

*Report of the
Oxford Centre
for Hebrew
and Jewish
Studies*

2013–2014




Oxford University
Faculty of Divinity
Hebrew and Jewish Studies
Faculty of Theology
Philosophy and Theology


Oxford University
Oxford Centre for Hebrew
and Jewish Studies
Lecturers: Mark Geller, Jonathan
Sarna, Jonathan Sarna

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for Hebrew and Jewish Studies
2013–2014*

OXFORD CENTRE FOR
HEBREW AND JEWISH STUDIES

A Recognised Independent Centre of the University of Oxford



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OXFORD CENTRE FOR HEBREW AND JEWISH STUDIES

Clarendon Institute Building
Walton Street
Oxford
OX1 2HG

Tel: 01865 377946

Email: enquiries@ochjs.ac.uk

Website: www.ochjs.ac.uk

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President's Message

This has been an historic year for the Centre, with a very full teaching and research programme taking place against a background of intensive preparations for the move to the centre of Oxford announced in last year's *Annual Report*.

The highlights of the academic year are described elsewhere in the *Report* (see below, pages 10–21), but it may be appropriate to draw the attention of readers especially to the impressive research undertaken by the two residential Oxford Seminars in Advanced Jewish Studies hosted by the Centre in the course of the year, through the support of the Polonsky and Dorset Foundations, and also to the Oxford Summer Institute in Modern and Contemporary Judaism held in July 2014, through the sponsorship of a large number of individual donors. The Summer Institute carried over the ethos of free enquiry into difficult issues in modern Orthodox theology from the Oxford Seminar of 2012-13, recalling many of the original participants to tackle another complex issue which proved to be of wide public interest. The Centre has continued to benefit from such donations from a wide range of supporters, and we acknowledge the generosity of all of them with gratitude.

The announcement with which I prefaced last year's *Annual Report* in November 2013, that the Centre would be relocating in central Oxford all the activities which for many years had been based in Yarnton, was warmly welcomed by the University, which immediately recognized the opportunities for synergy between the Centre and the University in the wider promotion of Hebrew and Jewish studies. It took much of the rest of the academic year to complete the process, but such goodwill across the University ensured eventually a successful conclusion to negotiations to secure an appropriate new home for the Centre in the Clarendon Institute building in Walton Street. The move to this new home took place in September 2014.

The Clarendon Institute is a fine late-Victorian building, described in a report soon after its opening in 1893 as 'in the Elizabethan style'. It was built originally as a recreation centre for workers from Oxford University Press and was known as the Clarendon Press Institute. Staff at OUP with long memories still recall attending events at 'the Stute'. In the early 1990s the building was handed over for academic use and its interior extensively remodelled to create

offices and teaching rooms to house the Institute of Chinese Studies (which had grown too large to remain in the Oriental Institute) and the Centre for Linguistics and Philology, and also to provide space for the Bodleian Chinese Library. However, by November 2013 it was known that Chinese Studies were due to move in July 2014 to the new Dickson Poon China Centre in St Hugh's College, on completion of the China Centre building.

After the long consultation required for all allocations of space by the University, the Faculty of Oriental Studies was granted permission to retain the space vacated by Chinese Studies and to allocate it to the Centre and to the Hebrew and Jewish Studies Unit, thus bringing under one roof the activities previously divided between Yarrnton and the Oriental Institute. In separate discussions, the Curators of the Bodleian Libraries agreed both to take on the task of managing the collections of the Leopold Muller Memorial Library and to retain the library space vacated by the Chinese Library, so that the bulk of the Muller Library is available in the same building as the Centre's research and teaching rooms, with the Library's special collections material housed in the newly refurbished Weston Library alongside the Bodleian's own special collections of Hebraica and Judaica.

Of exceptional importance in persuading the University authorities to allocate such a prime location to the Centre was the history of close cooperation over many years between the Centre and the Faculty of Oriental Studies and between the Centre and the Bodleian. The multiplicity of courses in Hebrew and Jewish studies offered by the Faculty at both undergraduate and graduate level would be impossible without the teaching expertise provided through the Centre. Moreover, Oxford's exceptional library provision in Hebraica and Judaica – which attracts both such students and many research visitors – has long relied on subventions from the Centre to ensure that the library stock remains up-to-date in the field of modern Hebrew literature, while for a number of years the Centre's librarian has also been responsible for the historic Bodleian collections in our field.

The advantages of relocation to the Clarendon Institute building have already become apparent in the two months since the Centre moved at the beginning of September 2014. The Centre's new location is close to the Oriental Institute in Pusey Lane – hence the original decision to move Chinese Studies to this site in the 1990s – and even closer to the Oxford Jewish Congregation in Richmond Road. Encouraging students and staff of the University to attend events and classes and to use the library has become much easier. With our new home just ten minutes on foot from the railway station, and five minutes

from Gloucester Green bus station, we can hope to attract a wider public from London and elsewhere. Final touches to the refurbishment of the building are expected to be complete by the end of November, and the Visiting Fellows for the first Oxford Seminar in the new premises arrive in January 2015.

Organizing and executing the move has been a huge operation, involving hard work by many people. The Yarrnton Manor estate was put up for sale in March 2014 and transferred to new owners in September. Sorting out materials which had accumulated in different corners of such a large property over forty years was not easy, and preparing the Clarendon Institute building for the Centre to be ready for the start of term in October required much consultation and numerous decisions. The Centre's staff worked flat out to enable the move to take place smoothly and on time. It is invidious to single out particular individuals when so many did so much, but it may be appropriate to note especially the roles of David Lewis and Daniel Peltz, who looked after the sale on behalf of the Governors; of Sheila Phillips, who, as Bursar, was inevitably involved with the process at every level; of Sue Forteath and Martine Smith-Huvers, who have moved with the Centre and managed to organize and operate a new office in the chaos of packing cases and builders; and the Centre's librarians, who worked immensely long hours to prepare the collections for transfer.

From the beginning of September 2014 the librarians ceased to be employed directly by the Centre and are now employed by the Bodleian. Many others who worked tirelessly for the Centre in the year under review also left the Centre's employment at the end of August without the Centre being able to arrange such a transfer to a new employer. For many of them, anxiety about the future was inevitable for much of the year during the process of the sale, and it was only in August that there was any certainty that the new owners wished to take on estate staff. All the more reason to express gratitude here to Derek Cox and his colleagues, who kept the Yarrnton grounds and buildings looking at their best, and to Teresa Berridge and her team, who cared magnificently for a constant stream of academic visitors, with the accommodation in Yarrnton filled to capacity right up to the middle of August. It has been very hard to say farewell to such devoted colleagues, and we wish all of them the very best for the future.

It is clear that leaving the Manor has more generally been an emotional wrench to many, both staff and visitors, who have grown to love its beauty. Nonetheless, the wisdom of the move to the Clarendon Institute is evident, and not only on academic and outreach grounds. The Centre's finances have been transformed, with annual expenditure greatly diminished. Through the generosity of the trustees of the Charles Wolfson Charitable Trust, the Centre has

been able to retain much of the proceeds of the sale of the Yarnton Manor estate and to add a substantial sum to its endowment. There is more to be done before the Centre can expect to cover from investment income everything it would like to do in teaching, scholarship and outreach, but the amount for which we shall need to look for help annually from our supporters has greatly decreased, and we can concentrate more on raising funds for specific scholarly projects.

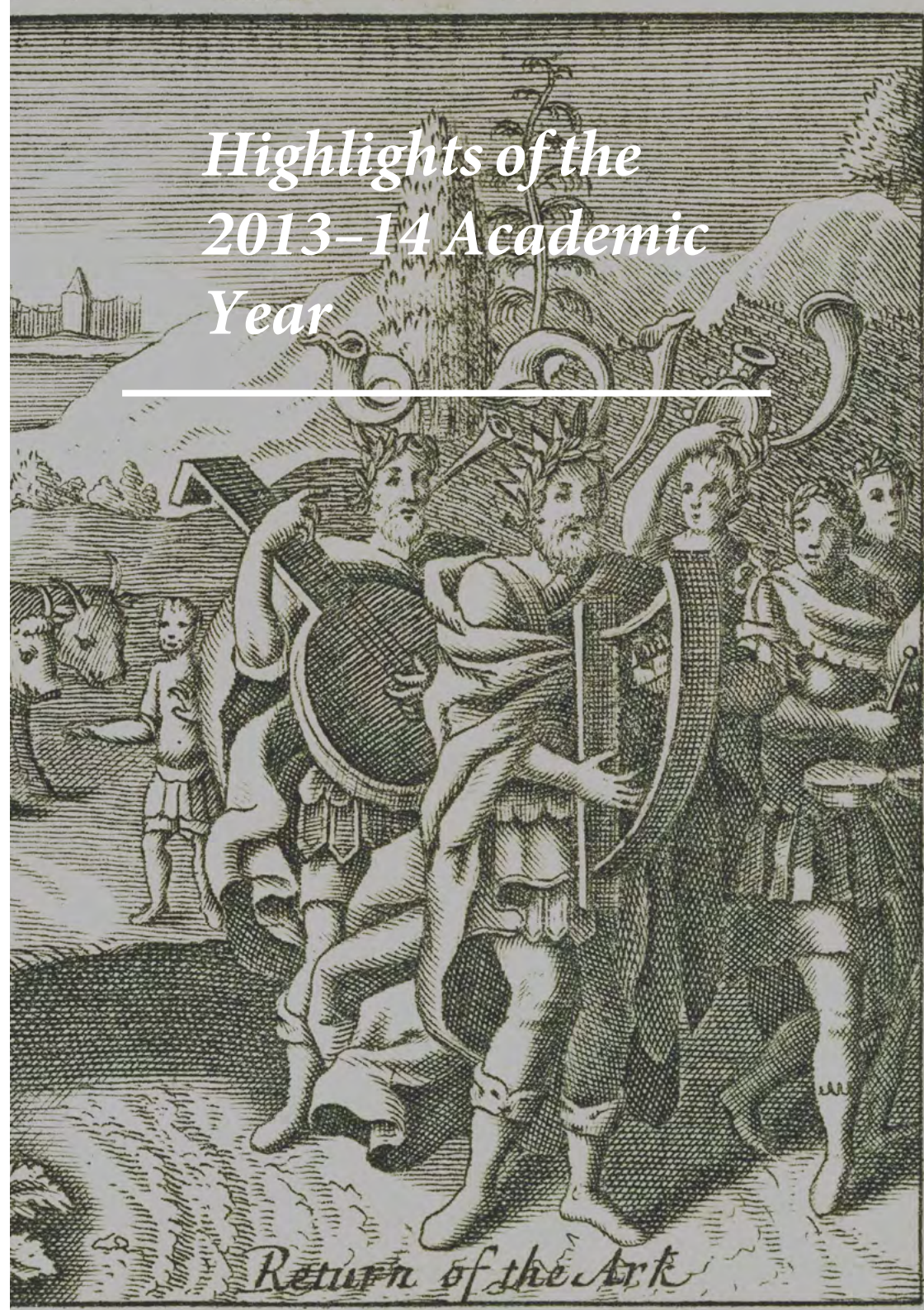
We were saddened to learn in the course of the year of the deaths of two distinguished colleagues who had long been associated with the Centre. Ernest Nicholson, former Provost of Oriel, was a great biblical scholar whose service to the Centre as a Governor and Emeritus Governor is recalled by us with respect and gratitude. Ezra Spicehandler, of Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, was a visitor to the Centre from its very earliest years and worked closely with David Patterson, our Founder President, not least in their joint publication of the novellas of Bialik.

The Centre's Fellowship has been diminished by the retirement on 30 September 2014 of Hugh Williamson from his post as Regius Professor of Hebrew. The Centre owes him a great deal, not just as a distinguished colleague, but as a wise and indefatigable Vice-Chairman of the Governors; it is a pleasure to record that he has agreed to continue in his role as a Governor for a period. It is a pleasure also to record that his successor as Regius Professor, Jan Joosten, who comes to Oxford from Strasbourg, consented to join the Centre's Fellowship from October 2014, and also to serve as one of the Governors appointed to the Board by the University. We also celebrate the recognition by the University of the distinction of two of our Fellows, Joanna Weinberg and David Rechter, by the conferral of the title of Professor; this is not an honour bestowed lightly by the University of Oxford, and it reflects the international impact of their scholarship, in which both they and the Centre can justifiably feel pride.

It has been a momentous year, and it would be naïve not to confess to some relief that the Centre has now sailed into calmer waters in which our focus can revert to the research, teaching and outreach through lectures and publications which are, and should be, our main concerns. But we can also look back with pleasure at the knowledge that so many colleagues – Governors, Fellows, staff, colleagues within the University, and many supporters in the wider community – have proved so willing to help and encourage the Centre in its move to a new and bright future.

Martin Goodman
November 2014

Highlights of the 2013–14 Academic Year



Relocation

The Centre announced in November 2013 that from the end of August 2014 it would be moving into central Oxford all of its operations which had been located in Yarnton Manor. The transfer into the Clarendon Institute building was the focus of much effort by the Centre's staff throughout the rest of the academic year.

The transfer has enabled the Centre to integrate its teaching and research further into the University, and provides a new base within the city for the Centre's outreach to a wider public. It also greatly benefits the operation of the international research groups convened by the Centre under the aegis of the Oxford Seminars in Advanced Jewish Studies, providing participating researchers with office space closer both to those teaching Jewish studies and related fields in the University and to the resources of the Bodleian Library.

The Clarendon Institute, erected in 1893–4 by the Delegates of the University Press, is a late-Victorian building on Walton Street owned by the University of Oxford. Various internal refurbishments, including the creation of a lecture room on the ground floor, have been undertaken by the Estates department of the University, and the Centre moved into its new premises at the start of September 2014 as planned.

Oxford Seminars in Advanced Jewish Studies

'On the Word of a Jew'

The second Oxford Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies began at Yarnton in October 2013 and continued throughout Hilary Term 2014, culminating in a conference on 11–12 March. The overall theme of the Seminar, led by Professor Nina Caputo and Professor Mitchell Hart (both of the University of Florida), together with Dr David Rechter as the project's Oxford-based convenor, was 'On the Word of a Jew: Oaths, Testimonies, and the Nature of Trust'.

This Oxford Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies examined when and how Jews came to be seen as reliable or trustworthy in the realm of the law – as witnesses, but also as lawyers and judges – and in a host of other realms, including medicine, politics, academia, culture (particularly the art world), business and finance. Participants focused on traditionally Christian countries or empires, but also on the status of Jews under Muslim rule. The question of





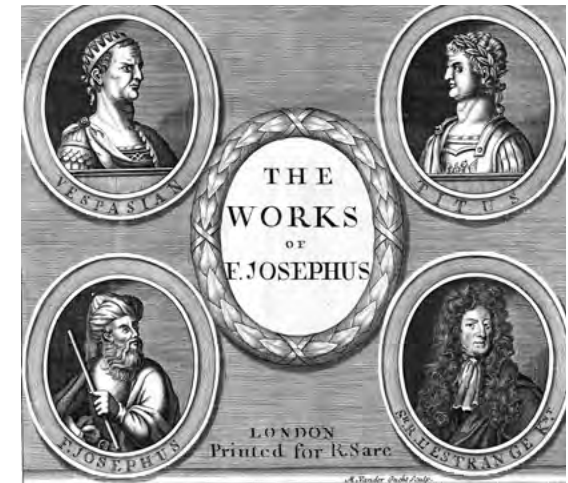
Jews and trust is more generally one of Christian (or Muslim) transformation over time. Thus the seminar provided an opportunity to explore how 'the Jew' serves as a spur or impulse to large-scale changes in mentalities and practices, and to explain how this occurred within specific institutional settings: from the pre-modern world of theology and exegesis, to modern institutions like law courts, hospitals, universities, parliaments and businesses, and cultural institutions such as museums, galleries and auction houses. The Visiting Fellows assigned to this project, which was made possible through the generous support of the Dorset Foundation and the Polonsky Foundation, met twice-weekly in term time to conduct public seminars and to discuss their research. The concluding conference, to which additional speakers were invited, included a keynote public lecture by Professor George Rousseau.

Some of their findings can be found on pages 24-48 of this *Report*.

'Josephus in the Early Modern Period'

The third Oxford Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies, entitled 'The Reception of Josephus in the Early Modern Period', was convened jointly by Dr Joanna Weinberg and Professor Martin Goodman. It began in January 2014 with an opening event at Exeter College, in which Professor Anthony Grafton participated by video link from Princeton University. The Seminar continued throughout Trinity Term 2014.

This Oxford Seminar set out to investigate the varied uses of the writings of Flavius Josephus in Jewish and Christian literature in the early modern period. The survival of Josephus' writings from the first century CE to the early modern period was entirely due to the use of these texts by Christians. It



is possible that Josephus' writings were known to the rabbis of late antiquity, but the surviving late-antique rabbinic texts in Hebrew and Aramaic make no explicit reference to him or to his work. The re-entry of Josephus into the Jewish cultural milieu came about through a Hebrew reworking of a Latin translation of the first sixteen books of the *Antiquities* and a Hebrew paraphrase of the Latin version of *The Jewish War* attributed to Hegeippus. Produced in the tenth century CE, this Hebrew rendering, known as *Josippon*, circulated in various versions in medieval rabbinic circles, and remained for many centuries the prime source for Jews on the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE. By the time of Rashi, in the later eleventh century, *Josippon* was commonly ascribed to Josephus himself, thus acquiring a spurious authority which encouraged its translation into other languages, including Arabic. The real Josephus became known to Jews from the fifteenth century, but it was the sixteenth-century Azariah de' Rossi who rediscovered the significance of Hellenistic Jewish writers for Judaism, and who used Josephus as a fundamental source for analysing the authenticity of rabbinic tradition. From the early modern period the works of Josephus, in different forms, became a vital resource for Jews as much as Christians of all denominations in reconstructing their own histories.

The programme of weekly public seminars and workshops generated by this event provided a forum for the scholars to address central research topics related to the overall theme.

For further details, see pages 49-54 of this *Report*.

Arts and Humanities Research Council Workshops on the Jewish Reception of Josephus in the Twentieth and Twenty-first Centuries



The third of four workshops on the reception of Josephus in Jewish culture from the eighteenth century to the present, led by Professor Martin Goodman together with co-investigators Professor Tessa Rajak and Dr Andrea Schatz, took place at Yarnton Manor on 6-7 January 2014. In this workshop, devoted to the Jewish reception of Josephus in Central and Eastern Europe between about 1800 and 1914, participants were invited to examine the uses of Josephus in a wide range of rabbinic, maskilic and early Zionist contexts, raising questions such as how Josephus figured in debates on the renewal of Jewish religious, cultural and political life in Central and Eastern Europe, how he was cited in controversies over assimilation, and the implications of educational and popular uses of Josephus.

The fourth and final workshop covered the Jewish reception of Josephus in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. A different group of participants met in Yarnton on 16 and 17 June to examine the role of Josephus in a wide spectrum of Jewish politics, culture, religious life, scholarship and education from the early twentieth century, through the foundation of the State of Israel to the present. Matters under consideration included how Josephus figures in Zionist thought, how Liberals, Orthodox Jews and Bundists used his works and image in debates about Jewish nationalism, and how Josephus' work has been re-evaluated in the late twentieth century and today in debates about post-Zionist reassessments of the foundation and ideologies of the State of Israel.

The Catherine Lewis Lectures

A series of lectures by Dr Joshua Teplitsky, entitled 'A Universal Jewish Library? The Early Modern Origins of the Bodleian Oppenheim Collection', proved extremely popular. The lectures took place over three consecutive weeks in Trinity Term 2014 at the Radcliffe Science Library, and were arranged by Dr César Merchán-Hamann.

The series was dedicated to an exploration of the Oppenheim Judaica collection of the Bodleian Library. This was assembled by the rabbi and bibliophile David Oppenheim (1664-1736), the Chief Rabbi of Prague, who over his lifetime acquired some 4500 books and 1000 manuscripts. The collection was purchased by the Bodleian Library in 1829 and remains the crown jewel of its Judaica holdings and a rich field for historical, literary and philological research, as it contains the sole existing copies of many Hebrew and Yiddish books. Participants were given unique access to the treasures of the collection, and the opportunity to enter into the material and mental space of this unparalleled collection and the man who assembled it.

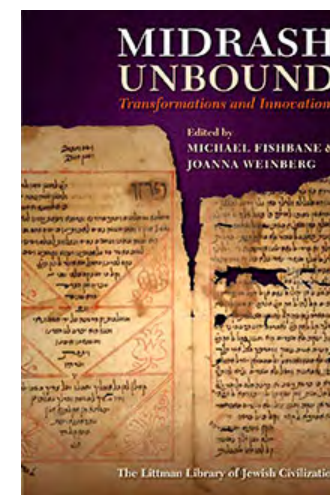
For further details of the lectures please see pages 75–6 of this *Report*.

New Publications

Midrash Unbound: Transformations and Innovation

This volume, edited by Michael Fishbane and Joanna Weinberg, was published in December 2013 by the Littman Library of Jewish Civilization.

The fruit of collaboration by several prominent scholars in the field, this collection of new studies opens a new period in the study of Midrash and its creative role in the formation of culture. Midrash forms a huge literature of scriptural exegesis that developed over several centuries, and the publication presents the diversity and growth of that creative profusion in a new light. It covers a wide range of literary texts, from late antiquity to the early modern period and from all centres of literary creativity, including non-rabbinic and non-Jewish literature, illustrating the full extent of the modes and transformations of Midrash. The book is of interest not only to Jewish studies scholars, but to a wider readership interested in the interrelationships between hermeneutics, culture and creativity.

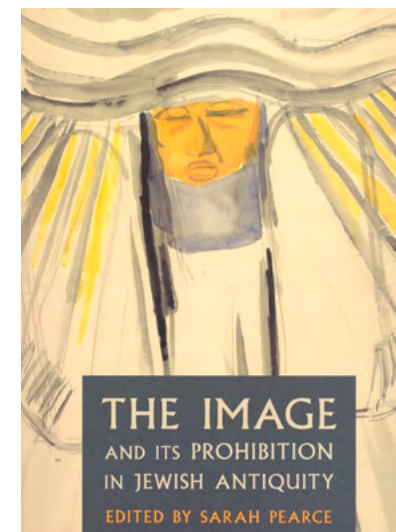
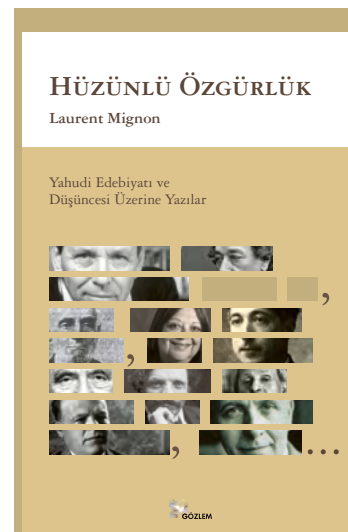
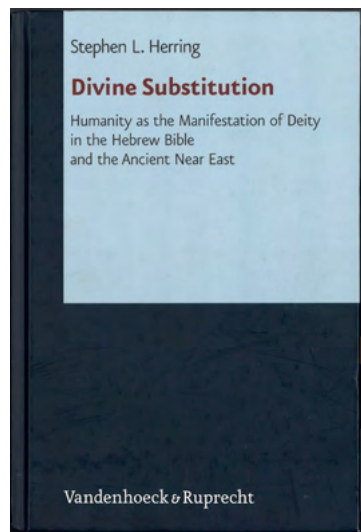


*Divine Substitution.
Humanity as the
Manifestation of Deity
in the Hebrew Bible and
the Ancient Near East*

This year saw the publication by Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht of the doctoral thesis of Stephen Herring, who is Biblical Hebrew Lector at the Centre. In this work, Dr Herring investigates ancient conceptualizations of divine presence, and specifically the possibility that the ancient Mesopotamian conceptualization of cultic and royal statues, thought to manifest the actual presence of gods and kings, can likewise be found in ancient Israel. Despite the pessimistic view of later biblical authors, material objects such as standing stones were almost certainly believed to extend and manifest the presence of God in pre-exilic Israel. Later polemics against such cultic concepts demonstrate Israel's familiarity with this type of conceptualization. They engaged in a rhetoric of mutilation and destruction of cultic representations, calling for the erasure and re-inscription of divine names, and the rhetorical deconstruction of the specific Mesopotamian rituals thought to transform the dead statue into a living god. Although the biblical reflection of these concepts is more often found in negative commentaries regarding 'foreign' cultic practices, Dr Herring demonstrates that these opinions were not universally held. At least three biblical texts (Genesis 1:26f., Exodus 34:29-34 and Ezekiel 36-37) reflect the view that material images could manifest the divine presence in positive terms. Yet, these positive attestations were limited to a certain type of material image – humans.

Hüzünlü Özgürlük – A Sad State of Freedom

This collection of essays by Dr Laurent Mignon, one of the Centre's Governors and Associate Professor of Turkish at the University of Oxford, explores the manifestation of the concept of *tikkun olam* - the healing of the world - in



modern Jewish literature and thought, and introduces readers to a variety of authors and situations which are out of the ordinary: a Yiddish song which became the unofficial national anthem of Turkey, Palestinian novelists who write in Hebrew, a Luxembourg chief rabbi quoted by Karl Marx, and another who denounced Ernest Renan's racism. The author takes his readers on a journey from Philadelphia to Tel-Aviv, and from Istanbul to Luxembourg, and offers the opportunity to meet poets and thinkers including Samuel Hirsch, Moyshe Nadir, Yona Wallach and Isak Ferera.

The Image and Its Prohibition in Jewish Antiquity

This lavishly illustrated volume, published by the *Journal of Jewish Studies* in 2013 as volume 2 of its Supplement Series, suggests new ways of looking at art in Jewish antiquity, going against the common perception that ancient Judaism was an artless culture. Under the editorship of Professor Sarah Pearce (University of Southampton), leading experts in the field investigate different functions of images in relation to their prohibition by the second of the Ten Commandments.

The book was launched at a well-attended David Patterson Seminar at Yarnton in Trinity Term 2014, at which a number of the contributors gave brief presentations within the format of a panel discussion.



Oxford Summer Institute on Modern and Contemporary Judaism

An Oxford Summer Institute on Modern and Contemporary Judaism was held in July 2014 under the auspices of the Centre on the initiative of Dr Miri Freud-Kandel (Fellow in Modern Judaism) and Professor Adam Ferziger (Bar-Ilan University). Some fifteen outstanding scholars of Jewish religion and culture from around the globe gathered for a period of intensive study and intellectual exchange in the setting of an advanced seminar. In future years the Institute will focus on a different central theme or seminal thinker, selected for their importance to modern and contemporary Judaism and the extent to which the topic can be illuminated through rigorous, critical academic study. This framework is designed to facilitate the development of innovative and challenging perspectives rooted in disciplined scientific method and to influence broader applied thinking about a spectrum of religious understandings and approaches to Judaism.



The first Summer Institute, entitled ‘Modern Orthodoxy and the Road Not Taken: A Critical Exploration of Questions Arising from the Thought of Rabbi Dr Yitz Greenberg’, was held at Yarnton from 22 June to 1 July 2014, and included a full programme of seminars and lectures in Oxford and in London. (For a full programme see pages 107–8 of this *Report*.)

Cowley Lecturer in Modern Hebrew Literature

The arrival at the Centre of Dr Adriana X. Jacobs as Fellow in Modern Hebrew Literature and Cowley Lecturer at the University of Oxford, was welcomed in last year’s Annual Report. Dr Jacobs gave her inaugural lecture in her new post at a well-attended David Patterson Seminar on 13 November, entitled ‘Contemporary Israeli Poetry and the Economy of Translation’.

Inaugural Lectures on Israel Studies

Dr Sara Hirschhorn, whose arrival we also welcomed in last year’s report, delivered her first Oxford lecture as Sidney Brichto Fellow in Israel Studies, on ‘The Origins of the Redemption in Occupied Suburbia? Rabbi Shlomo Riskin and the Jewish-American Makings of the West-Bank Settlement of Efrat’, and soon afterwards gave her first lecture in London, on ‘The Unsettled Question: a Brief History of the Israeli Settler Movement since 1967’.

In May 2014 Professor Derek Penslar, who was elected to a Fellowship of the Centre in October 2013, delivered in St Anne’s College, where he is a Fellow, his inaugural lecture as Stanley Lewis Professor of Israel Studies at the University of Oxford, choosing the topic ‘What is “Israel Studies”?’



Professor Penslar’s chair is based primarily in the School of Interdisciplinary Area Studies and the Department of Politics and International Relations. He studies Zionism and modern Israel within the contexts of modern European and Middle Eastern history, nationalism and colonialism, and came to Oxford after twenty-five years of teaching Jewish, European and comparative history as well as Israel Studies at Indiana University, the University of Toronto, and at Harvard and Columbia. He has a BA from Stanford, and an MA and PhD from the University of California at Berkeley.



Retirement of Professor Hugh Williamson

Hugh Williamson FBA, Regius Professor of Hebrew at the University of Oxford, Student of Christ Church, and an *ex officio* Fellow of the Centre, retired at the end of the academic year after more than twenty years' association with the Centre. He gave it his support in many different capacities, from chairing the Standing Committee for the Diploma in Jewish Studies in the early days, to serving on the Centre's Board of Governors as one of the University's representatives, and most recently as Vice-Chairman. Hugh's wisdom and measured approach in all matters proved a real asset, and the Centre is delighted that he has agreed to join the Board of Governors in his own right from October 2014, and will be able to continue to advise on all aspects of the Centre's future as it enters the next stage of its development.

Farewell to Dr Joshua Teplitsky

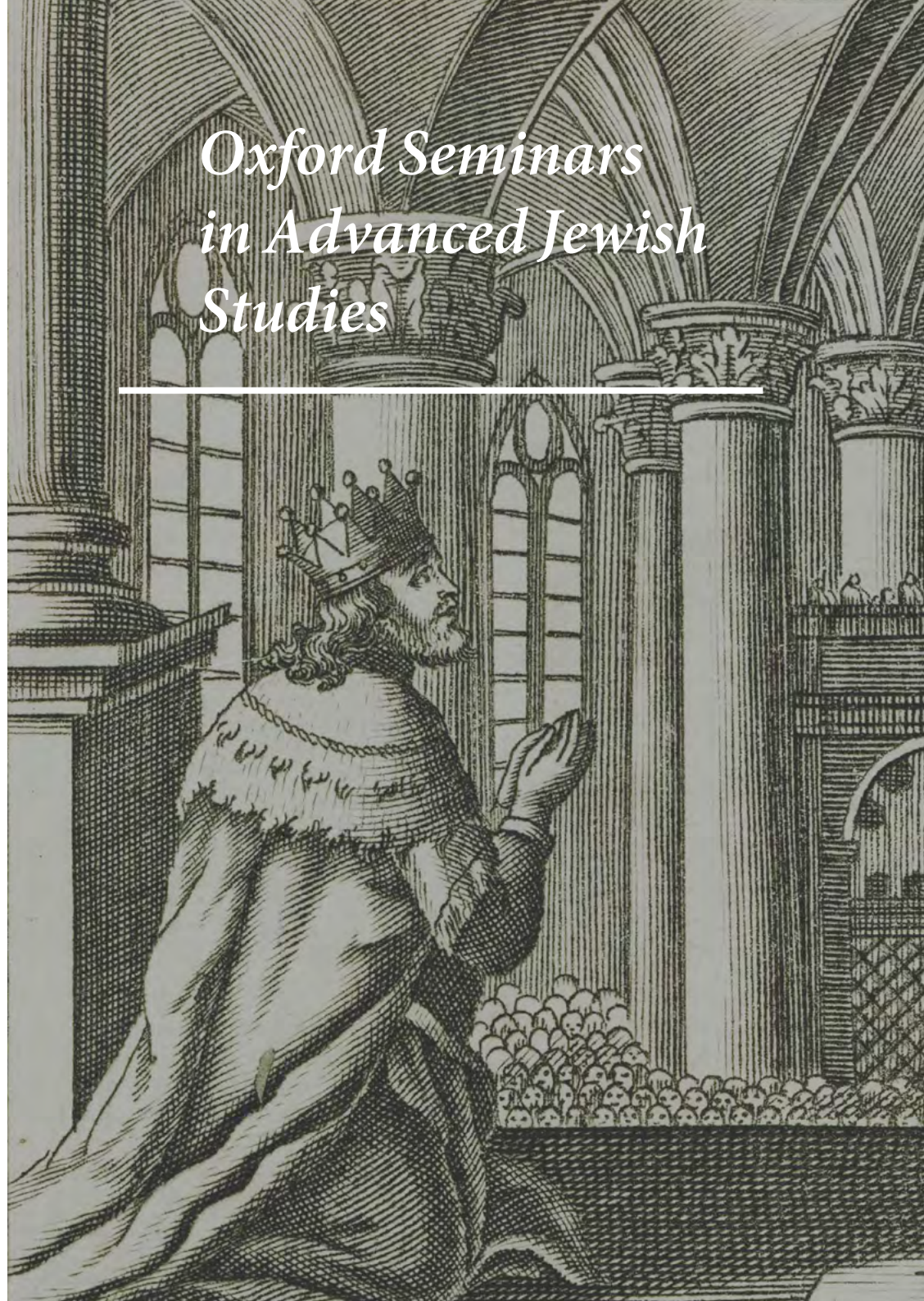
Dr Joshua Teplitsky completed his two-year tenure as Albert and Rachel Lehmann Junior Research Fellow in Jewish History and Culture, and left the Centre in the summer of 2014 to take up a position at Stony Brook, the State University of New York. We wish him every success in his new post. Aside from his scholarly work, Josh's enthusiasm, good humour and lively presence will doubtless be appreciated by his new colleagues and will certainly be missed by everyone at the Centre.



New Online Exhibition

The Muller Library launched a new online exhibition in 2013, entitled 'The World of Printed Words', based on highlights of the Western Hebrew Library, a collection of over 1300 items dating from the fifteenth to the twentieth centuries, collected by Samuel Montagu and deposited on loan with the Leopold Muller Memorial Library in 2013 by the New West End Synagogue, London. The online exhibition accompanied a physical display in the Library from 6 April to 30 June 2014.

