

## **Abstracts**

### 01.01 Vernacular Translations of the Bible

### Jewish Exegesis and Vernacular Translations of the Hebrew Bible

Esperanza Alfonso; CCHS-CSIC

San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Real Biblioteca, MS I.i.8 (=E8) and MS I.i.6 (=E6) are two manuscript texts in Castilian that have long caught the attention of scholars. They are thought to be complementary parts of an almost complete Bible, translated from Latin, and transmitting a single version likely produced in the first half of the thirteenth century. Unlike the remaining books in this two-volume Bible, the Psalter's heading indicates that the Psalms were translated from Hebrew, by Hermannus Allemanus, a scholar of German origin that took part in the projects sponsored by Alfonso X. Both the attribution of the translation and its dependence on a Hebrew source have never convinced scholars entirely. In spite of the fact that the literature on the topic is vast, and that the text of the Psalter and its glosses have sparked renewed interest in recent years, the challenge of identifying Hebrew exegetical sources that might have influenced the translation has remained largely unaddressed. This paper takes up that challenge and aims to contribute to a better understanding of the bearing of the Jewish medieval exegetical tradition on this translation of the Bible.

#### Spanish and Ladino Versions of the Song of Songs

Ora Schwarzwald; Bar Ilan University

The biblical Song of Songs has been translated into Spanish and Judeo-Spanish (Ladino) numerous times since the Middle Ages. While some translations exclusively feature the original biblical text, others also include translations of the Aramaic interpretations of Midrash Shir Hashirim. The biblical text translations convey the work as being a love story between a man and a woman, but the Midrashic interpretations suggest that it is a metaphor for the love between God and the people of Israel. Orthography distinguishes between medieval and post-medieval versions translations: the formers are written exclusively in Latin letters; the latter are printed in either Hebrew or Latin script. The present paper contrasts and compares various translations particularly regarding the incorporating the Midrashic translations. It also expounds on the linguistic variations between the various translations. In addition to the differences between medieval and

post-medieval translations, significant changes also exist between Jewish, ex-Converso, and non-Jewish versions of the text. Medieval translations are more varied than their post-medieval equivalents due to a large number of hapax legomena words. Further differences can be explained by relying on the Vulgate translations in contrast with the traditional Jewish homily.

#### Anti-Christian Polemics in an Early Modern Yiddish Bible Translation

Marion Aptroot; Heinrich Heine University Düsseldorf

Yiddish bible translations in the early modern period have come down to us in the form of glossaries, 'straight' translations, literary works based on biblical texts and homiletic paraphrases. Additions can even be detected in some works that can be generally characterized as 'straight' translations. An example in point is the translation by Yekuthiel ben Isaac Blitz (Amsterdam 1678). His was one of the two first translations of the complete Hebrew Bible into Yiddish. These translations were inspired and influenced by Christian translations, notably Luther's German translation and the Dutch Statenbijbel, although this is not explicitly acknowledged (Aptroot 1989, 1993; Timm 1993).

In his preface, Blitz criticizes the addition of drash in earlier Yiddish translations. This does not mean that Blitz did not insert additions himself. His, however, were polemical in nature specifically directed against Christian translations and interpretations. This aspect of Blitz's translation has not been researched to date.

In my paper, I will analyze Blitz's additions to the biblical Text, contextualize them, and try to provide reasons for including them.

### 01.02 Biblical and Second Temple Period Literatures

The Israelites' Passage through Transjordan: the Ancient Sources do Coincide

Albert D. Friedberg; Friedberg Jewish Manuscript Society

Moshe Weinfeld, in his magisterial comment to Deut 1-11, noted that "the land that the Israelites were to conquer did not include Transjordan," the reason being that Transjordan "is not part of the promised land." He went on to prove this claim with copious and persuasive bits of evidence. This is confirmed by the fact that "according to Numbers 21,

Transjordan was taken by accident." And yet, this account is clearly contradicted by Deut 2-3, where we read that the Israelites were ordered to engage and defeat the Amorites and occupy their land. Faced with this problem, Weinfeld concluded that Deuteronomy 2-3 was not historical but rather reflected a later literary-ideological tradition from the Hezekianic or Josianic period and represented a later edition of the book.

In this presentation, we examine the relevant Deuteronomic texts for coherence and logical consistency and demonstrate that Deuteronomy's earlier layer did in fact agree with Numbers, reinforcing Weinfeld's astute observation: the ancient sources all agreed. The variants were introduced by a redactor(s), who left telltale signs of their revision and permitted us to uncover the earlier layer.

#### Urban Renewal in Third Isaiah: A Cognitive Ecostylistic Approach

Karolien Vermeulen; University of Antwerp

In the ancient world, cities served as physical and conceptual containers to separate a controlled, orderly area from the chaos outside. The depictions of cities in the Hebrew Bible largely underwrite this paradigm. Third Isaiah's vision of Jerusalem, however, imagines a space that challenges these engrained ideas of the urban. Conducting a cognitive ecostylistic analysis (drawing on insights from Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Text World Theory), this paper examines the green city as imagined by Third Isaiah (Isaiah 56-66). Throughout the vision, the prophet creates a new (text-)world defined by urban and natural world-builders, a blend that unites seemingly paradoxical elements. The utopian character of future Jerusalem is downplayed by its grounding in the real world (both the discourse-world and its near-equivalent, the empty text-world in which the prophecy is uttered). Third Isaiah calls for a view on city space that draws on the known, dissolving existing dichotomies and categories. As such, it invites modern readers to rethink not only the biblical Jerusalem but also urban space and its relationship to nature more generally.

### Laughter in Second Temple Literature: The Reception of the Abraham and Sarahcycle in Jubilees and the Genesis Apocryphon

Hannah Capey; Parkes Institute for the Study of Jewish/non-Jewish Relations

Along with biblical commentators, both classical and contemporary, the earliest critics of the Abraham and Sarah traditions - including Second Temple writers - contended with questions of humour in their writings, particularly when receiving and interpreting biblical episodes where laughter is present; namely, in Genesis 17, 18, and 21. Through the analysis of the figures of Abraham and Sarah, and their intimate relationship with "laughter", I wish to trace the reception and transmission of textual traditions surrounding humour. In the following paper, a reception history of Genesis 17, 18, and 21, analysed from the perspective of humour will be undertaken. The transmission of these traditions surrounding laughter will be traced through so-called "Rewritten Bible or Scripture' or 'para-biblical" texts of the Second Temple period (namely, Jubilees and the Genesis Apocryphon). It will be shown that humour was literarily transformed to meet the cultural and ideological needs of Second Temple writers. In doing so, Abraham and Sarah"s laughter appears altogether different in this new context.

### 01.03 Medieval Bible Commentary

#### Abraham Ibn Ezra and his Medieval Supercommentators

Haim (Howard) Kreisel; Ben Gurion University

Numerous supercommentaries were written on Ibn Ezra's Torah commentary in the course of the Middle Ages. In this talk I would like to examine the motivations of some of their authors to engage in this activity, particularly since the genre of the "supercommentary" was a relatively recent one in Hebrew literature of this period. I would also like to see how they treated Ibn Ezra's peshat explanations in relation to how they treated his allusions to hidden matters.

## Jewish and Chinese Medieval Commentary on Classical Canonical Texts: Rashi and Maimonides compared with Song Dynasty Neo-Confucianism

Mordechai Cohen<sup>1</sup>, Borong Zhang<sup>2</sup>; <sup>1</sup>Yeshiva University, <sup>2</sup>University of Toronto

In theory, commentaries on classical canonical texts play a subservient role with respect to the master texts they interpret. But, in practice, the greatest of such commentaries reconfigure and repurpose those master texts, endowing them with continued relevance in new cultural-intellectual contexts. We explore two such instances in contemporaneous but separate traditions. Confucianism, embodied in the Chinese classical texts, had been the dominant philosophy and official orthodoxy of China since the Han dynasty (2nd century BCE); but it was not immutable. Over the course of the Tang Dynasty (618–907CE), Mahayana Buddhism and Daoism posed intellectual challenges to Confucianism with their metaphysical systems of thought. Song Dynasty Neo-Confucians, most notably Zhu Xi (1130-1200), addressed those challenges by re-interpreting the ancient classics and synthesizing philosophical concerns into a well-organized new Confucian philosophy. We compare that phenomenon with medieval Jewish movements to interpret the Bible, focusing on Rashi (1040-1105) and Maimonides (1138-1204). It is well known that Maimonides sought to reinterpret the Bible in light of Greco-Arabic philosophy; but we are now increasingly aware that Rashi's innovative peshat program posed a cohesive system of thought as a counterbalance to contemporaneous trends in Christian Bible interpretation.

### 01.04. The Legacy of the Biblical Scholarship of Benno Jacob

## Learning how to Count in the Decalogue, or: Modernising B. Jacob's Literary Approach

Hans-Christoph Aurin; Göttingen Academy of Sciences and Humanities in Lower Saxony

The German-Jewish Bible scholar Benno Jacob (1862–1945) is one of the pioneers in the field of literary or holistic approaches in Bible scholarship. In my talk I will examine how B. Jacob's approach can be brought into conversation with modern literary and critical interpretations of the Decalogue. The literary unity of the Decalogue has long been disputed in critical Bible scholarship. The ambiguities of the text include among others the division into "ten" words, the distribution of the words on the two tablets, and the

relationship between the two versions in Exodus 20:1–17 and Deuteronomy 5:6–21. How compelling is Jacob's attempt at solving the difficulties and if not, are there other holistic possibilities?

### Benno Jacob's use of Midrash in his Commentary on Genesis

Lieve M. Teugels; Protestant Theological University

In his biblical commentary, Benno Jacob merges modern bible interpretation—even though critical of source criticism - with traditional Jewish forms of bible commentary, specifically as found in the classical Midrashim. In the Foreword to his Genesis Commentary, he claims to offer a scientific commentary "independent from old and new authorities and dogmas." I will investigate Jacob's use of midrash by analyzing several samples from his commentary on texts of the book of Genesis by comparing them to the midrashic sources to which he refers.

## Benno Jacob on the Aqeda and a Comparison between his Interpretation and that of Edith Stein

Edward Boudewijn Skubisz; University of Amsterdam

Benno Jacob's interpretation of the Aqeda is surprising and provocative. In my contribution, I show how he came to his reading of Gen. 22 and what he finally read. I also refer to Edith Stein's reading of this text and of the notion of "sacrifice." Finally, I point to the challenge of both lectures in view of the challenges which cultural scientists now face

### 01.05 Masora

### Spelling Corrections of the Second Masorete of MS Sassoon 1053 (S1)

Yosef Ofer; Bar Ilan University

MS S1 (formerly Sassoon 1053 and now in a private collection in Geneva) is one of the most important biblical manuscripts from the tenth century. It was created by two Masoretes: the first wrote several Masora comments, only a few of which deal with plene or defective spellings. The second one added many Masora comments and corrected the biblical spelling according to them. On the first pages of the manuscript, he left the

comments written by the first Masorete and added other comments, but later on he systematically erased the comments of the first Masorete and wrote his own Masora comments in their place. The work of the second Masorete was not finished, and many pages were left without Masora. In dozens of places he wrote a special sign above the biblical word to indicate that the spelling of this word needs to be corrected, but he did not make the correction.

In the lecture, the methods of operation of the second Masorete will be discussed, and the extent of his success in correcting the biblical spelling according to the decisions of the Masora will be measured.

### The Masoretic Text in Ashkenaz: Evidence from a Forgotten Grammar

Jonathan Howard; Ben Gurion University

Most textually-conscious editions of the Hebrew Bible generally follow either the eastern Tiberian codices (the "Eastern" type) or the Ben-Ḥayyim edition and Norzi's glosses (the "Spanish" type). Although some recent studies have tackled the biblical text used in Ashkenaz, these have mostly focused on orthography, rather than matters informative of the actual reading tradition, such as the vocalisation and accentuation. My lecture will present newly-found evidence drawn from a hitherto undiscussed Hebrew grammar, called Śôm Śekhel. This grammar, which has strong Masoretic undertones, was probably written in England in the early 13th century, and survives in a single manuscript (Vatican, ebr. 402). It is therefore a prime source for assessing the biblical text used in the author's vicinity at a time from which almost no biblical codices survived. In my lecture I will present some of the unique variants attested in this work that differ from our texts, which in turn reveal the breadth of medieval reading traditions of the Bible.

### Beyond the Margins: Masoretic Material in the So-called Appendices

Elvira Martín-Contreras; Spanish National Research Council (CSIC)

The material found at the end or after the various divisions of the Bible in many Hebrew biblical codices has been commonly neglected and not included when editing those codices. With some exceptions, their exact content and function have not been studied, but in most cases, they consist of lengthy Masoretic rubrics that have been interpreted as

being too long for the margins, so they are given as appendices.

The connections discovered between some of the Masoretic lists found in the carpet pages of the Cairo Codex of the Prophets and the Codex Leningrad B19a with Masoretic lists or annotations placed in the margins of the folio alongside the biblical text, question the traditional explanation of the appendices as repository for long Masoretic lists. Consequently, I decided to explore the so-called appendices found in some Hebrew bible codices in order to define their functions.

This paper presents some preliminary results of this study.

### 02.01 Death in Antiquity

### Sensorial Aspects of Jewish Funerary Culture in Late Antiquity

Ortal-Paz Saar; Utrecht University

In the fourth century, the Christian writer Jerome described one's feelings when entering the catacombs in Rome: "Here and there the light, not entering through windows, but filtering down from above through shafts, relieves the horror of the darkness. But again, as one cautiously moves forward, the black night closes round...". Jerome is one of the few literary sources in Late Antiquity who explicitly refers to the sensorial experience of these burial complexes, which were used by members of different faiths on a broad geographical and chronological scale. Most information derives from archaeological data combined with sensory studies.

Despite rich explorations of Jewish funerary culture in this period, its sensorial aspects have rarely been discussed. What were the visual, tactile and olfactory experiences of people who buried their loved ones in such complexes? How did these experiences affect commemorative rituals? For instance, how much of the wall decoration was visible to catacomb visitors? Were meals conducted in the vicinity of the grave?

This paper will explore some of the sensorial aspects of Jewish funerary culture in Late Antiquity. Its focus will be on the catacomb complexes in Italy, while presenting also important comparative material from ancient Palestine.

#### Surveying Death at the Tel Eton Cemetery and Iron Age II Burial Practices in Judah

Eyal Baruch; Bar Ilan University

The cemetery that surrounds Tel 'Eton is one of the largest burial grounds in ancient Israel. Additionally, this burial ground has a unique history. The earliest known caves appear to be dated to the Intermediate Bronze Age, but most of the caves are later, and the evidence suggests that the cemetery was used continuously from the Late Bronze Age to (at least) the 8th century BCE. Since this continuous use also covers the Iron Age I, from which hardly any burials are known in the region, and the Iron IIA, from which only a few burials were discovered, the unique continuity revealed in the Tel 'Eton cemetery is of great importance to the study of this era at large, and especially for an understanding the unique type of burial that developed in Judah and was popular in the 8th-7th centuries BCE and is known as the "Judahite Burial".

The first part of the paper will summarize the results of the survey and excavations that were carried out in the cemetery since it was discovered some 55 years ago, focusing on the recent survey carried out by the current expedition. The second part of the lecture will review the changes in burial practices over the centuries and will reflect on the complex connections between the Tel 'Eton cemetery and the development of the popular Judahite burial of the Iron IIB-C.

### 02.02 Hasmonaean History and Books of the Maccabees

New Conclusions Regarding Antiochus VII's Siege Facing the Walls of Jerusalem

Ayala Zilberstein; Tel Aviv University

During excavations atop the western slope of the City of David hill (Giv'ati Parking Lot area) conducted by Ben-Ami and Tchekhanovets on behalf of the Israel Antiquities Authority, remains of a massive Hellenistic fortification were uncovered.

Based on these remains, which were the focus of my recently submitted doctoral dissertation, I suggested identifying the original construction phase as the remains of the Seleucid 'Akra' citadel. In addition, one of the later phases was dated to the 30s of the 2nd century BC. This evidence led to the conclusion that, on the eve of the siege of Antiochus VII Sidetes which is dated to the end of this decade, there were two contemporaneous lines of fortification surrounding the city's hills.

This reconstruction allowed for a renewed examination of the historical sources that refer to Sidetes' siege, and indeed has recently begun undergoing re-examination by D.T. Ariel. In this presentation, I would like to propose a re-reading of some of the descriptions found in the works of Josephus and Diodorus of Sicily. This reading may help to decipher the supposed incompatibility between the two versions, as found in the story of the expulsion of the weak population or in the meaning underlying Josephus' description of the dismantling of the 'στεφάνη '(STEPHANE) walls after the siege.

## Jerusalem in 1 and 2 Maccabees: Perceived, Conceived, Biblicised and Personalised Space

Jan Willem van Henten; University of Amsterdam

So far, research into Jerusalem in the Maccabean Books mostly focused on the topography of Jerusalem and historical issues. However, the presentations of Jerusalem in 1 and 2 Maccabees are multi-faceted and concern descriptions of space as well as specific interpretations of that space. My contribution builds on insights from the narratology of space and distinctions of types of space that have become common: perceptual versus imaginary space (a distinction made already in 1934 by the photographer Josef Ehm in Imaginary Space I, 1934) and the differentiation between the first, second and third space as developed by Henri Lefebvre, Edmund Soja and others. My analysis of the references to Jerusalem in 1 and 2 Maccabees will focus on "space as it is or was," "perceived space," and "imagined space". I will analyse in particular how both books describe the space of Jerusalem, how they imagine Jerusalem as a holy city, but in rather different ways, and how they perceive the ruin of Jerusalem through the personification and scripturalization of the space involved. Because the space of Jerusalem is also connected with the body of the protagonists of the stories, I will also discuss the nexus of body and space, endorsing the observation of Jonathan Z. Smith (1987) that the relationship to the human body confers meaning to place.

#### Heroes of Endurance: Experiencing Hypomoné in 4 Maccabees

Silvia Castelli; Free University Amsterdam

Through the analysis of 4 Maccabees 6 and 15, this paper argues that 4 Maccabees enacts hypomoné/endurance through textual strategies that aim to trigger in its audience a bodily, empirical, perceptual, and emotional engagement. Through a highly immersive narrative, the audience of 4 Maccabees is brought not simply to "imagine the scenes"—as argued, among others, by de Silva—but to a multi-sensorial experience of endurance. The immersive account of the martyrdom of Eleazar in 4 Maccabees 6 gives its listeners the feeling of being right on the spot and experiencing the steadfastness/endurance of the hero. Moreover, by stressing both the corporeality of maternal love and the adamant firmness of the courage of the mother of the seven, 4 Maccabees 15 crosses the boundaries of gender, making the mother the most excellent champion of endurance. In these highly immersive representations, the characters exercising hypomoné are not passively accepting torture but actively—and bodily—standing against it. Hypomoné, in this context of martyrdom, is a heroic attitude of both men and women.

# 02.03 The World of the Maccabees between Judaism and Hellenism: New Scholarship

Menelaus: The Man Who Would Be High Priest

Samuele Rocca; Ariel University

The paper first focuses on the origin of Menelaus and his family. Most scholars believe the passage of the original Greek 2 Macc 3:4–6 contains an error and that it should read "priestly clan of Bilga," following the Latin translation of the Vulgata. However, given the evidence provided by the Testament of Moses, the Jewish Antiquities, and the Stele of Heliodorus, the paper contends that the Greek version, which states that Simon came from the "Tribe of Benjamin," is correct. Menelaus and his brothers came from a family that was part of the secular elite of Judaea. It came to preeminence in the political and religious life of Judaea because of the Seleucid policy of "reorganizing" the administration of sanctuaries by installing those who would be loyal to them. The paper then discusses the impact of Menelaus's appointment on the Maccabean Revolt and suggests a different

interpretation of its main cause. 1 and 2 Maccabees and Josephus argue that the Hellenization of Jerusalem resulting in Antiochus IV's legendary edict of persecution was to blame. But the paper argues that it was the "sacrilegious" appointment of a commoner as high priest that unleashed the fury of the Jews.

### Josephus vs. I Maccabees on Martyrdom

Daniel R. Schwartz; Hebrew University

Because Josephus, in his Antiquities, followed 1 Maccabees very closely, his deviations from it invite interpretation. One particularly salient cluster of deviations comes in Josephus's versions of the stories, at the end of the first chapter of 1 Maccabees and the middle of the second chapter, of Jews whose devout observance of Jewish law results in their death. While the pro-Hasmonean author of 1 Maccabees portrays them as foils for the Hasmoneans, who chose to rebel rather than to die, Josephus, via a number of reformulations, and also a reorganization of the material, portrays them as positive models.

Some of this has been recognized by scholarship, some has not; a fuller account of Josephus's editing of the stories will contribute to a broader understanding of his agenda in Antiquities, one that shines through despite his dependence on numerous sources.

### What Kind of Polis was Jerusalem from Hellenistic to Roman Times?

Ariel Samuel Lewin; Università della Basilicata

The purpose of this paper is to show that Jerusalem was never organized as a real polis. In fact, it is not possible to admit that the city was a self-governed polis since some very precise prerogatives that are necessary to consider it as such were never fulfilled. In the Hellenistic period, then in the Herodian and finally in the Roman period Jerusalem formally acquired the institutions that characterized a polis, but it was subjected to a series of limitations in its governance, which made it impossible to fully adapt it to the typology of the Greco-Roman polis. If in the Hellenistic age such a condition assimilated it to that of many other cities, in the Roman age it remained a sort of relic of the Hellenistic age.

#### Errors in the Eulogy to the Romans in 1 Macc. 8.7-11

Linda Zollschan; Ben Gurion University of the Negev

What Judas had heard about the Romans is the subject of 1 Macc. 8 1 to 18. Certain errors of a historical nature have caused critics to dismiss parts of 1 Macc. 8.7 - 11 as full of howlers in the words of Momigliano. I will discuss two errors in particular and show that these are partial truths. First, in verse seven, it is reported that the Romans captured Antiochus III alive, and then, in verse 8, that the Romans gave the previously Seleucid territory of India to Eumenes, the king of Pergamum. Particularly important in this regard is an Indo-Bactrian inscription in Greek that mentions certain Eumenes. In addition, I will present evidence that all the historical events mentioned in 1 Macc. 8.7-11 occurred prior to 162 BCE. Especially important in this context is my refutation that the mention of enslavements of the Greeks in verses 9 to 11 refers to the Achaean war.

### 02.04 The Hasmoneans and their State: New Researches

Anatomy of a Coup: Revisiting the Reign of Aristobulus I

Julia Wilker; University of Pennsylvania

The reign of Aristobulus I (c. 104-103 BCE) has received only little attention in modern scholarship on the Hasmonean period, and it is often reduced to the formal adoption of the royal title. Flavius Josephus, however, included extensive accounts of Aristobulus' rule in both the Bellum Iudaicum and the Antiquitites Iudaicae and thus marked his tenure as a watershed moment in Judean history even beyond the introduction of formal monarchical rule (BJ 1.70-84; AJ 13.301-320). The variety of sources that Josephus used, ranging from the Hellenistic historian Timagenes (via Strabo) to, in all likelihood, Jewish oral traditions, supports this presentation. This paper offers a new interpretation of Aristobulus' reign by focusing on the core of Josephus' narrative: the internal strive at the court and the murder of Aristobulus' brother Antigonus at the king's command. A close reading of the story's various layers shows that the event was not an isolated scandal but indicated a new phase of Hasmonean rule. The reign of Aristobulus thus appears as a pivotal moment in Judean history, in which the dynastic structure was reorganized, the relationship between the ruling family and the elite was redefined, and new expressions of power and status emerged.

## Hasmonean Fortifications and the Expansion of the Hasmonean Kingdom: A View from the Galilee

Roi Sabar; Hebrew University

The geopolitical dynamics of the Hellenistic period Levant are documented in historical accounts. As part of these dynamics, the emergence of the Hasmonean State and its territorial expansion are discussed in both 1 Maccabees and Josephus. However, these historical accounts do not specify when and how the Galilee became part of the Hasmonean realm, and this matter has become a scholarly debate. This paper presents new research on the archaeological record of geopolitical dynamics in the Hellenistic Galilee.

The study includes an investigation of fortified sites in the Galilee. The main aim of the study was to determine the foundation dates and thus enable the accurate attribution of the fortified sites to their historical and geopolitical context. One of these sites is Ḥorvat Tefen, located 16 km from Akko-Ptolemais. The fortress at Ḥorvat Tefen was surveyed several times in the past and was dated roughly to the Hellenistic period. Our excavations at the site yielded finds that allow us to date the fortress as a short-lived Hasmonean building project, built in the final decade of Alexander Yannai's reign (~85 - 76 BCE). This, together with additional fortresses in the region, enables unique insights into the expansion of the kingdom and the security policy of king Alexander Yannai.

#### Antigonus Mattathias: between Parthia and Rome

Edward Dąbrowa; Jagiellonian University

We owe the portrayal of Antigonus Mattathias's reign, the last king of the Hasmonean dynasty (40-37 BCE), exclusively to Josephus, who devoted him a considerable place in both of his works. Despite family ties with the Hasmoneans and favourable inclinations towards them, Josephus depicted the last king as a warmonger who would not hesitate to seek help from the Parthians and corrupt Roman commanders. The battles fought by Antigonus with Herod caused unrest and chaos, affecting the people of Jerusalem, Judea and their neighbouring territories.

The explanation for this unfavourable assessment of Antigonus should be sought in the fact that Josephus was inspired by the works of Nicolaus of Damascus on Herod, who

would be inclined to put Herod's rival Antigonus in a bad light.

It seems that Josephus's assessment is a justified one. On the other hand site, other available sources, such as the coinage of Antigonus, even the works of Josephus himself, as well as those of other authors presenting the political reality in Judaea and the Middle East in Antigonus's time, allow us to evaluate the last Hasmonean ruler differently and much more favourably. This evidence proves that his actions had a strictly defined political agenda. He also skillfully used external circumstances to consolidate his power and, most importantly, enjoyed considerable support among the people of Judea.

### The Hasmoneans and the Formation of Jewish Collective Identity

Eyal Regev; Bar Ilan University

Although the Hasmonean rulers and high priests contended with the Hellenistic world and its culture, the question remains, what did they contribute to the crystallization of Jewish identity? The conversion of Idumaeans and Ituraeans by John Hyrcanus and Judas Aristobulus proves that they were concerned with the questions of who is a Jew and what does it mean to be a Jew. In the case of these conversions, the answer was "one who observes the Jewish nomos" (which probably means the laws of the Torah).

I suggest that several other aspects of their policy also aimed to make Jewish identity more constant and exclusive. The coins minted by all the Hasmonean rulers included the title "high priest and Heber ha Yehudim," which means, as I have indicated in a previous study, the entire Jewish people. This proves that they believed in the political importance of a Jewish ethnos. They regarded themselves as its representative, claiming that they were ruling with or on behalf of the Jewish ethnos. The half shekel tribute paid by most Jews, including those in the diaspora, helped to establish the Temple as an international Jewish centre. The tribute became an ethnic marker.

Furthermore, since ritual baths and daily purification emerged in the Hasmonean period, first appearing in the palace of John Hyrcanus in Jericho, I suggest that the Hasmoneans developed or enhanced the concept of constant purification. They encouraged purification from Gentile impurity and the maintenance of a constant state of purity as a step towards differentiation from neighbouring non-Jews.

The fact that the Hasmoneans also ruled over many non-Jews in Judaea explains why they found it necessary to develop a collective Jewish identity.

### 02.05 Using Archeology to Understand Ancient Judaism

### Aelia Capitolina in Jerusalem, a Question of Perspectives

Miriam Ben Zeev Hofman; Ben Gurion University

In the reign of Emperor Hadrian, Jerusalem lost its Jewish features, and, on its ruins, a Roman colony, Aelia Capitolina, is built, to which the Jews were denied access. Jewish Jerusalem, which had been the seat of Jewish sovereignty, the location of its legislative councils and courts and the centre of Jewish worship and national identity, was replaced by a pagan centre. From a Jewish point of view, it must have been a calamity.

The question arises, how may such a drastic decision fit into the well-known image of Hadrian's concern for the general peace and welfare of the Empire?

The background of this decision emerges thanks to the recent archaeological excavations carried out by Alexander Onn and Shlomit Weksler-Bdolah in the Western Wall Plaza of the Old City of Jerusalem. The findings (sherds, coins, broken glass vessels, imperial lamps and fine tableware and animal bones) attest that the preparation of the infrastructures of the Eastern Cardo of Aelia Capitolina began in the early 120s, and this is particularly meaningful since these were difficult years for Hadrian. When he became the emperor in 117 CE, several rebellious episodes broke out in different parts of the Roman Empire, and the repression of the Jewish Diaspora Uprisings, which seems to have had an echo in Judea, too, had not yet been completed. The creation of a Roman colony in Judaea, therefore, must have been meant to ensure the security and the stability of the province and, perhaps, also to become an agent of romanization.

Under these circumstances, it appears Jewish sensibilities and possible reactions may have been irrelevant for Hadrian vis-à-vis political and strategic considerations. He would not have imagined that a few years later, another major Jewish war was about to break out.

### The Hasmonean Rebellions against Antipater's House: The Archaeological Evidence

Dvir Raviv; Bar Ilan University

The transition from Hasmonean rule, which ended in 63 BCE, to Herod's regime, which was consolidated in 37 BCE, fomented great unrest among the Jewish population of Judaea. During these two and a half decades there were four main rebellions, led by

Aristobulus the second and his sons against Hyrcanus the second and the House of Antipater, which are described in detail by Josephus. However, while the events are well known from Josephus, so far there have been very few archaeological finds related to these rebellions.

The main parts of my research that I want to address here are first, an update of the distribution of finds from this period (hoards, rebel coins, hiding complexes, and refuge caves). These finds, as well as confirming Josephus's account in general, seem to indicate that the resistance of the Jewish population to the rule of the House of Antipater was even larger then Josephus would have us believe. Second, giving an explanation of the development of the hiding complexes and the use of refuge caves during the first century BCE, phenomena that have been known so far mainly in relation to the Bar Kokhba Revolt.

## Purity without Borders? Aspects and Material Culture of Jewish Purity Practice(s) outside Eretz-Israel during the Late Hellenistic and Early Roman Periods

Friederike Schöpf; University of Münster

In the Torah, the regulations of purity are concentrated on the Temple and its service. During the Classical periods, a shift into the private sphere took place. This development is traceable in the Jewish sources from the Hellenistic and Early Roman periods. In those texts, the status of purity is used by the community, family, and the individual to separate from non-Jews and draw boundaries towards other groups. The material culture related to individual purity emerged later, from the late Hellenistic time onwards, e.g., through ritual stepped pools and chalkstone vessels. Those installations and objects are primarily distributed in Jewish-inhabited areas of Judaea, Peraea, and the Galilee. Purity practices outside the land of Israel developed differently, depending on environmental conditions and cross-cultural influences. Nevertheless, independent of the locality, purity functioned as an identity marker, able to connect all Jews. In this concept of "imagined purity", not all communities needed distinguishable objects to demonstrate their identity.

Based on the evidence of numerous finds of chalkstone vessels in Tall Zirā'a, Northern Transjordan, I will pose the question, of where the limits of the distribution of the material culture were located – and why. What made the difference in the case of the Jewish inhabitants of Tall Zir'ā to hold onto the material tradition inside a gentile environment?

By defining the boundaries of distribution, a better understanding of the value of objects is possible, and their role in the concept of "imagined purity".

### 02.06 Transmitting and Retelling the Bible in Antiquity

## A Different Paradigm of Textual Transmission? – The Samaritan Text of the Pentateuch as a Textual Cluster

Stefan Schorch; Martin-Luther-University Halle-Wittenberg

It is often surmised, explicitly or silently, that the transmission of the Pentateuch proceeded from a unified Urtext, i.e. a unified text that displays the final stage of literary development and becomes the point of departure for transmission. Most obviously, the great stability of the Masoretic tradition as we know it must have been favourable to such views. The Samaritan Pentateuch, on the other hand, is not to be regarded as one unified text but rather as a textual cluster. While the boundaries of this cluster are determined by the same literary structure and identical editorial techniques, there is a considerable internal textual variety within the cluster, affecting, especially, paragraphing, single words, and morphemes, but sometimes also syntactic structures and the general conceptual framework. Historically, this textual variety of the Samaritan Pentateuch and its conceptualization as a cluster originate in the transmission of the Pentateuch during the late period of the Second temple in Jerusalem. It will be argued that the "cluster paradigm" provides an alternative model for understanding the textual transmission of the Pentateuch.

### The Transformation of Biblical Text into Literature in Alexandrian Jewish Translation Paratexts

Jeremy Steinberg; University of Pennsylvania

This paper argues that the Letter of Aristeas and the prologue to Ben Sira demonstrate the introduction of Greek literary paradigms to biblical texts. Reading these 2nd-century BCE Alexandrian translation paratexts as literary works in their own right, I argue that their creators presumed that texts were by nature fixed and written by specific, individuated authors. I represent these presumptions as a shift away from prevailing conceptions of

literature in contemporaneous Judaea, where, as recent scholarship (Najman 2003; Mroczek 2016) has shown, texts were generally understood to be unauthored and fluid. Simultaneously, I locate these translation paratexts within the regnant understanding of literature in contemporaneous Alexandria, best exemplified by the scholiastic project which aimed to recover the original text of the Homeric poems—— a project predicated on assumptions of fixity and authorship.

Although these paratexts are about translation, they do not frame the introduction of fixity and authorship as part of the translation process; rather, they project these literary attributes onto the Hebrew sources. This projection reveals the transformation of biblical texts: not only are the products of translation conceptualized according to Greek literary models, but the Hebrew Pentateuch and Ben Sira are also rendered as Greek literature.

### Hannah and David's Songs: Intertextuality in Josephus' Works

Michael Avioz; Bar Ilan University

One of Flavius Josephus' works is Antiquities of the Jews. Scholars usually define its genre (mainly books 1-11) as "rewritten Bible" or "rewritten Scripture". In the following paper, I will focus on Josephus's use of Hannah's song in 1 Sam. 2 and 2 Samuel 22, and try to show that despite the fact that he omitted entirely their content from his rewriting, he was among the first exegetes to discern the importance of 1 Sam. 2 and 2 Samuel 22 in designing the message of the books of Samuel. First, I will briefly review the links between 1 Sam. 2 and 2. Sam. 22 and then, focusing on various narratives in Samuel, I will attempt to show that Josephus used the ideas in Hanna's prayer and David's song in order to shape the message of the books of Samuel.

### 02.07 Jewish Festivals and Cult in Antiquity

## The Vintage Festival in Ancient Jewish Imagery: a Case-Study for Heortological Development

Michael Wogman; Moscow State University

Wine and viticulture played a prominent role in the quotidien and cultural life of most ancient Mediterranean societies, including Judah (Iudaea). However, in rough contrast to

several neighbours, biblical festive calendars never include a special feast connected to vintage (though its existence seems to be admitted, at least in stories that remember the legendary old times, in several passages of the book of Judges). This paper investigates different strategies of re-inventing a vintage festival, which emerged in several kinds of Hellenistic-period Jewish texts, ranging from the legalistic sources such as the Temple Scroll and the Mishnah to slighter allusions in novelistic texts like Judith, 3 Maccabees and the Asenath romance. It aims to show the ways in which elite politics, festive imagery and actual popular practice could have interacted in the history of a minor festival throughout the post-biblical period and how different elite parties in the Hellenistic world developed competing calendric models to express their version of Jewish identity.

The paper is part of a collective project, "Calendar Ritual and Temporal Consciousness in the Ancient Near East", headed by Prof. V. V. Emelianov (Saint-Petersburg).

