REPORT OF THE OXFORD CENTRE FOR HEBREW AND JEWISH STUDIES

REPORT OF THE

OXFORD CENTRE FOR HEBREW AND JEWISH STUDIES

•

2009–2010

A RECOGNIZED
INDEPENDENT CENTRE OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

OXFORD CENTRE FOR
HEBREW AND JEWISH STUDIES

MAIN OFFICE

Yarnton Manor, Yarnton
Oxford OX5 1PY, *England*
telephone: Oxford (01865) 377946
fax: Oxford (01865) 375079
email: enquiries@ochjs.ac.uk
website: www.ochjs.ac.uk

HEBREW AND JEWISH STUDIES UNIT

The Oriental Institute
Pusey Lane, Oxford OX1 2LE, *England*
telephone: Oxford (01865) 278200
fax: Oxford (01865) 278190

Registered Charity No. 309720
IRS No. for the American Friends 13-2943469
Registered Company No. 1109384
ISSN *1368 9096*

Cover illustration: *A design based on Hebrew printers' motifs and the names of printing centres*
Cover photograph by Dr Garth Gilmour

Typeset in 10/12pt Galliard by
John Saunders Design & Production, Abingdon, Oxfordshire
Printed in Great Britain by
Information Press, Eynsham, Oxford

Contents

THE YEAR AT A GLANCE

Preface 3
Case Statement 6

Notable Events and Achievements of 2009–2010

European Seminars on Advanced Jewish Studies 9
'Crossing Borders' Exhibition at the Bodleian Library 12
Seminar in Hebrew Codicology 13
Digitization of the Genizah Collection 13
Dr Aaron Rosen, Lehmann Junior Research Fellow 15
Dr David Rechter, Ricardo Fellow in Modern Jewish History 16
Dr Jordan Finkin, Woolf Corob Fellow in Yiddish 16
Dr Raffaella Del Sarto, Pears Fellow in Israel Studies 16
Zehavit Stern, Idel and Isaac Haase Fellow in Eastern European Jewish Civilization 17
Honorary Fellowship for Professor Malachi Beit-Arié 17
Professor Sir Fergus Millar, FBA 18
Professor Geza Vermes, FBA 18
The London Lecture Series 18
Corob Lectures in Yiddish Culture 19
Dr Jordan Finkin's Latest Book 20
Dr Adam Silverstein's Latest Book 20
Joint Distribution Committee Grant for Improvements 21
Partnership with Kivunim, Innovative Israel and International Gap-Year Programme 21
Looted Art Research Unit 22
Journal of Jewish Studies 22
New Broadband and Website 23
Promotional Video 23
Dr Joseph Sherman Memorial Meeting 23
The Leopold Muller Library 24
Financial Report 25

The Academic Council 26
Other Academic Officers 28
Visiting Fellows and Scholars 29
Centre Staff 32
Senior Members 34
Degree Programmes in Hebrew and Jewish Studies at the University of Oxford 37
Board of Governors 38
Fellows and Students of the MSt in Jewish Studies 40

SEMINARS AND RESEARCH

A. European Seminars on Advanced Jewish Studies

European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies Project: Greek Scripture and the Rabbis DR ALISON SALVESEN 45

European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies Project: The Reading of Hebrew and Jewish Texts in the Early Modern Period
DR JOANNA WEINBERG AND DR PIET VAN BOXEL 52

B. The Fellows and Their Research

When Did the History of Israel Begin?
PROFESSOR HUGH WILLIAMSON 59

Jews and Christians in the First Centuries
PROFESSOR MARTIN GOODMAN 67

'Vanish of Vanishes, All is Vanished': Where Jews, Muslims and Magic Intersect DR ADAM SILVERSTEIN 76

Why Should We Care About the Jews of Habsburg Bukovina?
DR DAVID RECHTER 82

A Priest and a Rabbi Walk into a Bar: Jewish Jokes and Jewish Literature DR JORDAN FINKIN 86

Marc Chagall, Matthias Grünewald and the Resurrection of Jewish Life DR AARON ROSEN 90

C. Crossing Borders

Crossing Borders: Hebrew Manuscripts as a Meeting Place of Cultures DR PIET VAN BOXEL 98

D. Jewish Studies Scholars at the University of Oxford

Jewish Studies Scholars at the University of Oxford PROFESSOR MARTIN GOODMAN 109

E. The Leopold Muller Library

The Leopold Muller Memorial Library: Its Growth and Significance DR PIET VAN BOXEL 115

THE ACADEMIC YEAR

Courses, Lectures, Conferences, Publications and Other Activities by Fellows of the Centre 131

Seminars, Conferences and Special Lectures Involving Centre Fellows 142

Members of the Hebrew and Jewish Studies Unit 155

MSt in Jewish Studies 157

Visiting Scholars' and Fellows' Reports 160

Journal of Jewish Studies 176

The European Association for Jewish Studies 178

The Institute for Polish–Jewish Studies 179

Looted Art Research Unit 181

The Leopold Muller Memorial Library 189

- Lewis Family Books on Long-term Loan to the Library 195
- The Leopold Muller Memorial Library Committee 198
- Donors of Books to the Leopold Muller Memorial Library, 2009–2010 199
- Books Acquired for the Library Through Special Funds and Endowments 200

Sources of Funding: Major Benefactors and Donors 201

Financial Review for 2009–2010 205

In memoriam Dr Alfred Gottschalk, 1930–2009 207

The year at a glance

Preface

This year's *Annual Report* conveys the Centre's accomplishments in a new way. The major goal of this change has been a shift in editorial strategy to present the notable highlights of the past year in a more summary and compelling fashion. The work of the Fellows and Visiting Fellows is described in readable essays that enlighten, educate and inform. It may take another year until we fully achieve this goal, but we have begun the process of making the *Annual Report* both more substantive and accessible.

The Centre has made important strides this year in pursuing its goals of achieving greater impact, higher visibility, increased fundraising and fiscal equilibrium.

The Centre's twelve Fellows provide most of the Jewish studies teaching at the University of Oxford, with enrolment of approximately sixty-five students at Bachelor, Master or Doctorate levels. The Lectors and Lecturers who teach in the one-year MSt in Jewish Studies bring additional strength. With the presence of the Visiting Fellows living and working at Yarnton Manor, the number of academic staff funded by the Centre reached forty-five this year. Their contributions can be appreciated by reading some of their essays in this volume.

The European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies has brought together leading and emerging scholars in two areas – in Greek translations and interpretations of the Hebrew Bible and in Jewish and Christian Hebrew scholarship in the early modern period – for six-month collaborative research projects. This seminar provided one of the rare opportunities for colleagues from far and wide to live together, work together and socialize over an extended period, with access to the unique resources of the Bodleian and the rich environment of Yarnton Manor. The research findings that came out of these seminars will help shape these fields for years to come.

The Bodleian Library's exhibition, 'Crossing Borders: Hebrew Manuscripts as a Meeting Place of Cultures', was a compelling visual expression of our core academic values of researching, teaching and disseminating knowledge about the interaction and interdependence of Jewish, Christian and Muslim civilizations. Some 30,000 people viewed the exhibits in Bodleian's exhibition room this year. The Centre is working with the Bodleian Library to bring it to two cities in North America over the coming years, demonstrating the role of the University of Oxford and the Bodleian Library in preserving the records of

medieval Jewish civilization and making them accessible to scholars and the wider public today.

The Centre's Fellows presented a lecture series at the London Jewish Cultural Centre this year. The weekly series provided a unique opportunity for people to learn from each of our Fellows and to benefit from their knowledge. The series was well attended and gave valuable public exposure to our scholars as talented teachers.

Major improvements have taken place at Yarnton Manor that will enhance students' and visiting Fellows' experience. The implementation of a new fibre-optic broadband network has provided expanded, stable and fast Internet access. Most of the twenty-one residences on the Manor have been upgraded with modern kitchens and baths. The complete refurbishment of all public areas and classrooms in the Manor House, with new furniture, lighting and carpeting funded by the American Joint Distribution Committee, has made this a more inviting facility. New computer workstations in the Manor House and Muller Library, funded by the Wolfson Family Charitable Trust, along with new servers and smartboards, have also been added.

The Centre is planning new initiatives that will deepen our impact over time. Late this year, the Centre hosted a think-tank, sponsored by the Charles and Andrea Bronfman Philanthropies, that brought together forty-five North Americans, Israelis and Europeans to explore Jewish identity, Israel-Diaspora relations and different perspectives on contemporary Jewish meaning in the North American and Israeli contexts. We hope to continue to expand the use of Yarnton Manor as a destination for major international conferences and as a think-tank for Jewish people everywhere.

The Centre has entered into a partnership with *Kivunim*, an innovative and highly selective gap-year programme for undergraduates from North America. *Kivunim* takes these students to Israel and to Jewish communities across the globe to study Jewish history and culture. The Centre will provide academic supervision for the programme and issue transcripts for those students who complete the prescribed course work successfully.

Planning is proceeding on the creation of a global Jewish leadership programme, a two-year postgraduate course for future professional and volunteer leaders, conceived as a 'Rhodes Scholar-type' programme for the Jewish world. This initiative will combine our existing Master of Studies in Jewish Studies, a certificate from the Said Business School in adaptive leadership, and contemporary Jewish policy studies. The Centre is working with

other institutional partners in Europe, Israel and North America in developing this innovative programme.

The Centre has received a grant from the Tikvah Fund to establish a summer institute for undergraduates from Israel, the United Kingdom and Europe in 2011. The curriculum will explore classical Jewish, Christian and Islamic sources that inform issues of religion and politics in contemporary society, including war and morality, law and punishment, dignity and equality, and marriage and the family. The programme will recruit forty highly qualified undergraduates, half of whom will be from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem's *Amirim* Honours Programme, and half recruited by the Centre from the University of Oxford and other academic institutions in the UK and Europe. The first summer institute will be held at Yarnton Manor from 14 to 28 August 2011.

Fundraising has been a major focus of the Centre's administration this year. Efforts have focused on conveying to prospective donors the need to fund core activities at the leading Jewish studies centre in Europe, including support for the Fellows, Visiting Fellows and students. At the same time, the Centre has worked to inspire donors with a new vision of the Centre as a source of research ideas that serve the global Jewish community. As a result, the Annual Fundraising Campaign, which raises unrestricted funds to support current operations, has grown from £314,000 to £700,000. Restricted contributions and grants that support specific projects have increased from £494,000 to £768,000 and an additional £800,000 has been committed towards future years. The Centre expects to continue to achieve steady growth in fundraising through increasing the number of donors in the UK, Europe and North America and by securing larger contributions and major gifts.

The Centre's fiscal situation has also significantly improved. For the first time in many years the Centre ended the year with a balanced budget. Expenses have been reduced by 5-10 percent, and revenues, especially from fundraising and new programme initiatives, have increased significantly. The Centre is committed to maintaining the fiscal equilibrium it has achieved and to maintaining tight controls over expenses while pursuing steady growth in revenue.

I hope that you enjoy reading this Annual Report.

DR DAVID ARIEL
President
November 2010

Case Statement of the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies

The Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies is a Recognized Independent Centre of the University of Oxford. Its mission is to provide an outstanding curriculum of Hebrew and Jewish studies at one of the world's leading universities and to promote knowledge and understanding about Jewish history, religion and culture, as well as about Jewish interactions with and contributions to other cultures.

The Centre was founded in 1972 to help restore Jewish studies in Europe in the aftermath of the Holocaust. Today it is the leading academic Jewish studies centre in Europe. Its 12 fellows and 9 lecturers provide courses in Hebrew and Jewish studies for undergraduates and postgraduates up to doctoral level in many faculties within the University. The Centre also promotes Jewish studies based on the Bodleian Library's Hebrew and Jewish collections, by supporting research, by development projects and by shared staffing with the Centre's Leopold Muller Memorial Library.

Yarnton Manor, a unique academic destination four miles from the centre of Oxford, is home to the Centre's international students, visiting fellows and Muller Library. The Muller Library includes several unique collections of materials relating to European Jewry. The Centre also hosts the European Association of Jewish Studies and the Journal of Jewish Studies.

The Centre has a significant academic impact on the University of Oxford. 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 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 the United Kingdom, North America, Europe and Asia. The Centre has thus influenced Jewish studies in many settings, including China, Estonia, Germany, Japan, Korea, the Netherlands, Romania and Switzerland. 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.

The University of Oxford can claim one of the longest institutional histories of teaching Hebrew studies in the world, since the establishment of the

Regius Professorship of Hebrew in 1546. 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. Its holdings include the entire canon of Hebrew and Aramaic literature; records of Jewish-Christian collaboration around biblical interpretation; documents of medieval Jewish and Muslim cooperation in science and philosophy; and the world's finest assemblage of early printed Yiddish books, showing – among other things – the unique role and literary activity of Jewish women in Eastern European society. The Muller Library is an incomparable scholarly resource for understanding modern European Jewish civilization. In other words, to know European Jewish civilization, one must go – actually or virtually – to Oxford.

The Centre's teaching and research efforts, based on the unique resources of the University of Oxford and the Bodleian Library, also serve to advance knowledge about the complex history of Jewish interaction with other religions and cultures, and help to provide an alternative narrative to the prevailing message of inter-religious conflict.

In order to fulfill the mission of providing an outstanding curriculum of Hebrew and Jewish studies at one of the world's leading universities, disseminating a more informed and nuanced narrative about European Jewish civilization and promoting greater understanding of Jewish, Christian and Muslim interaction, the Centre requires additional funding. The Centre's financial strategy is fully to fund the existing fellows' positions and also to establish new posts in core areas in Jewish studies and in areas unique to the Bodleian collection.

The Regius Professorship of Hebrew was established in 1546, giving the University of Oxford the longest continuous history of teaching Hebrew studies in the world

The University's Bodleian Library has the world's foremost collection of medieval Hebrew manuscripts

The Oxford Centre provides most of the teaching of Hebrew and Jewish studies at the University of Oxford

The Oxford Centre's Fellows are faculty members of the University of Oxford

The Oxford Centre promotes research and shares staffing at the Bodleian's Hebrew collections

Yarnton Manor, the Oxford Centre's home, has provided accommodation and library facilities to hundreds of visiting scholars and students over the years

Notable Events and Achievements of 2009–2010

European Seminars on Advanced Jewish Studies

The Centre hosted two European Seminars on Advanced Jewish Studies this year, each comprising a series of seminars and workshops extending over six months, and culminating in a conference. The Centre was enlivened by the presence of some twenty-five residential Visiting Fellows, as well as by scholars from British universities and elsewhere. Participants benefited from the unique resources of Oxford, and enjoyed the opportunity for international collegiality.

Meshal Haqadmoni ('Fables from a distant past') by Isaac ben Solomon Sahula (Ashkenaz, 1450), (MS. Opp. 154, fol. 44b)

The first project, 'The Reading of Hebrew and Jewish Texts in the Early Modern Period', convened by Dr Joanna Weinberg and Dr Piet van Boxel, was designed to examine the study of Hebrew and Jewish texts which engaged the attention of Christian readers of all denominations from the mid-fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries. The mandate given to the participants was to understand the nature of Hebraism in this period by taking into account all its different guises, in order to initiate a comprehensive approach to the subject, of an innovative kind, and to reconsider the definition of Christian Hebraism.

To date, research has concentrated on either Christian or Jewish Hebraism, resulting in a skewed version of Jewish culture among Jews and Christians. Here, instead, the purpose was to pinpoint the texts which inform the discussion of both Jews and Christians in their scholarly writings. In other

Meshal Haqadmoni ('Fables from a distant past') by Isaac ben Solomon Sahula (Ashkenaz, 1450), (MS. Opp. 154, fol. 4a)

words, did Christians read the same books as Jews and, if so, were they reading the books through the same lenses and for the same reasons?

The seminar brought to light the transformation that took place between Christian scholarship and Jewish learning in the early modern period, in terms of the changes in doctrine, religious practice, historical understanding and linguistic skills.

The second project, entitled 'Greek Scripture and the Rabbis', led by Dr Alison Salvesen, was designed to examine the way rabbinic literature, which is written in Hebrew and Aramaic, colours our view of the language in which Scripture was read by Jews from antiquity to the rise of Islam. It is now clear that many Jews in the eastern Mediterranean, including religious leaders, knew only Greek. Participants in the project investigated Jewish Greek versions of the Bible in use among Jewish communities from the first to the sixth centuries CE, both from rabbinic sources and from the partially surviving translations themselves.

ESAJS participants in the Long Gallery

Those involved in the European Seminars on Advanced Jewish Studies found the experience stimulating and rewarding, and were grateful for the opportunity to meet colleagues, for the helpfulness of Centre staff, and for access to the Centre's and Oxford's rich research resources.

More detailed descriptions of the Seminars appear on pages 45–58 of this *Report*.

Professor Emanuel Tov, one of those involved in the Greek Scripture project commented: 'in our group we had several experts on various aspects of the Greek translations created after the so-called Old Greek [Septuagint] translation. In areas in which I had less personal experience I was happy to expand my knowledge…. I myself focused on select areas covered by my handbook (The Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible), on which I lectured to the group: the post-Pentateuchal Greek translations, the shape of the biblical text in early periods, theological corrections in translations and Hebrew manuscripts, and more.'

‘Crossing Borders’ Exhibition at the Bodleian Library

Months of painstaking planning went into the Bodleian’s winter exhibition ‘Crossing Borders: Hebrew Manuscripts as a Meeting-place of Cultures’, opened by the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University in December 2009. The project was conceived by the Curator of Hebrew and Jewish Collections at the Bodleian and the Centre’s Librarian, Dr Piet van Boxel. It ran until May 2010 and was seen by 32,000 visitors.

A Christian image in a Jewish book, a Pentateuch with Targum Onqelos and Rashi's commentary (Ferrara, 1472), (MS Can. Or. 62, fol.1a)

On show was a group of masterpieces from the collections of the Bodleian Library, chosen to illustrate the cross-cultural roots of Hebrew manuscripts produced in various parts of the Jewish Diaspora from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries.

Comparing Hebrew books with contemporary Arabic/Muslim and Latin/Christian ones from specific regions reveals a high degree of coexistence, interaction and integration between Muslims, Jews and Christians. Those producing Hebrew books employed local practices and customs, in terms of the choice of writing materials (such as vellum or parchment and coloured inks), the use of ruling patterns and techniques, and styles of text

arrangement, script, illumination and illustration. The analysis of pigment composition, and the choice of which subjects to illustrate, show that Jews felt free to use Christian workshops. A series of lunchtime talks focusing on various aspects of the manuscripts on display formed part of the Library's educational progamme. The Centre is working with the Bodleian Library to arrange for the exhibition to travel to North America.

This major event for Jewish Studies at Oxford was accompanied by the publication of a volume of essays by various experts in the field, edited by Dr van Boxel and Sabine Arndt and with a foreword by Dr Sarah Thomas, Bodley's Librarian.

A fuller description of the exhibition appears below on pages 98–108 of this *Report*.

Seminar in Hebrew Codicology

Professor Malachi Beit-Arié, Emeritus Professor at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and Professor Marilena Maniaci of the Università di Cassino came to the Centre to deliver a series of seminars entitled 'Textual Criticism of Medieval Hebrew Texts and Comparison of Hebrew and Greek Manuscripts' at the New Bodleian Library in Trinity Term. Students and scholars from Britain as well as overseas took advantage of this unique opportunity to study under Professor Beit-Arié and to attend a course not usually offered at the University.

Digitization of the Genizah Collection

The Cairo Genizah, a treasure trove of some 200,000 Jewish manuscripts and fragments found in the *genizah* or store room of the Ben Ezra Synagogue in Fustat ('Old Cairo') in Egypt, constitutes an unparalleled source of information on medieval Jewish history. It enables us to reconstruct in detail the economic, cultural and religious life of Jews in the Middle Eastern and Mediterranean regions from the ninth to the fifteenth centuries, a period about which little evidence was previously available. The texture of daily experience can be gleaned from this collection of letters, legal records, marriage contracts, business accounts and other documents, many of them fragmentary. Collectively they reveal the vital role played by Jews in the economic and cultural life of the medieval Middle East, and their relationships with Arab neighbours.

Recent developments in digitization methods have revolutionized the study of these fragmented sources of Jewish history. The various libraries in

which they are dispersed are now digitizing their collections in order to create a worldwide database of images, bringing the various Genizah assemblages together in virtual form. Scholars will then be able to make links between different documents, and even to reunite parts of single pages held in different continents, thereby recovering vital information.

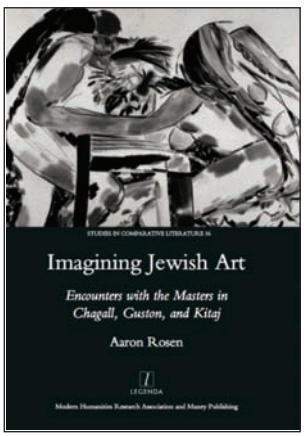
It was particularly important that the Bodleian Library join this exciting endeavour: the 5000 or so Oxford fragments constitute one of the most important collections of Cairo Genizah material, including an unusually large number of complete quires, containing uninterrupted text. The Centre would like to acknowledge the generosity of George Blumenthal, the New York philanthropist, a pioneer in digital communications and President of the Center for Online Jewish Studies, who donated his organization's professional services to the project.

The digitized material will allow scholars worldwide to compare fragments held in Oxford, Cambridge, New York, Philadelphia, Manchester and elsewhere, thereby inaugurating an exciting twenty-first-century era in Genizah studies.

The illustration (left) shows a page from a book of fables, probably Isaac Ibn Sahula's *Meshal Haqadmoni* (MS. Heb. e 49 f. 13b).

Dr Aaron Rosen, Lehmann Junior Research Fellow

Dr Aaron Rosen has joined the Centre as the new Albert and Rachel Lehmann Junior Research Fellow in Jewish History, a post also associated with St Peter's College. His research focuses on Jewish visual culture, and he has special interests in modern Jewish art and aesthetics and in Jewish-Christian dialogue. Dr Rosen received a PhD from Pembroke College, Cambridge, in 2008, having been a visiting scholar at the University of California, Berkeley, and a postdoctoral fellow at Columbia University. He has published articles and reviews on religion and the arts in the *Jewish Quarterly*, *Art and Christianity*, *Religion and the Arts*, the *Journal of Jewish Studies* and elsewhere, and his first book, *Imagining Jewish Art: Encounters with the Masters in Chagall, Guston, and Kitaj*, was published in 2009 by Legenda Press in Oxford.



Dr David Rechter, Ricardo Fellow in Modern Jewish History

Dr David Rechter was appointed to a named fellowship during the course of the year, and is now the Centre's Ricardo Fellow in Modern Jewish History. He describes his current research on Bukovina, a province of the Austro-Hungarian Empire with a significant Jewish population, in a paper published below on pages 82–5.

Dr Jordan Finkin, Woolf Corob Fellow in Yiddish

Dr Jordan Finkin, Cowley Lecturer in Post-Biblical Hebrew at Oxford University and MSt Course Co-ordinator at the Centre, was additionally appointed to the Woolf Corob Fellowship in Yiddish, a position that had remained vacant since the passing of Dr Joseph Sherman in March 2009. The new appointment will take effect from the autumn of 2010. More may be found on his areas of research on pages 86–9.

Dr Raffaella Del Sarto, Pears Fellow in Israel Studies

Dr Raffaella Del Sarto has been reappointed to the Pears Fellowship in Israel Studies until September 2012. She began teaching optional courses on Israel's domestic politics and foreign relations for the MPhil in Modern Middle Eastern Studies, which is based at the Middle East Centre of St Antony's College, but her course on Israel has now been fully integrated into this MPhil programme. She also teaches a session on Israel in the compulsory seminar for first-year students of the MPhil programme in Modern Middle Eastern Studies. The MPhil in Modern Jewish Studies likewise now regularly includes a component on Israeli politics and society.

Zehavit Stern, Idel and Isaac Haase Fellow in Eastern European Jewish Civilization

The generosity of an anonymous donor has enabled the Centre to establish the Idel and Isaac Haase Fellowship in Eastern European Civilization as a University Research Lectureship. Zehavit Stern, a PhD candidate at the University of California, Berkeley, has been appointed to this new post. Her dissertation is on the development of popular Eastern European Jewish traditions, including the Purim parody, the wedding jester and klezmer music. In January 2011 she joins other Oxford Centre colleagues in Yiddish studies who are contributing to the current growth of this subject.

Honorary Fellowship for Professor Malachi Beit-Arié

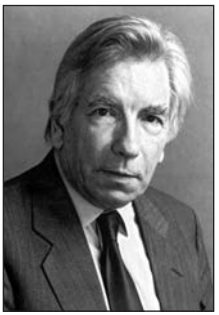
The appointment of Professor Malachi Beit-Arié, who occupied the Ludwig Jesselson Chair of Codicology and Palaeography at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, to an Honorary Fellowship of the Centre was approved by the Centre's Governors.

Over the last forty years very few scholars in Jewish Studies have contributed to the field as substantially as Malachi Beit-Arié. His contribution to Hebrew and Jewish Studies has been pivotal in that he initiated Hebrew codicology as a new discipline in Jewish studies, alongside the codicological study of Greek and Latin manuscripts. Beit-Arié's codicological approach, which provides essential information about dates and provenance of Hebrew manuscripts, has not only created a discipline in its own right, but has had an impact on fields such as medieval art history, textual criticism and, more recently, the study of the history of the book.

His codicological research carried out over four decades has resulted in a Codicological Database, named 'Sfardata'. This is a quantitative database of a large number of measurable codicological and palaeographical features and variables, including all surviving dated Hebrew codices in public libraries, as well as undated ones with indications of scribes' names. It encompasses some 5500 manuscripts held in collections all over the world. Sfardata has

become a tool for assessing the chronological limits and geo-cultural provenance of undated manuscripts. Since all directly and indirectly dated manuscripts held in the Bodleian Library have been included in the database, this search engine will enhance Jewish Studies in Oxford significantly and promote comparative study of manuscripts worldwide.

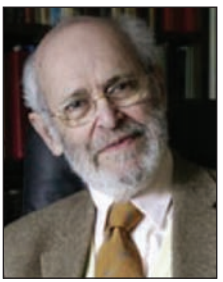
Professor Sir Fergus Millar, FBA



Professor Fergus Millar was awarded a Knighthood for services to scholarship in the Queen's Birthday Honours List.

Professor Millar, Camden Professor of Ancient History Emeritus, University of Oxford, is among the most influential ancient historians of the twentieth century and an authority in the field of ancient Roman and Greek history. He gives a course for the MSt in Jewish Studies. Professor Millar has had a lasting influence on many of our students and scholars, and the Centre is delighted to celebrate this recognition of his achievements.

Professor Geza Vermes, FBA



Professor Geza Vermes has been awarded a 'Tribute of Recognition' by the House of Representatives of the United States of America 'for unwavering commitment to inspiring and educating the world'. The ceremony took place on 17 September 2009. During the 2009–10 academic year alone he published three books: *Searching for the Real Jesus* (London: SCM Press, 2010), *The Story of the Scrolls* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2010) and *Jesus: Nativity - Passion – Resurrection* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2010).

The London Lecture Series

The Centre's Fellows delivered a series of lectures in London between January and March 2010, in which they discussed their individual area of expertise and brought Jewish Studies at Oxford to a wider audience. The series, entitled 'Jews and the World', was held on Monday evenings at the London Jewish Cultural Centre in Hampstead. The first presentation was by

Professor Hugh Williamson, FBA, who talked about 'When Does the History of Israel Begin?'. Others lectures ranged in topic from Dr David Rechter's on 'The Jewish Question and Modern Jewish Politics' to Dr Raffaella De Sarto's on 'Between Rhetoric and Reality: Israel and the European Union'.

Governors and associates of the Centre introduced the lectures, which attracted large audiences each week. Outlines of some of the lectures are included on pages 59–97 of this *Report*.

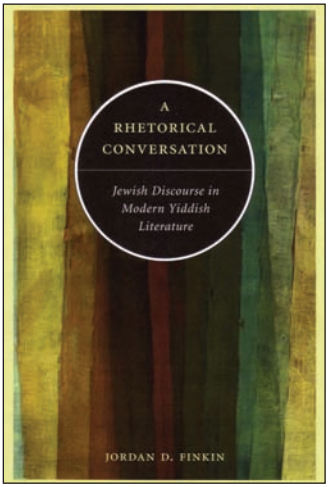
Corob Lectures in Yiddish Culture

No fewer than three Corob lectures were held this year, in memory of Sidney Corob, a donor and Governor of the Centre. They were arranged by Dr Jordan Finkin. The first of the series, delivered at Oxford's Taylor Institution by Professor Jeremy Dauber of Columbia University, was entitled 'Frightening Jews: Two Early Yiddish Ghost Stories and the Origins of Jewish Horror', and was appropriately scheduled for shortly after Hallowe'en. This was followed the next day by a symposium on 'What is a Yiddish Fable?', which explored the ideology and epistemology of the early-modern *Seyfer Mesholim*.

The second lecture was delivered by Professor David Roskies of the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York, under the title 'Crossing the Jew-Zone: Yiddish Writing and the Making of Holocaust Literature'. The next day a seminar on 'The Yiddish Anthological Imagination' was held at the Oriental Institute.

The final event was a memorial lecture for Sidney Corob by Professor Chana Kronfeld of the University of Berkeley, California, who spoke on 'Murdered Modernism: Peretz Markish and the Legacy of Soviet Yiddish Poetry'. The invited audience of about seventy people included Mrs Elizabeth Corob and other members and friends of the Corob family. It was held at the recently refurbished Jewish Museum in London, where guests had the opportunity to explore the new galleries.

The following day Professor Kronfeld was joined by Professor Allison Schachter of Vanderbilt University and by Dr Finkin at Brasenose College, Oxford, for a symposium featuring papers by all three. Dr Finkin's opening lecture was entitled 'The State of Play on the Field of Yiddish'. This was followed by Professor Kronfeld's presentation on 'The Joint Literary Historiography of Hebrew and Yiddish' and Professor Schachter's on 'Creating *Svive*: Jewish Modernisms in New York, 1960–1974'.



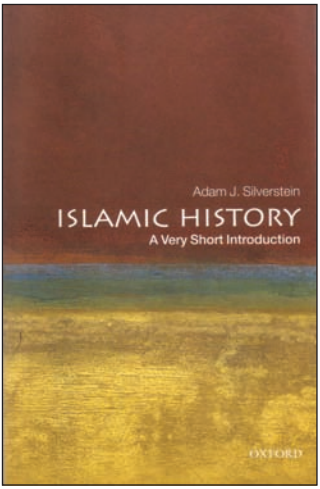
Dr Jordan Finkin's Latest Book

The fact that Jews speak and write in distinctive ways is well known. These characteristic forms of expression derive from many sources and have been widely employed in popular culture, from Henry Roth's *Call It Sleep* to the novels of Saul Bellow and contemporary television. Dr Finkin's new book examines what allowed these modern forms to flow from a rich body of Yiddish literature. In it he explores the language of modern Yiddish literature, addressing emblematically why Jews answer a question with a question. He examines through a series of case studies the various distinctive aspects of Yiddish literature and the nature and importance of Jewish discourse: the way of speaking, writing, arguing and thinking developed by Yiddish culture, based on prolonged and intimate contact with traditional texts. As Naomi Seidman (University of California, Berkeley) said in a review: 'Jordan Finkin illuminates with great flair and precision the many ways in which Talmudic discourse has shaped Yiddish language and literature, from the smallest peculiarities of Yiddish syntax to its largest cultural and discursive formations - the orchestrated associative digressions, the argumentative style, the entire cultural world known as "derekh hashas", the way of the Talmud.'

The launch of *A Rhetorical Conversation. Jewish Discourse in Modern Yiddish Literature*, by Jordan Finkin, published by Pennsylvania State University in February 2010, was celebrated with a reception at Yarnton Manor in Michaelmas Term 2010. Dr Finkin discusses his work in more detail below on pages 86–9 of this *Report*.

Dr Adam Silverstein's Latest Book

Dr Adam Silverstein's latest book, *Islamic History: A Very Short Introduction*, published by Oxford University Press in January 2010, surveys chronologically the origins and spread of Islam throughout the Middle East. He charts the evolution of what was originally a small, localized community of believers into an international religion with over a billion adherents, examining how Islam rose from the obscurity of seventh-century Arabia to the forefront of modern global



concerns. Dr Silverstein highlights how we know what we claim to know about Islam's rise and development, surveying the peoples - Arabs, Persians and Turks - who shaped Islamic history, and the three representative institutions - the mosque, jihad and the caliphate - that highlight Islam's diversity over time. He also analyses the roles that Islamic history has played in both religious and political contexts, and shows its relevance to the modern world. Dr Silverstein's book has been praised for 'offering a readable and concise Islamic history' and for being 'instructive to curious students of any faith', in the *Saudi Gazette.*

The author discusses his work in a paper published below on pages 76–81.

Joint Distribution Committee Grant for Improvements

The European Directorate of the American Joint Distribution Committee, the leading international Jewish relief and community development organization, regularly holds conferences at Yarnton Manor for leaders of European Jewish communities. The JDC and the Oxford Centre have also begun to collaborate on creating new leadership development programmes. In order to improve the Manor as a conference facility for their weekend retreats, the JDC has made a grant to improve resources by installing new furnishings and equipment.

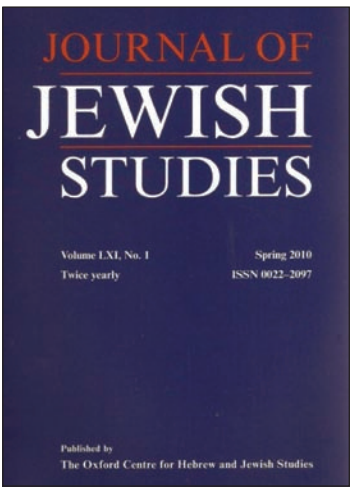
Partnership with Kivunim, Innovative Israel and International Gap-Year Programme

Kivunim, recognized by Slingshot Awards as one of North America's most innovative Jewish non-profit organizations, is an established gap-year programme that introduces fifty students to Jewish history through travelling to Israel, Morocco, India, Greece and Central and Eastern Europe. Students will spend one week at Yarnton Manor studying with the Centre's Fellows, and the Centre will provide academic supervision of the academic programme. It will also issue transcripts to students seeking academic credit from their home universities.

Carl Christian Vogel von Vogelstein's 'Portrait of a female artist' was found in the Dresden State Paintings Collections, and will be restored to its Jewish owners

Looted Art Research Unit

The Unit has continued to conduct research this year that has led to the identification and restitution to survivor families of several works of art. It is also in the forefront of government policy-making across Europe. Achievements include the passing of the Holocaust (Return of Cultural Objects) Act 2009, which finally enables all British museums to restitute looted art. Another is the creation of the new senior British government post of United Kingdom Envoy for Post-Holocaust Issues. There have also been developments on the future of the archive of the International Tracing Service at Bad Arolsen including on making a digitized copy available to families and historians in the UK. Copies of all UK national records relating to Nazi seizure of cultural property and its postwar restitution will be made available internationally in May 2011. A fuller report on the work of the Unit appears below on pages 181–8.



Journal of Jewish Studies

The *Journal of Jewish Studies* continues its regular publication under the editorship of Professor Geza Vermes, FBA, FEA, and of Professor Sacha Stern of University College London. Dr Charlotte Hempel of Birmingham University is book-reviews editor.

Volume 60, no. 2 (Autumn 2009) contains papers on early kabbalah (Jonathan V. Dauber), religious variety in the late Second Temple period (Martin Goodman), Dead Sea, the Essenes and pharmacology (Joan E. Taylor), rabbinic 'Yetzer' (Ishay Rosen-Zvi) and rabbinical courts in twelfth-century France (Avraham Reiner).

Volume 61, no. 1 (Spring 2010) has articles on Jewish identity in Philo (Beth A. Berkowitz), commensality, intermarriage and idolatry in Tannaitic literature (Jordan D. Rosenblum), early rabbinic legal rhetoric (Tzvi Novick), non-Jews in Conservative synagogues (Adam S. Ferziger) and a history of the name Hyrcanus (Daniel A. Machiela).

Further details may be found below on pages 176–7 of this *Report*.

New Broadband and Website

The Centre installed a new fibre-optic broadband network in 2010, improving communications and making life at Yarnton Manor more productive. The new network will support the increased volume of email communication, videoconferencing and other broadband-intensive requirements essential for today's academic and residential needs at Yarnton Manor.

The Centre's website was redesigned in early 2010 by Alun Ward of Eye Division. This modernization brings it in line with those of Oxford colleges and of the University's Oriental Studies Faculty.

Promotional Video

A promotional video about the Centre, commissioned from Brick Wall Films, includes interviews with Centre Fellows, teaching staff, visiting fellows and current and former students. Film of classes and seminars are joined by views of the Manor, the estate and central Oxford, providing an comprehensive snapshot of Jewish Studies at Oxford. The video, launched in November 2009, may be viewed from a link on the OCHJS website's homepage <http://www.ochjs.ac.uk/ >.

Dr Joseph Sherman Memorial Meeting

While celebrating the Centre's achievements, we feel the absence of our colleague and friend, Dr Joseph Sherman, whose passing on 20 March 2009 continues to be felt. His life and work were celebrated with both solemn and joyful remembrance at a special event on 3 March 2010: 'The Joy of the Yiddish Word: An Evening in Memory of Joseph Sherman'.

Joseph devoted himself to the art and literature he loved, as a scholar, teacher and translator of uncommon gifts.His translations have ensured that some of the greatest achievements of a murdered civilization will endure for

generations to come. The evening was devoted both to reminiscence and to the literature to which he dedicated care and passion. The Centre's Long Gallery was filled to capacity for the event, as his colleagues, friends and family shared stories, jokes and remembrances, and read from Yiddish literature in the original and translation. Joseph's widow, Karen, offered words of depth and consolation, followed by witty and moving tributes from Dr Jordan Finkin, Dr Kerstin Hoge, Jill Hughes (Taylor Institution Library), Professor Siegbert Prawer, Dr Haike Beruriah Wiegand, and messages from colleagues who could not be present.

Joseph's scholarly project was to show how the Yiddish literature he loved is one of the most precious institutions of Jewish culture. Open any page of his most recent translation, Dovid Bergelson's novel *The End of Everything*, and one can feel how deeply Joseph understood the truth of that statement. Those present at the memorial event were enlivened by the memory of a life well lived and the literature that Joseph loved.

The Leopold Muller Memorial Library

The Centre's Library, which complements the holdings of the Bodleian and other libraries in Oxford, is home to a number of major archives and specialized collections of books. Among these are the Kressel Archive relating to the early years of the State of Israel, the Elkoshi Collection of Modern Hebrew literature, the Louis Jacobs Collection of Rabbinic Literature, the Foyle-Montefiore Collection which is rich in Jewish Enlightenment publications, the Loewe Collection of pamphlets and ephemera, the Coppenhagen Collection of publications relating to Dutch Jewry, the Arthur Sebag Montefiore Archive, the Yizkor Book Collection of Holocaust memorial volumes, and important loans of early printed books made by the Lewis Family Interests. It also has several

databases, microfilm and microfiche collections of key importance to researchers. Among major accessions in the past year is a facsimile of the Szyk Haggadah, originally published in 1940, and now reproduced from the original watercolours. Two images from this richly illustrated work are included here. For more on the Library and its activities, see pages 115–28 and 189–200.

Financial Report

Despite a difficult economic climate we are delighted to be able to report the following financial highlights:

- Total income increased by 29% from £1,683,625 to £2,169,905
- Total expenditure fell by 5% from £2,187,905 to £2,073,252
- A surplus in the year, before change in investment valuations of £96,652
- An increase in the value of investments of £793,179

This is the first year that the Centre has shown an operating surplus and, combined with new initiatives, this puts us on a much more stable financial footing and allows us to look at the future with increased confidence.

