



European Association for Jewish Studies

IX CONGRESS

**JUDAISM
IN THE MEDITERRANEAN CONTEXT**

**PROGRAM
AND ABSTRACTS**

Edited by

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Marta Porcedda and Enrica Sagradini

Ravenna (Italy), 25th-29th July 2010

Welcome of the President of the European Association for Jewish Studies

Dear participants to the 9th Congress of the EAJS, as the President of the Association I am glad to welcome this audience and to extend my heartfelt greetings to all of you. Our Association was founded in 1981 to promote Jewish Studies in Europe, and today it counts more than 400 members from various countries such as Great Britain, Spain, Italy, Germany, Russia, the Netherlands, Poland and others, as well as members from Israel and the USA. Ravenna is ideally situated between Moscow and Paris where the last Congress was celebrated and where the next one will take place in 2014.

EAJS is not only a driving force for Jewish Studies in Europe, it also serves as a connection and coordination for the European national associations of Jewish Studies. For example, the Italian Association for Jewish Studies and the EAJS are reciprocally linked through their websites, and we are planning to create an advisory board in which all the presidents of European national associations will serve as members.

After its foundation in 1981, and a first conference celebrated in July 1982, the first Congress of the EAJS was held in Hertford College *Oxford*, on 18–21 July 1983 where Dr Geza Vermes was elected as president and the first Constitution of the EAJS was discussed and accepted. The second Congress was held in 1984 again in *Oxford* at Hertford College, 22–26 July. In 1987 (26–31 July), the third Congress took place in *Berlin* under the presidency of Prof. Arnold Goldberg and organised by Professor Peter Schäfer and the Institut für Jüdische Studien. The 950th anniversary of the birth of Rashi offered the setting for the fourth Congress, held 8–13 July 1990 in *Troyes*, under the presidency of Dr Gabrielle Sed-Rajna with an opening session in the Institut de France in Paris. The fifth Congress was held in *Copenhagen*, 14–18 August 1994 under the presidency of Dr. Ulf Haxen. In 1998 the sixth Congress was held in *Toledo*, 19–23 July, under the presidency of Prof. Angel Sáenz Badillos, and in 2002 the seventh Congress took place in *Amsterdam*, 21–25 July, under the presidency of Prof. Albert van der Heide. In 2006, the eighth Congress was held in *Moscow* under the presidency of the late Prof. Rashid Kaplanov.

Now we are opening the ninth Congress, celebrated for the first time in Italy in *Ravenna*, 25–29 July 2010. I am very glad to welcome the EAJS Congress in the Peninsula which played a central role in the development and in the diffusion of Judaism in Europe and in the Western World.

Our ninth Congress bears the title *Judaism in the Mediterranean Context* and there is not a better point of view to observe the Mediterranean context than Italy, the centre of the *Yam ha-Tikkon*, which was the theatre of western culture since the ancient times. Actually the Italian Peninsula is located in the heart of the Mediterranean and, due to its slim elongated shape and its geographical position, Italy was a natural bridge between Orient and Occident, Middle East and Central Europe. In the southern regions of Italy the first Jews of Europe arrived and settled there even before the beginning of the Common Era in the oldest Jewish communities in the West: in Rome, Apulia and Sicily.

After the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE in the Western Diaspora there was a period called the Dark Ages, when the Hebrew language survived only for prayer and as a literary language, but disappeared as an actively spoken language for nearly seven centuries. It was during the eighth century in sepulchral inscriptions in the Jewish Catacombs of Venosa that it revived again. Puglia, with its centers of Bari, Trani and Otranto, was the place to which the cultural and spiritual legacy of Judaism in the field of liturgy, the *Bible*, *Mishnah* and *Talmud*, as well as the *Halakhah* was transmitted directly from Palestine. It flourished in the rabbinic academies of southern Italy, where Isaiah di Trani the Elder and his nephew Isaiah di Trani the Younger, worked. From there the precious Jewish heritage spread to Western Ashkenazi regions, particularly in the North of France, where Rabbi Jacob ben Meir in the twelfth century recalls that the spiritual heritage of Judaism arrived in northern France from southern Italian Rabbinic academies, as clearly appears from his well known paraphrases of the famous verse found in the Prophets Isaiah (2,3) and Micah (4,2): *Ki mi-Tziyyon tetze' Torah u-devar Adonay mi-Yerushalayim*. In fact, Rabbenu Tam, who was Rashi's grandson, in his major work *Sefer ha-Yashar* presents a paraphrase of this verse *For from Zion shall go forth the Torah and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem* and, referring to the role played by Rabbinic academies in southern Italy, changed it in *Ki mi-Bari tetze' Torah u-devar Adonay mi-Otranto*. With this he wanted to point out that the word of the Lord, first released from Sion and from Jerusalem, will go forth from Puglia, Bari and Otranto, indicating that the legacy of Jewish tradition in the field of exegesis and Halakhah had arrived in northern France from rabbinical academies of Puglia which flourished in the last centuries of the first millennium CE.

To give some example of this, we can consider that about half of the Jewish Cultural Heritage, widespread all over the world in collections and Museums, comes from Italy, and the same goes for the Hebrew manuscripts held in the collections of the world. The Hebrew printing press was born in Italy in the sixties of the 15th century, starting from Rome, and for some years the first Hebrew incunabula were printed only in Italy.

So already in the Middle ages the Rabbis created some jokes around Italian names read as if were Hebrew. For example, they read Italia as *I tal Yah* or “The island of the Lords dew”, or Bologna as *Bo lan Yah* or “In it the Lord lodges” or Mantova as *Man tovah* that is “A good manna”, with gender licence on the substantive *man*, which in Hebrew is masculine, because the joke requires *tov* in the feminine form *tohav*.

Greeting you all, and wishing you a very successful Congress, I would like to continue the tradition of medieval Italian scholars in telling you that in these days in *Ravenna* “There is here a multitude”, in Hebrew *Rav hennah*, interpreting *Rav* as “a lot of people”, and not as “Rabbi”, meaning that “The Rav is here”, because I’m not sure if here in Ravenna there could be a great Rabbi indeed, but if perhaps one of you finds him, also the second interpretation is possible: *Ellu we-ellu divre Elohim Chayyim!*

Berukhim ha-ba'im le-Ravenna, u-ve-hatzlachah!

Prof. Mauro Perani

President of the EAJS July 2006 - July 2010.

PALAZZO CORRADINI

Via Mariani, 5



EX PALAZZO VERDI

Via Pasolini, 23

PALAZZO DEI CONGRESSI

Largo Firenze

Congress Venues

All Congress sessions will be held at Palazzo Corradini, via Mariani 5, and at Palazzo Verdi, via Pasolini 23, Ravenna. These venues are located in the center of Ravenna.

- **Palazzo Corradini, Facoltà di Conservazione dei Beni Culturali**
via Mariani 5, Ravenna.
- **Palazzo Verdi**
via Giuseppe Pasolini 23, Ravenna.
- **Palazzo dei Congressi**
Aula Magna, Largo Firenze.

The Scientific Sections of the Congress and their Presidents

1. **Biblical History and Archaeology:** Lucio Troiani, André Lemaire
2. **Biblical Literature and Language:** Alessandro Catastini, Maria Teresa Ortega-Monasterio
3. **Second Temple Judaism:** Gabriele Boccaccini, Florentino García Martínez
4. **Jews and Judaism in Late Antiquity:** Cesare Colafemmina, Tessa Rajac
5. **Rabbinic Litterature:** Günter Stemberger, Alberdina Houtman
6. **Medieval Jewish History:** Shlomo Simonsohn, Alfred Haverkamp
7. **Medieval Jewish Literature:** Bruno Chiesa, Geoffrey Kahn
8. **Manuscripts, Codices and Books:** Giuliano Tamani, Judith Schlanger
9. **Early Modern History (1492-1600):** Pier Cesare Ioly Zorattini, Joanna Weinberg
10. **Modern Jewish History:** Valerio Marchetti, Irene Zwiep
11. **Modern Jewish Literature:** Gabriella Moscati Steindler, Helen Beer
12. **Jewish Languages:** Laura Minervini, Jean Baumgarten
13. **Jewish Arts:** Luisella Mortara Ottolenghi, Michael Berkowitz
14. **Contemporary Jewish History (after 1933):** Michele Sarfatti, Michal Galas
15. **Jewish Philosophy:** Mauro Zonta, Reiner Munk
16. **Jewish Mysticism, Kabbalah, Magics:** Giulio Busi, Giuseppe Veltri

Registration

Sunday, July 25, h. 14:00-19:00 Registration and Badges at Palazzo dei Congressi.

Opening Ceremony and Plenary Lectures

The Opening Ceremony

will take place on Sunday 25 July, h. 19:00, at Aula Magna, Palazzo dei Congressi.

Three Plenary Lectures will take place in Palazzo Congressi, Aula Magna

July 26, h. 9:00-10:00 Martin Goodman

Titus, Berenice and Agrippa: the last days of the Temple in Jerusalem.

July 27, h. 9:00-10:00 Kenneth Stow

Was there a Jewish Middle Ages?

July 28, h. 9:00-10:00 Shlomo Simonsohn

Jewish Italy: The Melting Pot of Mediterranean Jews

Special meetings and events of general interest

Monday, July 26

19:00 – 20:00 Meeting of the Outgoing EAJS Executive Committee,
Palazzo Corradini, Aula 6.

21:30 Concert: **Miriam Meghnagi** (Jewish songs), **Siman Tov** live
(Klezmer and other Jewish music) and **Judith R. Cohen** (Songs of
the Mediterranean Sephardim), Palazzo dei Congressi, Aula magna.

Tuesday, July 27

19:00 – 20:00 EAJS General Meeting and Election of the EAJS President
Palazzo dei Congressi, Aula Magna.

Wednesday, July 28

19:00 – 20:00 Meeting of the Incoming EAJS Executive Committee
Palazzo Corradini, Aula 6.

PROGRAM

Monday, 26 July
P. Corradini, Room 1

MORNING: Section 10 “Modern Jewish History”

Chair: Irene Zwiep

10:15 – 12:15

- Alexander Lokshin** *The Origins of the Political Zionism:
The Jewish and the Non-Jewish Response in Late Imperial Russia*
- Ilaria Pavan** *Beyond the Mortara Affair: Italy's Houses of Cathecumens
in the Era of Emancipation*
- Haim Saadoun** *The Political and Cultural Activism of Tunisian Jewry in the 20 Century*

AFTERNOON: Section 13 “Jewish Art”

Chair: Michael Berkowitz

14:30 – 16:00

- Sara Guzzetti-Sapoznik** *Shifting Imagery of the Jew in Italy:
L'orfana del Ghetto in Literature and Cinema*
- Tamar Alexander** *The Presentation of Jewish Salonika in Postcards*
- Nadia Valman** *East end Vanity Fair: Writing Petticoat Lane at the Fin de Siècle*

16:30 - 17:30 Section 9 “Early Modern History”

Panel “The Ethnographic Eye: The Papal Inquisition and Professing Jews in Italy”

Chair: Katherine Aron-Beller

- Katherine Aron-Beller** *The Papal Inquisition in Modena:
Jews and the Hiring of Christian Servants*
- Kimberly Lynn** *The Meanings of Moses: Spanish Clerics, Venetian Printers, and
the Question of Jurisdiction Over Jews*

Monday, 26 July
P. Corradini, Room 2

MORNING: Section 10 “Modern Jewish History”

Chair: Elissa Bemporad

10:15 – 13:00

- Natascia Danieli** *Leon Modena's Letters*
- Francesca Bregoli** *“A Second Mother and Most Tender Wet-Nurse”: Jews, Medical
Culture and the Public Good in 18th-Century Livorno*
- Jan Zouplna** *The Initial Phase of Revisionist Zionism, 1922-25:
The Non-Jabotinsky Story*
- Simon Mayers** *The Anglo-Jewish Press, the Church of Rome,
and the Palestine Question, 1900-1922*

Dario Miccoli

*Alexandrian Jews and the Alliance Israélite Universelle:
Histories of a Levantine Bourgeoisie, 1897-1919*

AFTERNOON: Section 10 “Modern Jewish History”

Chair: Nataschia Danieli

14:30 – 18:30

Sarah Ljubibratic

*Jews and New Christians under the Roman Inquisition:
A Maltese Variant of Marranism?*

Carmen Dell’Aversano

*The Paradoxes of Assimilation: Quotation,
Disidentifying and Redemption as Untenable Positions*

Yosef Salmon

The Shemitta Controversy 1889-1910

Tatiana Solodukhina

*The Jews Formerly Russian Subjects in the Syro-Palestinian
Region of the Ottoman Empire in the middle of the 19th Century*

Nava Ben Artzey Schieber

*The Relation to the ‘Other’ as a Question of Survival:
a Psychoanalysis Perspective*

Elissa Bemporad

*Revolution in Pink: Roles and Images of Jewish Women in Inter-
war Soviet Russia*

Daniel J. Clasby

*Luigi Luzzatti’s Jewish Politics: Transnational Debates on the
Status of Religious Minorities in Italy and Abroad, 1909-1922*

Monday, 26 July

P. Corradini, Room 3

MORNING: Section 6 “Medieval Jewish History”

Chair: Simha Goldin

10:15 – 13:00

Katja Vehlow

Why Did the Twentieth Century Debate on Medieval Jewish Historiography Exclude the Writings of Jews in Islamic Lands?

Ursula Ragacs

*From Babylonia to Paris: A Rabbinical Text’s “Journey” around
the Medieval Mediterranean Sea*

Ilana Wartenberg

*From Castile to Sicily: Isaac ben Solomon ibn Al-Ahdab’s Intel-
lectual Journey around the Mediterranean Sea*

Nicholas de Lange

Medieval Hebrew Inscriptions from the Byzantine Empire

Igor Filippov

*The Jewish names Mancip, Bonmancip: a Contribution to Me-
dieval Jewish Onomastics in the French Midi and in Catalonia*

AFTERNOON: Section 6 “Medieval Jewish History”

Chair: Nicholas de Lange

14:30 – 18:00

Alessandra Veronese

*“German” and “Italian” Jews in Northern Italy:
Settlements and Relationships*

Judah D. Galinsky

*Communal Charity in 13th Spain: The Evidence of Rabbinic Lit-
erature*

Simha Goldin

Jewish Medieval Neighborhood: New Perspectives

Fred Astren

Jews and the ‘New’ Mediterranean Studies, 6th-10th Centuries

Marina Rustow
Eve Krakowski

Jews and the 'New' Mediterranean Studies, Tenth-Twelfth Centuries
Female Property Rights and the Dowry in Geniza Society

Monday, 26 July

P. Corradini, Room 4

MORNING: Section 5 "Rabbinic Literature"

Chair: Günter Stemberger

10:15 – 12:15

Tannaitic Period

Arkady Kovelman

"A Share in the World to Come": Text and Hypertext of Mishnah Sanhedrin

Olga Isabel Ruiz Morell *Another Contribution to Tosefta*

Elisabetta Abate

The Flying Bird and the Women Who Spin in the Moonlight (mSotah 6:1): Rumours about a Suspected Adulteress or Hints at Divination?

Jordan Rosenblum

The Idol in Her Bra: Commensality Intermarriage, and Idolatry in Tannaitic Literature

12:30 – 13:30

General

Elvira Martín-Contreras

Transmitting the Bible: A New Approach to the Role of the Rabbinic Literature in the Textual Transmission

Galit Hasan-Rokem

Gifts of Identity and Textual Gifts: Transformations of Cultural Capital in Rabbinic Tales of Late Antiquity

AFTERNOON: Section 5 "Rabbinic Literature"

Chair: Arkady Kovelman

14:30 – 16:00

Middle Ages

Lennart Lehmhaus

Seder Eliyahu Rabba and Zuta: The Discourse of Morality as a Dialogue in Its Pluralistic Environment of Mediterranean Societies

Ulrich Berzbach

Through the Looking-Glass of the Yalqut, and what can be found there concerning Seder Eliyahu Zuta

Moshe Lavee

Late Midrashic Activity across the Mediterranean Sea

16:30 – 18:30

General

Yehudah Cohn

Rabbinic Trade Regulation Reconsidered

Koji Osawa

Jannes and Jambres: Two Magicians in Judaism

Tamas Turan

Polymorphous Imagery in Ancient Rabbinic God-Talk

Teugels Lieve M.

Pigs and Pork as Jewish Identity Markers from Antiquity to Modernity

Monday, 26 July
P. Corradini, Room 5

MORNING: Section 4 “Jews and Judaism in Late Antiquity”

Chair: Martin Goodman

10:15 – 13:30

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| Samuele Rocca | <i>Ethnic and Religious Diversity in the Urbs:
The Development of the Jewish Communities in Imperial Rome</i> |
| Ben Zion Rosenfeld | <i>The Poor Family in Jewish Society in Roman Palestine, 70-400 C.E.</i> |
| Aron Sterk | <i>The Epistola Anne Ad Senecam: An Early Fifth Century Latin
Jewish Protreptic in Dialogue with Pagan Montheism?</i> |
| Jacoov Shapira | <i>The Status of Parents: Between the Palestinian Talmud
and the Babylon Talmud</i> |
| Willem Smelik | <i>Justinian's Novella 146 and Contemporary Judaism</i> |
| Margaret Williams | <i>Symbol and Text in the Jewish Inscriptions of Late Ancient Rome</i> |

AFTERNOON: Section 4 “Jews and Judaism in Late Antiquity”

Chair: Ben Zion Rosenfeld

14:30 – 18:30

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| Mireille Hadas-Lebel | <i>Menasseh ben Israel and the European Debate on the Testimo-
nium Flavianum in the Seventeenth Century</i> |
| Görge Hasselhoff | <i>Who are the Jews with whom Jerome Communicated?</i> |
| Sacha Stern | <i>From Qumran to Nicaea: Sectarianism and Heresy</i> |
| Liubov Chernin | <i>The Converts of Minorca in 418: Circumstances and Conse-
quences of Baptizing</i> |
| Giovanni Frulla | <i>The Work of Jason of Cyrene: Literary and Historical Aspects</i> |
| Piotr Drag | <i>Jewish Catacombs in Malta in the Mediterranean Context</i> |

Monday, 26 July
P. Verdi, Room 1

MORNING: Section 3 “Second Temple Judaism”

Chair: Edward Dabrowa

10:15 – 13:00

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| Kenneth Atkinson | <i>Pompey the Great in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Jewish
Texts: How the Romans used Religion to Conquer Jerusalem in 63
BCE</i> |
| Michael Avioz | <i>The Character of Jonathan in Josephus' Antiquities</i> |
| Miriam Ben Zeev | <i>Cultural Patterns in Judea in the Second Century BCE</i> |
| Katell Berthelot | <i>The Concept of Anathema in Ancient Jewish Literature Written in
Greek</i> |
| Isaac Oliver | <i>Jubilees and the Rabbis: Forming Jewish Identity by Formulating
Legislation for Gentiles</i> |

AFTERNOON: Section 3 “Second Temple Judaism”

Chair: Miriam Ben Zeev

14:30 – 18:00

- Edward Dabrowa** *The Hasmoneans and Religious Homogeneity of their State*
Giovanni Ibba *The Expression “Sons of Sadoq” in the Qumran Manuscripts*
Silvia Castelli *Allusions to the Jews of Rome in Philo’s Legatio ad Gaium*
Pieter W. Van Der Horst *Philo and the Problem of God’s Emotions*
Jason M. Zurawski *Separating the Devil from the Diabolos: A Fresh Translation of Wisdom of Solomon 2:24*
Sandra Gambetti *On the Ethnarch Again: What if Josephus was right?*

Monday, 26 July 2010

P. Verdi, Room 2

MORNING: Section 1 “Biblical History and Archaeology”

10:15 – 13:30

Panel “Archaeological Artifacts relating to the Biblical World:

From the Collection of Dr. Shlomo Moussaieff”

Chair: Meir Lubetski

- Meir Lubetski** *Interpreting Symbols on Pre-Exilic Hebrew Seals*
Martin K. Heide *Abram and the Domestication of the Camel*
Andre Lemaire *The Moussaieff Collection of Palaeo-Hebrew Ostraca Revised or the Qumran Community in its Jewish Historical Context*
Claire Gottlieb *Who was Bat Pharaoh? Exodus 2:5*
Matthew Morgenstern *Mediterranean or Mesopotamian? Reflection on Some Aramaic Magic Formulae*
Wilfred G. Lambert *Female Demons in the Ancient Near East*

AFTERNOON: Section 15 “Jewish Philosophy”

Chair: Haim Kreisel

14:30 – 18:30

- Mária Mičaninová** *Factor Primus in ibn Gabirol’s Metaphysics*
Steven Harvey *Continuity and Change as Reflected in the Introductions of the Fourteenth-Century Hebrew Translators of Philosophic Texts*
Lukas Muehlethaler *The Reception of Abū Al-Barakā t’s Philosophical Work: A Re-Appraisal*
Yehuda Halper *Why were Hebrew Translations Revised? The Case of Averroes’ Long Commentary on Aristotle’s Metaphysics*
Kenneth Seeskin *Maimonides’ on the Days of the Messiah: Restorative or Utopian?*
Dvora Bregman *Moses Zacuto, a Venetian Rabbi and Baroque Poet*
Orietta Ombrosi *History, Memory, Pardon*

Monday, 26 July
P. Verdi, Room 3

MORNING: Section 8 “Manuscripts, Codices, and Books”

Chair: Jesús de Prado Plumed

10:15 – 13:00

Dagmara Budzioch *Characteristic Features of “Italian” Esther Scrolls from 17th Century on the Kraków Manuscript (Biblioteka Xx. Czartoryskich – Nr. 2442)*

Francisco Javier del Barco *Reconstructing the Early History of two Kabbalistic Manuscripts from El Escorial Library*

Maria Teresa Ortega-Monasterio *Manuscripts Digitization in CSIC Libraries*

Lucia Raspe *Yiddish Minhagim Manuscripts from Sixteenth-Century Italy*

Ora Schwarzwald *A Ladino Prayer Book for Women from the Sixteenth Century*

AFTERNOON: Section 8 “Manuscripts, Codices, and Books”

Chair: Maria Teresa Ortega-Monasterio

14:30 – 17:30

Elodie Attia *Copies of Printed Books in Sixteenth Century Italian Hebrew Manuscripts*

Jesús De Prado Plumed *The Italian Paradoxes of Alfonso de Zamora (fl. 1516-1545): Abravanel on Latter Prophets from Jewish Italy to Converso Castile*

Edith Lubetski *The Art and Science of a Biblical Bibliography*

Gila Prebor *History of the Hebrew Book and Hebrew Bibliography – State of Research 1976-2006*

Inge Lederer *Compiled Interpretations of Ruth 1:1-13 In the Hebrew Manuscript Vatican ebr. 18*

Monday, 26 July
P. Verdi, Room 4

MORNING: Section 14 “Contemporary Jewish History”

Chair: Michał Galas

10:15 – 12:30

Modern Israel

Silvia Guetta *A Review of the Historical Research and Studies on the History of Jewish Education from the 18th. to the 20th. Century*

Einat Libel-Hass *Female Visibility in the Public Space of an Israeli “Masorti” / Conservative Community*

Francisco Javier Fernández Vallina *A Canon for the History of the Jewish Thought in the Contemporary Modernity?: On the Importance and Difficulty of a Consensus on the Jewish Diversity*

Alek Epstein

Between Affection and Estrangement: Hannah Arendt on Jewish Identity, Zionism and Israel

AFTERNOON: Section 14 “Contemporary Jewish History”

Chair: Michele Sarfatti

14:30 – 18:30

Pre-Holocaust Period and Time of Holocaust

Orly C. Meron

Jewish Entrepreneurial Activity in Salonica During the Mid-1930s

Gerben Zaagsma

Jewish Migrants and Anti-Semitism in Paris and London before WWII

Asaf Yedidya

The Nazis’ Attacks on the Talmud and the Jewish Apologetic Reactions in the 1930’s

Michał Galas

Between Orthodoxy and Assimilation: Varieties of Judaism in Poland in the Late 1930ties (before the Holocaust)

Daniel Langton

Holocaust Theology and the Use of History

David E. Fishman

In the Shadow of the Holocaust: The Vilna Jewish Museum, 1944-1949

Silvia Haia Antonucci

The Activities of the Delasem in the Documents of the Historical Archives of the Jewish Community of Rome

Tuesday, 27 July

P. Congressi, Aula Magna

MORNING: Section 10 “Modern Jewish History”

Chair: Alessandro Grazi

10:15 – 13:30

Rakefet Zalashik

Law and Jewish Lunatics in Mandatory Palestine

Eleonore Lappin

Trieste: Austria’s Gate to Eretz Israel

Asher Salah

Judaism as a Moral Theology: The Work and the Figure of Elisha Pontremoli

Victoria Khiterer

Laughing Through Tears: Jewish Kiev in the Writings of Sholom Aleichem

Gideon Kouts

Ben Yehuda, a Hebrew Journalist in Paris, and the “French Model” of Journalism at the End of the 19th Century

Helen Przibilla

The Zionist Yizkor Book Tradition. Commemorating the Fallen in the Yishuv

AFTERNOON: Section 10 “Modern Jewish History”

Chair: Asher Salah

14:30 – 18:00

Viktor Kelner

Russian Jew Maxim Vinaveri (National Identification of the Russian Jewry and Political Life in Russia at the Beginning of the 20th Century)

- Yaacov Goldstein** *The Settlement Ethos in the Jewish and Zionist Thought*
George Yaakov Kohler *Rabbi Max Dienemann's Plans for Liberal Judaism in Palestine*
Alessandro Grazi *The Passion of a People. Jewish Authors on Italian Nationalism and Jewish Identity in Risorgimento Italy*
Malgorzata Domagalska *The Linguistic Image of the Jew in the Polish Anti-Semitic and Conservative Press at the Turn of the 19th and 20th Century*
Agnieszka Friedrich *'Rola' Magazine Towards the Dreyfus Affair*

Tuesday, 27 July
P. Corradini, Aula 1

MORNING: Section 13 "Jewish Art"

Chair: Nina Spiegel

10:15 – 12:30

Music, Performance And Identity

- Rachel Adelstein** *Joining the Stream: Holocaust-Related Music as a Monument of Sacred Time*
Judith Cohen *"Now I Forgot the Words": Searching for Songs on the "Ladinobus" in Turkey*
Susanne Marten-Finnis *Léon Bakst, the Oriental Other, and the Ballets Russes Reception in Britain and France*

Building Buildings, Adorning Edifices

- Daniel Muñoz Garrido** *From Granada to Toledo, a Journey Through the Synagogue Del Transito*

AFTERNOON: Section 13 "Jewish Art"

14:30 – 16:00

Panel "Presenting and Performing Between Self and Nation"

Chair: Judith Cohen

- Astrid Schmetterling** *"I am Jussuf of Egypt": Else Lasker-Schüler's Orientalist Drawings*
Nina Spiegel *Dancing to Different Rhythms: Jewish Choreography in the Mediterranean Context and Beyond*
Arieh Saposnik *Terra Sancta or Promised Land? The Christian Holy Land and Zionist Re-Sacralization*

Tuesday, 27 July
P. Corradini, Aula 2

MORNING: Section 7 "Medieval Jewish Literature"

Chair: Wout Jac Van Bekkum

10:15 – 13:30

- Mariano Gómez Aranda** *Controversies on the Creation of the World in ibn Ezra's Comments on Genesis 1:1*

- Mordechai Z. Cohen** *Maimonides vs. Abraham ibn Ezra: Two Mediterranean Bible Exegetes*
Arturo Prats Olivan *The Love Poetry of Shelomoh Bonafed*
Mónica Olalla Sánchez *Latin Syntactic Loans Translations in a Hebrew Version of Lilium Medicinae of Bernard of Gordon*
Riikka Tuori *The Hebrew Zemirot of the Lithuanian Karaite Scholar Zerah ben Nathan (1578-1663) in the Light of Poetic Guidelines Made by the Rabbanite Scholar Joseph Solomon Delmedigo of Candia (1591-1655)*
Robert A. Harris *Allegory and Context: 12th Century Rabbinic Commentaries on the Song of Songs*

AFTERNOON: Section 7 “Medieval Jewish Literature”

Chair: Robert A. Harris

14:30 – 18:30

- Joachim Yeshaya** *The Introduction of Poetry in the Karaite Liturgy from Moses ben Abraham Dar'Î until Aaron ben Joseph*
Wout Jac Van Bekkum – Naoya Katsumata *Dictionary of Piyyut: The Preliminary Presentation of an Online Database*
Uri Ehrlich *Some Observations on the Prayer Texts in Siddur Rav Saadia Gaon*
James W. Nelson Novoa *The Reception of Seneca Among Fifteenth Century Sephardic Jews*
Arie Schippers *Some Questions of Italian Hebrew Poetics in the Light of the Spanish Hebrew Heritage*
Elisabeth Hollender *Reflecting the Other Christianity in Piyyut*
Kineret Sittig *Abraham ibn Ezra's Sabbath Letter: Different Genres in Ashkenaz and Italy*

Tuesday, 27 July

P. Corradini, Aula 3

MORNING: Section 5 “Rabbinic Literature”

10:15 – 12:30

- Panel** “*The Manchester-Durham Typology of Anonymous and Pseudepigraphic Jewish Literature of Antiquity*”
 Chair: Shamma Friedman

- Alex Samely** *A New Approach to the Literary and Textual Features of Ancient Jewish Literature*
Philip S. Alexander *On the Value or Lack of it of Ancient Genre Labels*
Robert Hayward *A Typology of Megillat Ta'anit*
Rocco Bernasconi *Overlaps in Wording Between Mishnah and Tosefta*

AFTERNOON: Section 5 “Rabbinic Literature”

Chair: Alberdina Houtman

14:30 – 17:00

Amoraic Period

- Shamma Friedman** *What to do with Deuteronomy 18:10: Contrasting Approaches to Magic and Sorcery in Talmudic Palestine and Babylonia*
- Arnon Atzmon** *“One Event for the Righteous and the Wicked”: Form and Content in Aggadic Midrashim*
- Günter Stemberger** *Mekhilta de-Rabbi Yishmael: Some Aspects of its Redaction*
- Lorena Miralles Maciá** *Proselytes and Sympathisers with Judaism in Leviticus Rabbah*

Tuesday, 27 July

P. Corradini, Aula 4

MORNING: Section 11 “Modern Jewish Literature”

Chair: Gabriella Moscati Steindler

10:15 – 13:00

- Saul Kirschbaum** *A. B. Yehoshua’s Mar Mani Revisited*
- Berta Waldman** *A Woman Flees the News – David Grossman*
- Nancy Rozenchan** *When the “Other” is a Brother: Reflections about “Oriental Jew”: Contemporary Representation in the 21st Century Hebrew Literature*
- Avidov Lipsker** *Abraham ben Yehoshua – Retrospective: From Metaphysics of Evil to a Local Mediterranean Ethics*
- Tamar Wolf-Monzon** *The “Orient” as a Geographical Place and a Spiritual-Cultural Domain in the Work of Uri Zvi Grinberg*

AFTERNOON: Section 11 “Modern Jewish Literature”

Chair: Saul Kirschbaum

14:30 – 18:00

- Helena Rimón** *The Quest for Identity in Hebrew Women’s Poetry in the Context of the Myth of the Androgyne*
- John Champagne** *Homosexuality, Fascism, History: Moravia and Bassani*
- Rachel F. Brenner** *Warsaw Polish Writers-Diarists Encountering the Holocaust: The Cases of Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz and Maria Dąbrowska*
- Glenda Abramson** *The Locust Plague in Palestine in 1915*
- Yaniv Hagbi** *Judah L. Palache’s Approach to the History of Hebrew Literature*
- Zelda Newman – Noga Rubin** *The Play’s the Thing: Kadya Molodowsky’s Self-Reflection in A Hoyz Oyf Grend Strit*

Tuesday 27 July
P. Corradini, Aula 5

MORNING: Section 3 “Second Temple Judaism”

Chair: Gabriele Boccaccini

10:15 – 13:30

- Eugeny Eisenberg** *Patriarch Photius and the First Jewish History Written by a Gentile*
Caterina Moro *Fragments of Jewish-Egyptian Interpretation of Hebrew Bible*
Meron M. Piotrkowski *Priestly Judaism in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt: The Oniad Community of Leontopolis*
Dorit Gordon *“Early Anti-Semitism” Stories on their Classical Background: Josephus and “The First Blood Libel in History” (Against Apion, II, 90-124).*
Gaia Lembi *Oriental Versus Greek Tradition: Jewish and Greek Historiography in Josephus’ Contra Apionem*
Albert Baumgarten *Elias Bickerman: The Extraordinary Life of a Historian of the Jews of the Ancient Mediterranean*

AFTERNOON: Section 3 “Second Temple Judaism”

Chair: Albert Baumgarten

14:30 - 16:30

- Gabriele Boccaccini** *Tigranes the Great as Nebuchadnezzar in the Book of Judith*
Tessa Rajak *Philo and the Hebrew Language*
Luiz Felipe Ribeiro *From the Aseret ha-Devarim to the Vitia Principalia: The Transformation of the Torah Oriented Vice Lists in the Jewish Two Ways Document (Didache 1-5; Barnabas 18-20; Doctrina Apostolorum 3-5) into Technologies of the Self*
David Meir Feuchtwanger *Ezra’s Neo Conservative Leadership*

17:00 – 18:00 Section 4 “Jews And Judaism In Late Antiquity”

- Magdalena Maciudzińska** *When Orpheus Sang the Psalms (Tehilim). Jewish Iconography in the Syncretistic Milieu of Late Antiquity*
Andrzej Mrozek *The Image of Jesus in the Talmud, a Contribution to Knowledge of the Judeo-Christian Relations of the Late Antiquity*

Tuesday 27 July
P. Verdi, Aula 1

MORNING: Section 15 “Jewish Philosophy”

Chair: Mauro Zonta

10:15 – 13:30

- Saverio Campanini** *The First Mention of ibn Falaquera in Latin: A Case Study in the Reception of Ancient Philosophy in the Renaissance*
Reinier Munk *Mendelssohn and Kant in Discussion*

Hanoch Ben Pazi	<i>The Importance of Testimony in the Establishment of Tradition: Religion and Ethics in S. D. Luzzatto and Hermann Cohen</i>
Richard Cohen	<i>The Few and the Many: Political Philosophy and Levinas</i>
James A. Diamond	<i>Rabbi Abraham Isaac Kook's Maimonides: A Contemporary Mystic's Subversive Embrace of a Medieval Rationalist</i>
Haim Kreisel	<i>Between Religion and Knowledge: The Medieval Hebrew Encyclopedias</i>

AFTERNOON: Section 15 “Jewish Philosophy”

14:30 – 16:00

Panel “Medieval Science in Jewish Cultures”

Chair: Resianne Fontaine

Ronit Yoeli-Tlalim	<i>References to India in Assaf's Book of Medicine</i>
Frederek Musall	<i>Some Aspects of Al-Ghazālī and Moses Maimonides' Notion of Science: A Cross-Reading</i>
Mauro Zonta	<i>The Study of Aristotle's Physics at the School of Judah Messer Leo (ca.1450-1480) and its Relationship to Contemporary Latin Scholasticism</i>

Tuesday, 27 July

P. Verdi, Aula 2

MORNING: Section 8 “Manuscripts, Codices, and Books”

10:15 – 13:00

Panel “The European Genizah”

Chair: Judith Schlanger

Andreas Lehnardt	<i>“Genizat Germania” – A Research Project on Hebrew Binding Fragments in Germany</i>
Saskia Dönitz	<i>Josephus Torn to Pieces – Fragments of Sefer Yosippon in Genizat Germania</i>
Martha Keil	<i>Medieval Hebrew Fragments in Austrian Libraries – A Trailblazer Project in Europe</i>
Judith Kogel	<i>Talmudic Fragments Discovered in the Colmar Library</i>
Esperança Valls Y Pujol	<i>The Hebrew Historical Documents of Girona: A Necessary Comparison with the Cristian Sources</i>

AFTERNOON: Section 8 “Manuscripts, Codices, and Books”

14:30- 16:30

Panel “The European Genizah”,

Chair: Andreas Lehnardt

Mauro Perani	<i>The Hebrew Original Leasing Deed of Moshe Norsā's Lending Bank to the Jews Gallico and Forti, Mantua December 17, 1517 from the Italian Genizah</i>
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José Ramón Magdalena Nom de Déu *The Hebrew Fragments of the Archives of Gerona Fragmentos: New Data and Future Research.*

Meritzell Blasco Orellana *Los Fragmentos Hebraicos De Gerona: Arxiu Municipal: Estado De La Cuestión.*

Judith Schlanger *A Medieval Account Book from Southern France Discovered in a Binding in the Jagellonian Library in Cracow*

Tuesday, 27 July

P. Verdi, Aula 3

MORNING: Section 6 “Medieval Jewish History”

Chair: David Prebor

10:15 – 11:30

Elinoar Bareket *Poets and Rhymesters as Cultural Heroes in the Jewish Society in the Mediteranean Basin during the Middle Ages*

AFTERNOON: Section 2 “Biblical Literature and Language”

Chair: Susan L. Einbinder

14:00 – 18:30

Michael Terry *Text C Bites the Dust: Another Nail in the Coffin of the Primitive Hebrew Book of Judith*

Ludmila Ginsbursky *The Priestly Picture of Dorian Gray Reconsidered: Defilement of the Temple and Defilement of the Worshippers*

David Prebor *Property Terms in Classical Hebrew – Semantic Developments*

Anna Angelini *Israel and its Neighbours: The Divination between Permission and Prohibition*

Luis Vegas-Montaner *Semantic Relevance of Syndesis and Word Order in the Psalms: A Case Study of Qatal and Yiqtol in Parallelism with Wayyiqtol*

Suzana Chwartz *Israel's Patriarchal Cycle and the Meaning of Sterility*

Alessandra Pecchioli *Semel: An Entry for a Database of the Semantics of Ancient Hebrew*

Tuesday, 27 July

P. Verdi, Aula 4

MORNING: Section 14 “Contemporary Jewish History”

Chair: Martin Goodman

10:15 – 12:00

Michele Sarfatti *Jews in Albania, 1938-1943: From the End of the Albanian Independent Government to the end of the Italian Occupation*

Eleni Kapa-Karasavvidou *Land of Nowhere Land of Everywhere: Folk Songs in the Concentration Camps 1941-1944*

Lisalette Dijkers *Iranian Jews in the Interregnum*

12:00 – 13:30

Panel “Toleration of Variety Within Judaism”

Chair: Martin Goodman

Joseph E. David *Toleration of Deviation in Medieval Halakhah*

Simon Levis Sullam *Toleration in the Ghetto of Venice: A Re-Examination of Leon Modena’s Historia de’ Riti Hebraici (1637)*

Corinna Kaiser *Mapping Spaces of Toleration in Contemporary Judaism*

AFTERNOON: Section 14 “Contemporary Jewish History”

14:30 – 16:30

Panel “The Presence of the She’erit Hapletah in Italy: The Relationship between DPs, Authorities and Public Opinion”

Chair: Arturo Marzano

Cinzia Villani *The Italian Government’s Policy Towards the Arrival of Jewish DPs*

Elena Mazzini *The Italian Public Opinion and the Refugees*

Arturo Marzano *The Camps and Haksharotah in Rome: A Case Study*

Fabrizio Lelli *Written Memories and Oral Memories in the Transit Camps: The Case of Southern Apulia*

Wednesday, 28 July

Aula Magna, P. Congressi

MORNING: Section 10 “Modern Jewish History”

Chair: Julie-Marthe Cohen

10:15 – 12:30

Tomer Levi *The Formation of a Mediterranean Community: The Jews of Beirut, 1860-1939*

Tirtsah Levie Bernfeld *Material Culture and Cultural Change: Dutch Sephardim in Amsterdam’s Golden Age*

James Renton *American Jewry, 1918: The Heart of a Colonial Diaspora?*

Monique Rodrigues Balbuena *Multilingual Portuguese Communities: Reading 17th-Century Records from the Ponentini in Reggio Emilia*

AFTERNOON: Section 10 “Modern Jewish History”

14:30 – 17:30

Panel “The ‘Sephardic Model of Emancipation and Integration’ in Europe in the 19th and 20th Century”

Chair: Arturo Marzano

- Karin Hofmeester** *The ‘Sephardic Model of Emancipation’ and the Political Integration of Jews in the Netherlands in the 19th and 20th Century*
- Veerle Vanden Daelen** *Minority or Sub-Minority? Sephardic Jews in Early Twentieth Century Antwerp*
- Bart Wallet** *Transformation of a Diaspora, the Western Sephardic Diaspora in the Nineteenth Century (1815-1914)*
- Jaap Cohen** *Sephardic, Jewish, or Dutch? The Families Jessurun d’Oliveira and Rodrigues Pereira in Nineteenth-Century Amsterdam as a Case-Study*
- Julie-Marthe Cohen** *The Looting of Ceremonial Objects from Dutch Jewish Synagogues During WWII*

Wednesday, 28 July

P. Corradini, Aula 1

MORNING: Section 13 “Jewish Art”

Chair: Arye Saposnik

10:15 – 12:00

Culture, Craft and Vocation During Wartime

- Kitty Millet** *The Danger of Beauty: Charlotte Salomon and Aesthetic Experience*
- David De Vries** *Diamonds in Wartime Palestine*
- Michael Berkowitz** *The Warburg Institute Presents “British Art and the Mediterranean” (1941): An Episode in the History of Jews and Photography*

AFTERNOON: Section 13 “Jewish Art”

Chair: Michael Berkowitz

14:30 – 16:30

Bridging Times and Cultures.

- Eugeny Kotlyar** *The Jerusalem Temple in Italian Art: A Model for Eastern European Synagogues*
- Sasha Lozanova** *The Jewish Cemetery in Sofia – Past and Present*
- Anna Lebet-Minakowska** *Orthodox Jewish Costume as Manifestation of Jewishness*
- Rudolf Klein** *Genealogy of Main Synagogue Types in Austria-Hungary*

17:00 – 18:30

Art, Schism, Conflict, Collaboration

- Shulamit Laderman** *Elijah: The Prophet of Fire, Fury and Faith – in Art and Aggada*
- Vilma Gradinskaite** *Mark’s Antokolsky’s Bas-Relief: Inquisition Attacks Jews Celebrating Pesach: Inspirers and Followers*
- Eleonora Jedlinska** *Moshe Kupferman (1926-2003): The Painter of Light and Memory*

Wednesday, 28 July

P. Corradini, Aula 2

MORNING: Section 7 “Medieval Jewish Literature”

10:15 – 12:30

Panel “Hebrew Liturgical Poetry between Late Antique Palestine and Byzantine Italy”

Chair: Ophir Münz-Manor

Michael Swartz	<i>Segmentation, Style, and Iconography in Early Piyyut</i>
Laura Lieber	<i>Love and Marriage in Early Piyyut</i>
Ophir Münz-Manor	<i>Wings of Change: Angels in Palestinian and Italian Piyyut</i>
Peter Sh. Lehnardt	<i>The Valor of the One Who Dwells in Firmaments I Shall Elaborate’: Developments in the Rhetoric of the Embodied Proem in the Tradition of Hebrew Liturgical Poetry in Italy</i>

12:30 – 13:30

Michela Andreatta *The Philosopher who Cries and the Philosopher who Laughs: The Adaptation of a Classical Motif in Immanuel Frances’ Humorous Epitaphs*

Aurora Salvatierra Ossorio *Al-Harizi and 12th-13th Century Didactic Literature*

AFTERNOON: Section 7 “Medieval Jewish Literature”

Chair: Peter Sh. Lehnardt

14:30 – 18:00

Nili Shalev	<i>“Passion is Awake While Counsel Sleeps”: Reflections on the Relationship between Passion and Reason in Rhymed Epigrams from Twelfth-Century Provence</i>
Carmen Caballero Navas	<i>Rabbenu Mosheh on Gynaecology. The Circulation in Hebrew of the Sixteenth Chapter of Maimonides’ Medical Aphorisms</i>
Maria Kaspina	<i>The Jewish Versions of a Universal Fairytale about a Maiden in a Tower (AT 310 and AT 930a)</i>
Astrid Lembke	<i>Law and Transgression in the Ma’aseh Yerushalmi</i>
Shaul Regev	<i>Oral and Written Sermons in the Middle Ages</i>
Rella Kushelevsky	<i>Italy as a Cultural Symbol in Ashkenaz: An Inter-Textual Study of a Tale From North France (13th Century): ‘The Three Decrees’</i>

Wednesday, 28 July

P. Corradini, Aula 3

MORNING: Section 16 “Jewish Mysticism, Kabbalah, Magic”

Chair: Alessandro Guetta

10:15 – 13:00

Christian Kabbalah

Yaacob Dweck *Leon Modena, Christian Kabbalah, and Jewish Converts to Christianity*

- Giacomo Corazzol** *A Hebrew-Aramaic Psellus: The Ultimate Source of Pico della Mirandola's Zoroastrian Conclusions*
- Alessia Bellusci** *Shelat Chalom in the Manuscripts of the Cairo Genizah*
- Yoseph Cohen** *What induced Hananel da Foligno to convert to Catholicism, or, New Findings regarding the Influence of Kabbalah Upon 16th Century Italian Jewry.*
- Miguel Antonio Beltrán Munar** *Italian Jewish Philosophers of the Renaissance, Christian Kabbalah, and Herrera's Puerta Del Cielo*

AFTERNOON: Section 16 "Jewish Mysticism, Kabbalah, Magic"

Chair: Saverio Campanini

14:00 – 18:30

Kabbalah And Jewish Mysticism

- Elke Morlok** *Rabbi Nehemia ben Shlomo and His Influence on Hermeneutic Perspectives in Spanish Kabbalah*
- Hartley Lachter** *Rational Science and Esoteric Discourse in 13th Century Spanish Kabbalah*
- Emma Abate** *Magic and Cabbala in Abraham Yagel's*
- Joseph Levi** *Science and Kabbalah in the Early Modern Period: From Elijah Delmedigo's Behinat ha-Dat to Yashar of Candia's Elim and Novlot Hokhmah*
- Ronit Meroz** *An Unknown Version of the Zoharic Sifra de-Zeniuta*
- Annett Martini** *Yosef Gikatilla's Vowel Mysticism as Interpreted by Mordekay Dato*
- Klaus Herrmann** *Throne Images in Judaism. Mystical and Aggadic Traditions about the Throne of God and Salomon as a Mirror of Jewish Life in the Mediterranean Context*
- Natalia Yakimchuk** *The Zoharic Understanding of Evil, Based on Passage 34a-35b, and its Impact on the Sabbatian Antinomianism*

Wednesday, 28 July

P. Corradini, Room 4

MORNING: Section 11 "Modern Jewish Literature"

10:15 – 13:30

Panel "Translation and the Art of the Jewish Book"

Chair: Monique Rodrigues Balbuena

- Yotam Benziman** *The (Un)Translatability of Ethical Concepts*
- Hana Wirth-Nesher** *Translating the Ineffable: The ABC's of Modern Jewish Writing*
- Murray Baumgarten** *Primo Levi: Thinking in German*
- Michal Ginsburg** *Madame Bovary in Jerusalem*
- Na'ama Rokem** *Recreated in Translation: Heine in Hebrew*
- Nancy Harrowitz** *The Midrashic Levi*

AFTERNOON: Section 11 “Modern Jewish Literature”

Chair: Murray Baumgarten

14:30 – 18:30

- Hillel Weiss** *Jaffa in Hebrew Narrative Fiction, from Agnon to Ailon Hilu*
Laura Quercioli Mincer *Paths of Assimilation in Urke-Nachalnik and Sara Nomberg-Przytyk Prison Memoirs*
Maddalena Schiavo *Italian Literature and Eretz Israel*
Michaela Mudure *Virgil Duda and the Jewish-Romanian Identity in the Mediterranean World*
Luisa Banki *The Art of Storytelling: Walter Benjamin on Ibiza*
Manuela Cimeli *The Ambivalent Image of the Iberian Peninsula in the Judeospanish Narrative*
Anna Lissa *Caught in between Two Worlds: The Case of Giacomo Leopardi and Hayyim Nachman Bialik*

Wednesday, 28 July

P. Corradini, Room 5

MORNING: Section 9 “Early Modern History”

Chair: Ruth Von Bernuth

10:15 – 13:30

- Raquel Sanz Barrio** *From Coexistence to Expulsion: Segregationist Measures in the Kingdom of Granada, 1482-1492*
Edward Fram *So what would Rabbi Moses Isserles have written?*
Renée Levine Melammed *Judeo-Converts and Moriscos in 16th Century Spain: A Comparative Study*
Abraham Melamed *From Tyre (Zor) to Venice: A History of a Founding Myth*
Johanna M. Tanja *Targum Samuel in Christian Hands: Alfonso de Zamora, Benito Arias Montano and the Polyglot Bibles*
Federica Francesconi *The “Diabolical” Library of Modena: A Cultural Crossroad between Europe and the Mediterranean in the Early-Modern Period*

AFTERNOON: Section 9 “Early Modern History”

Chair: Abraham Melamed

14:30 – 17:00

- Ruth Von Bernuth** *Fortunatus: Mediterranean Traveler in Early Modern Yiddishland*
Ruth Lamdan *Community and Individual: Letters from Eretz Israel Requesting Aid for Individuals in Distress*
Limor Mintz-Manor *Translating a New World: Jewish Authors and the Discoveries in the West in Sixteenth Century Italy*
Serena Di Nepi *From Italy to Turkey (and back again): The Roman Inquisition and the Jews Travellers in the Mediterranean Area (XVI-XVIII Centuries)*
Israel M. Sandman *Methodological Consciousness and the Scribe of MS JTS-A 2564*

Wednesday, 28 July

P. Verdi, Room 1

MORNING: Section 10 “Modern Jewish History”

10:15 – 12:30

Panel “The Translation of Knowledge: History, Pedagogy and Ideology in Jewish Textbooks”

Chair: Marion Aptroot

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| Louise Hecht | <i>Modern Values – Challenged Mentalities. Jewish Textbooks in the Habsburg Monarchy around 1800: The Teachers’ Perspective</i> |
| Dirk Sadowski | <i>Modern Values – Challenged Mentalities. Jewish Textbooks in the Habsburg Monarchy Around 1800: The Children’s Perspective</i> |
| Simone Lässig | <i>Interpreting “Civil Improvement” and “Educating” Jewish Contemporaries: Reform Sermons as a Means to Teach German Jews about Middle Class Culture</i> |
| Irene Zwiep | <i>The Representation of Dutch National History in Dutch-Jewish Textbooks of the Nineteenth Century</i> |

AFTERNOON: Section 10 “Modern Jewish History”

14:30 – 16:30

Panel “Jewish Genealogy”

Chair: Shlomo Berger

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| Maria Jose Surribas-Camps | <i>Connecting with the Lives and Lineages of Medieval Catalan Jews</i> |
| Federica Francesconi | <i>An Alternative Path Toward Emancipation: Jewish Merchants and Their Cross-Cultural Networks in 18th Century Italian Ghettos</i> |
| Valts Apinis | <i>Jews in Latvia in 1918-1940: A Genealogical Perspective</i> |
| Neville Y. Lamdan | <i>Village Jews in the 19th Century Minsk Gubernya Through a Genealogical Lens</i> |

17:00 – 18:30

Panel “European Jewish Urban Studies”

Chair: François Guesnet

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|------------------------------|---|
| Rachel Heuberger | <i>From Traditional Zedakah to Modern Philanthropy. The Leading Role of Jewish Patrons in Frankfurt Am Main in the 19th Century.</i> |
| Jean-Claude Kuperminc | <i>Paris, Capital of the Jewish Education. The Role of the Ecole Normale Israélite Orientale in Shaping The Modernization of Oriental Jews</i> |
| Zsuzsana Toronyi | <i>Networks in the Synagogue. The Case of Seat-Owners Registry of the Dohany Street Synagogue, Budapest</i> |

Wednesday, 28 July

P. Verdi, Room 2

MORNING: Section 12 “Jewish Languages”

Chair: Eunate Mirones Lozano

10:15 – 13:00

José Martinez Delgado *Hebrew and Judeo-Arabic Lexicography in Al-Andalus (10th-15th Centuries)*

Haïke Beruriah Wiegand *Contemporary Yiddish Poetry: Recent Publications in Italy and Beyond*

Yvette Bürki *Letters to the Editor in Two Judeo-Spanish Journals of Thessaloniki*

Alfonso Carro Esperanza M. *An Anonymous Commentary on the Book of Job, Interspersed with Arabic and Castilian Glosses*

María Angeles Gallego *From the Arabic of the Jews to Judeo-Arabic*

AFTERNOON: Section 12 “Jewish Languages”

Chair: José Martinez Delgado

14:30 – 17:30

Benjamin Hary *Jewish Languages and Migration: On the Linguistic Connection between Religiolects and Migration*

George Jochnowitz *Parallel Developments: Judeo-Italian and Xiao'erjing (Mandarin of Chinese Muslims)*

Rivka Shemesh *The Usage of the Co-Agentive Dative Pronoun in Mishnah and Tosefta*

Eunate Mirones Lozano *Languages Spoken by Jews in Medieval Navarre: Romance, Hebrew, and Basque?*

Rosa Sánchez *The Speech of Modern Sephardic Women as Portrayed in the Theatre and Humorous Dialogues (19th–20th Cen.)*

Dorothea Salzer *Cultural Translation: The Case of German-Jewish Children's Bibles*

Thursday 29 July

P. Congressi, Aula Magna

MORNING: Section 10 “Modern Jewish History”

9:00 – 11:00

Panel “Ashkenazi Daily Life during the 18th Century”

Chair: Irene Zwiep

Shmuel Feiner *Pleasures Among the Jews In Eighteenth-Century Europe and their Secularizing Meaning*

Marion Aptroot *Whist, Knucklebones and Golf: Jewish Pastimes in Yiddish Satires*
Shlomo Berger *On Hobbies in Ashkenazi Society during the Eighteenth Century*

Thursday, 29 July

P. Corradini, Room 1

MORNING: *Section 13 “Jewish Art”*

Chair: Michael Berkowitz

9:00 – 10:00

Style, Substance, Essence?

Luisella Mortara Ottolenghi *Reflections on Research in Jewish Illuminated Manuscripts*

Artur Kamczycki *Theodor Herzl as Urjüdischer Typus. Anthropology and Esthetics in Zionist Argumentations at the Beginning of the 20th Century*

Thursday, 29 July

P. Corradini, Room 2

MORNING: *Section 16 “Jewish Mysticism, Kabbalah Magic”*

Chair: Giacomo Corazzol

9:00 – 10:00

Magic

Ortal-Paz Saar *Love Magic across the Mediterranean: Italy and the Cairo Genizah*
Luca Baraldi *Imagination, Hallucination, Prophecy: The Imaginative Dimension in Jewish Preaching Between 16th and 17th Century*

10:30 – 12:00

Hasidism(s)

Mark Zvi *The Contemporary Renaissance of Breslov Hasidism: Ritual, Tikkun and Messianism*

Susanne Talabardon *Creating a New Identity: The Function of Conversional Stories within Emerging Religious Groups*

Yoram Bilu *Making the Absent Rabbi Present: Iconophilia and Apparitions Among Habad Hasidim in Israel*

Thursday, 29 July

P. Corradini, Room 3

MORNING: *Section 11 “Modern Jewish Literature”*

Chair: Murray Baumgarten

9:00 – 10:30

Panel *“The Ethnographic Eye: Jewish Travellers’ Perspectives on Difference”*

Chair: Murray Baumgarten

Deborah Dash Moore *John Gutmann and Robert Frank Picture America*
Gabriella Moscati Steindler *Rahel Straus the First Woman Physician in Germany Biography*
Judith Goldstein *The Playwright as Ethnographer: Iranian Theater in Israel*

Thursday, 29 July
P. Corradini, Room 4

MORNING: Section 9 “Early Modern History”

9:00 – 11:00

Panel “Baroque Society and Jewish Culture”

Chair: Saverio Campanini

Cristiana Facchini *Jewish Political Narratives and Practices in 17th Century*
Giuseppe Veltri *Principles of Jewish Skeptical Thought. The Case of Simone Luzatto*
Alessandro Guetta *Jewish Translations of the Bible in Early Modern Italy: the Christian Influence*
Gianfranco Miletto *Religion and Knowledge in the Visual Culture at the Time of the Counter-Reformation: The Shilte ha-Gibborim of Abraham Ben David Portaleone*

Thursday, 29 July
P. Corradini, Room 5

MORNING: Section 10 “Modern Jewish History”

9:00 – 10:30

Panel “Moravia. A Desert Country near the Sea (Shakespeare, Winter’s Tale)”

Chair: Louise Hecht

Tamás Visi *Lobele Prostitz and the Shabbatean Movement in Early Eighteenth-Century Moravia*
Louise Hecht *Transfer of Goods: Transfer of Culture the Jewish Tobacco Monopoly in Bohemia and Moravia*
Marie Crhová *Moravská Ostrava as the Epicenter of Jewish Nationalism in Interwar Czechoslovakia*

Thursday, 29 July
P. Verdi, Room 1

MORNING: Section 12 “Jewish Languages”

Chair: Alessandro Catastini

9:00 – 11:00

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| Esther Szuchman | <i>The Hebrew Language: Identification / Identity and its Continuity in the Diaspora</i> |
| Alvina Hovhannisyan | <i>Medieval Hebrew Grammar in the Context of Judeo-Arabic Symbiosis</i> |
| Ronny Vollandt | <i>Capturing Form Versus Meaning: The Typology of Early Judaeo-Arabic Pentateuch Translations</i> |
| Tatevik Harutyunyan | <i>Jewish Languages</i> |

ABSTRACTS

The Authors are listed according to their surname alphabetical order.

Abate, Elisabetta, *The Flying Bird and the Women Who Spin in the Moonlight (mSotah 6:1): Rumours About a Suspected Adulteress or Hints at Divination?*

The Mishnaic Tractate Sotah elaborates on the biblical law of female suspected adultery (Num. 5:11-31). The *incipit* of Ch. 6 presents two bizarre reasons for a husband to divorce his wife without evidence of betrayal. The passage reads:

If a man had warned his wife and she nevertheless went aside in secret, if he but heard thereof from a flying bird he may put her away and give her the Ketubah. So R. Eliezer. R. Joshua says: [He may do not so] until the women that spin their yarn by moonlight gossip about her. (Translation: DANBY H., 1933).

The reference to a flying bird in this passage is generally read by scholars as a metaphor for an anonymous testimony about the adultery having taken place. Some authors connect it with the modern idiom “A little bird told me”. The activity of women spinning by moonlight is understood as referring to incessant industriousness within female traditional work.

It has been noticed that the ordeal of the *sotah* resembles a form of divination or magic. Accordingly, and given that rabbinic literature is a source for the study of Jewish magical tradition in late antiquity, I suggest that the passage could be seen as a hint at divination about the adultery through the interpretation of the cries of birds and through mantic practices carried out by women. In order to check my hypothesis I will analyze, in classical rabbinic sources, both the occurrences of the aforesaid expressions (with their variants) and the references to *omina*, moonlight, female (communal) activities, the night.

The motif of a bird revealing to a husband that his wife is unfaithful appears also in the Iberian area in the Middle Ages and in the Renaissance. I will examine the extant Motif-Indexes of Mediterranean folklore in order to map its occurrences.

Abate, Emma, *Magic and Cabbala in Abraham Yagel's Moshia' chosim*

My proposal regards *Moshia' chosim*, a small work regarding the treatment of the plague symptoms ascribed to the physician, cabalist and magician Abraham Yagel. It can be considered among the several treatises composed on this subject between the 16th and 17th centuries, whose common trait was the lack of understanding of the real causes of the disease and the proposal of inefficacious therapies to treat it. Yagel's composition deserves special attention due to its contents and background. It belongs to the North-Italian Jewish tradition characterised by a cultural innovation and creativity which is to be linked to the spread of cabalistic thought and to the relationship of its protagonists with the Renaissance.

As noted in the title page of the sixteenth-century edition, *Moshia' chosim* frame includes a *recueil* of *Terafot*. The author's intention is to point out his “scientific” (according to post-Galenic medicine) approach, distinguishing the contents from the occasional production of *Segullot*. As for the method, the words in the title page hint to a secret learning, *Be-sod ha-sheloshah 'olamot*. The reference is to Neo-Platonist and Hermetic viewpoints about the tri-partition of the world (subdivided into “terrestrial”, “astral” and “divine”) and to the conception of a magic power, inherent in mankind, al-

lowing the control of the laws ruling the universe. This perspective reached its extreme peak in Cornelio Agrippa's *De Occulta Philosophia*. Magic is here considered a scientific depositary of a knowledge able to condition the forces circulating through creation's levels. The convergence of Hebrew culture with the Renaissance can be ascribed to the contacts between the Neo-Platonist view and cabalistic theurgy. These theories coexist in Yagel's ideological and conceptual store and appear in Moshia' chosim: it is my purpose to present features of this work as consistent with the development of Hebrew magic and practical cabala.