### The Diverging Fates of the Jewish and Egyptian Cults in Rome

Katell Berthelot; Aix-Marseille University

Jews and Egyptians were often associated in the ancient world. Some Greek and Roman authors viewed the Jewish people as having originated in Egypt. The Jewish ritual of circumcision was sometimes connected to Egyptian practice, and Strabo even attributed to both Egyptians and Jews the custom of female excision. Jews and Egyptians also occasionally suffered from a common rejection and disparagement. In the 2nd century CE, the Epicurean philosopher Diogenes of Oenoanda thus vilified both Jews and Egyptians as the most superstitious peoples on earth.

In Republican Rome, the Jewish and Egyptian cults were private religions, which were at times perceived as corrupting Roman mores through the introduction of foreign rituals. Some Jews and Egyptians were thus expelled jointly from Rome in 19 CE under Tiberius. Yet, with Vespasian's rise to power and the Flavian dynasty, the fate of these cults came to diverge drastically. While the worship of Isis became a Roman public cult, the Jewish God was never integrated into the Roman pantheon and his sacrificial cult was put to an end throughout the empire.

This paper aims to explore and explain these diverging trajectories of the Jewish and Egyptian cults in a Roman context from the end of the Republic to the second century CE.

#### Synagogue Mosaics and the Production of Language in Late Roman Palestine

Alexei Sivertsev; DePaul University

The paper investigates the use of cross-language epigraphic formulas in synagogue floor mosaics in late Roman Palestine. It explores multilingual inscriptions and a variety of production and viewing techniques through which these inscriptions were embedded into their physical and symbolic environment. The paper argues that we should approach the language of inscriptions as a form of material artefact. The language was manufactured in local and regional workshops in accordance with a range of set formulas, just as lamps or figurines were mould-made in accordance with a range of moulds. The language functioned within the material context of iconographic and epigraphic materials embedded into the space of mosaic floors. It was engaged by viewers who possessed various degrees of literacy. Our study of language, therefore, should focus not so much on language as an abstract category (exemplified by Hebrew/Aramaic vs. Greek dichotomy) but on language as a material object delineated by the material circumstance of its production and viewing. Rather than merely being distinct corpora, separated – to appropriate Ramsay MacMullen's useful terminology – by language and epigraphic habit, Aramaic, Greek, and Hebrew inscriptions function as layers of exchangeable codes through which bi- or trilingual synagogue communities articulated themselves.

### 03.01 Rabbinic Terminology Confronting the Outside World

Philologic Historical Aspects of Inquiry into the Words used by the Tannaim and their Socio-Economic Meaning: Towards Compiling a New Periodic Historical Dictionary

Ben-Zion Rosenfeld; Bar Ilan University

The current research deals with two words that were essential in the discussion of economic issues in Tannaitic literature: ממוך, נכסים. These words underwent changes in their meaning in the generations that evolved from the time of the Bible until the end of the Mishna period (250 CE). The changes in the use of the words expose socio-economic phenomena in the Jewish society of Roman Palestine that influenced the use of the words. The words *mammon* and *nekhasim* served in the Mishna in various social contexts. Both words underwent changes from Biblical times until the compilation of the Mishnah. The

analyses of these words can reveal much about Jewish society in that period. This work is part of comprehensive research toward compiling an updated historical dictionary for the terminology of the Mishnah. Its entrees will be based on inquiries such as the current one and will enrich the historic philologic research of the period with new directions. Enter abstract here.

### Land Renting and Renters in Jewish Society of Roman Palestine in the first Centuries CE, according to Ancient Rabbinic Texts

Haim Perlmutter; Bar Ilan University

Land Renting and Renters in Jewish Society of Roman Palestine in the first Centuries CE, According to Ancient Rabbinic Texts

This research is part of a wide research regarding the historical implications of laws of rental in rabbinic law. The rental of fields is an area for which there is much material in rabbinic law but has not been studied thoroughly by scholars. The research intends to identify the people that would rent land, what they would rent it for, and to what degree the renter has ownership over the property he rented. This information will allow us to identify the social standing of the land renter carefully and to define him from an economic perspective. The research will identify words and terms used in the context of renting land. It will also ask whether women rented land from others or rented it out to others. Were they treated differently than men? Was renting land different from renting a house or other utilities? How long was the typical rental contract? Was it written? The research will limit itself to Tannaitic literature (70-250 CE), Mishnah, Tosefta, and Halakhic exegesis. The research will compare rabbinic literature to Roman law and literary sources.

### People and Goy from Rabbinic Literature and Syriac Christianity in Late Antiquity

Koji Osawa; Chukyo University

This paper highlights certain distinctions between "(Jewish) People," "Christians," and "people in general" as exemplified in the interpretations of "goy" (and "am," in some cases) in the biblical quotations by Rabbis and Aphrahat the Persian Sage during Late Antiquity. Considering numerous attempts made in the past to draw a line between "Jews" and "Christians," this paper focuses on what Rabbis and Aphrahat regard as "goy" in the

biblical quotations. In the Hebrew Bible, "goy" means a) Jews (or the Israelites), b) unspecified people, including Jews, c) non-Jews, or d) unspecified people, regardless of whether including Jews or not. After the establishment of the Mishna of Rabbi Jehuda, however, the meanings of "goy" have been integrated into the single meaning, gentile or "non-Jews." In his biblical quotations, Aphrahat used "'ammah," the Syriac word corresponding to "'am" in Hebrew. This means that Aphrahat understands the word "goy" differently from the Rabbis, or that was general in the Syriac world then. The analysis of the differences between "Jews," "Christians," and "people in general" by focusing on Rabbinic literature and Aphrahat in Late Antiquity can help clarify Jewish identity from both the inside and the outside.

### 03.02 Approaches to Rabbinic Literature

## The Bologna Yerushalmi Bifolios Nezikin and Megillah and their Relationship to the Leiden Manuscript

Moshe Pinchuk; Netanya Academic College

The city archive of Bologna (ABSO) has yielded a wealth of Jewish/Hebrew manuscript fragments (See: Sussmann, Thesaurus of Talmudic Manuscript, Jerusalem, 2012, pp. 29-40). Of special interest are the Talmud Yerushalmi fragments (See: Sussmann, Ginze Yerushalmi, Jerusalem, 2020, p. 723). Recently two bifolios of Yerushalmi Megillah-Hagigah were discovered in ABSO and published by Perani and Stemberger. Perani established that these bifolios come from the same manuscript as the Nezikin bifolios from ABSO. Recently Roberta Tonnarelli has confirmed this in her Ph.D. thesis. Stemberger has claimed that the Megilla fragments are the probable vorlage of the Leiden Mss. This claim has been questioned by Pinchuk. Stemberger, however, did not address the Nezikin bifolio. Assuming that Megilla and Nezikin are from the same mss, then Nezikin too must be the *Vorlage* of Leiden because the colophon of the Leiden Mss. indicates that it was copied from a single manuscript. In this paper, I examine the relationship between the Bologna bifolios and Leiden, taking both Megillah and Nezikin into account. The conclusions will generate some observations and further questions concerning the extent of the original Bologna manuscript and the nature of Leiden's *Vorlage*.

## The Contribution of Integrative Study to Understanding Narratives in the Jerusalem Talmud

Daniel Nikitin; Hemdat Hadarom College

One need not have watched the acclaimed film 'Footnote' to understand the tension, suspicion, and even contempt that exists between various Talmudic research disciplines; walking the corridors of the relevant academic departments would[ suffice. This lecture will present the contribution of the integrative study to the analysis of stories of the sages in the Jerusalem Talmud and parallel texts. The integrative study offers various perspectives on the text, illuminating and cultivating its depths. After analyzing a story from the critical edition of the Jerusalem Talmud, we will demonstrate a model of the 'Hevruta' study: dividing the text into diverse layers of understanding and examining the perspectives of varied schools of thought, including critical, literary, and psychological angles. This reading will show how each textual perception reveals an additional aspect of the Talmudic work, enabling a mosaic image that is greater than the sum of its parts.

The texts featured in this lecture refer to the stories of the sages, as they appear in the acclaimed critical editions of the Jerusalem Talmud –

- o Menachem Katz, Jerusalem Talmud Tractate Qiddushin, Jerusalem, 2016.
- o Ibid., Jerusalem Talmud Tractate Yevamot, TalmudYerushalmi.com

## Onan's Fear — None of Boaz' Concerns! Rabbinic Explorations of Levirate Marriage in the Hebrew Bible's Genealogy of King David

Hanneke van der Schoor; KU Leuven

Levirate marriage, i.e. between a brother- and sister-in-law, is instituted to ascertain progeny for the deceased spouse of a widow (Deuteronomy 25). Two narratives in the Tenach address these regulations in real life as it were. The first regards Judah's household, involving sons Er, Onan, and Judah himself (Genesis 38), the second concerns Elimelech's family, focusing on Boaz and Ruth (Ruth 1-4), not accidentally all part of the genealogy of David. This paper engages with a remarkable difference between these narratives. Onan refuses to impregnate his sister-in-law, not willing to raise up a name for his deceased brother instead of for himself. Yet, the (first) child resulting from Boaz' and Ruth's union is listed in the genealogy of Boaz, not in that of Machlon, Ruth's

deceased husband, which was the reason for Boaz' and Ruth's marriage in the first place. In this paper, the analysis of rabbinic principles offered in the Talmudic tractate of Yebamot and in Ruth Rabba will highlight how these descriptions of levirate marriage aid in explaining the seemingly imperfect genealogy leading up to king David.

# 03.03 Seder Eliyahu — New Perspectives on an Enigmatic Midrash

### Biblical Figures in Seder Eliyahu

Adiel Kadari; Ben Gurion University

Seder Eliyahu (SE) deals extensively with biblical stories and biblical figures. Dozens of biblical characters are referenced in this work – some are mentioned only in passing or by way of allusion, while others are richly developed. In this lecture, I will consider the different ways in which such characters are depicted, the reasons they are presented and discussed, and the question of the relationship between exegetical concerns and narratological-literary concerns in presenting the stories of biblical personalities.

I will also discuss the connection between the extensive treatment of biblical characters and the more general goals and agendas of this work. These issues are related to the question of Seder Eliyahu's relationship to rabbinic literature. To what extent should we regard SE as a midrashic work that continues in the tradition of rabbinic Midrash Aggadah, and to what extent does it reflect the literary and intellectual milieu of the Middle Ages? I will examine these "big questions" by studying the depiction of Pharaoh, King of Egypt and Sennacherib, King of Assyria, woven together in the eighth chapter of SE.

### Seder Eliyahu and Jewish Liturgy: Cross-References

Vered Raziel-Kretzmer; Ben Gurion University

In the same way that Seder Eliyahu heavily relies on rabbinic sources, its language contains many liturgical references and citations. The purpose of this paper is to explore the various connections between SE and Jewish liturgy, including the ways in which liturgical formulas are woven into SE; how they enrich its language and emphasize its ideas; and the concepts shared between the two.

The apparent affinity between SE and common prayer has prompted scholars to investigate the specific liturgical rite reflected in SE and locate its provenance and date. Accordingly, SE will be compared with the earliest sources of rabbinic prayer, as it appears in Tanaitic and Amoraic sources, the Cairo Genizah prayerbook fragments, Babylonian and Palestinian rites, as well as early medieval copies of prayer books from various Jewish communities throughout the world. I will discuss whether liturgical phrases can indeed point to the origins of SE.

### Embedded Traces of Piyyut in Seder Eliyahu

Amos Geula; Herzog Academic College

Various aspects of prayer in SE have been discussed in research, however the relationship between SE and the world of piyyut (liturgical poems) has scarcely been discussed. In this lecture I would like to focus on the affinity between SE and the world of piyyut. There are some parallels to piyyutim in SE, such as those of Yannai and Rabbi Elazar Kaliri.

I will examine the relationship between these parallels and ask the classic question: who took from whom? I will also try to point out traces of piyyutim that have not been preserved, as well as examine the contribution of the world of piyyut to the special language and style of SE. Finally, I will try to deduce the significance of these findings to the question of SE's background, and examine how they can help us solve the riddle of the composition called Seder Eliyahu.

### How Seder Eliyahu Engages Its Readers

Ulrich Berzbach; independent scholar

Many clues in Seder Eliyahu indicate that in this work an author has very deliberately composed his text in such a way that the language and the arrangement of textual elements will appeal to potential readers. Familiar elements from rabbinic literature and from the liturgy are artfully combined so that a reader can feel at once on familiar ground and at the same time be surprised by new combinations and the author's very own innovations.

It is fruitful to follow these cross-references, because in this way one not only learns more

about the structure of SE, but probably also finds clues to the reality outside the text that is addressed in it. Thus it may also be possible to find out more about the reality of life of the readers whom this text aims to encourage to read it.

### 03.04 Form and Rhetoric in Rabbinic Literature

### Interpretation and Literary Editing in Midrash Tehilim

Arnon Atzmon; Bar Ilan University

One of the central questions in the study of Aggadic midrashim is to what extent do these midrashim play an interpretative role and are the products of an interpretive reading of the biblical text, and to what degree do these midrashim play other roles, such as literary or homiletic, and their connection to the biblical text is less tight?

In this lecture I would like to probe this question with regard to the Midrash Tehilim, which is a broad and diverse Midrash on the verses of Psalms.

Through a close reading of a few case studies from the Midrash, I would like to propose a complex model that expresses different levels of mixture between interpretative elements in the Midrash and other elements that are incorporated in it.

#### On Angry Fathers and Distressed Sons: Emotional Rhetoric in Tannaitic Parables

Albertina Oegema; Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz

This paper will examine how the emotional characterization of parents and children in Tannaitic parables functions within the form and rhetoric of the rabbinic mashal. In Tannaitic parables, parents and children are regularly attributed with emotions. Yet, there is a remarkable variety in the emotions attributed. This paper will explain this variety in light of the sociohistorical background of the parable's narrative and the blend with its application, taking due account of its midrashic and social-performative contexts. On the basis of this examination, the proposed paper will argue that rabbinic parables employ an emotional rhetoric that not only serves the parable's interpretative purposes but also conveys norms and values regarding God and Israel on its metaphorical place and

regarding parents and children in its social-performative context. Interpretation and rhetoric, as a result, go hand in hand.

## From Rabbinic Authority to Talmudic Dialectics: The Development of Talmudic Refutations in the Babylonian Talmud

Barak Cohen; Bar Ilan University

When considering issues of rabbinic legal authority, hierarchy and other subjects related to rabbinic interactions, the difficulty arises of how to explain hundreds of instances where the Babylonian Talmud uses the words of one Amoraic sage to challenge another. In this lecture, I reevaluate the explanations of this phenomenon suggested in modern scholarship and offer my own findings. I analyze four types of difficulties raised from Amoraic sources found in the Bavli, including: (1) "But did R. X not say...?"; (2) "Doesn't the master agree with what R. X said...?" (3) "Wasn't it stated about this...?!/"Behold it was stated about this..."; and (4) Difficulties raised from acts performed by other rabbis. The results of this analysis lead to new ways of understanding the difficulties raised in the Amoraic and Stammaitic strata of the Bavli, as well as the formation of certain trends in legal rulings that developed in Talmudic Babylonia.

## Reception and Incorporation of Leviticus Rabbah Traditions in the Babylonian Talmud

Shana Strauch Schick; Bar Ilan University

Talmudic literature from the Land of Israel comprises discrete works of varying genres. Babylonian sages, by contrast, produced the Babylonian Talmud alone, which, though centred on the Mishnah, incorporates traditions of all genres, about a third of which constitutes Aggadah. This paper probes a particular type of aggadic tradition found in the Bavli, which parallels sections of Leviticus Rabbah, an aggadic collection from the fourth-fifth century Land of Israel. Focussing on instances where both share common clusters of traditions, I examine the extent of such parallels and how they diverge in their different contexts, in terms of content, form, and purpose. We will see how the Bavli's redactors employ distinct literary techniques when incorporating these clusters, which often results in uses which run counter to their original meaning, revealing how the Bavli's redactors

incorporated Palestinian aggadic traditions and shedding light on the reception history of Leviticus Rabbah in Babylonian rabbinic circles.

### 03.05 Rabbinic Ethics

### Sages' Paradise and Hell: a Proposal for Rabbinic Ethics

Olga Ruiz-Morell; University of Granada

The construction of rabbinic ethics involves a reflection on the afterlife. This reflection implies not only the construction of the spaces after death, hell and paradise, and the determination of the rewards or punishments that are applied to human souls (and/or bodies), but also a basic aspect in the construction of this ethic, such as the merits and demerits that bring about one or the other destiny.

In this paper, we will reflect on the retributive ethics constructed by the Sages of Classical Judaism and the images they developed around Gehinnom and Gan Eden as a means for the establishment of their social order. We will sketch a first outline of both scenarios, focusing specifically on reward and punishment, with which they construct the ethic code that is intended to establish a social order, and in which the Torah and its study are vindicated as a cohesive element. Having determined this classical origin of hell and paradise, we will look at the following pictures that transcended from the images that Sages elaborated of both spaces.

#### "All of Israel Have a Portion in the World to Come" — Who Does not Have a Portion?

Brachi Elitzur; Herzog Academic College

The final section of the Mishna in tractate Sanhedrin deals with the four forms of capital punishment meted out by the religious court (bet din). As part of the discussion on the four forms of capital punishment, prior to the list of those who are strangled and the list's details, the Mishna inserts a discussion about groups and individuals who have no portion in the World to Come, naming three kings and four commoners, as well as generations of sinners mentioned in the Bible: The Generation of the Flood, the people of Sodom, the Generation in the Wilderness, Korah and his assembly, and the 10 Tribes. A number of questions arise from the positioning of this unit, its midrashic nature, the characteristics of

the groups and individuals mentioned and the significance of the eschatological punishment.

In the lecture, I will present the questions concerning the positioning of the "Portion" chapter within the corpus, whose main aim is to lay out behavioural foundations for leading a religious lifestyle. I will examine how identifying the layers of redaction enables us to understand the pattern in this unit. I will suggest that identifying the polemic aspects of the unit is the key to understanding it.

### Sifrei to Deuteronomy 346 as an Ancient Sociology of Religious Emotions

Tamara Holkenov; University of Southern Denmark

This paper will attempt to read SD 346 through the theoretical lens developed by Ole Riis and Linda Woodhead in their 2010 book "a Sociology of Religious Emotion" (Oxford University Press). Following Durkheim (1912) and others, R&W understand religion as a triangular cultural system, connecting society, agent and symbol primarily through emotional relations. Unlike Durkheim and others, R&W emphasize the role of the agent and her or his power and choice. Accordingly, they describe this system as dialectical, with two-way emotional relations of agent-society, agent-symbol, and symbol-society. Following the historian of emotions Reddy (2001), R&W refer to this complex as an "emotional regime", however using his term in a broader sense. While both Riis and Woodhead are primarily scholars of recent societies, passage 346 in the Tannaitic midrash of Sifrei to Deuteronomy presents a striking awareness of a similar basic structure of religion as a cultural system, emphasizing the necessity of both collectivity and individual worship for the construction of a divine symbol. This paper will analyze the different parts of the passage using philological tools, affective narratology as developed by Hogan (2011) and, of course, Riis and Woodhead's Sociology of religious emotions.

### 03.06 The Importance of Genre in Rabbinic Literature

### People of Rewriting the Book: the Passover Haggadah as Paradigm

David Lemler; Sorbonne University

People of the Book is a common designation for the Jewish people. Some correct: *People of the Reading of the Book*, insisting on the crucial role of interpretation in Judaism. In this paper, I argue that within the rabbinic tradition, interpretation actually functions largely as a rewriting of the sources. In this perspective, the Passover Haggadah appears as a genuine paradigm. The paper will be based on a review of the process of rewriting at stake in the very text of the Haggadah, in which the maggid part rests on a rewriting of the Biblical narrative of Exodus (maybe even a rewriting of a previous Christian rewriting of the same story), while several passages are themselves a rewriting of the Mishnaic structure laid down in mPesaḥim 10. Then I will turn to later rewritings of parts of the traditional Haggadah, such as a passage of Isaac Albalag's Shamaim Ḥadashim or a tale of Rabbi Nachman of Breslov. I will conclude that contemporary subversive rewritings of the Haggadah, such as the Women's Haggadah or the Haggadah of the Israeli Black Panthers, paradoxically continue the inner dynamics of the rabbinic tradition.

### Observations on the Rabbinic "Parable Theory"

Eric Ottenheijm; Utrecht University

Scholars have assessed the use of Rabbinic parables in the context of Midrash and as serving Rabbinic exegesis. Recently, attention has been drawn to the multidimensional rhetoric of parables, serving different contexts of teaching and internal debate amongst Sages. How do these findings relate to the Rabbinic "parable theory" as presented in Song of Songs Rabba 1:7-8? In this paper, summarizing results of the Utrecht-based research project "Parables and the Partings of the Ways," I address current interpretations of this passage and relate them to the so-called Markan Parable theory (Mark 4:10-12; parr. Luke 8:9-10 and Matthew 13:10-17) which text offers a "parable theory" drawing distinctions of gaining insight in the Kingdom of God between those inside and those outside. A closer look at these texts reveals social religious sensitivities as well as rhetorical commonalities in their usage of the parable. The lecture proposes to see these "theories" as expressing an elite's reflection on a regional genre that served the general

populace access to religious discourses in tapping sensory as well as lived reality epistemologies.

## The Dissolution of the "Minor Medieval Midrashim" – On the Potential of a Literary Revision

Annabelle Fuchs; Hochschule für Jüdische Studien Heidelberg

The term "Minor Medieval Midrashim" has been used since the 19th century to describe a corpus of texts that includes over 300 shorter works. Except for their relative brevity and date of origin in the Middle Ages, they do not exhibit any shared characteristics.

Comprehensive anthological collections by Adolf Jellinek and others have coined the heading "Minor Midrashim" as an umbrella term or even general genre attribution. In fact, they are nothing more than miscellanea, unconnected shorter writings from different literary contexts, which were grouped together only because their brevity would have caused them to be lost elsewhere. The term "midrash" is not suitable to describe these works. This paper presents the enormous potential that lies in connecting the individual texts to the diverse disciplines within and outside of Jewish Studies once the category of "Minor Midrashim" is dissolved. "Branching Out" applies to the named collection of texts quite practically. Jewish and non-Jewish literary studies benefit from it, as do the subjects of biblical exegesis, folkloristics, linguistics, and many others. Last but not least, the Digital Humanities offer, for the first time in history, the necessary tools to process the generated data according to modern standards.

### 03.07 Mishna and Tosefta

#### Experiencing the Mishnah as an Open or Controlling Text in Antiquity

Alex Samely; Manchester University

The modern reader receives the text of the Mishnah under certain conditions of reading and within a particular modern practice of understanding texts. My paper will attempt to compare such experiences of the meaning of the Mishnah with certain strands of its ancient reception. Modern reading practices, including those of scholarship, have been studied in great depth, and I will draw upon recent research by myself on this topic

(Reading and Experience. A Phenomenology of Reading, forthcoming monograph). Among the traces of how reading the Mishnah worked in antiquity, the Talmudic discussions of Mishnaic Halakhah are the most substantial. Using Mishnah Sanhedrin 1 as my example, I will suggest a methodology for how one might extrapolate fundamental aspects of the ancient rabbinic reception of the Mishnah as a text from specific and widely varying halakhic reading agendas and results, as found in Talmudic discourse.

## On the Redaction of the Tosefta and its Relationship to the Mishna, in Light of Tractate Pe'ah and the Story of King Munbaz

Menachem Katz; University of Haifa

The redaction of the Tosefta and its relationship to the Mishnah remains a mystery, despite the significant consideration of these questions by scholars in recent years. This lecture offers another perspective on the nature of the Tosefta's redaction, in light of the beginning and end of Tractate Pe'ah in the Mishnah and Tosefta, and the relationship between them.

A closer examination can contribute to a better understanding of issues pertaining to the redaction of the Tosefta in general, and its relationship to the Mishnah in particular, as well as an interpretive study of the Tosefta itself. As in other cases, the question of redaction also contributes to an interpretation of the texts from another perspective. In light of the links between the Mishna and Tosefta at the beginning and end of Tractate Pe'ah, this lecture will offer new insights on the conclusion of the tractate in the Tosefta – particularly the story of King Munbaz there:

The incident of Munbaz the King, who went and squandered his treasures during years of famine.

This analysis will be based on a close literary reading of the text, and an examination of the language, content, and ethical aspects of the story.

### The Use of the Colon in MS Erfurt of the Tosefta

Shira Shmidman; Bar Ilan University

The Erfurt manuscript of the Tosefta (now Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Or. 20 1220) contains the text of four complete orders of the Tosefta. Beyond the pure text of the Tosefta, the

manuscript also contains additional markings that have drawn scholarly attention. Most notable is the fact that the scribe added vocalization to over 700 words in a seemingly unpredictable manner. While much effort has been spent attempting to determine the pattern of the scribe's vocalization, a different mark of the scribe has not received much scholarly attention. In 15 instances, the scribe includes two versions of the text, and adds a colon before and after one of those versions of the text. While Epstein contended that the scribe used the colon to indicate an alternate parallel version of the text, in some examples it is clear that one of the versions is incorrect, and the colon signifies an emendation of the text. This lecture will present a comprehensive analysis of all instances in which the scribe of this manuscript utilizes a colon. This analysis will shed light on the different versions of the Tosefta which were accessible to the scribe, as well as his practices in the emendation of the text.

# 03.08 The Undetermined Concept: on the Use of Terms Introduced without Explanation in the Mishna and the Talmud

Do "Beth Din" and "Sanhedrin" Refer to the Same Institutions?

Stefan Goltzberg; Université libre de Bruxelles (ULB)

The tractate Sanhedrin deals with courts of justice and with numerous details of judicial institutions. There are at least two terms to describe the courts: beth din (Hebrew phrase for tribunal) and *sanhedrin* (Greek word, translated by "Supreme council of the Jews" by Jastrow). While the notion of beth din is clearly alluded to in the beginning of Sanhedrin 1:1 ([Cases concerning] monetary law [are adjudicated] by three [judges]), the phrase "a court (beth din)" appears explicitly only in Sanhedrin 1:5. In this Mishna alone, the expression "a court (beth din) of 71 [judges]" appears five times, so in this Mishna, the word "beth din" happens to refer always to a 71-judge-court. It is in the same Mishna (Sanhedrin 1:5) that the word *sanhedrin* appears for the first time, again not defined or explained, to rule that some type of *sanhedrin* for the tribes may be appointed "only on the basis of a court of seventy-one [judges]". This paper will analyze the way the Mishna progressively mentions those two technical terms and to what extent the Gemara itself uses them interchangeably or differently.

#### The Absence of Definition of the SHOTE in the Mishna

David Krausz; Université libre de Bruxelles (ULB)

The Mishna often mentions categories presented as obviously borderline: the mute (ḥeresh), the unsound person (shote) and the minor (ve-qatan). I will concentrate on the second of these categories, the shote. It is the way for the Mishna to determine the very scope of the rule in question. But nowhere is the shote defined. At best, some typical characteristics are provided, but the audience still wonders whether these characteristics are necessary conditions or rather sufficient conditions or merely some prototypical examples that are not binding in order to identify what a shote is. The Mishna Arakhin 1:1 uses this casuistic device, as well as Tahorot 8:6 and tens of other places throughout the most diverse legal questions. I will explore the extent to which this elliptic use of the notion of shote is prolonged by the Gemara or whether the latter tries to make it explicit. This usage of the shote category is all the more interesting as it indirectly casts some light on the Mishnaic theory of knowledge.

## Sovereignty in the Mishna and the Talmud: Developing a Doctrine without Definition Samuel Chicheportiche; Université libre de Bruxelles (ULB)

In the second chapter of the tractate Sanhedrin (2:1), the Mishnah, an elementary text of the oral law, introduces two characters, the king (*melekh*) and the high priest (kohen). The Talmud's comparison of the characters leads to a reflection on sovereignty. The Mishna introduces these two conceptual characters from the specific angle of the possibility of judging others by means of a list of norms concerning them (*dinim*). Without ever defining the concept of sovereignty nor clarifying the prerogatives of the king and the high priest, the Talmud underlines the elliptical nature of the Mishna and takes advantage of the "void" left to give substance to the characters and to problematize the concept of sovereignty by articulating two polarities, the sovereignty of the Davidic lineage and the communal sovereignty.

In this session, we will examine how the Talmud manages to develop a rabbinic doctrine on sovereignty and its exercise.

# 04.01 Branching Out in the Mediterranean East: Rabbanite and Karaite Scholars and Scholarship in High and Late Medieval Byzantium

#### The "Superfluous Text" in the Commentaries of Rabbi Meyuhas ben Elijah

Jonathan Jacobs; Bar Ilan University

Rabbi Meyuhas ben Elijah was a biblical commentator who lived in Byzantium in the first half of the previous millennium. Very little is known about him, and few studies have been written about him and his exegetical oeuvre. One of Meyuhas's main goals in writing his commentary was to make the difficult and obscure language of Scripture accessible to contemporary readers. In my paper, I elaborate on one of his principles to solve the problem: the *miqra yeter*, or "superfluous text." In my examination, I found a difference in approach to Meyuhas's handling of the superfluous text phenomenon in his commentaries on biblical laws and biblical narratives. My examination of this principle will further our understanding of Meyuhas's exegetical practices in general and reveal his goals in writing his commentary on the Torah.

### "To Arrive to the Depths of the Book" — Shemarya ha-Iqriti and his Bible Commentaries

Saskia Dönitz; Goethe University Frankfurt

One of the less-known Jewish scholars of Byzantium is Shemarya ha-lkriti despite his numerous works. This lecture will present preliminary results on this 14th-century exegete, philosopher and poet, in particular, by exploring his exegetical writings. Shemarya, as many of the Byzantine exegetes, based his work on Abraham ibn Ezra and Maimonides. However, he presents a self-confident and sometimes rather critical attitude toward these two giant Jewish intellectuals. Furthermore, Shemarya displays quite unusual and original ideas pertaining to his interest in synthesizing Jewish tradition and philosophy. Along these lines, Shemarya's works contribute to the reconstruction of the cultural profile of Byzantine Jewish scholars. They allow a new perspective on Byzantium as a separate cultural sphere and enrich the contemporaneous debates on exegetical attitudes toward Scripture among Jewish scholarly communities around the Mediterranean.

"With False Contentions He Cast Blemishes on His Holy Ones": Images of Abraham ibn Ezra, Maimonides, and Nahmanides in the Preface to Zeharyah ben Moshe's Offering of Zeal

Eric Lawee; Bar Ilan University

Zeharyah ben Moshe, a rationalist from fifteenth-century Crete, wrote a polemical work of biblical scholarship in which he defended Abraham ibn Ezra and Maimonides from their most formidable critic, Nahmanides. Though published in 2011, the work, which in one of three surviving manuscripts comes down under the name *Minhat qena'ot* (Offering of Zeal), has remained in the shadows. My paper interprets key elements of the work's eighteen-line poetic preface. In it, Zeharyah broaches themes that inform the highly unflattering portrait of Nahmanides that he paints later in his tract. A principal goal is to situate Zeharyah on a larger canvas of developments in Judeo-Byzantine biblical exegesis and rationalist learning. In these ways, the paper will help what is without doubt the limit case of anti-Nahmanidean criticism reenter the light of history.

### The Karaite Scholar Caleb Afendopolo (1465–1523), his Literary Creation and Intellectual Profile

Golda Akhiezer; Ariel University

Caleb Afendopolo, one of the most important Karaite scholars of the 15th–16th centuries, was a commentator, philosopher, poet, and prolific author who composed a number of works in various spheres of the Karaite Halakhah and customs, principles of faith, astronomy and mathematics. His oeuvre and activity have, however, never been systematically researched beyond fragmentary publications on specific issues. Afendopolo was a product of the Byzantine Greek-speaking Karaite society and a contemporary of the huge wave of immigration in the Ottoman Empire of Jews expelled from Spain who brought with them new intellectual trends that deeply influenced him. The present study is an attempt to reconstruct Afendopolo's activity and views, including his attitude towards the Spanish intellectual legacy, Christianity and other topics, based on his writings, on colophons and ownership notes on the manuscripts from his personal library.

# 04.02 Moshe da Rieti in Italy — Varieties of Jewish and Christian Cultural Context

"In Great Rome their Road is Set" — Rieti in Context

Ori Kinberg; Hebrew University

In the history of Hebrew-Italian literature Moses Rieti's Miqdash Meat appears as the towering achievement of the 15th century, an innovative work that revolutionized the form, language and prosody of Hebrew poetry in the peninsula. Yet much about Rieti's literary career and its historical context remain unknown. I trace the literary and social circles in which Rieti was active in the mid-15th century, examining information about his life and the network of his Italian connections reflected in Miqdash Meat. Comparing Rieti's network to that of other known Jewish and Christian writers from the 15th century, I consider Rieti's place within the larger, Hebrew-Italian literary culture of his day.

### The "Filosofica famiglia" in the Holy Temple — Ancient and Medieval Philosophers in Moshe mi-Rieti's Miqdash Me'at

Francesca Gorgoni; INALCO Paris

My paper aims at a study of the scientific and philosophical sources of the three conclusive cantos of the Miqdash Me'at of the first section of Rieti's poetic work, "The Hall" (ha-Ulam). In this vestibule, logic and sciences are praised together with several ancient and mediaeval philosophers such as Aristotle, Porphyry, Alexander of Aphrodisias, al-Farabiī, al-Ghazali, Averroes and Maimonides. The ascension of the intellect achieved by the acquisition of both the theoretical and practical sciences is what enables entering the second part of the poem, the "Holy of Holies" (ha-Hekhal), which symbolizes the Temple and the divine knowledge preserved by Jewish biblical and rabbinical tradition. In my presentation, I will carefully uncover the philosophical world of Moshe mi-Rieti in which Greek, Arab, Jewish and Latin philosophers (called "the filosofica famiglia" in Dante's fourth canto of the Hell) stand together as fundamental guides in the preparatory training toward the intellectual ascension to God and to the realisation of the ultimate human happiness.

#### Miqdash Me'at and its Jewish-Christian Literary Context in Italy

Rachele Jesurum; INALCO Paris

I would like to present the Italian literary context of the Miqdash Me'at by Moses da Rieti, with particular attention to one of his chapters, the Meon ha-shoalim, the only part of the work translated into Italian. Over a brief comparison with the fundamental Italian literary models that we can find in Miqdash Me'at, as Dante and Petrarca, I will reason about the success of the Meon and its several translations bearing in mind the sixteenth-seventeenth century tradition of Italian translations of the Bible, rabbinical writings, and compositions for Yom Kippur. The Meon is precisely designed as a prayer for Yom Kippur. I will also consider the translations of the Meon as part of the category of "spiritual rhymes", which crowded the Catholic literary production of that time, considering the entire chapter as the full expression of the taste and spiritual-ascetic needs that engulfed Italian Catholics and Jews.

#### Encountering the Manuscripts — the Textual Transmission of Miqdash Me'at

Silvia Negri; INALCO Paris

The text of Miqdash Me'at, edited in 1851 by Jacob Goldenthal, came to us in over 60 manuscripts (complete and partials), dating from the 15th to the first half of the 17th century.

During the 16th century, it received a long commentary by an unknown author. From the second half of the 17th century, this poem remained neglected until the 19th century, when it was rediscovered with the advent of the Wissenschaft des Judentums movement. My contribution to the EAJS Congress will be an overview of the textual transmission of Miqdash Me'at, showing the peculiarities that characterise some of the copies. Particular attention will be given to one manuscript in which different hands from the 16th and the 19th participated in its redaction. It well represents the questions that a critical edition engages: its variants, the structure of the text and the context in which it has been copied will be outlined.

