex, there remains the possibility that the verses had an educational or liturgical function, the latter perhaps including magic. One characteristic of tefillin and mezuzah is of course that they consist of excerpts rather than continuous text, a characteristic that was shared by many of the texts in which I was interested.

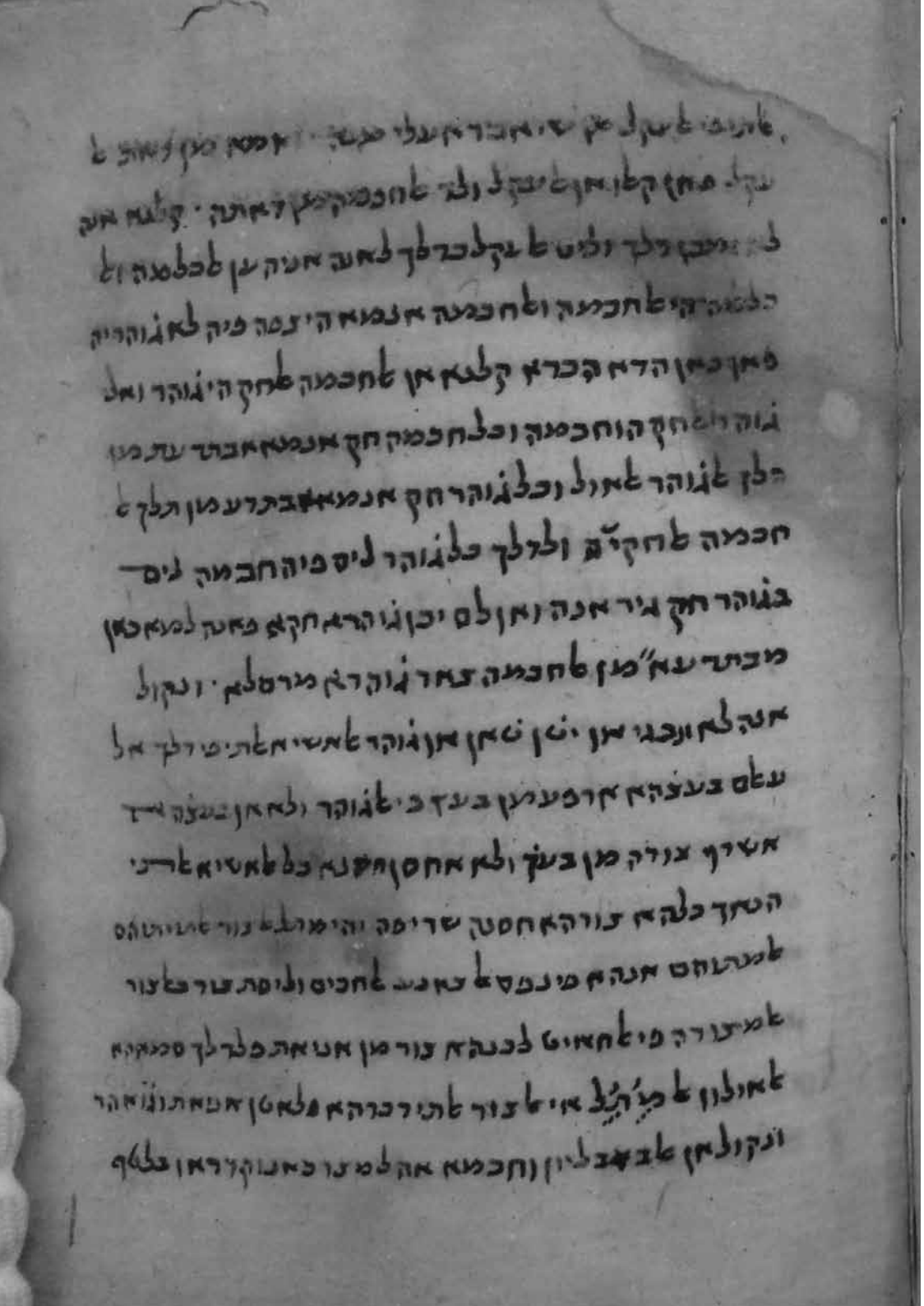
My research was made harder by the fact that we often cannot tell why such texts would have been strung together. Verses are known from clearly magical contexts whose use is mysterious, but without anything else to go on I could only observe that a Genizah fragment consists of excerpted biblical texts and nothing else. What I looked for were any supplementary characteristics. Were the verses known from other Jewish contexts to have been magically powerful? Were they modified in a way that suggests a magical use? Were there other indications of magic, such as ritual instructions or the mention of a beneficiary?

Most important were the material characteristics of these Genizah texts. The purpose of a gold amulet or magic bowl inscribed solely with biblical verses can be identified from its material characteristics. But a Genizah fragment with similar textual content might be a fragment from a Bible manuscript of some kind, a liturgical text consisting of biblical verses, or even perhaps a writing exercise. The most important material characteristics turned out to be the following:

- If the verso of the fragment was blank it would not have been part of a codex (in all probability)
- If there were signs of folds it could have been an amulet that had been folded up small to be carried or worn conveniently.

Research continues, but it has already been possible to identify as magical amulets several Genizah texts previously thought to have been mere collections of biblical verses. It is hoped that further research will reopen to further study the purpose of such excerpted biblical texts.

Biblical verses play an important role in one so-far unpublished Genizah amulet found in the Bodleian and illustrated here, although it also contains other material. Particularly prominent among them is Deuteronomy 28:10, a verse associated in the Talmud with the magical powers of tefillin: 'And all the peoples of the earth shall see that the name of the Lord is called on thee, and they shall fear thee'. I presented a preliminary reading and discussion of this amulet at the final conference in June.



A GREEK, ARABIC AND JEWISH PHILOSOPHICAL RECONSTRUCTION – THE THEOLOGY OF ARISTOTLE IN THE CAIRO GENIZAH

Professor Paul Fenton *(Sorbonne, Paris)*

Professor Fenton's expertise in Arabic and Hebrew palaeography was of especial help during the group's one day-seminar on Genizah manuscripts at the British Library. He presented two papers in Oxford. The first of these, delivered at Exeter College, dealt with 'The Greek, Arabic and Hebrew Manuscripts of the Theology of Aristotle'. These circulated in the Arabic-speaking world as an authentic work of Aristotle, although the text was in fact a paraphrase of selected chapters from Plotinus's Enneads. It had an enormous impact on Muslims, Jews and Christians since it appeared to portray a repentant Aristotle in monotheistic garb. Professor Fenton has discovered Arabic fragments of this work copied in Hebrew characters in various Genizah collections, which present an expanded recension of the text possibly reflecting the influence of Ismaili theosophy, which was still influential in post-Fatimid Egypt when these texts were most probably copied. He analysed this 'longer version' in light of the textual history of the work.

Professor Fenton's second paper, about 'Jewish-Muslim Relations as Reflected in the Cairo Genizah Documents', was presented at the concluding conference held at the Bodleian Library and entitled 'A New Approach to Cairo Genizah Research: The Material texts of Fragments'. In his lecture he demonstrated how the Genizah documents throw new and often unexpected light on social, commercial, religious and intellectual relations between Jews and Muslims in medieval Egypt. Of particular interest was an Arabic poem copied into Hebrew characters from the Diwân of the famous mystical Muslim poet al-Hallâj, martyred in 922. Professor Fenton showed how the text survives in its entirety only in the Jewish version.

Plate 1 (left). A page from the Longer Version of the *Theology of Aristotle* in Arabic copied in Hebrew characters, Egypt c. 1300, discovered by Professor Fenton among the Oxford fragments from the Cairo Genizah. (MS Heb. e. 44, fols 87b-88a.)

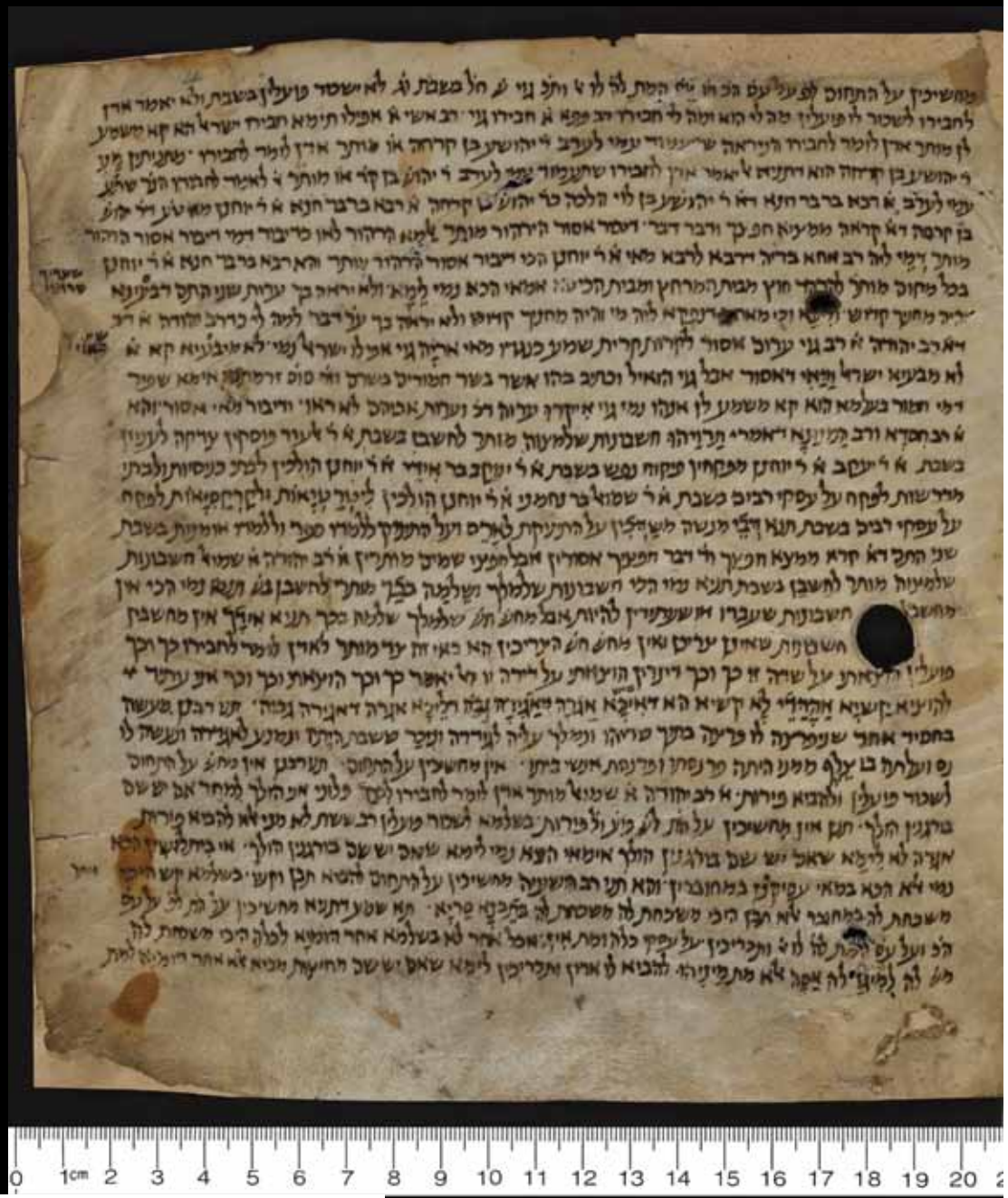


Plate 1. The first page of two bifolia of the Babylonian Talmud, *Shabbat* 150a-b, written *c.* 1000, presenting a hitherto unknown textual tradition of the tractate. (MS Heb. d. 21, 4a.).

GENIZAH MANUSCRIPTS OF THE BABYLONIAN TALMUD – AN INTEGRATED APPROACH

Professor Shamma Friedman
(Jewish Theological Seminary / Schechter Institute of Jewish Studies, Jerusalem)

Participating in the Seminar enabled me to develop a fresh approach to Genizah manuscripts of the Babylonian Talmud, which may be described as 'An Integrated Approach: Palaeography/Codicology; Orthographic and Linguistic Grouping; Text Type'.

In presenting this to the Seminar, and at the closing conference (in a paper read for me due to my mother's death), I described each of these categories of information and the advantages of applying them in an integrated manner. My work benefited from the possibility of discussing it with others, among them Professor Marina Rustow, and especially Professor Judith Olszowy-Schlanger with whom I initiated a project devoted to Genizah Talmud manuscripts, just one of the 'future projects' to emerge from the Seminar, as described below.

We focused in particular on the following fragments:

1. T-S AS 78.389 (*Bava Batra* 4a-5b; 29a-29b)
2. T-S Misc. 26.53.17 (The *Hullin scroll-rotulus*)
3. The Bodleian *Betza rotulus*
4. *Bava Metzia* G1 (Bodleian quire, etc.)
5. Bodl. heb. d. 21 (2676) 4 (*Shabbat* 150b) and attached fragments: T-S F 1(1).56; T-S Misc. 26.43; T-S NS 329.310.

During the Seminar I concentrated mainly on the last of these, from the tractate *Shabbat*, which was transcribed and compared to all other textual witnesses. The resulting synopsis made it possible to compare both the orthographic-linguistic side and the textual issues, in which respects the manuscript was found to be extraordinary. The orthographic-linguistic evidence suggests that it represents a scribal tradition rarely preserved even in other Genizah fragments. In textual terms it embodies an independent and so far unknown tradition of this tractate, earlier than the uniform text tradition known from all other surviving witnesses. It thus provides significant new information on the literary development and dissemination of the tractate, in terms of the talmudic genres of *halakhah* and aggadah equally.

The physical examination of the material Bodleian text *in situ* lent dramatic corroboration to the integrated approach. Namely, by beginning with unique orthography I was led to a unique text type in the same fragment, and to outstanding palaeographic and codicological features that I will discuss in more detail below.

The Babylonian Talmud is the central document of post-biblical Judaism, and its oldest and most significant attestations appear in the Cairo Genizah. The careful analysis of these texts should therefore be a priority for Jewish Studies. Most are fragmentary, but some, especially in the Bodleian collection, are substantial. These are particularly valuable to text scholars seeking authentic readings or researching the linguistic features of talmudic literature, especially the dialect of Babylonian Aramaic. The many examples of this classic work in the Genizah also provide a valuable corpus for palaeographic and codicological studies – the analysis of handwritings and book-manufacture.

I argued for the benefits of an integrated approach in a series of papers published during the 1980s and 1990s, and proposed corroborating the findings from various modes of analysis. A manuscript of exceptional quality in all the areas will be of particular value. It is therefore necessary to construct a hierarchy within the corpus of versions for each text. The Seminar provided an excellent setting for trying out this approach, which we hope will be carried forward in the future by Professor Schlanger and myself.

It will be helpful to define further the various categories mentioned. The category of analysis that I described in the early 1990s as 'Orthographic and Linguistic Grouping', is based on the Saul Lieberman Institute of Talmudic Research's data bank of searchable Talmud manuscripts. My list of linguistic and orthographic features for each full Talmud manuscript resulted in a typology that successfully established four clear groupings of manuscripts.

Regarding textual transmission, manuscripts of some talmudic chapters or tractates fall into two discrete branches or families. In evaluating any Genizah talmudic text we would want to know the following. Is there a division into textual families for that particular passage and, if so, how does the particular Genizah document relate to that textual division? Does it belong to a conservative text type, a creative one, or some other? This will shed light on the textual source of that Genizah manuscript. But since this analysis depends on building a synopsis of all the witnesses to that chapter or passage, it will achieve far more than evaluating the quality of that particular Genizah document.

Opportunities for surveying and comparing orthographic and linguistic features of Genizah Talmud manuscripts have increased dramatically with the recent internet update of the Lieberman Institute database. While few Genizah texts were included in the previous update, roughly half of the Genizah Talmud corpus is now included in searchable transcription and is accessible by internet.

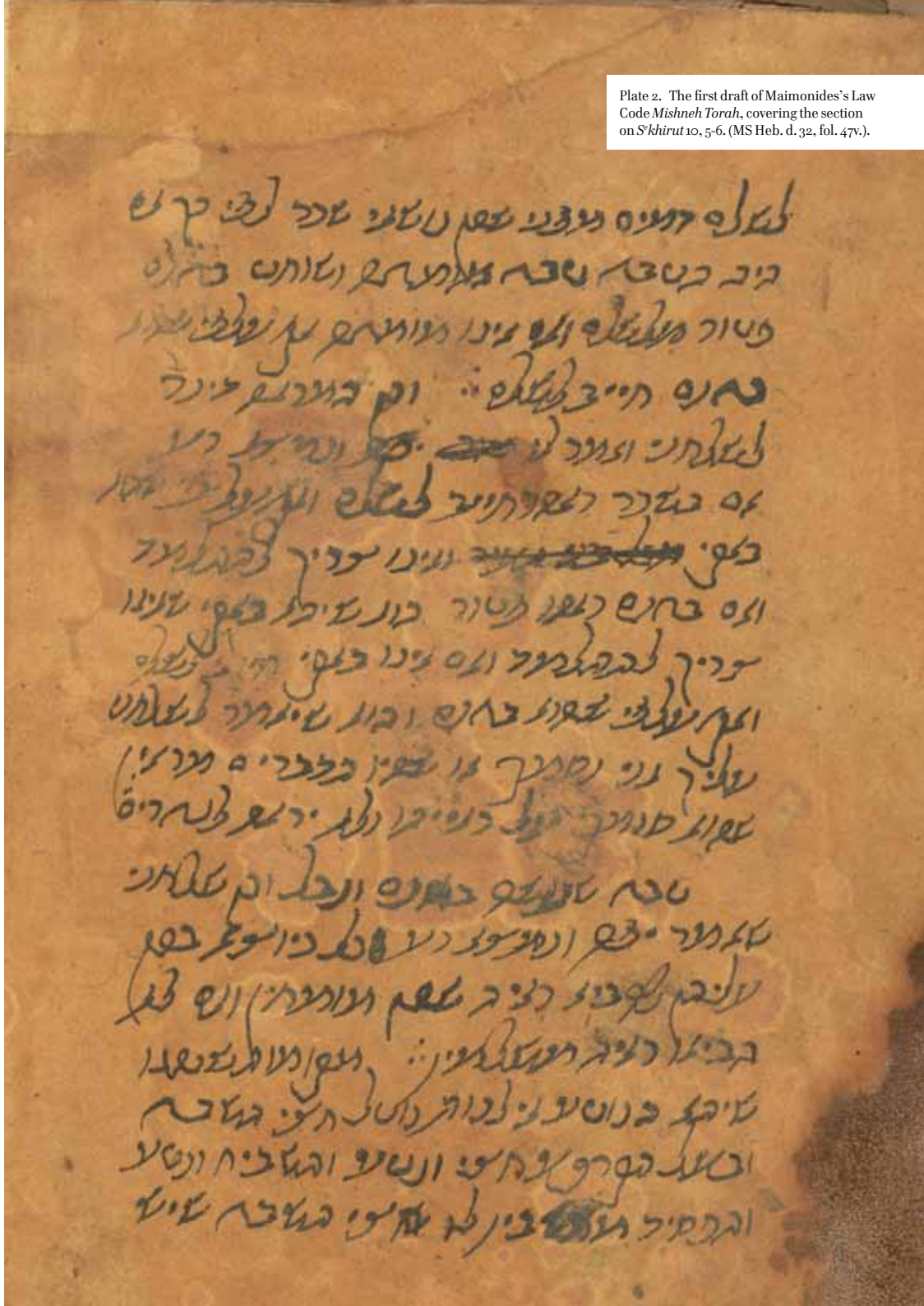


Plate 2. The first draft of Maimonides's Law Code *Mishneh Torah*, covering the section on *S'khirut* 10, 5-6. (MS Heb. d. 32, fol. 47v.).

The initial identification of four discrete orthographic types was carried out at a time when the database included few Genizah manuscripts. Genizah material fell into the elusive fourth category which, unlike those described as 'Ashkenazi', 'Sefardi' or 'Yemenite', seemed to fit into no clear geographic or cultural grouping. I called this group 'Mediterranean' because most of the locations of execution seemed close to the Mediterranean basin. But now, some fifteen years later, with a powerful tool to investigate the Genizah manuscripts, I tried out those exceptional orthographies once more. I began by searching for two specific spellings, *adan* for *adam*, and *yod yod*, representing the final diphthong 'ay'. Both orthographies were originally considered by early scholarship to be uniquely Palestinian. But we were surprised to find them also in the Ashkenazi orthographic tradition. Did this reflect Palestinian influence on Ashkenazi scribes, perhaps because Ashkenazim received their text of the Babylonian Talmud via the Land of Israel? Or were these and parallel features already part of the original transmission tradition of the Babylonian Talmud?

It can now be shown that the latter suggestion is correct, and that the features were part and parcel of original Babylonian orthography. This was discovered by a simple test that involved keying in just four letters. Instead of punching in the name 'Zakkai' with an *aleph* before the *yod*, I spelled it with a double *yod*, as common in Palestinian texts. Searching for occurrences of this final double *yod* on the database produced an extraordinarily large number of instances in this *Shabbat* manuscript, the same being the case for *adan* (in place of *adam*).

The *Shabbat* manuscript exhibits further ancient scribal practices, including linking small words to the previous one without a space, and readings which identify it as coming from an independent textual family, with variants on almost every line. It differs from the text-type represented in all other existing manuscripts and the printed edition, its textual uniqueness marking both halakhic and aggadic passages. The halakhic texts are more laconic than in the standard version, and editorial additions of the kind we have been identifying over recent decades are absent, or in slightly different locations. The differences in the aggadic sections are even more dramatic, stories being reworked in creative ways. Most significantly, it is possible to find small remnants of this text-type in Geonic literature.

We can therefore be certain that this manuscript represents an independent textual tradition of the tractate *Shabbat*, most probably of a conservative nature and close to the original. We set out to look for variants in orthography, but found textual ones, a good example of the advantages of the integrated approach, and indicative of the kinds of discoveries we hope to make in the future.

It is significant to note that the scribe himself was not particularly learned. In addition to a few gross errors, there are many interlinear glosses of simple Aramaic words into Hebrew, which the scribe presumably considered difficult or whose meaning was not clear. The scribe was therefore not creating or adapting the text himself, but transmitting one that was fixed well before his time.

The third of the disciplines involved in the integrated approach, examination of palaeographic and codicological features, equally offered a surprise. The manuscript presents a clean and careful bookhand which is unusual for Genizah fragments of the Babylonian Talmud. Following is a brief excerpt of Professor Olszowy-Schlanger's preliminary description and evaluation:

The text is written in one large block on the page, with very narrow margins: upper margin 10 mm, lower margin 25 mm, outer margin 20 mm and inner margin 20 mm. The writing of the text in one large block per page corresponds to a distinctive tradition of Oriental talmudic texts.

> **Script:** Oriental bookhand. The most characteristic features include narrow horizontal upper strokes of the letters such as *tav*, or horizontal bars turned upwards, which give the writing a narrow and crowded aspect. There are however several decorative elements such as serifs traced with additional strokes, There is a *lamed-aleph* ligature, while *nun* and *zayin* have small concave heads to the right of the main downstroke. The script is space-saving, but at the same time elegant and very clear, with a perfect distinction of the shapes of similar letters *daleth* and *resh* or *beth* and *kaph*.
>
> **Dating:** this type of clear, calligraphic but economic bookhand is well attested among Cairo Genizah fragments. I propose to date this manuscript from *c.* 1000, or the very beginning of the eleventh century.

We see how this description corroborates the integrated approach. A search for qualitative orthographic features led us to a lost early text type of tractate *Shabbat*, represented by a well-preserved Bodleian Genizah manuscript whose material examination presents every reason to conclude that we have found a window into a Talmud text type of the Geonic period.

Maimonides's First Draft of the Mishneh Torah: The Bodleian Quire

Participation in the Seminar also gave me the opportunity to continue earlier work that I presented in a paper entitled 'Maimonides's First Draft of the *Mishneh Torah*: The Bodleian Quire'.

Moshe Lutski, later a cataloguer at the Jewish Theological Seminary, was the first to identify in the Bodleian Genizah collection a quire of Maimonides's autograph first draft of the *Mishneh Torah*, his monumental code of Jewish law arranged according to a new systematic structure. He announced this discovery in 1935, some 800 years after the author's birth. Neubauer, who had catalogued the pages and commented on the Arabic quire mark, failed to identify it as an autograph. Smaller fragments have since been discovered and published in addition to the Bodleian quire.

This remarkable document has been published, but has not yet received full scholarly treatment. By examining the original I was able to clarify or discover important aspects, and received help from other Seminar members in analysing the Arabic script that also appears on the pages, and details of the paper production.

My presentation reported on plans for a full edition of the document, including high-resolution colour reproductions, a complete transcription, a palaeographic and codicological study and an in-depth commentary.

Particularly remarkable is the large number of changes and corrections made by Maimonides, showing how he continued to modify his works while composing them. In this case he made not only stylistic improvements, but rethought, retracted and restated. A full understanding of his approach will require an in-depth review of the talmudic sources he used and of the views of commentators, analysing what made his first draft problematical and necessitated the rewrite.