Academic Council

PRESIDENT

Dr David Ariel

FELLOWS

Librarian and Fellow in Early Judaism and the Origins of Christianity
Dr Piet van Boxel
Hebraica and Judaica Curator, Bodleian Library, Oxford University

Albert and Rachel Lehmann Junior Research Fellow in Jewish History and Culture
Dr Aaron Rosen

Pears Research Fellow in Israel Studies
Dr Raffaella Del Sarto
Research Fellow of St Antony's College, Oxford

Polonsky Fellow and Fellow in Jewish Bible Versions
Dr Alison Salvesen
University Research Lecturer, Oxford University

Fellow in Modern Hebrew Literature Woolf Corob Fellow in Yiddish
Dr Jordan Finkin
Cowley Lecturer in Post-biblical Hebrew, Oxford University

Fellow in Jewish-Muslim Relations
Dr Adam Silverstein
University Research Lecturer, Oxford University

Lecturer in Modern Judaism
Dr Miri Freud-Kandel
Junior Research Fellow, Wolfson College, Oxford

Junior Research Fellow in Russian and East European Jewish History
Dr Eliyahu Stern

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

Catherine Lewis Fellow in Rabbinics
Dr Joanna Weinberg
Reader and James Mew Lecturer in Rabbinic Hebrew, Oxford University

Ricardo Fellow in Modern Jewish History
Dr David Rechter
University Research Lecturer, Oxford University, and Research Fellow of St Antony's College, Oxford

Professor Hugh Williamson, FBA
Regius Professor of Hebrew, Oxford University; Ex-officio Fellow

Other Academic Officers

Academic Director
Professor Martin Goodman, FBA

MSt Course Coordinator
Dr Jordan Finkin

Mason Lecturer and Publications Officer
Dr Jeremy Schonfield

Lector in Biblical Hebrew
Stephen Herring

Lector in Modern Hebrew
Daphna Witztum

Lector in Yiddish
Dr Haike Beruriah Wiegand

Librarian
Dr Piet van Boxel

Director of the Qumran Forum
Professor Geza Vermes, FBA

OTHER TEACHING STAFF

Dr Garth Gilmour
Professor Sir Fergus Millar, FBA
Dr Madhavi Nevader

Editors and Staff of the **Journal of Jewish Studies**

Dr Charlotte Hempel (*Reviews Editor*)
Dr Sacha Stern (*Editor*)
Professor Geza Vermes, FBA (*Editor*)
Simon Cooper (*Editorial Assistant until 1 May*)
Dr Alinda Damsma (*Editorial Assistant from 1 May*)
Margaret Vermes (*Publishing Director*)
Stephen Ashworth (*Copy-editor and Typesetter*)

Visiting Fellows and Scholars

VICTOR AND SYLVIA BLANK FELLOWS

Professor Fred Astren
San Francisco University

Professor Alan Dowty
University of Notre Dame, Indiana

KENNEDY LEIGH FELLOWS

Professor Malachi Beit-Arié
The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Professor Elchanan Reiner
Tel-Aviv University

Dr Menachem Kallus
University of Haifa

Professor Aharon Shemesh
Bar-Ilan University

FELLOWS OF THE EUROPEAN SEMINAR ON ADVANCED JEWISH STUDIES

Professor Philip Alexander
University of Manchester

Dr Michela Andreatta
University of Venice

Professor Malachi Beit-Arié
The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Andrew Berns
University of Pennsylvania

Dr Reinhart Ceulemans
Katholieke Universiteit, Leuven

Lorenzo Cuppi
University of Durham

Theodor Dunkelgrün
University of Chicago

Dr Timothy Edwards
University of Oxford

Dr Federica Francesconi
University of California, Los Angeles

Professor Anthony Grafton
Princeton University

Dr Michael Graves
Wheaton College, Illinois

Dr Alessandro Guetta
Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, Paris

Professor Joseph Hacker
The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Dr Jenny Labendz
Jewish Theological Seminary, New York

Scott Mandelbrote
University of Cambridge

Professor Marilena Maniaci
Università degli Studi di Cassino

Professor Tessa Rajak
University of Reading

Dr Willem Smelik
University College London

Dr Shifra Sznol
Bar-Ilan University

Professor Bas ter Haar Romeny
Leiden University

Professor Emanuel Tov
The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

VISITING SCHOLARS

Professor Robert Crotty
University of South Australia

Dr Lutz Doering
University of Durham

Professor Yuval Dror
Tel-Aviv University

Dr Amos Geula
The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Dr Hector Patmore
Targum Institute, Protestant Theological University of The Netherlands

Dr Avihu Ronen
Tel Hai Academic College, Israel

Dr Anat Zanger
Tel-Aviv University

Centre Staff

ADMINISTRATION AND ACADEMIC SUPPORT

Personal Assistant to the President and Development Director
Sheila Brazil

Investment and Estates Bursar
Simon Ryde

Accountant
Sheila Phillips

Accounts Assistant
Patricia Cripps

Development Director
Sarah Catliff (*left June 2010*)

Academic Registrar
Martine Smith-Huvers

Academic Administrator
Sue Forteath

Operations Manager
Annabel Young

Fellows' Secretary
Neelum Ali

Librarian
Dr Piet van Boxel

Deputy Librarian
Dr César Merchán-Hamman

Assistant Librarian
Milena Zeidler

Library Assistants
Noa Dagan
Annelies Cazemier

Hebrew Cataloguer
Avi Raz (*left March 2010*)

SUPPORT STAFF

Maintenance Manager
Derek Cox

Maintenance Assistants
Don Burnett
Philip Hayes
Colin Pipe

Housekeeping Supervisor
Teresa Berridge

Housekeeping Assistants
Rosemary Lewis (*left December 2009*)
Elzbieta Marek
Jacek Ostrowski
Baljit Purewal (*left July 2009*)
Teresa Trafford
Edyta Wesołowska

Minibus Driver
Brian Beeney

Support Driver
Graham Thompson

Webmaster
Alun Ward

Looted Art Research Unit
Anne Webber
Adriano Aymonino
Andrea Lehmann
Ann Stirling
Hester Vaizey

Senior Members

HONORARY FELLOWS

Professor Malachi Beit-Arié
The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Felix Posen
Emeritus Governor; Governor 1985-99

Professor Edward Ullendorff, FBA
Emeritus Professor of Semitic Languages, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London

EMERITUS FELLOWS

Professor Glenda Abramson

Dr Daniel Frank
The Ohio State University

Dr George Mandel

Ronald Nettler

Professor Jonathan Webber
University of Birmingham

SENIOR ASSOCIATES

Professor Philip Alexander, FBA
University of Manchester

Dr Sebastian Brock, FBA
Wolfson College, Oxford

Professor Calum Carmichael
Cornell University

Professor Raymond Cohen
Boston College

Em. Professor Alan Crown, AM (*d. November 2010*)
University of Sydney

Rabbi Professor Nicholas de Lange
University of Cambridge

Dr Gennady Estraikh
New York University

Dr Abigail Green
Brasenose College, Oxford

Dr Anselm Hagedorn
Humboldt University, Berlin

Professor Martin Hengel (*d. 2 July 2009*)
Institut für Antikes Judentum und Hellenistische Religionsgeschichte, Universität Tübingen

Brad Sabin Hill, FRAS
George Washington University, Washington

Professor Bernard Jackson
University of Manchester

Professor Ahuvia Kahane
Royal Holloway, University of London

Professor Barry Kosmin
Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut

Dr Mikhail Krutikov
University of Michigan

Professor Sir Fergus Millar, FBA
Brasenose College, Oxford

Professor Edna Nahshon
Jewish Theological Seminary, New York

Dr Emanuele Ottolenghi
Foundation for the Defense of Democracies, Washington

Professor Tudor Parfitt
School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London

Professor Tessa Rajak
University of Reading

Professor Irven Resnick
University of Tennessee at Chattanooga

Professor Peter Schäfer, FBA
Princeton University

Dr Harry Shukman
St Antony's College, Oxford

Rabbi Dr Norman Solomon
Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies

Dr Adena Tanenbaum
The Ohio State University

Professor Emanuel Tov
The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Professor Ilan Troen
Ben-Gurion University of the Negev

Professor Geza Vermes, FBA
Wolfson College, Oxford

Dr Zoë Waxman
Royal Holloway, University of London

Degree Programmes in Hebrew and Jewish Studies at the University of Oxford

BA in Oriental Studies (Hebrew)

BA in Oriental Studies (Jewish Studies)

MSt in Jewish Studies

MSt in Oriental Studies (Jewish Studies)

MSt in Classical Hebrew Studies

MSt in Bible Interpretation (Oriental Studies)

MSt in Jewish Studies in the Graeco-Roman Period

MSt in Modern Jewish Studies

MSt in Yiddish Studies

MPhil in Oriental Studies (Jewish Studies in the Graeco-Roman Period)

MPhil in Oriental Studies (Modern Jewish Studies)

MLitt in Oriental Studies (Jewish Studies) (thesis)

DPhil in Oriental Studies (Jewish Studies) (thesis)

Board of Governors

(*as at June 2010*)

President
Dr David Ariel

Co-Chairmen
Stanley Fink
George Pinto

Vice-Chairman
Professor Hugh Williamson, FBA

Board Members

Professor Shlomo Ben-Ami

Martin Blackman

Dr Baruch Blumberg

Sir Ivor Crewe

Michael Garston, OBE

Professor Martin Goodman, FBA

Professor Alfred Gottschalk (*d. September 2009*)

Sir Richard Greenbury

HRH Prince El Hassan bin Talal

Professor Alan Jones

David Joseph, QC

Dr Paul Joyce

David Lewis

The Lord Guthrie of Craigiebank

The Lord Marks of Broughton

Dr John Muddiman

Martin Paisner, CBE

Daniel Patterson

Daniel Peltz

Marc Polonsky

Lord Justice Rix

Stuart Roden

Charles Sebag-Montefiore

Dr David Taylor

The Lord Weidenfeld

Roger Wingate

Emeritus Governors

Elizabeth Corob

Sir Zelman Cowen

Frank Green (*d. November 2009*)

David Hyman

The Lord Moser of Regent's Park

The Revd Professor Ernest Nicholson, FBA

Peter Oppenheimer

Felix Posen

Sir Maurice Shock

Sir Sigmund Sternberg

Dennis Trevelyan, CB

Professor Geza Vermes, FBA

The Rt Hon. The Lord Woolf

The Rt Hon. The Lord Young

Fellows and Students of MSt in Jewish Studies

Front Row (left to right)
Stephen Herring, Dr Alison Salvesen, Dr David Ariel (PRESIDENT),
Professor Martin Goodman (ACADEMIC DIRECTOR), Dr Jeremy Schonfield

Second Row
Dr David Rechter, Professor Sir Fergus Millar,
Dr Jordan Finkin (COURSE-COORDINATOR), Dr Aaron Rosen, Dr Adam Silverstein

Third Row
Anthony Apodaca (USA), Simon Cuff (UK), Daisy Parsons (UK),
Daniel McClellan (USA), Davina Grojnowski (Germany), Dr Madhavi Nevader,
Dr Haike Beruriah-Wiegand

Back Row
Dr César Merchán-Hamann, Dr Piet van Boxel, Dr Garth Gilmour, Dr Michael Law

SEMINARS AND RESEARCH

A. EUROPEAN SEMINARS ON ADVANCED JEWISH STUDIES PROJECTS

Greek Scripture and the Rabbis

ALISON SALVESEN

It is a fact barely acknowledged even by scholars that in the early centuries of the Common Era the spoken language of the majority of Jews was Greek — not Hebrew, or even Aramaic. With communities spread all over the Eastern Mediterranean, from present-day Turkey to deep into Egypt, throughout Greece and Syriac and even in the land of Israel, Jews communicated with each other and with non-Jews in Greek. Yet our view of Jewish society in Antiquity to the rise of Islam is so coloured by the extensive rabbinic literature written in Hebrew and Aramaic that we miss the significance of the many Greek loanwords in the Mishnah and Palestinian Talmud, and the references to the use of Greek in the liturgy. It is hard to imagine Rabbi Akiva and Yehudah Ha-Nasi negotiating with local tradesmen or arguing with Roman officials in fluent Greek, but there is plenty of evidence to suggest that this is in fact what happened. Synagogue inscriptions and epitaphs in the early rabbinic period show that Greek was widely used among Jews in Palestine. The Jerusalem Talmud records that the sons of R. Gamaliel were allowed to learn Greek because of their proximity to the Roman government (ySota XV, 322.6). R. Simeon ben Gamaliel believed that the Torah could not be properly translated except into Greek (yMeg I.11, 71c). R. Yehudah Ha-Nasi even said that the Aramaic language should not be used in Palestine, but only Hebrew or Greek (bSota 49b). Rabbinic literature, especially from Eretz Israel, is peppered with Greek loanwords, ranging from common ones such as *doron* ('gift'), *ochlosin* ('crowds'), and *ananqi* ('through necessity'), to specialized technical, military and administrative terms whose Greek origins are often obscured by corruption of their Hebraized form.

It is well known that the Hebrew Bible was translated into Greek in Egypt, a text that became known as the Septuagint, literally the version of the 'Seventy'. This name is an allusion to the legend that in the third

century BCE seventy-two Jewish scholars travelled from Jerusalem to Alexandria to translate the Torah into Greek at the request of King Ptolemy. Although many assume that the Septuagint was just absorbed quietly into the Church as its Old Testament while it vanished from Judaism, the reality is more complex. Even though the rabbis championed the Tanakh in Hebrew, Scripture in Greek continued to evolve through a constant process of revision in comparison with the Hebrew text, as can be seen from Greek biblical texts that survive from Jewish sites such as Qumran, Masada and the Cairo Geniza, as well as those manuscripts copied by Christians. Thus Greek Scripture was used into the medieval period and beyond. In later centuries it was even written in Hebrew characters – not so strange considering that Yiddish is a German dialect written in Hebrew letters. The culmination of this process can be seen in the Judaeo-Greek of the Constantinople Pentateuch of 1547.

My personal fascination with Jewish Scripture in Greek goes back to my undergraduate studies in Classics and Hebrew in Oxford. I became aware of the role of the Septuagint as an aid to understanding the development of the traditional Hebrew 'Masoretic' text, because it was translated book by book from early unvocalized Hebrew texts, long before the rabbinic Bible reached its present form in the early medieval period. Professors and commentaries also referred to 'the later Greek versions' to help clarify a difficult word in the Hebrew Bible, but never explained what their origin had been and how they related to the older Septuagint. In doctoral work and beyond I came to see how important these mysterious Jewish Greek translations were to both formative Judaism and early Christianity. Rather than disappearing down a crack between the synagogue and the church, for centuries they acted as a bridge between the communities for both communication and controversy over the Bible. Yet the field of Jewish studies has barely recognized the phenomenon of Jews reading the Scriptures in Greek, while until recently patristics experts have focused on the development of doctrine and virtually ignored the impact of the Old Testament text on the Church Fathers.

The recent European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies project was a unique opportunity to bring together scholars in the main areas of relevance to the topic, namely rabbinics, patristics, palaeography and biblical studies. Most of the twelve participants were in residence at Yarnton for between three and six months. They were scholars at various stages in their careers, from advanced doctoral students to emeritus professors.

They came from several countries, including Belgium, Israel, the Netherlands, the UK and the United States (see plate 1). We met at least twice a week during term, once for a seminar open to anyone in the University, and once for a workshop to which graduate students were invited. In this we discussed the main sources from the point of view of our different disciplines. Less formally, smaller groups regularly gathered (often in local pubs) to air new ideas. We also held two conferences, one in March entitled 'Greek Culture and the Rabbis', and a final one in June on 'Aquila and the Rabbis'.

Our main focus was the two major Jewish revisions of the second century CE, one by a Greek proselyte to Judaism, Aquila or 'Aqilas Ha-Ger' in around 130 CE, and the other by Symmachus, who may have been

Plate 1 From left to right – seated in the front row: Professor Tessa Rajak, Dr Alison Salvesen, Professor Emanuel Tov, Professor Bas ter Haar Romeny. Seated in the second row: Dr Tim Edwards, Dr Julia Krivoruchko, Lorenzo Cuppi, Dr Michael Graves. Standing at the back: second from left, Dr Jenny Labendz; fourth from left, Dr Willem Smelik; Dr Reinhart Ceulemans; Dr Michael Law.

a Samaritan before he converted to Judaism at the time of the Mishnah (the end of the second century CE). We examined the references in rabbinic literature to Aquila's translation, of which the rabbis seem to have approved, and which strongly influenced subsequent Jewish Greek translations of the Bible into the sixteenth century. We also discussed how Christian scholars first rejected and then made enthusiastic use of the versions of both Aquila and Symmachus for their own work. We examined the degree to which the surviving fragments of Aquila and Symmachus reflect a Jewish milieu, and whether this was rabbinic or some other type of Judaism in Palestine. What was the fundamental attitude of the rabbis towards translation of the Scriptures in general? Were they idealists who insisted on Hebrew only, or were they pragmatists, who preferred Jews to understand the basics of Torah in one or other approved language? In the sixth century, when the Christian Emperor Justinian legislated on which Bible version Greek-speaking Jews should read in synagogue, was he responding sympathetically to the request of Jews who could not understand Hebrew? Or was he imposing a Christian agenda by allowing them the choice only of the Septuagint or Aquila? Were the versions of Aquila and Symmachus directly available to Christian scholars from Jewish texts, or only through the work of the third-century churchman Origen, who brought several versions together in a vast multi-columned Bible known as the Hexapla? These and other questions were explored to the full, and we were able to make good progress not only in tackling these issues but in setting the agenda for future research.

More detailed findings were presented by individual scholars. Reinhart Ceulemans argued, on the basis of evidence from patristic sources, that the Jewish versions of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion were not available among Christians independently of Origen's Hexapla and his biblical commentaries. Origen had used these versions to revise the Church's Septuagint text (LXX) to match the Hebrew text of his day, and thus words and phrases from the later Jewish versions became incorporated into the Christian Greek Old Testament. Modern scholars therefore find it difficult to identify what the older Jewish and pre-Christian LXX text would have looked like. Lorenzo Cuppi dealt with this question in his research on the book of Proverbs (Mishle Shlomo), and was able to examine an early papyrus fragment of the book that is preserved in Oxford's Ashmolean Museum that demonstrates the beginnings of this process.

Reused parchment fragments of Aquila's version of Psalms and Kings were found at the end of the nineteenth century in the Cairo Geniza (see plate 2), proving that Aquila continued to be popular with Jews well into the Byzantine period. Michael Law examined how these brief but continuous texts of Kings reflect the development of the Masoretic text from the earlier, pre-rabbinic Hebrew text underlying LXX Kings. Julia Krivoruchko and Shifra Sznol showed that glosses based on Aquila's rendering, but recorded in Hebrew characters, still circulated in medieval times and influenced the Constantinople Pentateuch version in the mid-sixteenth century.

Theological issues played a part in the development of both Hebrew and Greek texts, as Emanuel Tov explained, which is why, where a Greek version does not match the Masoretic text, it is important to distinguish between several possible reasons for the difference. For instance, in some places a translator had a variant and often older reading in the Hebrew manuscript in front of him; in others he merely misread the Hebrew; while at times he simply chose to render it differently. By the end of the second century CE all kinds of Greek scriptural texts and variants were in circulation. Christians were at a loss to understand the nature and purpose of these differences before the work of Origen, and without the knowledge of Hebrew as a guide and control. They tended to fall back on the concept of the providential inspiration of the original Septuagint text and to accuse Jews of tampering with favourite Christian proof-texts. Tessa Rajak focused on Justin Martyr and his Dialogue with Trypho the Jew, the apologetic work in which he compares different versions of important proof-texts with a fictitious Jewish interlocutor. Alison Salvesen followed on from this to trace Christian attitudes towards the later Jewish revisers, from Justin's antagonism in the late-second century, to Eusebius of Caesarea's appropriation in the mid-fourth century as actually supportive of Christian doctrine. Thus we find citations of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion in several patristic authors, although the level of authority granted to their renderings in comparison to the Church's LXX varied somewhat, as Bas Romeny and Mike Graves demonstrated.

On the rabbinic side, Philip Alexander and Willem Smelik provided close readings of rabbinic texts that discuss scriptural translations. Jenny Labendz argued for a greater cosmopolitanism on the part of rabbis than is often recognized, in which an acceptance of Scripture in Greek would

Plate 2 This parchment fragment, recovered from the Cairo Geniza at the end of the nineteenth century, forms part of the Taylor-Schechter collection of the University of Cambridge. It is a palimpsest, i.e. a page that was reused owing to the high cost of vellum as a writing material. The Greek text, covering 2 Kings 23:15–19 in the version of Aquila, can be dated by its writing to the late-fifth or early-sixth centuries. It is almost certainly Jewish in origin because the Divine Name appears in palaeo-Hebrew script. Sometime in the eleventh century the ink of the Greek text was scraped off and the page reused for the Hebrew liturgical poems or piyyutim of the seventh-century poet Yannai.

play a part. In Palestinian texts Aquila appears both as the ideal convert and as a translator whose renderings were sometimes useful for rabbinic intepretations of the text. Tim Edwards compared Aquila's renderings in Psalms to the interpretations of midrash, and Mike Graves examined those in Genesis for possible midrashic wordplays. The question of whether either Aquila or Symmachus actually moved within rabbinic circles was the subject of Alison Salvesen's investigation. She concluded that Aquila's translation received rabbinic approval after the event, while Symmachus's affinities were more generally Jewish than specifically rabbinic.

The project participants were most enthusiastic about the intellectual stimulus that Oxford has to offer in the way of libraries, seminars and access to colleagues in related areas. Especially gratifying was the development of strong academic ties between scholars of different ages and from different countries and disciplines. We will be publishing the papers that emerged from our discussions, but the effects of the project will go beyond what can be conveyed by the printed page.

The Reading of Hebrew and Jewish Texts in the Early Modern Period

JOANNA WEINBERG and PIET VAN BOXEL

Hebrew texts, or the wisdom contained in Jewish books, engaged the attention of Christian readers of all denominations from the mid-fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries. Hebrew was regarded as part and parcel of the scholar's accoutrements, enabling him or her to enter the republic of letters and to converse with its members. In the great volumes of humanist correspondence, Hebrew and matters related to Jewish tradition often occur in scholarly exchanges – and Hebrew is even on occasion used as the medium of communication. By the end of the seventeenth century certain Christian scholars had a deep knowledge of Hebrew writing, becoming familiar with works hot off the printer's press. Indeed, the case of John Selden (1584–1654), who read the entire Babylonian Talmud while languishing in Her Majesty's prison and who applied his Jewish learning to matters of natural and Roman law, was not an exception.

There were various reasons that propelled Christians to acquire knowledge of Hebrew and Aramaic: the desire to return *ad fontes* and to read the Bible in its original language, to study the rabbinic texts which somehow testified to the historical world in which Christianity was born and to engage in Kabbalah, the esoteric writings of Jewish tradition which allegedly contained deep mysteries of the Christian faith.

The Christian Hebraism to which this interest in Hebrew gave rise dominated our seminars on 'Reading Hebrew in the Early Modern Period'. Our weekly meetings, which continued over six months and involved ten senior and junior scholars from Europe, Israel and the United States, and which also drew audiences from the wider Oxford scholarly community, were meant to initiate a comprehensive approach and to reconsider the definition of Christian Hebraism. The mandate given to the participants was to attempt to understand the nature of Hebraism in this period, by taking into account all its different guises. To date, research has concentrated on either Christian or Jewish

Hebraism, resulting in a skewed version of Jewish culture among Jews and Christians. Here, instead, the purpose was to pinpoint the texts which inform the discussion of both Jews and Christians in their scholarly writings. In other words, did Christians read the same books as Jews and, if so, were they reading the books through the same lenses and for the same reasons?

The expertise of the members of our group enabled us to consider many different aspects of reading Hebrew in the early modern period. Crucial for our undertaking was an in-depth study of the Jewish libraries of Christian scholars. Theodor Dunkelgrün demonstrated how the great Dutch Hebraist Johannes Drusius acquired and applied his Hebrew knowledge. Andrew Berns brought a Hebraist out of the closet – Ulisse Aldrovandi – more usually known as a Bolognese naturalist. Anthony Grafton and Joanna Weinberg focused on the library of one of the greatest Christians Hebraist of the sixteenth century, Johannes Buxtorf, by means of his one surviving notebook that yielded much new information about Buxtorf's attitudes and working methods (see plate 1). An illuminating case study of Jewish-Christian reading of Jewish texts was Anthony Grafton's survey of Christian scholars' efforts to understand the relation between the Last Supper as depicted in the Gospels, and the Jewish Passover Seder as they recreated it (or attempted to do so).

Another aspect of our deliberations was to consider the written culture of Hebraism in Italy during the fifteenth, sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. An important aspect of this topic, which remerged repeatedly and was presented by Federica Francesconi and Piet van Boxel, was the interplay between Jewish texts and the activities of Christian censors, and the way in which the world of the inquisition placed limits on, and created particular opportunities for, religious expression on the part of both Jews and Christians. Yet religious scruples, or rather the dictates of religion, did not really impede the influence of Jewish authors on the various Bible translations from Hebrew into Latin and into the vernacular (Italian). Some of the most important manuscripts of biblical glossaries and biblical translations in Judeo-Italian and in Italian at the Bodleian Library at Oxford were studied by Alessandro Guetta, who showed us the Christian hand in Jewish Bible translations into the vernacular.

In a preliminary investigation of the collection of Hebrew manuscripts in the Bodleian Library collected by the great orientalist and Laudian Professor of Arabic Edward Pococke (1604–91), Yosef Hacker

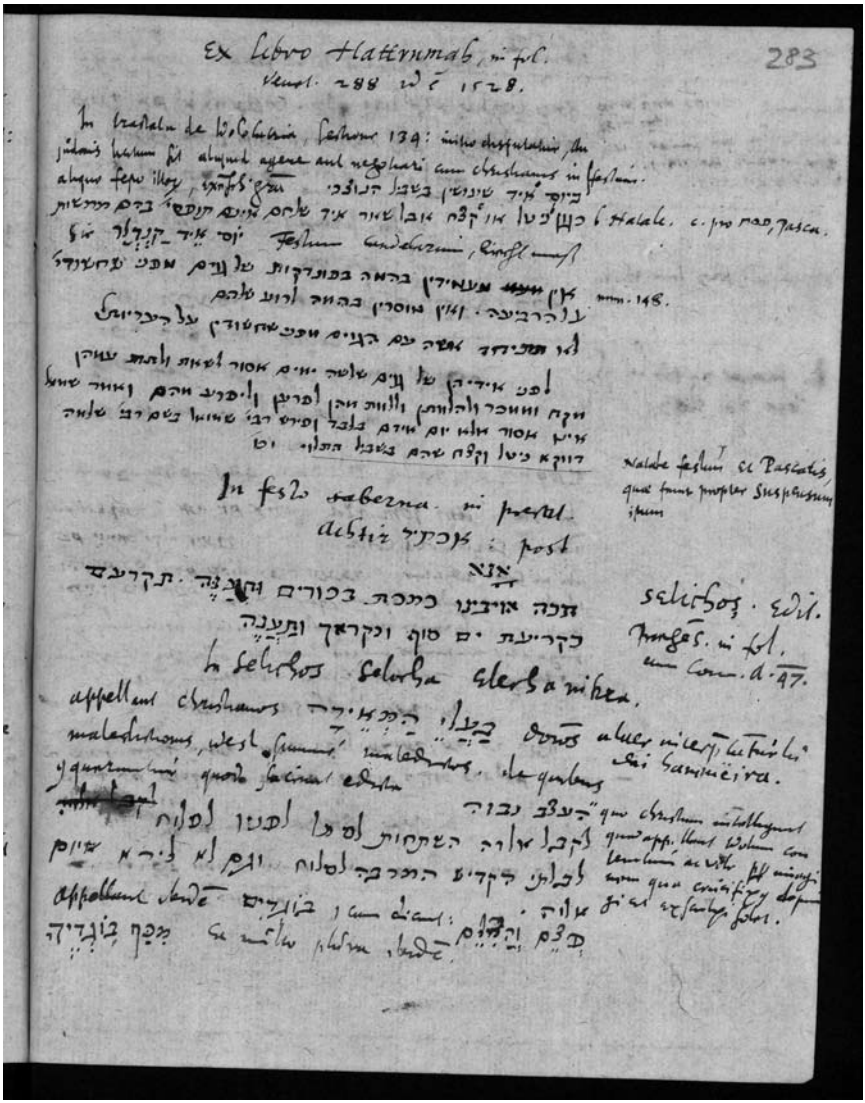


Plate 1 A page from Buxtorf's copybook (Universität Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek, MS A. XII 20) with extracts from the *Sefer ha-Terumah* of Baruch ben Isaac of Worms.

reconstructed how the quest for Oriental enlightenment led Western diplomats and scholars to search for Hebrew (and other Oriental) manuscripts in all corners of the Ottoman Empire, where they purchased the texts from Jewish owners. These trophies contributed in no small way to the development of Hebrew scholarship in the West. The acquisition of expertise in reading the Hebrew materials also affected – and not superficially – Christians' own understanding of their religious origins. Not unrelated to this phenomenon, as Scott Mandelbrote argued, is the way scholars used Jewish sources in evaluating the text and authority of the Septuagint in the early modern period. Likewise, the circulation of printed books from Italy to Poland – as Elchanan Reiner showed – caused a cultural ferment challenging the traditions of Ashkenazi Jewish society.

Less ideological, perhaps, was Christian interest in the realia of the Jewish world which developed for the first time in this period. The fascination for Hebrew epistolography, presented by Theodor Dunkelgrün, and the study of Jewish tombstones for their historical and literary content, presented by Michela Andreatta and Eleazar Gutwirth, clearly belong to the humanist and antiquarian context in which the majority of the scholars functioned. And as Philip Ford demonstrated in his seminar paper, the study of Hebrew was not a male prerogative. In the 1560s the Belgian scholar Charles Utenhove became the tutor of the Morel family, teaching the daughters of the house, Camille, Lucrece and Diane, how to read Holy Scriptures, and we even have a document testifying to how he went about giving lessons to his female pupils.

In general, then, the seminar brought to light the transformation that took place between Christian scholarship and Jewish learning in the early modern period: in terms of the changes that were provoked in doctrine, religious practice, historical understanding and linguistic skills.

Another exciting and undoubtedly novel venture undertaken by the group was investigation of the censored Talmud produced in Basel between 1578 and 1581, a momentous event in Jewish-Christian relations which involved Jews in Germany and Venice, Catholics (including Pope Gregory XIII) and Reformed Christians (see plate 2). In the 1570s the printer Ambrosius Froben set out with Jewish funding to produce a Christian edition of the Babylonian Talmud – the vast compendium of Jewish laws and debates – thousands of copies of which had been publicly burned in Rome and Venice in 1553, and which had often been maligned

Plate 2 Frontispiece of tractate Yoma (about the Day of Atonement) from the Basel Talmud in the Bodleian Library, with, from left to right, Benjamin Williams, Dr Federica Francesconi and Professor Yosef Hacker. (Photo Matthew Kimberley)

as a work of blasphemy containing scurillous attacks on Jesus. The Basel censored Talmud, with title-pages in both Hebrew and Latin and with approbations of the Church, has never been studied in depth, although it represents a key moment in Jewish-Christian relations. The very notion of a Christian Talmud seems an oxymoron, yet the publication of this Talmud gave permission for both Jews and Christians to possess this vital text.

In our workshops we began to scrutinize the Basel Talmud by gathering the extant information on the complex business negotiations between Jews and Christians over the publication, for which important materials are to be found in Basel, Zurich and Venice, surveying the rules of censorship applied to the Talmud, and examining copies of the Talmud in libraries in order to ascertain ownership. Annotated copies have been discovered which testify both to Christian study of the text

Plate 3 Various volumes of the Basel Talmud, with, from left to right: Theodor Dunkelgrün (The Netherlands), Professor Anthony Grafton (USA), Dr Joanna Weinberg (United Kingdom), Andrew Berns (USA), Professor Elchanan Reiner (Israel), Benjamin Williams (United Kingdom), Dr Federica Francesconi (Italy), Professor Yosef Hacker (Israel), Dr Michela Andreatta (Italy). Other members of the group not shown were Professor Alessandro Guetta, Scott Mandelbrote and Dr Piet van Boxel. (Photo Matthew Kimberley)

and to its use in Jewish Yeshivot (academies) in Germany at the end of the sixteenth century. We intend to continue this work on the Basel Talmud and to produce a monograph which will include a careful examination of all the volumes of the Talmud, and a scrutiny of the various novel marginalia that do not appear in the standard texts of the Talmud. The Basel Talmud is the most eloquent example of Christian-Jewish Hebraism in the early modern era, and our investigation into the vicissitudes of its production and into the product itself will engender a fresh formulation and definition of Christian Hebraism.

Each member of the group presented a paper at the weekly seminar held at Exeter College, which was attended also by Fellows of the Centre

and by faculty and graduate members of the University of Oxford. Particularly gratifying has been our cooperation with another major project in the University – 'Cultures of Knowledge' – which used some of their Mellon grant to fund lunches so that participants in both seminars could attend each other's papers. This remarkable development continues and enhances the integration of Jewish Studies in the University. All Souls College offered to host the concluding conference, in which Professor Eleazar Gutwirth, Professor William Horbury, Professor Yosef Kaplan and Dr Nurit Pasternak also participated. A volume reflecting the seminar and its conference papers is to be published.

In addition to the weekly seminars and workshops the group has met informally to discuss the progress of the research, and to lay the foundations for the future publications of the Talmud project and proceedings of the conference.

We are indebted to our funders for having given us this unique opportunity for scholarly encounter and promoting Jewish studies in Europe.

When Did the History of Israel Begin?

HUGH WILLIAMSON

Simple questions often hide more complications than might at first be considered decent. When I began to teach in a University setting back in the 1970s, it seemed that almost every year a new book would appear entitled *A History of Israel*, or sometimes, more boldly, *The History of Israel*. The question both I and my students naturally asked was, 'Why?' Once we had overcome our cynical observation that perhaps the authors thought these were good money-making ventures, we naturally wanted to know in what sense one differed from the other.

Although the rate of production seems to have slowed more recently, it has not dried up and the question presses in ever more urgently. A survey of a representative sample of these textbooks shows clearly that they offer radically different answers to such further questions as 'what was Israel?' and 'what sort of history interests you?' And the answers to those questions in turn reveal significantly different appraisals both of the ancient world and of the use to which history may be put politically in the modern.

I prefer not to get entangled in the modern political issues here, but just to illustrate how they can intrude I cite two examples. First, I recall seeing posters in Jerusalem anticipating the millennium, which implied that this included the celebration of 3000 years of the history of Jerusalem. The implication was that there was effectively no Jerusalem before the time King David captured it. In fact, there are remains in Jerusalem which date back at least to the Early Bronze Age, a thousand years or more before David, and the history of Jerusalem during the Late Bronze Age is well known to us from the famous letters from its king to the Pharaoh in Egypt, which are a vital source of historical information about conditions in the land before there was an Israel.

Secondly, in a semi-popular account of some excavations just to the south of the Temple Mount an Israeli archaeologist wrote that 'we felt as though we were digging up our title deeds to the Holy Land'.

As one who is neither Jewish nor Israeli I find such statements troubling, because they imply that the history of the land which covers the period when it was occupied by ancient Israel and Judah is somehow in a different category from its historical occupation by other groups either previously or subsequently. Whatever one's views may be on that question from other perspectives, it alerts us to the importance of being more conscious of what we are doing as historians and how we should approach what appears deceptively to be a simple question.

More narrowly to the point, it will surprise nobody to learn that modern scholars embrace very different assumptions when they use the name Israel. For some, it should be limited to its use as a name for a political state. This is how it is used in texts from the time that have reached us independently of the Bible (ancient inscriptions from other countries, and so on), and so that is how we should use it too. That being so, it refers to the Northern Kingdom of Israel, which (according to the biblical narrative) began after the division of the monarchy on Solomon's death and which came to an end at the hand of the Assyrians in 721 BCE or thereabouts. It is separate from Judah and therefore quite unrelated to the later history of Judaism.

Alternatively, we may decide to take our cue from the Bible, only to find that there the name is used in quite a diverse range of senses, sometimes for the Northern Kingdom of Israel, for instance, sometimes for the much later post-exilic community which lived in Judah and which seemed to want to present itself as inheriting the older tradition, sometimes for the confederation of tribes which are presented as preceding the time of the first kings of 'Israel', Saul, David and Solomon, and so on. Of course, we may select whichever we choose for our history, but it is important to be clear what we are doing and not to muddle up biblical and non-biblical uses as though they were somehow all the same thing.

Furthermore, these days there are many different sorts of history that people may wish to recover. Some like to remain with the most traditional approach which, rather improperly, tends to be called 'men and movements' – that is to say, the history of important people and events. This is perfectly legitimate in itself, but of course it treats only a tiny percentage of the population, so that others prefer to investigate a more long-term version of history that deals with the bulk of the population – the history of agricultural development through the centuries, of devel-

oping international trade, of increasing literacy and other social or cultural achievements, and so on.

And finally our question is complicated still further by the relative weight that we put on the different forms of evidence that are available to us. In the more distant past, the Bible was virtually the only source of information, so that a history of ancient Israel could not be more than a retelling of the biblical story in other words. More recently, however, this situation has been completely transformed by the work of archaeologists who have both recovered a wealth of documentation from Israel and elsewhere that takes us back at first hand to the centuries in question and also done so much to illuminate many other aspects of historical development by their excavation of the sites of ancient cities and their surveys of wider regions to trace the history and intensity of its settlement. How to draw these various sources of information together into a coherent account becomes ever more challenging as work goes forward.

With this range of uncertainties in view, then, let us see how a selection of 'Histories of Ancient Israel' have answered the question of where to begin.

One approach maintains that the minimal requirement for a national history is a combination of people and land. So far as Israel is concerned, this is attested from the times known as the 'judges period', i.e. the days when Israel, by whatever means, had become settled in the land, even though that predates the rise of the monarchy. This was the position championed in what was once a standard textbook by one of the major historians of the mid-twentieth century, Martin Noth. A few others have tried to push this date back to the Exodus from Egypt, which is in some sense regarded as the birth of the nation, but I am not aware of any book which explicitly takes up that position; it appears only in secondary discussions of the issue, and for many scholars nowadays it would raise considerable historical difficulties.

A different approach is to maintain that 'Israel' refers to the land of that name, so that in principle one should start the history as early as the first recorded habitation, of which the appearance of Israel as a state was only a late element. This is the approach adopted by Gösta Ahlström, though it has to be said that the result is not entirely satisfactory. Although it is helpful to take such a long view when it comes to social development and the like, his record in fact adopts a far more conventional approach once he reaches the period of the Israelite and Judean

monarchies, so that in fact the outcome is something of a mixture of two separate approaches. On a smaller scale, a more instructive study is that of Bob Coote and Keith Whitelam, who were among the first to try to explain the emergence of Israel in Canaan on the basis of long-term developments in trade, economy and agriculture. This approach has been widely adopted, albeit with variations, in more recent archaeologically based histories, and Coote and Whitelam should be commended for thus pioneering a fresh approach on the basis of a much narrower base of evidence at the time they were writing.

Another suggestion is to begin one's history at the point where there is reason to believe we have access to archival state sources; anything prior to that has to be regarded as some form of folk- or oral-memory. It need not necessarily be rejected for that reason, but it has very much to be understood as the collected memories of the people whose written history we are attempting. Alberto Soggin was the first to argue for this position in any detail, and he has been followed in this respect by what may now be regarded as the standard text-book on the subject, that by Max Miller and John Hayes. It helps that in this view the earliest records are traced to the days of the united monarchy of David and Solomon. The kind of documents referred to as 'archival' are the 'cabinet members' in 2 Samuel 8:15–18; 20:23–26; 1 Kings 4:1–6; the list of tax districts in 1 Kings 4:7–19; details of the temple building, and so on.

Rather more radical are the results of those who think that the history of Israel should be written primarily on the basis of archaeological sources. The biblical record, especially for the early period, is so unreliable that it can never be the basis of our account, but supplementary at best; after all, it is claimed, archaeological sources come to us at first hand, whereas the biblical record is at best second hand, and more likely third or fourth, as scribes copied from earlier sources and these were then later edited into the books that we now have. In the course of that work there was so much scope for subsequent interpretation – especially in view of the fact that the material was not written as history but for other purposes – that it cannot be relied on without external support.

This view, which is currently becoming increasingly popular, suggests that the history of Israel should therefore begin at the time when we first have references to it outside the Bible, and that means the dynasty of Omri, one of the early kings of the northern kingdom of Israel. Given that at the same time there has been a good deal of redating of earlier

archaeological finds that were once ascribed to Solomon or to the days of Omri and Ahab, this approach implies that we can say nothing of the period before Omri. The southern kingdom of Judah was only a later development, so that there is no place for the glories of the united kingdom of David and Solomon whatsoever. If they existed, as they may have done, it will have been only as local chieftains or the like, quite insignificant from any political or national point of view. Proponents of this kind of approach include prominently the archaeologist Israel Finkelstein and the ancient Near Eastern historian Mario Liverani.

Finally, to take a really radical approach, it has occasionally been suggested that there is no good reason to find continuity between the so-called post-exilic community in Judah that stands at the head of the second temple community, and those represented as pre-exilic Israel or Judah. On this view, those who came from Babylon were not really returning at all, but were newcomers, sent by the Persians to colonize the area, and only subsequently did they seek to invent a history which tied them to the new land to which they had come. Again, however, I am not aware of any book called 'the history of Israel' that has worked with this minimal position.

Now, it will not have escaped notice that none of the positions I have listed properly coincides with the biblical presentation of Israel effectively starting with Abraham. Admittedly the name only comes with his grandson Jacob, who was renamed Israel and whose twelve (or so) sons became the ancestors of the tribes of Israel. But the break following the universal primeval history in Genesis 1–11 clearly comes with the call of Abraham, and thereafter there is no other clear hiatus in the biblical narrative until the time of the Babylonian exile. The history of Israel should therefore start with Abraham. This is both the traditional and the modern conservative position, of course. In a previous generation it was championed by John Bright and then, with far greater erudition, by Roland de Vaux. More recently it has been taken up again by Iain Provan and his colleagues.

After such a catalogue of views on what seemed at first to be a simple question, one's initial reaction may well be one of bewilderment. How on earth can we sort through such a diversity of opinion?

Perhaps it would be helpful to make a few comments about the two extremes as a starting point. First, so far as the stories of Abraham and his family are concerned, they are clearly something different from what we

should expect in a work called *The History of Israel*. They are family stories about people who left no mark outside the Bible in their own times, no matter how significant what followed historically in later centuries may have been. We might certainly discuss whether, if at all, we should reckon them as factual accounts, and here it is only fair to say that for a wide variety of reasons nearly all scholars would be doubtful about that, but on the basis of their content and genre they are not what should normally be reckoned as part of the history of Israel as such.

At the other end of the scale, while there are admittedly some difficulties in knowing how to associate the returnees from Babylon with the Israel and Judah of the monarchical period – just look at the names in Ezra 2 – there can nowadays surely be no doubt that the books of Kings certainly include much of valuable historical memory. Any attempt to dismiss that out of hand should be strongly resisted. Without cataloguing the evidence in detail here, it is worth mentioning that, for instance, every name of any Judean or Israelite king who turns up in some source outside the Bible (e.g. in Moabite, Assyrian, Babylonian or Aramaic texts) always coincides with the kings as known from the biblical sources and in the right period and order. Moreover, as we get into the later period of the history (from the eighth century BCE onwards) events are mentioned which also occur in the Bible. Admittedly, and as might be expected, there are differences of presentation, sometimes quite sharp, between the varying accounts, no doubt reminding us again that these were not written as histories in the modern sense at all. But with all due allowance for that, it is clear that there must have been records of some sort on which the biblical authors could draw.