*Oxford Seminars
in Advanced Jewish
Studies*



On the Word of a Jew: Oaths, Testimonies and the Nature of Trust

A Jew in the Margin: Petrus Alfonsi and the Figure of the Medieval Convert

Professor Nina Caputo
University of Florida

In the early twelfth century a Jew named Moses converted to Christianity under the patronage of King Alfonso I of Aragon and was christened Petrus Alfonsi. Though no records relating to Moses's background or position in the Jewish community survive, the fact of his conversion is well known, and also that shortly after converting, he penned *Dialogi contra iudeos*, a philosophical disputation in which a Christian and a Jewish character debate matters of faith. Among the more notable characteristics of this text is the fact that Petrus Alfonsi suggested to his reader that the two characters – the Christian named Petrus, his own Christian name, and the Jew called Moses, his pre-conversion Jewish name – represented himself. With the interchange between Petrus and Moses, Alfonsi formalized his status as a recently converted Jew navigating the expanding religious, political and cultural terrain of Christendom. This text stands at the core of my current book project, in which I explore the religious and cultural factors that informed textual constructions of the convert, the disputant and the Jew during the High Middle Ages.

Alfonsi converted and composed this work at a time when Jewish converts to Christianity increasingly influenced public discourse around the legal and theological role of Jews, Judaism and conversion in the Christian world. In this disputation he drew attention to the fact that he successfully transcended his status as a Jew poised between Muslim and Christian intellectual spheres, struggling to find the faith that best cohered with philosophical reasoning. The *Dialogi* thus provides an important resource for addressing questions of medieval self-representation, mechanisms of trust and distrust, and the political and social significance allotted to converts during the Middle Ages. Whereas Christianity placed a high theological value on converts from Judaism, medieval Christians often viewed them with suspicion. As a result, converts from Judaism to Christianity occupied a distinctive and deeply ambivalent

position in medieval society. *A Jew in the Margin* examines the religious and cultural factors that informed the way Petrus Alfonsi presented himself to the Christian world as a rationalist, as a convert and as a Christian.

I undertake this project as several important works have recently embarked on fresh readings of the liminal status of converts in the Middle Ages, who negotiated an often hostile course through Christian society.¹ Two dominant approaches prevail in this recent body of scholarship. The first employs the tools of social history to explore the practical elements of conversion, such as mundane motivations and difficulties of assimilation into the new religious community. The second, rooted firmly in literary analysis, focuses on the rhetorical characteristics of medieval conversion narratives and accounts of converts' activity in the Christian community. My work contributes to this emerging scholarship and will pursue two additional lines of analysis. I intend to historicize the literary structure of the *Dialogi* in the context of political, cultural and theological changes taking place in twelfth-century Iberia among Christians and Jews. Alfonsi utilized his connection with Judaism to establish a mien of authority. Telling his readers that he had been an important scholar in the Jewish community, Alfonsi positioned himself as the bearer of exotic and previously forbidden Jewish knowledge. The *Dialogi* became a crucial text for understanding why Jews continued to reject Jesus as the Messiah, and a model for arguments that might help encourage others to follow Alfonsi's example.

This project also contributes to scholarship on polemics and the medieval Christian mission to Jews. Theological exchange between the two faiths took the form of detailed polemical tracts in which the disputants struggled over the proper interpretation of Scripture. Medieval polemical and disputation literature exploits the drama of dialogue to construct a convincing literary Jew who holds fast to an untenable truth. Alfonsi enhances the plausibility of his Jewish character by presenting both disputants as versions of himself. I am interested in the rhetorical devices and prooftexts employed in the exchanges between the Christian and Jewish characters in the text. Does Alfonsi

1. Elisheva Carlebach, *Divided Souls: Converts from Judaism in Germany, 1500–1750* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001); Jean Claude Schmitt, *The Conversion of Herman the Jew: Autobiography, History, and Fiction in the Twelfth Century*, trans. Alex J. Novikoff, The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010); Ryan Szpiech, *Conversion and Narrative: Reading and Religious Authority in Medieval Polemic*, The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012); Paola Tartakoff, *Between Christian and Jew: Conversion and Inquisition in the Crown of Aragon, 1250–1391*, The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012).

reproduce stereotypical arguments about Judaism, or does he allow his Moses to use arguments that Jews would recognize as Jewish? And, in those cases when the text was abridged or excerpted by other authors, to what degree was the integrity of the Jewish character reproduced?

Because this project is concerned with the *Dialogi* at the micro level as well as the history of its reception and interpretation, three strata of research have been necessary. The first is a comparative survey of the manuscript tradition of the *Dialogi*. There are roughly 80 extant manuscript copies of this text, whether complete, excerpted or paraphrased, dating from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries; seven of these reside at the Bodleian Library. The manuscript history of this text has been well documented, revealing that most of the versions held in libraries and archives throughout Europe are based on two dominant textual recensions.² Of particular interest for this study are the excerpted and paraphrased copies. A survey of these partial texts, to determine whether scribes modified Alfonsi's representation of Moses's voice, will provide a clue as to what readers sought in the *Dialogi*.

The next layer focuses on the interchange between polemics and exegesis. One of the central questions I address in this project concerns the form and function of polemical literature and its role as an exegetical tool. Alfonsi's work found particular favour among the monks of the Victorine order, which was also an important setting for Jewish-Christian discussion and collaboration around questions of biblical interpretation. Twelfth- and thirteenth-century Victorine or Cistercian commentaries on the Hebrew Bible, and sermons or epistles dealing with conversion or the conception of Christendom, are of particular importance for this work. Jewish exegesis, particularly that produced by the Tosaphist school of rabbinic learning that emerged in northern Europe during the twelfth century, will provide a basis for comparison. In addition, a comparative study of Latin and Hebrew polemical works will bring into focus the rhetorical means by which Jews resisted Christian efforts to present Christianity as a more perfect faith.

At the final level of research, this project situates Petrus Alfonsi's *Dialogi contra iudaeos* and its reception in the changing terrain of conversion between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries. It is necessary to situate this text in the corpus of works detailing the process of conversion both within Christianity and to Christianity.

2. John V. Tolan, *Petrus Alfonsi and His Medieval Readers* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1993).

Could a Victorian Jew be an English Gentleman?

Professor Todd M. Endelman
University of Michigan

Two codes conditioned the acculturation and integration of Jews in Western and Central Europe and North America in the modern period. One was the code of values and norms of the stratum in society to which Jews desired entrée. The other was the more widely shared set of notions that demarcated membership in the nation in whose midst Jews lived. While there was overlap between the two, the former was specific to one social group while the latter was broader in scope – operative, in theory, among all social strata across the nation. In Georgian and Victorian England the question of full citizenship for Jews – their legal inclusion in the nation – was not an explosive issue as it was elsewhere (especially in the German states). Despite the clamour surrounding the Jew Bill in 1753 and the protracted struggle to enter the House of Commons without swearing a Christian oath a century later, the British state always considered Jews who were born in Britain as citizens. As such, native-born Jews enjoyed the same legal status as Christians who were not communicants of the Church of England. In the mid-Victorian period, not long after Parliament removed the political disabilities that burdened Nonconformists and Catholics, it did the same for Jews. A more pressing and problematical issue for Jews (Jewish men, that is), one that was never definitively resolved, was the question of their rank in the social hierarchy and in the popular imagination. Could they be gentlemen? Was Jewishness (however defined) compatible with gentility?

From the early-Victorian period to the mid-twentieth century, English society, at least the property-owning part of it, was preoccupied with defining who was and who was not a gentleman. The question obsessed novelists, journalists, critics and moralists. In pre-industrial England the term referred to well-born men of position, long rooted in the country, who possessed extensive estates and whose wealth derived from agriculture rather than commerce or finance – that is, the gentry (note the linguistic affinity among the words *gentry*, *gentility* and *gentleman*). Broad shifts in the economic life of England in the seventeenth and

eighteenth centuries disrupted this meaning. The expansion of the middle class and the social aspirations that newly acquired wealth stimulated among its most prosperous representatives required the old elite repeatedly to clarify the meaning of gentility, since the possession of wealth alone was not a sufficient criterion. Wealth continued to count, of course, but so did birth and how wealth was acquired. As the novelist Anthony Trollope observed in *The Prime Minister* (1876), ‘It is certainly of service to a man to know who were his grandfathers and who were his grandmothers if he entertain an ambition to move in the upper circles of society’. (bk. 1, chap. 1) Less tangible markers of gentility were invoked as well, especially from the mid-nineteenth century. They included, in no particular order, morality, honour, selflessness, generosity, loyalty, trustworthiness, courage, self-control, responsibility, independence, manliness, sociability, sound principles, good taste and a passion for country sports. Thus persons whose birth was not *gentle*, but whose manner of living and outlook on life were similar to those who were *gentle* by birth, were *potentially* gentlemen.

As the idea of a gentleman enlarged and became more elastic, the question of who was ‘in’ and who was ‘out’ became thornier. It was much debated and took on different meanings in different contexts. Part of the problem was that there were two levels of meaning: it was a measure of socio-economic status and a standard of conduct. In the end, the final arbiters of who was and who was not a gentleman were those whose approval and acceptance aspirants to gentility were seeking. That is, the determination of gentility was in the hands of those who were already widely acknowledged as gentlemen. One could not merely declare oneself a gentleman. One had to be acknowledged as such – by visible signs of acceptance, such as invitations to country-house weekends, balls and dinners, and membership in clubs and societies.

If gentility was problematic for Victorians in general, then how much the more so was it for Jews. Like other self-made men of low birth, Jews were outsiders, of foreign birth or recent foreign descent. Their wealth was new rather than inherited, and derived from commerce and finance rather than landholding. They were also uncanny objects of suspicion and distrust. Even those who possessed great fortunes, wide culture and social polish found themselves the targets of snide comments and whispered asides rooted in centuries-old beliefs about Jewish deviousness and untrustworthiness.

Anthony Trollope’s *The Prime Minister* delineates the tensions that were at play when Victorians weighed the question of whether a Jew could be a gentleman. The protagonist of the ‘Jewish’ subplot in the novel is a Sephardi commodity broker, Ferdinand Lopez, whose background is obscure but who

appears to be a gentleman. He has acquired the manners of a gentleman and has lived with gentlemen on equal terms. He knows how to speak, dress, eat and walk like a gentleman. But, Trollope adds, 'he had not the faintest notion of the feelings of a gentleman'. (bk. 2, chap. 58) Many in genteel circles consider him a gentleman. He is invited to the country and city houses of the Duke and Duchess of Omnium and stands for Parliament in a rural constituency, but at the same time he has been blackballed at the Travellers and the Garrick. In other words, his status is ambiguous.

The 'Jewish' subplot in the novel revolves around Lopez's courtship of and marriage to the daughter of a well-to-do barrister from a landed Herefordshire family, the Whartons. Mr Wharton, who represents the outlook of traditional county society, opposes the marriage from the start. In his eyes Lopez is not a gentleman, however clever, rich and well-mannered he is. (In fact his wealth is illusory.) His background is obscure, his family alien and unknown. 'He is a man fallen out of the moon.' (bk. 1, chap. 4) Moreover, in Wharton's experience 'a man doesn't often become a gentleman in the first generation'. (bk. 1, chap. 13) While Wharton considers himself a tolerant man and has always advocated the admission of Roman Catholics and Jews to Parliament, he finds repugnant the idea of his daughter marrying a Jew of unknown origins. Significantly, Wharton realizes that his estimation of who is a gentleman is old-fashioned and not universally accepted. He admits that 'the world was changing around him every day' and that social norms were more elastic than they had been earlier. 'Royalty was marrying out of its degree. Peers' sons were looking only for money. And, more than that, peer's daughters were bestowing themselves on Jews and shopkeepers.' (bk. 1, chap. 9) Although the reader knows from the start that Lopez is an adventurer and that Mr Wharton has good reason to not trust him, Trollope's more general remarks on the question of what makes a gentleman show how fluid the matter was.

For Jews who aspired to genteel status, the uncertainty and ambiguity of the criteria were unsettling. While some might have been confident that they qualified as gentlemen, others were less sure. The on-going debate on gentility in books and newspapers was, moreover, a constant reminder that the issue was not resolved. This helps explain why the ideal of the English gentleman loomed so large in the management of communal affairs, especially in regard to the public face of Judaism – the worship service and the rabbinate. The notables who managed the institutions of Anglo-Jewry knew that their own acceptance as gentlemen was tied to public perceptions of the community and its representatives as a whole.

Negotiating Trustworthiness: Jewish Businessmen in the Public Rhetoric around the 'Trustworthy Businessman' in Post-WWI Germany

Dr Stefanie Fischer
Center for Jewish Studies
Berlin-Brandenburg and Potsdam University

German society and economy went through a major crisis after the First World War. The war created a severe food shortage and extremely high unemployment, putting meat beyond the reach of parts of the population.¹ Public opinion accused usurers, smugglers, profiteers and market traders for ruining the postwar economy, and much blame was placed on long-established middlemen who distributed goods from producers to the market. It was argued that high meat prices were their fault alone,² shaking trust in the meat sector in general and in the cattle-dealing business in particular. Around one-third of these were Jewish, and right-wing conservatives and anti-Semites blamed them alone for the situation. In order to solve the trust crisis the Bavarian State government introduced the category of *der reelle Kaufmann*, 'trustworthy businessman'.

In this article I will analyse what the state authorities understood by this category, how it affected Jewish and Christian businessmen in the cattle-trading sector alike, and what role anti-Semitic polemics played in the debate. I will limit my analysis to the German state of Bavaria from 1919, just after the end of the war, until the peak of the inflation in 1923. Agriculture played a major role in the Bavarian economy, a region with one of the largest Jewish communities

1. George Frederick Warren, *Die Erzeugungs- und Absatzverhältnisse der deutschen Vieh- und Milchwirtschaft* (Berlin: Verlagsbuchhandlung Paul Parey, 1929) 28 f.

2. Alfred Rudolph, *Der Absatz von Vieh in der Landwirtschaft: Freier Handel, Zwangswirtschaft oder gemeinsamer Vertrieb?*, Beiträge zur Ernährungswirtschaft (Berlin, 1923) 43, Margot Grünberg, *Der deutsche Viehhandel* (Bottrop i.W. Postberg, 1932) 60.

in the 1920s, many members of which were involved, as was traditional, in the cattle-dealing business.³ Cattle dealing had been a predominantly Jewish domain in German provinces from the beginning of Jewish settlement in Central Europe until its destruction during the Nazi era. Their presence was the result of historical trade restrictions which prohibited Jews from owning land, thus confining them to trade. In the countryside this was limited mostly to cattle dealing and to trade in agricultural products such as hops and corn.⁴

While Jews had medium-sized businesses, Christian traders dominated the wholesale and small-scale trade.⁵ The trust crisis in the meat sector and in cattle dealing became still more urgent as war veterans found no jobs in their own professions and sought to enter the trade sector after the war. Before 1914 there had been 6000 cattle traders in Bavaria, but after the war this increased by more than one-third to 9716.⁶ The high numbers resulted in strong competition, causing meat prices to skyrocket because the merchants would outbid each other in order to make the best deal. The so-called 'new' cattle dealers were accused of respecting neither the business culture nor business traditions. Governmental authorities as well as farmers' and cattle-dealers' associations concluded that long-established businessmen refused to pay unreasonable prices, and set about promoting these to the exclusion of the new 'wild' cattle dealers.⁷

3. Falk Wiesemann, 'Einleitung. Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Gemeinden seit 1813', in Baruch Z. Ophir and Falk Wiesemann (eds) *Die jüdischen Gemeinden in Bayern, 1918–1945. Geschichte und Zerstörung*, Veröffentl. im Rahmen des Projekts 'Widerstand und Verfolgung in Bayern 1933–1945' (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1979) 13–29.

4. See: Monika Richarz, 'Viehhandel und Landjuden im 19. Jahrhundert. Eine symbiotische Wirtschaftsbeziehung in Südwestdeutschland', in Julius Schöps (ed.) *Menora. Jahrbuch für deutsch-jüdische Geschichte* (München, 1990) 66–88, Robert Uri Kaufmann, 'Zum Viehhandel der Juden in Deutschland und der Schweiz – bisherige Ergebnisse und offene Fragen', in Robert Uri Kaufmann and Carsten Kohlmann (eds) *Jüdische Viehhändler zwischen Schwarzwald und Schwäbischer Alb. Vorträge der Tagung der Arbeitsgemeinschaft Jüdische Gedenkstätten am Oberen Neckar am 3. Oktober 2006 in Horb-Rexingen* (Horb-Rexingen: Staudacher Verlag, 2008) 17–41.

5. Stefanie Fischer, *Ökonomisches Vertrauen und antisemitische Gewalt: Jüdische Viehhändler in Mittelfranken, 1919–1939* (Hamburger Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Juden, Göttingen: Wallstein, 2014) 31–45.

6. Excerpt taken from the Münchner-Augsburger-Abendzeitung, 28 February 1922, No. 88, in: State Archives Nuremberg (StAN), Rep. 270, IV, Regierung, K.d.I, Abg. 1968, Titel IX, No. 402.

7. Ibid.

The state office for livestock trade (*Landesamt für Viehverkehr*) at this point introduced the category of *der reelle Viehhändler*, 'trustworthy cattle-dealer', in order to consolidate trust in the meat sector and in the cattle-business. The sociologist Lynne Zucker has shown how increased immigration and an instable economy may disrupt process-based trust,⁸ such as that between meat or dairy consumers, farmers and cattle dealers. Process-based trust can be supplemented by institution-based trust, so even though a farmer would not trust a cattle dealer on the basis of his own social experience, he would trust a state authority which certified the dealer as 'trustworthy'.⁹ This is problematical because trust is always based on social experience, and a third party—such as a state authority—cannot alone produce trust between business partners. A crucial prerequisite for establishing trust is the expectation of care taking, and as this is missing between institutions and individuals, public authorities replaced the concept of trustworthiness with reliability. In other words, in order to be licensed as a 'trustworthy businessman', a cattle dealer had to prove his reliability to the state authorities.

It is helpful to consider what the Bavarian state office of livestock trade understood by 'trustworthy businessman'. First of all, they argued that those who were new to the cattle-dealing business—for instance farmers, butchers or innkeepers—were unfamiliar with the business culture and its traditions and were, therefore, unreliable, so could not be granted a trade licence.¹⁰ Only those who were established in cattle-dealing were seen as trustworthy.¹¹ In addition, the state office declared full-time traders as reliable, but not part-time traders who only occasionally dealt with cattle. Farmers, butchers and innkeepers who were new to cattle-dealing therefore lost their licence. Since most of these were Christians, it was mainly Jewish traders, with medium-sized business, who were unaffected by the new legislation.¹²

8. Zucker, 'Production of Trust. Institutional Sources of Economic Structure, 1840–1920' (above, n. 3) 53.

9. Ibid.

10. State Ministry of Agricultural Affairs to the municipal administrations, Munich, 28 December 1921, in StAN, Rep. 270, IV, Regierung, K.d.I, Abg. 1968, Titel IX, No. 402.

11. Bavarian Agricultural Council (*Landwirtschaftsrat*) to the State Ministry of Agricultural Affairs, Munich, 4 August 1919, in Archives of the Bavarian State, MWi 8073.

12. State Ministry of Agricultural Affairs to the municipal administrations, Munich, 28 December 1921, in StAN, Rep. 270, IV, Regierung, K.d.I, Abg. 1968, Titel IX, No. 402.

The state office also argued that peddlers and ‘schmoozers’ who sold their cattle in the street or directly from a barn, rather than from a retail store, were unreliable,¹³ while merchants who owned an itinerant business were considered trustworthy. The public authorities in this way fought peddling which was considered un-modern, and promoted merchants who owned a retail store and offered fixed prices.¹⁴

Importantly, the advisory body of the Bavarian state office for livestock trade also prohibited the combination of horse and cattle dealing, arguing that this would support those who carry out both to expand, while discriminating against those who focus on only one trade sector.¹⁵ The sources do not reveal any anti-Jewish motivation behind this legislation, although it may have been inspired by anti-Semitic polemics which accused Jews of ‘controlling’ the cattle and horse trade. In fact, this legislation mostly impacted on Jewish-owned enterprises, since it was particularly common for Jewish brothers or in-laws to share the horse and livestock trade. As a result, expanding businesses were regarded as untrustworthy.

Institution-based trust—as introduced by the Bavarian state office of livestock trade after the First World War—functioned as an accelerator in regaining trust in a struggling business sector. Most Jewish cattle-traders met the criteria of ‘trustworthy businessmen’ as defined by the office, since they had long family traditions of trade and knew the business culture and the farmers in their area, demonstrating continuity and therefore reliability. Many of the Christian traders in contrast were new to the cattle-dealing business and turned to it only after they had lost their farms and livelihood during the war. Hence, the Bavarian state office for livestock trade trusted the medium-sized cattle-dealing businesses that were primarily run by Jewish families.¹⁶

13. State office for livestock trade, newsletter V 19, to the municipal administrations, Munich, 27 July 1922, in StAN, Rep. 270, IV, Regierung, K.d.I, Abg. 1968, Titel IX, No. 402.

14. Administration of the Upper Palatinate and Regensburg, domestic affairs, to all other Bavarian municipal administrations, Regensburg, 30 June 1921, in StAN, Rep. 270, IV, Regierung, K.d.I, Abg. 1968, Titel IX, No. 402.

15. State Ministry of Agricultural Affairs to the municipal administrations, Munich, 28 December 1921, in StAN, Rep. 270, IV, Regierung, K.d.I, Abg. 1968, Titel IX, No. 402.

16. Stefanie Fischer, *Ökonomisches Vertrauen und antisemitische Gewalt: Jüdische Viehhändler in Mittelfranken, 1919–1939* (Hamburger Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Juden, Göttingen: Wallstein, 2014) 51–68.

Constructing Credibility: Apostates in the Jewish Courts of Medieval Ashkenaz

Rachel Furst

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

On the thirteenth of Av in the year 5058 (1298) a wave of anti-Jewish violence sweeping through Franconia and the neighbouring vicinities reached the city of Würzburg. Incited by a German nobleman named Rindfleisch, who had been stirring up crowds throughout the summer with allegations of host-desecration, the citizens of Würzburg joined gangs of murderous knights to massacre nearly 900 Jews, according to contemporaneous accounts, earning the city the name *Ir Ha-Damim*, ‘City of Blood’. In addition to 800 Jewish residents of the city, the Nürnberger Memorbuch records the names of 100 visiting Jews who were caught up in the violence,¹ together comprising the largest group of victims from among the 130 German Jewish communities affected by what became known as the ‘Rindfleisch Massacres’.² Among the unfortunate visitors was Simeon ben Jacob, a resident of Worms who had come to Würzburg to pay and collect business debts. Following the massacre, three witnesses reported that they had seen Simeon’s dead body; and on the basis of these testimonies, the Jewish court in Worms declared Simeon’s wife a widow and granted her permission to remarry – which she soon did.

Some time later, the father of Simeon’s widow, acting as her advocate, appeared before a second Jewish court in Speyer to claim her *ketubah* payment from Simeon’s estate, only part of which had been allocated to her in Worms. But this time, the widow’s claim was contested by Simeon’s heir, apparently his son from a previous marriage. Represented by his own advocate, a scholar by the name of Rabbi Yedidya ben Israel of Nürnberg, the heir asserted that the witnesses to Simeon’s death in Würzburg were invalid because they had

1. Siegmund Salfeld, *Das Martyrologium des Nürnberger Memorbuches* (Berlin: Verlag von Leonhard Simion, 1898) 43–8.

2. On the massacres in general, see Jörg R. Müller, ‘Erez Gezerah—“Land of Persecution”: Pogroms Against the Jews in the *regnum Teutonicum* from c. 1280 to 1350’, in Christoph Cluse (ed.) *The Jews of Europe in the Middle Ages* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2004) 251–4.

been apostates living as Christians at the time of the massacre, though they subsequently repented – and that the widow therefore had no legal claim to her *ketubah* monies, and could not even properly be considered a widow at all. The heir's ostensible motive was to secure his father's assets for himself; but, if substantiated, his assertion had the potential not only to deny the widow her pension but to render her new marriage unlawful. A protracted court battle ensued, involving judges, scholars and rabbinic decisors from across Germany, Austria and as far away as northern Spain.

The testimony of the witnesses, the original court ruling from Worms, three sets of counter-claims written and presented by the advocates of the widow and the heir, as well as the learned opinions of several prominent scholars solicited by the court in Speyer and the ultimate ruling of the Speyer *beit din*, are all recorded in *Sefer Zikhron Yehudah*, an anthology of responsa collected by Rabbi Judah ben Asher of Toledo, son of the eminent Rabbi Asher ben Yehiel (known as 'Rosh').³ Rabbi Asher was one of the judges on the Speyer court, and it is likely that he brought the file with him when he emigrated from Germany to Spain several years after the case concluded. The dossier also contains a long responsum penned by Rabbi Asher himself when the orphan's advocate subsequently appealed the ruling of the court in Speyer, as well as the text of the orphan's passionately argued and long-winded appeal. This collection of materials comprises one of the most complete Jewish court files to survive from medieval Ashkenaz, which renders it extremely valuable for understanding the way this community institution functioned, procedurally and politically. It also demonstrates that this case captured the attention – and raised the passions – of several prominent Jewish scholars of the era.

On the surface, the protracted legal battle between Simeon ben Jacob's widow and his heir was a case of contested property, of a kind that typified Jewish court business in medieval Ashkenaz, at least as far as we can ascertain from the surviving records. But in this instance it hinged on the status of liminally Jewish witnesses, who lived as non-Jews and then as Jews again, and so it came to focus on issues of knowledge and authority, the parameters of credibility, and who was a Jew, or at least about who was allowed to speak as one. The legal opinions in Rabbi Asher's dossier, which are rife with rhetoric, make it clear that the scholars and jurists involved regarded it as an opportunity to stake

3. See Yehuda Galinsky, 'On the Legacy of R. Judah ben Harosh, Rabbi of Toledo: A Chapter in the Study of Responsa of Sages from Christian Spain', (Hebrew) *Pe'amim* 128 (Summer 2011) 197–8.

out the border lines of the Jewish community and to define its attitude toward those who traversed those boundaries. Indeed, it seems as though the scholars whose legal opinions were solicited by the Speyer *beit din*, as well as those who responded on their own initiative, were drawn to this case precisely because of its sensitivity. The attitude toward apostates, and especially repentant apostates, was a particularly charged issue for the Jewish communities of Germany and Northern France in the late-thirteenth and early-fourteenth centuries, as many historians including Yosef Yerushalmi, Edward Fram, Efraim Kanarfogel and others have convincingly demonstrated.⁴

In my lecture to the 'Word of a Jew' seminar I used the Simeon ben Jacob case to reinforce the conclusions of these historians and others regarding the complicated and often ambivalent attitude of medieval scholars and laymen toward Jews who failed to live up to the Ashkenazi ideal of martyrdom in the face of persecution. I also used it to consider an important facet of testimony and trust: what makes information trustworthy? How is the credibility of information assessed – or perhaps constructed? And how does the identity of the informant impact on the validity and admissibility of information provided?

In our discussions, participants in the Seminar questioned the meaning of trust and what the practice of trust entails. We distinguished between different forms of trust – social trust, economic trust, political trust – and considered their connectedness and interdependency. The Simeon ben Jacob case allowed us to examine the nature of trust and trustworthiness in a legal context and the relationship between the quality of the information and the authority of speaker in constructing legal credibility. Similarly, it afforded us an opportunity to consider how an individual's legal credibility – a critical component of legal personhood and legal agency – impacts on his or her social standing; and, more broadly, how a legal system's concepts of credibility reflect, sustain and even create social and cultural realities.

4. Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, 'The Inquisition and the Jews of France in the Time of Bernard Gui', *Harvard Theological Review* 63/3 (1970) 317–76; Edward Fram, 'Perception and Reception of Repentant Apostates in Medieval Ashkenaz and Premodern Poland', *AJS Review* 21/2 (1996) 299–339; Efraim Kanarfogel, 'Changing Attitudes Toward Apostates in Tosafist Literature, Late Twelfth – Early Thirteenth Centuries', in Elisheva Carlebach and Jacob J. Schacter (eds) *New Perspectives on Jewish-Christian Relations: In Honor of David Berger* (Leiden: Brill, 2012) 297–327.

Trust a Jew?: The Ambiguities of an Oath

Professor Mitchell Hart
University of Florida

‘That one could not trust any Jew, who, by both nature and the dictates of his law, was a cheat and a swindler, had become’, according to Salo Baron, ‘a commonplace in the medieval literary presentations of Jewish types’. Baron offers the example of the fourteenth-century English poet John Gower, but this idea of the Jew as essentially untrustworthy was of course not confined to literary representation. According to the twelfth-century theologian and diplomat Peter of Blois, ‘the Jew is always constant and shifty’. ‘From this general distrust’, Baron concluded, ‘developed the awesome oath *more judaico* which, originally started in connection with the abjuration of recent converts, grew to ridiculous lengths and was often administered in ludicrous forms’.¹ This mistrust, and the institution of the oath *more judaico*, lasted in many places well into the nineteenth century. In France, for instance, it was abolished during the Revolutionary period, but reintroduced by Napoleon as part of his reactionary response to complaints about Jews in the Alsace region.

The Jewry oath may have been, as Baron suggests, born of a mistrust of Jews on the part of Christians. Yet, it testifies at the same time to a degree of trust in the word of a Jew and in the efficacy of Judaism to produce both trust and truth. It is this ambiguity in the nature and role of the Jewry oath that I briefly explore here, and use in turn to raise broader issues and questions about Jews and trust, and the changing or developing Christian understanding of the Jewish self or nature.

The history of the Jewry oath – the oath taken by Jews participating in non-Jewish judicial proceedings – is uneven, as is its historiography. Indeed, its history has never really been written in any comprehensive way, even though, as one of its historians, Bertil Maler, has put it, it is ‘impossible to exaggerate’

1. Salo Baron, *Social and Religious History of the Jews* (New York: Columbia, 1967) 11:107.

the role the oath *more judaico*² played in the relations of medieval Jews to the state or city in which they were permitted to settle.³

It is not at all clear just where and when the Jewry oath was in use. Versions of the oath are extant from the Germanic lands, the Mediterranean and Byzantium. There is an oath formula that has survived from Provence, which Maler guesses was written by the archbishop of Arles in the early twelfth century; and there are references to the oath in use in early modern France. This suggests that the oath was a part of French jurisprudence in the *ancien regime*. However, in a recent article Lisa Leff insists that contrary to the consensus, the *more judaico* was rarely in use in France before the nineteenth century, and then only in the region of Alsace. Nor do historians agree about the oath in Eastern Europe. According to Baron, the Jewish oath ‘never became universally accepted in Poland, as it had in many western countries toward the end of the Middle Ages’. And yet, Baron adds, the oath did exist and was used in Poland, even if – unlike many of those in the West – it was simple and minimal, paralleling those Christians would take.⁴ Maler, on the other hand, insists that the Jewry oath was ‘[a]bsent...[from] all of eastern Europe (Poland, Russia, etc.), where the Jews did not settle until much later, after the Middle Ages, and where legislation did not appear to have included special oaths applicable to them’.⁵

A Jewish oath does seem to have been part of the judicial system in England during the Angevin period.⁶ The Magna Carta *judeorum* contains a reference to the Jew taking an oath *more judaico*. And in the charter granted by Richard I in March 1190, reaffirming the liberties granted to the Jews by Henry II, there is the following: ‘And if they [the Jews] are appealed by any one without a witness

2. The designation ‘*more judaico*’ is most familiar from its use in reference to the Jewry oath, but it was not limited to that. Guido Kisch noted that the phrase appeared in a text from the fourteenth century, the *Brünner Schöffebuch*, and was used to describe the shape of a particular hat, a ‘real pointed hat “of the Jewish manner”’. See Guido Kisch, ‘The “Jewish Execution” in Medieval Germany’, *Historia Judaica*, 5/2 (1943) 105 n. 4.

3. Bertil Maler, ‘A propos de quelques formulaires médiévaux du “sacramentum more judaico”’, *Stockholm Studies in Modern Philology*, 5/1 (1976) 117.

4. Salo Baron, *Social and Religious History of the Jews* (New York: Columbia, 1967) 16:148.

5. Maler (see n. 3) 118. In a footnote, Maler refers to the work of J. E. Scherer, *Die Rechtsverhältnisse der Juden in den deutsch-österreichischen Ländern* (Leipzig, 1901) 296, and then thanks Raphael Mahler and M. Ginsburg for informing him about these countries.

6. See Joseph Jacobs, ‘Notes on the Jews of England under the Angevin Kings’, *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, 4/4 (July 1892) 637–8.

let them be quits of that appeal on their own oath upon the book [of the Law] and let them be quits from an appeal of those things which pertain to our crown on their own oath on their roll [of the Law].⁷

Historians of the Jewry oath all agree that the oath *more judaico* contained at least two essential components: the recognition of God as the creator of the universe, and the articulation of the horrific punishments that awaited the perjurer.⁸ Different versions of the oath, from different times and places, contained greater or lesser detail. The medieval oaths from Germanic lands, for instance, contain a ‘botanical’ element in their invocation of God and his powers that are missing from oaths produced in the Mediterranean. God is described as ‘the true God, who created the leaves, the grass, and all things’.⁹ The oath-taker was reminded that God, who is the ultimate witness and guarantor of the oath, is omnipresent and omnipotent.

However, this was clearly insufficient to guarantee veracity, and so a list of curses and damnations awaiting the perjurer always followed the invocation of God and his power. This list also varied. According to Joseph Ziegler, ‘in most of the known formulae the list was short and included three to five curses, although it could be much longer and include over twenty maledictions, all taken from biblical references’.¹⁰ Almost all of them invoked the punishment meted out to Sodom and Gomorrah, but also the leprosy of Gehazi and Naaman, or more generally the eternal company of Satan and his minions.

There were, then, variations in the content of the oaths, though all extant versions contain an affirmation of God and his power, and the threat of punishment for lying. Some oaths contained detailed instructions on how and where the oath was to be administered, others did not.