It is usually assumed that Maimonides had a complete plan of *Mishneh Torah* in mind as he worked. The Bodleian quire and associated documents now show that he made basic structural decisions while writing, including varying the scope and composition of books and sections, their number and names, chapter numbers and arrangement, and the placement of paragraphs. The quire presents a vivid testimony to the author's working methods by showing how these remained fluid and subject to change.

THE THIRD FORM OF THE HEBREW BOOK: *ROTULI* FROM THE CAIRO GENIZAH

Professor Judith Olszowy-Schlanger *(Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes / IRHT-CNRS)*

My research was devoted to a systematic codicological, palaeographical and textual analysis of Genizah fragments written in the form of a *rotulus*. This Latin term is used by codicologists and book historians to designate a scroll, usually long and narrow, in which the lines of the text are parallel to the joins between the individual sheets of which the book is composed. Such a roll differs from the better known scroll or *volumen*, or in Hebrew a *megillah*, in which the text is copied in lines perpendicular to the joins between the individual sheets of writing material. My identification and study of the *rotuli* from the Bodleian Library Cairo Genizah collection was a follow-up of a project carried out in 2009 in collaboration with Gideon Bohak of the University in Tel-Aviv on the *rotuli* fragments from the Cambridge University Library.

The *rotuli* in the Genizah collections represent a specific tradition of Hebrew book production. Their study as physical objects, just like that of any product of material culture or archaeological artifact, provides first-hand information about the society which produced and used them. The external aspects of the book as an object are a mirror of the aesthetics and economics of a certain community of readers, in our case Oriental Jews. As such, they reflect on the one hand the ancient distinctive Jewish book-making tradition, and on the other hand the influence of models borrowed from non-Jewish neighbours.

The form of the *rotulus* used by Jews in ancient times can probably be identified with the *takhrikh* mentioned in tannaitic and talmudic sources. In most texts it refers to a gathering of at least three legal documents, attached for archiving purpose, like the Greek and Byzantine *tomos synkollesimos* (see Mishnah, *Baba Metzia* 1:8; BT *Baba Metzia* 20b: *takhrikh shel shetarot*). The use of the *rotulus* was not limited to documents: Talmud Yerushalmi, *Shabbat* 79b mentions a *takhrikh berakhot*, 'a roll of blessings', and Tefillin - a *takhrikh* of tefillin.

Until recently, Hebrew codicologists considered the *rotulus* to be a rare ancient book form, or a transitional form between the traditional scroll (*megillah*) and the codex (*mišḥaf* or *daftar* in medieval sources - the book composed of quires made up of folded leaves of writing material, like a modern book). The book form was believed to have been adopted by Jews only after the Arab conquest, and the use of the *rotulus* to have ceased before the end of the tenth century.

The preliminary results of research on the *rotuli* from the Cairo Genizah presented here call for this opinion to be revised. Systematically scanning the collection for *rotuli* has already revealed some 300 such fragments, and it is likely that further research will identify more. Few are complete or even identifiable as *rotuli* at first glance. Most are small fragments whose identity is suggested by the following features:

1. The fragment is composed of two or more pieces of material still attached together vertically. Individual sheets of *rotuli* on parchment or leather are stitched with vegetal threads or thin strips of parchment. The sheets of paper *rotuli* are glued together.
2. The fragment, although now separated from other sheets, bears traces of attachment: needle holes which may still contain the traces of the thread or parchment thongs at the head or foot. Separate sheets of paper *rotuli* may bear traces of glue, although identification by this criterion is more difficult.
3. The format of the fragment is long and narrow and usually has very narrow side margins, but the unusual format and proportions are easy to observe only if the preserved fragment is large enough.
4. The fragment is an *opistograph*: written on both recto and verso. In many cases (but not all) the text on the verso of a *rotulus* is written upside down in respect to the text of the recto (e.g. Plate 2). This is suggestive of a *rotulus*, especially if the text on the verso is written by the same hand, is of the same textual nature and/or belongs to the same codicological unit – the same book. The presence of a different text written by a different hand on the verso may, however, be a result of secondary reuse, even if there are *rotuli* containing different texts on the recto and verso.

The identification of *rotuli* among the Genizah fragments is clearly a difficult task. The first results of the systematic search which revealed some 300 fragments were mostly based on these readily visible indications. But as we become better acquainted with the identified fragments, analyse them in detail from a textual and palaeographical point of view, and are more familiar with their handwriting, we are often able to identify small fragments belonging to the same codicological unit – i.e. *rotulus* - whose state of preservation did not previously allow us to identify them as fragments of a *rotulus*. Identifying the handwriting and text is of the essence here. However, the task is difficult and new discoveries are often made by sheer chance and thanks to a visual memory of the researcher. The use of computer technology to match the handwritings (such as the 'joints' identification programme developed by the Friedberg Genizah Project) will

Plate 1. Parchment *rotulus* of a liturgical text, comprising three sheets still stitched together. It was made of recycled legal contracts, probably in the early eleventh century. In its present state, it measures 77.5 x 16 cms. (MS Heb. a. 2. 2.).

be of help here. Even if the rate of positive identification remains low, such computer-based searches will at least identify a limited number of possible candidates in the huge Genizah collection and eliminate others, thus easing the task of the palaeographer. In any case, identifying fragments of *rotuli* from the Cairo Genizah must be carried out in two stages: first, it must be based on visible physical features and on the detailed study of the fragments from their codicological, palaeographical and textual points of view; and secondly, it depends on the ability to search the collections (with the help of a computer programme or not) to find matching fragments.

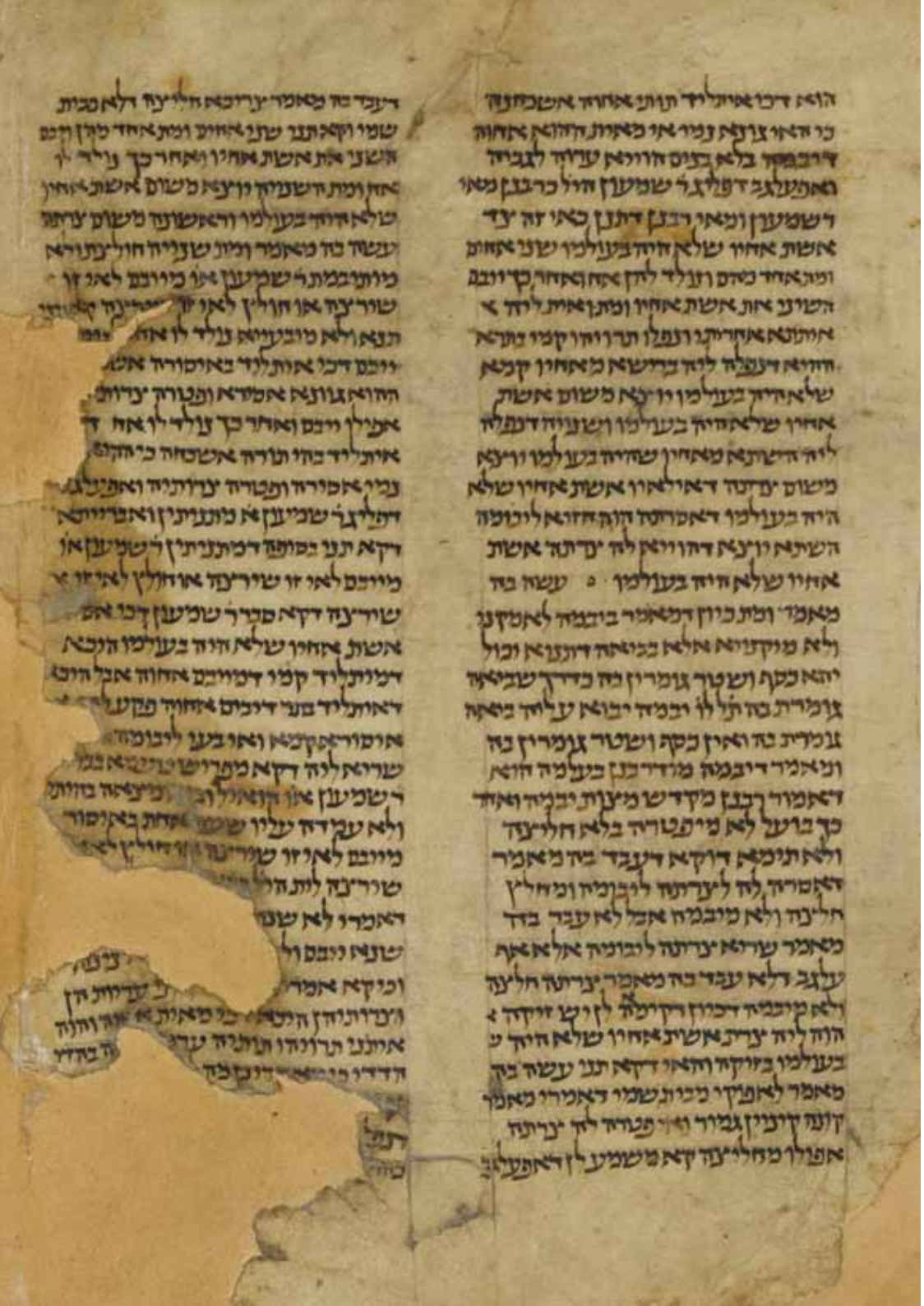
The fragments that have already been identified could be dated on palaeographical and historical grounds to the tenth and eleventh centuries or even later. A large proportion were found in the Taylor-Schechter Collection in the Cambridge University Library, but searching the Bodleian Genizah collections has so far yielded fifteen fragments, taking account only of those manuscripts containing literary texts and excluding legal documents or letters written on long and narrow strips of writing material.

Plate 2. Paper *rotulus* containing an anthology of Responsa written on both sides. The verso is written upside down in relation to the recto. The fragment measures 50 x 20 cms. (MS Heb. a. 3. 14.).

Plate 3. Parchment *rotulus* containing massoretic lists, comprising two sheets still stitched together. The *rotulus* was made of recycled legal documents, themselves written as palimpsests on a Judaeo-Arabic text in (probably a Bible commentary). In its present state the fragment measures 64 x 18 cms. (MS Heb. a. 3. 30.).

Although the identified rotuli constitute a small proportion of the manuscript fragments from the Cairo Genizah, they are nonetheless far from rare. It appears that the *rotulus* was a versatile form used to copy liturgical compositions (more than a half of those discovered, see e.g. Plate 1), Babylonian Talmud tractates or excerpts, gaonic responsa (see e.g. Plate 2), Judaeo-Arabic Bible translations, commentaries, medical and scientific texts, glossaries, massoretic texts (see e.g. Plate 3) or anthologies of biblical passages. Only one of the *rotuli* in the Bodleian Library is complete - MS Heb. b. e. 52 (R) - containing a third of the tractate *Beitza* of the Babylonian Talmud. The entire tractate was copied on three *rotuli* as indicated by the numbering found on the Bodleian scroll, and fragments from the other parts have also been identified in Oxford and Cambridge Genizah collections, as have parts of *rotuli* with other tractates of the Babylonian Talmud copied by the same scribe.

The *rotuli* were written on sheets of leather, parchment or paper stitched or glued together to form long (probably c. 150 mm on average) strips of writing material. In one case, MS Heb. a. 3 fol. 31, sheets or leather and parchment were combined. It is remarkable that in the majority of cases the scribes chose poor-quality writing material: irregularly shaped waste strips of parchment or recycled documents whose blank versos could be reused. This choice of cheap writing material, combined with the often scholarly nature of the texts they contain, leads one to surmise that this book form was mostly chosen by scholars for personal study or devotion. Further research will clarify this and add further to our knowledge of Hebrew book production in medieval Eastern Jewish communities.



GENIZAH FRAGMENTS OF GEONIC HALAKHIC CODES

Dr Roni Shweka *(The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)*

The focus of my research during the Seminar was 'Genizah Fragments of the Geonic Halakhic Codes: *She'iltot*, *Halakhot Pesukot* and *Halakhot Gedolot*'. These three halakhic codes, dated to the early Geonic period, between 750 and 850 CE, are the first legal compendia to be compiled after the redaction of the talmudic literature. They reflect the halakhic tradition established in the Babylonian Talmud and transmitted in the Babylonian geonic academies of Sura and Pumbedita, and are inter-related: *Halakhot Pesukut* frequently quotes the *She'iltot*, while *Halakhot Gedolot* is based in large part on both the *She'iltot* and *Halakhot Pesukot*. The Genizah fragments are the most important surviving textual testimonies of these books, and are the closest in terms of time and place to their composition.

No fewer than 100 fragments of the *Halakhot Pesukot* have been discussed by N. Danzig in his *Introduction to Halakhot Pesukot* (New York and Jerusalem, 1993), of which fifteen were from Oxford, derived from six different copies. The compilation was tentatively attributed to R. Yehuday Gaon.

Less is known about the *Halakhot Gedolot*, attributed to R. Shimeon Qayara (the subject of my PhD thesis). It is similar in nature to the earlier *Halakhot Pesukot*, but is much larger in size and scope. Both works rearrange the halakhic disscusions and decisions of the Babylonian Talmud by topic, but the more comprehensive *Halakhot Gedolot* eventually displaced *Halakhot Pesukot*, as can be seen from the number and date of Genizah fragments from these books.

I earlier identified about 400 Genizah fragments of *Halakhot Gedolot*, and in my present stay in Oxford reexamined those in the Bodleian Genizah collection. It was during this process that I noticed that while most are in Oriental script, as one would expect given their origin, many have Italian palaeographic features. I have now been able to demonstrate that these preserve a unique Italian textual tradition previously known only from a later Milan manuscript Pentateuch written in an Italian hand in the

Plate 1 (left). A fragment of an Italian *Halakhot Gedolot* from the Oxford Genizah collection (MS Heb. c 27, 6b). The passage is from *Hilkhot Arayot* (see Hildersheimer's edition 2:72). In column B, lines 4-5, it quotes a variant of Mishnah *Yebamot* 2:2 which cannot be considered a copyist's error, and which appears also in the Milan manuscript.

second half of the fourteenth century and housed in the Ambrosiana Library. Among the additional works copied in the margins is a complete copy of *Halakhot Gedolot*, regarded by E. Hildersheimer as the best manuscript to have survived, and used by him as the basis for the multi-volume critical edition of *Halakhot Gedolot* published by (Jerusalem 1972-87). I have argued previously that this manuscript reflects a revision of *Halakhot Gedolot*, and that it is not the most authentic copy we possess. It is now clear that it contains secondary readings also found in Italian fragments from the Genizah dated to the end of the twelfth century. I reported these findings in a talk to the Seminar entitled 'Italian Manuscripts of *Halakhot Gedolot* in the Cairo Genizah' on 10 February. The illustration accompanying this report shows one of the Italian fragments of *Halakhot Gedolot* from the Oxford Genizah collection (MS Heb. c 27, 6b).

During the remainder of my stay I identified, examined and recorded the Genizah fragments of the *She'iltot*, a mid-eighth-century Babylonian collection of public sermons on halakhic topics, attributed to Aha of Shabha.

Fragments in the Bodleian collection were viewed in situ, while those from other collections were studied in digital images provided by the Friedberg Genizah Project. I recorded some 120 Genizah fragments of the *She'iltot*, 13 of them (comprising 26 folios) from the Bodleian, and linked most of them to the different copies from which they were derived. Further research on the *She'iltot*, that I hope to complete in the near future, will be based on this inventory.

I focused in particular on a copy of the *She'iltot* written on a *rotolus*, which I reconstructed from seven fragments. A *rotulus* is a scroll designed to be read vertically, with the text written parallel to the short side. The format was once considered an early and transitional book-form between the horizontal scroll and the codex, but ongoing research by Professor Judith Olszowy-Schlanger and Professor Gideon Bohak in the Genizah reveals that the format remained in use in some cases until the eleventh century. This *She'iltot* copy, written by Ephraim ben Shemarya, head of the Palestinian community in Fustat at the beginning of the eleventh century, employed one side of a reused Fatamid decree in Arabic. In the final conference I discussed the *She'iltot* text, while Professor Marina Rustow analysed the decree on the verso, and Professor Judith Olszowy-Schlanger explored the identity of the writer and the format of the *rotulus*.

This copy of the *She'iltot* differs from all others in term of the arrangement of the sermons, and also has some important variant readings. I argued in my presentation that some of the readings might reflect an attempt to adapt a Babylonian work for the Palestinian community in Fustat. While the widespread Babylonian custom was to read the Torah in synagogue in a one-year cycle, the Palestinians preferred a triennial cycle, as was still the case in the Palestinian community of Fustat in the time of Ephraim ben Shemarya. There is evidence in other Genizah fragments of the *She'iltot* of such an adaptation to the triennial cycle. Other variations between the traditions might reflect slight differences between Palestinian and Babylonian halakhah.

EARLY JUDAEO-ARABIC BIBLE TRANSLATIONS

Dr Ronny Vollandt *(University of Cambridge)*

Judaeo-Arabic Bible translations emerged in the wake of the Muslim conquest, as the use of Arabic spread throughout the Near East. Jewish communities largely abandoned Aramaic from the ninth century on and adopted Arabic for most forms of communication. This rendered the canonical Aramaic versions of the Bible, the *Targumim*, incomprehensible to most people and created a need for translations into the new vernacular. Besides translations of the Bible, new textual genres emerged, including biblical commentaries, Hebrew dictionaries and grammars in Arabic.

The beginnings of Judaeo-Arabic Bible translation are still uncertain. They appear first to have been composed and transmitted orally by teachers and members of religious elites, as an auditory addition to the weekly portions and a way of elucidating the biblical text. They were never studied independently, unlike the earlier Aramaic versions, and only gradually crystallized into a variety of local traditions. These took the canonical place of Targum Onkelos in the synagogue and school house, and are mentioned by scholars such as Natronai Gaon (mid-ninth century) or Yaʿqūb al-Qirqisānī (tenth century). Evidence of the transition from Aramaic to Arabic is found in the *risālah* of Yehuda ibn Quraish, active in the late ninth and early tenth centuries in Fez, who implies that Targum Onkelos had lost any meaning for the broad public and was being neglected, giving way to Judaeo-Arabic translations.

Parts of various translations were committed to writing as early as in the ninth or tenth centuries, however, prior to Saadiah Gaon, who has hitherto been regarded as the first to translate portions of the Bible into Arabic. A careful reexamination of his writings indeed reveals allusions to earlier translation traditions, which may therefore be called 'early non-Saadianic translations'. The new Genizah finds are exciting since they not only shed new light on the emergence of the genre as a whole, but create a context for all subsequent traditions, both Rabbanite and Karaite. The Cairo Genizah is our primary source for the study of early Judaeo-Arabic versions, preserving a wealth of specimens unavailable elsewhere. The genre of biblical translations was popular and has been estimated to form as much as 20 percent of the literary corpus in Judaeo-Arabic.

Early non-Saadianic translations have increasingly attracted scholarly attention over the past decade and have been found to have embraced the entire Torah. An embryonic stage of translation is found in early glossaries (Arabic *tafsīr alfāẓ*), and these lead gradually towards the running translations found in the Genizah corpus. Some glossaries are so dense that they translate almost every word in a biblical verse,

Plates 1 and 2. Two sides of a single leaf of parchment bearing a Judaeo-Arabic translation of Exodus 39:43 – 40:38, written in a style typical of Babylonian Bible codices. (MS Heb. b. 10, 73.)

one fragment even moving from glossary to continuous translation. A few fragments translate selected portions, such as biblical songs.

The translation technique of early non-Saadianic versions differs completely from Saadiah's approach. He is known for the freedom with which he rendered the Hebrew into Arabic, adding interpretations and translations to reflect halakhic practice and rationalistic understandings of the biblical text. Early non-Saadianic versions, by contrast, are characterized by a high literalism that attempts to mirror the Hebrew text in its formal structure, imitating the syntactic, lexical and even morphological characteristics of Hebrew in an effort to adhere to the literary and linguistic norms of the source text. A good example is the rendering of the temporal conjunction *ka'asher*, 'when', in Biblical Hebrew. The way this combines the particle *ka-* and relative pronoun *asher* was represented in Arabic by mirroring its morphological elements, producing the Judaeo-Arabic *ka-alladhī* (particle *ka* + relative pronoun in Arabic) that is not attested in Classical Arabic. Similarly, the Hebrew particle of negation *ain* is found translated as *laysa*. In Classical Arabic *laysa* is an inflecting verb, but in the translational language this is followed by a suffix in imitation of the Hebrew, This is why, in Genesis 5:24, the Hebrew word *enenu*, 'he was not', is rendered into Arabic as *laysa-hu*. This form of artificial Arabic was employed solely for translation and was probably never in vernacular use. Nor is it reflected in other genres of Judaeo-Arabic writing.

This method of translation may be described as intentionally didactic, based on the need to instruct in the biblical Scriptures, much as in Arabic-speaking communities in more recent times. Instruction took place primarily in the house of learning (Hebrew *ḥeder*, Arabic *kuttāb*) and was provided by a professional teacher (Hebrew *melammed*, *ḥakham*; Arabic *muʿallim* or *mārī* in Yemen). Once children had received basic instruction in passive Hebrew-reading skills, the Bible itself was taught by means of Judaeo-Arabic translation. The prevailing didactic mode was through oral repetition, the teacher reciting a verse in Hebrew and pupils memorizing it by repeating it aloud under supervision. A Judaeo-Arabic translation of the same verse was then studied also by repetitive memorizing. The imitative style of early non-Saadianic translations fits into this picture well, since it is designed to help pupils to commit to memory and understand the Hebrew that as a rule was transmitted alongside the translation. In the words of David Tené, teachers cultivated a certain 'semantic transparency' for didactic purposes.

The Bodleian Genizah collection preserves some fine specimens of early non-Saadianic traditions. The fragment illustrated here, MS Heb. b. 10, 73, for example, containing a translation of Exodus 39:43 - 40:38, is written on parchment, ruled on the flesh side, vertically and horizontally, and contains twenty-nine lines per page, indicated by marginal prickings. The text is laid out in two columns, as is characteristic of Babylonian biblical codices. The many Persian loanwords that occur in the translations may confirm the Babylonian provenance of the tradition. The leaf is marked by the letter *ṭet*, indicating that it opened the ninth quire. On the basis of the size of the page, the entire codex would have contained no fewer than 300 folios.

TWO PROPOSALS FOR FUTURE GENIZAH RESEARCH

The Material Genizah: Two Eleventh-century Scribes and Their Working Methods

Professor Judith Olszowy-Schlanger, Professor Marina Rustow and Professor Shamma Friedman

In recent years, across various fields of literary and historical studies, texts have come to be analysed in close relationship with the material forms in which they have been produced and transmitted. The impact of this materiality on the texts, and the texts' influence on the physical forms in which they are embodied, is now one of the most promising fields of scientific investigation in medieval studies.

The interaction between the contents and meanings of books and documents, and their characteristics as material objects, have been overlooked in Jewish studies. It has been standard to concentrate on the contents of literary works and historical documents without paying attention to the material objects that transmitted them. This focus was understandable given the need to make known large numbers of unpublished Jewish texts. But it is now time to begin reaping the benefits of the new approach, which yields much more information than can be gained by focusing on the text alone. Disregard for the material forms of the texts has occasionally led to blatant historical and chronological errors, and has also deprived scholarship of important evidence concerning the social, economic and intellectual contexts in which the texts were produced, circulated and used.

The recent European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies, held by the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies and the Bodleian Library from January to June 2011 under the leadership of Dr Piet van Boxel, has provided a strong incentive for recognizing the materiality of texts in Jewish studies. Entitled 'Material Aspects of Genizah Texts', the working group assembled social, cultural and textual historians, as well as codicologists and palaeographers, fostering a rare dialogue between these disciplines in the realm of Hebrew manuscripts. Over these six months, many of the group's participants became convinced of the necessity of initiating a concerted, global approach to the topic.

The Cairo Genizah has yielded hundreds of thousands of fragments of literary and documentary texts, mostly dating from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries. Many of them are now in British collections, chief among them the Cambridge University

Library, the Bodleian Library and the British Library. There are other assemblages in France, Germany, Hungary, Israel, Russia, Switzerland and the US.

Cairo Genizah fragments have been studied since the late nineteenth century chiefly as a unique source of previously unknown literary texts and of first-hand historical information, including a variety of individuals and communities. But apart from purely mechanical conservation and restoration, the fragments have not been subjected to a scientific, 'archaeological' study of their physical features. Launching such studies is now a major priority in Jewish studies. The fragmentary state of Genizah documents and their dispersion in collections on three continents, necessitate a combined approach to studying them from the material, textual and historical points of view. This has now become possible with the Friedberg Genizah Project (FGP), a database that is in the process of making high-resolution digital images of the Genizah collections available on-line. The FGP has made it logistically much easier to return to the original manuscripts, rather than to utilize printed editions. Advances in studying the material aspects of Hebrew-script manuscripts has made this an urgent desideratum.