An intermediate position seems therefore to be the most reasonable, and ultimately a decision on that is likely to be based on one's view regarding the historicity of the united monarchy of David and Solomon. At this point, the arguments between archaeologists and text-based historians probably become most acute, and a debate is still raging that we may hope will ultimately be settled one way or the other. For reasons that I cannot set out here in full I remain on the conservative wing of this discussion and should want to maintain that some archival sources from that period have been included in the Bible's historical books, even though I am aware that in saying so I am going out on a bit of a limb in terms of much current thinking.

Despite that, there is one small contribution I should like to offer here

to the debate between these two main approaches to historical research. At present, adherents of the archaeological and textual approaches seem to be talking across each other, without seeking to engage one another in constructive discussion rather than heated claim and counter-claim. A moment's thought should reveal, however, that for the most part they are not addressing the issues constructively. Archaeology, apart from its recovery of written materials, is not well placed to pontificate about the specifics of history. It is rare that finds can be firmly ascribed to some particular event, and many suggestions along that line in the past have been shown to be mistaken. Archaeology at its best, rather, unearths the traces of longer-term changes in society – changes in populations and their way of life in all sorts of ways. It can thus make clear when a society is moving towards a period of change or significant development, but it cannot predict how that change will occur. It sets out the conditions for change.

Conversely, ancient written sources are more interested in precisely the elements in history which archaeology is least well fitted to supply, what we might call the catalysts for change. A society may become increasingly complex, for instance, in such a manner that one may predict that at some point in the near future a change in the nature of rule is likely to eventuate; area surveys of the hill-country of Israel have shown just such evidence at the end of the Early Iron Age, for instance. But that the monarchy should have emerged at that time in quite the way that it did is dependent also on other human factors which in theory could have been different. And it is in that aspect of the story that the biblical writers were most interested.

Of course we have to accept that they may not always have got things right from our modern perspective, and archaeology as well as many other forms of analysis may help us to adjudicate on such a matter. But that the two approaches are inevitably in conflict, as some strident voices have seemed, at least, to claim, is an unnecessary consequence. There is quite enough that we do not know from so ancient a time in terms of the history of Israel that we should at least make every effort to combine such sources of evidence as we have rather than rule either one or the other out of court on *a priori* grounds.

Books Referred to:

G. W. Ahlström, *The History of Ancient Palestine*. Sheffield: JSOT Press (1993)
J. Bright, *A History of Israel*. 3rd edn; London: SCM (1981)

R. B. Coote and K. Whitelam, *The Emergence of Early Israel in Historical Perspective*. Sheffield: Almond (1987)
I. Finkelstein and N. A. Silberman, *The Bible Unearthed: Archaeology's New Vision of Ancient Israel and the Origin of its Sacred Texts*. New York: Free Press (2001)
M. Liverani, *Israel's History and the History of Israel*. London: Equinox (2005)
J. M. Miller and J. H. Hayes, *A History of Ancient Israel and Judah*. 2nd edn; Louisville: Westminster John Knox (2006)
M. Noth, *The History of Israel*. 2nd edn; London: SCM (1960)
I. Provan *et al.*, *A Biblical History of Israel*, Louisville: Westminster John Knox (2003)
J. A. Soggin, *A History of Israel*. London: SCM (1984)
R. de Vaux, *The Early History of Israel*. 2 vols; London: Darton, Longman and Todd (1978)

Also useful:

B. T. Arnold and H. G. M. Williamson (eds) *Dictionary of the Old Testament Historical Books*. Downers Grove: InterVarsity (2005)
P. R. Davies, *In Search of 'Ancient Israel'*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press (1992)
P. R. Davies, *Memories of Ancient Israel: An Introduction to Biblical History – Ancient and Modern*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox (2008)
I. Finkelstein and A. Mazar, *The Quest for the Historical Israel: Debating Archaeology and the History of Early Israel*. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature (2007)
L. L. Grabbe (ed.) *Can a 'History of Israel' be Written?* Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press (1997)
L. L. Grabbe, *Ancient Israel: What Do We Know and How Do We Know it?* London: T & T Clark (2007)

Jews and Christians in the First Centuries

MARTIN GOODMAN

It is a commonplace observation that Jesus was a Jew who spent his life among Jews, and in many respects his career and teachings can be well understood in the context of first-century Jewish society. But among the properties of Jesus which set him apart from his contemporaries is the establishment of a movement in his name which in due course became separate from the rest of Judaism.

The date and causes of the parting of the ways between the Church and the Synagogue have been long discussed and show no sign of resolution. It is true that, as implied by recent claims that the ways never parted at all, from the perspective of a total outsider, Jews and Christians in antiquity might seem to share so much that they should best be understood as streams within a common movement. But it is a common phenomenon, not least in religious history, that apparently small differences can constitute major barriers between groups, and it is an error to imagine Jews and Christians in the ancient world accepting the degree of fluidity in religious identity to be found in some societies today.

The crucial issue is one of perspective: just because some Christians came to identify themselves as separate from Jews, it does not follow that this separation was acknowledged by Jews or by other Christians. And religious groups could retain social cohesiveness while accommodating doctrinal diversity, so that what in hindsight appears to have been the moment of theological innovation which made the parting inevitable, may have passed unnoticed at the time. To state that Jesus or Paul taught or behaved in ways that other Jews will have regarded as radical does not in itself explain why their followers could not continue to think of their faith as a variety of Judaism. The sociological observation that by the end of the first century many, probably most, Christians had not been born as Jews does not help, since all Jews (and indeed all Christians) accepted the notion that gentiles could convert to Judaism if they so wished.

The Nature of the Christian Evidence

Early Christian literature has a great deal to say about Jews as participants in the narratives of the life of Jesus and the first Christian missions. The depiction of Jews in the Gospels is notoriously ambivalent: individual Jews (notably Jesus himself and his disciples) are portrayed positively, but Jews as a group are at times shown as wholly opposed to Jesus and his message, particularly in the Gospel of John. Some scholars have suggested that the Greek term *ioudaios* is used by the author of this Gospel to refer not to Jews as a religious group, but only to Judaeans – that is, the Jews from Jerusalem and its environs – but such a distinction, though possible, is unlikely in light of the widespread use of *ioudaios* with its wider meaning in other first-century literature, notably the writings of the philosopher Philo and the historian Josephus. It is more likely that the desire of the Gospel writer to blame Jews for the execution of Jesus derived from a need to exculpate the Roman authorities for the crucifixion which they had carried out, in order to present the new faith as acceptable within Roman society.

In Christian texts of the following century the word *ioudaios* refers sometimes to Jews, but just as frequently to other Christians. One of the main issues of contention within the Early Church lay in the extent to which Christians should be required, encouraged or ever permitted to adopt Jewish customs, and in some Christian writings those attacked as 'Jews' may be better understood as 'Judaizing' Christians – although since in such literature 'Jew' is a term of abuse, it is unlikely to have been adopted as a self-designation by these Christians themselves. So, for instance, in the debate over the date of Easter, those who advocated basing the date on the Jewish Passover were sometimes attacked as 'Jews' by their opponents.

The Nature of the Jewish Evidence

The historian Josephus is the only Jewish author known to have written in the first century anything at all about Christians. Apart from a brief reference (Jos. *AJ* 20. 200) to the martyrdom of James, the brother of Jesus, at the hands of the Sadducean High Priest Ananus (later a leader of the Jewish rebels against Rome), the most informative passage appears to be a paragraph (*AJ* 18.63–4) about the career of Jesus himself. But this

passage, which survives only through the copying of the manuscripts of Josephus' histories by numerous Christian scribes, unfortunately contains so many Christian interpolations that it is difficult to extract anything more of historical value than the evident fact that a Jew writing in Rome towards the end of the first century knew both that Jesus had lived as a Jew in the time of Pontius Pilate and that 'the tribe of Christians, so called after him, has still to this day not disappeared' (*AJ* 18.64).

Josephus is our best source of evidence for the extent to which first-century Jews tolerated religious variety in their society, but he neither confirms nor denies that in his day Christianity constituted a type of Judaism. According to him, groups such as Pharisees, Sadducees and Essenes espoused dramatically different philosophies on issues as crucial (one might think) as the possibility of life after death, but they managed to cooperate not only in the government of the country but also (more remarkably) in worship in the Temple. The abundance of idiosyncratic forms of Judaism in this period has been confirmed by the discovery among the Dead Sea scrolls of the communal rules and other literature of at least one previously unknown Jewish group. The more evidence that emerges of the prevalence of such variety, the more difficult it becomes to explain why Christians should have been unable to live within the broad church of Judaism in their day.

The parting of the ways is itself responsible for the loss of Jewish Greek writings composed after Josephus: from the end of the first century, Christians ceased to preserve new writings by Jews because they could increasingly turn to their own distinctive literature. The Jewish writings which survive from later periods were all preserved not by Christians but by rabbis, and are thus all in either Hebrew or Aramaic – the rabbis may have been conversant with Greek, but they preferred to discuss religious matters either in Hebrew (as the language of piety) or in Aramaic (the vernacular). The earliest rabbinic works, such as the Mishnah, were compiled only in the early third century CE, but they made extensive use of earlier oral traditions reaching back into the first century. Unlike Josephus, the rabbis of this early period had little to say about other, non-rabbinic types of Judaism, which some have taken as evidence of a desire for unity and a willingness to end earlier divisions, but others (more plausibly) as a reflection of a lack of interest in Jews who espouse what the rabbis deem to be incorrect beliefs and practices. All such Jews are treated equally as *minim*, 'heretics', whether their fault is to deny the possibility

of life after death, to declare that there are two powers in heaven rather than one, or to heal the sick through incantations in the name of Jesus. In the last case, the heretics to whom the rabbinic texts refer are evidently Christians of some kind, but it would be an error to assume that Christians predominated among the heretics of whom the rabbis expressed disapproval. There is every reason to suppose that Sadducees and Essenes were to be found in Jewish society in the second century as much as in the first, and the Jews who apparently asserted a second power in heaven were probably Gnostics of some kind.

It is important to emphasize this point, that the rabbis did not necessarily (or perhaps even usually) have Christians in mind when disparaging *minim*, because much has been written on the *Birkat haMinim*, a blessing pronounced by rabbinic Jews in the statutory daily prayers, in which thanks are given for the destruction of the *minim*. According to one version (found in the fifth-century Babylonian Talmud [*Berakhot* 28b]) of the origins of this benediction (actually, of course, a curse), it was composed by a certain Samuel the Small (otherwise obscure) towards the end of the first century CE. It is clear that this curse could be taken by Jewish Christians as referring to them, but it is less obvious that it would be seen by gentile Christians as their concern. In the eyes of rabbinic Jews in antiquity, gentile Christians were seen as dedicated to idolatrous worship as much as pagans, which is why the conversion of the Roman empire to Christianity during the fourth century made extraordinarily little impact on rabbinic attitudes to gentiles, even in what rapidly became the Christian Holy Land.

The Nature of the Pagan Evidence

Early Christian accounts of the first Christian missionaries such as Paul presuppose that pagan authorities, both the magistrates in Greek cities and the representatives of the Roman state, treated the first Christian generations as part of the Jewish community: according to Acts (18:15), Gallio dismissed the complaints brought about Paul by the synagogue leaders of Corinth as matters of Jewish law with which he had no need to be involved. But by the early second century, when pagans themselves first began to refer to Christians, Christians and Jews were seen as quite separate groups. The historian Tacitus, writing (*Ann.* 15.44) about the persecution of Christians by Nero after the great fire in Rome in 64 CE,

referred to the origins of the Christian movement in Judaea, but described the Christians specifically as a 'deadly superstition' which had become popular in Rome because 'all things horrible or shameful in the world collect and find a vogue' in the capital city. Tacitus' contemporary Suetonius specifically described the Christians in the time of Nero as given to a novel superstition. Another contemporary, the younger Pliny, defined Christians as worshippers of Christ, in whose honour 'they chant verses alternately among themselves … as if to a god' (*Epp.* 10.96).

The separation between Christians and Jews in the eyes of pagans by the time these authors were writing may have had less to do with the self-definition of either Christians or Jews than the definition of Jews by the Roman state. After the suppression of the Jewish revolt of 66–70 and the destruction of the Jewish Temple in Jerusalem, the state imposed a poll tax on all Jews, wherever they lived under Roman rule, as a form of war reparations. Various stories about the collection of the tax in Rome in the eighties and nineties reveal some of the tensions the tax created in communities where apostate Jews could be compelled to pay up if the tax authorities were informed about their origins. For pious Jews, payment, demeaning though it undoubtedly was, had the advantage that, by being marked out as a Jew, an individual could claim the right not to participate in the pagan cults of the population among whom they lived. There must have been a temptation for Christians to pay the tax in order to achieve a similar freedom from the taint of idolatry, but they could do so only by declaring themselves to be Jews. By the early third century at least it is clear that the Church father Tertullian was unwilling to purchase the right to avoid idolatry at such a price: he referred enviously to the Jews of his time as enjoying *vectigalis libertas*, 'freedom at the price of tax'.

Jewish Persecution of Christians

We have seen that Jewish sources show little interest in Christians, so unsurprisingly they reveal little about Jewish persecution of the Early Church. Josephus fails to explain the reasons for the execution of James, the brother of Jesus, although he does remark that those Jews 'who were the most fair-minded and who were strict in observance of the law' disapproved (*AJ* 20.201). Pagan sources have nothing at all about Jewish-Christian interaction. So most of what is known comes from the

testimony of Christians, who sympathized with the persecuted and had no reason to attempt an understanding of the motivation of those who attacked them. This is a shame not least because, as we have seen, Jews in the first century generally tolerated a great variety of religious stances, and the persecution of Christians is an historical anomaly not easy to explain. If the sectarians who produced the Temple Scroll, found at Qumran among the Dead Sea scrolls, could rewrite the book of Deuteronomy in the name of God, and the extreme allegorists to whom Philo referred (*De Mig. Ab.* 89–93) could deny the necessity of carrying out physically any of the injunctions of the Torah, it is hard to imagine what doctrines Christians could espouse which might lead to their judicial punishment. They might be scorned, ridiculed or disbelieved (all of which might count as martyrdom for the recipient of such treatment), and the more unfortunate, like Stephen, might be victims, like the prophets before them, of mob anger at their abuse of the shortcomings of their fellow Jews (Acts 7:51–60), but when early Christians were put on trial in Jewish courts the reason (whatever the charge) will have been not religious but political. Jesus suffered for the sake of the people: the high priest and his advisors, assigned by the Romans the extraordinarily difficult task of maintaining order in Jerusalem at the height of the pilgrim festivals without benefit of a military force at their command, stamped on any movement that might get out of control by resort to the standard Roman method for dealing with such potential problems, and handed over Jesus for execution.

Dealing with Paul must have been more complicated, because he was a Roman citizen. Paul himself declared that he had suffered five times at the hands of Jews the penalty of thirty-nine stripes (2. Cor. 11:24), a judicial punishment which must have been imposed by a court for what was accounted a serious misdemeanour. There has been much speculation by scholars about the probable charge, but more interesting in terms of Jewish history are the calculations of the diaspora Jewish authorities who thought it worth bringing a charge of any kind. Paul could have brought the beatings to an end at any time by declaring himself not part of the Jewish community. More seriously he could have brought the synagogue authorities into grave danger by accusing them of assaulting a Roman citizen. That he chose to submit to punishment demonstrates the importance to him of continuing to be thought of as a part of the Jewish community ('as a Jew to Jews …'). If the Jewish authorities took the risk of

punishing him, it was because his mission to the gentiles was even more dangerous to them if allowed to continue unchecked. In encouraging gentiles to forsake their ancestral paganism, Paul aroused the wrath of the local gentiles themselves, as Acts portrays so vividly in Ephesus (Acts 19:23–41). By acting in this way as a Jew, he brought into question the delicate relationship between diaspora Jewish communities and their host societies, which tolerated a Jewish presence so long as the local Jews did not interfere with the religious lives of the majority. Paul, not surprisingly, portrayed Jewish opposition as the product of envy at his success or wilful hostility. But the real reasons are more likely to lie in the requirements for political preservation of a vulnerable diaspora community.

Christian Hostility to Jews

It is impossible to know how much of the hostility to Jews as a group found in many early Christian texts was a reaction to such persecution, but what is striking is the continuation of such hostility to the second century. It became easier for gentile Christians to disparage Jews as a whole the more they saw themselves as separate from Judaism, but this separation in itself diminished the reasons for persecution by Jews. In only one of the Christian martyr acts of the second century, the Martyrdom of Pionios, are Jews portrayed as participants, and even there they are depicted only as bystanders, enthusiastically collecting firewood, since the charge on which Pionios was condemned to be burnt was a failure to participate in pagan sacrifices. Memory of the travails of the first generation of missionaries is hardly a sufficient explanation of the representation by Justin Martyr of Judaism as the antithesis to Christianity, or the attack by Melito, bishop of Sardis, on Jews as killers of their God. It is likely that the vehemence of such rhetoric was fomented by the need of second-century Christians to present their own faith to the wider world as compatible with the political and social norms of the Roman empire – the claim of such apologists as Justin Martyr himself. (The eventual martyrdom of Justin confirms, if it was needed, the urgency of such apologetic.) By the 140s, when Justin was writing, Jews had become so marginalized in the Roman world after the defeat of Bar Kokhba in 135 that even the names 'Judaea' and 'Jerusalem' had been erased from the Roman official vocabulary, and Jews were no longer allowed to live in their homeland. It made sense for such Christians to

make a sharp distinction between the loyalty of their own faith to Rome and the pernicious hostility of the despised and defeated Jews.

Jewish-Christian Interaction in Late Antiquity

Hostility to Jews is thus pervasive in much of the literature of the Early Church, but it would be wrong to see this as the whole story. Some Christian groups, such as the Ebionites, seem, even as late as the fourth century, to have thought of themselves as Jewish as well as Christian, either because they were of Jewish ancestry or because they saw value in keeping the Torah in a Jewish fashion or for both reasons. Much has been written about such 'Jewish Christians', but inevitably with a reliance on speculation, since these groups are known almost entirely from hostile remarks in the writings of their Christian opponents, such as the heresiologist Epiphanius.

But even mainstream Christians might maintain contact with Jews for more practical reasons. The Christian Bible, for the first century of the Church, was the Septuagint, the Greek version of the Hebrew Bible translated by Jews in the third and second centuries BCE, and despite the attack on this Bible by Marcion in the second century of the Church, most Christians continued to affirm its religious importance in later centuries alongside the new sacred texts, including the New Testament, produced by Christians themselves. From the mid-third century some Christians began to worry about the accuracy of the Septuagint translation, a concern doubtless fuelled by the knowledge that the Septuagint had been revised by a number of Jewish writers in order to bring it closer to the Hebrew. In third-century Caesarea in Palestine the great Christian scholar Origen compared the different versions available to him of what he thought of as the Old Testament, turning on occasion to the Jews in the local rabbinic academy for help in interpreting difficult passages in the Hebrew. In the late fourth century in Bethlehem, Jerome made even more explicit use of the services of a certain *hebraeus* who advised him on the translation into Latin of Hebrew phrases in his composition of the Vulgate.

Jerome as much as other Christians of his day could celebrate the downfall of the Jews, relishing their lamentations in Jerusalem on the anniversary of the destruction of the city, noting that 'right up to the present day …, having killed the servants and finally the Son of God,

[Jews] are prohibited to enter Jerusalem except to lament, and they pay a price to be allowed to weep over the ruin of their state. Thus those who once bought the blood of Christ, buy now their own fears, and not even their grief is free' (Jer. *In Sophoniam* 1.15.16 (CCSL 76A, p. 673, lines 669–84). But his denigration of Jews as a whole did not prevent him discussing the Bible with individual Jews and, according to his own account, profiting by the exchange.

Suggestions for Further Reading

A. H. Becker and A. Y. Reed (eds) *The Ways that Never Parted: Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2007)

J. D. G. Dunn (ed.) *Jews and Christians: The Parting of the Ways, A.D. 70 to 135* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1992)

M. Goodman, *Judaism in the Roman World: Collected Essays* (Leiden: Brill, 2007)

J. M. Lieu, *Image and Reality: The Jews in the World of the Christians in the Second Century* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996)

A. F. Segal, *Rebecca's Children: Judaism and Christianity in the Roman World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986)

S. G. Wilson, *Related Strangers: Jews and Christians, 70–170 CE* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1995)

This article was originally published as 'Jews and Christians in the First Centuries'. Farmington Papers, Number WR4 (Oxford: Farmington Institute for Christian Studies. 2008)

'Vanish of Vanishes, All is Vanished': Where Jews, Muslims and Magic Intersect

ADAM SILVERSTEIN

'You're a member of the Magic Circle?!' is the first question of many colleagues who have read my recent book *Islamic History: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford 2010), and I must admit that this is something of a disappointment. Having invested 38,000 words in attempting to infect readers with my enthusiasm for Islamic history and civilization, all these readers remember is the last line of the author's biography on the back flap. The second (and almost as annoying) query is: 'What's a nice Jewish boy doing writing about Islamic history?' In what follows I will explain why this particular 'nice Jewish boy' is interested in Islamic history and why an historian of Islam might, in turn, be interested in magic.

Jews and Islamic History

The question, 'What's a nice Jewish boy doing writing about Islamic history?' makes four assumptions: 1) I am nice; 2) I am Jewish; 3) I am male; and 4) nice Jewish boys would not normally be expected to take an interest in things Islamic. At least one of these assumptions is wrong (although I *am* nice). In fact, Jews have long been associated with the study of Islam, for three main reasons.

First, for the first 2500 years or so of 'Jewish' – including pre-Jewish Israelite – history, the story of Jews and their religion has taken place in what is now known as the Middle East. Open your Hebrew Bible, start plotting the place-names on a map, and you will find that almost without exception the events take place in the Middle East: the Garden of Eden, Mount Ararat, Ur of the Chaldees, the Holy Land, Egypt, Jordan and so on. Even in post-biblical times, when we hear of people from beyond the Middle East entering the stage of Jewish history – Greeks or Romans, for instance – they join the story by coming to the Middle East, not vice versa. The Mishnah and two Talmuds – Jerusalem and Babylonian – were

produced in the Holy Land and Iraq respectively, and we have still not yet stepped outside the Middle East. Following this, in the seventh century, Islam arose in Arabia and the Jews of the Middle East went … nowhere. In fact they were central to the story of Muhammad's life in Arabia and had a formative influence on the contours and context of Islam and Islamic history. And before too long Islam repaid the favour, influencing the development of Judaism in the Middle Ages. In other words, historians tracing the Jewish story from ancient times will eventually find themselves in the Islamic world, which remained central to Jewish history for centuries thereafter. Put another way, it could be said that Jewish history is largely Middle Eastern history; and as Middle Eastern history has been dominated by 'Islam' over the past 1400 years, it is not strange that Jewish and Islamic history have frequently overlapped.

Second, the study of Judaism is underpinned by knowledge of Hebrew. Researching the field of Jewish Studies without knowing Hebrew would be like writing a restaurant review by watching other people eat there. It leaves you hungry (even if the price is right). In any case, Hebrew and Arabic have, from as early as the Middle Ages, been recognized as sister languages and in many European universities are taught together. Thus, a student who has set out to focus on Arabic and Islamic Studies may, through a quirk in the curriculum, find their way into Hebrew and Jewish Studies, and vice versa.

Finally, for better or for worse, the situation in the modern Middle East has forced Jews to think about Muslims, and Muslims to think about Jews. Admittedly, they are often thinking unkind things about each other, but the fact remains that Jews cannot ignore Islam and Muslims (even those with no appreciation for the ties between Semitic languages or for the historical links between Jews and the Muslim societies in which they lived for over a millennium). Take the recent book by Sir Martin Gilbert entitled *In Ishmael's House: A History of Jews in Muslim Lands* (Yale, 2010). I began reading the book just as the results of a poll in the US suggested that one fifth of Americans think that Barack Obama is a Muslim. The thought occurred to me that perhaps Sir Martin Gilbert thinks that Churchill was a Muslim. After all, while he is a leading authority – perhaps *the* leading authority – on Churchill, I was not under the impression that he was an Arabist, Persianist, or, more generally, an Islamicist. Of course, as a Jew, the author will have been

interested in the overlap between Jewish history and Churchill, and between Jewish history and British history. In fact he has published books on each of these topics (*Churchill and the Jews* and *Jews of Britain* respectively). But a 450-page work on the Jews of Muslim lands? Reading on, two things became clear to me: 1) whereas the first 100 or so pages are dedicated to pre-modern history, the majority of the work deals with periods and issues on which the author has considerable expertise and in which he has established scholarly interests; and 2) the book is as much about the present relationship between Muslims and Jews as it is about the past. As the publisher's blurb says: 'Ultimately Gilbert's moving account of mutual tolerance between Muslims and Jews provides a perspective on current events and a template for the future'. Muslims think about Jews and Jews think about Muslims. It would be an odd 'nice Jewish boy' who chose *not* to think about Muslims and Islam. (But, to answer the question directly: I took up Islamic Studies because I lost a bet.)

Islamic History and Magic

The fact that my membership of the Magic Circle raised eyebrows at all made me think about the relationship between researching Islamic history and performing magic. Even disregarding superficial or tenuous connections – such as the fact that in the Islamic tradition Pharaoh had conjurors engage in a magic-duel with Moses; or the fact that magicians and historians are both widely considered geeks – there are grounds for comparing the work of a magician with that of an historian of Islam. For the benefit of those of you who cannot read minds, here's what I'm thinking.

First, both magic and Islamic history have been heavily shaped by 'Orientalism'. Western scholars of Islamic history in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries were often fascinated by the exotic 'Orient', attracted to the region by images – real or imagined – of opulent, sensual courts and bazaars; the edginess of winding alleyways where swindlers in fezes prey on gullible passersby and snake-charmers with crazed eyes eke out a living. It has been forcefully argued that such stereotypical preconceptions about 'the Orient' have tainted the study of Islamic history. What is less well known is that Western magicians have also been guilty of Orientalism, and I'm not thinking here just of Tommy Cooper's fez.

Since the Middle Ages, magicians have been 'going East' in search of magic, and exploiting the Orient's mystique to add allure to their acts. Marco Polo famously described a performance of the Indian Rope Trick (as did the fourteenth-century Muslim traveller, Ibn Battuta, who claims to have witnessed the trick while travelling through China), and the Canadian illusionist Doug Henning (1947–2000) is thought to have travelled to India to learn the secrets of levitation (although gravity won the day). Similarly, the shocking death of illusionist Chung-Ling-Soo on stage, during a botched attempt at the infamous 'bullet catch trick', was compounded by the stunning discovery that 'the marvellous Chinese conjuror', as he was known, was actually an American by the name of William Ellsworth Robinson (1861–1918) who – like many other Western magicians at the time – disguised himself as an 'Oriental' to pander to and exploit Western stereotypes about the mysterious East. Some magic tricks do originate in China, India or the Middle East, and playing cards themselves – on which everyone's favourite 'Uncle' depends to perform his card tricks – reached Europe via the Mamluk sultans of the medieval Islamic world. But there is little doubt that 'Orientalism' of the fictional sort has played a significant role both in the study of Islamic history and in the performance of magic. Historians and magicians alike have had to grapple with this reality.

Second, both magic and history are executed poorly when trading on the fact that the expert knows something that the non-expert does not. A bad historian (be it of Islam or anything else) seeks to show off his credentials by stressing the knowledge-gap between himself and others. Padding footnotes allows insecure academics to give an impression of erudition, while unnecessary jargon, polysyllabic words and convoluted arguments are an academic's 'smoke-and-mirrors'. Similarly, most magicians – especially young ones – go through a 'na-na-na-na-na!' phase of performing: they buy a trick, learn the secret, show it to their friends, and then gloat that they know how the trick works and their friends don't – 'na-na-na-na-na!' One of the strengths of the *Very Short Introductions* series (in which my book *Islamic History* appears) is the fact that the authority of its authors in their respective fields and the compact nature of its volumes reduce the need for academic misdirection, as it were.

Third, when executed properly, magic and academia are about the same things, namely challenging preconceptions and pushing the bound-

aries of received wisdom, while refusing to take 'facts' for granted simply because they are often repeated. Magic tricks work only because they appear to demonstrate the impossible: dropping an apple to the floor is not magic since nothing unexpected happens – unless gravity strikes one as magical. Conversely, suspending an apple in mid-air causes head-scratching and wonderment. What magic does is to force people to test their preconceptions and, if they are indeed stumped by the trick, to accept the entertainment value of the performance. Spectators need not be convinced that the laws of nature have indeed been broken to appreciate its cleverness. Historians, too, must challenge received wisdom by subjecting sources and evidence to close analysis. Demonstrating to students and colleagues that traditional versions of history are indeed correct does not represent an original contribution to scholarship, since 'nothing unexpected happens'. Rethinking the status quo through reasoned reinterpretations of our evidence is what advances historical enquiry. Even if other historians wish not to accept an historian's original conclusions, they might still appreciate the cleverness of the argument.

Finally, some issues, namely the role of women and terrorism, are heatedly debated among magicians and historians of Islam alike. Just as women's rights, veil-wearing and other issues excite controversy among students and scholars of Islam, magicians have begun asking themselves questions about the role and portrayal of women in magic. Why do we almost never see a female magician sawing a man in half? (We may note here the explicit violence against women and the implicit dominance of men.) And why, for that matter, are there so few female magicians? Is magic inherently misogynistic?

And 'Magic terrorism' you ask? Well, sort of. In the past, wars were fought on battlefields between armies, and magic was performed on stage to paying audiences. Nowadays both warfare and magic are also visited on unsuspecting (and reluctant) populations. Magic's equivalent to terrorism is what is known as 'Street Magic'. This involves a plain-clothed magician (note the lack of a traditional magician's 'uniform') accosting a random passerby and 'attacking' them with a magic trick (the street magician of course believes that he – it is almost always a he – is offering the 'target' the gift of his magical entertainment, although the recipient of this 'gift' often feels vicitimized). Both Jihadis and practitioners of street magic represent a small minority among serious Muslims and magicians, and there are good grounds for arguing that they skew

the essence of Islam and magic respectively. In both cases their ranks include disaffected youths who cannot relate to the models of out-of-touch earlier generations – magicians with their waistcoats and bad jokes, or old-style Muslim leaders who have failed to square Muslim societies with the attractions and distractions of Westernization. Just as scholars and students of Islam continue to debate the role of martyrdom and violent Jihad in Islam, magicians continue to contextualize the new genre of guerilla magic.

Bearing all this in mind, it is clear that magic and Islamic history overlap far more than one might expect. I should point out here that, as with Islamic Studies, for reasons discussed in the preceding section, Jews have played a leading role in the field of magic. Any history of modern magic is dominated by Jews – from Ehrich Weiss the rabbi's son (more familiarly known as Harry Houdini) to David Seth Kotkin from Metuchen, New Jersey (alias David Copperfield). Perhaps the most famous dynasty of European magicians in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was the Bamberg family, Dutch Jews who include 'Oriental' conjurors such as Tobias Bamberg ('Okito') and David Bamberg ('Fu Manchu'), both well known in the magic world.

I hope this makes it clear how Jews, Islamic history and magic are interrelated. Now please go and buy my book – or I will turn you into a frog.

Why Should We Care About the Jews of Habsburg Bukovina?

DAVID RECHTER

The Habsburg Crownland Bukovina no longer exists, save in the realm of historiography, nostalgia and collective memory, where it is maintained by a cottage industry of scholars and assorted enthusiasts. Writing in the 1940s, the Oxford historian A. J. P. Taylor dismissed Bukovina as a 'forgotten province'. Happily, this is no longer the case, if it ever was. But while not forgotten, it is for many people nonetheless an obscure and difficult-to-locate corner of Europe. A small land of about 10,000 square kilometres at the eastern edge of the Austrian empire, today divided between Ukraine and Romania, the province was created by Habsburg expansionism in 1774–5 and fell victim to the collapse of the empire in 1918. The century and a half of Habsburg rule created almost *ex nihilo* a remarkable society, a multinational, multifaith milieu in which five national/ethnic groups shared an uneasy balance of power, with none able to claim political, cultural or economic dominance. Its unique ambience has been portrayed in countless literary, cultural, historical and nostalgic accounts. Running like a thread through virtually all these depictions is the myth of Bukovina exceptionalism, wherein the region, and in particular its capital city Czernowitz, stand as exemplars of inter-ethnic cooperation, political moderation and cultural efflorescence. Almost always, Bukovina Jewry is regarded as indispensable to the region's political and economic achievements, and to the cultural élan of its capital.

This myth is reproduced in Jewish historiography and collective memory. In contemporary sources and later reconstructions, Bukovina is commonly presented as an unparalleled Jewish success story, an 'El Dorado' for diaspora Jewry. The Jewish perception of the area as a site of unusual significance is not unique; it is shared by the other sizable groups who lived there — Romanians, Ukrainians, Germans, Poles. This is not mere rhetoric. Bukovina had the highest proportion of Jewish population of any Austrian province, almost 13 percent, a little over 100,000 just

prior to the First World War. Czernowitz had the highest proportion of Jewish population of any of the larger Austrian cities (about 33 percent), exceeded in number only by Vienna, Lemberg and Cracow. Jews here were relatively secure, politically and culturally dynamic, socially and economically stratified; an ethnic/religious group integral to, and at home in, local society. While a myth of exceptionalism is not a viable foundation for an historical account, it can serve as a useful entry point.

I am writing a synthetic history that conveys both the particularity of Bukovina Jewry and locates it in a number of historical and intellectual frameworks in order to give it broader resonance, both in terms of Jewish history and in the history of central and eastern Europe. The making of a Jewish society in a new land involved the creation of a familiar ideological and institutional infrastructure: acculturation was a primary engine of Jewish life, while religious, social, cultural and economic movements embraced first *Haskalah* (Jewish Enlightenment) then the nineteenth-century deities of progress, emancipation and modernism. Initially, this is a case study of the approach of Enlightened Absolutism (here Joseph II) towards Jews, complicated further by the relationship between military rule and Enlightened Absolutism, as Bukovina was under military administration in the early Habsburg years. Civil and military authorities had conflicting impulses: the military's punitive attitude towards Jews did not happily coexist with Joseph II's relative toleration. The effects on Jewish society of the post-Napoleonic order in Europe, the revolutions of 1848 and the subsequent decades of Neo-Absolutism in Habsburg lands have received scant attention from historians, and Bukovina offers a valuable opportunity to examine the experience of a conspicuous and vulnerable minority attempting to cope with forces beyond its control. Finally, if the post-1867 years of emancipation, integration – and their concomitant, anti-Semitism – are a familiar narrative for western and central Europe, the Bukovina experience provides an instructive east-central European analogue and variant of this story.

The particular contours of the story will be embedded in a number of broader intellectual frameworks, conceptually distinct but inter-related.

For example, an unusually powerful form of autonomous Jewish politics, a characteristic current of Jewish political culture in east-central Europe, was influential at all levels of society in the second half of the nineteenth century – from local associational life, to chambers of commerce, through city government, to regional and imperial parliaments.

This was the only province of the empire where Jews received formal recognition as a nationality; the only regional executive with Jewish nationalist members; Czernowitz was the only major Habsburg city where a Jewish nationalist mayor held office. Moreover, this was a potent nationalism without a significant language component, rare in any European context. For east-central European Jewry it is possibly a unique instance of a successful nationalist movement lacking either an influential Yiddish or Hebrew dimension.

Awareness of the singular nature of Bukovina as a region was a feature of political, economic and cultural discussion throughout the Habsburg period. Bukovina forms part of a specifically Jewish regional map of east-central Europe, a map whose borders did not always coincide with existing geopolitical boundaries. Also important here is that Bukovina was formally part of Galicia from 1786 to 1849. This brings into play the wider canvas of Jewish history in Polish lands, since pre-emancipation Bukovina Jewry was in large part a stepchild of Galician Jewry. The two are commonly referred to in historical literature and by contemporaries as though they formed a unit, which is especially true of eastern Galicia and Bukovina, where a Jewish public sphere emerged that crossed the internal border.

Galicia and Bukovina were the heartlands of Habsburg Austrian Jewry. Was the sum of the amorphous entity 'Austrian Jewry' greater than its constituent parts? Comparison of the Bukovina Jewish experience with that of other Austrian Jewries reveals the commonalities and differences among this extraordinarily diverse set of communities of some 1.4 million by 1910. An issue that greatly exercised contemporaries, it has implications for the way we conceive of Austrian Jewish history and has been insufficiently explored by historians. Three levels of analysis are indispensable in this regard: national/ethnic, regional and imperial. Only by working with all three categories can we apprehend the internal complexity of Bukovina Jewry and, by extension, Habsburg Austrian Jewry.

In terms of Habsburg historiography, the story of Bukovina Jewry is part of two further contexts, in addition to the above-noted idea of 'region'. The role of the Habsburg state in incorporating and developing 'new' territories and their populations, including Jews, is one element of a long-standing debate about the state's relationship with national and ethnic minorities, and with nationalism. In this particular instance, we find a mutually reinforcing bond between empire and minority, as it was

Habsburg state and society that shaped Bukovina Jewry. Similarly prominent in Habsburg historiography are issues of centre and periphery, and their often problematic relationship. In turn, this relates to questions about borders and borderlands, with their complex set of national, regional and imperial identities. Linked to both are notions of economic backwardness and cultural provincialism. All are at play in the history of the Jewish minority in the empire's multinational far-eastern borderland.

Finally, a history of Bukovina Jewry contributes to the discussion about a hardy perennial in modern Jewish historiography, the divide between eastern and western European Jewries. Defining and locating Bukovina and its Jews between east and west has long proved problematic. Jewish society here was both and neither; if there was such a creature as central European Jewry, Bukovina Jewry might well be it. Bringing its history to light can help us grasp the east/west fault lines within Jewish society, a key element in the Jewish experience in Europe.

No adequate or substantial history of this unique Jewish society exists. While there is considerable literature on various aspects, mostly in German, Hebrew, Yiddish, Ukrainian and Romanian, little is in English and none covers the entire period. Without lapsing into teleology, we cannot ignore the unsettling fact that this society, along with the rest of Jewish civilisation in central and eastern Europe, was destroyed in the Holocaust. Writing the history of Habsburg Bukovina Jewry can in no way begin to offset this immeasurable loss, but inscribing its 150-year experience into the historical record is nevertheless a necessary step.

A Priest and a Rabbi Walk into a Bar: Jewish Jokes and Jewish Literature

JORDAN FINKIN

What's so Jewish about a Jewish joke? A good question, and ultimately an impossible one to answer satisfactorily. There are culturally specific elements of such jokes, true, but these cannot be essential to a definition, because substituting cultural details from another group often does not diminish their humour. Moreover, Jews are not the only ethnic group which prides itself on the trope of the overbearing mother, for example, or of speaking with one's hands. (One hears, for instance, about the first time a man tries to use a telephone, in the days of hand-cranks and ear-tubes. When instructed to hold the phone in one hand and the ear-tube in the other he replies, 'So what will I talk with?' For the joke to work the man's ethnicity needn't be Jewish, although it does when told in Yiddish: *Un mit vozhe vel ikh redn?*) There are numerous character types and traits reflexively associated with these jokes, but clearly we need to look for definitions elsewhere.

A different tack is to try to understand what a joke is in itself. This too is a good question, but ultimately no less frustrating to resolve. Taking one example, there is the question of genre. Does it matter, for example, if a joke is written or spoken? Can a joke be merely read or need it be performed? What is the difference between a joke and a humorous anecdote? Again, there is little which would satisfy a demand for definition.

Perhaps one might look to historical context for a solution. For example, do we still understand all of Shakespeare's humour and, were we to understand it, would we find it funny? Likewise, is what was funny for Yiddish speakers in Lemberg in 1910 still funny for English speakers in London in 2011? Or even understood? If a joke is bound to language in a particular way, is a Yiddish joke translatable? And if it is—and even if it elicits a laugh—how do we know that we are laughing at the same thing?

These are but a few of the problems confronting anyone who has thought about jokes in a serious way (an irony which has not gone unnoticed). Perhaps it is best to take a different approach altogether. While Jews have no monopoly on jokes, and certainly not on humour, there

are culturally anchored elements of Jewish humour and Jewish jokes—yes, I do think that there is such a thing—which will help us understand the cultural importance of humour. (An important initial caveat is that by 'Jewish' I mean modern, Yiddish-speaking, or Yiddish-derived, Ashkenazi Jewish culture. The humour of other Jewish cultures is something in sore need of further investigation.)

That Jews tell jokes is uncontroversial; remarks about this span the spectrum from cultural boasting to bigoted stereotyping. Indeed, Sigmund Freud wrote a substantial book on the subject. What I am interested in is the effect of this phenomenon, recognized within the culture itself, on the development of modern Yiddish literature. Let me focus on three elements central to the production of the Jewish joke. The first is the notion of what is called 'Jewish discourse' (which I discuss in my recent book, *A Rhetorical Conversation*).[1] In a nutshell, this refers to the effects on Jewish (in this case, Ashkenazi) culture of close contact with Jewish canonical texts, especially the Talmud, and of the practice of textual study and the dissemination of the resulting patterns of thought, argumentation and language into the wider culture. Humour is a critical component of that discourse, and it is easy to see how it bolstered the patterns of humour in that culture. The following joke makes sense only when one knows that in the world of the Talmud two of the most important operations are (1) the *kasheh*, the posing of a problem in a talmudic text, and (2) the *teyrets*, a solution to that problem:

> Once a yeshivah-bokher entered the study-house and saw one of his friends running around back and forth, holding his head in his hands, and yelling: 'Oy, vey! Good, fine! Oy, vey!' He asked him: 'Shmerke, what's with you that's good and fine; why are you yelling?' Shmerke said: 'Oy, good brother! Do I have a *teyrets*! Gold! Genius! Only one problem: I don't have the *kasheh*!'[2]

Secondly, Jewish discourse has a largely oral orientation. The rabbinic texts studied presented debates, and the texts themselves were then studied by means of debate. Jewish discourse in turn permeated the

[1] Jordan Finkin, *A Rhetorical Conversation: Jewish Discourse in Modern Yiddish Literature* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University, 2010).