Abramson, Glenda, *The Locust Plague in Palestine in 1915*

In 1915 while the First World War was ravaging Palestine, it suffered yet another blow: a devastating series of locust plagues which decimated the crops and the orchards and brought even greater suffering to the *yishuv* and all its inhabitants. The phenomenon was widely reported in the local press and appears in memoirs and diaries of the time. Fiction writers also incorporated the plague into their novels and stories, describing their experience of it in detail and also using it as a metaphor through which to discuss local politics and the process of the war. This paper will examine some of these texts to see the way in which the plague was reported by journalists, religious groups, diarists and fiction writers. This will provide an insight into the way in which the plague was both rationalized and allegorized by the various Jewish groups that constituted the *yishuv*.

Adelstein, Rachel, *Joining The Stream: Holocaust-Related Music as a Monument of Sacred Time*

In the act of constructing memorials to the Holocaust, the commandment "Never Again" is paramount. "Never again" demands that Jews keep the horrors of the Holocaust alive in common memory so that they will remain vigilant about potential future repetitions of that event. It has inspired a continual output of art, whether visual, literary, or performance-based. It compels an artist to capture the audience's interest and imagination, to engage and confront the audience with the absence of the murdered millions. Performing art, especially music and dance, reaches out actively to the audience, engaging them in real time in order to evoke an immediate, personal reaction, as if to the loss of someone the audience member knew personally.

In this paper, I explore the different ways in which visual and performance art manipulate the audience's sense of time and presence.

I also address the emotional effect of music's immediacy and presence in the context of the Jewish sense of the sacred. I use examples from literature, art exhibits, recordings and fieldwork to demonstrate the methods by which memorial performances seek to perpetuate the memory of the Holocaust by involving audience members personally in the narrative constructed by the performance. In this way, the audience becomes a participant, not only in the Holocaust memorial itself, but in the greater narrative of the Holocaust, creating a monument not of stone and bronze, but of time and living memory.

Alexander, Philip S., *On the Value or Lack of it of Ancient Genre Labels*

The importance of genre for the reading of texts is generally acknowledged: how one

classifies a text conditions one's expectations of it and determines how one interprets it. Attempts were made in late antiquity to codify these expectations by creating labels for certain types of literature both on a large and a small scale. This paper will survey this process both in the Jewish and Greek worlds, and evaluate how far these labels are efficient and accurate descriptions of the literary phenomena they purport to describe, and hence how far they can be used to guide present-day reading of ancient literature. It will argue that we cannot simply extrapolate directly from the labels to the texts, because they often prove to be inadequate and even misleading descriptions of what is actually going on. Ancient rhetorical theory should, therefore, never be used to short-circuit inductive analysis of the texts themselves. On the other hand it cannot be totally ignored because through education it helped define the proper way to do things, and so could influence how texts were composed.

Alexander, Tamar, *The Presentation of Jewish Salonika in Postcards*

The aim of this paper is to examine the ways that the Jewish community of Salonika was presented in postcards. The study is based on an analysis of two collections of postcards that were produced from the end of the nineteenth century to the close of the World War I. This was the "golden age" of postcards in all of Europe, when they became part of the mass media and a target of enthusiastic collectors, crossing social boundaries. Of the two collections under discussion, one was edited by Costis Copsidas and the other by Yannis Megas, both of them from Salonika.

We will analyze the structure of the collections to discern the editors' selection principles to see how they chose to represent Jewish Salonika: daily life reflected in the postcards, the community leaders and its rabbis, artisans, Jewish types, dress, houses, streets, and historical events. Do the collections display political or social tendencies?

We will also discuss the art of the photography of these collections, the angles and perspectives chosen to represent the community.

The complex and dynamic reality of Jewish life in the period under review is reduced here to a series of separate units that can be easily transmitted and consumed.

Alfonso Carro, Maria Esperanza, *An Anonymous Commentary on the Book of Job, Interspersed with Arabic and Castilian Glosses*

This paper intends to bring under close scrutiny a commentary on the Book of Job, one included in an anonymous manuscript held at the Bodleian Library in Oxford. The manuscript, a 177 ff. codex, written in a semi-cursive script on pre-watermarked occidental paper and sheets of parchment, was probably produced in Castile in the second half of the thirteenth century. Striking among its features is the remarkably high number of Castilian and, to a lesser extent, Arabic glosses that the text displays. While the manuscript gathers commentaries on various books of the Bible, it is only the books of Job and Song of Songs which are expounded in their entirety. This paper will focus on the former by tracing its source and taking issue with its exegetical style. Moreover, it will also take this text as a vantage point to address broader questions, regarding 1) the knowledge of Hebrew, Arabic and Castilian among the Jewish community settled in the kingdom of Castile at a time of demographic relocation between Islamic and Christian lands, and 2) the relationship between the content of this anonymous commentary and that of other contemporary work by Castilian Jewish exegetes.

Andreatta, Michela, *The Philosopher Who Cries and the Philosopher Who Laughs: The Adaptation of a Classical Motif in Immanuel Frances' Humorous Epitaphs*

The ancient Greek philosophers Heraclitus and Democritus were represented in classical tradition as distinguished by two opposite attributes, i.e. respectively weeping for the first and laughter for the latter. From Greek and Latin sources the motif passed to Renaissance literature and eventually reached its widest popularity in the baroque. In this period it penetrated also into Hebrew literature, as testified by the works of Immanuel Frances (Leghorn 1618 – Leghorn or Florence c. 1710), who, along with his elder brother Yaakov, was one of the most prominent poets of the age. Frances immortalized Heraclitus and Democritus in two humorous epitaphs in verse, apparently simply meant to satirize the contrasting attitudes emblematically embodied by the philosophers, i.e. foolish laughter and perennial whining, but that actually can be fully understood only in the wider context of surrounding cultural trends. The paper is meant to present the two texts and discuss them as the accomplished product (in Hebrew) of baroque culture, by exploring Frances' acquaintance with some of the most fashionable literary practices of the time – like poetic epitaph writing – as well as with contemporary works of Italian poetry and the visual arts.

Angelini, Anna, *Israel and its neighbours: the divination between permission and prohibition*

The Israelite legal corpora contain prohibitions of many forms of divination. These interdictions are corroborated by the warnings of the major biblical prophets; however, the Bible contains many episodes where some specific way for knowing the future is permitted and sometimes encouraged. Thus we have a sort of contradiction that concerns the distinction between prophecy and divination and the definition of the true prophet.

SUBJECT MATTER

My paper will focus on the analysis of a specific kind of divination, i.e. *rhabdomancy*. The explicit prohibition in this regard is formulated by the prophet Hosea (*Hos* 4.12), but elsewhere we come across many rods having a magic function or performing some divinatory act (e.g. *Ex* 4.17; *Nu* 17.16-28; *Jer* 1.11-12).

THESIS

The study of the sources reveals a double attitude in the Bible: it forbids in a manifest way divinatory practices as a form of idolatry, by attributing them to foreign people. But the Bible itself can accept some forms of magic and divination by making them approved, if they are traceable to the supreme and unquestionable authority of God. I will argue that we are not in front of a conflict between a “holy” Israel and its Heathen neighbours; rather it concerns complex strata of religious beliefs inside Israelite society, where monotheism was interrelated with the substrate of previous forms of cult. The problem of divination also displays the tension between the necessity to conform to the official rules of cult and the persistence of popular religious practices. This research throws light on the definition of the officers of the cult, who distinguish themselves from the chaotic background of magicians, wizards, and prophets by a progressive differentiation of functions, which culminates in their ability to speak directly to God, without intermediaries.

Antonucci, Silvia Haia, *The Activities of the DELASEM in the Documents of the Historical Archives of the Jewish Community of Rome*

During World War Two many Jews from Northern Europe came to Italy hoping to find a rescue from the Nazis and to save their lives. The situation in Italy was less dramatic than in the North of Europe, but, still, the Fascist regime passed the Racial Laws and the Jews lost all their civil rights (1938). Besides, mainly during the Nazi occupation of Italy, they had to be hidden somewhere to escape deportation and many of them needed everything to survive. The DELASEM (Assistance Delegation Emigrates) worked underground trying to help all the Jews who needed money, dresses, shoes, medical care, news about members of the family, and so on. In the Historical Archives of the Jewish Community of Rome are kept some unpublished documents which were found during the recent rearrangement of the material, which add new elements to the history of the Jews in Italy. These documents are also important because most of them tell personal stories of normal people which help the reader to understand better how terrible the atmosphere of that period was. This research adds an important wedge to the reconstruction of the history of Italy, which is a very important country from the point of view of culture and democracy in the Mediterranean context.

Apinis, Valts, *Jews in Latvia in 1918-1940: a genealogical perspective*

After an historical overview, the presentation discusses the possibilities and genealogical potential of identifying all the members of Latvian Jewish community, based principally in Riga, during the period 1918-1940.

The Jewish population in Latvia peaked in 1897 when, according to the Russian Census, it stood at 142,315 (7.4%). By 1935-37, it had diminished to 93,479 Jews, who maintained more than 100 synagogues and prayer houses, 73 schools and many other organizations. On 17 June 1940, Soviet troops entered Latvia and liquidation of the Jewish community began forthwith, with arrests of leaders and mass deportations to Siberia. On 8 July 1941, German troops invaded the entire territory of Latvia. Thereafter approximately 84% of Latvian Jews perished in the Holocaust.

In order to determine the names and fates of Latvian Jews in 1941-1945, a database <http://names.lu.lv/> was created listing 93,400 members of the Jewish community on the eve of World War II. It is based primarily on the 1935 Census and finds support and corroboration in a wide range of pre-war archival sources and materials in Latvia and abroad, including residents lists of 1939-1940, passports, business records and directories, as well as birth, marriage and death records from 1935-1941.

With a view to greatly enhancing the identification of pre-war Latvian Jews, special use is now being made of the House Register Books for Riga. The Latvian Historical Archive retains these books, which together comprise more than 16,000 records for the years 1918-1944. This highly valuable source contains extensive and unique data about persons living in Riga, independent of their place of birth.

The work, currently in progress, aims at producing a comprehensive picture of the numbers, movements and social structure of the Jewish population. The present paper will conclude by examining the considerable genealogical potential of this new resource, once completed.

Aptroot, Marion, *Whist, knucklebones and golf: 'Jewish' pastimes in Yiddish satires*

Among the Yiddish works that have come down to us from the Netherlands, mainly from seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Amsterdam, we find a number of satirical writings or satirical passages that take issue with the way Jews lead their lives. These printed works and manuscripts represent different genres, e.g. Purim plays, *yontev-bletlekh*, letter-writing manuals and polemical brochures. Best known among the latter are the *Diskursn fun di naye un di alte kehile*, pamphlets written in support of two rival communities in Amsterdam which appeared weekly in 1797-98.

These satires and satirical passages were written for a local audience and refer to contemporary, local customs as well as breaches of these customs. They offer views of Jewish life which in some cases may have been intended as realistic descriptions of the status quo, but often the scenes described may provide embellished and exaggerated accounts for humorous or polemical purposes. The aspects of Jewish life treated in these works are not only drawn from religious and commercial life, they also comprise a number of pastimes. These pastimes can be such well known from other Jewish contexts, e.g. playing cards at Hanukkah and performing plays at Purim. However, we also find pastimes popular in wider society, such as playing ball games, attending the theatre, opera, concerts and lectures on arts and sciences, frequenting clubs and dance halls, and – when the conditions are right – ice skating.

This paper will offer a listing and classification of these pastimes and an analysis of their use in satires and polemics, e.g. whether they are mentioned in order to paint a realistic tableau as a backdrop or argument for polemical attacks, or whether they are figments of the imagination or grossly exaggerated to insinuate deviation from religious observance and the accepted norms of proper behaviour. The problems encountered when interpreting the texts as to their veracity and intent will be a central issue in the paper.

Aron-Beller, Katherine, *The Papal Inquisition in Modena: Jews and the Hiring of Christian Servants*

There are more *processi* in the archives of the Roman Inquisition in Modena against Jews for hiring Christian servants than for any other breach of ecclesiastical regulations between 1598, the year the Inquisition was established and 1638 when the Jews were ghettoized. It was an offence that alarmed Inquisitors, implying intimate contact between a Jewish master and a subservient Christian hidden behind closed doors, in the private space of a Jewish household, and as such representing an unknown level of promiscuity. Moreover when Christian servants entered Jewish households they became exposed to the Jewish family's daily routine and the real risk of apostasy, or so the Inquisitors believed. These *processi* bear witness to the frequency of Christian servants and wet-nurses working in Jewish households in this period.

At the same time, the relationship between a Christian wet-nurse or servant and her Jewish master in seventeenth-century Modena constitutes an important motif for the historian. Primary issues include the alleged violations of canon law, the formal characteristics of the *processi* and the specific form of daily interaction between Jew and Christian within the Jewish household. Jews had to deal with the same commonplace concerns as their Christian counterparts ensuring that their babies were sufficiently nourished with breast milk (there was no alternative at this time), they had hot food to

eat on their Sabbath, and their houses were kept clean. What then were the duties of the Christian wet-nurse or servant within the Jewish household? What was the level of contact? What can be learned about contracts between Jewish master and Christian servant? Interaction between Jews and Christians in the intimate, private space of a household, where others may not enter without permission, is central to this study.

Astren, Fred, *Jews And The 'New' Mediterranean Studies, Sixth-Tenth Centuries*

The “new Mediterranean studies” that has emerged in the wake of Horden and Purcell’s *The Corrupting Sea* (2000) and the responses it has elicited (for example, Harris, *Rethinking the Mediterranean*, 2005) presents opportunities and challenges for the study of medieval Jewish history. Since the label “Mediterranean” is sometimes more a characterization than a well-considered category of inquiry, it must be interrogated with rigor. In so doing, we can ask anew whether Jews are part of or apart from what Goitein called a “Mediterranean society”.

Early medieval Jewish history has most often been framed using national histories of the dominant cultures in which Jews lived. Scholars have tended to focus with circumscription on Jews in Visigothic Spain, the Byzantine Empire, or the Islamic caliphate, among others. This paper will argue that new interpretive models of early medieval Jewish history emerge when national histories are considered in terms of connectivity mediated through Mediterranean exchange.

Whereas “connectivity” and “exchange” are usually associated with commerce and economic history, their appropriation for the study of religion points to a geographical and cultural Mediterranean that constitutes a religious arena and political condominium in which the category “Jew” can refer to real Jews but also functions in theoretical discourses shared across regions and among religious points of view. For example, by following the circum-Mediterranean arc of advance of the early medieval Muslim conquests, one observes that national histories come together in both obvious and subtle ways that engage exchanged ideas of the Jew in order to explain political and religious change.

Following Horden and Purcell, historiographical problems associated with Jews and the Muslim conquests can be used to consider the history of the Mediterranean and not merely the history of Jews in the Mediterranean. Jewish history can provide test cases for the “new Mediterranean studies”.

Atkinson, Kenneth, *Pompey the Great in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Jewish Texts: How the Romans Used Religion to Conquer Jerusalem in 63 B.C.E.*

Pompey’s 63 B.C.E. conquest of Jerusalem ended nearly eighty years of independent Jewish rule under the Hasmonean kings. The classical sources preserve little information about Pompey’s actual siege of the city and its aftermath. A number of neglected Jewish works not only document this period, but they suggest that Pompey exploited Jewish religious disputes to help him conquer Jerusalem. These texts also reveal that the Romans devoted considerable manpower in the years following 63 B.C.E. to put down renewed rebellions. In addition, they provide evidence for previously unknown massacres of Jews in Palestine by M. Aemilius Scaurus. This presentation explores the light these Jewish sources shed on this pivotal period of history when the Romans captured Jerusalem.

The first section summarizes the events of this time as documented in Greek and Latin sources.

The second portion explores the *Psalms of Solomon*, which is a collection of Jewish poems that recount Pompey's siege of Jerusalem, his occupation of the city, and his assassination in Egypt. The third part examines several Dead Sea Scrolls that also document these events, and which provide new insight into Pompey's military strategy. These texts, which were likely written by eyewitnesses to the Roman conquest of Jerusalem, suggest that Pompey's decision to send Scaurus to Palestine in 65 B.C.E. was timed to take advantage of a Jewish holiday that had precipitated a famine.

Scaurus, moreover, arrived at a moment in Palestine's history when Jewish religious disputes had divided the country, and weakened its military. He and Pompey used their knowledge of Judaism to exploit these religious differences between its two warring brothers, Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II, to capture Jerusalem. This presentation will also suggest that Pompey altered his military strategy after he arrived in Palestine to take advantage of these Jewish disputes when he besieged Jerusalem.

Attia, Elodie, *Copies of printed books in sixteenth-century Italian Hebrew manuscripts*

The copying of Hebrew printed books, among Hebrew Italian manuscripts from the end of the 15th or from the beginning of the 16th century, is a rare phenomenon that has never been described. Nevertheless, this phenomenon appears quite a common practice according to studies that have been done on Latin manuscript sources of the Renaissance period. On the grounds of our knowledge of private manuscripts copied by the scholar Raphael Salomon ben Jacob ha-Cohen da Prato, active in Ferrara, Bologna and Pisa between 1515 and 1541, we can put forward that at least one third of the texts copied by this scholar are taken from printed sources.

They are in many cases *editiones principes* from the beginning of the 16th century, mainly from Constantinople and Italy. In this paper, I intend to present the general features of these copies of printed books found in Raphael da Prato's manuscripts and some hypotheses to explain this phenomenon in the context of sixteenth-century Hebrew manuscripts.

Atzmon, Arnon, *"One Event for the Righteous and the Wicked": Form and Content in Aggadic Midrashim*

One of the central research themes which has been prominent in the study of rabbinic aggadic thought and literature is the relationship between the aggadah's content and external form. This relationship manifests itself in a reciprocal connection between the narrative content and the literary context and form in which it is found.

In this lecture,

I shall explore these reciprocal relationships in an examination of the conceptual motif of "One event for the righteous and the wicked" (based on Ecclesiastes 9:2). This conceptual motif appears in a number of compositions in rabbinic literature, in various literary homiletic forms. I will compare the different versions of these *derashot* as they appear in Leviticus Rabbah (Chapter 20, piska 1), Deuteronomy Rabbah (Ve-*et'chanan*) and in the Babylonian Talmud (Shabbat 55b). I will demonstrate how the conceptual message changes based on the literary form in which it appears.

Avioz, Michael, *The Character of Jonathan in Josephus' Antiquities*

In this paper I would like to analyze Josephus' rewriting of the biblical narrative about Jonathan, son of Saul (1 Samuel 13-14; 17-23; 31 // Ant. 95-130; 205-212; 235-252; 368-378). I will compare the biblical narrative to Josephus' rewriting, trying to understand what changes he inserted into the biblical text. Did these changes stem from a different *vorlage* or from exegetical reasons? Can these changes be explained as stemming from an apologetic view of Josephus? As I have done in my earlier studies on Josephus' rewriting of the Bible, I intend to use literary studies made on Jonathan and collate them with Josephus' alterations.

Banki, Luisa, *The art of storytelling – Walter Benjamin on Ibiza*

In 1932 and 1933 German philosopher and writer Walter Benjamin undertook two extended visits to the Balearic island of Ibiza. The professed aim of this visit was not only to escape Nazi Germany and better his economical situation but also to experiment with, to explore and expound the question “why the art of storytelling seems to have come to an end”. This paper proposes to investigate both Benjamin's experiences on Ibiza, his reflections on the Mediterranean way of life and the form which these musings are given. His “Ibizan diary” (*Spain 1932*) as well as his “Ibizan Sequence” were meant to differ from both conventional forms of travelogues and stories. Benjamin's aim, his “travel technique”, was to forego the epical and vague impressions and instead collect facts and stories.

In this newly defined genre of the travel diary (as in the other writings of this period) all is oriented towards a clash, in which the real and the fictitious, the concrete and the abstract, the immediate perception and detailed analysis meet and merge. The pieces of the “Ibizan Sequence” are permeated by a philosophical way of thinking that unfolds whenever an autobiographical detail, an object or a dream is to be illuminated. The island of Ibiza figures in all of these reflections as the present space of thought allowing for this method and enabling Benjamin to continually approach his current place of residence without succumbing to “travel impressions and syntheses”. He attempts to capture what appears in the very moment, in which traveller and place meet, that is: he aims to capture the core of a journey – a journey, however, that can have only one temporal orientation: towards the past. In this, Benjamin's Ibizan writings essentially pose – and offer answers – to two questions: What is the relation of the diary to literary discourse? And, how does it relate to memory?

Baraldi, Luca, *Imagination, Hallucination, Prophecy: the Imaginative Dimension in Jewish Preaching in the 16th and 17th Centuries*

The Italian *kabbalah*, heterogeneous and complicated in its origins and productive forms, represents the scenery where Mordekhay Dato grew and built up his intellectual profile. Dato, who had been a direct disciple of Mošeh Cordovero, took back from Galilee to Italy the religious sensibility which characterized the first period of Safedic speculation. It revolutionized the entire configuration of the relation man-Creation and man-God, and every single individual raised himself to a higher dignity, as one responsible for the cosmic equilibrium.

Every man, every woman or child – among the people of the Covenant – has to be considered as the middle of the world, and every single action assumes a significance that cannot be disregarded in arranging the conditions for the coming of the Messiah. In the light of this awareness, *kabbalah* and the connected abilities – practical, operative or spiritual ones – have to become easily comprehensible for the whole Jewish community. The initiatory nature and the vertical transmission of the cabbalistic teaching have to be questioned, because the cryptic communicative form of the *kabbalah* would become an obstacle to the development of a participating and active community. A deep reformulation of traditional preaching is perceived as necessary, to put down the bases of a new kind of cabbalistic transmission.

Language and images, if used in a conscious way, could establish an efficacious interface between a simple perceptive dimension and the articulated mystical aspects. The pre-existence of a poor imaginative set is the starting point of the preacher, who has nothing else but a reduced palette, and who might create variety through combinations, to find again the lost shapes, and to communicate cabbalistic secrets through everyday images and colours.

Bareket, Elinoar, *Poets and Rhymesters as Cultural Heroes in Jewish Society in the Mediterranean Basin during the Middle Ages*

This research aims to check the assumption that the cultural icons of Jewish communities in Islamic countries, in the Mediterranean Basin during the early Middle-Ages, were Jewish poets, or at least rhyming experts and poetry “technicians”. Through vast study of Genizah documents, for the purpose of outlining the shape of the leadership of Jewish communities in these Islamic countries, I realized that all leaders whose portraits I have studied, out of hundreds of letters and documents, were poem writers. Some of them were real poets, who created poems and liturgies of rare poetic qualities, and some were mere “technicians” who joined rhymes according to accepted rules of their time. By looking at those “technicians” poems, it seems that the writing has cost them a considerable mental effort, and yet they continued with the poem writing. The assumption is that in order to become a role model or a cultural hero, as we call it today, the leaders had to write poems and use them as a means for political and social advancement.

Baumgarten, Albert, *Elias Bickerman – The Extraordinary Life of a Historian of the Jews of the Ancient Mediterranean*

This paper on Elias Bickerman (1897-1981) – one of the foremost historians of Graeco-Roman antiquity active in the twentieth century – focuses on his role as a historian of the Jews in the ancient Mediterranean context. Bickerman had an extraordinary life. He was born in Kishinev and grew up in St. Petersburg. He arrived in Berlin in 1922, where he pursued an academic career (Doctorate, 1926; Habilitation, 1930). With the rise of the Nazis, he moved to Paris in 1933, then to the USA in 1942. He died in Tel Aviv and was buried in Jerusalem.

The paper will stress the various ways in which Bickerman’s life experience contributed to his becoming an outstanding historian of the Jews in the ancient Mediterranean world. It emphasizes the intellectual and academic benefit Bickerman derived from the trials and tribulations of his life as a Jew in the twentieth century.

Baumgarten, Murray B., *Primo Levi: Thinking in German*

His knowledge of German helped Primo Levi survive Auschwitz. That part of his experience has often been commented on. His study of chemistry, then a scientific discipline conducted in German, provided him with the fundamental building blocks of the language, that were augmented by personal interest and experience. Many of the key moments in his memoir of Auschwitz, *Se questo è un uomo*, turn on German phrases, including his initiation into the life of the Lager. Thirsty, Primo Levi reaches for an icicle, only to have it snatched away by a guard. “Warum,” he asks, only to be answered, “Hier ist kein Warum.” The German phrase echoes throughout the account. Another phrase, on which I want to focus my discussion, comes in *Il sistema periodico*, when Primo Levi thinks about his supervisor in the Buna Chemistry laboratory, Dr Mueller. That thought melds his memories of the other German scientist with whom he has interacted, Dr Pannwitz. Primo notes, “At that time I was thinking in German.” My talk will explore the resonance of that phrase for his writing, in the context of the many languages Primo refers to, analyzes, and comments on.

Bekkum, Wout Jac van - Katsumata, Naoya, *Dictionary of Piyyut, the preliminary presentation of an online database*

During the previous EAJIS conference in Moscow in 2006, we announced our intention to compile and publish a dictionary of Piyyut or medieval Hebrew liturgical poetry. Our project aims to provide international readers who are interested in Hebrew and Jewish studies with an academic tool for understanding and enjoying the beauty and richness of the piyyutic language. Although the research of Piyyut is still considered rather marginal in Jewish studies, we believe that it warrants a deeper study, including that at an international level. This belief stems from the fact that piyyutic texts contain not only ideas and beliefs pertaining to the inner circles of the Jewish religion, but also abundant literary expressions that are born of the frequent cultural interactions between the Jewish people and their neighbours, such as Christians and Muslims. Our dictionary will not necessarily be a lexicographical one in the strict sense of the word, but rather a text dictionary, which will include characteristic piyyutic words accompanied by lines from distinguished liturgical poets as vivid examples as well as the English translation of these lines; this would ensure that a variety of nuances and connotations of the given piyyutic words are presented to the readers. Following M. Zulay’s method of describing piyyutic words in his important studies, we also pay attention to the chronological aspect of the given piyyutic words and the originality of each liturgical poet in his use of these words in different periods and in different regions throughout the history of Piyyut. In our previous lecture in Moscow in 2006, we presented some basic methodological ideas for the dictionary; in our forthcoming lecture in Ravenna in 2010, we will make a preliminary presentation of our dictionary by providing the audience with examples of some of the entries that are currently in the process of being added to our online database.

Beltrán Munar, Miguel Antonio, *Italian Jewish Philosophers of the Renaissance, Christian Kabbalah, and Herrera’s Puerta del Cielo*

The aim of the paper is to clarify the ways in which Herrera’s Puerta del Cielo repre-

sents a continuation of early modern philosophical syncretism, that had its keystone in the fifteenth-century works written by Renaissance Jewish philosophers like Leone Ebreo, and also in Christian kabbalists like Marsilio Ficino or Pico Della Mirandola, and those of counter-reformation humanists, like Francesco Patrizi, whose texts had an strong influence also on Herrera's literary style. We will also try to prove that Herrera carefully selected what he adopted and appropriated from humanist practice and values, considering that the tendency to force Kabbalah into the Neoplatonic World of the Italian Renaissance consisted in great measure of the superimposition of certain intellectual and conceptual innovations upon ideas of Jewish origin.

The great amount of Neoplatonic literature that was available to Herrera allowed him to write in the esoteric tradition of the Geronese centre and R. Isaac ibn Latif, but incorporating Neoplatonic concepts introduced by Leone Ebreo in his casting of Kabbalah into a philosophical mold. Even if Herrera received the main Iurianic teachings directly from Israel Sarug in Italy, his own Works present a philosophical interpretation of the mythical Kabbalah, and he used Renaissance Neoplatonism in order to transform it into a speculative system, introducing an array of Italian Neoplatonic authors and titles.

Bemporad, Elissa, *Revolution in Pink: Roles and Images of Jewish Women in Interwar Soviet Russia*

The ways in which Jewish women confronted the Soviet experiment remain largely unknown to historians of East European Jewry. This under-studied topic finds no reference in the authoritative collection of essays edited by Judith Baskin, *Jewish Women in Historical Perspective*, nor does it appear in the most recent volume of *Polin*, devoted to Jewish women in Eastern Europe. This paper represents a first attempt to recreate the composite picture of Jewish women's lives under the Soviets, from the early 1920s to the late 1930s.

The first section of the paper examines the evolution of the role played by women *qua* members of the Jewish national minority group. The establishment of the Bolshevik regime changed the lives of Jewish women, allegedly liberating them from the perception of gender typical of the Jewish tradition. Considering women as "agents of Revolution", this section will ask the following questions: How did Jewish women adapt to the new system and relate to the Party? How did their status change within the family? What was the impact of the Revolution on their relationship to Judaism? Did the Revolution produce a new Soviet Jewish woman?

The second section of the paper deals with the different ways in which Jewish political activists - both male and female *evsekes* - viewed the new Soviet Jewish woman. The images of women that emerge from the pages of the Soviet Yiddish press and literature are often conflicting. On the one hand, women are identified as a backward and counter-revolutionary force in the Jewish family, and are accused of corrupting their husbands and children by forcing them into accepting anti-Soviet Jewish rituals, such as circumcision or religious weddings. On the other hand, they are depicted as the pioneers of the Cultural Revolution on the Jewish street.

By studying Soviet Jewish women both as agents and "imagined subjects," this paper incorporates them, for the first time, into the narrative of the East European Jewish past.

Ben Artzey Schieber, Nava, *The relation to the 'other' as a question of survival: a psychoanalytic perspective*

R. Salim al-Sabazi (1679) is a central figure among the Yemen poets. He presented the shift from a Lower Yemeni tradition of mystical poetry to a sacred text that shaped and sustained the identity of Jews across Yemen after the 'Mawza Exile' ('*galut mawza*') in 1679 -1680 (Wagner, 2006).

Most existing research on Sabazian poetry focuses on the literary (Ideldohn, 1919; Ratzhaby, 1965; Wagner, 2007), linguistic (Tobi, 1987; Ratzhaby, 1973) and mystical (Idelson, 1931) aspects.

The current study suggests investigating the attitude towards 'the other' as reflected in Al-Sabazi's 'Mawza Exile' poems from a psychoanalytic perspective: 'object relations' theory (Klein, 1935, 1945). The theory describes two main 'positions', named 'paranoid - schizoid' and 'depressive'. The positions are a universal organization experience in relation to real others in the environment and one internalized image of others – referred to as "object" (Mitchell and Black, 1995).

Each of the positions has a psychological defence mechanism. Splitting is the defence mechanism of the 'paranoid – schizoid' position. It is used to split between 'good' and 'bad' aspects of the object so that the object is conceived as exaggeratedly 'good' or exaggeratedly 'bad'. That is to say the relationship to the other is fragmental, having only one side.

In Al-Sabazi's 'Mawza Exile' poems, one can notice splitting in relation to the other. The Muslims are illustrated as 'sinners' who concentrate on insignificant issues – nonsense, absurdity and pandering, while the description of Jews is completely positive.

This split pattern resembles the splitting in Al-Sabazi's self/personality as illustrated in the 'psych' poems ('*shirey hanefesh*'). In the poems *Shuvi klilat Hod* and *Shdud Homer Ani B'keasi* there is an inner conflict between the desire to create comfort which is materialistic ('*gashmey*') and religious demands which are spiritual ('*ruchani*').

This comparison raises an alternative explanation about the relation to the other.

The attitude to the Muslims is a reflection of internal split that exists in the poet's self/personality. This does not mean that the relation to Muslims is the exclusive consequence of internal motivation. On the contrary, I argue that the relation to the other is an interaction/integration of outer and inner threats. The splitting mechanism is the best strategy to survive, whether the threats are in the environment or in the self. In the seventeenth century the Yemen Jews lived under a continuing threat against their religious and physical existence. The source of threats within the personality is the frightening phantasies of annihilation that character the 'paranoid schizoid' position (Bott - Spillius, 1992).

The current study suggests theoretical and methodological innovation. First, it suggests a new conceptualization of the relation to the other as interaction between psych inner dynamic process and environmental/social religious process. This attitude emphasizes the psychological aspects that were rather suppressed. Secondly, most of the research explains the relation to the other as a function of identity. Following the 'object relation' theory, a relation to the other is derived from survival challenge. From a development point of view, survival is prior to identity. Using a psychoanalytic theory as methodological interpretation is a new attitude in this area.

Ben Pazi, Hanoch, *The Importance of Testimony in the Establishment of Tradition: Religion and Ethics in S.D. Luzzatto and Hermann Cohen*

The importance of reliable testimony is a basic, essential component in the validity of tradition in the Jewish world in general and in the various customs and rites of Jewish communities in the Mediterranean world. The relationship between tradition and modernity derives directly from the profound philosophical discourse about religious testimony and its possible interpretation.

The proposed lecture seeks to shape the deliberation about traditionalism and traditional customs on the basis of philosophical discourse regarding *tradition*.

A philosophical examination of the concept “testimony” raises important questions regarding the power of tradition in general, the significance of revelation within the phenomenon of religion in general and of Judaism in particular, the meaning of Jewish national existence, and primarily the ethical responsibility incumbent upon a person who takes part in the discourse of testimony.

One’s initial intuition regarding testimony might be to locate the discussion about it within legal or *Halakhic* discourse. The task of witnesses in establishing judicial truth places witnesses and their testimony within the judicial process, with the formal, personal responsibility they bear for the outcome of their testimony. Part of the philosophical discourse about tradition and testimony in modern times moves in tension between the theological and religious aspects of the Jewish religion and its ethical aspects. In this lecture I will attempt to suggest another step in the theological-philosophical discourse regarding the ethical significance of the theological discourse. Samuel David Luzzatto assigns a very important place to reliable testimony and to rational critique of the significance of that testimony, which leads him to construct the elements of Judaism on divine providence and human compassion - *Khemlah*. Hermann Cohen’s thought, which relates to Luzzatto’s ideas about compassion and to Kantian ethics, sees the importance of testimony not to history but standing before the uniqueness of God as directing man to responsibility for his fellow man, for the Other.

Ben Zeev, Miriam, *Cultural Patterns in Judea in the Second Century BCE*

In all the Eastern Mediterranean areas, the conquests of Alexander the Great and the Hellenistic governments that followed them deeply changed the life of the local peoples, not only from the political and economic, but also from the social and cultural points of view. Ancient sources attest that in countries such as Syria, Phoenicia and Egypt, original cultural elements were present side by side with foreign elements, common to the surrounding Hellenistic culture. Fergus Millar calls these cultures “mixed cultures”. The question is whether the culture of Hasmonean Judea, too, may be called a “mixed culture”. No doubt, in Judea, too, Hellenistic influences are found in many different fields: in language (with more than one thousand Greek words having entered the Hebrew language), onomastics, society and architecture, and in the military sphere. This is why in the fifties of the last century Victor Tcherikover suggested that the Hasmonean state would have become a state detached from Jewish tradition, if not for Pharisaic opposition. Similarly, Sartre, too, in his monumental work on the Roman East which appeared in 2002, maintains that the same Hellenism against which the fathers and grandfathers of the Hasmonians had fought triumphed later, once political independence had been attained.

May we still share these scholarly positions?

A fresh look into the data coming from archaeology, epigraphy, numismatic and literature seems necessary in order to define whether and in what measure one may speak of a Hellenism active in the Hasmonean state, similar to that found in surrounding countries such as Phoenicia, Egypt and Syria.

Benziman, Yotman, *The (Un)translatability of Ethical Concepts*

The conceptual roots of ideas and meanings are often to be found in grammatical roots. Therefore, when ideas are translated into another language made of different roots, part of their essence is lost on the one hand, and acquires a new dimension on the other hand. I will discuss the Hebrew roots and signification related to major ethical concepts such as forgiveness, impartiality and gratitude, and analyze their meanings in biblical and modern Hebrew and in the Mediterranean and Semitic lingual context. Comparing these concepts and roots to their English counterparts, I will offer an explanation for some differences between Hebrew and non-Hebrew ethical discourses.

Berger, Shlomo, *On Hobbies in Ashkenazi Society during the Eighteenth Century*

The Western European Ashkenazi modernization process did not mean a movement towards secularism or a redefinition of religion only. As scholars nowadays understand it, eighteenth-century Ashkenazi history demonstrates a broader shift in Jewish life that should have led Jews into another world and brought them in contact with the surrounding Christian society. They dressed differently, they attempted to learn European customs and mores and to integrate these into their own world of values.

As Yiddish still functioned as their daily means of communication and although Yiddish books were mainly targeted at keeping the Ashkenazi within the fold of Judaism, the corpus of Yiddish printed texts includes peculiar prose and poetry that exhibits an engagement with non-canonical, odd, eccentric and surprising subjects that stood outside the scope of and was criticized by rabbis.

The lecture will discuss two such short pieces of literature that may tell a different story of Ashkenazi daily life. They were not only praying and reading ethical literature that would make sense of their diaspora life. They were also playing cards, as one poem ("A New Curious Poem on Playing Cards") describes, or looking for ways to uncover their future by resorting to fortune-telling techniques ("Sefer Hagoral").

Berkowitz, Michael, *The Warburg Institute Presents "British Art and the Mediterranean" (1941): An Episode in the History of Jews and Photography*

The relocation of the Warburg Institute from Hamburg to London after the Nazi takeover of power is one of the most extraordinary episodes of intellectual migration and creative adaption in modern times.

One of the ways that the Warburg Institute reconceived itself was to take on a more pronounced public persona than it had in its Weimar incarnation. A result of this effort, especially under its director,

Fritz Saxl, was to translate its holdings and research into broad, public-educational projects. Among the most prominent of these were four major photographic exhibitions, beginning in 1939. The first was a spectacularly successful attempt to make the classics

interesting and accessible to the masses, in the form of a photographic survey that featured lesser-known images from antiquity. The second show, in 1941, aspired to demonstrate that Britain had long been gazing toward the Mediterranean: not with a view to dominate or colonize it, but in order to imagine and appreciate Mediterranean civilizations through the arts. Within this, there might have been a subtle strategy to differentiate between the Axis powers of Germany and Italy – in featuring a more positive and hopeful aspect of relations between Britain and Italy, in particular. Furthermore, in examining the complex British engagement with the Mediterranean, discourses centered on racial hierarchies were challenged.

But perhaps what is most important is that the Warburg Institute – focused, as it was, on ancient to Renaissance culture – chose to display itself through the medium of photography. I believe that this has something to do with the degree to which Jews constituted a large part of the photographic field. As opposed to being troubled by the idea made famous by Walter Benjamin, that mechanical reproduction debases a work of art, the Warburg members were moved to a far greater extent by the possibilities of photography to disseminate and explain art to a wider public than ever before. This is part of the story of refugees, rescue, and cultural studies that has not yet been assimilated into either art history, the history of photography, or Jewish history.

Bernasconi, Rocco, *Overlaps in wording between Mishnah and Tosefta*

It is assumed that Tosefta is replete with quotations from the Mishnah and nowadays sometimes that the Mishnah contains citations from the Tosefta. Scholars may disagree about which text quotes the other but they usually do not question that there are indeed quotations. I shall criticise that assumption. The text of Mishnah and Tosefta Tractates can overlap in two ways. There are unmarked overlaps and overlaps introduced by quotation formulae. From the point of view of the text surface it is inappropriate to define the unmarked wording overlaps as literary quotations. Those of the second type are indeed quotations but are not marked as coming from another text. Both Mishnah and Tosefta systematically avoid acknowledging the existence of the other document. From a purely textual perspective the knowledge of one text by the other cannot be demonstrated (likely as it is historically speaking). Often a proper understanding of the meaning of Mishnah and Tosefta depends on extra-textual information. Frequently, that information happens to be found in “other” or partner text. While such cases of thematic dependency are also historically inconclusive for showing an acknowledgment of the other text (like the “quotations”), at times one text is linguistically, not only thematically, incomplete. In these cases, the actual wording of another text needs to be presupposed to solve the inconsistency. Invariably the missing bit of text is found in the partner document.

Bernfeld, Tirtsah Levie, *Material culture and cultural change: Dutch Sephardim in Amsterdam's golden age*

A patchwork culture could be a proper term when dealing with the description of the identity of Sephardim in Holland's Golden Age. With their migration out of the Iberian Peninsula the Portuguese not only brought with them Iberian Catholic concepts, they were also members of a European class, with whom they shared universal values. In the course of time Dutch society also influenced their state of mind. Above all, they

experienced a change of identity as ‘New Jews’ in Holland. It provoked mental crises and questions. Yet, to describe a culture does not only involve research into philosophy, arts and sciences. It is also important to have different aspects of daily life investigated. One of them is the study of material culture.

Inventories of Dutch Sephardim, with which Dutch archives are overloaded, is an interesting source when dealing with material culture. It provides us with the means to abstract different aspects of daily life, to study shifts in prosperity, to measure adherence to fashionable trends, but above all, to define more clearly the distinct culture of the Dutch Sephardim. What elements did Sephardim bring with them and incorporate on their way from their homeland to their new place of residence?

Is it possible to point at a growing tendency away from a southern European, Iberian Catholic culture towards a more European or Dutch one? Or did their Iberian background remain a strong and steady element over time? What can be said of their Jewish identity? Is there material proof of a strong adherence to Judaism since they turned into “New Jews”? Does a Jewish element in their identity remain present over time as we focus on material expressions of such identity? This paper is a first step into a fascinating field of research, from which additional information can be distilled on Sephardim in Holland’s Golden Age.

Bernuth, Ruth von, *Fortunatus: Mediterranean traveller in early modern Yiddishland*

Fortunatus, the Cypriot hero of one of the most popular proto-novels of the 16th century, travels through Italy and on to Flanders and England before he finally meets Dame Fortuna, “Lady Luck,” who offers him a choice of wisdom, power, health, beauty – or chance. He chooses the latter, and the rest of the book is devoted to the scrapes that Fortunatus and his sons get into as they continue their travels...

Written in German and first printed in Augsburg in 1509, the book met with enormous success, both in the original and in translation into French, English and other European languages, before eventually making its way into Yiddish. A late development, the first known Yiddish version dates from 1699 and is closely modeled on a contemporary German edition.

The Yiddish *Fortunatus* has been regarded as prototypical of Yiddish transcriptions of German literary works (thus Arnold Paucker). Two basic questions arise. First, what accounts for such a close correlation of the Yiddish to the German at a date by which Yiddish, western Yiddish included, had developed a quite distinct idiom? Is this just the laziness of a hack translator? Or is it more a function of the specific content of the book? Second, what accounts for such changes as the Yiddish version does implement, and what glimpses can these substitutions offer of an early modern Yiddish readership’s mentality?

Berthelot, Katell, *The Concept of Anathema in Ancient Jewish Literature Written in Greek*

In classical Greek, the word *anathema* generally refers to a type of offering which is dedicated to a god and deposited in a temple. These objects were considered holy and, in contrast to other types of offerings/sacrifices, were never destroyed. In a rather surprising way, the authors of the Septuagint often chose to use this word in order to translate the Hebrew word *herem*, a term that denotes something or someone which is not only consecrated to God, but killed or destroyed so that it cannot be re-used. In some

cases, which would have been puzzling to the Greek reader, the word *anathema* is even used in the Septuagint in connection with things or people that are abominable to God, and cannot represent an offering in any way.

This paper will analyze the strategies of the Septuagint translators in order to explain why they chose the word *anathema* or the verb *anathematizein*, rather than other Greek terms that clearly imply destruction.

Then I will study the different uses of the term in Jewish literature written in Greek apart from the Septuagint books which are translations of Hebrew books (that is, in Judith, 2 and 3 Maccabees, as well as the Letter of Aristeas, Philo, and Josephus). I will argue that in nearly all cases, the word *anathema* retains its classical meaning, in contradistinction to what happens in the Septuagint. Finally, I will try to provide an explanation for the radical difference in the use of the term *anathema* between the Septuagint on the one hand, and the other Jewish texts written in Greek on the other.

Beruriah Wiegand, Haike, *Contemporary Yiddish Poetry: Recent Publications in Italy and Beyond*

Although Italy was one of the most important centres of Yiddish literary activity and of Yiddish printing in the 16th century, it has not exactly been at the forefront of Yiddish publishing in more recent times. But it is in Italy, in Florence and Macerata, that a new significant volume of Yiddish literature has seen the light of day in 2009. It is an anthology of contemporary Yiddish poetry, under the title *Trot bay trot: Hayntsaytike yidishe poezye* (*Step by Step: Contemporary Yiddish Poetry*), which presents selected works by 22 contemporary Yiddish poets both in the Yiddish original and in English translation.

The title of the anthology is taken from a poem by Peter Yankl Conzen, who was an inspiring presence in Yiddish circles both in Hamburg and New York until his untimely death in 2005.

In his study *The Meaning of Yiddish*, Benjamin Harshav wrote that dealing with Yiddish you “cross worlds of geography and demography, Jewish history and modern transformations and, wherever you turn, you realize that you are crossing universal human spaces”. This is particularly true for this new anthology, which brings together poets from so many geographical locations throughout the world, including New York, Los Angeles, Puerto Rico, London, Moscow, St. Petersburg and different places in Israel. It includes well-known Yiddish poets of the pre-war generation, like Rivke Basman Ben-Hayim and Beyle Schaechter Gottesman. But it also includes many younger emerging poets – new voices in Yiddish poetry. This volume is replete with Jewish history, given the biographical background of some of the older generation of Yiddish poets and the subject matter of some of the younger poets, including a very moving tribute to Vilne (Vilnius), once the cradle of Yiddish culture, in a poem by Velvl Chernin. But there are also more universal themes, like love and loss and nature. Some of the poems are very abstract and modern, others more traditional. As Elissa Bemporad and Margherita Pascucci wrote in their introduction, “like the language in which the poems are written, the anthology becomes a symbol of the multifacetedness of Yiddish culture”.

My proposed exposition will take this new anthology of contemporary Yiddish poetry as its starting point and look in more detail at the variety of poets included in this collection, their backgrounds, subject matters and poetic styles. It will then examine some of the recent volumes of individual poets, some of whom are not included in the new

anthology, like Alexander Spiegelblatt, Mikhoel Felsenbaum and Moyshe Lemster, all three important contemporary Yiddish poets, who have emigrated to Israel from different places in Romania, Ukraine and Moldova. This paper will also look at some of the poetry included in various recent Yiddish literary publications, like *Yerusholayimer Almanakh* (Jerusalem) and *Gilgulim* (Paris).

All of these recent publications show that Yiddish poetry, although not as vast in scope as it was before the war, is still alive today and is still a force to be reckoned with. May it grow and flourish for many more generations to come!

Berzbach, Ulrich, *Through the Looking-Glass of the Yalqut, and What Can Be Found There Concerning Seder Eliyahu Zuta*

The *Yalqut Shimoni* compiled and arranged the excerpts of his sources following the text of the Hebrew Bible. So the compiler had to decide what/where to cut from a given text and to which biblical verse/passage to attach the excerpt chosen by him.

Neither *Seder Eliyahu Rabbah* (*SER*) nor *Seder Eliyahu Zuta* (*SEZ*) is structured according to an overt external device such as a biblical text, but again and again biblical verses/passages play an important part in the micro- and macro-structure (compare Berzbach, *The Varieties of Literal Devices in a Medieval Midrash*, 1999). *SEZ* shares material both from traditional literature and also from *SER*.

The excerpts from *SEZ* that turn up in the *Yalqut* are put in the context of the biblical passage the compiler decided to attach them to. Thus the compiler decided to which biblical proof-text a selected piece of *SEZ* he thought to be relevant. His choices reflect his view on *SEZ*. The same ‘pieces’ that are in *SEZ* part of a textual playground built and defined by its author are given a new and perhaps different role when inserted into the textual framework of a thesaurus.

Neither the compiler of the *Yalqut* nor the author of *SEZ* tells the reader about the underlying principles of the way they arrange their text. *SEZ* seen through the looking-glass of the *Yalqut* might help to find some of the principles that governed the choices of the Medieval compiler and his view on *SEZ* might help to find some of the principles that governed text production of the Medieval Midrash.

Bilu, Yoram, *Making the Absent Rabbi Present: Iconophilia and Apparitions among Habad Hasidim in Israel*

The messianic surge among Habad (Lubavitch) Hasidim, which was focused on the seventh president of the movement, Rabbi Menachem Mendel Schneerson, as the designated Messiah, did not subside after his death, in the Summer of 1994. Given the importance of disciple-master relations in Hasidism, the perseverance of the movement in its current headless form is intriguing. This is particularly true for the radically messianic Habadniks who deny that the Rabbi-cum-Messiah has ever died and maintain that he is found, “in flesh and spirit,” in his old abode, in 770 Eastern Parkway, Crown Heights, Brooklyn. My concern here is with the cultural practices employed by Israeli Hasidim to cope with the vacuum created by the loss. These “practices of embodiment” include a wide variety of indexical, textual, discursive, and iconic devices. The integrated use of this cultural tool kit enables the Hasidim to maintain a life routine in which the absent Rabbi is always at attendance. While for many Hasidim he is a totally virtual Rabbi, an elaborate ritual system based on these practices of embodiment makes him

very strongly felt. For his Israeli followers the virtual Rabbi is visible, accessible, embodied, and decentralized. The place of modern media technology, and particularly the creative and pervasive uses of the Rabbi's popular icon, is an important means of making the absent Rabbi present. The recent wave of apparitions in Habad appears to be informed by these creative uses.

Blasco Orellana, Meritzell, *Los Fragmentos Hebraicos De Gerona: Arxiu Municipal: Estado De La Cuestión.*

In this communication Blasco Orellana offers a pre-catalogue and palaeographic description of more of 230 Hebrew fragments extant at the Municipal Archive of Gerona and shall expose the unknown, new and interesting materials found in this Archive: 85 fragments of Jewish money lenders *Pinqasim*, 32 fragments of the synagogue of Perpignan, 60 fragments (*varia*) of Rabbinic literature, 45 fragments of medicine and pharmacology, 10 fragments of poetry, 3 calligraphic exercises and 2 fragments of private letters.

Boccaccini, Gabriele, *Tigranes the Great as Nebuchadnezzar in the Book of Judith*

It is acknowledged that along with 1 Maccabees, Judith is an important witness of Hasmonean propaganda. The search for ideological compromise between Maccabean and "Pharisaic" viewpoints, as well as the royal and military features given to the widow Judith and the reference to the politically subordinate role of the High Priest and the Sanhedrin, seem to fit well with the political and intellectual climate in Judaea at the time of Salome Alexandra (76-67 BCE). What contemporary research has failed to notice are the obvious historical allusions to the crisis generated by the invasion of the Armenian king Tigranes the Great, the new "Nebuchadnezzar" who in 69 BCE threatened to destroy the Hasmonean kingdom. In light of the "miraculous" withdrawal of the Armenian army due to Roman intervention, Salome Alexandra's decision to pay the tribute and "get into bed," so-to-speak, with the enemy could be presented as a well-conceived plot to gain time and win freedom for her people.

Bregman, Dvora, *Moses Zacuto, a Venetian Rabbi and Baroque Poet*

Moses Zacuto (Amsterdam ca. 1610 – Mantua 1697), Rabbi, first of Venice and later of Mantua – was the greatest authority in kabbala in 17th-century Italy and the most prolific Hebrew poet of all times. His poetic works include Drama, liturgy, lay poetry, riddles and more. In spite of his great fame as both cabbalist and poet the great majority of his poems remained in manuscript. They were, however, printed lately in my edition, titled "Essa et Levavi, Shirim Meet Rabbi Moshe Zacut" ("I Raise My Heart, Poems by Rabbi Moses Zacuto"). Zacuto's poetry, which can now be surveyed in its entirety, appears as a fascinating blend of Jewish tradition – as perceived by a devoted Lurianic cabalist – and Baroque, mostly Spanish, poetical conventions.

Bregoli, Francesca, *"A Second Mother and Most Tender Wet-Nurse": Jews, Medical Culture and the Public Good in 18th-Century Livorno*

This paper explores transformations in the Jewish conception of knowledge and the

sciences in light of Enlightenment reform, and contributes to reconstructing the history of Jewish cultural integration in eighteenth-century Italy. I will concentrate on three Livornese Jewish physicians who graduated from the University of Pisa in the second half of the eighteenth century, Angelo de Soria (1754), Joseph Vita Castelli (1766) and Graziadio Bondi (1785). Based on their medical pamphlets and other personal writings, as well as documentation concerning their relationship with non-Jewish mentors, the paper will argue that Livornese Jewish graduates of the University of Pisa not only embraced the latest trends in medical studies, as could be expected, but that attendance at the University significantly strengthened their “patriotic ties” to the Tuscan state. I will show that during the second half of the eighteenth century, Livornese Jewish physicians increasingly viewed their medical work from a political perspective, and that their courses of study and relationships with their mentors shaped their interest in the brand of Enlightenment reformism that characterized Italian culture in that time period. Additionally, the paper will trace the emergence of a discourse connecting Jewish participation in the eighteenth-century “Medical Republic” with the notion of civic usefulness, showing that De Soria, Castelli and Bondi all envisioned the figure of the Grand Duke of Tuscany as a benevolent father and patron of the sciences and medicine, a protector of their own endeavors as Jewish physicians and, most significantly, of their rights as useful subjects of the Tuscan state.

Brenner, Rachel F., *Warsaw Polish Writer-Diarists Encountering the Holocaust: The Cases of Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz and Maria Dabrowska*

Very little attention has been paid to Holocaust witnesses’ diaries. This paper focuses on the diaries of two prominent Polish writers who witnessed the establishment of the Warsaw ghetto, the deportations, and the ghetto uprising, and eventually the liquidation of the ghetto. The diaries offer a unique opportunity to study the responses of intellectual-writers, who were steeped in the ideas of the Enlightenment, to the evolving genocide of the Jewish population. Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz (1894-1980), a prominent novelist, poet, and playwright, was, together with his wife, Anna, actively engaged in hiding Jews. My discussion, however, does not focus on the writer’s rescue activities, but rather on the ways in which the reality of genocide affected Iwaszkiewicz’s perception of the Jew as the victim of mass-murder. This investigation of inner transformation cannot be dissociated from

the writer’s pre-war relationships with Jewish fellow-writers.

I argue that these relationships forged by shared love and production of art are of ethical importance; Iwaszkiewicz’s prewar somewhat biased attitude toward the Jews disappeared with the consciousness of Jewish mass murder; the ethics informed by the prewar experience proved valid in time of terror. The diaries of Maria Dabrowska (1889-1965), a prominent Polish writer and a dedicated social activist, present a more troubling case. Her prewar conflicted attitudes of admiration for Jewish achievements and of resentment of these achievements, which highlighted Polish lack of progress, affected her response to the Jewish genocide. In this sense Dabrowska’s response reflects the impact of ideology on ethics: her nationalistic extremely patriotic worldview clashed with the universal humanistic ideals of human equality and friendship. During the Holocaust she feared that the suffering of the Jews would overshadow the suffering and the heroism of the Poles and, at the same time experienced anguish and anxiety over the genocide. This paper explores the ways in which these witnessing diarists responded to the

Holocaust *at the time* of its occurrence. My study suggests that the response must be examined in the context of the witness's formative ethical *Weltanschauung*.

Budzioch, Dagmara, *Characteristic features of "Italian" Esther scrolls from the 17th century in the Kraków manuscript (Biblioteka XX. Czartoryskich - nr 2442)*

The paper is devoted to a 17th-c. illuminated scroll of Esther, made in Italy. At the moment it is one of few existing parchment scrolls belonging to the type in which decorations and illustrations mechanically copied have assisted a handwritten text. Nowadays the scrolls are spread all over Europe. One of them is kept in Kraków at the Princes Czartoryski Library. And this is the scroll I will be talking about. The scroll is practically unknown either in Poland or abroad.

Megilot Esther constitute a unique class of Hebrew manuscripts because they are the only biblical texts which do not contain the Name of God, and that is why it was acceptable to illustrate them. It seems decorations started to appear in scrolls in the second half of the 16th c. and since then the *Megilot Esther* which are not used in synagogues have been decorated till today.

The discussed scrolls have been printed on parchment and then painted. To the present, their text and decorations are planned in a special way. The text of Esther is always written in nineteen equal columns. Eighteen columns are joined in pairs, the last one is single. The text has been planned in such a way that most of the columns begin with the word *hamelkh* – the king.

The set of decorations is essential here as well. They appear in upper and bottom margins (the scenes related to the plot of the book of Esther), between the text columns (flower motif decoration), and either at the beginning or end of the scroll.

During my presentation I will try to show all the features typical of the scrolls, and also to present on chosen examples the features distinguishing the *megilot*. All will be supported by pictures.

Bürki, Yvette, *"Letters to the Editor" in two Judeo-Spanish journals of Thessaloniki*

The Judeo-Spanish Press resulted from the social and cultural changes performed by the Sephardic communities of the Balkans from the middle of the 19th century's political restructuring and openness to the West.

At a linguistic level, the press played a crucial role in the elaboration of the so-called modern Judeo-Spanish. As a product of the new contact with European culture, newly imported genres like the novel, the drama, and the press were introduced to the Ottoman Empire. These text genres required not only a modernization and extension of the lexical part of the language but also the development of new text strategies.

The present paper deals with the text elaboration of modern genres in the Judeo-Spanish press taking as example the section "Letters to the Editor" of the two main journals from Thessaloniki, *La Epoca* and *El Avenir* of the years 1901-1902.

Caballero Navas, Carmen, *Rabbenu Moše on Gynaecology. The Circulation in Hebrew of the Sixteenth Chapter of Maimonides' Medical Aphorisms*

Around 1185, the medieval Jewish polymath Maimonides wrote an extensive synthesis

of contemporary medical knowledge, based to a great extent on Galen's medical works, known as *Medical Aphorisms of Moses*. The work, organised in twenty-five chapters, devoted Chapter Sixteen to women's anatomy, physiology, illnesses and disorders. As in other medieval treatises, menstruation stands out as a central issue for women's health-care, as Maimonides dedicated seventeen out of thirty eight aphorisms of this Chapter to discuss its medical implications.

The *Medical Aphorisms of Moses* was translated twice into Hebrew: in 1277, in Rome, by Zerahyah ben Isaac ben Shealtiel en; and, again in Rome, by Nathan ben Eliezer ha-Me'ati, between 1279 and 1283. Both Hebrew versions enjoyed wide circulation among Italian, Iberian and Provençal Jewish communities.

Sometime after its translation into Hebrew, an unknown copyist, compiler or translator – since it is still uncertain whether the independent text belongs to the endeavour of one of the two known translators or is a new version – detached Chapter Sixteen from the rest of the work and put it in circulation under the title *Liqutei Rabbeni Mošeh be-'inyanei weset we-herayon* (Maimonides' Compilation on Menstruation and Pregnancy). So far, two manuscript copies of this opusculum, from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, have been identified.

The aim of this paper is to attempt to ascertain whether this short text consists of a new translation from the Arabic or, on the contrary, derives from one of the two known versions; and, if so, from which of them. By editing and comparing both preserved copies, and by analysing their content as well as the ways in which they were preserved and transmitted, I will also investigate patterns with regard the choice and independent circulation of this text within the wider phenomenon of production and transmission of medical literature on women's health care among Jewish communities of the Mediterranean West during the late Middle Ages.

Campanini, Saverio, *The first mention of Ibn Falaquera in Latin: a case study in the reception of ancient philosophy in the Renaissance*

The work of Shem Tov Ibn Falaquera has been studied intensively since S. Munk's discovery that he had preserved in Hebrew important passages of Ibn Gabirol's *Fons Vitae*. In the latest decades many of his works have been studied with renewed interest, making it possible to trace with great precision the history of the transmission of ancient and Arabic philosophy among the Jews in medieval Spain.

One chapter which has been neglected so far is the history of the reception of Ibn Falaquera's works among the Christians. This history starts with Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, who collected in his library Hebrew works of Ibn Falaquera's, and it is largely probable that he had also Latin translations at his disposal. Be that as it may, at least three Latin translations of different works by Ibn Falaquera stemming from the age of the Renaissance are known: two of them are still extant (one in the Bibliothèque Nationale and the other one at the State Library in Moscow) and a third manuscript has been described in detail by Jacques Gafarell but seems to be lost. In my presentation I would like to sketch briefly the history of these translations and to present the first case of an explicit quotation from Ibn Falaquera which took place in 1525. The *De harmonia mundi totius cantica tria* of the Franciscan Francesco Giorgio contains a reference to Ibn Falaquera (Semtof benfalchiera) but, if one tries to determine from which work it comes, a complex chapter in the history of ideas is uncovered. According to Giorgio, Ibn Falaquera stated that Aristotle, in his book "De bdellio", admitted the theoretical possi-

bility of “traveling outside the senses” and moreover, that he had an ecstatic experience, abandoning temporarily the body and contemplating the highest realities. It is quite obvious that these concepts come, indirectly, from the so-called *Theologia Aristotelis*, an Arabic abridgement of a chapter of the *Enneads* of Plotinus wrongly attributed to Aristotle and published in a Latin reformulation in 1519.