Literary fragments must not only be identified, edited and understood, but the writing materials and techniques used in their preparation must be studied, together with the shapes and formats of volumes or scrolls, their page and text layouts, the practices of the scribes who wrote them, the scripts and handwritings used, and the marks left by readers and users over the years, including annotations, ownership notes, or records of personal library arrangements. Documents such as contracts, lists and letters may include in addition a means of authentication (signatures, symbols, seals), marks of circulation (such as folding and packaging for transport), evidence of eventual cancellation and invalidation, and signs of reuse. Manuscripts should be studied not just as vehicles for texts, but as archaeological records of their own conception, production, use, reuse and final deposition in the synagogue's Genizah.

A group of researchers, brought together under the auspices of the European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies, undertook collaborative work on several corpora of Genizah manuscripts, combining historical, textual and palaeographical approaches and skills. Their work cast fresh light on known sources, mining their material aspects for new information. They identified new texts and reconstructed manuscripts from fragments scattered in various libraries, work made possible only by the study of the fragments' physical features. The present research group proposes to expand this collaborative work on the material aspects of Genizah texts into a long-term project, combining cutting-edge research in manuscript studies with seminars and a workshop intended to educate the next generation of scholars of Hebrew manuscripts.

In order to achieve these goals we propose to undertake a pilot project in the framework of the Oxford Centre of Hebrew and Jewish Studies, which possesses the infrastructure to house a working group. It also offers access to a first-rate institute of Oriental studies and to the extremely dense and important collection of Genizah manuscripts in the Bodleian Library. As the place where this work began, it would be a fitting place for its continuation.

The pilot project will be both independent and serve as a stepping-stone toward a larger, long-term collaboration. Our initial goal will be the comprehensive study of two corpora of Genizah fragments, the libraries or archives of two eleventh-century scribes. Although both constituted coherent collections in the Middle Ages, their logic and internal relationships became obscured once they were deposited in the Genizah and then dispersed among various libraries and collections. Palaeographic and codicological analysis will make it possible to identify and assemble the *membra disiecta* written by the same hand and those belonging to the same codicological or archival grouping, permitting us to understand how each scribe produced his books and documents, how he chose his materials and formats, the reasons he produced his manuscripts and the purposes they served, and, finally, their fate once he had finished with them. We will also analyse the contents of these libraries using classical philological methods, studying textual features such as variant readings in copies of canonical works such as Arabic Bible translations, sections of the Babylonian Talmud, or legal works by Babylonian geonim to illuminate the early stages of the transmission of these texts. It will also permit us to understand how the book as a material product influenced its textual features, as well as how the type of text influenced the form of the book or document.

Another part of the project will focus on the reuse of writing material. Several fragments of our case-studies were copied on reused paper whose original text contains Fatimid and Ayyubid decrees in calligraphic Arabic script, written on one side of good-quality paper with generous spacing between the lines and extraordinarily large dimensions. The decrees' physical features made them particularly fit for reuse, and also readily identifiable despite their reuse. Our research will therefore also contribute to the understanding of Arabic diplomatic practices, particularly among clerks in government chanceries, and of the complex question of how Jewish scribes obtained Arabic documents in the first place.

The first of the two corpora of Genizah fragments to be researched are books and documents copied or written by Efrayim ben Shemaryah, the head of the Palestinian-rite Jewish congregation in Fustat (Old Cairo) between c. 1020 and 1055. During our research in the framework of the European Seminar we identified seven fragments scattered across four collections of a copy of the *She'iltot* of R. Ahai of Shabha, a disciple of a Babylonian gaon of the eighth century. This particular copy of the *She'iltot* - a collection of sermons on legal subjects - is interesting for several reasons. First, six of the seven fragments we identified are continuous, making this an extremely rare example of the reconstruction of a single page from multiple joins. Second, this copy is in the handwriting of Efrayim ben Shemaryah, an identification we were able to make using a detailed method of palaeographical analysis. Although Efrayim ben Shemaryah was head of a Palestinian-rite congregation, he occupied himself with copying a text of the Babylonian-Iraqi school of Jewish law in a period in which tensions between followers of the two schools was acute. Third, Efrayim ben Shemaryah's copy of the *She'iltot* contains many non-canonical readings and is in a different order from the standard editions of the text. The large number of personal interventions he made in copying the text confirms what we know from certain other texts - that some scribes

treated their textual models with a surprising disregard for faithfulness to the original. In addition, this copy of the *She'iltot* was written out as a *rotulus*, a long roll in which the lines of writing run parallel to the shorter side of the writing material. The *rotulus* had previously been believed to be a transitional book-form used in the period between the Jews' adoption of the scroll in antiquity and of the codex in the eighth century. But in fact, as our research on the Genizah has revealed, it was an extremely common book-form in eleventh-century Egypt, for reasons that have yet to be fully understood, perhaps related to the fact that these were copies of texts made for personal use. Finally, this particular *rotulus* was produced on the back of a Fatimid decree about the construction of irrigation canals in Fustat and the rights to the water they contained. This is significant because so little original material has survived from the Fatimid chancery, or indeed any pre-Ottoman Middle Eastern government.

Although our study of this *rotulus* is still in its preliminary stages, we can already expect it to reveal Efrayim ben Shemaryah's working methods, from obtaining his writing materials to depositing his texts in the Genizah. We have identified further fragments of different works in his hand, such as an abridgment of Sa'adyah Gaon's Arabic Bible translation, also written in a *rotulus*-form on a reused Arabic decree. Although Efrayim ben Shemaryah's letters and legal documents have been studied by others (Moshe Gil and Elinoar Bareket), no one has attempted to reconstruct his literary output. Doing so has the potential to develop a set of tools for analysing scribal practices across a range of Genizah texts, both literary and documentary, thereby advancing the field in a new way. (That is also why we wish to continue working as a group, with a range of expertise in different kinds of texts and genres, more on which below.)

The second corpus of manuscripts we will study is a library containing copies of passages from the Babylonian Talmud, gaonic responsa and talmudic commentaries and glossaries, copied at the beginning of the eleventh century by an unknown scribe probably working in the context of the Babylonian-rite Jewish community of Fustat. More than thirty fragments of books copied by this scribe have been identified so far. Some are *rotuli* and others copied on reused writing material. One of the *rotuli*, Bodleian MS Heb. e. 52 (R), is a complete unit containing a third of the tractate *Betza* of the Babylonian Talmud. It contains a note that it belonged to Avraham ben Yishaq ibn al-Baqara, from a family of merchants from central North Africa who settled in Fustat apparently in the late tenth century. The *rotulus* also contains numbering, indicating that the entire tractate was copied on separate but related *rotuli*, and shelf-marked probably to facilitate quick retrieval in what may have been a large library. Fragments of *rotuli* of different parts of *Betza* in the same hand have been found, as well as fragments from other talmudic tractates and gaonic works again by the same scribe. Analysing this scribe's output and working methods will contribute to the study of the spread, transmission and ultimate hegemony of the Iraqi-rite form of Judaism. It also raises thorny questions about the faithfulness and accuracy with which scribes such as this anonymous one copied canonical rabbinic works, and will make an important contribution to the ongoing effort to reconstruct the most original and faithful text possible of the Babylonian Talmud.

Genizah Fragments of the Babylonian Talmud

Professor Shamma Friedman and Professor Judith Olszowy-Schlanger

The Talmud is studied today in a wide range of contexts, now that it has been granted its rightful place within general academic frameworks as a cultural classic of the ancient world. It is thus read perhaps more intensively now than ever previously. The earliest textual witnesses of the Babylonian Talmud, dispersed among the Cairo Genizah fragments, are indispensable to research in this field.

The success of the recent European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies, devoted to the Genizah collection at the Bodleian Library, led the organizers to plan a major research project devoted to the Genizah Talmud manuscripts. This is designed to provide the background necessary for the informed use of this corpus. Work carried out during the Seminar was described in our presentations to the closing conference.

The new research project will be based on the proposition that the provenance and characteristics of the surviving Genizah Talmud texts should be addressed through three independent parameters:

1. palaeographic and codicological features
2. orthographic classification
3. textual type.

Each category, as the proposers' past and ongoing research shows, can be applied independently in order to describe the nature of each text, and also the larger manuscripts produced by joining previously scattered fragments.

The proposers wish to build on existing scholarship and research to address parameters never applied systematically to the entire Genizah corpus of Babylonian Talmud manuscripts. They have invited Professor Malachi Beit-Arié to join in this effort.

They intend to develop the pilot project towards the publication of a small volume with an innovative methodological introduction, establishing a framework for a fuller work based on a group of the most significant manuscripts, drawn largely from Bodleian holdings.

The following Babylonian Talmud Genizah manuscripts will be treated:

1. The Bodleian *Betza rotulus*
2. *Bava Metzia* G1 (Bodleian quire, etc)
3. Bodl. Heb. d. 21 (2676) 4 (*Shabbat* 150b) and fragments which attach: T-S F 1(1).56; T-S Misc. 26.43; T-S NS 329.310.
4. A long and excellent witness to much of BQ: Bodl. Heb. c. 17/67–68, Heb. c. 21/31–36, Heb. c. 23/11–14, Heb. b. 10/29–36; T-S F 2(2).50, T-S NS 179.58; Budapest, MTA270.2; Antonin 861.
5. An interesting 49-line page of *Gittin*, Bodl. Heb. b. 10/16 (2833.16); the torn part T-S AS 78.50
6. T-S AS 78.389 (*Bava Batra* 4a-5b; 29a-29b) - *rotulus*
7. T-S Misc. 26.53.17 (The *Hullin* scroll-*rotulus*)

The discussion of each manuscript will include the following categories of information:

- Talmud text identification
- Library and shelfmarks
- Palaeographic and codicological study
  1. Shape, format and dimensions of the book
  2. Writing materials
  3. Page layout
  4. Text layout
  5. Vowels and additional signs
  6. Glosses
  7. Script and/or handwriting
- Orthographic and linguistic type identification

  With reference to four orthographic types: Ashkenazi, Sephardi, Yemenite and 'Mediterranean'; scholarly research on Tannaitic Hebrew and Babylonian Aramaic
- Identification of text type

  Based on synopsis of all primary textual witnesses for each passage, and in reference to textual divisions there
- Quality colour digital images
- Full transcription of text

THE ACADEMIC YEAR

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

Courses Taught by Fellows of the Centre

Dr Raffaella Del Sarto

Israel: State, Society, Identity (MSt in Jewish Studies; MPhil in Modern Middle Eastern Studies)

State of Israel (BA in Jewish Studies)

Dr Jordan Finkin

Topics in Modern Hebrew Literature

Unhappy in Their Own Way: Hebrew and Yiddish as a Literary Family (MSt in Jewish Studies)

Dr Miri Freud-Kandel

Judaism in History and Society (BA in Theology)

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

Modern Judaism (BA joint honours in Theology and Oriental Studies, BA in Theology, MSt in the Study of Religions)

Professor Martin Goodman

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

Dr David Rechter

(On research leave throughout the year)

Dr Aaron Rosen

Jewish-Christian Thought and Dialogue (MSt in Jewish Studies)

Supervised MSt dissertation by Tahnia Haseen Ahmed entitled: 'From Victim to Villain: The Representation of Jews in British Cartoons from WWII to the Present'

Tutorials on 'Early Modern Jewry' and 'Modern Jewish Culture' (BA in Hebrew and Jewish Studies)

Tutorials on 'Key Figures in Jewish-Christian Dialogue' (Oriental Institute)

Dr Alison Salvesen

Septuagint Texts: Genesis, Isaiah, Proverbs, Psalms (MSt in Jewish Studies; MSt in Jewish Studies in the Graeco-Roman Period; MPhil in Eastern Christian Studies)

Septuagint Lectures (MSt in Jewish Studies; MSt in Jewish Studies in the Graeco-Roman Period; MPhil in Eastern Christian Studies)

Hellenistic Jewish Texts: Josephus, Letter of Aristeas, Ezekiel Tragicus, Philo (MSt in Jewish Studies in the Graeco-Roman Period; MPhil in Judaism and Christianity)

Genesis Apocryphon (MPhil in Judaism and Christianity)

Targums Onkelos and Neofiti to Genesis 22 (MPhil in Judaism and Christianity)

Pesher Habukkuk (MPhil in Judaism and Christianity)

Liturgy of St John Chrysostom (MPhil in Eastern Christian Studies)

Cyril of Jerusalem, *Protocatachesis and Mystagogicae Catacheses* (MPhil in Eastern Christian Studies)

Graduate Seminar in Syriac Studies: 'Biblical and Secular Learning in the Work of Jacob of Edessa' (MPhil in Eastern Christian Studies, MSt Syriac Studies, DPhil Oriental Studies)

Dr Adam Silverstein

Jewish-Muslim Relations Through the Ages (MSt in Jewish Studies)

A History of Jewish-Muslim Relations (BA in Arabic and Islamic Studies)

Dr Joanna Weinberg

A Survey of Rabbinic Literature (MSt in Jewish Studies)

Formation of Rabbinic Judaism (with Dr T. M. Law) (BA in Theology)

Medieval Jewish Exegesis (BA)

Mishnah (BA)

Midrash (BA)

Professor Hugh Williamson

Biblical Hebrew (Elementary) (Prelims)

Biblical Hebrew (Second Year) (BA)

Biblical Hebrew (Third Year) (BA, MSt in Classical Hebrew Studies)

2 Kings 18-25 (BA)

Isaiah 6:1-9:6 (BA, MSt in Classical Hebrew Studies)

Selected Psalms (BA, MSt in Classical Hebrew Studies)

Proverbs 1, 7–9 (BA)

Song of Songs 1–4 (MSt in Classical Hebrew Studies)

Topics in Biblical History (Prelims)

Lectures and Papers by Fellows of the Centre

Dr Raffaella Del Sarto

'Change in Tunisia, Egypt and Beyond: Implications for the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict', at the conference on 'Changement politique en Tunisie et impacts sur la région de la Méditerranée', organized by the Centre des Etudes Méditerranéennes et Internationales, University of Tunis, Tunis

'*Plus ça change...?* Israel and the European Union's Mediterranean Policy', University of Ghent, Belgium

Panel participant, 'The Middle East Conflict and International Intervention', at the conference on 'The European Union: Facing New Challenges', organized by the Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Jerusalem

Panel participant, 'Rethinking the EU's Mediterranean Policies after the Arab Spring', Robert Schuman Centre, European University Institute, Florence

Dr Jordan Finkin

'What is the Opposite of Exile? A Question for Modern Jewish Literature', The Gauss Seminar Symposium ('One Hundred Years of Primal Words: Five Explorations of Freud's "On the Antithetical Meaning of Primal Words" (1910)'), Princeton University

Dr Miri Freud-Kandel

'The Image of *Torah min hashamayim* in the Thought of Louis Jacobs', British Association of Jewish Studies Summer Conference, University of Southampton

'"Who Speaks for Women?" Religious Law in Modern Judaism and Islam', Woolf Institute of Abrahamic Faiths, Cambridge

Professor Martin Goodman

'Titus, Berenice and Agrippa: The Last Days of the Temple in Jerusalem', Quadrennial Congress of the European Association for Jewish Studies, Plenary Lecture, Ravenna

Sherman Lectures on 'Toleration within Judaism' at the University of Manchester: 'Toleration within Judaism', 'Toleration in the Late Second Temple Period', 'Toleration in Early Rabbinic Judaism', 'Causes of Toleration'

Dr Aaron Rosen

'The Bible in Modern Art', for the paper 'The Bible: Its Use and Influence' (BA in Theology)

'Jewish Artists in Christian Spaces: Mark Rothko and Louise Nevelson', Association for Jewish Studies Annual Conference, Boston

'Levinas and the Hospitality of Images', and organizer and chair for Visual Arts Panel, International Society for Religion, Literature and Culture Biennial Conference, Oxford

' "When I Paint I Pray": Marc Chagall and the Psalms', at 'Conflict and Convergence: Jewish and Christian Approaches to the Psalms', Society for Old Testament Study Meeting, Oxford

'Abraham and the Hospitality of Images', British Association of Jewish Studies Annual Conference, University of Southampton

'The Hospitality of Images: Modern Art and Interfaith Dialogue', University of Edinburgh

'Picturing Abraham in Judaism, Christianity and Islam', Trinity College, Oxford

'The Hospitality of Images', King's College London

'Is There Such a Thing as Jewish Art?' University of Derby

Dr Alison Salvesen

'A Rabbinic Symmachus?' Meeting of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, held at the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament conference, Helsinki

'Jacob of Sarug's Mimre on the Book of Daniel', The World Syriac Conference, Kerala, India

'Scholarship on the Margins: Biblical and Secular Learning in the Work of Jacob of Edessa', keynote lecture at the Sixth North American Syriac Symposium, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina

Dr Adam Silverstein

'The Idea of Abrahamic Religions', King's College London

'Some Parallels between Jewish and Islamic Rituals', Institute for Advanced Studies, Jerusalem

Dr Joanna Weinberg

'The King James Bible and the World of Christian Hebraism' (with Dr Piet van Boxel), Council of Christian and Jews, London

'Johannes Buxtorf and his Copybook' (with Professor Anthony Grafton), Princeton University

'Richard Kilby[e, ie]'s Commentary on Exodus "iuxta Hebraeos" ', Conference on 'The King James Bible: The Scholarly Context', Exeter College, Oxford

Professor Hugh Williamson

'Social Justice in the Old Testament', four lectures at the Vacation Term Bible School, Oxford

'The Semantics of Ancient Hebrew Database Project', Congress of the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament, Helsinki

'Was There an Image of the Deity in the First Temple?' British Association for Jewish Studies, Southampton

'The Practicalities of Prophetic Writing in Isaiah 8:1', Society of Biblical Literature, Atlanta

'Isaiah - Prophet of Weal or Woe?' St Andrews University

Publications by Fellows of the Centre

Dr Raffaella Del Sarto (with T. Schumacher), 'From Brussels with Love: Leverage, Benchmarking, and the Action Plans with Tunisia and Jordan in the EU's Democratization Policy in the Middle East', *Democratization* 18:4 (2011)

– '*Plus ça change...?* Israel, the EU and the Union for the Mediterranean', *Mediterranean Politics* 16:1 (2011) 117-53

– (with M. Carbone, V. Coralluzzo, and N. Tocci), 'Italy in the Mediterranean: Between Atlanticism and Europeanism', in Maurizio Carbone (ed.) *Italy in the Post-Cold War Order*, Lanham: Lexington Books (2011) 197-214

Dr Jordan Finkin, 'Shooting Crows with a Canon: Notes on the Poetics of Shaul Tshernikhovski's Early Works', *Prooftexts* 30:2 (2010) 263-90

– 'The Lighter Side of Babel: Perets Markish's Urban Poetics', in Joseph Sherman, Gennady Estraikh, David Shneer and Jordan Finkin (eds) *A Captive of the Dawn: The Life and Work of Peretz Markish* (1895-1952). Studies in Yiddish 9. London: Legenda (2011)

Dr Miri Freud-Kandel, 'The British Chief Rabbinate: A Viable Institution?', *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* 10:1 (2011) 43-64

– 'Immanuel Jakobovits: A Coherent Theology of Apparent Contradictions', *Modern Judaism: A Journal of Jewish Ideas and Experience* 30:2 (2010) 127-52

– 'Immanuel Jakobovits on Inter-faith Relations', in Maria Diemling and Hannah Holtschneider (eds) *Jewish–non-Jewish Relations: Between Exclusion and Embrace: An Online Resource*, web (2011)

Professor Martin Goodman, George van Kooten and Jacques van Ruiten (eds) *Abraham, the Nations and the Hagarites: Jewish, Christian and Islamic Perspectives on Kinship with Abraham* (Themes in Biblical Narrative 13). Leiden: Brill (2010)

– 'Josephus on Abraham and the Nations' and 'Epilogue' in Goodman, van Kooten and van Ruiten (eds) *Abraham, the Nations and the Hagarites* (2010) 177-83, 509-12

– with Philip Alexander (eds) *Rabbinic Texts and the History of Late-Roman Palestine*. Oxford: British Academy (2010)

– 'Introduction' and 'Conclusion' in Goodman and Alexander (eds) *Rabbinic Texts and the History of Late-Roman Palestine* (2010) 1-3, 403-5

– 'Constructing Ancient Judaism from the Scrolls', in T. H. Lim and J. J. Collins (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (2010) 81-91

– 'The Qumran Sectarians and the Temple in Jerusalem', in C. Hempel (ed.) *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Texts and Contexts*. Leiden: Brill (2010) 263-73

– 'Romans, Jews and Christians on the Names of the Jews', in Daniel C. Harlow *et al* (eds) *The 'Other' in Second Temple Judaism*. Grand Rapids, Mi. and Cambridge: Eerdmans (2011) 391-401

– 'Religious Variety and the Temple in the Late Second Temple Period and its Aftermath', in S. Stern (ed.) *Sects and Sectarianism in Jewish History*. Leiden and Boston, Ma.: Brill (2011) 21-37

– 'Josephus and Variety in First-century Judaism', in J. A. North and S. R. F. Price (eds) *The Religious History of the Roman Empire: Pagans, Jews and Christians*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (2011) 419-34

Dr David Rechter, 'The Jewish Public Sphere in Habsburg Czernowitz', in Markus Winkler (ed.) *Presselandschaft in der Bukowina und den Nachbarregionen: Akteure – Inhalte – Ereignisse (1900–1945)*. Munich: IKGS Verlag (Wissenschaftliche Reihe: Literatur- und Sprachgeschichte, vol. 121 (2011) 49-65

Dr Aaron Rosen, 'Marc Chagall's *White Crucifixion*', entry for Maria Diemling and Hannah Holtschneider (eds) *Jewish/Non-Jewish Relations: Between Exclusion and Embrace—An Online Teaching Resource* [web]

– 'R. B. Kitaj', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (2011)

Dr Alison Salvesen, 'A Well-Watered Garden (Isaiah 58:11): Investigating the Influence of the Septuagint', in R. J. V. Hiebert (ed.) *'Translation is Required': The Septuagint in Retrospect and Prospect*, Society of Biblical Literature, Septuagint and Cognate Studies 56; Atlanta, GA; Leiden: Brill (2011) 207-26

– *The Exodus Commentary of St Ephrem. A Fourth Century Syriac Commentary on the Book of Exodus*. Moran Etho 8. Gorgias Press, Piscataway, NJ, 2011 (Revised edition of 1995 publication)

Dr Adam Silverstein (ed. with T. Bernheimer) *Late Antiquity: Eastern Perspectives*. Oxford: Oxbow (2011)

– 'Introduction', in A. Silverstein and T. Bernheimer (eds) *Late Antiquity: Eastern Perspectives*. Oxford: Oxbow (2011)

– 'Barīd', in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Leiden: Brill (2010) 3rd edition

– 'Jews and News: The Interaction of Private and Official Communication-networks in Jewish History', in S. E. Alcock, J. Bodel, R. Talbert (eds) *Highways, Byways, and Road Systems in the Pre-Modern World* (2011)

– (with P. Crone) 'The Ancient Near East and Islam: The Case of Lot-casting' *Journal of Semitic Studies* 55:2 (2010) 423-50

– 'The Quranic Pharaoh', in G. S. Reynolds (ed.) *The Qur'an in Historical Context. London: Routledge* (2011)

Dr Joanna Weinberg (with Professor Anthony Grafton), *'I Have Always Loved the Holy Tongue': Isaac Casaubon, the Jews, and a Forgotten Chapter in Renaissance Scholarship*. Cambridge Mass: Harvard University Press (2011)

– 'Abraham, Exile, and Midrashic Tradition', in Martin Goodman, George van Kooten and Jacques van Ruiten (eds) *Abraham, the Nations and the Hagarites: Jewish, Christian and Islamic Perspectives on Kinship with Abraham* (Themes in Biblical Narrative 13). Leiden, Boston: Brill (2010) 223-41

Professor Hugh Williamson, 'Prophetesses in the Hebrew Bible', in J. Day (ed.) *Prophecy and Prophets in Ancient Israel: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar*, LHB/OTS 531. New York: Continuum (2010) 65–80

– 'When Did the History of Israel Begin?' in *Report of the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies, Academic Year 2009–10*. Oxford: OCHJS (2010) 59–66

– 'Welcome Home', in P. R. Davies and D. V. Edelman (eds) *The Historian and the Bible: Essays in Honour of Lester L. Grabbe*, LHB/OTS 530. London: T. & T. Clark (2010) 113–23

– 'Reflections on Redaction', in J. Middlemas, D. J. A. Clines and E. K. Holt (eds) *The Centre and the Periphery: A European Tribute to Walter Brueggemann*, Hebrew Bible Monographs 27. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix (2010) 79–91

– 'The Waters of Shiloah (Isaiah 8:5–8)', in I. Finkelstein and N. Na'aman (eds) *The Fire Signals of Lachish: Studies in the Archaeology and History of Israel in the Late Bronze Age, Iron Age, and Persian Period in Honor of David Ussishkin*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns (2011) 331–43

– 'Judah as Israel in Eighth-Century Prophecy', in J. A. Grant, A. Lo and G. J. Wenham (eds) *A God of Faithfulness: Essays in Honour of J. Gordon McConville on his 60th Birthday*, LHB/OTS 538. New York: T. & T. Clark (2011) 81–95

Fellows' Activities and Other News

Dr Raffaella Del Sarto

Nominated Adjunct Professor of Middle East Politics and International Relations, Johns Hopkins University, Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), Bologna Centre, Italy.