[2] See Immanuel Olsvanger, Röyte *Pomerantsen: Jewish Folk Humor Gathered and Edited by Immanuel Olsvanger* (New York: Schocken Books, 1947) 150, republished as *Röyte Pomerantsen, or How to Laugh in Yiddish* (New York: Schocken Books, 1978); see also my discussion in *A Rhetorical Conversation* (see n. 1) 38, as well as the article 'Jewish Jokes, Yiddish Storytelling, and Sholem Aleichem: A Discursive Approach', *Jewish Social Studies* 16:1 (2009) 94.

culture through conversation. What we now call orality is an important element in so many aspects of the development of modern Jewish culture, in no small part because of the cultural value placed on these conversational norms and situations. See, for example, the following:

> Have you heard the explanation of *tizal katal imrosi*? So I'll tell you: *tizal*—'should swell up'; *katal*—'like a mountain'; *imrosi*—'my mother-in-law'. You might ask, why is *tizal* 'should swell up'? But what should my mother-in-law do, if not swell up? So you'll ask again, why should *katal* mean 'like a mountain'? If she's going to swell up, what should she swell up like? Like a pear? Of course like a mountain! What's that? You ask why is *imrosi* 'my mother-in-law'? But *you* tell me—who should swell up, if not my mother-in-law?[3]

An accurate rendering of this joke would also need to include traditional study-house singsong intonations for verisimilitude. The presupposition of the piece is the structure, indeed the culture, of gloss and commentary on a holy text in order to 'prove' a point. The prooftext here is a three-word citation from Deuteronomy 32:3, *tizal katal imrossi* ('my speech shall drip like dew'). The gloss of each word is completely unrelated to its actual meaning. That, however, is immaterial to the caustic internal logic of the argument. By the poetic sentiment 'My speech shall drip like dew' we can 'prove' the bitter curse 'My mother-in-law should swell up like a mountain'. Textual practice meets oral performance in a distinctly Ashkenazi way.

Thirdly, in this development of modern Jewish culture, language was a dominant component. Yiddish in particular came to occupy a central locus of identity and communal self-definition. In the history of the Jewish entrance into modernity, the commanding presence at the nexus of language and culture was literature, and the development of a literary medium out of Jewish linguistic resources. The late-nineteenth-century watershed saw an explosion of literary creativity and experimentation, exploring and developing Yiddish-language romanticism, realism and modernism within a very short time. A key to these efforts was the use of Yiddish's noted orality as the basis on which to expand an equally expressive literary language. That the writer and 'folk' satirist Sholem Aleichem should be enamoured of these features should come as no surprise. This

[3] Translation from James A. Matisoff, *Blessings, Curses, Hopes, and Fears: Psycho-Ostensive Expressions in Yiddish* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000) 87–8; original taken from: Olsvanger, 18; see my discussion in *A Rhetorical Conversation* (see n. 1) 64–5.

is also what makes his work both difficult today as well as funny and rewarding, at least once one has access to the complexity of the languages and cultural systems involved. (A recent conference at the Centre—*Sholem Aleichem in Translation and the European Context* (August 2010)—explored precisely this idea of the translatability of Sholem Aleichem's work. The opening panel discussion of the conference looked at one of the most pressing issues in that regard: 'Is Sholem Aleichem (in Yiddish, Russian, German, etc.) Funny?')

Yiddish writers combined Jewish discursive strategies, cultural orality and literary experimentation to produce an unbelievably rich and varied literary corpus. One fascinating component of these developments was not only the role played by humour, but specifically by jokes. A number of authors used jokes as tools for exploring their own language's literary potential, piggybacking on precisely the related aspects of Jewish discourse and orality captured in the Jewish joke. Open any page of classic Yiddish writers such as Sholem Aleichem, Mendele Mocher Sforim or I. L. Peretz and this becomes immediately apparent.

In the end, there can be no essential definition of the Jewish joke. But approaching the category with a particular cultural lens, and keeping an eye open for historical context, linguistic detail and social markers, a joke with a beard seems less hoary than at first glance. The Rabbis ask: *Eyzehu gibor?* 'Who is strong?'; to which the reply is: *Ha-kovesh et yitsro*, 'The one who can suppress his desires'. And all of the foregoing discussion can account for why the Yiddish adage is still apt: *Eyzehu giber? Hakoyvesh a glaykhvertl.* 'Who is strong? The one who can refrain from telling a joke'.

Marc Chagall, Matthias Grünewald and the Resurrection of Jewish Life

AARON ROSEN

> 'you must understand what a crucifixion is in art if you want to be a great artist. The crucifixion must be available to you as form.'
>
> (Chaim Potok, *My Name is Asher Lev*)

With these words, an ageing Jewish painter upbraids his young hasidic pupil, the budding painter Asher Lev, the hero of Chaim Potok's novel. Lev's discomfort before the crucifixions he encounters in museums, and the stern admonishment of his mentor, underscore a central dilemma for the study of Jewish art. How can a Jewish artist, *as a Jew*, fully engage with the history of art when that history is, by and large, a non-Jewish one? In this essay I want to explore this problem by looking in detail at a series of three paintings by Marc Chagall – *Resistance*, *Resurrection* and *Liberation*, from 1937 to 1952 – which together reveal both the problems and possibilities which can arise when a Jewish artist takes on explicitly Christian imagery.

Chagall's most famous engagement with the crucifixion, and indeed one of the best known of all his paintings, is his *White Crucifixion* of 1938. As the catastrophe facing European Jews became clear, Chagall sought to rattle the world out of its indifference, speaking to Christians in a symbolic language he believed they could not ignore. Chagall's iconic painting explicitly identifies Jesus as a Jewish victim, wrapping a prayer shawl around his waist and surrounding him with scenes which directly recall attacks and restrictions forced upon German Jews. This is not a Christ whose suffering saves or expiates sin, but simply an innocent Jew, persecuted for his faith.

While Chagall utilized the crucifixion to accentuate the plight of his fellow Jews, through the 1940s it also became his preferred metaphor for talking about his own suffering, especially as an artist. In several works Jesus holds a palette, while at other times Chagall inscribes his own name above the cross, in place of the traditional INRI sign. By using the crucifixion both to express his artistic identity and also to call attention to

Jewish persecution, Chagall hints at the two major functions which the crucifixion would go on to serve in his later work. Throughout his career, the figure of Jesus oscillates in Chagall's imagination between, in his words, 'the true type of the Jewish martyr' and, on the other hand, 'a great poet whose poetical teaching had been forgotten by the modern world'. Chagall's Jesus is at once both an archetypal victim and an archetypal artist. If it was the former which constituted Chagall's *Obsession* during the Shoah – to take the title of a work from 1943 – after the war Chagall began to gravitate towards the 'poetical', artistic Christ. The crucifixion still functions as a symbol of Jewish suffering, but it also becomes a vehicle for articulating Chagall's conception of his role as a Jewish artist, and the hopes he holds for Jewish art.

Resistance, *Resurrection* and *Liberation* began life as a single canvas in 1937, intended as an epic treatment of the Russian revolution. When Chagall divided the painting in 1943, he split the work according to the three zones of his original composition, which we know from a smaller study from 1937. By the time Chagall began *The Revolution*, Stalinist purges were well underway and Chagall had no delusions that Communism would fulfill the liberating promises which many Russians, and especially Russian Jews, had seen in the movement two decades earlier. Chagall's hesitancy about Communism is confirmed in the final version of his triptych. Where *The Revolution* would have woven the story of Russian Jews into the broader history of Communism, Chagall symbolically sundered this narrative by dividing the canvas. Beyond Chagall's political disillusionment with Communism, his decision to segment and rework *The Revolution* signals, above all, that between 1937 and 1952 the story of Jewish persecution, survival and cultural regeneration simply overwhelmed Communism as the story Chagall felt most compelled to depict. Critically, this Jewish story was not one which could, in Chagall's eyes, be told successfully through the framework of Communist history. In two of his triptych's three canvases, Chagall dramatically inserts large crucifixions, and at those junctures where he leaves features from *The Revolution* intact, he deliberately adjusts these to play with the specific iconography of Matthias Grünewald's *Isenheim Altarpiece* from 1515. As we will see, Chagall's willingness to draw on this Christian artistic heritage makes a key statement about his vision of Jewish culture in postwar Europe.

Chagall was certainly not the first modern artist to draw significant

inspiration from the Isenheim. But whereas artists such as Picasso and Graham Sutherland tended to regard Grünewald's *Crucifixion* in isolation, extracting its depiction of torment from the Isenheim's cycle of ten painted panels, Chagall – as it were – opened up the altarpiece. The *Crucifixion* is visible only when the altarpiece is closed, in the first of its three states. When it is opened to the second state, the altarpiece reveals a radiant succession of panels: *The Annunciation*, *The Angels' Concert*, *The Virgin and Child* and *The Resurrection*. After the degradation of the *Crucifixion*, these panels have an almost shocking luminosity. In order to balance the horror of his mutilated Jesus – painted for a monastery devoted to syphilitics – Grünewald recognized the need for a healed, triumphant image of a resurrected Christ. On the back of the same panel in which he had painstakingly mapped the sores on Jesus' flesh, Grünewald paints his vision of a risen, alabaster Christ. Serenely revealing his stigmata, Christ levitates above his tomb, encircled by a glowing halo. For Chagall, this resurrection iconography – which may have rankled with other Jews – is essential. In the aftermath of the Holocaust, Chagall recognized the need for an image that could, if certainly not ameliorate the traumas of the recent past, at least start to speak hopefully of the future.

Chagall originally titled the first panel in his series *Ghetto*, and he clearly intended the picture to call to mind the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising of 1943. While the uprising was eventually crushed, the ghetto fighters' struggle against a more numerous and better-equipped German foe became a rallying point for Jewish pride after the Shoah. Revealingly titled *Resistance*, rather than 'Crucifixion', Chagall's painting exudes an element of agency and hope which was mostly lacking in his wartime crucifixions. Gone, for example, is the palpable terror on the faces of the Jews in the *White Crucifixion*. And even though he is set against the cross, Jesus' body actually sways in gentle *contrapposto*, his head turned to the right as if he is already starting to look forward to the rebirth of Jewish life that is going to occur later in the triptych. There is a hopeful shaft of light descending from the upper left, while at the same time a giant goat bounds across the top with a torch, further impelling us forward. The only figure who has clearly fallen victim, in fact, is Chagall himself. Lying in a dark patch of ground at the foot of the cross, the artist appears to be dead, much like Jesus in the Isenheim's predella. One of Chagall's arms curls around his head while the other limply holds his palette and brushes, indicating that he has been utterly drained of creativity.

Looking at the next canvas in the series, it is surprising to discover Jesus' body still nailed to the cross. Where, the viewer might rightly ask, is the *Resurrection* promised to us by the painting's title? If anything, Jesus' torments seem to have increased. Echoing Grünewald's distortions, the thin body of Jesus gets stretched unnaturally along the length of the canvas. While a lamp casts an orb of yellow light, and a small band of survivors assembles at the upper left, the painting is dominated by a sense of melancholy. In fact it is quite easy to miss the resurrection which *does* occur in the painting – that of the artist himself. Chagall, who lay crumpled at the foot of the cross in the previous canvas, metaphorically sapped of his creative powers, has been reawakened. This return to life anticipates the broader cultural resurrection which is set to occur in the triptych's final panel. In picturing himself in this prophetic role, Chagall consciously plays with one of the Isenheim's most unique features. While Grünewald paints the familiar mourners assembled at the left of his *Crucifixion* – the Virgin Mary, John the Evangelist and Mary Magdalene – on the opposite side he introduces, quite curiously, the figure of John the Baptist. Beheaded, long before Jesus' own death, John's anachronistic resurrection in the Isenheim responds to a critical need in the face of Jesus' abasement. Gripping the Bible assuredly, the Precursor, as he is called, extends his finger toward Jesus. Inscribed in red above his shoulder are John's own prophetic words: 'He must increase, but I must decrease' (John 3:30). Together, John's own resurrection and his confident words anticipate the redemption waiting to burst forth in the Isenheim's following panels. Harnessing the iconographical power of John's conviction, Chagall too becomes the prophetic interpreter of the crucifixion scene before him. His brush extended toward Jesus, Chagall paints a vision of Jewish redemption: even out of the Holocaust, the artist insists, there will be a resurrection of Jewish life. If in the painting Chagall has already begun to decrease, it is precisely because Jesus – that is to say, the Jewish people he symbolizes – has begun to increase.

In addition to the surprising presence of John the Baptist, Chagall also picks up on another iconographic anomaly at the foot of Grünewald's *Crucifixion*: the Lamb of Christ who cradles a miniature cross as he bleeds into a chalice. As Nikolaus Pevsner notes, the bleeding lamb represents the sacrifice of Christ on the cross, and should serve as its replacement, rather than standing alongside it. With mild insouciance, Chagall swaps a smiling purple goat for Grünewald's lamb. Not only is the goat

a Jewish form of sacrifice, as established in the Hebrew Bible; Chagall of course also frequently includes goats in his depictions of Jewish life. By replacing the sacrificial Christian lamb with what we might read as a Jewish 'scapegoat', Chagall subtly Judaizes his *Resurrection*. Moreover, by depicting the goat with an empty cup, Chagall denies any Eucharistic associations for the sacrifice which takes place above. In Chagall's imagination, the death of Jesus is neither a necessary nor a redeeming sacrifice.

In the final panel of Chagall's triptych, the redemption steadily hinted at in *Resistance* and *Resurrection* finally erupts in a flood of illumination. In the upper left a scratched away image of the crucifixion signals that the traumas of the Shoah – if ultimately indelible – have at least started to fade to the background. Jewish life, eclipsed by the shadow of the Holocaust, radiates forth once more in the joy of *Liberation*. From the red circle at the painting's centre, the elongated figure of a Jewish fiddler drifts upwards, his body swaying like Grünewald's risen Christ. Underscoring the link, a series of yellow circles ripple outwards, echoing the mandorla which dominates the Isenheim *Resurrection*. Yet where Grünewald's redeemer majestically spreads his arms to reveal his stigmata, Chagall's fiddler simply clasps his instrument and strikes up a tune. In the end, Chagall's Jewish Jesus is never transformed into a Christian divinity. The floating fiddler does not rescue or redeem the Jewish people, but is instead a symbol of the way the Jewish people have, and will – through their own efforts – become revivified after the Holocaust. The iconography of Christian redemption becomes, in Chagall's imagination, the language of a Jewish cultural rebirth. After the Holocaust, *Liberation* proclaims, the future of the Jewish people lies not in the promise of a messianic redeemer, but rather in the mortal hands of lovers, painters, poets and fiddlers.

Recalling his allusion to John the Baptist, Chagall envisions himself in this work as a sort of Painter Precursor, leading the cultural resurrection of his people. Prominently positioned at the top of the canvas' largest circle, Chagall paints a portrait of himself at his easel. Clad in a purple smock, the artist stretches his arm upwards as he prepares to make his first sweeping brushstroke on a virgin canvas. With his head turned backwards, Chagall appears to glance towards his bride and the crowd of celebrants for inspiration. Yet, not only does the artist's hand move to capture this image of the rejuvenated people, it also points to the levitating figure of the resurrected fiddler, indicating a fuller rejuvenation

still to come. While Chagall includes a portrait of himself with brushes and palette in both *Resistance* and *Resurrection*, it is not until *Liberation* that the artist – at last returned to his prewar capacities – appears with an easel. Portraying himself poised in front of an empty canvas, Chagall sketches out a vision for a Jewish rebirth, led, of course, by Jewish art.

While painting predictably occupies pride of place in this renaissance, Jewish art bustles forth in *Liberation* in a cornucopia of forms, especially music. The prominent role which Chagall accords to music – most overtly in the floating figure of the fiddler – cleverly plays on the imagery from another panel in the Isenheim Altarpiece, *The Angels' Concert*. Most of all, however, the oversized fiddler refers us back to Chagall's own oeuvre. When he painted a series of murals for the Moscow State Yiddish Chamber Theatre in 1920, Chagall selected the fiddler as one of four figures in his vision of a Jewish renaissance. The most recognizable work in this series, *Music*, was itself based on one of Chagall's most iconic early works, *The Violinist* from 1912–13, and fiddlers appear in many of Chagall's own favourite creations, as in *The Green Violinist* from 1923–4. By using the fiddler as his symbol for Jewish resurrection, Chagall deliberately evokes the image of a Yiddish golden age. Chagall completed the triptych of *Resistance, Resurrection, Liberation* between 1948 and 1952. Given this backdrop, the jubilation of *Liberation* might, to some degree, reflect his excitement over the advent of a Jewish State, as Anthony Julius suggests. Yet, not only would Chagall go on to have an ambivalent relationship to the Jewish State; already in *Liberation* he seems to be most concerned with articulating not merely a European past for Jews, but a European future. The figure which he depicts arising from the ashes of the Holocaust is dressed as a decidedly *European* Jew, modelled on one of the great masterpieces of European art.

It is no mistake that Chagall's articulation of this postwar future springs out of an artistic dialogue with the Isenheim Altarpiece. During World War I, the altarpiece was brought by Germany to the Alte Pinakothek in Munich for safekeeping. And it was there that it also became symbolically welded to German national identity. As the art historian Andrée Hayum explains:

> Towards the end of the war, emotional throngs entered the Munich museum, drawn there by Grünewald's altarpiece.… Both the patriotic energy that had bolstered a sense of national identity at the outset of the war, and the present feelings of loss, were rehearsed before Grünewald's paintings. When it became

> clear that Alsace would revert to French hands and that the altarpiece would also have to be returned to what was now French territory, a defeated Germany clung in possessive attachment to this artistic treasure, so that France had to press for its restitution. The altarpiece made the trip back to Colmar in the fall of 1919.... The Germans, claiming to have saved the monument from destruction, now felt deprived of what had come to represent to them the quintessence of German civilization.

Given this background, there is a certain sense of defiance in Chagall's decision to model his vision of Jewish regeneration on a work so redolent with German pride; as if to say that Jewish culture – and Jews themselves, the very Jews that Germany had worked so hard to exterminate just a few years prior – would rise again from within the homeland and traditions of their persecutors.

And yet ultimately, Chagall's artistic dialogue with Grünewald seems aimed less at creating an atmosphere of defiance than at rapprochement. In a 1950 eulogy for the artists killed during the Holocaust, Chagall wrote:

> I see them: trudging alone in rags,
> barefoot on mute roads.
> The brothers of Israels, Pissarro and
> Modigliani, our brothers – pulled with ropes
> by the sons of Dürer, Cranach
> and Holbein – to death in the crematoria.

Chagall's words ache with disillusionment. How could a civilization whose eyes had been schooled by the brushstrokes of Dürer, Cranach and Holbein, fail to *see* the humanity of their victims? How could a painter – even a painter as bad as Adolf Hitler – *envision* the elimination of an entire people? For Chagall, the moral failures of the Holocaust were, at the same time, artistic failures. They were the failures of the very traditions which had first beckoned him to Paris in 1910. For if the sons of Dürer, Cranach and Holbein were guilty of dragging the Jews of Europe to their deaths, so too were the offspring of Géricault, David and Delacroix who had abetted them. The ashen air of the Shoah not only begrimed the canvases of the Gemäldegalerie and the Alte Pinakothek; its miasma hung over the whole of Western art.

Chagall's dilemma was thus not only how to make use of an art-historical past that was non-Jewish, but also how to confront an artistic legacy

stained by the anti-Semitism which had metastasized in its midst. In the face of these challenges, Chagall's postwar crucifixions insist that the Western artistic past is not merely *available* to Jews after the Shoah, but that it might be a primary resource for articulating a Jewish future. The enmity of the sons of Dürer, Cranach and Holbein for the brothers of Israels, Pissarro and Modigliani – perpetrated on the field of history – can begin, Chagall suggests, to be repaired on the ground of *art* history. By repainting the Isenheim Altarpiece, Chagall undercuts the opposition between German/Christian and Jewish, insisting that it's possible to braid these two genealogies together, the artistic and the genetic. After Auschwitz, Chagall demands his double birthright: on the one hand, he is fully a Jew – the brother of the Jews who perished in the Shoah – and, at the same time, he is the legitimate son of Grünewald. What the Nazis murderously bastardized, Chagall imaginatively regenerates in a postwar Jewish art: the feeling of family relation.

This article has been adapted from Dr Rosen's first book, *Imagining Jewish Art: Encounters with the Masters in Chagall, Guston, and Kitaj* (Legenda, 2009), which was recently short-listed for the Arts & Christian Enquiry/Mercers' International Book Prize. He is currently working on his second book, entitled *The Hospitality of Images: Modern Art and Interfaith Dialogue*.

Crossing Borders: Hebrew Manuscripts as a Meeting Place of Cultures

DR PIET VAN BOXEL

The winter exhibition of the Bodleian Library, entitled *Crossing Borders*, showcased some thirty manuscripts from the Library's renowned Hebrew collection. It was opened by the Vice-Chancellor of the University, Professor Andrew Hamilton, and Bodley's Librarian, Dr Sarah Thomas, in December 2009, and attracted to the Bodleian Library's exhibition room over 32,000 visitors, who were offered a fresh insight into medieval cultural relations particularly involving Jews.

The earliest Hebrew manuscripts were acquired in 1601, and the first catalogue, produced by the Library's founder Sir Thomas Bodley (1545–1613), himself a Hebraist of distinction, listed fifty-eight books with titles in Hebrew script. After his death the Library continued to enrich its Hebrew holdings. In 1692 it purchased the collections of the clergyman Robert Huntington and the Regius Professor of Hebrew Edward Pococke. Among the 212 manuscripts in the Huntington collection is the code of Jewish Law, entitled *Mishneh Torah*, of Moses Maimonides (1137/8–1204) bearing the signature of this most illustrious Jewish authority (MS. Hunt. 80). The acquisition of the manuscript collection which had once belonged to the Venetian Jesuit, Matteo Luigi Canonici, in 1817, was the largest single purchase ever made by the Library, containing over 110 Hebrew manuscripts, most of them written on vellum. In 1829 the Library bought the Oppenheimer collection, described as the most important Hebraica collection ever accumulated by a private collector. Rabbi David ben Abraham Oppenheimer (1664–1736), Chief Rabbi of Prague, amassed 780 manuscripts and 4220 printed books in Hebrew, Yiddish and Aramaic, many of them the only surviving copies. A further significant collection of Hebrew manuscripts was added in 1848, when the Library purchased the books of Heimann Joseph Michael. This numbered 862 volumes, containing nearly 1300 separate works. In 1890

Plate 1 Part of a thirteenth-century Torah scroll from the Cairo Genizah. MS. Heb. a 4, fol. 2a.

the Library acquired a collection of major international importance with the purchase of 5000 manuscript fragments from the so-called Cairo Geniza, the depository of worn-out and discarded Hebrew books and documents discovered at the end of the nineteenth century in a synagogue in Old Cairo.

The Hebrew manuscripts from the Bodleian's treasure-trove included in this exhibition, exceptionally lavish in their decoration and beautifully illuminated, gave a unique insight into European Hebrew manuscript production. Displaying an equal number of Arabic and Latin manuscripts, and showing early printed books beside the Hebrew codices, made the exhibition far more than an aesthetic experience. Exhibited together in this way, the Hebrew, Arabic and Latin manuscripts brought to light the social and cultural interaction between Jews and non-Jews in both the Muslim and Christian worlds. This is reflected in elements such as the writing styles, script types, decorative patterns and text genres of the manuscripts. The way that Hebrew manuscripts reflect aspects of

the host culture – either Muslim or Christian – is proof of coexistence, cultural affinity and practical cooperation between Jews and their non-Jewish neighbours in the Middle Ages.

From Scroll to Codex

Interaction and cooperation of this kind is clear from the time that Jews adopted the codex as a book form. This method of binding pages into a codex came into use in the third century and was employed particularly by Christians for spreading their message. Jews continued to write their texts on scrolls or *rotuli* until after the rise of Islam, by which time the codex was no longer the hallmark of Christian scribes. But the scroll remained in use among Jews for liturgical purposes, and continues to be employed for manuscripts of the Pentateuch used in synagogue.

Scripts

The most obvious similarities between Hebrew and non-Hebrew manuscripts lie in their writing styles, that vary according to the region of origin of a particular manuscript. Jews in Ashkenaz (i.e. Franco-German lands) used a style of Hebrew very similar to Gothic script, as can be seen in plates 2 and 3 below. Italian Hebrew scripts were influenced by various Latin letter-forms, as shown in plates 6 and 7. Jews in the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa were influenced by Arabic hands, as shown by plate 4, showing a draft of the legal code *Mishneh Torah* by Maimonides (1137/8–1204), bearing many corrections written by Maimonides himself, from the Cairo Genizah. This may be compared with the manuscript hand in plate 5, from a related cultural sphere.

Illuminations

Clear evidence of cultural affinity is provided by the illustrations adorning Hebrew manuscripts. Jewish scribes frequently turned to non-Jewish workshops to decorate their manuscripts, which is why some books contain images which do not comply with the text they are supposed to complement. For instance, plate 8 shows a trumpet, of the kind used at secular outdoor entertainments, inappropriately adorning the opening prayer on the Day of Atonement in a prayer book for the Jewish festivals.

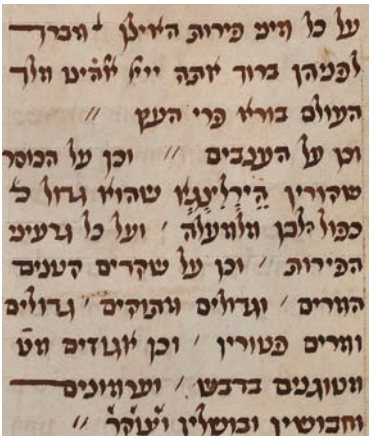


Plate 2 Ashkenazi Hebrew script tended to be influenced by Latin Gothic script, as can be seen from this manuscript of the ritual decisions according to Rabbi Meir of Rothenburg, written in Germany, 1342.
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodl. Or. 146, fol. 39b.

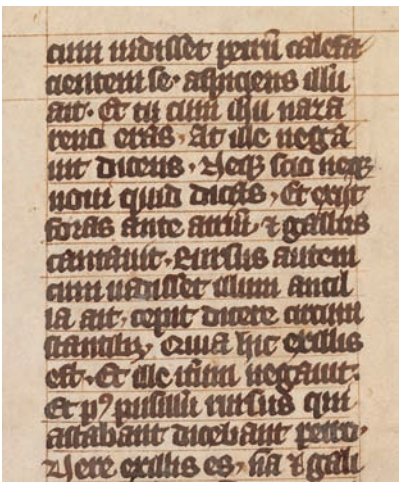


Plate 3 A fourteenth-century Latin missal from Bohemia or Moravia, showing the kind of Gothic script echoed in Plate 2.
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Lat. liturg. d. 11, fol. 89v.

Manuscripts illuminated by Jewish artists reflect the influence of long-established local cultural practices. Islamic carpet decorations remained popular in Christian Spain long after Muslim domination had ended, as can be seen from the page of the *Kennicott Bible* in plate 9.

Plate 4 Maimonides's autograph copy of the *Mishneh Torah*, *c.* 1180.
MS. Heb. d 32, fols 50v-51r.

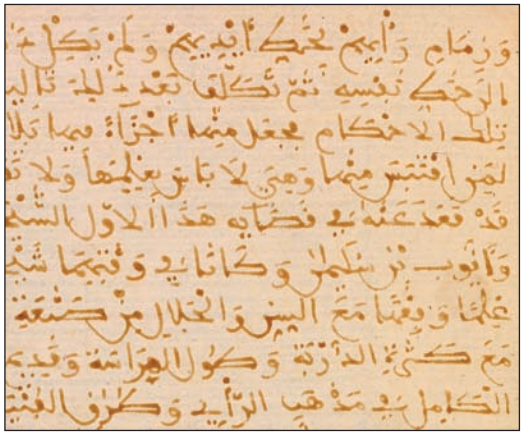


Plate 5 Maghribi Arabic scripts from Spain and North Africa were models for Maimonides's Hebrew hand in Plate 4. The manuscript, Al-Khushani's *Book of the Judges of Cordoba*, was written in Spain, 1296. MS. Marsh. 288, fol. 164a.

Plate 6 A Hebrew Pentateuch written in Italian semicursive script in Florence, 1441–68. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Canon. Or. 22, fol. 111a.

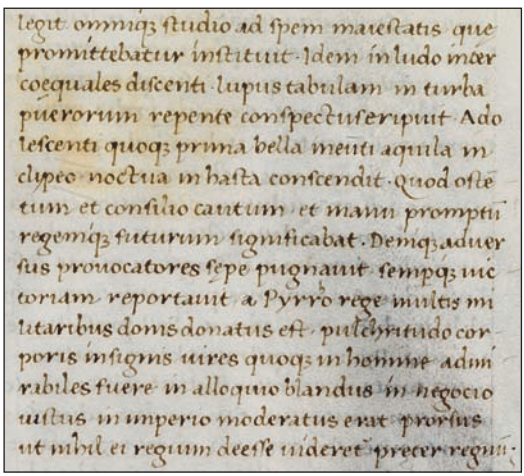


Plate 7 The humanistic script that developed in early-fifteenth-century Italy influenced Hebrew scribes. The page shown is from Justin's *Epitome of the 'Philippic History' of Pompeius Trogus*, a work on ancient history, probably from Milan, 1468. MS. Canon. Class. Lat. 148, fol. 120v.

Plate 8 The start of the Yom Kippur service (*Kol Nidrei*) in the early-fourteenth-century *Tripartite Mahzor* (MS. Mich. 619, fol. 10v)

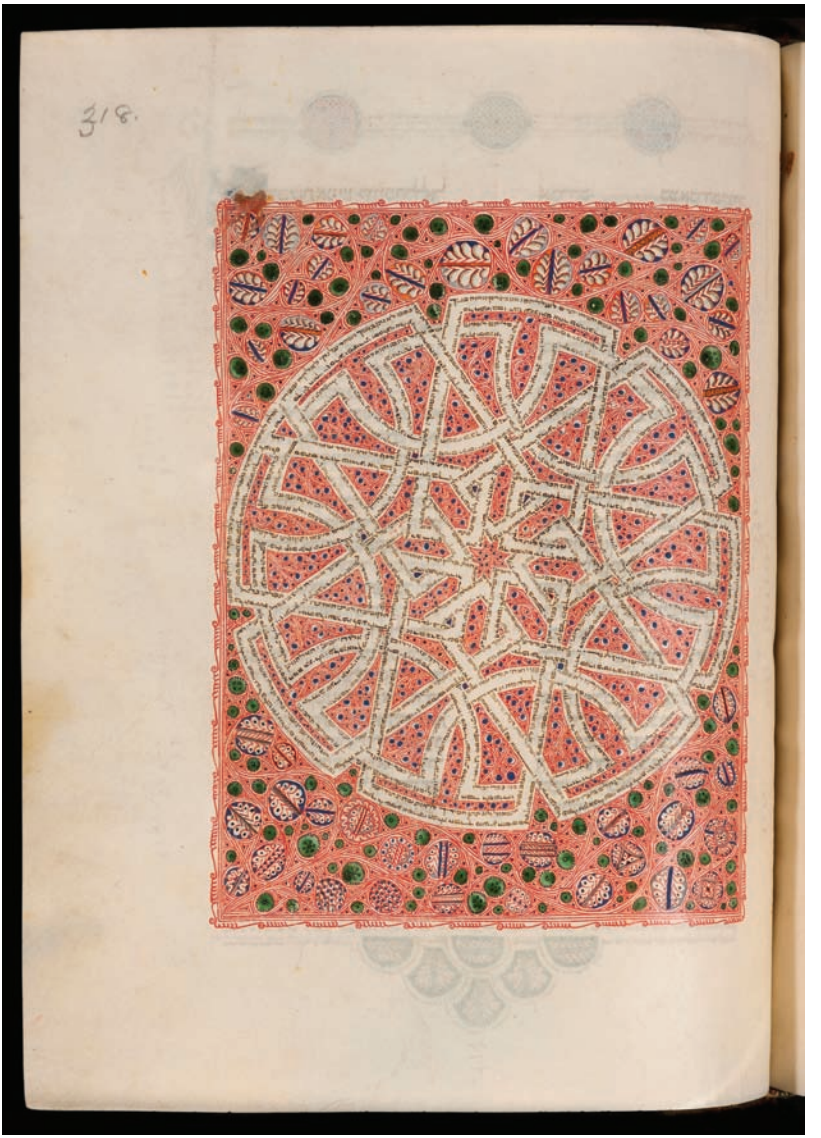


Plate 9 Carpet page in the *Kennicott Bible* (1476),
(MS. Kenn. 1, fol. 318r)

Plate 10 Ibn al-Muqaffa's *Kalila wa-Dimna*, an Arabic adaptation of the Indian fable collection *Pancatantra* (1354), (MS. Poc. 400, fol. 60a)

Plate 11 The first Jewish encyclopaedia, *Midrash ha-Hokhmah* (*c.* 1300), (MS. Mich. 551, fols 155v-156r)

Intellectual Transmission

The fact that Jews were well integrated into the intellectual and literary life of neighbouring societies is clear from the way the famous *Kalila and Dimna* collection of Indian fables, which spread all over the Muslim world, including the Iberian Peninsula in Arabic translation, was subsequently translated into Hebrew and various European languages.

Christians as well as Jews were interested in the Temple and its implements, and, in order to compare their understanding of the biblical descriptions with Jewish interpretation, devoted themselves to the study of the Hebrew language. The works of ancient thinkers such as Aristotle, Hippocrates, Euclid and Ptolemy also travelled from culture to culture and formed, through Islamic influence, the basis of both Christian and Jewish science and philosophy.

The full story of the cultural exchange, practical cooperation, social interaction and religious toleration between Jews and non-Jews in the Muslim and Christian worlds during the late Middle Ages, as told by the exhibition, is explained in a book prepared by the curators, entitled *Crossing Borders: Hebrew Manuscript as a Meeting-place of Cultures.* Its ten sections and eighty colour illustrations describe the intellectual, socio-economical and cultural-religious context in which Jews lived, and give evidence for the extent to which they shared and/or borrowed the culture of their neighbours and host countries.[1]

The Bodleian Library is indebted to the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies, for making available the assistance of the co-curator, Sabine Arndt.

[1] *Crossing Borders: Hebrew Manuscripts as a Meeting-place of Cultures*, edited by Piet van Boxel and Sabine Arndt, paperback, 128 pp, 80 colour images, £24.99, ISBN: 978-1-85124313-6

Jewish Studies Scholars at the University of Oxford

MARTIN GOODMAN

One of the great strengths of Oxford as a collegiate university is the diversity of its academic and intellectual life, and this has been a boon for Jewish Studies, which are diverse and related to multiple disciplines by their very nature. At the heart of Jewish Studies within the University lie, naturally enough, the teaching and research of the Centre's Fellows and the Hebrew and Jewish Studies Unit of the Oriental Studies Faculty. But expertise in our subject can be found also in many other corners of the University, and numerous colleagues from other faculties and departments enrich the Centre's research seminars and widen the expertise available to students who wish to delve into more recondite areas.

The Centre's permanent faculty between them are able to teach over a remarkable range, covering Hebrew language and literature and Jewish history from biblical times to the present, as well as more specialized areas. Hugh Williamson studies the Hebrew Bible, with interests in the history and archaeology of ancient Israel, classical Hebrew language (through his involvement with the Semantics of Ancient Hebrew database) and the history and literature of the Jews in the Persian period, as well as his main current project, a commentary on the Hebrew text of the book of Isaiah. Martin Goodman writes on Jewish history in the Roman period and is involved in a large study of toleration of variety within Judaism from ancient times to the present. Alison Salvesen works on ancient interpretations of the Hebrew Bible, investigating the Septuagint and later Jewish Greek versions, the Aramaic Targums, the Syriac Peshitta and the Latin Vulgate. Adam Silverstein studies culture and civilization in the Near East from ancient to Islamic times, with a focus on interactions between Judaism and Islam, and between these two religious traditions and the indigenous traditions of the Near East. Joanna Weinberg, who teaches rabbinic texts from late antiquity to the

early modern period, is an expert in the study of midrash, Jewish historiography, the history of scholarship, and the intellectual life of Jews in the Renaissance. David Rechter specializes in Central and Eastern European Jewish history in the modern period, with a special concentration on Habsburg Austrian Jewry, and studies modern Jewish political movements and ideologies. Jordan Finkin researches the relationship of Hebrew and Yiddish writings in the twentieth century, with a special emphasis on interwar modernist poetry and the question of what makes Jewish literature Jewish.

The Centre's lectors provide expert instruction in Hebrew and Yiddish, and among the Centre's lecturers, Miri Freud-Kandel specializes in Modern Judaism, Jeremy Schonfield on liturgy, Garth Gilmour on Biblical Archaeology, Madhavi Nevader on Biblical Religion, and Fergus Millar on the history of the Jews in the Roman period. The Centre's Research Fellows in 2009–10 included Eliyahu Stern (who specializes in early modern Rabbinics), Raffaella Del Sarto (Israel Studies), Michael Law (specialist on the Septuagint) and Simon Levis-Sullam (on the history of anti-Semitism). The Centre's Librarian and Deputy Librarian are major scholars not only in the history of Hebrew and Yiddish books, but in early Hebrew printing (Piet van Boxel) and medieval Hebrew translations from Arabic (César Merchán-Hamann). And among the most prolific of the Centre's scholars is Geza Vermes, Director of the Qumran Forum, who at the age of eighty-six has published three books in 2010.

To the twenty-one scholars within the Centre, the Hebrew and Jewish Studies Unit adds a further seventeen scholars from around the university, to make a team of exceptional intellectual power and disciplinary breadth. The Unit numbers among its members not only a coterie of distinguished retired but still very active colleagues, including retired fellows of the Centre such as Glenda Abramson (in Modern Hebrew literature and now editor of the *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies*) and Ron Nettler (in Jewish-Muslim relations), and retired colleagues from within Oriental Studies, such as Sebastian Brock (doyen of Syriac studies), but also current members of the Oriental Studies faculty engaged in Hebrew and Jewish Studies, including Gil Zahavi, who is the Faculty's language instructor in Modern Hebrew, and David Taylor, who is University Lecturer in Aramaic and Syriac, as well as shorter-term researchers. These researchers included in 2009–10 Aaron Rosen (Lehmann Junior Research

Fellow), who works on Jewish art in the twentieth century; three Leverhulme Fellows in Judaism attached to the Leverhulme project on Toleration of Variety within Judaism (Joseph David, who works on medieval Jewish and Islamic law; Corinna Kaiser, who has expertise in the study of recent and contemporary Judaism; and Simon Levis Sullam, whose research for this purpose concentrated on the history of Judaism in the 18th and 19th centuries in Western Europe); Jennifer Barbour (Kennicott Fellow), who has research interests in biblical wisdom literature; and Eyal Ben Eliyahu and Yehudah Cohn, who have been working as research officers with Fergus Millar on the production of a *Handbook of Jewish Literature from Late Antiquity*, to be published by the British Academy.

One of the tasks of the Unit is to provide support for research and teaching by the wider penumbra of scholars in Hebrew and Jewish studies within Oxford, and in this respect the Unit has been much enhanced by its location in the Oriental Institute and its ability, under the terms of the agreement between the University and the Centre when the Unit was set up with funding from the Centre, to call on substantial space for its purposes within the Institute and thus to provide a dedicated seminar room and a limited amount of working space for retired colleagues. It is not accidental that Tessa Rajak, an expert in Jewish history in the Roman period and for many years a Senior Associate of the Centre while Professor of Classics in Reading, has since early 2009 made the Unit the academic base for her continued energetic forages into research in this field, nor that Jonathan Webber, former Fellow of the Centre and latterly Professor of Jewish and Interfaith Studies at the University of Birmingham but still resident in Oxford, remains a member of the Unit and able and willing to provide occasional teaching of students keen to learn about modern Jewish society.

Members of the Unit support the large number of regular research seminars held each term on specific aspects of Jewish Studies, such as Old Testament, Jewish History and Literature in the Graeco-Roman Period, Jews and Judaism in the Early Modern Period, Modern Jewish History in Central Europe, and Modern Jewish Literatures. They also arrange, under the direction of the Centre's Academic Director, a regular lunchtime seminar series in more general Jewish Studies, held in the Oriental Institute to provide an accessible forum for those primarily working in other fields to come together around topics of interest within

Jewish studies. Among the seminar papers given in 2009–10, for instance, was a comparison by Laurent Mignon, lecturer in Turkish, of Samuel Hirsch's critique of Bruno Bauer to Namik Kemal's refutation of Ernest Renan. Such talks, like the Wednesday evening seminars at Yarnton, attract a wide audience from across the University.