#### 04.03 Transcommunal Polemics in Medieval Jewish Literature

### Fire and the Cross: Christians and Christianity in Arabic poetry from the Cairo Genizah

Benjamin Outhwaite1, Ahmed Sheir2; 1University of Cambridge, 2Trinity College Dublin

Among the thousands of poetic fragments preserved in the Cairo Genizah is a small but significant body of poetry in Arabic – in both Hebrew and Arabic scripts – dating from the 11th century down to the early modern period. The poems encompass copies of major poets of the Arabic-Islamic canon, poetic responses to these works and variations on their themes, as well as entirely novel compositions, from philosophical musings to folk poetry in Arabic dialects. Within this corpus are a number of previously unknown poems that condemn Christianity – both explicitly or through its symbolism – and lament its transitory rule over Jerusalem. This talk will introduce the poems and place them within their liturgical and cultural context as well as within the wider body of both Jewish and Muslim polemical literature against Christianity – especially during the Crusader period.

### "30 Questions Posed by a Jew to a Christian": A Case Study of the Production and Transmission of Literary-Polemical Texts

Arturo Prats; Complutense University of Madrid

This paper focuses on the study of a rhymed prose anti-Christian Hebrew text entitled "30 questions posed by a Jew to a Christian".

This Hebrew text circulated inserted in various polemical compilations dated between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries. Recently, I came across a Spanish aljamiado version of this composition in a manuscript dated in the sixteenth century, Ms. Montefiore 301.

Throughout this paper, I will introduce and describe the text and pose several questions about the origin of the composition, the transmission and reception of the text, and its relationship with the Spanish version in Ms. Montefiore 301.

Christian anti-Islamic Polemical Motifs in Shim'on Duran's Qeshet u-magen

Daniel Boušek; Charles University

In 1423, Shim on b. Ṣemaḥ Duran, who had fled his native Majorca after the anti-Jewish riots in 1391 and settled in Algiers, wrote an anti-Islamic polemic titled Bow and Shield (Qeshet u-magen). Unlike his Jewish predecessors arguing against Islam, Duran did not defend the Hebrew Bible and Rabbinic tradition but attacked the rationality of Islam by scrutinizing the Qur ānic teachings concerning God's existence, theodicy, punishment or reward in the afterlife, and the Islamic concept of the inimitable linguistic perfection of the Qur ān.

Duran's labelling of Islam as an irrational and materialistic religion and his depiction of the Qur'ān as a composition rife with confusion is a well-known topos of Christian anti-Islamic literature such as Ps. al-Kindi, Roger Bacon or Ramon Marti. This paper will discuss the motifs Duran appropriated from Christian anti-Islamic polemic in Bow and Shield as well as their possible sources. It will show that Duran's polemical method is rooted in the specific cultural milieu of medieval Spain, where all three traditions—Judaism, Christianity, and Islam—intermingle and become entangled in the polemical genre.

04.04.1 In Memory of Michael Rand z"I

In Memoriam: Professor Michael Rand (1972-2022) z"l

Tova Beeri<sup>1</sup>, Ayelet Oettinger<sup>2</sup>, Benjamin Outhwaite<sup>3</sup>; <sup>1</sup>Tel Aviv University, <sup>2</sup>Oranim Academic College, <sup>3</sup>University of Cambridge

The late Professor Michael Rand (1972-2022) was revered worldwide for his groundbreaking work on Medieval Hebrew Literature. This symposium will present his life and major contributions to research on Jewish liturgical piyyut, medieval Hebrew poetry and medieval prose literature.

Proclitics of Palestinian Piyyutim

Avi Shmidman; Bar Ilan University

Prof. Michael Rand, of blessed memory, provided us with a comprehensive explication of the morphological patterns of Palestinian piyyutim in general, and of Qillirian poetry in

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specific. In this lecture, I will build upon his work by considering the proclitics often affixed to word forms in Palestinian piyyutim. I will identify differences in proclitic use across various poets, and I will consider the implications of these findings for authorship attribution questions.

### Yosef ben Tanhum ha-Yerushalmi's Judeo-Arabic Commentary to his Collection of Hebrew Homonymic Poems

Joachim Yeshaya; KU Leuven

In my paper, I will first discuss Yosef's education, social life and career path, including his family background as a son of the well-known scholar Tanhum ha-Yerushalmi, his patronage ties to the leading Maimonidean family and his public visibility as a member of the Jewish elite of Cairo. Secondly, I will examine fragments from Yosef's unpublished Judeo-Arabic commentary to his collection of Hebrew homonymic poems (published by Judith Dishon [2005]). This commentary follows the order of that collection; its text is in Judeo-Arabic, while the homonymic rhyme words commented upon and the biblical prooftexts exemplifying the intended meanings are in Hebrew. A discussion of the nature of this commentary will be followed by an inquiry into Yosef's sources.

This paper is dedicated to the memory of Michael Rand (1972-2022), who was considering the idea of editing and publishing Yosef's epistles.

#### Self-Regulated Learning and Didactics in Falaquera's Book of the Seeker

Ayelet Oettinger; Oranim Academic College

Sefer ha-Mevaqqesh (Book of the Seeker) by Shem Tov Ibn Falaquera (Spain/Provence [?]; 1225–1295) is a didactic volume designed to educate its readers by instructing them in philosophy and directing them towards a path of lifelong learning. The protagonist is a seeker of knowledge who asks seventeen experts in various professions and sciences to teach him their techniques and skills. However, he is not content until he reaches the seventeenth 'teacher', who directs him towards metaphysics. Throughout his learning, the seeker is motivated by his personal interests, sets educational goals for himself, and

monitors his learning gains through strategies and competencies that correspond to those of a self-regulated learner. In this paper, I examine the pedagogy used by Falaquera to direct his readers to engage in learning and analyze these educational processes in light of modern research on self-regulated learning.

#### 04.04.2 Piyyut from Late Antiquity to Modern Times

#### Performing Esther in Antiquity

Laura S. Lieber; Duke University

In this essay, I will first draw out the performative possibilities discernable within the Hebrew Book of Esther and then consider how the Greek additions amplify and develop its latent theatrical potential (augmenting its drama as well as its piety). I will then explore how Late Antique Jewish poems composed in Hebrew and Aramaic adapt Esther to the context of religious ritual and communal participation. My analysis will draw on both literary materials from antiquity and material artefacts; mosaics and frescoes, particularly the depictions of Esther at Dura Europos in Syria and those of other Hellenistic biblical narratives from Huqoq in the Galilee, illustrate the visual culture of the period and give some sense of the visual and aesthetic context of Jews in Late Antiquity. I will also briefly discuss the rise of Purimspiels among medieval Jews in Ashkenaz as evidence of the durable appeal of performance and Esther.

### Jewish Wedding Poetry from Late Antiquity: Epithalamia between Aramaic and Hebrew

Michael D. Swartz; Ohio State University

Among the Aramaic compositions from late antiquity edited in Yahalom and Sokoloff's Shirat Bene Mar'arava are several epithalamia, or poems to be sung of recited at weddings. These poems are valuable evidence for Jewish cultural activity beyond the synagogue and Bet Midrash. They are also part of a larger corpus including epithalamia from the more formal body of Hebrew piyyut. This paper will compare selected examples of both types of wedding poems, examining what the vernacular language and implied

context of each tells us about the authors and their ritual and professional or paraprofessional functions.

#### The Paytanic Oeuvre of Rav Nissi al-Nahrawani (Iraq ca. 860-930)

Tova Beeri; Tel Aviv University

Rav Nissi al-Naharawani was a gifted poet who lived in Babylonia (Baghdad, ca. 860 – c.930 CE). He is the first known *paytan* by name active in that region. We recovered more than 30 of his *piyyutim* from Geniza manuscripts. One of them — the lengthy 'Bakasha', was frequently copied and is still recited today. Most of his poems belong to the penitential genre that probably developed in Baghdad. Their popularity is attested by his younger contemporary, Rav Saadia Gaon, and somewhat later by David ha-Nasi. Rav Nissi also composed a few piyyutim reflecting the Yozer and Qerova genres, but in contrast to the Palestinian custom at the time, he did not cover the full sequence of *piyyutim* comprising these compositions. This, again, may be an innovation of the Babylonian centre. This paper will survey his oeuvre and point to the special features characterizing the Babylonian school.

#### Early Modern Karaite Hebrew Poems and the Karaite Community Today

Riikka Tuori; University of Helsinki

This paper will discuss the revival of pre-modern Karaite Hebrew poetry today. In my previous research, I concentrated on Hebrew poems written by Karaite Jews in early modern Poland-Lithuania. Karaites of Poland-Lithuania wrote hundreds of Hebrew poems, including *baqqashot*, *qinot*, and *selihot*, to name a few of the genres. My focus was especially on the style, form, and contents of their *zemirot*, joyous hymns written for various Jewish festivals and for the Sabbath, sung in the synagogue or at homes during specific junctions of the calendar or life cycle. Since the 2010s, the American Karaite Jewish community has commissioned new musical renditions and English translations of Karaite Hebrew poems, published in social media and as printed collections. The revival has been realized in cooperation between academics, professional musicians, and Karaite activists: my paper will discuss the impact of the research of Hebrew poetry on this modern revival of Karaite identity.

# 04.04.3 Hebrew Literature and Cross-Cultural Interactions: From the Golden Age to the 17th Century

#### Aspects of Aging in Medieval Hebrew and Arabic Poetry

Wout van Bekkum; University of Groningen

The theme or motif of old age and greyness is deeply rooted in the medieval Arabic poetic traditions of Andalusia and the East, with apparent effects in contemporary Hebrew verse. Grey hair and old age are a forewarning of impending death and a good reason to devote poetic reflections to the limited time of life, the futility of human existence, and the consequences of mortality. This motif is also addressed in religious compositions, which leads to the question of the extent to which this motif was conceived as worldly, religious or moralistic. A number of poets and hymnists opt for a specific division of life stages per ten or twenty years, of which some fine examples will be presented. Finally, recent studies on ageing in Jewish culture will be evaluated.

#### "Explore, my Father, in the Arabic book", Meshullam Depiera's Poetry

Haviva Ishai; Ben Gurion University

The complex relationship between Hebrew and Arabic poetry and literature did not stop with the transition to Christian Spain, even though Arabic was no longer part of the local culture. In the lecture, I would like to extend the boundaries of this relationship to the Christian era in general and the poetry of Meshullam Depiera in particular.

Depiera manages a relationship of 'proximity and distance' with the Arab tradition and with the Hebrew-Andalusian tradition (which is also Arab, in essence). This relationship, which Hebrew literature maintains with Arabic literature, takes place in the Christian area (outside the scope of Arabic literature), but as Rina Drori stated, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the source of inspiration for Hebrew literature is still Arabic literature.

### Laughter in the Jewish Cemetery: Functions and Limits of Poetic Wit in Immanuel Frances' Comic Epitaphs

Michela Andreatta; University of Rochester

The literary oeuvre of seventeenth-century Hebrew poet Immanuel Frances (ca. 1618-after 1703) includes several comic epitaphs. Compositions dealing with the themes of death and the afterlife in a comic or humoresque key were not unknown in Hebrew literature written in Italy, and yet none of Frances' fellow poets practised the genre with such consistency, insight, and gusto. In my paper, I will discuss the rhetorical solutions enacted by Frances and assess his 'funerary wit' compared with that displayed in similar compositions by contemporary Italian authors, some of them active within learned academies. My paper aims to contribute to a much-needed contextualization of this part of Frances' production but also to answer wider questions pertaining to the resort to satire in the early modern discourse surrounding the hereafter, the social settings in which that could be expressed, and the ways in which it needed to be articulated. In particular, I will refer to Immanuel Frances' comic epitaphs to explore four different modalities of 'funerary wit': 1) literary parody in Hebrew of classical models; 2) ad personam satire; 3) advancement of sceptical views on the afterlife; 4) a reflection on the therapeutic and consolatory power of laughter.

# 04.04.4 Themes and Poetics in Andalusian and Post-Classical Medieval Hebrew Literature

Judah Halevi's Daughter: Reality, Poetry, and Myth

Uriah Kfir; Ben Gurion University

Of all the poems written by Judah Halevi during his famous voyage to the East, Lecha nafshi betuhah o haredah ("Anxious or Secure, My Soul is Yours") is of special interest. This is due to the fact that Halevi seemed to allow himself to be a bit more intimate than usual in this poem. I refer in particular to the lines in which he describes his daughter in enthusiastic terms, calling her "my own flesh, the sister of my soul, my soul itself" (followed by a note on her son – Halevi's grandson – as well). Although highly revealing, these lines (intentionally?) keep Halevi's daughter nameless and shrouded in mist. This impression

was clarified slightly by some scanty information about her found in recent decades in the Genizah documents. But she still remains an enigma and as such, has never ceased to kindle the imagination of her father's fans, as will be presented in my talk.

#### "The Debate of the Dead and the Living" by Yishaq ibn Pulgar (13th-14th century)

Aurora Salvatierra Ossorio; University of Granada

Yishaq ibn Pulgar is known for his work 'Ezer ha-dat (Defense of religion). This book is the result of the union and reworking of different texts that circulated independently at different times of their transmission. This is the case of the fifth treatise of the book, the dialogue between a dead and a living man

Although it has been said that this text "contains nothing particularly remarkable", this debate presents a rich set of literary resources. The author skillfully combines content and form and finds in the framework of the narrative an instrument that allows him to address different types of audiences.

I intend to analyze the use of some of these "belletristic" elements that, as Haliva (2020) has suggested, allow us to read this work at different levels: a) as a didactic work with simple teachings but also b) as a text with controversial intended for an educated public.

#### Disciplining / Expressing Emotions in Medieval Hebrew Literature – some Thoughts

Revital Refael-Vivante; Bar Ilan University

The perception that humans must distinguish between reason and emotion, between thinking and feeling, and between cognition and emotion, is age-old. Often, these contradictory components are perceived as waging an internal struggle for control of the human soul. The distinction between emotion and reason manifests behaviorally by the expression of emotions versus their repression. This theme is also reflected in the arts. In my lecture, I will focus on emotions from the unique perspective of medieval Hebrew iterature and discuss the connection between the development of the maqama in Christian Spain at a time when the various forms of Romance literature became widespread, and the expression of emotions in the texts. Specifically, I will refer to the wide range of emotions that are expressed in the maqama, and I will suggest that we re-examine the poetics of emotions as they appear in medieval secular poetry.

# 04.04.5 The Hebrew Poetry of the Golden Age in al-Andalus – Language and Poetics

### Holy Tongue or Conventional Language: The Conceptual Background of the Medieval Revival of Hebrew in Al-Andalus

Marzena Zawanowska; University of Warsaw

In medieval al-Andalus, we witness an unprecedented revival of interest in the Hebrew language and linguistics. Jewish poets and thinkers like Shmuel Hanagid, Shlomo ibn Gabirol, Judah Halewi or Moses ibn Ezra, not only compose excellent poetry in Hebrew but are also interested in the study of its grammar and stylistic. Moreover, some of them, like Ibn Gabirol, even articulate their dream to return to its use in everyday life by the Jewish people (see his *Mahberet ha-'Anaq*). This idea is reflective of larger discussions conducted in the medieval Jewish world about the nature and status of the Hebrew language. It has been claimed that in these discussions, the Rabbanite and Karaite Jews took opposite positions offering divergent concepts of the Hebrew language — as a holy tongue (Heb. *leshon ha-qodesh*; Rabbnic circles) and as a conventional language (Ar. *muwada'a*; Karaite circles). In my paper, I would like to further explore the subject and propose a less dichotomous, more nuanced view on this complex issue in order to elucidate the origins of the increased interest in Hebrew during the Golden Age in the Iberian Peninsula in general, and of the idea to revert to its use not only in writing (which has never been abandoned) but also in speech in particular.

### The Poetics of Hebrew Grammar: some Remarks on Ha-'Anaq – the Grammatical Poem of Shlomo ibn Gabirol

Barbara Gryczan; University of Warsaw

The paper concentrates on the remaining fragments of Shlomo ibn Gabirol's grammatical work, the 'Anaq. I discuss its contents as well as its form and language, taking into consideration the significance of the very fact of it being the only theoretical linguistic work composed in Hebrew poetic verse.

The introductory part of the 'Anaq concentrates mainly on the underlying idea of "picking up the pieces of the holy tongue" as a means to rebuilding community and identity. The

correspondence between Ibn Gabirol's ideas and those expressed on the subject by Saadia Gaon in the introduction to his Hebrew thesaurus, the Egron, is worth stressing. However, I shall look mainly at the main "technical" part of the 'Anaq (only a fragment of which survived), containing Ibn Gabirol's analysis of the properties of Hebrew grammar and compare it with other grammatical works contemporary and earlier to his time, identify the methodological similarities and the ways in which the young author connected to other grammarians, paying particular attention to the language in which they wrote, and recognizing the actual importance of the very fact of writing about Hebrew grammar in Hebrew verse.

### The Canonical Intertext: the Shibbutz in the Hebrew Poetry of Al-Andalus and the Homeric Allusion in Hellenistic Greek Poetry

Agata Grzybowska-Wiatrak; University of Warsaw

The Hebrew poets of medieval Spain are known for their creative use of biblical allusions. A particularly interesting type of such allusions that was popularized in the Golden Age is the shibbutz, i.e., the use of scriptural verses or fragments of verses in the poem. These fragments were being artfully woven into the poems and integrated into the new poetic context, while remaining recognizable to the readers, who were familiar with the canonical text. This literary ornament is, in many aspects, reminiscent of the Homeric allusion in the Greek poetry of the Hellenistic period: the functions of the two phenomena, their impact upon the readers, as well as their intellectual roots and the cultural conditions that enabled them to flourish, are analogous. In my paper, I would like to explore similarities between the origins and the use of shibbutzim in the Hebrew poetry of Al-Andalus and Homeric allusions in Hellenistic Greek poetry, analyzing selected examples from the works of Hebrew poets of medieval Spain (e.g. Shmuel ha-Nagid, Yehudah ha-Levi, Shlomo ibn Gabirol) and of Greek poets of Hellenistic Alexandria (e.g. Callimachus, Theocritus, Apollonius Rhodius). A comparative study of these two literary phenomena that developed independently, centuries apart, in two distant cultures, may cast an interesting light on the overall characteristics of the practice of using canonical texts as intertexts, its conditioning and implications.

# 04.05 The Transformation of Jewish Literature in Arabic in the Islamicate World

#### Tafsīr is Said in Many Ways: the Literary-Historical Setting of Yeshu'ah ben Yehudah's Exegetical œuvre

Gregor Schwarb; Ludwig-Maximilians-University Munich

Yeshu'ah ben Yehudah, also known by his Arabic name as Abū I-Faraj Furqān b. Asad, was an eminent Qaraite Jewish legal scholar, exegete, and theologian active in Jerusalem during the second third of the eleventh century. His teaching sessions at the Qaraite house of learning (dār al-'ilm) attracted students hailing from Iran, Iraq, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, the Maghrib, al-Andalus, and Byzantium. His extensive œuvre, which remains largely unedited and unstudied, includes several compositions of very different size, scope and make-up that include the generic term tafsīr in their title. In my presentation, I will peruse these works to elucidate Yeshu'ah's varying usages of the term and situate them in the literary-historical and educational contexts of the 11th-century Islamicate world.

#### Beyond the Letter. Taqdīr and Majāz in Qaraite Grammatical Thought

Simon Haffner; Ludwig-Maximilians-University Munich

In the beginning centuries of Hebrew grammar as an independent discipline, it is much about questions of morphology. Until the introduction and enforcement of the concept of the three root letters, different views prevailed about the core of a word.

Starting from Abū al-Faraj Hārūn's Kitāb al-kāfī and centred around the Qaraites from Jerusalem, my presentation wants to go 'beyond the letter' in two ways: First, I want to ask what kind of linguistic engagement we encounter at the level of greater units than words, i. d. in the realm of syntax. Here, the phenomenon of taqdīr is of special interest because it allows the recourse to a 'virtual' sentence structure when a given sentence does not fit the expectations of a grammatically well-formed sentence. Second, this refers to another technique that allows going beyond what is written literally: majāz. I want to discuss to what extent both techniques resemble each other, one at the level of syntax, and one at the level of semantics.

Sahl ben Mazliah (10th c. CE) as a Mourner of Zion

Friederike Sophie Schmidt; Ludwig-Maximilians-University Munich

The Qaraite Sahl ben Mazliah was one of the most prominent proponents of the Mourners of Zion (*avelei ṣiyyon*), an ascetic community in 10th-century Jerusalem, which, by a strict regimen of prayer, fasting, mourning for the loss of the Temple as well as a call to all Jews to end the diaspora and return to the Land of Israel, strived to hasten the coming of the Messiah.

Apart from these activities, the presence of the congregation of the Mourners in Jerusalem paved the way for the scholarly heyday of the Qaraites in the 10th and 11th centuries, which found its expression in Bible commentaries as well as in linguistic, legal, and philosophical works.

In this presentation, I will showcase aspects of Sahl ben Mazliah's ascetic and messianic thought as reflected in his commentary on Genesis and his famous Epistle to Jacob ben Samuel (Tokhaha Megulah).

How to Build a Reference Work of Judaeo-Arabic Literature

Maximilian de Moliére, Ronny Vollandt; Ludwig-Maximilians-University Munich

More than 120 years have passed since Moritz Steinschneider published his *Die arabische Literatur der Juden*. In our joint presentation, we will elaborate on the need to create a new Digital Handbook of Jewish Authors Writing in Arabic, on the sources that need to be taken into consideration, as well on the digital structure to sustain it.

05.01 Modern Yiddish Literature

Litwin's Tricksters: Galician Yiddish Ethnography before WW I

Nadja Berkovich; University of Arkansas

Written before WWI in Galicia, Litvin's short story "Di Moshiakhte" ("The Female Messiah") introduces a new type of a trickster who subverts gender stereotypes, and employs the technology and techniques of her time such as printing, photographs, and collage to spread false stories about her miracles and prophecies. While travelling in the Pale and in the Austro-Hungarian Empire between 1905-1914, A. Litvin's (né Shmuel Hurvitz, 1862-

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1943) collected and wrote fragmented stories about Jewish characters of different professions and social backgrounds which he called Yidishe neshomes (Jewish Souls). The unreliable narrator conveys the female messiah's idiolect, preserving her rambling style of telling the prophecy to such a degree that it becomes impossible to decode what she is saying. Situating a story in a Hasidic town, the female trickster employs a ghost writer, a poor yeshiva boy, to write newspaper stories about her prophecies that she sends off to the Hasidic rebbes and sells them at the market. What sets this archetype of the trickster apart from others is that it is a female swindler who is highly skilled in manipulating visual and textual material to spread the news about the messiah.

### Building a Yiddish Literary Sphere in Interwar Romania between Conflicting Political Cultures and Politics of Culture

Augusta Costiuc-Radosav; Babes-Bolyai University

Interwar Romania saw the emergence of an outstanding Yiddish 'cultural Renaissance', prompted by cultural representatives or 'culturists' hailing from Bessarabia and Bukovina. Those 'culturists' operated within a very active network of cultural institutions: The Yidisher Shul Fareyn of Tshernovits, the Kultur-Lige of Keshenev, and the Yidishe Kultur Federatsye far Rumenye. Between 1919 and 1923, the 'culturists' managed to reconcile their diverse political cultures (Bund, Po'ale Zion, Zeirei Zion) and to conduct a supraparty politics of culture. By 1924, the supraparty stance became impracticable, as most leading representatives of those cultural institutions strove to conduct cultural activism according to the demands of their own political party. Though the competing political discourses created a rift at the top of the Yiddish cultural institutions, the 'culturists' still managed to create a significant Yiddish literary sphere in Romania. They established their own publishing house where they printed: pedagogical textbooks by Eliezer Steinbarg; fables, poems, and novels by Eliezer Steinbarg, Itsik Manger, and Moyshe Altmann, among others; and literary magazines (Kultur, Shoybn). A particular feature of the newlyestablished Yiddish literary sphere was its mass engagement, as proven by literary events organized all over Romania, where workers read and acted out works by Yiddish writers from Romania.

#### Life of a Jewish Literary Community in the Post-Second World War: Kyiv through the Prism of Yosyp Bukhbinder's Memoirs

Oleksandra Uralova; independent scholar

The artistic and literary life of post-WWII Ukraine was centered in Kyiv. Both Ukrainian and Jewish authors, members of the Union of Soviet writers, came back to Kyiv from battlefields, hospitals, and evacuation. Among stars of Yiddish literature like Dovid Hofshtyen, Itsik Kipnis, and Leib Kvitko, there were lesser famous creators, like writer, poet, and journalist Yosyp Bukhbinder.

His book of memoirs "Emanuil Is Telling" (Emanuil Dertseylt), written in Yiddish, describes the experience of evacuation, military service, post-war years when the antisemitism became more noticeable every day on public and state levels, and follows the writer's alter ego to prison due to false accusations, which so many Jewish writers in Soviet Union had to face. These memoirs contain pages on life in the Gulag camp, the testimony of the camp uprising, and a story of friendship with one of the most known Ukrainian Soviet poets Maksym Rylsky.

The paper will also provide further information on the topic of Ukrainian-Jewish literary contacts in soviet Kyiv during these years.

#### 05.02 Sentimental Places in Modern Jewish Literature

### From the Shtetl to the Deli: Returning and Images of Jewish Europe in the Fiction of Philip Roth

Isadora Sinay; University of São Paulo

A central theme in the works of Philip Roth is an examination of Jewish Identity and the elements that compose it. Roth has spent his whole career dismantling the parts of his American Jewish identity and taking a closer look at them: the Jewish body and male sexuality marked by antissemitic stereotypes; the memory of the Holocaust and can American Jews relate to it; Israel; the diaspora. Since Portnoy's Complaint he has challenged the notion that Jewish Identity could be static, uniform and, most importantly, Israel-centered. In books such as The Counterlife and Operation Shylock he playfully draws a line that goes from Eastern Europe to the United States, from Bruno Schulz to himself, his characters look to Europe and return there as a means to understand who

they are and what Jewish identity means to them.

However, as nothing is ever simple in Roth's fiction, this imaginary Europe is also elusive and the origin lines get deeper and more complicated than first expected. This communication aims at analyzing the images of Europe as a motherland of American Jewry in Roth's fiction, focusing of the novels The Prague Orgy, The Counterlife and Operation Shylock.

#### Israeli Cities: Diversity of Urban Myth in Russian-Israeli Literature

Aleksei Surin; Bar Ilan University

In Russian-language Israeli literature, starting from the pre-state period, the urban text acquired a specific character, becoming a vital mythopoetic theme revealing a deep knowledge of Jewish and Israeli existence. Every city in Russian-Israeli literature has its own myth. Tel Aviv is the city of eternal becoming, always in a state of spring bloom after a desolate winter. Jerusalem is an eternal and inescapable city, where biblical events are not the history of the distant Jewish past but the reality that is happening here and now, the living presence of a miracle. Haifa is a place of peaceful coexistence of Arabic and Jewish cultures, a landscape where fairy tales of the "Thousand and One Nights" come to life.

In this report, I will analyze several urban texts of Russian-Israeli prose in the context of myth-making. In each of these texts (the novels of Dennis Sobolev, Leonid Levinson, Nekod Singer, and Alexander Goldstein), the historical, cultural, and geographical landscapes of the city are turned into a mythical space where the characters, through the complex dynamics of the interpenetration of everyday life and fantastic events, have to realize themselves and gain personality in the chaos of life.

### Jerusalem in Israeli-Russian Fantasy Literature: Genre Types, Heroes and Environment

Helena Rimon; Ariel University

The topic of this study is fantasy novels written in the 21st century in Russian by Israeli writers from the former Soviet Union living now in Jerusalem. All of the plots are set in contemporary Jerusalem, but the function of the eternal city in these plots is different. "The

Dark Child" by Olga Fix is a definite Bildungsroman. The educator is a young woman from Moscow who settles in a flat where a little goblin girl lives. Both of them go through a touching and sometimes risky process of education and socialization, in which Jerusalem plays the leading role. On the other hand, "Drafts of Jerusalem" and "The Notre Dame Syndrome" by Nekod Zinger, "The Jerusalem Trilogy" by Yelizaveta Mykhailichenko and Yuri Nesis can be characterized in terms of menippea (M. Bakhtin's concept). The characters of the heroes in this genre type serve as a kind of glue that sticks together the elements from Jerusalem scenery and history. In these various genre types, Jerusalem is described as a multilingual and multicultural city, where places and spatial objects store within them compressed layers of time.

#### 05.03 Jewish Religious Thought in Modern Literature

#### The Legacy of Robert Lowth's Sublime in Hebrew Haskalah Literature

Amir Banbaji; Ben Gurion University

This paper is dedicated to Robert Lowth's (1710 – 1787) conception of the sublime. Beyond his influence on the study of Biblical Hebrew poetry, Lowth's work on prophecy and the sublime was appreciated – and to some degree, imitated – by key thinkers of the Haskalah, or Jewish Enlightenment. Focusing on Lowth's rhetorical and literary theory, my proposed paper initially explores the unique rhetorical aspects of Lowth's sublime. Dwelling on his dialogue with Moses Mendelssohn's aesthetic theory, I will briefly point out the nature of his influence on maskilim like Yoel Löwe (Bril), Solomon Levisohn, and Abraham Mapu. The ultimate goal of this paper is to outline Lowth's Hebrew poetics of the sublime and to explore the precise relationship between his and other 18th-century iterations of the concept. As I hope to demonstrate, Lowth's view of the sublime reflects his rejection of Christological readings of the Hebrew Bible and 18th-century polemics between reason-based and revelation-based readings of the Bible. Studying his reading of the Biblical sublime is, I believe, a critical step in our understanding of the genealogy of the Hebrew Sublime.

#### Maternal Prayer: a Study of Chava Pinchas-Cohen's Prayer Poems

Rachel Ofer; Herzog Academic College

The experience of Jewish prayer in public - the texts of the prayers and its ritual - clearly represents the Jewish-religious-masculine world from which women have been excluded throughout the generations. Despite this, and perhaps precisely because of this, prayer is a channel through which women-poets shape their feminine identity. To prove this assertion, we will read two of the prayer-poems of the Israeli poet Chava Pinchas-Cohen (1955-2022). Each of them is "a prayer before the prayer", that is, a kind of preparation for the prayer.

These poems, like many more of Chava Pinchas-Cohen's poems, illustrate how poetesses connect, from a female perspective to canonical texts that bear a patriarchal stamp. Pinchas-Cohen does not shy away from putting "feminine" at the centre of her poems, subjects which are considered "marginal", such as breastfeeding a baby, taking care of children, preparing food and other household chores. It sanctifies motherhood, which is a substitute for male worship, from which women are excluded. In her poems, the tendency to belong not only to the female cultural circle but also to the male one, with its rituals and the canonical texts belonging to it, stands out.

#### Hilton Obenzinger's "Treyf Pesach" as Testament and Testimony

Anna Szczepan-Wojnarska; Cardinal Wyszynski's University

Testifying values to the contemporary world means performing mitzva. But Hilton Obenzinger, an American novelist, poet, history and criticism writer that have Polish ancestors, recognises different religious reasons to change the world. His books include "Busy Dying", "Cannibal Eliot" and "The Lost Histories of San Francisco", "American Palestine: Melville, Twain and the Holy Land Mania", "Running through Fire: how I Survived the Holocaust" (Zosia Goldberg, ed. H. Obenzinger), "How We Write: The Varieties of Writing Experience", and "This Passover Or The Next I Will Never Be in Jerusalem", which received the American Book Award. The proposed paper will refer to Obenzinger's book of poems, "Treyf Pesach" [Unkosher Passover] which examines values declared in religious terms and on history, which tests and verifies them. Obenzinger uses religious forms such as prayers, incantations, rants, elegies, Haggadah, psalms and

confession to express the tension between private and public spheres. I would argue that this volume serves as a testament and testimony of the contemporary experience of Judaism that appears more complicated than the division between religious and lay citizens.

#### 05.04 No Redemption Possible?

### Eternal Jewish Slavery: The Destruction of Jerusalem in Medieval Bohemian Literature

Daniel Soukup; Czech Academy of Sciences

The fall of Jerusalem in 70 CE represents an ambivalent shift in the history of both Jewish and Christian theology. In the eyes of Christian exegetes, who drew detailed information about Titus' invasion and the massacre of the Jews from Flavius Josephus, the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans was a punishment for their blindness and unwillingness to accept Christ. The fall of Jerusalem thereby represented a breaking point in the concept of Jewish chosenness as well as being a typological model for any kind of anti-Jewish violence. The paper will analyze how the destruction of Jerusalem was adapted and interpreted in the Christian vernacular literature, which came about within the territory of the Bohemian Lands during the Luxembourg era (1310–1437). The theme of the rejection and eternal subjection of the Jewish people will be introduced in connection with the destruction of Jerusalem described in period biblical commentaries, in historiography and hagiography, in homiletic texts and religious prose adapted for the Bohemian environment. The apologetic and narrative strategies, which can serve as a source for medieval anti-Judaism, which amongst other things, also impacted the Church legislation in relation to the Jewish community in the Bohemian Lands, will also be analyzed in the context of this literature.

#### Literary redemption: Max Brod's Writing on Franz Kafka

Anna-Dorothea Ludewig; University of Potsdam

Max Brod's writing on Franz Kafka is one of the much-debated biographical undertakings of the 20th century, whose impacts still occupy literary scholars. Max Brod himself, as well

as his own extensive literary and journalistic-essayistic oeuvre, is hardly known anymore, and this is also true for the numerous Kafka editions and contributions. Yet Brod's interpretation of his friend has a life of its own and continues to have a subcutaneous effect. Until his own death in December 1968, Brod attended to his friend's work with both devotion and appropriation, creating a Kafka cosmos in which he had assigned himself a key position. This constellation thus suggests a particularly close interweaving of autobiographical and heterobiographical writing, which was accompanied by a struggle for interpretive sovereignty: Brod did not tolerate any image of Kafka alongside his own idea of his friend. In his biographical texts, especially those that originated Holocaust, the reception of Kafka as not only a Jewish author but a prophetic messianic figure was one of the central narratives. As this paper will show, Brod's image of Kafka changed more and more, especially after the Shoah, from that of a Jewish author to that of a prophetic messianic figure.

#### **06.01 Translating Jewish Texts**

#### Translating Rabbinical Hymns into Judeo-Greek

Timoleon Galanis; Aristotle University of Thessaloniki

The research focuses on the particularly religious Piyutim of the Romaniotic, Jewish communities, which appear in prayer books of synagogues from the Greek area. These communities speak from Antiquity until today the Greek language, which is also recorded in religious texts written in the Hebrew writing system and in some manuscripts with Masoretic vowels. It is worth asking the question about the relationship of the specific poetic texts with the Hebrew Bible, but also the /religious context of rabbinic Judaism. As an example, the hitherto unpublished translation of a rabbinic lament is presented. It is very likely that the lament had a liturgical use in the Greek language during the prayer of the Nineth of Av.

#### The Dangers of Being Without a Frame. Book of Fables in Old Yiddish

Claudia Rosenzweig; Bar Ilan University

Fables have a rich tradition in Old Yiddish, attested already from a manuscript copied in 1382 that survived in the Cairo Genizah.

In this paper, I wish to present reworkings into Yiddish of Meshal haQadmoni by Yitzhak ibn Sahula (13th century). In particular, I would like to investigate how fables from this book were retold in the Yiddish Kü-bukh printed in Verona in 1595 and in the Yiddish versions of the Meshal haQadmoni printed from the 1693, and how the presence, absence or reworking of the frame can radically change their reception, sometimes allowing literary freedom and humour, sometimes strengthening the moral message printers wanted to convey.

#### Diodati, Martini, and Targum

Alessandra Pecchioli; Università degli studi di Firenze

In the second half of the nineteenth century in Italy, it was still forbidden to read the Bible in Italian, except in the Martini version, a translation from the Vulgate.

However, there were some groups of newborn Italian Protestants who persisted in reading the Italian version of Giovanni Diodati (Italian Protestant exile in Geneva, whose translation was dated 1607).

One of these, a certain Carlo Zanini, found himself discussing on the pages of a Protestant magazine with the rabbi of Mantua, Marco Mortara. The discussion centred on some passages of the Old Testament that the Christian Zanini considered messianic, such as Gen 49:10. The messianic attribution depended largely on the paraphrase of the Targum Ongelos to this passage.