Awarded a research grant on 'Borderlands' by the European Research Council (ERC) (hosted by the European University Institute in Florence).

Member of the Steering Committee of the newly founded *European Association of Israel Studies* (EAIS), launched at a conference on 18 September 2011 at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London.

Panel chair and discussant at the conference 'Between Inclusion and Exclusion: The Many Faces of Reform in the Middle East and North Africa', University of Lisbon, Portugal.

Participated in a workshop on the 'The EU as Security and Peace Actor in the Israeli Palestinian Conflict', organized by an EU-Israeli academic consortium, financed by the European Commission (FP7), Ambassador Hotel, East Jerusalem.

Internal DPhil thesis examiner for the Faculty of Politics and International Relations, University of Oxford. Examined theses: 'The Ends of History: George W. Bush's Political Theology and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict' and 'The Foreign Policy of Anwar Sadat: Continuity and Change, 1970-1981'.

Thesis supervisor in the MPhil in Modern Middle Eastern Studies and MSt in Hebrew and Jewish Studies: 'Israel's Independent Arabic Media in the 2006 War with Hizbullah', 'How "Special" a Relationship? German-Israeli Political and Security

Cooperation in the New Millennium', 'Terrorist and Liberation Models: The Irgun and Hamas' (won best-dissertation prize in the MSt in Jewish Studies).

Elected member of the Editorial Board of the journal *Mediterranean Politics*.

Dr Jordan Finkin

Co-editor, with Joseph Sherman, Gennady Estraikh and David Shneer, *A Captive of the Dawn: The Life and Work of Peretz Markish* (1895-1952). Studies in Yiddish 9. London: Legenda 2011.

Co-editor, with Gennady Estraikh, Kerstin Hoge and Mikhail Krutikov, *Translating Sholem Aleichem: History, Politics, and Art*. Studies in Yiddish 10. London: Legenda, forthcoming.

Dr Miri Freud-Kandel

Dr Freud-Kandel taught a number of undergraduate and graduate courses in the Oriental Institute and Theology Faculty, and continued supervision of a doctoral student working on cultural Jewish identity among British Jews. She gave a presentation at an event devoted to 'The Enduring Value and Legacy of Rabbi Jacobs' Teachings', marking fifty years since the so-called Jacobs Affair, and participated in an Oxford symposium on 'Tradition and its Discontents: Ruptures in the Abrahamic Religions'. She continued working on her primary research project on the theology of Louis Jacobs, and wrote a number of book reviews and articles addressing the state of Anglo-Jewry and the debate about the appointment of a new Chief Rabbi (about which she has written a paper that appears in the present volume). She was invited to join the editorial board of the Academic Studies Press Series on Orthodox Judaism.

Professor Martin Goodman

On research leave 2010-11 to complete work on Leverhulme research project on toleration within Judaism since 200 BCE.

Delivered the Sherman Lectures at the University of Manchester on 'Toleration within Judaism'.

Chairman of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society.

Member of the Executive Committee of the European Association for Jewish Studies.

Member of the Council of the World Union of Jewish Studies.

Executive editor of *Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* series published by Brill.

Dr David Rechter

Dr Rechter was on AHRC-funded research leave the entire academic year.

Dr Aaron Rosen

Dr Rosen, who was married to Carolyn Kincade, a PhD student in French at Royal Holloway, University of London, has moved to Yale University to take up a position as a Fellow of the Institute of Sacred Music.

Dr Alison Salvesen

Dr Salvesen, who was Academic Director of the Centre during the academic year, taught for a number of different courses at the Oriental Institute as well as for the Centre, and supervised a doctoral student who is researching the use of citations from the book of Isaiah in the Gospels.

Dr Adam Silverstein

Dr Silverstein taught a number of different BA and MSt courses, supervised dissertations (BA, MSt and DPhil) on Judaism and Islam, and chaired the Hebrew and Jewish Studies (with Syriac) teachers meetings, acting as tutorial secretary for undergraduate degrees in Hebrew and Jewish Studies. He co-convened the 'Research Seminar in the Study of Abrahamic Religions', Faculties of Oriental Studies and Theology (with Professor Guy Stroumsa). He also organized Oriental Studies admissions for The Queen's College, where he was a governing body fellow. Dr Silverstein was on leave during Trinity Term 2011.

Dr Joanna Weinberg

Dr Weinberg taught a number of different BA and MSt courses, supervised doctoral students and chaired the Oxford Unit for Hebrew and Jewish Studies. She organized a Conference entitled 'The King James Bible: The Scholarly Context', at Exeter College, Oxford.

Professor Hugh Williamson

Professor Williamson served as Vice-President and Chair of the Humanities Group, the British Academy; Librarian of Christ Church, Oxford; Chairman of Examiners, Faculty of Oriental Studies; Secretary, Semantics of Ancient Hebrew Database Project; and on the editorial boards of *Bulletin of Biblical Research*, *Vetus Testamentum* and *Oudtestamentische Studiën*.

SEMINARS, CONFERENCES AND SPECIAL LECTURES INVOLVING CENTRE FELLOWS

MICHAELMAS TERM 2010

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

Ezekiel's Exagoge: Diasporic Tragedy *Tim Whitmarsh (Oxford)*

Is This a Holiday? Rabbis, Church Fathers and the Invention of Roman Religion
Jonathan Kirkpatrick (Oxford)

Conversion and Community: Gentile Aspirations to Jewishness in the First Century
Dr Jonathan Norton (Heythrop College)

Jewish Apocalypticism Between the Two Jewish Wars *Professor Mireille Hadas Lebel (IRER, Paris IV Sorbonne)*

Research Seminar on the Abrahamic Religions
(Convened by Dr Adam Silverstein and Professor Guy Stroumsa)

Judaism and Christianity in Islamic Consciousness *Professor Tariq Ramadan (Oxford)*

Early Christian and Jewish Mysticism *Professor Christopher Rowland (Oxford)*

Cultural Transmission Across Religious Boundaries in the Middle Ages *Professor Charles Burnett (Warburg Institute, London)*

Fundamentalist and Other Obstacles to Religious Tolerance *Malise Ruthven*

Seminars in Jewish Studies

Practical Mysticism as Authentic Religiousness in the Semitic Traditions
Professor Terry Lovat (University of Newcastle, New South Wales)

Concluding Sections of Mishnah Tractates *Marton Ribary (Wolfson College, Oxford)*

Israel Studies Seminar
(Convened by Dr Raffaella Del Sarto)

'Israel and the Failure of the American Jewish Establishment' *Professor Peter Beinart (City University of New York and the New America Foundation)*

The David Patterson Seminars

'The Man on Devil's Island': The Orthodoxy of the Dreyfus Affair Revisited
Dr Ruth Harris (New College, Oxford)

The Agony of Greek Jewry in the Second World War *Professor Steven Bowman (University of Cincinnati)*

Israel's Strategic Predicament Before and After Iran Goes Nuclear
Dr Emanuele Ottolenghi (Foundation for the Defense of Democracies)

Isaac the Warrior? From Jewish Martyrdom to National Heroism
Professor Yael Feldman (New York University, New York)

Book Launch - Talking Jewish: Discourse and Literature *Dr Jordan Finkin*

Alliteration as a Stylistic Device in the Bible *Dr Gary Rendsburg (Rutgers University)*

'Jewish Ruins'? Perceptions of the Past and Cultural Difference *Professor Ahuvia Kahane (Royal Holloway, University of London)*

How is the Jewish Past Being Remembered in Poland? *Professor Jonathan Webber (Birmingham University)*

HILARY TERM 2011

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

Judaism and Christianity in South Arabia in Late Antiquity *Professor Sir Fergus Millar*

Emil Schürer a Century After his Death – Round Table Discussion
Professor Geza Vermes, Professor Sir Fergus Millar and Professor Martin Goodman

Jerusalem Fell After Betar: Josephus, Bar Kokhba, Eusebius and Rabbinic Memory
Dr Holger Zellentin (University of Nottingham)

Liberty in the Coinage and Documents of the Jewish Revolt *Professor William Horbury (University of Cambridge)*

Jewish Traditions in the Commentaries of Jerome *Professor Michael Graves (Wheaton College)*

Research Seminar in the Abrahamic Religions
(Convened by Dr Adam Silverstein and Professor Guy Stroumsa)

Too Little Too Late? Pharaoh's Repentance in the Qur'an and the Jewish Tradition
Dr Nicolai Sinai (Pembroke College, Oxford)

Muslim Treatment of Christians and Jews on the Eve of the Crusades
Professor Marina Rustow (Johns Hopkins University)

Monotheism, Abraham, Book: Common Points or Dividing Lines?
Professor Rémi Brague (Paris / Munich)

Islamic and Other Perspectives on Evil *Professor Mona Siddiqui (University of Glasgow)*

Seminars in Jewish Studies

Ethnic / Religious-Based Admission Criteria in British and Israeli Jewish Schools – Comparative Perspectives *Dr Reuven Ziegler (Lincoln College, Oxford)*

Prayers From the Genizah: Materials, Texts and Traditions of Medieval Hebrew Liturgy *Dr Emma Abate (University of Rome)*

Conference on Haskalah – Cultural Revolution in Berlin: Jews in the Age of the Enlightenment *(Convened by Dr Piet van Boxel)*

Whose Enlightenment? Moses Mendelssohn, Solomon Maimon and the Politics of Haskalah *Dr Adam Sutcliffe (King's College London)*

'A Young Man According to His Way, Even When He is Old He Will Not Depart From it' (Proverbs 22:6): On the Maskilic Efforts to Alter the Jewish Habitus *Professor Zohar Shavit (Tel-Aviv University)*

Hebrew Times? Mendelssohn, Orientalism and the 'Life' of a Dead Language *Dr Andrea Schatz (King's College London)*

Beyond the Limits of Haskalah: Dorothea Mendelssohn, an Enlightened Jewish Woman From Berlin *Natalie Naimark-Goldberg (Bar-Ilan University)*

Moishe's Hunchback and Shloime's Name. The Hebrew Printing Press in Jessnitz (1718-1744) and its Influence on the Haskalah *Dr Dirk Sadowski (Georg-Eckert Institut für Internationale Schulbuchforschung)*

Sefer, Bukh, Bikehl: On Books, Libraries and the Haskalah Invention of a New Jewish Book-shelf *Professor Israel Bartal (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)*

The Subversive and Secular Library of the Jewish Enlightenment *Professor Shmuel Feiner (Bar-Ilan University)*

Is There Something Enlightened in Eighteenth-century Yiddish Books and Literature? *Professor Shlomo Berger (University of Amsterdam)*

The Future of Jewry After Emancipation: Three Models in the Berlin Haskalah *Dr Christoph Schulte (University of Potsdam)*

A Polemical Dialogue and its Aftermath in the Nineteenth Century: Mendelssohn's Challenge to Christianity and Christian Scholars Revisited *Professor Christian Wiese (University of Sussex)*

Secular, Religious, or Radical? Versions of the Enlightenment From Ernst Cassirer to Jonathan Israel *Professor Ritchie Robertson (Oxford)*

Eighteenth Annual Stencl Lecture in Yiddish

Between the Author and the Text: Printing Early Yiddish Books *Professor Simon Neuberg (University of Trier)*

Louis Jacobs Memorial Lecture

The Kabbalistic Ethics of R. Moshe Cordovero. The Practice of *Imitatio Dei* *Professor Michael Fishbane (University of Chicago)*

Catherine Lewis Master Classes

The Catherine Lewis Master Classes on Talmud *Professor Shamma Friedman (Jewish Theological Seminary, New York; Schechter Institute, Jerusalem)*

Now You See It, Now You Don't: Can Source-Criticism Perform Magic on Talmudic Passages About Sorcery?

Maimonides and Anthropomorphism – Allowing the Aggadah to Speak For Itself

Seminar

Reading Talmud *Professor Shamma Friedman (Jewish Theological Seminary, New York; Schechter Institute, Jerusalem)*

The David Patterson Seminars

Following in the Footsteps of Rav Hai Gaon's Lost Dictionary *Professor Aharon Maman (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)*

Thinking About Diversity: Jews of the Mediterranean and Beyond *Dr Yehudah Cohn (Wolfson College, Oxford)*

The Holy See and Israel: From Silence to Dialogue *Professor Raymond Cohen (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)*

Ars Combinatoria in Modern Times: Jacques Derrida, Umberto Eco and Ioan P. Culianu *Professor Moshe Idel (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)*

Nicolas Donin and Other Jewish Converts in Jewish-Christian Intellectual Polemics in the Middle Ages *Professor Piero Capelli (Ca'Foscari University, Venice)*

'The Reports of My Death Have Been Greatly Exaggerated'; The Hebrew Language of the Medieval Genizah World *Dr Ben Outhwaite (University of Cambridge)*

Effects of the Exile of Jewish Priesthood *Dr Jonathan Stökl (University College London)*

Johannes Isaac Levita (1515-1577): A Converted Rabbi in the Crucible of Christian Hebraism, Biblical Scholarship and the Renaissance Printing Shop *Theodor Dunkelgrün (University of Pennsylvania)*

TRINITY TERM 2011

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

De Decalogo: Philo as Interpreter of the Ten Commandments *Professor Sarah Pearce* (*University of Southampton*)

Jewish Magic Art in Late Antiquity Between Babylonia and Palestine *Dr Naama Vilozny (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)*

Josephus and Persia *Dr Eran Almagor (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)*

The End of Kingship – Understanding Incest Within the Jewish Theological Framework *Dr Yossi David* (*Oriental Institute, Oxford*)

Rabbis in Context: Text and Archaeology in Late Antique Palestine *(Colloquium convened by Dr Alison Salvesen and Dr Neil McLynn, with Paul Pheby)*

Becoming Provincials: Rabbis in Roman Palestine *Dr Hayim Lapin (University of Maryland)*

Going in Circles: Synagogues and Jewish Diversity in Late Antique Palestine *Professor Jodi Magness (University of North Carolina)*

European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies: The Material Texts of the Genizah Collection at the Bodleian Library *(Convened by Dr Piet van Boxel)*

The Character of the Rylands Gaster Genizah as a Collection and its Relation to the Cairo Genizah Collection as a Whole *Professor Philip Alexander (University of Manchester)*

'Rain-Men' from the Genizah: An Analysis of Fragments From the Bodleian Library *Dr Emma Abate (University of Rome)*

Biblical Verses and Genizah Amulets *Dr Yehudah Cohn (Wolfson College, Oxford)*

Arabic Translations of the Pentateuch in the Genizah: Manuscripts, Traditions and Translation Technique *Dr Ronny Vollandt (University of Cambridge)*

A Greek, Arabic and Jewish Philosophical Reconstruction – Fragments of the Longer Version of the Theology of Aristotle in the Cairo Genizah Collection *Professor Paul Fenton (University of Paris IV-Sorbonne)*

Conference of the European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies, at the Bodleian Library – A New Approach to Cairo Genizah Research: The Material Texts of Fragments *(Convened by Dr Piet van Boxel)*

Introductory Remarks *Professor Malachi Beit-Arié (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)*

Two Aramaic Fragments of Twitch Divination from the Cairo Genizah *Professor Gideon Bohak (Tel-Aviv University)*

Prayers for Healing at the Genizah: An Insight into the Bodleian Library's Sources *Dr Emma Abate (University of Rome)*

Some Important Aspects of the Liturgical Genizah Fragments in the Bodleian Library *Dr Uri Ehrlich (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev)*

MS. Heb. b. 18 f.24 - An Unpublished Bodleian Genizah Amulet *Dr Yehudah Cohn (Faculty of Oriental Studies, Oxford)*

The Pseudo Ibn Yashush Philological Work *Professor Aharon Maman (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)*

What's the Point? The Vocalization of Documentary Texts in the Cairo Genizah *Dr Ben Outhwaite (Head of the Genizah Research Unit, Cambridge)*

Genizah Manuscripts of the Babylonian Talmud – An Integrated Approach: Paleography/Codicology; Orthographic and Linguistic Features; Text Type *Professor Shamma Friedman (Jewish Theological Seminary / Schechter Institute of Jewish Studies, Jerusalem) and Professor Judith Olszowy-Schlanger (Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Sorbonne)*

A She'iltot Rotulus on the Back of a Fatimid Decree *Professor Judith Olszowy-Schlanger (Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Sorbonne), Professor Marina Rustow (Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore) and Dr Roni Shweka (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)*

Muslim-Jewish Relations as Reflected in the Cairo Genizah Documents *Professor Paul Fenton (Université Paris Sorbonne)*

The Emergence of Judaeo-Arabic Bible Translations: Some Observations on Early Genizah Fragments *Dr Ronny Vollandt (Cambridge)*

Seminars in Jewish Studies

Josephus on the Servile Origins of the Jews *David Friedman (Wolfson College, Oxford)*

Wives for the Benjaminites: The Significance of Bride Abduction and Virginity Within Judges 21 *Dr Katherine Southwood (St Mary's University College)*

Pears Lecture in Israel Studies *(Convened by Dr Raffaella Del Sarto)*

'Israel and the Revolutions in the Middle East' *Professor Avishai Margalit (Princeton University and The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)*

The David Patterson Seminars

Rabbinic Authority and Popular Consensus *Professor Gerald Blidstein (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev)*

Time Heals and Sleep's the Best Remedy: Testing Platitudes With Noah the Ark-Builder and Honi the Circle-Drawer *Dr Diana Lipton (King's College London)*

Between London and Amsterdam: Handel's Esther as an Eighteenth-Century Purimspiel *Dr Deborah Rooke (Regent's Park College, Oxford)*

The Iberian Jewish Model of the 'Royal Alliance' as Seen From the Cairo Genizah *Professor Marina Rustow (Johns Hopkins University)*

Maimonides's First Draft of the Mishneh Torah: The Bodleian Quire *Professor Shamma Friedman (Jewish Theological Seminary, New York)*

Two Genocides, Shared Characteristics and Difference *Professor Benny Morris (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev)*

VISITING FELLOWS' AND SCHOLARS' REPORTS

Dr Emma Abate

Dr Emma Abate of the University of Rome stayed at the Centre from 10 January to 1 July, participating in the European Seminar of Advanced Jewish Studies - The Material Texts of the Genizah Collection at the Bodleian Library: A New Approach to Genizah Research. She focused on Bodleian Genizah fragments associated with ritual occasions on the border between liturgical and magical literature - such as therapeutic, exorcist, apotropaic and divinatory formulas and prayers designed to restore health or influence meteorological conditions – in order to understand the links between liturgy, magic and medicine in medieval Judaism. She gathered codicological and palaeographical information about the fragments and examined the texts from both a comparative and a philological perspective, considering the occasions for which they were intended and the offices held by their authors. She found that liturgical and magical texts emerged in similar milieux and among the most cultivated ranks of the society, and that concerns over health or meteorological conditions bring the performative use of the Hebrew language and of biblical text in these documents close to the everyday life of medieval communities. The private interests and desires of individuals appear only rarely.

She presented a seminar on 'Rainmen from the Genizah: An Analysis of Fragments from the Bodleian Library', to the seminar; and a lecture entitled 'Prayers for Healing in the Genizah: An Insight into Bodleian Library's Sources' at the concluding conference. She also gave a lecture entitled 'Prayers from the Genizah: Materials, Texts and Traditions of Medieval Jewish Liturgy', to the Jewish Studies seminar.

Professor Fred Astren

Professor Astren, of San Francisco State University, stayed at the Centre from 15 January to 7 May, leaving early due to a family emergency. He carried out research for a new book on early medieval Jewish history in the Mediterranean, focusing on the first three centuries of Islam in the Near East, especially the parallel development of Jewish sectarianism and rabbinic Judaism. He examined correlations and interactions between Jewish religious history and large-scale phenomena in contemporaneous Islamic history, such as urbanization, literacy, the meteoric explosion of Arabic literature, the introduction of paper, and sectarian legal and scriptural interpretation. He argues that these and other developments provide critical contexts for understanding the messianic and other Judaic sectarian phenomena of the seventh to tenth centuries documented in a range of sources, most importantly *The Book of Lights and Watchtowers* by Jacob al-Qirqisani in 937.

Professor Astren also worked on a chapter for the fifth volume of *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, describing non-Karaite sectarianism in the medieval Islamic world. In addition he delivered a lecture in the David Patterson Seminar series at the Centre, gave a presentation at the Oriental Institute, University of Oxford, entitled, 'Variety within Judaism in the Early Islamic Centuries, 600-1000 CE', and delivered a lecture at the University of Cambridge, entitled, 'Shadows of Jews in the Early Medieval Muslim Conquests'.

Professor Malachi Beit-Arié

Professor Malachi Beit-Arié, Ludwig Jesselson Professor Emeritus of Codicology and Palaeography at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, stayed at the Centre from 12 April to 3 July, and participated in the European Seminar of Advanced Jewish Studies - The Material Texts of the Genizah Collection at the Bodleian Library: A New Approach to Genizah Research. He also carried out the final editing and updating of his comprehensive work, *Hebrew Codicology: Historical and Comparative Typology of Hebrew Medieval Codices Based on the Documentation of the Extant Dated Manuscripts in Quantitative Approach*, while using the rich collections of the Bodleian Library pertaining to the history of the book and manuscript studies in various cultures. In addition, he studied the appearance of the parchment in Latin dated manuscripts of the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries produced in German lands, and compared these with Ashkenazi Hebrew manuscripts of the same periods.

Dr Piero Capelli

Dr Piero Capelli of Ca' Foscari University, Venice, stayed at the Centre from 26 January to 1 July, and continued work on the first critical edition of the *Vikkuah Rabbenu Yehi'el*, a Hebrew account of the first public 'trial' of the Talmud, held in Paris in 1240. This will include an English translation and commentary on which he began work during a previous visit in 2005. One of the most important of the five surviving manuscripts (a sixth is preserved in a seventeenth-century edition) is housed in the Bodleian Library (MS Mich. 121 [Neubauer 2149], cc. 1a-17a). Its copyist, the sixteenth-century Moravian rabbi and philologist Abraham Shemu'el Bacharach, distinguished rigorously between his source and his own insertions and text-critical notes, providing an important commentary on the content. Dr Capelli undertook a philological examination of this manuscript and a detailed comparison with the other textual witnesses. He presented his preliminary findings at the International Medieval Meeting in Lleida (Spain) in June.

His examination of the convert Nicholas Donin's biography and his role in the Paris Talmud affair led him to a wider consideration of the role of converts from Judaism

in Jewish-Christian intellectual polemics in the Middle Ages, which he traced from the twelfth century (Petrus Alfonsi) to the early modern period (Johannes Pfefferkorn, Alfonso de Zamora). He gave a David Patterson Seminar on this topic, and has published an extended version in E. Shoham-Steiner (ed.) *Intricate Interfaith Networks: Quotidian Jewish-Christian Contacts in the Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols 2011)

Dr Yehudah Cohn

Dr Cohn, who stayed at the Centre from 10 January to 29 June, and participated in the European Seminar of Advanced Jewish Studies - The Material Texts of the Genizah Collection at the Bodleian Library: A New Approach to Genizah Research, undertook research into the use of biblical verses in magical amulets from the Cairo Genizah. In particular he identified amulets from the Genizah consisting entirely of slightly modified biblical verses. The material characteristics are particularly important in determining the magical function of such texts, which would otherwise be ambiguous. In seminars and in final conference presentations he argued that these texts constituted a sub-genre that warrants further study, as part of the complex of Jewish magic, and hopes to conduct such work in the near future.

Professor Paul Fenton

Paul B. Fenton, Professor of Jewish Studies at the Université de Paris-Sorbonne, and a Visiting Scholar at the Centre de recherche français de Jérusalem, stayed in Oxford from 1 to 30 June to participate in the European Seminar of Advanced Jewish Studies - The Material Texts of the Genizah Collection at the Bodleian Library: A New Approach to Genizah Research. He took part in the group's one-day seminar on Genizah manuscripts at the British Library, gave a paper at one of the meetings of the seminar on 'The Greek, Arabic and Hebrew Manuscripts of the Theology of Aristotle', and delivered an illustrated paper entitled 'Jewish-Muslim Relations as Reflected in the Cairo Genizah Documents' at the concluding conference 'A New Approach to Cairo Genizah Research: The Material Texts of Fragments'. Professor Fenton showed how the Jewish transmission of an Arabic poem, copied into Hebrew characters from the Diwân of the famous mystical Muslim poet al-Hallâj, martyred in 922, is the only one to preserve it in its entirety.

Professor Fenton spent most of his time at Oxford examining Genizah manuscripts in the Bodleian Library and in particular a Judeo-Arabic fragment of the Theology of Aristotle which he had identified from a microfilmed copy and which is the theme of his current research, entitled 'A Greek, Arabic and Jewish Philosophical Reconstruction - Fragments of the Longer Version of the *Theology of Aristotle* in the Cairo Genizah Collections'.