The spectrum of interest in Jewish Studies includes a considerable number of colleagues from the Theology Faculty, most obviously many of those who work on the Hebrew Bible (in particular John Barton, John Day, Susan Gillingham and Paul Joyce) and those who study the Jewish background to the New Testament (notably Markus Bockmuehl and Chris Rowland, who have both made major contributions to Jewish studies from this angle, and David Lincicum). Eva de Visscher works on medieval Jewish–Christian relations in Ashkenaz and on Christian Hebraism, and Guy Stroumsa, who arrived in Oxford from Jerusalem in October 2009 to take up the new Professorship of Abrahamic Religions, ensures that the study of Judaism has its proper place in the discussion of religious change in late antiquity in which he is widely acknowledged as a world leader.

Interest in Jewish topics is also widespread within the History faculty, under the leadership especially of Robert Evans, the Regius Professor of History, whose own expertise in the post-medieval history of Central and Eastern Europe has long encouraged academic collaboration with David Rechter at the Centre. John Edwards, who has written widely on the history of the Jews in the late medieval and early modern periods through close examination of ecclesiastical records, is an expert particularly on Spain; Abigail Green has produced in 2010, to much acclaim, a new biography of Moses Montefiore; Ruth Harris has just published a fine new evaluation of the Dreyfus affair; Peter Claus writes on late-Victorian metropolitan Jewry; and Lawrence Goldman writes on Jews in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, which he edits. Jane Caplan and Nick Stargardt are historians of Nazi Germany who have become much involved in the history of the Shoah. Avner Offer studies, among other things, the economy and society of Israel and of the Jews in the diaspora.

Interest in Jewish subjects is also found in some strength in the Modern Languages faculty, where Mary MacRobert has a keen interest in Slavonic biblical pseudepigrapha, and a number of Germanists work on Jewish authors and topics – notably Ritchie Robertson, who from

October 2010 will be the Taylor Professor of German and has written much on Kafka and the 'Jewish Question' in German literature; David Groiser, who specializes in German-Jewish culture; Anthony Phelan, who writes about Heine and Benjamin; and Kerstin Hoge, who at one time was Yiddish Lector at the Centre, but as University Lecturer in German Linguistics since 2008 has continued to research extensively in Yiddish topics. For over two decades the Modern Languages faculty has encouraged Yiddish studies – the MSt in Yiddish was set up by the Faculty in the 1990s with the help of the Centre on the one hand and a former (and still active) Taylor Professor, Siegbert Prawer, on the other.

Interest in Jewish studies is rather more scattered within other faculties and departments. In the English faculty, Ron Bush studies Jewish-American literature. In the Law faculty, Joshua Getzler encourages interest in Jewish law. In Music, Joshua Walden specializes in popular music in the Jewish diaspora, especially Ernest Bloch and the music of Yiddish cinema. In Politics, Avi Shlaim is a major figure in discussions of the Arab-Israel conflict, and Peter Pulzer, former Gladstone Professor of Government and Public Administration, is much engaged in the history of German Jewry in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In Philosophy, Brian Klug looks at questions of contemporary Jewish identity and anti-Semitism.

In order to draw attention to this wealth of interest in Jewish studies spread through Oxford faculties and the rich harvest of research from these colleagues, the Unit has created a section on its website <http://www.orinst.ox.ac.uk/hjs/oxford_js.html> devoted to 'Oxford Faculty with Interests in Jewish Studies'. The contents of the list will undoubtedly fluctuate as colleagues come and go, but it is much to be hoped that it will facilitate access to this extraordinary pool of expertise both for students in all faculties and for the many academic visitors in Jewish studies who come each year to Oxford to benefit from the libraries and the warm intellectual and social welcome provided by the Centre.

In 2009–2010 there have been, primarily under the auspices of the European Seminars on Advanced Jewish Studies, twenty-eight academic visitors of exceptional calibre at the Centre. Many others have come to Oxford to deliver talks organized by the Centre or the Unit. Combined with the sixty-six members of University Faculty with interests in Hebrew and Jewish Studies who work in Oxford in the longer term, the total

number of experts on Jewish Studies in Oxford over the course of this past year has come to more than 100. It has been the role of the Unit and the Centre to ensure that such a wealth of talent has been coordinated to the benefit of scholars and students alike, and to the advancement of knowledge in Hebrew and Jewish Studies not just in Oxford, but worldwide.

The Leopold Muller Memorial Library: Its Growth and Significance

DR PIET VAN BOXEL

The Centre's library, named the Leopold Muller Memorial Library after a major donation in 1992, contains more than 200,000 items. These range from Bible, Qumran and rabbinic literature to Yiddish texts, twentieth-century newspaper cuttings and Holocaust memorial volumes. It is housed in the seventeenth-century barn of Yarnton Manor, upgraded to accommodate a major university collection on rolling shelving. This building has now been augmented by the neighbouring Manor Farm Annex, which holds the Coppenhagen Collection, whose history is outlined below. The Library's resources were an important factor in the Centre's successful application to host the European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies, whose activities are reported on pages 45–58.

Acquisitions over recent years have transformed the Library from one covering Jewish Studies in general, into a research collection focusing particularly on rabbinics, early-modern and modern Jewish history, and Modern Hebrew literature. As such it makes an important contribution to the library provisions of Oxford University. An online library catalogue ensures that its holdings are accessible not only to the academic community in Oxford, but further afield thanks to inter-library loans.

In 2006 the Librarian of the Centre was appointed to the additional post of Hebraica and Judaica Curator of the Bodleian Library of Oxford University, reflecting recognition of the Centre's excellence and its growing integration into the University. This further enhances the cooperation between the two libraries and promotes additional integration of the Centre into the University. One of the outcomes has been the synchronizing of acquisitions policies in all University libraries whose holdings touch on Hebrew and Jewish studies. These include Oxford's iconic Bodleian Library, as well as the Oriental Institute, the faculties of

Theology and History, the Taylor Institution and the Middle East Centre. Minimizing duplication helps maximize the number of new publications that can be purchased, and ensures that new books do not slip through the purchasing net due to lack of resources. It also facilitates a longterm project which aims to centralize most of the University libraries' Humanities holdings in a single location on the former site of the Radcliffe Infirmary, although manuscripts and old books will remain in their current homes, which are in the process of a complete refurbishment.

Oxford is a world centre for the study of Hebrew manuscripts and early printed books. The Bodleian Library's manuscripts in Hebrew, Aramaic, Ladino and Yiddish, numbering more than 3000, form one of the finest collections in the world (together with the British Library in London, the Palatina Library in Parma and the Vatican in Rome). Among them is a significant section of the Cairo Genizah, the bulk of which is held at Cambridge University. Early printed books in the Bodleian – totalling 30,000 – include the 7000 volumes collected by the eighteenth-century Chief Rabbi of Prague, David Oppenheimer, which form the core of the Judaica collection and are important also for the history of Yiddish. Collections held by the Centre add measurably to the overall holdings of Oxford libraries, helping to confirm Oxford's position as the major bibliographic centre for Jewish Studies in Britain.

The following descriptions of collections held at the Centre are arranged in order of their acquisition.

The Kressel Archive

This unique collection, which arrived in Oxford in 1974, began life as a labour of love by one individual, who painstakingly compiled data about personalities in modern Jewish history, in many cases derived from newspapers and magazines, but also including manuscript material. It encompasses events, institutions and places in modern Israel, as well as the history of the Jewish press. About half of the 400,000 cuttings from Jewish newspapers from 1935 to 1980 have been microfilmed with the aid of a grant from the British Library.

The Elkoshi Collection

A significant addition to the Centre's holdings was the library of Gedalyah Elkoshi (1910–1988), acquired in 1991. The collection contains some 17,000 volumes and is particularly strong in Hebrew literature. This helped establish the Library as the place in Oxford to look for Modern Hebrew books, following the agreement for University departmental libraries to focus on specific acquisition areas in Jewish Studies according to the strength of their collections. Modern Hebrew literature acquisitions include the latest publications in fiction, poetry and drama, as well as scholarly editions of works from the first two thirds of the twentieth century and the collected works of writers who began their careers in the first two decades of the State of Israel.

The Foyle-Montefiore Collection

This collection bears the name of Sir Moses Montefiore (1784–1885), the most famous British Jew of the nineteenth century, who founded in 1869 the Judith Montefiore Theological College in memory of his late wife, 'to promote the study of and advancement of the Holy Law and general Hebrew literature'. Learned men were invited to teach at the college, the first Principal of which was the eminent Orientalist Louis Loewe (whose papers are included in the Loewe Collection described below). It is for this institution that a remarkable library was accumulated, reflecting Montefiore's strong desire to promote Jewish integration into wider society. Its 4000 volumes and rare pamphlets include the library of the father of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* ('Science of Judaism'), Leopold Zunz. While it is essentially a historical research library, it also contains treasures: early editions from important printing houses in Venice, Leghorn, Izmir, Amsterdam, Berlin and Leipzig.

The main emphasis of the collection is on the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century history of Jews in Europe, and their fight for emancipation and integration into wider society while retaining a Jewish identity. More than 150 titles relate to the legal position of Jews in various states, covering issues such as the enfranchisement, judicial autonomy and the position of Jews vis-à-vis Christian governments. The integration of Jews into wider society and their commitment to secular rulers comes to light in eulogies for the enthronement or death of emperors, kings and princes.

Some 200 works dealing with explanations of biblical law and the history of Jewish doctrine were written either by Jews to instruct Jewish communities of the time, or by Christians whose interests in biblical institutions and Jewish traditions was not always for the sake of history. These often have a polemical edge, giving insight into the complexity of Jewish emancipation and the dilemmas of Jewish identity. Publications on Jewish institutions, such as annual reports of rabbinical schools, or works concerning education in general, shed light on the organization of Jewish communities in modern Europe. Including more than fifty works by or on Moses Mendelssohn, and the oeuvre of Abraham Geiger (originator of German Reform Judaism and of the Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums), the section on the religious and social history of Jews in modern Europe is one of the most important collections in the world.

The Shandel/Lipson Archive

This outstanding resource for biographical studies on Sir Moses Montefiore, which has been placed on permanent loan at the Centre's Library, was formed by the Revd Herman Shandel, Hazan and schochet of the Ramsgate Synagogue for forty-eight years from 1876. He therefore served around the death of Sir Moses Montefiore, founder and patron of the synagogue, at whose funeral he helped officiate, and was administrator of the synagogue, College and East Cliff Lodge Estate during the difficult years that followed Sir Moses' death in 1885.

Herman Shandel was a widely read scholar who built up a large library and collection of Montefioriana. When Sir Joseph Sebag-Montefiore, Sir Moses' heir, carried out his uncle's instructions to burn his personal papers, Herman Shandel rescued some of the documents from the pyre. After his death in 1924 most of his collection passed to his son-in-law, the Revd Solomon Lipson, a United Synagogue minister and, like his father-in-law, Chaplain of the Forces. From him, the collection passed to the grandson Eric Lipson and other members of the family. Since the father and son-in-law added documents, letters and ephemera, the combined collection is called the Shandel/Lipson Archive. The Shandel part contains the most striking items, including two unpublished manuscript diaries of Lady Judith Montefiore, as well as letters by her and Sir Moses. The Lipson items provide insight into the work of a United Synagogue minister and Chaplain to the Forces.

The Louis Jacobs Collection

This exceptionally rich working library, donated to the Centre in 2005 by Rabbi Dr Louis Jacobs, one of the world's most distinguished rabbinic scholars and authors, contains some 14,000 volumes. Covering all major subjects of Rabbinic Judaism in a way probably not found anywhere else in the United Kingdom or on the European Continent, the library is an extraordinary enhancement of the holdings of the Oxford Centre. There are various editions of the Mishnah and of the Babylonian and Palestinian Talmud, and a wide range of works on midrash, liturgy, philosophy and theology. Especially welcome are the sections on kabbalah, mysticism and hasidism, previously almost totally lacking in the Centre's Library. The large section of *Festschriften* (Jubilee volumes), with contributions from the Yeshivah world and from academic scholarship, is a further valuable addition to the Centre's holdings. Of particular value is the halakhic section, containing Responsa from early to modern times – a branch of rabbinical literature consisting of written legal decisions from authorities in reply to questions or problems submitted to them. The span from early to modern times is an exceptional contribution to the library resources of Oxford University.

Rabbi Dr Louis Jacobs wrote over fifty books, including *Studies in Talmudic Logic and Methodology* (London 1961), *Structure and Form in the Babylonian Talmud* (Cambridge 1991), *A Tree of Life: Diversity, Flexibility and Creativity in Jewish Law* (Oxford 1984), *Theology in the Responsa* (London 1975), *Hasidic Prayer* (London 1993), *Symbols for the Divine in the Kabbalah* (London 1984) and *A Jewish Theology* (New York 1974). He also wrote a large number of articles.

Many of his works include extensive quotations, or even consist mainly of citations accompanied by short introductions and comments, such as his *Jewish Mystical Testimonies* (New York 1977), an anthology of texts from the Bible to the twentieth century. Each passage is prefaced by an introduction and followed by comments, placing the author and work in their historical context, explaining fundamental concepts and providing 'a skeleton outline', effectively leading the reader through the riches of the library now housed at the Centre.

Other works introduce modern readers to the rabbinic literature central to Jewish culture. Louis Jacobs created a hermeneutical key to the books in his own library in discussions of a wide range of talmudic

passages included in works such as *Studies in Talmudic Logic and Methodology* (London 1961), *The Talmudic Argument: A Study in Talmudic Reasoning and Methodology* (Cambridge 1984), *Teyku: The Unsolved Problem in the Babylonian Talmud: A Study in the Literary Analysis and Form of the Talmudic Argument* (London, New York 1981) and *Structure and Form in the Babylonian Talmud* (Cambridge 1991).

A considerable number of his publications are aimed at the general public and set out to dispel fallacies and expound the moral values of Judaism. These include *The Moral Values of Judaism* (Community publication, n.d.), *Jewish Values* (London 1960), *The Book of Jewish Values* (Chappaqua, NY 1983) and *The Book of Jewish Belief* (New York 1984). His views on the revelation from Sinai set out in *We Have Reason to Believe. Some Aspects of Jewish Theology Examined in the Light of Modern Thought* (London 1957; 4th rev. ed. 1995) were stormily debated within the Jewish community.

Rabbi Dr Louis Jacobs was born on 17 July 1920 in Manchester, studied at Manchester Yeshivah and later at the Kollel in Gateshead, was ordained as an orthodox rabbi, studied at University College London, and served as rabbi at Manchester Central Synagogue from 1948 and at the New West End Synagogue in London from 1954. As a lecturer at Jews' College, London, where he taught Talmud and homiletics, his efforts to reconcile his Jewish faith with a modern scholarly approach to Scripture brought him into conflict with the Orthodox establishment, which refused to appoint him Principal of Jews' College or to allow him to return to his pulpit at the New West End Synagogue. A number of members then left the New West End to found the New London Synagogue, where Rabbi Dr Jacobs remained until his retirement in 1995. In December 2005 a *Jewish Chronicle* poll, in which 2000 readers took part, voted him the greatest British Jew in the community's 350-year history. Rabbi Jacobs passed away on 1 July 2006.

His career reflects his awareness that 'The contemporary Jewish theologian must endeavour, however inadequately, to do for our age what the great mediaeval theologians sought to do for theirs. He must try to present a coherent picture of what Jews can believe without subterfuge and with intellectual honesty' (*A Jewish Theology*, London, 1973, p. 4). His library offers the resources for such an endeavour.

His blend of the pastoral and the scholarly can be seen in his *A Guide to Yom Kippur* (London 1957), which was written not only for the Jewish

community, but to inform non-Jews about the Jewish faith. He cites the Hasidic tale of an untutored boy who, unable to follow the Synagogue prayers on *Yom Kippur*, acknowledged the glory of God by playing the whistle he used to while away the time spent watching his father's sheep. Some of those present were scandalized, but the rabbis admitted that the boy's sincerity had opened the gates of Heaven more surely than their own prayers. Jacobs follows this popular narrative with theological reflections on fasting and discussions of the historical setting of the festival, including an overview of its biblical roots, the development of the liturgy and a sketch of piyyutim, hasidic traditions and yeshivah practices, drawing on the fine liturgical, kabbalistic and hasidic sections in his library.

The Louis Jacobs Collection, which is constantly being supplemented with modern, scholarly editions of classical rabbinic works from Israel and elsewhere, ensures that the Library now has the most comprehensive rabbinic collection on open-access shelves in the UK.

The Coppenhagen Library

The presentation of the library of the late J. H. Coppenhagen, whose central theme was the history of Dutch Jewry, has much enriched the Centre's holdings. Its origins are themselves part of Dutch history. It was founded by Isaac H. Coppenhagen (1846–1905), a Hebrew teacher and *Sofer Stam* (a scribe of Jewish religious texts, such as Torah scrolls) in Amsterdam. His son, Haim I. Coppenhagen (1874–1942), who qualified at the rabbinical Seminary in Amsterdam and also studied Classical and modern languages, enriched the collection which he catalogued and named *Otsar Haim* (literally 'a treasure of life' or 'a living treasure').

Haim's son, Jacob H. Coppenhagen (1913–1997), who continued to expand the collection, was responsible for its survival during the Holocaust. After a month of Nazi Occupation in 1940, Jacob realized that the now sizeable library could not remain in his parents' home, since neighbours were Nazi sympathizers who occasionally visited the apartment to use the telephone and would report the Jewish treasures to the German authorities. Jacob began to move the books to a Jewish school where he taught, concealing their removal by placing other volumes to fill the gaps on the shelves. There the books would be regarded as belonging to the school, provided he removed the ex-libris labels which

he had designed, so that they could not be traced to him. Attempts to disguise Jewish property were themselves punishable. When many of the pupils had been deported the Jewish school was itself scheduled for closure, placing the books again at risk. Jacob next started moving them next door to an ordinary school, and hiding the most precious items. Since moving Hebrew books around was dangerous, Jacob's friend, Johannes Alderse-Baars, who was studying to become a clergyman, offered to say that the Hebrew books were needed for his studies. Jacob had eventually to abandon the books, now scattered in several places, and go into hiding. He was saved with the help of the Dutch resistance and righteous gentiles, although most of his family perished in Auschwitz and Sobibor.

After the liberation, Jacob started to reassemble the library. Books from the school which had been confiscated by the Nazis were returned from Germany, but others which had remained in the Coppenhagen home had apparently vanished. Volumes continued to turn up even many years after the War, identified by the contours and remnants of Haim's ex-libris. He added many books on the fate of European Jewry under the Nazis, focusing on the Holocaust in Belgium and The Netherlands, and on the history of Dutch Jewry, including Surinam and the Dutch Antilles. He became a professional librarian, and in 1965–9 served the celebrated Ets Haim Library of the Jewish Portuguese community in Amsterdam. On emigrating to Israel in 1969 he served as Librarian for the Israeli Broadcasting Authority, while maintaining control of his own library which, although a private collection, had become recognized as a valued resource for researchers.

The collection now comprises nearly 30,000 books and etchings on Dutch Jewish themes, as well as an archive of newspaper articles and over 300,000 fiches recording facts and data arranged by subject. An account of the approximately 208 Dutch Jewish physicians who perished in the Holocaust was published by J. H. Coppenhagen as *Anafiem Gedoe'iem*, and reissued after his death (Rotterdam: Erasmus Publishing, 2000). The Library's mission to record and commemorate what had been lost and to describe the process of annihilation recalls the description in the *Yom Kippur* liturgy of the martyrdom of Rabbi Hanina ben Teradya. This states that *gevillin nisrafin ve'otiyot porchot*, '[parchment] rolls are burned, but [their] words letters fly [upward]' (Babylonian Talmud, *Avodah Zarah* 18a), words included on the ex-libris used from the early

1950s that highlight the library's role in representing the remnants of a once flourishing Jewish community.

The Coppenhagen Library contains an extraordinary collection of pre-seventeenth-century Hebrew Bibles, as well as grammars and dictionaries by Christian Hebraists, such as Joh. Buxtorf and Joh. Leusden, as well as Jews, such as Elijah Levita's talmudic dictionary *Sefer ha-Tishbi* of 1541, printed in places such as Amsterdam, Leiden, Utrecht and Franeker. There are works by Christian Hebraists on Jewish ethnography, Latin translations of Maimonides' writings, and the publications of Menasseh ben Israel and of his printing house, besides an exquisite collection of Ashkenazi and Sephardi prayer books and special orders of service, some with Dutch or Yiddish translations. The section on Jewish-Christian relations from the seventeenth century onwards contains works in Dutch such as Phil. van Limborch, *Vriendelijke onderhandeling met den geleerden Jood* (Amsterdam 1735).

The section on communities decimated or annihilated during the Nazi period is a unique resource for the history of Dutch Jewry, encompassing pamphlets ranging from sermons or eulogies on special occasions, to material relating to the royal family. It comprises microfiche material on Jewish life before the War, such as Jewish trade from 1932 to 1940 and the 'Weekly for the Jewish Family' from 1870 to 1940, as well as data on social, economical and cultural conditions in the Netherlands (mainly Amsterdam) before and after the War, including resistance, anti-Semitism and biographical information.

This generous donation makes the Centre's Library one of the most important resources for the history of European Jewry.

The Loewe Collection

This comprises some 5000 items of scholarly correspondence, offprints, unpublished translations of Hebrew poetry and rare ephemera of Jewish interest, little of which is to be found in other libraries. Most of the collection was assembled by two scholars whose lifetimes spanned about a century and whose work extended from the Hebrew of the Bible to late-antique and medieval Judaism and Anglo-Jewish history. It was begun by Louis Loewe (1809–1880) who was chosen by Sir Moses Montefiore, because of his competence both in European and Semitic languages and Turkish, to act as his 'oriental secretary' and close confidant. He was later

the first Principal of the Judith, Lady Montefiore College at Ramsgate. His grandson, Herbert Loewe (1882–1940), was Reader in Rabbinics at Cambridge, and great-grandson, Raphael Loewe (*b.* 1919), Professor of Hebrew at University College London, who fully catalogued the material.

The collection, which has been acquired through the generous support of Peter and Catherine Oppenheimer and Judith and Peter Wegner, is arranged in about 170 uniform boxes, each bearing a list of the contents. The following main categories show the span of the collection: Anglo-Jewry, Anti-Semitism, Apocrypha and Josephus, Apologetics and Disputations, Arabic, Archaeology, Belles Lettres, Bible, Biblical Iconography, Bibliography, Biography, Calendar, Catalogues, Dead Sea Scrolls, Education, Ethics, Grammar, Halakhah, Hasidism, Jewish-Christian Relations, Judaeo-Romance, Liturgy, Massorah, Medical History, Midrash, Mishnah, New Testament, Palestine (Zionism, Israel), Philosophy, Poetry, Politics, Qabbalah, Samaritan, Septuagint, Sermons, Sociology, Syriac, Talmud, Targum, Theology, Travel, Vulgate. The whole collection has been catalogued and is now searchable online.

Hugo Gryn Book Collection

The Library is honoured to have been appointed custodian of the Hugo Gryn Collection, which his family has placed on indefinite loan.

Rabbi Hugo Gryn was born in the Carpathian town of Berehovo in 1930, deported to Auschwitz at the age of thirteen and came to Britian with a group of child survivors after the War. He later went to America to train for the Rabbinate, serving first in Bombay, then in New York and from 1964 at the West London Synagogue, a post he held for thirty-two years until his death in 1996. Hugo Gryn was committed not only to his congregation, but to the wider Jewish community and was engaged intensively in inter-religious dialogue.

His library offers a broad spectrum of Jewish theology from various perspectives, containing a good selection of works on the history of Anglo Jewry and of Jewry in general, and on the development of his own Progressive movement. Of particular importance is the extensive collection of prayer books and haggadot.

The Hugo Gryn Archive

The Hugo Gryn Archive comprises over 800 folders of correspondence, articles and other material spanning the career of Rabbi Gryn, incuding his early rabbinical training in America as well as his work as a rabbi in Bombay (1957–60) and later at the West London Synagogue.

It documents Hugo Gryn's central role in shaping postwar Anglo-Jewry, containing significant material relating to the Reform Synagogues of Great Britain, especially its Assembly of Rabbis and Beth Din. Material on Leo Baeck College, in which Rabbi Gryn played a prominent role, covers the period from 1957 to 1984. There are also detailed files pertaining to the Anglo-Jewish Association, the Joint Council of Reform and Liberal Rabbis and the Jewish Memorial Council. In the wider Jewish world, he became Executive Director of the World Union for Progressive Judaism in 1960, and two years later a senior executive for the American Joint Distribution Committee. He was appointed Chairman of the European Board of the World Union in 1980. The archive holds complete files on the World Union for the years 1958 to 1984, allowing unprecedented access to the minutes and internal correspondence of this important organization.

The insight the archive offers into the history of interfaith dialogue in Britain is extremely significant, since Rabbi Gryn served as Chairman of the World Council of Faiths' Standing Conference on Interfaith Dialogue in Education in 1972 and as co-chairman in 1975 of the Rainbow Group. He was also actively involved in the Council of Christians and Jews.

As a Holocaust survivor Hugo Gryn was prominent in the struggle for postwar reparations and in efforts to raise awareness through Holocaust Education, partly through his involvement with the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture and the Conference for Jewish Material Claims Against Germany. His radio and television broadcasts and writings about his experiences, along with his concern for Holocaust Education, form a striking element in the archive.

Almost a third of the archive is devoted to more than 15,000 items of correspondence, including exchanges with public figures such as Dr Robert Runcie (Archbishop of Canterbury), Sir Sigmund Sternberg and Chief Rabbi Lord Jakobovits, as well as with media celebrities such as Felicity Kendal and Maureen Lipman. Rabbi Hugo Gryn's warmth, sensitivity, energy and enthusiasm emerge throughout.

The Arthur Sebag-Montefiore Archive

The Arthur Sebag-Montefiore Archive, which has been deposited on long-term loan, makes the Centre a focus for research into Sir Moses Montefiore's life and contribution to the emancipation of Jews in the nineteenth century, and is a major addition to the Library's holdings on Anglo-Jewry. It includes some 350 letters written to Sir Moses Montefiore between the early 1820s and his death in 1885, reflecting his deep involvement in political aspects of Jewish affairs and especially his concern to defend Jews in peril. A range of diaries and travel reports – the earliest dated 1827 – by Sir Moses, Lady Judith and others shed light on his involvement in international Jewish matters, such as his own report on a journey to Russia in 1872 to intercede with Tsar Alexander II on behalf of Jews.

The Archive also contains extensive documentation on the 'Damascus Affair', when he intervened on behalf of Jews accused in 1840 of the ritual murder of a Capuchin, Father Tomaso. Following this a Firman was issued by the Sultan of Constantinople disclaiming the ritual-murder calumny and assuring protection for the Jews. There is also material on the 'Mortara Case', concerning a secretly baptized Jewish boy who was kidnapped in 1858 by pontifical gendarmes and sent to the House of the Catechumens in Rome to receive a Christian education. Sir Moses attempted to obtain an audience with the Pope and gain the release of Edgardo Mortara, but failed. Other political documents include letters from King Louis Philippe of France and Prince Carol of Romania.

Various items highlight Sir Moses's proverbial charity, most particularly the documentation around the 'Jerusalem Appeal' for the poor in the Holy Land and the records concerning the founding of the Jerusalem hospital.

His role in Anglo-Jewish affairs is evident from letters from David Meldola (1797–1853), Haham (chief rabbi) of the Sephardi community in London, and from Rabbi Solomon Hirschel (1762–1842), the Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi, who wrote to Sir Moses in his capacity of President of the London Committee of Deputies of the British Jews. There are also letters from the office of Hirschel's successor, Chief Rabbi Nathan Adler. The Archive contains copies of some letters written by Sir Moses, and a list of all letters posted between 1859 and 1862, indicating the wide range of people with whom he was in contact. There are also several liturgical

Orders of Services, such as on the dedication of the Ramsgate Synagogue or for the safe return of Sir Moses from a journey abroad.

Through the generous support of Mr and Mrs Sebag-Montefiore an online catalogue of the archive and digital access to the most important documents will be available in 2011.

Lewis Family Interests

The Lewis Family Interests have, over the years, placed in the Library a number of early printed books on long-term loan. These include an important four-volume Rabbinic Hebrew Bible printed in Venice between 1546 and 1548, incorporating an Aramaic translation and various rabbinic commentaries. The printer was Daniel Bomberg, an Antwerp-born Christian who set up a Hebrew press in Venice in 1516 and produced major editions of enduring value. The copy on loan is of the third Rabbinic Bible – the first and second were produced by him in 1517–1518 and 1524 respectively. This is a landmark in Hebrew printing in Christian Europe since it is the last to be unaffected by censorship. The next, printed in 1568 by Marco Antonio Giustiniani, was censored on the instructions of the Venetian authorities, and all Rabbinic Bibles thereafter are marked either by secular or by ecclesiastical censorship. The 1727 Amsterdam edition, a copy of which is in the Foyle-Montefiore Collection, exemplifies this, and a comparison with the 1546–8 edition sheds light on censorial activity in the sixteenth century.

Other loans include Walton's famous Polyglot Bible (London, 1657), containing the scriptural text in nine different languages, as well as works by the renowned Jewish grammarian Elijah Levita (1469–1549).

The Yizkor Book Collection

The Library holds copies of more than 800 memorial volumes for communities destroyed in the Holocaust. These are typically produced by survivors, either single or in groups, and describe the survivors' home towns or villages, their institutions, history and destruction. They may contain photos and maps, and often the Yiddish or Hebrew testimony of those who grew up and lived in each place. Such books were produced in small printruns for survivors and their relatives, and although they are an ephemeral genre, they often provide the only record of communities,

and as such are vital to any understanding of prewar European Jewry. The purchase of many of these volumes has been made possible by the Lewis Family Interests, to which the Library is particularly grateful.

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)
Israel: State, Society, Identity (MPhil in Modern Middle Eastern Studies, and in Modern Jewish Studies)
The State of Israel (BA in Jewish Studies)

Dr Jordan Finkin

The Particularity of Modern Hebrew Literature (BA in Hebrew and Jewish Studies)
Unhappy in Their Own Way: Hebrew and Yiddish Literature (MSt in Jewish Studies)

Professor Martin Goodman

Jewish Historiography (MPhil in Judaism and Christianity in the Graeco-Roman World)
Jewish History 200 BCE – 70 CE (MSt in Jewish Studies)
Religions in the Greek and Roman World, 31 BC to AD 312 (BA in Classics)
Second Temple History (BA in Jewish Studies)
The Formation of Rabbinic Judaism (BA in Theology)
Varieties of Judaism (BA in Theology)

Dr David Rechter

Modern European Jewish History (MSt in Jewish Studies)
Modern Jewish History (BA in Jewish Studies)

Dr Aaron Rosen

Jewish-Christian Dialogue (MSt in Jewish Studies)
The Bible in Modern Art (BA in Theology)

Dr Alison Salvesen

Jewish and Christian Bible Interpretation (MSt in Jewish Studies)
Jewish Aramaic Texts (BA in Jewish Studies, and in German and Hebrew)
Septuagint Greek Texts (MPhil in Eastern Christian Studies)
Syriac Texts (MPhil in Eastern Christian Studies)

Dr Adam Silverstein

Islamic History (BA in Arabic and Islamic Studies; MPhil in Medieval Islamic Studies)
Jewish-Muslim Relations Through the Ages (BA in Hebrew and Jewish Studies; MSt in Arabic and Islamic Studies)
Modern Jewish-Muslim Relations (MPhil in Modern Jewish Studies)

Dr Joanna Weinberg

A Survey of Rabbinic Literature (MSt in Jewish Studies)
Midrash (BA in Hebrew and Jewish Studies)
Maimonides (BA in Hebrew and Jewish Studies)
Mishnah (BA in Hebrew and Jewish Studies)
The Formation of Rabbinic Judaism (BA in Theology)

Professor Hugh Williamson

Advanced Biblical Hebrew (BA in European and Middle Eastern Languages; MSt in Classical Hebrew Studies)
Biblical Aramaic (BA in Hebrew)
Elementary Biblical Hebrew (BA in Hebrew, Jewish Studies, Classics and Oriental Studies)
Genesis 1–11 (BA in Hebrew, and in European and Middle Eastern Languages; MSt in Classical Hebrew Studies)
Habakkuk 1–2 and the Habakkuk Commentary from Qumran (MSt in Classical Hebrew Studies)
Intermediary Biblical Hebrew (BA in Hebrew; BA in European and Middle Eastern Languages)
Isaiah 40–45 (BA in Hebrew, in European and Middle Eastern Languages, and in Theology)
Isaiah 52–57 (BA in Hebrew, and in European and Middle Eastern Languages; MSt in Classical Hebrew Studies)

Selected Psalms (BA in Hebrew, and in European and Middle Eastern Languages; MSt in Classical Hebrew Studies)
Topics in Biblical Hebrew (BA in Hebrew, Jewish Studies, and in Classics and Oriental Studies)
Zechariah 1–8 (BA in Hebrew, and in European and Middle Eastern Languages)

Lectures and Papers by Fellows of the Centre

Dr Raffaella Del Sarto, 'Plus ça change…? Israel and the EU's "Union for the Mediterranean"', Research Workshop, University of Liverpool
—— 'Between Rhetoric and Reality: Israel and the European Union', OCHJS London Lecture Series, London Jewish Cultural Centre
—— 'Israel, the EU, and the "Union for the Mediterranean"', World Congress for Middle Eastern Studies, Barcelona

Dr Jordan Finkin, 'The State of Play on the Field of Yiddish', Corob Symposium in Yiddish Literature, Oxford
—— 'The Discourse of the Jewish Joke', OCHJS London Lecture Series, London Jewish Cultural Centre

Professor Martin Goodman,'Transformations of Ancient Jerusalem: The City under Jews, Romans and Christians', Universidad Pablo de Olvidada, Carmona, Spain
—— 'Toleration of Variety within Judaism: Pharisees and Sadducees', World Congress of Jewish Studies, Jerusalem
—— 'Ancient Limmud: Toleration of Variety within Judaism in Second Temple Times', Leeds Limmud
—— 'Romans and Jews: The History of Antisemitism', Exeter College, Exeter
—— 'Ancient Limmud: Toleration of Variety within Judaism in the Ancient World', Limmud, Warwick University
—— 'Jews and Christians: The Parting of the Ways', OCHJS London Lecture Series, London Jewish Cultural Centre
—— 'Toleration of Variety within Judaism: Some Case Studies', Manchester University
—— 'King Herod', Oxford Jewish Centre

—— 'Toleration of Variety: Beth Hillel and Beth Shammai', Birmingham University
—— 'Titus, Berenice and Agrippa: The Last Days of the Temple in Jerusalem', Palestine Exploration Fund AGM Lecture

Dr David Rechter, 'Habsburg Bukovina Jewry', Central European University, Budapest
—— 'The Jewish Question and Modern Jewish Politics', OCHJS London Lecture Series, London Jewish Cultural Centre

Dr Aaron Rosen, Lectures for 'Limmud Oz', Melbourne and Sydney, Australia, including:
'Is There Jewish Art?'
'Art History—Where are the Jews?'
'Marc Chagall's Jewish Jesus'
'Jews in Abstraction: Mark Rothko and Abstract Expressionists'
'Art in the Grey Zone: Imagining Auschwitz'
—— Chagall's *Revolution*: Re-framing Post-war Jewish Culture', Association of Art Historians (AAH) Annual Conference, Glasgow
—— 'The Art of Interfaith Dialogue: Looking at Pictures with Jews and Christians', David Patterson Seminar
—— 'Is There Such a Thing as Jewish Art? Approaches to Art History', St Peter's College Seminar in History
—— 'Art History and Jewish Imagination', Council of Christians and Jews, Oxford
—— 'Chagall's Testament: Re-visions of the Hebrew and Christian Bible' at the conference 'Seeing the Scriptures: The Artist as Biblical Interpreter', Trinity College, Oxford
—— 'How to Paint a Jewish Jesus: What Jews and Christians Can Learn from Marc Chagall', OCHJS London Lecture Series, London Jewish Cultural Centre
—— 'How to Make a Modern Golem: Lessons from the Late Paintings of Philip Guston', Seminar in Jewish Studies, Oxford
—— 'Looking at Pictures with Jews and Christians', Leo Baeck College, London

Dr Alison Salvesen, 'The Rabbis, Aquila, Symmachus, and the Translation of Prophecy' and 'Did Aquila and Symmachus Shelter Under the Rabbinic Umbrella?', European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies: The Greek Scripture and the Rabbis
—— 'The Debt of Christianity to Jewish Biblical Scholarship', OCHJS London Lecture Series, London Jewish Cultural Centre
—— 'The Role of the Peshitta in the Reception History of the Bible in the Syriac Churches', keynote lecture at the fiftieth-anniversary celebration of the publication of the Syriac Old Testament in the Leiden Peshitta edition, Leiden, Netherlands
—— 'Jewish Reception of the Book of Daniel' and 'King Darius and the Pool of Siloam: Syriac Reception of Daniel', Fourth Seminar of Hellenistic-Jewish Studies at the University of Brasilia.

Dr Adam Silverstein, 'The Quranic Satan and the Book of Job', Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton
—— 'On the Original Meaning of the Quranic Term *al-shaytan al-rajim*', Institute for Advanced Studies, Jerusalem
—— 'Redefining the Abrahamic Religions', History Faculty, School of Oriental and African Studies, London
—— 'The Quranic Pharaoh', International Quran Conference, London
—— 'Parallels between Arabian and Medieval Jewish Rituals', Institute for Advanced Studies, Jerusalem
—— 'The Legal Status of Jews Under Islamic Rule and Ramifications for Today', OCHJS London Lecture Series, London Jewish Cultural Centre
—— several talks at synagogues and interfaith meetings, and at the Sunday Times Oxford Literary Festival.'