Ibn Falaquera knew the Arabic text of the *Theologia Aristotelis* and quotes from it, but the reference to a pseudo-Aristotelian tractate bearing the title “De bdellio” (or *Sefer ha-bedolach* in Hebrew) points to a different chain of tradition: it is in fact found in the “Garden of the Metaphor” written in Arabic by Moshe Ibn ‘Ezra. It will be the purpose of my presentation to disentangle this complicated transmission and to find the missing ring of this textual chain in Renaissance Venice. At the same time, this case study will offer a more general perspective on the alleys, the dead ends and the traps of the transmission of ancient philosophy to the Latin Renaissance through the mediation of Arabic as a culture and, as far as the Jews are concerned, a vehicular language in a Mediterranean context.

Castelli, Silvia, *Allusions to the Jews of Rome in Philo’s Legatio ad Gaium*

In Philo of Alexandria’s *Embassy to Gaius* there are some explicit references to the Jews of Rome. The most famous is the one mentioning the synagogues of the city, the neighbourhood beyond the Tiber, and the permission of the Jews of Rome to collect money for the Temple and to receive their part of the annona the following day, had the distribution taken place on Saturday (Leg. 156-158). One can find, however, some veiled hints regarding the local Jews that might provide extra evidence concerning the relationship between Judaism in Rome and in the diaspora, and speak of Philo’s own political thought. In particular, this paper will analyse Philo’s allusive mention of the Jews of Rome at the end of the work, and the most striking references to the crowd.

Champagne, John, *Homosexuality, Fascism, History: Moravia and Bassani*

Alberto Moravia and Giorgio Bassani: two writers of Italian Jewish heritage, both of the same generation. Following World War II, both men write novels about fascism, and both of these novels are adapted into films. But Moravia’s *The Conformist* and Bassani’s *Garden of the Finzi-Continis* present very different accounts of same sex desire, Bassani’s drawing a sympathetic link between Jews and homosexuals, Moravia’s providing an instance of what Andrew Hewitt has called “homofascism” – the post-war tendency to “make sense of fascism by linking it to homosexuality” (13). Additionally, both film adaptations significantly alter the original source material – Bernardo Bertolucci replacing Moravia’s realism with a high modernist idiom, Vittorio De Sica altering the narrative of Bassani’s novel – such that we now have four competing figurations of fascism and sexuality. This paper will analyze these four texts, highlighting the different ways in which they figure homosexuality, fascism, and history. Moravia’s novel represents, for Hewitt, an instance in which homosexuality is “the allegorical vehicle” for the representation of history as “melancholic” (266). Hewitt defines this melancholic approach to history as “the historical loss of loss” and rejects its (homophobic) heteronormativity (256).

Do the other three texts manage to circumvent this heteronormativity, or do they, too, rely on homophobia to conceptualize fascism and its relationship to history? This is the

question that will frame the paper's analysis. All four texts offer different responses to the problem of representing fascism. According to Hewitt, "The political challenge presented by fascism obliges us to think beyond the limits of heterosexual history, to think – can one even say it? – 'homosexually'" (285). In the paper's conclusion, I will use Basani's novel in particular to begin to imagine this project.

Chernin, Liubov, *The converts of Minorca in 418: circumstances and consequences of baptizing*

The Epistle of Severus, bishop of Minorca, is the unique source for the campaign of Christianization of the Jews in 418. Recent researchers managed to prove the authenticity of the Epistle, translated it into English and Spanish, and issued some investigations that deal with this text. The Epistle is discovered to be a valuable source that elucidates a number of historical problems: the history of the early Church in the Balearic Islands, specifics of the social organization in the towns of Late Antiquity, life conditions of the Jewish communities. Besides that a special interest should be paid to the reflection in the text of the problems of forced/unforced Christianization of the Jews as a stage on the way to approaching the Kingdom of God on the Earth. Most of the inhabitants of the island themselves are recent Christians – they haven't already formed as a Christian community, and the models of Roman public organization prevail in their social conduct, although they gradually obtain a new ideological framework.

Here we find the roots of their behaviour in the situation of interconfessional conflict. In my presentation I will concentrate on some less-studied aspects of this case. These are the questions that deal with the ideas of baptizing for Jews and converts and the new social status of converts. What were the reasons for the Jews to convert to Christianity? What was the role of the miraculous signs and how does the miracle correlate with the "earthly" reasons for baptizing (fear, desire to improve material situation, to raise social status)? What do the new converts gain from the baptizing and what do they lose? What factors stipulated the actions of the Jews on different stages of Christianization? I will try also to identify the place of this episode in the general history of the Christianization of the Jews in the early medieval West Mediterranean.

Chwartz, Suzana, *Israel's Patriarchal Cycle and the Meaning of Sterility*

This paper focuses on the concept of sterility as idealized in the Biblical text and exemplified in the stories of Sarah and Abraham, Rebecca, Leah, Rachel and Jacob. My analysis of these stories leads to the hypothesis that sterility is one of the foundational themes of Israel's ancient past, by condensing some of the main obstacles inherent in the emergence of a people who believed they were guided by God. This new perspective on sterility was achieved by focusing on the spectrum of meanings of the Hebrew root 'qr, which includes infertility and uprooting; these, added to famine in the land, are experiences that will shape the religious conscience of Israel.

This approach amplifies the perception of sterility in the Hebrew Bible, as it emerges from the text as a state of deprivation, in opposition to the contents of the divine oath to the patriarchs (progeny and land). But even while enclosing lack of productivity, weakness and death, which have a negative value, Biblical sterility is not a closed circle, but a space open to potentiality, where divine revelation occurs. God reveals him-

self *through* sterility and *in* sterility. The originality and the notion of specificity in the biblical idea of sterility lie in this cyclical trait, which breaks the circumscription and negative orientation of sterility.

The Bible presents sterility as a transitory state, an area for individual and corporate transformation of status. In an ideological system, such as ancient Israel's, where contractual relations replace natural relations, sterility functions as a powerful symbol of the relationship among men and between men and God. And this may be the reason why sterile matriarch's traditions were continually re-interpreted, from the 10th century BCE until the 1st century CE, and could be adapted to new contexts and make sense to distinct communities, particularly in times of crisis and transition.

Clasby, Daniel J., *Luigi Luzzatti's Jewish Politics: Transnational Debates on the Status of Religious Minorities in Italy and Abroad, 1909-1922*

This paper examines the later political activism of Luigi Luzzatti and offers a unique perspective on Jewish acculturation in the Mediterranean. Born in Venice in 1841, Luzzatti was best known for his successes in Italian politics having become Italy's first Jewish Prime Minister in 1910. While Luzzatti rarely observed Jewish religious practice, he had benefitted from emancipation and used his prominence to advocate for Jews and other religious minorities in Italy and in Europe. My paper makes two important and interconnected claims. First, Luzzatti's writings (*Dio nella libertà*) on religious tolerance brought him back into conversation with Jews and Judaism.

His contact with international Jewish presses and political organizations brought Luzzatti new celebrity as a Jew, and many Jewish leaders believed that his support would bring their causes more attention. In public Luzzatti was an assimilated Jew who had rejected the traditions of his religion in favor of a secularist national identity, something for which many Italian Jews criticized him. But archival letters from the 1920s show a man very much formed by his Jewish upbringing and spiritually re-invigorated by the cause for Jewish rights.

He began to see himself a defender of Jews and their historical legacy. Second, the nineteenth-century milieu of the Venetian ghetto and revolutionary Italy produced a figure birthed in the tradition of Enlightenment critique and the values of human and civil rights. And post-*Risorgimento* Italy promoted Jewish participation in national life and a level of acceptance among their non-Jewish fellow citizens unheard of elsewhere in Europe. Luzzatti rose to the heights of power in a European atmosphere of general distrust of Jews and a growing antisemitic call for Jewish persecution. As Prime Minister he took seriously his duty to serve all Italians, but it was that very prominence that also gave him a voice to speak for Jews around the world when so many others would rather they be silenced.

Cohen, Jaap, *Sephardic, Jewish, or Dutch? The families Jessurun d'Oliveira and Rodrigues Pereira in nineteenth-century Amsterdam as a case-study*

During their settlement in the relatively tolerant Dutch Republic of the 16th and 17th centuries, the Sephardic Jews (or 'Portuguese Jews' as they are called in the Netherlands) formed a distinct group of their own. This changed with the immigration of great numbers of Ashkenazi Jews in the 17th and 18th centuries: Sephardim had become a part of the larger Jewish community. Under the influence of the French Revolution, the Jews

in the Netherlands received Dutch citizenship in 1796. Now the Dutch Sephardim had three different loyalties: to their Sephardic roots and traditions, to (international) Jewry, as well as to Dutch society.

In my paper, I will try to analyze the complex and ongoing interaction between these three aspects of identity by focusing on two ‘average’, exemplary Sephardic families (Jessurun d’Oliveira and Rodrigues Pereira) in nineteenth-century Amsterdam. Both were formerly well-off merchant families which had suffered heavily from the economical crises of the eighteenth century. In the following century, the families took part in the process of integration, acculturation and assimilation into Dutch society. At the same time, most of the family-members stayed true to their religious background and were active members of the ‘Portuguese-Israelite Community’. Also, many of them were working in specific ‘Jewish branches’ like diamond grinding, book printing, the money-trade and entertainment.

By examining the marriage patterns, socioeconomic position, settlement choices and role in (international) networks of these Dutch Sephardim, I will try to specify not only the level of integration of the Sephardic community into Dutch society, but also the relation with its Ashkenazi counterpart in nineteenth-century Amsterdam.

Cohen, Judith, *“Now I forgot the words”: searching for songs on the “Ladinobus” in Turkey*

In 2008, the online discussion group Ladinokomunita celebrated its tenth anniversary with a trip to Turkey, the home of many of the group’s elderly members or their parents or grandparents. Two dozen Sephardim from several continents met, mostly for the first time in person, in Istanbul and spent two weeks travelling together through Anatolia. My role as an ethnomusicologist involved conducting interviews both on the bus and in the various cities and towns where the group spent time with local communities, when possible arranging encounters between the travellers and the local groups. Here I will discuss the members’ often half-forgotten repertoires, and how the presence of fellow Sephardim from other areas of the Sephardic diaspora influenced their memory and performance. This leads to questions about diasporas and roots, and to questions about fieldwork. As well, I explore several common stereotypes of Sephardic music, and how they were either confirmed, or, more often, confounded by the realities of the people in this temporary microcosm of multinational Judeo-Spanish culture.

Cohen, Julie-Marthe, *The Looting of Ceremonial Objects from Dutch Jewish Synagogues during WW II*

During the last ten years I have researched the history of the collection of the Jewish Historical Museum, from its foundation in 1930 till the reopening of the museum in 1955. In 1943 the collection was confiscated by the Einsatzstab Reichleiter Rosenberg and brought to the Institut zur Erforschung der Judenfrage in Frankfurt. In 1945 the American Army discovered Dutch ceremonial objects in Hungen, a small town that had been the home of the Institute after it was evacuated following the Frankfurt air raids of late 1943. The objects were transported to the American Central Collecting Point in Offenbach and from there restored to the Netherlands in 1946. The returned items also included objects belonging to the Portuguese and Ashkenazi communities, but their number seemed to me to be rather limited. What had happened to these ob-

jects after the outbreak of the war? Had the Dutch Jewish communities been successful in protecting their valuable religious belongings? Or did the Nazis loot on a large scale and did only few items survive? In my paper I will try to reconstruct this history, also focussing on how the Jewish communities and the Dutch government dealt with the claims of these losses after the war. During the last decades, Art has been the focus of world wide attention in the framework of Nazi looting and restitution. Up till recently, there has hardly been any focus on the looting of Jewish ritual objects. My research is a concrete example of a growing awareness, among European Jewish museums in general, of our responsibility to reconstruct the histories of our collections and of Judaica collections of Jewish communities in Europe, that were lost, destroyed or dispersed as a result of the Second World War.

Cohen, Mordechai Z., *Maimonides vs. Abraham Ibn Ezra: Two Mediterranean Bible Exegetes*

While Abraham Ibn Ezra has long been known as an important Bible exegete, the achievements of his compatriot from Muslim Spain, Moses Maimonides, have not been appreciated in this realm. Taking Ibn Ezra as a point of departure, the proposed paper will explore the contributions of Maimonides to the tradition of Jewish Bible interpretation, with special focus on peshuto shel miqra (“the plain sense of Scripture”). Although Maimonides did not write running commentaries (as Ibn Ezra did), the interpretation of Scripture and interpretive theory were central in his philosophical and legal writings. Furthermore, the exegesis of Maimonides – now increasingly appreciated as a “Mediterranean thinker” – requires evaluation within his various cultural contexts, both Jewish and non-Jewish. While this has long been appreciated by scholars of Maimonides’ philosophical thought, it is time to apply a similar method to his biblical hermeneutics. Although scholars of Bible interpretation have typically viewed peshat as a function of “the text itself,” current theory highlights the importance of the reader’s perspective even in determining the “plain sense.” This also suggests a new cultural portrait of Ibn Ezra as a biblical interpreter in light of his broad range of interests (poetry, grammar, astronomy, astrology – and Arabic learning in general) and experiences (early life in Spain, exile among Jewish communities in Christian lands). In this vein, I shall explore Maimonides’ Bible interpretation in light of his Geonic-Andalusian heritage, Karaite influence, and his involvement with various branches of Arabic learning, including logic, poetics, Qur’anic hermeneutics and Muslim jurisprudence. This study of Maimonides, in turn, will be used to illuminate the notion of “the way of peshat” advanced by Ibn Ezra, which actually is more complex than usually thought, since he, too, endeavored to interpret Scripture – by way of peshat – in harmony with science and rabbinic tradition.

Cohen, Richard, *The Few and the Many: Political Philosophy and Levinas*

The distinction between “the few and the many” is central to political philosophy. From its inception in ancient Greece, through Machiavelli and the Renaissance, and continuing through modern political thinkers such as Hobbes, Spinoza, Locke, Hegel and Marx, up to this very day (Frankfurt School, Rawls), this distinction has been primarily determined in epistemological terms: as the distinction between the few who are knowledgeable and mindful and the many who are ignorant and emotional. Emmanuel Lev-

inas, whose thought is grounded in the ethical metaphysics of the Hebrew Bible as interpreted through the rabbinic Oral Tradition, contests such a framing of politics. For Levinas the purpose of the state is to serve justice, a point about which the ancient Greek philosophers agreed. But because justice is not simply a function of knowledge, and because, contrary to modern political thought, it is not only a mighty (police and military, capital punishment and war) restriction of the so-called “natural” human being’s otherwise violent self-interests; the state by itself does not define justice (“reasons of state”). Justice is not simply order, whether of intellect or of might. Rather, the state’s purpose, justice, arises as a rectification of social morality, and social morality – an ethical “denucleation” of the self, the “face-to-face,” “being-for-the-other,” responsibility for the neighbor – is the “defining” structure of the “humanity of the human.” Thus, more concretely, Levinas defends a liberal-social-democratic politics as the most just form of political sovereignty. Thus Levinas contrasts a “covenantal” or communitarian politics, justice derived from responsibility, a politics based in the noble singularity of moral agents, to modern “contract” theory, with its self-interested individualism, and to the ancient epistemological prejudice, with its philosopher-king.

Cohen, Yoseph, *What induced Hananel da Foligno to convert to Catholicism, or, New Findings regarding the influence of Kabbalah upon 16th-Century Italian Jewry*

The motivations which induced Hananel da Foligno, scion of a Rabbinical family, not to mention a prominent Jewish banking family in the Umbria region, to travel to Rome in the year 1542, and to undergo baptism, have not, as of yet, been sufficiently researched. It has been assumed, heretofore, that his main motivation for this unusual step had been strictly economic, i.e. a bankruptcy, which prevented him from continuing his banking career, and left no other options open before him. Furthermore, in light of the Papal Bull of March 21st 1542, known as *Cupientes Iudaeos*, which offered financial incentives, and benefits to all new converts, it would only seem natural for him to convert, in order to maintain his financial standing.

In my proposed lecture we will revisit the previously published documents, as well as recently discovered ones which have until now been unavailable to researchers, and we will suggest with a high degree of certainty, that the main cause of Da Foligno’s apostasy was as a result of the influence of the Kabbalah.

This conclusion dovetails well with what we know regarding the increased tendency, throughout the 16th century, of theologians and missionaries to utilize the Kabbalah as an important conversionary tactic. Many other well known apostates of this era are known to have converted under this influence, such as: Raffaele Aquilino, Ludovico Carretto, and Antonio Possevino. Among the documents we shall present during the lecture is one which implicates Hananel da Foligno in the public debates over the printing of the Zohar between 1557-1560. This caused great distress to the Rabbis of Italy, as it was obvious to them that the sole purpose of the missionaries was to utilize the work as a tool for conversion to Christianity.

Cohn, Yehudah, *Rabbinic Trade Regulation Reconsidered*

My proposed paper investigates economic and political factors associated with rabbinic restrictions on commerce with pagans in Roman Palestine. While ostensibly motivated entirely by religious considerations regarding proximity to pagan worship, these rul-

ings raise several other issues with respect to rabbinic concerns, whose answers will be sought in Palestinian rabbinic sources: 1) Were restrictions on trade with gentiles seen as improving the economic lot of Jews? 2) To what extent are the rabbis countering the economic effect of fairs linked to pagan festivals, which may have promoted commerce primarily for those involved in the religious nature of their proceedings, and competed with local marketing mechanisms? 3) Can the above-mentioned rules be seen as an attempt at rabbinic leadership in resistance to Rome? 4) Is the apparent relaxation of these restrictions over time to be viewed as an effect, in part at least, of actual or potential retaliation, or at any rate of the acknowledgement that bilateral freedom of trade might work to the benefit of all parties?

Here it is to be noted that regulation of trade is frequently protectionist in nature, and designed to benefit the regulators' own constituency. However, while the relaxation of Jewish religious restrictions associated with paganism has been attributed to economic factors, the link between the latter and the initial imposition of regulation is less commonly made. Previous scholarship has discussed political factors in relation to the imposition of specific rabbinic restrictions on sales to gentiles (of land, produce and animals), but has avoided economic concerns. Other Jewish religious restrictions, albeit affecting trade indirectly, have however been regarded in a similar light to the one proposed here – thus, for example, it has been suggested that glass vessels were brought into the orbit of purity regulations in order to protect Jewish industry from their import.

Corazzol, Giacomo, *A Hebrew-Aramaic Psellos: The ultimate source of Pico della Mirandola's Zoroastrian conclusions*

The paper intends to shed light on the nature of the elusive source employed by Pico della Mirandola for the elaboration of his *Conclusiones secundum opinionem Chaldeorum Theologorum* and his *Conclusiones secundum propriam opinionem de intelligentia dictorum Zoroastris et expositorum eius chaldeorum* contained in his *Conclusiones nongentae*. Up till now, the only accepted notion as to the nature of Pico's source has been Wirszubski's well-grounded assumption that it must be Flavius Mithridates who forged the "Chaldean" original texts which Pico claimed to have used in formulating his Zoroastrian theses. The later researches conducted by S. A. Farmer, M. Stausberg and P. C. Bori provided no further insight on the matter, which thus remained an "unsolved" and "tantalizing literary problem" (Wirszubski).

Yet, if indeed Pico relied on some forgery of Mithridates', what had been the latter's source? A precious hint had already been put forward some eighty years ago by B. Kieszkowski, who suggested that Pico's source should ultimately be identified with Michael Psellus' version of the *Chaldean Oracles*, his commentary, and his summaries of Chaldean theology. Left unsupported by any vouchers and ignored by subsequent scholarship, Kieszkowski's hint remained a hypothesis still to be verified.

The paper aims at showing that, apart from conclusions 8>12-8>15 (whose source remains unclear) all of the statements contained in the two above mentioned sets of conclusions can be traced back to Psellus' version of the Chaldean oracles, his commentary, and his two summaries of Assyrian and Chaldean beliefs – part of which Mithridates apparently translated into a Hebrew-Aramaic jargon;

that, as far as the kabbalistic hints contained in these conclusions are concerned, Pico relied mostly on Menahem of Recanati's *Commentary on the Torah*.

The paper also intends to show some of the manipulations performed by Mithridates

on the original Greek texts in translating them into “Chaldean;” and how Pico combined Psellus’ interpretation of the oracles with kabbalistic notions.

Crhová, Marie, *Moravská Ostrava as the Epicenter of Jewish Nationalism in Interwar Czechoslovakia*

At the turn of the 19th century the Zionists could boast a significant following among the Jews of Moravia, especially when compared to Jewish communities in the Habsburg Empire’s other western provinces. The vibrancy of the Jewish national idea was conditioned by a set of factors that helped preserve a traditional ‘ethnic’ identity among Moravia’s Jews decades after emancipation and circumstances that made the Jewish ‘national’ option particularly appealing. This was one of the reasons why in the interwar period the Czechoslovak Zionist leaders preferred an expanding frontier city of Moravská Ostrava – ‘the Moravian Manchester’ – to become their headquarters. The city was marked by an explosive rather than gradual development as a result of the nineteenth-century coal boom. This truly cosmopolitan centre with very few autochthonous patrician families attracted both working class and top professionals of all former Habsburg lands. Such an environment provided a valuable stimulus to cultural life, helping the Zionists implement bold new projects and initiatives, build essential infrastructure and bridge the gap between the largely prosperous population of the western provinces and the more sizeable and orthodox Jewish communities of Slovakia and Subcarpathian Ruthenia. The paper will explore the Zionists’ ramified efforts to make Moravská Ostrava the focal point of their aspirations in Mandatory Palestine, and to establish virtually another ‘consulate’ in the city, alongside the French, Italian, German, Polish and Yugoslav representations. Focusing in particular on various attempts to navigate the increasingly precarious cultural, educational and political terrain of the interwar period, the paper will present a largely untold and unparalleled chapter in the history of modern Jewish nationalism in Central Europe.

Dabrowa, Edward, *The Hasmoneans and the Religious Homogeneity of their State*

It is well known that the Maccabean uprising was a movement directed against Hellenization of social and religious life of Judaea. In their fighting against the Seleucids and their Jewish supporters, the Hasmoneans used not only military measures but also religious ones. The latter were used by Judah Maccabee against the Jewish sympathizers with Hellenistic culture and collaborators with the Seleucids in a form of forced Judaization. During the rule of the Hasmonean family, forced Judaization was used also by John Hyrcanus and Alexander Jannaeus against the population of Samaria, Idumaea and Transjordan after the conquest of these areas. Religious motivation is also present in Simon’s dealings with Greek inhabitants of Gezer. All mentioned cases are very interesting because no strict rules are known on the ground of Judaism which would encourage forced Judaization of foreign population.

The aim of the proposed paper is to present all these cases in the context of the Hasmoneans’ policy to build their own state on the grounds of religious homogeneity.

Danieli, Natascia, *Leon Modena’s letters*

Leon Modena (Venice, 1571 - 1648) wrote about 700 letters to different correspondents:

Jews, Protestants and Catholics, in Hebrew and Italian. His surviving letters are preserved in different manuscripts and are partly published. They date from 1579 to 1640. From these letters we learn that Leon Modena took pride as a writer of letters because this occupation was, for long periods of his life, his only means of livelihood. Consequently, Leon Modena always paid more attention to style and he was able to write letters of professional quality, which were used by others as their own. By their nature, letters address concerns of the moment of writing, even if Leon Modena surely adopted poses to impress the recipient, granting or withholding information depending on his relationship but letters have strengths as historical sources that even his autobiography cannot match. This paper especially analyses letters between Leon Modena and Shemu'el Archivolti (Cesena c. 1515– Padua 1611).

Dash Moore, Deborah – Goldstein, Judith – Moscati Steindler, Gabriella,
“The Ethnographic Eye: Jewish Travellers’ Perspectives on Difference”. Photographs; Autobiography; Theater

1. In the 20th century, Jewish travellers viewed the world through ethnographic lenses, portraying contemporary customs from the perspective of outsiders. This panel presents three complementary visions of difference: through photographs (Deborah Dash Moore), diaries (Gabriella Steindler Moscati) and theatre (Judith Goldstein). Unlike other travellers’ reports on Jews, that present them as exotic and oppressed, these travellers saw the world through Jewish eyes. Their perspectives as assimilated European Jews toward others reveal a measure of fascination for difference as well as a desire to record its pathos and strangeness.

In the years before and after World War II several Jewish photographers came to the United States and recorded their impressions of a world that appeared strikingly unlike the European milieu in which they had grown up. Their pictures of Americans revealed aspects of American society that seemed to be unfamiliar. Indeed, most Americans did not recognize themselves or their countrymen in these images. Yet from the perspective of half a century or even more later, we can see today how these photographs capture a moment in time that also reflects a point of view toward the men and women pictured. This paper looks at the photographs of John Guttman, Lisette Model, Robert Frank, and William Klein to explore these perspectives. It asks why these photographers portrayed Americans as such odd men and women. It explores Jewish unease and a vision of outsiders who drew upon the resources of ethnography to convey a way of life that appeared to them remote, exotic and inaccessible.

2. Autobiographies and diaries provide intriguing glimpses into the changing world and give a personal picture on the life of Jewish families at the beginning of the 20th century. This paper will focus on the autobiography of a German woman, Rahel Straus who was one of the first women who got the degree of doctor of medicine at the University of Heidelberg. It will explore the experience of an orthodox Jewish woman in the framework of the secular milieu and her participation to the Zionist movement. This approach would remain close to her individual experience while giving a sense of the cultural diversity of the Jewish experience. 3. “The Playwright as Ethnographer”. The paper will focus on Iranian Jewish immigrants in Israel and deals with issues of translation from Persian language plays written and performed by these immigrants in Jerusalem and other cities. It will argue that the plays present ethnographic perspectives on Iranian culture, the challenges of migration from Iran to Israel, and gender relations.

David, Joseph E., *Toleration of deviation in medieval halakhah*

The talk will deal with the notion of tolerance of deviation from standard norms or opinions in medieval Jewish thought, examining the historical and conceptual background behind the principles of such toleration. Against the view that toleration as a virtue is a modern phenomenon, and that apparent traces of toleration in pre-modern times should be taken merely as post factum pragmatic acceptance, the talk will present evidence for the possibility of a recognition by medieval rabbis of the right to be wrong, or to hold a wrong opinion, while still remaining within the range of legitimate Judaism. The talk will then go on to suggest a conceptual framework for understanding the mechanisms of tolerance in the medieval Halakhic world.

De Lange, Nicholas, *Medieval Hebrew Inscriptions from the Byzantine Empire*

A report on a research and publication project sponsored by the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes (Paris). The aim is to prepare a corpus of medieval Hebrew inscriptions from the territories of the Byzantine empire, excluding Italy but including territories such as Crete that fell under Latin rule after 1204. The paper will describe the aims and methods of the project, and report on progress to date. With the generous cooperation of the Jewish Museum of Greece and the Hellenic Ministry of Culture considerable progress has been made in Greece, and many unpublished inscriptions are coming to light. In the other country mainly concerned, Turkey, the investigation is proving more difficult. So far it appears that few inscriptions, if any, survive in other countries such as Albania, Bulgaria, Macedonia and Cyprus. The paper will discuss briefly some specific features of the inscriptions and draw attention to the types of historical information that they can provide.

De Prado Plumed, Jesús, *The Italian paradoxes of Alfonso de Zamora (fl. 1516-1545): Abravanel on Latter Prophets from Jewish Italy to Converso Castile*

The examination of Alfonso de Zamora's manuscript and printed corpus shows some evidence which contradicts previous scholarly assumptions. My aim in this presentation will be to address those previous assumptions and to set the grounds for a more nuanced historical explanation based on material evidence. An example of those assumptions has to do with trade and consumption of Hebrew books in Spain after 1492. Common scholarly wisdom goes that books in Hebrew script would have been banned from the Iberian kingdoms following the ban of Jewish subjects from Iberian soil. I will take up the case of an Italian edition of Abravanel's *Commentary on Latter Prophets* (Soncino, 1520; shelf mark: Madrid, UCM, BH DER 687 [vol. I] & 686 [vol. II]) which was bought by the University of Alcalá de Henares (or "Complutensian") for its library some 40 years after 1492. Alfonso de Zamora, who was then the university's Hebrew professor, was hired in the 1530s by the rector to vocalize and supplement those two volumes with commentaries. The analysis of these two volumes makes a good case to question a number of assumptions that traditionally go along with the study of Judaic books in Early Modern Castile. For instance, that all things Jewish – including books – were banned from landing on Iberian soil; that native Converso Castilian Hebraism was legally cut off from Jewish circles outside Spain; or that the only sustainable

hypothesis one can ascertain when studying Conversos is a choice between underground crypto-Judaism, Christian anti-Semitism or 'Averroist' atheism.

I hope that my emphasis on the study of material evidence serves as a case study to foster a more comprehensive, less ideologically-driven view in the study of all matters Sephardic in the premodern world.

De Vries, David, *Diamonds in Wartime Palestine*

Built on a traditional Jewish occupational niche and driven by the needs of the battle against Nazi Germany the know-how and craft practices of diamond-cutting were transferred in the late 1930s and early 1940s from Antwerp and Amsterdam to Netanya and Tel Aviv. In the transplantation the British colonial power, the De Beers cartel and the local Zionist entrepreneurs made certain that diamond manufacturing would be under Jewish control, organized as a monopoly and based on an ethnic-trust system. At the same time traditional diamond-production practices were adapted and harnessed to Zionist state-building interests of social engineering and regimentation, thus challenging a long-standing and borderless immigrants' craft culture.

Supported by the non-competitive environment of the war period, by American demand for diamonds and by the protection of both an interventionist 'Mandate state' and the diamond cartel, the Palestine industry spurred in 1941-1946 as a leading world diamond cutting center.

The expansion was curtailed only by the recuperation of the Belgian diamond industry which was buttressed by Anglo-Belgian post-war imperial interests and De Beers' re-orientation on Antwerp as the hegemonic power in diamond making and trading. On the British retreat from Palestine and the establishment of Jewish sovereignty in Israel in 1948-9 the pact between state and capital was reproduced and the diamond industry was able to gradually recover its local and world renown. Through the making of the diamond occupational community in Palestine and work culture that evolved in the diamond factories the paper seeks to examine the inseparability of craft culture from international politics during a period of war, national conflict and transformation of Empire.

Del Barco, Francisco Javier, *Reconstructing the early history of two kabbalistic manuscripts from El Escorial library*

Modern codicology approaches the study of the codex not only as the material support by which a text is transmitted, but also as a cultural object prone to be analyzed from various standpoints: political, religious, artistic, social, etc. A holistic study is therefore necessary to retrieve pieces of information from the historical, social and cultural contexts in which individuals and communities interacted in the Middle Ages.

Codicology focuses primarily on the process of making medieval manuscripts and on the historical elements which have left traces on them. Through an in-depth palaeographic and codicological analysis of a manuscript, scholars seek to find those pieces of information which reveal personal and communal interests in culture, religion, politics and art. This paper will focus on the codicological and palaeographic study of two Hebrew manuscripts of Sephardic origin, both held at El Escorial library, containing kabbalistic works.

Such a study will reveal significant data concerning the circumstances of the manu-

scripts' production, composition and structure, as well as their early history and the individuals and communities to which they belonged.

Dell'Aversano, Carmen, *The Paradoxes of Assimilation: Quotation, Disidentifying and Redemption as Untenable Positions*

Günther Anders's reminiscences of assimilated Jewish life and culture in *Besuch im Hades* will provide the starting point for an analysis of assimilation in terms of three frameworks drawn from literary theory and the social sciences, selected for their potential to shed new light on the phenomenon, on its structure and on its outcome.

Within the first framework assimilation is viewed as a form of quotation; this implies the construction of non-Jewish identity as a text, and the reformulation of social and political issues as textual problems. The second framework views assimilation as a form of what Erving Goffman in his analysis of stigma calls a "disidentifier", a sign aimed at disassociating an individual from membership in a stigmatized group; this implies the acceptance of the existence of the group and of the stigma associated with it. Within the context of the third framework assimilation can be defined as a systemic strategy aimed at "redemption", that is, at the erasing an original "guilt" and at the obtaining of full status as an "unblemished" individual; this possibility relies on the preliminary acceptance of the script for "redemption" current in Western Christian culture. All three frameworks will show assimilation to be an inherently paradoxical process, and will finally endorse Anders's conclusion that "all roads lead to Auschwitz".

Di Nepi, Serena, *From Italy to Turkey (and back again): the Roman Inquisition and Jewish travellers in the Mediterranean area (XVI-XVIII centuries)*

The Papal Constitution *Antiqua Iudaeorum Improbilas* (1593) was an important part of the history of relations between Italian Jews (or Jews living in Italy) and the Inquisition. Thanks to this law, in fact, the *Sacra Congregazione* was finally and formally invested with full powers of control over the Jews to preserve those principles of law and faith "*quae sunt commune*" between Judaism and Christianity. This standard was suddenly used to watch over every aspect of Jewish life, from religious issues to both cultural and economic ones. Among these widely varied cases, there stand out the travels of the Jews in Turkish territories and any conversion to Islam; apostasy even from Judaism was regarded as betrayal of those principles. Reading the spontaneous confessions of the Jews and the questions drawn up by the *consultori* on the basis of the juridical literature and previous cases, it is possible to reflect from a new perspective both on the history of the Italian Jews in the Ghetto Age and on the history of the Roman Inquisition itself.

Diamond, James A., *R. Abraham Isaac Kook's Maimonides: A Contemporary Mystic's Subversive Embrace of a Medieval Rationalist*

Shortly before his death in 1935 R. Kook published a vigorous defence of Maimonides against a current orthodox assault which faulted Maimonides for importing alien Greek thought into Judaism in his Guide. First R. Kook argued that Maimonides' philosophical oeuvre is at its core grounded in a consummately Jewish conceptions of prophecy, creation, and providence. R. Kook combined this substantive defence with a kind of

pluralist notion of achieving holiness and true faith in God. Different paths and ideas are legitimate according to individual spiritual needs and constitutions and the Maimonidean approach qualifies as authentically Jewish for those who are inclined toward the philosophical. Finally R. Kook offers a holistic approach which rejects bifurcating the Maimonides' of the Guide from that of the Mishneh Torah whereby one can sever the latter from the former. Scattered throughout his vast corpus R. Kook often refers to and draws on Maimonidean formulations in aid of his own kabbalistic ones and the focus of this paper will be on how R. Kook accomplishes this with respect to the three pillars of Maimonides' orthodoxy noted of prophecy, creation, and providence. One of the key methods of appropriating Maimonides is by philosophical exegesis which involves the citation of a critical verse that appears in Maimonides and creatively reinventing it in a kabbalistic register. One example of many is R. Kook's mystical appropriation of Maimonides' commentary to Ps. 119:126, "It is time to act for God, for they have violated your teachings," which he describes as a "philosophical mystical secret" in understanding divine providence. This is emblematic of what I will argue is a subversion of Maimonidean exegesis in the profound attempt to ultimately reconstruct or translate it into a new philosophical mysticism.

Dijkers, Lisalette, *Iranian Jews in the Interregnum*

The topic of my lecture will be Iranian Jews in the interregnum period 1941-1953 and to what extent factors (mainly political) caused their affiliation to Iran to increase or decrease. The available literature on Iranian Jews suggests improvement of Iranian Jewish life throughout the first half of the twentieth century, and especially during the period 1941-1953 their options for political participation seem to increase. However, it does not elaborate extensively on how this amelioration influenced their loyalties and how it formed their identity.

During the interregnum (1941-1953) there were many factors that could have contributed to an intensification of an affiliation with Iranian identity for Jews as well as many factors that could have reduced this affiliation, especially in the field of politics. Zionism was on the rise and went downhill again and at the same time Israel was established. The Tudeh (communist) party, even though it was officially expected to follow the political line of Moscow, did not purge the party of its Jews. Some Jews, like the example of the leftist Jewish weekly *Bani Adam*, agreed with the anti-imperialist discourse and attacked foreign Jewish organizations. The National Front cooperated with right-wing and religious parties of which most focused on the anti-imperialist discourse and some on the anti-Semitic discourse.

The attacks on Jews in the newspapers or by political parties were often directed at "imperialist-Israel" and not specifically at the Jews. However, sometimes the line between attacking Israel or the Jews was not clear.

In my lecture I will suggest factors that caused a tension between feelings of inclusion and exclusion of Iranian Jews. Questions that will be touched upon are: to what extent did Zionism contribute to a feeling of detachment from Iran? How did the attitude of Iran toward Israel affect Iranian Jews? To what degree did the Iranian Jews – pro-Israel, anti-Israel or neutral – feel the consequences? How did Iranian Jews identify themselves with the political dynamics during the interregnum? To what extent did the fact that Iranian Jews could participate in politics contribute to the feeling that they were part of Iran?

Domagalska, Malgorzata, *The linguistic image of the Jew in the Polish anti-Semitic and conservative press at the turn of the 19th and 20th century*

When we read anti-Semitic press published before the Second World War, we are usually shocked looking at the language that was used to describe the Jews, but looking at the anti-Semitic and conservative press at the turn of 19th and 20th century proves that spreading anti-Semitic propaganda before the Holocaust was much easier than we had expected. In the first anti-semitic weekly “Rola”, which appeared in Warsaw in 1883, in “Rozwoj”, published in Lodz, and in the conservative weeklies “Wiek” and “Niwa”, the journalists used the same kind of metaphors that we can find in a nationalistic press before the Second World War. Jews were compared to plagues, to repulsive creatures such as louses, vipers, and spiders, or to harmful plants – weeds. In the powerfully delineated division of society into “one’s own” and “alien”, military rhetoric was employed as well. It means that this kind of rhetoric in the 1930s was nothing new. The readers were familiar with it and prepared to treat the Jews in inhumane way. The journalism from the second half of 19th century prepared the ground for later indifference and passivity, more rarely for aggression, from the Poles, with regard to the fate during the war of the Jews, who were sent to ghettos and later to death.

Dönitz, Saskia, *Josephus Torn to Pieces - Fragments of Sefer Yosippon in Genizat Germania*

The DFG-funded project “Genizat Germania” under the supervision of Prof. Andreas Lehnardt aims at a systematic search for Hebrew fragments reused as book bindings or covers in libraries and archives throughout Germany. Since the beginning of the search hundreds of fragments of manuscripts have been found. Most of them contain biblical, liturgical or halakhic texts. It is rare to find fragments of narrative texts. But the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München hosts two cases in which fragments of narrative Hebrew texts have been reused as book bindings. The first contains a part of the Hebrew Alexander Romance. The second presents the Hebrew paraphrase of the works of Flavius Josephus called *Sefer Yosippon* or *Sefer Josef ben Gorion*. In this lecture I will introduce the München fragment of *Sefer Yosippon* and discuss its relevance against the background of my research on the book’s history of transmission and reception in medieval Hebrew literature.

Piotr Drag, *Jewish Catacombs in Malta in the Mediterranean context*

This topic is related to the subject of my PhD research: From death to life. A place of the dead in Judaism of the second temple period. The subject of Jewish responses to death and Jewish beliefs about afterlife have attracted numerous investigators over the past century or so. And almost from very beginning, the interpretation of this aspect of Jewish culture has been fraught with controversy. The 20th century has seen both advocates and opponents of Jewish death cult and its singularity and uniqueness.

Malta for many reasons is a fascinating territory for research mainly because of its rich history and location, being a crossing bridge for different people, who have all left traces on the island. My assumption in this research is that as Judaism had ambiguous attitudes toward the dead within monotheistic religions in Antiquity, nonetheless Jews, especially living in the Mediterranean Diaspora, very often followed the practices of their neighbours, such as for instance burial. A very good example of this, are the Jewish cat-

acombs in Malta. It is interesting to observe how these early Jews used various forms and usages in conformity with local customs and habits. They constructed their catacombs in the same manner and with the use of the same rich forms of tombs as was being done by the neo-Punics and Christians; they placed their catacombs in areas surrounded by those of the neo-Punics and Christians; and they developed them as the others did by using the shafts and tombs which had been used by the Punics before them. Like the neo-Punics and Christians, Jews used Greek in denoting the names of those buried in the tombs. Likewise, the boat and the palm leaf are found on the walls of the Jewish tombs, just as on those of the Christians or Greeks. However, the Jewish identity of the catacombs found in Rabat (Malta) is evidenced strongly as all them bear carved representations of a Menorah. The Jewish identity of the particular catacombs is also testified by the lack of typical objects for Maltese Catacombs – Agape Tables (round tables stone tables surrounded by typical Roman style couches for reclining dining).

Nevertheless a Jewish cult of dead could be proved by the existence of some benches within the Jewish hypogea, that would permit a visitor a longer stay in the presence of their ancestors. All of these forms could be seen as expressions of spiritual creativity in an attempt to assimilate certain practises associated with their neighbours. Study of it in depth could be really a fruitful contribution to the studies of Judaism in the Mediterranean context.

Dweck, Yaacob, *Leon Modena, Christian Kabbalah, and Jewish Converts to Christianity*

This paper will use the writings of Leon Modena (1571-1648) as a means to explore the role of Kabbalah as a social and intellectual factor in the conversion of Jews to Christianity. Modena, a preacher, printer, and rabbi who lived in Venice, wrote a number of polemical works that offer important evidence on the intersection of Christian Kabbalah with the conversion of Jews to Christianity in early modern Italy. The first part of this paper will examine Modena's critique of Christian Kabbalah in *Ari Nohem*. It will focus on Modena as a reader of the two prominent early modern Christian kabbalists, Pico della Mirandola (1463-1494) and Johannes Reuchlin (1455-1522). Using hitherto unexamined manuscript sources, this paper will suggest that one of the primary factors motivating Modena's polemical response to Pico and Reuchlin was a fear of Christian preachers who used Kabbalah to entice contemporary Jews to convert Christianity. It will further explore the role of the biblical Ezra in Modena's response to Pico and Reuchlin. It will suggest that the attempt by early modern Christians to appropriate Ezra as a crucial figure in the transmission of esoteric secrets played an important role in the revaluation of sacred texts as a means to entice the conversion of contemporary Jews. The second part of this paper will examine the attitude toward Kabbalah by one of Modena's students, a figure born as a Jew named Samuel Nahmias who converted to Christianity and took the name Giulio Morosini. Using Morosini's *Via della fede* (1683), I will suggest that his attitude toward Christianity and conversion was deeply affected by his former teacher's criticism of Kabbalah.

Ehrlich, Uri, *Some Observations on the Prayer Texts in Siddur Rav Saadia Gaon*

The text of Siddur Rav Saadia Gaon, published nearly seventy years ago according to a single manuscript, does not provide a trustworthy basis for arriving at the siddur's

original readings. However, hundreds of additional prayer texts from this siddur are known from Geniza fragments and any study of nusah ha-tefillah must take these data into account. This lecture illustrates how fragments of the Shmone Esre from Geniza copies of Siddur Rav Saadia Gaon enable extrapolation of a version closer to the original text of the siddur. The conclusions from this illustration will also provide us with more knowledge on the ways that Rav Saadia chose the prayer versions for his Prayer book.

Eisenberg, Eugeny, *Patriarch Photius and the First Jewish History Written by a Gentile*

Among the great number of writings of Photius, patriarch of Constantinople during the ninth century, modern researchers have been especially interested in the *Myriobiblion*, or *Bibliotheca*. In this work Photius epitomized a lot of ancient sources, which have not come to us directly.

One of these lost sources is the *Bibliotheca* of Diodorus Siculus, the Greek author of the first century BC. The *Bibliotheca* contained the Jewish Excursus (*Bibliotheca* XL, 3), which was attributed by Diodorus to Hecataeus Abderitas, or Hecataeus Theos, the Greek author of the late fourth to early third century BC. The Excursus contains the description of the Twelve Tribes of Israel and the Exodus, Moses and his Law, Judaea and Jerusalem, the Temple and its priests, and other fundamental terms and concepts of Judaism too.

If the Excursus is accepted as authentic, it might be the first detailed mention of Jews and Judaism in Gentile Hellenistic literature, and also the first Jewish history written by Gentiles. However, recently the discussion about the authenticity of the Excursus has developed. One of the arguments for the forgery of the Excursus is patriarch Photius' opinion. The latter claimed that the Excursus had been written by Diodorus, but had been ascribed by him to Hecataeus.

This research is focused on the following question: why did Photius think that the Excursus was forged? It seems that this question could be divided into a lot of others, such as: which methodology and tools were used by Photius for examination of the authenticity of his source? How correct were these methods and tools? Why did Photius think that the forgery was made by Diodorus? What was Photius' attitude to Hecataeus, Diodorus, and the theme of the Excursus?

By trying to answer these questions, we will analyze other examples of Photius' criticism of the authenticity of ancient fragments, quoted by Diodorus, and by other authors as well.

Epstein, Alek, *Between Affection and Estrangement: Hannah Arendt on Jewish Identity, Zionism and Israel*

Although probably one of the greatest Jewish thinkers of the 20th century, who visited Palestine and later Israel repeatedly from 1935, Hannah Arendt has remained a neglected intellectual in the Jewish state, where not one of her books was published during her life; even her insightful essay "Zionism Reconsidered", originally published in 1944, was never translated into Hebrew and was not included in any anthology available in Israel. The proposed paper addresses this phenomenon, taking into account both its internal and external reasons.

Hannah Arendt was born in 1906 to an assimilated German Jewish family. In 1929 she

completed her dissertation on the idea of love in the thought of St. Augustine. However, the rising anti-Semitism afflicting the German polity distracted her from metaphysics and compelled her to face the historical dilemma of German Jews. By writing a biography of Rahel Varnhagen (a German Jewish woman who lived in Berlin in the early 19th century and hosted a famous literary salon), Arendt sought to understand how her subject's conversion to Christianity and repudiation of Jewishness illuminated the conflict between minority status and German nationalism. Arendt was interested always in secular Jewish matters and hardly at all in Judaism as such. *Rahel Varnhagen: The Life of a Jewish Woman* was not published until 1958.

Jewish identity was so inescapable an aspect of her sensibility that, when beginning a lecture in Cologne less than a decade after World War II, she announced: "I am a German Jew driven from my homeland by the Nazis". However, her claim that fewer than six million Jews would have died if the Jewish councils had not collaborated to various degrees with the Nazis (which was one of the main propositions in her book *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*, published in 1963) has been rejected by the vast majority of its Jewish readers, both in Israel and abroad. Her attribution of some responsibility for the catastrophe to the *Judenrates* met sharp criticism. Her remarks about the passivity of the Jews and their willingness to cooperate in their own destruction caused even her friends to back off and doubt her loyalty to the Jewish people. I think that this is not fair; as mentioned by Steven Aschheim, "as a 'connected critic', a member of the family rather than an outsider or enemy, her arguments have standing and authority; they demand engagement rather than simple dismissal".

Hanna Arendt's controversial attitudes toward her Jewishness, Zionism and Israel led some historians of ideas to describe her views as a "non-nationalist" nationalism. As an opponent of liberal assimilation, she turned to Zionism; but as an anti-nationalist, she had equally strong misgivings about the idea of Jewish sovereignty. As emphasized by Natan Sznaider, "in a deviation from classic Zionism she wanted to see Jewish rather than Israeli sovereignty, and communal rather than territorial politics". One dimension of her dissent flowed from her belief that Jewish national rights and politics had to be conducted in worldwide rather than Palestinocentric terms.

Hannah Arendt's criticism of Jewish and Israeli politics emanated from her deep commitment and solidarity with the Jewish people. The relentless attempt to come to grips with the tricky question of how to be a human being, a citizen and a Jew all at the same time – that was Hannah Arendt's way of grappling with the problem of Jewish existence in the 20th century. Some of the most essential questions and problems addressed by Hannah Arendt in her essays published several decades ago have not been solved by the State of Israel until the present day, and it seems that some of her insights are still most relevant and could enrich and diversify public polemics both in Israel and the Diaspora.

Facchini, Cristiana, *Jewish Political Narratives and Practices in the 17th Century*

At the end of 19th century Bernard Lazare, who published a book on the history of Antisemitism, underlined that during the 17th century representations and discourse about Jews and Judaism dramatically changed. Old charges depending on theological dispute and polemics were marginalized in order to focus on a different question: did the Jews, and therefore Judaism, have a right to belong to the Christian polity? If yes, how was this right to be accomplished and justify?

It is precisely during the 17th century that we witness, as historians, a different approach regarding the right of the Jews to dwell in Christian states and cities. New historiographical trends (such as those of the Jesuits) and new political problems, namely the rise of a different discourse on toleration, produced a number of political theories that had some impact on the cultures of the Jews and on Judaism as well.

My paper will focus on different Jewish narratives and discursive strategies that dealt extensively with this question. Narratives on this topic can be roughly divided between religious and economic ones and are widespread in different kinds of sources.

The former are generally focused on 1. the Bible as the place of God's election and as a source of political and religious identity; 2. Christian messianic currents – namely the millenarians – that recognized the need for toleration in order to pursue God's grand design.

The latter discourse is derived from historical experience and interaction with Christians. It is a narrative that became very popular and widespread and it is rooted in the idea that Jews were the “perfect dweller” because of the wealth they produced and because of their peaceful attitudes toward the state.

Through a cross-cultural analysis of different kind of Jewish texts, such as tracts and apologies, sermons and literature used in the public sphere, I will try to detect different conceptions of Jewish politics, Jewish polity and toleration ideologies. Finally I will try to compare these results with traditional Jewish political *practices* which were meant to provide protection and toleration for their communities.

Feiner, Shmuel, *Pleasures among the Jews in Eighteenth-Century Europe and their Secularizing Meaning*

The eighteenth century of the Jews in Europe is a century of transformation, the century in which so much began and so much was coming into being, a century full up with opposites, contradictions and polemics. By delving deep into this century we can find the keys needed to decipher the code of Jewish modernization. Unprecedented and dramatic changes occurred in various spheres of life, modern sensitivity to these changes developed and the concept of a “New World” emerged (especially among the Jews in Hamburg, Amsterdam, London and Berlin).

The lecture will concentrate on the cultural, transformative meaning of pleasures among the Jews. The tendency to enjoy the pleasures of the body and the soul is built into human society and culture, but in the pre-modern age it was regarded as a human weakness and was much criticized. “What marks the innovativeness of the eighteenth century,” wrote Roy Porter, “is its new accent upon the legitimacy of pleasure... as the routine entitlement of people at large to seek fulfilment in this world rather than only in heavenly salvation, to achieve the ratification of the senses not just the purification of the soul.” In the eighteenth century, more and more Jews in Western and Central Europe found that their desire for pleasure (fashion, coffee, games, etc.) was no longer being satisfied through the traditional, legitimate channels, and their longing for physical gratification and pleasure in keeping with the current fashion was not, in my view, neutral (as was argued for example by Jacob Katz) insofar as their attitude towards the religion and its commandments was concerned. Moreover, I should like to show the connection made at the time between pleasures and Deism, acculturation and critical religious attitudes, and to argue that pleasures had a crucial meaning in the process of Jewish secularization. They expressed the implicit or explicit desire to ignore the norms

and threats of the rabbinical elite, to be freed of its supervision and restrictions, and to acquire a certain degree of personal independence. The lecture will discuss the critics of pleasures and will end with the new attitude of Moses Mendelssohn and his doctrine of enjoyment which cut the link created by the rabbinical elite (one of their main speakers was Jacob Emden) between pleasure and sin. Mendelssohn diminished the gloomy image of life, advocated sensuality, longed for beauty, and was among the first to legitimize enjoyment and pleasure.

Fernández Vallina, Francisco Javier, *A canon for the history of Jewish thought in contemporary modernity?: on the importance and difficulty of a consensus on Jewish diversity*

The object of the present communication (a critical and maybe provocative reflection) is the discussion on the necessity and at the same time impossibility of a “canon” of Jewish thinkers in Modernity, particularly of those active today. The problem is not paltry, not merely *academicista*; in our vision, it has particular repercussions for the way in which the Jewish people understands itself and, in consequence, demonstrates and orientates its ethical, political, social, cultural and religious dimensions. But, at the same time, it is the foundation of perception of the Jews by “the other”, and determines the way Jews contribute valuably to the intercultural patrimony of humanity.

This critical approach is based on the most relevant bibliography of the most significant academics who, during the last two decades, have directed the history of Jewish contemporary thought. The difference expressed by the presence or absence of the thinker and his works in, for example, the indispensable volume of Daniel Frank and Oliver Leaman (edd 1997), in the Anglo-American world, or the very recent publication of Gerard Bensussan and Catherine Chalié (2007), in the area of French and Mediterranean culture, is highly significant. If in the former work some names are absent, such as Walter Benjamin or Emmanuel Levinas, in the latter they do appear, with the addition of Karl Marx in the 19th century, and Sigmund Freud, Hannah Arendt and Hans Jonas in the last century. An analogous discussion may be appropriately applied to the articles of the recent and more eclectic second edition of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (2007).

All this demonstrates, finally, the need for critical reflection, whether a consensus can unify the heritage drawn from the cultural diversity of intellectual creation among contemporary Jews.

Feuchtwanger, David Meir, *Ezra's Neo Conservative Leadership*

The Torah twice describes the ratification of the covenant between God and His “chosen political association”. The Book of Exodus describes the acceptance of the Sinai covenant, while the acceptance of an additional covenant is described in the Books of Ezra and Nechemia. In the second case the people, recently returned from exile, renew their first covenant with God, a covenant that obligates them to separate from their foreign wives and to accept the Torah as their exclusive law. Both of these events are significant landmarks in the life of the Jewish polity. While the Sinai covenant is the first example of the association between God and the community *as a community*, Ezra's covenant is the final testimony in the Bible to agreement between the two sides. And if the Sinai covenant constituted the mechanism for fashioning a regime, in Ezra's covenant this regime is complemented and in a sense completed as the fashioning and

regular operation of government is determined solely by the human political order. This point explains the reason why part of the Takanot described in the Talmud are attributed to Ezra's Court regulation.

In my lecture I will offer an unconventional interpretation of the nature of the relationship between these two covenants. I claim that these two covenants represent two different models of the relationship between theology and politics.

The first model is called, "*Theology shapes politics*". According to this model, described in the book of Exodus, God's wisdom creates the political structure of the Jewish polity. Moreover, God's wisdom is the condition for the political order's construction: the need to shape the political structure obligates God's command.

The second model, on the other hand, emerges from the description of Ezra's covenant. There, "*Politics shapes theology*". The political association desires to "sign on" to a covenant with God, and the theological dimension is shaped in light of a political order that was autonomously determined by the people and its representatives.

These two models represent two types of divine involvement in political processes. That is to say, if the first model presents God as the necessary condition for political order, the second model restricts God's presence and creates a space for man and an independent social order that become, in turn, the necessary condition for the political connection with God. Takanot Ezra in the Talmud, which I intend to speak about, are the perfect examples for this situation.

In summary, my fundamental claim is that this change is not a product of an evolutionary-historical process in which God's revelation in the world is increasingly restricted. Instead, the Bible purposely sets up the opposition between these two models and, as such, considers the second model to be a legitimate source for establishing a political order based upon republican ideals.

Filippov, Igor, *The Jewish names Mancip, Bonmancip: a contribution to medieval Jewish onomastics in the French Midi and in Catalonia*

The names Mancip, Bonmancip, were rather widely used in the mid- and later Middle Ages in the northwestern Mediterranean, especially in the French Midi and in Catalonia. This name – which Christians also employed, though not so often and not so widely in geographical terms – is a transformation of the word "mancip" (massip, mancebo, etc.) commonly used in this area (as well as in other parts of Spain and in Portugal) for "smaller folk": servants, hired workers, commercial agents, apprentices, and so on. It is derived of course from the Latin "mancipium" but was very seldom used after the 11th century to denote a slave. The onomastic material offers a lot of data on the logic and the chronology of this social and legal transformation, as well as on family relations.

Fishman, David E., *In the Shadow of the Holocaust: The Vilna Jewish Museum, 1944-1949*

This paper examines the history of the Jewish Museum in Vilna (Lithuanian: Vilnius), which was established just days after the city's liberation by the Red Army in July 1944. The institution's initial goal was the retrieval and preservation of surviving Jewish cultural treasures in Vilna - which belonged, before the war, to YIVO, the Strashun (Jewish communal) Library, and the An-Ski Historical-Ethnographic Society - as well as the retrieval of documentation and writings produced by Jews in the Vilna and Kovna ghettos.

tos. After its first year of work, in which the Museum struggled for official recognition, financing, and support, and faced indifference and hostility from Soviet Lithuanian officials, the Museum's founders, the Yiddish poets Abraham Sutzkever and Szmerke Kaczerginski, despaired of building Jewish culture on Soviet soil, and emigrated via Poland to Palestine and Argentina respectively.

Under the Museum's second director, Yankl Gutkowitz, its situation stabilized and improved. Its staff consisted at its peak of 10 state-paid employees, including curators, scholars, and a tour-guide. The Museum mounted several exhibits, and featured a permanent exhibit entitled "Fascism is Death", which was dedicated to the Holocaust in Lithuania and Europe at large. This was the first museum exhibit on the Holocaust anywhere, and 200 photographs of the exhibit, or included in it, have survived. They reveal a careful balance between the mourning of Jewish martyrdom, and the proclamation of Soviet patriotism and devotion to the Communist party.

The paper also considers the multiple roles of the museum: as a vehicle for public Holocaust education and commemoration; as a communal center, with public meetings and lectures; as a research institute, with staff scholars who composed scholarly studies; and as an official agency for Jewish cultural and Holocaust affairs vis-à-vis the Soviet authorities in Lithuania.

The Museum was closed down by the authorities in July 1949, in the midst of Stalinist Anti-Semitic campaigns in the USSR, during which all Jewish/Yiddish cultural institutions (theatres, periodicals, publishing houses etc.) were liquidated, and the Yiddish cultural elite was arrested.

In its five year history, the Vilna Jewish museum stands out as a unique phenomenon: it was the only new Jewish scholarly institution created in the post-War USSR, and the first Holocaust Museum in the world. Finally, it was the only Jewish cultural institution in the USSR to be liquidated peacefully – none of its staff members was arrested, sent to the Gulag, or even deprived of employment.

Fram, Edward, *So What Would Rabbi Moses Isserles have Written?*

In his introduction to his comments on *Shulhan `aruk*, Rabbi Moses Isserles noted that he did approve of the methods used by Rabbi Joseph Caro in deciding matters of Jewish law. Nevertheless, Isserles felt duty bound to respond to Caro's code and he wrote comments on Caro's work that are a mainstay of Ashkenazic legal practice. However, before Caro published his *Shulhan `aruk*, Isserles had been working on a code of his own, one that was independent of *Shulhan `aruk*. It would appear that parts of this code survive in Isserles's *Torat ha-hata`at*, a work which was first published before Isserles's glosses to *Shulhan `aruk* began to appear. This paper will offer a characterization of Isserles's independent legal work and compare it to Isserles's methodology in his comments in *Shulhan `aruk*. The goal is to understand whether Ashkenazic traditions developed differently because of the appearance and almost immediate success of Caro's *Shulhan `aruk*.

Francesconi, Federica, *The "Diabolical" Library of Modena: A Cultural Crossroad between Europe and the Mediterranean in the Early Modern Period*

This paper focuses on the yet unexplored intellectual relationships among Jews, reformers (followers of Erasmus, Luther, Calvin, and Zwingli), and Catholics in late-six-

teenth- and early-seventeenth-century Modena through an analysis of their common readings, with a specific focus on the Hebrew and Jewish texts. My research is situated in a critical period with regard to Jewish-Christian relations.

Events such as the burning of the Talmud in 1553, the promulgation of both the *Cum nimis absurdum* bull in 1555 and the *Index* in 1596, and the establishment of ghettos throughout the Italian peninsula reflect increasing tensions between the religious communities. By analyzing common readings, factual encounters, and cultural exchange, the aim of my paper is to contribute to our understanding of how the knowledge of Hebrew and Jewish texts affected identity, culture, and negotiation of social spaces of both Christian and Jews, intellectuals and common people, in early modern Italy.

My analysis is based on unpublished Inquisitorial records, private contracts, local chronicles, and autobiographies and works of Jewish and non-Jewish scholars who lived in Modena at the time. The existing scholarship on the reformer and dissident movements in sixteenth-century Modena benefits and supplements my study.

Moreover, this paper positively responds to recent historiographical attempts that have been made to go beyond categorizations such as Renaissance and Baroque and to re-think our perception of Italian Jewish culture and history in the wider cultural perspective of the early modern era.