Professor Shamma Friedman

Professor Friedman of the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York, and the Schechter Institute, Jerusalem, stayed at the Centre from 11 January to 24 February and from 1 to 23 June, and participated in the European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies - The Material Texts of the Genizah Collection at the Bodleian Library: A New Approach to Genizah Research. He developed a technique for analysing Genizah manuscripts of the Babylonian Talmud which he described as 'An Integrated Approach: Palaeography/ Codicology; Orthographic and Linguistic Grouping; Text Type'. In the seminar and the closing conference he spelled out the specifics of each category of information, and the advantages of including them in an integrated approach. He and Professor Judith Olszowy-Schlanger agreed to undertake a continuing project on Genizah Talmud manuscripts, beginning with the following group of manuscripts:

1. T-S AS 78.389 (Bava Batra 4a-5b; 29a-29b)
2. T-S Misc. 26.53.17 (The *Hullin* scroll-*rotulus*)
3. The Bodleian *Betza rotulus*
4. *Bava Metzia* G1 (Bodleian quire, etc.)
5. Bodl. heb. d. 21 (2676) 4 (*Shabbat* 150b) and fragments which attach: T-S F 1(1).56; T-S Misc. 26.43; T-S NS 329.310.

He focused initially on the last of these, from *Shabbat*, which he transcribed and compared to the other known textual witnesses in a new synopsis. The subsequent analysis addressed both the orthographic-linguistic side, and textual issues, and in both areas the manuscript was found to be extraordinary. It represents an early pristine style, hardly known from the Genizah or elsewhere, and reflects an independent branch of the textual tradition of this tractate, earlier than all other surviving texts, thereby providing significant information on the literary development and dissemination of the main talmudic genres of *halakhah* and *aggadah*. In the conference paper he compared numbers 2 and 4.

Professor Terry Lovat

Professor Lovat, Pro-Vice Chancellor of Education and Arts at Newcastle University, Australia, stayed at the Centre from 8 October 2010 to 4 January 2011, and made progress with or completed a number of projects. He finished a collaborative project entitled *Values Pedagogy and Student Achievement: Contemporary Research Evidence* (to be published by Springer in Dordrecht). He was Guest Editor for a special issue on Values Education and Holistic Learning of the *International Journal of Educational Research*, which will include an article entitled 'Values Education and Holistic Learning: Updated Research Perspectives', and a collaborative piece entitled 'The Impact of Values Education on School Ambience and Academic Diligence'. He also

completed papers entitled 'Values Education Programs' (to appear in J. Hattie and E. Anderman [eds] *International Handbook on Student Achievement*. [New York: Routledge]), and 'Jurgen Habermas: Education's Reluctant Hero', for M. Murphy (ed.) *In Search of Ideas: Social Theory and Educational Research* (London: Sage).

He proposed an edited volume entitled *Women in Islam: Updated Research Findings on their Historical and Contemporary Status*, and a collaborative one entitled *International Handbook on Religion and Values*. He made progress with two collaborative volumes, one entitled *New Directions in Religious and Spiritual Education*, and the other *Convivencia: The Role of the Ishmael Legend in Interfaith Dialogue Within the Abrahamic Tradition*.

He delivered lectures on 'Practical Mysticism as Authentic Religiousness in the Semitic Traditions' in Oxford and Aberdeen, and was grateful for the opportunity to share thinking with colleagues in Oxford and elsewhere.

Professor Aharon Maman

Professor Maman of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem stayed at the Centre as a Kennedy Leigh Fellow from 4 January to 13 April. He made progress with his edition of Rav Hai Gaon's *Kitāb al-Hāwi*, and has now studied all fifty-one known leaves, with the help of on-line access to catalogues and especially of images of Genizah texts available to Centre fellows. He completed deciphering the eleven most recently discovered fragments, and has made progress with the general introduction to the book. He presented a David Patterson Seminar entitled 'Following in the Footsteps of Rav Hai Gaon's Lost Dictionary', based on Genizah findings, and subsequently joined the European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies - The Material Texts of the Genizah Collection at the Bodleian Library: A New Approach to Genizah Research. In this context he offered a lecture entitled 'Hebrew Philology in the Genizah – An Overview', and another on 'The Pseudo-Ibn Yashush Philological Work' in the concluding Conference. He also delivered a lecture on 'Rav Hai Gaon's Lost Dictionary Kitāb al-Hāwi: State of the Art', to Professor Nicholas de Lange and Professor William Horbury's Seminar in Hebrew, Jewish and Early Christian Studies in the Faculty of Divinity, University of Cambridge. He is particularly grateful for having had access to the Muller, Bodleian, Oriental Institute and the Taylorian libraries, and profited in addition from discussions with other visitors to the Centre, including Dr Yehudah Cohn, Dr Roni Shweka and Dr Ronny Vollandt.

Professor Benny Morris

Professor Morris of the Ben-Gurion University of the Negev stayed at the Centre from 1 May to 30 June and carried out research for a projected book on Armenian-Turkish relations between 1876 and 1924, one segment of which will compare the Armenian

and Jewish Holocausts. He gave a Patterson Seminar on this subject and carried out research in the Bodleian Library, focusing on the rich holdings of private papers relating to the subject, as well as on Foreign Office material at the National Archives (formerly the PRO). He also wrote a review essay on Simon Sebag-Montefiore's *Jerusalem: A Biography*.

Dr Nurit Pasternak

Dr Nurit Pasternak of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem stayed at the Centre from 12 April to 3 July, and worked on an article based on research carried out in the framework of her doctoral dissertation. In this she explored encounters between Jews and Christians in fifteenth-century Florence, drawing evidence from both parties' book culture, including manuscript production and consumption, libraries, manuscript inventories and reading repertoire. She focused in particular on descriptions of Hebrew-manuscript collections owned by Jewish Florentine banking families, and set out to determine whether Jews were interested in texts read and collected by Christians, and vice versa, or whether their inventories were set apart from their Christian environment. In her article entitled 'Jewish Patrons and their Books' she described this Jewish Tuscan elite, their Hebrew-manuscript collections and their dynamics, the absence of private or public libraries of Hebrew books, book-lists found inside Hebrew manuscripts that attest to the reading repertoire of Florentine Jews, and methods for identifying and localizing Hebrew manuscripts produced in or around Florence, or owned by Jews of Florence at that time. She also compiled a comprehensive list of the manuscripts owned by Florentine Jews.

Professor Gary Rendsburg

Professor Rendsburg of Rutgers University, New Jersey, stayed at the Centre from 4 October 2010 until 15 February 2011, and carried out research on the stylistics of Biblical Hebrew prose and poetry, the subject of a planned monograph entitled *How the Bible Is Written*. Aspects of his research were presented as a David Patterson Seminar entitled 'Alliteration as a Stylistic Device in the Bible', and as an Old Testament Seminar held at the Theology Faculty, entitled 'Repetition with Variation as a Stylistic Device in Biblical Hebrew Literature'. He also delivered lectures at the universities of Cambridge, Manchester and Birmingham, and at University College London and Trinity College, Bristol. He was able to inspect related materials at the Genizah Project in Cambridge, the British Library, the British Museum and the John Rylands Library.

Dr Avihu Ronen

Dr Avihu Ronen of Tel Hai Academic College, Haifa University, stayed at the Centre from 13 March to 20 August 2010, and completed a book since published as *The Death of the Avant-garde: The Life, Death and Diaries of Chajka Klinger*. He also completed articles entitled 'Surrendering Hidden Brethren or Trying to Save Them: The Barenblat Trial and the Image of the *Judenrat* in the 1960s' and 'We are Here: The Narrative of the Ghetto Fighters', and began two others entitled 'The Tabenkin Telegram and the Relationships Between the Ghetto Fighters and the Jewish Leadership in Eretz Israel' and 'Writing Holocaust Memories'. He commenced new research concerning Holocaust survivors in Kibbutzim during the 1940s and 1950s, focusing mainly on the reflections of the Holocaust in newspapers and literature, based on the Muller Library and especially the Kressel Collection newspaper cuttings, with the generous the assistance of Dr César Merchán-Hamann and Milena Zeidler. He participated in several seminars and delivered talks entitled 'We are Here: Israeli Historiography of the Holocaust during the Fifties' and 'Survivors or Fighters: Holocaust Survivors in the Kibbutzim'.

Professor Marina Rustow

Professor Marina Rustow of Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, stayed at the Centre from 4 February to 1 July and participated in the European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies - The Material Texts of the Genizah Collection at the Bodleian Library: A New Approach to Genizah Research. She worked on two projects. In one of these, she and Professor Sacha Stern of University College London investigated the manuscript sources for the great Jewish calendar controversy of 921–2, when Iraqi and Palestinian rabbinic Jews disagreed for a full year over the dates of the festivals and fasts. This is known from copies of letters preserved in the Genizah that were published in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Rustow and Stern re-examined the manuscripts from the points of view of palaeography and codicology, to determine when and where they were copied, how memory of the controversy was transmitted, and what its significance may have been for later generations. Some of the texts require systematic reediting, and the results will be written up in 2012.

The second project, centred on the relationship between the Fatimid caliphate and its religious minorities, is based on hundreds of petitions to Fatimid officials, as well as decrees and internal directives from the court and bureaucracy in Cairo, preserved in the Genizah. Some were published by pioneers in the field at Oxford and Cambridge (S. M. Stern, D. S. Richards, and Geoffrey Khan), but Professor Rustow located more in British Genizah collections, and read widely on the administrative apparatus of the medieval Islamic state in order to put the documents into context. She also worked, together with Seminar colleagues Professor Judith Olszowy-Schlanger and Dr Roni Shweka, on an early Fatimid decree that Dr Shweka reconstructed while piecing together a manuscript of the *She'iltot* written on its back.

Dr Roni Shweka

Dr Roni Shweka of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem stayed at the Centre from 10 January to 30 June as a participant in the European Seminar of Advanced Jewish Studies - The Material Texts of the Genizah Collection at the Bodleian Library: A New Approach to Genizah Research. His research focused on 'Genizah Fragments of the Geonic Halakhic Codes: *She'iltot*, *Halakhot Pesukot* and *Halakhot Gedolot*', which he was able to study across a number of Genizah collections with the help of the Friedberg Genizah Project, identifying textual traditions and joining fragments belonging to different copies. He collaborated in the study of one manuscript with Professor Marina Rustow who analysed a decree in Arabic on the verso, and with Professor Judith Olszowy-Schlanger who discussed the identification of the writer and the format of the text. It is hoped to publish this as a paper in the conference proceedings.

He was invited by Dr Ben Outhwaite to give a paper at the Cambridge University Library on the Friedberg Genizah Project, where he was able also to study some fragments in the Cambridge Genizah collection, and by Professor Judith Olszowy-Schlanger to give a lecture at her seminar in the L'ecole pratique des hautes études in Paris.

He benefited from the collaborative atmosphere of the seminar and the opportunity to collaborate with other Genizah researchers on a daily basis. He is grateful for the helpfulness of the Centre staff, and especially to Dr Piet van Boxel, the convener of the seminar, for his assistance and kindness.

Dr Ronny Vollandt

Dr Vollandt of the University of Cambridge stayed at the Centre from 30 January to 1 July, and participated in the European Seminar of Advanced Jewish Studies - The Material Texts of the Genizah Collection at the Bodleian Library: A New Approach to Genizah Research. His work focused on early Judaeo-Arabic translations of the Bible produced in the tenth century, prior to Saadiah, who was hitherto regarded as the first to translate portions of the Bible into Arabic. These finds not only shed new light on the emergence of genre as a whole, but create a context for all subsequent Rabbanite and Karaite traditions. He sifted through the entire Genizah collection to locate and identify new fragments, which he transcribed, analysed and presented within the framework of the weekly seminar, and of the closing conference. He was able to join many Bodleian fragments to manuscripts in other Genizah collections and hopes to publish the entire corpus in the near future. He also completed an article entitled 'More on Christian Books in Jewish Libraries: Biblical Translations into Christian-Arabic Preserved in the Cairo Genizah Collections'.

A DAVID PATTERSON SEMINAR – NINEVEH THE FALLEN: REFLECTIONS ON NAHUM THE PROPHET AND NAHUM THE BOOK[1]

Professor Peter Machinist

Nahum is a little book, but if placed in what I hope is the right literary and historical contexts, it clarifies much about the course of biblical literary development and about the complexity of political and cultural interaction in the imperial ancient Near East of the first millennium BCE. Nahum has not always had a good press, since its focus on a savage denunciation of Nineveh, and the Neo-Assyrian empire of which Nineveh was the last major capital, has been taken as evidence of an excessively negative, violent and religiously coarse tone and outlook unworthy of the main trends in biblical prophecy. The result of such an evaluation had been a marginalizing of Nahum in biblical scholarship, although not a total neglect. More recently, that orientation has changed: although Nahum continues to be addressed for its violent tone toward Nineveh, the book has found new interest, for example, among feminist scholars because of the imagery it uses to denounce Nineveh; among historians for its possible witness to later Neo-Assyrian history; and among literary scholars for the character and quality of its poetry and the complications of its compositional structure.

This paper, resuming and extending work I have done and am currently engaged in on Nahum, poses three questions: (1) is the book of Nahum a coherent literary composition, or one that is disfigured by fragments out of which it has been assembled and composed in several stages of work? (2) Based on the judgment about its composition, what are the date(s) and setting(s) of the book, and what do they tell us about the book's character and purpose? More specifically, is the book, in its denunciation of Nineveh and Assyria and its description of their downfall, a witness to an event already past or a prophecy, a prediction, of one yet to happen? (3) If Nahum the book is essentially a witness to the past, as I try in fact to argue, how and why did it come to be regarded and classified as a piece of predictive prophecy, as the ancient evidence shows it most certainly did?

The question about literary coherence can be answered in the positive, and at least two facets of the text, as we now read it in its Tiberian Masoretic form, point in this direction. The more important is the dramatic sense of the whole: the three chapters of the book flow from one to the other, moving from a general statement about the Israelite God's awesome cosmic power to punish the guilty and offer refuge to those

1. The version of this summary that appeared in the *Report* for 2008-9 was published as a result of an editorial misunderstanding for which we apologize.

loyal to him (1), through the enactment of this power in the destruction of Nineveh/Assyria (2-3:17), to a climax referring to the exaltation and relief of all those, implicitly former subjects of Assyria, who hear of the great disaster (3:18-19). This narrative flow is reinforced by the recurrence of words, phrases and images throughout the text, which echo and play off one another. To be sure, there are some textual features which suggest that the text as we have it may not be everywhere coherent, or free of editorial tinkering or confusion in transmission. So, for example, we encounter a verse that seems not quite to fit into its context (2:3), some possible ambiguity in the antecedents of particular verbs and nouns (especially 1:13-2:1), verses that do not make sense and so may be corrupt (e.g. 2:8), and units that appear to be separate unto themselves (e.g. 1:2-3). But these difficulties cannot undermine the markers of coherence just noted. Moreover, many, if not most of the difficulties may be explained on the argument that rather than a continuous rewriting of the book over several stages, we have here one author who used various traditions and even literary units, like 1:2-3, which he adapted for his view of the drama of the text; subsequently, then, the text would have suffered some corruption in the course of transmission.

If there is, thus, a basic authorial coherence to the book of Nahum, what does this say about the date and setting of its composition? The key issue, as noted, is whether the narrative is presenting the downfall of Nineveh as a past event or as a prediction of the future. Scholarship has been divided on this issue, but in recent years more interpreters have looked at the text as a genuine prediction than as a witness to a past event, and so dated it before the known conquest of Nineveh in 612 BCE by the Babylonians and the Medes. On either solution, there is virtual agreement that the text shows familiarity with the Neo-Assyrian empire: with some of its particular terminology, geography and practices (e.g. 3:17), and, more specifically, with the conquest of Thebes in Egypt in 667 BCE by the Assyrian king, Ashurbanipal (3:8-10) – this conquest furnishing at least a *terminus post quem* for the composition of the present Nahum text. Several features, however, point to the present text post-dating the conquest of Nineveh in 612. These include: the specific description of the use of water in Nineveh's conquest, especially in chapter 2 but also elsewhere in the book, suggesting that it is not simply a literary-theological motif, but a reminiscence of an actual historical event; the framing of the narrative of the conquest in the past tense, involving a messenger who announces it as good news (2:1) and the exaltation and relief felt by all who hear of it at the end (3:18-19); and the employment of a number of verbs in the past or historical present tense to describe the Nineveh conquest and with it the downfall of Assyria (e.g. 3:17). To be sure, there are some verbs describing the conquest that appear to have a future meaning, though this is not certain (e.g. 2:14). But if they do, this, plus the known fact of Assyria's progressively weakened hold on its imperial conquests in Judah and other parts of the western Near East in the decades before Nineveh's conquest, may suggest, as A. George proposed,[2] that behind the present form of the Nahum text lies a developing expression in Judah of hope, in advance of the actual

2. A. George, 'Nahum (le livre de)', *Suppleménts au Dictionnaire de la Bible* 6 (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1960) col. 297.

conquest of 612, that Nineveh would one day meet its just fate. Indeed, this is a hope already put forward by some leading biblical prophets of a century earlier, viz., the later eighth century BCE - foremost among them the First Isaiah. And Nahum appears to echo in a number of places this Isaiah or the tradition that he represents (e.g. 5:11-13 and Isaiah 5:29-30),[3] pointing to a deliberate effort to assert that Isaiah's promise of Assyria's eventual defeat (e.g. 10:12) was realized in Nahum's day.

If the present form of the book of Nahum thus reflects the downfall of Nineveh and with it the Assyrian state, its rhetorically charged language, and its use of a variety of literary/theological motifs from both Israelite/Judaean tradition (e.g. 1:2-3 with Exod. 34:6-7, etc.; and the tradition of First Isaiah) and beyond, indicate that what Nahum provides is not a documentary report on Nineveh's fall, but a literary/theological response to that fall. Yet the text cannot have been composed too much later than the downfall in 612, that is, not later than the following century or two (sixth-fifth centuries BCE), because its knowledge of Assyria, in terms of history, terminology and geography, seems often too specific for what was apparently known about Assyria after that period, as indicated by faulty Greek and Greek-Jewish depictions. Our third question thus remains: how, if the present form of the Nahum book is a witness to the downfall of Nineveh already past, did it come to be regarded as a prophetic prediction of that downfall in the future? That it was so regarded is evident from its place as one of the Twelve Minor Prophets in the Hebrew Bible, and from the references to it as predictive prophecy in Second Temple texts like Tobit (14:14: Sinaiticus version), the commentary (*pesher*) on Nahum from Qumran, and Josephus (*Antiquities* IX: 2, 3). The solution to this problem appears to begin with some of the future-oriented elements in the Nahum text, noted above, and with the association of Nahum with another Minor prophetic book, Habakkuk, which is structurally and thematically its mirror. As Nahum deals with the Neo-Assyrian empire, Habakkuk deals with its successor, the Neo-Babylonian (Chaldaean) and its effect on Judah - the notion of Neo-Babylonia as the imperial successor being widely assumed in the Hebrew Bible.[4] Furthermore, although within the Twelve Minor Prophets the order of some of the books can vary among the ancient manuscripts, for Nahum and Habakkuk the order is always Nahum, then Habakkuk. And yet there is a significant difference between the two books: if Nahum treats the downfall of Neo-Assyria as past, Habukkuk faces Neo-Babylonia in its period of strength, so can only wonder how long its imperial oppression will continue (e.g. 2:17) and hope for its end (e.g. 2:1-5). I would suggest, therefore, that Nahum and Habakkuk were brought together as a pair, at some point in the period of the Babylonian Exile or early Second Temple, and quite probably before the entire Twelve Minor Prophets section was arranged. Habakkuk, doubtless the later of the two texts to be composed, may even have been in part modelled on Nahum. The point was that the downfall of Nineveh and Assyria, which Nahum had proclaimed, was taken as a precedent for the hope that Neo-Babylonia would also fall. In fact, this very reasoning is attested elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible, in the book of Jeremiah (50:17-18). Thus, the connection with Habakkuk made Nahum a predictive prophecy fulfilled, and not simply a witness of something past.

3. P. Machinist, 'The Image of Assyria in the First Isaiah', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 103 (1983) 735-6.
4. Ibid. 736-7.

MST IN JEWISH STUDIES

The six students who studied at the Centre this year and the four who graduated (two with distinction) came from Canada, Germany, Italy and the United Kingdom. Fellows and Lectors of the Centre taught most of the courses and languages presented in the MSt programme, with additional modules provided by Professor Sir Fergus Millar, FBA, Emeritus Camden Professor of Ancient History, Oxford University; Dr Garth Gilmore and Dr Deborah Rooke, Regent's Park College. Dr Jordan Finkin served as Course Coordinator, and the course was administered by Martine Smith-Huvers, Academic Registrar, together with Sue Forteath, Academic Administrator.

Courses

This year's students studied either Biblical or Modern Hebrew. In addition, they selected four courses from the list below and submitted dissertations. The following courses were offered during the 2010-2011 academic year:

- A Survey of Rabbinic Literature *Dr Joanna Weinberg*
- Introduction to the Archaeology of Ancient Israel: The Iron Age (1200-332 BCE) *Dr Garth Gilmour*
- Israel: State, Society, Identity *Dr Raffaella Del Sarto*
- Jewish-Christian Thought and Dialogue *Dr Aaron Rosen*
- Jewish History 200 BCE to 70 CE *Professor Martin Goodman*
- Jewish Liturgy *Dr Jeremy Schonfield*
- Jewish-Muslim Relations through the Ages *Dr Adam Silverstein*
- Septuagint *Dr Alison Salvesen*
- The Diaspora in the Roman Empire: Jews, Pagans and Christians to 450 CE *Professor Sir Fergus Millar*
- The Emergence of Modern Religious Movements in Judaism *Dr Miri Freud-Kandel*
- The Religion of Israel *Dr Deborah Rooke*
- Unhappy in Their Own Way: Hebrew and Yiddish as a Literary Family *Dr Jordan Finkin*

Languages:

- Biblical Hebrew (elementary and intermediate) *Stephen Herring and Timothy Edwards*
- Modern Hebrew (elementary and intermediate) *Daphna Witztum*
- Yiddish *Dr Khayke Beruriah Wiegand*

The Students Graduating This Year

Tahnia Haseen Ahmed (*b.* 1988) graduated in Theology and Religious Studies at the University of Cambridge, enabling her to explore different faith traditions. The MSt in Jewish Studies helped deepen her knowledge of Jewish attitudes and beliefs, especially concerning Israel and Zionism, and introduced her to an historical perspective of Muslim-Jewish relations, preparing her for a career in interfaith dialogue. At Cambridge Tahnia was the Muslim coordinator of the Muslim-Jewish Women's Dialogue Group (MoJoW) and President of the Cambridge University Bangladesh Society. Her dissertation was entitled: 'From Victim to Villain: The Representation of Jews in British Cartoons from WWII to the Present'.

Samuel Jeffery Hilton (*b.* 1986), who has a First Class Honours degree in History (2008, University of Southampton) and an MSc in Development Planning (University of Reading), became interested in Jewish history and culture while at Southampton, where he was taught by members of the Parkes Institute for Jewish Studies and took courses on the Old Testament and the Dead Sea Scrolls, among others. His dissertation was entitled: 'Justin's Portrayal of the Jews in his Dialogue with Trypho'.

Juni Hoppe (*b.* 1989), who graduated in theology at Humboldt University, Berlin, was brought up speaking German and Korean, studied Latin and Greek at school in Germany and Switzerland, and Biblical Hebrew, Aramaic and Coptic at university. She came to Oxford to become acquainted with primary texts of late Antiquity, the Hebrew Bible and the Jewish exegetical tradition. Her main interest is in the history of postbiblical Judaism and early Christianity in the Graeco-Roman period, which she sees as essential background to Christian theology. Her dissertation was entitled 'Philo's Life of Moses'.

Vaughan Peter Spencer Phillips (*b.* 1987) graduated in Oriental Studies, majoring in Arabic and Islamic Studies, at the University of Oxford in 2010. His interest in Muslim-Jewish relations led him to write an undergraduate thesis comparing the Hamas and Gush Emunim Charters. Already able to read primary Arabic texts in the original, he wished to improve his knowledge of Hebrew, which he began to learn when his father was posted to Israel as a diplomat. He has since worked with the Peres Centre for Peace and ICAHD (the Israeli Committee Against House Demolition), increasing his interest in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, that he believes cannot be understood without a proper grasp of the historical and religious narratives of Judaism and Islam.

His dissertation, entitled 'Liberation or Terrorist Models: The Irgun and Hamas' was awarded the prize for the best dissertation.

End-of-year Party

At the end-of-year party, held at Yarnton Manor on Wednesday 29 June 2011, the President made farewell presentations to several departing Fellows. Dr Aaron Rosen, Albert and Rachel Lehmann Junior Research Fellow, will be taking up a position at the Institute of Sacred Music, Yale University Divinity School. Dr Raffaella Del Sarto, Pears Rich Fellow in Israel and Mediterranean Studies, has been appointed Part-time Professor at the European University Institute in Florence and adjunct Professor of Middle East Studies and International Relations at the Bologna Center of the Johns Hopkins University (Paul H. Nitze School for Advanced International Studies, Bologna Campus). Dr Adam Silverstein will take up a new post at King's College London, in Jewish Studies and the Abrahamic Religions. Dr Jordan Finkin is moving to Harvard. Dr Piet van Boxel, who is retiring from his post as Librarian of the Leopold Muller Memorial Library and Hebraica and Judaica Curator at the Bodleian, was presented with a bay tree, a green reminder of his nine years at the Centre.