Dr Joanna Weinberg, 'Psalm 22 and the Crucifixion of Jesus - A Contentious Issue', conference on 'The Jewish Jesus', Johns Hopkins University, and also at Princeton University
—— 'Jewish Wisdom and the Limits of Christian Hebraism', opening seminar in the European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies: The Reading of Hebrew and Jewish Texts in the Early Modern Period

—— 'A Master Hebraist: Johannes Buxtorf and his Hebrew Copybook', with Professor Anthony Grafton in the European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies: The Reading of Hebrew and Jewish Texts in the Early Modern Period
—— 'John Selden and the Jewish Sabbath', John Selden conference, Magdalen College, Oxford
—— 'Jews and Judaism in the Eyes of Christians in the Early Modern Period', OCHJS London Lecture Series, London Jewish Cultural Centre

Professor Hugh Williamson, 'Isaiah – Prophet of Weal or Woe?', Society of Biblical Literature, Boston, and the Prophetic Network, Edinburgh
—— 'Preaching from Isaiah', Tyndale Fellowship Old Testament Study Group, Cambridge
—— 'The Bible and Archaeology - Where are we now?', Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society, London
—— 'When Does the History of Israel Begin?', OCHJS London Lecture Series, London Jewish Cultural Centre
—— 'Cyrus in the Old Testament', Conference on the Cyrus Cylinder, British Museum

Publications by Fellows of the Centre

Dr Raffaella Del Sarto, 'Back to Square One? The Netanyahu Government and the Prospects for Middle East Peace', *Mediterranean Politics* 14: 3 (2009) 421–8
—— 'Borderlands: The Middle East and North Africa as the EU's Southern Buffer Zone', in D. Bechev and K. Nicolaidis (eds) *Mediterranean Frontiers: Borders, Conflicts and Memory in a Transnational World*. London: I.B. Tauris (2010) 149–67

Dr Jordan Finkin, *A Rhetorical Conversation: Jewish Discourse in Modern Yiddish Literature*. University Park, PA: Penn State University Press (2010)
—— *The Eighteenth-Century Language Text of* Jüdischer Sprach-Meister*: A West-Yiddish Dialogue Together with an English*

Translation and Introduction. Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press (2009)

—— 'Jewish Jokes, Yiddish Storytelling, and Sholem Aleichem: A Discursive Approach', *Jewish Social Studies* 16:1 (2009) 85–110. An earlier version appeared in: Shlomo Berger (ed.) *Amsterdam Yiddish Symposium 4: 'Yiddish Storytelling'*. Amsterdam: Menasseh ben Israel Institute (2009)

—— ' "Like Fires in Overgrown Forests": Moyshe Kulbak's Contemporary Berlin Poetics', in Gennady Estraikh and Mikhail Krutikov (eds) *Yiddish in Weimar Berlin: At the Crossroads of Diaspora Politics and Culture*. Studies in Yiddish 8. London: Legenda, (2010) 73–88

—— 'Pregnant with Meanings', review of Max Weinreich, *History of the Yiddish Language*. New Haven: Yale University Press (2008), in *The Times Literary Supplement* (*TLS*), 26 February 2010

Professor Martin Goodman, 'Paradise, Gardens, and the Afterlife', in M. Bockmuehl and G.G. Stroumsa (eds) *Paradise in Antiquity: Jewish and Christian Views*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (2010) 57–63

—— 'Jerusalem' in J. J. Norwich (ed.) *Great Cities in History*. London: Thames and Hudson (2010)

—— 'Religious Variety and the Temple in the Late Second Temple Period and its Aftermath', *Journal of Jewish Studies* 60.2 (2009) 202–13

—— 'Under the Influence: Hellenism in Ancient Jewish Life', *Biblical Archaeology Review* 36.1 (January/February 2010) 60–7, 84

—— 'The Origins of anti-Semitism', *Aspenia* 41–2 (2009) 87–97

—— 'Dall' impero romano all' antisemitismo moderno', *Aspenia: Religione e Politica* 42 (2008) 189–94

Dr David Rechter, 'A Jewish El Dorado? Myth and Politics in Habsburg Czernowitz', in Richard I. Cohen, Jonathan Frankel and Stefani Hoffman (eds) *Insiders and Outsiders: Dilemmas of East European Jewry*, London: Littman (2010) 207–20

—— 'Nationalism at the Edge: The Jüdische Volksrat of Habsburg Bukovina', *Aschkenas: Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur der Juden* 18/19 (2009/10) 1–31

Dr Aaron Rosen, *Imagining Jewish Art: Encounters with the Masters in Chagall, Guston, and Kitaj*. Oxford: Legenda (Studies in Comparative Literature Series) 2009 (shortlisted for Arts & Christian Enquiry International Book Prize)
—— 'Marc Chagall, Matthias Grünewald, and the Resurrection of Jewish Life', *Report of the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies: Academic Year 2009–10*, Oxford, 2010
—— '"Doesn't Anyone Want to Paint Badly?" Philip Guston and the Future of the Past', in Benjamin Eastham (ed.) *Proving Ground: Eight Essays*. London: Hannah Barry Gallery, 2010
—— 'Filling in the Picture: The Jewish Art Question', *Religion and the Arts*, 14:5 (2010)
—— 'Making Space for the Other: Jewish Artists and the Church', *Common Ground* (2010)
—— 'Chagall and Lipchitz Go to Church', *Galus Australis* [web] (2010)
—— 'Divine Image', *The New Humanist*, 125:3 (2010)
—— 'The Museum of Biblical Art Turns Four', *Art & Christianity*, 59 (2009)
—— Review of Jackie Wullschlager, *Chagall: A Biography*, *Art & Christianity*, 57 (2009)
—— Review of 'Waxing Poetic: Anish Kapoor at the Royal Academy', *Art & Christianity*, 60 (2009)
—— Review of 'Bruised Beauty: Kim Dorland's *Super! Natural!*, Freight + Volume', *Canadian Art Scene* [web] 2009

Dr Alison Salvesen, 'Keeping It In the Family? Jacob and His Aramean Heritage According to Jewish and Christian Sources', in E. Grypeou and H. Spurling (eds) *The Exegetical Encounter between Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity*. Jewish and Christian Perspectives Series, 18; Leiden: Brill (2009) 205–20
—— 'The Genesis of Ethnicity? The Role of the Bible in the Self-definition of Syriac Writers', *The Harp* (St Ephrem Ecumenical Research Institute, Kottayam, Kerala, India, 2009)

Dr Adam Silverstein, *Islamic History: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (2010)
—— *Postal Systems in the Pre-Modern Islamic World*. Cambridge:

Cambridge University Press (paperback and Arabic editions of a book originally published in 2007)
—— 'Barīd', in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 3rd Edition
—— (with P. Crone) 'The Ancient Near East and Islam: The Case of Lot-casting', *Journal of Semitic Studies* 55ii (Autumn 2010) 423–50

Professor Hugh Williamson, (joint ed.) *Interpreting Isaiah: Issues and Approaches*. Nottingham: Apollos (2009)
—— 'Do We Need A New Bible? Reflections on the Proposed Oxford Hebrew Bible', *Biblica* 90 (2009) 153–75
—— 'Poetic Vision in Isaiah 7:18–25', in A. J. Everson and H. C. P. Kim (eds) *The Desert Will Bloom: Poetic Visions in Isaiah*, SBL Ancient Israel and Its Literature 4. Atlanta: SBL (2009) 77–89
—— 'Abraham in Exile', in S. A. Hunt (ed.) *Perspectives on Our Father Abraham: Essays in Honor of Marvin R. Wilson*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans (2010) 68–78
—— 'Isaiah 30:1', in M. N. van der Meer *et al.* (eds) *Isaiah in Context: Studies in Honour of Arie van der Kooij on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, VTSup 138. Leiden: Brill (2010) 185–96
—— 'Preaching from Isaiah', in G. J. R. Kent, P. J. Kissling and L. A. Turner (eds) *'He Began with Moses…': Preaching the Old Testament Today*. Nottingham: Inter-Varsity Press (2010) 141–56

Fellows' Activities and Other News

Dr Raffaella Del Sarto
Convenor of Israel Studies Seminar (The Middle East Centre, St Antony's College)

Dr Jordan Finkin
Convenor of Corob Lectures in Yiddish Culture, Special Seminars in Modern Jewish Literatures, and Corob Symposium in Yiddish Literature

Professor Martin Goodman
Academic Director of the Centre 2009–10
Principal Investigator of Leverhulme research project on toleration of

variant practice and theology within Judaism since 200 BCE, leading a team of three research fellows in Oxford for the academic year 2009–10

Awarded DLitt by the University of Oxford

Elected Honorary Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford

Dr David Rechter

Awarded an Arts and Humanities Research Council Research Fellowship for 2010–11

Elected International Vice-President of the Leo Baeck Institute, the world's leading body for the study of German-speaking Jewry

Co-convened 'Seminar on East and East-Central Europe (Seventeenth to Twentieth Centuries)'

Organized, with Professor Christian Wiese of the University of Sussex, an international summer school for graduate students in European Jewish History and Culture

Dr Alison Salvesen

Convenor of the European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies: Greek Scripture and the Rabbis (on which a report appears elsewhere in this volume)

Served as Chairman of Final Honours Schools Examinations in the Oriental Institute, with responsibility for overseeing the final undergraduate examination process for the Faculty

As a tutor at Mansfield College, she was involved in undergraduate admissions in Oriental Studies, including Hebrew and Jewish Studies

Dr Adam Silverstein

A feature interview appeared in *The Saudi Gazette*. He has also contributed an entry to OUP's blog <http://blog.oup.com/2010/02/islamagic/>

Elected a member of the Institute for Advanced Studies (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem) for 2009–10, and spent mid-2010 in residence

Elected to a governing body fellowship at The Queen's College, served on the College's Library Committee, and organized undergraduate admissions in Oriental Studies

Dr Joanna Weinberg

Co-convenor (with Dr Piet van Boxel) of the European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies: The Reading of Hebrew and Jewish Texts in the Early Modern Period (on which a report appears elsewhere in this volume)

Professor Hugh Williamson

Chair of the Humanities Group of the British Academy (and from July 2010, Vice-President)

Chairman of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society (retiring after nineteen years)

Secretary, Semantics of Ancient Hebrew Database project

Editorial Board, *Bulletin of Biblical Research* (new appointment), *Vetus Testamentum* (continuing), and *Oudtestamentische Studiën* (continuing)

Seminars, Conferences and Special Lectures Involving Centre Fellows

MICHAELMAS TERM 2009

Seminar on Jewish History and Literature in the Graeco-Roman Period: Toleration of Variety Within Judaism in Late Antiquity
(*Convened by Professor Martin Goodman*)

Toleration of Variety Within Judaism: The Case of Texts, From Bible to Serekh *Dr Charlotte Hempel (University of Birmingham)*

How Many Judaisms in Antiquity?
Professor Seth Schwartz (Columbia University)

Hellenistic Jewish 'Monotheism(s)': The Contribution of Early Greek Philosophy *Dr Hywel Clifford (Ripon College, Cuddesdon)*

The Testament of the Twelve Patriachs *Professor James Kugel (Harvard University and Bar-Ilan University)*

From Eros to Pneuma: The Greek Translation of the Song of Songs
Professor Nicholas de Lange (University of Cambridge)

Tertullian and the Mishnah
Professor Guy Stroumsa (University of Oxford)

Tolerance Among Jews in First-century Rome: The Impact of State Interference *Birgit van der Lans (University of Groningen)*

Did the Rabbis Win the East? University and Diversity in Babylonian Judaism in the Talmudic Era
Professor Philip Alexander (University of Manchester)

Israel Studies Seminar
(*Convened by Dr Raffaella Del Sarto*)

The Israeli Democracy: Human Rights and Minority Rights in Times of Peace and War *Justice Dalia Dorner (Justice [retired] of Israel's Supreme Court, President of the Israeli Press Council)*

Torture and the Law in Israel: Judges, Interrogators and 'Ticking Bombs' *Dr Yuval Ginbar (Legal Adviser to Amnesty International, speaking in private capacity)*

Seminar in Jewish Studies

Formatting Historical Consciousness: Perceptions of the Past Among Tenth-century Jewish Scholars in Baghdad
Dr Joseph David (University of Oxford)

'Six Million Accusers': The Eichmann Trial Fifty Years Later
Dr Simon Levis-Sullam (University of Oxford)

How to Make a Modern Golem: Lessons from the Late Paintings of Philip Guston *Dr Aaron Rosen*

The Origins and Evolution of Rav Kook's Metaphysics of Tolerance
Dr Yehuda Mirsky (Van Leer Institute, Jerusalem)

The David Patterson Seminars
(*Convened by Dr Piet van Boxel*)

Book Launch – Making the Talmud Intelligible: Introducing the *Penguin Classics* Talmud Selection *Dr Norman Solomon*

The Art of Interfaith Dialogue: Looking at Pictures with Jews and Christians *Dr Aaron Rosen*

A Thirteenth-century Arthurian Tale in Hebrew: A Unique Literary Exchange *Dr Tamar Drukker (School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London)*

The Moment of Confusion: A Glimpse at How Some Ancient Israelites Conceived of God *Professor James Kugel (Harvard University and Bar-Ilan University)*

Moses: A Key Figure in the Qur'an *Professor Alan Jones (University of Oxford)*

The Various Forms of Visual Depiction of Kabbalistic Doctrines: 1600–1900 *Dr Menachem Kallus (University of Haifa)*

Ernest Bloch's Concepts of Race and Composition, and the Representation of Hasidism in *Baal Shem*
Dr Joshua Walden (University of Oxford)

Aramaic Targum and the Angelic World
Professor Robert Hayward (University of Durham)

Corob Lecture in Yiddish Culture

Frightening Jews: Two Early Yiddish Ghost Stories and the Origins of Jewish Horror *Professor Jeremy Dauber (Columbia University)*

Special Seminar in Modern Jewish Literatures

What is a Yiddish Fable: Ideology and Epistemology in the Early Modern *Seyfer Mesholim*
Professor Jeremy Dauber (Columbia University)

Interdisciplinary Seminar in the Study of Religions

Religion in Diaspora – Perspectives from the Humanities: Diaspora Judaism in Britain *Dr Miri Freud-Kandel*

HILARY TERM 2010

European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies: Greek Scripture and the Rabbis
(*Convened by Professor Martin Goodman and Dr Alison Salvesen*)

Josephus' Use of the Greek Bible
Professor Tessa Rajak (University of Reading)

Distinguishing Between Jewish and Christian Biblical Names in Fourth-century Papyri
Professor Alanna Nobbs (Macquirie University, Australia)

Greek Loanwords in Rabbinic Literature
Dr Julia Krivoruchko (University of Cambridge)

The Post-Pentateuchal LXX Translations
Professor Emanuel Tov (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

Hexaplaric Readings for Song of Songs and Jewish Exegesis
Dr Reinhart Ceulemans (Katholieke Universiteit, Leuven)

Jewish Greek Versions, Aramaic Translations and Rabbinic Interpretation in the Cairo Genizah, the Constantinople Pentateuch and Other Sources *Dr Shifra Sznol (Bar-Ilan University)*

Seminar on Jewish History and Literature in the Graeco-Roman Period

(*Convened by Professor Martin Goodman*)

Karaites, Qumran, the Calendar and Beyond: At the Beginning of the Twenty-first Century
Professor Albert Baumgarten (Bar-Ilan University)

Seminar on Toleration of Variety Within Judaism in the Medieval Period

(*Convened by Dr Joseph David and Professor Martin Goodman*)

The Ends of Toleration in Medieval Jewish Thought
Dr Joseph David (University of Oxford)

Salam or Shalom: Variety in Judaeo-Arabic Letters from the Cairo Genizah *Dr Miriam Wagner (University of Cambridge)*

Variety Within Judaism in the Early Islamic Centuries, 600–1000 CE
Professor Fred Astren (San Francisco State University)

A Comparison Between Heresy in Medieval Judaism, Christianity and Islam *Dr Marina Rustow (Emory University and Università Ca' Foscari de Venezia)*

Rabbinic v. Karaite Biblical Manuscripts: What Difference Does the Difference Make? *Professor Judith Schlanger (Sorbonne, Paris)*

Mechanisms of Toleration in a Dogmatic Context: Maimonides and the Almohads
Professor Sarah Stroumsa (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

Sharing the Sacred: Holy Places in Jerusalem Venerated by Three Religions *Professor Ora Limor (Open University, Israel)*

Did Jews Ever Need to Observe the Festivals at the Same Time?
Professor Sacha Stern (University College London)

Toleration of Doctrinal Diversity in Medieval Islamic Legal Thought: Theories of Consensus (*ijmaʿ*) and Legal Disagreement (*ikhtilaf*)
Dr Joseph Lowry (University of Pennsylvania)

Seminar in Jewish Studies

Who is Pharaoh, Who are the Slaves? Introducing the Arab-Israeli Conflict into Passover *Dr Corinna Kaiser (University of Oxford)*

'Some Midget with Delusions of Grandeur': Pseudo-Rashi's Commentary on Genesis Rabbah in the *Or ha-Sekhel* of Abraham ben Asher *Benjamin Williams (University of Oxford)*

European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies: The Reading of Hebrew and Jewish Texts in the Early Modern Period
(*Convened by Dr Piet van Boxel and Dr Joanna Weinberg*)

Jewish Wisdom and the Limits of Christian Hebraism
Dr Joanna Weinberg

Italian Translations From Hebrew by Jewish Authors in Early Modern Italy: A Chapter in the History of Jewish-Christian Exchanges
Dr Alessandro Guetta (Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, Paris)

Jews, Christians and Conversos: Transmission of Hebrew Knowledge in Early Modern Europe
Professor Eleazar Gutwirth (Tel-Aviv University)

Jews, Christians and the Significance of the Septuagint From Azariah de' Rossi to Richard Simon
Scott Mandelbrote (University of Cambridge)

Judaic Antiquarianism and the Collecting of Hebrew Tombstone Inscriptions and Funerary Poetry in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-century Italy *Dr Michaela Andreatta (University of Venice)*

Englishmen in the Levant and Ottoman Jewry, 1580–1620
Professor Joseph Hacker (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

A Renaissance Lesson in Hebrew Poetry: Charles Utenhove and Camille de Morel *Professor Philip Ford (University of Cambridge)*

Israel Studies Seminar
(*Convened by Dr Raffaella Del Sarto*)

Live and Let Buy: Consumerism, Secularization and Liberalism in Israel *Dr Guy Ben-Porat (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev)*

Quagmire: The Genesis of Israeli Settlements in Occupied Territory
Gershom Gorenberg (Israel Correspondent, Prospect*, Visiting Professor, Columbia University)*

Israel's Place in the Region in Zionist / Israeli Thought
Professor Shimon Shamir (Professor Emeritus, Tel-Aviv University Department of Middle Eastern History, Former Israeli Ambassador to Egypt and Jordan)

The Origins of the Arab-Israeli Conflict: Arab-Jewish Relations during the first Aliyah, 1881–1905 *Professor Alan Dowty (Professor Emeritus, University of Notre Dame, Associate Member, Center for Jewish Studies and Center for Middle Eastern Studies, University of Chicago)*

The David Patterson Seminars

When Prophets Start Levitating: Reading Elijah Alongside Enoch
Dr Madhavi Nevader

'Crossing Borders': Hebrew Manuscripts as a Meeting-place of Cultures
Dr Piet van Boxel with Dr César Merchán Hamann and Sabine Arndt (Bodleian Library, Oxford)

The Extraordinary Historian of the Jews: The Life and Times of Elias Bickerman, 1897–1981
Professor Albert Baumgarten (Bar-Ilan University)

Gershom Scholem and Morton Smith
Professor Guy Stroumsa (University of Oxford)

Shadows of the Jews in the Early Medieval Muslim Conquests
Professor Fred Astren (San Francisco State University)

From Joshua to R. Simeon bar Yochai: Towards a Typology of Galilean Hero *Professor Elchanan Reiner (Tel-Aviv University)*

'The Joy of the Yiddish Word': An Evening in Memory of Joseph Sherman *Dr Jordan Finkin and others*

The Image of Judas Iscariot Among Jews and Christians *Professor Ora Limor (Open University, Israel)*

Corob Lecture in Yiddish Culture

Crossing the Jew-Zone: Yiddish Writing and the Making of Holocaust Literature
Professor David Roskies (Jewish Theological Seminary, New York)

Special Seminar in Modern Jewish Literatures

The Yiddish Anthological Imagination
Professor David Roskies (Jewish Theological Seminary, New York)

Conference: Greek Scripture and the Rabbis, within the European Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies Project: Greek Culture and the Rabbis
(*Convened by Professor Martin Goodman and Dr Alison Salvesen*)

Midrash, Targum, Translation: Does the Greek Version of Kings Reflect Rabbinic Methods of Interpretation?
Dr Michael Law (University of Oxford)

Greek Culture and the Rabbis: The Case of Beit Midrash
Professor Philip Alexander (University of Manchester)

Christian Access to the Three: Some Observations on the Consultation of Jewish Informants
Dr Reinhart Ceulemans (Katholieke Universiteit, Leuven)

The Treatment of Personal Names in the Book of Proverbs From the Septuagint to the Masoretic Text
Lorenzo Cuppi (University of Durham)

The Glosses from the Three in the Manuscript Evr. IIA 1980
Dr Julia Krivoruchko (University of Cambridge)

Two Columns for One Bible (Constantinople 1547): Judaeo-Greek and Ladino *Dr Shifra Sznol (Bar-Ilan University)*

Jews and the World: A Public Lecture Series by Centre Fellows
(held at the London Jewish Cultural Centre)

When Does the History of Israel Begin? *Professor Hugh Williamson*

Jews and Christians: The Parting of the Ways
Professor Martin Goodman

The Debt of Christianity to Jewish Biblical Scholarship
Dr Alison Salvesen

The Legal Status of Jews Under Islamic Rule and Ramifications for Today *Dr Adam Silverstein*

The Jewish Question and Modern Jewish Politics *Dr David Rechter*

From Einstein to the Vilna Gaon: The Secret Behind Jewish Genius
Dr Eliyahu Stern

How to Paint a Jewish Jesus: What Jews and Christians Can Learn from Marc Chagall *Dr Aaron Rosen*

The Discourse of the Jewish Joke *Dr Jordan Finkin*

Between Rhetoric and Reality: Israel and the European Union
Dr Raffaella Del Sarto

Jews and Judaism in the Eyes of Christians in the Early Modern Period
Dr Joanna Weinberg

The Bodleian Manuscripts as a Meeting Place of Cultures
Dr Piet van Boxel

TRINITY TERM 2010

European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies: Greek Scripture and the Rabbis
(*Convened by Professor Martin Goodman and Dr Alison Salvesen*)

Aquila, the Targum and the Rabbis in Psalms
Dr Timothy Edwards (University of Oxford)

Textual Praxis and Theories About the Original Hebrew Text
Professor Emanuel Tov (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

Rabbinic Attitudes to Translating the Bible
Professor Philip Alexander (University of Manchester)

Aquila's Edition of Genesis and Rabbinic Exegesis
Dr Michael Graves (Wheaton College, Illinois)

Aquila and the Rabbis: The Primary Texts Reconsidered
Dr Jenny Labendz (Jewish Theological Seminary, New York)

The Rabbis, Aquila, Symmachus and the Translation of Prophecy
Dr Alison Salvesen

The Cairo Genizah Fragments Attributed to Aquila's Version
Dr Michael Law (University of Oxford)

The Identity of 'Ho Hebraios'
Professor Bas ter Haar Romeny (Leiden University)

Textual Criticism of Medieval Hebrew Texts and Comparison of Hebrew and Greek Manuscripts
Professor Malachi Beit-Arié (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem) and Professor Marilena Maniaci (Università degli Studi di Cassino)

The Unique Circumstances of Hebrew Book Production

Manual Transmission and Publication of Texts: Collective Authorship

Scribal Enhancement of Legibility, Transparency and Searchability of Transmitted Text

Writing Material (Parchment and Paper) in the Byzantine and Jewish Worlds

Ruling Techniques in the Page Preparation of Greek and Hebrew Manuscripts

Mise en Page of Greek and Hebrew Manuscripts (Including Statistical Codicology)

Text Reproduction by Learned Copyists and Hired Scribes: Deliberate Interference and Unintentional Corruption

The Implications of Creating and Reproducing Hebrew Books on Editing Texts and Textual Criticism

Seminar on Toleration of Variety Within Judaism in the Modern Period
(*Convened by Professor Martin Goodman, Dr Corinna Kaiser and Dr Simon Levis-Sullam*)

On Dogmatism and Tolerance in the Wissenschaft des Judentums
Dr Leena Petersen (University of Sussex)

Canon and Tolerance in Modern Rabbinic Culture *Dr Eliyahu Stern*

Not 'Revenge Messianism'. Subversive Messianic Ideas in the Ashkenazi Rabbinate from the Late Sixteenth Century to the Late Eighteenth Century
Professor Elchanan Reiner (Tel-Aviv University)

The Hamburg Cremation Controversy: Early Twentieth-century Orthodoxy and the Boundaries of Jewish Identity
Dr Adam Ferziger (Bar-Ilan University)

Hasidim and Mitnagdim
Professor Ada Rapoport-Albert (University College London)

Moses Mendelssohn: Tolerance in the Tradition of Judaism
Professor Bernd Witte (Heinrich Heine Universität, Düsseldorf)

Shifting Boundaries and Cultural (In)coherence in the Modern Jewish World
Professor Jonathan Webber (University of Birmingham)

Lost Tribes in African and Asia
Professor Tudor Parfitt (School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London)

European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies: The Reading of Hebrew and Jewish Texts in the Early Modern Period
(*Convened by Dr Piet van Boxel and Dr Joanna Weinberg*)

'This Passage Can also be Read Differently…': Jewish-Christian Confrontation in Seventeenth-century Modena
Dr Frederica Francesconi (University of California, Los Angeles)

From Biblical Humanism to Historical Criticism: The Hebrew Scholarship of Johannes Drusius (1550–1616)
Theodor Dunkelgrün (University of Chicago)

The Role of Hebrew in Medical and Natural Scientific Research in Early Modern Italy *Andrew Berns (University of Pennsylvania)*

The Basel Talmud: Censorial Cooperation Between Jews and Christians *Dr Piet van Boxel*

A Master Hebraist: Johannes Buxtorf and his Hebrew Copybook
Professor Anthony Grafton (Princeton University) and Dr Joanna Weinberg

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

Creating a Nation: Jews and Silesians in Interwar Katowice
Anna Novikov-Almagor (University of Leipzig)

Exploiting the Theatre: The Austrian Corporate State, 1934–8
John Warren (University of Oxford)

Mobility and Networking: Central and Southeastern European Eugenics *Dr Marius Turda (Oxford Brookes University)*

Priests of Vienna and the Development of German Nationalism, 1860 to 1938 *Michael Carter-Sinclair (King's College London)*

Jewish Publishers of the Polish Book in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-century Warsaw *Karen Auerbach (University of Southampton)*

C. M. Woodhouse in Greece 1943–6 - a Classical Warrior *Professor James Pettifer (University of Oxford)*

Battle for the Castle: The Myth of Czechoslovakia in Europe, 1914–1948 *Dr Andrea Orzoff (New Mexico State University)*

Narratives of Amber in Ducal Prussia and Counter-Reformation Italy *Rachel King (Berlin)*

Israel Studies Seminar

(*Convened by Dr Raffaella Del Sarto*)

What is a Jewish and Democratic State? *Professor Mordechai Kremnitzer (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the Israel Democracy Institute)*

Seminar in Jewish Studies

Samuel Hirsch, Namik Kemal and the Anti-Semites *Dr Laurent Mignon (University of Oxford)*

The Transmission of the Targum to Samuel in a Christian World *Dr Hector Patmore (Protestant Theological University of The Netherlands)*

We Are Here: Israeli Historiography of the Holocaust in the Fifites *Dr Avihu Ronen (Tel Hai College, Israel)*

The David Patterson Seminars

The Changing Profile of American Jewry, 1990–2008 *Professor Barry Kosmin (Trinity College, Hartford)*

The Four Stages of the Arab-Israeli Conflict: A Reinterpretation *Professor Alan Dowty (University of Notre Dame, Indiana)*

The Balfour Declaration: An Unexplored Dimension *Professor Jonathan Schneer (Georgia Institute of Technology)*

Pesher and Midrash in the Dead Sea Scrolls
Professor Aharon Shemesh (Bar-Ilan University)

Civilizing the Other and Civilizing the Self: Jews and 'Civil Improvement' in Nineteenth-century Germany
Dr Simone Lässig (Georg-Eckert-Institut für Internationale Schulbuchforschung, Brunswick)

The Scribes of the Dead Sea Scrolls
Professor Emanuel Tov (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

Jewish Letter Writing in the Second Temple Period
Dr Lutz Doering (University of Durham)

Special Conference, within the European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies: Reading Hebrew and Jewish Texts in Early Modern Europe
(*Convened by Dr Piet van Boxel and Dr Joanna Weinberg*)

Testimonies of Hebrew Studies in Fifteenth-century Florence Before Pico della Mirandola *Nurit Pasternak (Jerusalem)*

Theologians, Naturalists and Hebraism in Sixteenth-century Italy
Andrew Berns (University of Pennsylvania)

Reading Jewish History in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries
Professor Eleazar Gutwirth (Tel-Aviv University)

Jean Thenaud and Pietro Galatino on the Talmud and *Toledot Jeshu*
Professor William Horbury (University of Cambridge)

Jewish and Christian Translations of the Hebrew Bible in Early Modern Italy – Reciprocity and Influence
Dr Alessandro Guetta (Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, Paris)

A Jewish Text and its Christian Readers: The Authorship and Status of the Septuagint in Early Modern Europe
Scott Mandelbrote (University of Cambridge)

'No Jew May Study Anything but the Talmud': The Talmud and the Bible as Two Competing Options in Sixteenth-century Ashkenazi Culture *Professor Elchanan Reiner (Tel-Aviv University)*

Drusius, Scaliger, Buxtorf and the Humanist Discovery of Hebrew Epistolography *Theodor Dunkelgrün (University of Chicago)*

Judaic Antiquarianism and the Collecting of Jewish Epitaphs in the Early Modern Age *Dr Michela Andreatta (University of Venice)*

Collecting Hebrew Manuscripts and Printed Books from the Ottoman Empire in Seventeenth-century France and England
Professor Joseph Hacker (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

Hebrew Books and Censorship in Sixteenth-century Italy
Dr Piet van Boxel

The New Italian Inquisition at Work: Hunting, Reading and Censoring Jewish Books in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries
Dr Federica Francesconi (University of California, Los Angeles)

Some Spanish Readings by Early Modern Sephardi Jews
Dr Yosef Kaplan (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

Corob Lecture in Yiddish Culture

Murdered Modernism: Peretz Markish and the Legacy of Soviet Yiddish Poetry
Professor Chana Kronfeld (University of California, Berkeley)

Corob Symposium in Yiddish Literature

The State of Play on the Field of Yiddish *Dr Jordan Finkin*

The Joint Literary Historiography of Hebrew and Yiddish
Professor Chana Kronfeld (University of California, Berkeley)

Creating *Svive*: Jewish Modernisms in New York, 1960–1974
Professor Allison Schachter (Vanderbilt University, Tennessee)

Members of the Hebrew and Jewish Studies Unit

Dr Joanna Weinberg (*Chair*)

Neelum Ali (*Fellows' Secretary*)

Professor Glenda Abramson

Dr David Ariel

Jennifer Barbour

Dr Eyal Ben Eliyahu

Dr Piet van Boxel

Dr Sebastian Brock, FBA

Dr Yehuda Cohn

Dr Joseph David

Dr Raffaella Del Sarto

Dr Jordan Finkin

Dr Miri Freud-Kandel

Dr Garth Gilmour

Professor Martin Goodman, FBA

Dr Abigail Green

Dr David Groiser

Stephen Herring

Dr Renée Hirschon

Dr Kerstin Hoge

Dr Paul Joyce

Dr Corinna Kaiser

Dr T. Michael Law

Dr Simon Levis-Sullam

Dr César Merchán-Hamann

Professor Sir Fergus Millar, FBA

Ronald Nettler

Dr Madhavi Nevader

Professor Tessa Rajak

Dr David Rechter

Dr Aaron Rosen

Dr Alison Salvesen

Dr Jeremy Schonfield

Dr Adam Silverstein

Dr Norman Solomon

Dr Eliyahu Stern

Dr David Taylor

Professor Geza Vermes, FBA

Charlotte Vinnicombe

Professor Jonathan Webber

Dr Haike Beruriah Wiegand

Professor Hugh Williamson, FBA

Gil Zahavi

MSt in Jewish Studies

The Master of Studies in Jewish Studies is a special residential degree programme of the University of Oxford, conducted primarily at Yarnton Manor. The six students who studied at the Centre this year, and the eight who graduated, came from Canada, Germany, the Republic of Ireland, Jordan, the United Kingdom and the United States of America.

Dr Jordan Finkin served as Course Coordinator, and Martine Smith-Huvers, Academic Registrar, administered the course with the assistance of Sue Forteath, Academic Administrator.

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

Courses Offered

- A Survey of Rabbinic Literature *Dr Joanna Weinberg*
- Introduction to the Archaeology of Ancient Israel: The Iron Age (1200–332 BCE) *Dr Garth Gilmour*
- Unhappy in Their Own Way: Hebrew and Yiddish as a Literary Family *Dr Jordan Finkin*
- Israel: State, Society, Identity *Dr Raffaella Del Sarto*
- Jewish and Christian Bible Translation and Interpretation in Antiquity *Dr Alison Salvesen*
- Jewish History 200 BCE to 70 CE *Professor Martin Goodman*
- Jewish Liturgy *Dr Jeremy Schonfield*
- Jewish-Muslim Relations Through the Ages *Dr Adam Silverstein*
- Modern European Jewish History *Dr David Rechter*
- Modern Jewish Intellectual History *Dr Eliyahu Stern*
- The Diaspora in the Roman Empire: Jews, Pagans and Christians to 450 CE *Professor Fergus Millar*
- The Study of Ancient Israelite Religion *Dr Madhavi Nevader*

Languages:

- Biblical Hebrew (elementary, intermediate and advanced) *Stephen Herring*
- Modern Hebrew (elementary and intermediate) *Daphna Witztum*
- Yiddish *Dr Haike Beruriah Wiegand*

The Students

M. Anthony Apodaca (*b.* 1980, USA) completed a BA and an MA in Biblical Studies at Trinity Western University, Canada. He came to Oxford in order to focus on Hebrew language, the Second Temple period and rabbinic literature, all relevant to his planned doctoral research on early Christian and Jewish texts, and a career teaching and researching at university level. His dissertation was entitled: 'Religious Violence in the First Century: Jews and Christians'.

Edward David Caffrey (*b.* 1986), who graduated in Hebrew and History from University College Dublin, Ireland, was a member of the Irish Polo Team that won the Patriotic Cup in 2006 and is an accomplished saxophonist. He applied to the MSt in Jewish Studies out of an interest in Hebrew language and literature, having studied Biblical Hebrew for three years as an undergraduate, following a course on Medieval and Early Modern History. His dissertation was entitled 'Abraham Ibn Ezra's Influence on Baruch Spinoza'.

Angela Mary Maria Costley (*b.* 1984), who graduated from Durham University in Theology, planned to train as a teacher of Religious Studies until she realized that her true passion lay in academic work and took a postgraduate degree in the Theory of Education. She has a strong interest in interfaith dialogue, and feels that one cannot truly understand Christianity without knowing its Jewish origins. The MSt gave her the opportunity to learn Modern Hebrew and to build firm foundations for her intended academic career in interfaith work. Her dissertation was entitled 'The Sacrifices of the Mass'.

Simon Lloyd Cuff (*b.* 1988), who graduated from Keble College, Oxford, in Philosophy and Theology in 2010, found that his studies had inspired an interest in early Christianity, particularly as witnessed by the canonical Gospels and their contemporary Jewish background. He has a strong interest in New Testament studies, in early Christianity as a group within Judaism around the fall of the Second Temple, and in the development of Jewish messianism among first-century Jews. His dissertation was entitled: 'In What Sense Can *4 Ezra* (*II Esdras*) Be Thought of As a "Jewish" Text and the *Shepherd of Hermas* as "Christian"?'

Islam Dayeh (*b.* 1980) graduated at the University of Amman, having written a paper on the Jews of Arabia, and later completed an MA at the University of Leiden where he worked on Muslim-Jewish relations in pre-Modern Yemen. He worked on a translation into Arabic of Mark Cohen's *Under Crescent and Cross: The Jews in the Middle Ages*, together with a colleague working in Muslim-Hindu relations in sixteenth-century India. He moved to Berlin to begin a doctorate exploring Qur'anic attitudes towards the Mosaic law, closely examining particular passages to determine the reception and significance of Torah for Qur'anic discourse, and came to the Centre in order to gain an understanding of the formative texts of the Jewish tradition, rabbinic literature and Jewish history in general. His dissertation was entitled 'Attitudes to Jewish Law in the *Didascalia Apostolorum*'.

Davina Grojnowski (*b.* 1983) graduated in Linguistics, Classics and related subjects at King's College London, where she also took an MA in War Studies. She came to Oxford to pursue a fascination with the ancient world and Judaism, which she intends to continue at doctoral level, and especially to improve her language skills in order to understand Judaism in Antiquity and the interactions between the Roman and Jewish worlds. Her dissertation was entitled 'Flavius Josephus on Conversion to Judaism'.

Daniel Orrin McClellan (*b.* 1980) graduated in ancient Near Eastern studies at Brigham Young University, Utah, with an emphasis on Biblical Hebrew and Classical Greek. He came to Oxford to improve his Biblical Hebrew and to gain a deeper understanding of Judaism in the Graeco-Roman Period. He has since begun an MA in Biblical Studies at Trinity Western University, Canada. His dissertation, entitled 'Anti-Anthropomorphism and the *Vorlage* of LXX Exodus', was awarded the prize for the best dissertation.

Daisy Parsons (*b.* 1987) gained a first-class degree in Theology at Oxford, studying Biblical Hebrew and Prophecy in Ancient Israel. She read independently on archaeological, anthropological and literary approaches to the Hebrew Bible, and went on a field trip to sites of biblical and historical importance while also experiencing modern Israeli culture. She hopes to pursue doctoral research on religion in ancient Israel. Her dissertation was entitled 'The Contours of Holiness in Ezekiel's Temple Vision'.

Visiting Scholars' and Fellows' Reports

Dr Michela Andreatta

Dr Michela Andreatta of the University of Venice stayed at the Centre from 4 January to 1 July to participate in the European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies: The Reading of Hebrew and Jewish Texts in the Early Modern Period. She focused on the collection, listing and study of Hebrew funerary inscriptions by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Christian Hebraists. Access to the collections of the Bodleian Library enabled her to explore various forms of this phenomenon, ranging from the inclusion of a few examples in Johan Buxtorf the Elder's works, driven mainly by grammatical and rhetorical concerns, to the dedicated sections in bibliographical works such as Johann Christoph Wolf's *Bibliotheca Hebrea* (1715–33) and Biagio Ugolini's treatment of Hebrew epitaphs and funerary poetry as a complement to the survey of Hebrew funeral customs in his *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Sacrarum* (1744–69). Literary interests are clear from Johann Christoph Wagenseil's attempt to create a collection of epitaphs in verse on the model of contemporary anthologies of Latin funerary inscriptions. Matthias Friedrich Beck's *Monumenta Antiqua Judaica* (1686) exemplifies the use of Hebrew epitaphs for reconstructing local *antiquitates.*

Dr Andreatta presented aspects of her work to the Seminar, including a bibliographical review of the Hebraist Marco Marini's role as a censor of Hebrew books, first in Venice for the Holy Office and then in Rome within papal circles, in order to help assess his involvement in printing the expurgated edition of the Talmud in Basel in 1578–81.

Professor Malachi Beit-Arié

Professor Malachi Beit-Arié, Ludwig Jesselson Professor Emeritus of Codicology and Palaeography at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, who stayed at the Centre from 10 January to 1 July, delivered in Trinity Term a course devoted to the transmission and textual criticism of medieval Hebrew texts and to the comparative codicology of Hebrew and Greek manuscripts. The latter part was jointly presented with Professor Marilena Maniaci of Università degli Studi di Cassino.

He was also engaged in converting SfarData - the codicological data-

base of dated Hebrew manuscripts and of those with named scribes - into an accessible website, and worked on finalizing the third volume of *Specimens of Mediaeval Hebrew Scripts*, together with Dr Edna Engel.

Andrew Berns

Andrew Berns of the University of Pennsylvania stayed at the Centre from 4 May to 3 July to participate in the European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies: The Reading of Hebrew and Jewish Texts in the Early Modern Period. In the course of researching Christian readers of Hebrew in sixteenth-century Italy he analysed the works of the Bolognese naturalist Ulisse Aldrovandi and his circle. Aldrovandi is well known, but his activities as a Hebraist have been hardly examined. Oxford libraries, including the Muller and Bodleian, make it possible to review his literary output and the Hebraic learning of contemporaries such as the theologians Gabriele Paleotti and Girolamo Vielmi or the naturalist Melchior Guilandinus.

Andrew Berns benefited from the opportunity to study renaissance Hebrew manuscripts and to consult with other participants in the Seminar.

Dr Reinhart Ceulemans

Dr Reinhart Ceulemans of the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Belgium, stayed at the Centre from 4 January to 31 March to participate in the European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies: Greek Scripture and the Rabbis. His primary project was to examine how the surviving fragments of Symmachus' version of the Song of Songs reflect Jewish exegesis of that book, on which he delivered a lecture for the seminar convened by Professor Martin Goodman. He also investigated whether the Jewish Greek Bible versions of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion circulated individually between 250 and 600 CE, and if Christians in the Byzantine Empire could access them directly, without consulting Origen's Hexapla. He directed a workshop on whether such Jewish versions circulated individually among Christians, and in the closing conference delivered a paper in which he considered whether they circulated rather in Jewish circles and whether Christians needed to consult Jewish informants in order to access them. He reworked both presentations into an article for the project's volume.

Professor Robert Crotty

Professor Robert Crotty of the University of South Australia, who stayed at the Centre from 30 September to 25 October 2009, collaborated with Professor Terry Lovat, Pro-Vice Chancellor of Education and Arts at Newcastle University, Australia, on a project provisionally entitled 'Recreating Convivencia: Pluralism in the Three Abrahamic Religions'. Professor Lovat finalized the project during a second visit in October and November 2010.

This project locates the causes of religious exclusivism in hidden triggers. It is these that can bring about conflict. Professor Lovat examined a test case that touches on all three Abrahamic religions: the story of the near-sacrifice by Abraham / Ibrahim of Isaac or Ishmael / Ishmail. The Hebrew text (Genesis 22:1–14) may originally have constituted a claim to land in the Persian province of Yehud. Later Jewish understandings, borrowed by the Christian tradition and applied to Jesus, created a confrontation between a Jewish Isaac and a Christian Jesus. Seventh-century Islamic thinkers adopted it as a foundation narrative, since Ibrahim established the *ka'aba* in Mecca, the sacred place of Islam, together with an unnamed son who may have been either Isaac or Ishmail.

In this unique confluence of interest the three Abrahamic religions supported their readings of the story with at least one other narrative. This approach promoted tolerance in pre-fifteenth-century Spain because disparate communities were prepared to accept non-historical readings of sacred stories and to live in harmony with those who viewed them differently. This delicate balance, protected by a religio-cultural umbrella, was broken down in 1492 when the trigger of *extra ecclesiam nulla salus*, 'outside the Church there is no salvation', was activated.

To renew the possibility of coexistence, religions need to return to an acknowledgement of the centrality of such sacred stories, and to recognize the danger of awakening theological 'sleepers' that provoke hostility.

Lorenzo Cuppi

Lorenzo Cuppi of the University of Durham stayed at the Centre from 15 to 24 June to participate in the European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies: Greek Scripture and the Rabbis. He presented a paper entitled 'The Treatment of Personal Names in the Book of Proverbs from the Septuagint to the Masoretic Text', related to his doctoral research on the

Greek version of the book of Proverbs, at the 'Greek Culture and the Rabbis' conference held in March. He also read a paper on 'Samples of Long Doublets in Septuagint Version of Proverbs' to the Thursday workshop.

While in Oxford he discovered methodological problems posed by the Antinoopolis papyrus 8+210 (Rahlfs 928) preserved in the Sackler Library, which contains fragments of Septuagint Proverbs. His proposal of a more correct positioning of the fragments to reflect scansion will be published online by the Papyrology staff. Several years of research on Bodleian manuscript Auct. T.2.4, containing fragments of Septuagint Proverbs never previously collated, will be published in the journal *Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens*. He benefited from the opportunity to consult the unpublished PhD thesis of Hugh A. W. Pilkington in the Bodleian Library, on the Ethiopic text of the book of Proverbs.

He followed the Grinfield Lectures delivered by Annely Aejmelaeus, took part in the related 'Reading of Hebrew and Jewish Texts in the Early Modern Period' seminar, and consulted scholars in his own and related fields. He particularly valued having access to the unique collections of papyri, manuscripts, rare books and unpublished doctoral dissertations in Oxford Libraries, and the resources of Yarnton Manor.

Dr Lutz Doering

Dr Lutz Doering of Durham University was based at the Centre between 7 May and 20 July, between two spells as research fellow in Jerusalem. He worked on a book provisionally entitled *Studies in Ancient Jewish and Early Christian Letter Writing*, and presented preliminary findings in a Patterson Seminar about 'Jewish Letter-Writing in the Second Temple Period'. He benefited from the opportunity to work with Professor Aharon Shemesh, a Kennedy Leigh Fellow at the Centre, with whom he planned joint research projects, and from contact with members of the European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies: Greek Scripture and the Rabbis, with whom he discussed aspects of his current project. He attended the workshop of the Seminar in the Oriental Institute, and very much appreciated having access to the Oriental Institute and Muller libraries.