Considering the new Jewish centers that began to emerge at that time – after the various Jewish settlements and resettlements in the Mediterranean, and in Western and Eastern Europe – the complex cultural negotiation between the Jews and Christians of Italy can be a fruitful key for our understanding of the early modern age as a whole.

Francesconi, Federica, *An Alternative Path toward Emancipation: Jewish Merchants and their Cross-Cultural Networks in 18th-Century Italian Ghettos*

This paper focuses on the commercial and secular cultural choices of Moisè Formigini (1756-1810) and Ezechia Morpurgo (1752-?) – of Modena and Ancona respectively – affluent Jewish merchants from prominent families, lay leaders, and future protagonists of the Napoleonic period. Their activities were characterized by a commitment to local Jewish affairs and an active role in the struggle for the improvement of Jews' status, along with vigorous involvement in the wider cultural and commercial affairs of their cities and the establishment of commercial networks throughout the Italian peninsula and the Mediterranean basin. Through commercial relations, they oriented their cultural choices towards Enlightenment and Haskalah.

The goal is to provide a new understanding of the way the early-modern Italian ghetto leadership and its achievements should be perceived – and to frame the 18th century as a defining age for Italian Jewry.

The paper responds positively to recent historiographical shifts. It offers:

(1) A new understanding of commercial networks in the early modern period, framed by the variety of criteria defining membership, varying with the circumstances in which groups of merchants worked, and the degree of inter- and intra-cultural exchanges existing between networks. This approach includes a genealogical narrative that goes beyond the base of family, kin and ethnic relations to analyze more extended personal, cultural and business relations within and without the group.

(2) A new approach toward Jewish integration, utilizing regional models in the study of modernization and emancipation, and assessing whether it might be possible to identify transnational trends.

Recent contributions have attempted analysis of phenomena that are common to many European Jewries, such as cultural and social integration, economic integration, political and legal emancipation, voluntary community frameworks, secularization, breakdown of tradition, etc. Bringing Italy into the picture will add a further dimension to the discussion and definition of European Jewish paths toward modernity.

Friedman, Shamma, *What to do with Deuteronomy 18:10: Contrasting Approaches to Magic and Sorcery in Talmudic Palestine and Babylonia*

Studies on Talmudic magic have rarely analyzed the theoretic Talmudic underpinnings of the ban on sorcery and its important limitations, in light of contemporary source critical methodology. Such a study allows historical depth in tracing the development of practical magic as practiced by the sages, and the debate over its justification.

Friedrich, Agnieszka, *'Rola' magazine's attitude towards the Dreyfus Affair*

The main goal of this paper is to analyze the attitude of Polish anti-Semitic journal 'Rola', which appeared in Warsaw in 1883-1909, towards the case of Dreyfus.

It is worth indicating that 'Rola' was the first journal in so-called Congress Poland which was declared by its editor-in-chief Jan Jelenski as openly anti-Semitic.

Jan Jelenski himself was also a declared anti-Semite, Catholic, nationalist. He created a kind of anti-Semitic ideology in order to protect Polishness and Christianity. Around his magazine he concentrated people of the same opinions, who were rather popular writers and journalists.

It is worth mentioning that the circulation of 'Rola' was around 10,000, which was very high (other weekly magazines were mostly around 2,000). It could not be marginalized, since it was an influential magazine of the second part of 19th century addressed especially to the conservative strata of Polish society. Other magazines, especially the progressive ones, had constant ideological battle with 'Rola'.

The Dreyfus case was intensely commented upon in 'Rola', and was named 'Dreyfusiada' by the editor-in-chief. 'Rola' claimed to present the most honest and unbiased attitude towards the affair, which, of course, from the outside point of view was a totally false conviction. 'Rola' was not the only organ full of prejudices in its commentary regarding the Dreyfus case. The same is true of journalists who were not of anti-Semitic leaning, like Bolesław Prus and Aleksander Wiłczyński. They did not do it with open mind and heart either. The former used the Dreyfus case as propaganda on behalf of France and wanted to stress that the state of France was a big power which could not be mistaken, while the latter completely omitted the anti-Semitic aspect of this case. My goal is to show the 'Rola' case in the wider context of Polish attitudes towards the Dreyfus affair, which were full of complication and ambiguity.

Frulla, Giovanni, *The Work of Jason of Cyrene: Literary and Historical Aspects*

In the wide background of Jewish Hellenistic literature it could be interesting to underline the importance of the cultural context of Jewish communities – outside Palestine – belonging to Mediterranean settlements and different cultures.

In particular we can point out some important features about the area of Cyrene. Our information about Cyrenaica begins to be consistent in the 2nd century B.C., when im-

migration to that place grows, as Strabo (quoted by Josephus in *Antiquities* 14,7,2) asserts. Migration is the consequence of internal fights in Judea, where the Maccabean party and king Antiochus (with his oppressive decisions against Jews) are in conflict. Influences of the Maccabees and the Judean national movement over the Jews of Cyrenaica can be reconstructed from II Maccabees: its original version, following the internal evidences of the book, was in fact written by Jason of Cyrene. The author of II Maccabees describes himself as a simple compiler, and quotes his direct source, five books of Jason, as we can read in II Maccabees 2:19-32.

It is not a novelty that an historical work can be summarized and quoted by another author in order to permit an easier diffusion. It is very curious, however, that Palestinian events, such as internal fights during the Maccabean period, could be interesting for a foreign writer as Jason, with his five books, a very enormous work for that period.

The aim of this paper is conducting an analysis of the historical work of Jason of Cyrene, in order to point out some interesting characteristics: literary aspects, concerning style, language, structure of narration, and historical features, focusing in particular on content, sources, historical evidence.

Why did Jason write these books? And where? Which kind of purpose was in his mind? These are only a few questions I will try to answer with my brief exposition.

Galas, Michał, *Between Orthodoxy and Assimilation: Varieties of Judaism in Poland in the late 1930s (before the Holocaust)*

The 20th century did not bring any revolutionary religious movements (such as Hasidism and Reform Judaism in the 19th century) that could influence the religious life of Polish Jewry in the interwar period. The main factors that influenced Judaism in Poland in the Twenties and Thirties were: attitudes towards Zionism, defense against assimilation, secularization, and anti-Semitism. And the attitudes towards these phenomena shaped varieties of religious groups and denominations within Judaism that I would like to describe in my paper.

These diversities of Judaism can be particularly observed in the Thirties when some interesting initiatives introduced earlier had started to bring fruitful results. For example, Agudat Israel supported the creation of Yeshivat Hahkmei Lublin. Activities of the Institute of Jewish Studies in Warsaw caused a consolidation of progressive circles through the founding of the Union of Progressive Synagogues and also through the creation of the Association of Rabbis having a University Degree, to differentiate them from the orthodox Association of Rabbis. In the Thirties we can also observe the intensification of secularization and the creation of Jewish organizations that did not want to be identified as religious. The conflicts and tensions between different religious groups had stopped very rarely. But one event in the late Thirties unified all groups from Hasidim and Mizrachi to progressives and secular Jews. This was a constraint on ritual slaughter by the right wing of Polish members of Parliament. The protest against those attempts consolidated all Jewish religious and political organizations.

Galinsky, Judah D., *Communal Charity in 13th-century Spain: the Evidence of Rabbinic Literature*

In 1992 Prof. Yom-Tov Assis published an important wide-ranging study titled "Welfare and Mutual Aid in the Spanish Jewish Communities". One of the arguments of the ar-

ticle was that “until the 14th century, care of the poor was not included in the welfare policy of the Spanish communities”. In my paper I would like to re-examine this issue with regard to 13th Spain. I intend to accomplish this via an investigation of various rabbinic sources of this time, especially the legal responsa of Solomon ibn Adret, Rashba, the greatest legal scholar active in the second half of the 13th century. Over two thousand of his responsa have survived till today. Recently some new responsa were discovered and published that were unavailable to Assis when he wrote his study. I believe that such a re-examination will allow us to offer a somewhat more nuanced description of the social reality of 13th century Spain, regarding the role of the community in caring for the poor.

Gallego, María Angeles, *From the Arabic of the Jews to Judeo-Arabic*

What we nowadays know as Judeo-Arabic literature has been the subject of scholarly interest from the Low Middle Ages to date, though the field has undergone a series of changes as an outcome of different factors of historical and scientific character. My goal in this paper is to investigate the development of Judeo-Arabic studies from three different perspectives: terminology, methodology and topics of interest.

Terminology is a straightforward refraction of the development of the field of Judeo-Arabic and the different perceptions of its literary tradition. Medieval Judeo-Arabic writings that first drew the attention of Semitic scholars to the Judeo-Arabic phenomenon have been referred to as Arabic, Arabic of the Jews, Jewish Arabic, Arabic in Hebrew characters, mozarabic Hebrew and aljamiado hebraico-árabe, among other denominations. Most of these terms show the relevance that Hebrew script had as a visual Jewish mark of identity, whose employment for writing Arabic had a puzzling effect on the pioneer researchers of the field. Explanations about its use ranged from attributing it to the continuation of a pre-Islamic tradition of writing in square characters to the assumed lack of familiarity with Arabic script. The methodology used for editing and generally working on these texts has gone through different phases as well and it is related to the evolution of social sciences such as linguistics and anthropology. Another significant development has been the subjects dealt with which have varied along with the development of Jewish and Islamic studies and reflect as well the impact of the new availability of manuscript materials. All these topics will form the core of a more general analysis of the evolution of Judeo-Arabic studies and a reflection on methodological issues.

Gambetti, Sandra, *On the Ethnarch again: what if Josephus Was Right?*

The discussion concerning the figure of the Ethnarch Hyrcanus II and the value of the so-called *charter* that he agreed upon with Caesar have been at times the subject of heated discussion. This paper brings the discussion back to the foreground and raises the question whether, beyond the discussion about the contested legal jurisdiction of the agreement, there is actually historical evidence to verify the application of the *charter*. To this end, relevant passages of Josephus and Philo are re-examined, and the specific cases of Cyrene, Sardis and Alexandria (including the “stela of Caesar”) in the Julio-Claudian age are investigated. This paper concludes that the *charter* was applied around the Mediterranean to allow the Jews free movement and residence, and that problems started to emerge when for political reasons it was cancelled.

Garcia Arévalo, Tania Maria, *The new messiah of 1QH^a 1:18 (Suknik edition) in the light of the concept of suffering servant*

The Dead Sea Scrolls are emphasized in literature between Old and New Testament because their value lies in the antiquity of the texts. This antiquity dates back to 68 C.E. and it proves that many of their copies were written before this date. The corpus of manuscripts of Qumran is composed of 850 texts and one of them, the *Hodayot* collection, has become one of the most important collections because of its poetical character, firstly; secondly, because of the fact that these scrolls have particular links with the most important figure and leader of the community, the Teacher of Righteousness; and lastly, because in these texts it is possible to find the eschatological thought of the community better than in other documents.

Within the thirty compositions of which *Hodayot* is composed, the greater part of the discussion of the academic world has been focused on the hymn 1QH^a 1:18 (Suknik). This hymn has special importance because of the features of their figures of speech such as the metaphor of its pregnant woman and the value of the terminology the author uses for his composition. However, the main question of this document is the presence of a messianic figure different from the two Messiahs that we observe in traditional Judaism: The Messiah of Aaron and the Messiah of Israel, priestly and political respectively.

It is necessary to research this new messianic figure in the context of the particular eschatology of the Qumran community and of the concept of the Suffering Servant, proposed by Israel Knohl. This author looks into the leader of the community in order to find the role of the Suffering Servant that has been considered inherent in Christianity, and 1QH^a 1:18 offers us the possibility to examine this figure and to connect it with the new messiah, nowadays unknown to the academic world.

Ginsburg, Michal, *Madame Bovary in Jerusalem*

How has Flaubert's novel been re-shaped in its translation into Hebrew? How has the translator given the nineteenth-century text a local habitation in modern Hebrew? How has this classic text influenced modern Hebrew literature?

Ginsbursky, Ludmila, *The Priestly Picture of Dorian Gray Reconsidered: Defilement of the Temple and Defilement of the Worshippers*

The notion of defilement of the Temple occupies a prominent place in discussions on purity in biblical and Early Judaism. Defilement of the Temple by "uncleanness" of Israelites and by their sins is mentioned many times in the Hebrew Bible (e.g., Lev 15:31, Num 19:13, Ezek 5:11), and condemned in the Dead Sea Scrolls (e.g., CD IV 15-18; VI 14-16). But how exactly does the Temple become defiled? And how does its defilement and purification correspond to the defilement and purification of the worshippers?

In his seminal article "Israel's Sanctuary: 'The Priestly Picture of Dorian Gray'" Milgrom suggested that the mechanism of the Temple's defilement was analogous to the relationship between the portrait and its subject in Oscar Wilde's novel: "sin may not leave its mark on the face of the sinner, but it is certain to mark the face of the sanctuary" (1976, 398). In spite of this insight implying a mirror-like relationship between the Temple and the worshippers, Milgrom argued that impurity was like a "miasma" spread-

ing from the source of defilement and attacking the sphere of the sacred even from afar. He also argued that the purification of the sanctuary and purification of the worshippers were two separate processes. Milgrom's contention is that the purification offering (or "sin-offering") purifies only the sanctuary, not those offering it. This statement is, however, in tension with Lev 16:30 and 16:33, according to which sacrificial atonement performed by the high priest purified both the sanctuary and the people of Israel.

In my paper I am going to give a new spin to the Dorian Gray analogy, suggesting a different conceptual model for understanding the relationship between the defilement of the people of Israel, the Temple and the Land.

Goldin, Simha, *The Jewish Medieval Neighborhood: new perspectives*

The medieval European Jewish neighborhood is in most cases a clearly definable physical place that can be archeologically reconstructed using medieval and early modern maps, by hints in municipal and other written local records, or through the restoration of existing historical sites in the historical parts of existing towns. Yet understanding the planning rationale of the Jewish urban landscape, the religious motivation behind specific types of residence and the limitations and challenges that Europe's medieval urban Jewish communities faced is widely unexplored and requires a complex set of interdisciplinary tools, combining the disciplines of history, archaeology, *Halacha*, folklore, and art.

My research aims to analyze not only the physical characteristics of the medieval Jewish neighborhood, but also to address the Jews' self-perception within their own neighborhood and within the larger Christian city. Merging interdisciplinary tools, the proposed study seeks to create an in-depth discussion about the self-perception of medieval Jews with regard to the space within which they operate. Confronting *Halachic* materials from the *Eruvin* Tractate concerning the Jewish neighborhood with non-Jewish historical sources and archaeological data will allow a unique glimpse into the urban landscape of Europe's medieval, city-dwelling Jews, illuminating the many layers of meaning implicated in their physical surroundings.

Goldstein, Judith, see **Dash Moore, Deborah**

Goldstein, Yaacov, *The Settlement Ethos in Jewish and Zionist Thought*

The idea of working the Jewish soil of Palestine is one of the basic tenets of Zionist ideology and self-realization. The ideal, however, like the principle of productivization, was not indigenous to Zionism; rather, its source, its roots, and its creation lay in both the general and the Jewish enlightenment of the second half of the eighteenth century – long before the appearance of Zionism. The concept spread from Western Europe to the enlightened thinkers of the east of the continent, thence to the era of proto-Zionism, the Hovevei Tsiyyon, and ultimately to political Zionism.

The Jewish Enlightenment was an offshoot of the general European movement and adopted most of the latter's ideas. Hence, the Jewish Enlightenment of the Mendelssohn and post-Mendelssohn eras adopted most of the views of its European progenitor and determined as its main principles the desire (a) to introduce general education to Jewish society, (b) to adopt and disseminate the language of the state, and (c) to replace the

sources of livelihood of the Jews through the encouragement of productivization and agriculture. It should be emphasized that the central motive in the drive towards all these changes was the desire to attain full emancipation into European society. The Eastern European Jewish Enlightenment of the first half of the nineteenth century also adopted the principles of the Central European Jewish Enlightenment.

Jewish nationalist philosophy began in the nineteenth century with the “heralds of Zionism”. Their doctrine stressed the concept of productivization and the founding of agricultural settlements in Palestine as the primary force for the realization of national revival and the return to Zion. In passing from the prenationalist to the nationalist period, the ideology of productivization and agriculture underwent a fundamental and revolutionary change. Now the goal of emancipation was replaced by the ideology of autoemancipation – the consciousness that the Jews constituted a nation, not merely a religion, and the desire to ensure that this nation continued to exist in Palestine where the resurgence of the nation would begin through a socio-economic revolution-itself involving the return to the soil and productivization.

The political situation in Palestine brought a further shift in the settlement ethos. Now it became a weapon in the struggle between the Jewish national movement and the Arabs over Palestine. It follows from this that settling the soil of Palestine is not only the supreme duty in the process of healing the people and turning it into a normal people like all others, it is also a necessary condition in the struggle between the Jews and the Arabs over the actual possession of the land of Palestine.

Gómez Aranda, Mariano, *Controversies on the Creation of the World in ibn Ezra's Comments on Genesis 1:1*

In his comments on Genesis 1:1, Abraham ibn Ezra (1089-1165) collects several opinions of earlier grammarians and commentators regarding the concepts of “creation”, the names of God, and the structure and composition of the Universe. In this paper I will analyze Ibn Ezra's use of the theories of Saadia Gaon, Yehuda ha-Levi and the Karaites among others. I will also study these theories in the context of the medieval controversies on the creation of the world.

Gordon, Dorit, *“Early Anti-Semitism” Stories and their Classical Background: Josephus in Rome, in Greek, and “The First Blood Libel in History”*

Josephus, by origin a Jerusalemite priest, and a former commander of the Galilee, the northern part of the Land of Israel, during the Destruction War against the Romans, writes in all his wide work – in Greek – about events in Judaea, Israel, and the Jewish communities all over the Mediterranean; about Judaism, Jewish history, Jewish Bible and Laws; all this when he was actually residing in the capital of the Mediterranean's rulers – Rome, under the auspices of the Roman Caesar. Josephus keeps declaring he writes to a non-Jewish audience, to the Greeks and Romans, his neighbours, for the purpose of a better understanding among these different Mediterranean cultures, especially after a bitter, bloody, Jewish revolt against the Romans.

How does Josephus' Classical background influence his writing – the stories he chooses for different purposes in his History, the stories he molds, edits, and decides how to present? Josephus is obviously well educated in Greek culture, historiography and mythology – ancient, as well as the ones surrounding him in his own time: he keeps re-

ferring to names such as Minos, Danaos and Aegyptos, Homer, Hesiod, Herodotus, Thucydides, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle etc. References to verses from ancient Greek Drama (Sophocles, Euripides etc.) are often identified by scholars. Yet there is no “established”, comprehensive research on Josephus’ Classical background and influences. As a case study I will present one of Josephus’ many non-Jewish stories about Judaism in ‘Against Apion’, a story usually called “the first blood libel in history” and considered as marking early anti-Semitism. What can we learn from this story, the way Josephus presents it, and its background in Classical, Mediterranean culture/s, not only about Josephus’ overall work but about the new world of newly shaping identities, statuses, classes and minority groups, a Graeco-Roman-Jewish-Christian world forming in the Mediterranean in the First Century AD?

Gottlieb, Claire, *Who was Bat Pharaoh? Exodus 2:5*

Many of the stories depicted in the Hebrew Bible are similar to those in Egyptian literature. The names and titles given to the protagonists may be cognates. Cognate terminology is often used to describe the action or elucidate the character’s position in society. There are instances in which a character who plays a major part in the tale is not distinguished by name. Is this lack of appellation an unintentional oversight or is it a clue to the personal attributes or status of the individual in question? This paper will examine the work of previous exegetes on Bat Pharaoh, who first appears in Exodus 2:5, and then present a new interpretation of her identification and the importance of her role in the story. This knowledge can give us a peek into the psychology of the culture in question. Understanding who the characters were may not give us proof of the historicity of a given text but it can deepen our understanding of the world the ancient authors were portraying and aid us in the interpretation of history.

Gradinskaite, Vilma, *Mark Antokolsky’s bas-relief: Inquisition Attacks Jews Celebrating Pesach: inspirers and followers*

Sculptor Mark Antokolsky (1843-1902) was born in Vilna, the present-day capital of Lithuania. In 1862–68 he studied at the Imperial Academy of Arts in St. Petersburg, and thereafter he mostly lived in France and Italy. From 1871 the artist spent six years in Italy, but every summer visited his native town Vilna.

The artist became famous for his Jewish characters – *A Jewish Tailor* (1864), *A Stingy Man* (1865), *The Talmudic Debate* (1866–1868), *Jesus Before the Judges* (1874); and psychological historical images – *Ivan the Terrible* (1870), *Peter the Great* (1872), *Spinoza* (1881). Antokolsky mostly created sculptures, but one of the most interesting works is his bas-relief *Inquisition Attacks Jews Celebrating Pesach* (or *The Marranos*), where Mediterranean Jews are depicted. For six years, from 1863 to 1869, during his studies in the Imperial Academy of Arts, Antokolsky made sketches in wax and wood for this composition and studies for it – the head called *Nathan the Wise*. The work was exhibited during the exams at the Academy and aroused discontent among academic professors because of the chosen topic. Therefore in 1868 Antokolsky briefly went to Berlin. After returning he continued working on this composition and exhibited *Inquisition* at the Academy in 1871. When casting the composition in zinc, it was so damaged that Antokolsky was not able to show it any more.

The main tasks of this paper are to analyze the plastic expression and ideas of the bas-

relief *Inquisition Attacks Jews Celebrating Pesach*, to research who inspired this composition, and how (e. g. F. de Goya's *Inquisition Scene, For Being A Jew*, G. E. Lessing's play *Nathan the Wise*), and how the work of Antokolsky inspired other East European Jewish artists (e. g. Moses Maimon's *A Secret Pesach Seder in Spain Under Inquisition*).

Grazi, Alessandro, *The passion of a people. Jewish authors on Italian nationalism and Jewish identity in Risorgimento Italy*

The present paper will illustrate the most salient elements of my research project about Italian Jewish authors on Italian nationalism and Jewish identity in Risorgimento Italy. Based on the assumption that a minority's identity is not necessarily opposed to that of the dominant culture, and that its relation to the hosting Nation-State deserves careful analysis (Boyarin & Boyarin 2002), my research aims to explore the dialectics of minority identity in the specific case of the Jewish minorities in nineteenth-century Northern Italy, with special focus on its trans-regional and transnational dimensions. The Boyarin brothers, two of the most important scholars in the field of Diaspora theory, identify "Diaspora" as the ideal space where the interaction between the individual and the collective can be grasped. It is by definition an alternative to the territorial state, transnational in orientation and presupposing a (virtual) relation with a homeland elsewhere. My project aims to portray and unravel this intricate interplay of Jewish diasporic nationalism and trans-nationalism against the dynamic background of the nineteenth-century Italian Risorgimento, by contrasting the works of two prominent, if little studied, authors from two radically different, cultural-political Italian Jewish milieus: David Levi (Chieri 1816-Venice 1898) and Isaac Samuel Reggio (Gorizia 1784-Gorizia 1855). The comparison of their work will allow me to examine the various levels of diasporic identity (minority, national, transnational) in relation to its trans-regional dimensions (Levi working in French-oriented Turin, Reggio in Habsburg Gorizia). In order to better investigate their works, I will avail myself of a contrast element, a sort of mirror, which allows me to place these authors' achievements in the specific Italian Jewish intellectual context: I refer to Samuel David Luzzatto. In this presentation, I will try to clarify the main aspects of my project, its methodological approach and will sketch a brief biographical picture of my analyzed authors.

Guetta, Alessandro, *Translating from Hebrew into Italian*

The Jews have always translated into their vernacular languages the Hebrew biblical and liturgical texts. In particular, in the Middle Age they developed a didactic pattern of translation on a word-to-word basis, without any aesthetic pretention. These texts were in the Judaeo-languages, such as Yiddish, Judaeo-Spanish, Judaeo-Arabic, Judaeo-Italian etc. and were meant to teach young pupils the sacred texts and make the siddur available to women.

The translations made in Italy from the end of the 16th to the second half of the following century inaugurate a new genre, as they were no longer in Judaeo-Italian but in Italian – the language of literature – and implied therefore that a non-Jewish reader could have access to them.

A whole series of texts is extant, which has not yet been really studied: translations made by Italian Jews of biblical sections, of medieval poetry, of classical philosophical works,

are extant, most in manuscript. The pioneer in this new orientation was Yehuda Sommo Portaleone, who rendered in “ottava rima” a large number of Psalms.

We will discuss the reasons for this interesting phenomenon, which shows a full double acculturation of the Italian Jews, and the wish to let their major works be known by the non-Jews. We will also try to draw a typology of the texts chosen for these translations, a choice – we will argue – which was not neutral. At the end, we will recall that this phenomenon anticipates Mendelssohn’s translation of the Bible by almost two centuries and therefore makes Italy the country where so-called “Jewish modernity” or “the Jewish way to modernity” probably started.

Guetta, Silvia, *A review of the historical research and studies on the history of Jewish education from the 18th to the 20th century*

In the general outline of studies on the history of education in Europe and in Italy, the history of Jewish education still remains to be studied in depth. The difficulty in analyzing educational models and systems which differ from those recognized in the literature on the subject continues to be an obstacle to the development of historical *formae mentis* of an intercultural nature. On the other hand, in the area of historic-cultural research, it is becoming more and more necessary to acquire competences which enable the comparison of different theoretical, institutional models as well as educational practices. It is therefore essential to identify a new method of systematic and comparative research which can spur the exploration of the historico-social dynamics and contexts of education.

My proposed presentation at the meeting wants to draw attention to both this methodological issue, and to the need to define the field research in the history of Jewish education which still remains virtually unexplored. Hence, I believe it necessary to undertake, as soon as possible, a systematic review of sources and outputs in order to understand their nature and their possible links. One of the aims of my research is to bring to light both the silences and the shadows which exist in this field of study. These delineate the research strands which are essential for a systematic and in-depth study of the history of Jewish education in the period covering the 18th-20th centuries. Last but not least, my review of the studies and sources available to date, will be structured bearing in mind the overall picture of the history of education and of Jewish history from the following perspectives:

What are the elements and aspects that have characterized Jewish education in the period covering the 18th-20th centuries?

What have been contributions made by philosophers, pedagogists, Rabbis, and educators to the development of a reflection on Jewish education

What have been the evolution/developments and changes in both formal and non-formal educational activities and practices with regard to the socio-political and economic changes of the period. How did the relationship between Jewish culture, education and identity evolve and change during the period in question?

Guzzetti-Saposnik, Sara, *Shifting imagery of the Jew in Italy: L’orfana del ghetto in literature and cinema*

In the shaping of modern Italy the image of the Jew became a salient—and insufficiently studied—force. Not surprisingly, Jewish characters often figure centrally in pop-

ular novels written in the period surrounding Italian unification, and provide insight into the imagery and role of “the Jew” in the making of modern Italy.

In this paper I will examine one popular serialized novel of 1887, *L'orfana del ghetto* (Orphan of the Ghetto), and its cinematic adaptation of 1954. The novel tells the story of Viola, daughter of the Jewish Fiorenzo and Renata, a Christian noblewoman. The product of a socially unacceptable love, Viola is sent away to be raised in the Florence ghetto. The novel then complicates notions of Jewishness and Italianness, following the virtuous “Jewess” Viola and her wicked Jewish half-sister Luciana as they both fall in love with the same Christian nobleman.

Both the novel and its film adaptation were created in pivotal—if vastly different—moments in Italian history. In 1887, Italy was still shaping itself as a modern state promising emancipation to its Jewish minority. By 1954, Italian Jewry had been shattered, and Italy itself was trying to piece itself together. The cinematic adaptation of that year alters the novel’s plot in ways that reveal a dramatically different take on Jews and Christians in Italy, primarily through its reshaping of the love between Fiorenzo and Renata, now a completely acceptable affair that is undone by the evil scheming of Renata’s father.

By comparing these two versions, I hope to point to marked changes that take place in the image of the Jew in the Italian literary and cinematic imagination. The paper will seek to offer a reading of the changing place of the Jew not only in Italian nationhood, but in the making of the modern itself.

Hadas-Lebel, Mireille, *Menasseh ben Israel and the European Debate on the Testimonium Flavianum in the Seventeenth Century*

The authenticity of the brief passage of *Jewish Antiquities* 18 by Josephus, known as the “Testimonium Flavianum” (the only first-century evidence about the historical Jesus) has been challenged since the 16th century. There was an intense debate between European scholars, Catholics and Protestants, by the mid 17th century. The only Jew then consulted was Menasseh ben Israel from Amsterdam whose answer (the only one in French, all the others being in Latin) was included in a collection of letters published by the German Arnold. The paper I present will examine Menasseh’s arguments and the reaction of various scholars to his letter.

Hagbi, Yaniv, *Judah L. Palache’s Approach to the History of Hebrew Literature*

The study of meta-literature is a familiar terrain to scholars of Modern Hebrew literature. However, as a genre and subfield within the vast field of meta-literary histories of Modern Hebrew literature, it remained unexplored. Indeed, the history of literary histories is a relatively neglected subject both in a Hebrew and a global context.

Modern Hebrew literature, like any national literature, requires a separate inquiry into its own particular circumstances. Next to the better known works of historians of Modern Hebrew literature such as those composed by Karpeles, Slouschz, and Klausner, numerous other histories are available varying in scope, depth and proclaimed objectives. As part of a comprehensive study into the histories of Modern Hebrew literature I shall discuss in the lecture the case of one such work in Dutch: Judah Palache’s (1886-1944) *De Hebreeuwsche Litteratuur van den na-Talmoedischen Tijd* (1935). Comparing Palache’s work to other histories of Hebrew literature, I shall discuss this work from

four major perspectives, which are relevant to all histories of Hebrew literature: Firstly addressing the principles that guided Palache in his work for the definition of the corpus. Modern Hebrew literature, as his title proclaims, is only part of the literary history he took upon himself to describe. I shall describe why and how Palache chose and arranged his materials. Secondly, analyzing the tension between ideology and aesthetics inherent to any history of national literature, which surfaces in Palache's work as well; thirdly, tackling the question of the audience targeted by Palache: were they Jewish or non-Jewish, educated or layman, and how did Palache approach them? All these issues interrelate with each other, and subsequently are directing us to the last perspective, the fourth, the question of language. While national literary histories are usually written in the language of the described literature many of the histories of Hebrew literature were, in fact, written in other languages. In this respect I shall also investigate to what extent Palache's work was affected by the fact that he was writing in Dutch, and how he was influenced by similar contemporary works published in Dutch or German.

Halper, Yehuda, *Why were Hebrew Translations Revised? The Case of Averroes' Long Commentary on Aristotle's Metaphysics*

The Hebrew translation of Averroes' *Long Commentary (LC)* on Aristotle's *Metaphysics* made at the beginning of the 14th century was revised not long afterwards under considerable effort, with widespread changes in the Hebrew terminology used in the translation. While it is not possible to say with complete certainty who revised the translation – or even who made the original translation – the extent of the revision begs the question: why was such an extensive effort undertaken to revise the translation? A comparison of the original translation with the revision reveals that the revision was motivated by an effort to standardize Hebrew metaphysical terminology. This was accomplished in three ways in the *LC* on the *Metaphysics*. The first, and probably the most conspicuous, is the replacement of the formulaic and repetitive terms that form the most noticeable characteristic of the *LC* with equivalent terms used in translations of other *LCs* by Qalonymos ben Qalonymos, particularly the *LC* to the *Physics*. The second is an attempt to correct ambiguities and inconsistencies in the original translation, attempts which proved successful only some of the time. The unsuccessful attempts to correct the text lead me to conclude, contrary to the opinion of Mauro Zonta, that the revision was not necessarily done on the basis of an Arabic text, but could have been accomplished on the basis of the reviser's own knowledge of Aristotle and Averroes' commentaries in Hebrew. The third goal of the revision is to clarify the text, making it easier to read in Hebrew by making it conform to what the reviser considered to be better Hebrew grammatical conventions. An examination of the methods of revising a Hebrew translation provides insight into methods and considerations involved in the standardization of medieval philosophical Hebrew.

Harris, Robert A., *Allegory and Context: 12th Century Rabbinic Commentaries on the Song of Songs*

From antiquity until the dawn of modern biblical scholarship, the Song of Songs was almost universally interpreted as an allegorical work. This holds true for Christianity as well as Judaism. Rabbinic masters championed the book as celebrating God's love for the people of Israel, whereas Christian exegetes espoused the belief that the book de-

tailed God's or Christ's love for the Church. In the late 11th to early 12th centuries, Rashi begin to articulate a vision of the book that, while maintaining the allegorical approach (which he called *dugma* and culled from various midrashim), stressed at the same time the sense of the allegory in its own literary context.

However, Rashi's grandson, R. Samuel ben Meir (Rashbam) boldly departed from Rashi in his exposition of the Song, much as he did in his other biblical commentaries. While he does expound a figurative meaning (which he calls *dimyon*, "metaphorical" and which may bear polemical intent), he stresses as always the *peshat*, or "contextual exegesis." He interprets the book as a sustained dialogue between a woman and her female friends, in which she reports conversations and actions between herself and her lover. Rashbam draws comparison between the genre of the Song as (erotic) love poetry, and the phenomenon of the contemporary *jongleur* who sang of love in popular fashion, in 12th century France. We will examine several specific examples from Rashbam's commentary.

Finally, there are several important anonymous commentaries that continue Rashbam's pioneering efforts. These virtually ignore the allegorical interpretation of the Song, and exclusively expound the book in its own literary context. We will examine this *peshat* tradition of interpretation, and attempt to account both for its rise and its eclipse.

Harrowitz, Nancy, *The Midrashic Levi*

The use of a midrashic approach to the texts of Primo Levi is a particularly fruitful way of understanding the richness and depth of a writer whose narrative strategies are almost as complicated as the statements they bear. Many of Levi's texts are very well-known and form a canonical core within Holocaust studies, yet they are not challenged, they are not interrogated. Usually taken at face value, Levi's texts merit much more than a hagiographic, simplistic approach to their meaning.

In my talk, I will examine some well-known passages from *Survival in Auschwitz*, including Levi's famous use of Dante in the chapter "The Canto of Ulysses," and the portrait of "Henri" found in the chapter "The Drowned and the Saved." Both of these textual moments reveal tensions and contradictions that reveal far more complex narrative strategies than have otherwise been appreciated in Levi's work, and allow us a better understanding of the forces that motivate Levi's narrative and thematic choices.

Harutyunyan, Tatevik, *Jewish languages*

Jewish languages are a set of languages and dialects that developed in various Jewish communities around the world, most notably in Europe, West Asia and North Africa. The usual course of development for these languages was through the addition of Hebrew words and phrases, used to express uniquely Jewish concepts and concerns, to the local vernacular. Often they were written in Hebrew letters, including the block letters used in Hebrew today and Rashi script. Because of the insular nature of many Jewish communities, many Jewish languages retain vocabulary and linguistic structures long after they have been lost or changed into later forms of the language from which they descended.

Bukhori (Persian – buxori; also known as Bukhari, Bukharic, Bukharan, or Bukharian) is a unique dialect of the Persian language spoken in Central Asia by the Bukharian Jews. A more descriptive name for the language might be Judaeo-Persian or Judaeo-

Tajik. Bukhori is based on a substrate of classical Persian, with a large number of Hebrew loanwords, as well as smaller numbers of loanwords from other surrounding languages, including Uzbek and Russian. Today, the language is spoken by approximately 10,000 Jews remaining in Uzbekistan and surrounding areas, although most of its speakers reside elsewhere, predominantly in Israel (approx. 50,000 speakers), and the United States. Like most Jewish languages, Bukhori uses the Hebrew alphabet.

Judeo-Malayalam is the traditional language of the Cochin Jews (also called Malabar Jews), from Kerala, in southern India, spoken today by about 8,000 people in Israel and by probably fewer than 100 in India. Judeo-Malayalam is the only known Dravidian Jewish language. Unlike most Jewish languages, Judeo-Malayalam is not written using the Hebrew alphabet. It does, however, like most Jewish languages, contain a large number of Hebrew loanwords, which are regularly transliterated, as much as possible, using the Malayalam script. Like many other Jewish languages, Judeo-Malayalam also contains a number of lexical, phonological and syntactic archaisms, in this case, from the days before Malayalam became fully distinguished from Tamil.

Catalanic, also called Qatalanit or the more scholarly Judaeo-Catalan, was a Jewish language spoken by the Jewish communities of what is today northeastern Spain, especially in Catalonia and the Balearic Islands. Linguistically, it shared many features in common with early Shuadit. The golden age of Catalanic was in the period between the early 12th century and 1492, when the Jews were expelled from Spain. Today, except for the use of a number of Hebrew loanwords, there is little to distinguish the speech of the Catalan Bnei Anusim and their fellow Jews, from the Catalan or Spanish spoken by their non-Jewish neighbors.

Harvey, Steven, *Continuity and Change as Reflected in the Introductions of the Fourteenth-century Hebrew Translators of Philosophic Texts*

This lecture is intended as another chapter in my study of the introductions of medieval authors to philosophic and scientific texts. This study began with a paper I read at the 2001 EAJIS colloquium in Oxford on the author's introduction as a key to understanding trends in pre-Maimonidean Jewish philosophy. I continued my study at the 2002 EAJIS conference in Amsterdam with a parallel paper that treated the post-Maimonideans. At the 2006 EAJIS conference in Moscow I talked on the introductions of the thirteenth-century Arabic-to-Hebrew translators of philosophic texts. The present paper – my eighth on the medieval introductions – will focus on the fourteenth-century Hebrew translators.

The great bulk of the Hebrew philosophic and scientific translation project took place from the beginning of the thirteenth century to the mid-fourteenth century. While the thirteenth-century translators saw themselves as pioneers in their work, carefully selected which works to translate, and needed to forge a new Hebrew technical vocabulary, the fourteenth-century translators saw themselves as completing the project, determined which remaining texts were in need of translation, and decided to what extent to adopt the earlier technical vocabulary or replace these terms with others. Among the most active and important fourteenth-century translators were Kalonymus ben Kalonymus, Moses of Beaucaire, Judah Romano, Samuel ben Judah of Marseilles, Judah ben Nathan, and Todros Todrosi. The present paper will explore what is new and what is the same in the introductions of the fourteenth-century translators, with a focus on the various purposes of these introductions, the extent to which they adopted the

rhetorical and literary features found in the introductions of the earlier translators, what they tell us about the philosophic and scientific interests of the Jews of the period and the need to adapt the translations to fit their immediate cultural contexts.

Hary, Benjamin, *Jewish Languages and Migration: On the Linguistic Connection between Religiolects and Migration*

Jewish languages (or religiolects) are often characterized by what I term “migrated-” or “displaced dialectalism.” In other words, Jewish varieties in a certain region sometimes feature dialectal characteristics that are uncommon in that region. This is usually due to Jewish migration and dispersion. For example, in Cairene Judeo-Arabic one can encounter the forms /niktib-niktibu/ for the first person singular – first person plural imperfect, otherwise typically found in “western” Arabic dialects. One would not expect to find these forms in Cairo; their appearance among Cairene Jews is probably due to Jewish migration from Morocco or Alexandria to Cairo. Another example of migrated or displaced dialectalism can be found in Judeo-Italian. In the *southern* Italian dialects (Gyoto-Italian) one finds the form /li donni/ ‘the women’ (however rare) instead of the standard /le donne/. In addition, a typical characteristic of *central* Italian dialects is a system of seven vowels. The combination of these two regional features can only be found in Judeo-Italian, suggesting a synthesis of dialectal elements from different regions due to migration among the Jewish communities in Italy.

This paper explores this phenomenon in detail and suggests that it may also be found in Muslim and Christian languages, thus confirming the connection between religion and migration when it comes to language issues.

Hasan-Rokem, Galit, *Gifts of Identity and Textual Gifts: Transformations of Cultural Capital in Rabbinic Tales of Late Antiquity*

Referring to Marcel Mauss’ classical “Essay on the Gift” and critiquing it, the paper will analyze some narratives dealing with the virtues and vicissitudes of generosity and gift-giving in rabbinic literature, compared with parallels from other cultures, mostly contemporary ones. The method of analysis will mainly apply folkloristic semiotics of culture while general questions of inter-cultural comparison will be raised with reference to gifts and Mauss in particular, and to rabbinic literature in general.

Hasselhoff, Gorge, *Who are the Jews with whom Jerome communicated?*

The Church Father Jerome (Sophronius Eusebius Hieronymus, ca. 350-420/1) is mainly known for his translation and redaction of the Vulgate, the Latin translation of the Bible. One question concerning this translation is whether Jerome, who as a Church official was trained in Latin and Greek, was really able to speak Hebrew. In my opinion he had a rather good knowledge of Hebrew as is indicated not only in his translations but also in the transcriptions of Hebrew words and sentences throughout his oeuvre produced after he moved from Rome to Bethlehem.

But there are some aspects connected with the translation as well as with his commentary on biblical writings which are much more interesting, namely the question who the Jews were with whom Jerome had contact. He mentions only one of them by name, Baranina, who is rather difficult to identify. Moritz Rahmer suggested it might be R.

Chama bar Chanina, but later he corrected himself because he had been dead for a century when Jerome came to Palestine. Others suggested the Jew might be R. Berachja. All other Jews mentioned by Jerome remain anonymous.

A closer look at the traditions connected with those Jews and the knowledge of Judaism transmitted by Jerome might illuminate the contemporary Jewish milieu. Jerome gives insight into the pre-Masoretic state of vocalising the Hebrew Bible as well as into the haggadic traditions in Palestine at that time.

In my proposed talk I will concentrate on three aspects: first, I will try to make suggestions who “Baranina” might be. Second, I will give some examples of the pre-Masoretic Hebrew; the examples will mainly be taken from Jerome’s letters. Third, I will give examples of Jerome’s use of the Haggada. These three aspects will help to highlight the Jewish circles with which Jerome had contact.

Hayward, Robert, *A Typology of Megillat Ta’anit*

The paper will offer a typological analysis of *Megillat Ta’anit* in light of the research project being undertaken by the Universities of Manchester and Durham (UK) entitled Typology of Jewish Anonymous and Pseudepigraphic Texts. After analysis of the text’s self-presentation, particular attention will be paid to the particular perspective from which the text’s governing voice addresses its audience, and the concerns of that audience as they appear on the text’s surface. Discussion of types of subject matter to be found in the text, and their distinctive treatment within the text; the text’s use of small forms to provide its characteristic components; and the nature of the text’s coherence will lead to a proposal for the genre of the text as a whole. Finally, this proposed genre will be compared and contrasted with scholarly labels which have been applied to *Megillat Ta’anit* in the past, with a brief commentary.

Hecht, Louise, *Modern values – challenged mentalities. Jewish textbooks in the Habsburg Monarchy around 1800: the teachers’ perspective*

This paper will take the same point of departure as that of Dr. Sadowski, but hopes to offer a complementary perspective by focusing on the teachers working in the new German schools in the Habsburg Monarchy, more in particular on their self-perception as (moral) instructors of new Jewish generations in a changing – social as well as educational – environment.

Hecht, Louise, *Transfer of Goods – Transfer of Culture. The Jewish tobacco monopoly in Bohemia and Moravia*

In 1725, the affluent converso Moses Lopez Pereira, or Baron Diego d’Aguilar, (1699-1759) arrived in Vienna and organized the tobacco trade in the Habsburg Monarchy. Subsequently, he held the tobacco monopoly between 1725 and 1747; besides his manifold social, political and economic activities, he established the ‘Turkish’ (i.e. Sephardic) congregation of Vienna. In recognition of his services to the crown, Maria Theresa nominated him to the privy council of the Netherlands and Italy. In spite of his merits, he had to leave Vienna in 1749, when the Spanish crown (or rather the Inquisition) demanded his extradition for Judaizing.

In 1752, Loebel Hoenig, a Bohemian Jew from Kuttanplan/Chodová Planá obtained

the tobacco monopoly for Prague. A few years later, his eldest son Israel Hoenig (1724-1808) organized a consortium to lease the concession for the Bohemian Lands (Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia), Lower and Upper Austria for the fabulous sum of 900,000 florins annually. For Bohemia and Moravia, Israel Hoenig preferably employed Jewish subcontractors. The post of 'Distriktverleger' demanded a certain amount of acculturation (fluency in German, knowledge in accountancy, geography, etc.) but offered a safe and decent income. Since all parties involved were satisfied, the Empress offered the Hoenig-consortium the tobacco concession for the whole Monarchy in 1770 and signed another 10-year contract in 1774 (1,600,000 florins). In 1784, Joseph II eventually decided to nationalize the tobacco monopoly but continued employing Israel Hoenig as its director; Israel Hoenig thereby became the first Jewish state official in the Habsburg Monarchy and was ennobled in 1789.

Whereas the carriers of d'Aguilar and Hoenig testify to the amazing social positions individual Jews could hold in the Habsburg Monarchy, the phenomenon of the subcontractors seems no less remarkable. By providing a material basis and intellectual stimulus, the tobacco business secured the upward-mobility of future generations which produced an amazing number of intellectuals. While fathers and grandfathers traded in tobacco, their progeny busied themselves with the transmission of secular culture.

Heide, Martin K., *Redating the Testaments of Isaac and Jacob*

The Testaments of Isaac and Jacob, well-known as satellites to the Testament of Abraham, are usually dated to the third century CE. A closer look at the introductions and the texts of all three testaments, however, may lead to the conclusion that the Testaments of Isaac and Jacob did not emerge, as is usually maintained, in a Jewish environment, and that both came into being not before the fifth century CE.

Herrmann, Klaus, *Throne Images in Judaism. Mystical and Aggadic Traditions about the Throne of God and Salomon as a Mirror of Jewish Life in the Mediterranean Context*

The lecture will focus on mystical and Aggadic texts from late Antiquity up to the Renaissance culture in Florence under the Medici. The Throne motif in these texts will be interpreted against the background of the political, social and religious Jewish life at different times and different places in the Mediterranean world. Needless to say, special attention is given to some of the famous mosaics in Ravenna as well as to Roman and Byzantine art. The lecture is supported by a Power Point presentation.

Heuberger, Rachel, *From traditional Zedakah to modern philanthropy. The leading role of Jewish patrons in Frankfurt am Main in the 19th century*

Frankfurt Jews were among the leading philanthropists of the city at the end of the 19th / beginning of the 20th century, and played a prominent role in the foundation and financing of numerous social, cultural and scientific institutions. Their commitment was rooted in the Zedakah, the religious obligation and part of the binding religious law to do charity within the Jewish community.

Although Jews were discriminated against in Frankfurt in the Middle Ages, the city was still the only metropolis of the German Empire where a Jewish community existed for

century without interruption and expulsion of the Jews. Thus Frankfurt turned into one of the most important centres of Jewish life in Europe, where the members of the Jewish community developed a very strong local patriotism. With the beginning of Jewish emancipation from the end of the 18th century onwards, Jewish patrons began to support general charitable organisations as well as cultural and scientific institutions in the city of Frankfurt and became actively involved in forming urban life and culture in Frankfurt. Motivated by their wish to be recognized and accepted by the gentile society, they hoped with their philanthropic engagement to work effectively against prejudice and intolerance and strengthen the integration of the Jews.

The lecture will deal with the philanthropic activities of some of the well known entrepreneurs, bankers and merchant in Frankfurt, such as Hallgarten, Speyer, Goldschmidt, and of course the Rothschild family as the most prominent example. It will provide a summary of the current research regarding the role of Jewish philanthropy in the development of urban society by analyzing the factors that were special to Jewish philanthropy in Frankfurt and will highlight the contribution of the Frankfurt Jews as the major most significant driving force in transforming Frankfurt into a modern civic society.

Hofmeester, Karin, *The ‘Sephardic model of Emancipation’ and the political integration of Jews in the Netherlands in the 19th and 20th centuries*

Long before the liberal constitution of 1848 and its direct elections led to a more or less structural representation of Jews in the Dutch Lower House, Jews were represented on a local level in municipal councils in cities such as Amsterdam, Rotterdam and The Hague. With few exceptions, most of these councillors were Sephardim, people who also held important functions in the administration of the Sephardic community. In the second half of the 19th century, partly as consequence of the political democratisation process, their position was quickly taken over by Ashkenazim, who also entered the national political arena.

Their replacement in persona did however not automatically lead to a diminishing influence of the Sephardim. They were still very prominent in organisations such as the Hoofdcommissie tot Zaken der Israëlieten, a state imposed umbrella organisation that functioned as an intermediary between the national government and the congregations from 1814 to 1870. They were also active in the Maatschappij tot Nut der Israëlieten, a society formed in 1849 to stimulate the elevation and education of the Jewish communities, as well as on the editorial boards of several Jewish weeklies.

In my paper I will try to answer the question if and how specific Sephardic ideas on emancipation, acculturation and integration still lingered on in the second half of the 19th century and how they converged or conflicted with the ideas shared by the Ashkenazi representatives, active in both local and national political representative bodies, as well as in Jewish organisations.

Hollender, Elisabeth, *Reflecting the Other: Christianity in Piyyut*

Jewish communities both in the Islamic and in the Christian world used and composed Hebrew liturgical poetry (piyyut) through large parts of the Middle Ages. Both structure and contents of piyyutim were mainly governed by their respective position within liturgy, i.e. the exact position they were composed for. The rules of contents follow the

contents of certain parts of the prayers and the prescribed scriptural reading for the day and ought to leave little room for reflections on other religions. Yet many payyotanim managed to include remarks on the surrounding majority cultures into their piyyutim, that mostly serve to differentiate between Israel as God's chosen people and the others.

Reflections of Christianity occur most often in three groups of piyyutim:

- *selihot*, *qinot* and *zulatot* that recount persecutions and describe Christians as aggressors
- piyyutim on the second commandment that describe Christianity as idolatry
- piyyutim associated with scriptural readings that refer to Esau, who is equated with Edom, Rome and Christianity

Additionally, a number of piyyutim composed for diverse occasions mention Christianity as the negative background against which Judaism is profiled.

The paper will examine the image of Christianity that is presented in these texts with special attention to the liturgical setting of piyyutim. How and why is "the other" portrayed in a setting that is destined for communication of Israel with God?

Horst, Pieter W. van der, *Philo and the Problem of God's Emotions*

As a Platonist who was convinced of the absolute immutability of God, Philo had to cope with the problem that in the Bible God is repeatedly presented as one who changes his mind and is subject to emotions. Philo's solution is a theory of pedagogical accommodation according to which God took into account the low intellectual and spiritual level of most people and hence had himself presented as someone with human emotions which in fact he never had nor could have had.

Hovhannisyan, Alvina, *Medieval Hebrew Grammar in the context of Judeo-Arabic Symbiosis*

The proposal will be dedicated to analyzing the formation and development of the Hebrew Grammatical tradition in the Middle Ages. The earliest attempts to study Hebrew were caused by the necessity to preserve and study the Holy text. Such attempts had an exegetic character and formalized the Oral Law, with all its literary components – Mishnah, Talmud and Midrash. This research was based on practical submissions of Hebrew syntactic and morphological structure and did not achieve systematized grammatical analysis. The Hebrew grammatical tradition has been formulated under the influence of the Arabic Linguistic tradition and adopted its conceptual principals and notional system. In this proposal I will try to differentiate between two source channels of Hebrew Grammar:

Internal Jewish (Masora and Midrashic literature)

External Arabic (Arabic Linguistic tradition)

The combination and application of the achievements of the above-mentioned sources made possible the further development of Hebrew Grammatical doctrine.

Most grammatical tractates were composed in Judeo-Arabic. Nevertheless Hebrew Grammar even with its external component made a great contribution to medieval linguistic thought. The Jewish Grammarians were the first to compare the regional languages of that time: Arabic, Hebrew and Aramaic – establishing their research upon comparative linguistic studies which would be developed later on.

In alcuni importanti manoscritti qumranici si trova l'espressione "figli di Sadoq" (per esempio Regola della Comunità V, 21; IX,7). Il presente studio vuole approfondire se tale espressione non sia una aggiunta "ideologica" su testi preesistenti. Al riguardo è interessante notare che a volte compare in certi manoscritti qumranici, oltre che la sequenza "figli di Sadoq", anche quella di "figli di Aronne" (per esempio Regola della Comunità V, 21; IX,7), che certamente indica, come "figli di Sadoq", un'appartenenza sacerdotale. La coesistenza in uno stesso testo dei due modi di presentare il sacerdozio potrebbe far supporre la presenza di più mani sulle opere in questione. In un testo notissimo come il Rotolo della Guerra, la sequenza "figli di Sadoq" non compare mai (non solo nel manoscritto più completo, 1QM, ma nemmeno in quelli a lui relazionati), a differenza per esempio del Documento di Damasco (cf. III,21-IV,4) e della Regola della Comunità (cf. V,2.9; IX,14). Come per il Rotolo della Guerra, avviene così anche nel Rotolo del Tempio, opera certamente scritta prima della Regola della Comunità.

Ciò potrebbe far pensare che la sequenza non compare mai perché il nucleo più antico del Rotolo della Guerra, su cui poi si sono aggiunte altre parti, è stato scritto in un periodo in cui non si poneva il problema di distinguere i "figli di Sadoq" (collegandosi con Ez 44,15) da altre persone (si veda la posizione del Documento di Damasco III,21-IV,4), forse perché il sacerdozio era rappresentato da un gruppo che evidentemente non mostrava tensioni particolari rispetto ad altri (erano dunque sadociti, secondo l'appellativo di Ezechiele), al punto di non dover specificare la loro discendenza.

Jedlinska, Eleonora, *Moshe Kupferman (1926-2003) – The Painter of Light and Memory*

Moshe Kupferman was born in 1926 in Jaroslaw to an orthodox Jewish family. Before the Second World War Jaroslaw was a small town in Poland where Polish, Jewish and Ukrainian inhabitants lived together. During the war he was interned in the camps of Ural and Kazachstan. After the war, following a short stay in Poland, he was sent in 1947 to a transit camp in Germany. In 1948 he immigrated to Israel.

All his life in Israel he spent in the kibbutz *Lohamei Haghetta'Ot* (*The [Warsaw] Ghetto Fighters*) which is located north-west of the Galilee hills, near the road leading from Haifa to the Lebanese border. Together with others who survived the Holocaust in Central and Eastern Europe, he became a part of the wave of young pioneers who joined the kibbutz movement in the early days of the State of Israel.

Kupferman's cultural identity rested on both Polish and Hebrew tradition, which also explains why he signed his works in Latin and Hebrew alphabet side by side. His art exemplifies the memory of seeing, making memory itself visible. He painted on paper and canvas, ostensibly non-figurative pictures, yet not a pure abstraction either. In his art we can hear an echo of the Holocaust catastrophe in Europe and the dramatic history of Israel. These references were often made clear through the titles given to his paintings, also in conversations with the artist.

The mental dimension informs Kupferman's way of working, and contends that the guiding principal is "an existential solution to the problem of how to live on in the face of the past offered by the moral calibre of the painting".

In my lecture I would like to present the moral, artistic, and humanitarian richness of Kupferman's work. Very important for his painting was the special vibrating light of the land of Israel and the view on the Mediterranean sea, where he lived.

Jochnowitz, George, *Parallel Developments: Judeo-Italian and Xiao'erjing (Mandarin of Chinese Muslims)*

Judeo-Italian is a group of closely related dialects consisting of a basically Italian vocabulary and grammar but including a component of words of Hebrew or Aramaic origin and occasionally words borrowed from other languages, e.g. *orsai* 'anniversary of a death' from Yiddish and *negro* 'wretched' from Ladino. The language was traditionally written in the Hebrew alphabet but today is written in Latin letters.

Xiao'erjing is a group of closely related dialects spoken by Chinese Muslims living in Mandarin-speaking parts of China. Its vocabulary is largely Chinese, but it includes words borrowed from Arabic. It was written in the Arabic alphabet but today is almost always written in Chinese characters.

The borrowings from Hebrew and Arabic frequently are for terms connected with religion, such as *cascer* in Judeo-Italian and *halal* in Xiao'erjing for food that is ritually permitted. However, the borrowings may fall into any semantic category.

Both languages were widely used a century ago, and both are disappearing today, reflecting Alphabets often reflect religion. Serbian and Croatian are similar to each other, but the Orthodox Serbs use the Cyrillic alphabet and the Catholic Croats write in the Latin alphabet. Similarly, Hindi and Urdu are written in alphabets reflecting the religions of their speakers. To a certain extent, writing is a factor taken into consideration when deciding whether a variety of speech should be considered a language or a dialect. Now that Judeo-Italian and Xiao'erjing have lost their traditional writing systems, they are generally considered dialects. Speakers are less aware of the distinctiveness of their speech, which leads them to abandon their distinctive linguistic traditions.

Kaiser, Corinna, *Mapping Spaces of Toleration in Contemporary Judaism*

Physically marked separate spaces for men and women in synagogues, for example women's galleries or areas divided by a *mechitza*, became the main indicator to distinguish an Orthodox from a non-Orthodox congregation in the USA after 1945, but the introduction of various forms of mixed seating, and its toleration by congregants, rabbis, and Jewish organizations, were often motivated not so much by theological or ideological considerations as by pragmatic decisions influenced by – among other factors – spatial parameters on micro and macro scales. The mass immigration of Jews from Eastern Europe in the late 19th and early 20th century created a demand for prayer space. Newly forming or growing Jewish congregations often bought churches to turn them into synagogues but lacked funds to refurbish the building or even to replace the existing family pews by a seating pattern suitable for separate seating. A desire for mixed seating came in the post-WWII era with the suburbanization of American Jewry and the wish not only to have a home that looked like the Jones's but to also pray in a house of worship that looked like theirs. The desire in the 1970s to go 'back to nature' had an influence beyond Jewish Renewal: religious services in the outdoors offered a blank space where no seating patterns had left an imprint, inviting worshippers to experiment with new forms like the creation of a third, gender-neutral space with the help of a *trichitza*, which opened new possibilities not only for transgender Jews.

This talk will discuss how these and other spatial parameters continue to influence variant practices within contemporary Judaism and how they contributed to the shaping of

forms of toleration that influence aspects of Jewish life beyond the question of who is going to sit where.

Kamczycki, Artur, *Theodor Herzl as Urjüdischer Typus. Anthropology and Esthetics in Zionist argumentations at the beginning of the 20th century*

In 1864 Karl Vogt, a naturalist and physician, published his *Lectures on Man: His Place in Creation, and in the History of the Earth*, where for the first time he argued the existence of two groups of Jews differing in appearance: on the one hand, the so called northern group of Jews (Ashkenazim) characterized by red hair, pug noses, small grey eyes, massive trunks and round faces, and, on the other, Sepharadi Jews inhabiting the Mediterranean Basin and the Netherlands, with such characteristic features as large melancholic almond-shaped eyes, oval faces and prominent noses. Vogt adds that this “Mediterranean type” of Jews is presented in Rembrandt’s paintings as “beautiful and noble”, which stresses the importance of art in this kind of observations. The esthetic aspects of the representation of Jews, highlighted in such a manner, were also discussed by other scholars: F. Maurer, A. Weisbach, B. Blechmann, L. Stieda, J. Kollmann, and then by Zionist anthropologists such as J. Jacobs, F. Luschan, L. Schleich, A. Judt, A. Sandler, E. Auerbach, A. Weisbach, J. Weissenberg, I. Zollschan, and many more who set the direction for the mode of race reception at the turn of the 19th century. Contemporary studies connecting anthropology and esthetics, which very often interwove concepts of race, people, ethnography, culture, ethno-religious unity etc., were a very important category and a way of self-defining for Zionists.

Herzl’s image was viewed as a type connecting the two ethnic groups, although Herzl himself underlined his Sepharadi roots. These postulates were supposed to start the Zionist exodus of Jews from Europe and aim for “Semitic unity” in the Land of Israel (Eretz Israel). From today’s perspective this argumentation seems to be controversial. Nevertheless, it is not today’s view on these disciplines and their argumentation that is relevant but contemporary reception of the issues in question – reception which played an important part in Zionist ideology at the time.

The present paper was motivated by an analysis of a number of photomontages from the beginning of the 20th century kept in the Central Zionist Archives in Jerusalem and the Museum of the History of Polish Jews in Warsaw.