Acknowledgements

The Centre wishes to record its thanks to the Dorset Foundation who assisted with the 'Harry M. Weinrebe' scholarships this year.

Fellows and Students of the MSt in Jewish Studies

Front Row (left to right): *Professor Martin Goodman, Dr Jordan Finkin (Course Coordinator), Dr Jeremy Schonfield, Dr David Ariel (President), Professor Fergus Millar, Dr Joanna Weinberg, Dr Adam Silverstein* **Second Row:** *Dr Piet van Boxel, Costanza Ficorella (Italy), Tahnia Ahmed (UK), Daphna Witztum, Jane Barlow (UK)* **Third Row:** *Dr Deborah Rooke, Dr César Merchán-Hamann, Juni Hoppe (Germany), Sue Forteath (Academic Administrator)* **Back Row:** *Stephen Herring, Dr Garth Gilmour, Samuel Hilton (UK), Martine Smith-Huvers (Registrar)*

JOURNAL OF JEWISH STUDIES

During the academic year 2010-2011 the *Journal of Jewish Studies* has continued its regular publication under the editorship of Professor Geza Vermes, FBA, FEA of the University of Oxford and Professor Sacha Stern of University College London, with Dr Charlotte Hempel of Birmingham University as book-reviews editor.

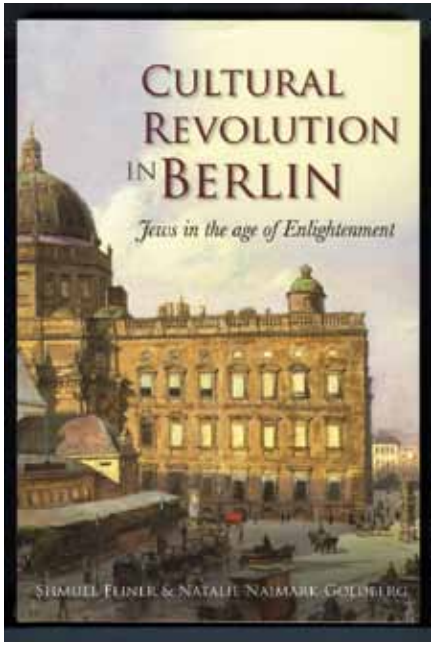
Volume 61, no. 2 (Autumn 2010) includes among other articles one by Geza Vermes on fifty years of the 'Son of Man' debate, a study on the perfection of the human body in Hellenistic Judaism (Arkady Kovelman), a survey of the title 'Rabbi' in Palestinian inscriptions (Ben Zion Rosenfeld), an analysis of the redaction history of Kohelet Rabbah (Reuven Kipperwasser) and an examination of the 'Rewritten Scripture' in Ancient Judaism (Daniel A. Machiela).

Volume 62, no. 1 (Spring 2011) contains articles on Ben Sirah (Jonathan Ben-Dov), on Galilean settlements in the time of Josephus, and a Maimonidean biblical construct (James A. Diamond). There is also a study of medieval ideas concerning pregnancy without sex (Simcha Emanuel) and a catalogue of medical manuscripts from the Mosseri Genizah collection (Ephraim Lev).

Both issues end with lengthy book-review sections.

The Editorial Board had immense pleasure in presenting the freshly redesigned Spring 2011 issue of the *Journal*. The aim was not only to modernize the design, but to enhance its legibility. The cover continues a long tradition, but received an extra splash of colour. The book reviews are now laid out in two columns, visually breaking the journal into sections, and helping readers to orientate themselves more easily. The main articles now have wider interlinear leading to make them easier on the eyes. The house style has been simplified and unified; it now mixes tradition with modernity to accommodate various forms of oriental scripts. The *Journal* has also acquired a new bird-like graphic logo, inspired by an ancient synagogue inscription from Beit el Ashwal in Yemen.

The launch of the *Journal's* Supplement Series is another novelty. It will include short monographs and collections of essays within the *Journal's* field of interest, aimed at experts as well as audiences beyond the specialized circle of our readers. The first volume, under the title *Cultural Revolution in Berlin: Jews in the Age of Enlightenment* (Journal of Jewish Studies Supplement Series 1), by Shmuel Feiner and Natalie Naimark-Goldberg, is a guide to the eighteenth-century *Haskalah*. Published in association with Bodleian Library Publishing, it is richly illustrated with rare manuscripts and printed books and with pamphlets from the Muller Library and the Bodleian Library. It is obtainable from www.jjs-online.net



THE EUROPEAN ASSOCIATION FOR JEWISH STUDIES

The European Association for Jewish Studies (EAJS) is the sole umbrella organization representing the academic field of Jewish Studies in Europe. Its main aims are to promote and support teaching and research in Jewish studies at European universities and other institutions of higher education, and to further an understanding of the importance of Jewish culture and civilization and of the impact it has had on European cultures over many centuries.

The EAJS organizes annual Colloquia in Oxford and quadrennial Congresses in various European locations. These major academic events are attended by scholars from all over Europe as well as from other parts of the world. In July 2010 the town of Ravenna in Italy hosted over 400 scholars at the ninth EAJS Congress under the title 'Judaism in the Mediterranean Context'. A colloquium was planned for July 2011 in Oxford entitled 'Books within Books – New Discoveries in Old Book Bindings'. Details of all EAJS congresses and colloquia are available on the EAJS website (http://eurojewishstudies.org).

Other ongoing projects of the EAJS include the *European Journal of Jewish Studies*, published by Brill, the Association's website that incorporates a number of online news and information features, a New Books page, a monthly Newsflash, the online Directory of Jewish Studies in Europe, and the EAJS Funders Database. The last mentioned is part of the EAJS Funding Advisory Service, which saw the appointment in a consultant capacity in February 2011 of Jonathan Starbrook and which aims to collate a comprehensive database of Jewish-Studies-related funding and grant opportunities throughout Europe for its members.

The EAJS was founded as a voluntary academic association in 1981, and its Secretariat has been based at Yarnton Manor since 1995. In 2010 the Association became a company limited by guarantee and a registered charity (Charity Commission no. 1136128). It is currently administered by Dr Garth Gilmour, and managed by the EAJS Secretary, Professor Daniel Langton (University of Manchester).

THE INSTITUTE FOR POLISH–JEWISH STUDIES

The Institute for Polish–Jewish Studies, an associated institute of the Centre, this year published volume 23 of *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry*. This volume, edited by Michał Galas and Antony Polonsky, was devoted to the subject of 'Jews in Kraków'. Few Polish cities have evoked more affection from their Jewish inhabitants than Kraków, and this volume brings together twenty-three essays by scholars from Israel, Poland, the UK and the USA to explore how this relationship evolved. Considering Jewish life in the city from a wide range of social and cultural perspectives, primarily in the last two centuries, the contributors present a fascinatingly detailed panorama to explain why Kraków had this special status in Polish Jewish history. An additional perspective is provided by a consideration of how Jewish life in Kraków has been remembered by Holocaust survivors and how it is portrayed in post-war Polish literature. The volume, nearly 600 pages long, also includes four papers on other subjects in Polish–Jewish studies as well as an obituary of the political commentator and Yiddishist Abe Brumberg.

In December a two-day international conference convened by Professor Antony Polonsky and Professor Jonathan Webber was held to launch the volume, disseminate its chief findings, and to open up discussion on the Jews of Kraków. The first day of the conference, which was held at the London Jewish Cultural Centre in Golders Green, was devoted to recent times (from the Holocaust to the present); and the second day, at the Polish Embassy, where the proceedings were formally opened by the ambassador, H.E. Barbara Tuge-Erecińska, was on the theme of 'The Jewish Love-Affair with Kraków over the Centuries'. Sponsorship was generously provided by the Polish Cultural Institute and the Polish Embassy, together with the American Association for Polish–Jewish Studies. Over the two days there were fifteen presentations by speakers from Canada, Israel, Poland, the UK and the USA, including two museum directors from Kraków, the chief rabbi of Kraków, and the head of the Jagiellonian University's new Centre for the Study of the History and Culture of Kraków Jews, along with a number of other university-based scholars from Kraków, Warsaw and elsewhere. The conference included the screening of two relevant films: *Lipowa 4: Life and Work in Oskar Schindler's Factory*, a new Polish film based on eyewitness accounts and archival materials relating to the enamelware factory made famous by Steven Spielberg's *Schindler's List*. The other film screening was of Oren Rudavsky's remarkable 1986 film *Spark among the Ashes: A Bar Mitzvah in Poland*, a documentary focusing on the clash between tradition and modernity when an American Jewish boy came specially to celebrate his Bar Mitzvah among the Holocaust survivors of Kraków, accompanied by a woman rabbi to conduct the ceremony. For the first time the Institute's annual *Polin* launch conference was held over two days rather than just one; it was very successful, full to capacity and attracted lively discussion.

During the year the Adam Mickiewicz Institute in Warsaw published the proceedings of the conference 'Poland: A Jewish Matter' that had been co-organized by the Institute at the Jewish Museum in London in May 2010.

LOOTED ART RESEARCH UNIT

The highlight of the Unit's year was the launch of the International Research Portal for Records Related to Nazi-Era Cultural Property, in Washington DC in May by the US National Archivist, David Ferriero.

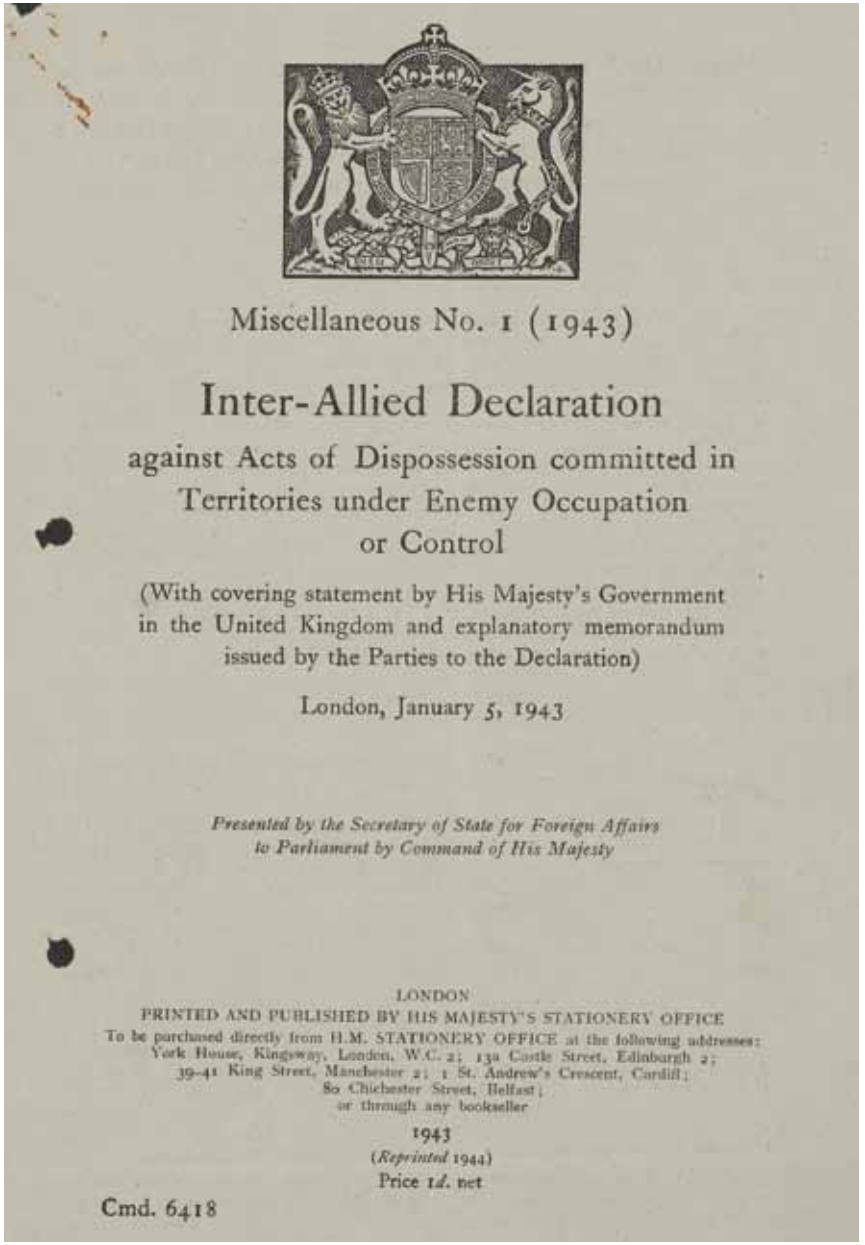
The Portal aims to make available online all primary records relating to the Nazi seizure of cultural property and its postwar restitution. The project was initiated in 2009 by the UK National Archives (TNA), the US National Archives (NARA) and the German State archives *(Bundesarchiv)*. Soon after its inception, TNA asked the Unit and its parent organization, the Commission for Looted Art in Europe, which it described as the 'acknowledged source for expert knowledge and information on British archival holdings', to partner it in the project, to which we agreed. Our role has been to identify all relevant UK records, provide detailed descriptions and write an extended introduction which will become part of TNA's online catalogue. We are also members of the Executive Board of the project.

By the date of the launch, the project had greatly expanded. Signatories to the Agreement of Participation were the National Archives of Belgium, France, Germany, Ukraine and the UK, the Archives of the Mémorial de la Shoah, France, the Commission for Looted Art in Europe, the German Historical Museum Berlin, the US Holocaust Memorial Museum and the Conference on Jewish Material Claims against Germany. Other countries and institutions are engaged in discussions with the Board on future participation.

The launch was followed by a two-day seminar, organized by the US National Archives and the US Museums Association, entitled 'A New Era of Collaboration and Digitized Resources: World War II Provenance Research Seminar'. At this, the Director of the Unit spoke on behalf of the UK about the records available at The National Archives, and researchers were familiarized with the new online resources available internationally. The unprecedented access to national records was warmly welcomed by historians and researchers. 'By digitizing and linking archival records online,' the Keeper of The National Archives wrote, 'researchers will be able to piece together the stories of what became of cultural objects, be they books, paintings, sculpture, jewellery or any other stolen artefacts, from evidence fragmented across borders and languages'.

One of the project's initial aims was to ensure that the records would assist in the restitution of cultural property, by including documentation on seized works and claims made, knowledge of which has in many cases since been lost. The records in TNA span the period from 1939 to 1961 and contain a wide range of material. This includes correspondence, telegrams, written records of conversations, field reports, minutes and agendas of meetings, press articles, texts of Parliamentary questions, investigations of monuments and historic buildings, forms for the restitution of claimed property and inventories of looted works of art. Photographs of looted artworks can also occasionally be found.

Plate 1. Raphael 'Madonna and child' seized from Naples and recovered at the end of the War.



Miscellaneous No. 1 (1943)

Inter-Allied Declaration

against Acts of Dispossession committed in Territories under Enemy Occupation or Control

(With covering statement by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and explanatory memorandum issued by the Parties to the Declaration)

London, January 5, 1943

Presented by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to Parliament by Command of His Majesty

LONDON
PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY HIS MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE
To be purchased directly from H.M. STATIONERY OFFICE at the following addresses:
York House, Kingsway, London, W.C. 2; 13a Castle Street, Edinburgh 2;
39-41 King Street, Manchester 2; 1 St. Andrew's Crescent, Cardiff;
80 Chichester Street, Belfast;
or through any bookseller
1943
(*Reprinted* 1944)
Price 1*d.* net

Cmd. 6418

Plate 2. The Inter-Allied Declaration against Acts of Dispossession Committed in Territories under Enemy Occupation and Control. Initiated and led by Britain, this was the most important statement made by the Allies acknowledging the Nazi plundering of Europe and committing to reversing it and restituting seized property.

Our work made it clear that the UK material will also provide a basis for new work by historians on Allied policies on reparation and restitution, in particular the leadership of the British government in initiating the Allied commitment to the return of seized cultural property. On 5 January 1943 the Inter-Allied Declaration against Acts of Dispossession Committed in Territories under Enemy Occupation of Control was issued in London by Britain together with sixteen other governments and the French National Committee.

The Declaration was the most important statement made by the Allies acknowledging the Nazi plundering of Europe and committing to the restitution of seized property.

The UK material also includes records on the role of Jewish organizations in seeking compensation and the recovery of looted property in Europe at the end of the War.

The Portal is online at http://www.archives.gov/research/holocaust/international-resources/ . The UK material, selected, described and introduced by the team of doctoral and post-doctoral historians employed by the Unit, is at http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documentsonline/looted-art.asp.

Plate 3. The website home page of the UK National Archives Nazi-Era Cultural Property Project.

The past year has seen a number of restitutions, one of which led to a change in the law in Bavaria. This was one of the Unit's major restitution achievements of the year, and has implications for all other cases brought to the state of Bavaria. The case has also shed light on the post-war Bavarian appropriation of looted artworks.

The case revolved around *Der alte Nordbahnhof in Wien*, a painting by Rudolf von Alt which we located in the collection of the *Staatliche Graphische Sammlung* (State Graphics Collection) Munich. It had belonged to the late Valerie Heissfeld of Vienna.

Plate 4. *Der alte Nordbahnhof in Wien*, by Rudolf von Alt (1812–1905).

Valerie Heissfeld lived at Meytensgasse 27, Wien 13, with her daughter Lotte, who was born in 1907. Valerie's husband, Dr Jakob Heissfeld, a surgeon-major in the Imperial and Royal Army (*K. K. Stabsarzt*), had died on active service in 1915.

On 9 September 1938, Valerie and Lotte Heissfeld each submitted an export application (*Ansuchen um Ausfuhrbewilligung*) to the Heritage Office (*Denkmalamt*), Vienna, to transfer their collection of over 100 works of art to Czechoslovakia. Six items were blocked from export of which this painting was one, and within three months it and the other blocked works had been acquired by a Viennese gallery and auction house.

In February 1939 Valerie and Lotte Heissfeld fled from Vienna to Brno in Czechoslovakia, together with Valerie's sister, Adele Kulka. Lotte's brother Karel had died in Brno in January 1938 aged 31, following imprisonment and ill treatment by the Nazis in Germany. Lotte Heissfeld was able to emigrate from Brno to London on 1 March 1939, but her mother Valerie and her aunt Adele were obliged to remain. Two weeks after Lotte left, on 15 March 1939, Brno was occupied by the Nazis.

On 29 March 1942 Valerie Heissfeld and Adele Kulka were deported to Theresienstadt. Adele Kulka died there two weeks later on 11 April 1942, and Valerie Heissfeld just two days after, on 13 April 1942. Lotte was to be the sole survivor of her family.

Our research showed the *Nordbahnhof* aquarelle to have been found by the Allies at the end of the war and taken to the Central Collecting Point (CCP) Munich on 29 October 1945. The CCP card records it as having passed through the hands of the Munich art dealer Eugen Brüschwiler, who claimed on 14 March 1951 to have bought it from a Munich private collection for 3800 RM on 1 July 1942. Brüschwiler was a close personal friend of Hitler and of Heinrich Hoffmann, and was an important buyer for Hitler's Linz Collection through the personal influence of Martin Bormann, head of the Nazi party, the NSDAP, and Hitler's private secretary.

Plate 5. *Portrait of a young woman in white holding a music book in her hands in a landscape*, by Johann Baptist Lampi the Elder (1751-1830).

Plate 6. *Portrait of a young woman with a drawing instrument* by Carl Christian Vogel von Vogelstein (1788-1868).

Brüschwiler's records have not survived, but we were nonetheless able to show that Brüschwiler had in fact sold the painting to Martin Bormann, on 1 July 1942. Bormann kept it in his collection at Obersalzberg, where it was found by the Allies. They handed it over to the State of Bavaria in trusteeship in June 1949, and it reached the State Graphics Collection in February 1973.

When we presented a claim for it, we were told that although the Bavarian state had received in trusteeship from the Allies hundreds of paintings from the collections of Nazi leaders for the purpose of restitution, the Bavarian state had formally taken ownership of them some years before. According to the Bavarian constitution, no asset could leave state ownership without compensation being paid for the exact value. For budgetary reasons the Graphische Sammlung refused to pay the compensation and there was a stalemate. Following our representations to the German and Bavarian governments, the Bavarian State Government amended the constitution in April 2011 to enable the restitution, without compensation, of all cultural property expropriated under Nazi rule.

Two of the other restitutions which took place this year involved a case earlier stages of which were described in the previous Report. In October 2010, *Portrait of a young woman in white holding a music book in her hands in a landscape* by Johann Baptist Lampi the Elder was restored to the heirs of Malvine, Bertha and Jenny Rosauer of Vienna by the German Federal Government, seventy-two years after its seizure. The painting had been part of Hitler's Linz Collection.

In April 2011 a second painting, *Portrait of a young woman with a drawing instrument* by Dresden painter Carl Christian Vogel von Vogelstein, representing one of the artist's finest early works, was returned to the Rosauer heirs, this time by Dresden's Gemäldegalerie where it had hung since 1940.

When the Nazis took power in Austria in March 1938, the three Rosauer sisters were in their late seventies and lived quietly in Vienna. As a result of Nazi persecution they lost their home, their paintings and their lives. The elder sister Malvine died in Vienna in 1940 and the two younger sisters, Bertha and Jenny, were murdered in Treblinka in 1942. Only one great-nephew, Rudolf Epstein, survived.

One of the Rosauer heirs, Susan Freeman, wrote of the restitutions:

When Rudi Epstein escaped to England, he had lost his parents, all his relatives and arrived with just a few belongings. One of his possessions was an aquarelle of the library of his three great-aunts, depicting many of their paintings and works of art. Rudi spoke fluent German, Czech and English and worked as an interpreter at the Nuremberg trials. Long before it became possible to reclaim such works of art he dreamt that one day, for the sake of his aunts and lost family, it would be possible to return the paintings and works of art to their rightful heirs. He always spoke to us about the looted art collection. When he died, he bequeathed the Rosauer collection to his great-niece. We have kept his dream alive. It was an on-going dream. It was just by chance that we made contact with Anne Webber. Thanks to Anne, the dream became an on-going reality. In October 2010 the very first painting belonging to the Rosauer sisters, by Johann Baptist Lampi the Elder, was returned to us. It was a very emotional moment; it felt as if it was a homecoming. Uncle Rudi would have wept with joy.

QUMRAN FORUM

A special commemorative meeting was held at the Oriental Institute on 1 February 2011 to mark the centenary of the death of Emil Schürer (1844-1910), whose classic *History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* was substantially rewritten by Geza Vermes, Fergus Millar, Matthew Black and Martin Goodman, with the collaboration of Tessa Rajak, Philip Alexander, Robert Hayward, Jenny Morris and Leonie Archer. Pamela Vermes acted as literary editor. The three volumes of the English edition, incorporating the novelties of the Qumran manuscripts, were published by T. & T. Clark in Edinburgh between 1973 and 1987. In the course of the celebration, Professors Vermes, Millar, Goodman and Rajak evaluated the old and the revised Schürer within the context of the study of Second Temple Judaism and nascent Christianity.

THE LEOPOLD MULLER MEMORIAL LIBRARY

During the academic year 2010-2011 the Library continued to serve as a major resource for students of the MSt at the Centre, as well as for other students and researchers in the University and for those in other academic institutions by means of the Inter-Library Loan system. It also played a crucial role in the European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies, in particular for those scholars taking part in the seminar on 'The Material Texts of the Genizah Collection at the Bodleian Library: A New Approach to Genizah Research', who took full advantage of the holdings of the Library, including the Foyle-Montefiore and the Coppenhagen collections.

The cataloguing of the Library holdings has continued, adding 3000 books to the OLIS University online catalogue and to the Centre's Hebrew online catalogue. Of these catalogued items, half were new acquisitions and the remainder retrospective cataloguing. As part of this process, the Library's periodical collection is being added to the online catalogue, including Hebrew periodicals from the Elkoshi and Kressel collections, a substantial number of them in single-issues, some of them long since discontinued and not to be found in any other of the University's libraries. The Assistant Librarian, Milena Zeidler, who worked on this project, has catalogued just under a fifth of the Hebrew periodicals and over a third of the non-Hebrew journals, making

up a total of 250 journals now on the Online catalogue, most of which cannot be found elsewhere in Oxford.

Thanks to the generous support of Mr and Mrs Robin Sebag-Montefiore, the Senior Assistant Librarian, Milena Zeidler, was able to continue to catalogue the contents of the Arthur Sebag-Montefiore Archive, which is being made available online as the work progresses. This year saw the departure of Dr Annelies Cazemier and Mrs Noa Sela-Dagan, cataloguers of the Dutch and Hebrew books respectively in the Coppenhagen Collection. Their expertise and helpfulness will be missed by library users, who came to rely on the support they provided.