If we go deeper into the question, we see how the Diodati version depends on the Targum at least as much as Luther's version, while the Martini Bible in the same passages actually adapts to the Diodati, although the text of the Vulgate is different. The purpose of this intervention is to review the texts that Diodati translates or interprets according to the Targum in comparison with the text of the Vulgate and the translation by Martini. centered on some passages of the Old Testament which the Christian Zanini considered messianic, such as Gen 49:10. The messianic attribution depended largely on the paraphrase of the

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# 06.02 Old Yiddish Literature at the Crossroads of German and Jewish Cultures

Heroism and Confidence in the Old Yiddish "Shmuel-bukh" and its Early Modern German Translation

Astrid Lembke; University of Mannheim

The paper discusses the Old Yiddish "Shmuel-bukh', a biblical epic adapting the Books of Samuel (first printed in 1544), and its first translation into German by the convert Paulus Aemilius in 1562. I will ask in what ways and to what effect the Yiddish text and its German translation borrowed stylistic elements from medieval and early modern German literature, especially from the genres of heroic epic and romance. My claim is that the Yiddish 'Shmuel-bukh' combines emphatic archaisms with contemporary and thus 'modern' ways of storytelling which cater to the expectations and predilections of a heterogeneous Jewish audience, and that the German translation adopts this strategy in order to present a Christian audience with an entertaining yet edifying piece of biblical literature.

#### Old Yiddish Epic and the Germanisten

Aya Elyada; Hebrew University

Old Yiddish epic was one of the most beloved genres of early modern Yiddish literature. From the late 18th century, however, with the gradual decline of Yiddish in Central and Western Europe, literary works in this language – including the Yiddish epic – ceased to appear in the German-speaking lands. But this once very popular Jewish corpus was by no means forgotten there. Rather, it gained a "second life" as an object of translation, examination, and discussion in the works of 19th-century German and German-Jewish

scholars. This paper focuses on the engagement of 19th-century Germanisten, or scholars of German philology, with the Old Yiddish epic. It explores the notions and perceptions of the German scholars with regard to this early modern genre and highlights their strong sense of ambivalence toward the Yiddish texts, which were, at one and the same time, both Jewish and German.

### Modes of Inheritance in Early Modern German and Yiddish Adaptations of "Sigmund un' Magelene"

Anna Lisa Starogardzki; University of Mannheim

The tale of Pierre and Maguelonne was widely read in early modern Europe and gave rise to numerous adaptations. In the late 17th century, two Yiddish versions ("Sigmund un' Magelene") were derived from a German translation of the tale. Telling the story of a forbidden relationship between two royal children and their eventual marriage and reign, all adaptations deal with questions of inheriting material as well as immaterial goods. This paper explores how these two modes of inheritance are connected in the German and Yiddish adaptations. Its aim is to make clear how the acquisition of familial and political roles is closely tied to losing, finding or being in possession of certain objects and how the Yiddish adaptations, in particular, intensify the parallelism of success in relationship and rulership using the transfer of objects.

#### 06.03 From the History of Hebrew Linguistics

### Adoption of the tri-radical Root System among Iberian Exegetes, Acceptance and Rejection – the Case of Ibn Chiquitilla

Daniel Isaac; University of Strasbourg

One of the enduring difficulties of recounting a history of the major developments in the study of Hebrew grammar is the patchwork nature of the material available. With the availability of the Firkovitch collection at the Russian National Library (RNL), it is possible to add direct source material from the 10th-century grammarian, translator and exegete Moses Ibn Chiquitilla to the debate around triradicalism and biradicalism in Iberia. Although little survives of his writings, a large portion of his biblical commentary on Psalms

is preserved in one manuscript, Evr-Arab. I 3583 alongside smaller portions belonging to the same manuscript and another manuscript at the RNL and other libraries. In this presentation, we attempt a reconstruction of Ibn Chiquitilla's opinion on the subject

of triliteralism as they relate to his predecessors and successors. We compare his view with secondary evidence preserved in the writings of Abraham Ibn Ezra (born 1089/1092

to died 1164-1167).

#### The Importance of the Secunda in the History of the Hebrew Language

Isabella Maurizio; University of Bologna

The term Secunda refers to the second column of Origen's Hexapla, containing the transcription of the Old Testament in Greek alphabet. The phonetic transcription of the Secunda is an important linguistic resource. The presence of the vocalic graphemes allows us to inquire about different aspects of the Hebrew tradition underlying the transcription: firstly, it enables us to inquiry the pronunciation of the Hebrew language before the Masoretic punctuation; again, its reading tradition consent us to directly compare the tradition of the Secunda and the other attested traditions of the Hebrew language: Qumran Hebrew, Samaritan Hebrew, and the medieval punctuations, such as the Masoretic (Babylonian and Tiberian) and Palestinian.

The analysis of the tradition of the Secunda and its comparison with the other traditions of language are important to establish its place in the history of the Hebrew language under three points of view: the transcriptions attested to the etymology of some forms and *mishqalim*; the transcriptions attested some morphological and phonetic tendencies that the later traditions completely developed; the transcriptions attested some dialectal forms and the existence of allomorphs. Studying these three elements support us in determining the position of this tradition in the history of the Hebrew language.

### New Developments in the Jewish Hebrew Linguistics during the Beginnings of the Haskalah

Yehonatan Wormser; Gordon College

The Jewish society saw many social, cultural, and scientific developments during the beginnings of the Jewish Enlightenment. These developments were achieved, to a large

extent, thanks to the contact of many key figures in the Maskilic movement with their surrounding general society, especially the German society, and its cultural and scientific sources.

One central domain that was cultivated by the Maskilim was Hebrew linguistics. A few works which were published in this field during the initial period of the Haskalah adopted new methodologies and introduced many innovations in their linguistic descriptions. The main source from which the authors of these works could learn the new ideas and implement them quite successfully to the Hebrew linguistics was the German linguistics of the time.

In my lecture, I would like to give a short overview on the linguistic works of three Jewish scholars: Moshe Mendelssohn, Joel Bril (Löwe), and Judah Leib Ben-Zeev. The overview will focus on their use of German linguistic sources and their adaptation of foreign principles and key notions for the description of Hebrew.

#### 06.04 Modern Hebrew and its Grammar

#### On Two Non-Conventional Causal Conjunctions in Emergent Modern Hebrew

Yael Reshef; Hebrew University

The aim of this paper is to discuss a hitherto overlooked employment of two prepositions – ?aħare 'after' and 'al yede 'by means of' – as causal conjunctions throughout the emergence period of Modern Hebrew. Based on data from the early Hebrew press (the 1870s–1930s), we show that both prepositions were commonly used as causal conjunctions (alongside their original functions in temporal clauses and by-clauses, respectively) up to the early 1920s but stopped being used in that function following the extensive standardization processes that accompanied the consolidation of Hebrew as a daily vernacular.

We claim that the initial transformation of both prepositions into causal conjunctions reflected a common change process, repeatedly found in the world's languages, based on a process of logical deduction interpreting temporal or instrument relations as expressing cause ("if p happened after/by q > p happened because of q"). By contrast, the abrupt rejection of the causal function is best attributed to the unusual sociolinguistic circumstances of the emergence of Modern Hebrew, reflecting the intersection between

various synchronic and diachronic, linguistic and sociolinguistic factors, such as language ideology, distribution, redundancy and the availability of alternative means of expression.

The Vowel /e/ in Contemporary Hebrew: A Sociolinguistic and Acoustic Consideration

Yehudit Henshke; Bar Ilan University

This lecture deals with a phonological difference between two sociolects of contemporary Hebrew, namely with the historical sere vowel, which is pronounced differently by speakers of general Hebrew and those of Mizrahi Hebrew.

We will describe the distribution of the vowel's various realizations across phonological. lexical, and syntactic categories while considering the diachronic perspective, as well as the relationship between the demographic and sociological characteristics of the study participants and their realization of the sere. In addition, we will present acoustic measurements of realizations (monophthong vs diphthong) by speakers of the two main dialects of Hebrew.

The conclusion of our research is that Mizrahi speakers rarely realize the vowel in question as a diphthong [ej], whereas speakers of general Hebrew conspicuously tend to realize it as a diphthong in borrowed and "frozen" words in certain syntactic environments and in words where the sere is consistently spelt with a yod. We will also describe and propose an explanation for the isolated environments in which Mizrahi speakers seem to pronounce the vowel as a diphthong.

#### 06.05 Judeo-Spanish

#### Sephardic Jews in Fes Caught Between Spanish and Judeo-Arabic

David Torollo; Complutense University of Madrid

Many Jews expelled from Iberia in the last decade of the 15th c. found refuge in North Africa. Sepharad, the land where they had lived before the expulsion, turned gradually into a distant idea: a beautiful memory for many, a trope of culture to visit, revisit and recreate for a few. More than 400 years after the expulsion, the irony of history brought a new Sepharad, i.e. Spain, closer to those African Jews. Sephardic Jews in the region had

preserved Spanish traditions, cultural expressions and language, claimed to be part of this culture, and, perhaps more importantly, demanded to be protected by it.

Against this background, I would like to present an unpublished document of exceptional interest: a beautiful letter written in Judeo-Arabic in 1905 and addressed to Spanish king Alfonso XIII. In the letter, the leaders of the Jewish community of Fes requested the Crown the building of a school in the *mellah* to teach the Spanish language and asked for royal protection to make it happen. I take this letter as a vantage point to explore two interrelated research questions: the binary identity-alterity around language usage and the linguistic policy of the Spanish authorities in the region.

### The Judeo-Spanish Language in the Sephardi Translations of European Literature Marta Kacprzak; University of Warsaw

Modern Sephardi literature is primarily based on translations and adaptations of Western novels such as "Robinson Crusoe" by Daniel Defoe or "Gulliver's Travels" by Jonathan Swift. There are also some works that deal with the ways of life and the habits of Ashkenazi Jews in the diaspora describing the experiences of Judaism in Central Europe and its relations with the Christian world. One such example is "La segunda Ester" (The Second Esther), a short historical story by Shlomo Israel Sherezli about Esterka, the Jewish lover of the Polish King Casimir III the Great. It is worth adding that these translations were usually abbreviated and appeared without indication of the title of the source version and its author.

The goal of my lecture is to discuss the multifacetedness of the Judeo-Spanish language employed by the Sephardi translators of European Literature, pointing out the borrowings and calques from Hebrew, French, Turkish and from other languages. I will also comment on the translation strategies and techniques, such as domestication or universalisation, that were used by the Sephardi authors. For this purpose, I will refer to the Judeo-Spanish versions of "Gulliver's Travels," "Robinson Crusoe," and "La segunda Ester".

#### Past Participles with an Active Meaning in Judeo-Spanish

Branka Arrivé; INALCO Paris

This study discusses Judeo-Spanish participles of transitive verbs having both a passive and an active interpretation, e.g., 'meldado': 'la rezolusyon meldada' (passive, "the read resolution") and 'un ombre meldado' (active, "a well-read man"). The same phenomenon exists in Castilian and some of the active interpretations are shared by the two varieties, e.g. 'komido': 'ya estavan komidos' ("they had already eaten"), while others are culture-specific terms deriving from Ladino-calque, absent in Castilian, e.g., 'ahijada' ("a woman that has had children", appearing in the Ferrara Bible referring to Sarah and Rachel becoming mothers through their servants; in Castilian 'ahijado' only has a passive sense). The gender of the participles is also discussed (in Judeo-Spanish, a man who has had children can be designated as 'parido', which is not the case in Castilian). While the active sense has been preserved in verbs of Hispanic origin, an analysis of the newly created adjectival participles from Turkish verbs, e.g., 'bayaleado' ("exhausted"), shows that the participle suffix -ado is no longer productive in creating participles with an active sense. The data for the corpus-based study are derived from the Judeo-Spanish press in the collection of the NLI, the CORHIJE corpus, the CORDE corpus and Nehama's Dictionary.

#### 06.06 The Language of Religion

The Semantic Field of Judaism in the Spanish Royal Academy Dictionary (1726 - 2022). Corpus Review

Nomi Drachinsky; Complutense University of Madrid

The Royal Spanish Academy Dictionary (Diccionario de la Real Academia Española - DRAE) is the foremost language authority and the most consulted linguistic resource in Spain and the Spanish-speaking world. As such, it acts as an agent that reflects, influences, and shapes the social construction of meaning. This phenomenon is evident in alterity representations, as the dictionary reflects and determines how societies perceive minorities. My case study focuses on the Jewish minority as depicted in the DRAE. On the occasion of the EAJS 12th Congress, I would like to present the empirical body of my ongoing PhD research on the semantic field of Judaism in the DRAE. The corpus comprises circa 200 Judaism-related dictionary entries from the first edition (Autoridades

1726/1770) up to the 23rd and latest edition (2014 on its yearly online updates). The corpus analysis by the appearance date, changes, deletions, and voids will be combined with archival research in order to identify historical, sociological, and political milestones of the history of Spain in its complex relation to Judaism. Examining the lexical items produced in a place and time with scarcely Jewish communities reveals semantic remnants of a phantasmagorical past, of which selected examples will be presented.

#### "Barukh": the Elusive, Defining Feature of Jewish Liturgy

Sarah Grabiner; University College London

The word "barukh" is almost metonymic for all of Jewish liturgy, and is, simultaneously, a linguistic mystery. I investigate the ambiguity of this most common liturgical term by exploring translations of the blessing formula in Hebrew-English prayer books published in the last eighty years. This passive participle is prolific in the classical Hebrew corpus and yet is virtually the only attested form of the qal binyan, raising the question of the semantic field of the root b-r-kh and this word specifically.

The range of translations of this common, fixed liturgical element is striking. Translations use both "bless" and "praise," each carrying a distinct connotation. English renderings vary from stative to indicative to imperative, with construals that could be pragmatically understood as both descriptive and directive. Translations show no consensus concerning the agent of the verb, with some exhibiting a theologically-driven unwillingness to claim that a praying human could bless God.

#### Contemporary Haredi Hebrew in Israel: A "Jewish" Language Variety?

Dina Sender; Hebrew University

Throughout history, Jewish communities around the globe developed language varieties distinguished from the languages of their non-Jewish environments. These varieties display linguistic and social similarities, notwithstanding the diversity of the languages from which they derive and the geographical and temporal distance separating them. Although many Jewish varieties are now dead or endangered, certain communities maintain sociolinguistic distinctions of this sort, such as the Haredim living in Israel.

While Haredi Yiddish has been studied as a distinct language variety in Israel, no research

has explored Haredi Hebrew, which is the language of most Haredim in the country. In this lecture, I will typify the Hebrew spoken by Haredi Litaim (Litvish-Yeshivish) in Israel as a particular Jewish variety of contemporary Israeli Hebrew. First, I will survey the linguistic hallmarks of Haredi Hebrew, mainly on lexical, semantic, and pragmatic levels. Afterwards, I will compare the sociolinguistic features of Haredi Hebrew to those of other Jewish language varieties and argue that Haredi Hebrew exhibits characteristics common to Jewish language varieties, even though Israeli Hebrew is itself considered a Jewish language.

The analysis is based on spoken data from internal interviews among Haredi Litaim, offering insight into the group's natural use of language.

#### 06.07 Multilingualism in Hasidic communities

#### **Understanding Multilingualism in Hasidic Communities**

Kriszta Eszter Szendrői; University of Vienna

Contemporary Hasidic communities around the world are highly multilingual, as heirs to Fishman's (1967) conception of the historical Eastern European Jewish internal (Hebrew-Yiddish) diglossia and external (Yiddish-majority language) bilingualism. My talk will complement previous studies of multilingualism in Haredi society (Assouline 2017, 2018; Fader 2009) by providing an analysis of the intricate multilingual patterns emerging from 50 interviews with Hasidic speakers of different ages and genders in various geographical locations worldwide conducted by the Hasidic Yiddish research group at UCL. I will examine the factors and variables governing language choice in different domains, focusing on the different roles that Yiddish, Israeli Hebrew, Ashkenazic Hebrew, English, French, and other majority languages play in the various spheres of Hasidic life.

#### Hasidic Yiddish Children's Comics as a Marker of Ethnolinguistic Vitality

Lily Kahn; University College London

The most significant measure of minority languages' survival chances is the extent to which they continue to be transmitted to the younger generations. In societies which place emphasis on literacy, ethnolinguistic vitality includes not only oral intergenerational

transmission but also the inculcation of a culture of reading among children. By such measures, the variety of Yiddish used in Hasidic communities around the world exhibits a remarkably high level of ethnolinguistic vitality as it is the vehicle of a large and thriving body of literature designed specifically for children. In this talk, I will explore this point through an examination of linguistic and cultural aspects of arguably the most popular emergent genre of Hasidic Yiddish children's literature, namely comics and graphic novels. This extensive range of publications is extremely rich and diverse, catering to a wide range of ages and interests and spanning a huge range of topics, themes, and historical and geographical settings while catering exclusively to a target audience of 21st-century Yiddish-speaking Hasidic children.

#### Contemporary Ashkenazic Hebrew as a Non-Vernacular Spoken Language

Sonya Yampolskaya; University of Haifa

While Israeli Hebrew is generally thought to be the only type of Hebrew in contemporary use, there is actually a unique Ashkenazic variety of the language that is alive and well in Haredi, mainly Hasidic, communities throughout the Diaspora. It has its own phonological and grammatical rules, which are remarkably different from those of Israeli Hebrew while closely resembling those of historical Ashkenazic Hebrew from Eastern Europe (Kahn and Yampolskaya 2022), and it is widely used as a productive language of written communication. Perhaps even more strikingly, though not a vernacular, it is also a vehicle of oral communication and creativity. This presentation will examine the various ways in which 21st-century Ashkenazic Hebrew functions as a spoken language, including the ability of educated Hasidic men to read out newly composed Ashkenazic Hebrew texts fluently and accurately; the creation and performance of original songs in Ashkenazic Hebrew; and the use of Ashkenazic Hebrew in innovative stand-up comedy routines at Hasidic gatherings. These seemingly marginal domains of Ashkenazic Hebrew use to highlight the principal role of Ashkenazic Hebrew in contemporary Hebrew-Yiddish diglossia and demonstrate the vibrancy of a non-vernacular language in action.

#### Judeo-English in London's Hasidic community

Karen Rubner; University College London

My paper examines the phonetic production of English, or Judeo-English, as spoken by the strictly orthodox Jewish community of Stamford Hill, North London, more specifically, the influence of neighbouring London English varieties on this dialect and also considers whether there is a gender difference in the phonetic production of vowels in Judeo-English spoken by Stamford Hill's Hasidic community. The results of my MA dissertation show that the community's vernacular, as described by Labov (1972), is a means of strengthening community identity and belonging. Members of the community do not use inner London English phonetic features. The research also showed that the different educational patterns and the social separation of the genders in Stamford Hill have led to variations in phonetic production between the gender groups. However, like other aspects of linguistic consideration in relation to the Stamford Hill community, this requires further research.

#### 07.01 Administering Law in Medieval Judaism

Merging a Cultural Diversity into One Greater Puzzle: Guidelines of the Genre
"Judges' Conduct of Judgement" in Geonic Literature and Muslim Law

Neri Ariel; Bar Ilan University

The purpose of this lecture is to provide a conceptual framework for the comparative study of the genre of training books for jurists and judges known as Adab al-Qāḍi. This genre has representatives in Islam, and several studies have been devoted to it. The rediscovery of extensive texts from the Cairo Geniza has opened the possibility of studying Jewish-Islamic relations in light of a central institution: courts within legal administration. This genre, which has its core in Islam and several significant branches in Judaism, but whose roots are ancient, deals with a shared interreligious thematic in both branches. Each religion has characteristics that distinguish it in the establishment of the genre. In this conference paper, I will focus on a comprehensive description of this literary genus, with a thorough examination of the diversity of structures it comprises. The judicial titles, personal requirements and characteristics are meant to reflect the appearance of justice in the eyes of the different creators of a shared legal genre: it presents the figure and judicial temperament of a prototype judge, not only as someone who cannot be bribed, who will

not pervert the law, etc. but also as an ideal of meta-legal leadership and as a universal educational model.

#### Diverse Community Policies for the Ransom of Jewish Captives in High and Late Medieval Europe as Reflected in the Responsa Literature

Emese Kozma; Hochschule für Jüdische Studien Heidelberg

The ransom of captives is a "great commandment" in Jewish law (Cf. bBB 8a). While captives in the medieval Middle East were prisoners of war, raiders and pirates, or individuals held by the Muslim authorities for non-payment of the poll tax, those of the medieval European communities were individuals, groups or whole communities held by Gentile lords, kings, bishops, respectively their executors, for non-payment of overlarge taxes, the purpose of the captivity being to extort the amounts required. The ransom from captivity was never the issue of one single individual but always the concern of a smaller or larger community.

I will analyze some twenty-eight cases grouped into eight categories trying to delineate the general policy the communities conducted in specific circumstances: (1) Community's every member's contribution to individual's or group's ransom. (2) Group's duty to pay for individual's or group's ransom. (3) The captured coerced to pay his own ransom. (4) The captive's relative(s) obligation to pay his ransom. (5) Community's obligation to pay ransom for another community's members. (6) Shared obligation of the captured partners to pay. (7) Private vow for the individual's or group's ransom. (8) Individual in the custody of the community pays for his release.

### Prostitution and Jewish Law in the Christian Courts: A Case from Fifteenth-Century Geneva

Savoy Curry; Northwestern University

In Geneva in 1404, a Jewish man named Samson was accused of having sexual intercourse with a Christian woman (and known prostitute) named Greda while disguising his Jewish identity. During the trial that ensued, instead of targeting Samson's fraud or his violation of canon law, prosecutors focused in particular on Jewish law, disputing with Samson about whether having sexual intercourse with a Christian woman was forbidden in

the Jewish tradition.

This paper focuses on two aspects of the case, namely Greda's identity as a prostitute and Samson's understanding of Jewish law. I argue that Greda's sexual transgression was overlooked so that Christian communal authorities could make an example of Samson to local Jews and Christians in Geneva. Samson's case provided authorities with a chance to illustrate how (in their opinion) Jewish law affirmed the canon and municipal laws that were intended to prevent sexual contact between Christians and Jews. In this sense, authorities were relying on perceived shared religious beliefs in order to reinforce religious boundaries. This analysis raises the possibility that Christian authorities had a working knowledge of Jewish law and considers how Samson's response to the Christian authorities sheds light on how non-elite Jews interpreted and related to medieval halakha.

### 07.02 Sciences in Medieval Judaism

### Al-Khwarizmi's Treatise on the Jewish Calendar (823 CE) – Revisited

Sacha Stern; University College London

The earliest known description of the Jewish calendar calculation is a treatise by the Muslim mathematician al-Khwarizmi composed in 823 CE. Although a Genizah text from 835 CE suggests that this calendar was not yet used in practice, al-Khwarizmi's treatise has been viewed as evidence of the earlier origins of the fixed Jewish calendar. Its authorship has raised the interesting possibility that although designed for Jewish use, this calendar may have been invented by a Muslim, al-Khwarizmi himself.

In this paper, however, I wish to argue that the treatise of al-Khwarizmi has been misinterpreted, and does not describe the Jewish calendar calculation that was adopted by the Rabbanites by the 10th century (and is now standard in Jewish practice). As has been (partially) noted already, key features of the Rabbanite calendar calculation are missing in the treatise. Al-Khwarizmi could be describing an earlier version of the Rabbanite calendar. However, his account of the calendar is strikingly astronomical, which makes it more likely that he is referring to one of the Jewish alternative (so-called 'sectarian') calendars described a century later by al-Qirqisani and Saadya Gaon that were based on astronomical calculations alone, without resort to fixed calendar rules. This calls into

question the often presumed marginality of these 'sectarian' calendars in the early medieval Near East.

### Learning about Medieval Medicine among Jews from Medical Paratexts

Carmen Caballero-Navas; University of Granada

Oxford BL Ms. Oppenheim 180, copied at the end of the 14th century in Ashkenaz, is a rich repository of medical texts written or translated from Latin into Hebrew during the previous century in Provence. The most striking feature of the manuscript is its paratextual elements, which consist of an extraordinary apparatus of marginal annotations, ranging from the simple amendment or addition to glosses, comments, loose recipes, and fragmentary and complete treatises. Through them, the manuscript has retained evidence of its transmission and uses by scribes, copyists and owners, attesting to the transmission, adaptation and transformation of both the texts and the manuscript according to the different contexts and the needs of their users. The aim of this paper is twofold: to shed light on the transmission and reception of the Hebrew medical texts in a new context, thereby contributing to the understanding of the processes of Jewish acquisition of medical knowledge; to provide new insights into the production, distribution and usages of medical manuscripts which were not in the main luxury goods but rather repositories of knowledge and practical experience of extraordinary social value.

## "I Drew the Diagrams according to what I saw" – the Relationship between Text and Diagrams in Pseudo-Euclid's Sefer Ha-Mar'im

Sabine Arndt; Heidelberg Academy of Sciences and Humanities

The "Book of Mirrors by Euclid" is an anonymous Arabic compilation of problems in mathematical optics that can be traced back to Greek and Arabic sources. Its Latin and Hebrew translations enjoyed great popularity in the Latin West. In this paper, I explore the transmission history of the Hebrew text and its accompanying diagrams; it is especially the mistakes that can be found in both which elucidate the different strategies that medieval scribes followed when dealing with a mathematical text that was problematic from the outset, and that became less and less comprehensible with each migration from book to book and from language to language.

## 07.03 Writing about Places

## The Land of Israel of the Early Middle Ages

Constanza Cordoni; University of Vienna

Even though it is the time frame in which major choices pertaining to exegesis, law, and prayer were made that would set the scene for the rest of Jewish history, we know relatively little about the Geonic period, the time between the Arab conquests in the seventh century CE and the first crusade in the eleventh. We know of changes in the demographic structure of the Jewish communities living under Muslim rule and of Jews being allowed to settle in Jerusalem again. Processes of Arabicisation and Islamisation were underway in these centuries, which saw a shift of intellectual power from the centres of rabbinic learning in Babylonia and Palestine towards the West. The Geonic period witnessed the emergence of a new Jewish system of literary genres. What can we know from the literature of this period about how Jews thought about belonging spatially and about how they identified with the land of Israel? In this paper, I will present preliminary results from the research project "The Land of Israel in Geonic Times", a project that examines a wide array of sources of the Geonic period to describe the ways in which Jews articulated their attitudes towards the Land in the early Middle Ages.

## The Relative Chronology of Four Jewish Holy Sites Lists from the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries

Michael Ehrlich; Bar Ilan University

Four manuscripts from 1489, 1537, 1598, and one from the fifteenth century's first half describing contemporary Jewish pilgrimage sites in the Holy Land survive to this day. These texts are closely related, yet there are not identical. Their similarity either indicates that later copyists probably changed and amended earlier versions according to their updated information or that the manuscripts are independent versions of a single document that did not survive, and despite their similarity, they do not depend on one another.

The logical chronology of these texts is that the earliest was composed in 1489 and the last in 1598. No alternative chronology has been hitherto proposed.

However, a thorough examination proposes that the dates appearing on each manuscript

help determine when they were copied rather than when they were composed. I suggest an alternative chronology based on phenomena and data appearing in each of them. According to this proposal, the 1598 manuscript is an illustrated copy of a text composed shortly after 1475 and is, therefore, the earliest. This conclusion has significant implications for understanding the Jewish community's history in the Holy Land during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

## Medieval Jewish Travelogues: Diversity of the Jewries and Diversity of Study Methods

Boris Rashkovskiy; independent scholar

Medieval Jewish Travelogues (at least the most popular and well-known of them, such as the works of Benjamin of Tudela and Petachiah of Regensburg) provoke the researchers to diversify the methods and approaches to the sources material and the information on Jewish Life as reflected in the written by those authors.

The proposed paper observes the reflection of the multeity of Medieval Jewries seen and reflected by the travellers focusing mainly on the varieties of the practices of Jewish life and observance. The paper focuses primarily on the descriptions of the marginal Jewish and Judaizing groups (Karaites, Samaritans, Beta Israel, and others) on the Mediterranean, Middle-Eastern, and West European Oikumene borders. The differences in practices and traditions between the communities of Ashkenaz, Sepharad, Mizrach and other Jewries as reflected in the medieval travelogues, can be explained based on the methods of gender studies, postcolonial studies, and different interdisciplinary approaches.

# 07.04.1 Jewish Moneylending and Documentary Culture in the Middle Ages I

#### The 1262 Receipt Roll

Dean Irwin; independent scholar

The 1262 Receipt Roll lists more than 900 debts which were transferred from Jewish creditors to the Crown between the summer of 1261 and July 1262. They were enrolled according to the centre at which they were produced, and they provide an important insight

into the wealth of England's leading Jews at a pivotal point in history. Coming after twenty years of heavy taxation, which had decimated the wealth of Anglo-Jewry, and just before the anti-Jewish massacres which accompanied the rise and fall of Simon de Montfort. Crucially, the roll includes marginal notations, which allow us to determine which debts were paid, forgiven, and not redeemed. This paper analyses the roll to gain insights into the relative importance of different centres of Jewish credit in relation to each other. Equally, it maps the geographical distribution of debts and analyses the scale and extent of Jewish moneylending activities in mid-thirteenth century England.

#### The Books of Obligations and Jews in Eger (Cheb)

Kajetán Holeček; Charles University

In Eger, the city-state on the border of Bohemia and the German lands of the Holy Roman Empire, there are preserved six books of obligations, covering the period from 1385 until 1496. They contain records concerning Jewish as well as Christian obligations. Just as in other cities, the records are very brief, telling us only the essentials of the obligations: the names of debtors and creditors, the sum owed, the pledge and the interest (if there were any), and the due date. If we want to know anything else about the social or economic context, we must look at other municipal books and sources. In my presentation, I will explain the specificities of Eger materials in relation to other sources of Jewish moneylending in Bohemian lands, as well as the possibilities of how to use this material to gain information about Jewish society in the urban space of Eger.

### Moneylending in the Letters of the City Council of Erfurt

Maike Lämmerhirt; Erfurt University

Moneylending in the Jewish community of Erfurt in the time from around 1400 until 1453 is documented by different sources, amongst them the three oldest so-called letter books (1427-30, 1434-38, 1448-56). These books contain drafts and abstracts of letters written and sent by the city council addressed to other rulers and cities. Moneylending is mentioned, for example, in correspondences about legal proceedings, in letters to non-local debtors to demand for payments or in responses to Jews, who moved away but still demanded debts in Erfurt. The paper will present the letter books of the city council and

will show by some examples the different manners how moneylending of Jews is mentioned there.

## A Register of Debts Owed to Jews, Confiscated in 1349: What it Tells Us about Jewish Bookkeeping Practice

Christoph Cluse; Trier University

The registers of "remanés des juys" were produced in Mons (Belgium) in 1349 in connection with the state-driven persecution and execution of the local Jewish population. A renewed look at these lists, written in Old French, reveals that they tell us more about Jewish bookkeeping practices than I had imagined. Not only were they apparently based on the Hebrew account books of (some of) the Jewish men and women concerned; they also tell us something about these moneylenders' calculation and accounting practices. Thus, they include minute amounts of money, which do not represent loans, as I used to think, but the interest accrued on previous loans over the course of the years. Viewed in this way, they offer us a glimpse into the problem of compound interest, which in the course of the later middle ages became a growing concern in the eyes of Christian polemicists and authorities.

# 07.04.2 Jewish Moneylending and Documentary Culture in the Middle Ages II

Undocumented Loans in Jewish-Christian Exchange: A Sign of Trust?

Aviya Doron; Hebrew University

Credit transactions between Jews and Christians in the Middle Ages are often studied through the documents used to record and guarantee such exchanges: contracts, loan registers, and other forms of administrative or notarial records. However, responsa literature reveals the prevalence of undocumented loans that relied on other forms of guarantees, whether tangible or not. This paper will discuss some of the common forms of undocumented loans in the German-speaking territories of the Holy Roman Empire and explore whether these transactions were, in fact, anomalies or whether they represent a much wider segment of the fourteenth-century credit market, difficult to access due to

scant evidence. Relying on responsa literature together with contemporaneous court records and legislative sources, this paper will bring together traces of evidence of undocumented loans, examining the relationship between trust and mundane moneylending practices within the fourteenth-century urban credit market.

## Moneylenders at Risk. Networks of Jewish Financiers in Bohemia at the Turn of the Fifteenth Century

Eva Doležalová; Czech Academy of Sciences

At the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries, tensions between Jews and Christians were growing in Bohemia. The reasons for this could have been various: firstly, Jews were perceived as competitors in some commercial activities, especially money lending, and secondly, there were various accusations of ritual offences, which were followed by the expulsion of Jews from some towns despite the protests of the ruler. Finance, or rather money-lending, was then concentrated in Bohemia in the hands of a few prominent Jewish families. Their business and life stories show the building of professional and personal alliances (networks) that enabled them to partly protect their business interests and partly save the lives of their own families during the turbulent years. The aim of this paper is to trace the formation of ties between these particular Jewish families, especially in the town sources.

## "As Stated in the Document Held by our Jew David Steuss." Tracing the Career of Medieval Austria's Most Successful Jewish Creditor

Eveline Brugger; Institute for Jewish History in Austria

Sources on the life of David Steuss, the richest and arguably most successful Jewish moneylender in late medieval Austria, consist largely of business documents, the majority of which are debt instruments. This paper will analyze the information that can be gleaned from this kind of documentation with regard to David Steuss' family connections, his social and business networks in Austria and abroad, his relationship with the territorial rulers and his general standing in Jewish and Christian circles during his lifetime as well as after his death. Thus, the documentation of his exceptional career can serve as an example of the possibilities offered by sources on Jewish moneylending as a basis for research beyond

the scope of economic history and call into question the limitations often considered inherent in this kind of source material.

Small-Scale Moneylending in Medieval Ashkenaz – Tracing the Rabbinic Evidence

Sophia Schmitt; Ludwig-Maximilians-University Munich

While normative legal sources and court records point to the ubiquity of small-scale loans in Jewish-Christian economic relationships, written documentation, especially for loans secured by pledges, is rather scant in thirteenth and early fourteenth-century Ashkenaz. This paper will consider the type of evidence we can trace in medieval rabbinic responsa concerning the halachic consequences of such business transactions and their social implications. The findings will be read in comparison with archival sources and against the backdrop of the conditions surrounding larger moneylending endeavoUrs. Such an approach will shed light on issues of small-scale moneylending that are either hardly explored or depicted with a different focus in documentary sources, for instance, matters pertaining to the background and rise of small-scale money lenders, the circumstances of their interactions with their Christian customers, the struggles faced by the involved parties as well as the strategies engaged to navigate its challenges.

# 07.04.3 Jewish Moneylending and Documentary Culture in the Middle Ages III

Hebrew Marginal Notes on Jewish-Christian Business Records from Medieval Ashkenaz

Andreas Lehnertz; Trier University

My talk will focus on Hebrew marginal notes on Jewish-Christian business records from medieval Ashkenaz (c.1250–1500). These marginal notes were usually added to written moneylending or real estate records to summarize vital information about these documents. This way, the content of such business records would not have been needed to read, but instead, the marginal notes provided sufficient orientation. I will show how we can utilize them to shed light on the economic and cultural history of moneylending and real estate business between Jews and Christians of said period and geography. My talk

will highlight common strategies to formulate such marginal notes. I will show what additional information they can provide beyond the content of the business records, how they can change or perception of the temporality of these businesses, and which cultural codes they can reveal.