Kapa-Karasavidou, Eleni, *Land of Nowhere Land of Everywhere: Folk Songs in the Concentration Camps 1941-1944*

Any manifestation of the different does not reflect only the objective reality, but the ways the social subject perceives it. Thus, as a symbol “other” is usually perceived in a dual meaning, as part of an externalized “we” and as a part of an internalised “they”. That suits especially inner social minorities within the framework of ethnocentric societies and the Jewish diaspora offers a variety of examples. Having as a given the social “dysemia” (Hertzfeld) of the literary representations of otherness we may trace why our identity is charged with all the miscellaneous societal and metaphysical notions that contributed to “the manifestations of the Other which so powerfully shape the narrative of the self”. (Cox, 1996) In our paper we examine and analyze the powerful folk songs written in the concentration camps by the Greek Jews (1941-1944) that have not be treated fairly by the literary critique so far. By doing this we explore the reclamation

of the methodological tools of literary analysis and critique in the framework of an extended social critique (Zima, 1985) that we tried to introduce in this research.

We argue that this reclamation will re-establish the relationship between the textual and the social fields of action and practice (Kedurie, 1999). In this way we may lead in a more complete and productive use of the theoretical approaches concerning literature and the representation of the “Other” on a political, philosophical, psychological, social and pedagogical level.

We may question, for instance, to what extent the dual reading of social action serves as a basic scheme of anthropological arrangement in modern Greek (or any other) society, concerning anti-Semitism or any other racism.

Kaspina, Maria, *The Jewish versions of a Universal Fairytale about a Maiden in a Tower (AT 310 and AT 930A)*

The presentation will be based on the analysis of several different Jewish sources, both oral and written, that contain tale about a maiden imprisoned in a tower, who at times appears to be a Daughter of King Solomon. Universally this type of tale is known as the Rapunzel story (Aarne-Tompson 310). It is also usually combined with the motifs of the type 930A: the Predestined Wife. In general studies of folk literature, these tale types have been discussed very often (A. Aarne, A. Taylor, M. bin Gorion etc.). In Jewish sources this story first appeared in medieval collections of midrashim (Midrash Tanhuma, ed. S. Buber, 68b) and then it became widespread in all the Jewish communities of the Mediterranean. Later we find variations of this story in Jewish folklore and literature from the communities of Eastern Europe through Tunisia, Yemen and Iraq. The story received additional popularity after it was adapted by the famous Jewish writer H.N. Bialik in “The Tale of Three and Four”. Bialik himself mentioned that his second version of the tale draws upon an oral narrative that his wife heard in her childhood. During my recent fieldwork in the small Ukrainian town of Tulchin in the year 2005 I was fortunate to record from an old Jewish woman one more folk version of this story, which has very interesting features. I will trace the basic renditions of this tale type through the wider Jewish world and will try to emphasize the invariant and the primary versions of this universal fairytale story.

Katsumata, Naoya, see **Bekkum, Wout Jac van**

Keil, Martha, *Medieval Hebrew Fragments in Austrian Libraries – a Trailblazer Project in Europe*

The fact that Hebrew fragments were used as covers and cover fortifications for Christian books attests to the prosecution, expulsion and robbery of Jewish communities during the Middle Ages. The history of Hebrew fragments is thus part of the existence and destruction of Austria’s medieval Jewish communities and intellectual life in the so-called “Viennese Gezerah” in 1420/21.

The Austrian project started as early as in 1991, passed on to the Institute for Jewish History in Austria in November 2008, and is now a part of the network “European Genizah – Hebrew Fragments in European Libraries”, consisting of nine European countries. It is considered to lead the way because of its long-lasting experience and the public web-accessibility (www.hebraica.at). As with all the partner projects, it aims

at the collection, digitalisation, academic description and identification of all Hebrew fragments in Austrian libraries and archives. In cooperation with the Commission for Paleography and Codicology of Mediaeval Manuscripts of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, approximately 1,200 out of an estimated 2,500 fragments are already available and more than 300 are in preparation.

The paper will present the project and report about some outstanding fragments either already available or recently discovered, like a rare medical fragment found in October 2009 at St. Florian monastery in Upper Austria.

Kelner, Viktor, *Russian Jew Maxim Vinaveri (National Identification of Russian Jewry and Political Life in Russia at the Beginning of the 20th Century)*

An attorney and political figure, Maxim Moiseevich Vinaver symbolizes the involvement of a representative of the Russian-Jewish intelligentsia in Russian political life on the eve of the 20th century. M. Vinaver participated in the Jewish national movement (he was a head of the *Union for the Achievement of Equal Rights for the Jews in Russia*, the *Jewish Democratic Party*, and the *Council of Jewish Activists in Kovno* in 1909). As a journalist he published articles and books on the Jewish question and edited Jewish periodicals. At the same time he was one of the leaders of the most important liberal organizations in Russia, the *Party of Constitutional Democrats*, and a member of the *State Russian Duma*. Study of the life and activities of M. Vinaver could serve as a key for our understanding of the processes which had been rather characteristic of Russian Jewry during the epoch of political upheavals in the 20th century.

M. Vinaver combined principles of the Russian democratic movement with the vigorous assertion of the interests of Jews in their struggle for equality throughout his life, both in Russia and as an emigré.

The proposed report is based on the archival survey of M.M. Vinavera's personal papers preserved in depositories in Russia and the USA.

Khiterer, Victoria, *Laughing Through Tears: Jewish Kiev in the Writings of Sholom Aleichem*

Kiev had a very special status in Imperial Russia as a holy city for Russian Orthodox believers. The "holiness" of the city created a special atmosphere of religious intolerance towards Jews. The hostility of the Kiev administration towards Jews, the deprivation of their civil rights, the nocturnal round-ups of Jews, the anti-Semitism of a significant part of the city population and the anti-Jewish pogroms are all well reflected in the writings of Sholom Aleichem. Sholom Aleichem (pseudonym of Sholom Yakov Rabinovitz, 1859–1916) created the image of Kiev as a city hostile to Jews, which he called *Yehupets* (Egypt), in his works. The writer knew Kiev quite well: he lived there over a decade in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. He finally left the city after the pogrom of October 1905.

But in spite of the hostility of the Kiev authorities, the city was always attractive for Jews as a place where it was possible to make money fast. Thus over thirty thousand Jews lived in Kiev at the turn of the twentieth century. Sholom Aleichem depicted with great humor in his autobiographical novel *From the Fair* the Kiev crown rabbi Evsei Tsukkerman, the all-powerful leader of the Kiev Jewish community sugar tycoon Lazar Brodsky, the Hebrew poet and writer Yehalel, and the scatterbrained Kiev Jewish in-

tellectual and advisor on Jewish affairs to the Governor, Herman Baratz. Of course, some exaggeration, and considerable irony are present in Sholom Aleichem's writings. But his psychological portraits of the Kiev Jewish community leaders and intellectuals are unique and cannot be found in other sources. Thus Sholom Aleichem's works contain very valuable material on the history of Jews in Kiev and confirm the Jewish ability to laugh through tears in spite of all the adversities of life.

Kirschbaum, Saul, A. B. Yehoshua's *Mar Mani* Revisited

Many critics have already read A. B. Yehoshua's novel *Mar Mani* as an archaeology of the Jewish people's history since its entry into modernity, or, which is the same thing, since the French Revolution began to affect Jewish life in Europe.

My presentation will stress that the fifth "conversation" must also be read as an archaeological effort, a quest for the truth; here, the truth is not hidden bellow time layers, as in the other episodes, but buried under the speaker's (Abraham Mani, the only Mani to be heard in the entire novel) torrential speech, which has this characteristic precisely in order to hide the truth, a truth which is revealed only as the interlocutors exit or die, and so can no more witness to the revelations. And more, that the "normalization" of the Jewish people, so strenuously sought by Haskalah and by Zionism, could only be attained by breaking the ethical postulates that established the Jewish people, namely the prohibition against perpetrating human sacrifices and maintaining incestuous relationships.

Klein, Rudolf, *Genealogy of Main Synagogue Types in Austria-Hungary*

This presentation is based on research extending over two decades and comprises some 800 synagogues, extant or demolished, on the territory of the former Austria-Hungary, i.e. from the Adriatic Sea up to the Alps and Carpathians (today: Croatia, Hungary, Austria, Slovakia, Czech Republic, and parts of Italy, Slovenia, Romania, Serbia and the Ukraine). It elaborates a wide range of criteria for classification of synagogue types and chooses one, the composition of volumes in the urban setting as the instrument for genealogy of synagogues.

The period from 1789 to 1918 was the time of intense synagogue building activity in Europe. Following the Enlightenment and the French Revolution a new genre emerged: the place of worship for emancipated Jews, breaking away from the tradition of pre-emancipation East- and Central-European as well as traditional Italian and Sephardic synagogue architecture. In the quest to find an adequate expression for the new social conditions, Jews resorted to numerous formal sources of Gentile architecture and sometimes referred to the reproductions of Solomon's Temple. In the absence of centrally defined guidelines, the builders of synagogues were free in choosing architectural templates, stylistic variations. Floor plan arrangement, structural solutions and materials, external and internal decoration as well as the synagogue location (synagogue vis-à-vis immediate surroundings and the wider urban tissue as well as townscape) vary from case to case.

This research focuses on the composition of volumes, because this is the main urban and political statement of a given Jewish community. This presentation elaborates genealogies of eight basic urban types of synagogues which differ in terms of look and reference to a given gentile building type, such as: villager's house; burgher's house;

Protestant church; Catholic church/cathedral; industrial hall; central Byzantine church; urban palace and Solomon's Temple; including location typology in the context of the entire town and the immediate surroundings.

Kogel, Judith, *Talmudic Fragments Discovered in the Colmar Library*

The fragmentary Hebrew manuscripts discovered in the fifteenth-century bindings of some of the incunabula in the Colmar Municipal Library include passages of the Talmud and liturgical texts. These incunabula and thus the Hebrew fragments, Talmudic and other, in their bindings had been in the possession of convents, colleges and other religious communities in the vicinity of Colmar until 1789 when their libraries were expropriated by the Revolutionary government, after which some of them migrated to the Municipal Library while others were dispersed and lost.

We shall deal with the fragments containing Talmudic texts. What can they teach us? Does an analysis of their texts provide new information about the Talmudic studies of the Medieval Jewish communities of the Upper Rhine Valley? Do these fragments share any physical characteristics?

We shall try to determine whether the Colmar Talmudic fragments compose a representative sample of the Talmudic texts circulating in Medieval Ashkenazic communities, and whether they have preserved interesting elements that have been lost.

Kohler, George Yaakov, *Rabbi Max Dienemann's plans for liberal Judaism in Palestine*

The institution of the *Doktorrabbiner* was an invention of German liberal Judaism in the nineteenth century; after the First World War there was hardly any German Jewish community without a university trained rabbi, not even an orthodox one. With the rise of Nazism, the *Doktorrabbiner* were forced into emigration – and not a few of them emigrated to Eretz Israel. But Jewish life in British Palestine was long under the exclusive control of traditional Lithuanianism, and the liberal German Metropolitan-Rabbis were highly unwelcome, at least in their old profession.

Max Dienemann (1875-1939), the rabbi of the town of Offenbach travelled to Palestine for the first time in 1934 – in order to evaluate the chances of establishing a liberal form of Judaism in Eretz Israel. In 1936 Dienemann, for years a national activist of the liberal movement and the author of its ultimate manifesto, designed a detailed and overall optimistic plan for the introduction of liberal Judaism in the *jishuv*, clearly formulating tasks and chances. Finding religious Judaism in Eretz Israel either stuck in its “medieval form” or altogether rejected by the young Zionists, Dienemann recognized the possibilities for Liberalism in its classical features, reminiscent of the situation found one hundred years previously in Germany: the fight against secularization, the alignment of life and doctrine, the introduction of the concept of development into Jewish thought and the modernization of Jewish religious education – all this on the basis of a humanistic, universal idealism.

The lecture will present and discuss Dienemann's original proposals not only in light of their theological background in nineteenth-century Germany but also with regard to their complete failure in twentieth-century Israel – with all the obvious consequences of this failure, traceable until today.

Kotlyar, Eugeny, *The Jerusalem Temple in Italian Art: A Model for Eastern European Synagogues*

Renaissance Italy was not just European art's lawgiver, but also conductor of theoretical views of the ideal city, in which an image of the Jerusalem Temple occupied the center. These ideas initially developed in a Christian milieu, were later adapted by Italian Jewry, and finally became widespread among European Jewish communities.

In the works of Christian artists of the early 16th century – Raphael, Perugino, Carpaccio – the Temple was associated with octagonal domed structures hailing from Jerusalem's Dome of the Rock. The same model grew common in Jewish art, e.g., in Venice: engravings published by Giustiniani (1550s), the Venetian Haggadah (1609), Jewish marital contracts (1730-50s and later). This model also transferred into Venetian synagogue architecture: see Bimah lamps dating from the 18th-century reconstructions of the Grand German, Canton, and Italian Scuolas.

Connected with the Temple image is also an item of purely Italian origin: St. Peter's baldachin by Bernini in Rome (1633), which influenced the Bimahs' four-pillared design, the twisted columns in different Italian synagogues, and other ritual items.

Consider, finally, the Jerusalem Temple's idealized architectural model from Villalpando's treatise (1604), based on a spatialized image of the Tabernacle surrounded by the Twelve Tribes of Israel.

These models – octagonal structure, canopy with columns and crown, square plan of hall with the Bimah in the center – became the norm in Rzhechpospolita in the 1600-1700s, leading to special types of Eastern European synagogue: arched wooden and nine-bayed stone. One reason for this was the wide circulation of printed Italian Jewish books in Europe, and another was the work of Italian architects at the courts of Polish kings and nobility.

The paper demonstrates how ideas, theories, and models associated with the Jerusalem Temple were imported from Italy and blossomed in Eastern European Ashkenazic synagogues, impacting the development of traditional shtetl art.

Kouts, Gideon, *Ben Yehuda, a Hebrew journalist in Paris, and the "French model" of journalism at the end of the 19th century*

Few Hebrew journalists have attracted as much attention as Eliezer Ben Yehuda, both in his lifetime and thereafter. Among others, he was designated as "personality of the year 2008" by UNESCO, marking the 150th anniversary of his birth in 1858. But most students of his prolific output (1879-1922) have focused on his highly innovative work in the area of the Hebrew language and national renaissance. However there is a less known body of some thirty articles published in the Hebrew press written in Paris, before Ben Yehuda settled in Palestine in 1882, including a series of eight "political" articles dispatched by him from Paris to the Jerusalem *Havatzet* newspaper. This work of Ben Yehuda, as Paris foreign correspondent for his Palestinian newspaper, can be viewed by historians on two levels: a description of international events juxtaposed with current domestic social and political conflicts in France, and the shaping of Ben Yehuda's thought as expressed later in his life. But our main interest would be to discover his encounter with the French press of the 70s and 80s of the 19th century which led to a "critical assimilation" of the "French model" into the "Press Empire" he later created in Palestine. Ben Yehuda's journalistic career started in Paris, where he arrived

in 1878 as Eliezer Elianov. Having attained a secondary education in Russia, he wanted to study medicine in France, but finally became a teacher. He struck up a friendship with the correspondent of the Russian paper *Ruski Mir*, Cheshnikow, and through him became acquainted with politicians, social figures and Paris local and foreign journalists in this decisive period of shaping modern French journalism and freedom of the press, as well of hard tests for the Republic that he defended, drawing parallels to events in the history of Jewish people.

Kovelman, Arkady, “A Share in the World to Come”: Text and Hypertext of Mishnah Sanhedrin

This paper discusses the opening statement of Mishnah Sanhedrin 10:1 (“All Israelites have a share in the world to come ...”), which is absent from the oldest manuscripts of the Mishnah.

This paper endeavors to prove that there is nothing casual or artificial about the opening statement of Mishnah Sanhedrin. Moreover, the pharisaic statement about the salvation of “all Israel” underlies the hypertext of the treatise. Paul was familiar with this statement in the first century CE as was Justin in the second century CE. This statement appeared as a midrash on Is. 59:20-21, 60:21. The trigger of the midrash was a change in the meaning of the word ‘*Ôl m*’ from Biblical to Rabbinic Hebrew, from temporal to spatial. Under the influence of Greek philosophy (specifically Stoicism), ‘*Ôl m*’ became analogous in meaning to Greek *Cosmos*, while retaining the meaning of Canaan. All Israelites were now supposed to acquire a share in the world to come much like they were supposed to do so in Canaan. The aggadic structure of the treatise Sanhedrin follows the Biblical story of the Inheritance of the Land. The Sanhedrin itself was a replica of Moses’ council of the elders to judge the world at the End Time. Paradoxically, Sanhedrin was also deemed to be a “remnant”, the only ones to be saved in the world to come. This contradiction was deeply imbedded in both rabbinic and Christian Thought. The aggadic structure of the treatise vacillated between “this world” and “the world to come”, between history and eschatology. The framers of the Babylonian Talmud changed the order of the chapters and converted the metaphorical composition of the treatise from implicit into explicit.

Krakowski, Eve, Female property rights and the dowry in Geniza society

Across religious denominations, medieval Near Eastern families typically granted young daughters substantial property at first marriage, bound up in a dowry consisting primarily of movable household and personal objects. Hundreds of detailed lists preserved in the Cairo Geniza document dowries granted to Jewish brides in the Levant and North Africa during the tenth to thirteenth centuries. While these dowries resembled those exchanged within contemporary Islamic and Coptic societies in size and content, they were governed by a set of distinctive rabbinic and Karaite legal restrictions on female property rights, which theoretically permitted Jewish women far less financial autonomy within marriage than their Muslim and Christian counterparts.

Drawing on extensive analysis of Geniza documents and contemporary legal responsa, this paper will examine the ways in which actual dowry practices in medieval Near Eastern Jewish society structured female economic life, focusing on dowry transfers made before and at the time of first marriage. I will first examine the social functions of dowry

gifts as transactions between daughters and their families. Second, through a discussion of the varied means by which parents and other relatives granted personal property to young brides, I will assess the role of the first marriage in determining women's access to personal property. I will conclude by discussing Geniza society's social practices in this area as a complex accommodation of rabbinic and Karaite law with underlying cultural norms shared broadly across religious communities in the medieval Near East.

Kreisel, Haim, *Between Religion and Knowledge: The Medieval Hebrew Encyclopedias*

In this paper I take a brief look at the question why medieval Jews wrote encyclopedias on the basis of an analysis of the content and purpose of three medieval Hebrew encyclopedias written in the late 13th and early 14th centuries: *De'ot Ha-Filosofim* by Shem Tov Ibn Falaquera, *Livyat Hen* by Levi ben Avraham and *Kiryat Sefer* by David ben Shmuel Ha-Kokhavi.

Kuperminc, Jean-Claude, *Paris, capital of the Jewish education. The role of the Ecole normale israélite orientale in shaping the modernization of Oriental Jews*

The Alliance israélite universelle is known to have deeply modified the life and sociology of millions of Oriental Jews in the 19th and 20th centuries. One of the main tools of action to modernize Jews has been the creation of a network of schools in the Balkans and Mediterranean areas.

To feed these hundreds of schools with teachers, the Alliance chose to create a training school, the Ecole normale israélite orientale (ENIO) in 1870. This school was located in Paris, rue Michel-Ange, and this paper will try to show how important was exposure to Parisian life for the pupils of the ENIO.

The first option of the Alliance was to send Alsatian teachers to Morocco and the other countries in North Africa and the Middle East, but local communities did not accept them very well. Eugene Manuel, an important French educator, one of the founders of AIU, developed the idea of the ENIO: selecting the best pupils of the Alliance schools, boarding them during four years in a training school in Paris, and sending them back to the Oriental schools, from Morocco to Iran.

The experience of these young girls and boys in Paris proves to be fascinating. They discover French language and culture, in its best context: the Opéra, the Comédie française, the theatres and libraries.

Young Jewish girls, coming from remote communities of Greece, Morocco or Syria, are accommodated in various hostels in Paris, and they have to adapt to their urban environment. They will change their mentalities, their way of thinking, and their clothes, to become true *Parisiennes*.

The ENIO has been hosted by various buildings in the XVIth arrondissement, and was home to the famous library of the AIU until 1937. During WWII, the building was seized by the violent French anti-Semitic police, the Milice, and used as its training school. The inscription of this school in the Parisian landscape is therefore very noticeable. The great philosopher Emmanuel Levinas was headmaster of the ENIO for many years after 1945, and today, the most important development project of the AIU is located in rue Michel-Ange, adding one more symbol to the already very rich story of this place.

Kushelevsky, Rella, *Italy as a Cultural Symbol in Ashkenaz: An inter-textual study of a tale from North France (13th C): 'The Three Decrees'*

Italy, the homeland of the Jewish pioneers who founded the first Jewish communities in Germany, is portrayed in medieval narratives from Ashkenaz as a collective symbol, its cultural cradle. Along with those pioneers from Italy, liturgical and esoteric traditions were imported into Ashkenaz and its communities, thus establishing their image as 'Sacred communities' (*Qehilot Kodesh*).

Italy is conceived also as a juncture of cultures, where traditions from two Jewish centres meet: Babel and the Land of Israel. Thus, Italy is not only the origin of Ashkenazi traditions, but also a vein for transmitting traditions from both East and West. This notion of Italy as a mediating space hinges on its geographic background.

These two aspects – Italy as the cultural cradle of Ashkenaz and as a mediating space between East and West, Babel and Israel – will be presented through a close reading of a tale from 13th century North France, which is itself a re-working of a Talmudic narrative found in tractate *Me'ilah* 17b. Its rich inter-connections with several sources – the Talmud, the *Scroll of Ahima'atz* and liturgical hermeneutics in Ashkenaz – will be interpreted as means for establishing Italy in the collective memory of Ashkenazi communities as a cultural symbol.

Lachter, Hartley, *Rational Science and Esoteric Discourse in 13th-Century Spanish Kabbalah*

The mid to late 13th century witnessed an unprecedented proliferation of kabbalistic texts in Iberian Jewish circles, especially those located in the region of Castile. It was during this period that the *Zohar*, arguably the most important kabbalistic book, was composed and quickly began to gain notoriety. At the same time we find a wide range of scientific and philosophical works circulating within these same Jewish circles, which were also encountering a significant increase in Christian anti-Jewish polemical engagement. What is particularly puzzling about the effervescence of kabbalistic literature during this period in Spain is the fact that the radical and striking imagery found in kabbalistic compositions like the *Zohar* was quickly regarded by Jewish scholars as not only authentic and legitimate Jewish tradition, but also the secret, inner core of Judaism. While 13th-century kabbalistic texts bear many striking affinities to images and motifs found in rabbinic literature and other classical sources, erudite Jewish readers would be unable to ignore the fact that many kabbalistic ideas cannot be found in sources commonly regarded as authoritative in traditional Jewish circles.

In this paper I will explore how we might better understand this "kabbalistic revolution" in 13th-century Castile by considering some of the ways that kabbalistic texts negotiate a complex balance between Western scientific ideas such as astronomy, meteorology and medicine, and esoteric discourses articulated as ancient secrets deriving from revelation, and bearing striking resemblances to Neoplatonic, Hermetic, and even alchemical ideas which were witnessing something of a renaissance of their own. In this paper I will consider how 13th-century Kabbalists such as Isaac ibn Sahula, Moses de Leon, Joseph Gikatilla, and the authors of the *Zohar*, employed a range of esoteric and scientific discourses as part of a strategy to legitimize Judaism within the highly polemical and scientifically erudite cultural context of 13th-century Castile. By presenting Kabbalah as an ancient secret doctrine, obtainable exclusively through Jewish tradition,

kabbalists sought to produce an alternative, Jewish “science” that accounts for all aspects of natural, human and divine reality, in an attempt to place Judaism – and Jewish religious praxis – firmly in the center of the cosmic-divine drama.

Laderman, Shulamit, *Elijah: The Prophet of Fire, Fury and Faith – in Art and Aggada*

Is the visual imaging of Elijah influenced by biblical stories or by Aggadic Literature? Does his portrayal in art reflect his being a prophet of Fire, Fury and Faith? The proposed lecture will illustrate these three components of Elijah’s prophesy, through Jewish art.

ELIJAH THE PROPHET OF FIRE

Images of Elijah are found as early as the third century on the walls of the Dura-Europos synagogue. He is shown there as the prophet of Fire in his contest against the prophets of Baal, bringing God’s fire to consume his sacrifice. What was the Aggadic nature of this fire? Elijah is also taken to heaven in a chariot of fire – could the image of Elijah (Helios in Greek) be the image shown in the center of the Mosaic floors of the synagogues in Israel, as he triumphantly rides a chariot of fire?

ELIJAH THE PROPHET OF FURY

Talmudic-Aggadic literature frequently emphasizes Elijah’s role as the “angel of the covenant” after he expressed his fury at the Israelites for breaking God’s covenant. How is this portrayed in the Midrash and in Jewish Art? Is Elijah represented also as the prophet of fury against the enemies of the Israelites?

ELIJAH THE PROPHET OF FAITH

According to the Talmudic-Aggadic tradition, the return to the Holy Land will be led by Elijah who will appear leading the Messiah – how is this expressed in Jewish art?

Lamdan, Neville Y., *Village Jews in the 19th-century Minsk Gubernya through a genealogical lens*

Much has been written about “shtetl Jews” in the 19th century, while relatively little work has been done on village Jews (*yishuvnikes*) who, depending on area and era, may have constituted some 30-40% of the Jewish population in the Pale of Settlement. This paper will focus on *yishuvnikes* in the Minsk Gubernya from the Third Partition of Poland (1795) to the outbreak of World War I, on the basis of a genealogical study of 5 closely related families who lived in the vicinity of the old *shtetl* of Lyakhovichi. It will endeavour to show that while the lives of village Jews paralleled those of the *shtetl* Jews in many respects, they differed in certain significant particulars.

The similarities lay in their responses to the Russian authorities, as the latter tried to apply various bureaucratic procedures to them (name-taking, census-taking, military service, tax-paying) and to enforce progressively oppressive legislation that contributed, in part, to major demographic shifts and migration from the 1880s to 1914 (and beyond). The differences were to be found more at the level of internal Jewish life – the practice of religion, provision of education, selection, marriage patterns, without the benefit of a critical mass of Jews and the concomitant services of an organised *kahal* being immediately available. The village Jews were also marked off from *shtetl* Jews by their direct dependence on the landed gentry, by their occupations and even by their dress and the languages they spoke.

While the degree to which the challenges of modernisation and industrialization

touched the village Jew may be queried, the process of urbanization affected them directly, almost by definition. Finally, once urbanised, the village Jew was exposed to the same forces of acculturation and the same intellectual and ideological influences as his urban counterpart – but were their reactions identical?

Lamdan, Ruth, *Community and individual: letters from Eretz Israel requesting aid for individuals in distress*

Hundreds of letters were sent abroad from communities in Eretz Israel during the 16th and 17th centuries. Most of them told of hardship and difficult living conditions, and begged the Diaspora Jews to come to the aid of their brethren in the holy land. The letters were sent to the major Jewish centers in the Mediterranean region: Salonika, Cairo and Istanbul. The flood of letters increased at the beginning of the 17th century, following the many calamities that afflicted Safed, which lost its position of prominence, and the excessive oppression of the Jews in Jerusalem, which endangered their economic situation and safety.

Along with the letters telling of severe communal hardships, other letters described the desperate plight of individuals, many of them were forced to take to the road and beg for help for personal purposes. These were people whose fortunes had taken a turn for the worst and had lost their money, people who were forced to collect money for dowries for their daughters, prisoners in need of money to buy their freedom, or women whose husbands had abandoned them and left them penniless.

Most of the letters that were published in the past are of a general nature, relating to shared sorrows and not individual ones. In my lecture, I will relate especially to the letters written for private individuals, many of them are still in the original script in a compilation prepared by the scribe of the Jerusalem community at the beginning of the 17th century. These letters provide graphic descriptions of the dire straits of individuals and the efforts of the community to come to their aid.

I will focus on the various matters that concerned them, and the way they appealed to Diaspora benefactors in order to arouse their will to help them. There is no doubt that at the root of the heartbreaking descriptions was also the fear of the community leaders: it is clear that if the impoverished families, or deserted wives, did not succeed in receiving help from the Diaspora, they would become burdens on the Jerusalem community, which was already desperately poor.

Langton, Daniel, *Holocaust Theology and the Use of History*

The Holocaust (or Shoah) has provoked a wide variety of Jewish religious responses, many of which claim that, ultimately, historical analysis is incapable of explaining the Nazi genocide.

This has not prevented such thinkers from drawing heavily upon historical resources, including survivor testimonies, court transcripts, and other accounts of atrocities. This paper will explore the use of history (and attitudes towards historicism) among Holocaust theologians as reflected in their debates about the uniqueness of the Shoah, its challenge to Judaism and the covenant, its implications for God's providential action and revelation, and the problem of evil.

Lappin, Eleonore, Trieste – Austria’s Gate to Eretz Israel

Trieste, the Dual Monarchy’s most important port, was the gate to Eretz Israel for early Austrian Zionists. After World War I, from 1920 to 1923, with the Black Sea harbor of Contanza closed, Trieste became the most important port of embarkation to Palestine for Jewish emigrants from Central and Eastern Europe. For a while, these *Olim* turned Vienna once again into a Zionist center. On their way to Trieste *Olim* passing through Vienna had to wait there until they got the necessary permits to continue their journey to Eretz Israel. Furthermore, at the end of World War I, there were about 25,000 largely destitute war refugees from Galicia and Bukovina as well as thousands of former Austrian soldiers of these two crown-lands stranded in Vienna, many of whom wanted to make *aliyah*. However, until 1920, Palestine remained closed to new Jewish emigrants. In order to keep the prospective *Olim* occupied and to prepare them for their life in Eretz Israel the Austrian Zionists Adolf Böhm, Emil Stein and E.M. Zweig established *hakhshara* centers in Vienna. They also founded the world’s first “Palestine-Office” in the Diaspora for the organization of transit and emigration to Palestine. Vienna was the door to Palestine for the third *aliyah*.

In 1938 Adolf Eichmann established his notorious system of organized robbery and expulsion of the Jewish population in Vienna. Once again Trieste became a port of embarkation for Palestine. Many of these refugees were youngsters leaving Austria within the framework of the *youth aliyah*. The Viennese *hakhshara* centers were expanded in order to train refugees and make them eligible for workers’ certificates to Palestine. However, once again the flood of emigration to Palestine via Trieste was interrupted – this time by the Italian government, which refused transit visas for Jews.

In my paper I will give an overview of Jewish emigration from Austria to Eretz Israel between the two World Wars with special emphasis on the importance of Trieste as port of embarkation.

Lässig, Simone, Interpreting “Civil Improvement” and “Educating” Jewish Contemporaries: Reform Sermons as a Means to Teach German Jews about Middle Class Culture

In around 1800, the majority of Jews residing in German states lived in poverty and seemed anything but enlightened, well-educated, and bourgeois in terms of their (religious) culture, learning practices or mentality. A mere three generations later, the situation had dramatically changed. The majority of German Jews had established themselves socially, economically and culturally in the middle or the upper middle class. Now they were even seen as “model pupils” of education (*Bildung*) and a bourgeois habitus/way of life (*Bürgerlichkeit*).

Referring to Pierre Bourdieu’s theory of capital, the paper states that German Jews – influenced by the state’s programme of “Civil Improvement” – accumulated a very useful and socially relevant cultural capital, which finally enabled even formerly poor families to enter the middle classes. By raising the question how German Jews became familiar with middle class values, how and by whom they were able or enabled to internalize adequate cultural and social norms, I will argue that education and religion played a crucial role in this context. The paper will analyze curricula and textbooks of the new Jewish schools that were founded in many German places in the first decades of the 19th century. The main focus, however, will not be on schools and textbooks for the young, but on synagogues and sermons – interpreted as spaces and media to in-

struct primarily adult Jews who were still committed to Jewish traditions and Judaism. Sermons held and printed in German and conceptualized as a means of education were not known before 1808, but rapidly became popular in the early 19th century. In my contribution I will outline the main characteristics of this new element and its promoters: Who were these new preachers? How were they related to the new German-Jewish schools? In what way did they interpret the enlightened programme of “civil improvement”, and how did they make this programme compatible with Jewish traditions? Which topics did they stress in their religious ‘lectures’, and how did they use religious language and religious references to teach and to inculcate genuinely secular and potentially middle class issues like education, business, time management or gender models? Thus the paper examines whether and to what extent Jewish sermons can be considered as forms of educational media and – for a certain time – as a relatively powerful incitement to accumulate cultural capital characteristic of the middle class.

Lavee, Moshe, *Late Midrashic Activity across the Mediterranean Sea*

Haggadic Midrash is regarded as the margins of rabbinic cultural productivity. Geonic comments about its non-obligatory status are often quoted. However, the turn of the first millennium knew a continuous and rich activity in the field. Midrashic materials were reworked into new variations, gathered in various anthologies, and were transformed to fit the new modes of exegetical commentaries adopted and developed by Jews in the Muslim cultural milieu.

In a recent research project we have begun to catalogue and analyse a variety of Genizah fragments that point to this continuous activity, such as new variations of Midrashim, Judeo-Arabic Midrashic works and lists of verses that reflect the skeleton of Midrashic works. Many of these materials were hardly noted by the scholarly community and those fragments that were published were hardly discussed since.

In this lecture, I would like to present the study of a few examples found in this project that demonstrate common traditions and shared lines of literary developments with exegetical activity on European lands, documented in works such as *Lekach Tov*, *Sekhel Tov*, and even in Rashi’s commentary. Among these examples are a unique version of the rabbinic enumerations of God’s revelations and a Judeo-Arabic Midrash for Genesis 3:23 – 4:25. These examples provoke rethinking about the basic lines of geo-cultural divisions of Jewish Culture around the Mediterranean Sea at the time, as they suggest some connection between literary activities to its north-west and south-east.

Lebet-Minakowska, Anna, *Orthodox Jewish costume as manifestation of Jewishness*

Jews adopted the clothing of the nation among whom they lived, while retaining certain elements of their own clothing, which served not only to differentiate them from other peoples, but mainly to emphasize their national identity. The manner of dress of the local urban or rural people also influenced Jewish clothing, and this depended on the region in which they lived at a given time. The borrowing of local types of clothing, capped off with specifically Jewish additions established itself into a representative manner of dress which became a part of the Jewish tradition and lasted for hundreds of years. In nineteenth-century Poland, the influence of Polish clothing on Jewish men’s attire was still apparent (the Hasidim still wear clothing modelled on sixteenth-century Polish noblemen’s clothing). The clothing of the affluent Jewish intelligentsia, living in

cities, of course looked different. Men dressed in Western European styles, and women wore dresses patterned after the styles of the bourgeois or nobility, or else, like men, adopted western fashions. The clothing of the poor was, however, maintained almost without change and retained identifiable elements even up until the Second World War. The image of Jews known to us from prints show men attired in loose, dark robes. Jewish clothing most of all was distinctive for its dark colours, and black was most frequently used, while it was not popular among Poles at the time. Ladies' dresses were also characterized by subdued or dark colours, usually dark blue, brown, or black. Jewish tailors sewed clothing that was intended not only for other Jews, but also for the nobility and bourgeois. For this reason it is difficult to discern the difference in cut between clothing of the Polish type produced for Poles and Jews (some researchers suggest that there was practically no difference). Jewish clothing was usually sewn from cheaper cloth or fur, and decorated with less expensive accessories and appliqué. It was also certainly decorated differently, because period sources repeat the description: "[made] with Jewish workings in the sleeves and the neck." It is possible that in conveying this information to us, the author had in mind the custom of appliquéing Jewish women's clothing with narrow strips (*lisky*) of silver or gold lace made in the "*szpanier arbajt*" technique. Some kinds of cloth sold by Jewish craftsmen were often used by Jews, and were named as such. For example, a type of heavy fabric produced in Poland was popularly known as "Jewish *paklak*."

In the nineteenth century, the typical clothing of orthodox Jewish men and women was perceived as an integral part of their Jewishness, as described by the term *jidiszkeit*. They tried to avoid making any changes at all to the appearance of their clothing, in order not to break from tradition. Any change created a danger of assimilation and the commission of sacrilege. This was why the decree by tsar Nicholas I of 1824 (repeated in 1845), prohibiting Jews from wearing traditional clothing was, for them, a tremendous hardship, and it was met with fasting and prayer. Similarly, in Krakow, bills adopted by the Sejm of the Republic of Krakow forced Jews to forsake traditional clothing. Here, too, there were protests when the news of the ordinances was published, as it was believed at the time that changes in clothing could lead to abandonment of the faith. Decrees concerning clothing and appearance, of course, applied only to those Jews who chose to live outside of the ghetto, in places inhabited by non-Jewish peoples and their message was intended to make the Jewish people more amenable to assimilation.

Lederer, Inge, *Compiled Interpretations of Ruth 1:1-13 in the Hebrew Manuscript Vatican ebr. 18*

Commentaries are often a combination of different aspects. They may display compiled explanations of original authors. But who are the "original" authors if no explicit indication of them is given in a certain commentary itself? Due to the absence of definite evidence, mediaeval commentaries in manuscripts that do not signify any names of their authors are often termed "anonymous". However, the content of such "anonymous" commentaries may show a versatile picture of interpretations. Their subject matter may be well-established in traditional literature. Proof that a commentary is *compiled* can be seen in comparison with other sources. Some manuscripts contain identical explanations, some of them have attributions to their "originators". Comparing them shows further insight. One result of the investigation can be an attribution of the (formerly) "anonymous" commentary to a certain source. The Commentary on the Book of Ruth

in the Manuscript Vat. ebr. 18 (V18) of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana may be labelled as a *compilation* of conveyed interpretations. Its exegeses are *compiled* because parts of V18 may be attributed to different authors of traditional Jewish literature as comparison with other manuscripts like Manuscript Hamburg Cod. hebr. 32 (H32) of the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg shows. H32 also contains a commentary on Ruth and is a *compiled* commentary itself. However, some of its interpretations are explicitly attributed to certain *Rishonim* like Rashi, Rashbam and R. Yosef Qara. Parts of H32 are identical to V18, though V18 contains no attributions. Another part of V18 is the commentary Moshe A. Zipor edited as “Rashi’s Commentary to *Ruth*”.¹ Further elaboration on the arrangement of the commentary on Ruth in V18 can result in questions like the following: What are the sources of the commentary and can they be found in other manuscripts? To which chronological *layer* may the commentary in V18 be attributed in comparison to other manuscripts that contain similar or identical exegeses? Why was the commentary *compiled* the way it is presented in V18? These and similar issues concerning the Commentary on the Book of Ruth in Manuscript Vat. ebr. 18 in comparison to other references will be discussed.

¹ Zipor, Moshe A. “An Additional expanded edition of Rashi’s Commentary to Ruth and Segments of Ruth Zuta in a different Version.” In: *Sidra* 8 (1992): 99-118 (Hebr.).

Lehmhaus, Lennart, *Seder Eliyahu Rabba and Zuta – the discourse of morality as a dialogue in the pluralistic environment of Mediterranean societies*

Seder Eliyahu Zuta (SEZ), as well as its fellow-text called *Seder Eliyahu Rabba (SER)*, is a fascinating rabbinic work which is mainly concerned with questions of ethical lifestyle and righteous conduct. With literary skilfulness those traditions combine many different genres and sub-structures which make the texts function for different audiences. The texts integrate complex discourses on their own Jewish culture as well as various cultural-religious influences and disputes connected to a Karaite, Christian, Persian or Islamic background.

Recent scholars broadened the perspective of rabbinocentric history for “Judaism” in the Mediterranean context. Consequently, there emerges a picture of continued inner-Jewish competition with a variety of external influences in the late antique and early medieval period.

Against this backdrop an outstanding and interesting feature of these works is the conversation between rabbinic characters and figurations of the “other”. The variety of opponents includes “one who has Bible but no Mishna”, mocking and unlearned rural laymen, and the Wise in the academy, as well as gentile religious specialists. These discussions, together with other episodes, centre mainly on exegetical, theological and ethical topics. By focussing on characteristics of revelation, authority of the Oral Torah or importance of moral lifestyle and Torah-study they touch upon most of the major issues in Jewish religious thinking.

In my presentation I would like to discuss various functions (exegesis/ critique/ teaching/ dispute) and literary figurations of inter- and intra-religious encounters in differing contexts. Of special interest are the changes of characters and the mode of interplay between and within religions and cultures. Are there references to intra- and inter-religious polemics? How are religious issues presented to the reader and why? Can we discover different emphasis in SER and SEZ? Which cultural dynamics may be reflected in this literary phenomenon?

Lehnardt, Andreas, *“Genizat Germania” – A Research Project on Hebrew Binding Fragments In Germany*

The DFG-funded project “Genizat Germania” under my direction has brought to light several hundred new and remarkable findings. Among the fragments are Talmud, Midrash, Piyyut and Medieval commentaries to the Bible and several Halakhic texts such as the Sefer Teruma. My project collaborates with similar projects in Italy, France, Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary and Austria. The paper will present several new findings in comparison with similar findings in Europe. Methodological issues will be raised and the cataloguing system will be displayed.

The section is planned in collaboration with Judith Olzowy-Schlanger, Mauro Perani, Martha Keil and Javier Castano. In addition to this I have invited my assistant Saskia Dönitz and Dr. Judith Kogel from Paris.

Lehnardt, Peter Sh., *“The Valor of the One who Dwells in Firmaments I shall Elaborate”. Developments in the Rhetoric of the Embodied Proem in the Tradition of Hebrew Liturgical Poetry in Italy*

In the ninth century and especially the tenth century we may discern an essential transition in the function of those texts that served as proems in Hebrew Liturgical poetry. At both ends of the scale we find on the one hand the early type of proem in the classical tradition from Erets-Yisrael, which determined the place of the proem before the expansions within the compositions of liturgical poetry, and on the other hand, after an enforced development at the beginning of the eleventh century, we find the Andalusian type of proem, this time not only at the head of liturgical compositions but even before the opening sections of the public prayers too. This paper will not focus on this well known creative dialogue between East and West, Babylonia and Andalusia, in this aspect, but on the less explored transition from the proem in classical Piyyut to its rhetoric at the beginnings of the tradition of liturgical poetry in Italy.

In the literary heritage of Italian Jewry we find first of all the type of the classical proem but also some specimens of later developments from the Oriental Piyyut like the Masdar, or proems at the head of Qedushta compositions and these are echoed in form and function by the creative response of Italian authors of Hebrew liturgical poetry. In a revaluation of this phenomenon we find the basic rhetoric of the proem, uttering a plea to obtain permission and the strength to formulate the halakhic obliged matter of the day, not only in separate literary units but also as an embodied proem in the opening lines of liturgical compositions. This tradition going back to the earliest strata of Piyyut becomes formative for the earliest Italian Payyotanim, like Amitay and Shelomo HaBavli – and this not without an interesting twist of modesty in rhetoric.

Lelli, Fabrizio, *Written Memories and Oral Memories in the transit camps: the case of Southern Apulia*

In 1944, Jewish refugees were transferred by the Italian army from the Balkans to the other side of the Adriatic Sea and were temporarily housed in transit camps, which had been previously established in Apulia in order to accommodate Slavic refugees. After the liberation of the Nazi concentration camps and thanks to the support of the United Nations and International Jewish organizations, many Jews were directed to the South-

ern Apulian transit camps, which were established in several small villages on the Lecce sea coast. Those refugees, the majority of whom had already been members of Zionist organizations before or during the War, remained in Southern Apulia for shorter or longer periods between 1944 and 1947. The University of Salento has been collecting and publishing the memoirs of all those refugees who portrayed their experience in the transit camps in different languages. In their writings, the former displaced persons describe their daily life in the camps, as well as their feelings and hopes of finding any possible way to migrate to Israel. These personal testimonies, along with the interviews of former refugees that have been collected in the past few years and turned into documentaries, give us a full picture of an important page of contemporary history, thus greatly contributing to enlarge our knowledge based on archival documents.

Lemaire, André, *The Moussaieff Collection of Palaeo-Hebrew ostraca revised*

During the last fifteen years, several Palaeo-Hebrew ostraca belonging to the Moussaieff collection have been published in various places. In the preparation of a Corpus of Hebrew Inscriptions from the First Temple Period it is useful to attempt a synthesis about their reading and their interpretation, putting them back in their historical and sociological context.

Lembi, Gaia, *Oriental versus Greek Tradition: Jewish and Greek Historiography in Josephus' Contra Apionem*

In his *Contra Apionem* Josephus tackles the issue of how to write Jewish history as well as the question of its credibility as against Greek historiography. In doing so, Josephus displays greater awareness than he did in his previous works, i.e. the *Bellum* and the *Antiquitates*.

Jewish historiography is included in a wider Oriental tradition and at the same time opposed to the Greek one. Striving to confirm both the antiquity and the authority of Jewish tradition, Josephus draws a comparison between the Hebrew Bible and Greek texts: the difference is not only one of terminology i.e. Greek historian versus Jewish prophet but also one of authority. Since the Hebrew Bible is considered to be a result of *theou dogmata* (divine decrees), its truthfulness does not need to be substantiated. Josephus' attitude is interesting not only as a testimony to the struggle between two conflicting traditions, but also as an insight into the author's opinion of his own work. What role does Josephus ascribe to himself compared to Biblical authors?

He later achieved great authority both as continuer of the Biblical tradition (consider the fortune of the *Antiquitates* in the 16th century) and as a follower of Classical tradition (Cassiodorus defined him *secundus Livius*). It's striking, however, that his success was due primarily to his Christian readership, to the point that Isaac ben Jehudah Abrabanel (*Comm. In Daniele* 10) dismisses him as someone who "multa scripsit cum depravatione veritatis & contra scripturae testimonium aucupandae Romanorum gratiae causa & in eorum arbitrio"

Lembke, Astrid, *Law and Transgression in the Ma'aseh Yerushalmi*

The Ma'aseh Yerushalmi, first printed in Constantinople in the beginning of the 16th century, is probably the most widely distributed version of the narrative of a man's mar-

riage to a female demon in the pre-modern Jewish world. At its most basic level, the phantasm of the 'demonic marriage' allows the display of alternatives to medieval rabbinic, philosophical and mystical conceptions of social standards incumbent upon the young male individual. The transgression of norms that is imagined in the literary texts of this genre makes possible a rethinking of the established positions of power and hierarchy. How is a young man to integrate into society, whom will he have to submit to and what alluring dangers are inherent in this process? How are the laws imposed upon the hero – ascribed to divine or to human authority – handled? The Ma'aseh Yerushalmi confronts these issues by means of a variety of intertextual references.

My discussion will focus on the textual interplay with one of the tales in the Midrash Aseret ha-Dibrot that is implicitly present in our text as an alternative draft. While The Man Who Never Swore an Oath presents the reader with a relatively simple correlation of normative behaviour and its reward, the Ma'aseh Yerushalmi opens the doors wide for a discussion about the options of obedience and disobedience, only to slam them shut again at the end.

Thus, not only the protagonist, but also the regulatory system of rules and divine laws that structures the narrative's world must prove itself. Unlike his quasi-holy counterpart in The Man Who Never Swore an Oath, the protagonist of the Ma'aseh Yerushalmi is conceived as a novelistic hero. This may account for the discourse of an individual's independent handling of the law that is established within the tale.

Levi, Joseph, *Science and Kabbalah in the Early Modern Period: From Elijah Delmedigo's Behinat ha-Dat to Yashar of Candia's Elim and Novlot Hokhmah*

The early modern period scientific revolution which concluded with the 17th-century great scientists Galileo, Descartes and Newton, started according to some historiographic views with the humanistic critical revision and revaluation of the classical medieval corpus of texts. Critical philological reading of classical Aristotelian texts can thus be seen as part of the long process which brought about the scientific revolution and the acceptance of the platonic mathematical model of science.

On the other hand Hermetism and kabbalah have been conceived since the classic works of Yates as preparing the way for the other aspect of the scientific revolution, namely experimental science. Throughout Humanism, the Renaissance and the Baroque period, a new corpus and model of knowledge are constructed incorporating pre-Aristotelian, platonic, Aristotelian and hermetic-kabbalistic texts into one model of scientific and theological knowledge. What started with Pico's un-unified bits of different systems of knowledge expressed in his thesis, matures into a systematic model of scientific knowledge in Galileo's and Newton's works and interests. Such a process in the Jewish scene is best exemplified, in our view, through the works of two important exponents of the Delmedigo family: Elijah Delmedigo, Pico's teacher of Aristotelian Theory and worldview form the second half of the 15th century, and his great-grandson Joseph Shelomo Delmedigo – a pupil of Galileo and reader of early 17th century Lurianic Kabbalah in a pre-Aristotelian atomistic Key. The two texts – Behinat ha-Dat (Examen Religionis) and Elim and Novlot, in which the great-grandson Yashar discusses his great-grandfather's humanistic anti-Kabbalistic positions, help us to understand the changes that both scientific and kabbalistic concepts have gone through from humanism to the Baroque contexts. Presenting both authors' positions and way of argumentation regarding scientific and kabbalistic knowledge will help us understand and

exemplify the way Jewish thinkers participated and influenced the turn from Magic to Science between the 15th and the 17th centuries.

Levi, Tomer, *The Formation of a Mediterranean Community: The Jews of Beirut, 1860-1939*

The Jewish community of Beirut developed in the late Ottoman and French periods (1860-1939). Its formation was closely linked with the rise of Beirut as a Levantine port city. This paper conducts an in-depth examination of the processes of growth and change of Beirut's Jewish community. First, it examines the cultural, social, and economic impact of late Ottoman Beirut on the Jewish settlement. The characteristics of this early phase were migration, social integration, and educational awakening. Inspired by European and Ottoman competing civilizing missions, education emerged as a highly contested field of activity, where the Church of Scotland mission school, Tiferet Israel school, and the Alliance school, were three major contestants. Second, the paper describes and explains the process of formal organization following the Young Turk Revolution (1908). It asserts that the organization of the community was a complex process involving myriad forces: local and foreign, Jewish and non-Jewish. Third, the paper examines the development of the community under French rule. First, the French consolidated a service-based economy in Lebanon, favoring banking and commerce at the expense of industry and agriculture, further strengthening the position of the merchant bourgeoisie. Second, as the French institutionalized the confessional system in Lebanon, they recognized the Jewish community as one of Lebanon's sixteen religious communities. The increasing importance of the community in Lebanon helps to explain the paramount influence of B'nai B'rith – an American-based international Jewish organization that stressed communal progress and revival through social activism, exemplary moral conduct, Jewish solidarity, and humanitarian values – on communal development. Such values, combined with the unique socio-political conditions in Lebanon, produced a vibrant philanthropic practice that supported the ongoing communal reform and improvement, and was an integral part of communal life. Taken together, an amalgamation of Ottoman, Lebanese, European, Jewish, and Arab forces contributed to the shaping of a unique Mediterranean Jewish community in Beirut.

Levis Sullam, Simon, *Toleration in the Ghetto of Venice: A Re-Examination of Leon Modena's Historia de' Riti Hebraici (1637)*

This talk will present a new examination of this well-known work by the Venetian rabbi Leon Modena (1571-1648), which described in secular language the rituals and customs of the Jews. This work was written primarily as an apologetic text addressed to Christians, but the talk will examine what Modena's *Riti* might have meant for contemporary Jews and whether it also could have been aimed at a Jewish audience. The analysis will focus in particular on Modena's description and explanation of different *minhagim* (religious customs) practised both in the past and in Modena's own day throughout the Jewish Diaspora. The talk will argue that a consideration of these different *minhagim* – awareness of which was perhaps strengthened for Modena also by the variety of Jewish groups present in the Ghetto of Venice – may shed light on aspects of toleration within rabbinic culture in the Renaissance, and perhaps beyond.

Libel-Hass, Einat, *Female Visibility in the Public Space of an Israeli “Masorti”/ Conservative Community*

This paper examines the continuous construction of a “traditionalist” Jewish community, in which both women and men perform various ritual practices which during most of Jewish history were performed only by men. The subject was examined by focusing on the variety of interpretations of “tradition” offered by members of the community. Emphasis is placed on their attempts to harmonize their perception of “the eternal Jewish tradition” with the ideology of gender equality that they have internalized in their country of origin – the United States.

The community studied is part of the Masorti (Conservative) movement, which maintains ritual gender equality in its communities. This gender equality elicited intense opposition against the movement from the general Israeli Jewish public, and from the Rabbinic establishment in particular.

The paper is based on ethnographic field work, including in-depth interviews with the most involved members of the community, both female and male, as well as participant observations in the community’s main activity – the Friday night service.

Female ritual performance is examined in light of the literature on the “invention of tradition” (Hobsbawm, 1983). I have also focused on the question as to how the habitus (Bourdieu, 1977) – i.e., the disposition to think, feel and act in certain ways, acquired during life – currently constructs the community members’ perceptions of female ritual performance.

Lieber, Laura, *Love and Marriage in Early Piyyut*

When payyetanim (Jewish liturgical poets) mention “love,” the relationship evoked is more often than not that between God and Israel. However, these poets also composed epithalamia – or, more specifically, compositions to be recited in the synagogue the Sabbath following a marriage. This paper examines several of the earliest such ‘epithalamia’, one by the Palestinian poet Eleazar beRabbi Qallir (late 6th/early 7th century), and two by the Italian poet Amittai ben Shefatiah (9th c.). These texts offer unusual insight into conceptualizations of love and marriage in Byzantine Judaism from two different cultural settings. Historical elements (such as actual wedding practices), theoretical concepts (e.g., conceptualization of love), and exegetical tendencies (such as favored intertexts) will be considered.

Lipsker, Avidov, Abraham B. *Yehoshua – Retrospective: From Metaphysics of Evil to a Local Mediterranean Ethics*

It is with this thesis that I seek to present the entirety of Yehoshua’s work as a unique conceptual-creative project, albeit not unified. Not unified, because in its first part, his short stories, Yehoshua sought a metaphysical inquiry into the source of evil in the world. He provided his answer by fashioning an obedient and non-local subject, lacking the talent to write, yet submitting to written canons (law books, instructions, regulations). Yehoshua’s literary world of his early works is non-local, allegorical, and thus not judgeable. It is a literary form of metaphysical generalization, an allegory for the nature of evil as it is revealed in every world which denies the ability of personal textual creativity. In the other half of his work – his Novels – Yehoshua changed his style, pri-

marily the fundamental narrative of his writing. These works are characterized by specific locality, making it possible to identify them as Israeli or belonging to some other geographical Mediterranean locale, serving as the basic building patterns of his ethics.¹ The narrative of a passive world, lacking writers, non-creative and non-local, changes to a dynamic narrative of dynamic subjects whose texts are open to ethical judgment. In fact, each of Yehoshua's works has become an itinerary – travel literature – through the Israeli space in particular and the Mediterranean space in general. The journey turns the hero into an active figure “writing” its own life as it moves in that space, to which it applies its ethical judgment. The peak of this process manifests itself in three of his Mediterranean - Itineraries novels: *Mr. Mani* (1990), *Voyage to the End of the Millennium* (1997), *The Liberating Bride* (2001).

¹For seminal research on this theme see: Avidov Lipsker, ‘Barriere: Zone di confine nella geografia etica di A.B. Yehoshua’, A cura di Emanuela Semi Trevisan [edit.] *Leggere Yehoshua*, Einaudi, Torino 2006 pp. 149-158

Lissa, Anna, *Caught between Two Worlds: The Case of Giacomo Leopardi and Hayyim Nachman Bialik*

This paper is a comparative appraisal of two classical authors of Italian and Hebrew literature of the 19th century: Giacomo Leopardi and Hayyim Nachman Bialik. Both authors lived in a period of transition from Illuminism and Haskalah to Romanticism and Nationalism. Furthermore, they both felt a commitment towards Italy and the national renaissance of the Jewish people.

I would like to propose a comparative analysis of Giacomo Leopardi's song “All'Italia” and Bialik's poem “‘Al saf beyt Midrash” (“On the Threshold of the bayt Midrash”). The core of the analysis will be the way they deal with their national past through the intertextual relation of Latin and Greek texts in Leopardi's case and the Jewish tradition in Bialik's case.

Of course, this analysis is not postulating a direct link between the two poets, instead it comes to highlight the fact that they are part and parcel of a national literature involved in the process of giving birth to an independent State, be it Italy or Israel. Risorgimento and Zionism are of course the product of the age of Nationalism in Europe. I think these shared links may become very important, given the fact that both States are active partners also in the Mediterranean context.

Ljubibratic, Sarah, *Jews and new Christians under the Roman Inquisition. A Maltese variant of marranism?*

In the sixteenth century's Mediterranean context, the Maltese archipelago has been established as a ‘frontière de chrétienté’, while at the same time, it represented the centre of Mediterranean corsairing.

During this period, the Islands were controlled by two authorities: on the one hand, the Order of St John of Jerusalem, which received the island from Charles V in 1524 and settled down in 1530; on the other hand, the Holy Office, established since 1574, which was in charge of moral and religious order in Malta.

Malta being considered a corsairing state, the main income of the Order came from the plunder brought back by vessels from the expeditions in the eastern Mediterranean Sea and along the North African coast. All the goods and passengers belonged to the

Treasury of the Order. The seizures comprised many Jews who were making their way to the East and the Ottoman Empire. The Jews, sold into captivity, could only obtain their freedom if ransomed by relatives or by the Confraternities for the Redemption of Captives (*Hevrath Pidiom Shevouyim*) of Venice and Leghorn.

In this situation of captivity, the authorities urged conversion in indirect ways. By presenting this process of conversion, I intend to propose a few hypotheses, which will help in the development of reflections on the issue of marranism (considered until now as a return to Judaism for the new Christians) with the purpose of widening this concept.

Lokshin, Alexander, *The Origins of Political Zionism: The Jewish and the Non-Jewish Response in late Imperial Russia*

The lecture deals with the reaction of the Russian-Jewish Community, Russian intelligentsia and the Tsarist government to the appearance of the World Zionist movement. The paper is based on the Russian and the Jewish press, memoirs, collections of private correspondence, documents of the archival funds of the Imperial Foreign Ministry and the Police Department. My analysis embraces the period between the First Zionist Congress (1897) and Herzl's death (1904).

Lozanova, Sasha, *The Jewish cemetery in Sofia – past and present*

The text combines two different approaches in the study of funeral practices and monuments in their unity and interaction: the viewpoints of the ethnologist and art researcher. It emphasises the diversity of problems, related to the funeral practices and grave plastics of the Jewish community in Bulgaria, Sofia – still not sufficiently surveyed. The aim of the paper is to fill the gap in our contemporary historical and cultural knowledge on Bulgarian Jews by reflecting and analyzing the nature and changes that have occurred in the cultural development of the 20th century in Bulgaria with regard to the most stable and conservative aspects in the traditions of ethnic communities – the funeral practices, customs and grave monuments.

The text discusses the spatial organisation of the Sofia Jewish Cemetery and the cemetery centre, where the funeral practices are still carried out. Special attention is devoted to the very grave monuments as well. Their construction /typology/, signs, symbols, inscriptions, plastics and decorations (pleadings, ornaments, etc.) have been thoroughly analyzed. The features of the proper “Jewish” culture have been specified, as well as the influence and adaptation of non-Jewish social and cultural styles and practices. The significant role of the social and cultural context is emphasized, within which the Jewish practices, traditions and artefacts, presented in the paper, function.

Lubetski, Edith, *The Art and Science of a Biblical Bibliography*

It seems rather simple to prepare a list of works about a particular biblical book and then publish it. And yet, many decisions have to be made in advance and it turns out that the issues are not that simple.

Some of the issues that I will raise are: Who is the prospective audience? Is one writing for scholars only, scholars and laymen, an exclusively Jewish audience, or one that includes a wider range of readers? If non-Jewish material is included, should it be identified as such? Should the book be annotated? What range of years should it cover?

Should it include rabbinic works as well as modern ones? How should it be organized: alphabetically, topically, or chronologically?

Should the bibliography be limited to English language works or should it be more inclusive? If Hebrew material is included, should it be written in the vernacular and/or transliterated and/or translated?

I planned this session to be interactive – with audience participation. The issues will be raised in light of my experience in compiling a bibliography on Megillat Esther.

Lubetski, Meir, *Interpreting Symbols on Pre-Exilic Hebrew Seals*

Most of the writings on the iconography of Hebrew seals were published more than a half century ago and a fresh look at the connection between the engraved name and the icon has been a desideratum for some time now. The paper is designed to provide examples of how an integration of the meaning of the icon and the owner's name leads to a better and broader understanding of the message of the seal. In addition, it throws light on the cultural life of the period.

Lynn, Kimberly, *The Meanings of Moses: Spanish Clerics, Venetian Printers, and the Question of Jurisdiction over Jews*

Histories of inquisitions frequently assert that inquisitorial jurisdiction applied only to baptized Christians suspected of heresies; thus, inquisitorial courts excluded Jews from prosecution. Nevertheless, scholars have recently demonstrated that some inquisitorial courts tried those they recognized as Jews, and not exclusively converts and their descendants. This parallels research showing the shifting of inquisitorial jurisdictions over time. Historians have attended less to how legal theorists debated these jurisdictional issues. This paper examines the appearance of such arguments in Latin legal treatises printed in sixteenth-century Venice.