The year culminated with the retirement of the Fellow Librarian, Dr Piet van Boxel, whose ten-year tenure saw the transformation of the Library. He was instrumental in acquiring no fewer than six major collections for the Library. The Hugo Gryn Library and Archive has made accessible the legacy of one of the leading rabbis of the Reform Movement in the United Kingdom. The Foyle-Montefiore Library preserves for Anglo-Jewry the former library of the Ramsgate rabbinical college and contains the personal library of the scholar and founder of the Wissenschaft des Judentums, Leopold Zunz. The Shandel-Lipson and Sebag-Montefiore Archives contain material pertaining to Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore, arguably the most distinguished figures in European Jewry in the nineteenth century. The Coppenhagen Library is an astounding collection of books, pamphlets and realia recording, memorializing and encapsulating the heritage of Dutch Jewry. The Louis Jacobs Library is the best rabbinical library in Europe. And the Loewe Pamphlet Collection is a comprehensive collection of material encompassing all areas of the scholarly study of Judaism.

These acquisitions more than doubled the holdings of the Library, and to house them, Dr van Boxel managed to get the derelict Manor Farm barn restored and ready to store the Coppenhagen collection and most of the periodicals, simultaneously guaranteeing enough space for future expansion. Dr van Boxel also coordinated the cataloguing activities, so the Library would add its holdings to the OLIS online university catalogue. Since the OLIS system could not at the time accommodate the cataloguing of Hebrew books in the Hebrew alphabet, he installed a compatible system that would allow the Library personnel to catalogue the Hebrew books in Hebrew, and set up a website to support the online catalogue. Subsequently Dr van Boxel set up Library programmes and websites to catalogue and make available the Loewe Pamphlet Collection and the Coppenhagen Collection pamphlets.

It is fair to say that Dr van Boxel's activities have put the Leopold Muller Memorial Library on a level with the best Judaica libraries in Europe. They have also strengthened the ties binding the Library to the Bodleian Library as well as to the University library system in general, and enhanced the academic profile of the Centre. As part of the University of Oxford library system, the Library is part of one of the unparalleled resources in the world.

After a long search, Dr César Merchán-Hamann, the former Deputy Librarian, was appointed to succeed Dr Piet van Boxel as Librarian to the Centre and Hebraica

and Judaica Curator at the Bodleian Library. This will ensure that the close association between the two libraries will be maintained and enhanced. Dr Merchán-Hamann plans to develop the collections further, to highlight those sections notable for their importance and rarity and promote research on them, and to ensure that the resources are kept up to date and available to Jewish Studies scholars at the University and further afield.

Cultural Revolution In Berlin

In February 2011, on the initiative of Dr Piet van Boxel, the 'Cultural Revolution in Berlin' exhibition opened at the Bodleian Library. The Centre's Library contributed part of the exhibits, making use of the riches of the Foyle-Montefiore collection, thanks to the selection made by Professor Shmuel Feiner and Dr Natalie Naimark-Goldberg, who contributed the text to the book published by the Bodleian Library in association with the *Journal of Jewish Studies*. The high standards of the exhibition book, flyer and prospectus were in no small measure due to the contribution of the Assistant Librarian, Milena Zeidler. The exhibition proved the value of our collections which, together with the resources of the Bodleian and other libraries in Oxford, constitute one of the foremost resources for all areas of Jewish Studies worldwide.

Acquisitions

The Library has continued to coordinate its acquisition policy with the Bodleian Libraries. In the field of Hebrew literature (both medieval and modern) it has continued the purchase of titles, especially in Modern Hebrew literature, which are not to be found elsewhere in University of Oxford libraries. Over 1400 books have been acquired in the areas of Hebrew literature, Rabbinics and history, all of which have all catalogued and made available.

Loans And Acquisitions Of Rare Books

The Library is most grateful for the books that have been deposited with the Centre on long-term loan by the Lewis Family Interests. These are listed below on page 155. Worth singling out are the numerous publications from Amsterdam which enrich the holdings in the Coppenhagen and Foyle-Montefiore collections. These include a literary production by Barrios, arguably the finest the Spanish or Portuguese writer in the Low Countries, showing the close links maintained by those newly returned to Judaism with their former homelands. There is also Isaac Cardoso's *Las excelencias de los hebreos*, one of the great apologetic works on Judaism, and a book by Aurogallus that joins the already sizeable collection of grammars by Christian Hebraists. Two pamphlets on the controversy surrounding Rabbi Dr Louis Jacobs throw light on the circumstances that led to the secession of the New London Synagogue from the United Synagogue and the founding of the Masorti Movement.

The Library has acquired several rare books in the course of the academic year that, together with the loans just mentioned, enrich the collection's already rich holdings in the areas of *Haskalah* and modernization, *halakhah*, Christian Hebraism, Yiddish literature, Anglo-Jewish history and Dutch Jewry. Several of these were purchased with the support of Mrs Elizabeth Corob in memory of her late husband Sidney Corob. They include the *Mayselakh* (מייסעלאך) or tales by the Yiddish writer Y. Kipnis, published in Kiev in 1923, as well as two literary anthologies published in the aftermath of the First World War – *Mashuot* (משואות) edited by Moshe Glickson in Odessa in 1919, and *Der Oyfgang* (דער אויפגאנג) published in Łódź in 1921 - and the review *Rimon* (רמון) devoted to literature and the arts, published in Berlin between 1922 and 1924. The polemical Yiddish weeklies *Diskursen fun di Naye Kehile and Diskursen fun di Alte Kehile* throw light on struggles within the Dutch Jewish community and complement the materials held in the Coppenhagen Collection. And we have additionally acquired a copy of the composition in German and Hebrew sent to Sir Moses Montefiore by the Jewish community of Hamburg on the occasion of his hundredth birthday, enriching the Library's Shandel-Lipson and Sebag-Montefiore Archives, containing materials on Sir Moses Montefiore and his activities. A collection of ex libris (book-plates) belonging to individuals, families and institutions mostly from the Continent testify to the enduring legacy of European Jewry which the Library is committed to preserving, joining the large number included in the Coppenhagen Collection (Plate 1). The Library is grateful to Mrs Elizabeth Corob for this generous benefaction.

Donations

We are delighted to record our gratitude to all those donors who have enriched the Library's collections in the past year, and whose names are listed on page 183 below. Their donations have been of immediate use to scholars and students at the Centre and the University. We would like to mention in particular the generous gift by Mr Charles Sebag-Montefiore of Sir Moses Montefiore's personal Bible, which joins the Montefiore-Foyle collection and the many documents in the Shandel-Lipson and Sebag-Montefiore Archives.

The Centre's Fellows have continued to donate copies of their recent works. Dr Joanna Weinberg has given the Library a copy of the book she co-authored with Professor Anthony Grafton on the relationship between the great scholar Isaac Casaubon and the Jews. Again, this complements the Library's early modern collections, especially those concerned with Christian Hebraists.

Professor Yuval Dror has continued to donate many books in the fields of modern Israeli society, politics and education, which help fill gaps in the University's collections, and keep the Library's Israeli section up-to-date.

Plate 1. *Ex libris* (book-plates) testify to the enduring legacy of European Jewry which the Library is committed to preserving, joining the large number included in the Coppenhagen Collection.

The Library has employed funds from the endowment in memory of the late Sir Isaiah Berlin to acquire several scholarly works on Jewish philosophy and thought, ranging from Maimonides to Levinas. These are listed below on pages 184 below, and we like to think that the breadth of choice would have pleased Sir Isaiah.

With the help of the Hans and Rita Oppenheimer Fund for books related to the Holocaust the Library purchased works by the Israeli novelist Aron Appelfeld, as well as some of the latest scholarly works on the Holocaust. Details on all these volumes can be found on page 185–6 below. Appelfeld's importance as an Israeli writer whose oeuvre is wholly dedicated to the Holocaust and its sequels cannot be exaggerated.

The *Journal of Jewish Studie*s has continued to supply us with review copies, all of high academic calibre.

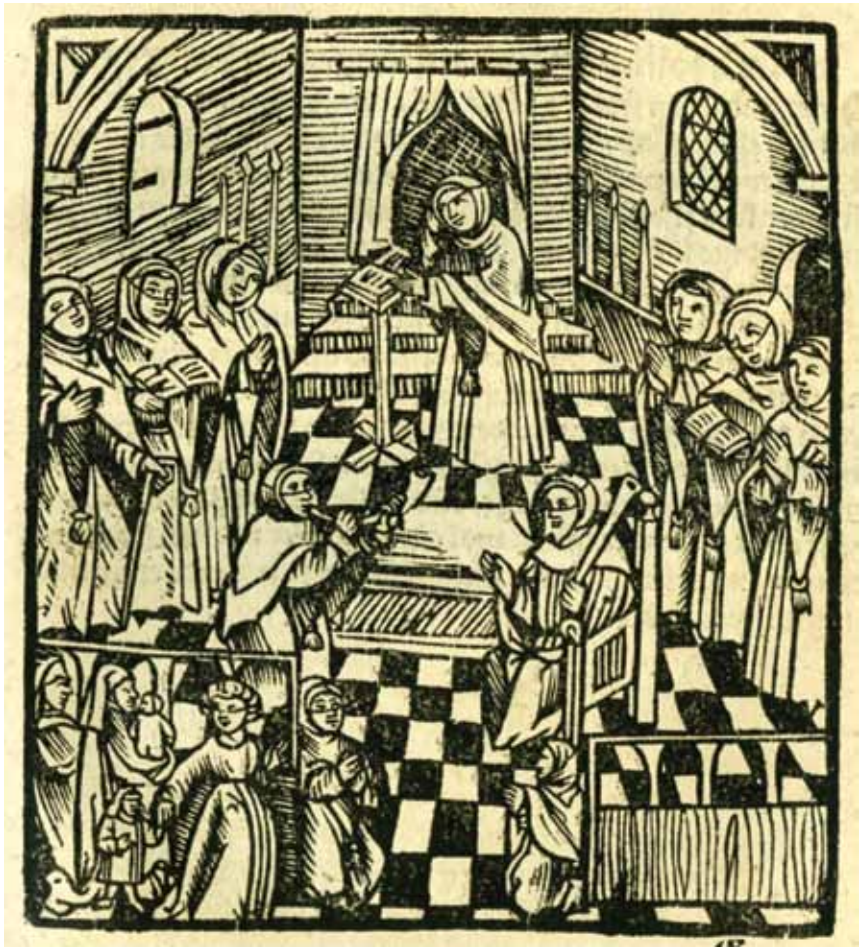


Plate 2. Pages from Anthonius Margaritha's *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub* of 1530, an illustrated survey of Jewish practice.

Books On Long Term Loan From The Lewis Family Interests

Arbuthnott, John. *Tables of the Grecian, Roman and Jewish measures, weights and coins; reduc'd to the English standard*. London: Printed for Ralph Smith, [1705?]

Aurogallus, Matthäus. *Compendium Hebreae Chaldeae quae grammatices*. Wittembergae: Josef Klug, 1525

Barrios, Miguel (Daniel Levi) de. *Aplauzos academicos e rellaçaõ do felice successo da celebre victoria do Ameixial. Oferecidos ao Excelentissimo Senhor Dom Sancho Manoel*. Amsterdam: Jacob van Velsen, 1673

Brodie, Israel. *Statement by the Very Rev. the Chief Rabbi Dr. Israel Brodie to a meeting of Rabbis and Ministers of the Anglo-Jewish Community delivered at the Adolph Tuck Hall on 5th May 1964 – 23rd Iyar 5724*. London, 1964

Cardoso, Isaac. *Las excelencias de los hebreos*. Amsterdam: David de Castro Tartás, 1679

Delmedigo, Joseph Solomon. ספר מעין גנים *[Sefer Ma'ayan ganim]*, ספר מעין חתום *[Sefer Ma'ayan Hatum]*, ספר אילם *[Sefer Elim]*. Amsterdam: Menasseh ben Israel, 1629

Duerkhaim (Terkhaim), Isaac (Itsik). ספר גבעת שאול *[Sefer Givat Shaul]*. Amsterdam: Widow and orphans of Jacob Proops, 1786

Krochmal, Menahem Mendel. שאלות ותשובות צמח צדק *[Sheelot u-teshuvot Tsemah tsedek]*. Amsterdam: David de Castro Tartas, 1675

Leon (Templo), Jacob Judah. ספר תבנית היכל *[Sefer Tavnit hekhal] Libellus effigiei Templi Salomonis*. Amsterdam: Levi Marcus, 1650

Loewenstam, Abraham ben Aryeh Loew. ספר צרור החיים *[Sefer Tseror ha-Hayim]*. Amsterdam: David Proops, 1820

Margaritha, Anthonius. *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub*. Augspurg: Heynrich Steyner, 1530 (Plate 2)

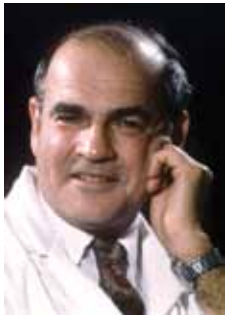
Meldola, Raphael. ספר מים רבים *[Sefer Mayim rabim]*. Amsterdam: Joseph Dayan, 1737

Tsefig, Avraham ben Yeuda. ספר עיני אברהם *[Sefer Ene Avraham]*. Amsterdam: Widow and orphans of Jacob Proops, 1784

Vaez, Abraham. *Arbol de vidas, en el qual se contienen los Dinim mas necessarios que deve observar todo Ysrael*. [Amsterdam], 1691 or 1692

Wolfson, Isaac. *Statement by the President of the United Synagogue, Sir Isaac Wolfson Bt. to the Council of the United Synagogue at a Special Meeting Held on 23rd April 1964 – 11th Iyar 5724*. London, 1964

Youkelson, F. *Strzegowo Yizkor Book* [ספר יזכור-בוך סטשעגאווא]. New York: United Strzegower Relief Committee, 1951



REMEMBERING BARRY BLUMBERG, 1925-2011

Baruch ('Barry') Blumberg was a Governor and subsequently Emeritus Governor of the Centre from 1989 until his death on 5 April 2011 at the age of 85. His membership was a privilege for the Centre and for those of us who thereby got to know him, not so much because of his stature as a medical scientist who saved countless lives through his conquest of hepatitis B, but because of what *The Economist* obituary termed his omnivorous intelligence, and his incomparable zest for inquiry and searching discussion.

He kept a daybook (as he carefully called it) and would put it beside him at the start of an appointment, so as to write down any worthwhile thoughts uttered or triggered by his interlocutor(s). And I can say from personal experience that, when he was moved to pick up his pen, one felt relieved, exhilarated - and slightly anxious. He also liked to take frequent sips from a glass of water, explaining that people were insufficiently aware of the importance of optimum hydration for mental alertness. Individual physiologies surely do vary in this respect, but I also took it as a reminder that even the sharpest intellects are not immune to idiosyncrasy.

Barry could fairly be portrayed as a Yank intermittently at Oxford. A New Yorker by birth and all stages of education (apart from service in the US Navy between 1943 and 1946), he graduated from Columbia University College of Physicians and Surgeons - after a first degree in physics and some graduate work in mathematics - in 1951. As a clinical student he had been led by his practical curiosity to undertake a field trip, that is to say, a multi-week sojourn, in a remote part of Suriname (then still Dutch Guiana), where the varying susceptibility of different ethnic populations to infectious diseases enhanced his lifelong interest in medical genetics.

Following four years as a junior hospital doctor with the Bellevue Hospital in New York, he first came to Oxford, Balliol and the Biochemistry Department in 1955, to work under Sandy Ogston for a DPhil, duly obtained after two years. For most of the next three decades he was based in the United States, with the Nobel Prize for medicine awarded him in 1976. Oxford and Balliol got him for a year as George Eastman Visiting Professor in 1983-4, and then for five years as Master of Balliol in 1989-94.

Subsequently the fact that two of his four children lived in Oxford helped to encourage periodic visits, though he was also heavily committed as director of the NASA Astrobiology Institute in California from 1999 to 2002. The scientific questions confronting him in this post included, in the words of *The Economist*, 'the weightiest: How did we get here? Are we alone? What is the future of humans in space?' Not entirely for that reason, I asked him if he would contribute to the Centre's *Annual Report* a personal perspective on Science and Religion or a similar topic. In readily agreeing to adapt a piece from an earlier colloquium, he chose to warn me (in case I expected otherwise) that he had no more patience with the atheistic rants of Dawkins and Co. than with so-called creationism - he found it impossible to relate to either.

If Barry were still with us, I would have liked him to review Jonathan Sacks's latest book, *The Great Partnership: God, Science and the Search for Meaning*. As things are, it is a pleasure to recall, and to re-introduce, his thoughts from the Centre's Report for 2004-2005.

Peter Oppenheimer (President, 2000-2008)

SCIENCE AND RELIGION[1]

Baruch S. Blumberg

President Peter Oppenheimer has asked me to write for this Report an essay on the connection between religion, in particular the Jewish religion, and the life and practice of science. I am not an expert, but will attempt to describe what I believe are religious and scriptural influences that affected my perceptions of the scientific endeavour.

My qualifications for speaking on this subject are mixed. I have been a scientist for more than fifty years and am interested in the process of science, that is, the means by which scientists, particularly biological scientists, practise their disciplines. I had a reasonable education in Hebrew and the Jewish canon of scriptural texts as a child as I attended a Hebrew day school, and have retained an interest in Hebrew and Jewish scholarship since that time.

1. Adapted from a paper presented at a colloquium, 'Science et Sens', at UNESCO, Paris, 24 May 1997. Reprinted here from the *Centre's* Report, academic year 2004-2005, pages 7-14.

The first part of this paper will be a brief review of the scientific contributions of my colleagues and myself. It will be followed by a discussion of my perceptions of the effects of religious tradition on my scientific work.

Scientific Research

My research began in 1957 with an interest in understanding inherited biochemical and immunological differences between various individuals and populations to determine how these relate to differential susceptibility to disease. We identified and studied the distribution of these traits in many populations and diseases. As part of the programme we tested the sera of patients who had received many blood transfusions. We inferred that if patients were transfused with the blood of a donor who had inherited a protein variant which the recipient had not, then the recipient (transfused) patient could develop an antibody, a reaction against the transfused protein. The antibody could then be used to detect the inherited variant in blood samples from other individuals.

Using this technique, inherited variation that related to disease susceptibility could be identified. We found a complex system of inherited variants of the low density serum lipoproteins. Studies of the variation have been of interest in cardiovascular and other diseases, because some variants appear to predispose to these conditions.

We continued our search for additional variants and identified another antibody that, we soon learned, detected the surface protein of the hepatitis B virus. Inherited differences between individuals determined whether a person infected with HBV would become a carrier of the virus - that is, become chronically infected with the virus and have an increased liability of developing disease – or would develop a protective antibody in his or her blood. Usually, the infected individual would have one or the other response in the earlier stages of infection.

HBV is a widely distributed and very common virus. Chronically infected individuals are particularly common in Asia, sub-Saharan Africa, the Amazon basin, and the islands of the Pacific. It causes acute and chronic hepatitis - an inflammation of the liver cells - and primary cancer of the liver, one of the commonest cancers in the world. It is estimated that there are 375 million HBV carriers in the world (contrast with about 45 million carriers of HIV) and that it causes about 1.1 million deaths a year, one of the greatest infectious disease killers. There are several other viruses that infect the liver which are likewise of great public health importance.

Our discoveries allowed the detection of HBV in donor blood. Control measures have effectively eliminated post-transfusion hepatitis due to HBV in the countries where testing is in use. We also invented a vaccine which protects against infection with HBV that is now widely used; vaccination programs are in place in more than 120 countries. There has been a dramatic drop in the number of HBV carriers. For example, in Taiwan where the vaccination program has been in place for more than ten years, the prevalence of infected carriers has dropped from about 15% before

vaccination to 2% or even lower since the program has been in effect. In addition, there has been a measurable decrease in the incidence of primary cancer of the liver; the prevalence in the vaccinated groups has already decreased by about one-half and it is highly likely that the decreases will be even greater in the near future.

This research project, which commenced as an esoteric interest in inherited biochemical differences, resulted in the introduction of medical and public health measures that have saved many lives and are likely to save millions more in the future. It has been a gratifying experience from which my colleagues in the field and I have derived great satisfaction. The Talmud, in its typically hyperbolic style, teaches us that the saving of a single human life is the equivalent of saving the whole world. The statement may be exaggerated, but it is a great comfort to physicians, scientists, and others whose labours have contributed to life-saving measures.

The Concept of Order in the Cosmos

The creation story and the chronological historical accounts in the Bible, which often include cause-and-effect sequences, support the concept of the existence of an ordered world. The recognition that there is an order, no matter how complex, means that it is possible to comprehend nature. If no order existed than there would be no logical, reasonable, or validateable method to understand the Cosmos. That is, if there were no order in nature, the scientific process could not be used to understand it. But there is an order, and the Hebrew Bible tells us so, even though it does not provide the details. The accumulation of detailed data, and the imperative to understand them, is a task for humans.

Order the Animals

Early in the biblical creation story, which has its own confusions because of the apparent superimposition of several accounts, God creates many beings and then orders Adam to name them.

> *And the Lord God said: 'It is not good that the man should be alone: I will make a help meet for him'.*
>
> *And out of the ground the Lord God formed every beast of the field, and every fowl of the air; and brought them unto Adam to see what he would call them: and whatsoever Adam called every living creature, that was the name thereof.*
>
> *And Adam gave names to all cattle, and to the fowl of the air, and to every beast of the field; but for Adam there was not found an help meet for him. (Genesis 2:18–20)*[2]

2. The Bible translations are taken from the Authorised Version, with modifications, and the New JPS Translation.

It is fascinating that the order to name the animals is interspersed between the time when God declares the necessity for a mate for Adam, and then realizes it. There appears to have been a pause in the female-making process to define the need of humans to be scientists.

Naming the animals is the first order given to newly created humanity. That is a remarkable assignment. Naming is part of the process of classification, a major task of science. It implies the creation of classes which have observable similarities sufficient to group them together and observable differences which distinguish them from other classes. In science we are constantly discovering new things; new species of animals or plants in previously unstudied areas, new proteins and other biochemicals, new genes whose functions link them with some and separate them from other genes. The responsibility of classification has been assigned to humans.

The process of naming, of classifying, requires the accumulation of detailed data, a characteristic of science. Bronowski and Mazlish[3] describe the particular genius of Leonardo Da Vinci in his role as a scientist and technician: 'he made a single profound discovery. He discovered that Nature speaks to us in detail, and that only through the detail can we find her grand design.' Leonardo's meticulous drawings are a moving example of this concern with detail. The accumulation of these details, as much as the formulation of the grand principles of science and nature, is a responsibility of the contemporary scientist.

Alon Goshen-Gottstein[4] has commented on the amplification process that is described in Genesis. The unity ('God alone') that existed in the pre-Creation period, is separated into many entities during the process of Creation. They are numerically ordered ('First day, Second day,...' etc.) and are often opposites. For example, there are light and darkness, upper and lower waters, land and sea, plants and animals and, finally, man and woman. Creation changes unity into duality and then multiplicity. Creation is realized in a number of stages, not one, evolutionary in their character. Multiplicity, that is, diversity, is a hallmark of the ongoing creative process. Its modern reflection is an attempt to deal with the complexity of nature, now aided by powerful and widely available computers that allow the generation and ordered accumulation of massive amounts of data and an appreciation of how they interact.

Our studies of inherited genetic variation in susceptibility to disease, described above, are an example of the use of the knowledge of diversity to understand human biology and disease prevention. Goshen-Gottstein notes that humans have a role in this process: 'one may develop further series of interdependent pairs of opposites to capture

3. J. Bronowski and B. Mazlish (eds) *The Western Intellectual Tradition: From Leonardo to Hegel* (New York: Barnes & Noble Books, 1993).

4. Alon Goshen-Gottstein, 'Creation', in A. A. Cohen and P. Mendes-Flohr (eds) *Contemporary Jewish Religious Thought* (New York: Scribner's, 1987) 114–15.

the full range of diversity within creation. Thus the door is open for current and future generations to elaborate upon the composite nature of creation, as upon the modes of rediscovering unity, which must be the outcome of the recognition of the antinomies inherent in creation.'[5]

Naming or classification is a creative process. New natural entities are constantly being discovered or even produced synthetically. Examination of any of the scientific journals reveals a whole host of new names and new entities in each issue. Humans are constantly adding to the known cosmos. And classifications change as more and more knowledge accumulates. Even in the established sciences of Botany and Zoology, plant and animal species and genera are often renamed and reclassified. The explosive growth of Molecular Biology has introduced many new possibilities for even more discovery and classification of natural entities. It vastly increases the detail that can be used to distinguish new species. Is scientific discovery an act of creation or does it disclose something that was always there? I will leave this question for minds more profound than my own.

Species can be eliminated by human activity. There is a great concern over the power of humans to change the environment which can encourage some species and diminish or even eliminate others. The Hebrew Bible and its interpretations emphasize the human responsibility to other species; that humans must act as stewards and custodians over nature. The rabbinical interpretations recommend the benevolent treatment of domestic animals and the correct use of crop fields, stressing the requirement of responsibility and guardianship.