### Legal Prohibitions on Usury and the Documents of the Cairo Geniza

Philip I. Lieberman; Vanderbilt University

The Cairo Geniza contains a plethora of loan agreements, many of which were executed in the Jewish court. Despite a widely known prohibition on collecting interest on loans, some of these agreements stipulated the payment of interest. I have already explored in print why the court might be willing to give its imprimatur to such agreements despite the fact that they ran afoul of Jewish law. In this presentation, I hope to explore why the parties to such agreements—who might otherwise care what Jewish law had to say—would agree to a relationship that so clearly and publicly transgressed Jewish legal norms. Was this simple economic expedience, or were other factors at play? Did they not know the law? Were they deliberately choosing to violate it? These agreements offer us an unparalleled window into the daily life of the medieval Jewish community and its relationship with the law.

## Gender and Moneylending in Medieval Ashkenaz: Rabbinic Rhetoric and Economic Reality

Rachel Furst; University of Haifa

Women's active and vital involvement in the economic life of Jewish communities in medieval northern Europe has become an axiom of historical scholarship. Scholars have asserted that in addition to running family businesses and engaging in independent commerce, Jewish women were nearly as active as their male counterparts in the increasingly significant sphere of moneylending. But the archival sources to support this assertion have been under-examined, and rabbinic texts provide mixed evidence, showcasing economically active women yet simultaneously attempting to circumscribe their financial agency. These gaps necessitate a broad reexamination of the economic activities of Jewish women in medieval Ashkenaz, as well as of the general economic

profile of local Jewish communities. In this paper, I will take a first step in that direction, focusing on the rabbinic discourse concerning women and moneylending in order to probe the relationship between restrictive legal trends and actual economic practice.

#### Jewish Moneylenders and their Notaries in Medieval Provence

Ryan Low; Harvard University

Generations of scholarship concerning the social and economic lives of Provençal Jews have relied upon notarial contracts to illustrate and analyze financial, seasonal, and demographic aspects of Jewish moneylending. Historians have paid less attention to the act of notarization itself. This paper argues that Jewish moneylenders frequently relied on the services of a single trusted and reliable notary in their town. The creditor and notary operated according to their own documentary practices, such as compiling all of the creditors' contracts in one individualized register, transcribing contracts in either the Jewish home or notarial workshop, and copying Hebrew legal documents such as *ketubot* and *glttin* in Latin in notarial registers so as to be enforceable in Christian courts. In other words, Jewish moneylenders accessed Latin and Christian legal protections through notaries whom they trusted and with whom they developed individualized documentary cultures.

# 07.04.4 Jewish Moneylending and Documentary Culture in the Middle Ages IV

#### Jews and Christian Notarial Culture in Mallorca 1240-1350

Annabel Hancock; University of Oxford

In this paper, I will examine notarial trading contracts which refer to Jewish parties and consider how they might reveal the ways in which Jewish merchants and investors engaged with the Christian notarial institutions of the Crown of Aragon. Catalan notaries worked in a complex position between public and private, appointed by royal and municipal officials but running private offices for the people of the city. I will consider the different groups revealed in notarial contracts related to trade and whether Jewish parties use varied language and phrases. This will be placed within the context of the wider body

of evidence, including Christian and Muslim contractual parties, to consider the extent to which the medieval Jewish community of Mallorca worked differently, or indeed the same, with Christian notaries and notarial documentation.

### Gender, Jewish Credit, and Notarial Culture in the Medieval Crown of Aragon

Sarah Ifft Decker; Rhodes College

Jews in the medieval Crown of Aragon were legally mandated to register loans to Christians with local notaries. The notaries were legal professionals and public officials, all of whom were Christian men. As I have argued elsewhere, Jewish women developed a complicated relationship with notarial documentary culture, shaped by their marginality both as women and as Jews. In this paper, I will look specifically at the documentary practices that notaries used when recording Jewish loans, and how they shaped the lived experience of Jewish men and women who made loans to Christian debtors. I will also explore how notaries handled the Jewish Hebrew-Aramaic documentary culture that existed alongside Latin notarial culture. When and how did they cite Hebrew-Aramaic documents that functioned as proof of credit claims? How did Jewish men and women navigate between these two documentary cultures when working as creditors?

#### Jewish Creditors before Christian Courts in Late Medieval Austria

Birgit Wiedl; Institute for Jewish History in Austria

In the towns and markets of late medieval Austria, Jewish businessmen and –women frequently appeared before all kinds of Christian courts – e.g., municipal, manorial, viticultural – in cases that arose from conflicts between Jewish creditors and Christian debtors. In these disputes, Jewish men and women appear as plaintiffs, enforcing outstanding debts or asserting their claim to forfeited pledges, as well as as defendants, trying to fend off accusations of economic wrongdoing. Their and their Christian opponents' arguments give us insights into both theory and everyday practice of Jewish moneylending; furthermore, the Jewish men and women demonstrate an in-depth knowledge of the workings of Christian courts. Their ability to navigate the legal systems and their arguments that were based on local laws and legal customs not only show their

willingness and capability to advocate for themselves in Christian surroundings, but also their embeddedness in the respective local culture.

# 07.05 Medieval Sepharad: New Approaches to the Social and Religious History of Iberian Jewries

## Consolidation, Decline and Survival of an Organizational Structure Based on Privileges and Exemptions in the Main Jewish Communities of Aragon

Asunción Blasco Martínez; Universidad de Zaragoza

In parallel with the twelfth-century territorial expansion of the Kingdom of Aragon, religious and military orders linked to the Holy Land and the Cistercian order received Jews under their jurisdiction as a gift from the king. Some of these Jews, taking advantage of the conjuncture and claiming pre-eminence, realized that this jurisdiction would allow to liberate them from communal organization and to encourage their ascend on the social ladder. Some, such as the Alazar and the Cavalleria families in Saragossa, fully succeeded and maintained this status right until the late fifteenth century, while others received partial privileges, and all became known as "francos" or (taxation-) free Jews. From the early thirteenth century on, the king started to pull back from previous gifts, reacting to the claims of some communities, and discovered the mistake in liberating these powerful families from community jurisdiction and taxation. Most of them lost some or all of these privileges, but some families, especially in the capital of the kingdom, Saragossa, kept them until the very end.<br/>
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## On the Eve of the Storm: The Social Profile of a Jewish Community in Late Fourteenth Century Castile

Javier Castaño; Spanish National Research Council (CSIC)

The city of Burgos, caput Castellae, held before 1391 one of the most important Jewish communities in Castile. Hundreds of pages have been written on one of its main figures, especially after his conversion as Pablo de Santa María. However, almost nothing is known regarding the social profile of this community before that date. A recent finding of historical documents and fragments in written Hebrew script within manuscript bindings,

the outcome of the Ginze Sepharad project, shed some light on the demographical structure of this community on the eve of conversion. An additional purpose of this paper is to provide some guidelines on the way to analyze rosters, including onomastic and taxation information.

The Netanyahus, Netanyahu (B.), and the Controversial Issue of the Conversion of the Sephardic Jews

Ram Ben Shalom; Hebrew University

The character of historian Benzion Netanyahu is the focus of Joshua Cohen's awardwinning novel The Netanyahus. In my lecture, I will address the false historical claims made about the Jews of Sepharad in the novel, as well as examine Benzion Netanyahu's historical research in the context of new historiographical insights into the first and second generation of anusim (forced converts) in Aragon and Castile.

## 07.06 Visible and Invisible, Jews in the Western Mediterranean at the End of the Middle Ages

### Interacting and Ignoring Each Other

Claude Denjean; Université de Perpignan

A reconstruction of positions, movements, looks, and gestures in Catalan Jewish neighbourhoods (Valencia, Mallorca, Perpignan, Girona, Barcelona), based on judicial and notarial sources, allows for a closer look at the neighbourhoods of Jews and Christians at the end of the Middle Ages. Seeing or ignoring each other, brushing up against each other, crossing paths, colliding, touching each other, talking to each other, "seeing" a murderous gesture... a sociological analysis of the words of witnesses introduces us to the history of friendship and hatred, the basis of life in common and of ordinary anti-Judaism.

#### The Visibility of Catalan Jewish Neighbourhoods

Claire Soussen; Université du Littoral Côte d'Opale

The VISMIN project examines the question of the visibility or "invisibilization" of minorities in public space at the end of the Middle Ages through the evolution of Jewish neighbourhoods in the Iberian Peninsula. Starting from the observation that, during the last three centuries of the Middle Ages, the powers of the West were balancing between two contradictory attitudes: to erase differences in the logic of integration, and to distinguish minorities to circumvent the threat they represented in their eyes, the project analyses the stakes and the effects of this tension between visibility and "invisibilization" in the urban space. Vismin is an interdisciplinary project that combines history, archaeology, and geomatics.

### Visible Gestures and Invisible Female Gazes in Medieval Western Hebrew Bibles

Élodie Attia; Aix-Marseille University

The feminine seems to be excluded from the world of knowledge and the production of the sacred Hebrew book, the Bible. Yet the medieval biblical manuscript, as an artefact, is essentially undated and anonymous. It is an artisanal production (ink, parchment, ruler, copywriting, ornamentation), which is sometimes dated and located by a colophon. The production is often described as personal or realized in small family workshops. Knowing that women participate in their invisibilization by destroying their production (Perrot, 1998), the hands of certain educated women or women from these scribal families, if not obvious, can be hidden in the manuscripts. To have produced, to have manipulated, to have preserved, to have read the biblical manuscripts are activities that may have been feminine. In this presentation, we will look at the traces of visible and invisible gestures of women and expected men in relation to the biblical text, which is constitutive of medieval Jewish identity.

## Jewish Badge and Equal Justice: were Jews a Visible Group in 15th Century Italy? Pierre Savy; Université Gustave Eiffel

Jews in 15th century Italy were made visible: in a society where modern doubts on Jewish identities (who is a Jew, am I Jewish, etc.) were unknown and where, more in general,

social groups tended to be clearly defined and identified, Jews too were (auto-)identified as Jews, almost always explicitly designed as such in the sources. In a way, their "visibility" was perceived as even more necessary than that of the others: the best example of this need being the Jewish badge, the history of which in Italy should be studied further, starting with its shape and effective wearing. But discrete tendencies were emerging to a partial "invisibilization" of the Jews: were not Jews often exempt from the badge? Among the mighty, the desire for law, order and equal justice for all was a powerful driver of such a tendency.

### **07.07 Medieval Polemics**

#### Rabbi Yehoshua Ben Levi and the Medieval Jewish-Christian Talmud Polemics

Amitai Glass; Ben Gurion University

In my paper, I will discuss the significance of the figure of Rabbi Yehoshua Ben Levi (RYBL) stories for the Medieval Jewish-Christian Talmud debate. The medieval RYBL's texts are rooted in late antiquity's Talmudic literature. Stories featuring RYBL and the angel of death, his ascension to heaven, revealing the suffering Messiah in the gates of Rome, and his struggle against Judeo-Christian healers using Jesus' holy name are found in various Rabbinic sources such as the Babylonian Talmud. I will argue that the medieval texts containing stories featuring RYBL can shed light on literary traditions in Jewish circle in the middle ages. Furthermore I will demonstrate that some RYBL stories were preserved only by medieval Christian scholars of the 9th-13th centuries (i.e., Amolo of Lyon; Petrus Venerabilis), thereby showing that these Latin sources are an important resource for Rabbinic traditions, otherwise lost.

The comparative examination of medieval Latin parallels with late midrashic texts grants another perspective: In the Latin texts featuring RYBL's stories, he transformed from a celestial traveller to an avenging figure presenting him in a new literary garb, more fitting medieval European Jewry. RYBL there becomes the defender of those observant of Talmudic Judaism against the Christian majority.

## Critical Reviews on Jewish Traditions in the Medieval Jewish Polemical Literature: A Study of Hayyim ibn Musa's Shield and Spear

Masahiro Shida; The University of Tokyo

This paper is to consider Shield and Spear, a polemical text in the Iberian Peninsula which Hayyim ibn Musa (c.1390-c.1460) wrote against Nicholas of Lyre (c.1270-1349). Ibn Musa worked as a physician in the Castilian court and probably engaged in religious disputations against Christian theologians and priests. In his masterpiece, Shield and Spear, Nicholas of Lyre, a great Franciscan Hebraist, appears as his opponent, and the disputation between these two intellectuals mainly concerns Christian doctrines. As Nicholas attempts to prove these doctrines though his interpretations of Jewish literature, ibn Musa answers the correct reading and understanding of the texts which his opponent treated. In his well-designed response, ibn Musa expresses critical reviews of Targum, Midrash, Talmud, and Jewish folktales. His critical attitude toward Jewish literature is reflected in several Jewish polemical texts, such as the Hebrew record of the Barcelona Disputation by Moses Nahmanides (1194-1270). However, Shield and Spear is not a record of ibn Musa's actual disputation but contains an aspect of the author's careful reconsideration of his own religious traditions under his contemporary social circumstances. This paper will clarify his critical reading of Jewish literature in the context of medieval Jewish polemical history.

## Building a Fence around the Torah: Jesus of Nazareth in the Jewish anti-Christian Polemical Text Even Bohan (late XIV century) by Shem Tob ibn Shaprut

Miriam Benfatto; University of Bologna

Polemical literature is one of the most vibrant expressions of Jewish-Christian relations from the Middle Ages to the early Modern period. Indeed, the close affinities between these two religions and their common basis in the Hebrew Bible have given rise to a tenacious debate between Christians and Jews. But what if the debating ground shifts to the New Testament? The Jewish, anti-Christian polemical text Even Bohan (Touchstone, late XIV century), written in Spain by Shem Tob Ibn Shaprut, allows us to address this issue. Even Bohan contains the entire Gospel of Matthew in Hebrew, along with several polemical remarks voicing criticism also of Jesus's disposition to abide by the Law. The (mostly unpublished) remarks illustrate how close Jesus's teachings and discourses really

were to those of the Talmud – when they were not directly copied from it – and of the Holy Scripture. Shem Tob seems to want to emphasise how Jesus's teachings do not deviate from what can be found in the Jewish tradition but, rather, have Jewish origins. This paper examines some of the critical remarks presented in Even Bohan, and hence the image of Jesus as a Jew and a Torah interpreter that emerges from this polemical text.

# 07.08 The "Dossier" of the Parisian Latin Talmud Translations of the 1240s

### The Thematic Version of the "Extractiones de Talmud"

Ulisse Cecini; Autonomous University of Barcelona

"Extractiones de Talmud" is the title of a Latin translation of a wide selection of Talmudic passages produced between 1245 and 1248 in the context of an Ecclesiastical investigation of the Talmud. It was developed in two different recensions: firstly, a selection of almost 2000 passages according to the order of appearance in their original version (therefore called "sequential version"). Secondly, this selection was rearranged thematically and expanded with an earlier version offered by Nicholas Donin in 1239 and with other texts from the Hebrew tradition. The result of this revision, recently critically edited by our Barcelona Team, was perhaps more decisive for the final condemnation of the Talmud of the year 1248. Here, I will present the genesis, the structure and the distinctive character of the thematic recension within the controversy surrounding the Talmud of the 1240s.

## The Narrative of Odo de Châteauroux in the "Dossier": The Selection of the Papal Letters

Isaac Lampurlanés Farré; Austrian Academy of Sciences

After some Jews approached Pope Innocent IV to ask him to revoke the ban on the Talmud in 1244, the Pope commissioned his legate, Odo de Châteauroux, to review the case of the Paris Disputation (1242). Accordingly, Odo de Châteauroux prepared a folder with Latin material which showed many sections from the Talmud and other rabbinic sources and why a panel of clergymen condemned it some years ago. Among the Latin

translations of these texts, Odo also included a series of letters sent by the previous pope, Gregory IX, which served to explain the procedure of the events which drove the Talmud to the stake.

In this paper, I aim to analyze these texts, which show the real opinion on the Talmud and the intentions of Odo de Châteauroux, as well as to present the critical edition of this part of the "dossier".

### The Latin Rashi as Part of the Talmud Dossier of the 1240s

Görge K. Hasselhoff; TU Dortmund

Within the selection of texts relating to the Latin Talmud, we find a list of some 160 excerpts from Rashi's Bible commentaries. Whoever the translator was, he seems to have had access to a huge number of Rashi's comments since he translated and paraphrased comments on all parts of the Hebrew Bible - although the order of these translated comments was that of the Christian Bible. If we look at the tripartite Hebrew Bible - Torah, Neviim, Ketuvim - we find 93 translations of Torah-related comments, 38 translations of comments on verses from the commentaries on the books of prophets, and 34 translations concerning comments on the Ketuvim.

The paper aims at introducing into these translations that display different attitudes to the Hebrew *Vorlage*.

#### In Search of an Author: The Latin Talmud Dossier from the 1240s

Alexander Fidora; Autonomous University of Barcelona

The recent edition of the Latin translation of the Talmud, known as "Extractiones de Talmud" (ca. 1245-1248), has served to better understand the procedure that took place in the mid-13th century against the Talmud and, by extension, against Rabbinic Judaism. Many questions, however, that relate to the Latin Talmud dossier remain unaswered, such as identifying the anonymous compiler of the "Extractions" and determining his role in the process. This paper presents elements that allow us to reconstruct his biographical and intellectual profile, indicating with more precision his position in the process.

## 07.09 Medieval Forms of Memory

### Memory and Reality in the Book of Josippon

Shmuel Shepkaru; The University of Oklahoma

As is well known, an anonymous tenth-century Jewish author from Southern Italy authored "Sefer Yosippon" based on Latin copies of Josephus Flavius's histories. My talk intends to show that, despite being an adaptation of the Latin copies, Sefer Yosippon contains references to events in the author's lifetime. So-called "copying errors," extra lines, and reading between the lines reveal the influence contemporaneous events and cultural mindsets had on the author. Two major noteworthy developments in the author's lifetime were: 1) the sporadic decrees against the Italian-Byzantine Jewry and 2) the furious clashes and fruitful cultural contacts between Christendom and Islam. In this conflict, both empires propagated the value of meritorious holy war. One of the battlegrounds between Byzantium and Muslim raiders was Southern Italy, the author's place of residency. Aware of these local and geopolitical developments, the author of Josippon intended to offer an anxious Jewish minority trapped in a war between two military giants a source of hope and national pride. He did so through his versions of the stories of the Maccabees and Roman wars. In these accounts, the author endeavoured to ascribe the origin of the acclaimed contemporaneous notion of holy war to ancient Judaism.

## The Frankfurter Judenschlacht through the Kaleidoscope of Hebrew Liturgical Poetry

Peter Sh. Lehnardt; Ben Gurion University

Liturgical Poetry shares two time zones: a liturgical-mythical one and a historical-realistic one. It has its share in a cyclical sphere of liturgy which is based on repetitive patterns on a daily, weekly, monthly or yearly basis but is also enacted at a historical place and time in the context of a community. Thus, the intention of the paper is to present methodological considerations for an approach to use Hebrew liturgical poetry as a source in historical discussions, e.g. the Frankfurter Judenschlacht of 1241. Most readers were interested in historiographical aspects, cracked the poetical 'nutshell' and 'picked' the lines with 'obvious' historical content attested by other sources. But as I would like to show, the complex 'form' of Hebrew liturgical poetry may include, according to a more holistic

approach, more information and especially additional perspectives and contexts, e.g. its commemoration of an event and especially of persecution. Beyond method, there shall be an overview of the extant known liturgical poems referring to the Judenschlacht, and most of the examples for the discussion should be taken from an until now unpublished text - if not new poetic voices for historians (of Frankfurt) at least a chapter in the History of Poetry.

## Lists of Names and Places. The Liturgical Commemoration of the Dead in Medieval Prayer Books (Siddurim and Mahzorim 13th- 15th Century Ashkenaz)

Rainer Josef Barzen; University of Münster

Since the 12th century in the communities of Ashkenaz, various new forms of commemoration of the dead became visible, concerning both the benefactors, as well as the martyrs. These forms of commemoration found their permanent place, in particular within the liturgy of the synagogue. Thus, during the 12th and 13th centuries, fixed days were established in the Jewish annual cycle for the commemoration of the dead. A certain liturgical form was created as well. In the manuscripts of the medieval Ashkenazic prayer books (Siddurim and Mahzorim) from the 13th to the 15th centuries, this development can be found and traced. In my presentation, I would like to show on the basis of these manuscripts:

- How the well-known liturgical form of commemoration of the dead, which we already encounter in the Nuremberg Memorbook (13th century), solidified and what must be said in this context about the four basic elements (*Yekum Purkan, Mi-she-berech, Yiskor, Av ha-Rahamim*).
- What lists of benefactors, martyrs and lists of places of persecution were handed down within the liturgy and whether these lists can be linked to other traditions (e.g. the Memor books).

07.10 Jewish Culture in the Medieval Islamic Milieu: The Bible

and Talmud in a Multidisciplinary View

Biblical Stories and Midrash in Late Judaeo-Arabic Liturgical Poetry

Rachel Hasson; Hebrew University

Genizah collections contain several hundred Judaeo-Arabic manuscripts that include liturgical poetry on various topics such as: the biblical prophets, the Ten Commandments, biblical stories and more. They incorporate midrashic material, and follow R. Saadiah

Gaon's poetic approach. The poems passed from generation to generation until the late

Middle Ages, when they were written down. It is important to emphasize that the poems

under discussion are totally unknown. I will present these interesting poems and discuss

their contents, emergence and the communal background in which they were composed.

Judaeo-Arabic Biblical Interpretation and Islamic Theology

Zvi Stampfer; Herzog College

I will discuss the importance of Muslim theology in understanding medieval biblical interpretation in Judeo-Arabic. Using the story of the Witch of Endor (Samuel I, 28) as a

Test case I will try to examine the link between the different and related fields.

Textual Criticism of Talmudic Sources in Geonic Literature

Uziel Fuchs; Herzog Academic College

The attitude of the Babylonian Geonim towards textual variants in the Talmudic literature is a broad and complicated issue. Indeed, the Geonic era spanned 300 years and included

various Geonim and opinions.

In this paper, I will display the main data of textual discussions of the Geonim. I will analyze this data according to the writers and the context of these discussions and will try to understand the Geonic approach towards the text of the Talmud. The textual criticism of the Geonim will be compared to Muslim textual criticism.

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# 07.11 Socio-Political Perspectives on the Jews of Medieval France, 12th-14th Century

## The Influence of Canonical Collections on the Situation of the Jews in France (12th Century)

Amelie Sagasser; German Historical Institute of Paris

This paper deals with the interaction between secular Jewish policy and the French canonical collections compiled in the 12th century containing regulations on the dealings with Jews. It discusses how this corpus reflects broader concerns among secular and ecclesiastical actors vis-à-vis the Jews in the French kingdom. Moreover, it provides insight into the dynamics of power over Jewish inhabitants of these areas. The focus of my contribution is the Decretum of the French Bishop Ivo of Chartres (written c.1093-1100) and the Panormia from Ivo's school (written c.1095-1100). These are the two most important collections of the period, the contents of which differ with regard to Jews in various ways. Taking a few examples from this corpus, I will highlight the relationships between these powers under the Capetian kings.

### Jewish Life in the Queens' Dower Lands of France (12th-13th Century)

Hannah Teddy Schachter; Hebrew University

Women, be they queens or other rulers, have not been of scholarly interest when it comes to the socio-political history of the Jews in medieval France. My research seeks to bring this gendered perspective into the debate. This paper will consider how royal marriage transactions, specifically the dowers of French queens, affected Jewish life in the 12th and 13th centuries. Focusing on the geographies of Jewish settlement in northern France in relation to the lands of the queens of France, I will discuss how Jews encountered French queens as their lords with particular treatment of the case study of Blanche of Castile, Queen of France (1223-1252).

"Let Us Return to Our Homeland Because That Is Our Mother" (Solomon Ibn Verga, Shevet Yehuda) – French Jews and Their Repeated Expulsions and Readmissions to France in the Fourteenth-Century

Nureet Dermer; Hebrew University

Throughout the fourteenth century, the Jews of France were consecutively expelled from and accepted back into the French kingdom. Focusing on the relations between Jews and the French kings, this paper explores Jewish sources from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that captured Jewish responses to the repeated expulsions from France, especially sources concerning the dilemmas they faced upon readmission to France. In addition, I will discuss how teetering between foreignness and belonging, expelled Jews were integrated into new Jewish communities outside the French royal territories during the fourteenth century, e.g., in Provence, Castile, and the German Kingdom. This paper seeks to elucidate the daily problems that arose as a consequence of the arrival of 'foreign Jews' to these long-established settlements.

## 07.12 The Materiality of Religion in Medieval Ashkenaz

Dress, Daily Life, Halakhic Development: Rabbi Meir of Rothenburg's Challenges with Everyday Reality

Moshe D. Chechik; Hebrew University

In the framework of an intellectual biography of Rabbi Meir of Rothenburg, I will present a characteristic case study that shows his independent and courageous ruling, as well as his approach to tensions between his German and French sources.

The biblical commandment of tzitzit orders the binding of tassels on the four corners of one's garment, on the natural everyday clothing. Medieval Ashkenazi Jews, however, adapted their neighbour's clothing, which eventually led them to abandon the everyday practice of tzitzit. Instead, they wore a large tallit, a square cloth with tassels, only during the daily synagogue morning prayers. Thus, the old ordinary garment became a sacred and ceremonial object, as the "natural" tallit changed to an "artificial" prayer cloak. During the thirteenth century, as I will show, a new garment resembling an undershirt named tallit katan ("small tallit"") was invented to address the challenge of perpetuating the religious commandment during the day. Contrary to his predecessors, Rabbi Meir believed

that even such a garment must have tassels, and one can fulfil the commandment with it, even though it cannot be wrapped around the body. As a result, he also invented a special blessing for the tallit.

## Sticks and Stones: Jewish Religious Architecture and Ashlar Stone Construction in the High Middle Ages

Neta Bodner; Open University of Israel

Erecting a stone religious building in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was about more than walling off a space for prayer and ritual. The efforts involved in quarrying, carrying, and constructing with finely-cut stone were extensive. Despite the efforts required for using it, ashlar-block stone architecture is a marked characteristic of the new and innovative building tendencies of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, defined broadly as 'Romanesque'. The revolution of stone building has been attested regarding Christian architecture in German Lands. The ideologies behind the shift in building practices- from wooden roofing and brick to stone vaulting and walls- have not been spotlighted in the study of Jewish medieval architecture. It is this theme that I wish to draw out. In this paper, I analyse the different renovations in which stone vaulting was introduced to synagogue architecture in the Rhineland and the extent to which stone construction was used in monumental shaft *mikvaot* (Jewish ritual baths). I use epigraphy from Worms and Mainz to show that Jewish authors participated in the wider discourse on the symbolism of materials and that Jewish communities reacted to the technological revolutions of their day.

### Marriage Procedures in Medieval Mainz

Shalem Yahalom; Ariel University

The lecture will examine the marriage procedures prevalent in Mainz and in additional places in eleventh-century Ashkenaz. Research demonstrates that an act of betrothal took place at a time significantly earlier than the marriage. The marriage itself was held on the Sabbath in the vein of Christian society, where weddings were held on holidays and days of rest. The ketubah was written on Friday in order to prepare for the wedding. Marriage during this period was not a symbolic ritual but a tangible act of sexual intercourse. Accordingly, a festive meal was held during which the couple consummated the marriage.

Since the betrothal took place in a limited circle, the betrothal blessing was recited toward the end of the Sabbath in the framework of a public, festive ceremony. After verification of the bride's virginity, determining that she was eligible to receive the ketubah, the marriage blessings were recited on Saturday night, and the ketubah became legally binding. This procedure contradicted Babylonian Halakha, which sanctions marital relations only on the condition that the marriage blessings are recited.

# 07.13 Archaeology in Jewish Quarters of Medieval Towns in Germany

#### Jewish Quarters in Medieval Towns in Bavaria and their Traces

Bernd Päffgen; Ludwig-Maximilians-University Munich

After there had been regular Jewish communities in the medieval towns and market places in Bavaria, the expulsion of the Jews from Augsburg in 1438/40 and from the duchies of Upper Bavaria and Lower Bavaria in 1442 and 1450, respectively, marked a caesura. Other imperial cities and bishops followed, finally Regensburg in 1519. Only a few testimonies in today's Bavaria remind us of the medieval Jewry located in the cities, such as the synagogue in Miltenberg, which has been preserved as part of a brewery. The Jewish communities in the bishopric and imperial towns as well as in the ducal residences were particularly important. It is difficult to reconstruct the Jewish quarters in these towns. Archaeology plays an important role in this. It was only with difficulty that the late medieval mikveh in Bamberg was preserved. In Rothenburg ob der Tauber, the latemedieval house at Judengasse 10 has been secured, and the mikvah has been reexamined. In Regensburg, the excavations in the Jewish quarter, which was demolished in 1519 and on whose site the Neupfarrkirche and its square were built, are currently being processed.

## News on the Building History of the Dance and Community House of Cologne's Medieval Jewish Community

Michael Wiehen; Archäologische Zone, Stadt Köln

Even after 15 years of project duration, unexpected surprises occur during the still ongoing excavation for the realisation of the future museum "MiQua. LVR -Jewish Museum in the Archaeological Quarter of Cologne" unexpected surprises occur.

The cellar walls of the dance and community house, which date back to the Middle Ages (written sources 1235), were used until 1941/42. During this time, the poor administration of the city of Cologne, as well as private houses, were located here. Below the modern floor, a latrine was excavated in the cellar of the dance and community house.

The ceramic finds indicate that the latrine was used in the early 13th century. Surprisingly, however, several slate plates with graffiti were also recovered; these are thus significantly older than the tablets with graffiti previously recovered from the destruction horizon of 1349.

Furthermore, remarkable spolia were found in the cellar walls, which illustrate the interaction between the Jewish community and the Cologne Cathedral building workshop in the high Middle Ages. It was previously known that the stonemasons built the Gothic bima, the reading pulpit, in the synagogue after 1265. Now further connections can be made.

#### The Jewish Quarter at Frankfurt's Börneplatz

Wolfgang David; Archäologisches Museum Frankfurt

During construction work for the Stadtwerke customer centre, parts of the Judengasse buildings were found in the spring of 1987. Nevertheless, the building project was initially given priority. The remains of the Börneplatz synagogue, destroyed in 1938, were also demolished. A citizens' protest against the "disposal of history" attracted attention so that an archaeological investigation was finally still possible; a total of 19 buildings have been recorded. Five of the discovered basement floors are accessible today under the built administration building on the original site via the Judengasse Museum. The Frankfurt Judengasse was created in 1460/62 by resettling the older Jewish quarter not far from the collegiate church of St. Bartholomew. A reappraisal is currently taking place.

07.14 The Medieval Jewish Cemetery of Erfurt: An

**Interdisciplinary Project** 

The Excavation of the Medieval Cemetery of Erfurt

Karin Sczech; Dezernat Kultur und Stadtentwicklung Landeshauptstadt Erfurt

Due to construction works a rescue excavation had to be made at the medieval Jewish

cemetery of Erfurt. Only a small part was actually excavated, the bigger part is still

preserved, but the excavation gives valuable information about layout of the cemetery,

grave goods or caskets.

Anthropology of the Medieval Jewish Cemetery in Erfurt

Stefan Flohr; University of Hildesheim

Anthropological analysis of the 47 articulated skeletons (28 adults, 19 non-adults) from

single graves and a large number of isolated bones from different spots of the excavation

area, representing a minimum number of individuals of 66 (40 adults, 26 non-adults), was

performed by using established morphological methods. Only non-destructive methods

were applied for the analyses.

Some slight differences in the demographic composition and the paleopathological

findings between the burials and the stray finds (more non-adults and more severe

pathological changes in the individuals represented by the stray finds) can be explained

either by stochastic effects due to the small sample size, or by social differences between

the individuals represented in certain areas of the cemetery.

Results of Genetic Research

Leonard Rutgers; Utrecht University

In this paper I will review the results of the genetic and isotopic analysis of 38 individuals

from the Jewish cemetery at Erfurt. The paper will place special emphasis on what these

results mean for our understading of Jewish history in Europe in general and the history of

Jews in medieval Germany in particular. Special emphasis will be placed on issues

relating to ancestry, kinship, health, and community structure. A more general discussion

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of where future genetic research on the Jewish communities of Europe should head will round off this paper.

### Response: The Erfurt Cemetery. New Approaches and their Consequences

Johannes Heil; Hochschule für Jüdische Studien Heidelberg

The response will discuss the analysis of the findings from the Jewish cemetery at Erfurt in their local context but also with regard to their consequences for Jewish medieval history and northern European history in general. The panel promises a fruitful debate on how new approaches and tools may improve or change earlier results and how far they will change the prarameters for future research.

## 07.15 Diversity in the City — Diversity of Medieval Sources

### Diversity in Crisis. Jews, Christians and the Social Effects of Economic Recession

Susanne Weigand; Ludwig-Maximilians-University Munich

The 15th and 16th centuries are witness to many expulsions of Jewish communities from cities across the German Empire. Often, these expulsions co-occur with economic troubles among the cities' inhabitants. This talk will investigate the history of the Jews in their various relationships with urban society in the free city of Regensburg during its greatest economic crisis of the Middle Ages. Interreligious tensions arose, especially between the first signs of the recession around 1450 and the expulsion of the community in 1519. To what extent were relations between the Christian majority and the Jewish minority affected by the changing economic conditions?

The paper will give an overview of the different social circles of the city and their interactions with each other. The basis for this is the evaluation of five medieval court books. Due to their varied contents and complexity, they allow the exploration of a medieval society in all its diversity.

#### Diversity, Accessibility and Halachic Innovation

Ahuva Liberles; Yale University

Can we explore Diversity— a 21st-century practice or quality of including or involving people from a range of differences— in a medieval world?

Accessibility is crucial for fulfilling many religious duties. Nevertheless, it is almost impossible to find a medieval Halachic ruling which elaborates on how women with physical disabilities should participate in religious life. This talk will introduce the fifteenth-century Bavarian Jewish woman Adel, of limited physical mobility, who partnered with Rabbi Israel Bruna, a well-known German-Bohemian rabbi, to fulfil her religious obligations. This initiative is detailed in Bruna's Responsa and fueled early modern discussions of the accessibility of Jewish rituals.

This paper uses archival and legal materials to shed light on the innovators and their circumstances and to consider this case study in its historical context. Moreover, it will provide preliminary thoughts on how diversity can be used to uncover histories from a methodological perspective.

### Diversity in Defense. Who Protected a Medieval City Inside and Outside?

Astrid Riedler-Pohlers; Ludwig-Maximilians-University Munich

Christian and Jewish inhabitants of a medieval city were exposed to various threats: As a man-made threat, war as a danger from the outside probably comes to mind first. In addition, there could have been riots or even insurrections among the residents. Major events could also end in unsightly and dangerous occurrences within the city. However, medieval cities and their inhabitants could equally be affected by threats from forces of nature such as wind, water, fire, or diseases. For this reason, the maintenance of security and public order in a city was one of the most important tasks of its leadership.

From various municipal regulations, we learn from the example of Regensburg, which measures were taken in a medieval city to protect the citizens. Special attention is paid to the diverse groups of people who were called upon to defend the city internally and externally.

### Diversity in Oaths. Jews and their Oaths in Medieval Regensburg

Eva Haverkamp; Ludwig-Maximilians-University Munich

Jews took oaths in front of Jewish and non-Jewish courts as well as on all sorts of occasions. The phrasing of these oaths was crucial for their acceptance in the various legal spheres. In view of the often very degrading forms of oath-taking, the question arises whether the Jews of Regensburg had the sufficient agency to negotiate and determine the wording of these oaths. What do we know about the wording of the oaths of Regensburg? In comparison with oaths from other cities and regions, how special were they? In what context do Hebrew, Latin and German sources mention them? What do they tell about the legal practice and the legal status of the Jews in the city of Regensburg? The paper highlights the advantages of interpreting different types of sources, in particular, the Sefer Hassidim and late medieval archival sources — in relation to each other.