Venetian printers published new manuals, reprinted Spanish theorists, and reissued medieval commentaries which considered inquisitorial jurisdiction over Jews.

This paper locates these debates, first, in their Venetian contexts, charting their connection to the agendas of publishing houses and how they were intertwined with the shaping of the Venetian Inquisition's practices. I draw on the work of numerous scholars who have demonstrated the range of jurisdictional claims made over Jewish, Christian, and New Christian individuals and communities in early modern Venice, and the wide array of factors which influenced the advancing of such claims. Second, this paper theorizes about the function of such arguments in the compiling and reception of early modern inquisitorial law.

It speculates about their valences, particularly for Spanish inquisitors, in whose principal judicial context the operating legal fiction asserted that there were no Jews. To this end, it considers whether arguments about jurisdiction over Jews were tailored for specifically Italian contexts, whether they were retroactive justifications for the expulsion of Spain's Jewish population, or whether they were proxies for commenting on a range of other issues.

This paper probes the balance of collaboration and conflict between Spanish and Italian courts and the possible effects of a culture of legal theorizing on the judicial practices directed towards Jewish communities in early modern Italy.

Maciudzińska, Magdalena, *When Orpheus sang the Psalms (Tehilim). Jewish Iconography in the Syncretistic Milieu of Late Antiquity*

When Augustus founded the Roman Empire, the Mediterranean Sea began to be called *Mare Nostrum* not only by the Romans. The sea, like the common good, was an important route for merchants and travelers of ancient times that allowed for trade and cultural exchange between the Greco-Roman, Levantine and African regions.

In the syncretistic world of late antiquity, not only ideas and beliefs were fused, but artistic workshops, forms, motifs, styles and iconography flowed among the different pagan religions, and between the main monotheistic religions: Judaism and Christianity.

After the fall of Jerusalem, the principal center of the Jewish religion, and after the loss of national independence, the Jewish prohibitions against figurative art (Exodus XX, 4) were replaced by more liberal interpretations of the idolatry interdiction. The memory of the Temple gave a new repertoire of specifically Jewish religious symbols – a sign of Jewish identity. Moreover, the Jews accepted and adopted figurative art which resembled pagan models.

These adaptations of Greco-Roman iconographic models serve as the continuity of symbols in the Mediterranean culture rather than clear evidence of religious syncretism. They may reflect a degree of popularity of figures from Greco-Roman religions and myths. Orpheus, Helios and the Zodiac were familiar images from the surrounding culture that, with a new context, could convey aspects of Jewish culture.

The flow of ideas and artistic patterns as well as artists and craftsmen responsible for dissemination of patterns contributed to the popularization of the same iconographic motifs among Greco-Roman religions, Judaism and Christianity within the Mediterranean area.

The paper is based on the analysis of surviving Jewish artifacts such as synagogue mosaics in Beth Alpha, Gaza, Sepphoris, Beth Shean and others.

Marten-Finnis, Susanne, *The Reception of the Ballets Russes, 1909-1929: Léon Bakst, the Oriental Other, and the Transformation of Western Interiors*

Berlin in the 1920s witnessed a rise in Russian display culture, because the city was becoming the centre of Russian publishing and the destination of artists from Russia seeking to proclaim their manifestos. Russian art editions and illustrated reviews, often masterpieces of book art, combined Russian creativity, Jewish dissemination expertise, and German technology – a symbiosis unique in the history of publishing. The editions and reviews under discussion in my proposed paper stood out from Berlin's Russian press landscape for two further reasons: a) they were retrogressive, following the aesthetic programme of the Russian prerevolutionary World of Art (*Mir Iskusstva*) group; b) they were released in German, English and French, besides Russian, and in the years to come made the German capital a shop window for a Western public keen to learn about the treasures of Russian *Silver Age* art. They leaned heavily on the approach of presenting Russian art to a Western audience initiated by Serge Diaghilev a decade earlier with his Russian Seasons in Paris. Diaghilev's *Ballets Russes* indeed became the principal display topic, and a very popular feature of those reviews and editions, which included sketches, memoirs and photographs of costumes and illustrations of stage designs. Western audiences were thus enabled to revisit the *Ballets Russes'* art of enchantment during its less active period following war and revolution.

Using the examples of artistic editions launched in Berlin I will discuss

- a) the specific character of Russia on display with its retrospective orientation
- b) their focus on the décor of the *Ballets Russes* productions in general and more specifically the contributions to them by Léon Bakst
- c) how in France and Britain they inspired an alternative perception among their audience in terms of colour, lighting, texture, and space management and thus stimulated a transformation of Western interior space.

Martín-Contreras, Elvira, *Transmitting the Bible: a new approach to the role of rabbinic literature in textual transmission*

The role of the rabbinic literature as witness of the textual transmission of the Hebrew Bible has been recognized with its inclusion in one of the apparatus of *The Hebrew University Bible Project* (HUBP). But its use has been limited to record several selected textual variants that have been taken into account after some external criteria have been applied (cf. Goshen-Gottstein 1965 and Maori 1992, 1993, 1996). Moreover, some of the theories formulated to explain the third-stage of the history of the transmission of the Hebrew text have been based on accounts of textual matters preserved in the rabbinic literature (for instance, the three scrolls of the law that were found in the temple court).

But, which role did the rabbis and their literary works play in the transmission, setting and preservation of the Hebrew biblical text? What happened between the moment in which the biblical consonantal text was fixed and the appearance of the Masora, five centuries later? How was the biblical text preserved in the meantime?

These are some of the main questions addressed by the current research project “The Role of the Rabbinic Literature in the Textual Transmission of the Hebrew Bible”. In order to fulfill the objectives, the whole of midrashic literature prior or contemporary to the Masora is being analyzed. This analysis will enable us to identify all the text-preserving observations gathered in each text, providing a complete picture of this period. In this lecture I would like to present the new methodological approach defined and applied in the project, and some of the main results.

Martinez Delgado, José, *Hebrew and Judeo-Arabic Lexicography in al-Andalus (10th-15th centuries)*

The ‘grammatical’ works devoted to the Hebrew language in the Middle Ages had a notable lexicographical nature, either having the form of a dictionary or being dedicated to the study of specific Biblical passages and words. In that sense, medieval Hebrew lexicography is very rich, not only because of the number of works, but also because of their quality and importance, since numerous disciplines of the era were configured and depended on them, including grammar.

This technique was born in Jewish circles from the study of the Bible and it is inconceivable to separate or isolate Hebrew dictionaries from the Scriptures in the Middle Ages. Therefore, Medieval Hebrew lexicographers concentrated all of their efforts on clarifying the words presented in the original version of the revealed Text.

I will try, for the first time, to provide a chronological division for this technique and to introduce its origins, evolution and its main characteristics. By way of a general essay, it is possible to identify six large blocks or basic periods in the history of Hebrew lexi-

cography in al-Andalus:

- 1) Pre-grammatical period
- 2) The classical or grammatical period
- 3) Creative period
- 4) Period of diffusion
- 5) Period of assimilation
- 6) Period of decline

I shall show how this division can help us to date new discoveries. My purpose is to offer an introduction to this prolific medieval technique as it developed on the Iberian Peninsula over five centuries.

Martini, Annett, *Yosef Gikatilla's Vowel Mysticism as Interpreted by Mordekay Dato*

One of the most original facets of Yosef Gikatilla's mystical concept is his approach to the symbolical meaning of the Hebrew vowels. Throughout his life he wrote several treatises about this subject, which deal with the Hebrew vowels as fundamental elements within creation and the structure of the cosmos. Thus Gikatilla integrates the vowels into a complex system, assigning specific tasks to each of them with respect to the formation and the intrinsic effect of the cosmos according to their respective grammatical functions, their form, and their pronunciation. However, whereas Gikatilla's writings from his early period – such as the *Sefer ha-niqqud* – are inspired first of all by rational philosophy (as represented by Maimonides), mysticism of language, and divine names, his later writings – such as the *Sod ha-niqqud* – are related much more closely to Jewish tradition and the doctrine of the *sefirot*.

About three hundred years later, the Italian kabbalist Mordekay Dato wrote a commentary on the *Secret of the Vowels* which actually is an interpretation of the poems and rhymed prose written by Gikatilla in order to condense his theses about the Hebrew vowels.

My presentation will be concerned with the following questions: Which of Gikatilla's treatises on vowel mysticism were used by Dato for his own interpretation? To what extent did Dato adopt Gikatilla's mystical ideas? In which issues does Dato go beyond Gikatilla's conception? The answers to these questions will contribute to a better understanding of Dato as a Renaissance mystic within the Mediterranean cultural context.

Marzano, Arturo, *The camps and Haksharot in Rome: a case study*

With Milan, Turin, and the south-eastern part of Italy, Rome registered the largest quantity of Jewish DPs. They were hosted in camps, hakhsharot, villas, and private apartments, located in the city and its periphery, but also in nearby towns, such as Ostia, Anzio, and Grottaferrata. This paper seeks to explore the daily life of the DPs who were staying in this area, and it also intends to investigate the contacts between them and the Roman Jewish community, the largest in Italy, and the first to be liberated from the Nazis.

Mayers, Simon, *The Anglo-Jewish Press, The Church of Rome, and the Palestine Question, 1900-1922*

This paper explores the relationship between Anglo-Jewish attitudes towards the Vatican and the 'Palestine Question' through an examination of Jewish newspapers in-

cluding the *Jewish Chronicle* and the *Jewish Guardian*. Internal conflicts within Anglo-Jewry over religion and politics were nothing new and in the early twentieth century Zionism adopted a central place in the field of internecine intra-communal conflict. Movements to promote immigration to Palestine had long existed and English Jews happily supported those efforts. However, there was a significant difference between supporting Jewish colonies in Palestine and a Jewish State. Political Zionism was anathematised by the leaders of Anglo-Jewry. There were exceptions. Leopold Greenberg adopted a vehement 'political Zionism', and Moses Gaster and Chaim Weizmann advocated comparatively circumspect forms of 'practical Zionism.'

The Vatican was often equivocal in its attitude towards Jews and Palestine. Sometimes the Vatican criticised Jewish claims to Palestine and at others it expressed views which were comparatively amiable and encouraging. However, after the Balfour Declaration, the ambivalence evaporated and the Vatican became consistently hostile towards Zionism and obstructive during the ratification of the British Mandate.

This paper examines how expressions of sympathy and hostility by the Vatican were addressed within Anglo-Jewry. It will argue that attitudes towards the Vatican were tied to ideological positions on the 'Palestine Question'. It will show that Jewish anti-Zionists tended to focus on amiability and to mitigate hostility. Conversely, Zionists, 'political' and 'practical', both tended to respond combatively towards what they perceived as Vatican interference. Furthermore, despite acerbic ideological disagreements, Greenberg and Weizmann came to share a view, expressed in the *Jewish Chronicle*, of certain anti-Zionists as interfering "Jewish Jesuits".

Mazzini, Elena, *The Italian Public Opinion and the Refugees*

This paper explores the perception that the Italian Jewish and non-Jewish population had of the Jewish DPs during their stay in the country. The research will be conducted through the analysis of several widespread dailies and magazines. The aim of the paper is to shed light on the way the Italian press considered the presence of the DPS, and to understand to what extent this event influenced the construction of the Shoah memory in the first years at the end of the war.

Melamed, Abraham, *From Tyre (Zor) to Venice: A History of a Founding Myth*

The ancient port-city of Tyre (Zor in Hebrew) is mentioned numerous times in the Hebrew Bible. In his vast biblical commentaries, Isaac Abravanel consistently refers to Venice in this context. Although he rejected the identification made by some previous Jewish commentators between Tyre and Venice, on the grounds that Venice did not exist yet in those ancient times, he still found the connection intriguing. The connection was made on the basis of the historical analogy between these two flourishing port-cities, whose economic success enabled them also to become major military and political powers in their time and region. On the basis of this analogy, Abravanel also advanced the myth that Venice was founded by refugees from Tyre after it was finally destroyed by Alexander. They re-created their lost Republic on the shores of the Adriatic. Renaissance Venice thus became a re-embodiment of the lost biblical port-city. This was an obvious adaptation of the old theme of the founding of a great city by refugees from a destroyed city, which we find in the myth of Rome, and many other instances. My paper will discuss Abravanel's relevant commentaries, on the basis of the myth of Venice,

which Abravanel, who lived his last years in the Serenissima, fully embraced, on the background of previous Jewish references to this issue, and the actual as well as imagined connection between Venice and Tyre – ancient and contemporary.

Melammed, Renée Levine, *Judeo-Conversas and Moriscos in 16th-Century Spain: A Comparative Study*

This paper will explore the similarities and differences between the lives of crypto-Jewish (Judeo-conversas) and crypto-Muslim women in sixteenth-century Spain on the basis of Inquisition documents. The conversas of Jewish background had little contact with the moriscos of Muslim background, yet their devotion to their respective religions was outstanding. Each group had its own methods of preserving traditions, of subversive activities, of dealing with the threat of the Inquisition, and of protecting their traditional lifestyles in a hostile environment. While researchers have dealt with each group individually, this paper will present a comparison of the two groups for the first time.

Meron, Orly, *Jewish Entrepreneurial Activity in Salonica during the mid-1930s*

Consolidation of Salonica's Middle Class at the turn of the 20th century occurred against the background of the effective linking the port city and the rest of Macedonia with the world economy. This process was suffused with competition and tension, especially between Jewish and Greek merchants. With the Greek government's suspension of its foreign debt in April 1932, the Greek nation-state's economy detached itself from the world economy.

The proposed research will examine the Jewish entrepreneurial activities engaged in by medium- and large-scale entrepreneurs, as well as their interrelationships in the context of economic-crisis-ridden Salonica. The research will be based on an empirical analysis of previously-unpublished archival data. In addition, the research will offer an interdisciplinary theoretical framework – sociological, economic and historical – for the comparative inter-ethnic analysis of Jewish entrepreneurial activity during this same crucial period.

Mičaninová, Maria, *Factor primus in Ibn Gabirol's metaphysics*

“Factor primus” is a phrase which plays an important role in Ibn Gabirol's explication of a generation of the universe: “Factor primus est initium omnium rerum.” (FV III 2, p. 75, l. 10) “Factor primus distat a substantia quae sustinet nouem praedicamenta. Et omnia distantia medium habent. Ergo inter factorem primum et substantiam quae sustinet nouem praedicamenta medium est.” (FV III, p. 75, l. 14 – 16), etc. How to understand and translate this phrase? Is it possible to understand and to translate it as “l'Auteur premier” (S. Munk, F. Brunner, J. Schlanger), or “Schöpfer” (J. Guttmann), or not? The starting point of my argumentation in this part of my paper is the meaning of a Latin substantivum “factor”, which means “maker”. From the philosophical point of view it was Plato (*Timaeus*) whose demiurge was a maker of a universe. According to **Avicenna's** meaning (*Metaphysics*) demiurge was transformed by **Aristotle** into an active Intellect. The history of a corpus called Arabic Plotinus shows how Plotinus (whose emanationism is a base for all later forms of Neo-Platonism, i.e. Ibn Gabirol's)

depended both on Plato and on some Aristotelian notions. Therefore, it could be reasonable to argue, that the Arabic Plotinus was a medium, through which the word maker (factor) influenced the metaphysical terminology of Ibn Gabirol's milieu, to which belongs not only Avicenna's but also **Isaac Israeli's** works as well. Even in Israeli's *The Book of Substances* (A. Altmann, S. M. Stern) it is possible to find more than once the word "maker". Therefore, in the second part of my paper, on the basis of a comparison between Isaac Israeli's and Ibn Gabirol's use of "maker", I would like to answer the question: Is it possible to consider Isaac Israeli a direct source of Ibn Gabirol's "Factor primus"?

Miccoli, Dario, *Alexandrian Jews and the Alliance Israélite Universelle: histories of a Levantine bourgeoisie 1897-1919*

The Jews of Egypt are an interesting and fascinating diaspora, epitomizing the multifaceted history of early twentieth century Egypt. A polyglot and cosmopolitan milieu, this diaspora comprised several thousand people mainly concentrated in Cairo and Alexandria. From 1882 up to the mid-1920s, a great number of Jews from the Anatolian peninsula and the Southern Balkans, as well as from Italy and the Maghreb, started migrating to Egypt. In these decades, the country went through a process of rapid economic and social transformation from a rather traditional Ottoman society, dominated by a Turkish-Ottoman elite that went back to the time of Muhammad 'Ali (1805-1848), to a more modern and Westernised one. The new Egypt, envisioned firstly during the British colonial occupation (1882-1922, a protectorate officially established in 1914) and then the reign of King Fu'ad (1922-1936), was to be ruled by a new upper class, in which foreign communities (e.g. the Italians and the Greeks) and ethnic-religious minorities (e.g. the Jews and the Copts) had a significant role.

In this paper I wish to explain how a Jewish bourgeoisie came into being and consolidated its position in early twentieth century Alexandria. In order to do so, I will base myself on the archival material available in the archives of the Alliance Israélite Universelle (hereafter AIU), a French-based educational institution that operated in Alexandria from 1897 to 1920. Through its schools and social activities, the AIU was one of the most active agents of Jewish sociability and a crucial vehicle of local Jews' modernization and Westernization.

The upper strata of Alexandrian Jewry encouraged the AIU activities, at the same time stressing their role as the moral leaders of the community. However, their class-consciousness and bourgeois self-identification sometimes clashed with the Jewish model the AIU taught in its schools. One could argue Alexandrian Jews mixed Europe and the so-called Orient, opting for a hybrid identity linked to a trans-national category, the Levant.

My main purpose will thus be to show how the Alexandrian Jewish middle and upper-middle class represented itself and, moreover, how an external agent – such as the AIU – pictured this Jewry as opposed to both its European and Oriental counterparts. In fact, Alexandrian Jews fashioned for themselves a peculiar form of Levantine education, one that could make them feel at home in Egypt at a time when the country was crossed by multiple and overlapping identity borders.

Contextualizing this topic within contemporary Egyptian history, Mediterranean Studies and Jewish history in the Mediterranean, my analysis of specific aspects of the social and educational evolution of Alexandrian Jews ultimately aims at presenting the

Mediterranean and its urban centres as spaces of interaction and negotiation of contrasting identities and cultures. Moreover, focusing on the upper class should give us a more complete understanding of the history of Middle Eastern modernities and of Middle Eastern Jews, trying to go beyond the traditional interpretation of these Jews vis-à-vis their European coreligionists.

Miletto, Gianfranco, *Religion and Knowledge in Visual Culture at the Time of the Counter-Reformation: The Shilte ha-gibborim of Abraham ben David Portaleone*

In the last years of his life, the Jewish physician Abraham ben David Portaleone (1542-1612) from Mantua wrote an extensive description of Solomon's Temple. He published it with the title "The Shields of the Heroes" (Hebrew *Shilte ha-gibborim*) at his own expense shortly before his death, as his spiritual testament for his three sons. The book proves to be an encyclopaedia, where, against the background of the Temple, the most important branches of knowledge as seen from the viewpoint of an educated Jew of the 16th to 17th centuries are described.

The *Shilte ha-gibborim* is a unique work in Jewish literature of the 16th to 17th centuries, which cannot be clearly and unequivocally assigned to a specific literary genre. It can be viewed as a book of edification as well as an encyclopaedia or an antiquarian work. Modern research has already recognized that the *Shilte ha-gibborim* needs to be illuminated by reference to the contemporary milieu of non-Jewish culture. However, we still lack a detailed examination of the work and its author which takes the non-Jewish cultural context into significant account.

This paper will explore the impact and influence of other similar works from the Catholic milieu that might have inspired Portaleone's work, namely the encyclopaedic works of the 15th to 17th centuries which reflect the profound crisis that encompassed culture, religion and politics.

Millet, Kitty, *The Danger of Beauty: Charlotte Salomon and Aesthetic Experience*

Many analyses of Holocaust testimonies focus on the testimonies' literal and historical meanings: "[I]s the representation plausible, the history exact? Did we really say that, feel that way? Is that really where the latrine stood, in precisely that corner of the barracks?" (Kertesz, 2001). However, the literal/historical contents of these texts are not necessarily their only significance. In other words, these texts are routinely discussed and analyzed in terms of content rather than form: the horrors they recount and the subsequent identification these texts elicit appear sutured together as natural components. Some analysts have even emphasized the uses of such elicited identification to suggest that historical content is either being manipulated by third parties to foster perspectives on post-Holocaust politics or that the contents themselves are historically questionable (Hansen, 1991; Finkelstein, 2003; Novick, 1999). Often these assumptions bear themselves out in the analyst's work so that readers are right to suspect that some critiques of Holocaust testimonies might be driven by political agendas.

Elided from this debate though is the question of form. While it might seem insignificant or subordinate in relation to the content of Holocaust testimonies, I would suggest that by ignoring form, we remove a critical component in our understanding of what literary narratives from the Holocaust are trying to communicate subjectively to us because we fail to recognize their inflection of the aesthetic experience of Holocaust

survivors. What this comes down to is ultimately a repression of how aesthetics works normatively, traumatically, and post-traumatically in Holocaust testimonies because form is never just reducible to the objects it produces, i.e. novel, poem, play, memoir. Aesthetic experience is in fact comprised of several key concepts – *peripeteia* (discovery), *anagnorisis* (recognition), *catharsis*, Sublimity, Beauty, and identification – and all of these concepts are integral to the efficacy of the aesthetic object.

This paper will take up the use of aesthetic concepts, such as anagnorisis, peripeteia, and catharsis, in Charlotte Salomon's *Theater or Life*, to demonstrate why these concepts must be analyzed in her artwork and what such analysis implies about Salomon's perspective as artist. The traditional approach to Salomon's work has been to consider it somewhat mimetically; Salomon knew she would not survive and so she wanted to document her life experiences. However, I hope to show how Salomon's paintings intervene subjectively in the construction of aesthetic experience so that Salomon's experience is not reducible to a documentary or even mimetic representation of her experience, but instead performs a radical violation of the safety and solitude of aesthetic experience.

Mintz-Manor, Limor, *Translating a New World: Jewish Authors and the Discoveries in the West in Sixteenth-Century Italy*

This paper will examine the representations of the New World in sixteenth-century Jewish writings from Italy and the ways in which their authors presented and interpreted the information of the newly discovered lands and their inhabitants. The European encounter with unknown lands in the Early Modern period produced an enormous amount of literature that described landscapes and indigenous people. The authors of this literature were preoccupied with the new cultures that were revealed to them and strived to decipher and appropriate these findings. At that period the discoveries were perceived through the lenses of the Old World and its religious, philosophical and literary traditions. Being a significant part of European society, Jews were taking part in the discourse about the discoveries in general and about the New World in particular. Jewish authors in sixteenth-century Italy were inspired by European travel literature, which was based on reports of the new discoveries alongside classical and medieval sources. Jewish writers translated the colonial literature into Hebrew and adapted it in order to fit their worldview and that of their readership. They were also using personal reports and rumors, traditional and new scientific knowledge of the period, as well as biblical and other Jewish traditions and literature. All in all, the paper will discuss the "mental glasses" through which Jewish authors examined the new discoveries and integrated them into their own world.

Miralles Maciá, Lorena, *Proselytes and Sympathisers with Judaism in Leviticus Rabbah*

The homiletic commentary *Leviticus Rabbah* is proof of the interest that proselytism aroused among the Sages. Indeed, this Midrash includes several citations regarding converts to Judaism in general, as a collective with similar characteristics, as well as others about specific figures who became proselytes or at the least sympathisers. This paper analyses the texts relating to this matter in order to answer the following questions: what is the impression of proselytes as a well-known group that is transmitted by the Rabbis in a work dating back to fifth-century-C.E. Palestine – taking into account that

Christianity had already become the religion of the Empire? Were they accepted as a part of the true Israel? What type of individuals converted to Judaism according to the Sages? Were they notable figures or anonymous people? Were they biblical or contemporary characters? This study will contribute some answers in order to understand how the Rabbis tackled this phenomenon at a time when even specific decrees existed against this practice and when the Church was taking a decisive role against it.

Mirones Lozano, Eunate, *Languages spoken by Jews in Medieval Navarre: Romance, Hebrew, and Basque?*

Currently the most extensive opinion continues to be that is not that clear if Jews ever spoke or wrote Basque in Medieval times. However after profound and careful research on documents regarding Jews living in Navarre between 1300 and 1500, preserved in the General Archive of Navarre, I conclude that they did speak it. Major support to this theory is the discovery of documents that mention the Hebrew name and surname of some Jews, both followed by a Basque nickname. No one would have a nickname without knowing its meaning; therefore it seems quite reasonable that if those Jews bore Basque nicknames they were acquainted with that language and in all probability they spoke it. This is, of course, indirect evidence of the fact, but still powerful enough to be taken into account. On the other hand, considering that only two testimonies of written Basque have been found from Christian sources for this period of time, it is not surprising that there are no extant documents written in Basque by Jews. Nevertheless, this does not necessarily mean they never wrote in the Basque language.

Aside from the sources just mentioned supporting my thesis, it is known that during the Middle Ages, Jews usually knew and used the languages of all the diverse regions they lived in, as well as Hebrew, if they spoke Hebrew at all, which was not always the case. As such, it seems logical that the Jews of Navarre, an area deeply connected with the Basque language in those times, knew, understood and spoke Basque. Yet, having considerable evidence that they spoke Basque, it remains extraordinary that they made use of it while being able to manage with Romance in their daily life.

Morgenstern, Matthew, *Mediterranean or Mesopotamian? Reflections on some Aramaic magic formulae*

Mediterranean or Mesopotamian? Reflection on some Aramaic magic formulae. With the publication of dozens of new Aramaic and Mandaic magic formulae, questions have arisen regarding the origins of Jewish Magical practices. In this lecture, we shall discuss some specific examples of Aramaic magic formulae, and try to demonstrate that the formulae have a varied history and provide evidence for the mutual interchange of religious materials from the Mediterranean to Mesopotamia and back again.

Morlok, Elke, *R. Nehemia ben Shlomo and his influence on hermeneutic perspectives in Spanish Kabbalah*

Hermeneutic devices used within and without the main pietist circle, including the works of R. Nehemia ben Shlomo, are highly informative for understanding the literary activity of the Jewish mystics in medieval Germany, and for advancing reception history between Germany and Spain. Ample material for the study of divine names,

and linguistic theory in medieval Jewish mysticism is to be found there. Since Joseph Dan's overview in a number of books and hosts of studies, other scholars have shown that works previously identified as the work of Eleazar of Worms, belong to anonymous authors outside of the Kalonymite school. Daniel Abrams has succeeded in showing how Eleazar's name was added as the late attribution and further showed nevertheless some cross-fertilization of traditions between the various authors. In the past few years, Moshe Idel has filled in much of the unknown bibliographic activity of R. Nehemiah, re-assigning works of R. Eleazar to R. Nehemiah's authorship. So much has been uncovered from his hand that a school of thought has been identified with roots being uncovered in earlier traditions and the basic division of Ashkenazi systems of thought surviving their later reception. An important test case for evaluating the division of schools in Ashkenaz is the text known as "The Seventy Names of Metatron". This text is found in various versions in medieval manuscripts stemming from all the regions of medieval Europe. A survey of the traditions will be highly informative for understanding the literary activity of the Jewish mystics in medieval Germany, and will form an important example for the circulation of kabbalistic concepts and ideas between Germany, Spain and Italy. It will offer interesting material for the study of divine names, and kabbalistic hermeneutical concepts in medieval Jewish mysticism in the Mediterranean context and its origins in Ashkenaz.

Moro, Caterina, *Fragments of Jewish-Egyptian Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible*

In the narrative traditions of the Egyptian Diaspora, especially those concerning the origins of the Jewish people and the exodus, we can sometimes read a desire to appropriate the cultural heritage of this 'new' homeland, especially in the ideal form mediated by the *interpretatio Graeca*; this appropriation of Egyptian elements could serve either apologetic or polemical intentions. Besides the fragments of the Jewish historian Artapanus, which is the most impressive example of this tendency, we can detect in the history of exegesis of Exodus some other scraps of interpretation apparently influenced by a knowledge of Egyptian culture and language. A well-documented case study is the idea that Hebrew sacrifice was purposely a hostile act towards Egyptian gods and their sacred animals. This notion, usually quoted in Jewish sources as an interpretation of Exodus 8:22, has probably been influenced by the Egyptian conception of sacrifice, especially the burnt offering, where the victim is identified with the enemies of the deity to whom the sacrifice is offered. Other examples of Jewish-Egyptian exegesis are some etymologies of Moses' name that qualifies him as a *hesy*, the "saint" of Egyptian religious tradition. Finally, the author tentatively applies this kind of analysis also to the tradition, found only in pagan sources, which depicts Moses as a priest of Heliopolis.

Moscatti Steindler, Gabriella, see **Dash Moore, Deborah**

Mrozek, Andrzej, *The image of Jesus in the Talmud, a contribution to the knowledge of Judeo-Christian relations in late antiquity*

The image of Jesus, which appears in the Talmud is in part related to relations between the Christian and Jewish communities in late antiquity. Both the presentation of Jesus as a teacher of Torah and at the same time as a bad pupil of his teachers, and a particular vision of his death, both the presentation of his family relations, his disciples and

even healing in his name, do not seem to be based on a particular Jewish tradition, but on the Gospel texts. It is also possible that the sources were not the four Gospels as we know them today but the Diatesseron in its Syriac version. As can be concluded from the different treatment of the problem in each of the Talmuds, the Jews and Christians had different types of relations in Palestine and in Mesopotamia. Then a question arises as to the effect of the respective governments – the Roman-Byzantine government in Palestine, and the Persians in Mesopotamia. But how much influence did other factors have? The Christianity of the early centuries – as evidenced by the local traditions – was differentiated. So were the relations between Jews and Christians of different communities also more differentiated? The analysis of various texts should emphasize these differences. At the same time the possibility is offered of identifying the factors that formed the mutual relations. Then the argument is made that one cannot a priori broaden a limited local geographical contexts over others. And finally it is important to raise the question because the image of Jesus in the Talmud comes from these relations, and this same image has affected Judeo-Christian relations in later centuries. Thus traditions about Jesus were formed in a particular cultural context, they were passed to other Jewish communities, and to the Christians too.

Mudure, Michaela, *Virgil Duda and the Jewish-Romanian Identity in the Mediterranean World*

Virgil Duda (born in Romania, in 1939) made aliyah in 1988. He became a librarian in Tel Aviv and also a member of the editorial committees of Romanian-Jewish publications: *Viata noastra* and *Ultima ora*. Virgil Duda made his debut with a short story collection, *Povestiri din provincie* (1967). Afterwards he published several novels which were very well received by the Romanian critics: *Catedrala* (1969), *Anchetatorul apatic* (1971), *Cora* (1977), *Hartuiala* (1984), *Romania, sfirsit de decembrie* (1991), *A trai in pacat* (1996), *Sase femei* (2002).

Our analysis will focus on Virgil Duda's latest novel: *Ultimele iubiri* (*The Latest Romances*) published in Romanian in 2008. The main thread of this narrative is the belated love affair between Radu Glasberg (an economist) and the seductive Marieta, a business woman and an honorable family's mother. Both Radu and Marieta are from Bucharest and they share not only a very ardent love affair that fulfils them both carnally and emotionally but also their memories from their student years in a joyful and idealized Bucharest. Loneliness, the approaching old age, the difficulties of making aliyah in communist Romania give both Radu and Marieta the illusion of having met the great love of their lifetime.

Virgil Duda excels in depicting a charming fresco of contemporary Tel Aviv and its immigrant communities. This is the geographical and the cultural background of the complex process through which the main protagonists of the novel construct their new Israeli identities. Virgil Duda's approach to the intercultural and the transcultural identity components is an interesting exercise in understanding Jewish identity in the Mediterranean world.

Muehlethaler, Lukas, *The Reception of Abū al-Barakāt's Philosophical Work: A Re-appraisal*

The Jewish philosopher Abū al-Barakāt al-Baghdādī (fl. 1077–1164) is best known for

his main philosophical work, the **Kitāb al-Mukhtabar fī l-hikma**, and as the author of a commentary on Kohelet.

Even though modern scholars have confirmed his reputation as an original thinker, his impact on later philosophers and theologians has not been investigated in a systematic manner. Partly because post-Avicennan philosophy has not received proper attention until recently, and partly because Ab al-Barakāt's late conversion to Islam was thought to have hampered the reception of his thought by both Jews and Muslims.

Moreover, the pioneering studies on Abū al-Barakāt by Shlomo Pines emphasized his role as precursor to developments in early modern science. Even though Pines noted the importance of Abū al-Barakāt's work for major thinkers such as Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī (d. 1191) and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 1209), the lack of preliminary work prevented him from undertaking a systematic study.

The proposed paper first revisits briefly the state of research and the most promising avenues of research. The main portion of the paper is given to demonstrate the importance of Abū al-Barakāt's philosophy for later thinkers on the basis of sources that were either not available to Pines or not sufficiently exploited by him.

Based on these sources, the paper argues that (1) Abū al-Barakāt's philosophy had a substantial impact on central figures in philosophy and philosophical theology, that (2) his religious identity did not determine the reception of his philosophy, and that (3) factors which shaped the reception of Abū al-Barakāt's philosophy were his philosophical method, his critique of central Avicennan tenets, and the original views he proposed.

Munk, Reinier, *Mendelssohn and Kant on the Bond of Reason and Reason's Need*

This paper is a first and preliminary attempt to analyse the discussion of Mendelssohn and Kant concerning 'the bond, which binds concept and existence, ties actuality and possibility'. The discussion of the tie between the possible and the actual is the key problem in their ongoing discussion, over the years, leading up to their respective articulations of 'das Bedürfnis der Vernunft', that is, reason's need of a guide.

Muñoz Garrido, Daniel, *From Granada to Toledo, a Journey through the Synagogue del Transito*

The so-called Synagogue del Transito at Toledo – which was founded by Semuel ha-Levi, Pedro I of Castile's treasurer, and built with the king's consent – is the most important material vestige of Jewish culture preserved as part of the cultural heritage of the Iberian Peninsula. This paper deals with the analysis of the decoration of this Synagogue and aims to explain some of its features within the general context of art in fourteenth-century Castile, and its connections with Spanish-Moslem art.

Early studies on Spanish-Moslem art, on which those focused on Jewish artistic heritage were based, go back to the nineteenth century and were shaped by the influence of the romantic ideal of *orientalism*. From this viewpoint, the oriental individual was capricious, excessive, and prone to baroque feelings. These features took him to decorate with neither sense nor limits, driven by the *horror vacui*. Back then, oriental exoticism hindered the interest of scholars in these artistic expressions and restricted analysis to mere descriptions of decorative elements. Only recent developments in the field have helped to get rid of this distorted view of Spanish-Moslem art. Nevertheless, the study of Iberian Jewish art has unfortunately experienced a less significant advance,

conceivably because it was produced by a minority group. Most analyses of Spanish-Jewish art have been undertaken from many disparate perspectives and disciplines, such as Mudejar studies or Hebrew philology, the latter because of the significance of epigraphic inscriptions in the decoration of Jewish buildings. My aim, however, is to undertake an analysis focused on the relation between epigraphy and decorative motifs. To this end, I have profited from some of the interpretative strategies developed by various scholars of Nasrid art, whose use is very innovative in the context of research on Iberian Jewish buildings.

In this paper, I intend to analyze the connections between epigraphy and decoration in the Synagogue del Transito and, through this study, to demonstrate that there exists an iconographic and symbolic programme, based primarily on the Book of Genesis and other Jewish cultural referents. This programme crystallized in a political and religious discourse which was easily perceived, understood and interpreted by the Jewish learned contemporary spectator, who was familiar with the Scriptures.

Münz-Manor, Ophir, *Wings of Change: Angels in Palestinian and Italian Piyyut*

Only rarely is Jewish and Christian poetry from late antiquity studied from a comparative perspective. This state of affairs is related to the structural and linguistic emphases of *Piyyut* scholarship on the one hand, and to presupposition regarding the “parting of the ways” between Judaism and Christianity on the other. However in recent years we have witnessed a surge of interest in the comparative aspects of late antique liturgical poetry; thus for example the author of this proposal published an extensive essay in which he argues for the existence of a shared tradition of poetry in the late antique Near East that included Jewish, Christian and Samaritan poets. In this paper I would like to pursue this path further and turn to a hitherto unexplored byzantine poetic genre - the Canon. The rise of the Canon is associated with Andrew of Crete, the 8th century Greek hymnographer. In the lecture I will seek to highlight the similarities (as well as the differences) between the Canon and *Piyyut*, with special emphasis on Andrew’s magistral work the Great Canon. By so doing I hope to advance the comparative study of *Piyyut* and Christian hymnography in new directions.

Musall, Frederek, *Some Aspects of Al-Ghazālī’s Ihyā’ ‘ulūm ad-Dīn and Moses Maimonides’ Notion of Science: A Cross-Reading (working title)*

The structural similarities between Al-Ghazālī’s *Ihyā’ ‘ulūm ad-Dīn* (“Revival of the Religious Sciences”) and Maimonides’ *Mishneh Torah* (“Repetition of the Torah”) suggest an influence of the former on the later within a legal context. Particularly striking is the fact that both legal codes are each introduced by a “Book of Knowledge” – in Al-Ghazālī’s case the *Kitāb al-‘ilm*, and in Maimonides’ the *Sefer ha-Madda’*, which clearly seems to indicate that *‘ilm/madda’* (“science; knowledge”) serves as a necessary prerequisite for the true understanding of *sharī’a/torah* (“law”). I would therefore like to approach the question of Al-Ghazālī’s and Moses Maimonides’ notion *‘ilm/madda’* and the corresponding epistemological implications by doing a cross-reading/-comparison between the *Kitāb al-‘ilm* of *Ihyā’ ‘ulūm ad-Dīn* and the *Sefer ha-Madda’* of *Mishneh Torah*, in order to explore, clarify and understand the conceptual influence Al-Ghazālī might have had on Maimonides in this respect. Furthermore it should be asked wherein the particular coherence or the inherence of their notion of science lies when taking

their other works into account, e.g., *Al-Ġazālī's Tahāfut al-falāsifa* ("The Incoherence of the Philosophers") or his autobiographical work *Al-Munqidh min ad-dalāl* ("Rescuer from Error") or Maimonides' philosophical opus magnum *Dalālat al-hā'irīn* ("Guide of the Perplexed"), and what epistemological consequences derive therefrom.

Naimark-Goldberg, Natalie, *Jews in Central European Spas in the 18th Century*

Thousands of Jews in modern times joined the community of vacationers that spent the summer months visiting spas and resorts in Central Europe. The practice of travelling to the spas became very fashionable with the rise of the bourgeoisie, and visits to these places, typically devoted to the combined goals of health, recreation and socializing, symbolized the adoption of the lifestyle of the middle class by this Jewish clientele.

In recent years, historians have devoted some efforts to examining this topic. However, in spite of growing interest in the presence of Jews at Central-European spas in the 19th and 20th centuries, the study of this phenomenon in the 18th century has received little attention. This century was the time when these vacationing towns entered a stage of increased development and saw the beginning of a stream of middle-class visitors, among them Jewish guests. It is the purpose of my lecture to explore the circumstances that brought Jews to the spa towns of Central Europe at this early stage of modernity. Scattered sources, such as 18th-century German books dealing with the use of springs, and Jewish sources, including communal ordinances and rabbinic responsa, point to the early presence of Jews in various German baths, depicting Jewish men and women in a variety of roles, as visitors, residents, owners of pensions, wandering musicians, gamblers and peddlers at the spa towns throughout the 18th century. In my lecture I will examine the scope and nature of Jewish presence at the spas in the 18th century and the extent of social and cultural encounters that prevailed there between Jews and gentiles, despite legal restrictions which sought to alienate the Jews. To conclude, I will try to assess what the practice of attending the spas tells us about Jewish modernization.

Newman, Zelda - Rubin, Noga, *The play's the thing: Kadya Molodowsky's self-reflection in "a hoyz oyf grend strit"*

In the published lists of Molodowsky's works, three plays are listed. Yet the only play that was performed in Yiddish on Broadway is missing from these lists. The play exists in a hand-written manuscript only. It is, we contend, the key to understanding Molodowsky's reflections on her feminine self.

Once we establish that "Rivke Zylberg" is the feminine manifestation of Kadya Molodowsky, we compare the two accounts Molodowsky gives us of Rivke: her story as it appears in the pseudo-memoir "Fun Lublin Biz Nyu York: Der Togbukh fun Rivke Zylberg", and her story as it appears in the play "A Hoyz Oyf Grend Strit". We find that Molodowsky re-worked her account till it encompassed not only how she saw herself, but also how (she believed) others saw her, and how she wanted to be seen.

Nom De Deu, José Ramón Magdalena, *The Hebrew Fragments of the Archives of Gerona Fragmentos: New Data and Future Research*

Ramon Magdalena Nom de Déu offers a general view of the hebraic fragments and manuscripts extant in the different archives of Girona (Historic, Municipal and Dioc-

san), the dispersion, curious “travels” and connections of some of these documents, and the future research and publications of the Catalonia Hebraica Project.

Novoa, James W. Nelson, *The reception of Seneca among fifteenth-century Sephardic Jews*

The paper will deal with the diverse uses which fifteenth-century Jews made of Seneca, through texts both by him, inspired by him and attributed to him. It will rely principally on two sources: on Seneca as presented through “vernacular humanism” present in a letter in Portuguese by Isaac Abravanel and in a collection of “proverbs” culled from the writings of Seneca and present in a fifteenth-century manuscript in Hebrew characters (ms. Parm. Pal. 2.666). Through these two instances it will be possible to present some general reflections and conclusions as to the knowledge of and the use of Seneca by Iberian Jews in the generations leading up to the expulsion.

Olalla Sánchez, Mónica, *Latin Syntactic Loan Translations in a Hebrew Version of Lilium Medicinae of Bernard of Gordon*

The paper that I would like to present involves the study of the critical editing of the Latin Syntactic loan translations of the work *Lilium Medicinae* by the Christian and French doctor Bernard of Gordon in its Hebrew version. My interest and passion for this type of text began with my doctoral thesis about his best-known work. The fame that this author enjoyed is made clear by the many distinct languages such as Spanish, Irish, French and German; the Latin original was one of the fundamental texts for the history of medicine, not only during the Middle Ages but throughout many successive centuries.

The Hebrew translation of these works was made approximately one century after their original publication and was a response to the interest of Jews in having a quality scientific library that would help them not only with their academic formation, but in their daily dealings with patients.

The South of France, and more specifically cities like Montpellier and Narbonne during the XIIIth and XIVth centuries, was a very active zone in the scientific production of medical texts; to this fact we must add the influence of Jews in southern and central Spain, culturally speaking, which was a quite rich and complex. The political and social situation was totally adverse for Jewish translators who exerted enormous efforts to obtain Latin text from which to work. On the other hand, this aspect brings up a variety of difficulties in the linguistic configuration of these texts. As a philologist, I am also interested in other aspects like syntactic loan translation. The meticulous reading of the Latin manuscript permits a discovery of significant difference about syntax because Latin and Hebrew possess distinct linguistic procedures such as the order of the words in the sentences and the use of the connectives, for example. In this way, I will analyse how the Hebrew translator sacrificed his own language for the sake of speed in his work, despite not being completely understood by the rest of the Jews doctors.

Oliver, Isaac, *Jubilees and the Rabbis: Forming Jewish Identity by Formulating Legislation for Gentiles*

The following paper explores the different strategies employed by both the author of

the Book of Jubilees and the rabbis in formulating universal commandments for non-Jews. The Book of Jubilees and the early rabbinic literature reveal similar concerns in their construction of universal law. Rather than seeking to promote Torah praxis among Gentiles, the emergence of commandments incumbent upon all of humanity in both Jubilees and certain rabbinic traditions betrays a primary preoccupation in promoting the observance of particular laws (e.g., Sabbath and circumcision) for Jews alone—universal law becomes a means for highlighting Israel’s special covenantal status. By comparing Jubilees and rabbinic traditions with the works of other ancient Jewish and “Christian” authors (e.g., Aristobulus, Philo, Josephus, Mark, Luke, etc.), the following paper presents the social-historical contexts which could best illuminate some of the motivations behind such elaborations on universal law. In the case of the Book of Jubilees, it seems that its author was especially preoccupied with Jews adopting a looser approach to Torah practice which tended to universalize its application and neglect the observance of certain of its precepts all together. The author went as far as demonizing the image of the Gentile in order to convince his Jewish contemporaries to follow his admonitions. While the rabbis did not cast the lot of all non-Jews under the spell of evil spirits, their concept of universal law, known as the Noahide Laws, functioned to clarify the fluid boundaries existing between Jews and Gentile sympathizers of Judaism, Christians, and other categories of “semi” or “quasi” Jews who felt free to adopt particular Jewish customs according to their liking. In this case, certain rabbinic sages display an identical preoccupation with some of the Christian intellectuals of antiquity who discouraged their members from attending both church and synagogue services, and felt uncomfortable with the Christian adoption of specific Jewish customs. Although the rabbis had no means of enforcing their theoretical discussions about Noahides upon the variegated Jewish society of their time, the reification of such legal categories, such as full proselytes or Noahides, reveals indirectly the rabbinic discomfort with the social trespassing occurring in their days among non-rabbinic Jews, Judaizing Christians, and other Gentile sympathizers. This concern becomes especially apparent in the Babylonian Talmud, which includes the largest discussion on Noahide Laws with some of the strongest anti-Gentile statements to be found in the corpus of early rabbinic literature. Part of this obsession with the Noahides is due to the elitist attitude of certain Babylonian sages who resided in the Persian Empire.

Ombrosi, Orietta, *History, Memory, Pardon*

This paper deals with the philosophy of history in the works of E. Levinas and W. Benjamin. Both these authors reach same conclusions independently. In their opinion, official history is created by the winners and expresses the winners’ point of view. As a counterpart to such a history, Benjamin and Levinas propose another history, that of the defeated and overwhelmed people. But, in this philosophy of history, the authors offer the chance of a concept of history in which both paid particular attention to singularity at the expense of universality.

Ortal-Paz, Saar, *Love magic across the Mediterranean: Italy and the Cairo Genizah*

The Cairo Genizah has yielded a vast corpus of magical literature, comprising two main types of texts: recipes giving instruction on how to achieve specific ends, and magical products, such as amulets or curses. The topic of love features prominently among these

Genizah fragments. Numerous magical recipes provide guidelines for inducing love or sowing hatred between a man and a woman, while several amulets preserve the actual names of people who made use of such procedures. These magical texts may be said to be Jewish in light of the languages they employ (mostly Hebrew, Aramaic and Judeo-Arabic), and given their preservation in a synagogue's storage room. Yet how distinctively "Jewish" are their contents?

Scholars of magic frequently notice the information exchange between members of different religious groups inhabiting the same geographical area. Judaism is no exception, and Jewish magic from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages can be shown to have traded information with the surrounding Mediterranean (and other) cultures. The following paper will focus on one such Mediterranean culture, and discuss the transmission of magical lore between Jews in Egypt and Catholics in Italy during the Middle Ages.

This paper will delineate some features of medieval Jewish love magic, as displayed in the Cairo Genizah, in conjunction with contemporaneous parallels of non-Jewish love magic from Italy. It will be shown that several Jewish magical practices, designed to induce love or hatred, exhibit close parallels to practices described in judicial proceedings from Catholic Italy. For instance, a medieval recipe for provoking hatred between two lovers, uncovered in Cairo, is paralleled accurately in the records of a contemporary witch trial conducted in Perugia. The instructions of another Genizah recipe, intended to instigate passionate love, feature among the charges of a witch trial conducted in Todi. The cases to be discussed constitute fascinating examples of magical lore transmission between Christianity and Judaism across the Mediterranean.

Ortega-Monasterio, Maria Teresa, *Manuscript Digitization in CSIC Libraries*

Some years ago, the CSIC decided to incorporate the study of the written heritage within the remit of the Institute of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Languages and Cultures. To reach this aim, a new research group specifically dedicated to this field was launched, focused specifically on codicological and palaeographic studies of manuscripts, written in the languages of the Mediterranean basin during Antiquity and the Middle Ages.

Within the scope of the research, and after having catalogued all Hebrew manuscripts kept in Madrid libraries, a new research project is now running: the construction of a portal of oriental manuscripts conserved in CSIC libraries. The project includes all Hebrew manuscripts of the TNT library at the CSIC and has been designed to offer all useful information about each document, not only to scholars but also to librarians: digitization, codicological information, contents and catalogographical data. This presentation will focus on the methodological and catalogographical aspects of this project.

Osawa, Koji, *Jannes and Jambres: Two Magicians in Judaism*

In some Midrash and Targum, there are mentions of two magicians called Jannes and Jambres. They are identified as the anonymous magicians in Exodus chapter 7 and also appear in other interpretations of biblical texts. All traditions about them, including those not mentioned earlier in researches, can be divided into two groups according to their names: the new and old traditions. In addition, among the new traditions, although almost all traditions describe them as evil, there exist some non-negligible contradictions. These contradictions can be explained by the fact that the contradicted traditions

were created independently of the consistent original traditions. This means that in Judaism, Jannes and Jambres were synonymous with being “evil persons”, so much so that their names were used in a variety of scenes without consideration of time and place. That is to say, those who recorded the Judaic traditions made Jannes and Jambres appear as contemporaries in the tradition by making comparisons with them to describe evil persons in Judaism (e.g. Balaam and Haman) and to emphasize the sinfulness of those who oppose God. Therefore, I believe that their names are used as “labels” affixed to evil persons and that the sense of “absolute evil” is a subsidiary of this label.

Pavan, Ilaria, *Beyond the Mortara Affair: Italy's Houses of Catechumens in the Era of Emancipation*

My paper deals with those peculiar Italian Catholic institutions, the Houses of Catechumens, that for many centuries were devoted to the conversion of infidels — Muslims, but primarily Jews — and heretics. The Houses of Catechumens were established during the Counter-Reformation period all over Italy, not only in the Papal State, but especially where the main Jewish communities of the Peninsula were located. Notwithstanding the significance of these centers and their centuries-old history, studies of the Houses of Catechumens are few and so far have exclusively analyzed their activities during the early modern period.

Although the Houses of Catechumens were born as an expression of Counter-Reformation culture, their activities did not end in the 18th century, as has been frequently asserted. While the juridical-political framework was quickly changing for Italian Jews under the pressures of the emancipation process, the Houses of Catechumens remained active throughout the entire 19th century and in several cases — Rome, Florence, Modena, Reggio Emilia, Ferrara, Ancona, Turin and Venice — till the first decades of the 20th century.

My paper focuses on the emancipation era, from the first emancipation introduced in 1797 to the definitive second emancipation tied to Italian unification. What were now the reasons that led Jews to baptism? What were the consequences of this step in terms of socio-economic status and identity? Was the conversion of the Jews tied to the problem of national unification and national identity? Did becoming Catholic now also mean becoming completely Italian? In the growing conflict between the Vatican and the new Italian state, did Rome change its conversion strategy towards the Jews?

My analysis will cover the entire emancipation era — which has not been included in any of the existing studies — and take into account both the Jewish and the Catholic dimensions. I aim to provide a picture spanning several centuries and identifying continuities and discontinuities between the early and the late modern period.

Pecchioli, Alessandra, *semel: an entry for a database of the semantics of ancient Hebrew*

The project of a network on the *Semantics of Ancient Hebrew* was approved by the Executive Council of the European Science Foundation twenty years ago now, with the aim of planning a critical database on the semantics of Ancient Hebrew. It is not a matter of creating a thesaurus, but a different work in which to collect the semantic data and all recent associated scientific literature.

Florence is one of the universities which is involved in this project, supervised, in Florence, by Professor Ida Zatelli.

My paper is a sample entry for such a database. It is structured according to a peculiar framework proposed by the executive committee of the project.

The lexeme is *sml* and the analysis takes into consideration the morphology of the lexeme, its root and etymology, formal characteristics, syntagmatics, versions, lexical field, exegesis. The more relevant scientific literature on the issue has been examined.

Perani, Mauro, *The Hebrew Original Leasing Deed of Moshe Norsa's Lending Bank to the Jews Gallico and Forti, Mantua December 17, 1517 from the Italian Genizah*

Within an inventory of medieval Hebrew manuscripts re-used as bookbindings carried out in Italy, on 17 December 2002 the author discovered in the Modena State Archives a register bound with two parchment documents written in Hebrew. One is a *Ketubbah* from Cremona compiled on 5 Tammuz 5351 (23 June 1591); the second is a rare document written “*On Thursday, 17 December – the 23 Kislev 5278 from the creation of the world as we count here in Mantua, which sits on the rivers Lago and Mincio and on well water*”. This means that the author discovered the document in Modena exactly 485 years after the day it was compiled in Mantua. The document, written in a microscopic writing and lacking the last few lines, contains a very rare agreement between Mrs. Stella Norsa, the widow of the late Moshe, banker in Mantua, and the Jewish bankers in Mantua Yosef Gallico and Refael Chazaq (or Forti), whereby she leased to them Moshe Norsa's lending Bank for the sum of five thousand ducats. The same agreement is recorded in a Latin document dated the day after (18 December), which was recorded by Shlomo Simonsohn in his book *The Jews in the Duchy of Mantua* (Jerusalem 1971). Thanks to a comparison between the Hebrew and the Latin version, it clearly appears that the first one was signed by the Jews in front of some Jewish witnesses and shows a detailed description of all the points of the agreement. The Latin version, approved by the Christian notary the day after, is a very short synthesis of the essential elements of the financial operation, with a legal value in the Duchy of Mantua only. The Hebrew version, which contains many words in Judeo-Italian such as *tutela*, *ducati*, *cottimo*, *Mantovano*, *capitolo*, *Gonzaga*, all transcribed in Hebrew characters, stretches over more than ten full pages of text. The text is precious because generally documents signed amongst Jews only had an internal value and were not preserved.

Piotrkowski, Meron M., *Priestly Judaism in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt – The Oniad Community of Leontopolis*

Most studies on ancient Judaism focus on the dichotomy between the priestly Judaism of Judaea, which is centred upon a holy place, the Jerusalem Temple and its guardians, the priesthood, and the other extreme, namely the more universalist Diaspora Judaism, centred upon “man” in general. This picture however, is very black-and-white and does not include any possible grey zones. How then, do we pigeonhole phenomena such as priests in a Diaspora context, which, as we know, existed? This is exactly what I wish to scrutinize, using the Oniad Temple and its community as an example. When speaking about Mediterranean Judaism, I consider it important to integrate such a form of Judaism in an overall debate on such a topic.

We may point to some characteristics of this form of priestly Diaspora Judaism, namely a persistent emphasis on a person's priestly pedigree, adherence to the priestly sun-calendar, writing activity, and finally, a temple itself. Simultaneously, as in the case of the Oniad community, the community seems to have been deeply embedded in a Diaspora

context, meaning that their lingua franca was Greek and moreover, some of the community's leaders served as high officials in the Ptolemaic court and military. What is remarkable about this form of Judaism is that a "religion of place," which is per se bound to a certain, fixed place, may be transferred – apparently without much hesitation and discomfort – to another place. This move however, requires legitimization, which was attained from scripture. Thus, just as the legitimization for the centralization of the cult in Jerusalem by Josiah was based on a "book of Law" (most probably Deuteronomy), so also did Onias and his followers base themselves on a prophecy of Isaiah (19:18-19) in order to find legitimization for their shrine. This, in sum, I shall discuss in my paper.

Prats Olivan, Arturo, *The Love Poetry of Shelomoh Bonafed*

Love is one of the major *topoi* explored in world literature. However, literary studies that focus on the *topos* of love in medieval Hebrew literature, particularly in Christian Spain, are scant. The study of love poetry written by a single author from this time and place is even less common. An exception would be R. Schenindlin's article which explores the love tales of Jaqob ben Eleazar and places them in a context within Andalusi culture and the European literary tradition of the *amour courtois*.

To date there are no comprehensive studies of Hebrew love poetry from fifteenth-century Christian Spain, as far as I am concerned. There are indeed sundry studies dealing with the question of gender in Hebrew literature, or exploring homosexual love poetry in the Hebrew tradition, but these deal mainly with the Andalusi period or the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century in the Christian kingdoms, and disregard the rich Hebrew production of fifteenth-century Iberia.

My intention in this paper is to explore the extant love poetry in the diw n of Bonafed, one of the most important poets in the first half of the fifteenth century in Aragon, and also to place his love poetry in its broader literary context, and not merely in relation to the past Andalusi tradition. To this end I will take into account primarily the surrounding romance literatures of the period, reading the Hebrew text in relation to these. I will examine the conceptualizations of love, the imagery, and the poetic structures and genres Bonafed uses, and locate them within the particular literary context of the first half of the fifteenth century. As will be seen in this study, Bonafed drew from Andalusi literary models, but he altered those models, re-elaborating and re-reading them in a completely different cultural environment: the Christian romance culture. It is my position that Bonafed's love poetry can hardly be seen as the "result" or "logical conclusion" of a continuous chain of a "Hebrew literary history" in Spain. It is rather the product of a particular time and of the society in which it was created. Moreover, I maintain that Bonafed revived the classical models and re-worked them in order to construct and convey the cultural identity of a Jewish elite who continually redefined itself against the host Christian society on the one hand and the conversos on the other.

Prebor, David, *Property Terms in Classical Hebrew – Semantic Developments*

Semantics is one of the youngest branches of Linguistics and scholarly research into Classical Hebrew includes semantic research. The father of modern linguistics, Ferdinand de Saussure, stressed the importance of language as a system and modern day scholars of Hebrew research the language of the Bible and post-Biblical Hebrew from this standpoint. Thus, unlike in pre-modern semantics, which dealt with the meanings of

individual words, modern semantics seeks to examine the interaction of lexemes in the language system.

One way that linguists engage in semantic research is by researching semantic fields. This paper examines a portion of the Semantic Field of Property in three corpora of Classical Hebrew: Biblical Hebrew, the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Tannaitic Hebrew. Following Prof. M. Z. Kaddari's pioneering work in the semantics of the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Semantic Field of Property has been divided into two sections: the Restricted Field of Property (which consists of property terms) and the Extended Field of Property (which consists of verbs and verbal nouns which indicate the movement of property between owners). By examining the property terms that appear in the three aforementioned corpora we can analyze the Restricted Field of Property in three historical periods (synchronically). By comparing the results we can show the semantic changes that have taken place in the development of the Hebrew language (diachronically).

The Restricted Field of Property in Biblical Hebrew contains forty-four lexemes. Analysis of these lexemes will show the internal structure of the Semantic Field in the Biblical corpus and will address the following issues (among others): Do certain lexemes appear in certain genres? What types of property are described by the lexemes? Are there differences in the use of the lexemes between the three different strata of Biblical Hebrew?

The Restricted Field of Property in the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls contains nineteen lexemes. Analysis of these lexemes will show the internal structure of the Semantic Field in the Hebrew corpus of the scrolls while also dealing with issues of genre, morphological change, etc.

The Restricted Field of Property in Tannaitic Hebrew contains sixteen lexemes. Analysis of these lexemes will show the internal structure of the Semantic Field in the corpus of Tannaitic Hebrew. Since Tannaitic Hebrew is the language of the Mishna, which is a collection of legal decisions arranged by topic, its language is legalistic. The legalistic nature of the language of the Mishna will be shown as it is evident semantically.

By comparing the results of the three analyses it will be possible to address the changes that have taken place in the development of the semantics of property in Hebrew during its Classical periods. Among the issues addressed will be: Which lexemes disappeared in the transition between the periods? What reasons can be given for the disappearance of lexemes? When new lexemes were used – which are the product of borrowing (and from which languages) and which are the product of internal development?

Prebor, Gila, *History of the Hebrew Book and Hebrew Bibliography – State of Research 1976-2006*

In 1976 the scholar of Talmud Prof. Israel Ta-Shma published a study summarizing the achievements of modern bibliographic research of the Hebrew Book. From his study it is apparent that since the beginning period of *Wissenschaft des Judentums* until the publication of Ta-Shma's study great effort has been put into discovering and documenting the cultural treasures of the Jewish people. All of this in order to establish a necessary foundation for conducting research into Judaic Studies. However, according to Ta-Shma, scientific research of the Hebrew Book has not been established as an independent discipline.

In the course of time research in this field has developed and additional aspects have been added beyond traditional bibliographic listing. Researchers in the Humanities and the Social Sciences, from the fields of Biblical Studies, Talmud, History, Sociology, Information Science, etc. have shown interest in the Hebrew Book. By making this field an interdisciplinary one Hebrew Bibliography has had aspects added to it which provide a comprehensive view on the Hebrew Book and its influence on society and culture, like the view of the *Livre et Société* movement.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the current state of research in the discipline of the History of the Hebrew Book and Hebrew Bibliography since the publication of Ta-Shma's study (1976), to examine the research period of the past thirty years and to identify developments in research into Bibliographic research of the Hebrew Book.