While issues of the oath’s content and form are arguably important and interesting, the greater or broader import of the Jewry oath lies in the questions

7. Joseph Jacobs, *The Jews of Angevin England: Documents and Records* (London: David Nutt, 1893) 135. The law was reaffirmed in the charters to the Jews by King John. It seems clear from the text that this and the other rights granted had existed already in the time of Henry I. See Jacobs, pp. 213–14.

8. Maler (see n. 3) 120. Guido Kisch put the number of essential components at three, seeing the ‘solemn invocation of God’ and the demonstration of God’s omnipotence through biblical stories as two distinct elements. See Guido Kisch, *The Jews in Medieval Germany: A Study of Their Legal and Social Status* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949) 275.

9. Cited in Maler (see n. 3) 131.

10. Joseph Ziegler, ‘Reflections on the Jewry Oath in the Middle Ages’, in Diana Wood (ed.) *Christianity and Judaism. Papers Read at the 1991 Summer Meeting and the 1992 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1992) 215.

it raises about the relationship between the Jew, the Christian, and matters of belief, trust and truth. Does the Jewry oath indicate that Christians believed Jews were essentially untrustworthy, and thus required a special oath to insure that at least during the time they were under that oath, they would tell the truth? Or is the Jewish oath merely the Jewish version of a general oath that all defendants and witnesses had to swear, one tailored to the particular religious requirements of the Jew? Was the Jewish oath itself a product of anti-Jewish belief and sentiment, or was it, as Joseph Ziegler has recently argued, a means by which the legal system could find a place for the non-Christian?¹¹ After all, if the Jews were, as indeed they were, a seemingly essential part of the medieval Christian economy and society, then some means had to be found to deal with the inevitable legal difficulties and disputes that would arise out of Christian–Jewish interactions.

In many places in different periods, Jews were permitted to testify in secular Christian courts, at least until their status was degraded and this privilege denied them. Oaths, then, were at least potentially quite significant in the lives of Jews. They were a critical part of the larger legal framework in which Jews were permitted to appear and testify in a Christian court. There seem to be fundamental tensions, even contradictions, at the heart of the historical relationship between Jews and oaths in Christendom. The testimonial oath was intended to secure the telling of truth by the witness in order to arrive at the truth regarding the case or set of circumstances in question. It did this by binding the witness to God and to God’s judgment. The witness was reminded that if he perjured himself, the consequence may be, if discovered, punishment by the courts in this life; but most assuredly, retribution would come in the next life. Thus, a valid oath depended on the individual’s belief in God and in the notion of future reward and punishment in an afterlife. The truth emerges through the testimony, and the accuracy of the testimony is guaranteed by the power of the oath. But all of this depends in some way on the purported character of the witness.

How and why, then, trust a Jew’s oath, if the duplicitous character of the Jew had since the very beginnings of Christianity been understood? When a Jew took an oath, was the same process at work as when a Christian swore to speak truthfully? What, then, did Christians imagine happened to the Jew when he took the oath? Giorgio Agamben has recently argued that an oath is a performative act, in which the speech and the thing are identical, are ‘true’ in an existential sense.¹² When a Jew swears the oath, does he or she, by the very act of speaking the oath, become ‘true’ and trustworthy?

11. Ibid. 210.

12. Giorgio Agamben, *The Sacrament of Language: An Archaeology of the Oath* (Stanford University Press, 2011) 58 and passim.

Can the Eyes Be Trusted? Jews, Vision and Evidence in Chartres Cathedral

Professor Sara Lipton

State University of New York, Stony Brook

During my two terms at the Centre I completed the manuscript of my book, *Dark Mirror: The Medieval Origins of Anti-Jewish Iconography* (Henry Holt/Metropolitan Books, 2014). The readings, conversations and presentations associated with the ‘Word of a Jew’ seminar immeasurably enriched the work, especially the chapter examining depictions of Jews in the thirteenth-century sculpture and stained glass of Chartres Cathedral. These images address issues of trust and reliability raised by the transition to a documentary legal culture.

Depictions of Jews in the artistic programme of Chartres were strikingly varied. Many display symbols that had in previous decades come to be associated with Jewishness – beards, hooked noses, pointed hats or mantles and pseudo-Hebrew scrolls or books. Jews shown with such symbols often combine stereotypical Jewish qualities – excessive attachment to the text, legal literalism, pride of position, attachment to ritual, bestiality or moral turpitude – with newer and more topical failings: intellectual arrogance as represented by a disputing gesture, or commercial greed as represented by coins.

But despite these powerfully anti-Jewish symbols, the iconography of Jewishness in the images at Chartres is distinctly ambiguous. Every object, garment, feature or facial expression attributed to a Judean or Jewish character can be found also on Gentile or Christian figures. Jews are not the only or even the majority of figures who wear peaked hats, pointed hoods or rounded caps – all of which are customarily shown not only on ancient priests of various rites, but on Christian merchants, burghers, artisans and customers.

The ambiguity of religious identity at Chartres was deliberate, and was intended to signal the unreliability of external appearance. In this rapidly urbanizing and increasingly commercialized and bureaucratized world, wealth replaced descent as a source and marker of social status; literacy and education replaced rank and kinship as a source of governmental authority; and written contracts replaced personal ties and physical pledges as the basis for economic

relations. Old certainties were undermined, old correlations were ruptured. Multiple texts testify to contemporary discomfort with these trends. A courtier complained that lowborn royal justices used their offices to ‘lord it’ over their social superiors.¹ Reformers expended intellectual energy in trying to distinguish acceptable professional and economic activities from unacceptable ones.² Pastors struggled, usually ineffectively, to teach their flocks to reflect their inner spiritual state in outward behaviour and appearance.³ Prelates fretted about how to comprehend (and control) new types of pious Christians, such as the lay devotees known as beguines and beghards, who failed to fit neatly into any categories, being neither secular nor monastic, fish nor fowl.⁴ Both the trends and the complaints they inspired recalled aspects of Jewish life, which had long been more literate, more intensely textualized, more commercialized and more urbanized than most Christian communities – qualities that had been reinforced in recent decades. Critics implied, and sometimes explicitly alleged, that Christians were turning into Jews.⁵

The threat posed by Jews, then, or rather by the qualities that Jews embodied and the iconographical signs they displayed, was that in their undermining of traditional authority in favour of textuality and materiality, they encapsulated much wider trends. Coins and documents, like clothing, now seemed to create a new, alternate reality, which threatened to supplant the deeper spiritual ‘reality’ of Christian teaching – the superiority of faith and virtue. This is explicitly stated in a letter sent by Pope Innocent III to King Philip II of France in January 1205. The letter is a long litany of complaints about the perceived preferential

1. Walter Map to Ranulph Glanvill, quoted in Michael T. Clanchy, ‘*Moderni* in Education and Government in England’, *Speculum* 50 (1975) 671–88 [674]. See also Ralph V. Turner, ‘Changing Perceptions of the New Administrative Class in Anglo-Norman and Angevin England: The Curiales and Their Conservative Critics’, *Journal of British Studies* 29 (1990) 93–117.

2. John W. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and His Circle*, 2 vols (Princeton, 1970).

3. Dallas G. Denery II, *Seeing and Being Seen in the Late Medieval World: Optics, Theology and the Religious Life* (Cambridge, 2005) 7 and 19–74.

4. Walter Simons, *Cities of Ladies: Beguine Communities in the Medieval Low Countries, 1200–1565* (Philadelphia, 2001) 118–132.

5. See the remark of Gerhard of Cologne that Christians of his own day were ‘new Jews’, quoted and discussed in Caroline Walker Bynum, ‘The Blood of Christ in the Later Middle Ages’, *Church History* 71 (2002) 685–714 [702]. Ironically, Jewish authorities noted the potentially disruptive effects of professionalization and textualization as well: Talya Fishman, *Becoming the People of the Talmud: Oral Torah as Written Tradition in Medieval Jewish Cultures* (Philadelphia, 2011) 149. I thank Rachel Furst for this reference.

treatment accorded to Jews in France. After repeating some standard grievances concerning the pawning of precious ecclesiastical vessels, such as chalices, to Jews, and Jewish employment of Christian servants, Innocent moves on to lambaste the privileging of Jewish witnesses in court: Jews, he says, 'have to this day been given preference in the French realm to such an extent that Christian witnesses are not believed against them, while they are admitted to testimony against Christians. Thus, if the Christian witnesses to whom they have loaned money on usury, bring Christian witnesses about the facts in the case, [the Jews] are given more credence because of the document (*instrumento*) which the indiscreet debtor has left with them through negligence or carelessness, than are the Christians through the witnesses produced.'⁶ In other words: how dare you accept the physical evidence of outsiders over the sworn testimony of friends! In the traditional world of faith, the word of a believer must always prevail over the rationalism, scepticism and even hard evidence of the unbeliever. In royal courts and urban markets, however, this assumption was quaint at best: written financial documents and legal instruments increasingly held sway. That such innovations should violate venerable values and render the status and faith of competing witnesses irrelevant, seemed to Pope Innocent to undermine the very foundations of Christian society.⁷

Innocent was, of course, fighting a losing battle against the authority of the written instrument. Just as nobles were unsuccessfully resisting the encroachment of royal bureaucrats and wealthy burghers, prelates could not prevent their increasingly literate flocks from reading and thinking for themselves, and moralists were doomed never fully to stamp out greed and luxury.⁸ But Christendom in the high Middle Ages was an energetic place, and its leaders did not despair. Instead, they harnessed all the creativity their world had to offer as they sought to reverse this chaotic situation. In 1215 the Fourth Lateran Council for the first time imposed identifying clothing on Jews; this decree was re-issued in varying forms by Church councils throughout the thirteenth century. New signs, too, were devised to make Jews' appearance project their desired state of subjection. In a remarkable case of life imitating art, two Church councils in 1267 ordered Jews to wear the so-called *pilleum*

6. Solomon Grayzel (ed.) *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century* (New York, 1966) 107 (Latin text on p. 106).
 7. See also Richard Firth Green, *A Crisis of Truth: Literature and Law in Ricardian England* (Philadelphia, 1999).
 8. For the consolidation of the central administration and the introduction of writing in practical matters, see Michael Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record, 1066–1307* (Oxford, 1992).

cornutum, the pointed cap, 'as their ancestors used to do'.⁹ (In the absence of centuries-old photo albums, we must assume that the primary evidence for how Jew 'used to' dress was Christian art.)

Perhaps the most graphic, and ultimately the most powerful, of all the means by which the Church tried simultaneously to caution against confusion and model heavenly hierarchy, however, was through art. If the images of Jews at Chartres are confused, it was because the urban world with which Jews were conceptually and often actually associated was viewed as disturbingly confusing. That is, the visual illegibility of the Jew was a symptom of a perceived ill affecting society as a whole.

The images at Chartres consistently align 'Jewishness' with certain select themes and realms. In addition to highlighting the confusion of social life, the difficulty of telling who is who, and the instability of the category 'Jew' (and so also 'Christian'), depictions of Jews of Chartres repeatedly problematize three major sets of relations. First, in underscoring the textual errors of rabbis, judges and magicians, the images challenge the assumption that legal, bookish learning conveys religious illumination. Second, in assigning badges of office, postures of authority and gestures of command to unsuitable or immoral figures, the images highlight the disjunction between merit (whether ethical or social) and power. Finally, in showing good usurers and bad heirs, idols with coins and patriarchs with coins, evil sellers and iniquitous buyers, the images sever any correlation between wealth or poverty on the one hand, and vice or virtue on the other. In other words, they express concern not only that the virtuous and the vicious, like the Jew and the Christian, are easily confused; but that those who know most, who earn most and who dominate most, are not necessarily the people most deserving of knowledge, wealth and power.

Partly because of their age-old role as witnesses to Christian truth and signs of Christian triumph, partly because Jews had by now become recognizable artistic symbols, and partly because they dramatically underscored the *illegibility* of the real world, Jews were enlisted in high medieval art to expose the unreliability of what was visible (nature and society), while at the same time to make manifest what was not (the all-too-obscured 'truth'). The Jew, in his manifold variation, became a visible figure for the complex and confusing nature of the rapidly changing urban world.

9. Julius Aronius, *Regesten zur Geschichte der Juden im Fränkischen und Deutschen Reiche bis 1273* (Berlin, 1887–1902, repr. Hildesheim, 1970) 301ff., no. 724.

*Trusting Daniel Mendoza:
How British Boxing Fans Came
to Believe in the 'Fair Play'
of an Eighteenth-century Sephardi
Pugilist*

Professor Ronald Schechter

College of William and Mary, Williamsburg

Daniel Mendoza, a Sephardi Jew, became the boxing champion of Britain in 1790 and held onto the title until 1795. Boxing is a sport that depends on trust: spectators have to believe that the contestants will fight fairly and that the outcome of the match has not been predetermined (i.e. 'fixed'). This is particularly important when large amounts of money are wagered on the contest. Trust was even more important in the early days of boxing, when there were few rules and only a vaguely-defined sense of 'fair play' governed the action. Indeed, it was this understanding of the sport as embodying a moral code of 'manly' courage and honesty that prompted its patriotic proponents to depict it as a quintessentially British activity. But what if one of the contestants was a Jew? Could a Jew be trusted to fight fairly and honestly? Given traditional prejudices against Jews as dishonest, especially when money was involved, and the suspicion among some that Jews were not truly 'British', how was a Jewish boxing star possible?

I have found that Mendoza was indeed such a star, both in the obvious sense that he defeated the ablest contenders, and in the more historically significant one that boxing fans accepted his ascendance with very little protest. In his first of three celebrated matches against Richard Humphries he was accused of 'foul play' for having tried to strike his opponent while he (Humphries) was against the rails. A popular print by James Gillray immortalized this moment, although it did not attribute Mendoza's actions to his Jewishness. Yet when the two men met for a rematch, Gillray praised Mendoza for having 'generously' continued the fight after Humphries engaged in a move ('dropping without

a blow') that technically should have disqualified him. And in the third and final match Mendoza conspicuously declined to take advantage of a situation in which he could have finished his opponent off, choosing instead to give Humphries a chance to continue the match. This moment was also captured in a popular print by Gillray, and newspaper articles similarly praised Mendoza for his behaviour. Clearly Mendoza had made up his mind to be 'generous' and therefore a paragon of Britishness. This is interesting because it shows that trust was not automatic: Mendoza worked for it. But what is even more interesting is that his effort was successful. The British public was willing to trust a Jew, and even to celebrate a Jew as a model of British values.

It was not only in the realm of 'fair play' that Mendoza established himself as a trustworthy figure in British public life. He also became an authority on boxing through teaching, writing and giving public demonstrations. He opened what might be called the first modern boxing gym in 1787: a permanent building where one could take regularly scheduled lessons from a professional, or watch Mendoza spar with pupils. For a shilling one could watch him spar, and for half a guinea one could take a lesson from the master himself. Mendoza had two such 'academies', one in Capel Court in heavily Jewish East London and one in the more aristocratic Panton Street in the West End. For a higher fee Mendoza would call on 'gentlemen' about town to teach them at their own residences. In the course of his career he trained dozens of boxers, many but not all of them Jewish. There was even a reputed 'Jewish' or 'Hebraic' style of boxing that Mendoza was said to have invented, one that emphasizes speed and footwork over brute strength. Even non-Jews who adopted this style were described as using the 'Jewish' or 'Hebraic' style, and there was nothing pejorative about this description. For those who did not live in London or could not afford to take lessons from the master, Mendoza wrote a book called *The Art of Boxing* in 1789. This was the first 'how-to' book on the sport written by a professional boxer, and it went through four editions, including one published in Dublin in 1792.

In addition to writing and managing his 'academies', Mendoza invented a means of displaying boxing in a way that was suited to respectable women. This consisted of a sort of public shadow-boxing, in which the master displayed his moves without making contact with an opponent. Every Monday and Wednesday, from one to three, one could go to the Lyceum Theatre in the Strand to watch the boxing hero demonstrate his own favourite moves as well as those of other well-known boxers. He accompanied his act with a lecture on the art of boxing and the most famous boxers' styles. Mendoza also regularly

performed in pantomimes that featured sparring between him and other boxers. One could see these at the Covent Garden Theatre and at the popular covered amphitheatre known as the Royal Circus.

Finally, Mendoza established his authority by going on tour, the first boxer ever to take his show on the road, teaching and performing for audiences throughout the British Isles. He did versions of his Lyceum Theatre performance in Plymouth, Manchester, Norwich, York, Liverpool, Peterborough, Leicester, Nottingham, Stafford and Newcastle, repeating it also in Cardiff and Penzance. In Scotland he displayed his art in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dumfries and Dundee, and he travelled also to Ireland, exhibiting in Dublin and Belfast. These tours helped to make boxing a truly British sport (rather than an activity confined to London and southern England), and also popularized it in Ireland.

I have read hundreds of newspaper and magazine articles and other sources referring to Mendoza and have found remarkably little evidence of anti-Semitism. When contemporaries criticized him they rarely connected their criticism to his Jewishness. Although he was not always trusted, he was no less trusted than other boxers and probably more trusted than most.



The Reception of Josephus in the Early Modern Period

The Seminar, led by Dr Joanna Weinberg and Professor Martin Goodman from January to June 2014, investigated the varied uses of the writings of Flavius Josephus in Jewish and Christian literature in the early modern period.

The survival of Josephus' writings from the first century CE to the early modern period was entirely due to the use of these texts by Christians. It is possible that Josephus' writings were known to the rabbis of late antiquity, but the surviving late-antique rabbinic texts in Hebrew and Aramaic make no explicit reference to him or to his work. The re-entry of Josephus into the Jewish cultural milieu came about through a Hebrew reworking of a Latin translation of the first sixteen books of the *Antiquities* and a Hebrew paraphrase of the Latin version of the *Jewish War* attributed to Hegesippus. Produced by a South Italian Jew in the tenth century CE, this Hebrew rendering, known as Josippon, circulated in various versions in medieval rabbinic circles, and it remained for many centuries the prime source for Jews on the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE. Josippon's description of the mass suicide on Masada inspired Jewish martyrs during the Crusades. By the time of Rashi, in the later eleventh century, Josippon was commonly ascribed to Josephus himself, thus acquiring a spurious authority which encouraged its translation into other languages, including Arabic. The real Josephus became known to Jews from

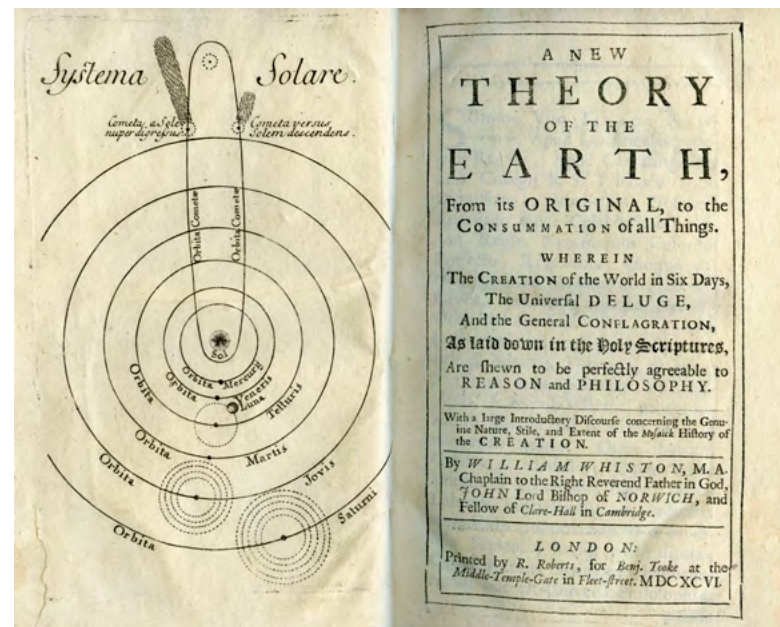
the fifteenth century, but it was the sixteenth-century Azariah de' Rossi who rediscovered the significance of Hellenistic Jewish writers for Judaism, and who used Josephus as a fundamental source for analysing the authenticity of rabbinic tradition. From the early modern period the works of Josephus, in different forms, became a vital resource for Jews as much as for Christians of all denominations in reconstructing their own histories.

The Seminar proceeded by asking experts in early modern Jewish and Christian history and literature to investigate the textual history of Josephus' works, including translations and paraphrases such as the popular Josippon, to contextualize and to assess the uses and status of Josephus' writings in this period. Experts on Josephus analysed the data provided by the early modernists in relation to the problems inherent in Josephus' writings and to earlier and later handling of those problems. The significance of choice of text, divergent readings, surprising construals and apparent misreadings were investigated. Specialists who began with the text of Josephus were combined with those who started with the reception texts in order to interpret the data and look for viable historical explanations.

The result was the generation of an astonishing number of new insights into the intellectual, religious and political concerns of Jews and Christians in the early modern period, and a large selection of the papers delivered at the seminars are to be published in a special issue of the prestigious *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, bringing study of the reception of Josephus into the centre of early modern cultural history, and introducing readers to the huge variety of uses and abuses of writings which, long known to Christians, only gradually became part of the common culture of Jews in the course of this period.

Scholars and students participating in the seminars brought with them a wide variety of backgrounds. They included experts in classics, early modern European intellectual history, English, Italian and Spanish studies, as well as rabbinics and wider Jewish studies. The group was frequently confronted by detailed discussion of complex issues shaping the use of Josephus by early modern authors that involved political or religious matters completely novel to other members of the Seminar. It became abundantly clear in the course of the Seminar that no single scholar could ever expect to encompass the knowledge required to do justice to the subject, and that the reception history of an author as influential and controversial as Josephus can be studied satisfactorily only through such collaborative work.

Josephus was a Jerusalem priest who served as a rebel leader in the Jewish



The extraordinary William Whiston (1667-1752), Josephus's notable English translator, achieved fame also as natural scientist and close follower of Isaac Newton.

revolt against Rome in 66 CE before surrendering to the Romans – as a result, he later claimed of divine instruction – and serving as an aide to the Roman general Titus during the siege of the city which led to the destruction of the Temple in 70 CE. Over the following thirty years or so he seems to have lived in Rome, composing a series of books: the *Jewish War* (an account of the recent Roman campaigns of which, as he informed his readers, he had been an eye-witness); the *Jewish Antiquities* (a multi-volume account of Jewish history since the Creation, containing both an extended rewriting of biblical history and a consecutive narrative of the Second Temple period not available in any other source); the *Life* (an apologetic autobiography which dealt mainly with his tortuous career as rebel general in Galilee in 66–67 CE); and *Against Apion* (a rhetorical response to alleged claims by pagan critics that Jewish history could not be traced back as far as those of other peoples, including in its second book the earliest extant account of Judaism by a Jew for non-Jewish readers, in which he describes the Jewish 'constitution' as a 'theocracy', inventing the



The title page of Sir Roger L'Estrange's translation of the Works of Josephus (London, 1733). Title page of the Paris edition of the Works of Josephus, 1535.

term *theokratia* for the purpose). Reception of Josephus' writings in later ages was affected in particular by differing evaluations of his complex political career and his motivations for writing history; the value of his narratives as a unique source of information on periods of Jewish history (such as the rule of the Hasmonean dynasty in the second and first centuries BCE) which would otherwise be almost wholly unknown; the value of his version of biblical history as an aid to understanding the Bible; and the value of his analysis of the Jewish constitution for practical thought. Reception took a variety of forms, from study and transmission of Josephus' text (an important issue in this period) to translation, citation, allusion, parody and use in illustration.

Considerable attention was spent in the Seminar to study of the preparation and influence of the first printed edition in 1544. A visit to Christ Church library on the final day of the Seminar to view one of the copies of the first printed edition housed in Oxford revealed – among other things, including very interesting marginal notes by early modern readers – that the *Life* was not included on the title page although it is treated as a separate work within the printed book. Much was discovered about use of specific passages of the *Antiquities* and the *War* in Catholic and Protestant religious polemic, ranging from debates over the extent of the scriptural canon and the status of books

defined by Protestants as apocrypha, to claims that Josephus' description of Jewish philosophies (especially in his references to Pharisees, Sadducees and Essenes) in the time of Jesus should inform contemporary debates about Church hierarchies. Other passages were used at crucial moments in political argument, as in debates about political oaths of loyalty in England in the late seventeenth century.

Such extensive use of Josephus' writings was much enabled by a spate of vernacular translations of his works in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, so that a general public unfamiliar with Greek could nonetheless be expected to pick up allusions even for those parts of Josephus' works not widely available in Latin. The translations themselves inevitably imported large numbers of extraneous ideas into the text, whether consciously or not. There was much discussion of the wide influence of Jacob Basnage, whose French version of Josephus' narrative prefaced his continuation of the history of the Jews to his own time in his *Histoire des Juifs* (1706), and of the extraordinary background, and even more extraordinary enduring success, of the rather bizarre English translation of William Whiston. It became clear that Josephus' works became so widely known across Europe in the early modern period by such means that allusions to quite specific passages could expect to be understood, and that his stories could be picked up for rewriting in dramatic form in English tragedy. Equally, specific texts could sometimes be misleadingly paraphrased or misquoted, using the prestige of Josephus to make a point quite different from anything he originally said. The plethora of printed editions, already often produced with attractive illustrations from the fifteenth century, reveal an appetite for the author's works far beyond the humanist circles where the study of his Greek text took place alongside that of other writings from the classical world.

Jewish readers from this period shared the Christian fascination with Josephus, but with rather different preoccupations because of their long acquaintance with Josippon, sometimes known as the 'Hebrew Josephus', as opposed to the Greek; there was much debate whether the two authors should be identified. Josippon continued to be widely read by Jews throughout the early modern period (and beyond), with translations into Yiddish as well as into European vernaculars for a popular readership. It is clear that many learned Jews from the time of Azariah de' Rossi were well aware of the significance of the Greek Josephus and made extensive use of his writings from Latin or other translations in their account of biblical and Second Temple history. Concerns about Josephus' reliability as a historian in light of his defection to the Romans,

pervasive in Jewish discussions since the mid nineteenth century, seem to have had little impact during the period of Jewish rediscovery of this exciting source of knowledge about the Jewish past.

A similarly surprising lack of concern about Josephus' political career can be found also among Christian authors, even when they used his writings within arguments about their own political entanglements. His dramatic account of the destruction of the Temple was of vital religious concern to Christians as much as to Jews, and Josephus was much valued as an eye-witness. It was for the narrative of the war that Josephus was best known in this period as now, but among Christians there was also much fascination with the *Testimonium Flavianum* (a brief reference to the career of Jesus in book 18 of the *Antiquities*), which was pronounced spurious by some seventeenth-century humanists, thus becoming a major cause of scholarly and religious polemic. Political philosophers took to citing *Against Apion* as a source for analysis of the notion of theocracy as the ideal constitution.

Much more could be said about the extensive and variegated findings of the Seminar, but for further insights into the way that particular passages of Josephus' writings came to prominence in the debates of the early modern period, readers of this *Annual Report* will need to wait for the publication of the *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* volume in 2016, which in turn is expected to encourage a surge in this fascinating and underdeveloped area of scholarship.



Other New Research





Figure 1 Nina Davis Salaman (1918) by Solomon J. Solomon, RA.

Surreptitious Rebel – Nina Davis Salaman

Professor Todd M. Endelman

The women's movement is not unexplored territory in Anglo-Jewish history. The creation of the Jewish Association for the Protection of Girls and Women in 1885, the Union of Jewish Women in 1902 and the Jewish League for Woman Suffrage in 1912 are well documented.¹ Similarly, the emergence in the 1880s of middle-class Jewish women as philanthropists and social workers, working to relieve poverty and improve health in the East European immigrant community, as well as to promote its Anglicization, is now integral to the reconstruction of Anglo-Jewish history.² These organizations and initiatives facilitated the entry of middle-class Victorian and Edwardian Jewish women into spheres of activity outside the home and eventually weakened long-standing ideas about female abilities and responsibilities.

The transformation of gender roles is a more complex story, however, than this sketch suggests. There is an alternative, but complementary, way to view the gender revolution among British Jews that began in these years, one that focuses less on public, political activities. At the same time as middle-class Jewish women were struggling to secure the franchise and to participate in the governance of Anglo-Jewry, some were also pursuing careers or assuming roles that were previously male preserves. Their behaviour challenged existing expectations about what women could do outside the home and, in time, contributed to the decline of the essentialist belief that women and men possess different sets of innate traits. In most cases, these pioneers of new cultural and occupational roles were not ideological rebels, self-consciously seeking to overthrow the existing gender system. More often than not, they

1. Linda Gordon Kuzmack, *Woman's Cause: The Jewish Woman's Movement in England and the United States, 1881–1933* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1990).

2. Rickie Burman, 'Middle-Class Anglo-Jewish Lady Philanthropists and Eastern European Jewish Women: The First National Conference of Jewish Women, 1902', in Joan Grant (ed.) *Women, Migration and Empire* (Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham Books, 1996) 123–49.

were seeking to satisfy needs and desires that were personal – to find fulfilment and gratification in ways that satisfied them rather than in ways that met the expectations of their peers. Yet, in the words of the feminist rallying cry of the late-1960s and early 1970s, the personal is political. Seemingly non-political courses of action can embody a critique of and a challenge to the status quo. In this case, the decision to choose a path that was socially and culturally novel would have been quietly disruptive. Whatever their motives in breaking with contemporary expectations, inevitably their activities furthered the breakdown of existing expectations of what women could and should do. They accustomed men and other women to seeing women in novel settings (novel, that is, for women). They not only demonstrated that women were capable of performing tasks that were hitherto regarded as male, but also, in more subtle yet equally powerful ways, made the presence of women in these roles seem ‘natural’ and ‘normal’. This did not happen immediately, but in the long run their presence slowly eroded male expectations, just as water slowly erodes rock.

The first cohort of Jewish women to take on new roles was born in the third quarter of the nineteenth century and came of age in the late-Victorian period. These women distinguished themselves in the worlds of literature, journalism, science, social services and religion – spheres of activity in which the wielding of words and ideas is paramount and the absence of a university education is no barrier to success. While well-known figures in their day, the names of these pioneers no longer resonate except among small circles of enthusiasts and academics.

In this essay I want to examine the life of one of these pioneers in detail, Nina Davis Salaman (1877–1925). Salaman was a fervent Hebraist and Jewish nationalist, the most distinguished translator of medieval Hebrew poetry in the English-speaking world in her day and the only woman in the otherwise all-male world of Anglo-Jewish scholarship.

Nina Davis, as she was before her marriage, received an atypical Anglo-Jewish upbringing and education. Her father, Arthur Davis (1846–1906), was a third-generation Englishman; his father, John Davis (1810–72), the son of a Bavarian immigrant, was born in Thame in 1810 and settled permanently in Derby in 1843. The family were precision instrument makers (telescopes, opera glasses, thermometers, barometers, mining equipment and the like).³ Arthur’s father was a scholarly man, a friend of Herbert Spencer, who also grew up in Derby, but he was not a Hebraist and not an observant Jew. Religious

3. David J. Hind, ‘Davis Derby – A History of Engineering’, *Mining History: The Bulletin of the Peak District Mines Historical Society* 14:2 (winter 1999) 1–8.

observance, let alone knowledge of Hebrew, was absent from the home, and over the generations most of the Davises drifted away from Judaism.⁴ Arthur, however, chose a different path. At an early age he evinced a liking for Hebrew and a taste for Jewish observance, which surprised and inconvenienced his family, and through independent study he acquired a high level of proficiency in Hebrew.⁵ Six weeks after Nina was born, Arthur moved the family from Derby to London, settling first in Kilburn and then later in Bayswater. Although he continued to work as an engineer until nine years before his death in 1906, he devoted most of his leisure time to Hebrew studies, working both at home and in the British Museum. In 1892 he published a study of the *negivot* (cantillation marks) in the Masoretic text of the Bible.⁶ Later he was the driving force behind what became the standard British edition and translation of the *mahzor* (festival prayer book). His motivation, according to Nina, was the conviction that existing translations failed ‘to express the full force and beauty of the Jewish liturgy in its ancient form’.⁷

Arthur Davis conveyed his enthusiasm for the ‘force and beauty’ of ancient Hebrew texts to Nina and her sister, Elsie (1876–1933). Having no sons, he gave his daughters a rigorous Hebrew education, teaching them himself every day of the year once they reached the age of four. When they grew older, the lessons lasted from seven to eight each morning. Nothing was allowed to interfere with them until Nina reached age eighteen, by which time she was an accomplished

4. When a Davis from Derby approached Raphael Salaman (1906–93), one of Nina’s sons, for help in writing a history of the family engineering firm, he did not want the family’s Jewish origins to be mentioned. Interview with Esther Salaman Hamburger, Nina Salaman Wedderburn and Miriam Polianowski Salaman, London, 22 May 2000. One of Nina’s nieces wrote in 1955 to her son Myer: ‘Only Wilfred Davis is left in Derby, and his youngest son, Bruce, both still in the business. . . . he is not going to be involved in anything Jewish, I imagine. I think he is anti-Jewish. His mother was not one and he has married a Christian. He never even let his girls know that they had any Jewish blood in them and when we innocently informed them they had quite a shock!’ Cathie Davis to Myer Salaman, 9 Sept. 1955, Redcliffe Nathan Salaman Papers, Cambridge University Library [hereafter RNSP], CUL Add. MS 8171/12.

5. Herbert Loewe, ‘Impressions of a Memorable Evening’, June 1925, Barley Women’s Institute, RNSP, CUL Add. MS 8171/50.

6. Arthur Davis, *La-menatseah bi-neginot maskil: The Hebrew Accents of the Twenty-One Books of the Bible* (London: D. Nutt, 1892). A second edition, with a new introduction, appeared in 1900.

7. Nina Davis Salaman [hereafter NDS], ‘Notes on Arthur Davis by His Daughter Nina’, and Isobel Mordy to Raphael Salaman, 23 Sept. 1974, RNSP, CUL Add. MS 8171/12c&d.