# 07.16 Bodies and Looks: Perspectives on Corporality, Materiality, and Gender in Medieval Ashkenaz

## "And his Face will Forever Glow..." – Bodies of the Dead in Medieval Jewish Sources

Anna Lidor-Osprian; Heidelberg University

Traditionally Jewish cultures viewed the dead as marginal. Connected with ideas of ritual impurity and deserving the utmost respect, their bodies were separated from the living and simultaneously ritualized by them. This ambiguous relationship allowed them to be constructed as a cultural object and a tool in popular narratives and exempla literature. Emphasizing the depiction of the dead's bodies and the messages inscribed into their (seemingly) corporeal appearances, this paper will analyze a selection of narrative sources featuring the encounters with the bodies of the dead. I will argue that these texts manifest ideas and customs, at times deviating from the halachic norm, allowing us insights into the diverse mentalities of medieval Ashkenazi Jews. As they represent both the material and the immaterial body, the material body is connected to (un)successful rite de passage, matters of law, and implicitly conveys medico- scientific knowledge while the immaterial body goes beyond the human body's physical realities or boundaries.

## A Jew from Cologne Facing the Three-Dimensional Sculpture of the Body of Christ: Herman-Judah of Cologne and the Münster Crucifix

Ephraim Shoham-Steiner; Ben Gurion University

Hermanus Quondam Judaeus (Herman of Cologne or Herman of Scheda) was a young Jew named Judah from Cologne who converted to Christianity in the 1120s. He is either the author, one of the authors or the inspiration to the Opusculum de Conversione Sua, the Latin autobiography produced in Premonstratensian circles in the late 12th century. This Latin text describes Herman/Judah's experiences as he meandered from Judaism to Christianity in the late 1120s in northwestern Germany. In my lecture, I will reexamine one of the scenes from the Opusculum that describes Herman/Judah's first encounter with and reaction to the three-dimensional, probably life-size crucifix. I will suggest that although heavily laden with twelfth-century Christian theological discourse, the scene may accurately depict Jewish reactions in this period when visually encountering this rather new form of artistic representation of the Christian savior. I will further suggest that this scene may be related to the famous controversy about the Cologne synagogue decorations in the late eleventh century and possibly also contribute to the ongoing discussion about the Opusculum's "authenticity".

## Performing Texts, Writing Bodies: The Ritualization of "be'ilat miṣvah" and Bridal Virginity in Medieval Ashkenaz

Avital Davidovich-Eshed; Tel Aviv University

By the late Middle Ages, rabbinic discourse on marriage consummation turned into a complex ritual previously unknown in Jewish sources. This ritual sequence, extent in halakhic and ritual manuals from Medieval Ashkenaz, describes the preparation for the wedding night, gives instructions for the sexual encounter, stipulates what the bride and groom must do once completed, and concludes with a benediction that consecrates bridal virginity. Through analysis of this literary unit, the paper offers a discussion of the interplay between bodies of knowledge and human bodies. It examines how texts construct gendered bodies and how bodies become surfaces for the manifesting abstract ideas. Analyzing this unit, I assert that bridal virginity became central to the ritual procedure, with her defloration the ultimate goal of the entire process. However, the virginity referred to in

the text is abstract, the product of a discourse that had little to do with the actual female body.

## **08.01 Intersecting Jewish Traditions**

### Challenges to German-Jewish Identity in Early Modern Period

Edward Fram; Ben Gurion University

In the fifteenth century, Jews were expelled from or fled the German-speaking lands. Those who moved eastward may have assimilated into Polish Jewry, but, as Lucia Raspe as ably shown, German Jews in the Italian lands tried to maintain their German identity in their new settings. In the sixteenth century, German Jews faced a cultural threat from the printed word. Books from eastern Europe were written by Jews who shared the same cultural heritage as German Jews, yet they presented customs and legal ruling that were not always consistent with German ways of doing things before a reading public that put great credence in the written word. Finally, in the seventeenth century, it was no longer just books that crossed borders, but people from other places came to western Europe with different ways of life. In general, these immigrants were more learned than local Jews and, sometimes, this gave them the authority to contest, if not change the ways of German communities.

This talk will articulate and develop the three fold challenges to German-Jewish identity in the first centuries of the early modern period and discuss how German Jews responded to these challenges.

## Clashes between the Traditions of the Musta'arabi Jews and those of Sixteenth Century Immigrants to Eretz Yisrael

Eyal Davidson; Herzog Academic College

In the centuries prior to the sixteenth century, many Jews emigrated to Eretz Yisrael from various countries, bringing different traditions and settling alongside veteran residents, Musta'arabi Jews or longtime immigrants. Over time, public and social consensuses evolved to enable joint customs. The arrival of the Sephardi exile after the expulsion breached this balance, and – under its strong influence – the Westerners, the Musta'arabi

Jews and most of the other communities adopted its customs at the natural expense of their previous traditions.

In the lecture, I will present and analyze several sources, with particular emphasis on the book, "The Intercalation of Years" (Tikkun Issachar), authored by Rabbi Issachar ibn Susan.

In fact, the Sephardim were extremely dominant, and their new traditions overshadowed the local traditions of the veteran Musta'arabi Jews. The origins of the latter customs were forgotten and gradually 'assimilated' into the other communities. The Musta'arabi Jews' battle of identity failed the test of time against the power of the Sephardim – a large number of immigrants and the status of their many great sages – and it appears that over time they lost their unique character. As the generations passed, the Musta'arabi community almost completely disappeared, barely noted in historical consciousness.

## The Jewish Population in Modern Italy. The Demographic Formation of Multicultural Communities

Nardo Bonomi Braverman; independent scholar

Italy has a very important role in Jewish history: it is located centrally on the Mediterranean Sea and served as an important crossroad between Italian, Sephardic and Ashkenazi cultures. In the lack of sources, the oldest movements of the Jewish population are traceable, following the movements of some prominent families and the transmission of culture and liturgical traditions. The sixteenth century is very important for the Italian Jewish population: it is a period of arrivals and a period of setting up of the first Ghettos. These two factors moulded the Italian Jewish population. Starting from the study of the first lists of Jews available, it is possible to sketch the composition of the Jewish population of Sicily, Piedmont, Tuscany, Genova, Milano, Venezia, etc. These flows of immigration from different areas merged in the closed places where Jews were forced to live. Even though closed in the Ghettos, the different Jewish groups kept their own traditions and *minaghim*, so that in many communities, they were synagogues of different rites. In some communities, it is possible to establish the percentage of the different clusters (French, Iberian, Ashkenazi).

A quantitative analysis will show the historical balance of the Italian Jewish population since the oldest time with a spatial analysis of its distribution.

### 08.02 Cultural Interaction and Transfer

## "The Most Faithful Expositor among the Rabbis!" The Reception of David Kimchi's Psalm Commentary in Early Protestant Exegesis

Johannes Müller; Goethe University Frankfurt

In this paper, I will investigate the substantial influence of David Kimchi's commentaries, and his exposition of the Psalms in particular, on early Protestant exegesis, which has been generally disregarded by modern scholarship. In the wake of the humanist ideal ad fontes, Christian thinkers challenged Vulgate's authority as a credible translation as well as traditional allegorical explanations. Radak's commentaries, first and foremost on the Psalms, served Protestant scholars as a most trustworthy collection of interpretations according to the literal and historical senses of the Biblical text. This is mirrored by the statements of Martin Luther, calling him deus Rabinorum, and John Calvin, regarding him as the fidelissimus inter Rabbinos. At the same time, the broad use of Jewish post-biblical sources among early Protestant thinkers aroused the suspicion of their contemporaries, who accused them of "Judaizing" and "rabbanizing". Seeking to eschew this accusation, Christian Hebraists stated their intention to refrain from recording such explanations that might challenge Christian doctrine or explicitly sought to refute them. The most prominent example of the latter case is Sebastian Münster's disputation Messias Christianorum et ludaeorum, in which Radak is the main source for the Jewish dialogue partner that his Christian opponent seeks to confute.

## Ovadiah Sfornos Lumen Gentium, the Controversy over the Human Soul, and the Counter-Reformation

Moshe Kravetz; Hamburg University

While posterity chose to remember Ovadiah Sforno of Bologna (C. 1470-1549) for his exegetical work, his philosophical treatise was the only work the Italian Jewish Renaissance philosopher and biblical exegete published himself, first in Hebrew (Or Amim, 1537), then in Latin (Lumen Gentium, 1548). The topic at the centre of the philosophical and theological debate in the Christian world at the time, the human soul's immortality, is conferred Sforno's lengthiest treatment. A new examination of his motive in publishing this work and dedicating it to the King Henry II of France allows a reevaluation of Sforno's

goals, his interaction with Christian thinkers, his response to the new and conflicting tensions created by the cultural and theological changes due to the Reformation and the Catholic response, and his perception of the Jewish People's mission facing the changing tide.

### Jewish Readers of Boccaccio in Early Modern Italy

Shulamit Furstenberg-Levi; Lorenzo de Medici Florence

In 1535, the famous Dialoghi d'Amore of Leone Ebreo (Yehuda Abravanel) was published in Rome. It has been shown that the second of the three dialogues that compose the Dialoghi is extensively based on Boccaccio's Genealogy of the Pagan Gods.

A hundred years later, in November 1636, the inquisitor Giacomo da Lodi, while confiscating prohibited Hebrew books from the homes of various Jewish leaders in Modena, found a copy of Boccaccio's Genealogy of the Pagan Gods in the closet of Allegra Poggetti, the wife of Leone Poggetti.

These examples and others demonstrate that Boccaccio was one of the non-Jewish authors who was known to a wide spectrum of Jews during the early modern period in Italy – philosophers, intellectuals, women and others. Interestingly, much of our knowledge about these readers has reached us through documents regarding "prohibited books". This paper will strive to approach a question that, to my knowledge, has not been dealt with in scholarship, that of the Jewish readers of Boccaccio in Early Modern Italy. While recently quite a bit has been written on the reception of Boccaccio (such as Boccaccio e i suoi lettori, Bologna 2013), the question of his reception among the Jews has not been dealt with. Who were his Jewish readers? What was Boccaccio's role for these readers? Did Boccaccio offer legitimate access to "delicate" subject matters for these Jewish readers, such as mythology, the status of women and others?

# 08.03 Conversos in the Colonial Spanish Americas: Experiences and Expectations

Books between two Continents: Reading Practices of Portuguese New Christian Women in Mexico City (16th and 17th centuries)

Susana Bastos Mateus; University of Lisbon

The files of the Mexican Inquisition are an important source for the analysis of the reading habits of Portuguese New Christian women in the colonial world of the late 16th century. In the famous circle of Luis de Carvajal, el mozo, women played an important role in reading, translating and copying books - many of which were of a religious nature - that were smuggled between European cities and New Spain. With this analysis, we seek to understand and reconstitute these individual and collective reading practices, as well as problematize the adaptations and specificities of the colonial context.

## Converso Geographies in/of the Americas: Luis de Carvajal and Francisco de la Cruz

Sina Rauschenbach; University of Potsdam

New approaches to geographies of postcolonialism have drawn our attention to landscapes as "sites of appropriation, domination and contestation" (Gregory). In my paper, I discuss a selection of Converso sources to ask how far the ambivalent experience of their authors and/or their particular messianic expectations contributed to different ways of seeing and making the Americas. With my discussion, I elaborate on the spatial dimension of Converso thought while adding a religious dimension to the study of postcolonial geography. Last but not least, I explore the usefulness and the limits of notions such as "Marrano theology" and "Marrano topography" that have been discussed by Nathan Wachtel and Harm den Boer. My examples will be taken, among others, from the trials of Luis de Carvajal (d. 1596) and Francisco de la Cruz (d. 1578).

#### Lima turns New Christians Heretics into Holy Men

Shai Zamir; University of Michigan

In this presentation, I explore how the social and geographical landscape of Spanish America, of cities such as Potosí or Lima, was used in conversion narratives. I focus on the printed hagiographies of Antonio de San Pedro, a Portuguese New Christian who was arrested by the Inquisition in Peru for "Judaizing" and then expelled to Spain, where he became a Discalced Mercedarian friar in Osuna, Andalusia, and a holy man performing miracles. After his death in 1622, the members of his convent began collecting evidence and testimonies in a campaign for his beatification and printed his Life. What role did they imagine that the New World plays in the life of this crypto-Jew? How did they justify his "Jewish" past? Was the New World a more suitable place for New Christian sanctity?

### Father Jose de Acosta's Ideas of Jewishness: From Amerindian-colonial Elaborations to pro-Converso and Sephardi Appropriations

Claude Stuczynski; Bar Ilan University

The Jesuit Jose de Acosta (1540-1600) is mostly known for his missionary and ethnological endeavours in Colonial Latin America. This lecture will both analyze the ways this concealed Converso Jesuit employed ideas of Jewishness in writings that were conceived to understand Amerindian realities and how these views were echoed by the pro-Converso Jesuit Father Antonio Vieira (1608-1697) and Rabbi Menasseh Ben Israel (1604-1657) as apologetic means to perceive Conversos and professing Jews.

### 08.04 Between Judaism and Christianity

# Between East and West. Jewish Conversions to Christianity in 18th-Century Breslau (Wrocław)

Johannes Czakai; Hebrew University

In the 18th century, Breslau (Wrocław), the capital of Silesia, was on the brink of becoming one of the most important Jewish centres of Germany. In the course of the century, the trade fair city served as a magnet for Jews from all areas and a hub for trade, intellectual and religious encounters – and for conversions to Christianity. However, the situation was

different from other regions in the Protestant north. Based on newly found archival material, the paper will discuss how conversions of Jews to Christianity in Breslau were influenced by the city's unique location between German, Polish, and Czech lands, between Eastern and Western Jewish culture, Lutheran missionaries and Catholic orders, the multinational Habsburg monarchy and Prussian enlightenment. In several case studies and with a special emphasis on lower classes and female converts, the paper aims to shed light on Silesia's neglected early modern Jewish history. The perspective on conversions will give new insight into the diverse Jewish communities of the city as well as into the multifaceted relationships between Jewish and Christian neighbours.

#### To Die as a Jew: Franz Ferdinand Engelsberger (1642) and his Return to Judaism

Yaacov Deutsch; Hebrew University, David Yellin College

On August 26, 1642, in the city of Vienna, after being taken on an elevated wagon to the four most important places in the city while being tortured, the Christian convert Franz Ferdinand Engelsberger was hanged from his feet and was left to be burnt. This execution replaced his original verdict of hanging, meted after he was caught stealing from the emperor's treasury. After he denounced Christianity, desecrated the crucifix and the host, and announced that he would rather go to hell than die as a Christian, his sentence was reissued, and he was sentenced to a crueller punishment. My talk will focus on Engelsberger's decision to denounce Christianity and return to Judaism and, more generally, on the phenomenon of conversion and re-conversion in the shadow of the gallows. I will use Engelsberger's case to discuss converts' identities and motivations and the way his experience enhances our understanding of the phenomenon of conversion.

# From Avon Gilyon (Sheet of Sin/Wickedness) to HaBrit HaHadasha (the New Testament/Covenant): A Sociolinguistic Study on the History of the Terms Used in Hebrew for Denoting the Christian Scriptures

Eran Shuali; University of Strasbourg

This paper will be dedicated to tracing the history of the terms used in Hebrew for denoting the Christian Scriptures - namely, the Gospels, the New Testament, and the Christian Bible with its two Testaments. Different usages will be distinguished in: 1. the Jewish world

from Talmudic times to Modernity; 2. the writings of Christian Hebraists since the sixteenth century; 3. Modern Israeli Hebrew. Specific attention will be given to the role of ideologies and theologies in shaping the names given to the Christian Scriptures in Hebrew - especially, Jewish adversity towards Christianity and Christian views on the biblical and Jewish origins of Christianity. Moreover, it will be shown that, despite all odds, this field of the Hebrew lexicon has actually been a place of encounter and mutual influence between Jews and Christians.

### 08.05 Christian Views of Early Modern Judaism

## Practices of Comparing in Polemic Ethnographies of Jews in Early Modern German Lands

Cornelia Aust; Bielefeld University

Still before Jewish Studies came into being, Christian Hebraists, some of them Jewish converts to Christianity, wrote what has been termed polemic ethnographies of Jews and Judaism. In my paper, I will examine a few well-known examples of this genre from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries and ask how the authors used practices of comparing within their writings. How did they choose the objects of comparison (comparata) and the regards in which these objects were compared (tertia)? This approach will allow me to think about how categories like religion, people, or nation were applied in these writings and how their usage changed over time. Were the Jews compared to other religious groups or to European nations, and in which regards were they compared? How did these comparisons contribute to the production of knowledge within the community of practice of early modern Hebraist authors?

#### Protecting the Faith: Censoring Benjamin of Tudela's Book of Travels

Marci Freedman; independent scholar

The Spain of Charles V and his successors often appears contradictory: on the one hand, Spain was open to humanist learning, new ideas and a rational approach to knowledge. On the other hand, it was a sphere hostile to many forms of learning that were a threat to the Catholic religion. Jewish learning, in particular, whilst integral to the Christian tradition,

was deemed suspicious. This paper will first discuss the origins of Spain's censorship laws. It will then offer a case study of how the Spanish Inquisition treated a Jewish text, that of Benjamin of Tudela's Sefer Masa'ot (Book of Travels). A twelfth-century travel narrative by a Spanish Jew, the text was first translated into Latin by the famous theologian and humanist Benito Arias Montano in 1575. A seemingly innocuous text, the Book of Travels - or the Itinerarium in its Latin reincarnation - was first prohibited in 1583 but was allowed to circulate in expurgated form from 1632. This paper will discuss what the Inquisitors sought to erase and why. Ultimately it explores the transmission and reception of Jewish knowledge in Early Modern Spain and how the Spanish Inquisition sought to balance censure with dissemination.

# The Curious Case of the Jew who Married a Cow: An Alleged Blood Libel in Hamburg, 1687

Martina Mampieri; Hebrew University

The paper presents an unpublished text (Caso seguito in Amburgo di un Ebreo che si sposò con una bufala) included in several manuscripts preserved in European libraries. The text, in Italian, is written in the form of a trial and recounts the curious case of an alleged blood libel happened in Hamburg in 1687. Upon the suggestion of a certain kabbalist, a Jewish merchant would have married a cow to perform a certain kabbalistic ritual. When the child born from the beasty union turned 7, his father allegedly killed a Christian boy in order to use his blood for the ritual. The narration ends with the burning at the stake of the father and the imprisonment of his half-human and half-cow son. While the story was likely invented by slanderers of the Jews, some elements of the narrative reveal details about the historical context and turmoil that struck the Jews in Hamburg in the last decades of the seventeenth century, as confirmed, among others, by Glückel von Hameln's memoirs. The paper seeks to disentangle fiction from historical truth and propose some considerations about the composition and circulation of this literary composition.

# 08.06.1 Mechanisms of Cultural Transfer: Translation, Conversion, and Conversation in Early Modern Europe

#### Bach in Yiddish: A Yiddish Translation of Lutheran Liturgy

Roni Cohen; Ben Gurion University

In recent decades, scholars of Old Yiddish and early modern European Jewry have dedicated increasing attention to the interreligious and intercultural exchange of texts and compositions between Jewish readers and their surroundings. The cultural transfer of literary, scientific, philosophic, and theological materials is becoming a well-discussed phenomenon.

This presentation contributes to this ongoing discussion a previously unknown source: an anonymous Yiddish translation of Johannes Kolroß 'Ich dank dir, lieber Herre' (I thank you, dear Lord), a Protestant morning hymn, written in 1535, and featured in Lutheran liturgic anthologies. The translation is found in one seventeenth-century eclectic manuscript from South Germany that contains various Yiddish literary pieces. It is one of the earliest known translations of a Protestant liturgical piece into any Jewish language.

This paper will discuss the translation for the first time. It will present the poem, the basic mechanisms of the translation, and the role of the piece in the general wider context of the manuscript

## Syncretism in the Synagogue: Translation in Early Modern Jewish-Italian Preaching Manuals

Ahuvia Goren; Ben Gurion University

Recent years have seen a growing body of literature on the early modern sermon and its broader intellectual and social contexts. The talk will discuss the Jewish Italian sermon as a venue for cultural translation and intercultural dialogue between Jews and Christians. It will show some examples of Hebrew translations of early modern preaching manuals in Italian and will argue that translations from Christian ars praedicandi of the time to Hebrew were one the ways in which preaching styles used by Christians were accommodated and put to use in the synagogue. While historians of Jewish Italian history generally recognized relations between preaching practices in the church and the synagogue, the examples

presented will go further and present concrete examples of Christian material translated and adapted for a Jewish crowd.

#### On the Ambivalence of Maskilic Translation

Iris Idelson-Shein; Ben Gurion University

This paper focuses on translations produced by authors of the Jewish Enlightenment around the end of the eighteenth century. While these translations have enjoyed greater scholarly attention than any other corpus of translation discussed in this session, I argue that rereading them against the context of early modern Jewish translation throws them into sharp critical relief.

Maskilic translations have often been presented as harbingers of modern Jewish literature. According to this view, by importing works from the German to the Hebrew literary system, the maskilim were able to break with the putative isolationism of past generations, and to furnish the Jewish library with an unprecedented kind of secular literature.

This paper, however, aims to reposition maskilic translations in their early modern context, reading them not as a radical break with past literary traditions, but as a continuation of a centuries-long process of textual transmission from non-Jewish languages to Hebrew script.

# Translation, Pseudo-Translation and Folklore: The Literary Bricolage of 1800 Frankfurt-Oder

Ossnat Sharon-Pinto; Ben Gurion University

At the turn of the 19th century, the Yiddish printing houses of Frankfurt-Oder yielded a series of literary translations (or "translations") which, while each is reliant on a very different kind of source with a unique history of formulation and transmission – all demonstrate specific trends which hint at implicit perceptions of translated material and raise questions regarding the construction of genre, and the aftermath of its transformation. In my paper, I will offer an analysis of this corpus as a particular form of "Jewish Translation" as well as a preliminary examination of the underexplored relationship and possible mutual contribution of Translation Studies and Folkloristics as applied to texts which do not fit comfortably into the ideal definitions of either paradigm.

# 08.06.2 Mechanisms of Cultural Transfer: Translation, Conversion, and Conversation in Early Modern Europe

Bible Talk: Dialogue and Polemic between Protestant Hebraists, Pietists, and Jewish Writers in Eighteenth-Century Amsterdam

Rebekka Voß; Goethe University Frankfurt

The paper considers intercultural exchange within the framework of the early modern Pietist mission to the Jews. In the first half of the eighteenth century, the Pietist mission prompted personal conversations between Christians and a significant number of Jews across Europe. Most Jews were surprisingly willing to speak with the missionaries, despite their evident agenda. These meetings between Pietist missionaries and Jews often resulted in an intense dialogue, entailing an intriguing cultural entanglement. Particularly fascinating are Jewish translations of missionary pamphlets originally written in Yiddish. In Amsterdam, "Minnelyk Geschrift" (1734) was translated from Yiddish into Dutch by Eliezer Soesmann Rudelsum, otherwise known as the editor of a Yiddish translation of the Pentateuch, "*Mikra meforash*", and two Dutch treatises on the study of the Hebrew language. In my paper, I will re-evaluate Rudelsum's variegated oeuvre in light of his personal contacts with Protestant Hebraists, Pietists, and like-minded Jewish writers and printers.

#### Missionary Conversations as Cultural Translation: A Performative Perspective

Avi Siluk; Goethe University Frankfurt

In the eighteenth century, the Institutum Judaicum et Muhammedicum in Halle dispatched Protestant Pietist missionaries to Jewish communities throughout Europe to conduct extensive conversations in Yiddish with Jews and Jewesses across all strata of Jewish society. In their efforts to persuade the Jews of Europe of the Christian truth, the missionaries often utilized Jewish theological terminology in a manner which allowed them to present Christianity as compatible with Jewish teachings. In my paper, I will explore the mechanisms of cultural translation used by the missionaries, focusing on the performative aspects of the missionary approach that was in fact, aimed at two different audiences: their

Jewish interlocutors, but also the Christian readers of the printed missionary reports issued by the institute and circulated among its supporters.

# Reassembling a Divided Soul: Abraham Miguel Cardozo's Autobiography as a Self-Gospel and a Conversion Narrative

Mark Gondelman; Goethe University Frankfurt

Cardozo's work "Ani ha-Mekhunneh" is an important example of an early modern autobiography. In this work, he tells his readers the story of his life, and this story includes conversion from Christianity to Judaism. In my talk, I will explore this narrative and its parallels to other Jewish conversion narratives. However, Cardozo moved in the opposite direction, as I will compare his story to the narratives of the Jews who converted to Christianity during the early modern period. I will propose to read Cardozo's work as a gospel, albeit an unusual one, as Cardozo writes the story of himself, and despite his denial that he is the Messiah, I will demonstrate how Cardozo thought that this text is a salvific one, written to promote redemption with him as its main messianic figure. This will show how Cardozo incorporates both Jewish and Christian elements to reassemble his fractured identity and self.

# Translation, Prophecy, and Self-Knowledge in Late 18th-Century German-Jewish Bible Discourse

Yael Sela; University of Potsdam

When Moses Mendelssohn's German Psalms translation was published in 1783, its reception among the primarily non-Jewish intended readership was poor. Yet some avant-garde proponents of an emergent Jewish revival movement rendered the translation a salvific swerve and its translator a God-sent redeemer. The paper explores how Mendelssohn's Psalms translation provided maskilim a novel response to the crisis of exile, located in the inextricability of the poetic idioms of the original and the translation for unlocking the metaphysical knowledge biblical poetry encapsulates. I examine Mendelssohn's translation theory as a reflexive practice, comparing it to the more pervasive theory of Johann Gottfried Herder: If to Herder, translation of the historicized, foreign biblical text was an act of self-knowledge through simultaneous alienation and

appropriation, to Mendelssohn, it was a project of self-translation. Ultimately, I argue, prophetic poetry is, to Mendelssohn, the primary form of translation from metaphysical concepts to human language of sentiments.

### 08.07 Migration & Mobility

#### Safed Under Ottoman Rule and Intellectual Activities of Jews in the City

Talha Kaan Ünlü; Istanbul University

After the 1492 and 1496 Expulsion Edicts, many Jews were exiled from the Iberian Peninsula and settled in the Ottoman lands. These immigrations created a significant change in Ottoman society and the demographic structure of the empire. Safed, which was conquered in 1517 and incorporated into the Ottoman Empire, soon became one of the most important Jewish centres of the empire. In addition to the densely populated Jewish community in the city, a rising intellectual activity attracted attention, Jewish mysticism, namely Kabbalah, developed, and a new Ecole emerged with the contributions of important names such as Moises Cordovero, Isaac Luria, and Joseph Karo.

This study aims to reveal the Jewish presence by examining the demographic structure of Safed, which came under Ottoman rule at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and to evaluate the intellectual activities of the Jews there throughout the century. While carrying out this evaluation, consisting of two main parts, I will make use of Ottoman sources in the first part, in which I address Safed under Ottoman rule. In the second part, which will describe the intellectual activities, I will examine the works of the important names mentioned by utilizing Western sources will be used in addition to Ottoman sources.

### Jewish Intercommunal Relations in Early Modern Venetian Terraferma in Light of the Archives of the Inquisitori Sopra L'università Degli Ebrei

Martin Borýsek; Selma Stern Zentrum für Jüdische Studien Berlin-Brandenburg

The Inquisitori sopra l'università degli Ebrei were established in the mid-eighteenth century as Venice's official body in charge of the city's Jewish community. In their archives, the Inquisitori also kept many copies of documents regarding the Jewish community in past centuries, the oldest one being originally issued in 1434. These later copies, originals of

which are mostly unavailable, are a valuable source on the social, economic and everyday life of late medieval and early modern Venetian Jews. In my paper, I shall present a selection of documents from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to demonstrate the promises and challenges this type of source presents for the study of Jewish social life in early modern Venetian Republic. The particular issues I investigate are the mutual relations between the three ethnocultural segments of Venice's Jewish community (the Todeschi, the Levantini and the Ponentini), as well as their contacts and interactions with other Jewish communities of the Venetian terraferma. A detailed analysis of these archival documents and their confrontation with other types of Jewish and non-Jewish sources has the potential to broaden our knowledge of the Venetian Jews' political status as well as their individual and collective agency.

# Jewish Physicians in the 16th Century Jewish Community in Prague. On Labour Mobility and Employment in the Medical Profession in Early Modern Age Central Europe

Marie Buňatová; Czech Academy of Sciences

The paper focuses on the professional group of Jewish physicians who worked in Early Modern Age Prague. Research of primary sources conducted by the author during the last few years in Czech and foreign archives brought new information about a number of Jewish physicians whose life paths were for a certain period of time or permanently linked to Prague. The paper focuses on issues relating to the socio-economic status of these physicians within their own communities. At the same time, it looks to reconstruct client and other relationship networks among these physicians within the Christian environment. Based on the specific life stories of selected physicians, we then endeavour to formulate certain more general legal and factual conditions under which such people were allowed to practise medicine in Prague during the 16th century. In many cases, they were figures who changed the place in which they worked several times during their lives. The paper attempts to answer the question of the extent to which such mobility was labour- or family-based, meaning their own choice, or the extent to which it was migration forced by various social or political circumstances or personal pressures.

### **08.08 Family Networks and Mobility**

## Family Mobility in the Prague Jewish Community at the Turn of the 15th and 16th Centuries

Lenka Blechová; Czech Academy of Sciences

The Jewish community in Prague was a destination for immigrants from the Czech lands and abroad at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries. The paper focuses on presenting this mobility against the backdrop of family ties and presents the networks of kinship relations that existed between members of the Jewish community in Prague and members of other Ashkenazi communities in the Czech lands and abroad. At the same time, it articulates the specific typology of situations that led family members scattered throughout different countries to embark on their journeys.

### Port-Jews in Western Balkans. Cultural Exchanges and Trading Development Networks

Benedetto Ligorio; University of Rome

The Port-Jews were characterized by strong international mobility, their migration and cross-bordering were caused by a mixing of social and economic reasons: the mass conversion and expulsion of an ethnic group from the Iberic peninsula configured the exodus of Marranos and Port Jews as a relevant case of forced mass migration. At the same time, those migrations contributed to the enrichment of the hosting States in terms of human capital and know-how.

On the Eastern Adriatic coast, there were almost three cities where the Jews emigrated, and there they changed the economy of the cities; Spalato/Slit, Valona/Vlöre and Ragusa/Dubrovnik.

Spalato harbour was relaunched by Daniel Rodriguez. The city-making, part of the "Venetian Commonwealth", became a Dubrovnik Republic business contender during the 1590s. Valona was a very important Adriatic Ottoman harbour, shared with Ragusa the same core business because it was an important hub between the hinterland of the Balkans and along the coast for textile exportation. The Ragusan Republic was the best middle-way model. Position and political neutrality guaranteed to Ragusa the better condition to be the commercial hub of the Jewish trade. In the Republic of Ragusa, the

Port-Jews became the brokers between the Ottoman markets and the Western Adriatic cities.

Usually, the Port-Jews are owners of hybrid identities and managed to connect cultures in the Mediterranean area and especially in the Balkans. They were able to move constantly between the cultural and political borders and were vectors of transnational Transfers of Technology, scientific and humanistic knowledge. As crypto-Jews, they used more identities at the same time: the Jewish name, the Christian one, and at the occurrence, they also adopted pseudonymous. In free contexts, in which inquisition and confessional persecution were weak, the Port-Jews didn't hide their origins and rapidly became vectors of modernity and cosmopolitism.

## The Castro Family in Corfu and Istanbul and its Ties with the British Embassy in Istanbul and with the British Consulate in the Dardanelles

Leah Makovetsky; Ariel University

The paper discusses information regarding prominent figures in the Castro family who lived and operated in Corfu (Kerkyra) and Istanbul in the first half of the 19th century. This includes primarily their relations with the British embassy in Istanbul and with the British consulate in the Dardanelles, their relations with the Anglican missionaries, and the conversion to Christianity of one member of the family, Haim Castro. Also portrayed is knowledge about the family's business, the trade in citrons in Corfu, and the establishment of printing houses and commercial activity in Istanbul. Another issue mentioned is the British citizenship received by Jews in this period and the possibility of obtaining it due to the British rule of Corfu from 1815-1863. The paper is based mainly on documents from the Levant Company archives, missionary texts, the press and the Responsa literature. The research literature on many relevant aspects and details was another source of information for this discussion.

# 08.09 To Translate or not to Translate? Lingual Practices and Dilemmas of Jews in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth

Between Multilingualism and Translation: Street Names in Jewish Quarters and Religious Topography in Polish Royal Towns

Anat Vaturi; University of Haifa

Toponymy, a taxonomic study of placenames, can serve as one of the keys to understanding more about the character and functioning of medieval and early modern Polish towns. Street names with semantic motivation, and especially changes in street names or simultaneous use of different names in different languages, can reveal additional information regarding Christian-Jewish relations in towns like Kraków or Poznań. The proposed lecture will show how in addition to informative or descriptive functions, street names also contributed to the creation of the city's religious topography or maintenance of the religious identity of the Jewish minority. While concentrating on Christian-Jewish relations, the paper will show that street names realized the inextricable link between the material and the unmaterial in the history of cities, and they can be seen as combining the physical and cultural realm, the public and private, the concrete and conceptual, the everyday and the sacral.

# Defending Property, Health, and Honor: Jewish Language Strategies at Courts in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth

Maria Cieśla; Polish Academy of Science

In November 1717, a Jew, Owsiej Mojżeszowicz, appeared in the castle court in Słuck. He came there because of an accusation made against him by another Jew, Szabszaj Dawidowicz. Apparently, Mojżeszowicz broke the Jewish *chazakah* law and signed a contract for an *arenda* previously held by Dawidowicz. Dawidowicz and Mojżeszowicz, similar to many other Jews living in the Polish – Lithuanian Commonwealth, sought justice in local courts. In my paper, attention will be paid to the language. The Jewish prosecutor and the accused Jew participated in a legal case held in Polish. This language was, according to previous research, foreign to the majority of the Jews living in the Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth. I am interested firstly in the language/translation strategies

used by the Jews in local courts. Secondly, I am asking how a historian should deal with Polish documents to hear the original "Jewish voice."

Receiving, Understanding and Transmitting – Practices of Knowledge Distribution and Communication Channels among Jews in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth

Mikołaj Wojciechowski; University of Wrocław

The Jewish society of the Polish-Lithuania Commonwealth lived among non-Jews whose vernacular languages constituted a predominant channel of communication. Neither Hebrew nor Yiddish but Polish, Latin or German was used in day-to-day contacts as well as in official documents granted by the non-Jewish authorities. The Jewish society, then, as a linguistically oriented minority, in order to understand and be understood, had to adapt somehow to the existing linguistic standards. Different translation practices were an inherent feature of the early modern Jewish culture. What were the practices, and how were they expressed? What communication channels were enabled by translation? The paper focuses on communication and knowledge distribution among the Jewish society in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. While viewing translation practices as an integral part of cultural communication, it discusses what translation strategies of a given society reveal about the society itself – about those who were producing culture, receiving, understanding and transmitting?

### **08.10 Jewish Politics**

#### The Evolution of Jewish Self-Government from mid 17th Century till 1764

Adam Kaźmierczyk; Jagiellonian University

The paper aims to present the issue of Jewish territorial self-government in the 17th-18th centuries in the light of new documents. Jewish autonomy institutions, especially Vaads, have been a central topic of Jewish historiography for more than a century. Jewish historians tended to emphasize the extent to which these institutions were autonomous, expressing Jewish political power and administrative self-rule in the old Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which was caused by their use of mainly Jewish sources. By using new, non-Jewish sources, I will show Jewish autonomy's functioning in a different light.

This paper will demonstrate the extent of the Jewish self-government in the state treasury apparatus. Then, present its evolution caused by the crisis of the state and by significant demographic changes, particularly increasing Jewish settlement in the private estates, especially from the mid-seventeenth century to its dissolution in 1764 when attempts were made to reform the Polish-Lithuanian state.