Przibilla, Helen, *The Zionist Yizkor Book Tradition. Commemorating the Fallen in the Yishuv*

In 1911 the Book *Yizkor. Matzevet zikaron le-chalelei ha-poalim ha-ivriyim be-eretz yisrael* was published in Jaffa by A.S. Rabinovich. The joint publication of the two Zionist parties *Poalei Zion* and *Ha-poel ha-tzair* was dedicated to holding up the memory of members of *Ha-shomer* who had fallen in cause of Zionism in the previous years. In 1916 and 1918 Yiddish and German editions of the 1911 Hebrew *Yizkor* book followed and, together with the Hebrew original, were widely circulated among Zionist circles in Europe, the United States and the Yishuv. In the 1940s the Revisionist movement published *Yizkor* and memory books in commemoration of the fallen among their ranks, especially the so called *Olei ha-gardom*.

The paper will focus on the question whether the *Yizkor* book of 1911 started a new Zionist *Yizkor* book tradition and, if so, how the book of 1911 and memory volumes published later forged patterns of commemorating the fallen in the State of Israel.

Quercioli Mincer, Laura, *Paths of Assimilation in Urke-Nachalnik and Sara Nomberg-Przytyk's Prison Memoirs*

Urke Nachalnik (Itskhok Farberowicz) was born to a well-to-do merchant family in 1897 in a *shtetl* near Wizna, in north-east Poland. His ancestors on his mother's side were rabbis and zaddikim. As a child he attended *kheyder* and the famous Lomza *yeshiva*. At the age of 16 he was sentenced to prison for robbery committed in the house of a miller where he was working as a religious teacher. From that point on, Urke's life would be marked by prison, where he would spend the majority of his years. In the latter part of the 1920's Urke learned Polish in a prison school and in a short time became a famous writer in his newly acquired language. He died in 1939, one of the first Jewish victims of the Nazi occupation of Otwock.

Sara Nomberg was born in Lublin in 1915, the granddaughter of a renowned Talmudist. Though virtually unknown in her native Poland, she is a noted author in English-speaking countries. Nomberg was incarcerated from 1934-1939 for her communist beliefs. In 1941-43 Sara lived in the Białystok ghetto; after the revolt she was transported to Auschwitz (her most famous books refers to that period). She emigrated to Israel in 1968 and later to Canada, where she died in 1996. Her memoirs, *Wieżi nie było moim domem* (*Prison was my home*), published in 1966, refer roughly to the same inter-war period described in Nachalnik's autobiographies *yciorys własne przest pcy* (*Auto-*

biography of a Criminal, 1933) and *ywe grobowce* (*Living Graves*, 1934).

Nomberg's and Nachalnik's personal accounts represent very alternative perspectives when compared to the dominant Polish discussion of the period and offer interesting insights into the mechanisms of inclusion-exclusion, prison communities and the codes of solidarity within insular micro-societies. Even though they lived during a period of severe economic crisis and violently surging anti-Semitism, it is interesting to note that both writers choose to represent themselves as perfectly integrated into the multiethnic communities of criminals and communists.

Rabinovitch, Lara, *Between Europe and North America: The Romanian Jewish Refugee Crisis and the Transnational Context of Migration, 1900-1902*

Beginning in the spring of 1900, thousands of Jews from began migrating out of Romania amidst a flurry of international attention directed at Romania, and specifically its violation of the Treaty of Berlin with regard to its treatment of the Jews of the young country. Focusing on what I call, 'The Romanian Jewish Refugee Crisis,' this paper traces the Jewish migratory route out of Romania and analyzes the unprecedented actions undertaken by the American government and major Jewish leaders in consort with national and international Jewish philanthropic societies such as the Jewish Colonization Association, the Industrial Removal Office, and the Alliance Israélite Universelle, to help aid this passage to North America. By examining the thus far unexplored Romanian immigrant case, this paper argues that multiple forms of European alliances with North America played a decisive role in the westward migration of Jews at the turn of the 20th century. Although migration from Romania continued for more than two decades following 1900, worldwide attention directed at this national and ethnic group diminished immediately following the Kishineff pogroms and the subsequent spike in migration from the Russian Empire beginning in 1903. The historiography, as well, has ignored this pivotal moment in the history of migration.

This paper is based on a larger chapter of my dissertation which considers the nearly 100,000 Jews who migrated from Romania to North America in an effort to probe and diversify the narrative of what is often grouped as 'east European Jewish migration' and 'east European Jewish immigrants' at the turn of the 20th century. Bridging the fields of European and North American Jewish history, "Feeding Identity: Romanian Jewish Immigrants in New York City and Montreal, 1900-1939," considers the question of migration within a transnational context to suggest that the country of origin plays a decisive role in the timing, route, and destination of immigrants, as well as social and cultural developments in the new land.

Ragacs, Ursula, *From Babylonia to Paris: A rabbinic text's "journey" around the Medieval Mediterranean Sea*

In 1269 a French Jewish scholar was forced into a debate with the Jewish convert Paul Christian, known to his public because of his famous disputation with R. Mose ben Nachman some years before in Barcelona. In Barcelona as well as in Paris Paul tried to show his counterparts that the Messiah had already come. As a basis for his argumentation Paul used Biblical as well as rabbinic texts. In my paper I will show how an inner Jewish debate on one of these rabbinic texts was transformed by Paul into an anti-Jewish argumentation.

Rajak, Tessa, *Philo and the Hebrew Language*

The exploration rests on the perspective of my new book, 'Translation and Survival: the Greek Bible of the Ancient Jewish Diaspora' (Oxford University Press 2009), where I investigate the role of Torah in the life of the Jewish Diaspora of the Graeco-Roman Mediterranean. In Alexandria, Philo appears to have engaged with scripture entirely in Greek. But did he then know nothing of the Hebrew?

The matter of his access to scripture in the original remains highly controversial: the majority of scholars have reached a negative conclusion, but there have been a few important dissenting voices.

Philo's numerous and sometimes puzzling biblical etymologies, nearly all derived from Hebrew and Aramaic, and deployed in the service of his allegory, are the leading evidence. There are a number of intriguing test cases in a total of one hundred and sixty-six etymologies. But what conclusions may legitimately be drawn from these? After offering fresh explanations, I end with reflections on the broader implications of re-opening the question of Philo's Hebrew for our understanding both of Philo and of Hellenistic Jewish culture.

Raspe, Lucia, *Yiddish Minhagim Manuscripts from Sixteenth-Century Italy*

A migration of German Jews to Italy can first be discerned at the end of the fourteenth century; it peaked in the fifteenth when the Jews were expelled from almost all major German cities and effectively came to a close with the War of the League of Cambrai in 1509. In Italy, these Ashkenazic émigrés found themselves faced not only with their local coreligionists but also with Sephardic newcomers trickling in after 1391 and 1492. As a consequence, Northern Italy in particular became a place where Jewish identity had to be negotiated anew.

While the basic patterns of the Ashkenazic migration to and settlement in Italy have become fairly clear over the past decade or two, the cultural manifestations of that migration have been given far less attention.

One genre that has hardly been studied at all is that of *minhagim*. These compilations, often representing the customs of a specific community or those observed by an influential sage, flourished in Ashkenaz from the thirteenth century onward; they gained in popularity as Jewish culture in Germany came under increasing pressure in the wake of the persecutions and expulsions of the later Middle Ages and were first translated into Yiddish at the end of the fifteenth century.

Of the fourteen *minhagim* manuscripts preserved in Yiddish which I have been able to identify, at least seven were definitely written south of the Alps; others appear to have migrated to Italy with their owners. Situated at the intersection of Middle Ages and Early Modernity, rabbinic and vernacular culture, historical Ashkenaz and new areas of settlement, these manuscripts, none of which have been researched to date, offer a rare glimpse into the religious lives of ordinary Jews while also testifying to their efforts to preserve their own cultural identity in the face of a Jewish world suddenly become complex. My paper will present the first fruits of a research project aiming to clarify the relationship of these manuscripts to earlier Hebrew customs as well as the later Yiddish printed tradition, and will consider what this tells us of their role between a locally-defined origin in the German-speaking lands and an emerging pan-Ashkenazic identity.

Regev, Shaul, *Oral and written sermons in the Middle Ages*

The paper will present research on sermons in the Middle Ages, and will attempt to show the relationship between public sermons delivered orally at different times and occasions and the sermon literature published at a later date. Close study of the authors' introductions to these books shows that in most instances the purpose of writing the sermon was to teach philosophy, rather than provide a record of the sermons delivered orally by the preacher. The paper will show that the sermon literature is a special literary genre used as a method of transmitting the preacher's philosophy. Several preachers even declared that writing sermons took the place of writing a philosophical treatise.

Renton, James, *American Jewry, 1918: the Heart of a Colonial Diaspora?*

At the end of the Great War, members of the British Government argued that the future of Palestine could not be decided upon just by considering the will of its present inhabitants. The destiny of the country, it was suggested, had to be considered in light of the sentiments of a diaspora that was spread across the globe – world Jewry. It was assumed by British policy-makers that the vast majority of this population was committed to the Zionist ideal. This belief was incorrect. Jewry was divided in terms of religion, culture, language, and politics. Zionism was no exception. The Zionist movement only included a minority of Jews in its ranks, with most Jews, arguably, being either opposed or indifferent. At the end of the War, this picture was especially clear in American Jewry. Despite these divisions, however, British policy-makers persisted in their belief that the supposedly powerful American Jews were pre-occupied with the fate of Palestine.

This paper will explore how American Jewish politics and identities were affected by the British Empire's sponsorship of Zionism at the beginning of the Anglo-Zionist alliance, in 1917 and 1918. It will examine to what extent American Jewry became part of a colonial Diaspora, as a result of Britain's imposition of Zionism on the world stage, and its attempt to create a 'Jewish National Home' in Palestine. This paper will attempt to integrate the history of American Jews during this period into a wider, transnational story of colonial diasporas on the eve of the end of the European empires.

Ribeiro, Luiz Felipe *From the Aseret Ha-devarim to the Vitia Principalia: the transformation of the Torah oriented vice lists in the Jewish Two Ways Document (Didache 1-5//Barnabas 18-20//Doctrina Apostolorum 3-5) into Technologies of the Self*

Ever since P. Bryennius published in 1883 the *editio princeps* of the complete Didache Greek text from the Codex Hierosolymitanus, great attention has been given to the textual relationship between Did. 1-5 and Epist. Barn. 18-20. Not long after the issuing of Hierosolymitanus, the hypothesis that a Jewish source, the *Two Ways Document*, laid beneath the textual parallels between Did. and Epist. Barn grew strong. Following the effervescent years of 1910-1930 when Oxford led an intense debate on the authorship of the Two Ways Document, Edgar J. Goodspeed set the record straight by positing the Latin *Doctrina Apostolorum* as the reminiscence of such a Jewish Document and in 1952 the French-Canadian scholar J.-P. Audet consolidated the hypothesis of a Jewish *Duae Viae* document by locating in the *Manual of Discipline* (1QS) the Jewish ances-

tor of the Two Ways. The present paper aims at recovering the genealogy of morals in the series of vice catalogues extant in the recensions of the Two Ways Document. It is observed that different Jewish versions of the Aseret Ha-devarim *Philanthropoi* commandments influenced the ordering and naming of vices in the Did. and the Doctr. Their use and manipulation of the Ten Words, however, has transformed and multiplied the Mosaic code.

In the later receptions of the Two Ways, the focus of the lists seems to have shifted from a moral of *juridical subjectivation* to one centered not so much in the mere submission of the moral subject to the Aseret Hadevarim code of law, but one which complexified the code transforming it into catalogues of the diseased soul, a moral in which “the strong and dynamic element is to be sought in the forms of subjectivation and the practices of the Self.” (Foucault, 1990, pp. 29-30). If the moral of juridical subjectivation requires acts of submission and obedience, the morals based on *practices* or *techniques of the Self*, especially in Ancient Christianity, have required from the subjects “acts of truth” (Foucault *apud* Carrette, 1999, p. 154), whether it be in the very exercise of public confession, in penance, or in the surveillance of one’s conscience in search of signs of the sickened soul. The genealogy of morals of the Two Ways Document may be an important piece of the puzzle to map the discursive spaces which allowed the emergence of discourse about the proscribed and the vice as sin.

Rimon, Helena, *The Quest for Identity in Hebrew Women’s Poetry in the Context of the Myth of the Androgyne*

Two paradigms of the myth of the androgyne will be considered in the present paper. Both were created in the Mediterranean Basin and the Near East, both served as the foundation for gender models in European culture, and both came to be reflected in modern Israeli poetry.

In the Greek version of the myth (in Plato’s *The Symposium*), the gods forcibly split the happy and perfect double-sexed being, so that human beings are the outcome, beings that are imperfect and unhappy. The alternative paradigm is to be found in Gen 2:21 and its interpretation in the Midrash. In the Biblical version of the myth the communication as compensation for the lost physical completeness is emphasized.

In the age of modernity in European poetry, philosophy, and religious thought, non-traditional versions of re-establishing completeness become current (Amy Lowell, Alice Meynell, Sylvia Plath, Adrienne Reich). The image of the androgyne is central to the work of the Hebrew poetess Yona Wallach, whom many critics consider to be the most radical woman’s voice of the “Generation of the State” (**Dor Ha-Medinah**). In a key poem, Wallach’s female heroine by a self-willed voluntary effort overcomes her status of part: “Not to act as part / To act as whole”. As a result of this effort, the androgyne is created anew, whole, complete within itself, and barren: “I was always a tree/ that someone would be taking cover in the shade of/ giving of its fruit / enough”. The rebellion against myth, the Jewish myth which grants legitimacy to the traditional gender model, actualizes an alternative mythological paradigm – the Platonic one, or, more precisely, its Gnostic interpretation, which contaminates the Greek and the Biblical narratives. Wallach’s poem is a bodily, almost caricatured version of the eschatological utopia of the completeness which is an ultimate exodus beyond the confines of nature and history and return to the starting point of Creation, of which refined mystics had dreamed (such as Boehme, Solovyov, and Berdyaev).

The postmodernist interpretation of the Biblical myth of the androgyne is the poem “First Parting” by the young Israeli poetess Sivan Har Sheffi: “I give a name to the passing [...] flying, moving like yearning/ she is separating cutting off [...] / she’s going while I’m calling/ woman”. Separation (parting) is the precondition of meeting, in the process of which the human being comes to know Self and Other (as Levinas pointed out). Parting and meeting are different phases of the process of cognition and communication, which both take place in time. It cannot be rolled up into a single point, and it need not be turned back.

Rocca, Samuele, *Ethnic and Religious Diversity in the Urbs: The Development of the Jewish Communities in Imperial Rome*

In this short lecture I would like to discuss the development of the Jewish communities in Rome from the Augustan Period, when there is clear evidence of an organized Jewish settlement, till Late Antiquity. In the lecture, I shall discuss two main points, the historical geography of the Jews living in Ancient Rome, or where they lived, and the demographic development of the Jewish community, or how many Jews lived in the *urbs*.

The purpose of the lecture is to show that the number of Jews living in Rome fluctuated through the ages and was never stable, following in this respect the fluctuation of the general population of the city of Rome. Moreover, as Rutgers has already shown, using, however, a different methodology, the number of Jews living in Imperial Rome was always quite small, probably no more than 1% of the entire population, far from the 20,000 or even 50,000 attributed by some scholars. It seems to me that there is as well an evolution and change in the Jewish area of settlement, which was not always the same. Thus, although in the early Imperial period, most of the Jews lived in the newly developed Transtiberinum neighborhood (Regio XIV), as did most other foreign immigrants, by the end of Late Antiquity, the Jewish communities were scattered also in the southernmost area of Rome (Regio I), as well as in the eastern part of the city (Regio VI). In many cases, it is possible to see that Jewish communities lived in the same areas as Christian groups. I shall use for the earlier period literary sources such as Josephus, Philo, and Juvenal, as well as archaeological data coming from the third- and fourth-century Jewish Catacombs in Rome.

Rodrigues Balbuena, Monique, *Multilingual Portuguese Communities: Reading 17th-century records from the Ponentini in Reggio Emilia*

Seeking to contribute to the history of the Sephardic presence in Italy, Aron Leone di Leoni offered, among his many works, the transcription and historical analysis of the official diary of a 17th-century Jewish Portuguese community in Reggio Emilia. In *La Nazione Ebraica Spagnola e Portoghese Negli Stati Estensi*, Leoni presents *O Livro das Hordems da nacao portuguesa de Reggio Emilia*, official documents of this community of Portuguese Jews who had openly returned to Judaism and come to Italy with privileges and guarantees of non-persecution. The *Libro* reveals aspects of the community’s private and public life and informs, among other things, on its composition and jurisdiction.

Leoni recognizes that the text does not offer great literary value but has historical relevance, as well as philological significance: “esso consta infatti di un insieme di testi re-

datti dai vari Parnassim successivamente eletti, principalmente in lingua portoghese, ma anche in spagnolo ed in italiano con l'inserimento di termini ebraici e del dialetto giudeo-portoghese.”

This paper will read the Livro with attention to the languages used. Philology is not the main concern here. Instead, it is the attempt to understand how the multilingual members of this community use and negotiate their multiple languages; how they solve their (unstable) identity – or complicate it – linguistically. This paper will thus observe which language is used on which occasion, by whom, and for what purpose. Through this analysis I hope to shed some light on the “vicende linguistiche” (Minervini) of the Portuguese Jews, and contribute to the understanding of the Western Sephardic Diaspora in Italy and its complex socio-politico-linguistic milieu.

Rokem, Na’ama, *Recreated in Translation: Heine in Hebrew*

This paper considers the place of translation within the Hebrew literary sphere through the case of translations and adaptations of German-Jewish author Heinrich Heine. Taking the perspective of the “longue durée,” I survey approximately two centuries of translation-history and expose broad patterns and developments. In the history of Modern Hebrew literature, it is impossible to mark a clear division between the universalists who support translation and the particularists who oppose it. As Kenneth Moss shows in his illuminating portrayal of both the debates on translation and the publication of translations by Hebraists and Yiddishists in the 1910s, even those who positioned themselves on the indigenous side of the divide contributed their own translations of great works of world literature to the emerging Hebrew literary sphere. Indeed, as Lawrence Venuti argues, although translation may upon initial thought seem like an insult to the exclusionary logic of nationalist thinking it is often in fact mobilized by those who strive to extend the range of the national language and enforce a standard dialect as a literary norm. The case of Heine is a particularly useful example through which to consider the stakes of translation in the Hebrew literary sphere, since his multiple personas – as a German, a Jew, a Christian convert, a Romantic poet, a political prose writer – all raise powerfully controversial issues within its history. In one particularly resonant statement, translations of Heine are described as a form of “pidyon shvuyim,” the redemption of prisoners proscribed by Jewish law. They become a site for debate and evaluation of the limits and possibilities of Hebrew literature and its relation to Jewish identity. The paper ends with a brief discussion of allusions to Heine in contemporary Hebrew literature, indicating the staying power and continuing relevance of the case of Heine in Hebrew.

Rosenblum, Jordan, *The Idol in her Bra: Commensality Intermarriage, and Idolatry in Tannaitic Literature*

In the tannaitic corpus, a novel innovation appears: sharing bread is understood to lead to sharing a bed. As such, the Tannaim problematize and marginalize commensal interactions between Jews and non-Jews in Roman-period Palestine. In several instances, commensality with non-Jews is equated with idolatry, the binary opposite of Jewishness in rabbinic literature. While this connection is absent from Hebrew Bible texts and, at best, inchoate in a handful of Second Temple period sources, it is explicit in later amoraic literature. This paper explores the gap between these corpora: tannaitic liter-

ature, in which we first encounter the rabbinic connection between bread and bed.

Rosenfeld, Ben Zion, *The Poor Family in Jewish Society in Roman Palestine, 70-400 CE*

The current research deals with a unique socio-historical topic. It analyses the poor man and his family in Jewish society in Roman Palestine. The need for this research stems from the lack of thorough research of the subject, excluding brief mentioning in research addressing other issues. The research will define poverty of various types and at various levels, and differentiate between them. Historical anthropological aspects of the day to day lives of the poor will be portrayed, according to the scant information in contemporary sources. The poor man is “the other” or “the outsider” in the eyes of the ruling society. He is not an integral part of society and this affects his spouse and his offspring. His very existence and that of his family was in constant jeopardy, and death from hunger or disease was prevalent. The lowest form of pauper was the homeless individual who often lived alone without family or kin. This man was a social outcast who was but a nuisance to Roman society. The question that will be explored is: how did Jewish society relate to the poor man and his family? The research will use all contemporary literary sources: the NT and writings of the church fathers, the literature of the Tannaim and Amoraim, archaeological findings, and Roman literature. The sources will be analyzed with help from the geographical and social studies disciplines. The conclusion will extend to comparing the situation of the Jewish poor to that of Roman Imperial society as a whole, contributing significantly to the sparse modern research on the issue of poverty in the Roman Empire.

Rozenchan, Nancy, *When the “other” is a brother: reflections about “Oriental Jew” contemporary representation in the 21st century Hebrew literature*

A broad awareness of post-colonialist studies reached Israeli culture only with great delay. When this occurred, intellectuals began to apply the theories developed by Saïd and others to the study of such local matters as the Jews-Palestinians relations and the relations between the Jewish Ashkenazi [European] majority and the Jews from Arab or Oriental countries – the *mizrahim*. After living for many years, since their arrival to the country in the '50s, in a relationship with the classes then dominant in Israel which can be characterized as a colonized-colonizer relationship, by the end of the 20th century *mizrahim* Jews managed to overcome this condition.

Contrary to the previous decades, in the last years Hebrew literature has witnessed a growing number of novels in which second generation *mizrahim* express their current situation. Through one of the most distinguished novels testifying to this literary phenomenon, Sara Shilo's Sapir Prize winner, *No dwarfs will come* [Tel Aviv, Am Oved, 2006] I'll expose how this colonized-colonizer relationship has left its imprint on Israeli *mizrahi* Jews.

Rubin, Noga, see **Newman, Zelda**

Ruiz Morell, Olga Isabel, *Another contribution to tosefta*

Although studies on the tosefta already benefit from a background which takes them away from the beginning, much remains unsaid. The proof is in the diversity of opinion

that can be read about its origins and textual nature. In fact, depending on the order or tractate on which work is done, the conclusions may vary. Thus, to give a conclusive overall definition is particularly difficult. I believe the linearity that can be read along the Mishnah is absent in the tosefta and this is significant when attempting a comprehensive analysis and definition. In previous studies on a variety of tractates of the tosefta I reached different conclusions, even opposite, and glimpsed evidence of dependence or independence of the tosefta regarding Mishnah. Also it is possible to discern the same conclusion, but in reverse, with Mishnah regarding tosefta.

This paper is intended to offer another reading and the corresponding perspective on tosefta, focusing particularly on Moed. Issues as diverse as haggadic tradition, folklore, and entries on women are some of the guidelines that establish the differences between these two texts.

These issues point to ancient traditions or subsequent revisions, and even different scholar trends. Also important is the formal role (or not) that the tosefta text plays in official Judaism at different times, allowing more freedom in their lines to the detriment of wider transmission.

Rustow, Marina, *Jews and the 'New' Mediterranean Studies, Tenth-Twelfth Centuries*

The past decade or so has seen a series of works on the premodern Mediterranean that make an even stronger case for its unity than Braudel did (Wansbrough 1996, Horden and Purcell 2000, McCormick 2001, Harris 2005, Wickham 2005; Braudel 1949), part of a wave of scholarship that has been called “the new thalassology” (Peters 2003; Horden and Purcell 2006). These works argue for the coherence of the various microcultures of the Mediterranean on the basis of geography, ‘connectivity’ across shores, overlapping human networks, and congruent imperial legacies.

Most Jewish historians have yet to take stock of the new thalassology, which raises a number of questions particular to the Jews and Jewish history. The most important of these for the purposes of this paper is whether the Jews were part of this Mediterranean or resistant to it (Schwartz 2009; cf. Shaw 1995). S. D. Goitein is usually thought to have made the case for Jews as representative of the broader medieval Mediterranean and therefore as ‘a Mediterranean society’ (Goitein 1967–93). In fact, he asserted their representativeness without arguing for it in a sustained fashion. It is just as problematic to assume that Jews were representative as it is to assume that they were necessarily distinctive and unassimilable to the broader society in which they lived.

This paper will consider what the unity of the Mediterranean meant after the breakup of the Abbasid polity and during the rise and consolidation of the Fatimid empire (909–1171). It will consider in particular what it meant for the Jews: the culture of reciprocity that ethnography has considered a hallmark of ethnographic ‘mediterraneanism’ (Peristiany 1965; cf. Herzfeld 1987) is present in the world of the Cairo Geniza documents, but in a modified form. Rather than resort to ethnographic ‘mediterraneanism’ as an explanatory mechanism, I will argue that the fragmentation and reconsolidation of empire in the tenth century gave rise to a pervasive culture of reciprocity that, in turn, provided dhimmis in general and Jews in particular with new social and political opportunities. To exemplify this culture of reciprocity, I will examine the presence of Jews at caliphal courts and in chanceries, arguing for the existence of a court Jew in the eastern Islamic world and glancing also at Jewish practices of charity (Cohen 1995a, 1995b) and euergetism (cf. Veyne 1976) in Egypt and Syria.

Saadoun, Haim, *The Political and Cultural Activism of Tunisian Jewry in the 20th Century*

Jewish political and cultural life in Tunisia was very intensive from the end of the 19th century to the middle of the 20th century. The expressions of that activism were: the elections to the Jewish community council (begun in 1920); the petition of 1928 against the nomination of a French chief rabbi to the local community; the enormous quantity of Jewish newspapers (about 180); the French and Judeo-Arabic literature; the rabbinical literature; the role of Jews in the political parties and more. In my presentation I will develop each expression and try to explain why Tunisian Jewry was so politically and culturally active in comparison to the Jewish communities of Algeria, Morocco and Libya. Without a doubt the geopolitical situation in the Mediterranean and the connections with Italy and France influenced those activities.

Sadowski, Dirk, *Modern values – challenged mentalities. Jewish textbooks in the Habsburg Monarchy around 1800: the children's perspective*

In 1782, Habsburg authorities began to establish a system of “German” elementary schools for Jewish children in Bohemia, Moravia, Hungary, Galicia and in the Italian territories of the empire. The textbooks – primers and more advanced reading books – that were used to teach the pupils of the Christian normal schools were adapted to the instruction in the Jewish German schools and modified in a way that seemed appropriate to the authorities. However, the textbooks were not mere instruments of teaching how to read and to write and to create subjects literate in the German language. They functioned as media of inculcating social and moral values derived from enlightened universal norms and the reason of state. Jewish children, who were addressed not as Jews but as subjects of the enlightened absolutist state, learned from these textbooks about the complexity of society, the interdependency between social groups, and about the duties and obligations in this society. Actions oriented to the non-Jewish world, whose normative horizon had previously been governed by Halakhah, were given a universal foundation by rational arguments and were embedded in the total social context. Moral instruction demanded of the children a specific relation to their non-Jewish surroundings. The very creation of a sense of belonging to a certain fatherland shattered the framework of traditional Jewish norms.

My paper asks about the effects that this kind of instruction could have had on Jewish children who, in the parallel realm of traditional education (especially in the *cheder* for boys via the commentary of RaSHI to the Bible), learned exactly the opposite and developed a system of values and opinions about the surrounding world that was rather confirmed by life-world experience than disproved.

Salah, Asher, *Judaism as a Moral Theology: the work and the figure of Elisha Pontremoli*

The role and the intellectual contribution of Rabbi Eliseo (Elisha) Pontremoli, who was born in 1778 in Casale Monferrato and died in Nizza Marittima in 1851, father of the more famous Esdra Pontremoli (1818-1888), director of the *Vessillo Israelitico*, and grandfather of the French architect Emmanuel Élisée Pontremoli (1865-1956), has been almost completely ignored by the historiography of the Italian and European rabbinate in the 19th century. Although among his writings hundreds of sermons and *responsa*,

biblical commentaries, astronomical works and texts of religious polemic, both in verse and in prose, are still extant, this oblivion is hardly surprising since his manuscripts are scattered in the collections of the *Alliance Israelite Universelle* in Paris, the *Jewish Theological Seminary* in New York and the *Hebrew Union College* in Cincinnati. Most of these manuscripts were meant to be published, but this did not happen, for lack of financial support and intellectual patronage in peripheral communities such as Ivrea and Nizza, whose rabbinic chair Pontremoli occupied in the first half of 19th century.

Carried out between France and Italy, the Napoleonic period and the Restoration, Rabbi Pontremoli's work, albeit of limited influence among his contemporaries, gives a vision of the wide-ranging intellectual interests of a religious leader who tried to confront traditional Judaism with the challenges of Enlightenment philosophy. Pontremoli shows a deep knowledge of Spinoza, Huntington, Condillac and Rousseau and does not hesitate to make the apology of Judaism against Christianity, using the materialist arguments of D'Holbach, whose works together with Orobio's writings he translated into Hebrew, and those of David Nieto's *Mate Dan*, which he rendered in Italian adding his own commentaries. He aimed at demonstrating the validity of normative Judaism against the first reformers' attacks on the Halakha, following Moses Mendelssohn's philosophy and grasping very early the originality of the critical approach towards modernity of the much younger Samuel David Luzzatto.

In this paper I shall try to show Pontremoli's intellectual *parcours*, through a particularly rich documentation which stands as an important case study to understand the transformation at the turn of the century of the rabbinic status from legal and spiritual leader, to religious clerk and preacher. His is one of the first attempts in the 19th century to elaborate a moral theology compatible with the duties of a good citizen and loyal subject, while giving the rabbinic profession a bourgeois respectability through the practice of an uplifting homiletic, in the French consistorial way, and through the adoption of the new critical spirit of the German *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, two concerns which characterized the Italian rabbinate's history in the 19th century.

Salmon, Yosef, *The Shemitta Controversy 1889-1910: Halacha and History*

The debate over the observance of the Shemitta year is one of the foremost halachic issues to have been raised in the Jewish modern period. The most intense periods of the deliberation over this issue were the years 1888-9 and 1909-10; however, the controversy continues, even to this very day, and it would appear to be an unsolvable halachic problem. The issue concerns whether the Torah's prohibition of tilling the soil every seventh year is applicable today. Without entering into the detailed halachic issues involved, it is striking that a halachic precept which has been neither observed nor relevant for generations, and has not been a part of daily Jewish ritual practice, can become an issue of such acute concern among Jews in modern times. What has made this topic so important and the discussion so passionate?

I would like to suggest that the very fact that our issue touches upon the ideological and political turmoil of Jewish nationalism provides a partial explanation for the events. The underlying question was whether halacha would be applicable in modern times. In other words, can a modern Jewish state exist whilst governed by a traditional Jewish jurisdiction? This problem attracted a spectrum of approaches. The Ultra-Orthodox, at one extreme, argued that the halachic law overrides secular law, whilst the secular insisted that halacha is not relevant anymore to modern society. The issue has touched the

core of Jewish identity, the very earth of the Holy Land, and Jewish memory, stirring deep emotions amongst Jews aspiring to “renew our days as of old”. All these elements combined have contributed towards making the controversy over the Shemitta altogether such an alarming, sensitive and complex subject.

Salvatierra Ossorio, Aurora, *Al-Harizi and 12th- to 13th-Century Didactic Literature*

Yehudah al-Harizi (12th-13th c.) is especially well known as the author of the *Sefer ha-Tahkemoni* and translator of Maimonides, among others. His less-studied facets include his activity in the sphere of didactic-moral literature.

Sapiential texts, specifically books and collections of maxims and sayings, were highly valued as a source of knowledge in the Middle Ages. In medieval Iberia, the beginning of the 13th century witnessed the flowering of translations and versions of these works combining ethical, philosophical, scientific, etc. teaching with the aim of providing models of conduct. Three works by al-Harizi (or attributed to him) can be categorised in this genre: 1) *Musre ha-filosofim*, a version of the *Kit b ad b al-fal sifa*, known in its Spanish version as the *Libro de los Buenos Proverbios*; 2) *Sod ha-sodot*, a version of the *Sirr al-asr r* that gave rise to the *Poridad de Poridades* and *Secreto de los Secretos*; and 3) *Iggeret ha-musar ha-kelali*, a pseudo-Aristotelian text whose translation from Greek to Arabic is attributed to Ali ibn Ridwan (11th c.).

All of these texts belong to a cultural current that propounded a profile of the individual, which – regardless of the linguistic community to which it was directed – possesses some common features and a similar concept of ‘wisdom’. Al-Harizi offers the opportunity to approach this medieval didactic literature written in Hebrew at a time when it was especially important and widely read.

I propose to offer here an initial approach to this portion of his output and especially, to his opuscle, *Iggeret ha-musar ha-kelali*, a short text preserved in numerous manuscripts that reflects the trends of the era well.

Salzer, Dorothea, *Cultural Translation: The Case of German-Jewish Children’s Bibles*

At the end of the 18th century a new genre arose in Germany’s enlightened Jewish community: storybooks containing biblical narratives especially re-written for Jewish children. In the 19th century these biblical stories for children developed into one of the most popular genres of Jewish children’s literature. The paper focuses on the question how the Jewish authors used this kind of literature usually known from Protestant culture to construe a new Jewish identity within the framework of Jewish acculturation and assimilation.

Samely, Alexander, *A New Approach to the Literary and Textual Features of Ancient Jewish Literature*

A major project at Manchester and Durham (UK) Universities is in the process of developing a new approach to the literary features or “genres” of extra-canonical ancient Jewish literature. The 4-year AHRC-funded Project is concerned in particular with anonymous or pseudepigraphic works and is linked to a fresh examination of all complete texts from late biblical times to the end of the Talmud. While rabbinic literature provides the bulk of the Project corpus, our descriptions include also the earlier corpora

of Jewish literature, Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha and the (complete) Dead Sea Scrolls using the same approach. Central for us are phenomena of “perspective” and “coherence”, be it in narrative (e.g. Tobit), in thematic-discursive texts (e.g. Mishnah, Talmud) or meta-linguistic works (commentaries). The topic of coherence is particularly important as perceived “incoherence” often plays a role when scholars apply source criticism to these texts. While diachronic analysis is entirely compatible with our model, we are interested in the final text shape of the ancient documents (as clarified by critical philological scholarship). We are influenced by a wide range of approaches to the study of texts, including text linguistics, and make as few specific assumptions about the historical context as is practical (to avoid circularity of arguments). The Project is unified by a theoretical position which tries to suspend (or at least clarify) modern scholarly assumptions which have the potential of obscuring a historical variety of basic “textualities” that might have existed. My presentation will introduce the two key outcomes of the Project: (a) a comprehensive typology of literary features across the corpora of Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, Dead Sea Scrolls, and Rabbinic Literature, and (b) a database in which every complete text from these corpora will receive a brief literary profile according to the new typology.

Sánchez, Rosa, *The speech of modern Sephardic women as portrayed in the theatre and humoristic dialogues (19th – 20th cent.)*

From the middle of the 19th century onwards, Sephardic communities from the Balkans and the oriental Mediterranean underwent important social and cultural changes caused by the political rearrangements of the Ottoman Empire. As a result of these transformations a resort from European schools was implanted and new generations of Sephardim began to receive a western, mainly French, secular instruction. Formerly excluded from traditional religious education, this implied a significant change in the life of Sephardic women, since for the first time they were included in the school system. The consequences for the Sephardic communities of the emancipation of women was one of the main preoccupations of Sephardic authors, as is manifested in the new secular genres imported from European literature, such as the theatre and the novel. In Sephardic literature from the turn of the century, young modern women are often represented as stereotypes whose only interest consists in western fashion and pastimes. They offer feminine counterparts to the *franquito*, the young *frenchified* Sephardic dandy, to whom they want to be married. Both figures require each other linguistically also, because only in the dialogues between modern westernized people it is possible to display the new *frenchified* jargon, one of the modern Judeo-Spanish registers, in its most exaggerated and humoristic way.

In our paper we will analyze how Sephardic intellectuals portrayed the speech of young modern Sephardic women in the theatre and humoristic dialogues. Our core interest will be to show the main linguistic features and the attitudes towards Judeo-Spanish, by which the authors wanted to characterize the stereotyped female figures.

Sandman, Israel M., *Methodological Consciousness and the Scribe of MS JTS-A 2564*

Analysis of the work of the Ashkenazic 15th – 16th century scribe of MS JTS-A 2564 brings to light the scribe’s consciousness of scribal method. We are fortunate that another manuscript, JTS-A 2500, is closely related textually, temporally, and geographi-

cally, thus facilitating enlightening contrast and comparison with 2564. Unlike the scribe of 2500, the scribe of 2564 employs the following devices, inter alia, to help the reader: undeciphered text is represented by an appropriately-sized blank topped by a circle; throughout the body of the text important words are written larger (with two levels of largeness); each phrase is made distinct by placing a dot at its end; paragraph breaks are inserted; and smaller breaks are inserted for minor shifts.

Furthermore, the scribe explicitly discusses his exemplar. All this indicates the scribe's consciousness of the importance of critical objectivity, transparency, and user-friendliness in his mediation between exemplar and reader; and this may shed some light on the intended audience / user(s) of this manuscript.

Through comparing both manuscripts, we know that some of the innovations in this text, such as intervention with the grammar, and vocalizations of foreign words, are not the work of this scribe, but go back to the antecedent of both manuscripts. Finally, MS 2564 contains glosses in several hands, one of which may be the scribe's. If so, the use of glosses rather than textual emendations and expansions demonstrates the scribe's consciousness of differentiating between faithfulness to the exemplar and the impetus to express his own view. Understanding both the innovations of this scribe as well as the innovations carried over from the exemplar help us gain a fuller understanding of developing critical methodological consciousness among scribes in (and impacting upon) this region.

Sanz Barrio, Raquel, *From coexistence to expulsion: segregationist measures in the kingdom of Granada, 1482-1492*

The war of Granada (1482-1492) finished with the occupation of the capital. The conquest of the last Muslim kingdom on the Iberian Peninsula only became possible because of a religious conflict, which prevented the winners and losers from living together. In this context, we have to consider what happened on the other side of the occidental Andalusian border, as well as in Castilla and in other territories of the Spanish monarchy, where important changes took place regarding the coexistence of different religious communities.

By 1480 comprehensive legislation intending to separate Jews from Christians had been implemented. This segregating legislation was involved – along with the establishment of the Inquisition courts and the first expulsion of the Jews from Andalusia – in the evolving policy of religious unification conceived as just one more of the many mechanisms used by the Catholic Monarchs in the process of building a modern nation state. The peace inside the new borders of the kingdom was one of the fundamental bases. In the context of the repopulation of the kingdom of Granada, these means of separation seemed to be logical and necessary.

The occidental districts of the Nasride kingdom were won five years after the end of the war. During this period some Jewish communities managed to survive. Despite their survival Jewish settlements would not last long. After March 31 1492, with the general proclamation of expulsion of all the Jewish communities under the Crown, came the last expulsion of the Jews. I set out to present the application of these segregationist measures concerning the Jews in the recently conquered kingdom of Granada, and try to clarify an important question that remains unanswered: was the intention of the Catholic Monarchs to apply the general edict of expulsion to the Nasride Jews?

Saposnik, Arie, *Terra Sancta or Promised Land? The Christian Holy Land and Zionist Re-Sacralization*

Over the course of the nineteenth century, European states and religious institutions laid competing political, religious, and territorial claims to control and to reshape the sacred and profane landscapes of a changing Palestine. Zionism emerged at the tail end of the century within, and to a significant degree under the influence of, this competition.

A significant body of literature has examined various Christian interests in the Holy Land and their consequences for European powers' attitudes to Zionism. The other side of the equation – the impact on Zionism of Christian interests in Palestine and Christian constructions of holiness in the Holy Land – has, by contrast, been left virtually uncharted territory. This is a particularly glaring gap given that negotiations surrounding Christian holy sites constituted a significant aspect of Zionist activity at least as early as the birth of political Zionism, and continued to be an important diplomatic consideration for Zionist leaders throughout the movement's history.

Even more unexamined, however, than the politics and diplomacy of this question is the impact on Zionism in terms of its own self-image, its understanding of relations between Jews and non-Jews, of the Jews' own ambiguous place as occidentals or orientals, and of the sacred and profane landscapes of the land to which Zionists lay claim and of the state they erected.

This paper seeks to fill these gaps by examining Zionist understandings of Christian constructions of the Holy land at the intersection of politics and diplomacy and in the shaping of a Zionist national culture, and its own national sacralities. If holy sites and the holiness of the land have long been recognized as motivating forces in the conflict between Arabs and Jews, moreover, this paper will suggest that that conflict too ought to be placed in the context of a more longstanding struggle over the Holy Land, its sacred and mundane real estate, and its character as a site of contested holinesses.

Sarfatti, Michele, *Jews in Albania 1938-1943: from the end of the Albanian independent State to the end of Italian occupation*

At the beginning of 1938, Albania was an independent country, although strongly influenced by Italy. In April 1939, Italy invaded it and created the "union" of the two kingdoms of Italy and Albania. In April 1941 Italy occupied Yugoslav Kosovo, assigning it to Albania. Italian presence in all Balkan territories ceased on September 8th 1943. At the beginning of 1938, Jews living in Albania were 150-200, and almost all of them held Albanian nationality. The following years saw the arrival of at least three streams of refugees: German and Austrian Jews in 1938-1939; Serbian and other European Jews from Serbia in 1941-1942; Macedonian Jews in 1942-1943. Moreover, approximately 400 Jews from Pristina, the capital of Kosovo, became Albanian citizens. A very small number of foreign Jews had emigrated to the USA in 1938-1939. No Jewish person was killed or deported between 1939 and 1943. When Italian occupation of "grande Albania" came to an end, there were 1,000-2,000 Jews living there.

From the summer of 1938 the independent government in Albania issued ever more restrictive regulations to limit the entry of Jewish refugees. We know that in the years 1939-1943 Italy did not oblige Tirana to adopt the persecution laws in force in Italy, but even so, some anti-Jewish measures were introduced.

The CDEC Foundation is carrying out a research in Albanian and Italian archives on this subject in order to assess more specifically the number of Jews in Albania at the time, what legislation was passed against them, and with what consequences. These events had not been studied before now; my lecture at the EAJIS Congress presents the first results of this research in progress.

Scandaliato, Angela, *Sicilian Jewish scholars in the Mediterranean society of the Dr al-Isl m*

Medieval Sicily boasts few Jewish scholars, of whom some settled in the island, where they found favorable cultural conditions, having arrived from other areas of the Mediterranean.

The greater part of them displayed a plurality of interests, from exegesis to mysticism, to poetry, to philosophy, to mathematical, scientific, astrological, astronomical, cabalistic studies. Their peculiarity consists in being, as people of the Book, integrally part of the Mediterranean society of the *Dr al-Isl m*, because of the centuries of the Arabic domination of the island, and in the use of the Judeo-Arabic language up to the expulsion of the 1492. Their knowledge of Arabic allows them to access the philosophical and scientific texts of Islam and through them of Greek culture and to constitute the ring of transmission of a new learning to Italy and Europe in the age of the Renaissance.

Schiavo, Maddalena, *Italian Literature and Eretz Israel*

The aim of my paper is to focus on the role played by translated literature in the creation of a new Hebrew culture between the late nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century and to explore how it influenced the literature of the emerging state.

Translations of foreign literature into modern Hebrew appeared for the first time in Europe during the second half of the nineteenth century, a period that saw a great flourishing of Jewish literature. When assimilation took place, Jews and in particular young people preferred to read books in the languages they used in everyday life such as Russian, German and Yiddish. Hebrew literature was then for the cultural elite only and it never spread among the masses. With the arrival of Jews in Palestine during the first *'aliyyot* the situation completely changed. The creation of a Hebrew cultural center in the Jewish *yishuv* was considered essential for the shaping of a national identity and for this reason increasing cultural activities began all over the country.

However original literature was not enough to fulfill the needs of the Jewish population of the *yishuv*, therefore it was necessary to translate foreign literature into Hebrew in order to give people the chance to read the best of world literature in their national language. At the beginning not everyone considered translations to be helpful for the creation of a national literature. There were mainly two opposite factions: on the one, hand labourists opposed translations of foreign literature as they thought they would damage the original creativity of local writers; on the other hand, nationalists saw translations as an essential tool for the cultural enrichment of the local population and for spreading the Hebrew language. In the end a large enterprise of translations began all over the *yishuv* and brought a great rise of its cultural life. Translations also played a major role in the enlargement of the Hebrew repertoire as it contributed to the devel-

opment of new genres, such as theater, children's and popular literature, and introduced new themes and techniques into the emerging literary system.

Schippers, Arie, *Some Questions of Italian Hebrew Poetics in the Light of the Spanish Hebrew Heritage*

Secular Hebrew Spanish poetry was characterized by the adoption of forms and metres from the Arabs. At the beginning of this Hebrew Spanish metrical tradition stood Dunash ibn Labrat (920-990), a Hebrew Andalusian poet and grammarian. The Arabs consider metrics a part of grammar, so in most cases we find metrical observations in Hebrew grammars, even in later periods – for example, in the case of Sa'adya ibn Danna (Granada, 1440-1505) or the Italian grammarian Samuel Archivolti (1515-1611). In Archivolti's grammar *Arugat ha-Bosem* ('Fragrant Flower Bed') we see how Archivolti still uses traditional terms such as *yated* (Arabic *watid*) for the sequence *v*- (long followed by short syllable), which forms the stable part of every foot of the metre. In Italian Hebrew poetics, the metres of the poems are still explained by using the terms 'peg' (*yated*, Arabic *watid*) and 'movements' (*tenu'ot*, Arabic *harakât*), but at the same time Italian genres with their own metrical systems such as the sonnet and the ottava rima are introduced though not mentioned by name. In the following we will deal with Italian Hebrew poets, such as Immanuel da Roma (1261-1320) and others who use the two metrical systems, the traditional Arabic based Hebrew Spanish system and the Italian system in combination, and investigate how the two systems are harmonized.

Schlanger, Judith, *A medieval account book from Southern France discovered in a binding in the Jagellonian Library in Cracow*

In recent years, the growing corpus of fragments of medieval Hebrew manuscripts recovered from book bindings and notarial wrappers in various European libraries and archives has considerably increased our knowledge of Hebrew book production and circulation in medieval Europe. The overwhelming majority of the fragments come from literary works. The number of documentary texts discovered so far is limited. Such a documentary text has been recently identified in a binding of a Latin manuscript in the Jagellonian University Library in Cracow, Poland. It consists of several paper folios of accounts of a Jewish money-lender drawn up in 1325, in Southern France. This text, replete with descriptions and valuations of the pawned objects in Hebrew and Provençal in Hebrew characters, is an important contribution to the economic history of the period.

Schlör, Joachim, *When "The Rain in Spain" became "Es grünt so grün": Robert Gilbert and the Transfer of American Musical Culture to post-War Germany*

Robert Gilbert was born (1899) Robert Winterfeldt into a Jewish family in the poorer parts of Berlin. His father, Max Winterfeldt, took on the name of Jean Gilbert and wrote an operetta, which earned him the longed-for move up- and westward to Berlin's wealthier areas. Robert started writing music and lyrics after his return from WWI, and his songs can be counted among the most famous popular forms of entertainment in Weimar Germany. But whereas the songs are still very much "there", their author has been forgotten. After his emigration to New York (1939-1949) Gilbert started a second

career and translated American musical comedies, from “My Fair Lady” to “Cabaret”. The paper presents my research on his life and works and concentrates on the aspects of translation and cultural transfer.

Schmetterling, Astrid, “I am Jussuf of Egypt”: Else Lasker-Schüler’s Orientalist Drawings

A famous photograph of the German-Jewish poet, writer and artist Else Lasker-Schüler (1869-1945) shows her in Oriental attire, staging herself as an Egyptian prince. It has defined the perception of Lasker-Schüler as an eccentric bohemian, who fled from reality into a fantasy world. Focusing on Else Lasker-Schüler’s drawings, this paper will suggest that the artist’s Orientalism was actually interwoven with important discourses of her time. In light of the debates among German-Jewish thinkers such as Martin Buber and Hans Kohn on the “Oriental origins” of Judaism, the paper will explore how Lasker-Schüler’s appropriation of the Other as Self – while being shaped by contemporary colonial Eurocentric attitudes – both confronted the German-Christian stereotype of the Jew as Oriental and called into question the Jews’ desire to assimilate into German culture.

During the last years of her life (1939-45), Else Lasker-Schüler lived in the Jewish Yishuv of Palestine. Most artists working in the Yishuv abandoned the romanticised representations of Palestinian Arabs after the heavy conflicts of 1929 and began to contribute to the Zionist project of creating a Western Jewish identity distinct from an Oriental Muslim identity. Else Lasker-Schüler, in contrast, continued to depict Arabs and to orientalise her Jewish figures. Might there be links between Lasker-Schüler’s choice of motifs and her involvement with the Brit Shalom circle (Martin Buber, Hans Kohn, Ernst Simon, and others), which advocated a common bi-national homeland for Jews and Arabs in Palestine? Might it be argued that far from being escapist, Else Lasker-Schüler’s Orientalism posed a serious aesthetic-political challenge to both German and Jewish society?

Schwarzwald, Ora, *A Ladino Prayer Book for Women from the Sixteenth Century*

Seder Nashim, the Ladino prayer book for women discussed in this lecture, was written circa 1565 in Thessalonica by Rabbi Meir Ban Benist. It differs from a typical men’s *Siddur* in two respects: (1) it is shorter – women are not obliged to recite all the prayers that men are required to say, and (2) it is meant for domestic use and not for synagogue services. In the two introductions to the prayer book, one in Hebrew (in Rashi script) and one in Ladino, the author explains the reasons for publishing the book: (1) women need to fulfil some religious duties and it is the duty of the father or the husband to teach them; (2) the amount of duties, prayers and blessing is such that it would not prevent them from fulfilling their other duties as mothers; (3) the whole book in Ladino in Hebrew square vocalized letters enables them to understand the instructions and the prayers.

The book includes the prayers in their daily and annual order like any other prayer book for the whole year. It also presents detailed instructions for the woman for her daily religious conducts. The prayers are shortened according to rabbinical rulings. Examples will be given from this prayer book for the early morning blessings and for the Passover Haggadah. It is proven that women conducted the Seder by themselves, and

the passages omitted were longwinded midrashic debates and stories that were not directly connected to the story of Exodus. The prayer book is unique in its full account of the prayers for the whole year and for its serious consideration of rabbinical laws that pertains to women's religious duties.

Seeskin, Kenneth, *Maimonides' on the Days of the Messiah – Restorative or Utopian?*

The standard way of interpreting Maimonides' view of messianism is to follow Gershom Scholem by distinguishing between a restorative and a revolutionary conception of the Messiah and assign Maimonides to the first group. This is true in several respects: (1) Maimonides conceives of messianism as a return to a theologically-oriented kingdom centered on cult worship in a rebuilt Temple, (2) he denies that any laws of the Torah will be changed, (3) although mankind will have the opportunity to devote its full attention to study and worship, no one will approach, let alone surpass, the wisdom achieved by Moses.

But we should not forget that there are still utopian elements in Maimonides' position. Is it realistic to suppose that humanity will one day recognize that wealth and power are not the ultimate end of human life and devote itself to study? Maimonides' answer would be that realism is not the issue if that implies making a prudent calculation. The question is not "How likely is it the Messiah will come?" but "Is there anything in principle that prevents the Messiah from coming?" Put otherwise: Must God intervene in the course of nature for this to happen? To this question, Maimonides' answer is no. Human effort alone is sufficient. While it may strain human capacity to bring about a messianic kingdom, nothing in Maimonides' philosophy suggests that it transcends human capacity. If this were so, humanity would have to transform itself by changing its view of what is important in life. In that respect, Maimonides' view is revolutionary as well. It is not that humanity will take on a new essence but that it will finally enable itself to fulfil the essence it has.

Shalev, Nili, *"Passion Is Awake While Counsel Sleeps": Reflections on the Relationship between Passion and Reason in Rhymed Epigrams from Twelfth-Century Provence*

Passion is a theme with which Jewish tradition deals quite extensively, and often judgmentally, portraying man as controlled by passion and driven by lust. In order to survive, and even more so to attain a higher spiritual level, he must strive to rein in and repress his desires and passions. Here I would like to present the perspective taken by R. Joseph Kimhi, as a representative example of the philosophical outlook of an educated twelfth-century Jew, who was born and raised in Muslim Spain and lived and worked in Provence. Kimhi's views on passion, which he perceives as a real danger to an orderly existence, will be examined through his *Shekel HaKodesh*, a poetic gnomic composition in the Spanish-Jewish tradition. *Shekel HaKodesh*, for which I have prepared a critical edition, consists of some 950 verses of proverbs and maxims in the form of miniature poems with meter and rhyme. Kimhi allotted a special chapter to passion, its manifestations and its language of seduction. I would like to discuss the contents and the strict didactic tone of this chapter, as well as the incisive picturesque language which Kimhi uses to depict passion as the sworn, ever-alert enemy of sleepy reason. Some of these epigrams will be examined in the light of the important collection of rhymed proverbs Ben Mishlei, composed in Spain more than a century earlier by

Shmuel HaNagid (993-1056); at the same time I also explore the connection of Kimhi's rhymed epigrams to the collection of ancient proverbs *The Choice of Pearls* which is ascribed to Solomon Ibn Gabirol (1021/2-1053/8), and which quite likely constitutes the basis for the poems in Kimhi's *Shekel HaKodesh*.

Shapira, Jacoov, *The Status of Parents: Between the Palestinian Talmud and the Babylon Talmud*

In my lecture I will compare the status of parents in the Palestinian Talmud to their status in the Babylon Talmud. I will present several differences between the Palestinian Talmud and the Babylon Talmud regarding the duty to respect one's parents. I will engage in a close reading and literary analysis of several talmudic stories that demonstrate the different approaches of the scholars of Babylonia and those of Palestine regarding the legal status of parents in the eyes of the law. In addition, I will explain the possible background of these differences, both from an historical and cultural perspective.

Shemesh, Rivka, *The usage of the co-agentive dative pronoun in Mishnah and Tosefta*

The structure 'verb + *le* + pronoun', for example *ha-yeled qam lo*, contains a pronoun which is a co-agentive dative pronoun, i.e. it is reflexive to the subject of the sentence, which realizes the agent of the event. This structure is productive in Biblical Hebrew. The paper will describe this structure in two sources of Tannaitic Hebrew – Mishnah and Tosefta. The description will include several aspects: the forms of the pronoun, the contexts of its occurrences, and the verbs with which it appears. The co-agentive dative pronoun has 100 occurrences in Mishnah and 71 occurrences in Tosefta. It appears only in forms of the third person, usually *lo* and *la*. The contexts in which it occurs are of halachic nature, mainly in the formulation of law and in ceremony description (89% of the occurrences). The variation of the verbs with which it appears is quite limited: The pronoun appears with eleven verbs, most of them are verbs of motion, only four of them appear with the pronoun in both Tannaitic sources, and with only two of them the pronoun is common – *halak* and *ba'* (83%). An examination of the occurrences of the pronoun beside the different verbs has been carried out in order to find the pronoun's function in relation to the verbs and also to find if it has one of the meanings which were assigned to it in the research (namely: meaning of benefactive, ingressive aspectual meaning or centripetal meaning). This examination has not shown that the co-agentive dative pronoun has a clear function or meaning. In a comparison between several manuscripts of Mishnah and between different versions of Tosefta there were found only a few differences in respect to the existence of the pronoun.

Sittig, Kineret, *Abraham Ibn Ezra's Sabbath Letter: different genres in Ashkenaz and Italy*

Towards the end of his life, Abraham Ibn Ezra resided in England. It is assumed that he there composed his *Iggeret haShabbat* or 'Sabbath Letter', a brief work on the Jewish calendar, in the year 1158. In its poetic prologue the author relates a dream in which he receives a reproving letter from the – personified – Sabbath, his strong emotions that result from reading and reflecting on the letter, and his promise to write a clarify-

ing treatise to correct possibly misleading teachings. The treatise further consists of an astronomical introduction that provides the scientific background and justification for the composition and three chapters on the beginning of the year, the month, and the day, respectively. The composition shows a variety of literary styles as well as different approaches to calendar questions.

I compared all extant manuscripts of The Sabbath Letter. A total of thirty six manuscripts contain part or all of the work; the oldest manuscripts date from the fourteenth century and the most recent ones from the nineteenth. I analyzed the text as well as the handwriting of the manuscripts. About fifty percent of the manuscripts have a truncated version of The Sabbath Letter: they consist of the prologue and a specific concluding sentence. They seem to originate from the same truncated ancestor. The truncated versions proved predominantly written in Ashkenazic hand, the complete versions in Italian and Sefardic hand. This suggests segregated transmission and a different function of the text in different areas of Europe. This suggestion is corroborated by evidence from printed editions of The Sabbath Letter.

Smelik, Willem, *Justinian's Novella 146 and Contemporary Judaism*

While differences in context may have informed the way the Bible was read by Jewish communities in Palestine and the diaspora, rabbinic literature describes the public recitation of the written Torah as consistent, with little room for variation. But in Late Antique Palestine the context of public reading was far from uniform: the coastal area and the Hellenistic cities, Jerusalem, Idumea, the (Lower and Upper) Galilee and the Golan did not share the same conditions and history, and they were probably not consistent in the degree to which they conformed to the legal decisions of rabbinic leaders. Neither was the linguistic context uniform. Greek, Aramaic and Hebrew were used in different combinations, and with different levels of competence. On the basis of papyri, inscriptions, literature, coins, and the dissemination of imperial decrees in Greek, it seems safe to assume that Greek had established itself as a *lingua franca* throughout the area and as the vernacular of part of its Jewish population. Do the rabbinic rules about the public recitation of the Torah presuppose an already regularised situation, or are they intended to promote and impose such conditions?

One document has long been hailed as crucial evidence for the changes in reading practices among Diaspora Jews: Justinian's Novella 146. Issued on February 8, 553 CE, in the middle of his attempts to reel in the Monophysites and establish a reconciled Church, the emperor addressed the Novella to the Praefectus Praetorio of the East, Aerobindus. In the preamble the emperor explains that he has learnt from 'their own petitions' that some Jews insisted upon the exclusive use of the Hebrew language in reading the scriptures, whereas others consider it right to admit Greek as well. On the face of it, the Novella thus reflects a turning point in reading practices when advocates of the Hebrew language, following the increase of rabbinic influence upon Diaspora Judaism, opposed scriptural recitation in Greek. In recent years this interpretation has come under renewed scrutiny, as questions have been raised about the Novella's socio-historical accuracy. The law does not merely address the use of languages in the liturgy, but also Jewish interpretation and teachings which have little or nothing to do with the public reading of the Torah or even with contemporary Judaism.

This paper reconsiders the historical context of Novella 146 from two perspectives: a consideration of the Novella within the broader context of Justinian's legislation, and

an analysis of his references to Jewish practice and beliefs in the light of contemporary Judaism. The second chapter of the Novella is a conundrum when viewed from a rabbinic perspective, but the notions denounced by Justinian should not too rashly be ascribed to the Sadducees or New Testament influence. There is every reason to assume that Justinian's Novella in fact reflects contemporary Jewish beliefs of non-rabbinic provenance.

Solodukhina, Tatiana, *The Jews formerly Russian subjects in the Syro-Palestinian region of the Ottoman Empire in the middle of the 19th century*

In the 19th century the Syro-Palestinian region of the Ottoman Empire was constantly influenced by the Great Powers. The Jews living in the region were also at the focus of their policy.

This paper is devoted to the precedent of depriving the Jews of Russian citizenship. It is a story of more than 600 Jews from the Russian Empire, who came to the Syro-Palestinian region in different years of the first half of the 19th century. They did not return to the Russian Empire and their passports had run out. By the middle of the 19th century Russian diplomats paid attention to this group of Jews and these Jews were deprived of Russian citizenship by the Emperor Nikolay I. Thus, they became former Russian subjects and were not the citizens of any country. The problem became international. The Russian Empire, Great Britain and Austria took part in solving this problem. In the 19th century the Protestant Powers, especially Great Britain, were interested in baptizing as many Jews of the Syro-Palestinian region as possible, because the presence of Protestants in the region justified the presence of these countries there. The Russian Empire understood that through the baptizing of these Jews, the Protestant Powers could strengthen their positions in the region, therefore she was an interested party in this issue. In this way the process of deciding the fate of the Jews – the former Russian subjects – can throw light on the essence of the rivalry of the Great Powers in the Syro-Palestinian region in the middle of the 19th century and determine the role of the Jews in their policy.