Professor Alan Dowty

Professor Alan Dowty of the University of Notre Dame, Indiana, who stayed at the Centre from 1 February to 30 June, prepared an outline for a book-length study of the roots of the Arab-Israel conflict in initial encounters between early Zionist settlers and the Arab population of Ottoman Palestine. His work is based on primary sources, including personal narratives held in the Muller and Bodleian libraries, and on previously collected material from the Central Zionist Archives in Jerusalem.

He finds that attitudes changed between the first *Aliyah* and the period after 1908, when it became increasingly difficult to deny the existence of a collective Arab identity. Despite claims to the contrary, the first Zionist settlers 'saw' the Arabs, but failed to perceive an 'Arab problem', and judged that the benefits of European Zionism would attenuate opposition. They felt no need to develop a military force or to negotiate with Arabs on a national level, viewing this obstacle as less daunting than many others they faced. But towards the end of this period the familiar lines of debate begin to emerge, featuring almost constant friction and frequent violent confrontations between Jewish *moshavot* and neighbouring Arab towns and villages.

Professor Yuval Dror

Professor Yuval Dror, the Head of the Tel-Aviv University School of Education, who stayed at the Centre from 21 July to 26 August 2009, wrote two chapters of a book provisionally entitled *Methodology Devices in the History of Education*, based mainly on his research into Zionist, Kibbutz and progressive and non-formal education in Israel. He also prepared invited chapters for other books. The first of these, '"Supportive Devices" of Educational Absorption During Sixty Years of Israeli Statehood', is to be published by Ben-Gurion University Press. The second summarizes his most recent edited book, 'Communal Groups of the Labour Movement Youth Movements', to be published in a forthcoming centenary volume of the kibbutz movement by Yad Yitzhak Ben-Zvi. Sources collected in Israel were supplemented by material on the Zionist movement held in the Centre's Kressel Collection.

Theodor Dunkelgrün

Theodor Dunkelgrün of the University of Chicago stayed at the Centre from 14 January to 1 July to participate in the European Seminar on

Advanced Jewish Studies: The Reading of Hebrew and Jewish Texts in the Early Modern Period. He contributed a paper on the Flemish Hebraist Johannes Drusius, synthesizing research conducted in Belgium and the Netherlands and new discoveries made in Oxford, where Drusius taught Hebrew from 1572 to 1576. Research was conducted in the Bodleian and Muller libraries, as well as in Magdalen and Christ Church Colleges. Comments by Seminar participants and visiting scholars helped clarify several issues for his planned intellectual biography of Drusius.

He also took part in the Seminar's collective research project on the Basel Talmud, making presentations to the workshop and keeping notes on the research-in-progress of other participants, working closely with Dr Michela Andreatta, Professor Anthony Grafton and Dr Piet van Boxel. He travelled to St John's College, Cambridge, with Professor Elchanan Reiner to consult an annotated copy of the Basle Talmud, which is expected to make a significant contribution to the final publication of the project.

He presented a paper on Hebrew epistolography at the final conference of the Seminar, and appeared on a panel together with Professor Anthony Grafton, Scott Mandelbrote and Dr Joanna Weinberg at a conference on John Selden. He also completed an article on the Hebrew library of the sixteenth-century humanist Andreas Masius.

These interrelated projects could not have been completed without the support of members of the Seminar, the work of its convenors, Dr Piet van Boxel and Dr Joanna Weinberg, or the helpfulness of the Centre's and the Library's staff.

Dr Timothy Edwards

Dr Edwards of the University of Oxford was based at the Centre from 4 January to 30 June to participate in the European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies: Greek Scripture and the Rabbis. He has been preparing the ground for a comprehensive study of Aquila's translation of the Psalter, which would include comparing this with other early versions and with contemporaneous Jewish and Christian exegesis of the Psalms. He is contributing a paper to the book on the work of the Seminar, entitled 'Aquila in the Psalter: A Prolegomenon', which will establish the methodological foundation of an investigation.

He also presented a study on Aquila's treatment of *hapax legomena* in Psalms (words appearing only once in Scripture, so particularly hard to

translate), examining the methods Aquila used to understand them and his response to rabbinic exegetical traditions.

Dr Federica Francesconi

Dr Federica Francesconi of the University of California, Los Angeles, stayed at the Centre from 4 January to 1 July to participate in the European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies: The Reading of Hebrew and Jewish Texts in the Early Modern Period.

Her research focuses on the intellectual relations between Jews, reformers (followers of Erasmus, Luther, Calvin and Zwingli) and Catholics in early-modern Italy, through an analysis of their common reading, and especially of how their understanding of Hebrew and Jewish texts was affected by the Italian Inquisition. The goal of this research is to understand how the knowledge of Hebrew and Jewish texts influenced the identity, culture and negotiation of social spaces of Christians, Jews, intellectuals and common people in early-modern Italy.

The Bodleian and Muller libraries hold copies of most works by the relevant authors and important secondary sources and copies of classic texts, such as Bible commentaries by Rashi and Sforno censored by Italian correctors and censors in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. The opportunity to work with these sources greatly benefited her work.

She focused, first, on unpublished Inquisitorial records, private contracts, local chronicles and unpublished works on magic in Hebrew and vernacular, as well as works of Jewish and non-Jewish scholars such as Aron Berechiah Modena (1576–1639) and Leone Modena (1578–1641), who lived respectively in Modena and Venice. Secondly, she investigated how the latter were read, interpreted and used for religious education, learning Hebrew, studying religious texts in their original versions, conversion, censorship, control, intellectual confrontation, preaching activities, magic and so on. Finally, she explored how rabbis and converts who worked as censors for the Holy Office in Modena, such as Camillo Jaghel (1554–*c.* 1624), Ciro da Correggio (1596–*c.* 1636) and Natanel Trabotti (1568–1653), negotiated different means of reading and interpreting religious texts.

She took part in the workshop on the Talmud of Basel, contributed to the study of the reception of the Talmud in general and of this edition in particular within Italian and Polish-Jewish communities in the seven-

teenth and eighteenth centuries, and delivered a paper entitled 'This Passage Can Also be Read Differently…: Jewish-Christian Confrontation in Seventeenth-century Modena'.

Dr Amos Geula

Dr Amos Geula, of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and Herzog College, who stayed at the Centre from 1 March to 14 August 2009, worked on his reconstruction of two lost midrashic compositions: *Midrash Yelamdenu* (known from the *Aruch*, *Yalqut Shimoni* and Genizah fragments) and *Midrash wa-yehullu* (known from Ashkenazi sources). These reconstructions, based on manuscripts of the Bodleian Library, will reveal much about Jewish literary activity in southern Italy between the eighth and tenth centuries, and will be published as research chapters.

Dr Geula delivered a lecture at the Oriental Institute on Jewish and Christian millenarianism at the end of the first millennium in Byzantium, on which he is also writing an article. He benefited in particular from the seminar on Hebrew and Latin codicology at the Bodleian Library, and from working in collaboration with other visiting scholars.

Professor Anthony Grafton

Professor Grafton of the Department of History, Princeton University, was based at the Centre from 3 May to 30 June to participate in the European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies: The Reading of Hebrew and Jewish Texts in the Early Modern Period. He collaborated with Dr Joanna Weinberg on a study of the single surviving notebook of the Basel Hebraist Johann Buxtorf' (1564–1629), and jointly presented a seminar concerning his attitudes and working methods, which they hope to rework into a collaborative article. They also worked on the proofs of their forthcoming book on Isaac Casaubon's Judaic Studies, based entirely on unpublished sources, many of them difficult to decipher.

Professor Grafton worked on a substantial study of Christian scholars' efforts to understand the relation between the Last Supper as depicted in the Gospels, and the Jewish Passover Seder as they recreated or tried to recreate, it. He was grateful for the helpful comments of fellow participants following a lecture outlining his initial findings. The subject may form either a substantial article or a book. He also benefited from his colleagues' presentations and from their joint meetings on the Basel Talmud.

Dr Michael Graves

Dr Michael Graves of Wheaton College, Illinois, stayed at the Centre from 29 April to 30 June to participate in the European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies: Greek Scripture and the Rabbis. He focused on Aquila's Greek translation of Genesis and Jerome's interaction with Jewish or Jewish-Christian Greek versions, presenting his research on Aquila at the 'Seminar on Jewish History and Literature in the Graeco-Roman Period'. He prepared a paper for a conference on Aquila and the Rabbis, based on surviving fragments of Aquila on Genesis drawn from Field's Hexapla, Wevers' edition of LXX-Genesis and Petit's edition of the catenae to Genesis, and on a comparison with rabbinic material such as Genesis Rabbah, Talmud Yerushalmi and Leviticus Rabbah, which are geographically and chronologically close. He also examined the intellectual context of translation and the use of sacred languages in late antiquity in order to trace possible exegetical relationships.

Dr Graves welcomed the opportunity to examine the Latin Fathers and hexaplaric versions with the European Seminar group, and completed two-thirds of his forthcoming English translation of Jerome's 'Commentary on Jeremiah', which he also shared with the group.

He benefited additionally from the chance to explore the Islamic and Qur'anic studies section at the Oriental Institute and the Bodleian, and is particularly grateful to Dr Alison Salvesen for her leadership in ensuring the Seminar's coherence and sense of community.

Dr Alessandro Guetta

Dr Alessandro Guetta of the Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, Paris, stayed at the Centre from 13 January to 1 July to participate in the European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies: The Reading of Hebrew and Jewish Texts in the Early Modern Period. Some of the most important manuscripts of biblical glossaries and translations into Judaeo-Italian and Italian are held at the Bodleian Library, where he worked mainly on the late-sixteenth-century glossary *Turgeman* by Yedidiah Rimini, which reflects the shift from the Judaeo-Italian dialect to literary Italian.

Some researchers have suggested that it was based on a now-lost biblical translation possibly by the same author. But a comparison with some Christian translations shows that it was these that inspired the Jewish

author. Dr Guetta was grateful for the chance to concentrate on the bibliographical resources of the Bodleian Library, and especially on its Hebrew manuscripts, as well as for the opportunity to consult other members of the group.

He participated also in the workshop on the Basel Talmud and was invited to contribute to the volume reporting on the workshop.

Dr Menachem Kallus

Dr Menachem Kallus of the University of Haifa stayed at the Centre from 15 September to 20 December 2009, and was sponsored by the Israel Science Foundation to explore the hitherto unresearched seven-hundred-year history of graphic depictions of divinity in terms of sefirot-attributes, known in theosophical Kabbalah as *ha-Ilan ha-Qadosh*, 'The Cosmic Tree'. He is working in collaboration with Dr Yosef Chajes, also of Haifa University.

Dr Kallus, who had previously analysed more than 150 such graphic illustrations, found in Oxford the largest repository outside of Jerusalem. Eighteen manuscripts and scrolls were known to be housed in the Michael, Oppenheim, Huntington and Christ Church collections at the Bodleian Library, but he discovered a further sixteen documents and obtained copies of some 350 text pages, larger foldouts and scrolls. The findings included two previously unknown forms of tree.

While handling the artifacts he ascertained that several pages were missing from an important 45–page codex (Mich. 88 = Bodl. 1684) which, like four others totalling some 600 pages and including four allusions to 'Sabbatean-Messianism', was written by an otherwise unknown writer whose work spans roughly forty years of the seventeenth-century. Dr Kallus traced them to the Michael Collection acquired by the Bodleian in the late 1840s, from evidence in the Zunz-Steinschneider catalogue of Hebrew manuscripts, and discovered that many such items had belonged to heresiologists of the Emden family between the 1680s and 1760s.

He noted first that this manuscript (Mich. 88 = Bodl. 1684) and Christian Knorr von Rosenroth's *Kabbalah Denudata* contain a similar graphic depiction, but that each of these has a different accompanying text, and then identified four manuscripts containing both versions of the accompanying text together with the illustration. The earliest of these predates the Mich. 88 and von Rosenroth copies by over twenty years,

helping to explain how a single illustration came to be accompanied by different texts.

Handling an early-seventeenth-century parchment scroll from the Huntington Collection (Add E (R)=Bodl. 2429) whose text was illegible in microfilm made it possible to identify it as the only surviving copy of 'The Great Parchment', a mid-fourteenth-century illustrated text attributed to Rabbi Reuven Sarfatti. It was translated into Latin for G. Pico della Mirandola in the mid-fifteenth century, but the editors-translators of a trilingual edition published in 2004 (Busi, Bondoni and Campanini) declared the original to have been lost. Reuven Sarfatti is thought to be responsible for another 'Sefirotic Tree' in the Bodleian (Oxford-Neubauer 1949 = Huntington Collection, Add D [R]), and also for slightly different versions in the British Library (Or. 6465) and the Vatican (598). The Oxford scroll is nearly identical to that from the Vatican, but their relative dating requires further investigation. Dr Kallus has since determined that this pre-Lurianic scroll represents a tradition independent from that of Reuven Sarfatti. He also located ten graphically illustrated manuscripts in the British Library, some of them containing unique material.

Dr Jenny Labendz

Dr Labendz of the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York, stayed at the Centre from 27 April to 30 June to participate in the European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies: Greek Scripture and the Rabbis. She continued her research into the role of translations, and particularly of Aquila's Bible translation, in rabbinic intellectual culture, and delivered a paper detailing her conclusions and commenting on previous presentations to the Seminar. She particularly benefited from access to the Muller and other Oxford libraries, and appreciated the opportunity to discuss work with colleagues, and to advance her own research on Aquila, which she summarized in a workshop.

Scott Mandelbrote

Scott Mandelbrote of the University of Cambridge was based at the Centre from 4 January to 30 June to participate in the European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies: The Reading of Hebrew and Jewish Texts in the Early Modern Period. He continued his work on the reception of the Septuagint in early modern Europe, focusing on the use of Jewish

sources for the composition of the Septuagint by Christian readers. He also participated in joint work on the reception of the Basel Talmud, in part by checking copies in Cambridge libraries. He gave papers on these topics at workshops of the Seminar, and helped organize the conference on 'Reading Hebrew and Jewish Texts in Early Modern Europe' in late June.

In addition, he spoke about the rabbinic library formed by Christopher Cartwright and John Selden in a conference on John Selden held at Magdalen College, and gave papers on other aspects of his research to the Stubbs Society, the seminar on the history of libraries at the Institute of Historical Research, the anniversary seminars for the National Manuscripts Conservation Trust, and at conferences in Leiden and Amsterdam. It was especially helpful for him to be able to exchange ideas with other visiting scholars at Yarnton, as well as with members of the seminar on Christian readers of Jewish texts.

Dr Hector Patmore

Dr Patmore of the Protestant Theological University, Netherlands, stayed at the Centre from 19 April to 25 June, preparing for publication a doctoral thesis in which he examines the reception among Jews and Christians in late Antiquity of the lament over the King of Tyre (Ezekiel 28:12–19), a text resembling the narrative of Adam in Eden (Genesis 2–3). Research carried out at the Centre included an examination of the Old Latin version in Codex Wirceburgensis as well as Peshitta, Vulgate and Hexaplaric sources.

He delivered a lecture entitled 'The Transmission of the Targum to Samuel in a Christian World' to the Seminar in Jewish Studies, outlining aspects of his postdoctoral research at the Targum Institute at the Protestant Theological University.

Professor Tessa Rajak

Professor Tessa Rajak of the University of Reading participated between 14 January and 30 June in the European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies: Greek Scripture and the Rabbis. Her principal contribution consisted of a close examination of Justin Martyr's Dialogue with Trypho the Jew, much cited by text critics and others as a foundation document of relations between Jews and the early Church. She analysed this in a paper published in the 1990s, but it can now be seen through a far clearer

lens. In the concluding colloquium she broadened her discussion to reflect on the relationship between claims regarding the true biblical text and Christian supersessionism, ideas she plans to publish.

Another strand in her work was an investigation of the biblical etymologies of Philo and Josephus, the topic of her opening seminar paper. This was again an opportunity to reshape and sharpen earlier ideas. She deepened her understanding of the endeavours of 'The Three', i.e. the second-century Jewish revisers of the Greek version of the Hebrew Bible, and especially Aquila, a focal point of discussion within the group. This new dimension has facilitated her ongoing commentary on the Fourth Book of Maccabees, a Greek Jewish text.

She benefited from access to the Muller and other Oxford libraries, and to the Seminar members she encountered through group workshops and colloquia and in informal discussion. She is grateful to the Rothschild Trust Europe for funding the Seminar, the Centre for facilitating it and Dr Alison Salvesen for conceiving the topic and for steering the project with such efficiency.

Professor Elchanan Reiner

Professor Elchanan Reiner of Tel-Aviv University stayed at the Centre from 1 February until 30 July as a Kennedy Leigh Fellow, and participated in the European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies: The Reading of Hebrew and Jewish Texts in the Early Modern Period. He continued to work on a book on the reaction of Ashkenazi society to the appearance of printing, and focused in particular on changes to rabbinic literature that took place in Bohemia and Poland as publications from Italy, especially from Venice, began to arrive. The availability of Sephardi works sparked a revision of Ashkenazi methods of study and of writing.

The workshop on the printing of the Talmud in Basel in the 1570s cast new light on the processes that led to the formation of new centres of learning in Poland and the adoption of different methods of study. He is grateful to Dr Joanna Weinberg and Dr Piet Van Boxel for organizing the Seminar that made possible the lively exchange of new ideas, and to the staff of the Bodleian and of the Leopold Muller Memorial libraries for their assistance over several months.

He presented a David Patterson Seminar entitled 'From Joshua to R. Simeon bar Yohai: Towards a Typology of Galilean Hero', and a paper entitled 'Not "Revenge Messianism". Subversive Messianic Ideas in the

Ashkenazi Rabbinate from the Late Sixteenth Century to the Late Eighteenth Century', for Professor Martin Goodman's Seminar on Toleration of Variety Within Judaism in the Modern Period.

Professor Bas ter Haar Romeny

Professor Bas ter Haar Romeny of the University of Leiden stayed at the Centre from 26 April to 30 June to participate in the European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies: Greek Scripture and the Rabbis. Part of his time was spent studying the first- and second-century Jewish Greek interpretations of the Bible known as 'the Three' (Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion), about whom little is known, and testing a hypothesis on the readings attributed to 'the Hebrew'.

Many fragmentary readings from 'the Three' were not known to the nineteenth-century compiler of *Origenis Hexaplorum Fragmenta*, Frederick Field, while the Göttingen edition of the Septuagint, which has several references to them, does not illuminate their contribution. His database of the Genesis material enabled him to make a number of editorial decisions, discussed in his presentation entitled 'Aquila and the Other Revisers since Field: New Evidence and the Need for a New Edition', at the conference on Aquila and the Rabbis. He also led a workshop entitled 'The Role of the Revisers in Greek Christian Writers', on the many readings of the Three appearing in the context of commentaries on the biblical text. His understanding of the connections with Jewish sources and the rabbinic reception was enhanced by workshops and lectures by other members of the group. He followed up a suggestion by Dr Adam Kamesar regarding the possibility that different terms might reflect different sources, and presented the results in a paper entitled 'The Identity of ho Hebraios'.

His participation in the Seminar was extremely fruitful, and he is grateful especially to the organizer, Dr Alison Salvesen, who selected the participants, made the arrangements for the meetings and lectures, and was responsible for the excellent working atmosphere, ably seconded by Dr Michael Law. The staff of the Centre, including administrators and the staff of the Library ensured that activities ran smoothly and efficiently.

Professor Aharon Shemesh

Dr Aharon Shemesh of Bar-Ilan University stayed at the Centre from 3 May to 30 July as a Kennedy Leigh Fellow. He continued writing a book

entitled *Historical, Cultural and Legal Aspects of Nezirut as Reflected in Rabbinic Literature and Halakhah*, in which he focuses on the rabbinic reshaping of the biblical concept of the nazirite, and on its historical reality during the Second Temple and later Mishnaic periods. He also completed an article entitled 'Nazirite for Rent', in which he examines how this socio-religious phenomenon was practised towards the end of the Second Temple period.

There seem to have been professional nazirites who made their living by enabling the wealthy to demonstrate piety by contributing to the expensive concluding ceremony of shaving the nazirite's head in the Temple. Some rabbis tolerated this, but others introduced halakhic strictures to make it less attractive to nazirites and their sponsors.

Dr Shifra Sznol

Dr Shifra Sznol of Bar-Ilan University stayed at the Centre from 6 January to 5 April to participate in the European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies: Greek Scripture and the Rabbis. She presented papers entitled 'Evidence of Several Greek Translations in Rabbinic Sources', 'Loan Words in Rabbinic Literature', 'Two Columns for One Bible (Constantinople Pentateuch 1547): Judaeo-Greek and Ladino', and 'Judaeo-Greek Biblical Translations and Glossaries', the last of which will be submitted to the Seminar's final publication. The opportunity to work with scholars of different backgrounds and academic trainings enriched her understanding of the translation process and of transmission traditions, and she benefited from access to Oxford libraries, which facilitated research in her main areas of interest: linguistic and cultural contacts between Greek civilization and Jewish languages and literature, and particularly the glossaries and oral transmission of medieval biblical translations into Jewish languages. She is currently involved in a project devoted to the Constantinople Pentateuch, focusing on the Judaeo-Greek and Ladino columns.

Professor Emanuel Tov

Professor Emanuel Tov of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem stayed at the Centre from 15 January to 30 June to participate in the European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies: Greek Scripture and the Rabbis. Twice-weekly meetings with experts on various aspects of Greek translations created after the Septuagint made it possible to complement

research to be reported in the third revised edition of his book *The Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*. His own contributions focused on post-Pentateuchal Greek translations, the shape of the biblical text in early periods, and theological corrections in translations and Hebrew manuscripts. The opportunity to meet scholars and to use the Centre's library helped stimulate his research. He particularly appreciated the help he received at the Oriental Institute and Bodleian libraries, whose integrated catalogue, the Oxford Libraries Information System, was extremely valuable.

Dr Anat Zanger

Dr Anat Zanger of the Film and Television Department, Tel-Aviv University, stayed at the Centre from 30 June to 16 September 2009 and completed the first draft of her book on the relationship between Jewish and Western thought and art regarding the 'garden' and the 'desert'. Her work, supported by the Israeli Science Foundation, relied heavily on the holdings of the Muller and Bodleian libraries in Oxford, as well as on those of the School of Oriental and African Studies and of the British Film Institute in London. The final chapters of the book discuss the instrumentality of landscape and space in Israeli culture and cinema.

Journal of Jewish Studies

Two issues of the *Journal of Jewish Studies* appeared in 2009–2010. The first of these, volume 60, no. 2, contains the following essays:

Jonathan V. Dauber, ' "Pure Thought" in R. Abraham bar Hiyya and Early Kabbalah'

Martin Goodman, 'Religious Variety and the Temple in the Late Second Temple Period and its Aftermath'

Aron Pinker, 'Qohelet 6:9 – It Looks Better than it Tastes'

Joan E. Taylor, ' "Roots, Remedies and Properties of Stones": The Essenes, Qumran and Dead Sea Pharmacology'

Naftali S. Cohn, 'Rabbis as Jurists: On the Representation of Past and Present Legal Institutions in the Mishnah'

Ishay Rosen-Zvi, 'Sexualising the Evil Inclination: Rabbinic "Yetzer' and Modern Scholarship'

Itamar Kislev, 'The Relationship Between the Torah Commentaries Composed by R. Abraham Ibn Ezra in France and the Significance of this Relationship for the Biographical Chronology of the Commentator'

Avraham (Rami) Reiner, 'Rabbinical Courts in France in the Twelfth Century: Centralization and Dispersion'.

The second issue, volume 61, no. 1, contains the following essays:

Beth A. Berkowitz, 'Allegory and Ambiguity: Jewish Identity in Philo's "De Congressu"'

Jordan D. Rosenblum, 'From Their Bread to Their Bed: Commensality, Intermarriage, and Idolatry in Tannaitic Literature'

Michal Bar-Asher Siegal, 'The Unintentional Killer: Midrashic Layers in the Second Chapter of Mishnah Makkot'

Tzvi Novick, 'The "For I Say" Presumption: A Study in Early Rabbinic Legal Rhetoric'

Alexander Toepel, 'When Did Adam Wear the Garments of Light?'

Erica C. D. Hunter, 'Hebrew-script Tombstones from Jām, Afghanistan'

Adam S. Ferziger, 'Between Catholic Israel and the "K'rov Yisrael": Non-Jews in Conservative Synagogues (1982–2009)'

Daniel A. Machiela, 'A Brief History of the Second Temple Period Name "Hyrcanus"'

Both volumes also include numerous book reviews. It is now possible to download PDF files of single articles and reviews against online payment at the *Journal*'s website (www.jjs-online.net). Volume 62, appearing in 2011, will feature a newly designed cover. After four years of service as editorial assistant, Simon Cooper was succeeded on 1 May 2010 by Dr Alinda Damsma, who previously assisted with the keyword project.

The publishing director Margaret Vermes and Richard Buckner of the Oxford University Computing Services are collaborating to provide a new iphone- and ipad-compatible format of the *Journal Online*.

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 and further afield. Other ongoing projects of the EAJS include the *European Journal of Jewish Studies*, published by Brill, and a website <www.eurojewishstudies.org> that incorporates a number of online news features, an online Directory of Jewish Studies in Europe, and the online Funders Database. In September 2009 Ms Veronika Köver was appointed as part-time EAJS Funding Information and Advisory Officer.

The summer of 2010 saw the launch of a revised EAJS website, incorporating all the features of the old website in a more helpful and modern design, and with several new features, including an online payment system and access for EAJS members to the online version of the *European Journal of Jewish Studies.*

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 Sacha Stern of University College London.

The Institute for Polish–Jewish Studies

The Institute for Polish–Jewish Studies, an associated institute of the Centre, this year published volume 22 of *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry*. This volume, edited by Adam Teller, Magda Teter and Antony Polonsky, was devoted to the theme of social and cultural boundaries in pre-modern Poland. Boundaries - physical, political, social, religious and cultural - were a key feature of life in medieval and early modern Poland, and this volume focuses on the ways in which these boundaries were respected, crossed or otherwise negotiated. It throws new light on contacts between Jews and Poles, including the vexed question of conversion and the tensions it aroused. The eleven papers presented here also discuss relations between the various elements of Jewish society - the wealthy and the poor, the educated and the uneducated, and the religious and the lay elites - and taken together help redefine the Jewish history of pre-modern Poland. The 500–page volume also includes ten papers on other subjects in Polish–Jewish studies, as well as an obituary of the late Professor John Klier.

In December a one-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 general theme of 'Jews in Polish Society: Insiders, Outsiders'. The conference, which was co-sponsored by the Polish Cultural Institute and the Polish Embassy, together with the Adam Mickiewicz Institute, Warsaw, was held at the Polish Embassy, where it was formally opened by the ambassador, H. E. Barbara Tuge-Erecińska. The speakers at the conference, who came from Israel, Poland, the UK and the USA, described and analysed the idea that Jews have been, and still are, both insiders and outsiders in Poland. For example, a presentation by Professor Adam Teller, of the University of Haifa, focused on the question 'what made Polish Jews Polish?' Another paper, by Karen Auerbach, of the University of Southampton, discussed insiders/outsiders in contemporary Polish Jewish literature. Time was also given to personal reflections, including a presentation by Ben Helfgott, chairman of the Institute, describing his experience of Polish–Jewish relations, and by Jonathan Ornstein, director

of the Jewish Community Centre in Kraków, on the present-day challenges of rebuilding a Jewish community in Poland, in the shadow of Auschwitz. The conference concluded with the screening of the Polish–German film 'Po-Lin', a beautifully crafted documentary made in 2008, based on archive footage of prewar home movies made by American Jews of Polish origin revisiting their homeland. The Institute's *Polin* launch conference, held every year at the Polish Embassy, is always full to capacity and attracts lively discussion – this year being no exception.

Assisted administratively by the Galicia Jewish Museum in Kraków, the Institute was heavily involved this year in helping the Adam Mickiewicz Institute in Warsaw put together a significant Jewish programme as part of its 'Polska Year' season of cultural events in the UK (2009–10). A considerable number of other events of Polish Jewish interest, funded by the Mickiewicz Institute and other sponsors, thus took place across the country during the year - including exhibitions, concerts, film screenings, stage performances and activities marking Holocaust Memorial Day, as well as a strong contingent of speakers fielded at Limmud and Jewish Book Week. One of the exhibitions that as part of this programme went on tour to four locations in the UK was 'Traces of Memory', a selection of the photographs on permanent display in the Galicia Jewish Museum. The Institute for Polish–Jewish Studies organized a special viewing of the exhibition at the London Jewish Cultural Centre in July 2009. To mark the end of the season the Institute co-organized a two-day symposium in May 2010 at the Jewish Museum, London, on the subject 'Poland: A Jewish Matter', as seen in present-day perspective. Seventeen speakers, mainly from Poland, presented papers on a wide range of contemporary topics, including Jewish life and culture in Poland today, difficult questions for Polish–Jewish relations, the problems and challenges of preserving the Polish Jewish heritage, Jewish visitors to Poland today, and a session devoted to the question of what Poles know about Jews?

Looted Art Research Unit

The Unit's research projects have continued to make good progress. The most significant have involved identifying large art collections for which there is hardly any surviving documentation about the owners or the works of art. In such cases the first step is to reconstruct the extent of the collection and the circumstances of its loss.

A case which illustrates the kinds of difficulties faced is that of Malvine, Jenny and Berta Rosauer, three unmarried sisters in their late seventies who lived together at Zelinkagasse 6, in Vienna's First District. (See Plate 1) In 1938 they possessed over 160 paintings. The sisters were forced to move out of their apartment soon after the Anschluss of March 1938, and the eldest died in 1940 at the age of 80. The two younger sisters were murdered in Treblinka in 1942. The only member of the family to survive

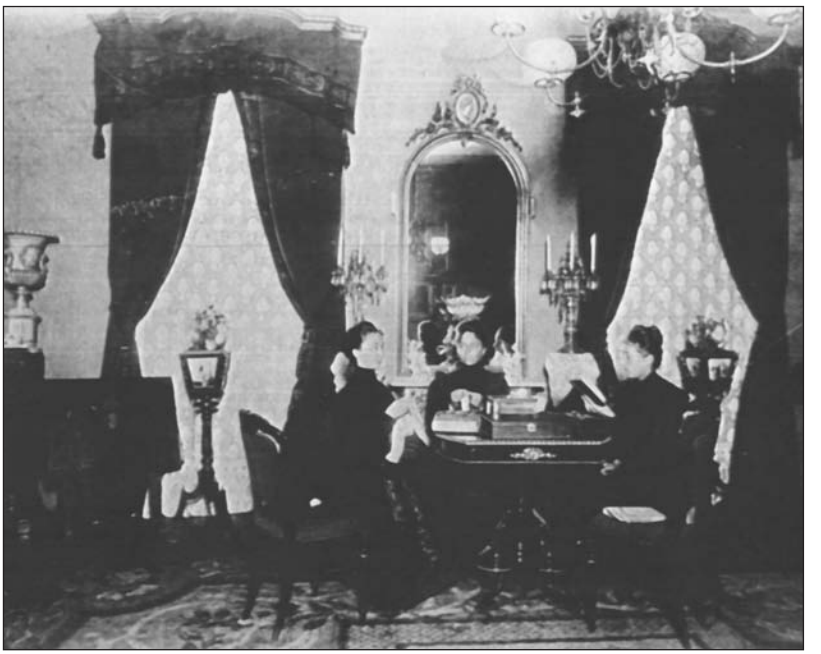


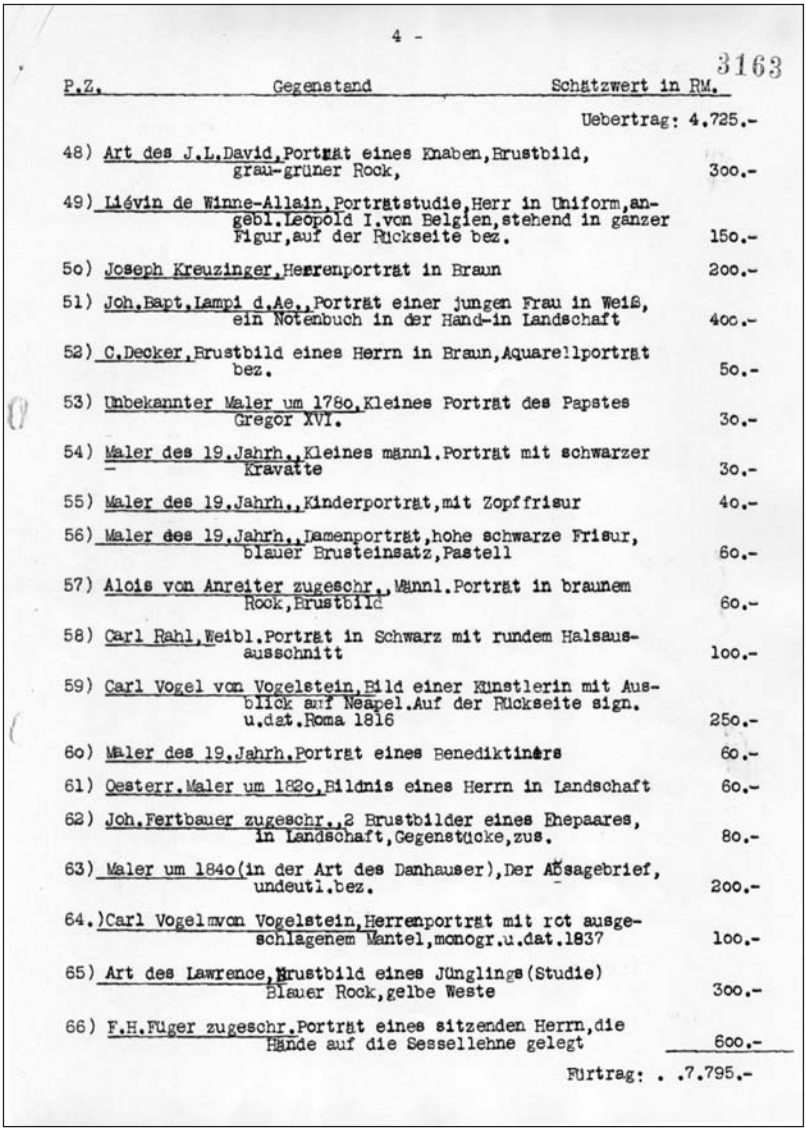
Plate 1 The three Rosauer sisters.

Plate 2 A watercolour by Carl Muller in 1921 of the Rosauer home.

was one great-nephew. There were no photographs or detailed descriptions of the collection. But a watercolour of the sisters' library, by Carl Muller, dating from 1921, provides evidence of what a few of the paintings may have looked like (see plate 2).

There were only two relevant archival documents. One was the probate record of their brother Gustav, with whom the sisters lived until his death in 1919, which included a list of works of art in the collection in 1924. But this does not prove which works were owned by the sisters in 1938, and provided only cursory descriptions of each work. The other was a list of artworks which the sisters appended to the Asset Registrations which all Austrian Jews were obliged to complete in 1938. Plate 3 shows part of this list, which again provided little detail. There were no postwar claims, which might have provided valuable information. The paintings were all of good to medium quality, and quite a number were by artists on whom there is little art-historical literature. Consequently, provenance documentation for the prewar years is paltry. Researching a collection like this is painstaking and slow, and depends on the accumulation of small clues.

A similar case is that of Professor Ernst and Else Gotthilf, who lived at Freiheitsplatz 6 in the Ninth District. Their collection of some 160 works

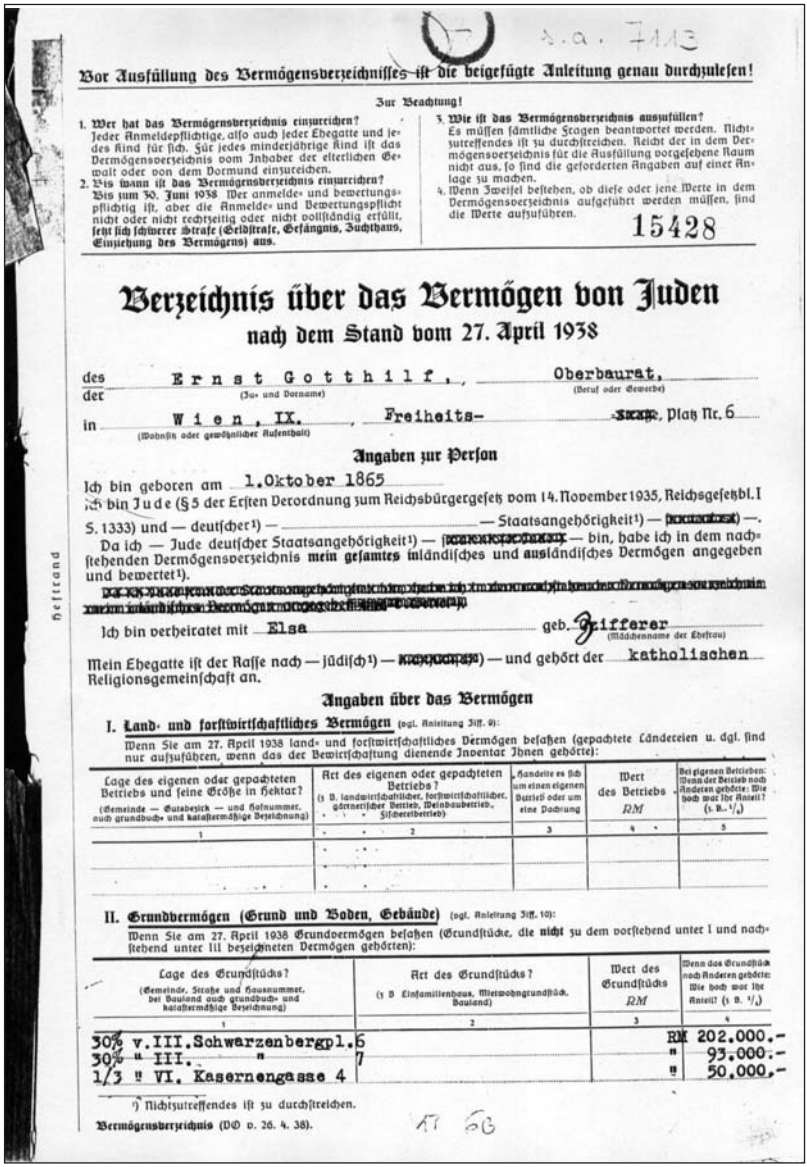


4 -

3163

P.Z.	Gegenstand	Schätzwert in RM.
		Uebertrag: 4.725.-
48)	Art des J.L.David,Porträt eines Knaben,Brustbild, grau-grüner Rock,	3oo.-
49)	Liévin de Winne-Allain,Porträtstudie,Herr in Uniform,angebl.Leopold I.von Belgien,stehend in ganzer Figur,auf der Rückseite bez.	15o.-
5o)	Joseph Kreuzinger,Herrenporträt in Braun	2oo.-
51)	Joh.Bapt.Lampi d.Ae.,Porträt einer jungen Frau in Weiß, ein Notenbuch in der Hand-in Landschaft	4oo.-
52)	C.Decker,Brustbild eines Herrn in Braun,Aquarellporträt bez.	5o.-
53)	Unbekannter Maler um 178o,Kleines Porträt des Papstes Gregor XVI.	3o.-
54)	Maler des 19.Jahrh.,Kleines männl.Porträt mit schwarzer Kravatte	3o.-
55)	Maler des 19.Jahrh.,Kinderporträt,mit Zopffrisur	4o.-
56)	Maler des 19.Jahrh.,Damenporträt,hohe schwarze Frisur, blauer Brusteinsatz,Pastell	6o.-
57)	Alois von Anreiter zugeschr.,Männl.Porträt in braunem Rock,Brustbild	6o.-
58)	Carl Rahl,Weibl.Porträt in Schwarz mit rundem Halsausausschnitt	1oo.-
59)	Carl Vogel von Vogelstein,Bild einer Künstlerin mit Ausblick auf Neapel.Auf der Rückseite sign. u.dat.Roma 1816	25o.-
6o)	Maler des 19.Jahrh.Porträt eines Benediktinérs	6o.-
61)	Oesterr.Maler um 182o,Bildnis eines Herrn in Landschaft	6o.-
62)	Joh.Fertbauer zugeschr.,2 Brustbilder eines Ehepaares, in Landschaft,Gegenstücke,zus.	8o.-
63)	Maler um 184o(in der Art des Danhauser),Der Absagebrief, undeutl.bez.	2oo.-
64.)	Carl Vogel von Vogelstein,Herrenporträt mit rot ausgeschlagenem Mantel,monogr.u.dat.1837	1oo.-
65)	Art des Lawrence,Brustbild eines Jünglings(Studie) Blauer Rock,gelbe Weste	3oo.-
66)	F.H.Füger zugeschr.Porträt eines sitzenden Herrn,die Hände auf die Sessellehne gelegt	6oo.-
		Fürtrag: . .7.795.-

Plate 3 A page from Jenny Rosauer's Asset Registration, showing at no. 51 the Lampi painting and at 59 that by Vogel von Vogelstein.



Vor Ausfüllung des Vermögensverzeichnisses ist die beigefügte Anleitung genau durchzulesen!

Zur Beachtung!