#### A Transnational European Jewish Rabbinic-Familial Network in the 1760s and 1770s

Asaf Yedidya; Ariel University

Historical research on Jewish political, cultural and commercial familial networks in 18th-century Europe has shed light on the transnational geographic character of the Jewish elite at that time, which was different from the political geography which was bounded by national borders, and on the important transnational Jewish arena in which the Jews operated.

In the second half of the 18th century, several polemics in Europe involved rabbis from all parts of the continent, among them: the Eibeschütz-Emden dispute, the quarrel between the printers of Amsterdam and Sulzbach, the contentious get of Kleve, and the clashes with Maskilim in the last two decades of the century. In some of these cases, as well as in some rabbinical organizations, it is possible to identify one cohesive rabbinic familial network stretching from London and Amsterdam by way of Alsace, Hamburg, Berlin and Prague to Poland, operating forcefully to bring to a decisive end the polemics in which it was involved. This paper intends to investigate this rabbinic network and how it operated. The paper sheds light on the transnational aspect of European Jewry in the 18th century and fills a gap in the field of research on rabbinic networks, which existed alongside economic-commercial and political networks.

## Transregional Networks and Individual Efforts. Towards the Abolition of the "Judenleibzoll"

Rahel Blum; Goethe University Frankfurt

Throughout the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period, Jews in the German territories were forced to pay a safe conduct, *Judenleibzoll*, as soon as they entered or crossed a foreign territory. But with the political changes triggered by the French Revolution and with

the revolutionary wars, shaking the solids of the Holy Roman Empire in the conquered principalities, an improvement of the legal status of the Jews and also the overdue abolishment of the Leibzoll became a realistic new perspective. Research about legal improvements has focused on Christian Dohm's "Improvements", Christian Jacob Gottlieb Klüber and other contemporaries that spread their philosophies about the current situation back then and the changes that should emerge. On a more practical level, it is said that Wolf Breidenbach, a court Jew in the flourishing city of Offenbach, was one of the pioneers in supporting the abolishment of the body tax as a Shtadlan. My lecture should therefore, first of all, not only focus on the success of influential intercessors like Breidenbach or Israel Jacobsen but rather it should determine in how far inner Jewish networks of communities and Landjudenschaften as well as Jewish families supported or even stimulated the abolishment of the Judenleibzoll and the *shtadlanim* Secondly, my lecture shall explore that this upcoming common interest initiated, for the first time in about 200 years, an across-the-Empire, superterritorial and multi-layered Jewish collaboration in the Holy Roman Empire and its leftovers.

# 08.11 Jews in Interaction with Others in the Medieval and Early Modern Indian Ocean World in Light of New Research

The Geography of the Wars between the Autonomous Beta Israel (Ethiopian Jews) and the Solomonic Monarch Sarsa Dengel (1563–-1597) and the Location of the Beta Israel

Bar Kribus; Tel Aviv University

The royal chronicle of the Solomonic monarch Sarsa Dengel (1563–1597) offers some of the most detailed descriptions of Solomonic campaigns against the autonomous Beta Israel of the Semien Mountains. Past research on Beta Israel political autonomy and the Beta Israel-Solomonic wars has focused on understanding the impact of these wars and of the political dynamics with the Solomonic Kingdom at the time on the development of the Beta Israel community. The historical geography of the Beta Israel autonomous region has never before been the subject of in-depth research, and the locations of Beta Israel strongholds and their material remains have never been definitively identified and examined before.

This paper presents the first attempt to pinpoint various sites mentioned in Sarsa Dengel's royal chronicle as associated with his campaigns against the Beta Israel and, thus, to shed light on the geography of the campaigns and the scope of Beta Israel autonomy at the time.

# Transcultural Traditions of Building: Early Modern Synagogues of Malabar, South India

Percy Arfeen-Wegner; Ruhr University Bochum

This presentation will introduce the early modern synagogue architecture of Malabar, South India, within the methodological framework of "transculturality" to investigate building traditions of sacred spaces. It will undertake to explore the interplay of the crystallization of a distinct architectural style of synagogues in Malabar vis-à-vis instances of remarkable transcultural relations manifested in them. This presentation will address this complex relationship through case studies which will help better elucidate the traditions of buildings. Additionally, the presentation will also discuss aspects of translation and appropriation of shared regional artistic motifs into the spatial context of the ritualistic space of synagogues.

### Ilān, Rahmanān and Rabbyahūd — God of Israel, God of Others in Ancient South Arabia

Iwona Gajda; French National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS)

Jews of Ancient South Arabia are better-known, thanks to epigraphic discoveries of the last decades. Diaspora Jews lived among the superficially Judaized population, as inscriptions dated between the 4th and 6th centuries prove. A list of priestly courses (mišmārôt) is the only document of this type found outside Palestine. A gezērâ decree on the foundation of a cemetery reserved for Jews in Sabaic shows a good knowledge of Jewish Law. Several inscriptions in Sabaic mention the "tribe/people of Israel", their authors could be Diaspora Jews or converts.

Divine names used interchangeably, Ilān and Rahmanān, were used to invoke God by Jews and others, Judaizing believers and also Christians (documentation is mostly from the 6th century). Sanctuaries called *mkrb* (*mikrāb*, a Sabaic name for synagogue?) were

attended by Jews and other Judaizing believers.

We will discuss relations between Jews and other believers, and the identity of the Jews of Himyar. Could the sovereigns and the whole population be considered Jews? Did they consider themselves Jews? How was the enigmatic name Rabbyahūd understood in connection to the name Rahmanān?

# History, Hermeneutics, and Realpolitik: Mediterranean and Ethiopian Contexts for Zära Ya'eqob's anti-Jewish rhetoric in Mäshafä milad

Alexandra Cuffel; Ruhr University Bochum

The Ethiopian emperor, Zära Yaʻeqob (1399-1468 CE), is well known for having sponsored translations and composition of texts, including polemical works, engaged in widespread religious reforms, and prosecuted religious and political dissidents. Anti-Jewish polemic is entangled with polemic against those Zära Yaʻeqob deemed heretics or magicians in many of his own works, especially Mäshafä milad, to the point that scholars have had difficulty determining the real target of his diatribe. I will show that Mäshafä milad and related works echo anti-Jewish polemical themes current in both the Byzantine and Islamicate Mediterranean, in particular, the theme that Jews had no kingdom. Tentatively, I argue that Zära Yaʻeqob came to know of these themes because of his translation and foreign affairs policies and favoured the topos of Jewish political disenfranchisement as a counter to the increasing independence and political power of the Betā Esra'el.

### 09.01 Perspectives in Jewish Religious History

Cemeteries as Representing National Identity: Trends in Jewish Burial in Jerusalem during British Rule (1917-1948)

Kobi Cohen-Hattab; Bar Ilan University

During the period of British rule in Jerusalem (1917–1948), the "Gemilut Hesed shel Emet" society—or Gahsha—a burial society was founded by Jerusalem's community council. From the perspective of national Zionist activity, Jerusalem's burial society reflected attempts to firmly establish a general national awareness within the Jewish community. The idea of a cemetery for all Jews with no distinction made based on origin constituted a

significant change for Jewish cemeteries in Jerusalem and in the entire land at the time. Establishing this type of cemetery conveyed an important Zionist principle: the national movement aspired to represent all Jews, in their lives and even in their deaths. Zionist activity in the field of burial and cemeteries was one driving force for creating a new sense of space in Jerusalem, the kind that hoped to connect local identity with Zionist identity and used the language of new Jewish nationalism in the land of Israel. The burial activity should be viewed within nation-building efforts and the Zionist movement's attempts to promote a central authority in the land, which ultimately led to the founding of a sovereign Jewish state in May 1948.

# America is Different — a Comparison between 1851-1914 East European and American Agunot

Haim Sperber; Western Galilee College

Following the publication of my books "The Plight of Jewish Deserted Wives, 1851–1900" (Sussex Academic Press, 2022) & "A Social History Database of East European Jewish Deserted Wives, 1851 –1900" (Sussex Academic Press, 2022), I am currently researching the phenomenon in the years 1901-1914. In those years, most of Agunot were found in North America. There were located nearly 3500 Agunot. I claim that there are differences between Agunot in East European authoritarian and North American Agunot in many respects: The role of Rabbinical Autorities, the role of Jewish Aid organizations, the appeal to the media (both Jewish and general) and the state Authorities. I will also demontsrate that contrary to the accepted view, most Agunot were deserted after the migration, and only a relatively small number were left by husbands fleeing from the old continent.

Curses, Blessings and "Too Bad We Don't Have More Sins": The Role of Rabbis in a Hebrew Biography from 1875 of the Famous Cantor Salomon, Known as Kashtan (1781-1829), in the Russian Empire (mostly Poland and Ukraine)

Daniel Katz; University of Cologne

The relationship between cantors and rabbis—whether friendly, stiffly professional, or stereotypically fraught—is crucial for any congregation. My interdisciplinary paper explores this relationship from an historical perspective, using a rare cantorial biography published

in the Hebrew newspaper Hamaggid in 1875 to analyze a famous cantor's interactions with rabbinical colleagues in various professional and social settings 200 years ago. Salomon (1781-1829), called Kashtan ("Chestnut"), was based in Dubno (Ukraine) but served as guest cantor all across Eastern Europe. His travels allowed him to meet many rabbis. My paper examines three memorable experiences in Kashtan's life, as well as the recurring theme of rabbinical threats to punish the cantor by taking away his voice. The young Salomon, in awe of prominent Chassidic rabbis, was genuinely worried—and indeed, he lost his voice! We witness Salomon's personal growth as he learns to defend himself against rabbinical arrogance and gradually distances himself from the Chassidic movement. Fortunately, many other rabbis did admire Salomon and stood up for him publicly, as we shall see.

Kashtan's biography offers personal, intimate narratives of the Enlightenment, broadens our knowledge of the historical cantorate, and makes a delightful, often amusing contribution to early modern Hebrew literature.

### 09.02 Building Israel's Culture

### Parodies of the Dybbuk in Eretz-Israeli Satirical Performances of the 1930s: A Poetic Mechanism for Negotiating Cultural Changes

Shelly Zer-Zion; University of Haifa

During the 1930s, the Matateh, Eretz-Israeli Satirical Theatre put on two parodies of The Dybbuk. The first parody, which was put on in 1934, was designed as a scene in Yitzkhak Nushzik's play titled "Soon in our days." The play delineates a futuristic utopia of Tel Aviv in the 1980s. The second parody of the Dybbuk was put on in 1937 as a scene in Martin Rost's satirical program titled "We are all one of the people." The Dybbuk parody scene focused on the overwhelming popularity of Arturo Toscanini and Bronisław Huberman, as they founded the Eretz-Israeli symphonic orchestra.

Since the Vilnaer Troupe world premiere of the Dybbuk in Warsaw in 1920, and even more so since the premiere of the Habima Dybbuk in Moscow in 1922, this play turned not only into one of the greatest hits of Jewish theatre but also into a conceptual somatic and emotional pan-Jewish archive, that encapsulated pan-Jewish political and cultural desires. In this lecture, I would like to explore how the usage of the Dybbuk as a parodic source

enabled the Matateh to generate well-being and negotiate hardship in the immigrant society of Mandatory Palestine during the 1930s.

#### The Zionist Turn in the Prose of Haim Hazaz

Itamar Drori; Bar Ilan University

The eschatological tension of modern Jewish existence is one of the central themes in the prose of Haim Hazaz (1898-1973) (Kurzweil 1953; Miron 2004). The dialectical historiosophy that characterized his work until the mid-1940s makes two different and opposing voices in relation to Jewish Messianism and Zionism – one, represented by the characters of Drabkin ("Aristoteles") and Moroshka ("A Muddy Barrel", "Harat Olam"), perceives diaspora Judaism and its aspiration for complete redemption in a positive light, while the other, represented by Yudke ("The Sermon"), criticizes the utopian Messianic ideal of diaspora Jewry and favours the Zionist movement and the idea of returning to history.

In this lecture, I would like to show, by following the 1940s publications of Hazaz's stories in journals and in books, that until 1947, the characters of the protagonists in his stories demonstrated a positive attitude towards detachment from community life and the material world, and choose to live an ascetic, spiritual life of anarchism, while in subsequent years, they choose a life of fulfilment and social and national involvement. This conceptual transformation, which I call here the "Zionist turn", is becoming more and more entrenched in his writings in the next decades.

# Using Settlement Plans for Political Survival: the Struggle of the Jewish National Fund to Maintain Political Influence in the Young State of Israel

Anat Kidron; Tel Hai Academic College

The transition from a voluntary society to a sovereign state called into question the place of the Zionist institutions in the new institutional hierarchical structure. A Series of twinning committees and legislation regulated the statutory status of the Zionist bodies in the state and the definition of their areas of responsibility. However, this regulation did not eliminate the inherent, personal and institutional tension between these bodies, particularly the Jewish National Fund's struggle for its place. The struggle for JNF's status also took place

within the Zionist bodies, especially against the Jewish Agency, which sought to strengthen its position as a single Zionist-state body. One channel in this struggle manifested itself in the design of the Israeli settlement plan.

Shaping the settlement map in Israel in the first two decades of independence was an outcome of formative political, economic, and social mechanisms. This proposed paper focuses on how the settlement programs were part of the institutional shaping of the state and reflected the political contest between state and Zionist bodies over their roles in the transition from Yishuv to state. The paper focuses on settlement in the Israeli mountain region. Special attention is drawn to the use of the terms frontier and periphery to mobilize political and economic resources both in and outside Israel.

# 09.03 Spirituality and Challenge among Contemporary Haredi Jews

#### Orthodoxy and Psychotherapy: Hostility and Incorporation

Kate-Miriam Loewenthal; Royal Holloway London University

This paper will consider attitudes to psychotherapy among Haredi Jews, and the transformation of these attitudes from hostile to accepting. Sources will include published books and articles, surveys and interviews.

In the 21st century, growing numbers of Haredim are being trained in psychotherapy and appear to be successfully treating members of the Haredi community with psychological difficulties. Currently, the Haredi community appears to be accepting psychotherapy as normative, as compatible with orthodox Jewish religious beliefs and practices, and as helpful and desirable in many situations.

Attitudes to psychotherapy will be examined using early writings hostile to psychotherapy, attitude survey material, and more recent material in which the use of psychotherapy is explained and encouraged.

# Defending and Renouncing the "Enclave": Case Studies of Orthodox Jewish Young Women's Literature and "Off the Derekh" Memoirs

Victoria Lisek; University College London

This paper discusses the debates surrounding the Haredi Jewish 'enclave' in two distinct literary phenomena. Haredi Jewish young women's literature transmits traditional values in order to encourage women to sustain their way of life. Through close reading, the paper exemplifies how authors advocate for the enclave, due to its perceived benefits for a religious Jewish woman's spiritual life; affording her to take pride in her differences from the surrounding society. On the other hand, the emergence of literature written by former Haredi Jews confronts the challenges which may be experienced in the enclave by both men and women. By analysing the religious disaffiliation processes described in memoirs, the paper explores the perceived flaws and boundaries of the enclave, particularly with regard to the female Haredi experience. The paper seeks to understand to what extent Haredi literature attempts to prevent the type of defection documented in memoirs, and with which measures.

#### Experiential Spirituality in Prayer for Men and Women in 21st Century Habad

Naftali Loewenthal; University College London

This paper considers the question whether Habad contemplative prayer, which distinguished the movement in its first generations, has any relevance in Habad society today in the context of the challenges of contemporary life. On the basis of consideration of teachings by Rabbi Menachem Mendel Schneerson, recent publications and some interview material, I suggest that while there are forces which counter the practice of contemplative prayer, it does exist in Habad society today and might even be going through a revival. The paper considers men and women, both as exponents of spiritual prayer and also as possible critics. It seems that despite the challenge of modernity, there is evidence that this spiritual practice continues, and the paper will consider why and how.

### 09.04 Jewish Education in Modern Times

### Jewish Education in France in the 19th Century: New Perspectives

Yehuda Bitty; Jerusalem College

France granted equal rights to the Jews in 1791, thus becoming the first European nation to do so. Hence, the historiography of the Jews of France in the 19th century tends to focus on the transition from the Emancipation to integration, and on efforts at religious revival on the part of the key figures of French Judaism through the shaping of new modes of Jewish identity.

Studies on consistorial religious practices have yet to analyze the stakes involved in Jewish education in this new context. Religious instruction was mandatory in public school curricula until 1881, and was under the auspices of the Consistory. Over the course of the 19th century, more than one hundred religious instruction manuals for French Jews were published.

This lecture will analyze the vast literary and pedagogical output, which has been neglected in the historiography of the Jews of France. It will present a close reading of the text and paratext of three types of works: Jewish catechisms, Hebrew language learning textbooks, and books on Biblical history.

# One Classroom — Different Religions, Calendars, and Customs. Jews and Christians at School in Habsburg Galicia

Alicja Maslak-Maciejewska; Jagiellonian University

After the new school laws were issued at the turn of the 1860s and 1870s, Jewish children started to attend in great numbers Galician public schools. The majority of Jews went to general schools, where they learned together with Christians. Galician school, although after 1869, in theory, non-confessional, in reality, had predominantly Christian character, what influenced the power relations (importance of priests, Christian content in textbooks and religious symbols in the classroom). Nevertheless, with the growing number of Jews, separate lessons of religion were organized for them, and other adjustments were made, such as exempting Jews from attending schools on Jewish holidays or from writing on

Saturdays. In the schools where Jews dominated, the Jewish calendar organized the year, and Christian religious symbols were not present.

In the paper, I will analyze how this multireligious character of students' body functioned in daily school life and tackle the following subjects: calendar, school festivities (what happened when a bishop paid a visit?), food, friendships, and animosities. Examples discussed in the paper will come from various parts of Galicia, both East and West, and I will attempt to present a bird's eye view of the topic. The paper will be based on material from Polish, Ukrainian and Israeli Archives.

# From Kalisz to Beirut: Rebecca Goldman's Teaching Experience in Lebanese AlU's School in the 1930s

Magdalena Kozłowska; University of Warsaw

Rebecca Goldmann was born in 1915 in Kalisz. She studied in Paris to become a teacher. In 1935 she went to Beirut, sent there by Alliance Israellite Universelle. Drawing on her correspondence with the AIU board I will try to tackle her attitude toward local Jewry and contextualize it with other historical accounts of the time. The paper will analyze the personal narrative, arguing for the importance of tracing microhistories of Polish Jews, who had to navigate the thorny issues of modernization, tradition, assimilation, and secularization for themselves. By highlighting the individual perspective, I want to illuminate how Polish Jews established discursive constructions of Middle Eastern Jewry in the early twentieth century and what it tells us about their identities.

# Kaunas Jews in Republic of Lithuania (1918-1940): Between Acculturation, Integration, and Segregation

Julijana Leganovic - Andriejauskiene; Institute of Lithuanian History

The first decades of the 20th century had brought quite a few significant changes for Lithuania. After the few years when independence was regained, Polish army occupied Vilnius and its district. In 1919s Kaunas became the provisional capital of Lithuania, where Jews were the largest and the most influential ethnic minority. The aim of proposal is to reflect the development of Kaunas Jews community in the interwar Lithuania, focusing on the processes of integration, acculturation and segregation, distinguishing the different

stages of these processes and discussing how the connection with Lithuania and Lithuanians has changed during the interwar years. Attention will be paid to the younger generation of Kaunas Jews and their relations with Lithuanian youth, different models of coexistence of Lithuanian and Jewish students at the state institutions of higher education. Also attempts to create a self-organized network of Jewish higher education institutions in Kaunas.

# 09.05 Between Emancipation and Ethno-Religious Retention: Jewish Political Reconfigurations in Early 19th-Century Europe

### Adolphe Crémieux, a Secular Preacher for Justice

Noëmie Duhaut; Leibniz Institute for European History, Mainz

The French Jewish lawyer, and politician Adolphe Crémieux (1796-1880) fought for a more secular state throughout his career, whether in metropolitan France, in the colonies or internationally. This paper argues that sacralised legal discourse was central to Crémieux's articulation of secularism. While conceptions of privatised religion, famously encapsulated by the maxim "a man in the streets and a Jew at home," may describe Jewish life in France today, they are misleading when it comes to nineteenth-century French Jewish politics. As Crémieux's example suggests, we should refrain from reading this period through the lens of current understandings of laïcité. I show that his battle for a more secular France entailed virulent criticism of the lack of neutrality of the public sphere, which he voiced as a Jew both at home and in the street. Crémieux waged this battle it in diverse ways, from stressing his Jewishness in public spaces such as courts to sacralising justice. This legal rhetoric points to an important aspect of processes of secularisation, namely that they should be understood as a redefinition of the place of religion in society, rather than necessarily entailing the erosion of and estrangement from it.

# After Vienna, Before Damascus. European-Jewish Communities in Search of New Modes of Intercession

François Guesnet; University College London

In current scholarship, the Damascus Affair is often presented as a watershed in the formation of a new understanding of Jewish politics. The international intervention of leading members of the European-metropolitan communities, the significant role of the public sphere, and the emergence of transnational Jewish networks undoubtedly redefined the ways Jewish political strategies were implemented and perceived. This talk considers the preceding period, roughly between the Congress of Vienna in 1815 and the Damascus-Affair in 1840, contending that even before the critical moment of the ritual murder accusation against the Jews of Damascus, Jewish authors and communal leaders reconsidered the sources of political legitimacy and agency. It will focus on the literary treatment of the Book of Esther and the first translation of Philo's Legatio ad Gaium into Hebrew as cases of recasting Jewish intercession in post-Napoleonic Europe and attempts to redefine Jewish politics.

#### The Afterlife of the Shai Takkanot in Nineteenth Century Moravia

Louise Hecht; Hochschule für Jüdische Studien Heidelberg

Following the revolution of 1848, Samson Raphael Hirsch, then Chief Rabbi of Moravia, drafted a Synagogue Constitution for Professors of the Jewish Faith in Moravia. The aim of his draft was converting the corporate structure of Moravia's Jewish communities into a merely religious body, thus complying with the Provisional Township Law from March 1849 drafted by Interior Minister Franz Stadion defining the local township to be the basic political unit of an administrative pyramid. He requested Jewish communities to amalgamate with the Christian ones of the place. Hirsch ceremoniously proclaimed Moravian Jewry's readiness to sacrifice their communal autonomy in return for constitutional rights. Yet, Hirsch's Synagogue Constitution maintained the geographic divisions, the hierarchic structure and the election mode for the local and regional representatives of the Shai Takkanot, the constitution from 1650 that established the self-rule of Moravia's Jewry for more than a century. This Synagogue Constitution was, however, never implemented, as by autumn 1850, twenty-five of the fifty-two religious

Jewish communities were (re)constituted as politically autonomous communities and, until 1918, resisted various attempts of being dismantled. The paper seeks to unravel the history of this peculiar phenomenon by contextualizing Hirsch's Synagogue Constitution with two hundred years of Moravian Jewish communalism.

# The Italian Way to Israélitisme: to Fight for National Independence, to Renovate via Community Life and Traditional Education

Davide Mano; French National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS)

The full political and juridical emancipation of Italian Jews materialises at a belated date between 1848 and 1870 when their social, economic and cultural integration was already acquired. The complex chronology of this historical process reflects the complicated process of redefinition of Italian Jewry, first after the dissolution of the ghettos beginning in 1796, then after their almost general reinstatement in 1815. This paper deals with Jewish contributions to the birth and definition of an Italian national consciousness in the very first years of the Risorgimento, beginning with the 1820s. Seditious revolutionary activity, freemasonry affiliation, rebellious fight and enrolment in the Italian armies are among the options Italian Jews implemented as a part of their renovated struggle for emancipation. Internal community reorganisation and educational reformation also participate in the same effort to unite the struggle for civil emancipation with the fight for national independence via a traditional Jewish pathway. I will discuss these Jewish agencies from within the Napoleonic long-lasting influence on Italian politics and will define it as "the Italian way to Israélitisme".

### 09.06 Crossing Borders: Travelling and the Modern Jewish Imagination

### "The True Land of our Emotion": Palestine Tourism and the German-Jewish Imagination

Manja Herrmann; Albert-Ludwigs-University of Freiburg

In the first third of the 20th century, Palestine tourism became an almost obligatory cultural convention for German-Jewish Zionists. Following the popular so-called "Oriental

itinerary," many hundreds set out for Palestine as part of the Zionist experience. In my presentation, I will analyze the so-called Huldigungsreigen. Die Fahrt nach dem Heiligen Lande, a collection of drawings accompanied by poems that thematize ten different stations of an imaginary journey to Palestine, was presented as a wedding gift to Adele Strauss (1883-1946) and Aron Sandler (1879—1954) in 1907. On this basis, I will examine the role of Palestine tourism in the private sphere, expanding on previous research that focused mainly on the official aesthetics and cultural practices selected by Zionist organizations (e.g. Berkowitz 1993). In a broader context, this unique source will highlight the spectrum of the ambiguous imaginations of Palestine, particularly in relation to German-Jewish self-positionings within Imperial Germany.

#### Nostalgic Travelling: Israelis in the USSR before 1967

Alex Valdman; Tel Aviv University

In the decade preceding the 1967 war, the USSR opened its borders to Israeli visitors. Several thousands of Israeli citizens – tourists, and members of cultural and scientific delegations - used the opportunity to visit the Soviet empire. For many Israelis, the USSR was more than yet another tourist destination: it was an imagined object of nostalgic longing for the once-thriving Russian-Jewish life, and a real place where more than two million Soviet Jews lived under the confines of the communist regime. Hence the visit beyond the Iron Curtain facilitated a meaningful juxtaposition between nostalgia, ideology, and actual encounters and experiences, indicative of the Israelis' views on the Jewish past and present in Eastern Europe. In my presentation, I will draw on different primary sources – published travelogues, personal letters, and KGB surveillance materials – to examine the role played by the USSR and the Soviet Jewry in the Israelis' self-fashioning and self-identification.

# Putting Europe on the Map: The Lapid Travel Guide and Israeli Imaginations of the Continent

Daniel Mahla; University of Haifa

Published in 1970 and reprinted in dozens of editions, the Lapid Travel Guide for Europe was a popular companion for many Jewish Israelis travelling to European countries for

several decades. In it, the journalist and television presenter Joseph "Tommy" Lapid introduced his readers in a vivid language and friendly but opinionated style to some of Europe's most important cultural sights and leisure activities, thereby shaping the imagination of the continent among uncountable Israelis. But what exactly was "Europe" to Lapid? In the paper, I investigate the guidebook's depiction of the continent. To Lapid, I argue, Europe was crucial for Israeli self-understanding and geo-cultural orientation. Against this backdrop, he saw Israeli tourism to the continent not only as a profane leisure activity but also as a significant instrument to shape the society of the young state.

### **09.07 Decolonizing Jewish Studies**

### Contested Contextualizations: Colonialism and the Jews in German History

Stefan Vogt; Goethe University Frankfurt

Studying Jewish history in the context of the history of colonialism is still a contested endeavour. This is particularly so in Germany and with regard to German-Jewish history. Here, heated debates about the relationship between antisemitism and racism, about continuities from colonialism to Nazism, and about the singularity of the Holocaust have made it difficult to discuss these questions. The result is that Jews usually do not appear in the study of German colonial history, neither as protagonists nor as objects of colonialist cultures and politics, whereas colonialism is rarely seen as an aspect of German Jewish history.

The paper discusses the reasons for this peculiar form of exclusion and strives to demonstrate that it is possible to contextualize German-Jewish history with regard to the history of colonialism without losing sight of its peculiarities. It will be argued that contextualization does not dissolve the uniqueness of Jewish history in a general history of violence or racial relations but rather emphasizes this uniqueness. The paper claims that contextualizing German-Jewish history, especially with regard to the history of colonialism, is a way of appreciating the full significance of this history while enabling it to speak to today's social, cultural, and political problems.

#### "German Jews" and the Colonial "Other": The Development of Hybrid Identity

Doron Avraham; Bar Ilan University

Nineteenth-century national paradigm marginalized the importance of colonial spaces in determining Jews' status. My research—which combines history, anthropology, and postcolonial theories—explores the importance of colonialism in the formation of Jews' identity.

My presentation explicates German Jews' postures toward the colonial Other—the indigenous population in Africa and in China—during Germany's colonial expansion, 1884-1919. Beyond support of colonization and commitment to fight for Germany's global interests, Jews faced additional challenges. The interplay between racial theories regarding the colonized population and rising antisemitism pushed Jews to defend themselves against their imposed inferiority. In this interstitial position, they found in the colonized population a point of reference. On the one hand, these were "Neger" or "Barbaren", toward whom Jews could have felt as belonging to the white "supreme" civilization, thus rehabilitating their racial imposition. On the other hand, following their exclusion through "scientific racism", Jews expressed solidarity with the Herero and the Nama, who had also been massacred because of racial degradation. Jews sympathized with the Chinese during the Boxer Wars, defending their right to preserve their own nationalism. These findings indicate that German Jewish identity became more hybrid instead of merely fluctuating between Germanness and Jewishness.

# The "Jewish Refugee" as a Transatlantic Figure and its Blindspots: German-Jewish Intellectuals and Forced Migration from the Global South

Sebastian Musch; Osnabrück University

The figure of the "Jewish Refugee" was a staple of the political and philosophical discourses surrounding global migration in the 1930s and 1940s, and its intellectual legacy continued to live in the postwar understanding of migration and refugees. My argument is threefold: First, I argue that the "Jewish Refugee" was conceived with a narrow – geographical – scope. Focusing on three German-Jewish intellectuals, Kurt Grossmann, Hannah Arendt, and Günther Anders – all "Jewish Refugees" themselves as well as thinkers who wrestled with the refugee question in their writings – I argue that their

personal experience of loss of citizenship and displacement, and especially their flight from Germany to the United States resulted in the construction of the "Jewish Refugee" as a transatlantic figure. Secondly, I show how this narrow understanding inevitably came with some blindspots and resulted in myopic views vis-a-vis other non-transatlantic and global, Jewish and non-Jewish, refugees. And thirdly, I argue that, as a consequence, their writings and advocacy on behalf of refugees fell short in the postwar era when confronted with forced migration from the Global South during the 1950s and 1960s. Grossmann, Arendt, and Anders were unable to intellectually cope with migration driven by proxy wars in the Cold War Era and decolonization conflicts because their notions of "refugee" and "displaced persons" were built on the refugee as a transatlantic – and Jewish – figure.

# 09.08 The House, the Shop, the Street: Jews and the Urban Space

"Hinterzimmer Elite": The Case of Hebrew Writers in Fin-de-Siècle Berlin

Maya Shabbat; University of Potsdam

During the last third of the 19th century, Berlin was a main migration destination. Within the mass migration headed to the city, I wish to focus on an overshadowed group: young Jewish scholars aiming to expand their education while integrating into the intellectual circles in the city. These immigrants considered themselves as part of the liberal urban intelligentsia circles. Arriving in Berlin, these diverse immigrants experienced complex conflicts.

In this lecture, I wish to examine the daily life of a group of Eastern Jewish intellectuals that resided in fin-de-siècle Berlin while highlighting centre and periphery dialogue within the inner group arena. I shall look into inner dialogue while demonstrating its relationship with the residential habitat, the coffee-shop seating arrangements as well as the urban spatial set-up. Examining the structures metaphorically and physically as a platform to highlight the self-perception of this literary group.

### Michael Street: Co-habitation of Jews, Muslims and Christians in Medieval Cairo as Reflected in the History of one Alley

Moshe Yagur; Ben Gurion University of the Negev

In this talk, I will focus on the history of one street, the alley of Michael, in the old Roman Fortress, the most ancient part of the medieval city of Fustat, the capital of Islamic Egypt and the heart of Cairo.

By using sources from multiple genres and languages – historiographic and geographic compositions in Arabic, Cairo Geniza documents in Arabic, Judeo-Arabic, Aramaic and Hebrew, as well as information from recent archaeological excavations in the area, I will try to reconstruct details of daily life and inter-religious encounters, setting Michael street as an example for other streets in medieval Fustat-Cairo, as well as other urban centres in medieval Egypt and the Levant.

Where did people live, and with whom? Where did they work, pray, shop, or assemble? And what such an investigation of the spatial micro-history can teach us about interreligious encounters?

### 09.09 Zionism and Jewish Tradition

### Zionist Interpretations in Jewish Children's Bibles from Germany in the 1930s

Dorothea Salzer; University of Potsdam

By the 1930s, Jewish Children's Bibles had been one of the most common genres of textbooks for the religious instruction of Jewish children in Germany, whether at home or in school, for more than 130 years. The paper analyzes and describes to what extent Jewish Children's Bibles of the time changed their patterns of narration and interpretation, and their general hermeneutics in reaction to the ever-increasing repression and hardship for Jews in Germany. Special attention is paid to the three Children's Bibles published by Joachim Prinz, then the popular as well as controversial Rabbi of the Reformed Friedenstempel in Berlin, and later president of the American Jewish Congress. Taking a decisively Zionist perspective, Prinz retold the Hebrew Bible in a captivating and adventurous style with the aim to foster a confident Jewish identity among the young generation. Special attention is given to the question how Prinz's Zionist agenda is reflected in his retellings of the Hebrew Bible.

#### Zionism and the Talmud: A Reexamination

Ghilad Shenhav; Ludwig-Maximilians-University Munich

At the beginning of the 20th century, Jewish intellectuals repeatedly quoted and integrated Talmudic tales and discussions in their accounts of Judaism and Zionism. Nevertheless, research literature tends to classify modern Talmudic interpretations as marginal in comparison to the project of Zionist Bible interpretation. In this paper, I intend to offer a different approach. I will claim that by pointing a spotlight at the various interpretations and studying their tensions, we can gain a novel perspective on the stature and role of Talmudic Scriptures in modern Jewish political discourse. My main argument is that leading Jewish intellectuals implemented different forms of "radical hermeneutics" and thereby charged a designated corpus within the Talmudic Scriptures with political potency, supporting the notion of Jewish agency within history. In the framework of this paper, I will exemplify my approach by presenting the unique reception of the Talmudic tale about the messiah at the gates of Rome (Sanhedrin 98a) among German-Jewish intellectuals in the early 20th century.

In the tractate "Sanhedrin," Yehoshua ben Levi asks the messiah about the date of his arrival, and the redeemer answers, "Today." However, as redemption fails to arrive, the prophet Elijah explains the redeemer's words as "Today, if you will listen to my voice." I argue that by repeatedly interpreting the Aggadah, German-Jewish intellectuals position themselves within the political-theological conversation about Zionism: on the one hand, Zionists like Martin Buber, Haim Arlosoroff, and Arnold Zweig change the content of the tale and charge it with Zionist potency. On the other hand, Franz Rosenzweig returns to the traditional tale to offer a counter-reading supporting an ethical mode of agency instead of a Zionist form of activity.

### "Trust the God of the Fathers": Religious Symbolism in German Cultural Zionist Art

Rose Stair; University of Oxford

The early 20th-century German Cultural Zionist movement, involving such figures as Martin Buber, Chaim Weizmann and Berthold Feiwel, is often described in scholarship as "secular." This paper examines several of the artworks produced and promoted by the group in 1900-1903, by artists including E. M. Lilien. Focusing on the extensive religious

symbolism within these artworks, I consider the role played by allusions to the divine. While sometimes depicted in unconventional and subversive ways, I suggest that the recurring themes of divine presence and religious authority are presented as grounds for creative inspiration and collective hope. Arguing that the common designation of the group's work as "secular" risks impoverishing analysis of such artworks, I conclude that these works offer valuable insight into the group's relationship with Jewish religious traditions. Not only did religious symbolism populate their vision of the Zionist future, but it provided a visual language to articulate their desire to build this future through creative and artistic activity.