Earlier this matter was analysed in historiography with the usage of English sources. In these paper we analyse it using Russian archival documents, in particular the consular reports of Konstantin Bazili.

Spiegel, Nina, *Dancing to Different Rhythms: Jewish Choreography in the Mediterranean Context and Beyond*

This paper argues that locale has been central to the choreographies of Jewish dancers from Eastern Europe in Israel and the United States. By illustrating the differences in the choreography in these two geographic areas, the paper highlights the impact of the Mediterranean context on Jewish choreography.

Most well known American Jewish theatrical dancers were children of Eastern European Jewish immigrants to America in the wave of great migration between the 1880s and the 1920s, such as Helen Tamiris, Anna Sokolow, Jerome Robbins, Sophie Maslow, and Pearl Lang.

At the same time, many well known Israeli choreographers and dancers arrived in Palestine from Eastern Europe, such as Baruch Agadati, considered the first modern dancer in contemporary Israel; Rina Nikova, a Russian ballerina who created a

Yemenite Singing Ballet; and Devorah Bertonov, a dancer with roots in the Habimah Theater. When settling in these two new places, these Eastern European Jews had completely different outlooks about their roots. While American Jews celebrated their past, Israeli Jews sought to negate it. This paper will compare selected works of choreographers in America and Israel, illustrating the different attitudes toward the Eastern European Jewish past. It will show how the Mediterranean context profoundly affected Israeli choreography and how the absence of this environment shaped American choreography.

The paper will also address the exchanges between American and Israeli choreographers, interactions that emphasized these divergent attitudes and cultures. For instance, Anna Sokolow, Sophie Maslow, and Pearl Lang all went to Israel to stage works in the 1950s and beyond. They were all surprised at the lack of connection to the Eastern European Jewish past that they encountered in the performances there. Locale, thus, profoundly affected their choreographies.

Stemberger, Günter, *Mekhilta de-Rabbi Yishmael: Some aspects of its redaction*

The paper intends to address the possibility of distinguishing between different redactions in the *Mekhilta de-Rabbi Yishmael* on the basis of the very uneven distribution of the names of rabbis quoted in the Midrash and of its technical vocabulary. Earlier attempts by Jacob Neusner to attribute on the basis of names certain tractates of the *Mekhilta* to a Babylonian redaction have been abandoned. Wacholder's attempt to explain the anomalies of the Midrash with the assumption of late pseudepigraphy have not been widely accepted as well. But the phenomenon remains to be explained: if there is no solution on the historical level, one might at least try to find a literary explanation which takes into account not only the well-known differences between the halakhic parts and the large haggadic sections of the midrash, but also those discernible within each of these parts.

Sterk, Aron, *The Epistola Anne ad Senecam: an early fifth-century Latin Jewish protreptic in dialogue with pagan monotheism?*

The *Epistola Anne ad Senecam de superbia et idolis* was first published by B. Bischoff in 1984 from a ninth-century manuscript preserved in the archiepiscopal library of Cologne. The heading gives a good idea of the contents but it has been suggested that it is not original. Bischoff regarded the letter as a "Jewish apologetic missionary tract" likely to have been composed before 325 C.E. There has been no major study of the *Epistola* as a Jewish document and it has even been argued that the *Letter* is in fact Christian.

There is little reason however to doubt that the title's adscription is original and the letter's learned rhetorical style link it with a certain *didascalus* Annas who is referred to in Late Imperial legislation on the Jews in connection with the imperial court at Ravenna (415-6 C.E.). The letter can be seen as a more appropriately learned riposte to the earlier faked correspondence between Seneca and Paul. Drawing parallels between Seneca's *Quaestiones Naturales* and Jewish ideas that knowledge of God can be deduced from natural phenomena, the Letter represents a protreptic dialogue between a learned Western Latin Jew and a late Roman pagan aristocrat philosopher in the face of a triumphant Christianity, urging the latter away from both the abstruse speculations

of the theurgic Neo-Platonism of Iamblichus of Calchis and the popular practices associated with the cult of Liber Pater and towards the recognition of a common monotheism between philosophy and the Jewish veritas.

That the Jewish character of the *Epistola Anne* has been overlooked for so long is indicative of a scholarly neglect of the presence and impact of Latinophone Jewish communities in Western Europe in late Antiquity and urges the reconsideration of Jewish influences on both the *Vetus Latina*, and the corpus of Latin pseudepigrapha.

Stern, Sacha, *From Qumran to Nicaea: sectarianism and heresy*

In this paper I wish to compare the notions of ‘sectarianism’ and ‘heresy’ as they are applied to early Judaism and Christianity respectively; and, with specific reference to diversity of calendar practices, to show how a certain notion of heresy that was developed at the Council of Nicaea and that became normative in Western culture has conditioned modern scholarly interpretations of calendar sectarianism at Qumran and in early Judaism.

Surribas-Camps, Maria Jose, *Connecting with the lives and lineages of Medieval Catalan Jews*

This paper will review 2,000-3,000 primary documents, mainly notarial records from the 13th-15th centuries, in archives in Cervera and elsewhere, relating to the local Jewish community. As yet, these documents have not been analyzed in depth due to their sheer volume, a lack of indexing, linguistic difficulties and, to a degree, their somewhat narrow focus.

These vast contemporary sources permit a study of Jewish individuals, their family life and genealogies and, indeed, an overview of the Cervera community’s entire history, which is both important in itself and representative of several other Catalan Jewish communities in medieval times.

The notarial books and registers offer insights at a series of levels:

intimate glimpses into family life and lineages, marriages, wedding contracts, medical visits, business transactions, wills and claims.

major aspects of community life, such as relationships among Jews, sale and purchase of synagogue seats, ownership of real estate and land, loans, inventories and the like.

more general issues, such as epidemics, problems between the Christian and Jewish populations and details of Jews departing for other localities.

mundane but significant details of everyday life, including the sale of items of clothing and animals, rental of donkeys, games and even verbal exchanges in the vernacular used by the Jews.

During 1492, the sources record the sale of Jewish properties, debt cancellations and conversions. Individual Jews speak through these records about the Expulsion order and its consequences. Following the Expulsion, converted Jews were identified as such in the documents. Over time, however, as individuals moved to other localities, some Jewish names disappear. Where they remained, the later records do not remark on their Jewish origins – which now can be traced.

In brief, a previously unknown picture of Jewish life and kinship in medieval Cervera has come to light.

Swartz, Michael, *Segmentation, Style, and Iconography in Early Piyyut*

Michael Roberts, in his book *The Jewelled Style*, uses Late Latin poetry, mosaic and other graphic arts, and rhetoric to identify an overall aesthetic that permeated Late Antiquity. This cultural environment prized ornamentation over narrative flow and the segmentation of individual details over compositional integrity. This aesthetic has been identified by Joseph Yahalom and others as one of the organizing principles of piyyut and related forms of Hebrew poetry in late antiquity. Moreover, Patricia Cox Miller and others have identified this “aesthetic of discontinuity” as a cultural mode with deep implications for religions in late antiquity. This paper will explore the ritual and phenomenological implications of this style for early Piyyut, focusing on the use of kinnui (phrases or epithets substituted for more common terms), lists of items, rhythm and repetition, and other techniques which correspond well with the forms and techniques described by Roberts. The sources for the paper will be early Avodah piyyutim and related compositions from the period of pre-classical and classical piyyut.

Szuchman, Esther, *The Hebrew language: identification / identity and its continuity in the Diaspora*

The processes that presently occur in several spheres of life have made the world in which we live a “global village”. Geographical distances which seemed insurmountable in the past have been overcome by technology, making it possible for several cultural groups to become close. Clothes, foods, movies and musical compositions are universally familiar. These transformations have influenced several areas of knowledge, especially in language. After being used for more than 1300 years, essentially as a vehicle for written literary expression and for prayers, the Hebrew language was revitalized, and brought to life with the restoration of the Jewish State.

As Agnon has observed, with the passing of time and especially during the long exile, some wise men were already combining religious and secular subjects in their books: “they stopped taking advantage of the sanctity of the letters and wrote about a variety of subjects.” The books stopped debating exclusively standards, laws, and religious and ethical commentaries, and stopped praising God and lamenting the afflictions of Israel. These works were also dedicated to poetry, stories, plays, or were simply about worldly pleasures. It is worth remembering, however, that the “sacred Hebrew language” had become “secular” already in Europe, with the European Emancipation movement of the XIXth century (Jewish illustration), even before the Zionist movement (whose purpose was to make Hebrew a live and spoken language).

At present, Hebrew is the official and national language of the State of Israel, spoken and written in all areas of knowledge: in philosophy, in the press, in technology, and in literature.

The transformations which the Hebrew language has undergone in Israel, from its adoption as the national and official language of the State, influenced initially by the Yiddish, Russian, and English languages (the latter being the dominant “lingua franca” in the world), have contributed in a unique way to the teaching of Hebrew as an additional language in the Diaspora.

Key Words: Language, identity, globalization, teaching of the Hebrew language in the Diaspora.

Talabardon, Susanne, *Creating a New Identity: The Function of Conversional Stories within Emerging Religious Groups*

One of the crucial problems for new or revivalist religious groups is, of course, the establishment of a system justifying borderlines or markers of identity. Both Judaism and Christianity could be traced back to new or revivalist groups, respectively, claiming the heritage of Biblical Israel.

The paper will adopt that approach to other religious reforms within Judaism, such as Haside Ashkenas or East European Hasidism. It will focus on the role of narratives which describe conversions or (prophetical) vocations of seminal figures *inside* given religious systems. Inspired by the scholarly discussion whether Paul should be considered a convert (A. F. Segal), a prophet (K. Stendahl) or a cultural critic (D. Boyarin), the function of role models within emerging religious movements will be examined. Methodologically, the study is based on biblical Formkritik which connects theological essence to the use of certain literary patterns. In order to justify theological innovation, religious legends tend to turn the mind of the listener or reader back to old and established biblical personas such as Moses, Elijah or David: the founders will be attached, or at least compared to those heroes. Theological differences to biblical role models, the use or neglect of specific literary patterns will help to establish a religious profile of the emerging movement and can – at best – contribute to understanding its further development, its success or failure in establishing a new religious identity.

It should be, thus, investigated what conversional stories concerning figures like Isaac Luria or the Baal Shem Tov may tell us about the character of their respective revivalist movement and how those narratives contributed to its spread.

Tanja, Johanna M., *Targum Samuel in Christian Hands: Alfonso de Zamora, Benito Arias Montano and the Polyglot Bibles*

The Sephardic text tradition of Targum Samuel is preserved in 11 manuscripts and editions roughly dated between 1300 and 1565. Targum Samuel is a Jewish text. However, four textual witnesses of this Sephardic text tradition – two manuscripts and two editions – have come down to us through Christian hands. Two manuscripts, with Latin translation of the Aramaic, are known to have been prepared by the converso scholar Alfonso de Zamora from Alcala de Henares, Spain, while he was working for cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros. The other two textual witnesses are ‘Christian’ editions of Targum Samuel. They can be found in the Antwerp Polyglot, edited by Benito Arias Montano and the Paris Polyglot, edited by Guy Michel Le Jay.

This paper will discuss the ‘collaboration’ between the Jewish and Christian scholars by which this Jewish Targum text came into Christian possession and how this affected the text and the outward appearance of the text.

Terry, Michael, *Text C bites the dust: another nail in the coffin of the primitive Hebrew Book of Judith*

New thinking on the original language of the book of Judith inclines cautiously toward Greek. The two 20th-century scholars most identified with this question, however, were neither in favor of Greek nor of caution. Jehoshua Grintz pronounced it “impossible to read the book and still entertain any doubt that it was composed in Hebrew and sub-

sequently translated into Greek in the most literal fashion, word-for-word” – transparently enough for him to reconstruct the lost source (1957). Per Grintz, no Hebrew narrative manifests a continuous Jewish textual tradition of Judith. All comprise translations of translations and/or medieval inventions. It was the Dominican Andre-Marie Dubarle who took up the cudgels on behalf of a Jewish tradition, adumbrating the view that the Hebrew versions resembling the biblical book – his texts A, B and C – collectively proved that each must descend in unbroken line from a Hebrew or Aramaic source, irrefutably predating both Vulgate and Septuagint and coming closer than anything to the “primitive text.” In response, Grintz identified “text A” as an Enlightenment hoax. Dubarle, undeterred, now published a synoptic edition of the old Hebrew versions of Judith, with two texts left shoring up his doctrine: B, a late medieval Ashkenazi manuscript, and C, the version printed in Venice, 1651-6, source unknown, hailed by Dubarle as “extremely close to biblical Hebrew.” Attributing to it “une date ancienne,” he claimed to have proved that it could not be a translation from the Vulgate, no argument to the contrary being sustainable “against the mass of passages where Hebrew text C coincides with Hebrew text B or the Septuagint in contradicting the Vulgate.” This paper identifies the source of text C in a curious work of Mediterranean provenance. Its author’s explicit dependence on the Vulgate, however, condemns it to a place on the sidelines, alongside text A.

Teugels, Lieve M., *Pigs and Pork as Jewish Identity Markers from Antiquity to Modernity*

The symbolic meaning of pigs and their role in the mutual perception of Jews and non-Jews will be the focus of this paper. We will look at Jewish and non-Jewish literary and iconographical sources from the Biblical, Hellenistic, Roman-Byzantine, the Medieval, and the Modern periods that feature pigs and pork, with a special focus on their symbolic role as markers of Jewish identity, both internal (Jews vs. non-Jews) and external (non-Jews relating to Jews). The second part of this paper is devoted to the anti-Jewish image of the *Judensau*, the Jewish pig, which appeared on churches and public buildings in German lands in the Middle Ages, many of which are still extant. Later, the image was also found in prints and pamphlets, including a publication by Martin Luther. Slides of these images will accompany the presentation.

Toronyi, Zsuzsana, *Networks in the Synagogue. The case of the seat-owners registry of the Dohány street synagogue, Budapest*

In the 19th Century, urbanisation caused significant changes in internal Jewish communal life: dwelling in a metropolis became very different from a shtetl or life in the Judengasse. Among other changes, the populous communities built huge synagogues with hundreds of seats inside. One of the firsts was the Dohány Street Synagogue in Budapest with 1464 seats for men and 1480 seats for women. In order to cover the building costs, the community followed the age old practice of the selling of pews.

The seats counted as a serious investment in property; they were bought and sold and sometimes they were mortgaged. Many inheritance court cases involve Dohány Street prayer seats as property. Respected institutions of Pest also owned seats and could loan them out to those of good standing.

The ownership of the seats was marked with a little copper plate on the pews, and was

registered from the beginnings of the building (1854) up to 1950, when private ownership became prohibited in Hungary, and all the seats became the property of the Budapest Jewish Community.

The registry book of the seats contains 4 volumes, more than 3000 pages. Every seat has a page, and all owners and transactions are registered date by date. Historically the book belonged to the community's financial office, as a land-register of the synagogue. 150 years later, the book became a tool for reconstructing the past. If we use the registry together with other contemporary documentation of the Jewish Community of Pest, we will be able:

a) to reconstruct the topography of the hierarchy, and the networks inside the community within a short historical period;

b) to reconstruct the Jewish hubs in the city, and the re-alignments of Jewish population at the time of emancipation and in the subsequent period.

The documents – together with some other related documents – will be digitized by the Judaica Europeana project and accessible through the Europeana website and search engine.

The aim of my presentation is to offer a methodology to examine the registry and by reconstructing the story of a few pews pursue the wider research possibilities on the Jewish community of Pest mentioned above.

Tuori, Riikka, *The Hebrew Zemiroth of the Lithuanian Karaite scholar Zerah ben Nathan (1578-1663) in the light of poetic guidelines made by the Rabbanite scholar Joseph Solomon Delmedigo of Candia (1591-1655)*

This paper offers a literary analysis of Zerah ben Nathan's (Trakai, Lithuania, c. 1578-1663) Hebrew zemiroth (paraliturgical hymns), published in the fourth volume of the Karaite prayer book (*Siddur hat-tefillot ke-minhag haq-qara'im*, Vilnius, 1890-92), dedicated to Havdalah, Yom Teru'ah (i.e. Rosh Hashanah), and to a Karaite authorization for ritual slaughter.

Outside the field of Karaite studies, Polish-Lithuanian Karaites are fairly unknown personalities. However, Zerah is an exception. His reputation depends on his correspondence with the prominent Rabbanite scholar Joseph Solomon Delmedigo (1591-1655) of Candia (Crete). In 1620-1625, while Delmedigo practised his medical profession in Zerah's native Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Zerah delivered twelve questions to him. These queries, concerning mathematics, astronomy, Kabbalah, medicine, and theology, with Delmedigo's replies, comprise Delmedigo's philosophical work *Sefer 'elim* (Amsterdam, 1629).

In his response to Zerah (*'Iggeret 'ahuz*), Delmedigo includes a few educational observations on reading good Hebrew poetry. Delmedigo advocates the works of prominent Jewish poets of Italian, French and Spanish background: Immanuel ha-Romi, Yedaya ha-Penini, Israel Najara and, as expected, the poems of Solomon ibn Gabirol, Abraham ibn Ezra and Judah ha-Levi. However, Delmedigo exhorts him to avoid the piyyutim of El'azar Qallir and Ashkenazi Jews; an advice most probably prompted by Abraham ibn Ezra's well-known attack against early piyyutim in his commentary on Ecclesiastes 5:1.

The analysis of the zemiroth will be conducted in comparison with Delmedigo's poetic guidelines. The paper will include a discussion of the formal qualities of the poems (metrical and strophic structures, and rhyme schemes). Another central aspect to be ap-

proached concerns the ideological contents of the poems and the status of Zerah as an Eastern-European Karaite poet. While his poems retain respect for Karaite customs, certain rabbinic elements, echoed also in the discussion between the two scholars, have become an essential part of his world-view.

Turan, Tamas, *Polymorphous Imagery in Ancient Rabbinic God-Talk*

Like the Bible, classical rabbinic texts use sometimes astounding anthropomorphic language and imagery to describe divine appearance and theophanies: for example, God “who has a face towards all directions”, “the Fathers are the Divine Chariot”, “Jacob’s image engraved on the Divine Throne”. These motifs (with some variations) appear quite frequently in talmudic-midrashic literature, which seems to indicate that they were used in, and understood by, Jewish circles wider than groups which may have been engaged in the study of esoteric-“mystical” traditions.

The first two motifs relate to God and/or divine manifestations (“Shekhina”) in polymorphous terms. These traditions received relatively little attention in scholarship. The paper explores these traditions against the backdrop of literary and archaeological sources of neighboring cultures. Not only Ezekiel’s visions are reflected in the imagery of “faces towards all directions”, but also sculpture of the hellenized Roman cities of Palestine. The “fathers being the Chariot” saying, for its part, has intriguing parallels in Patristic Christian literature.

The exegesis of these motifs and texts raises broader semiotic and hermeneutical questions. Since antiquity to this day they are cited and interpreted in a polemical matrix of anthropomorphic vs. non-anthropomorphic notions about God. This interpretive paradigm – still the dominant one – is somewhat misleading, insofar as it is entrenched in the “theological” endeavor of characterizing God. Alternative hermeneutical considerations will be offered to cope with this problem.

Valls I Pujol, Esperança, *The Hebrew Historical Documents of Girona: A Necessary Comparison with the Cristian Sources*

Among the Hebrew documents hidden in the covers of notarial protocols of the Historical Archives of Gerona, in Catalonia, there are a large number of fragments concerning the local history of the Jewish community of this town: most are *pinqasim*, private account books of Jewish money lenders, often linked to the area of Gironès, Empordà, Selva, and Pla de l’Estany, which are close to the city of Gerona. But also there are some public historical documents, such as economic transactions, inventories and other different accounts of the community’s expenses or judgments rendered related to the internal affairs, decisions, and rules of the Jewish community.

My purpose is to compare these documents with Christian local sources, especially with the unpublished *libri iudeorum* (books for loans and transactions between Jews and Christians, written by Christian notaries, of the 14th and early 15th centuries) that are located in this same archive and, on the other hand, with the published *regestum* of notarial and ecclesiastical registers of this area.

The Hebrew and Latin sources complement each other and provide information that is needed to reconstruct the local history and for the internal knowledge of Jewish communities. There is much documentation from Latin sources, found in archives, many of which have still not been examined by historians, and very rich information from He-

brew sources such as *Responsa*, but the fragments of Girona give us a new and invaluable tool for studying the medieval history of the Jews of Catalonia.

Valman, Nadia, *East End Vanity Fair: Writing Petticoat Lane at the fin de siècle*

Perhaps the most iconic symbol of the Jewish East End, Petticoat Lane market at the turn of the twentieth century was a strikingly transnational space. The market, with its Jewish food, Yiddish shop signs and street cries, was repeatedly described by visitors as a 'fragment of a foreign city'. In the context of shifting attitudes to Jewish immigration, this paper considers the perception of Petticoat Lane within and beyond Anglo-Jewry. The anti-alienist Major William Evans-Gordon, for example, warned in 1903 that the Hebrew colony in the East End 'forms a solid and permanently distinct block – a race apart, as it were, in an enduring island of extraneous thought and custom'. On the other hand, George Sims' panorama of the contemporary metropolis, *Living London* (1901), insisted that immigrant Jews were 'patriots to their fingertips'. The Jewish East End was a 'picturesque' asset to modern London, and offered the tourist an array of colourful contradictions: 'a poverty-stricken, wealthy, hungry, feasting, praying, bargaining fragment of a "nation of priests"'. Petticoat Lane, meanwhile, far from embodying an alien form of commerce, represented a welcome throwback to London's own street traditions: it is 'the last home of the higher costerism [street selling]'.

In his epic novel of immigrant life, *Children of the Ghetto* (1892), the Anglo-Jewish novelist Israel Zangwill also emphasised the vitality of this crowded, unruly, un-English confusion of 'commerce and... mud'. For Zangwill, however, the Lane was the place where the pretensions of Jewry to Anglicization collapsed with glorious abandon. He described the 'great ladies of the West' who, on the eve of Passover, 'came down again to the beloved Lane to throw off the veneer of refinement, and plunge gloveless hands in barrels where pickled cucumbers weltered'. Yet Zangwill resisted wholly sentimentalising the Ghetto. While his narrator regards the Lane as '[s]uch a jolly, rampant, screaming, fighting, maddening, jostling, polyglot, quarrelling, laughing broth of a Vanity Fair', it is also the place where the child protagonist Esther Ansell is pickpocketed of the meagre shilling she has brought to buy fish for Passover. For Esther, the chaos of the market has a crueler aspect; it gives her 'a sense of the hollowness and uncertainty of existence'. In Zangwill's text, then, the struggle of immigrant life, rather than its alienness or its picturesqueness, is foregrounded.

Vanden Daelen, Veerle, *Minority or sub-minority? Sephardic Jews in early-twentieth-century Antwerp*

Subsequent to the well-known Sephardic presence in Early Modern Antwerp, the first major sign of renewed Sephardic life in the city was the establishment of the Synagogue of Portuguese Rite in 1898. The Belgian state granted official recognition to this religious community in 1910, and in 1913 the young community inaugurated its synagogue. This synagogue stood in a street adjacent to the city's diamond district, where many Antwerp Jews were professionally active and whose industry had drawn many Jews to the city. Most of Antwerp's Sephardim were from the Ottoman Empire/Turkey, particularly Constantinople/Istanbul, and thus Antwerp Jews generally referred to the new synagogue not as the Portuguese synagogue but as the Turkish synagogue. Antwerp's Sephardic community was always a small fraction (one to two percent) of the city's

total Jewish population. The community's closest contacts with other Jews were with Dutch Jews who had immigrated to Antwerp. All members of the Synagogue of Portuguese Rite belonged to the Dutch Jewish burial society, as Dutch Jews were generally considered the most integrated and most liberal (religiously speaking) of Antwerp's Jewish population. There was little to no official cooperation with Ashkenazi Jews, who formed the large majority of Antwerp's Jews. I wish to explore into greater detail this small Sephardic segment of Antwerp Jewry via examination of its socioeconomic profile, settlement patterns, marriage patterns, and (transnational) networks. I seek to draw conclusions regarding the degree to which this minority constituted a sub-minority within Antwerp's Jewish community. Did this Sephardic group live among and work with the larger Ashkenazi community (via friendships, marriages, professional relations, etc.) or was the Sephardic group in fact a largely or entirely independent minority in its own right? The presence or absence of networks with non-Jewish inhabitants will help answer questions about the group's integration into general society.

Vegas-Montaner, Luis, *The semantic relevance of syndesis and word order in the Psalms: a case study of qatal and yiqtol in parallelism with wayyiqtol*

Studies on the verbal syntax of biblical poetry are scanty when compared with those dedicated to prose, maybe because of the inherent difficulties and the assumed lack of consistency in the use of the verbs in poetry. Nevertheless, the poetic texts also deserve careful attention, and in the present paper we will show some examples from the book of Psalms, in which the variation of syntactic structures is not merely a stylistic recourse, but has semantic effects. It is a grammatical study, basically syntactical, of *qatal* or *yiqtol* clauses that are in parallelism with *wayyiqtol* clauses. We take into account some important aspects, such as the opposition syndesis / asyndesis and the word order of the constituents in the parallel clauses.

In strict coherence with the new insights of text linguistics, and in order to properly perceive textual semantic contrasts, therefore, we cannot limit ourselves to take into account the individual verbs, i.e., the possible value of *qatal* or *yiqtol* as isolated forms. It is necessary to consider also the distribution of the verbs within their clauses and the syndetic or asyndetic character of these clauses. Hebrew verbs appear within certain syntactical patterns, and each syntactical pattern, in conjunction with the verb within it, constitutes a syntactical "form". And different syntactic forms can have different textual semantic values.

Among the conclusions we arrive at in this supraorational analysis (in which we leave aside the issue of the temporal or aspectual function of the Hebrew verb) we can mention that the presence or not of the conjunction *waw* in the clauses with *yiqtol* or *qatal* can be a decisive factor to discriminate between synonymous and synthetic parallelisms in the case of *wayyiqtol* // *yiqtol* and *wayyiqtol* // *qatal*.

Vehlow, Katja, *Why did the twentieth-century debate on medieval Jewish historiography exclude the writings of Jews in Islamic lands?*

My talk is a contribution to the twentieth-century debate on medieval historiography that has largely ignored the historical writings of Jews living outside of Ashkenaz, leading many to suspect that this literature was non-existent. Yet, surveying the extant works addressing historical themes, their reception history and in particular the number of

surviving manuscripts, it is obvious that the Jews of the medieval Mediterranean were avid consumers and producers of historical writings. The vast majority of these works was composed in the communities of the Mediterranean, in Andalusia, Christian Spain, northern Africa and Syria/Palestine.

It is therefore somewhat surprising that many twentieth-century scholars agreed, in spite of Moritz Steinschneider's impressive 86-page long list of medieval historical writings, that medieval Jews failed to develop a historical consciousness. Salo W. Baron (1976) for instance posited that they were more interested in story telling than in history, a position somewhat modified by Yosef H. Yerushalmi (1982) who, while overwhelmingly agreeing with the absence of historiographical writings in the Jewish Middle Ages, argued that they remembered the past in ritual instead.

This debate, however, focused on a small number of works from Ashkenaz and ignored the rich literature produced elsewhere. My paper explores some of the reasons that caused this neglect and led twentieth-century scholars to abandon the insights gained by nineteenth-century *Wissenschaft des Judentums* scholars.

Veltri, Giuseppe, *Principles of Jewish sceptical thought. The case of Simone Luzzatto*

Simone Luzzatto's major work, the *Socrate overo dell'humano sapere* (1651), is a very important milestone in modern scepticism and his detailed introduction to the question of human knowledge is a document of the Venetian reception of European scholarship. In this work, he deals with the unreliability of the human senses, a topic popular in early modern philosophy.

Luzzatto's treatise *Socrate* is a little known book. There are few copies of the original and no translation exists in any modern European language. There are some allusions to Luzzatto's *Socrate* in the world of scholarship, but no scholars have addressed themselves to the work in its entirety and at length. With few exceptions of acknowledgment of the value of Luzzatto's works, the first to note the importance of the book was David Ruderman, who devoted a detailed chapter of his "Jewish Thought and Scientific Discovery in Early Modern Europe" to the work, summarizing its contents and focusing on the difficult problem of Luzzatto's sources and his place in the world of early modern and Jewish scholarship. Mention should also be made of the dissertation of Ariel Viterbo at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, published in 1997 in Italian. Viterbo deals with the book, describing its contents, and promises to present this figure in the future within a wider context. In his dissertation, he proposes to view and thus interpret the *Socrate* as an intellectual biography of Luzzatto. The aim of Luzzatto's book remains to date a strange puzzle because of its totally "non-Jewish" content, while his earlier contribution, the *Discorso*, is a typical apologia of Judaism.

According to Ruderman, even the book's title is misleading, since Luzzatto does not deal with God and providence. Ruderman's conclusion on the position of Luzzatto departs from the path traced by Bernard Septimus who, taking only the *Discorso* into account, sees Luzzatto as a 'Maimonides' of the 17th century. Ruderman proposes to consider him as a kind of "foreshadowing of the lens-grinder of Rijnsburg".

In this way, he tries to locate Luzzatto's attempt to weaken and even subvert human knowledge by applying a radical scepticism lying within the process of sceptical philosophy and theology which leads to Spinoza. The aim of my lecture is to situate the book in the context of Jewish sceptical philosophy and to develop some aspects of his system of thought

Veronese, Alessandra, *“German” and “Italian” Jews in Northern Italy: settlements and relationships*

This paper deals essentially with the immigration of Askenazic Jews in the regions of Northern Italy in late Middle Ages (mid-13th to 15th centuries). It will discuss the presence of “German” Jews in Italy, their settlement, their relationships with German Christians, their relationship with Italian Jewry. The presence of Jews, whose traditions, culture, family models differed - sometimes dramatically - from those of their Italian co-religionists, posed several problems.

Among the questions raised by the massive immigration of German Jews, one could mention the following:

- a) Did German and Italian Jews coexist easily? Do we have traces of mutual integration (for example, “mixed” marriages)?
- b) Which role did the German Christian play with regard to German Jews (or vice versa)?
- c) Was the economic role of the Ashkenazic women different if compared to that of the Italian Jewess?
- d) Is there any difference in the inner organization of Ashkenazic groups in Italy, compared with that of Italian Jewish groups?
- e) Was the migration of German Jews towards the Italian Northern Regions followed by a “counter-emigration” towards the other side of the Alps after one or two generations?

Villani, Cinzia, *The Italian Government's Policy towards the arrival of Jewish DPs*

Thousands of she'erith hapleth entered Italy, mainly illegally, through the mountain passes of South Tyrol, the region located on the border between Italy and Austria. After crossing the Alps, many of the Jewish DPs were taken to a temporary accommodation centre in Milan. The paper focuses on the behaviour of the Italian government regarding their arrival (what administrative measures were implemented); the problems that both local and central authorities had to face; and the relationship between Italy and the organizations that were taking care of the DPs, i.e. the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), the International Refugee Organization (IRO), the American Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC).

Visi, Tamás, *Lobe Prostitz and the Shabbatean Movement in Early Eighteenth-Century Moravia*

The Shabbatean movement during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries can be considered a very specific network of human relations that connected Jews living in the Mediterranean world to Jews living in the northern parts of Europe. For example, Nehemia Hayyun, a key figure of early eighteenth-century European Shabbateanism, was at home both in the eastern part of the Mediterranean basin (starting his career in Albania, continuing it in Jerusalem and Smyrna, and later in Constantinople) and in the countries north of the Alps (he was active in Amsterdam, Prague, Berlin, and Vienna among others).

At the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries a local Shabbatean center emerged in Moravia. This new center was located in the city of Prostějov / Prossnitz /

Prostitz and was associated with the person of Lobele Prostitz (ca. 1680-1730). According to a story reported both in a roughly contemporary Yiddish source from 1711 and in Jacob Emden's *Torat ha-qenaot* several decades later, Lobele claimed to be a prophet and attempted to prove that the Shekhina visited him by performing a "miracle." In an uninhabited building of the city he appeared in white cloths having the tetragrammaton inscribed on his breast with letters of fire (he used a mixture of alcohol and turpentine to achieve this effect). According to Emden's narration the local rabbi, who was the famous Meir Eisenstadt (Maharam Ash), disclosed Lobele's trick to the public; consequently, Lobele was excommunicated.

In my paper I will argue that many elements of this story, especially in Emden's version, are difficult to reconcile with the historical reality we encounter in other sources. I will attempt to analyze the overall context of Lobele's activity in Moravia by comparing him to similar figures of the age, such as the aforementioned Nehemia Hayyun, and Mordecai Eisenstadt.

Vollandt, Ronny, *Capturing form versus meaning: The typology of early Judaeo-Arabic Pentateuch translations*

I shall attempt survey our present knowledge of early Judaeo-Arabic translations of the Pentateuch. The various traditions oscillate between the basic question, whether to capture the form literally (Arab. *lafz*) or meaning (Arab. *ma'nā*). In this light of this distinction a typology of the different traditions will be proposed. A first group of translations may be identified in early non-saadianic traditions, which strive to convey the linguistic form of the source text. Their literary genesis appears to relate to older oral traditions that served the need to teach the Biblical text to the public in Judaeo-Arabic in an educational framework, a function previously fulfilled by the Aramaic targumim. In contradiction, a second type may be found in Saadiah's *tafsīr*, but not only. It primarily strives to transport the intended meaning of the source text into the translation language.

Waldman, Berta, *A woman flees the news – David Grossman*

My analysis of David Grossman's novel *A woman flees the news* [Portuguese translation by George Schlesinger, S. Paulo, Companhia das Letras, 2009] will focus on the Arab-Israeli conflict as it is exposed in the book. As this text is neither political nor philosophic, but literary, the author deals with this subject by embodying the conflict in the interaction between the members of a family nucleus. The novel constructs itself in a climate of suspension: something is going to happen, may happen, but no one knows when, how, what. The imminence comprises threat (war and assault threats) and this is the characters' milieu.

The Jewish characters interact with an Israeli-Arab taxi driver, and it is in their coexistence, in the oscillation of the characters between contact and exclusion that elements of conflict between Arabs and Jews are portrayed.

The Israeli-born Arab is confused with the Israeli-Jew because he assimilated the language and the local way of life. This "colonization" mode transforms him into a person acceptable for the Jewish society, but this situation does not remain stable, wherefore the character oscillates and from time to time resumes the patterns of Arab taste and speech. Beyond this, the difference between social classes and the desire of the stronger

part to maintain the regulations currently in force are present in this interface. Yet in the discourse level, forms of authoritarianism and of enforcement unravel because the style of the novel privileges more and more a free indirect speech, where the “other”’s voice is heard, pointing thus to an horizon of possible solution of the conflict in the Middle East.

Wallet, Bart, *Transformation of a Diaspora, the Western Sephardic Diaspora in the Nineteenth Century (1815-1914)*

There has been extensive research on the Western Sephardic Diaspora from the sixteenth till the second half of the eighteenth century. Most historians assume that thereafter this Diaspora has fallen apart, due to the rise of nationalisms and national integration politics, changing economic networks and the gradual loss of contact with the Iberian peninsula.

This paper will propose that the Western Sephardic Diaspora did not disappear in the nineteenth century, but transformed and assumed different roles.

First, it developed into a new type of Sephardic identity and solidarity. It will be the objective of this paper to find out which parts of the classical Western Sephardic Diaspora survived, but as well which new types of transnational Sephardic identity came into being. While the national conception of the Nación was not longer opportune for most Sephardim, the rise of a historic culture offered a new way of expressing Sephardic identity.

From now on the shared historical past, both on the Iberian peninsula, but as well in the glorious heydays of the Western Sephardic Diaspora, bound the various Sephardic communities together. A collective memory culture around historical events became an important expression of a shared Sephardic identity.

Second, the Western Sephardic culture, both in its historic and its contemporary forms, was transformed into a model of integration for Ashkenazim. Ashkenazi rabbis and lay leaders turned to the Sephardic tradition for inspiration to combine adherence to a Jewish tradition and cultural and political integration in European societies. Sephardic leaders in their turn patronized Ashkenazim in their search for acculturation. This paper will give examples from the domains of national and internal Jewish politics, Halakhah and literature and arts.

Wartenberg, Ilana, *From Castile to Sicily: Isaac ben Solomon Ibn al-Ahdab’s intellectual journey around the Mediterranean Sea*

After completing my dissertation on Isaac ben Solomon Ibn al-Ahdab’s *The Epistle of the Number*, I have over the past two years published several papers which have sought to bring to light his special contributions to the history of Hebrew algebra and his place in the history of Jewish science. Ibn al-Ahdab was born in Castile around 1350. He probably left his homeland before the 1391 persecutions.

He spent some time in a Muslim country, probably in North Africa, where he studied mathematics with an Arab scholar. During a perilous voyage to the Holy Land, Ibn al-Ahdab was ship-wrecked in Syracuse, Sicily. To the best of our knowledge, he stayed in Sicily until his death around 1430.

His book, *The Epistle of the Number*, is the first Hebrew text we know of which ex-

plicitly discusses algebra. Yet Ibn al-Ahdab was best known for his astronomical treatises, and even improved several existing astronomical tools. Among his other writings, Ibn al-Ahdab wrote numerous witty and educational poems, an exegesis of the Passover *Haggadah*, as well as a treatise analysing weights and measures in the Bible.

In my proposed paper, I will turn to Ibn al-Ahdab's biography and what it teaches us about the development and transmission of Hebrew science in the Mediterranean in the second half of the fourteenth century. I will bring textual evidence from a variety of sources of Ibn al-Ahdab's whereabouts around the Mediterranean Sea. We shall see several descriptions of his encounters with members of the Sicilian Jewish communities, which shed much light on Jewish life in Sicily at the end of the fourteenth century. I shall also depict the transmission of Ibn al-Ahdab's works, in particular the way that his astronomical tables were later used in Italy by his student's son, Flavius Mithridates.

Weiss, Hillel, *Jaffa in Hebrew Narrative Fiction, from Agnon to Ailon Hilu*

"Jaffa is not the land of Israel." This expression appears in Agnon's story 'Brit Ahava' (1935) and immediately afterwards the question is posed: "You say that Jaffa is not the land of Israel, but is the land of Israel itself the Land of Israel?" (p. 348). There are dimensions of Jaffa and its sea that are the gateway to doubt.

The symbolic history – aggadic, mythic, biblical, and kabbalistic – of Jaffa along with the archaeological history (Egyptian hieroglyphics) and particularly alongside the real-life Jaffa, the realia of Jaffa both of the Turkish period and of later views, are brought together in Agnon's writings into a central subject that focuses on the "young women of Jaffa." The Jaffa Eros as something that breaks taboos. The subjects of Jaffa and Eros are involved with the personality of the narrator and the biography of the writer which in combination shape the liminal entity of the chronotypes woven around the city of Jaffa, gateway to the world and gateway to the Land of Israel.

In many works of our time, too, Jaffa constitutes a challenge for coping with the history of the Jewish people, beginning with the historical novels such as Moshe Shamir's *Melech basar ve'dam* (King of Flesh and Blood) that deals with the Hasmonean King Yannai who expanded the borders of the Kingdom of Judah to the ports of the Mediterranean Sea. This is particularly so in the literary works that deal with the history of Zionism and its critique, the post-Zionist works that contend with the waves of immigration and emigration, the encounter with the Arab residents and others as this motif is present in such books as Benjamin Tammuz's novella *Hapardes* (The Orchard), Shifra Horn in *Tamara mehalechet al hamayim* (Tamara Walks on Water) and the provocative work of Alon Hilu *Ahuzat Dajani* (The House of Dajani).

This is apart from the many other writers who desired Jaffa for a home for themselves and a backdrop for their creative work, e.g., Brenner, Devora Baron, and others, and the journalistic and literary "guild" who lived in Jaffa until the last decade like Dan Ben-Amotz and Adam Baruch.

How does Jaffa influence the literary shaping of the connection between Judaism and the Mediterranean Sea? In recent years several publications were written about the subject, such as that of Hanan Hever who wrote about the subject in the context of Jewish migration.

In this lecture we will present the Jaffa panorama which portrays a fixed backdrop along with new depictions that are created from one generation to the next.

Williams, Margaret, *Symbol and Text in the Jewish Inscriptions of Late Ancient Rome*

The epitaphs from the Jewish catacombs of Late Ancient Rome are remarkable among Jewish inscriptions of the Graeco-Roman period for their highly decorated character. Of the 500 (approximately) surviving usable texts about one half bear at least one symbol. Generally these are of a Jewish religious character but a few are clearly pagan. Although these symbols have been studied intensively for their meaning (most controversially by E. R. Goodenough in his multi-volume *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*), and the epitaphs have been exploited for historical purposes (as in H. J. Leon's classic study, *The Jews of Ancient Rome*), the relationship between text and symbol apparently has gone unexplored and the social function of the images has remained unconsidered. In this paper, part of a larger study of the relationship between text and symbol in Jewish catacombs of Ancient Rome, an attempt will be made to remedy this situation. After a brief survey of the symbols themselves, an analysis of their distribution according to social groupings will be presented.

This will show that, as in the mainstream Roman community, so among Rome's Jews, the elite was generally restrained in its use of symbols, the most eye-catching assemblages of images being found on the memorials of the non-elite (e.g. certain foundlings and immigrants) or the liminally elite (e.g. the grammateis). While the symbols themselves are for the most part Jewish, the social uses to which they are put, namely enhancing the status of the deceased and in some cases (most notably male infants) even creating an identity for them, are purely Roman. New light accordingly will be shed by this paper on the acculturation of the Jews of Late Ancient Rome.

Wirth-Nesher, Hana, *Translating the Ineffable: the ABC's of Modern Jewish Writing*

This paper examines the role of Hebrew and Hebrew letters in Modern Jewish Literature written in the Roman alphabet. How has Hebrew often come to signify the untranslatable? What role does Hebrew play in literature that is concerned with the representation of the ineffable? In particular, how is the representation of the ineffable in recent Jewish writing entangled with the subject of representing the Holocaust? I will be discussing how Hebrew enacts the untranslatable semantically, thematically, and visually. My case studies will be multilingual: Abraham Sutzkever's poem about Hebrew as the limit of Pasternak's comprehension of Yiddish poetry; Daniel Mendelsohn's reclaiming of Hebrew as Holocaust commemoration in his memoir *The Lost: The Search for Six of Six Million*; Gilles Rozier's positioning of Hebrew as the untranslatable remainder between German and Yiddish in his French novel *The Mercy Room*.

Wolf-Monzon, Tamar, *The "Orient" as a geographical place and a spiritual-cultural domain in the work of Uri Zvi Grinberg*

In the early work of the poet Uri Zvi Grinberg, the "Orient" is a symbol of the Jewish yearning for the Land of Israel. Resonating in the background is the concept of the "Mizrach" – the "East" – so deeply rooted in the religious and cultural consciousness of the Jewish people, the heart's desire of every Jew and the place toward which Jews turn in prayer. In the European context, the concept is anchored in the philosophical school of Oswald Spengler, whose "The Decline of the West" portrays the ascent of the

Far East and its vitality as heralding the descent and deterioration of the Western world. Reflecting the atmosphere in Europe, Uri Zvi Grinberg's Yiddish poetry shaped this turn to the Orient in exotic-Romantic terms, as the antithesis of the urban-industrial Western lifestyle. Longing to settle in the East was a clear stage in Grinberg's embrace of Zionism, which he saw as an alternative to the rootlessness of Jewish life in Eastern Europe and to living in fear of the Christians of Europe.

At the same time, a careful reading of issue 3-4 of "Albatross," the literary journal Grinberg edited in 1922-1923 while living in Berlin, reveals the hesitations that preceded his decision to settle in Eretz Yisrael, and above all, the complexity and ambiguity of his attitude toward Europe. A "homeland of torment" he calls it, on the one hand alluding to Europe as a source of pain, suffering and emotional humiliation for the Jews, but, at the same time, accentuating the homeland's crucial role in shaping the poet's cultural world and visual thinking.

Surprisingly the Eretz Yisrael option is portrayed as a choice made because he had no alternative. In his heart, his natural inclination was to live in Europe, a desire emanating more from cultural and intellectual identification than wanting to live there in a physical-territorial sense.

The lecture will examine Uri Zvi Grinberg's duality toward the Orient as a geographical place and a spiritual-cultural domain in light of his immigration to Eretz Yisrael toward the end of the Third Aliya period as a Zionist pioneer.

Yakimchuk, Natalia, *The Zoharic understanding of evil, based on passage 34a-35b, and its impact on the Sabbatian antinomianism*

To understand the sources, meanings and consequences of the Sabbatian antinomianism we need to address the problem of evil as it is understood in the kabbalistic tradition. As the starting point of my research I turn to passage 34a-35b from the Zohar. By examining this passage, I clarify the Zoharic concept of good and evil, their origins, interrelations in the upper world and their effects on our world.

I analyze how the actions of "the sea serpent", the central figure of the passage, which personifies the evil power ("the other side"), symbolize the relations between good and evil powers.

One of the main ideas of this passage, continued and reexamined in later kabbalistic tradition (in Lurianic and Sabbatianic kabbalah) is the idea of the connection, merging of the two opposite powers. On the one hand, good and evil are separated and fight against each other, on the other hand, the realities of these forces are intermingled: evil needs the positive power for its existence; the demonic realm is nourished and sustained by the divine realm. In the research I demonstrate and analyze in examples from this passage two tendencies of understanding good and evil in the Zohar- dualism and its restriction.

This research helps to show how some elements of Zoharic understanding of evil affect and inspire the Sabbatian concept of evil. This passage became central for the "Treatise on the Dragons" (1666) by Nathan of Gaza (1644-1680) – the prophet and ideologist of the Sabbatian movement, who interpreted this story from the messianic point of view, based on the Lurianic cosmogony. Nathan's interpretation of the Messiah as the main character and the last element of the tikkun (correction), who has to redeem the world from the inside of the abyss of qelipot (husks), results in the Sabbatian concept of "the redemption through sin" and its extreme antinomianism.

Yedidya, Asaf, *The Nazis' Attacks on the Talmud and the Jewish Apologetic Reactions in the 1930s*

Nazi anti-Semitism differed from earlier forms of Jew-hatred and anti-Jewishness by its use of racial concepts. In a period in which both racial and social-Darwinist theories flourished and secularization proceeded rapidly, the 'negative' traits of Judaism were presented as being vices of the 'Jewish race'.

At the same time, the traditional anti-Semitism continued, and one of its expressions was an attack on post-biblical Jewish texts, especially the Talmud. The target of traditional anti-Semitism, beginning with the invention of printing, was to "demonstrate" the anti-moral character of Judaism and prove the superiority of Christianity. This tradition of anti-Talmudic polemic continued during the Third Reich, and to do so they conscripted the help of scholars and pseudo-scholars. The Nazis did not repeat only old arguments, but they focused, alongside manipulative interpretation, on negative racial characteristics, thus adducing proof for their race theory.

On the other hand, throughout history, Jews made many efforts to answer their attackers. A unique apologetic literature was created, which tried to highlight the manipulations that were being inflicted on the rabbinic texts. In the 1930s – through the Nazis' renewed attack on the Talmud – the Jews faced a new challenge.

The purpose of the proposed paper is to examine the Jewish apologetic reactions to those attacks, **like the antonymic essay:** *Missverstandene und missdeutete Talmud und Soharstellen* (Frankfurt am main 1934) and Benjamin Marmelstein and Chaim Bloch's books (Wien 1935), compared to similar Jewish apologetics in earlier periods.

One of the assumptions which the paper examines is that Jewish apologetic in the 1930s distanced the rabbinical texts from the racial interpretation of Judaism. This would stand in contrast to an opposite trend, among isolated German Zionist thinkers, to interpret Judaism with racial terminology.

Another question that the paper examine is, to whom did the Jewish apologetics refer?

Yeshaya, Joachim, *The Introduction of Poetry in the Karaite Liturgy from Moses ben Abraham Dar until Aaron ben Joseph*

The paper aims to unravel the liturgical setting of Karaite liturgical poems before and simultaneously with the redaction of the Karaite prayer book (i.e. twelfth and thirteenth centuries). The main corpus consists of a poetical cycle of liturgical poems composed by the twelfth-century Egyptian Karaite poet Moses ben Abraham Dar . These poems, bound to the liturgical cycle of weekly Torah reading on the Sabbath, will be analyzed as early examples of inserting poetry and Andalusian poetical norms into the Karaite liturgy. Their liturgical setting will be reconstructed and then compared to that of later Karaite liturgical poems composed by Aaron ben Joseph "the Elder", who compiled the Karaite prayer book while living in Constantinople in the late thirteenth century. This prayer book has been regarded as instrumental in introducing liturgical poetry into Karaite worship and has influenced Karaite prayer services ever since. Aaron ben Joseph was well versed in medieval Rabbanite literature and introduced – in addition to his own poetry – Andalusian Rabbanite liturgical poetry into the Karaite prayer book. The analysis of the integration of these Andalusian Rabbanite liturgical poems in the Karaite prayer book may provide new insights into the cultural and literary transfer between different religious groups.

Yoeli-Tlalim, Ronit, *References to India in Assaf's Book of Medicine*

Assaf's *Book of Medicine* (*Sefer Refu'ot*), still one of the great enigmas in ancient medical history, contains many references to India. The explicit references appear in its introduction as well as in the discussion of various *materia medica*. Analysis of references to Indian knowledge in this Hebrew medical text is key for understanding processes of knowledge transmission across cultures in the ancient world. This paper will analyze some of these explicit references while contextualizing them historically.

Zaagsma, Gerben, *Jewish migrants and anti-Semitism in Paris and London before WWII*

This paper will analyse responses to anti-Semitism in the years preceding WWII among Jewish migrants in France and the United Kingdom. In this period several factors, international and local, combined to threaten the interests and existence of Jewish migrants: the rise of Nazi Germany and international fascism on the one hand coincided with anti-migrant policies and local anti-Semitic activities on the other hand. These factors forced Jewish political organisations working on the 'Jewish street' to formulate strategies against these threats, especially in the (late) 1930s. The emphasis in this paper is on responses of the Jewish Left, in particular those of Jewish communists in Paris and London. Although several case studies exist about political activities among Jewish migrants in Paris and London this paper introduces a comparative dimension that has not received much attention to date. In doing so it will highlight how the activities of Jewish leftists and their defence of Jewish migrant interests were shaped by differing local contexts on the one hand and transnational links on the other.

The larger context in which this paper has to be seen is that of the transnational aspects of the political practices of the Jewish migrant Left in Europe before WWII. Originating in Eastern Europe the major forces of the Jewish Left, the Jewish socialists of the *Bund*, the socialist-zionists of the *Poale Zion* and Jews organised in the communist movement, have always had strong transnational characteristics as a result of migration and organisational structures. While *Bund* and *Poale Zion* were independent parties and loosely connected to various local socialist parties and the Second International, Jewish communists were firmly embedded within national parties and part of the hierarchically-structured Communist International. But like the *Bund* and *Poale Zion* they were also a part of a transnational network of (Yiddish-speaking) communists and thus occupied a particular transnational space. The question, then, is how and to what extent operating in this transnational space influenced political practices in the local/national context, and vice versa.

Zalashik, Rakefet, *Law and Jewish Lunatics in Mandatory Palestine*

The paper examines the intersection between law and psychiatry as manifested in the treatment of the Jewish mentally ill in Mandatory Palestine. During this period many mentally ill people were involuntarily confined in psychiatric hospitals by a court order, and there were many cases of imprisoned criminals who suffered from mental problems. In this period we witness a growing rate at which people were reported to the police for disturbing the peace and being violent. Very often, individuals who were labelled as criminals were also diagnosed as suffering from a psychopathic personality that required detention in either a prison or in a psychiatric hospital. Both involuntary psy-

chiatric confinement and imprisonment in jail represented new types of solution for society in Palestine when it came to dealing with behavior that was perceived as non-normative.

I argue that the situation wherein prisons became an alternative site to the psychiatric ward for removing mentally disturbed people from the society was made possible by the medicalization and legislation of insanity in Palestine and the blurred boundaries between insanity and criminality. It might also have signified an increasing intolerance towards allowing mentally ill people to roam free. And lastly, it might also be seen as a strategy of the relatives of mentally ill people by which they took advantage of this symbiosis between law and medicine to ensure the confinement of these individuals when there was no free bed in the psychiatric ward or when they could not finance their hospitalization.

Zonta, Mauro, *The Study of Aristotle's Physics at the School of Judah Messer Leo (ca.1450-1480) and its Relationship to Contemporary Latin Scholasticism*

The well-known 15th-century Italian Jewish philosopher Judah Messer Leon (ca.1425-1498), who mainly worked in some cities in North-Eastern Italy (Ancona, Bologna, Padua, Mantua), created and directed a "school" (*yeshivah*), whose pupils apparently studied not only the most important texts of the Jewish religious tradition, but also a number of philosophical works, Jewish and non-Jewish. The results of recent research on the sources of Messer Leon's own works on various philosophical subjects suggest that some of the works studied in his *yeshivah* belong to Latin Scholasticism. In particular, Messer Leon and his school appear to have been interested in Aristotle's *Physics*, which they studied according to typical Scholastic methods. They wrote a commentary in form of *toladot* ("conclusions") on books 1-4 and the beginning of book 5 of the *Physics*, and a supercommentary on books 1-2 and part of book 4. Finally, Messer Leon himself wrote a huge supercommentary on books 1-4 of Aristotle's *Physics*, which included Averroes' *Long* and *Middle Commentaries* on those books, as well as a number of explicit quotations from Latin Scholastic commentaries on the *Physics*. By doing this, Messer Leon and his school followed the path of some Latin Scholastic philosophers, who worked in Padua in the first half of the 15th century: Paolo Nicoletti Veneto (died in 1429) and Gaetano de' Thiene (1387-1465), who were probably among the undeclared, yet direct sources of Messer Leon's study of Aristotle's *Physics*. The aim of this communication is to present the results of fresh research about the relationship of Messer Leon and his students to Latin Scholasticism.

Zouplna, Jan, *The Initial Phase of Revisionist Zionism, 1922-25: The Non-Jabotinsky Story*

Although V. Jabotinsky stands out as the dominant figure in Revisionist politics for a period of almost two decades, the initial steps of the "activist Zionists" in the years 1922-25, leading inevitably towards the establishment of a distinct political group, should not be seen as a "one-man show," with a leader passively followed by a set of devoted supernumeraries. Hallmarks of the Revisionist political platform for the years that followed, such as the rejection of the expanded Jewish Agency, the demand for the "democratization" of the existing structures of the Zionist Organization, or the idea of a fundamental land and fiscal reform in Palestine aimed at an intensification of the col-

onization process, started to spontaneously appear, particularly in the Russo-Ukrainian Zionist circles, shortly after the publication of the White Paper of 1922. The so-called “Our Platform,” a series of articles setting out the Revisionist doctrine, which appeared on the pages of the journal *Rassviet* in three consecutive issues in March 1924, was a joint undertaking and a culmination of numerous, sometimes inconclusive, discussions. The whole intellectual debate seems to have been dominated at that time by J. Schechtman and I. Trivus in particular. The complex nature of the ideas and events associated with the beginnings of the Revisionist movement challenges not only the role and status of relevant individuals in this process, but it also challenges the importance and significance of some prominent issues (such as the Zionist policy towards the Palestine Arabs). Recent scholarship has questioned many aspects of the Jabotinsky myth, last, but not least, challenging the politician’s own standing in the movement during the late 1930s. It is my assessment that even Jabotinsky’s role in the very formation of the movement during the early 1920s should be viewed in a different light.

Zurawski, Jason M., *Separating the Devil from the Diabolos: A Fresh Translation of Wisdom of Solomon 2:24*

“But through the devil’s envy death entered the world, and those who belong to his party experience it.” Thus reads the customary English translation, largely unchanged since the earliest English translations, of Wisdom of Solomon 2:24. As modern translators have apparently not questioned the devil’s place in this verse, so too have modern scholars and commentators taken for granted the devil in the diabolos. On the surface this seems reasonable enough. The Greek *diabolos* was used in the LXX as a translation of the Hebrew *satan*, the adversary or seducer of Job and Zechariah. Of course, in some Second Temple Jewish traditions and then in Christian literature this *satan* became Satan and the *diabolos* became the devil, an angel, evil and fallen, in some fashion opposed to the will of God. *Diabolos* had become such a commonplace term, especially in early Christian literature, to signify the devil, that the thought of it representing something other than this fallen angel has seemingly been disregarded. The problem with taking the diabolos for granted in Wisdom is that translators or scholars then read into the text a notion absent, and even contrary to, the rest of the text’s ideology. The devil simply does not fit into this author’s worldview. So, how to explain the diabolos? I argue that this term and this verse with it have been mistranslated and misunderstood, beginning with the early Greek Church Fathers, precisely because theologians and scholars both had a preconceived notion that the diabolos could only be the devil. I propose an alternative reading of this verse which does not stretch the limits of the Greek term, but actually makes the verse as a whole accord better with proper Greek syntax. The diabolos of Wisd 2:24 is not an evil, fallen angel, nor is it even the Hebrew *satan*. The diabolos here refers specifically to the adversary or the slanderous one of the text just preceding this passage, the persecutor of the righteous man. Through detailed philological and textual analyses, I will attempt to show how this translation of *diabolos* makes more sense, both in respect to the Greek and to the overall ideology of the author. The devil has no place in this author’s thought, and by re-evaluating this passage with a more critical eye, we may better understand this author’s views on such fundamental issues as theodicy, soteriology, and his unique understanding of life and death.

Zvi, Mark, *The Contemporary Renaissance of Breslov Hasidism – Ritual, Tikkun and*

One of the most notable Jewish groups involved in the renaissance of mysticism and kabbalah in the last third of the twentieth century is that of the Breslov Hasidim.

R. Nachman of Breslov is today a cultural hero in Israeli society, and Breslov Hasidism is blossoming and more successful than it has ever been before. However, because a comprehensive study of the religious, cultural and sociological aspects of this phenomenon has yet to be undertaken, it is difficult to answer the question of the secret of the fascination of R. Nachman of Breslov and why he has, particularly in the last generation, attained such adulation and such a position of importance.

In my talk, I will limit myself to discussing certain components of this phenomenon – the clarification of which, I believe, can contribute to a more inclusive and complete study of these questions.

The first part of my talk will be dedicated to the connection between the Breslovian renaissance, with its extended influence, and the coming into being of neo-Breslovian messianic movements that are working with great fervor to spread R. Nachman's teachings. The second part will address unique Breslovian rituals that play an important role both in the daily life of the Hasidim and in the yearly Rosh Hashanah celebration, when all of the Hasidim gather together at the gravesite of R. Nachman in Uman, Ukraine.

In addition, I will address "rectification" as a key concept in understanding the meaning of these rituals and the secret of their power.

Zwiep, Irene, *The representation of Dutch national history in Dutch-Jewish textbooks of the nineteenth century*

When in 1796 the Jews of the Batavian Republic (from 1815: the Kingdom of the Netherlands) were granted civic equality, the majority of the Jewish elite responded by eagerly grasping the opportunities now open to them. While some joined the new political platforms in an effort to serve the causes of both the new republic and Jewish emancipation, others participated, as far as social boundaries allowed, in general (read: enlightened) Dutch intellectual and cultural life. As a consequence, a Haskalah as it had developed in Berlin and various other Jewish centres of the Habsburg Monarchy never materialized in the Netherlands.

In the decades following 1796, the elite strove to transform their individual choices and careers into a new, Dutch-Jewish identity shared by all. A decisive platform for forging and spreading this identity were the 'Joodsche armenscholen', the schools for the Jewish poor and needy, which were established following the national school laws of 1817. While much research has been devoted to the Dutch nationalist philosophy behind the schools, their organization and state supervision, little systematic attention has been paid to the rich body of educational material that was developed in order to articulate the new enlightened Dutch-Jewish identity and secure it for future generations.

In this contribution, I will briefly outline the main characteristics of the earliest generations of Dutch-Jewish textbooks, written during the first decades of the nineteenth century. Which genres were deemed most appropriate? Who were their authors, what were their sources of inspiration, and which conceptual frameworks (Haskalah, Wissenschaft des Judentums, eighteenth-century Dutch Enlightenment) lay at their roots? Which pedagogical strategies dominated the new didactic literature, and which religious and other biases determined their choice of content? In order to add some ana-

lytic depth to this typology, special attention will be paid to the representation of Dutch national history in these manuals. How did their authors manage to add a Jewish dimension to the *topoi* that governed the dominant Dutch nationalist discourse of the nineteenth century, with its strong emphasis on the Eighty Years War against Catholic Spain, the seventeenth-century Golden Age, and the ultimate victory of Dutch Protestantism?

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