Hebraist.⁸ Nina began publishing her translations in the Anglo-Jewish press at age seventeen and later contributed to her father's work on the *mahzor*. Israel Zangwill, the best-known Jewish writer in the English-speaking world at the time and, like her father, part of the circle that formed around Solomon Schechter in Kilburn in the 1880s, encouraged her and provided her with an introduction to Judge Mayer Sulzberger of the Jewish Publication Society of America, which published her collection *Songs of Exile by Hebrew Poets* in 1901. Educated at home, she also knew Latin and Greek passably and Italian, French and German well.

The Davis home was Jewishly observant. In saying this, however, I do not want to suggest that it was observant in the manner of Anglo-Jewish Orthodoxy of the early twenty-first century. The family's adherence to Jewish law and ritual reflected rather the more relaxed Orthodoxy of Victorian Anglo-Jewry. For example, when the family went on holiday at Deal, they received pre-cooked kosher meat from Dover and poultry from London, but they did not apparently bother about the *kashrut* of the dishes, pots, pans and utensils in the house they rented.⁹ In the absence of a synagogue in Deal, they marked the arrival of Shabbat by chanting the portion of the week and occasionally the *haftorah*.¹⁰ Though Arthur Davis was very sure of the correctness of his own views, he did not try to impose them on others, preferring to avoid controversy.¹¹ He also shared the bibliocentrism of Anglo-Jewish traditionalism, which tended to revere the Bible at the expense of rabbinic texts. Thus, on the Ninth of Av, the Davis family did not fast, since the day is not mentioned in the Bible and was ordained by the rabbis. Still, they adhered to the laws of Sabbath and Festival rest with some rigour. Nina did not write on Shabbat until 1901, when she was twenty-six. (She was living at home at the time but engaged to be married and unable to resist writing a letter to her husband-to-be, who was studying in Berlin.)¹² Socially, she and her parents moved in exclusively Jewish circles, circles distinguished more by virtue of their learning than their wealth. Her parents' friends included the families of Nathan Adler, Berman Berliner, Simeon Singer, Claude Goldsmid Montefiore, Solomon Schechter, Herbert

8. Herbert Loewe, 'Impressions of a Memorable Evening', June 1925, Barley Women's Institute, CUL Add. MS 8171/50.

9. NDS to Redcliffe Nathan Salaman [hereafter RNS], 28 July and 8 Aug. 1901, RNSP, CUL Add. MS 8171/98.

10. NDS to RNS, 2 Aug. 1901, CUL Add. MS 8171/98.

11. RNS to Norman Bentwich, 22 Nov. 1940, RNSP, CUL Add. MS 8171/1.

12. NDS to RNS, 31 Aug. 1901, RNSP, CUL Add. MS 8171/98.

Bentwich, Elkan Adler and various Franklins. Nina's own friends before her marriage were various Adlers and Hartogs, as well as Israel Zangwill.¹³

As was the case with middle-class Jewish women more generally, Nina's life changed when in 1901 she married the Cambridge-educated physician Redcliffe Nathan Salaman (1874–1955). The two families, the Salamans and the Davises, already knew each other. Both were members of the New West End Synagogue and moved in overlapping but not identical social circles. For example, as a thirteen-year-old, Nina had been invited to a New Year's Eve party at the Salamans.¹⁴ In addition, Arthur Davis's brother Edward (1860–1939) had married Isabelle (1868–1944), an older sister of Redcliffe, in 1899, so that Isabelle was both her aunt and her sister-in-law. The Salamans were, however, from a wealthier stratum of Anglo-Jewry than the Davises. Redcliffe's father had prospered in the ostrich-feather trade and invested the profits in London real estate. At his death he was sufficiently wealthy that none of his fourteen children ever had to work for a living.

In an unpublished memoir, Nina's husband recalled the moment when he decided to marry her. He was in the New West End Synagogue on a Saturday morning in June 1901 and during the service his eyes wandered to the women's gallery facing him. "There I saw a young woman directly opposite who stood out from all others by reason of her stately figure and her truly queenly beauty. The curious thing was that I had on rare occasions seen her before, knew who she was and how she was already distinguished as a serious scholar and writer. Perhaps it was on that account that I had completely dismissed her from my mind. I could only mutter to myself "Idiot! You have been thinking of this one, flirting with the other, all but proposing to a third, whilst all the time the one woman in the world for you, you have never troubled even to talk to".¹⁵ He lost no time and they were engaged within ten days.¹⁶

Marriage changed Nina Salaman's life dramatically. After her husband fell ill from tuberculosis in 1903 and ceased to practise medicine, they spent several months in Switzerland where he recuperated. They then returned to Britain, resolved to live the rest of their lives in the country. Redcliffe purchased a large

13. RNS to Frédérique Feldman, 10 April 1931, RNSP, CUL Add. MS 8171/12; NDS, engagement book, 1901, CUL Add. MS 8171/30.

14. NDS diary, 31 Dec. 1890, RNSP, CUL Add. MS 8171/59.

15. RNS, 'Chance at the Helm' (1950), 8–9, RNSP, CUL Add. MS 8171/27. RNS added that Nina was no stranger to him and had he wished he could have come to know her at any time in the previous ten years.

16. NDS, engagement book, 1901, 31 May – 6 June 1901, RNSP, CUL Add. MS 8171/30.



Figure 2 Nina Salaman in the garden of Homestall, Barley, Hertfordshire, her home from 1906 to 1925.

country home on the edge of the village of Barley in northern Hertfordshire. Nina lived there until her early death from cancer in 1925, raising and educating six children, maintaining a kosher home, observing Sabbaths and Festivals (the nearest synagogue, in Cambridge, was fourteen miles away) and continuing her work on medieval Hebrew poetry. While the location of their home physically separated them from the centres of Anglo-Jewish life, both Nina and Redcliffe continued to socialize in the same circles in which they had moved before settling in the country. There were frequent visits to London to see family and friends, attend synagogue, appear at committee meetings, shop and spend a night at the theatre; family and close friends reciprocated with



Figure 3 The Arts-and-Crafts west wing of Homestall, added in 1913 by the architect and urban planner Richard Barry Parker, best known for his work at Letchworth Garden City.

visits to Barley. Their proximity to Cambridge also compensated for their distance from London, since Nina travelled to the university town frequently to use the library and to discuss her work with Israel Abrahams (1858–1925), reader in rabbinic literature from 1902 to 1925. For years the two met weekly on Tuesdays in Room 12 of the Cambridge University Library, and after she was no longer able to travel due to her illness Abrahams travelled to her home in Barley.¹⁷ Abrahams, perhaps the most important scholar of Judaism in Britain at the time, highly valued her translation skills. As she wrote to Redcliffe, then serving with the British army in Palestine, Abrahams told her that she was able to ‘make out the difficult passages better than he’. When she showed him some obscure lines and read them aloud in Hebrew, he called out, ‘Translate, translate! I can’t take it in like you can!’¹⁸ Expressive of his valuation of her work is that on occasion Abrahams would take charge of her older boys, shepherding

17. Herbert Loewe, ‘Nina Salaman, 1877–1925’, *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England* 11 (1929) 231.

18. NDS to RNS, 17 March 1917, RNSP, CUL Add. MS 8171/104.

them around the museums of Cambridge, to allow her to work uninterruptedly in the library. Later, when they were away at school, he would turn up around eleven in the morning in Room 12 and spend the whole day with her. As she wrote to Redcliffe, 'I don't know that I *do* very much, but he talks and sees what I have done sometimes and it is always useful'.¹⁹

Abrahams was not the only Jewish scholar to acknowledge the depth of her learning. In 1918, she was appointed to the council of the Jewish Historical Society of England, to whom she had lectured previously.²⁰ She was the first woman to sit on the council and she was slated to be president of the society in 1922, but was unable to accept the office due to her illness.²¹ Twenty years passed before another woman, Beth-Zion Lask Abrahams (1902–1990), was appointed to the council. At Nina Salaman's funeral, which coincided with *rosh hodesh*, Chief Rabbi Hertz delivered the eulogy, noting that it was customary to omit the funeral sermon on *rosh hodesh*, except in the case of an eminent scholar. Ironically, because of her scholarship, she often found herself alone with men – Israel Abrahams and Israel Zangwill, in particular – for hours at a time. When Redcliffe expressed some discomfort with this, she explained that there were no women who knew anything about what she knew and that when she was with Abrahams or Zangwill she thought of nothing but her work. For Redcliffe to think anything else struck her as 'ludicrous'.²²

The magnum opus of Nina Salaman's scholarly career was her translation of the poems of the medieval Spanish poet Yehudah Ha-Levi (c. 1075–1141), which the Jewish Publication Society of America published in 1924 and which remains in print to this day. Yehudah Ha-Levi is one of the greatest Hebrew poets, equally well known for both his secular and religious poems. Many of the latter are included in the liturgy of the synagogue. She also aided Israel Zangwill with his translation of the poems of Solomon ibn Gabirol (c. 1021–c. 1058), which appeared in the same Jewish Publication Society series. Zangwill's knowledge of Hebrew was much inferior to hers and was likely not up to the task.

At this point, I need to say something about the challenges of the work that Salaman did. The translation of poetry is more difficult than the translation of prose, whatever the source language, for obvious reasons. Some might even argue that the translator of poetry must be a poet himself

19. NDS to RNS, 31 Jan. 1919, RNSP, CUL Add. MS 8171, Wedderburn Deposit.

20. NDS to RNS, 26 Dec. 1918, RNSP, CUL Add. MS 8171, Wedderburn Deposit.

21. Loewe, 'Salaman' (see n. 17 above).

22. NDS to RNS, 11 Nov. 1916, RNSP, CUL Add. MS 8171/103.

or herself to convey its nuanced, complex tones. Whatever the case, medieval Hebrew poetry, which can be deeply obscure, poses challenges to the translator that are distinctively its own. One obstacle is the referential style of the medieval Hebrew poets. So fully immersed in the Hebrew Bible were they that they constantly cited or echoed it – without, however, any indication that they were doing so, since they knew that their readers would recognize the references and appreciate what they were doing with them. Thus, the translator of this body of poetry must have an intimate familiarity with the biblical texts with which the medieval poets were working. In addition, he or she must be familiar with the midrashic context in which the rabbis played with a biblical text, adding to it an associative meaning. As Raphael Loewe explains, 'This last associative aspect is of particular importance, as it may sometimes contribute a level of meaning that has accrued to a text independently of, or even in defiance of, its original context or meaning, in virtue of the use that has been made of it, *obiter dictum*, in the Talmud'.²³ Thus the translator must know when the medieval Hebrew poet is building on both well-known and obscure rabbinic references to biblical texts that transform their initial meaning. Other challenges to the translator include intricate poetical schemes – and the use of recondite terms to make them work – as well as medieval tropes that are unfamiliar to modern readers, such as the deer, fawn and doe as objects of erotic desire.

That Salaman made the Jewish poets of medieval Spain the object of her life's work and that she devoted herself to Yehudah Ha-Levi in particular was no happenstance. These poets embodied a sensibility that had been absent in Ashkenazi Jewry for centuries, a sensibility that modern European Jews who embraced both Western and Jewish culture much admired. For Nina Salaman, as for the pioneers of modern Jewish scholarship in Central Europe in the previous century, these poets were devout but erudite seekers of the beautiful, open to the foreign and the new. They offered a model of robust Jewishness that was a stark alternative to the halakhah-centric *Frömmigkeit* of the yeshivah world of East European Jewry. As for Yehudah Ha-Levi, it was his nationalism, his yearning for liberation in the Land of Israel, that stirred her imagination in particular. In her introduction to the volume, she declared his songs to Zion 'his most beautiful' poems. In them, she wrote, he spoke without recourse to the poet's 'ordinary artifices'. His soul became 'the instrument' with which he

23. Raphael J. Loewe, 'The Bible in Medieval Hebrew Poetry', in J. A. Emerton and Stefan C. Reif (eds) *Interpreting the Hebrew Bible: Essays in Honour of E. I. J. Rosenthal* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982) 138.

communicated, and ‘on his heartstrings’ he ‘played the song of Israel’s hope’.²⁴ The fit between the poet’s yearnings and the translator’s views was close. The encounter with his poetry did not transform Salaman into a Jewish nationalist, for she was, by upbringing, an inchoate nationalist. Rather it confirmed and heightened sentiments that were already her own.

Nina Salaman’s nationalism was, initially, cultural and social in its orientation. She believed that the Jews constituted a collectivity whose common features transcended the ties of religious doctrines and practices. This belief owed little to the influence of Theodor Herzl, who did not launch political Zionism, with its goal of a sovereign Jewish state, until the late-1890s, nor did it owe much to the influence of other Zionist thinkers. But it was a view that was not uncommon in late-Victorian Anglo-Jewry, even if it was rarely articulated in ideological terms. Central to her nationalism was the belief that the Jews were different, that their history was unique and that their literature was a treasure trove of aesthetic and spiritual value. Linked to this view was a fierce disapproval of Jews who weakened the bonds of collective solidarity and who were ignorant of their religious and cultural patrimony. One way to label this kind of nationalism would be to call it a fierce anti-assimilationism.

Salaman’s commitment to Jewish difference and continuity was a long-standing preoccupation. In an extended correspondence with her fiancé in 1901, while he was training as a pathologist in Germany, she repeatedly expressed views on the fate and future of the Jews. For example, in September 1901, she wrote to Redcliffe about an upsetting experience earlier in the day at the New West End Synagogue. A crowd of people who were not regular worshippers was there for a bar mitzvah. The behaviour of the crowd and the performance of the boy both put her in a bad mood. The boy read, rather than chanted, the Torah portion and made many mistakes, while the crowd exuded ‘a sort of hopelessness’. The women looked ‘unnatural’ and the men ‘as if there were nothing whatever fine about them’. Downstairs, in the hall following the service, they rushed around kissing each other and making an enormous noise. While some of this disdain was snobbery, it was also a protest against religious indifference. The problem was, she told Redcliffe, that ‘the more one likes one’s own people the more one hates to see that sort of thing’.²⁵ In other letters she mused about the strength of the factors – racial, religious and national – that united Jews, a subject that later preoccupied Redcliffe. In one, having decided

24. NDS, ‘Introduction’, *Selected Poems of Jehudah Halevi*, ed. Heinrich Brody, trans. NDS (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1924) xxv-xxvii.

25. NDS to RNS, 7 Sept. 1901, RNSP, CUL Add. MS 8171/98.

that the proportions varied with different people, she concluded, nonetheless, ‘One certainly feels more akin to a foreign Jew than to an English Christian’. She believed that this was the outcome of both racial and national sentiments – ‘a patriotic feeling that “far away and long ago” we had a country of our own’. This was, not, however, an endorsement of Herzl’s call for Jewish sovereignty. In the same letter, she declared her opposition to a Jewish state, fearing that the combination of religious and national ‘patriotism’ in it would be too strong and preferring that ‘the whole world . . . be our Zion’.²⁶ Later, she changed her mind and embraced mainstream Zionism.

Nina Salaman’s Hebrew education was unusual, perhaps unique, for a woman at the time. In a further break with tradition, when she herself became a parent, she took charge of the education, both Jewish and secular, of her sons, a role that historically fell to Jewish fathers, not mothers. (She would have done likewise with her two daughters, but by the time they were of school-age, she was too ill to take on the task.) In her Hertfordshire home she sought to transmit to her sons the love of Hebrew that her father had instilled in her and her sister. Her strategy was breathtakingly audacious: she taught her sons to read Hebrew before she taught them to read English, beginning with the eldest, Myer, in 1906, when he was four years old.²⁷ Because Hebrew was at the time still emerging as a spoken language for everyday use, she focused on comprehension of written texts rather than on conversation, although she did not ignore the latter altogether. She began with frequently recited prayers, like the *shema*, and then went on to biblical texts, especially the narratives in Genesis, which easily capture the imagination of children. Unlike most Hebrew instruction in England at the time, which was in the hands of overworked and underpaid East European-born *melamdim*, her approach to the language was systematic and included both matters of syntax and grammar. She did not begin to teach English reading to her eldest son until more than two years after she had started his Hebrew lessons. When he easily completed the first lessons in the text book that she gave him, she decided ‘not to be in a hurry to encourage him to read English’, especially since his Hebrew was becoming so much more fluent.²⁸ Her motive for teaching them Hebrew at an early age was straightforward. It was the national language of the Jews in which they had expressed their national genius. When the women at a dinner party in 1911 seemed surprised when they learned that she was teaching her children

26. NDS to RNS, 11 July 1901, RNSP, CUL Add. MS 8171/98.

27. NDS, diaries, vol. 1, Oct. 1906, in possession of Jenny Salaman Manson, London.

28. NDS, diaries, vol. 1, Jan. 1909, in possession of Jenny Salaman Manson, London.



Figure 4 Nina and Redcliffe Salaman, with their children and Redcliffe's widowed mother, Sarah (c. 1911). From left to right: Arthur, Ruth, Raphael (with long hair), Nina, Sarah (Myer Salaman's widow), Redcliffe, Myer and Edward, who died young.

Hebrew, and one of them said it would be as much use to them as learning Greek, she replied that 'they ought to know their own literature first', a notion that had never occurred to the women before.²⁹ In 1915, when her eldest son, Myer, had outgrown home schooling, she sent him daily to Cambridge, where among other lessons he studied Aramaic, Talmud and the *Shulhan Arukh* with Abrahams.³⁰ It was her hope that he would eventually become a rabbi. As it turned out, he followed in his father's footsteps and became a physician.

Later, during World War I, when her husband joined the Royal Army Medical Corps, her responsibilities multiplied, not just for the education of their children, who now numbered four, but for the upkeep and management of their home and its staff. Like other English women whose husbands were in military service, she faced on her own the challenges of food and coal shortages and breakdowns in the supply of water and electricity. And like

29. NDS to RNS, 19 May 1911, RNSP, CUL Add. MS 8171, Wedderburn Deposit.

30. NDS to RNS, 27 and 30 April 1915, 3 May 1915, RNSP, CUL Add. MS 8171, Wedderburn Deposit.

other well-to-do women whose husbands were away, it fell to her to hire and fire maids, cooks, gardeners, tutors, nurses and the like, and to deal with the family's finances, including occasional overdrafts. The education of the children had also become more challenging. From September 1916, Myer was at the Jewish house at Clifton, a public school near Bristol, and, from May 1918, the two younger boys, Arthur and Raphael, at Bedales, a progressive, nondenominational, coeducational school in Hampshire. Now she had to contend, mostly on her own, with a new set of school-related problems. The boys, having been educated at home for the most part before being sent away, were not accustomed to mixing with Jewish children from unobservant homes who were indifferent or even hostile to Jewish matters. They were also not accustomed to mixing more generally with boys who cheated, lied, bated Jews, talked 'dirty' and were sexually predatory.³¹ The latter was particularly vexing for her, since she felt uncomfortable discussing homoerotic behaviour with her sons. Indeed, she was shocked to learn how widespread it was when she read Alec Waugh's semi-autobiographical novel *The Loom of Youth* in 1917.³² She also continued to supervise the boys' Hebrew education, even from afar. When all three boys were at Bedales, she arranged for the Hebrew scholar Aaron Selig Doniach to travel from London to the school every few weeks to give the boys lessons and to teach them as well by correspondence.³³

Nina Salaman's most public break with the gender regime of traditional Judaism came at the end of World War I. She and Redcliffe lived fourteen miles from Cambridge and took an active role in the Jewish life of the town, including entertaining Jewish students at their home. On Friday evening, 5 December 1919, she became the first – and only – woman to preach in an Orthodox synagogue in Great Britain when she spoke on the weekly portion (the story of Jacob's wrestling with an angel) to the Cambridge Hebrew Congregation, a traditional synagogue but one that was independent of the authority of the Chief Rabbi.³⁴ The event caused a stir even outside the Jewish community, *The Times* remarking that on this point Judaism was in advance of Christianity. When asked whether Jewish law permitted women to speak

31. NDS, diaries, vol. 3, July 1918, in possession of Jenny Salaman Manson, London; NDS to RNS, undated but written in autumn 1918; NDS to RNS, 13 July 1918; CUL Add. MS 8171, Wedderburn Deposit.

32. NDS to RNS, 29 May 1918, RNSP, CUL Add. MS 8171, Wedderburn Deposit.

33. NDS to RNS, 14 Sept. 1918, RNSP, CUL Add. MS 8171, Wedderburn Deposit.

34. NDS, *Jacob and Israel*, Cambridge Jewish Publications no. 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1920).

from the pulpit, Chief Rabbi Joseph Hertz neatly sidestepped the controversy. He ruled that since Salaman did not enter the pulpit until *after* the concluding prayer she did not preach *during* the service and thus she did not preach *in* the synagogue, since at that moment it was not being used for religious worship. Hertz's explanation led the editor of the *Jewish Chronicle*, Leopold Greenberg, to remark that the Chief Rabbi was 'evidently able on occasion to walk round a subject which he does not like, with agility, if not with courage' and that his 'piece of pilpul . . . might have caused many a Medieval rabbi to turn green with envy'.³⁵

We do not know the circumstances that motivated Salaman to challenge the relegation of women to the literal and metaphorical margins of synagogue life. It is possible that she was inspired by the example of Ray Frank (1861–1948), the so-called Girl Rabbi of the Golden West, whose preaching electrified Jewish congregations and audiences up and down the Pacific coast of the United States in the 1890s. Frank's path-breaking activities were widely reported in the press, and Nina Salaman met her in London in summer 1898, after which they corresponded intermittently for over twenty years.³⁶ It is also possible that she felt emboldened by her experiences as de facto head of the family when Redcliffe was serving in the military. His absence during the war had forced her to take on tasks that were conventionally male responsibilities. She was aware of the change in herself. As she wrote to Redcliffe in March 1919 before he returned to Barley, 'I, naturally, have had to be more self-reliant, to deal with things and decide about them all on my own and I suppose that is a training and makes me stronger in a sense'.³⁷ In any case, circumstance and context provided the opportunity. She and Redcliffe were visiting the Jewish students at Oxford and Cambridge on two consecutive weekends, meeting and entertaining the students, joining them for services and speaking to them about Hebrew poetry (in her case) and Jewish settlement in Palestine and heredity and Jewish types (in Redcliffe's case). It was during their visit to the Cambridge congregation that she delivered her sermon.³⁸

While Nina Salaman never explained what prompted her to preach at the Cambridge synagogue, she did develop on other occasions her views on the place of women in Judaism. In particular, she was a longtime advocate for

35. 'Mentor', 'In the Communal Armchair', *JC*, 9 Jan. 1920.

36. Ray Frank Litman Collection, American Jewish Historical Society, New York.

37. NDS to RNS, 15 March 1919, RNSP, CUL Add. MS 8171, Wedderburn Deposit.

38. NDS, 'Our Visit to Oxford, 28–30 November 1919' and 'Our Visit to Cambridge, 5–7 December 1919', RNSP, CUL Add. MS 8171, Wedderburn Deposit.

providing Jewish girls with a solid Hebrew education. She felt that if Judaism was to survive and flourish in England Jewish girls must gain 'a fundamental understanding of the form and spirit of the Hebrew language'. Girls were central to this project because when they became mothers they alone, not their husbands, would be in a position to impart to their children a knowledge of the Hebrew language and a feeling for Judaism. Fathers were too busy supporting their families and taking part in public life. Mothers, on the other hand, spent the greater part of their time with their children. Their responsibility was thus a heavy one: 'Jewish girls, then, hold in their hands the destiny of our people as a power for good in a world which we are hoping in our days to see reborn'.³⁹ Her analysis and solution were, of course, projections of her experiences in raising and educating her own children. Consonant with her belief in the intimate connection between the education of Jewish girls and the survival of Judaism, she took an active role in the management of the Tottenham Talmud Torah for Girls, to which she gave the royalties from her literary work.

In emphasizing the role of Salaman in breaking gender barriers in scholarship and synagogue life, I do not want to leave the impression that she was indifferent to the political dimensions of the women's movement. She served as a vice-president of the Jewish League for Woman Suffrage in its early years, as did her husband, and made modest donations to it.⁴⁰ At least once (in 1912) she accompanied Israel Zangwill when he spoke to a suffrage meeting and sat on the platform along with other notables,⁴¹ and she was part of a small delegation from the Jewish League for Woman Suffrage to the Chief Rabbi in July 1913 to ascertain his views, which were favourable. Moreover, she did not hesitate to challenge Jewish women who opposed the League. Once, in the Franklins' drawing room, when Mrs Franklin was expressing her disapproval of the league and of ministers venturing to speak about the suffrage issue in the synagogue, she interjected that 'it was in accordance with Judaism to preach about anything that affected one's life'. Mrs Franklin's response was that, even so, it was not 'English' to do so.⁴² But Salaman was not a militant suffragist, like Edith Zangwill, Israel's wife, for example, telling her that she would not value the vote if it were given grudgingly.⁴³ She certainly did not share the militant views

39. NDS, 'Jewish Girls and Judaism', in *Apples and Honey: A Gift-Book for Jewish Boys and Girls* (London: William Heinemann, 1921) 39–42.

40. *First Annual Report of the Jewish League for Woman Suffrage, 1913–1914* (London, 1914).

41. NDS to RNS, 16 May 1912, RNSP, CUL Add. MS 8171, Wedderburn Deposit.

42. NDS to RNS, 16 April 1913, RNSP, CUL Add. MS 8171, Wedderburn Deposit.

43. Edith Zangwill to NDS, 27 Feb. 1913, RNSP, CUL Add. MS 8171/5.

and commitments of Jews from the same social-economic milieu from which she came who were imprisoned for the sake of the movement, most notably Hugh Franklin (1889–1962), who horsewhipped the Home Secretary Winston Churchill in 1910, smashed his windows in Ecclestone Square in 1912 and set fire to an empty railway carriage in Harrow in 1913. Nor was she as active in the Jewish League as some members of her husband's family. Redcliffe's sister Jennie Cohen (1865–1921) served as treasurer before World War I, hosted meetings at her home and embroidered the League's banner, while another sister, Isabelle Davis, wrote a two-penny pamphlet for the organization, 'Some Reasons Why the Jew Should Desire Woman Suffrage'. Interestingly, Gertrude Lowy (1887–1982), whom Redcliffe married after Nina's death, was also a militant suffragist in her twenties, having been sentenced for two month's hard labour in 1912 for taking part in a window-smashing raid.⁴⁴

At heart, Salaman was not a political animal. Concern about the education of Jewish girls, the advancement of Hebrew scholarship, and the future of the Jews, both in Britain and the Land of Israel, animated her more than did the enfranchisement of women, to which, as we have seen, she was hardly indifferent. On the rare occasion when she ventured into politics, she did so hesitatingly, unsure of herself and sensitive to what her husband would think. For example, in December 1918, with a parliamentary election approaching, Lord Robert Cecil, a Liberal, came to Barley to campaign. She was impressed and wrote out questions to be submitted to him when he spoke the next day at nearby Royston: Did he support the Balfour Declaration? Would he bring his influence to bear in Parliament to stop the pogroms still raging in Poland? But when she wrote to her husband, who was then in Palestine, to tell him about this, she expressed hesitancy about becoming involved. She wrote, 'Tell me if I ought or not – though too late to stop me!'⁴⁵ In the end, then, she felt empowered to do what she wanted to do – but with some wavering. Still, she did not hesitate to question Redcliffe when he used a double standard in judging women doctors: 'Why,' she asked, 'is it worse – or more unsuitable – for a woman doctor to attend to a man's wounds in certain parts than for a man [doctor] to do the same for a woman?'⁴⁶

Like the other upper-middle-class Jewish women who broke gender barriers

44. See the entries on Hugh Franklin and the Lowy family in Elizabeth Crawford, *The Woman's Suffrage Movement: A Reference Guide, 1866–1928* (London: University College London Press, 1999).

45. NDS to RNS, 13 Dec. 1918, RNSP, CUL Add. MS 8171, Wedderburn Deposit.

46. NDS to RNS, 5 March 1917, RNSP, CUL Add. MS 8171/103.

in early-twentieth-century Britain, Nina Salaman was not a 'liberated woman' in the current sense of the term. To be sure, her economic status liberated her from the drudgery of housework and allowed her time to pursue her own research, but at the same time it also imposed obligations – like having the vicar to tea, hosting charitable fêtes in her garden and making social calls on Redcliffe's numerous relations when in London, especially his mother in her long widowhood. She dutifully fulfilled these obligations, but not always with enthusiasm. As she wrote to Redcliffe in 1915, 'I have invited the C. R. [Chief Rabbi] for next Sunday, but do so hope they won't come! I can hardly bear him!'⁴⁷ Moreover, she depended on her husband financially and assumed, as a matter of course, that his needs came first. But if she was not a 'liberated woman', she was, by virtue of the gender barriers in Hebrew scholarship and the synagogue that she transgressed, a pioneer and rebel despite herself. For, as I suggested earlier, the transformation of old conventions and traditions is often a slow and unremarkable process, the outcome of countless individual acts that frequently have unintended consequences. Over time these acts cumulatively produce change. Often these acts and the sentiments that motivated them are hidden from the view of the historian. In the case of Nina Salaman, we are fortunate that the paper trail that remained after her death was preserved by her descendants, thereby allowing historians to recapture both the contours of her life and the feelings and ideas that shaped it.

47. NDS to RNS, 4 Oct. 1915, RNSP, CUL Add. MS 8171, Wedderburn Deposit.

A Universal Jewish Library? The Early Modern Origins of the Bodleian Oppenheim Collection

Dr Joshua Teplitsky

This year's Catherine Lewis Lectures were dedicated to an exploration of the Oppenheim Judaica collection of the Bodleian Library. The collection was assembled by the rabbi and bibliophile David Oppenheim (1664–1736), chief rabbi of Prague. Over his lifetime, Oppenheim acquired some 4500 books and 1000 manuscripts, a collection that was purchased by the Bodleian library in 1829 and which continues to serve as the crown jewel of its Judaica holdings and a rich field for historical, literary and philological research, as it contains many of the sole existing copies of assorted Hebrew and Yiddish books.

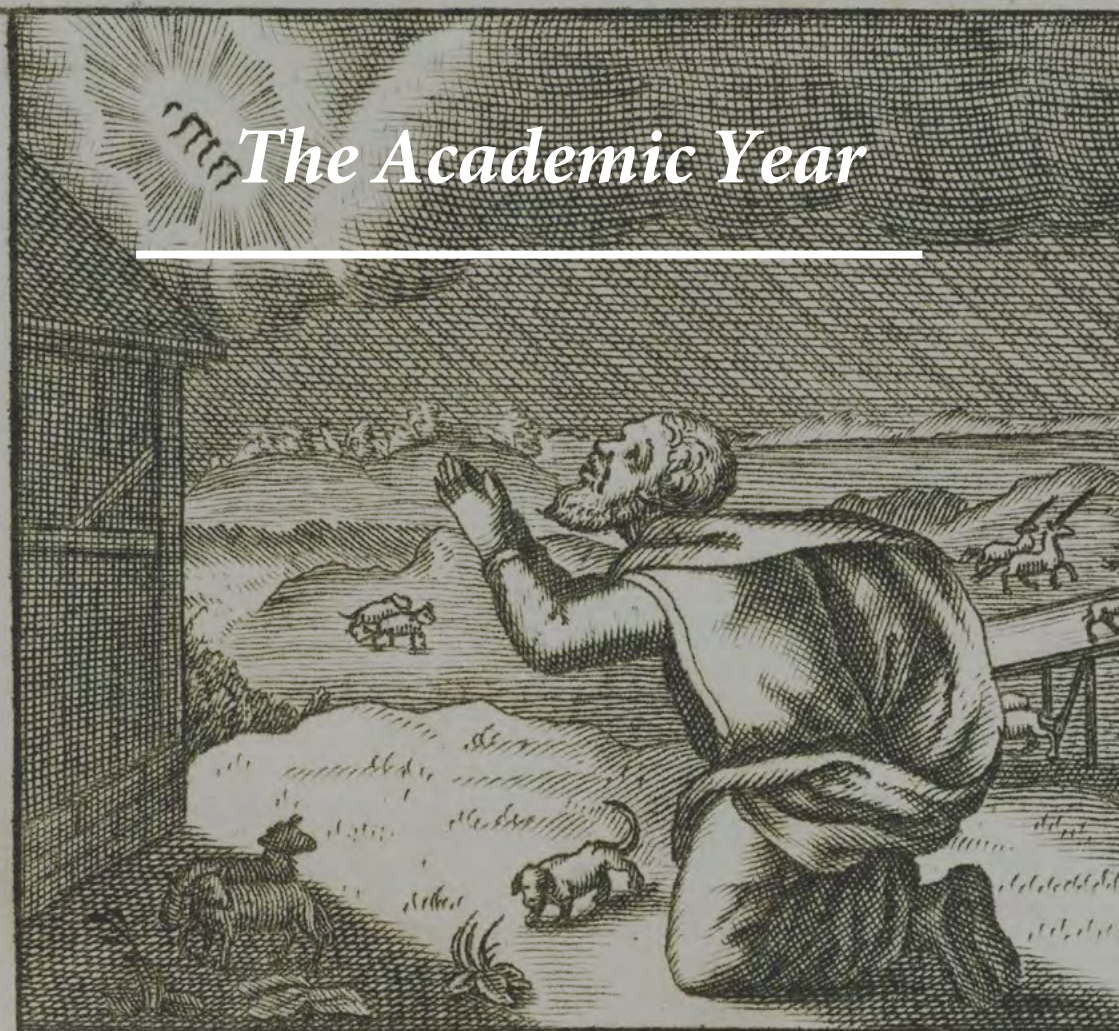
With unique access to the treasures of the collection, participants were given the opportunity to enter into the material and mental space of this unparalleled collection and the man who assembled it. The first lecture, 'Aspiring to a Collection', followed the early ambitions of Oppenheim the collector, from his upbringing in the reputable Jewish community of Worms to his travels as a student, where he gained exposure to new literatures and new authors. By examining his relationship to other libraries and the horizons of his imagined library, the lecture explored the relationship between bibliographies and book collections, and traced the buying and reading habits of the wider Jewish public of the early modern period in Europe. Oppenheim bought new books and old manuscripts from itinerant merchants, hired scribes to copy texts and bought wholesale collections from widows who had less use of books after the deaths of their husbands.