1. **Wer hat das Vermögensverzeichnis einzureichen?** Jeder Anmeldepflichtige, also auch jeder Ehegatte und jedes Kind für sich. Für jedes minderjährige Kind ist das Vermögensverzeichnis vom Inhaber der elterlichen Gewalt oder von dem Vormund einzureichen.
2. **Bis wann ist das Vermögensverzeichnis einzureichen?** Bis zum 30. Juni 1938. Wer anmelde- und bewertungspflichtig ist, aber die Anmelde- und Bewertungspflicht nicht oder nicht rechtzeitig oder nicht vollständig erfüllt, setzt sich schwerer Strafe (Geldstrafe, Gefängnis, Zuchthaus, Einziehung des Vermögens) aus.
3. **Wie ist das Vermögensverzeichnis auszufüllen?** Es müssen sämtliche Fragen beantwortet werden. Nichtzutreffendes ist zu durchstreichen. Reicht der in dem Vermögensverzeichnis für die Ausfüllung vorgesehene Raum nicht aus, so sind die geforderten Angaben auf einer Anlage zu machen.
4. Wenn Zweifel bestehen, ob diese oder jene Werte in dem Vermögensverzeichnis aufgeführt werden müssen, sind die Werte aufzuführen.

15428

Verzeichnis über das Vermögen von Juden

nach dem Stand vom 27. April 1938

des / der Ernst Gotthilf, (Zu- und Vorname) Oberbaurat, (Beruf oder Gewerbe)

in Wien, IX. (Wohnsitz oder gewöhnlicher Aufenthalt) Freiheits- [redacted], Platz Nr. 6

Angaben zur Person

Ich bin geboren am 1. Oktober 1865

Ich bin Jude (§ 5 der Ersten Verordnung zum Reichsbürgergesetz vom 14. November 1935, Reichsgesetzbl. I S. 1333) und — deutscher[1]) — ——— Staatsangehörigkeit[1]) — [redacted] —.

Da ich — Jude deutscher Staatsangehörigkeit[1]) — [redacted] — bin, habe ich in dem nachstehenden Vermögensverzeichnis **mein gesamtes** inländisches und ausländisches Vermögen angegeben und bewertet[1]).

[redacted]

Ich bin verheiratet mit Elsa geb. Zifferer (Mädchenname der Ehefrau)

Mein Ehegatte ist der Rasse nach — jüdisch[1]) — [redacted]) — und gehört der katholischen Religionsgemeinschaft an.

Angaben über das Vermögen

I. Land- und forstwirtschaftliches Vermögen (vgl. Anleitung Ziff. 9):

Wenn Sie am 27. April 1938 land- und forstwirtschaftliches Vermögen besaßen (gepachtete Ländereien u. dgl. sind nur aufzuführen, wenn das der Bewirtschaftung dienende Inventar Ihnen gehörte):

Lage des eigenen oder gepachteten Betriebs und seine Größe in Hektar? (Gemeinde — Gutsbezirk — und Hausnummer, auch grundbuch- und katastermäßige Bezeichnung)	Art des eigenen oder gepachteten Betriebs? (z. B. landwirtschaftlicher, forstwirtschaftlicher, gärtnerischer Betrieb, Weinbaubetrieb, Fischereibetrieb)	Handelte es sich um einen eigenen Betrieb oder um eine Pachtung	Wert des Betriebs RM	Bei eigenen Betrieben: Wenn der Betrieb noch Anderen gehörte: Wie hoch war Ihr Anteil? (z. B. 1/4)
1	2	3	4	5

II. Grundvermögen (Grund und Boden, Gebäude) (vgl. Anleitung Ziff. 10):

Wenn Sie am 27. April 1938 Grundvermögen besaßen (Grundstücke, die **nicht** zu dem vorstehend unter I und nachstehend unter III bezeichneten Vermögen gehörten):

Lage des Grundstücks? (Gemeinde, Straße und Hausnummer, bei Bauland auch grundbuch- und katastermäßige Bezeichnung)	Art des Grundstücks? (z. B. Einfamilienhaus, Mietwohngrundstück, Bauland)	Wert des Grundstücks RM	Wenn das Grundstück noch Anderen gehörte: Wie hoch war Ihr Anteil? (z. B. 1/4)
1	2	3	4
30% v. III. Schwarzenbergpl. 6		RM	202.000.-
30% " III. " 7		"	93.000.-
1/3 " VI. Kasernengasse 4		"	50.000.-

[1]) Nichtzutreffendes ist zu durchstreichen.

Vermögensverzeichnis (DVO v. 26. 4. 38).

Plate 4 The first page of Ernst Gotthilf's Asset Registration document.

of art was also lost and there were also no postwar claims. The only surviving documents were Asset Registrations which did not refer to art works, and two export applications from 1939 that again contained no descriptive information. The only source detailing some of the art was a letter of November 1938 from the Neue Galerie in Vienna, to which the Gotthilfs were obliged to consign several paintings.

The course of the research was transformed in February when one of the family found in a dusty box in his mother's attic a number of black-and-white photographs which turned out to be of the Gotthilf apartment in Vienna (see plates 5 and 6). The photos, remarkable for the absence of human beings, were taken as a form of inventory, a practice adopted by many families in Germany, Austria and France in the mid- to late- 1930s. Such photos are moving because, in the very richness of the world they depict, they simultaneously speak of loss and absence. The photos have enabled many of the artworks to be identified, leading to a number of restitutions, and contribute to the reconstruction of how and by whom the Gotthilf paintings were appropriated, adding to historical knowledge of the looting process in Austria.

Plate 5 The interior of the Gotthilf home, Vienna.

Plate 6 Another interior view of the Gotthilf home.

Paintings from this collection, as well as from that of the Rosauer sisters, were taken over by leading Nazi art dealers from Munich, including Maria Almas-Dietrich and Julius Böhler, both of whom acted for Hitler and to whom some of the paintings were sent. Two Rosauer paintings listed on the 1938 Asset Registration List have been located. The first, by Giovanni Baptist Lampi, the Elder, 'Woman in white with a notebook', was found in the possession of the German government. The second, by Carl Christian Vogel von Vogelstein, 'Portrait of a female artist', was in that of the Dresden State Paintings Collections. Both are to be returned, thus restoring a family link so brutally ruptured over seventy years ago (see Plate 7 and page 22 above).

In the field of policy, the Unit's initiatives over the past year have led to significant outcomes. One achievement was the UK's Holocaust (Return of Cultural Objects) Act 2009, which finally enables all British museums to restitute looted art.

Another of the Unit's initiatives led in June 2010 to the creation of the new senior British government post of United Kingdom Envoy for Post-Holocaust Issues, and to the appointment to the post of Sir Andrew

Plate 7 Giovanni Baptist Lampi the Elder's
'Woman in white with a notebook',
found in the possession of the German government.

Burns, KCMG, who reports directly to the Foreign Secretary. The new Envoy is responsible for leading the Government's efforts on a range of post-Holocaust work, primarily resolving issues related to art and property restitution, and ensuring that the UK is at the forefront of discussions on the work and future of the archive of the International Tracing Service (ITS). Sir Andrew, as a former High Commissioner to Canada, Consul-General for Hong Kong and Macau and Ambassador to Israel, brings formidable diplomatic experience to the post. He chairs the Committee of University Chairs, the Council of Royal Holloway, University of London, and the Anglo-Israel Association. The Unit has worked closely with him since his appointment.

The Director of the Unit is Convener and Chair of the ITS Stakeholder Group, comprising leading UK historians of the Nazi era and postwar period, as well as educational bodies, refugee and slave-labour groups, genealogical and other organizations working with survivors, all of whom are committed to making this important resource

available to families and historians in the UK. In July 2010 the Director secured an agreement from the UK government that a digitized copy of the archive of the ITS would be held in the UK. Progress has been made towards securing this aim, with the Wiener Library the most likely copy-holder.

The Unit's Director was again a member of the UK government delegation at the May Plenary of the International Commission governing the ITS, which met this year in the US State Department in Washington DC. Problems of access to documentation in the ITS archive at Bad Arolsen re-emerged, despite the Accords reached by the International Commission in 2006 that all documentation should be freely available to families and researchers. This further emphasized the need for each country to hold its own copy of the records.

The Plenary endorsed a new Agreement on governance by the eleven governments represented on the International Committee. A second Agreement on the future role of the Bundesarchiv, which is to become the institutional partner of the ITS, is to be negotiated over the coming year.

Great progress has been made since last year on the international project to digitize all national records relating to Nazi seizure of cultural property and its postwar restitution. The project was initiated by the US National Archives (NARA), the Bundesarchiv, Germany, and The National Archives (TNA) of the UK. The Unit is partnering TNA and its role is to identify, catalogue, describe and provide a finding aid for the British records. Two Cambridge postdoctoral historians have been dedicated to this, and over half of the records have now been catalogued and described. In the last few months the Central State Archive of the Ukraine and the National Archives of Belgium have joined the project, and other national archives are to follow.

The Leopold Muller Memorial Library

The Centre's Library is a major resource for students and researchers throughout the University as well as in other academic institutions via the Inter-Library Loan system. It played a central role in the European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies (see pages 45–58), in particular for participants in the seminar on 'The Reading of Hebrew and Jewish Texts in the Early Modern Period', who benefited from its Foyle-Montefiore and Coppenhagen collections.

Thousands of books have been added this year to the OLIS University online catalogue and to the Centre's Hebrew online catalogue. The periodicals collection is now being included, covering many publications from the Elkoshi and Kressel collections of which only one issue ever appeared and which are missing from the University's other libraries.

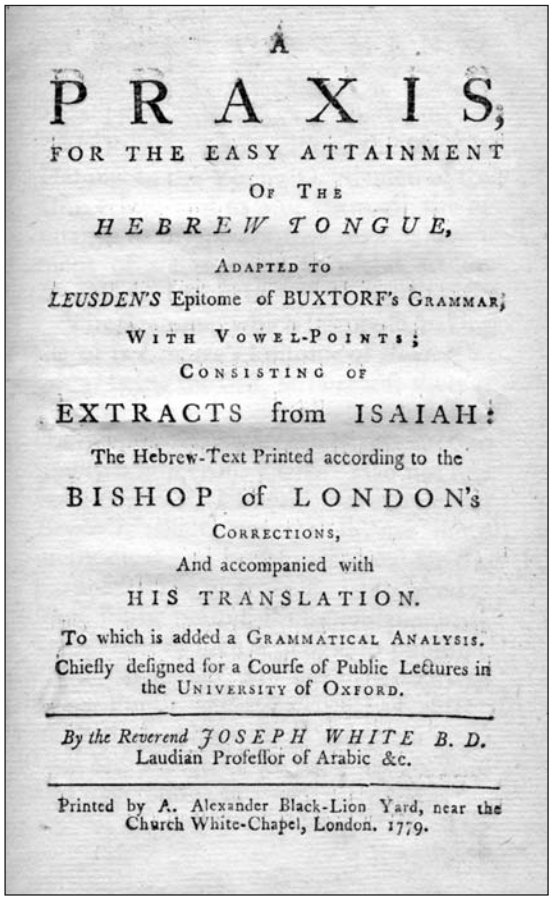
Through the generosity of Mr and Mrs Robin Montefiore it has been made possible for the Assistant Librarian, Milena Zeidler, to catalogue the Arthur Sebag-Montefiore Archive. This is being made available online as work progresses, and is expected to be completed during the coming academic year. The expertise and efficiency of Dr Avi Raz, cataloguer of Hebrew books, who left this year, will be missed.

Acquisitions

The Library coordinates its acquisitions with the Bodleian Libraries, supplementing the Bodleian Library in the field of modern and medieval Hebrew literature. It has acquired over 600 books in the past year. Those for the Louis Jacobs Collection fill gaps in the field of Rabbinics in the Oriental Institute Library, while those in History throw light on the holdings of the Foyle-Montefiore, Coppenhagen and Yizkor Books collections. Retrospective purchases in Modern Hebrew literature will ensure that all works relating to Hebrew literature will be available, making the Library the best resource for this field.

Loans and Acquisitions of Rare Books

The Library is most grateful for the long-term loan by the Lewis Family interests of a number of rare books listed below (on pages 195–7). Several



A

PRAXIS,

FOR THE EASY ATTAINMENT

OF THE

HEBREW TONGUE,

ADAPTED TO

LEUSDEN'S Epitome of BUXTORF's GRAMMAR,

WITH VOWEL-POINTS;

CONSISTING OF

EXTRACTS from ISAIAH:

The Hebrew-Text Printed according to the

BISHOP of LONDON's

CORRECTIONS,

And accompanied with

HIS TRANSLATION.

To which is added a GRAMMATICAL ANALYSIS.

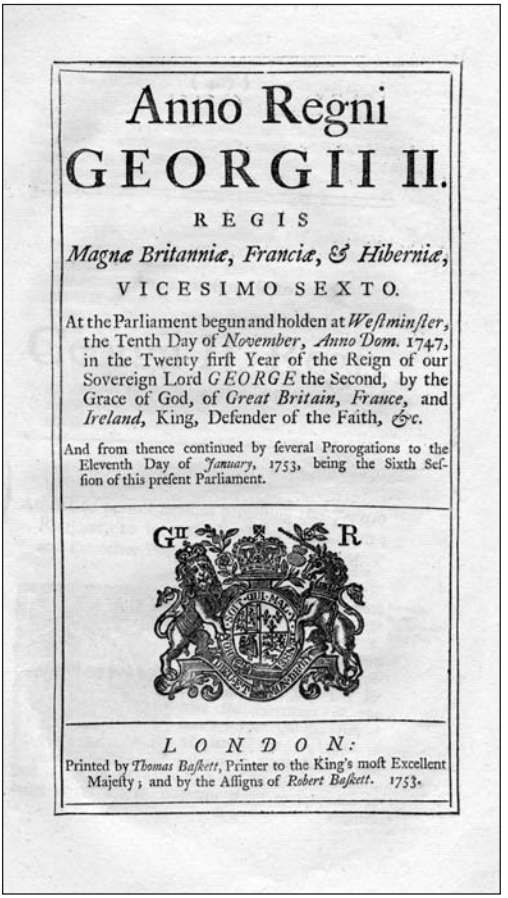
Chiefly designed for a Course of Public Lectures in the UNIVERSITY of OXFORD.

By the Reverend JOSEPH WHITE B. D.
Laudian Professor of Arabic &c.

Printed by A. Alexander Black-Lion Yard, near the Church White-Chapel, London. 1779.

Plate 1 The title-page of Joseph White's *Praxis for the easy attainment of the Hebrew tongue*, originally designed for a course of lectures at the University of Oxford.

fill gaps in the collections that are already rich in the areas of *haskalah*, modernization, *halakhah*, Christian Hebraism, Anglo-Jewish history and Dutch Jewry. There are works on Hebrew Grammar by Elijah Levita, the well-known scholar born in Germany and resident in Italy, who taught Hebrew to Humanists including Sebastian Muenster and Cardinal Egidius da Viterbo. Those by Christian Hebraists complement the hold-



Anno Regni
GEORGII II.
REGIS
Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ,
VICESIMO SEXTO.

At the Parliament begun and holden at *Weſtminſter*, the Tenth Day of *November*, *Anno Dom.* 1747, in the Twenty firſt Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord *GEORGE* the Second, by the Grace of God, of *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, King, Defender of the Faith, *&c.*

And from thence continued by ſeveral Prorogations to the Eleventh Day of *January*, 1753, being the Sixth Seſſion of this preſent Parliament.

GII R

LONDON:
Printed by *Thomas Baſkett*, Printer to the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty; and by the Aſſigns of *Robert Baſkett*. 1753.

Plate 2 The Parliamentary Act of 1753 which allowed Jews to become naturalized in Britain and the Colonies.

ings at the Bodleian Library, while Joseph White's *Praxis for the easy attainment of the Hebrew tongue*, originally designed for a course of lectures at the University of Oxford (see Plate 1) is of local interest. Also included is a copy of the Parliamentary Act of 1753 which allowed Jews to become naturalized in Britain and the Colonies without having to perform the previously mandatory Christian rites (see Plate 2).

Donations

We are grateful to the donors listed below (on pages 199–200) for enriching the Library's collections with books that in many cases have been immediately of use to scholars and students at the Centre and the University.

Among these are the tractate *Bava Bathra* (on Civil Law) from the Talmud published by Ambrosius Froben in Basel *c.* 1580, which was donated by the Lehmann family in memory of their father Alfred Lehmann. This jewel of humanist printing bears inscriptions by previous owners and a seventeenth-century binding with portraits of leading Christian reformers and Hebraists.

A newly issued facsimile of the Haggadah illustrated by the Polish artist Arthur Szyk during the rise of Hitler's Third Reich, and first published in England in 1940, was purchased for the Library by Daniel and Joanna Rose, for whose generosity we express thanks. Illustrations identifying the persecutors of Israelites in Ancient Egypt as Nazis could not have been published in any Continental country in 1940, and even in Britain some swastikas were omitted. Szyk's elaborate dedication to King George VI (see page 24) is surmounted by an eagle-headed winged reptile facing a British lion and unicorn. In the left margin a green dragon is slain by a knight with a Star of David on his shield. The royal coat of arms below this faces the Polish flag with Szyk leaning against it in the right margin. At the foot of the page Jews are seen arriving by sea in Zion. Illuminations elsewhere in the book include one of a father and son beside the text of *Mah nishtanah*, a text recited by the youngest child present (see page 25). This high-resolution, finely bound reproduction of the original watercolour illustrations is accompanied by a companion volume.

Books belonging to Dr Moshe Ish-Horowicz, scion of Hassidic followers of the Gerer rebbe, who was active in the Manchester Progressive community, have been donated by his family. These focus especially on the status of *halakhah* in non-Orthodox Judaism, strengthening the Louis Jacobs Collection of rabbinic literature with material otherwise absent from the University Judaica collections.

Professor Moshe Pelli has donated an archive containing press cuttings on Israeli authors, Hebrew and Jewish literature, Zionism, the State of Israel and the Shoah. These continue the theme of the Kressel Archive up

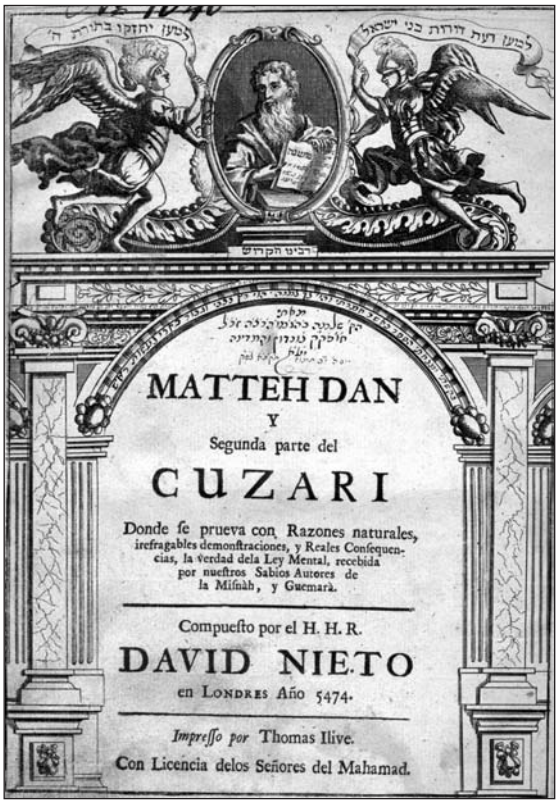
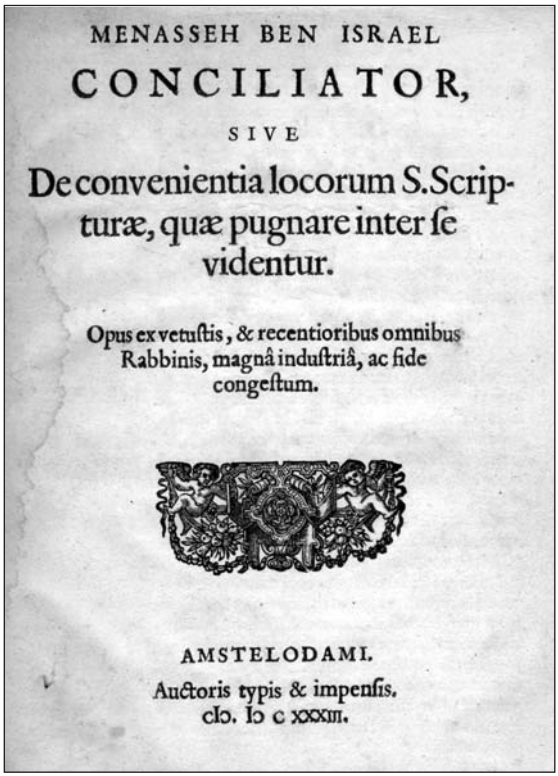


Plate 3 The title-page of David Nieto's *Mateh Dan*, the first significant work of Jewish thought produced on English soil after the return of the Jews to England.

to the 1970s, constituting a resource unparalleled elsewhere on Hebrew authors, literature and Israeli affairs.

Edgar Samuel donated books collected by his father Wilfred, founder of the Jewish Museum, London, including first editions of Haham David Nieto's *Mateh Dan*, Menasseh ben Israel's *Conciliator* and several other seventeenth- and eighteenth-century books on Anglo-Jewish matters. David Nieto, Haham of the Spanish and Portuguese synagogue, London, aimed *Mateh Dan*, the first significant work of Jewish thought


MENASSEH BEN ISRAEL

CONCILIATOR,

SIVE

De convenientia locorum S. Scripturæ, quæ pugnare inter se videntur.

Opus ex vetustis, & recentioribus omnibus Rabbinis, magnâ industriâ, ac fide congestum.

AMSTELODAMI.

Auctoris typis & impensis.

clɔ. Iɔ c xxxiii.

Plate 4 The title-page of Menasseh ben Israel's *Conciliator*, in which he sought to reconcile apparent contradictions in the biblical text.

produced on English soil after the return of the Jews to England, at ex-Marrano sceptics and described it as a sequel to Judah Halevi's *Cuzari* (Plate 3). Menasseh ben Israel, the French-born Dutch scholar, publisher, apologist, propagandist and community leader, was instrumental in securing the readmission of the Jews to Cromwell's England. He became famous among Christian scholars through his *Conciliator* (Plate 4), originally published in Spanish and subsequently translated into Latin, which sought to reconcile apparent contradictions in the biblical text. He went on to publish numerous theological works aimed at non-

Jewish readers. These books join the Sephardi and Anglo-Jewish holdings already found in the Foyle-Montefiore and Coppenhagen collections.

Professor Martin Kolinsky donated books and the research archive he built up with his late wife, Professor Eva Kolinsky, who studied the history and sociology of Jews in Germany, particularly those in the German Democratic Republic, and of Holocaust survivors in DP camps after World War II. This collection, containing unpublished material, reflects the conditions in which Holocaust survivors lived in postwar Germany, and supplements the Yizkor Book collection.

Professor Yuval Dror donated books relating to modern Israeli society, politics and education, that fill gaps in the University's collections, and bring up to date the Library's section on present-day Israel.

The endowment in memory of Sir Isaiah Berlin has made it possible to purchase a copy of the 1830 Bill allowing Jews to become MPs and occupy other offices without swearing a Christian oath, which became law in 1858. This, together with the 1753 Parliamentary Act mentioned above, is an important addition to our Anglo-Jewish history holdings.

The Hans and Rita Oppenheimer Fund for books related to the Holocaust made it possible to purchase a report by the Polish Government-in-exile in London on the mass extermination of Jews in Nazi-occupied Poland. The bibliographical details can be found on page 200 below.

The *Journal of Jewish Studies* has continued to supply the Library with review copies of academic books.

Lewis Family Books on Long-term Loan to the Library

An Act to permit Persons professing the Jewish Religion to be naturalized by Parliament. London: Thomas Baskett, 1753

Adler, Jacob Georg Christian. *Iudaeorum codicis sacri rite scribendi leges ad recte aestimandos codices manu scriptos antiquos perutiles. E libello thalmudico* מסכת סופרים *[Masekhet soferim] in latinum conversas*. Hamburg: C.E. Bohn, 1779

Bedersi, Jedaiah ben Abraham. *Sefer Leshon ha-Zahav*. Venice: Daniel Zanetti, 1598 or 1599

Canini, Angelo. *Dikduka de-Lishan Aramai = Institutiones linguae syriacae, assyriacae atque thalmudicae, una cum aethiopicae atque*

arabicae collatione. Paris: Charles Etienne, 1554. [Bound together with Cinquarbres, Jean]

Cinquarbres, Jean. *Targum seu paraphrasis caldaica quae etiam syriaca dicitur, Ionathani caldaei [...] sacrarum Veteris Testamenti scripturarum interpretis [...] nunc primum latinitate donata*. Paris: apud Martinum Iuuenem, 1556

Genebrard, Gilbert. *Psalmi Davidis, vulgata editione, calendario Hebraeo, Syro, Graeco, Latino, hymnis, argumentis & comentariis, genuinum & primarium Psalmorum sensum, hebraïsmosque breviter aperientibus, a G. Genebrardo*. Paris: Pierre L'Huillier, 1581

Ghirondi, Mordecai Samuel, and Hananel Neppi. *Toledot Gedolei Yisrael u-Geonei Italia*. Trieste: Marnigh, 1853

Hirsch, Samson Raphael. *Horeb*. Altona: Hammerich, 1837

Ibn Bal'am, Judah ben Samuel. *Sefer Taame ha-Mikra = Liber de scripturae*. Paris: Robert Etienne, 1565

Ibn Ezra, Abraham ben Meir. *Sefer Mozne Leshon ha-Kodesh*. Venice: Daniel Bomberg, 1545 or 1546. ff. 195–236 (*)

—— *Sefer Tsahot ha-Dikduk*. Venice: Daniel Bomberg, 1545 or 1546. ff.133–94 (*)

Ibn Habib, Moses ben Shem-Tob. *[Nivhar me-Osher] Marpe Lashon [...] Darkhe Noam*. Venice: Daniel Bomberg, 1545 or 1546 (*)

—— *Get Pashut*. Sudylkow: Hanina Liba Shapiro, 1833

Kimhi, Moses, et al. *Dikdukim*. Venice: Daniel Bomberg, 1545 or 1546. [10] p., ff. 1–51 (*)

Levita, Elijah Bachur. *Patah Devari*. Venice: Daniel Bomberg, 1545 or 1546. ff. 53–132 (*)

—— *Ha lakhem Pirke Eliyahu*. Venice: Daniel Bomberg, 1545 or 1546 (*)

—— *Sefer ha-Bachur = Liber gramaticae dictus Bachur videlicet electus*. Mantua: 1556

—— *Sefer Harkavah*. Venice: Daniel Bomberg, 1545 or 1546 (*)

Maimonides (Moses ben Maimon). *Mishneh Torah*. St Petersburg: Krayya, 1850–2

Mishnayot: *Eighteen treatises from the Mishnah*, translated by D. A. de Sola and M. J. Raphall. London: Wertheimer, 1843

Morton, Thomas. *The inexcusable behaviour of the Jews exemplified, and*

(*) Seven small grammar books, four of them published as a single book, as can be seen from the pagination, but here bound separately.

the divine authority of Moses and Christ asserted: a sermon preached at Bassingham, April 7th 1754. Lincoln: printed by W. Wood, 1754

Orden de las oraciones cotidianas…[bound with] *Cinco libros de la ley divina*. Amsterdam: 1732–3

Pagnini, Sante. *Kotser ha-Dikduk = Institutionum hebraicarum abbreviatio*. Paris: Charles Etienne, 1556

Pasini, Giuseppe. דקדוק לשון הקדש *[Dikduk leshon ha-kodesh] hoc est, grammatica linguae sanctae institutio cum vocum omnium anomalarum indice, & explicatione, auctore Josepho Pasino ... accedit eiusdem oratio habita, cum publicum docendi munus auspicaretur, A. MDCCXX*. Padua: T. Bettinelli, 1790

Recanati, Menahem ben Benjamin. *Piske halakhot*. Bologna: ha-shutafim, 1537 or 1538

Reland, Hadrian. *Analecta rabbinica*. Utrecht: Poolsum & Broedelet, 1723

Rubin, Arnon. *The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2009. Volume 4. Kielce

Rudimenta grammaticae hebraeae ad usum seminarii patavini. [followed by] Exercitatio grammatica in psalmum XXXIII, secundum Hebr os XXXIV. Venice: Stephanus Magnus, 1681

White, Joseph. *A Praxis for the easy attainment of the Hebrew tongue, adapted to Leusden's epitome of Buxtorf's grammar [...] chiefly designed for a course of public lectures in the University of Oxford*. London: printed by A. Alexander, 1779

Wilson, James. *Dissertation on the future restoration of the Jews, the overthrow of the Papal civil authority and other interesting events of prophecy*. Providence: H. Brown, printer, 1828

The Leopold Muller Memorial Library Committee

Chairman
David Lewis

Librarian
Dr Piet van Boxel

Michael Garston, OBE

Jonathan Gestetner

David Joseph, QC

Howard Lewis

Martin Paisner, CBE

Simon Ryde

Charles Sebag-Montefiore

Anne Webber

Dr Joanna Weinberg

Donors of Books to the Leopold Muller Memorial Library, 2009–2010

INDIVIDUALS

Professor P. Bádenas
Charlotte Caplan
Professor Jane Caplan
Yochai Coppenhagen
Professor Alan Dowty
Professor Yuval Dror
Claire Frankel
Dr Simon Geissbühler
Professor Martin Goodman
Professor Alessandro Guetta
Professor Joseph Hacker and Mrs Uzia ben Elhanan
Dr Hanna Herzig
The Ish-Horowicz Family
Professor Martin Kolinsky
The Lehmann Family
Dr César Merchán-Hamann
Nienke Moolenaar
José Patterson
Professor Moshe Pelli
Edgar Samuel
Dr Eliahu and Henia Sela
Professor and Mrs Philip Spain
Professor Peter Stein
Dr Marie Turner

INSTITUTIONS

Harris Manchester College, Oxford
Ohalo College, Israel (Roy Cohen)
Journal of Jewish Studies, Oxford
Taylor Bodleian Slavonic and Modern Greek Library, Oxford

Books Acquired for the Library Through Special Funds and Endowments

Isaiah Berlin Fund

Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *The Mass Extermination of Jews in German Occupied Poland. Note Addressed to the Governments of the United Nations on December 10th, 1942, and other documents* (London: Hutchinson and Co. [on behalf of Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs], 1942)

Hans and Rita Oppenheimer Fund

British Government, *A Bill for the Relief of His Majesty's Subjects professing the Jewish Religion. 5 April 1830. King George IV* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1830)

Sources of Funding: Major Benefactors and Donors, 2009–2010

MAJOR BENEFACTORS

Anonymous
The Sidney and Elizabeth Corob Charitable Trust
The Dorset Foundation
The FJC Foundation of Philanthropic Funds
The JDC International Centre for Community Development
The Kennedy Leigh Charitable Trust
The Joseph Levy Foundation
The Bernard Lewis Family Charitable Trust
The Catherine Lewis Foundation
The James Mew Fund
The Bernard Morris Charitable Trust
The Pears Family Charitable Foundation
The Polonsky Foundation
The Marc Rich Foundation (Israel)
The Daniel and Joanna S. Rose Fund (USA)
The Rothschild Foundation Europe
The Skirball Foundation
The Harold Hyam Wingate Foundation

Sir Victor and Lady Sylvia Blank
Stanley Fink
Lord Marks of Broughton
Elizabeth and Daniel Peltz
Marc and Rachel Polonsky
Stuart Roden
Lief D. Rosenblatt (USA)

DONORS

The Belz Foundation
The Denise Cohen Charitable Trust

The Sheila and Denis Cohen Charitable Trust
The Cowley Memorial Fund
Edward Field Primary School
The Gerald Fogel Charitable Trust
The Frankel Family Memorial Trust
The Michael and Morven Heller Charitable Foundation
The Bernard Lewis Family Charitable Trust
The Rubin Foundation Charitable Trust
Rothschild Bank
Frank Adam
Lord Alliance of Manchester, CBE
Tony Alt
Professor Marion Aptroot
Ben and Tamara Arbib
Edward and Celia Atkin
Dr Jeremy Hugh Baron
Lord and Lady Bearsted
Eric and Jean Beecham
Frederique Bensahel
Professor Baruch Blumberg
Dr George Blumberg
Jane Blumberg
Dr Richard Bolchover
Clive I. L. Boxer
Paul Brett
Professor Peter A. Brier (USA)
Professor George Brooke
Professor Edwina Brown
Arnold J. Burton
Professor Vicki Caron
David Cashdan (Israel)
Sir Trevor Chinn, CVO
Richard Citron
Dr Henry Cohn
Stewart and Pearl Cohen
John and Jane Colman (USA)
Hugh Denman (Portugal)
Bernard Faber

Dr Sara Feinstein
Dr Peter Ferrer
Paul and Wendy Filer
Gerald J. Fine
Michael and Claire Francies
Dr Charles B. and Mrs J. Freeman
Louis Frenkel
Ian and Linda Gerecht
Jonathan Gestetner
Dr and L. H. and Mrs Sheila Glaser
Avi Goldberg
Richard Golstein
Martin Green
Victor Greenberg
Mr and Mrs Clifford Gundle
Mrs Sue Hammerson
John Harris, CBE
Laurent Haziza
J. R. Hendrie
Dr Leo Hepner
Cecil Hourani
Mrs Anna Horovitz
Alfred H. Ingram
Gary Jackson
Dr Anthony Joseph
David Joseph, QC
Simon Fineman and Dr Evie Kemp
Dr Edward and P. J. O. Kessler
Simon Kester
Jean C. Klerman (USA)
Dr Lionel Kopelowitz
Professor Leonard and Hanna Kravitz (USA)
Professor Jacob and Mrs Phyllis Lassner (USA)
Mrs Irene K. Leiwant (USA)
Daniel Scharf and Ellen Lessner
Mark B. Leveson
Dr Cyril Levicki
Lee Levitt

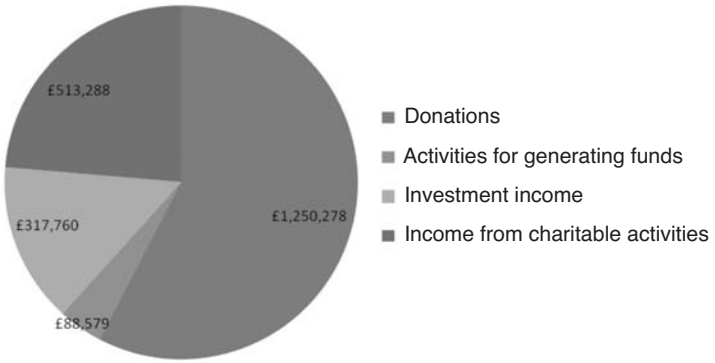
Dr Isidore Levy
Steven D. Lewis
Nigel and Eunice Lion
Professor Jodi Magness (USA)
Dan Patterson and Laura Marks
Jon Mendelsohn
Graham and Ruth Morris
Bernard Myers
Arthur W. Oppenheimer
Paul and Sara Phillips
Rosalind Preston, OBE
Clive Rayden
Lord Justice Rix
Michael Rose
Murray and Leslie Rosen
Paul Rosen
Enid Rubenstein (USA)
Anthony Rudolf
Judith Samson
Sir Bernard Schreier
Professor Hershel Shanks (USA)
Dr and Mrs Leslie Shapiro
Alvin A. Siegal (USA)
Jonathan Silver
Joe and Lucy Smouha
Sir Sigmund Sternberg, KCSG
Simon and Deborah Taylor
Dr Marie Turner
Ruth Wallace
Stephen S. Weiss
Ruth Weyl
Frank Whyman and Dr Susan Whyman (USA)
Malcolm Williamson
Derek Wood, CBE, QC
The Rt Hon. Lord Woolf of Barnes and Lady Woolf
Judy Young
Stephen Zimmerman
Kenneth H. Zucker

Financial Review for 2009–2010

Despite the gloom overhanging the general economy and the fears of all charities that funding would be more difficult to access, the Centre reported a successful year, having increased its total incoming resources by 29%.

Total income in 2009–10 was £2,169,905 compared with £1,683,625 in the previous year.

The breakdown of the total income by category is shown below:



Donations	£1,250,278
Activities for generating funds	£88,579
Investment income	£317,760
Income from charitable activities	£513,288

The Centre expanded its activities by hosting the European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies. This activity was made possible by the successful upgrading of the residential accommodation over the past two years.

Income from investment activities suffered with the suspension of dividends by major UK clearing banks. However, most of this loss of income was compensated for by timely investments in quality Corporate Grade Debt Instruments.

Further academic and conference-type activities will generate further

income and increase the profile of the Centre over the coming twelve months.

Review of Expenditure

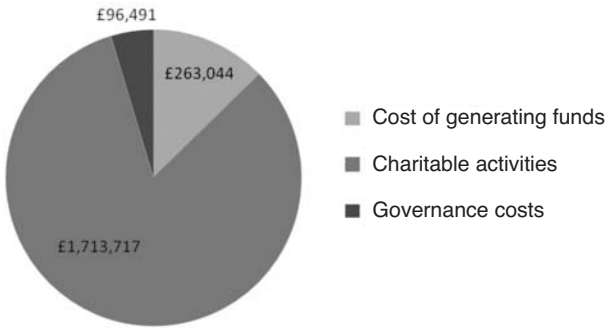
Employee costs form the majority of the Centre's expenditure. Efforts have been made to align academics' pay with that of the University of Oxford.

The Centre has completed a reorganization of its administration and fundraising activities, resulting in a streamlining of the administration and a reduction by three in the total number of administrative staff over the past two years.

As previously mentioned, the Centre has refurbished all its accommodation to a consistently high level.

Total expenditure was successfully contained. Total resources expended were about 5% lower than in 2009, despite matching the 2009 salary increases awarded by the University of Oxford.

An analysis of expenditure by category is presented below.

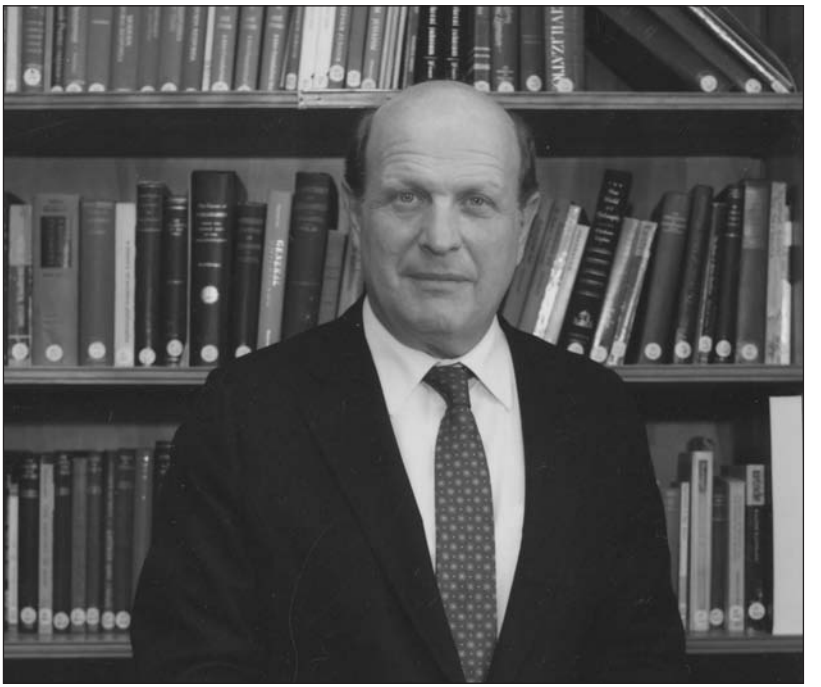


Expenditure in 2008–9 for comparison

Cost of generating funds	£216,326
Charitable activities	£1,881,928
Governance costs	£89,651

All figures for the year to 2010 are unaudited and based on Management accounts for the year.

In memoriam Dr Alfred Gottschalk, 1930–2009



Dr Alfred Gottschalk, successively President (1971–96) and Chancellor (1996–2000) of Hebrew Union College – Jewish Institute of Religion, deeply influenced nearly 2000 rabbis who trained during his tenure. He was for many years a Governor of the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies.

Addressing students each year before Ordination, he would describe how soon after Kristallnacht, on 9–10 November 1938, his grandfather had waded into a freezing stream near the town's desecrated synagogue to rescue torn Torah scrolls. Handing remnants to the child he said 'Hold these close to your heart. One day we will put them together again'.

Alfred Gottschalk was born in Oberwesel, Germany, on 7 March 1930, to a family that had lived in the Rhineland for 400 years. After he slipped out to watch Hitler's motorcade drive past, aged only seven, his mother said 'A Jew risks a lot doing that'. In 1938 his father escaped the Gestapo by making his way to New York, Alfred and his mother following the next year.

From the age of nine he travelled through Brooklyn with his rabbi raising money for American war bonds, polishing shoes in the street on Sundays to buy cinema tickets. 'I once thanked Ronald Reagan for teaching me English. He was in all the movies at that time.' He decided to become a rabbi at fifteen, after his father's death, inspired by the anti-Hitler speeches of Rabbi Stephen Wise.

When he was ordained in 1957 Dr Nelson Glueck charged him with developing HUC-JIR's new Los Angeles School and its pioneering programmes. The subject of his PhD thesis, Ahad Haam, the cultural Zionist, remained central to his writing and thought.

Succeeding Glueck as President he promoted innovations such as the ordination of the first women rabbis in America (1972) and Israel (1992), the first woman cantor in America (1975) and the first Reform rabbi in Israel (1980). He supported the enlargement of the Jerusalem campus, the establishment a rabbinical programme for Israeli students (1975) and of a first year of study in Israel for all US students, transforming the Reform Movement's stance on Zionism and reinforcing links between American Jewry and the State of Israel.

Widely recognized as a religious leader, he was appointed by Presidents Carter, Reagan and Clinton to the US Holocaust Memorial Council, where he founded and chaired the Academic and Education Committees of what became the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum which opened in 1993. As President of the Museum of Jewish Heritage in New York City he initiated and planned the 60,000–square-foot Robert M. Morgenthau Wing.

He passed away on 12 September 2009.