The Creator, by his example, encourages the act of creation and, presumably, this encouragement extends to the human co-creator. After the daily creations the Bible declares that each of the acts 'was good'. After the sixth day comes the declaration: 'And God saw everything that He had made, and, behold, it was very good. And the evening and the morning were the sixth day.' (Genesis 1:31)

This can be taken as an encouragement, even an imperative for humans to pursue the act of co-creation. It not only should be done, but it is a good thing to do. And, the rabbinical message is to be enthusiastic about it. Dr Arnold Eisen, Chair of the Department of Religious Studies at Stanford University, discussed this concept with me. He stressed the life-affirming character of co-creation, the need to study and meditate day and night, the joy of learning and discovery, the concept that life is not only a passage from here to there but a 'now' that should be fully occupied with activity. If there is one lesson I have learned as a scientist, it is the need for intense activity and enthusiasm, of persistence, of sensing the joy of discovery.

5. Ibid. 115.

The Requirement to Understand Nature

The biblical canon has frequent references to the obligation for study and understanding of nature. In Job, humans are challenged to know the workings of the cosmos, but also confronted with the immensity, the power and the mystery of God-created nature

> *I will ask and you will inform me. Where were you when I laid the foundations of the earth? Declare, if you have understanding. Who has laid the measures thereof, if you know? Or who has stretched the line upon it? Whereupon are the foundations thereof fastened? Or who laid the corner stone thereof; When the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy? Or who shut up the sea with doors, when it brake forth, as if it had issued out of the womb? (Job 38:3–8)*

And later,

> *Have you penetrated to the sources of the sea, or walked in the recesses of the deep? Have the gates of death been disclosed to you? Have you seen the gates of deep darkness? Have you surveyed the expanses of the earth? If you know these - tell Me. (Job 38:16–18)*

These could be interpreted as a caution to humans, that they cannot achieve God's wisdom; they can also be read as a challenge to seek new knowledge, as exploring humans have. But God, speaking from the storm, makes it clear to Job that there is still much that is unknown and fearsome. Humans may be encouraged to know, but the importance of humility in the face of the creative power is forcibly declared.

Humility

Of all the traits the scientists needs, humility is the greatest. The more we learn, the more we learn about what we don't know. When a hypothesis is tested, the process of testing generates more data. This data, in turn, can be used to generate more hypotheses and they too can be tested with yet more data. Then this data generates even more hypotheses. We end up with a great deal of knowledge, often enough to apply to a useful end, but we also are made aware that there are still more questions to be answered. Our understanding is never perfect. When we realize that we have made a great discovery and a portion of possible knowledge is revealed to us, we are also made aware of all that is not known that has been revealed to us by the same process. The more we know the more we know about what we don't know.

What are the limits of human knowledge? Deuteronomy provides an indication of the limits, but doesn't define them: 'The secret things belong unto the Lord our God: but those things which are revealed belong unto us and to our children for

ever, that we may do all the words of this law.' (*Deuteronomy* 29:29) God retains the secret things, but assigns the revealed to humans. However, there is no definition of the distinction between the secret and the revealed. It is a challenge to humans to discover the unknown. We must broaden our knowledge of the revealed and, since there is no definition of the unknown, there is no obvious limit. As scientists advance in their solution of problems they always reveal more of the unknown. Humans gain understanding but they also create the unknown. It is as much of an obligation to raise questions as it is to answer them so that the unending quest will continue.

Conclusion

From a very early time the concept has prevailed that the Bible, although divine in its inspiration, is to be analysed by humans. A great body of interpretive literature has built up over the course of many generations. I don't find contradictions between the Bible and the consequences of scientific inquiry. If humans are meant to continue the process of discovery and creation, then there are no precepts in scripture that impose restrictions upon the search for knowledge. Moral and ethical principles of religion, on the other hand, have a great bearing on how the products of science should be used.

The pursuit of scientific knowledge can be exciting and rewarding, but it can also be perplexing, frustrating, and refractory to understanding. At times it appears that the complexity and mysteries of nature are so great that they are beyond our puny powers of comprehension. Scientists, awestruck by the difficulties that appear to confront them, can lose their courage to continue. In such circumstances, it is comforting to know that nature is meant to be understood, that we march under a banner that proclaims knowledge and that our efforts to understand are likely to be rewarded if we prevail.

IN MEMORIAM PROFESSOR RAPHAEL LOEWE, 1919-2011

Raphael Loewe was descended from a distinguished Anglo-Jewish family of Hebrew scholars. His great-grandfather, Dr Louis Loewe (1809-88) – a German-born, rabbinically-trained, university-educated Orientalist - settled in London in 1833 and became Sir Moses Montefiore's personal secretary and his interpreter in Hebrew and other Oriental languages. In this capacity he accompanied Sir Moses on his visits to distressed Jewish communities in Eastern Europe and the Levant, and towards the end of his life he edited the *Diaries of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore*. His grandson, Herbert Loewe (1882-1940), Raphael's father, was trained as an Orientalist in Cambridge, where he became Reader in Rabbinics while also teaching Rabbinic Hebrew at the universities of Oxford and London. In collaboration with Claude Montefiore he edited *A Rabbinic Anthology* – a large collection of classical rabbinic texts in English translation, which was for many years a widely used and highly regarded source book.

Raphael was born on 16 April 1919 in Calcutta, where his father was serving in the British army. He was educated at the Dragon School in Oxford and the Leys School in Cambridge, winning a major Classics scholarship to St John's College, Cambridge –

the institution he regarded as his academic home and cherished to the end of his life. He was deeply moved when at the age of 90, in 2009, he was made an Honorary Fellow of the College.

In 1940 Raphael enlisted for war-time military service, and was posted as an intelligence officer to the Royal Armoured Corps in North Africa, where in 1943 he was awarded the Military Cross, granted in recognition of 'exemplary gallantry during active operations against the enemy'. He had apparently run through enemy fire to rescue the crew of a burning tank, and again risked his life to inform his commander of an impending enemy attack. He later served in the Italian front, where he was wounded, the injury leaving him with a permanent and pronounced limp.

With the war over, his first academic post was a Lectureship in Hebrew at Leeds. After spending a year as a Visiting Professor at Brown University in the USA, in 1961 he joined University College London's department of Hebrew, as it was then called, where he remained – eventually as Goldsmid Professor – until his retirement in 1984. He taught Classical Hebrew as Greek and Latin were still being taught at the time, transmitting to his students not only a passive knowledge of the language but the ability to compose in it, setting them weekly translation exercises from contemporary English poetry and prose into pure biblical Hebrew. This was an art of which he himself was a master, and he used it as an outlet for his own considerable literary talent. He translated prolifically both from and into the language, while also producing original compositions in the classicist idiom of Spain's medieval Hebrew poets, whose philosophical and aesthetic sensibilities, he felt, paralleled and thus were best rendered in the language of the seventeenth-century English metaphysical poets. He was particularly drawn to the eleventh-century Neoplatonist Solomon Ibn Gabirol, whose magisterial liturgical poem *Keter Malkhut* (Royal Crown) he translated into fully metered and rhymed English verse inspired by the sixteenth-century poet Edmund Spenser.

Raphael believed that the language of great literature, such as the English of the King James Bible (already archaic when published in 1611) or the Hebrew of Gabirol's poetry achieved its timeless, classical status precisely because it was not the vernacular of the authors. In contrast to most linguists who celebrate the 'revival' of Hebrew in modern times as an unrivalled success story, he lamented the re-vernacularization of the language, taking perverse pleasure in exposing its 'inauthentic', 'non-Semitic' grammatical and lexical features – the product of 'contamination' by European languages, above all Yiddish (a position which was long regarded as highly idiosyncratic, but which has recently gained some currency, largely under the impact of the controversial Hebrew bestseller *Israeli – A Beautiful Language* by linguist Ghil'ad Zuckermann, in whom Raphael came to see something of an ally). Raphael refused to recognize contemporary Modern Hebrew as a 'legitimate' language, but he could not resist the occasional challenge of submitting for publication in the Israeli press some of his Hebrew translations and essays. He would not allow editors to modify his Hebrew in any way that would compromise its 'organic' timelessness, with the result that on the few occasions when samples of his writings were published in Israel, readers were utterly bewildered by them. Even his virtuoso translation of Omar

Khayyam's *Rubaiyyat* from Fitzgerald's nineteenth-century English version into the 'appropriate' medieval Hebrew verse, which was published in Jerusalem in 1982 and awarded a Tel-Aviv prize, remained a literary curiosity. On the other hand, he attracted an appreciative readership for his annotated English translations of medieval Hebrew poetry and rhymed prose, which accompanied several facsimile editions of illuminated manuscript versions of the Passover Haggadah, and appeared in his monograph on Ibn Gabirol as well as in his two-volume bilingual edition of *Meshal Haqadmoni: Fables from the Distant Past* by the thirteenth-century Spanish scholar and kabbalist Isaac Ibn Sahula. In 2010, near the end of his life, he published a large anthology of his poetic compositions and translations, many of which he had previously circulated in small do-it-yourself bilingual brochures as New Year greetings to his colleagues and friends.

As a scholar Raphael produced insightful and erudite academic studies of various aspects of Hebrew culture, from Bible through classical rabbinic and medieval theology to Christian Hebraism, but translation was his passion and most constant creative occupation. At his instigation, a workshop for Hebrew translators was founded in London, meeting regularly for several decades at the home of the late Risa Domb, a former student who taught modern Hebrew literature at Cambridge. Raphael would bring to the meetings samples of translation not only from his beloved medieval poems but, from time to time, more whimsical experiments in prose, such as his Classical Hebrew version of Winnie the Pooh. On one occasion he read out his brilliantly witty English translation of a sardonic short story – *Ger Tsedek* (The Proselyte) – by Israeli Nobel-prize laureate S. Y. Agnon, perhaps the only modern Hebrew author whom Raphael was willing to admit into his canon of 'authentic' Hebrew literature.

Another life-long passion was the Spanish and Portuguese Jews' Congregation, of which Raphael was an active and devoted member (despite the Ashkenazi origins of his family), serving it in several senior capacities over many years. He passed away in London on 27 May 2011 to the sound of his favourite Sephardi liturgical melodies.

Ada Rapoport-Albert

IN MEMORIAM PROFESSOR EDWARD ULLENDORFF, 1920-2011

Professor Edward Ullendorff, a leading scholar in the field of Semitic studies not only in Britain but in the international world of learning, died in Oxford on 6 March 2011. He is particularly associated with the languages and cultures of Ethiopia, yet his Ethiopian studies were but part of a much wider picture, for Ullendorff was possessed of an exceptionally wide firsthand familiarity with Semitic civilizations, ancient and modern, and his researches into Semitic Ethiopia (Abyssinia) were not separate from but integral to his Semitic studies as a whole. Indeed, he stressed repeatedly that the most fruitful approach to Ethiopia was from the *ensemble* of Semitics.

Edward Ullendorff was born in Zürich on 25 January 1920 and was educated at the Gymnasium Graues Kloster in Berlin. Already as a schoolboy his interest was awakened in Semitic languages and he devoted himself in particular to Hebrew, not only the classical Hebrew of the traditional sources, but also the vernacular variety then being revived in Mandatary Palestine. As a schoolboy in Berlin he immersed himself more and more deeply into the world of Hebrew of all varieties (Biblical, Mishnaic, Talmudic, medieval) and at the same time acquired Hebrew speech. He had (and retained) a fine singing voice and was active as a *hazzan*. He also prepared barmitsvah candidates for the reading of their allotted Torah portion and haftarah. It was during his schooldays that he began his study of Arabic too, attending classes in this subject at the famous Berlin Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums, to which he had been admitted by special permission as an unmetriculated junior 'special auditor'.

Ullendorff's schooldays in Berlin coincided with the rise of the Nazi party and European Jewry faced momentous times. In 1938 Edward arrived in Palestine and enrolled as an undergraduate at the young Hebrew University of Jerusalem. This is the point at which his autobiographical sketches *The Two Zions - Reminiscences of Jerusalem and Ethiopia* (1988) begin. While the necessity of the move from Germany had become more and more depressingly clear, it was the linguistic environment of Hebrew rather than the political ideal of Zionism that attracted him to Palestine. Mandatary Palestine of the 1930s was a fascinating place in which to live and the Hebrew University a magnificent institution, having on its staff a galaxy of some of the greatest scholars of Europe, and among its students many, like Edward, who were already very learned in their own right. Studies were demanding, hours long, money

scarce and books few. There were also serious problems of public security, and students were frequently required for guard duty. Life at the Hebrew University was difficult, but Edward remained ever grateful for the supreme privilege of studying at such an institution. The Hebrew University of Jerusalem retained a cherished place in his heart until the end of his life.

Among Edward's teachers in Jerusalem was the incomparable H. J. Polotsky, one of the greatest Semitists and linguists of the twentieth century, the master to whom Edward always acknowledged his greatest debt and for whom his admiration never dimmed. The two scholars remained in continuous contact until Polotsky's death in 1991. Shortly afterwards, Edward published (1992) the letters written to him (in German) by Polotsky during more than forty years of correspondence.

The Hebrew University was not the only advantage of life in Jerusalem. It was in Jerusalem that Edward met Dina Noack, the girl who was to be his lifelong companion. The story of their wedding in Eritrea in 1943 is delightfully told in *The Two Zions*. Incidentally, as chance would have it, Edward's parents and Dina's parents were married, unbeknown to both parties, by the same rabbi at the same place in Berlin on the same day of the same year. Dina is an inseparable part of Edward's life and those who knew Edward well cannot easily imagine him without her. She accompanied him with devoted affection for every step of the way. In the pre-xerox days in Jerusalem of the 1930s and 1940s Dina copied out by hand many of the books that Edward needed for his studies and her loving companionship supported and sustained him throughout the many happy years of their association.

After Jerusalem and the Hebrew University, where, inter alia, he studied Ethiopian languages, Edward joined the British Military Administration of Eritrea. Here he laid the foundation for his future researches into the languages, cultures and history of Ethiopia. And here in Asmara, the *Eritrean Weekly News* and the Tigrinya Language Council, with both of which Edward was very closely associated, did important work in the establishment of Tigrinya as a literary language.

In 1948 Edward arrived in Britain. His presence soon proved to be a blessing to the development of Semitic studies in this country: not only did he add Ethiopian languages to a rather thin curriculum, but he brought with him the great tradition of German philology. This was the tradition which he had first known in Berlin and which he came to know more closely at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, whose Semitic scholars were among the finest that European learning had produced. The breadth of scholarship that Edward brought to Britain and the philological tradition which he embodied were together a hugely enriching influence, both in the classroom and in the more public domain.

As a teacher, Edward's classes were inspiring. He demanded a lot of his students, but he unfailingly gave back far more than he received. The study of Semitic texts with this marvellous teacher was an unforgettable experience, and those lucky enough to have enjoyed it will be ever grateful for the unique privilege of sitting at his feet. As for his influence in a wider context, Edward's association with the *Journal of*

Semitic Studies should be mentioned here. The status of *JSS* as a major international publication owes much to Edward's involvement. To the very first issue (1956) he contributed one of his most notable essays, and for years afterwards his articles and reviews enriched its pages. As joint editor he succeeded in attracting leading scholars from abroad to write for the journal. Volume 34/2 (Autumn 1989) was published in celebration of Edward's seventieth birthday.

While Edward's published researches were directed largely towards the Semitic languages of Ethiopia (especially Amharic, Ge'ez and Tigrinya), as a teacher of Semitic languages in general much of his university instruction was of course devoted to Hebrew. He also gave classes in Arabic and Syriac when the need arose. Among the languages closely related to Hebrew he had a particular fondness for Ugaritic, about which he wrote and often taught, but it was Hebrew that was his first love. Edward's love for the Hebrew language began, as we have seen, in early youth as a schoolboy in Berlin, and throughout the years increased rather than diminished. For him Hebrew was not merely a book language learned for the purpose of Biblical study; it was the vehicle of a huge post-Biblical literature and a living tool of written and spoken communication. Hebrew was the language in which all his studies at the Hebrew University had been conducted; in Hebrew he wrote his seminar papers and final examinations. He corresponded in Hebrew with scholars of Jewish studies (including Gershom Scholem); he enjoyed reading modern Hebrew literature (the rich idiom of Agnon was always a particular favourite) and he followed with interest (but not always with approval) recent developments in written and spoken modes of expression. Edward's spoken Hebrew, which had begun in Europe in the 1930s and was developed in Palestine in the 1940s, retained a charmingly quaint archaic flavour.

Edward's involvement with Hebrew studies in Britain, whether in St Andrew's, Manchester, London or Oxford, extended far beyond the needs of classroom instruction. He wrote original studies on many different aspects and phases of Hebrew, especially the Hebrew Bible and its Near Eastern background. His collection entitled *Is Biblical Hebrew a Language? Studies in Semitic Languages and Civilizations* (1977) contains no fewer than ten essays in the section devoted to 'Hebrew and Old Testament', and his three subsequent volumes of collected studies (1987, 1990, 1995) contain plenty more. The lecture 'Is Biblical Hebrew a Language?', whose provocative title gave its name to the aforementioned volume of studies, was Edward's presidential address (1971) to the Society for Old Testament Study, a society of which he was a longstanding and active member. In *Ethiopia and the Bible* (1967) he combined in a splendid cultural, linguistic and historical tour de force the Hebraic and Abyssinian worlds of the first and second Zions, while *The Hebrew Letters of Prester John* (with C. F. Beckingham – 1982) deals with a fascinating episode of medieval legend. Edward turned on several occasions to the modern revival of Hebrew. The transformation of an ancient written language to a fully functioning, natural modern vernacular never ceased to fascinate him and to arouse his wonderment. He regarded the revival of spoken Hebrew in Palestine as 'one of the most genuinely creative accomplishments of our time'.

Edward was educated with the values of a broad European humanistic civilization, a civilization to which Hebrew and Semitic scholarship also belonged. It is no coincidence that his publications include an item entitled 'Goethe on Hebrew' (2001) – Goethe was his most admired author. And he loved Italian. Music too was an integral part of his cultural world. Edward was a man not only of technical academic learning, but also a gentleman of culture and letters. He wrote beautifully refined English prose, and cared passionately about such things. His devotion to serious research and his love for Hebrew and Semitic languages led him to deplore certain recent trends in academic life and university staffing policies. He expressed his anxieties in a short piece entitled 'The Demise of the Hebraist (principally in Great Britain)' (1996). To Edward, genuine Hebrew scholarship (and indeed genuine scholarship of any kind) was a matter of very deep concern. Accordingly, he did not welcome the devaluation of the noble currency in the direction of general 'Jewish studies', often taught by practitioners with a regrettably low level of Hebrew literacy. His view of the current situation of the humanities and their future prospects was very pessimistic.

Edward Ullendorff was the recipient of many academic honours, prizes and medals. In this connection special mention must be made of the Festschrift, *Semitic Studies in Honour of Edward Ullendorff* (2005). This book, containing a varied selection of contributions by colleagues, friends and students, was presented to him at a special ceremony at Yarnton Manor to mark his eigthy-fifth birthday. Edward's association with the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies, earlier known as the Oxford Centre for Postgraduate Hebrew Studies, was very highly valued by him. Part of his library has been bequeathed to its library at Yarnton Manor. In January 2010 the Oxford Centre hosted an event in celebration of Edward's ninetieth birthday. He died the following year, on 6 March 2011. On 26 June 2011, a beautiful English summer day, we reassembled at Yarnton Manor at a memorial meeting to celebrate Edward's life. A large company came from near and far to pay their final respects to a great scholar, generous colleague and dear friend. Among the guests were members of the Ethiopian royal family, for whom, as for many others, Edward had done so much.

Edward Ullendorff is survived by his lifelong companion Dina. A memorial tree (a weeping cherry) has been planted in the garden of Yarnton Manor.

יהא זכרו ברוך

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FINANCIAL REVIEW FOR 2010-2011

Income

Voluntary income was down by just over 12%	(2010/11: £1,512,805; 2009/10: £1,726,111)

This was due to a fall in unrestricted donations of £105,414, combined with less restricted income of around £88,000. In 2009/10 we received a final tranche for student scholarships (£61,000) which was not repeated this year.

Activities for generating funds was down by 37.50%	(2010/11: £55,398; 2009/10: £88,579)

An arrangement with the University of Oxford which generated £2,000 per month for use of the Centre's minibus came to an end in October 2010. Added to this, the Centre's bookings for wedding hire of premises were down in 2010/11.

Investment income increased by just over 21%	(2010/11: £385,124; 2009/10: £317,760)

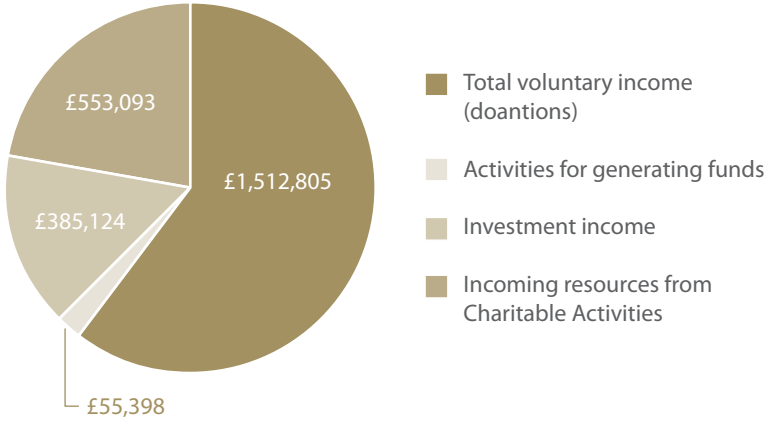
This was due to better performance by our Investment Brokers, J. M. Finn and Company.

Incoming resources from charitable activities	(2010/11: £553,093; 2009/10: £513,288)

The increase in unrestricted income is mainly due to income received from hosting the Bronfman and Tikvah conferences, which brought in just over £63,000 in the year. The Journal of Jewish Studies is a self-funding income and cost stream, as is the Looted Art Project. Funds held for Looted Art this year were £70,000 higher than the previous year.

See Table I (right).

Income 2010-2011	
Total voluntary income (donations)	£1,512,805
Activities for generating funds	£55,398
Investment income	£385,124
Incoming resources from Charitable Activities	£553,093
Total	**£2,506,420**
Deferred for future years	£448,275



Comparison		Notes: income sources included in these categories:	
2010-11	2009-10	Activities for generating funds	Incoming resources from Charitable Activities
£1,512,805	£1,726,111	Minibus fares	Conf. & lectures
£55,398	£88,579	Hire of premises	Journal income
£385,124	£317,760	Farming income	MSt & other fees
£553,093	£513,288	EAJS office	Looted Art Unit

*Source : Audited accounts; Statement of Financial Activities, page 8.

Expenditure

Costs of generating funds	(2010/11: £291,892; 2009/10: £263,044)

The Director of Development's position was terminated early in the year; there was no fundraising dinner this year, and travel costs were slightly less than in 2009/10.

In place of an in-house fundraiser, a PR company, Hype!, was appointed and this resulted in additional costs to this area of the budget of £4,000 per month.

A new member of staff was appointed to serve as the President's PA and part of this salary is included here.

Charitable Activities	(2010/11: £1,786,574; 2009/10: £1,713,717)

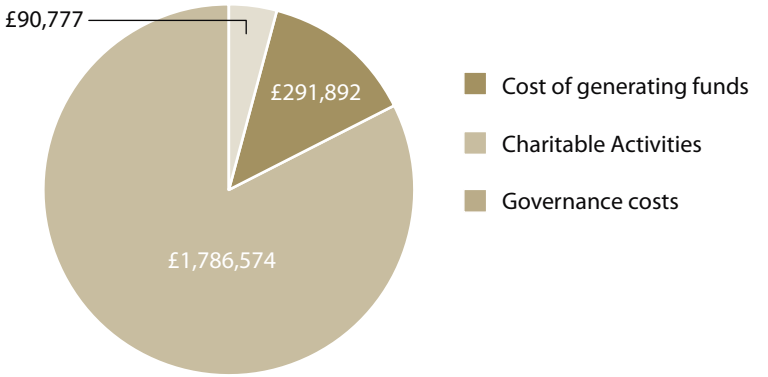
This is the main cost centre for the work of the Centre. Costs for the academic department, the estate and library are included here.

Overall, costs are up 4.25%, but this is mostly due to expenditure on an IT upgrade and refurbishment of Manor rooms, both of which were fully funded. Additional expenditure was incurred by the Looted Art Unit, a self-funded project.

Governance costs	(2010/11: £90,777; 2009/10: £96,491)

See Table II (right).

Expenditure 2010-2020	
Cost of generating funds	£291,892
Charitable Activities	£1,786,574
Governance costs	£90,777
Total	£2,169,243



Comparison		Notes: income sources included in these categories:		
2010-11	2009-10	Costs of generating funds	Charitable Activities	Governance costs
£291,892	£263,044	Salaries, PR, London office	Academic depts & Library	Finance, legal & prof. costs
£1,786,574	£1,713,717	Travel & printing	YM estate & H&JSU	Salaries re governance & admin.
£90,777	**£96,491**			

Summary

The operating deficit for the year is due to the decrease in unrestricted donations, together with increase in costs in the areas of fundraising and charitable activities.