If the first lecture dealt with the items of the collection before they entered into Oppenheim's ken, the second lecture, 'Collecting a Reputation', charted the ways in which bibliography and biography were so intimately intertwined in this man's life that the library served as a source of prestige and ultimately power for Oppenheim. He was related to some of the most powerful and well-connected Jews of Europe: the Court Jews. As purveyors, contractors and lenders to the princes and kings of Central Europe, the Court Jews emerged as a

leading class in the Jewish communities of Germany. Oppenheim's relation to these men positioned him as an important broker in the power politics of the Jewish community. Rabbis and scholars recognized Oppenheim's authority as an expert in his own right, and his power as an adjunct of these powerful men. As a member of this class, Oppenheim commissioned special editions of books – printed on vellum and on blue, orange or yellow paper – material symbols of his status.

The third and final lecture, 'Using and Losing a Collection', moved from the role of the collection during the lifetime of its collector to its chequered afterlife as it was orphaned and relocated, wandering in search of a redeemer. Once the province both of Jewish rabbis and Christian scholars, a wonder and monument to Jewish study, the library was visited as a source of publications, serving as a well for medieval texts to re-enter the Jewish canon and reshape patterns of inquiry. With Oppenheim's death in 1736 and the death of his son – the library's primary keeper – only three years later, the library ceased to have a careful caregiver. Many European collections shared a similar fate: the demise of their patron meant the end of both their augmentation and the access to them of the public. In the hands of inheritors the library became a material, but not cultural, asset, against which loans could be made. Relocated from Hanover to Hildesheim to Hamburg, plans were mooted to use the library to generate a new world of Jewish studies in the wake of the French Revolution, or to serve as the basis of a new Prussian academy, but for nought. Only in 1826, when the collection was itemized and put up for auction, did the Bodleian Library dispatch an agent to open negotiations for its purchase. Although Moses Mendelsohn had once appraised the library's value as exceeding 50,000 reichstaler, it was ultimately bought by the Bodleian for a fraction of that price, £2080. In 1845 the German-Jewish scholar Leopold Zunz described the collection as 'belonging to the few memorials that Jews established and Christians preserve'. To this day, the library is visited annually by leading scholars in the field of Jewish studies.

I would like to thank the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies for the invitation to deliver these lectures, the family of Catherine Lewis for supporting this endeavour, and special thanks to Dr César Merchán-Hamann for procuring the remarkable treasures of the library for collective study.



The Academic Year





*Front Row: Dr Joanna Weinberg, Dr David Rechter, Dr Jeremy Schonfield, Professor Martin Goodman (Acting President and Academic Director), Professor Sir Fergus Millar, Dr Alison Salvesen (Course Co-ordinator)
 Second Row: Dr Khayke Beruriah Wiegand, Magdaléna Jánošíková (Slovakia), Nina Skafte (Denmark), Abir Lal Mitra (India), Danielle Willard (USA), Samuel Baddeley (UK)
 Third Row: Dr Deborah Rooke, Milena Zeidler (Muller Library), Dr César Mércan-Hamann (Muller Library), Jacob Shapiro (USA), Michael Fischer (Muller Library), Mrs Daphna Witztum
 Back Row: Dr Zsófia Buda (Muller Library), Mrs Martine Smith-Huvers (Academic Registrar), Dr Garth Gilmour, Revd Dr Benjamin Williams, Dr Stephen Herring, Mrs Sue Forteach, Dr Joshua Teplitsky*

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

I. Courses Taught by Fellows of the Centre

Dr Miri Freud-Kandel

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

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

Judaism in History and Society (BA in Theology)

Modern Judaism (MSt in the Study of Religions)

Professor Martin Goodman

The Formation of Rabbinic Judaism (with Revd Dr Benjamin Williams) (BA in Theology)

Varieties of Judaism, 100 BCE – 100 CE (BA in Theology)

Jewish History, 200 BCE – 70 CE (MSt in Jewish Studies)

Judaism from 200 BCE to 200 CE (MPhil in Judaism and Christianity in the Graeco-Roman World)

Religions in the Greek and Roman World (c. 31 BC – AD 312) (BA in Literae Humaniores)

Dr Sara Hirschhorn

Israel: State and Society, 1882–Present (MSt in Jewish Studies, MPhil in Modern Jewish History and MPhil in Modern Middle East Studies)

Topics in the History of Modern Israel (BA)

Dr Adriana X. Jacobs

Topics in Modern Hebrew Literature, 1900 to Present (MSt in Jewish Studies)

Modern Hebrew Literature (BA in Oriental Studies)

Postwar Jewish Literature (BA)

Haskalah (with Dr David Rechter and Dr Joshua Teplitsky) (BA in Jewish Studies)

Professor Derek Penslar

Israel: History, Politics, Society (MPhil taught in Michaelmas and Hilary terms)

Dr David Rechter

Modern Jewish History (MPhil in Modern Jewish Studies and MSt in Jewish Studies)

Haskalah (with Dr Adriana X. Jacobs and Dr Joshua Teplitsky) (BA in Jewish Studies)

Dr Alison Salvesen

Septuagint Studies (MSt in Jewish Studies and MSt in Classics with Approved Subject [Hebrew])

Greek, Aramaic and Hebrew Texts for Jewish Bible Interpretation (MPhil in Judaism and Christianity)

Greek Ecclesiastical Texts (MPhil in Eastern Christian Studies)

Sleepers of Ephesus (MSt in Syriac Studies; DPhil)

Cyril of Alexandria, Glaphyra (DPhil)

Dr Jeremy Schonfield

Jewish Liturgy (BA in Jewish Studies and MSt in Jewish Studies)

Dr Zehavit Stern

The Invention of Folklore and the Creation of Modern Eastern European Jewish Culture (MSt in Jewish Studies)

Yiddish Literature (BA in Modern Languages)

Dr Joshua Teplitsky

The Habsburg Monarchy, 1740–1914 (MPhil in Slavonic Studies)

Haskalah: The Jewish Enlightenment (with Dr Adriana X. Jacobs and Dr David Rechter) (BA in Jewish Studies)

Jews in Early Modern Europe, 1492–1789 (MSt in Jewish Studies)

Dr Joanna Weinberg

Survey of Rabbinic Literature (MSt in Jewish Studies)

Legacy of Maimonides (MSt in Oriental Studies)

Rabbinic Texts (MPhil in Judaism and Christianity)

Professor Hugh Williamson

Topics in Biblical History (Hebrew Studies Prelims and BA in Theology)

Genesis 1–11 (BA in Hebrew Studies and graduate courses)

Isaiah 40–45 (BA in Theology and MSt in Classics)

Proverbs 1:7–9 (BA in Theology and MSt in Classics)

Biblical Hebrew language (BA in Theology and MSt in Classics)

II. Lectures and Papers by Fellows of the Centre

Dr Miri Freud-Kandel

‘Belief in a Contemporary World: The Influence of the Holocaust on the Theology of Louis Jacobs’, David Patterson Seminar, Oxford

‘On Revelation, Heresy and the Academy versus Mesorah – From Louis Jacobs to TheTorah.com’, Conference in Modern Jewish Thought, University of Cambridge

‘The British Chief Rabbinate: A Model for Leadership or Decline?’ Conference on Chief Rabbis: Between Religious and Political Leadership, Bar-Ilan University

‘Greenberg, Jacobs and Orthodoxy: A Special Relationship or Transatlantic Divide?’ Oxford Summer Institute

‘Louis Jacobs and the Development of Postmodern Approaches to Jewish Theology’, European Association of Jewish Studies Congress, Paris

‘Jews and Judaism in the United Kingdom: Developments, Directions, and Threats’, European Association of Jewish Studies Congress, Paris

Professor Martin Goodman

‘The Reception of Josephus in Jewish Culture from 1750 to the Present’, World Congress of Jewish Studies, Jerusalem

- 'Enemies of Rome Revisited', Cultural Responses to the Roman Empire workshop, Tel-Aviv
- 'Jewish Diaspora Communities in the Antonine Age', Scholion – Interdisciplinary Research Centre in the Humanities and Jewish Studies, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem
- 'Jewish Communal Identities in the Graeco-Roman Period', Seminar in Jewish History and Literature in the Graeco-Roman Period, University of Oxford
- 'Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora after Bar Kochba', Jewish Studies Seminar, King's College London
- 'Rabbinic Texts and the History of Roman Palestine', Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Paris
- 'Prosbul and the History of Debt', Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Paris
- 'The Development and Cessation of Religious Taboos', Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Paris
- 'Marriage and Divorce Documents and Local Forms of Marriage', Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Paris
- 'The Roman State and Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora after Bar Kochba', Jewish Studies Seminar, University of Durham
- 'Roman Power and the Parting of the Ways', Council of Christians and Jews, Richard Harries Lecture, Oxford
- 'Variety in Judaism', Engelsberg Seminar, Ax:son Johnson Foundation, Sweden
- 'The Life of Brian and the Politics of First-century Judaea', King's College London
- 'Response to Yitz Greenberg's Partnership for Life', Oxford Summer Institute, Oxford Centre

Dr Sara Hirschhorn

- 'The Unsettled Question: A Brief History of the Israeli Settler Movement Since 1967', Foreign and Commonwealth Office – Briefing to Middle East Research Division, London; US State Department – Briefing for Civil Servants, Washington DC; The Society for Jewish Studies, London; Limmud Conference, UK; Eurasia Group – 'Israel: Five Year Prospects' Conference for Government and Policy Audience; Oxford Chabad; Mosaic Lecture, Oxford Jewish Congregation
- 'The Origins of the Redemption in Occupied Suburbia?: Rabbi Shlomo Riskin and the Jewish-American Makings of the West Bank Settlement of Efrat, 1973–2013', David Patterson Seminar, Oxford; European Association of Israel Studies, London

- 'The West Bank Settlements: New Perspectives', Conference at University of Tel-Aviv
- 'Settling in the Heart of Zion: Garin Lev Zion and the Jewish-American Origins of the West Bank Settlement of Tekoa Since 1973', Israel Studies Seminar, Oxford; Association of Israel Studies, Israel
- 'Facing Jerusalem and Ourselves: American Jews After the 1967 War', Limmud Conference, UK
- 'One State, Two State: Reflections on the Peace Process', Limmud Conference, UK
- 'Ariel Sharon: Man and Myth', Oxford Chabad

Dr Adriana X. Jacobs

- 'Contemporary Israeli Poetry and the Economy of Translation', David Patterson Seminar, Oxford
- 'He is too French for us: Baudelaire in Hebrew', Oxford Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies Conference – On the Word of a Jew: Oaths, Testimonies and the Nature of Trust
- 'Hebrew Poetry in European Translation', Language, Nation, Modernity: Hebrew in Europe, 1800 to the present, King's College London and University College London
- 'Rogue Translation', Oxford Comparative Criticism and Translation Seminar, St Anne's College, Oxford
- 'A Difficult Distance: Picturing Conflict in Contemporary Israeli Poetry', The Edgar Wind Society, Oxford
- 'Anna Herman and the Goldberg Variations', National Association of Professors of Hebrew Conference, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev

Professor Derek Penslar

- 'Re-fashioning the Self, Regenerating the Nation: Theodor Herzl and the Zionist Movement', Nineteenth-century Europe Seminar, Oxford
- 'Between Honour and Authenticity: Zionism as Theodor Herzl's Life Project', Oxford Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies - On the Word of a Jew: Oaths, Testimonies and the Nature of Trust
- 'What is Israel Studies?', Inaugural Lecture, Stanley Lewis Chair in Modern Israel Studies, St. Anne's College, Oxford
- 'What if a Christian State Had Been Founded in Modern Palestine?', Association for Jewish Studies Annual Meeting, Boston, Mass.

- 'Between History, Theory and Philosophy: Reflections on Chaim Gans' Political Theory for the Jewish People', Symposium in Honour of Chaim Gans at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem
- Roundtable Discussant, Conference on 'Zionism as a Cultural Movement', Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island
- Roundtable Discussant, Association for Israel Studies Annual Meeting, Sede Boker, Israel
- 'The Great War and Modern Jewry', keynote address, Conference on the Jews in World War I, University of Sussex
- 'The Jewish Origins of the Israeli Economy', Wharton School of Business, University of Pennsylvania
- 'Theodor Herzl: Regenerating the Self, Regenerating the Nation', American University, Washington DC, and University of Virginia
- 'Every War a Civil War? Jewish Soldiers and Veterans in Europe, 1914-1939', University of Frankfurt and Heidelberg Hochschule für jüdische Studien

Dr David Rechter

- 'Bukovina: A Different Story', Institute of Polish Jewish Studies Conference on 'Ukrainians, Jews and Poles: The Ukrainian Triangle in Historical Perspective', Polish Embassy, London
- 'Myth, Politics and Empire: The Jews of Habsburg Bukovina', University of Haifa symposium on David Rechter's *Becoming Habsburg*, Tel-Aviv
- 'Trauma on the Eastern Front: European Jews and the Great War', Keynote Lecture for International Workshop 'Das Europäische Judentum und der Ersten Weltkrieg', Goethe University, Frankfurt am Main
- 'Trauma on the Eastern Front: European Jews and the First World War', Conference on the occasion of the 120th anniversary of the Jewish Historical Society of England, University College London

Dr Alison Salvesen

- 'Jacob of Edessa's Version of Scripture in relation to his Exegetical Interests', Bibliotheca Ambrosiana, Dies Academicus, Milan
- '"Christ has Subjected us to the Harsh Yoke of the Arabs": The Syriac Exegesis of Jacob of Edessa in the New World Order', Exegetical Crossroads Conference, Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg
- 'Greek Isaiah between the LXX and the Three: What Can Textual Revision Tell

- us About the Parting of the Ways?' Society for Biblical Literature Annual Meeting, Baltimore
- 'Theodoret, the Septuagint and the Three in Psalms 44/45 and 67/68', Patristic Seminar, Oxford

Dr Jeremy Schonfield

- 'Adon Olam and Burnt Norton – Philosophical and Spiritual Views of God', Kehillah North London

Dr Zehavit Stern

- 'The Spielmann Theory and the Invention of the Jewish Bard', The Sixteenth World Congress of Jewish Studies, Jerusalem

Dr Joshua Teplitsky

- '"Narrating Networks": Using Networks to Tell a Story and Build an Analysis', Medieval and Early Modern Ashkenaz: New Directions, Leo Baeck Institute, Jerusalem
- 'Quarantine in the Prague Ghetto: Jewish-Christian Relations During the Prague Plague of 1713–1714', German Studies Association Annual Conference, Denver, Colorado
- 'Collecting a Reputation: Networks of Exchange and the Making of a Jewish Library in Eighteenth-century Prague', Institute of Historical Research, School of Advanced Study, University of London
- 'Why was there no "Crisis" of the Ashkenazic Mind in the Early Eighteenth Century?' 45th Annual Conference of the Association for Jewish Studies, Boston, Mass.
- 'Outsiders in the Inner Circle: Jews, Christians and Courtly Politics', Early Modern German Culture: An Interdisciplinary Seminar, University of Oxford
- 'Death and Taxes: Oaths and Communal Administration in Eighteenth-century Prague', Oxford Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies – 'On the Word of a Jew': Oaths, Testimonies, and the Nature of Trust, University of Oxford
- 'Reading Josippon in Eighteenth-century Rabbinic and Popular Culture', Oxford Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies – The Reception of Josephus in the Early Modern Period, University of Oxford
- 'A Universal Jewish Library? The Early Modern Origins of the Bodleian Oppenheim Collection', The Catherine Lewis Lectures, Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies

'David Oppenheim of Prague: Av Beit Din, Reish Metivta, Client, Patron', Third Annual Conference of the Israel and Golda Koschitzky Department of Jewish History and Contemporary Jewry: 'Chief Rabbis: Between Religious and Political Leadership', Bar-Ilan University

Dr Joanna Weinberg

'Compilation and Observation in Johann Buxtorf's Synagogue of the Jews', with Professor Anthony Grafton, Katz Center for Advanced Judaic Studies, Philadelphia

'A Christian Scholar's Hebrew Notebook: How Johann Buxtorf Worked with his Sources', with Professor Anthony Grafton, University of Philadelphia

'Johan Buxtorf as Censor and Reader of Hebrew Books', University of Chicago

'The Early Modern Jewish Library and its Christian Borrowers', University of Philadelphia

'Johann Buxtorf (1564–1629), Reader and Censor of Jewish Books', The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

'A Humanist in the Klaus: New Perspectives on the Maharal of Prague', Katz Center for Advanced Judaic Studies, Philadelphia

'Much Ado About Shilo: Casaubon's Response to Baronio', Centre for Early Modern Studies, University of Oxford

'Josephus and Josippon in Early Modern Jewish Historiography', Oxford Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies – The Reception of Josephus in the Early Modern Period

'A Humanist in the Klaus: Jacques Bongars Meets the Maharal of Prague', David Patterson Seminar, Oxford

Professor Hugh Williamson

'The Samaritan Temple and the Sons of Joseph', Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society, London

Book Panels on Ross Wagner, *Reading the Sealed Book*, and on W. Moberly, *Old Testament Theology*; and a paper entitled "'An Initial problem": The Setting and Purpose of Isaiah 10:1–4', Society for Biblical Literature, Baltimore

Respondent at an international conference held by Old Testament Studies: Epistemologies and Methods, Tartu, Estonia

'S. R. Driver: A Centennial Perspective', David Patterson Seminar, Oxford

III. Publications by Fellows of the Centre

Professor Martin Goodman

'Jews and Christians in the First Centuries', *Gesher* 4:4 (November 2013) 22–5

'Rome in Jerusalem', *Cathedra* 151 (April 2014) 51–60 (in Hebrew)

Dr Sara Hirschhorn

'Book Review – Orit Rozin, *The Rise of the Individual in 1950s Israel: A Challenge to Collectivism*', *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 46:2 (Spring 2014) 401–3

'Meeting the Crown Jewel of Jewish History: American Jews and Jerusalem after the Six Day War', *Sh'ma Journal* (October 2013)

'If J-Street is Out, Justify Why You're In', *Haaretz*, May 2014

'Pollard Saga Pollutes American Jewish Identity', *Haaretz*, April 2014

'Israel or Palestine: Who Will Take in the Settlers?' *Haaretz*, January 2014

'Naftali Bennett: An Ultra-Nationalist Who Speaks Fluent Liberal', *Haaretz*, December 2014

'When the New York Times Went to Bat for the One State Solution', *Haaretz*, October 2014

Dr Adriana X. Jacobs

'The Go-Betweens: Leah Goldberg, Yehuda Amichai and the Figure of the Poet Translator', in Sandra Bermann and Catherine Porter (eds) *The Blackwell Companion to Translation Studies*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd (2014) 479–91

'From IDF to .pdf: War Poetry in the Israeli Digital Age', in Rachel S. Harris and Ranen Omer-Sherman (eds) *Narratives of Dissent: War in Contemporary Israeli Arts and Culture*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press (2013) 153–66

'Hebrew Remembers Yiddish: The Poetry of Avot Yeshurun', in Lara Rabinovitch, Shiri Goren and Hannah Pressman (eds) *Choosing Yiddish: Studies in Yiddish Literature, Culture and History*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press (2013) 296–313

'Ecclesiastes: Literature', *Encyclopedia of the Bible and Its Reception*. Berlin/Boston: Walter de Gruyter (2013) 291–4

‘Approaching You in English by Admiel Kosman’, *Translation Review*, 85:1 (2013) 72–7

Professor Derek Penslar

Jews and the Military: A History. Princeton: Princeton University Press (2013)

Dr David Rechter

‘Staat, Gesellschaft, Minderheit: Die Judenfrage im österreichischen Habsburg’, in Manfred Hettling, Michael G. Müller and Guido Hausmann (eds) *Die ‘Judenfrage’ – ein europäisches Phänomen?* Berlin: Metropol (2013) 205–27

‘Die große Katastrophe: die österreichischen Juden und der Krieg’, in Marcus Patka (ed.) *Weltuntergang: Jüdisches Leben und Sterben im Ersten Weltkrieg*. Vienna: Styria Premium (2014) 12–25

Dr Alison Salvesen

‘“Tradunt Hebraei”: The Problem of the Function and Reception of Jewish Midrash in Jerome’, in M. Fishbane and J. Weinberg (eds) *Midrash Unbound: Transformations and Innovations*. Oxford and Portland, Oregon: Littmann Library of Jewish Civilization (2013) 57–81

‘The Tabernacle Accounts in LXX Exodus and their Reception in Hellenistic Judaism’, in K. De Troyer, T. M. Law T and M. Liljeström (eds) *In the Footsteps of Sherlock Holmes. Studies in the Biblical Text in Honour of Anneli Aejmelaes*. Contributions to Biblical Exegesis & Theology 72. Leuven: Peeters (2014) 555–71

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Dr Jeremy Schonfield

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Dr Zehavit Stern

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Dr Joshua Teplitsky

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Dr Joanna Weinberg

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Professor Hugh Williamson

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- ‘An Overlooked Suggestion at Proverbs 1:10’, in D. A. Baer and R. P. Gordon (eds) *Leshon Limmudim: Essays on the Language and Literature of the Hebrew Bible in Honour of A. A. Macintosh*. Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies 593. London: Bloomsbury (2013) 218–26
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- ‘Jacob in Isaiah 40–66’, in L.-S. Tiemeyer and H. M. Barstad (eds) *Continuity and Discontinuity: Chronological and Thematic Development in Isaiah 40–66*. Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments (FRLANT) 255. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht (2014) 219–29
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IV. Fellows’ Activities and Other News

Dr Miri Freud-Kandel

Dr Freud-Kandel continued to teach undergraduate and graduate courses at the Centre, the Oriental Institute and the Faculty of Theology and Religion. She has also maintained her role on the Editorial Board of the Academic Studies Press series on Orthodoxy. She has been editing a special edition of the *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* containing academic papers, including her own, produced during last year’s ‘Oxford Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies – Orthodoxy, Theological Debate and Contemporary Judaism: A Critical Exploration of Questions Raised in the Thought of Louis Jacobs’. The first Oxford Summer Institute on Modern and Contemporary Judaism, held in June 2014, is an additional follow up from the Seminar. This Summer Institute, a more concentrated version of the Seminar, has been designed as an annual event bringing together leading scholars to focus on a different theme each year related to the spectrum of Jewish religious understandings and approaches,

including post-denominational as well as non-denominational and denominational perspectives. The topic of the 2014 programme was ‘Modern Orthodoxy and the Road Not Taken: A Critical Exploration of Ideas Arising from the Thought of Rabbi Dr Irving ‘Yitz’ Greenberg’. The working title for 2015 is ‘State and Spirit: The Impact of Sovereignty on Contemporary Judaism’. Dr Freud-Kandel and Professor Adam Ferziger of Bar-Ilan University, who co-convened the project, put together an intensive programme incorporating a number of public events in both London and Oxford.

Dr Freud-Kandel presented a paper at this academic gathering building on her ongoing research on the theology of Louis Jacobs. She was also invited to participate in a conference at the University of Cambridge on ‘Jewish Studies as Philosophy: Beyond Historicism and Sociology?’ and at the Third Annual Conference of the Israel and Golda Koschitzky Department of Jewish History and Contemporary Jewry at Bar-Ilan University on ‘Chief Rabbis: Between Religious and Political Leadership’. In addition she attended the Congress of the European Association of Jewish Studies in Paris where she co-convened with Dr Daniel Weiss of the University of Cambridge a panel on ‘What is Jewish Theology?’ in which she presented a paper and was involved in a panel examining contemporary European Jewry.

Professor Martin Goodman

Professor Goodman continued as Academic Director for the year and served as Acting President from 1 August 2013. He continued to teach at all levels from undergraduate to doctoral. In March-April 2014 he gave a series of lectures on ‘Social History from Early Rabbinic Texts’ at the Sorbonne as Directeur d’études invité of the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, and in June 2014 he was a guest lecturer of the Ax:son Johnson Foundation at the Engelsberg Seminar on ‘Religion’ in Sweden. He convened the regular research seminar on Jewish History and Literature in the Graeco-Roman Period, and convened the seminars on Abrahamic religions which culminated in October 2014 in a two-day workshop in Jerusalem of graduate students from Oxford and the Hebrew University. He convened with Professor Tessa Rajak and Dr Andrea Schatz two final workshops (in January and June) as part of a project, funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council, to investigate the Jewish reception of Josephus since 1750, and he convened with Dr Joanna Weinberg the Oxford Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies group – The Reception of Josephus in the Early Modern Period which met at the Centre and at Exeter College from January to June. He served as examiner of a number of Oxford degrees and

a Manchester doctorate. He continued to serve as Chairman of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society and, for a second year, as Vicegerent of Wolfson College. He was appointed President of the Centre from 1 July 2014.

Dr Sara Hirschhorn

Dr Hirschhorn joined the Centre and Faculty of Oriental Studies in September 2013 as the new University Research Lecturer and Sidney Brichto Fellow in Israel Studies. Her research investigates the Israeli settler movement, the Arab-Israeli conflict and the relationship between Israel and diaspora Jewry (with a focus on the USA), and she is working on articles for academic journals and on her first book, tentatively entitled *City on a Hilltop: American Jews and the Israeli Settler Movement Since 1967*, forthcoming from Harvard University Press. She has been involved in teaching at the University of Oxford both on the undergraduate and post-graduate level in degree programs in Jewish Studies and modern Middle East Studies. In addition to her academic work she is engaged in public education and is a frequent speaker and consultant on issues related to the Arab-Israeli conflict, as well as writing as an op-ed columnist for *Ha'aretz* and other periodicals.

Dr Adriana X. Jacobs

Dr Jacobs joined the Centre and the Faculty of Oriental Studies in September 2013 as the new Cowley Lecturer in Modern Hebrew Literature. In addition to her undergraduate teaching, she also taught an introductory course in Modern Hebrew literature for the MSt in Jewish Studies and participated in the closing conference of the seminar 'On the Word of the Jew', for which she presented a paper on Hebrew translations of Charles Baudelaire's poetry. She is currently working on her book project, *Strange Cocktail: Poetics and Practices of Modern Hebrew Poetry Translation*, which examines the relation between literary translation and poetic invention in modern Hebrew literature of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

Professor Derek Penslar

Derek Penslar, who serves as Stanley Lewis Professor of Israel Studies at the University of Oxford, wrote an article entitled 'A Christian State in Modern Palestine?' which will appear in Gavriel Rosenfeld (ed.) *If Only We Had Died in Egypt: What Ifs? of Jewish History from Abraham to Zionism* (Cambridge), and another on 'Theodor Herzl: Charisma and Leadership', to be included in *The Individual in History. Essays in Honor of Jehuda Reinharz* (Brandeis). He

is currently writing a biography of Theodor Herzl for the 'Jewish Lives' series issued by Yale University Press.

Professor Penslar served as MPhil Course Director for the Department of Politics and International Relations, convened the Israel Studies Seminar, and in Trinity Term ran an international conference on the Israel-Palestine conflict in global perspective. He supervised doctoral research by Peter Bergamin entitled 'An Intellectual Biography of Abba Achimeir', by Hebatata Taha on 'Economic Engagement and Disengagement by Israeli Arabs' and by Susana Hancock about the privatization of sport in Israel. He also supervised or served on doctoral-dissertation committees at Yale, Columbia and Toronto.

Dr David Rechter

Dr Rechter lectured on his work at a symposium in Tel-Aviv devoted to his recently published book on the Jews of Habsburg Bukovina, organized by the University of Haifa. He also delivered the keynote lecture at an international workshop on European Jewry and the First World War at the Goethe University, Frankfurt am Main, and gave a paper on Bukovina to an Institute of Polish-Jewish Studies conference on Ukrainians and Jews at the Polish Embassy in London. He convened, with his colleagues Dr Abigail Green and Dr Zoë Waxman, the regular seminar series on Modern Jewish History, held at Brasenose College, Oxford. In addition to undergraduate and graduate teaching in the Faculties of Oriental Studies and History, he acted as Coordinator of the MSt and MPhil degrees in Modern Jewish Studies and served as Director of Graduate Studies and Chair of the Sub-Faculty of Near and Middle East for the Faculty of Oriental Studies.

Dr Alison Salvesen

Dr Salvesen served a further year as Subject Coordinator for Hebrew and Jewish Studies within the Faculty. She taught text classes and tutorials for several Master's courses, including the Centre's Master of Studies in Jewish Studies, for which she was also Coordinator. She supervised four doctoral students in the Faculty of Oriental Studies and the Faculty of Theology and Religion. She was involved in undergraduate admissions in Oriental Studies at Mansfield College and had pastoral oversight of both undergraduate and graduate students taking Oriental Studies within the college. For Manchester University's BA and MA courses in Religions and Theology she acted as an external examiner for a second year. She is co-editing the *Oxford Handbook of the Septuagint* with her former doctoral student, Michael Law.

Dr Jeremy Schonfield

Dr Schonfield taught Jewish Liturgy for the MSt in Jewish Studies and BA in Jewish Studies, and edited the Centre's *Annual Report*, as he has been doing since 1992. He published two papers and a brief opinion piece, and drafted a four-chapter introductory section, and one other chapter, for the literary survey of the daily liturgy on which he is currently working. He was appointed John Rayner Reader in Liturgy at Leo Baeck College in London, where he taught courses on Liturgy, Piyyut and Talmudic Texts, co-supervised a doctoral thesis on Liturgy and was involved in admissions. He continued to serve as Contributing Editor to *Jewish Historical Studies: Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, and examined a PhD thesis for the University of London.

Dr Zehavit Stern

Dr Stern delivered courses on Eastern European Jewish culture for the MSt in Jewish Studies, and on Yiddish Literature for the BA in Modern Languages. She published one paper, and completing another about 'The Spielmann Theory and the Invention of the Jewish Bard', to be included in 2015 in a volume on Old Yiddish literature based on the Centre's European Seminar on Advanced Jewish Studies entitled 'Old Yiddish: Old Texts, New Contexts', held in the 2011–12 academic year. She gave a paper on a related topic in the World Congress of Jewish Studies held at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. She also worked on a paper entitled '“There's Something Suspicious About Him”: The Jew as Uncanny in an Interwar Yiddish Playlet'.

On sabbatical leave in Trinity Term she conducted research with the help of Professor Galit Hasan-Rokem, former head of the Folklore Department at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, in the Ya'akov Tzidkoni archive of Jewish humour and the periodicals collections at the National Library in Jerusalem, where she found additional material relating to Purim and the *purim-shpil* in Yiddish and Hebrew journals. This will form the basis for an article on folk traditions such as the *purim-shpil*, the Purim sermon and the Purim Rabbi, and how these were re-discovered and re-imagined in modern Eastern European Jewish culture. She also continued work on a monograph tentatively entitled 'From Folklore to Art Heritage: Eastern European Jewish Culture and the Re-invention of Folk Performance', and towards an international conference in Oxford on 'The Art of Cultural Translation: Performing Jewish Traditions in Modern Times', planned for Hilary Term 2015.

Dr Joshua Teplitsky

Dr Teplitsky conducted research on the Oppenheim Collection of the Bodleian Library in preparation for his monograph on the life and library of David Oppenheim of Prague (1664–1736). He presented his work at the annual conferences of the German Studies Association and Association for Jewish Studies, as well as at the Institute of Historical Research at the University of London, and as a participant in the seminars of the Oxford Seminars in Advanced Jewish Studies – 'On the Word of a Jew: Oaths, Testimonies, and the Nature of Trust', and 'The Reception of Josephus in the Early Modern Period'. In Trinity Term he shared the fruits of his two years of research in the Catherine Lewis Lectures entitled 'A Universal Jewish Library? The Early Modern Origins of the Bodleian Oppenheim Collection'.

He wrote a guide to Jewish history in the early modern period for Oxford Bibliographies Online, published an article in *Jewish Social Studies* on 'Jewish Money, Jesuit Censors, and the Habsburg Monarchy: Politics and Polemics in Early Modern Prague', and contributed to a catalogue for an exhibition of the Jewish Museum of Hohenems: 'The First Europeans: Habsburg and Other Jews – A World Before 1914'.

Dr Teplitsky taught for degree programs in the BA in Jewish Studies, MSt in Jewish Studies and the MPhil in Slavonic Studies. In September 2014 he concluded his time as Albert and Rachel Lehmann Junior Research Fellow in Jewish History and Culture to take up a post as Assistant Professor of History at Stony Brook University of the State University of New York.

Dr Joanna Weinberg

Dr Weinberg was a Fellow at the Katz Center of Advanced Judaic Studies, Philadelphia, in Michaelmas Term, and also visiting scholar at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, where she gave one lecture and taught a class of doctoral students in the Humanities. On her return to Oxford she served as Chair of the Unit for Hebrew and Jewish Studies. She taught for the MSt in Jewish Studies, Oriental Studies and for the MPhil in Judaism and Christianity, and supervised MSt and doctoral theses. She convened with Professor Martin Goodman the Oxford Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies – The Reception of Josephus in the Early Modern Period, which met at Exeter College and the Centre from January to June.

Professor Hugh Williamson

The year running up to retirement in September 2014 was very much 'business as usual', with undergraduate teaching, supervising eight doctoral students, the usual round of committees, and editorial work on journals and monograph series. Professor Williamson looked in particular into the intellectual history of a great predecessor in his chair, S. R. Driver, the centenary of whose death fell in 2014. Trawling through archives and letters produced a good deal more material than necessary for the lectures he gave about him, so may preoccupy him for some time, along with ongoing work on his commentary on the Hebrew text of Isaiah (he is halfway through volume two). From October 2014 he was fully resident in his home at Southwold on the Suffolk coast.

V. Seminars, Conferences and Special Lectures involving Centre Fellows

Michaelmas Term

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

The Open Heaven Revisited *Professor Chris Rowland (Queen's College, Oxford)*

Jews in the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire *Dr David Noy (University of Wales Trinity Saint David, Lampeter)*

Jewish Communal Identities in the Graeco-Roman Period *Professor Martin Goodman (University of Oxford)*

Tannaitic Conceptions of the *Zekhut Avot* *Dr Ruth Sheridan (Charles Sturt University, New South Wales)*

Jews in the Latin West in Late Antiquity: Forgotten Communities and Texts *Aron Sterk (University of Manchester)*

Jewish Gold-glass and Funerary Inscriptions from Vigna Randanini *Dr Susan Walker (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford)*

Tannaitic Counter-identity and Changes of the 'Digital Halakhah' *Marton Ribary (University of Manchester)*

Fictive Kinship Terminology in Jewish Texts of the Graeco-Roman Period *Dr Lutz Doering (University of Durham)*

***Workshop on the Jewish Reception of Josephus
in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries in Eastern
and Central Europe***
(Convened by Professor Martin Goodman,
Professor Tessa Rajak and Dr Andrea Schatz)

Kalman Schulman's Josephus and the Counter-History of the Haskalah *Professor Shmuel Feiner (University of Bar-Ilan)*

Kalman Schulman's Hebrew Translation of Josephus' *Jewish War* *Dr Lily Kahn (University College London)*

'One of the Greatest of the Ancient Scholars and Recorders of History': The Image of Josephus Flavius in the Worldview of the Jewish Maskilim *Yotam Cohen (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev)*

Orthodox Use of a Hellenistic Historian: Rabbi Isaac HaLevi's Approach to the Writings of Josephus *Dr Eliezer Sarel (Ohalo College, Shaanan College, Katsrin)*

Josephus and Yosippon in the Nineteenth Century *Professor Steven Bowman (University of Cincinnati)*

Masliansky on Josephus: Observations by a Religious Maskil *Professor Tessa Rajak (University of Oxford)*

The Writings of Josephus and its Significance for the Renewal of the Jewish Youth in the Jewish Youth Movement *Rosa Reicher (University of Heidelberg)*

***Oxford Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies – 'On the
Word of a Jew': Oaths, Testimonies, and the Nature of Trust***
(Convened by Professor Mitchell Hart and
Professor Nina Caputo)

Trust a Jew? The Ambiguities of an Oath *Professor Mitchell Hart (University of Florida)*

Jew, Oath, Text in the Art of Chartres Cathedral: Can the Eyes be Trusted? *Professor Sara Lipton (State University of New York, Stony Brook)*

Jewish Finance and the Politics of Trust: Ludwig Boerne (1831) – Werner

- Sombart (1911) – Abraham Foxman (2008) *Dr Adam Sutcliffe (King's College London)*
- On the Word of an Israelite: Oaths and Testimonies in the Bible *Dr Robert Kawashima (University of Florida)*
- Could an English Jew be a Late-Victorian Gentleman? *Professor Todd Endelman (University of Michigan)*
- The Voice of a Jew?: Petrus Alfonsi's 'Dialogi contra judaeos' and the Question of True Conversion *Professor Nina Caputo (University of Florida)*
- Trustworthy Educators of a New Nation: Jewish Academics in Post-Unification Italy *Dr Marco Di Giulio (Franklin and Marshall College, Pennsylvania)*

Seminar in Jewish Studies

- The Early Modern Oriental Collections of Scaliger and Bodley *Kasper van Ommen (University of Leiden Libraries)*

Seminar in Modern Israel Studies

(Convened by Professor Derek Penslar)

- The Desert, the Island and the Wall: Space Metaphors in Israeli Culture *Professor Yael Zerubavel (Rutgers University, New Jersey)*
- African Asylum Seekers in Israel: The Security–Demography Nexus *Dr Sharon Weinblum (University of Oxford), and Dr Reuven Ziegler (University of Reading)*
- Small State Thinking Big: Israel's Periphery Pact in the Middle East *Dr Noa Schonmann (University of Oxford)*
- The Ghost of Statehood Past: The One-State-Solution, the Alawite State and the Rif Republic *Johannes Becke (University of Oxford)*
- Zionism in Modern Middle Eastern Jewish Thought *Dr Moshe Behar (University of Manchester), and Professor Avi Shlaim (University of Oxford)*
- Translating a Neglected Israeli Classic: S. Yizhar's *Days of Ziklag* *Professor Nicholas de Lange (University of Cambridge)*

The David Patterson Seminars

- Toleration within Judaism*: Book Launch *Professor Martin Goodman (University of Oxford) and Dr Corinna R. Kaiser (University of Düsseldorf)*
- The 'Return to the Bible' in Popular Israeli Culture *Professor Yael Zerubavel (Rutgers University, New Jersey)*

- Japan and Israel: From Erratic Contact to Boycott to Normalization *Dr Jonathan Goldstein (University of West Georgia)*
- The Disproportionality of Justice in Maimonides *Dr Dani Rabinowitz (University of Oxford)*
- Contemporary Israeli Poetry and the Economy of Translation *Dr Adriana X. Jacobs (University of Oxford)*
- The Origins of the Redemption in Occupied Suburbia? Rabbi Shlomo Riskin and the Jewish-American Makings of the West Bank Settlement of Efrat *Dr Sara Hirschhorn (University of Oxford)*
- Soldiers' Tales. Two Palestinian Jewish Soldiers in the Ottoman Army During the First World War: Book Launch *Professor Glenda Abramson (University of Oxford)*
- Nina Salaman – Hebraist, Zionist, Feminist *Professor Todd Endelman (University of Michigan)*

Hilary Term

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

(Convened by Professor Martin Goodman)

- Jewish Apocalypticism in the Seventh–Eighth Centuries CE *Dr Helen Spurling (University of Southampton)*
- Usurers and Other Problematic Professions in Tannaitic Literature *Amit Gvaryahu (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)*
- The Rise of Historical Consciousness in Rabbinic Literature: From the Mishnah to the Babylonian Talmud *Dr Meir Ben Shoham (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)*
- Pirquei deRabbi Eliezer and the Origins of the Nineteen-year Cycle *Professor Sacha Stern (University College London)*
- Hasmonean Coinage: Some Issues and Fresh Insights *Professor David Jacobson (University College London)*
- Aquila Fragments from the Genizah (Grinfield Lecture) *Professor Nicholas de Lange (University of Cambridge)*
- Jewish Exegetical Traditions in Syriac Sources *Dr David Taylor (Wolfson College, Oxford)*

The Beth Alpha Synagogue Mosaic and Late-antique Provincialism *Dr Peter Stewart (Wolfson College, Oxford)*

Seminars in Jewish Studies

The Yiddish Bashevis and his American Construct I. B. Singer: Questions of Language, Register, Translation and Betrayal *Dr Khayke Beruriah Wiegand (Wolf Corob Lector in Yiddish, Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies)*

Sacrifice in Balance. The 'Akedah': An Eschatological Perspective *Dr Zsófia Buda (Assistant Librarian, Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies)*

***Oxford Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies –
'On the Word of a Jew': Oaths, Testimonies, and
the Nature of Trust***

*(Convened by Professor Mitchell Hart and
Professor Nina Caputo)*

Ritual Murder in Nineteenth-century Britain *Professor David Feldman (Birkbeck College, University of London)*

Oaths and Evidence: Trust, Superstition and Evidence in Post-revolutionary American Courts *Dr Nicholas Cole (University of Oxford)*

Trusting Daniel Mendoza: How British Boxing Fans Came to Believe in the 'Fair Play' of an Eighteenth-century Pugilist *Professor Ronald Schechter (College of William and Mary, Williamsburg)*

Death and Taxes: Oaths and Communal Administration in Eighteenth-century Prague *Dr Joshua Teplitsky (University of Oxford)*

Constructing Credibility: Women, Non-Jews and Apostates in the Jewish Courts of Medieval Ashkenaz *Rachel Furst (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)*

Thinking Like a Jew: Jewish Voice in 'The Life and Passion of William of Norwich' *Professor Miri Rubin (Queen Mary College, University of London)*

Politics as an Honourable Vocation? Theodor Herzl's Zionist Leadership *Professor Derek Penslar (University of Oxford)*

***Oxford Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies – Conference:
'On the Word of a Jew': Oaths, Testimonies, and
the Nature of Trust***

*(Convened by Professor Mitchell Hart and
Professor Nina Caputo)*

'And in Most of Their Give and Take They Rely on This': Jews and Oaths in the Commercial Arena in Thirteenth-century Europe *Dr Ephraim Shoham-Steiner (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev)*

The Oath of a Jew in the Thirteenth-century English Legal Context *Joshua Curk (Wolfson College, Oxford)*

The Jewish Oath in Post-revolutionary France *Professor Lisa Leff (American University, Washington DC)*

Use of Litigation in Trade-related Cases by and Among Jews and Conversos in the Late-sixteenth and Early-seventeenth Centuries in Brazil, Portugal and the Netherlands *Dr Daniel Strum (University of São Paulo)*

Trust Went Both Ways: Jewish Peddlers and Their New World Customers *Professor Hasia Diner (New York University)*

Negotiating Trustworthiness: Jewish Cattle Dealers in the Public Rhetoric Around a Trustworthy Businessman in Post WW1 Germany *Dr Stefanie Fischer (University of Potsdam, Berlin)*

Trust a Jew...? Some Riddles of American Psychiatry Between the Great Depression and McCarthyism *Professor George Rousseau (University of Oxford)*

The 'Favourite Soldiers' in the Bombay Army: British Representations of India's Bene Israel Jews, c. 1786–1860 *Professor Mitch Numark (California State University, Sacramento)*

The Jewish Physician as Respondent, Confidant and Proxy: The Case of Marcus Herz and Immanuel Kant, 1770–1790 *Dr Robert Leventhal (College of William and Mary, Williamsburg)*

'He is Too French for Us': Baudelaire in Hebrew *Dr Adriana X. Jacobs (University of Oxford)*

Seminar in Modern European Jewish History*(Convened by Dr Abigail Green, Dr David Rechter and Dr Zoë Waxman)*

Exposing Julot the Pimp: Jewish Prostitution and Trafficking in 1930s Tunisia *Dr Daniel Lee (University of Oxford)*

‘Because She Never Let Them In’: Central European Jews and Western Hats in Irish Memory *Dr Guy Beiner (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev/University of Oxford)*

Early Twentieth-century Jews and Belorussians: Scrutinising ‘Anti-Imperial’ Relations between Jews and a ‘Small Nation’ *Dr Claire Le Foll (University of Southampton)*

The Archive Thief: Zosa Szajkowski and the Salvaging of French Jewish History *Dr Lisa Moses Leff (American University, Washington DC)*

**Oxford Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies –
The Reception of Josephus in the Early Modern Period**
(Convened by Professor Martin Goodman and Dr Joanna Weinberg)

Observations on the *Editio Princeps* and Some MSS *Nigel Wilson (Lincoln College, Oxford)*

Pseudo-Biblical Interpretations of Josephus in Early Modern European Polemics *Professor Walter Stephens (Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore)*

Josephus on Jaddus the High Priest and Alexander the Great – Fact or Fiction? Religion, Politics and Historiography in Late-seventeenth-century England *Meir Ben Shalom (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)*

Josephus as Witness to the Punishment of the Jews: The English Translations from Thomas Lodge to Whiston and his Contemporaries *Professor Tessa Rajak (University of Oxford)*

Josephus and Josippon in Early Modern Jewish Historiography *Dr Joanna Weinberg (University of Oxford)*

Jewish Entanglements: The Ancient Essenes and the Catholic Defence of Monasticism *Dr Jan Machielsen (New College, Oxford)*

Josephus and New Testament Chronology in the Work of Scaliger *Dr Philipp Nothaft (The Warburg Institute, London)*

A Supplementary Note on the *Editio Princeps* *Nigel Wilson (Lincoln College, Oxford)*

Against Apion and the Problem of the Hebrew Canon in Early Modern Biblical Scholarship *Dr Theodor Dunkelgrün (University of Cambridge)*

Josephus’ Role in Bellarmine’s Polemical Theology *Dr Piet van Boxel (University of Oxford)*

Reading Josippon in Eighteenth-century Rabbinic and Popular Culture *Dr Joshua Teplitsky (University of Oxford)*

Josephus and Seventeenth-century English Tragedy *Dr Peter Auger (Exeter College, Oxford)*

Seminar in Modern Israel Studies*(Convened by Professor Derek Penslar)*

Making the EU Matter to Israel-Palestine Peace *Professor Rory Miller (King’s College London)*

Rethinking Borders and Conflict Resolution in Israel/Palestine *Professor David Newman (Ben Gurion University of the Negev)*

Dr Chaim Weizmann and his Mandarins *Dr Motti Golani (University of Tel-Aviv)*

Facing Jerusalem and Ourselves: American Jewry After the 1967 War *Dr Sarah Hirschhorn (University of Oxford)*

The Genesis of the Zionist Right *Professor Colin Schindler (School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London)*

In Search of David Ben-Gurion *Tom Segev (Co-sponsored with the Middle East Centre)*

Civil Intelligence Relations in Israel and the Question of Iran *Professor Clive Jones (University of Durham)*

Special Screening

‘The Five Houses of Leah Goldberg’ *Yair Qedar (filmmaker) and Dr Adriana X. Jacobs (University of Oxford)*

The David Patterson Seminars

Belief in a Contemporary World: The Influence of the Holocaust on the Theology of Louis Jacobs *Dr Miri Freud Kandel (University of Oxford)*

Were There Jewish Bards? Yiddish Literature’s Myth of Origins *Dr Zehavit Stern (University of Oxford)*

- The Fabulous History of the Talking Trees: Judging the Language of Scripture (Judges 9:8–15) from Antiquity to Modernity *Dr Jon Whitman (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)*
- The Hebrew Bible in Spain. Sephardic Manuscripts of the Kennicott Collection *Dr Maria Teresa Ortega Monasterio (CSIC, Madrid)*
- Nietzsche, Soloveitchikian Modern Orthodoxy and Normative Ethics *Rabbi Dr Michael Harris (Hampstead Synagogue/London School of Jewish Studies/University of Cambridge)*
- The Promontory Palace at Caesarea Maritima, Israel *Professor Barbara Burrell (University of Cincinnati)*
- S. R. Driver: A Centennial Perspective *Professor Hugh Williamson (University of Oxford)*
- Intimate Borrowing: The Pietà in Modern Jewish Art *Dr Monika Czekanowska-Gutman (Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań, Poland)*

Trinity Term

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

- Legal Knowledge in Roman Arabia: The Judaeen Desert Documents *Kim Czajkowski (Merton College, Oxford)*
- The Use of the New Testament for the History of Judaism *Dr Mary Marshall (St Benet's Hall, Oxford)*
- The Jewish Diaspora in the Century After the Destruction *Professor Tessa Rajak (University of Oxford)*
- Alternate Approaches to Prayer *Dr Esther Chazon (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)*
- Jews, Christians and Church Building in Capernaum *Dr Vered Shalev (Wolfson College, Oxford)*
- How Could a Torah Scroll have Included the Word *Za'atute*? *Professor Gary Rendsburg (Rutgers University, New Jersey)*

Seminar on Abrahamic Religions (Convened by Professor Martin Goodman, Dr Mark Edwards and Dr Nicolai Sinai)

- Violence and Intolerance in the Abrahamic Religions *Professor Carlos Fraenkel (Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford)*
- Violence in Luke 22:35–8 and Christian Martyr Descriptions from the Early Islamic Descriptions *Katherine Perry (Pembroke College, Oxford) and Anna Chrysostomides (St Antony's College, Oxford)*
- Usury as Bloodless Warfare in the Arguments of Ambrose and Post-biblical Interpretation of Simeon and Levi *James Bergida (Blackfriars Hall, Oxford) and Jonathon Wright (St Stephen's House, Oxford)*
- 'Irenaeus' Against Heresies and Outsiders in Christian Hagiography *Sam Baddeley (St Peter's College, Oxford) and Lucy Parker (Lincoln College, Oxford)*
- Pagans on Jewish Misanthropy and Anti-Jewish Polemics in Coptic-Arabic Christian Homilies *Kim Czajkowski (Merton College, Oxford) and Cecilia Palombo (Pembroke College, Oxford)*
- Forcible Circumcision in the Second Temple Period and the Ethics of War in Deuteronomy *Anthony Rabin (Wolfson College, Oxford) and Marten Krijgsman (St Cross College, Oxford)*
- Tertullian Against Heresies and Qu'ranic Polemic Against Judaism *Charlotte Klingelhoefter (Regent's Park College, Oxford) and Dr Nicolai Sinai (Pembroke College, Oxford)*

Oxford Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies – The Reception of Josephus in the Early Modern Period (Convened by Professor Martin Goodman and Dr Joanna Weinberg)

- Simone Luzzatto and Leon Modena and Josephus *Dr Cristiana Facchini (University of Bologna)*
- Illustrations of Printed Editions of Josephus in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries *Professor Gerlinde Huber-Rebenich (University of Bern)*
- Spanish Vernacular Translations in the Late-Fifteenth and Early-Sixteenth Centuries *Professor Julian Weiss (King's College London)*
- Josephus and the Septuagint in Early Modern Thought *Scott Mandelbrote (University of Cambridge)*

- Interesting Times: Yosippon and Early Modern Jewish Historiography *Dr Andrea Schatz (King's College London)*
- Edward Bernard (1638–1697) and the Editing of Josephus: Religion, Philology, Hebraism *Dr Thomas Roebuck (University of East Anglia)*
- In the Margins of Josephus: Two Ways of Reading *Professor Anthony Grafton (Princeton University) and Professor William Sherman (University of York)*
- William Whiston: Reader and Translator of Josephus *Professor Mordechai Feingold (California Institute of Technology)*
- Josephus and Ecclesiastical History *Professor Anthony Grafton (Princeton University)*

***Arts and Humanities Research Council Workshop
on the Jewish Reception of Josephus in the Twentieth
and Twenty-first Centuries***

*(Convened by Professor Martin Goodman, Professor Tessa Rajak
and Dr Andrea Schatz)*

- From Josephus' Confusion to Mel Gibson's Rhetoric: How 'The Passion' (2004) Changed the Chronology of Pontius Pilate *Dr Daniel Schwartz (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)*
- Josephus' Role in Shaping the Touristic Image of the State of Israel *Dr Eyal Ben-Eliyahu (University of Haifa)*
- Can't Live With Him, Can't Live Without Him: The Approach of Ze'ev Ya'avetz to the Writings of Josephus *Dr Eliezer Sariel (Ohalo College, Sha'anani College, Katsrin)*
- Taking Josephus Personally: The Curious Case of Emanuel bin Gorion *Orr Scharf (University of Haifa)*
- Masada in Zionist and Israeli Consciousness *Zviah Nardi (Independent Researcher)*
- Masada, Cosmopolitan Rome, or Messianic Judea? 'Flavius-Feuchtwanger' and the Turmoil of Mandate Palestine, 1923–1945 *Professor Yael Feldman (New York University)*
- 'Psalm of the World Citizen': Alienation, Assimilation and Zionism in Lion Feuchtwanger's Josephus Trilogy *Jimmy Bloom (Independent Researcher)*
- Reading Josephus: Emil Schürer, Spätjudentum and Anglo-Jewish Response *Adam Blitz (Independent Researcher)*

- Josephus in the *Jewish Chronicle* in the Early-twentieth Century *Professor Sarah Pearce (Southampton University)*
- Reading and Interpreting Josephus Flavius in the Warsaw Ghetto, 1941–1943 *Dr Shifra Sznol (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)*
- The Entry of Josephus Flavius and the Story of Masada to the Halakhic Discourse in the Twentieth Century *Dr Amir Mashiach (Orot Israel College, Ariel University)*
- Josephus Versus Yosippon since World War One *Professor Steven Bowman (University of Cincinnati)*

***Oxford Summer Institute in Modern and Contemporary
Judaism – 'Modern Orthodoxy and the Road Not Taken':
A Critical Exploration of Questions Arising from the Thought
of Rabbi Dr Irving 'Yitz' Greenberg***

(Convened by Dr Miri Freud-Kandel and Dr Adam Ferziger)

- Book Manuscript: *Partnership for Life* by Yitz Greenberg *Respondents: Dr Timothy Bradshaw (University of Oxford), Professor Michael Fishbane (University of Chicago), Professor Martin Goodman (University of Oxford), Dr Margie Tolstoy (University of Cambridge)*
- Yitz Greenberg and Modern Orthodoxy: Impact, Conflict and Legacy *Dr Steven Bayme (American Jewish Committee)*
- Where Have All the Rabbis Gone? The Changing Character of the Orthodox Rabbinate and its Causes *Professor Samuel Heilman (Queens College, City University of New York)*
- Locating Yitz Greenberg's Approach to the Holocaust within Orthodox Discourse on the Subject *Professor Arye Edrei (University of Tel-Aviv)*
- On Yitz Greenberg, Holocaust and Gender *Professor Melissa Raphael (University of Gloucestershire)*
- Yitz Greenberg's View of Other Religions Compared to Jonathan Sacks and Tamar Ross *Professor Marc Shapiro (University of Scranton)*
- Modern Orthodox Responses to the Liberalisation of Sexual Mores *Professor Sylvia Barack Fishman (Brandeis University)*
- Thinking About the Interrelationship of History, Halakha and Theology *Professor Steven Katz (Boston University)*
- Covenantal Theory and Halakhic and Ethical Decision Making in the Thought

- of Irving Greenberg: The Case of Medical Ethics *Dr Alan Jotkowitz (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev)*
- Gender and Modern Orthodoxy – the Litmus test? Measuring the Impact *Professor Sylvia Barack Fishman (Brandeis University), Dr Miri Freud-Kandel (University of Oxford), Blu Greenberg (Jewish Orthodox Feminist Alliance), Professor Tamar Ross (Bar-Ilan University)*
- Orthodox Biblical Criticism: The Next Step or a Contradiction in Terms? *Rabbi Dr Zev Farber (The Torah.com)*
- Greenberg, Jacobs and Orthodoxy: A Special Relationship or Transatlantic Divide? *Dr Miri Freud-Kandel (University of Oxford)*
- What is Modern in Modern Orthodoxy? *Professor Alan Brill (Seton Hall University)*
- Modern Orthodoxy and Greenberg *Professor Michael Fishbane (University of Chicago)*
- The Meaning and Significance of Revelation for Orthodox Judaism *Professor Tamar Ross (Bar-Ilan University) and Professor James Kugel (Bar-Ilan University)*
- Will the Orthodox Centre Hold? *Professor Jack Wertheimer (Jewish Theological Seminary)*
- Hybrid Judaism: Irving Greenberg and the Encounter with American Jewish Identity *Rabbi Dr Darren Kleinberg (Arizona State University)*
- Next Stages *Rabbi Dr Yitz Greenberg (President Emeritus of Jewish Life Network/Steinhardt Foundation)*

Public Lectures at Oxford Jewish Congregation

- Lubavitch: How and Why it is Taking over the Jewish World *Professor Samuel Heilman (Queens College, City University of New York)*
- Intra-Jewish Cooperation and Conflict *Dr Steven Bayme (American Jewish Committee)*

Public Lectures at Hampsteaad Synagogue, London

- Feminism and Modern Orthodoxy: Revolution by Evolution *Blu Greenberg (Founding President, Jewish Orthodox Feminist Alliance)*
- The Rise, Decline and ——— of Modern Orthodoxy *Rabbi Dr Yitz Greenberg (President Emeritus of Jewish Life Network/Steinhardt Foundation)*

Catherine Lewis Lectures

(Convened by Dr César Merchán-Hamann)

- A Universal Jewish Library? The Early Modern Origins of the Bodleian Oppenheim Collection *Dr Joshua Teplitsky (St Peter's College, Oxford)*
- Aspiring to a Collection
- Collecting a Reputation
- Using a Collection, Losing a Collection

Seminars in Modern Israel Studies

(Convened by Professor Derek Penslar)

- From the Ashkenazi Arab to the Arab Ashkenazi *Dr Yair Wallach (School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London)*
- Fear and Trembling Along the Israeli Border in the 1950s *Dr Orit Rozin (University of Tel-Aviv)*
- From Altneuland to Neuland: Israel as Fantasy and Reality *Professor Michael Brenner (American University, Washington, DC, and University of Munich)*

The David Patterson Seminars

- Ecclesia and Synagoga: Continuity and Change *Professor Miri Rubin (Queen Mary College, University of London)*
- The Hare on the Throne: The Barcelona Haggadah and the Tale of Freedom *Dr Piet van Boxel (University of Oxford)*
- A Humanist in the Klaus: Jacques Bongars Meets the Maharal of Prague *Dr Joanna Weinberg (University of Oxford)*
- In Search of Rabbinic Judaism in Late-antique Palestine *Professor Sir Fergus Millar (University of Oxford)*
- The Image and its Prohibition in Jewish Antiquity*: Book Launch *Professor Sarah Pearce (University of Southampton)*
- Reassessing Humans as the Image of God in the Hebrew Bible *Dr Stephen Herring (Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies)*
- What Did it Mean to Be a High-profile, Public Figure Jew in Georgian London? *Professor George Rousseau (University of Oxford)*

Visiting Fellows' and Scholars' Reports

Professor Barbara Burrell

Professor Barbara Burrell of the University of Cincinnati stayed at the Centre from 3 January to 30 June. In this time she was able to research, write and edit chapters of the final report of her excavation (co-directed by Kathryn Gleason of Cornell University) of the Promontory Palace at Caesarea Maritima in Israel, and to write an article entitled 'The Legacies of Herod the Great' for the June 2014 issue of *Near Eastern Archaeology*. She delivered a David Patterson Seminar in which she presented the case for identifying the Promontory Palace at Caesarea as the palace of Herod, and also lectured about the Palace at meetings of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society (London), the Ancient Architecture Discussion Group at the Institute of Archaeology (University of Oxford), the Classics Department of the University of Nottingham, and the School of Ancient History at the University of St Andrews. She particularly benefited from the expertise and advice of professors Fergus Millar, Tessa Rajak and Martin Goodman, and from the resources of the Oriental Institute and Sackler Library, also gathering useful information from lectures and conversations at the Centre, the Faculty of the Ioannou Centre for Classical and Byzantine Studies and the Institute for Archaeology, Oxford.

Professor Nina Caputo

Professor Caputo of the Department of History of the University of Florida, who stayed at the Centre from 2 September 2013 to 1 April 2014, co-convoked the 'Oxford Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies – On the Word of a Jew: Oaths, Testimonies and the Nature of Trust'. Her research was focused on two intersecting projects. Petrus Alfonsi, a twelfth-century convert from Judaism to Christianity who wrote *Dialogi contra iudaeos*, a philosophical tract in the form of a disputation between a Jew and a Christian, presented a recognizable prototype of a rational and thinking Jewish convert and, in the process, introduced his Christian readers to rabbinic sources. Professor Caputo's book on him examines the literary character of the convert and the reception and dissemination of the *Dialogi* from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries. The second project, an article to be included in the volume based on the Oxford

Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies, explores how mechanisms of trust find expression in Petrus Alfonsi's self-representation in his *Dialogi* and in conversion literature more generally. The seven manuscript copies of Alfonsi's text held in Oxford, five in the Bodleian and two more in college libraries, were vital for her research.

She also presented a paper at the Seminar's weekly public meeting at the Oriental Institute and, as co-convener, helped plan the international conference at Yarnton Manor in March.

Dr Esther G. Chazon

Dr Esther Chazon of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem stayed at the Centre from 28 April until 26 June and worked on a critical edition and commentary of the text known as *The Words of the Luminaries*. This weekly liturgy was unearthed at Qumran in three manuscripts, the oldest of them (4Q504) dating to c. 150 BCE, nearly half a century before the sectarian settlement at Khirbet Qumran. The chief significance of this previously unknown find for the history of Jews and Judaism lies in the discovery of a non-sectarian routine liturgy in Judaea contemporaneous with sacrificial worship at the Jerusalem Temple. Prior to the discovery and interpretation of this liturgical work, the scholarly (and lay) notion of ancient Jewish worship was that regular, daily prayer was not conducted while the Temple was operative, but was instituted *de novo* under the direction of Rabbi Gamliel at Yavneh in the wake of the Second Temple's destruction in 70 CE. That consensus is overturned by the finding of non-sectarian communal prayers for each day of the week in *The Words of the Luminaries* (this title, written on the back of 4Q504, apparently refers to the liturgical hour at the interchange of the heavenly lights). Furthermore, other liturgical materials in the Dead Sea Scrolls and embedded elsewhere in Second Temple literature (including early strata of the New Testament and rabbinic literature) can now be analysed with a view to rewriting the early history of Jewish liturgy prior to the emergence of the first prayer books in the ninth-century CE.

A desideratum for writing such a liturgical history is the production of reliable editions of the liturgies from Qumran. Dr Chazon's critical edition of *The Words of the Luminaries*, commissioned for the Brill series of revised Scrolls editions, will supersede the 1982 publication in *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* 7. In addition to presenting a diplomatic transcription of the Hebrew fragments according to their correct order in the original scroll – from the prayer for Sunday to the Sabbath song – the edition contains a

critical apparatus, notes on the readings, English translation and a full line-by-line commentary. The essay-chapters that conclude the volume offer broad perspectives on key issues: the work's non-Qumranic provenance, and its reception at Qumran and function in that sect's religious life; its literary form, major themes and use of biblical allusions; the place within liturgical history of its liturgical features, among them the liturgical cycle of weekday petitions and Sabbath praise; blessing formulae; the proclamation of divine justice; liturgical use of the (thirteen) divine-attributes formula; and the petitions for knowledge, repentance, forgiveness and national redemption, including one for the ingathering of the exiles. This array of liturgical features points to a sizeable, continuous liturgical tradition on which the Rabbis drew in formulating the statutory Jewish liturgy. Moreover, the apparently non-sectarian daily liturgies from the second century BCE 'imported' to and preserved at Qumran – *The Words of the Luminaries* and the *Daily Prayers* (4Q503) chief among them – provide solid evidence of routine prayer among a number of groups in Judaea over two centuries before the fall of the Second Temple, and lead to a new understanding, on the one hand, of the relationship between sacrifice and prayer while the Temple was standing and, on the other hand, of the rabbinic liturgical enterprise at and beyond Yavneh.

Dr Monika Czekanowska-Gutman

Dr Monika Czekanowska-Gutman of the Higher School of Hebrew Philology in Toruń, who stayed at the Centre from 12 February to 7 May, carried out research into 'The Iconography and the Meaning of the *Pietà* in Twentieth-century Jewish Art'. Her postdoctoral research focused on Christological symbols of suffering in modern Jewish art, and sought to deepen understanding in particular of the *Pietà*, which has so far been largely ignored by scholars. During her stay she explored many *Pietà* depictions in modern Jewish art, and examined its treatment, its reception in Jewish cultural milieus, the ways it was used, and the cultural, physiological and historical backgrounds to its depiction.

She presented a portion of her research as a David Patterson Seminar entitled 'Intimate Borrowing: The *Pietà* in Modern Jewish Art', in which she discussed works by Leopold Pilichowski, Mela Muter, Leopold Gottlieb, Jacob Epstein, Lea Grundig, Moshe Bernstein and Marc Chagall, seven Jewish artists mostly from Eastern Europe who dealt innovatively with the theme.

Initial findings show that Eastern European twentieth-century Jewish artists paraphrased the motif in ways that throw light not only on the development

of this particular Christian theme, but on the intersection between art and culture in modern times. Its treatment by Jewish artists, which is more complex and diverse than those by Christians, sheds light on twentieth-century Jewish artistic self-awareness, as well as on Jewish interactions with the Christian world, and attitudes towards anti-Semitism and dialogue with Christians.

Dr Czekanowska-Gutman also worked on a book based on her doctoral thesis, with the working title *Challenging Christian Iconography of Biblical Heroines: Portrayals of Judith, Esther and the Shulamite in Nineteenth- and Early-twentieth-century Jewish Art*. In this she explores Jewish approaches to the images of Judith, Esther and the Shulamite in the literary and wider cultural fields, and discusses previously unknown visual influences on Maurycy Gottlieb and Ephraim Moses Lilien, augmenting discoveries by their biographers concerning the effect on their work of events in their lives.

Dr Marco Di Giulio

Dr Di Giulio, of Franklin and Marshall College, Pennsylvania, stayed at the Centre from 7 October to 11 December and participated in the 'Oxford Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies – On the Word of a Jew: Oaths, Testimonies and the Nature of Trust'. His research focused on the integration of Jewish scholars into Italian universities of the 1860s, and served as the basis for a seminar paper entitled 'Trustworthy Educators of a New Nation: Jewish Academics in Post-Unification Italy'. In his presentation he examined ways in which Jews came to be perceived as reliable scholarly authorities in the post-emancipation period, and discussed how they came to be trusted as nation-builders despite popular prejudice.

Professor Todd Endelman

Professor Emeritus Todd Endelman of the University of Michigan stayed at the Centre from 1 October 2013 to 22 March 2014 and participated in the 'Oxford Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies – On the Word of a Jew: Oaths, Testimonies and the Nature of Trust'. His topic was the question of whether a Victorian Jew would have been considered a gentleman. In his presentation to the seminar he stressed the instability of the notion of a gentleman in the Victorian period and the anxiety that this provoked among prosperous Jews whose wealth underwrote their claims to gentility. He suggested that Anthony Trollope's exploration of the theme in *The Prime Minister* (1876) is an invaluable guide to its complexity and salience in Victorian society. Professor Endelman also explored how the central place of gentility in Victorian Anglo-

Jewish self-presentation shaped the governance of Anglo-Jewish religious and charitable institutions.

This theme is an outgrowth of a larger project on which Endelman has been working for many years – a biography of Redcliffe Nathan Salaman (1874–1955), country gentleman, plant geneticist, race scientist, communal leader and historian of the potato. While at the Centre, Endelman researched Salaman's relations with the Semitics scholar Herbert Loewe, who taught at both Oxford and Cambridge and whose papers are at the Leopold Muller Memorial Library. He also spent time researching Salaman's role in the rescue and support of refugee scholars in the 1930s and 1940s in the papers of the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning, which are in the special collections of the Bodleian Library.

Professor Endelman spoke at various venues in Oxford and elsewhere about his current research. He lectured on Salaman's wife, the Hebraist Nina Salaman, at Yarnton Manor and at the Jewish Museum in London, and contributed an article on her work that appears in this volume. He also spoke to the Jewish Historical Society of England on Salaman's racial research and to the Macabaeans on Salaman's views on the governance of Anglo-Jewry. In December he delivered four lectures at the Limmud Conference on the theme of Jewishness and gentility. The questions and comments he received from speaking at public forums about his work helped him to clarify and sharpen his arguments.

Dr Cristiana Facchini

Dr Facchini of the Alma Mater Studiorum – University of Bologna stayed at the Centre from 28 April to 7 June, and participated in the 'Oxford Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies – The Reception of Josephus in the Early Modern Period', to which she contributed a paper on 'Simone Luzzatto and Leon Modena and Josephus'. She was a central member of the informal weekly study group in Yarnton which examined the history of the reception of specific Josephus passages such as the Testimonium Flavianum and Josephus's description of Jewish philosophies in the Jewish War, bringing to bear her extensive knowledge especially of Italian Jewish intellectual history in the early modern period.

Professor Mordechai Feingold

Professor Feingold of the California Institute of Technology stayed at the Centre from 8 June to 8 July 2014, and participated in the 'Oxford Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies – The Reception of Josephus in the Early Modern

Period', to which he contributed a paper on 'William Whiston: Reader and Translator of Josephus'. Although teaching obligations prevented him from participating more fully in the activities of the Josephus seminar, Professor Feingold benefited greatly from the opportunity to interact with other participants, as well as with the Centre's faculty and visitors. In addition to preparing his lecture for the seminar, Professor Feingold devoted time at the Centre to finalizing arrangements for an international conference he co-organized at Merton College with another participant in the Josephus seminar, Dr Thomas Roebuck, entitled 'Scholarship, Science and Religion in the Age of Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614) and Henry Savile (1549–1622)'. He also wrote his lecture for it, on 'The Reluctant Theologian: Isaac Casaubon's Road to *De Rebus Sacris et Ecclesiasticis Exercitationes XVI*'.

Dr Stefanie Fischer

Dr Stefanie Fischer, of the Center for Jewish Studies Berlin-Brandenburg and the University of Potsdam, Germany, stayed at the Centre from 2 February to 23 March and participated in the 'Oxford Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies – On the Word of a Jew: Oaths, Testimonies and the Nature of Trust'. She led a group meeting, and spoke at the Seminar's conference about 'Negotiating Trustworthiness: Jewish Cattle Dealers in the Public Rhetoric around a Trustworthy Businessman in post-WWI Germany'. She carried out research on the question of how institution-based trust relates to both social and economic trust in times of economic crisis, and in particular looked at the concept of the trustworthy businessman in German public rhetoric after the Great War.

During her stay Dr Fischer completed one paper focusing on aspects of trustworthiness in post-First World War Germany, and participated both in the seminar in Modern Jewish History and in the research seminar on Modern European Social and Cultural History. While at the Centre she also worked on a forthcoming book based on her dissertation, *Ökonomisches Vertrauen und antisemitische Gewalt. Jüdische Viehhändler in Mittelfranken, 1919–1939*, and benefited tremendously from access to the Bodleian and to the Codrington Library at All Souls College, as well as from conversations with seminar participants and Centre faculty who helped her contextualize and further explore her research.

Rachel Furst

Rachel Furst of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem stayed at the Centre from 13 October 2013 to 31 March 2014 and participated in the 'Oxford Seminar

in *Advanced Jewish Studies – On the Word of a Jew: Oaths, Testimonies, and the Nature of Trust*. Her research, which forms the basis of her forthcoming doctoral dissertation, focuses on the Jewish courts of medieval Ashkenaz and particularly on women as legal actors within that sphere. This ongoing project explores the makings of medieval Jewish gender by asking whose knowledge was deemed credible and how legal debates concerning credibility constructed social and ontological realities. In the context of the Seminar she delivered a paper in which she examined the disqualification of women and others from serving as witnesses according to Jewish law and considered the application of that principle in the medieval period. A public lecture, to be included in the book based on the work of the Seminar, focused on a legal battle waged in the rabbinic courts of the Rhineland in the wake of the Rindfleisch Massacres of 1298 that hinged on testimony provided by repentant apostates. By examining rabbinic attitudes toward the testimony of these marginal individuals, she attempted to clarify the relationship between quality of information and authority of speaker in constructing legal credibility and to highlight ways in which credibility functioned as a marker of personhood in medieval Ashkenazi society. She also lectured at the Limmud Conference and the Oxford Chabad Society, on women, apostates and Jewish law in medieval Ashkenaz.

Professor Jonathan Goldstein

Professor Goldstein of the University of West Georgia stayed at the Centre from 24 September 2013 to 15 February 2014 and completed the manuscript of a book entitled *Jewish Identities in East and Southeast Asia* (Berlin: DeGruyter, 2014). He also finished an updated Hebrew translation of *China and Israel, 1948–1998* (to be published by the Magnes Press of the Hebrew University), a book originally completed during a stay at the Centre in 1999 and updated in Chinese in 2006 (Beijing: China Social Sciences Publishing House), also during a stay at the Centre.

Other articles and book chapters completed during this stay include '1942: A Year of Survival for Philippine Jews at the Edge of the Diaspora', *Australian Journal of Jewish Studies* 26 (March 2014); 'Kharbintsy: The Transnational Identity of the Jews of Harbin, China, 1898–2013', in Adam Mendelsohn (ed.) *Modern Jewish History in Transnational and Comparative Perspective* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2014); 'Across the Indian Ocean: The Trade, Memory, and Transnational Identity of Singapore's Baghdadi Jews, 1795–2013', *Journal of Indo-Judaic Studies* no. 13 (2013); 'Jews of Burma', in Arvind Sharma (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Indian Religions* (Dordrecht: Springer,

2014); 'Corporal David Goldstein (1905–1958) in England during World War II', *Oxford Menorah Journal*, February 2014; twenty-seven articles in C. Cook and J. Stevenson (eds) *The Cambridge Dictionary of Modern World History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); and (with Dean Kotlowski), 'The Jews of Manila: Manuel Quezon, Paul McNutt, and the Politics and Consequences of Holocaust Rescue', in Manfred Hutter (ed.) *Between Mumbai and Manila: Judaism in Asia Since the Founding of the State of Israel* (Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013).

Professor Goldstein's review of *Shanghai Sanctuary: Chinese and Japanese Policy Toward European Jewish Refugees during World War II* appeared in *China Quarterly* no. 215 (2013) and *Points East* 28, no. 3 (2013). He wrote pre-publication reviews of 'Glimpses into the Jewish World of Calcutta 1798–1948' for Cambridge University Press; 'Shanghai's Baghdadi Jews' for DeGruyter Publishers; 'Policy Dilemmas for Palestinian-Israeli Reconciliation, and "Chinese Proposals"' for *Israel Studies*; and 'The Possibility of Holocaust Education through the Collaboration of the Australian Jewish Community and the Japanese' for *Australian Journal of Jewish Studies*.

He delivered a David Patterson Seminar entitled 'Japan and Israel: From Erratic Contact to Boycott to Normalization', to appear in Colin Schindler (ed.) *Israel and the World Powers* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2014), and also lectures on 'The Ups and Downs of Sino-Israeli Relations' at Oxford Chabad House and 'The Mountain Jews of India and Their Ongoing Immigration to Israel' at Chabad House and at the Oxford Jewish Congregation. His lecture on 'The Mountain Jews of India' will appear as an article in Arvind Sharma (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Indian Religions* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2014). In November Professor Goldstein delivered four lectures at China's Sun Yat-sen University in Guangzhou (Canton) and at the Sichuan International Studies University in Chongqing (Chungking). He also attended the December 2013 Limmud Conference at the University of Warwick, and published 'Limmud Conference Sparked by Arrival of UK Chief Rabbi' in the *Jerusalem Post* (26 December 2013).

Professor Anthony Grafton

Professor Grafton of Princeton University participated in the 'Oxford Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies – The Reception of Josephus in the Early Modern Period' both remotely (by video) in the workshop which inaugurated the Seminar on 19 January 2014, and in person in June 2014, when he delivered two papers, one (prepared collaboratively with Professor William Sherman of the

University of York, who was unable to attend himself) on the use of marginalia in early modern copies of Josephus, and a second on 'Josephus in Ecclesiastical History'.

Professor Mitchell Hart

Professor Hart of the University of Florida stayed at the Centre from 2 September 2013 until 1 April 2014, and co-convened both the 'Oxford Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies – On the Word of a Jew: Oaths, Testimonies, and the Nature of Trust', and a two-day international seminar in March on Jews and trust, held at Yarnton Manor. While at the Centre he carried out research on the history of Jews and oaths in England, and more specifically the eighteenth-century legal case *Omychund vs. Barker*, which turned on whether or not the oath of a Hindu was valid in an English court of law. Lord Coke, writing in the sixteenth century, had famously declared that the oath of an infidel was invalid – and added that Jews, as non-Christians, must be considered infidels. The lawyers and justices in *Omychund vs. Barker* referred throughout to the Jewish past in England, and in particular to the fact that Angevin Jewry clearly did participate in the medieval English legal system, despite the fact that they were non-Christians. The court eventually ruled that the oath of a Hindu was valid, a case in which English Jewish history played a considerable role and which was itself a significant moment in the history of religious and legal tolerance in England.

Professor Hart also presented seminar papers on his other on-going research project – sexuality, disease and the Hebrew Bible – at the Nineteenth-century History Seminar at Oxford and the Jewish History Seminar at University College London.

Professor Sara Lipton

Professor Lipton of State University of New York stayed at the Centre from 16 October to 19 March and participated in the 'Oxford Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies – On the Word of a Jew: Oaths, Testimonies, and the Nature of Trust'. She also worked on two scholarly projects. The first, which she completed in Michaelmas Term, examined the depiction of Jews and the visualization of the concept of Jewish witness in medieval Christian art. The High Middle Ages saw the development of densely complex artistic programmes featuring biblical Jews whose form and gestures prefigured Christian symbols and events, or in which medieval Jews bore witness to Christian miracles. Including such characters in innovative works of art

confirmed the usefulness of physical perception as a step toward religious illumination, and codified distinctions between earth-bound ('Jewish') and spiritual ('Christian') ways of seeing.

In Hilary Term she began work on the second project, a study of the role assigned to art and the material world in medieval sermons and religious texts. She worked in particular on a chapter examining how ecclesiastical leaders and preachers balanced the alleged 'Jewishness' of the material world with the materialist activities and lifestyles of the urban Christian laity. Sources consulted included sermons preached to university students and lay communities, letters addressed by ecclesiastical authorities to lay readers, collections of miracle stories and *exempla* (vivid, illustrative moralizing anecdotes), and treatises of pastoral instruction. Each genre contains both explicit and implicit references to 'Jewish' (therefore suspect) ways of seeing and knowing, and aligns Jews and Jewishness with the untrustworthy material world.

Professor Lipton presented her research to the Seminar, as well as to the Medieval History Seminar (All Souls College, Oxford), the Medieval Visual Culture Seminar (St Catherine's College, Oxford), and at Queen Mary University, London and the University of Birmingham.

Scott Mandelbrote

Scott Mandelbrote of Peterhouse, University of Cambridge, was a core participant in the 'Oxford Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies – The Reception of Josephus in the Early Modern Period', and a Polonsky Fellow at the Centre from January to June 2014. He delivered to the seminar a paper on 'Josephus and the Greek Bible', in which he considered the authority of Josephus among early modern writers as a source for the history of the Maccabean revolt and for the understanding of Jewish religiosity and sectarianism in the Hellenistic period. He looked in particular at the printing of the text of 4 Maccabees as part of the Greek Old Testament from 1526, and also considered the importance of Josephus's account of these events for mid-seventeenth-century English lay people and divines who were engaged in trying to establish a fresh basis, from the Septuagint, for biblical chronology. Mandelbrote was able to carry out new work on the manuscripts and books of Sir John Marsham (1602-85), a leading lay theologian and a major influence on the chronology of Isaac Newton and others. Using manuscripts held by the Kent History and Library Centre, including Marsham's own English translations of passages of book 12 of the Antiquities from Greek, it was possible to reconstruct a more complete view of one reader's engagement with Josephus. Marsham's example was contrasted

with that of other contemporary English readers, for whom Josephus was extolled as ‘the Jewish Livy’.

During his visit, Mandelbrote continued his collaboration with Dr Joanna Weinberg in editing a book provisionally entitled *Jewish Texts and their Readers in Early Modern Europe*, and based on the proceedings of the European Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies held in summer 2010. He was also able to develop his analysis of the annotations in a copy of the Basel Talmud held at Trinity College, Cambridge, with the help of Marilyn Lewis, one of the regular participants in the seminar on the Reception of Josephus. Both he and Dr Lewis are now confident that the annotator of this volume was the Cambridge Platonist philosopher and Professor of Hebrew, Ralph Cudworth (1617–88): further work on the annotations, and towards a publication describing them, is ongoing.

Mandelbrote also completed a number of book chapters (such as for the Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Bible) and book reviews, as well as delivering papers at seminars and conferences in Oxford, Edinburgh and Berlin. He organized a meeting at the Centre for Research in the Arts, Social Sciences and Humanities in Cambridge on ‘The Persistence of the Past in Nineteenth Century Scholarship’, to which several members of the Reception of Josephus seminar also contributed. He was particularly grateful for the opportunity to meet regularly with members of the Josephus seminar, especially those whose primary fields of expertise lay outside early modern studies. He is conscious of having learnt a great deal from them all.

Kasper van Ommen

Kasper van Ommen of Leiden University stayed at the Centre from 30 September to 31 October and continued doctoral research on the collection of Oriental printed books and manuscripts bequeathed by Josephus Justus Scaliger (1540–1609) to Leiden University library in 1609. This project, with the provisional title *New Arks for Learning*, focuses on reconstructing the Oriental library of Scaliger and describing the world of scholarly communication, the networks of book-trade, agents and printers, as well as the history of collections, collectors and libraries in the context of a bequest that was immediately advertised by Leiden University as the most important Oriental collection in early-seventeenth-century Europe.

This statement invites one to compare it with other Oriental collections from the period, such that of Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614) and of libraries such as that in Munich, the Palatine (now part of the Vatican Library), and those in

Oxford. Thomas Bodley, himself a gifted Hebraist, was pivotal in assembling the Oriental collections of the Bodleian, possibly even drawing his inspiration from the Oriental collection of Scaliger in Leiden. Current research in the Bodleian on the early modern collections of Oriental printed books will make it possible to evaluate the claim of Leiden University Library, and shed light on how important the collection of Oriental books of Scaliger really was and is.

The research in Oxford, under the title ‘Scaliger and Oxford: Early Modern Oriental Collections’, focused on the early modern Oriental holdings catalogued by Thomas Bodley in 1605 and on comparing these with the collection of Scaliger in Leiden. A smaller corpus of Western printed books from the library of Scaliger now forms part of the Bodleian, of which twenty-seven were identified.

He additionally reviewed the library of Merton College that contains early examples of Orientalia connected not only to Bodley, but to Johannes van den Driessche or Drusius (1550–1616), who lectured on Hebrew in Oxford and later became a colleague of Scaliger in Leiden. Comparing this collection with the books in Leiden may shed further light on the uniqueness of the Scaliger collection.

Most of the research was conducted in Duke Humfrey’s library and the Special Collections Reading Room at the Radcliffe Science library, but he also made extensive use of the reference section at the Centre’s Leopold Muller Memorial Library.

Dr Maria Teresa Ortega Monasterio

Dr Ortega Monasterio of the Institute of Mediterranean Languages and Cultures (ILC, CSIC), Madrid, stayed at the Centre from 20 January to 15 April and worked on the Kennicott collection of Bibles in the Bodleian Library. She catalogued nine manuscripts, seven of them of Sephardi origin and from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, describing their codicological characteristics, and wrote a short comparative study of their texts and versions of the *masorah*. She excluded from her study the well-known Kennicott 1 manuscript which has been analysed previously.

The Iberian Peninsula in the Middle Ages offers a unique context for understanding the exchanges between different cultures that coexisted in this region, reflected in the wealth and variety of Islamic and Gothic elements present in late-medieval Bibles produced in Sefarad. She also analysed the transmission of the *masorah* and its relationship with the biblical text in the seven Sephardi codices, and specially the spaces reserved for micrography but used for other

purposes. Two Ashkenazi Bibles were also catalogued and their vocalizations partially compared with those of Sephardi codices, widening the study to evidence of different text and punctuation traditions. The use of the *meteg* and different ways of writing certain words were compared, although this could not be comprehensive since some manuscripts are fragmentary or lack certain biblical books. Manuscripts from the late fifteenth century were compared with one copied in Toledo in 1487 and now in Madrid, and similarities plotted.

She presented her preliminary findings in a David Patterson Seminar entitled 'The Hebrew Bible in Spain: Sephardic Manuscripts of the Kennicott Collection', and at the European Association of Jewish Studies congress in July 2014. She benefited from access not only to the Bodleian Library, but also to later material in the libraries of the Taylorian Institute, Oriental Institute and All Souls College (Codrington Library).

Professor Tessa Rajak

Professor Tessa Rajak of Reading University stayed at the Centre as a Polonsky Fellow from 6 January to 28 June and participated in the 'Oxford Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies – The Reception of Josephus in the Early Modern Period'. She presented to it a paper entitled 'Josephus as Witness to the Punishment of the Jews: The English Translations from Thomas Lodge to Whiston and his Contemporaries', and contributed to the planning and organization of a group of sessions devoted to the study of key passages in Josephus side by side with their early-modern uses and abuses. She herself led a session devoted to the literary and historiographical reception of the preface to Josephus's *Antiquities*. Her research focused on the translations of Lodge and Whiston within their wider intellectual contexts, and she was able to benefit greatly from close interaction with early modern specialists. The work will go towards her ongoing book on 'Josephus and his Afterlife', due to be delivered to Harvard University Press at the end of 2015. While at Yarnton she also revised papers written in 2013 for the Arts and Humanities Research Council Josephus Project Workshops. These concern Josephus's reception in travel literature, through the early travels to the Holy Land of Judith, Lady Montefiore and Sir Moses; and in maskilic and proto-Zionist circles in late-nineteenth-century Russia, specifically through the activist and preacher Zvi Hirsch Masliansky. Work on the travels of the Montefiores was facilitated by the opportunity to consult material in the Loewe archive and printed books that had belonged to them in the Montefiore collection of the Centre's Library, where she was much assisted by the librarians.

Dr Tom Roebuck

Dr Tom Roebuck of the University of East Anglia stayed at the Centre from 2 to 30 June and participated in the 'Oxford Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies: The Reception of Josephus in the Early Modern Period'. A reworked version of his paper on Josephus's reception in seventeenth-century Oxford will appear along with other papers from the project in a special issue of the *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*. His focus was the Oxford philologist, orientalist and mathematician, Edward Bernard (1638–97), who took over the editorship of the Oxford University Press project to publish the works of Josephus in the late 1670s, a project which had been given shape by the leading figure of the University Press in this period, John Fell.

Edward Bernard was a remarkable polymath even by the standards of his day: he was the University's Savilian Professor of Astronomy, responsible for a great deal of Oxford's scientific teaching. His scholarship ranged over the history and customs of the ancient Near East, and he was preoccupied by the ongoing Renaissance problem of reconciling the many different accounts of the chronology of the world to be found in the multiple texts of the Bible and in Latin, Greek and Arabic chronological texts.

Bernard seems to have worked initially on the project in the early 1680s, engaging in correspondence with scholars throughout Europe in order to find manuscripts of Josephus which might help him to amass variant textual readings. Much of the correspondence is preserved in the Bodleian, and this, along with a large body of letters in the Royal Library of Copenhagen, helped Dr Roebuck to recreate the aims and nature of Bernard's unfinished edition. Bernard's work focused on the opening books of the *Antiquities*, and especially on the accounts of the ancient chronology of the world found in Book 1, and of Mosaic law and temple ritual in books 3 and 4. New research into the Mishnah, both in Oxford and on the Continent, encouraged Bernard to use Mishnaic tractates in order to contextualize Josephus's treatment of Jewish law.

The scope of Bernard's project was vast: he poured variant manuscript readings and Talmudic learning into the footnotes of his edition until some entirely overwhelmed the text. The project was essentially unfinishable and ended in failure: only Bernard's work on the first four books of the *Antiquities* would ever be published, four years after his death. This edition nevertheless constitutes a window onto a vibrant period in the history of Josephus scholarship, when this was inseparable from wider inquiry into the history of Judaism. Much would change in the eighteenth century, when Josephus would be studied

primarily as a historian of the ancient Roman, classical world. Dr Roebuck is enormously grateful to Professors Martin Goodman and Joanna Weinberg for the opportunity to participate in this seminar series, which was a model for interdisciplinary inquiry and scholarly rigour.

Professor Ronald Schechter

Professor Schechter of the College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, stayed at the Centre from 21 October 2013 to 22 March 2014 and participated in the 'Oxford Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies – On the Word of a Jew: Oaths, Testimonies and the Nature of Trust'. He carried out research for a book on Daniel Mendoza, a London Sephardi boxing champion in the late eighteenth century, and delivered a paper to the seminar entitled 'Trusting Daniel Mendoza: How British Boxing Fans Came to Believe in the "Fair Play" of an Eighteenth-century Sephardic Pugilist'. He attended the Seminar's Conference in March, the Long-Nineteenth-century Seminar 'Degeneration and Regeneration' during Michaelmas Term, and the Modern Jewish History Seminar in Hilary Term.

Professor Schechter was able to trace the life and career of Daniel Mendoza and gauge the reactions of the British public with help of material in the Bodleian and Muller Libraries, and of several electronic collections of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century publications. He found helpful material about Mendoza and his family in the London Metropolitan Archives, and read broadly in the scholarly literature on Jewish masculinity, Jews in sports and 'the Jew's body', uncovering evidence that challenges the prevailing consensus that male Jewish bodies were typically perceived as infirm or defective. This reconceptualization will inform his future published work and will contribute to its scholarly significance. He also benefited from opportunities to consult other visiting fellows, as well as scholars at Oxford, Cambridge, London and elsewhere in Britain.

Dr Ruth Sheridan

Dr Ruth Sheridan of Charles Sturt University, New South Wales, stayed at the Centre from 7 October to 13 December and worked on an analysis of Claude Montefiore's article entitled 'Notes on the Religious Value of the Fourth Gospel', that appeared in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* in 1894. He seems to have been the first to have investigated what 'religious profit' can be derived from reading the Gospel of John as a Jew, and in the light of subsequent readings of the Gospel of John from Jewish perspectives the article appears prescient.

His assessment of it is ambivalent: while he valued the sublimeness of some of its spiritual expressions, he lamented the presence of an exclusionary ideology that consigns unbelievers (mostly, in Johannine language, simply 'Jews') to a permanent state of darkness. For Montefiore this compromised the 'religious value' of the Gospel for the average Jew.

Dr Sheridan set out to ask why Montefiore focused on 'religion' as a category in his analysis, and why he juxtaposed this, for example, with 'morality'. It seems that a subtle subtext operated in his essay, with roots in the socio-historical situation in *fin-de-siècle* Britain. On three occasions he mentioned the word 'race', evoking Victorian cultural and political discourse on race, religion and nation, in terms of which Jews had outsider status. The references to 'race' in the context of Johannine ideology were therefore not incidental.

Dr Sheridan situated her analysis of Montefiore's article in the context of his investment in dismantling the concept of 'race' and the racialization of crime, as well as his project for the development of Liberal Judaism. She also aimed to interpret Montefiore's reading of the Gospel of John in the light of his understanding of the purpose of 'religion', and particularly the power of its rhetoric to shape character and action. For Montefiore, the rhetoric of the Gospel of John, despite – or indeed because of – its sublimeness, can be dangerous, elevating the religious/dogmatic over the moral/ethical, and making a 'sin of unbelief' more serious than a sin against a non-believer. Montefiore's essay remains deeply respectful towards Christianity, but brings into sharp relief the problems posed by the Gospel of John for Jews, which, surprisingly perhaps, are not all to do with high Christology. The project sets out to make sense of the juncture between nineteenth-century anti-Semitic discourse and racist thinking in England, and the exclusionary ideology in the Gospel of John. Montefiore's 1894 essay is unique for the light it throws on both these concerns.

Professor Walter Stephens

Professor Walter Stephens of Johns Hopkins University stayed at the Centre from 3 to 28 January and from 5 May to 28 June and participated in the 'Oxford Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies – The Reception of Josephus in the Early Modern Period'. He was able to complete articles on literary forgery for an exhibition relating to the Bibliotheca Fictiva collection of forgeries at Johns Hopkins, as well as for two volumes he is co-editing: 'Early Modern Patriotic Historiography' and 'Truth and Falsehood in Early Modern Italy'. He also continued revising *It Is Written: A History of the History of Writing*,

under contract to Yale University Press, a literary-historical study of mythic and 'obsolete' attempts to write the history of writing. He argues that although pre-nineteenth-century attempts to document the history of writing are 'bad science' in technological terms and wrong about what people have *done* with writing, they are a rich source for the emotional history of the art, and yield invaluable evidence of what people have *felt* about it. The book includes treatments of Josephus's sources and reception.

He presented a paper to the Seminar on 'Pseudo-Biblical Interpretations of Josephus in the Early Modern Period' in which he surveyed the reception of Josephus both within the history of the history of writing and within that of patriotic histories of peoples and nations. Christian readers from Isidore of Seville in the seventh century considered the medieval Latin translations of Josephus's *Jewish Antiquities* and *Against Apion* as authoritative for the history of writing. The printing of the Greek text in 1544 ensured that Josephus's authority was invoked in erudite theses on the history of writing in Northern European universities throughout the seventeenth and into the eighteenth century, as well as in standard works of philology and universal history. As nation-states consolidated in the sixteenth century, Josephus's role as a defender of Jewish religion and culture took on new importance as a model for patriotic historians and polemicists, including religious sectarians. Some of these writers were outright forgers, while the rest often distorted Josephus's passages or invoked them in alien contexts, continuing his direct and indirect reception throughout the early modern period.

Professor Stephens participated in the Seminar's Thursday-morning discussions of passages in the works of Josephus and of early modern scholars and translators, and attended Professor Martin Goodman's Richard Harries Lecture, the David Patterson Seminars and lectures in the Department of Modern Languages, where he also lectured on Ariosto and the history of writing. It was of great value to be able to study and discuss Josephus and his reception with acknowledged experts, as well as to have access to the Muller and Bodleian libraries.

MSt in Jewish Studies, University of Oxford

Seven students studied at the Centre this year, hailing from Canada, Denmark, India, Slovakia, the United Kingdom and the United States of America. Five graduated (two with distinction), one withdrew from the degree programme for personal reasons and another intends to fulfil the course requirements next academic year.

Fellows and Lectors of the Centre taught most of the courses and languages presented in the MSt programme, with additional modules provided by Dr Garth Gilmour, Research Associate, Institute of Archaeology, University of Oxford; Professor Sir Fergus Millar FBA, Emeritus Camden Professor of Ancient History, University of Oxford; Dr Deborah Rooke, Regent's Park College; Dr Zoë Waxman, Senior Associate of the Centre; and Revd Dr Ben Williams, Wadham College. Dr Alison Salvesen served as Course Coordinator, and Martine Smith-Huvers, Academic Registrar, administered the course.

Courses

This year's students studied either Biblical or Modern Hebrew or Yiddish. In addition, they selected four courses from the list below and submitted dissertations. The following courses were offered during the 2013–2014 academic year:

A Survey of Rabbinic Literature *Dr Joanna Weinberg*

The Invention of Folklore and the Creation of Modern Eastern European Jewish Culture *Dr Zehavit Stern*

Introduction to the Archaeology of Ancient Israel: The Iron Age *Dr Garth Gilmour*

Israel: State and Society *Dr Sara Hirschhorn*

Jewish History 200 BCE to 70 CE *Professor Martin Goodman*

Jewish Liturgy *Dr Jeremy Schonfield*

Jews in Early Modern Europe: 1492–1789 *Dr Joshua Teplitsky*

Modern European Jewish History *Dr David Rechter*

Sandals and Threshing Floors: Medieval Jewish Bible Interpretation and the Book of Ruth *Revd Dr Ben Williams*

Septuagint and Related Studies *Dr Alison Salvesen*

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

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

The Holocaust: From History to Memory *Dr Zoë Waxman*

The Religion of Israel *Dr Deborah Rooke*

Topics in Hebrew Literature, 1900-Present *Dr Adriana X. Jacobs*

Languages: Biblical Hebrew (elementary) *Dr Stephen Herring*

Modern Hebrew (elementary, intermediate and advanced) *Daphna Witztum*

Yiddish (elementary) *Dr Khayke Beruriah Wiegand*

The Students Graduating This Year

Samuel Thomas Baddeley (b. 1987) graduated in Linguistics, Classics and related subjects at Oxford University in 2011. As an undergraduate he worked as a research assistant to Professor Guy Stroumsa and Professor Diarmaid MacCulloch, and after graduation taught Classics at a school in the West Midlands. He applied to study for the MSt in order to acquire a knowledge of Biblical Hebrew which, alongside his knowledge of Latin and Greek, will equip him to make a contribution in the field of history of religions in Antiquity. His dissertation was entitled 'The Two Suicide Speeches in Josephus *Bellum Judaicum*' (III.361–382; VII. 320–388). Mr Baddeley passed the MSt in Jewish Studies with Distinction.

Magdaléna Jánošíková (b. 1988), from Slovakia, graduated in Near Eastern Studies from the University of West Bohemia, Pilsen, Czech Republic, and has Master's degrees in Medieval and Early Modern History, and in Jewish Studies, from the Palacký University in Olomouc, Czech Republic. She has been involved in the translation of parts of Eliezer Eilburg's *Eser She'elot* and of Menachem Mendel Krochmal's responsa pertaining to the Moravian region, and also in creating a database for researchers in a European-wide scholarly network working on fragments of medieval Hebrew books and documents recovered from book bindings and notarial files in various libraries and archives in Europe and Israel. Her dissertation was entitled 'Eliezer Eilburg and

the Art of Compilation' and was awarded one of the David Patterson Awards for the Best Dissertation submitted for the MSt in 2014.

Abir Lal Mitra (b. 1984) graduated in English Literature at the University of Calcutta, and completed one Master's degree in English Literature at Jadavpur University Kolkata, and another in Biblical Studies at the Catholic University of Louvain. He took the MSt in order to provide a bridge to the doctoral research he commenced after his year in Oxford. He particularly wanted to gain competency in Modern Hebrew, rabbinic literature and ancient Bible versions and interpretations. His dissertation was entitled 'Rare Words in the Book of Hosea: A Study of the Phenomenon and Its Treatment with Reference to Ancient Translation and Medieval Commentaries'.

Jonathan Robert Rainey (b. 1981) graduated in Classical Studies at Brigham Young University, and has an MSc in Library Science from Long Island University and an MA in Religious Studies (New Testament studies) from Duke University. He took the MSt in order to acquire the scholarly tools for working with archival materials in Jewish Studies and Christianity, in the hope of working towards a PhD in New Testament Studies. His dissertation was entitled 'The Cult of Asherah in Iron Age Israel'.

Jacob Logan Shapiro (b. 1988), who graduated in Near Eastern Studies at Cornell University, applied for the MSt in Jewish Studies because he wished to understand how Judaism has responded to the challenge of empowering and educating younger generations, in order to prepare him for a career in Jewish education. His dissertation was entitled 'Philosophy or Prophecy? Strauss, Heschel and a Search for New Presuppositions' and was awarded one of the David Patterson Awards for the Best Dissertation submitted for the MSt in 2014. Mr Shapiro passed the MSt in Jewish Studies with Distinction.

Danielle Louise Willard (b. 1989) graduated in History and English Literature at Westmont College, Santa Barbara, and has a Master's degree in History from the University of Toronto. She came to Oxford to study Yiddish language and theories of Jewish literature, in order to pursue her interest in the Yiddish writings of Jewish women who fled the Nazis into northern Italy. Hundreds of such documents preserved at Yad Vashem remain untranslated and unstudied. Her dissertation was entitled 'Surrounded by Silence? Jewish Holocaust Testimonies in Western Europe, 1945–1960'.

End-of-year Party

At the end-of-year party, held at Yarnton Manor on Wednesday 25 June 2014, the Acting President, Professor Martin Goodman, welcomed students, their guests and the visiting fellows and scholars, and complimented the students on completing the intensive MSt programme. Ms Jánošíková and Mr Shapiro were each presented with a David Patterson Dissertation Award. Sam Baddeley, the Student Representative, thanked the Centre, Fellows and all other Staff members on behalf of the students.

Acknowledgements

The Centre wishes to record its thanks to the Blavatnik Family Foundation and the Marc Rich Foundation which assisted with scholarships this year.

Journal of Jewish Studies

Following the death of its long-standing editor, Professor Geza Vermes FBA, FEA on 8 May 2013, the *Journal of Jewish Studies* continued regular publication during the academic year 2013–14 under the sole editorship of Professor Sacha Stern (University College London). Dr Andrea Schatz (King's College London) was book-reviews editor, and resigned at the end of the academic year. Towards the end of the academic year, Professor Sarah Pearce of the University of Southampton was appointed a co-editor of the *Journal*.

Volume 64, no. 2 (Autumn 2013) opens with an obituary to Geza Vermes by Martin Goodman and Sacha Stern. It includes articles on Qumran (Jodi Magness), medieval Jewish-Christian debates (Simcha Emanuel), and a variety of contributions on many periods leading up to nineteenth-century French and German Jewry.

Volume 65, no. 1 (Spring 2014) contains articles on Hebrew of manuscripts of the Mishnah (Yehudit Henshke), Samuel Krauss (Yaron Eliav) and on pre-Islamic Iran, medieval Provence, Nahmanides, Uri Zvi Greenberg and other topics.

Both issues end with book-review sections.

The second volume of the *Journal's* Supplement Series, entitled *The Image and its Prohibition in Jewish Antiquity*, edited by Sarah Pearce, was published

JOURNAL OF JEWISH STUDIES SUPPLEMENT SERIES 2

THE IMAGE AND ITS PROHIBITION IN JEWISH ANTIQUITY

EDITED BY SARAH PEARCE



A GAINST THE commonly held opinion that ancient Judaism was an artless culture, this sumptuously illustrated book offers new ways of looking at art in Jewish antiquity. Leading experts, under the editorship of Sarah Pearce, skilfully explore different functions of images in relation to their prohibition by the second of the Ten Commandments. This book is aimed at both the scholarly world and all readers interested in religion and art.

"This very fully illustrated book makes a notable contribution to the understanding of Jewish religious culture in the Ancient World, in exploring the tension between the Biblical prohibition on images on the one hand, and the extensive evidence for representational Jewish art on the other." SIR FERGUS MILLAR FBA, UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

SARAH PEARCE is Professor of Jewish Studies in the Parkes Institute for the Study of Jewish/non-Jewish Relations and Head of the Department of History at the University of Southampton.

CHAPTERS INCLUDE

Word versus image, mediating divine presence	PHILIP ALEXANDER
Imaging the Deity in the First Temple	HUGH G.M. WILLIAMSON
Greek and Jewish visual piety	JANE HEATH
Philo on the second commandment	SARAH PEARCE
The menorah as protective symbol	MARGARET H. WILLIAMS
Synagogue paintings of Dura-Europos	TESSA RAJAK
Græco-Roman images in late antique Palestine	SACHA STERN
Figural art in urban Galilee	ZEEV WEISS
The faceless idol in rabbinic tradition	LALIV CLENMAN
Jewish dialogue with Roman paganism	ARON C. STERK

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JOURNAL OF JEWISH STUDIES, OXFORD

solely by the *Journal* in November 2013, and launched at Yarnton Manor on 28 May 2014, with presentations by the editor and five of its contributors. This richly illustrated book, designed for scholarly as well as general readers interested in religion and art, includes ten essays by leading experts focusing on the interpretation of the Second Commandment in the ancient and late-antique Jewish world. It explores the tension between the biblical prohibition on images on the one hand, and the extensive evidence for representational Jewish art on the other.

The non-exclusive marketing and distribution rights for the second volume of the Supplement Series were licensed to Oxbow Books UK and its American partner Casemate Academic. The *Journal* considers it a major success to gain access to the open market while retaining its rights. A digital data-base of acquisition departments for the *Journal's* subscribers was established to assist

internal marketing by the *Journal*. Volumes 1 and 2 of the Supplement Series are being converted to e-book format to facilitate fast searching, to be released in 2015.

The European Association for Jewish Studies

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

The EAJS organizes annual Colloquia in Oxford and quadrennial Congresses in various European locations. These major academic events are attended by scholars from all over Europe as well as from other parts of the world. In July 2013 the annual EAJS Summer Colloquium, held at Wolfson College, Oxford, was entitled ‘The Jewish-Theological Seminar of Breslau, the “Science of Judaism” and the Development of a Conservative Movement in Germany, Europe, and the United States (1854–1933)’. In July 2014 the quadrennial EAJS Congress was held in Paris under the theme, ‘Jewish and Non-Jewish Cultures in Contact: New Research Perspectives’. Details of all EAJS congresses and colloquia are available on the EAJS website (<http://eurojewishstudies.org>).

Other ongoing projects of the EAJS include the *European Journal of Jewish Studies*, published by Brill, and the Association’s website that incorporates a number of online news and information features, a New Books page and a monthly Newsflash, the online Directory of Jewish Studies in Europe and the EAJS Funders Database. The last mentioned is part of the EAJS Funding Advisory Service which aims to collate a comprehensive database of Jewish Studies-related funding and grant opportunities throughout Europe for its members, and includes personal advice for EAJS members from the Funding Information Consultant.

The EAJS was founded in 1981, and its Secretariat has been housed in Yarnton by the Centre since 1995. The Secretariat moved with the Centre to the Clarendon Institute building in the summer of 2014. The Association is currently administered by Dr Garth Gilmour. In 2013-14 the Secretary of the

Association was Professor Daniel Langton (University of Manchester) until July 2014, when Dr François Guesnet (University College London), a former Research Fellow of the Centre, was elected at the Congress in Paris to hold the post for the next four years.

Institute for Polish–Jewish Studies

The Institute for Polish–Jewish Studies, an associated institute of the Centre, was originally founded in 1984, following a landmark conference held in Oxford, and so in 2014 it celebrated its thirtieth anniversary. This year saw the appearance of volume 26 of *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry*, published by the Littman Library of Jewish Civilization. This volume, edited by Yohanan Petrovsky-Shtern and Antony Polonsky, is the first in the *Polin* series to be specifically devoted to the history of Jews in Ukraine. Jews have had a long history in Ukraine, marked by considerable cultural creativity, and the area was the heartland of hasidism. But the history of the Jews in Ukraine has been marked also by violence and conflict. From the sixteenth century, Jews settled in significant numbers in the towns established by the Polish nobility, after the union of Lublin with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in 1569 allowed for an eastward expansion of Polish rule. Because it was largely Jews in the service of the nobility who administered these lands, they were inevitably caught up in the resentment that Polish rule provoked among the local population, above all among the Cossacks and the Orthodox peasantry, and culminating in the great revolt led by Bohdan Khmelnytsky in the mid-seventeenth century. The emergence of the modern Ukrainian national movement introduced new possibilities of cooperation but also of conflict, leading to the pogroms which accompanied the Russian civil war, when perhaps as many as 100,000 Jews lost their lives at the hands of Ukrainian forces. These developments had their tragic outcome during the Second World War, when the Nazis were able to recruit Ukrainian collaborators for their programme of the mass murder of the Jews. Only since the establishment of an independent Ukrainian state has it been possible to investigate these painful and difficult problems in a dispassionate manner. It is our hope that this volume will facilitate a broader and more nuanced understanding of the relationship between Jews and Ukrainians and that it will add to the growing literature which seeks to go beyond the old paradigms of conflict and hostility.

In January a one-day international conference entitled 'Ukrainians, Jews and Poles: The Ukrainian Triangle in Historical Perspective', convened by Professor Antony Polonsky and coordinated by Dr François Guesnet, was held to launch the volume, disseminate its chief findings and discuss a series of relevant topics in some depth. Organized in association with the Polish Cultural Institute, London, and the Institute of Jewish Studies, University College London, the conference, which was held at the Polish Embassy in London and formally opened by the ambassador of the Republic of Poland, H.E. Mr Witold Sobków, was generously sponsored also by the Rothschild Foundation (Hanadiv) Europe and the American Association for Polish–Jewish Studies. The first session was devoted to the medieval and early modern period: Professor Dan Shapira (Bar-Ilan University) examined the topic 'What We Know About the Khazars and What We Do Not Know', and Professor Adam Kaźmierczyk (Jagiellonian University, Kraków) gave a paper on 'The Khmelnytsky Uprising: The Implications for Jews of Their Links With the Polish Nobility'. The second session focused on Jews in the towns and shtetls of Ukraine, with papers by Professor Yohanan Petrovsky-Shtern (Northwestern University, Chicago) on 'The Shtetl in Ukraine: a Triangle of Power', by Dr David Rechter (Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies) on 'Bukovina: A Different Story?', by Professor Natan Meir (Portland State University) on 'Kiev, Kyiv, Kijów, Kiyov: Imperial City on an Ethnic Fault Line', and by Professor Philippe Sands (University College London) on 'Lauterpacht, Lemkin, Lemberg and Lwów: A Tale of One City, Two Lawyers and Two Crimes'.

The third session investigated the difficult and controversial topic of the Second World War in Ukraine. This was examined in four papers. The first, by Dr Łukasz Adamski (Centre for Polish–Russian Dialogue, Warsaw) examined 'The Polish–Ukrainian Conflict in Volynia and East Galicia During World War II and Its Aftermath', and Professor John-Paul Himka (University of Alberta) gave a moving account of 'Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky and the Holocaust'. Professor Wendy Lower (Claremont McKenna College) gave a paper on 'The Holocaust in Ukraine: Placing Women in the Killing Fields and the Machinery of Destruction'. The session concluded with a summing up of the key issues by Professor Timothy Snyder (Yale University) under the title 'Ukraine under Nazi Occupation: Problems of Interpretation and Evaluation'. A lively discussion with the audience ensued. The conference concluded with a piano recital by Oxana Petrovsky (Chicago, Illinois) playing pieces by Ukrainian, Jewish and Polish composers. The conference was sold out and attended by more than 110 people, filling the main hall of the Polish Embassy to capacity. The discussion

was frank and open, and marked by a willingness to listen to different points of view. All present felt that it had been a memorable day.

In May, a workshop was held by the Institute in cooperation with the University College London Department for Hebrew and Jewish Studies and devoted to analysing the experiences of Holocaust survivors when (re)visiting eastern Europe today. The event included the UK premiere of the documentary *Shimon's Returns* (USA 2014, dir. Sławomir Grunberg, Katka Reszke), based on the travels of the Israeli historian Professor Shimon Redlich to Ukraine and Poland. After the screening of the film, Katka Reszke (New York), together with Professors Redlich (Haifa), Gabriel Finder (University of Virginia) and Antony Polonsky (Brandeis University) discussed how the immediacy of the encounter with places of one's childhood, persecution, death and survival may be influenced by the (linguistic) ability to communicate with the local population and by individual life stories, as well as by the motivations behind revisiting these sites. The event, chaired by Dr François Guesnet (University College London) and supported by the Polish Cultural Institute, London, was attended by around sixty people.

In June, a workshop on 'The Jews and the Ukrainian Revolution: Future Perspectives' was held at Friends House, London. Continuing the involvement of the Institute with Ukrainian–Jewish affairs, it offered an opportunity for the British public to listen to a senior representative of the Ukrainian Jewish community, Jozef Zissels, share his understanding of the current, highly volatile political situation after the overthrow of President Yanukovich in February 2014 and its impact on the Ukrainian Jewish community. Other participants were Professor Antony Polonsky (Brandeis University), Anton Shekhovtsov (University College London School for Slavonic and Eastern European Studies), and Dr François Guesnet (University College London). There was a lively discussion, much of which revolved around the political options for Ukrainian Jews today. Zissels insisted on the inclusive character of a 'Ukrainian European commonwealth', but also noted the significance of the current increase in the emigration of Jews from Ukraine. Shekhovtsov argued that if the conflict with Russia could be contained in the near future, the extreme political right would not constitute a serious threat to the Jews of Ukraine. Polonsky expressed the hope that current developments would lead to an open reckoning with the difficult past of Ukrainian–Jewish relations, and Guesnet added the reflection that the tension between a quasi-imperial post-Soviet Jewish identity and a Ukrainian European one constituted an echo of past political watersheds of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The event, supported by anonymous

sponsors from the British Jewish community, was moderated by Edward Lucas, senior editor at *The Economist*, and attended by over one hundred people. Among the audience were the interim Ukrainian ambassador Andrei Kuzmenko, the legendary Soviet dissident Vladimir Bukovskii, and the former prime minister of independent Chechnya, Ahmed Zakayev. The Institute used the opportunity provided by Jozef Zissels's visit to London to arrange meetings for him with the Institute for Jewish Policy Research, World Jewish Relief, the British press, and members of parliament.

Looted Art Research Unit

The year has been dominated by the Cornelius Gurlitt case in Germany. Late in 2013 a hoard of over 1400 paintings, sculptures and graphic work, accumulated by Hildebrand Gurlitt while working as one of the most prominent art dealers for the Nazis, came to light following a relatively minor tax issue involving his son Cornelius. It had been hidden for decades in the son's small apartment in Munich. The collection includes works by Monet, Matisse, Renoir and Picasso, as well as by German Expressionist painters such as Max Beckmann, August Macke, Georg Grosz and Otto Dix. A high proportion seemed likely to have been looted either from Jewish families or from German museums by the Nazis themselves.

Hildebrand Gurlitt had acted as a dealer both for Goebbels' Propaganda Ministry and for Hitler's Führermuseum. In 1945 part of his collection, comprising 136 paintings and drawings and 72 decorative objects, was seized by the Allies at the Neue Residenz, Bamberg, Aschbach. On 8–10 June 1945 Gurlitt was interrogated by Lieutenant Dwight McKay of the US Third Army War Crimes Unit about his activities as a Nazi art dealer. Gurlitt denied ever handling seized art and asserted that the 208 works were the full extent of his collection. He was asked to explain his trips to Paris on behalf of the Führermuseum. His responses, transcribed here from the official translation, were less than frank: 'First trip...1941... Last trip June 44 – total trips about 10.... The purchases in Paris were perfectly normal... Any force whatsoever was not used... I have never bought a picture, which was not offered voluntary to me.... I did not need to as I had enough offers.... I always avoided to meet high Nazi-Officials in Paris.'

His defence made much of the fact that he had been sacked as a museum direc-



Figure 1 Hans Christoph (1901–92), Pair, watercolour, from the Fritz Salo Glaser collection of Dresden, sold under duress. Now part of the Cornelius Gurlitt collection. The words 'Staatsanwaltschaft Augsburg' on this and other pictures on these pages indicate that they are published by the 'State Prosecutor Augsburg' in whose legal custody the Gurlitt collection is held.

tor well before the war: 'Was dismissed 1933 on account of my Anti-Nazi feelings.... I arranged exhibitions, lectures about modern art, unpopular with the Nazi movement.... I incurred the enmity of the Nazis and was dismissed... My wife and I never a member of the party or any other Nazi institution.'

To strengthen his defence, he added that his father's mother had been Jewish. In later submissions to secure the return of the collection, Gurlitt provided various documents, including testimonies from the director of the Chemnitz Museum, his secretary and a Hamburg lawyer, all attesting to his anti-Nazi beliefs and willingness to help Jews.

On 13 December 1950 he was asked to provide proof of ownership for all the works of art in the collection. He submitted an annotated list, with circles beside 71 works indicating that they had been in his family's collection in Dresden since before 1933, and a cross next to the 68 Expressionist works to indicate that none were from Jewish collections and had mostly been acquired from the artists. The



Figure 2 Max Beckmann (1884–1950), *The Lion Tamer*, oil on canvas, from the Alfred Flechtheim collection, sold under duress. Sold by Cornelius Gurlitt at Kunsthaus Lempertz, Cologne, 2 December 2011.

Americans accepted his application and on 15 December 1950 the collection was returned to him. They did not discover that some of the works were looted, or that hidden in Dresden was the major part of the collection whose size exceeded those found by a multiple of six. Among the works returned to Gurlitt was a Max Liebermann painting, ‘Two Riders on a Beach’, which had been seized by the Gestapo from the collection of David Friedmann of Breslau, an industrialist and collector who died before he could be deported. His daughter committed suicide after detention by the Nazis.

After the publication of the Gurlitt story, it emerged that the German authorities had known of the case for two years and had taken the collection into their possession eighteen months earlier in February 2012, under conditions of the utmost secrecy. It was the leaking of this story to the media that alerted the world to the scandal.

The lack of transparency of the German authorities, as well as their un-



Figure 3 Conrad Felixmüller (1897–1977), *Couple in a Landscape*, watercolour, from the Fritz Salo Glaser collection of Dresden, sold under duress. Now part of the Cornelius Gurlitt collection.

willingness to address the legacy of Nazi looting which pervades the museums, auction houses, dealers and collectors of the German art world, was highlighted by this case. While Germany has addressed most of its Nazi past, art remains its Achilles heel. The collusion of the German art establishment with Nazi seizures, the continuity of museum personnel after the war, and the intimate knowledge within the art trade of the whereabouts of looted art works, have never been fully explored in Germany. The impact of this refusal to face that history has been reflected for decades in the difficulties experienced by families in locating and recovering their looted artworks. The Deputy Director of the distinguished Belvedere Gallery in Vienna, Alfred Weidinger, said, in the week following the disclosure of the Gurlitt collection, that the international interest was ‘inflated’. He continued: ‘The fact that this collection exists was not a secret. Basically, every important art dealer in southern Germany knew about it.’

The case became a cause célèbre and the Unit was inundated with enquiries



Figure 4 Max Liebermann (1847–1935), *Two Riders on the Beach*, oil on canvas, from the David Friedmann collection of Breslau, seized 1942. Now part of the Cornelius Gurlitt collection.

as a result of the worldwide publicity. Families suddenly had renewed hope that their lost works might be found in the Gurlitt collection. They believed that research into their claims should be initiated or restarted. Other approaches came from television, radio and newspapers internationally which sought the Unit's views on the significance of what had emerged.

This dominated the work of the Commission for Looted Art in Europe and the Looted Art Research Unit for several months, as it became apparent that the German authorities had formulated no strategy to address the Gurlitt revelations. The Director met the acting German Ambassador to the UK, accompanied by the UK Minister for the Arts, Ed Vaizey, to emphasize the need for a coherent and proper response.

In January, the Director led a delegation from the UK Foreign Office and the British Embassy to the German Culture Minister in Berlin urging that the German authorities act with transparency and publish full details and provenances of all the works in the Gurlitt collection and make this available to potential claimants. An international task force should be set up to research the collection and arrange for any looted works to be returned. However, secrecy continued to characterize the approaches of both the Bavarian and Federal governments.

The German authorities did subsequently set up a task force to research the



Figure 5 (left) Henri Matisse (1869–1954), *Seated Woman*, oil on canvas, from the Paul Rosenberg collection of Paris, seized in 1944. Now part of the Cornelius Gurlitt collection.

Figure 6 (right) Erich Fraaß (1893–1974), *Mother and Child*, watercolour, from the Fritz Salo Glaser collection of Dresden, sold under duress. Now part of the Cornelius Gurlitt collection.

collection. However, it works to no specified timetable, does not publish its research findings or reveal its membership. The possibilities of restitution remain uncertain. German law precludes the return of stolen property under a thirty-year Statute of Limitations which had long since expired.

The Unit and Commission continued to press for a moral and ethical as well as a legal solution. Pressure was also applied from the USA and Israel, but only slow progress was made. In May 2014 Cornelius Gurlitt died, leaving his art collection to the Kunstmuseum in Bern, Switzerland. It remains unclear whether the museum will accept the legacy.

The Gurlitt revelations not only dominated the past year, but shed light on many other Nazi collections that remain in private hands. They also exposed the role of the German, Austrian and Swiss art markets in helping individuals quietly, over decades, to dispose of their problematic works of art. Since he inherited the collection in the 1960s, Cornelius Gurlitt sold off many works through auction houses and dealers in Berne, Zurich, Vienna, Salzburg, Berlin and Cologne. Demands for full disclosure about these sales have been ignored.

The flow of enquiries to the Unit on non-Gurlitt matters continued apace over the past year. The databases held by the Unit remain a significant asset for historical research as well as for actual or potential claims.



The new Gabrielle Rich reading room at the Leopold Muller Memorial Library, Clarendon Institute.

The Leopold Muller Memorial Library

In the academic year 2013-2014 the Library faced the major challenge of moving, with the rest of the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies, to its new premises in the Clarendon Institute on Walton Street. The move has been a success, bringing the Library into the heart of Oxford, and making it even more a part of the academic life of the University. Months of planning were entailed in ensuring that this went smoothly and with a minimum of disruption to our readers. The new premises opened to the public on 22 September 2014.

Even before the plans for the move were made public, the Librarian carried out a full survey of the collections, determining the number of items and the shelf-room they occupied. The Library's holdings comprise now close to 100,000 items. The Clarendon Institute's facilities were examined, alternative

sites considered and rejected, and pilot rare-book-cataloguing project set up to deal with uncatalogued early publications. In consultation with Nathalie Schulz, Systems Analyst at the Bodleian Library, plans were made for a successful migration of the local Hebrew database to the Bodleian's cataloguing system.

The Librarian, together with Professor Martin Goodman, James Legg (Humanities Librarian, Bodleian Libraries) and Dr Gillian Evison (Head of the Oriental Section), produced a Memorandum of Understanding between the Centre and the Bodleian Library. This detailed how the Library would work under the aegis of the Bodleian Libraries, clarified the status of the Library's collections and set out the Library structure and the services it would provide for Hebrew and Jewish Studies in the University of Oxford.

The Librarian and staff spent months prior to the publication of this report on planning and executing the Leopold Muller Memorial Library's move to the Clarendon Institute at the end of the summer. A Planning Implementation Group was set up and met weekly from late January 2014, working out details of the move, studying alternative solutions to problems and coordinating with departments of the Bodleian Library and the University that needed to be involved. The members, in addition to the Centre's Librarian, Dr César Merchán-Hamann and Milena Zeidler, were James Legg, Dr Gillian Evison, Michael Williams (Head of Storage and Logistics), Nathalie Schulz (Systems Analyst), Rebecca Luckraft (Application and Development Support) and Emma Mathieson (South Asian Studies). They were occasionally joined by members of other departments with whom coordination was necessary, especially Information Technology.

The move had two main components. Some holdings would need to be moved to the Book Storage Facility in Swindon. From 23 June a van made daily runs between Yarnton and Swindon, each carrying 80 crates loaded with books and journals. The rest of the Library moved to the Clarendon Institute on 1 September.

Journals and periodicals, together with items and collections used less frequently, would be sent to the Book Storage Facility in Swindon. These included the Kohorn and Gryn collections, part of the general collection and the early printed books. All were catalogued, listed and barcoded according to subject, and a quality-control procedure run to avoid sending items not on file. All were then packed in crates supplied by the Book Storage Facility. The workflow was planned by Michael O'Hagan, a consultant who trained library staff in the use of three software pieces – REBAR, RETROBAR and the

quality-control procedure. Spreadsheets were prepared by Rebecca Luckraft in coordination with Milena Zeidler.

Material could be barcoded only if it was already in the Bodleian's ALEPH system, which meant that uncatalogued items had to be catalogued, or at least listed, and the Hebrew records in our local SEFER system moved to ALEPH. This migration to ALEPH, which had been estimated to take at least two years, was achieved in eight months, thanks largely to the efforts of Nathalie Schulz. Our collections are now accessible from a single online catalogue.

Michael Fischer, former Assistant Librarian, returned for six months to work as the Library Relocation Officer from 6 March 2014, working closely with Nathalie Schulz during the migration, and taking on much of the barcoding of items destined for the Book Storage Facility. As a professional Librarian, Michael Fischer's help especially with the database was invaluable.

Prior to the move the new premises were repaired and painted, ensuring that the Library would be a pleasant and attractive working environment. Labelling shelves at Yarnton with the corresponding shelf-numbers at the Clarendon Institute made it possible to move the collection smoothly.

It is with deep sadness that we announce the death of Joop van Klink, who developed the Library's in-house cataloguing programmes, including SEFER, and who for years was of great help to the Library. His generosity and expertise will be greatly missed. We extend our condolences to his daughter Marlies who has helped us maintain the online catalogue, as well as to the rest of the family.

Cataloguing

In total, over 2200 books were catalogued and more than 15,000 periodical issues or bound volumes barcoded. A pilot cataloguing project was set up with Sarah Wheale, Head of Rare Books at the Bodleian, to allow the creation of lower-level records for early printed books, of which the library holds an estimated 4000 uncatalogued items. In excess of 1000 of these were catalogued as part of the project, while the rest, also set to be transferred to the Book Storage Facility, were catalogued, creating either minimal or stub records.

A preliminary survey of the Western Hebrew Library, deposited with the Centre's Library by the New West End Synagogue early in 2013, identified over 1400 works in 1244 volumes, most of them were printed before 1830. Progress was made in their cataloguing despite the pressures of the move, making possible the Exhibition that is described below in more detail.

The Catherine Lewis Lectures: Trinity 2014

Dr Joshua Teplitsky, the Albert and Rachel Lehmann Junior Research Fellow in Jewish History and Culture, delivered the Catherine Lewis Lectures in April and May, thanks to the generosity of the Lewis Family Trusts. The series of lectures, entitled 'A Universal Jewish Library? The Early Modern Origins of the Bodleian Oppenheim Collection', gave an overview of the shaping, rationale and fate of what is arguably the Bodleian Library's richest collection of Hebrew and Yiddish manuscripts and early printed books. Dr Teplitsky described the fate of the collection after Rabbi David Oppenheim's demise, culminating with its arrival to Oxford. More on the lectures can be found on pages 75–6 of this *Report*.

Acquisitions

The Library continued to acquire books in close coordination with the Bodleian Libraries, concentrating on the fields of Modern Hebrew literature, Rabbimics and Jewish History. All are now catalogued, making them accessible to scholars. The Library is grateful once again to the Stanley Lewis Professor of Israel Studies, Derek Penslar, for helping to fund the acquisition of books on modern Israel.

Loans from the Lewis Family Interests

The Centre received a number of books and manuscripts on long-term loan this year from the Lewis Family Interests, for which the Library is most grateful. These include two volumes reporting on the Damascus Affair and on Sir Moses Montefiore's diplomatic role in it, bearing a false Amsterdam imprint, but printed in

Nathan Friedland's report on the Damascus Affair, published in Krotoszyn but with a false imprint indicating Amsterdam as the place of publication.



working on the reception of Josephus, as in the Oxford Seminars in Advanced Jewish Studies dedicated to this topic during the year (see illustrations in the report on pages 149–54).

Professor Renée Hirschon deposited a copy of the family lists of the Jewish community of the Greek island of Rhodes, which was under Italian rule between the wars.

We received a large number of books and pamphlets on Anti-Semitism and particularly the Dreyfus Affair from Caroline Whyte, in memory of George and Sally Whyte to whom they had belonged. These are an important addition to the collection, including items not found elsewhere in Oxford.

With the help of an endowment in memory of the late Sir Isaiah Berlin, the library acquired several scholarly works on medieval and pre-modern Jewish thought, listed on page 164.

The Hans and Rita Oppenheimer Fund for books related to the Holocaust and Modern Jewish History enabled us to purchase several volumes dealing with modern instances of genocide and their relation with the Holocaust, and also on modern Jewish Culture. Details all these volumes can be found on page 165.

The *Journal of Jewish Studies* generously supplied us with review copies of works in all areas of Jewish Studies.

'A World of Printed Words:

Samuel Montagu and the Western Hebrew Library

When the New West End Synagogue deposited the Western Hebrew Library with the Centre on long-term loan, as reported in the *Report* for 2012–13, it was decided to mount an exhibition to showcase some of its highlights, and to throw light on the book-collecting of Samuel Montagu, the first Lord Swaythling.

Samuel Montagu (1832–1911), Liberal MP for Whitechapel, gave his library to the New West End Synagogue in the 1890s, forming the core of the Western Hebrew Library. He had come to London as a young man from his native Liverpool, had founded a bank with his father's financial help and had become one of the most important and affluent leaders of Anglo-Jewry. Although a member of the United Synagogue, he had founded the Federation of Synagogues in 1887 as an umbrella organization for the congregations of Orthodox immigrant Jews from Russia.

He had collected throughout his life, and his awareness of the need to preserve artistic heritage led him in 1894 to 'persuade the government to



Gaon of Vilna's commentary on the Book of Ezekiel printed on blue paper in Shklov in 1802.

Hamburg/Breslau and Krotoszyn. There is a wonderful manuscript of the *Seder Reamim u-Reashim*, added in Ladino to the Mahzor for Rosh Hashanah, which was produced either in Turkey or in the Ottoman Balkans in the eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries; and there are also works on grammar and liturgy and several Amsterdam editions. These all enrich the Library's collection in its strong areas. The Library is grateful to David Lewis for continuing his support of the Library. We list the loans below, on page 150.

Donations

We record below, on pages 63–4, our gratitude to those who enriched the Library collections with their gifts of books in the past year, all of which were of immediate use to scholars and students at the Centre and the University. We would like to single out donations of particular importance.

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

Sandra Bernheim donated a number of books in the fields of Holocaust studies, Jewish History and Jewish thought that had belonged to Pierre Antoine Bernheim. These form a valuable addition to the collection.

Professor Yuval Dror continued to donate books in the fields of modern Israeli history, society, politics and education.

Professor Gohei Hata donated an important collection of editions of the works of Flavius Josephus, both in the original Greek and in translation. Those in Greek range from the 1535 edition from Paris and the Hudson edition from Oxford in 1720, to the critical edition by Niese printed in Berlin between 1885 and 1895. The translations range from Japanese to Welsh, and include fifteen English versions, among them that of Sir Roger L'Estrange's and numerous editions of William Whiston's better-known rendition, including the first, published in London in 1737. The collection will be invaluable for scholars



The Akedah or Sacrifice of Isaac. Detail from the title page of the Sefer ve-zot li-Yehudah by Rabbi Judah Ayash (Sulzbach, 1776).

exempt from death duties works of art and gifts to universities, museums and art galleries'. Donating the Library, with its treasures of early Hebrew printing, to the New West End Synagogue was typical of a style of generosity which expressed itself also in acts of philanthropy to Jewish immigrants and other members of his East End constituency. He continued to attend the New West End Synagogue that he had been instrumental in establishing in 1879 and where he remained a member. He clearly hoped the donation would help secure the synagogue's Orthodox religious tradition – which Montagu valued above all else – on a secure intellectual foundation.

The collection, spanning Jewish learning over almost four centuries of Hebrew printing, is a monument to Montagu's ability to appreciate the best products of Jewish intellectual endeavour, both Ashkenazi and Sephardi. Its books, printed in places as varied as London, Amsterdam, Berlin, Cracow, Lisbon, Leghorn and Smyrna, constitute a map of the Jewish world of letters from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries. The exhibition, both in physical form and virtually on the Library's website, takes visitors through some highlights of the collection, explaining the world from which they come. The Exhibition is the fruit of efforts by all the staff, but particularly Dr Zsófia Buda. The Library is grateful to Martin Lewin and the Board of Management of the New West End Synagogue, and to the Hon. Nicole Campbell, Jeremy Montagu, Rabbi Rachel Montagu, Ms Sarah Montagu and the Dowager Lady Swaythling



Printer's device from the Heinrich Jacob van Bashuysen edition of Kikayon de-Yonah, by Jonah Teomim (Hanau, 1712).

for their help. A talk was given by the Librarian at the New West End Synagogue in conjunction with the exhibition, and a group of synagogue members visited the library's new home in April 2014.

Jewish Books in Amsterdam, 1600–1850

The convenors of 'The Oxford Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies – Jewish Books in Amsterdam 1600–1850', Professor Shlomo Berger (University of Amsterdam) and Dr César Merchán-Hamann, have assembled an international team of leading scholars in the field who, led also by Dr Piet van Boxel and Dr Javier Castaño (CSIC Madrid), will study Jewish and Hebrew book publishing in Amsterdam in the coming academic year. The Amsterdam material in the Bodleian Library, the Centre's Copenhagen and Foyle-Montefiore collections, as well as the Western Hebrew Library and the books deposited with the Library by the Lewis Family Interests, constitute one of the best collections of this material outside the Netherlands. The Seminar will culminate in an international conference, the results of which it is expected will be published.

Lastly, a small exhibition of highlights from the Arthur Sebag-Montefiore Archive was held at University College London, during a one-day conference to celebrate the 120th anniversary of the Jewish Historical Society of England. The exhibition attracted many visitors, and the Library was given the opportunity to scan Montefiore documents for its own collections.

*Books Received in 2013-2014 on Long-term Loan
from the Lewis Family Interests*

- (Bible). תורה חמשי תורה [Hamishah Humshe Torah. Pentateuch]. Lunéville, 1809.
- (Bible). תורה נביאים וכתובים [Torah Neviim u-Ketuvim]. Amsterdam, 1731.
- Eliakim ben Jacob [Shatz, of Komarno]. שער לימוד [Shaar limud]. Lunéville, 1806.
- Elijah ben Solomon Zalman [The Gaon of Vilna].
צורת הארץ לגבולותיה סביב ותכנית הבית [Tsurat ha-arets li-gevuloteha saviv u-tokhnit ha-bayit]. Shklov, 1802.
- Friedland, Nathan. ספר כוס ישועה ונחמה + ספר כוס ישועות [Sefer Kos Yeshua u-Nehamah + Kos Yeshuot]. Amsterdam [sic] [Breslau and Hamburg], 1859 + [Krotoszyn], 1859.
- (Haggadah). אהויה אהידן [Ahuyat Ahidan]. Amsterdam: 1762.
- Halevi, Benjamin Simon. ספר דעת קדשים [Sefer Daat Kodshim]. London 1773.
- דקהל קדוש אמשטרדם ... הנהגת בית הכנסת [Hanhagat Beit ha-Keneset ... de-Kahal Kadosh Amsterdam]. Amsterdam, 1776.
- Kaboli, Solomon ben Menahem. שאלות ותשובות [!] הגאונים [Sheelot u-Teshuvot ha-Geonim]. Prague, 1590.
- Katzenellenbogen, Abraham. ברכת אברהם [Birkat Avraham]. Warsaw, 1815.
- Landau, Ezekiel. נודע ביהודה [Noda bi-Yehudah]. Prague, 1811.
- (Liturgy). בית תפלה [Bet Tefilah]. Leghorn: Moses Joshua Tuviana, 1866.
- (Liturgy). תפלה מכל השנה [Tefilah mikol ha-shanah]. Amsterdam, 1765.
- (Liturgy). סליחות של כל השנה [Selihot shel kol ha-shanah]. Amsterdam, 1688.
- מחזור לראש השנה עם סדר רעמים ורעשים בלאדינו [Mahzor Rosh ha-Shanah with Seder Reamim u-Reashim in Ladino]. Turkey/Ottoman Balkans, 18th–19th cent.
- מנהגים [Minhagim]. Amsterdam: Isaac de Cordova, 1723.

Listings



The Academic Council

President (on sabbatical from 1 August 2013)

Dr David Ariel

Acting President (from 1 August 2013)

Professor Martin Goodman, FBA

Fellows

Fellow in Modern Judaism

Dr Miri Freud-Kandel

Academic Director

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

Sidney Brichto Fellow in Israel Studies

Dr Sara Hirschhorn *University Research Lecturer, Oxford University, and Research Fellow, Wolfson College, Oxford*

Fellow in Modern Hebrew Literature

Dr Adriana X. Jacobs *Cowley Lecturer in Modern Hebrew Literature, Oxford University, and Fellow, St Cross College, Oxford*

Fellow

Professor Derek Penslar *Stanley Lewis Professor of Israel Studies, Oxford University, and Fellow, St Anne's College, Oxford*

Ricardo Fellow in Modern Jewish History

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

Listings

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