### **09.10 Diversity of Orthodoxy**

A Newspaper is not a School: Yehiel Bril as a Modern Editor of an Orthodox Newspaper in 19th Century Europe (Ha-Levanon 1867-1881)

Gideon Kouts; Université Paris 8

The third year of Ha-Levanon weekly in Paris saw a takeover of the paper by the East European-Lithuanian Orthodox establishment. At first, the editor Yehiel Bril gave to the extremist rabbis plenty of space for their battles against the Haskalah movement and its newspaper Ha-Melitz. But at the dawn of 1869, Bril reverted to his declared approach of considering the newspaper the possession of all his readers. who "...said anxiously to each other: you brought me to Ha- Levanon: Am I as degenerate in your eyes as to lure me into Beit Hamidrash." Bril favoured printing Torah and science together in the journalistic manner of providing information on new areas of interest. In the general popular press of his time, it was permissible and even desirable to tell stories, but forbidden to turn a newspaper into a "school". thus Bril, despite his ingrained religious zealotry- proves to be a modern journalist who aptly reflected the zeitgeist in his editorial work. Bril trenchantly ruled out "pilpoul" (casuistry) of his writers, as something that degrades the modern journalistic discourse that he adopted. Later, he learned the lessons of excessive devotion to any specific stream in his newspaper and was aware of the obligation of "objectivity" that an editor who wants to maximize his leadership has to accept.

# Dynamics of Change between Orthodoxy and Reform in Nineteenth-Century Italian Liturgies

Alessandro Grazi; Leibniz Institute for European History, Mainz

The adaptation strategies of Italian Jews across the civil emancipation period have recently been the object of an increasing amount of scholarship, which is better at problematizing their fragmented reality.

One aspect that has insofar received insufficient attention is the role of liturgy in this transitional era. An investigation of the liturgical realm can shed light on a neglected aspect of modern Italian Judaism, that is, the relationship between Orthodoxy and Reform. Contrary to what an old misconception postulates, the Italian peninsula hosted several Jewish reform projects (Salah, 2020), even without having a full-fledged reform movement. The liturgical modifications implemented by some instances occurred on three levels: 1) synagogue structure; 2) ritual performance; 3) textual changes in the prayer book. By utilizing prayer books (Siddurim and Mahzorim) as objects of historical enquiry and analyzing them with Digital Humanities methods, this paper wishes to contribute to a reassessment of the role of Reform in Italy by illustrating some of the macro and micro changes effecting prayer books, also as counter moves of Orthodoxy. The macro level concerned the publication of new reformed prayer books or the insertion/removal of prayers, while the micro level pertained to smaller textual variations within single prayers.

#### The Legalization of Modesty: History, Law, and Gender Implications

Emmanuel Bloch; University of Pennsylvania

My paper analyzes the significance of *tsni'ut* (female modesty) in Israeli Orthodoxy. Tsni'ut is a critically significant aspect of present-day Orthodox Judaism. In many circles, *tsni'ut* is presented to Orthodox girls and women not only as an important realm of religious observance but as the quintessential arena of feminine religious expression, even equal in importance to Torah study for men. As such, it is understood as a pivotal religious duty, a form of feminine achievement, a path toward self-fulfilment, and a locus of social competition.

Yet this emphasis on female *tsni'ut* is historically unprecedented. Although modesty is a time-hallowed Jewish value, in the past, it was notably less significant as a medium of

Jewish religious expression. The rapid ascent of a vague socioreligious norm to the top of the pyramid of Jewish observance should be considered no less than a fundamental revolution of values within a society that sanctifies conservatism.

In this paper, I demonstrate that modesty has become encoded in Jewish law toward the middle of the twentieth century ("halakhization of tsni'ut"). Furthermore, I present the implications of the revolution of tsni'ut for our understanding of Orthodox communities worldwide.

### 09.11 Nature and the Shtetl: from Reality to Imagination

#### The Shtetl Meets Nature

Gennady Estraikh; New York University

The shtetl never formed a world entirely detached from nature and agriculture. While the number of Jewish farmers was relatively small, many shtetl dwellers had their own cows, goats, and horses, and kept at least a few chickens. Yishuvniks, or isolated Jewish families within non-Jewish villages, such as the household of Sholem Aleichem's Tevye the dairyman, formed a separate category of eastern European Jews. Thousands of Jews made a living by trading in agricultural commodities, most notably grain, and beet sugar. Doikayt ("hereness"), a tenet of the Bund shared by many other Jewish radicals, urged the Jews to foster a sense of attachment to the soil. Jewish language planners developed modern terminology for nature, and Jewish educators paid much attention to natural science. Outings to fields and woods were part of extracurricular activities in modernized shtetl schools. The word "nature" became increasingly present in the reading diet of shtetl dwellers.

## Vocabulary of Nature in the Yiddish Folksongs and Ballads: Scenery, Drama, and Wisdom

Lyudmila Sholokhova; The New York Public Library

The Yiddish songs were a product of urban life, and in the traditional shtetl, the outside world was a little-known territory for its inhabitants. In contrast to the oral folklore of other East European nations, the vocabulary of nature in the Yiddish songs was rather limited,

and descriptions of landscapes were quite abstract. Yet, the elements of nature represented a powerful means of dramatic action in the Yiddish folksongs and were often symbolic. The simplicity of vocabulary was sparked with allusions to the biblical tradition. Elements of nature were used to set up backgrounds for the events in the ballads and songs, help interpret their often-tragic outcomes, evoke compassion, and make conclusions. The paper will explore patterns of the emotional impact of nature on the poetic language of the Yiddish folksongs, analyze the symbolism of the vocabulary and address the differences in exposing nature in the Yiddish and Slavic folksongs.

#### Nature in the East-European Synagogue

Vladimir Levin; Hebrew University

Placing buildings of worship in the middle of natural landscapes created a special environment that enabled concentration on the eternal and spiritual, as opposed to temporary and mundane. Understandably, the urban setting of worship buildings would likely prevent such a connection. However, the presence of nature, at least symbolical, was typical for the European churches and cathedrals that frequently had cloisters and courtyards with grass, trees, bushes, and other greenery. Parish churches in medieval towns had adjacent cemeteries that also were green spaces.

Like the medieval churches, the synagogues in East-European shtetls were situated in densely built urban areas. Although the synagogues were detached from the natural landscapes architecturally, nature, both real and imaginary, found its way into the rich decoration of their interiors. The paper will analyze specific examples and the role of such imaginary landscapes in creating an atmosphere of uplifting spirituality inside the synagogues in Eastern Europe.

## Nature in the OZET Propaganda: from ShtetIs to the Crimean Steppes and Birobidzhan Taiga, 1920s -1930s

Alexander Ivanov; Jewish Theological Seminary of America

The paper explores the image of the shtetl in Soviet visual propaganda during the Jewish agricultural colonization project of the 1920s and 1930s. The project aimed to turn the poor Jewish masses into agriculturalists and workers via the resettlement onto vacant lands in

the Northern Crimea and the Birobidzhan area of the Soviet Far East. The inimitable agitation campaign of the Society for the Settlement of the Toiling Jews on the Land (OZET) likened the shtetl to a ghetto where the Jewish masses were economically disenfranchised without any hope for a better future. The propaganda compared the isolation of the shtetl, devoid of greenery, with the vast landscapes of the Crimea and Birobidzhan that served as background for a new life in harmony with nature. The paper is based on photo collections of the archives in St. Petersburg and London and on publications in the Soviet Jewish press.

# 09.12 Chaim Weizmann Political and Science Vision during the 1940s

#### Chaim Weizmann's Negotiations with the Non-Zionists, 1941-1942

Meir Chazan; Tel Aviv University

After two years of stagnation, since the appearance of MacDonald's White Paper in 1939, the President of the Zionist Organization Chaim Weizmann began to gradually return the political issue to the top of the Zionist agenda. In three discreet meetings he initiated with Jewish leaders in the United States and Great Britain in the months of May-September 1941, he presented the 'Jewish problem' after the World War as an issue that would determine the future of Jewish history for many generations. In these meetings, Weizmann used the term 'state' as the only political term to define the Zionist goal. The third meeting was held at the offices of the Rothschild Bank in London on September 9 with the participation of the senior non-Zionists in England led by the Rothschild family. These conversations were concluded in deadlock in March 1942, and this complicated situation led to the Biltmore program in May 1942.

### The Involvement of American Jewry in the Transition from the Ziv Institute to the Weizmann Institute

Uri Cohen; Tel Aviv University

In the first half of the 1940s, a group of personalities formed in American Jewry that sought to influence the development processes of the Jewish settlement in the Land of Israel. The

main motive for the formation of this group was the recognition that European Jewry was systematically and mercilessly eliminated. Under these circumstances, the opposition to the Zionist project decreased and was replaced by unequivocal support. The members of this group had considerable prestige and financial resources, and they decided to direct most of their efforts to the establishment of a science city based on the foundations of the Daniel Ziv Institute in Rehovot. That is, they sought to raise both funds and scientific and management personnel to head the institute in its new format.

#### Scientific Projects and Zionist Activity: Separate or Interwoven Vocations?

Nurit Kirsh; The Open University of Israel

I will examine Weizmann's early research in biochemistry that culminated in the discovery of the industrial production of acetone in WWI, as well as his less-known chemical projects that intended to advance the war efforts of the UK and the USA during WWII. I will argue that contrary to what he claimed in his autobiography, prior to 1918, Weizmann perceived his scientific endeavours and political actions as two parallel vocations that only slightly and indirectly influenced each other. Only after 1935, when he was re-elected president of the Zionist Organization, and particularly during the years of the Second World War, did Weizmann's scientific activity became inextricably linked to his political vision.

# 09.13 Between Three Countries: Haskalah and Post-Haskalah in the 19th Century

From Berlin, Königsberg, and Amsterdam to Copenhagen: Haskalah Networks and their Influence on Shaping Modern Jewish Identities in Early 19th Century Denmark

Naomi Keren; Bar Ilan University

Danish-Jewish historiography has, thus far, been generally excluded from the larger framework and context of the history of Jews in the modern era when examining aspects of modernization, secularization, and acculturation.

The paper seeks to show how far-stretched the networks of the Haskalah were and how deep was their influence on the formation of modern Danish-Jewish identity. It will argue that the main instruments in the process of Danish-Jewish acculturation formed in the early

19th century– the royal decree of 1814, requiring Jewish boys and girls to go through a religious Jewish Confirmation (which stayed compulsory well into the 20th century), as well as the new modern Danish-Jewish schools – were actually created and shaped by the Haskalah ideas through the direct influence of key figures in the Copenhagen community who kept close intellectual and personal ties with the Berlin and Königsberg Haskalah circles as well as with the Maskilim of 'Tongeleth Society' in Amsterdam.

#### Isaac Baer Levinsohn's Triangle: A New Approach to the "Russian Mendelssohn"

Esther Zyskina; Hebrew University

In this paper, I offer some new perspectives on the early history of the Russian Haskalah as a report on my current work on an innovative biography of Isaac Baer Levinsohn (1788-1860). Existing research focuses mostly on Levinsohn's ideology and literary works, omitting his social and political activity. I argue that understanding his complex personality requires greater sensitivity to his life circumstances. Contrary to the established image of the "Russian Mendelssohn", I wish to present him as a rather marginal figure, caught between three worlds: that of the Jewish tradition, which he never really left; that of the Jewish intellectual network; and, finally, the world of the Russian officialdom, which despite his best efforts he failed to enter. This triangle represents the tensions and opportunities that, I argue, determined so much of Levinsohn's life. With the help of freshly discovered archival documents, I hope to present a new perspective on this presumably well-known yet under-researched figure.

#### Gotthold Salomon as the Founder of the Jewish Reform Movement in Germany

Naama Jager; Bar Ilan University

The historical focus on Abraham Geiger (1810-1874) has overshadowed other rabbinical leaders during the formative period of the reform movement in the religious-intellectual history of German Jews throughout the 19th century. This approach puts other historically significant reformers and liberal rabbis in an ancillary position. By contrast, this paper will focus on a prominent religious leader in the formative period of the German-Jewish Reform movement - Gotthold Salomon (1784-1862).

Salomon began his journey as a Maskil in Dessau at the beginning of the 19th century,

and Played an eminent role during this era, as the Prediger of the Hamburg Temple. He expressed his original thinking on the Reform Movement with his prolific body of works employing different genres, including numerous published sermons. Based on various sources, I will argue that Salomon was a transformative figure and the foremost promoter of the Jewish Reform movement of the 19th century in Germany.

### 09.14 Israel and Migration

### Seeking a Return to Poland: The Case of Jewish Polish Immigrants in Israel (1948-1970)

Ewa Wegrzyn; Jagiellonian University

In my paper, I would like to describe the case of Jews from Poland who immigrated to Israel during the Gomulka Aliyah in 1956-1960. Some of them, after a few months of living in Israel, wanted to go back to Poland.

Firstly, I would like to explore the situation of Polish Immigrants in Israel, taking into account their social, economic and political situation. I will also examine the question of the policy of the State of Israel towards the new "Olim" from Poland.

Secondly, I will describe how the newcomers absorbed and assimilated with the Israeli society in the end of the 50ts.

Another important aspect is to identify the reasons why Olim Chadashim from Poland wanted to leave their new Homeland – Israel - and to return to Poland. It is worth mentioning that among immigrants who applied to return from Israel to Poland, very few were granted the authorization to do so. Both the Polish People's Republic and the State of Israel were negatively disposed to the idea of remigration. Therefore about 90% of the applicants were refused permission to return to Poland.

Finally, I would like to examine the cases of those who were able to return to Poland and to describe the attitude of the communist Poland toward them.

The study material which I am going to use in my paper comes from several different sources. The main source is research carried out both in Polish and Israeli archives. Another source is press published during this period (1956-1960) in Israel (in Hebrew as well as in Polish) and also press published in Poland (in Polish and Yiddish).

#### The Zionist Success with UNSCOP: The Importance of the Diplomatic Campaign

Elad Ben-Dror; Bar Ilan University

My paper will examine the successful political strategies employed by Zionist diplomacy in the summer of 1947 vis-à-vis UNSCOP (the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine), which recommended partition and the creation of a Jewish state on the majority of the territory between the Mediterranean and the Jordan River. This recommendation served as the basis for the UN partition resolution of 29 November 1947. The Zionist leaders made UNSCOP aware of their willingness to accept partition, but conditioned this on enlarging the territory of the future state. In this regard, the climax of their campaign, recounted in the paper, was a secret and informal meeting between the senior echelons of the Jewish Agency and most members of UNSCOP on 14 July, an event that has been missed by historical research. The paper will describe the crucial influence of the Zionist message when UNSCOP came to formulate its conclusions and contributes to a better understanding of the process that led UNSCOP to its final recommendations. Note that the paper is part of my new book: The Road to Partition: UNSCOP and the Beginning of United Nations Involvement in the Israel-Arab Conflict, Routledge 2022.

### The first Israelis in the Netherlands: A Case Study of Diaspora, Jewish Identity and Integration between 1950 and 1970

Channa Zaccai; University of Amsterdam

Since the inception of the State of Israel in 1948, Israeli Jews have moved abroad. Whereas Jewish immigration to Israel has been widely studied, academic scholarship on Israeli emigration is more limited. From the perspective of Israel's Zionist ideology, Israeli emigration can be seen as a violation of Jewish sovereignty: 'a loss of Jews to the Jewish state.' The phenomenon of emigration is part of an increasing trend of Israeli migration in the world at large, with Israelis seeking second citizenship in Europe as well. Israeli Jews have been immigrating to the Netherlands since the 1950s, however, there is only one study done on Israelis in the Netherlands in 1996. The arrival of the first Israeli Jews in the Netherlands forms the starting point for an analysis of the formation and development of a Dutch and global Israeli diaspora. The presence of Israeli Jews in the Netherlands, nowadays comprising approximately 25 per cent of the entire present-day

Dutch Jewish community, provokes questions on the construction of Jewish identity and their integration into the local Jewish community and Dutch society.

This presentation is part of my PhD research on Israeli Jews in the Netherlands between 1960 and 2020. I will show that Zionist ideology, the international context and the aftermath of the second world war mutually inform the attitudes and perceptions of both Israeli Jews and Dutch Jews towards one another.

### "Broken Tablet" — the Attitude towards the Sephardic Torah Study in the course of Immigration to Israel in the 1950s

Malka Katz; David Yellin College

In "Broken Tablet", one story from the file "Aleppo Tales" - originally entitled "Emet Mi-Eretz Titzmach", Haim Sabato wrote an elegy on the lost world of Torah study methods taught by Sephardic sages that was challenged with the immigration of their communities to Israel in the 1950s.

Haim Sabato's family had lived in Egypt for two generations before moving to Israel, and his ancestors had been leading scholars in the ancient Jewish community of Aleppo Syria. Sabato heads up Religious Zionists Yeshiva near Jerusalem, which he founded In this paper, I will discuss the ambivalent attitude of Ashkenazi Religious Zionists to the traditions of Sephardic Jews. On the one hand, they romanticized their deeply rooted religiosity and national identity. On the other hand, they saw their traditions as degenerated and excluded their specific traditional learning materials from the dominant realm of the Religious-Zionist Torah study project, which is still dominated by Ashkenazi traditions and scholarship. This attitude was created from the world views that originated in Orientalist discourse. Especially the orientalist "theory of decline," according to which "the golden age" of the Jews of Islamic lands, like the Muslim society around them, had descended into a period of degeneration.

#### 09.15 Jewish Intellectual and Cultural Life in Frankfurt

#### Synagogue and Parliament: Jewish Frankfurt and the Revolution of 1848/49

Imanuel Clemens Schmidt; Goethe University Frankfurt

Regarding Jewish history, in particular, previous studies on the political events of 1848/49 in Frankfurt have focused primarily on the participation of Jews as delegates to the first German national assembly and their struggle for equal rights as citizens. The jurist, publicist, and vice president of the Frankfurt parliament, Gabriel Riesser, who tirelessly advocated for the emancipation of the Jews, represents both of these aspects and may be regarded as a Jewish icon of the Paulskirche. The proposed paper seeks to turn this perspective and raises the question of how Frankfurt's Jews perceived the events of 1848/49 and, outside of parliament, shaped contemporary debates about democracy and the relationship between church and state. Based on journalistic texts, historiographical writings, correspondences, sermons, and other speeches, the study examines how the democratic-revolutionary events reflected within Frankfurt's Jewish community and what effects they exerted here. Thus, the paper highlights the multi-layered interaction of parliament and synagogue in 1848/49.

### "New Learning" and "Jewish Thinking": Franz Rosenzweig's Concept of Jewish Learning and his Teaching on Philosophical Questions at the Frankfurt Freies Jüdisches Lehrhaus

Christian Wiese; Goethe University Frankfurt

On 17 October 1920, on the occasion of the opening of the "" Freie Jüdische Lehrhaus" in Frankfurt, Franz Rosenzweig held an inaugural lecture entitled " Neues Lernen", in which he presented his conception of what he called " a learning in the opposite direction. A learning – no longer from the Torah into life, but conversely, from life, from a world that does not know anything about the Law ....., back into the Torah".

The paper will contextualize Rosenzweig's approach in the philosopher's turn from Wissenschaft des Judentums to the pedagogical concept he had in mind for the "Lehrhaus". The main focus, however, will be on the interpretation of three lecture series Rosenzweig held in 1921/22 on "Die Wissenschaft von Gott", "Die Wissenschaft vom Menschen", and "Die Wissenschaft von der Welt" – lectures that convey an impression on

the way he taught at the "Lehrhaus" on theological, anthropological, cultural and political questions.

#### Strengthening Jewish Identity - Nehemyia Tsvi Nobel and his Circle

Rachel Heuberger; Goethe University Frankfurt

The Frankfurt Rabbi Nehemiya Tsvi Nobel (1871-1922) was one of the eminent orthodox German rabbis in the 20th century. He was an extremely charismatic personality who combined many contradictory facets all at once, being an orthodox Talmudic scholar, philosopher, German patriot and Zionist.

He was very open-minded and tolerant, and while officiating as a rabbi in Frankfurt from 1910-1922, gathered around him young Jewish intellectuals from different backgrounds. He influenced them strongly and brought them closer to their Jewish roots.

The members of his circle, who were also close to the Freie Jüdische Lehrhaus, are all well known until today and included traditional-oriented Jews like Franz Rosenzweig, Martin Buber and Ernst Simon. But he also inspired leftwing intellectuals like Sigfried Kracauer, Erich Fromm and Leo Löwenthal, with whom he had a special relationship.

# 09.16 Jews in Eastern Central Europe in the Nineteenth Century

"In the Forefront of the Industrial Revolution". Jewish Entrepreneurs in Krakow and Podgórze in the Years 1867-1918

Przemyslaw Zarubin; Jagiellonian University

During the autonomous period (1867-1915) of Galicia, one of the provinces of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, Kraków was its second largest city. It also became the main administrative and academic centre of its western part, inhabited by a large Jewish population. The Chamber of Commerce and Industry, i.e. an organization of commercial and industrial self-government dominated by Jewish activists supporting the initiatives of local industrialists, also had its seat here. While Podgórze, although a smaller town on the other bank of the Vistula River, had a rich resource base and favourable tax conditions. In both these cities and in the neighbouring suburbs and villages, the Jewish businessmen,

hitherto engaged in trade and alcohol production, in the second half of the 19th century began successively opening small and large industrial plants operating in the construction industry (brickyards, lime kilns, quarries, building depots), in the chemical industry (fertilizers, soap, soda ash production) and in the food industry (bakery and mills). Taking advantage of the relatively new steam technology, the development of the railway network, and obtaining loans from newly established banks and credit institutions, families of Jewish industrialists began to increase their fortunes and change the urban landscape. The paper will try to answer the questions to what extent the activities of Jewish companies contributed to the development of these cities, how many workers worked in such enterprises, how these enterprises were furnished and how the relations between Jewish industrialists and Jewish communities in Krakow and Podgórze were shaped.

#### Cisleithanian Jewish Law 1890 between Diversity and Unity

Daniel Baránek; Czech Academy of Sciences

The Jewish Law (Israelitengesetz), which regulated the relationship between the state and the Jewish religious society, was only issued by the Austrian Parliament in 1890, more than 40 years after the revolution of 1848. One of the reasons for such a long delay was the diversity of the Cisleithanian Jewish communities. The paper will focus on the process of drafting and application of Jewish Law with particular reference to the diversity of Jewish communities.

Firstly, it will examine religious diversity: How did orthodox and progressive leaders approach the law? How has the state resolved and mediated contradictions between religious groups within the state, within countries and within individual communities? Secondly, the paper will focus on demographic and territorial diversity: How were the differences in population and area of the individual communities dealt with? How were the interests of urban and rural communities met by the new law? What were the specifics of Jewish communities in each Cisleithanian Crown land, and how was the law applied differently in each Crown land?

Thirdly, the paper will focus on the question of balancing the law between diversity and unity, examining which aspects of the law intensified or mitigated conflicts within Jewish society.

### Jewish Soldiers in the Habsburg Army: The Case of the 43rd Carniolan Line Infantry Regiment "Thurn/Simbschen" (1789-1810)

Ilya Berkovich; Austrian Academy of Sciences

As with much of the other Inner Austrian territories, Jews were banned from settling in the Habsburg Duchy of Carniola until the As in other Jews were banned from settling in the County until the constitution of 1867. Yet in 1801, at the end of the Second Coalition War, the local infantry regiment than 100 Jewish soldiers in its ranks. These were raised as part of a system of auxiliary conscription districts which distributed Galician recruits across the German military establishment of the Habsburg Monarchy. Based on a thorough examination of surviving manpower records of the 43rd Infantry regiment, I was able to retrace the service itineraries of some 200 Jewish soldiers who served in Carniola from the Josephinian conscription edict until the county was lost to the French at the end of the 1809 war. When considered together, it seems that the prospects of the Jewish soldiers in Habsburg service were fairly similar to that of other Galician recruits from the same recruitment districts.

# 09.17 Diverse Maskilic Representations of Rabbinic Literature and Judaisms Place in Europe

### Maskilic Representations of Rabbinic Judaism and the Emancipation Debate as Expressed in Mendelssohn's Jerusalem

Ze'ev Strauss; Hamburg University

This paper will elaborate on Moses Mendelssohn's (1729–1786) disputes with Protestant theologians' representations of ancient rabbinic Judaism. In so doing, the crucial position of rabbinic literature in the heated debates over Jewish emancipation in Prussian society will be fleshed out. The present paper will establish that the Mendelssohnian outlook on rabbinic tradition can only be understood against the backdrop of anti-Talmudic vitriol among Protestant thinkers, on which basis he moulds his unique image of the ancient rabbinic authorities. The paper will retrace an apologetic line of critique Mendelssohn levels against Johann A. Eisenmenger and his Protestant proponents. It reveals how

Mendelssohn engages with their anti-Talmudic diatribe while adapting it to his dialogical and Enlightenment-oriented understanding of Judaism.

### Socrates, the Rabbis, and Jewish Emancipation. A Comparison between Simone Luzzatto and Moses Mendelssohn

Michela Torbidoni; Hamburg University

Through a reassessment of the figure of Socrates and the ancient rabbinic authorities, both Simone Luzzatto (1582–1663) and Moses Mendelssohn pursue a common end: the foundation of a universalistic human community. However, the more significant and problematic aspect in this respect is their diverse methods of approaching such intellectual traditions. This paper will inquire into the Socratic and rabbinic impulses of Luzzatto's and Mendelssohn's philosophical projects while teasing out the social and religious claims behind them. Taking its point of departure from Luzzatto's skeptical image of Socrates and proceeding to Mendelssohn's rational understanding of the celebrated Greek sage, this presentation will explore the intricacies of the Jews' relationship to their surrounding culture. Thus, this paper will add further considerations to the theme of the social settings of the Jews in early modern Italy and the German-speaking world.

## Between Rationalism and Skepticism: Allegorical Readings of the Talmud in Eastern European Haskalah

Isaac Slater; Hamburg University

The paper focuses on allegory as a major hermeneutical tool employed by Maskilim in nineteenth-century Eastern Europe. It exhibits allegory as a double-edged tool, used both to defend the Talmud from Christian criticism and to implement the Maskilic values in traditional Jewish society. The paper presents Moshe Aharon Shatzkes' (1825–1899) Sefer Ha-Mafteach as a focal point of allegorical exegesis of various Talmudic tales, one that continued to dictate and mould similar interpretations throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. The paper continues to claim that the sceptic potential of allegory comes to fruition by the end of the century during a fierce debate about the miracle of the cruse of oil. A close examination of this trend reveals both the potential and the dangers

latent in allegorical readings, inasmuch as the abstract message of the fable undermines the text's literal meaning.

#### Revelation and Holy Scripture in Lessing and Mendelssohn

José María Sánchez de León Serrano; Universitat de Barcelona

The paper examines and compares two enlightened approaches to the issue of revelation and its historical facticity, those of Lessing (1729–1781) and Mendelssohn (1729–1786). In line with the Enlightenment, both thinkers hold fast to the rational character of religion and the discoverability of its truths by the unaided human mind. The historical facticity of revelation poses a problem for both of them, insofar as it apparently makes rational religiosity dependent on contingent facts. While Mendelssohn solves the problem by denying revelation any doctrinal character, Lessing finds the answer in the equation of revelation and the process of rational development of humanity. By contrasting these two strategies, the paper will show how the consideration of this question enables these thinkers to develop their respective notions of religious tolerance.

### 09.18 Family and Networks

#### The Prague Censor of Hebrew Books and his Personal and Professional Network

Marketa Kaburkova; National Library of the Czech Republic

At the end of the 18th century, when Karl Fisher (1757–1844) – a native of West-Bohemian Hroznetin, a small town housing a considerable Jewish community – was appointed the censor and revisor in hebraicis, this institution with more than two hundred years of tradition in Prague, however, was undergoing a transformation as profound as the changes in the entire Austrian state apparatus. Fisher's multiligual archival collection and literary legacy (Archives of the National Library in Prague) represent a unique testimony not only to the activities of him and his predecessors in various functions both within the Bohemian Gubernium, and the University Library which had then been open to the public for over fifty years. It also documents early modern intellectual networks, professional and personal relations, and from time to time also cooperation between Christians – individuals and officials – and Jews.

The example of the curriculum, career, and contacts of one particular Christian Hebraist zooms in the Central European intellectual history, esp. the development of printing, book culture, libraries, and Jewish-Christian relations.

### Images of Italian Jewish Emancipation: An Analysis of Family Photographs after Liberation from the Roman Ghetto in 1870

Edna Barromi-Perlman; Kibbutzim College of Education, University of Haifa

This study presents an analysis of photographs found in a private album of a Jewish family from Rome. The family had lived during the Risorgimento, the movement for the unification of Italy that led to the consolidation of the different Italian states into the single Kingdom of Italy. In 1870. For the Ebrei Romani the Risorgimento resulted in liberation from a life of crushing poverty, disease, and abuse under the Papal State. The study explores how this influenced image-construction and photographic portraiture of Roman Jews. The images created images of emancipated, assimilated and secular Jewish men and women, living as equal citizens in the new unified state of Italy. Photography enabled the Jews to take self-portraits that served as a sign of social standing, and integration into Italian society. The aspiration for a new self-image pushed the Ebrei Romani to defy gentile historical conventions and traditions of portraying Jews in a dismissive, humiliating form, as poor and ragged, or as comic figures. The study explores the forms of documentation of this social and cultural metamorphosis from the angle of private family portraits of a family, who had lived in the ghetto for hundreds of years.

### Novel Opportunities, Perpetual Barriers. The Social Mobility and Integration of the Jewish Dutch Elite, 1870-1940

Sietske van der Veen; Utrecht University

From the last decades of the nineteenth century until the Nazi occupation, a substantial part of the Jewish Dutch minority experienced unprecedented opportunities for upward social mobility, as well as for integration into mainstream society. At the same time, Dutch Jews were confronted with a new, racist form of antisemitism. To explore how they seized opportunities and dealt with challenges, this paper analyses the lives of over seven hundred Jews whose personal histories were documented in the Dutch Biography Portal,

studying their occupational domains, educational levels and fields of study, places of residence in the Netherlands and elsewhere, religious affiliations, marriages, and participation in associations. We might tend to only observe a story of successful social climbing and far-reaching integration, with the occupations, schooling, places of residence, spouses and associations of these Jews as 'tickets' into non-Jewish spheres. However, it appears that Jewish members of the Dutch cultural, political and financial elites were as important to Dutch society as the opportunities which that same changing society offered them during this period. Yet, as a survey of newspaper articles demonstrates, they were never fully accepted into the circles of their non-Jewish counterparts, as their successes often met with resentment.

### 09.19 Jewish Discussions on Sex Trafficking and Sex Work in the Early 20th Century: Entanglements Between Migration, Gender, and Antisemitism

Sex and the City – The Depiction of Women, Jews and the City in White Slavery Movies

Elisabeth Janik-Freis; Technical University Berlin

Since the late 19th century, Jewish female migration from East-Central Europe was closely connected to prostitution or trafficking, and even after 1918, women on the move were seen as potential victims of trafficking. The question of trafficking in women and children found broad appeal in the public discourses in the post-war societies of Poland and Germany. The nascent film industry also discovered the topic, as numerous so-called "white slavery" movies show. These movies often use anti-Semitic language and images. They characterize urban centres often as places full of danger and immorality. This paper focuses on the depiction of Jewish female migration in these movies and analyses the female representation in these movies in terms of contemporary discourses on morality, (sexual) self-determination and the "new woman" in the context of urban life. The paper contributes to ongoing debates about anti-Semitism, violence and sexuality, and continuity and change in attitudes, beliefs, and the role of media.

## Jewish Associationisms, Institutional Networks and Feminist Projects in Milan and Trieste (1899-1933)

Paola Zichi; Queen Mary University of London

The interplay between grassroots local feminist organizations, Jewish families' ties and their involvement in social and legal reforms on prostitution and trafficking in Italy has remained largely unexplored. My intervention contributes to the processing of this gap. It focuses on the activism of Italian Jewish feminists in Milan and Trieste and the work of the feminist organizations they founded to protect women from trafficking and sexual exploitation. These include the Milanese Women's Union (Unione Femminile), the Milan branch of the Association for the Support and Protection of Jewish Women and Girls, which worked in conjunction with the Intersocial Committee of Trieste, Istria and Zara against the trade in women and children. The intervention looks at the relevance and impact of Jewish families' ties, legislative involvements and transnational networks between Milan and Trieste, across three decades to unveil similarities and differences in ideas of social justice for women, antisemitism, and processes of Jewish national identity making.

### Protecting the Jewish Daughters: International Jewish Networks Policing Female Movement between Eastern Europe and Argentina

Aleksandra Jakubczak; POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews

In the first half of the twentieth century, Jewish communities in England, the United States and Argentina observed with concern the westward migration of Eastern European Jews, particularly women. Their response to this movement from the East has received significant scholarly attention but has mainly been understood within the framework of the anti-trafficking campaign aimed at protecting innocent women from villain traffickers. In this paper, I will investigate the discourses and activities of Ezras Noschim, one of the Jewish organizations actively involved in the anti-trafficking campaign. Exposing how the bourgeois ideas of proper sexual behaviour, female employment and gender roles deeply affected their agenda and policing activities, I will propose a more complicated picture of the role played by these organizations in the lives of Eastern European Jewish women on the move.

### Jewish Feminists and the International Congresses on the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children in the late 1920s

Marion Keller; Goethe University Frankfurt

The Jewish Association for the Protection of Girls and Women and the nondenominational National Committees to Combat Trafficking in Girls and Women held international conferences in London in 1927. Both organizations played a central role in campaigns against trafficking and prostitution of women since the late 19th century. In this paper, I will examine the participation of Jewish feminists from European countries, the United States, and Argentina in these two conferences. How were Jewish feminists represented in the discussions at the congresses? What issues did they bring to the discussions, and what positions did they advocate? How did they respond to the growing anti-Semitism in the sex trafficking debate? I will discuss how the mostly bourgeois feminists used the congresses to draw attention to the desperate situation of poor Jewish women in Eastern Europe in the years after World War I and to call for organized aid(s) to Eastern European Jewish communities.

# 09.20 Less-Heralded Constructive Relations between Jews and Non-Jews in Crisis

Overpowering Jewish Considerations: F. G. Lorca in Hebrew Translation

Erika Mejia; Hebrew University

Although Spanish literature initially remained at the margins of the translation enterprise into modern Hebrew, a consistent investment in translating F.G. Lorca's oeuvre is evident. Translations of his poems begin to appear in literary supplements as early as 1938, just two years after the poet's assassination at the outset of the Spanish Civil War. From that time on, a growing interest prompted the translation and retranslation of his oeuvre in the newly created Jewish-Israeli literary scene. Accordingly, this is an intriguing test case that allows tracing the continuum created by its three main translators – Rapahel Eliaz (1905-974), Rina Litvin (1939-2012), and Rami Sa'ari (1963). This reading outlines each translator's encounter with the Spanish poet, addressing the question of 'Why Lorca?' And

revealing the dynamics underlying each endeavour in this specific canon/nation-building context.

#### Ernst Leitz of Wetzlar: Helping—and Working with the Persecuted

Frank Dabba Smith; Leo Baeck College (UK)

My research concerning Ernst Leitz of Wetzlar, manufacturer of the Leica camera —is situated and seeks to build on the insights of scholars writing the histories of businesses during the Nazi period that were non-explicitly governmental corporate entities. The key question is, how did Ernst Leitz II survive and how did he manage to retain the independence of his company? Leitz's highly unusual activities to help persecuted Jews and non-Jews included giving training and employment to Jews, half-Jews, non-Jews married to Jews and supporting non-Jews who had engaged in democratic politics prior to the Nazi assumption of power. In a consistently humane manner, Leitz helped such people to leave Germany and enabled them to succeed when abroad. In many of these instances, the relationship was not one of a binary 'noble rescuer-helpless victim' but, rather, there was mutual loyalty based on past or future shared economic or political interests.

#### Shhhhh: Harpo saves America

Michael Berkowitz; University College London

This paper recounts and analyzes a critical episode in the history of the United States during the Second World War, when a decisive turn was made in its policy regarding the kinds of films that should be presented to the American public. I will argue that Harpo Marx was part of a critical intervention--personally--with President Franklin Delano Roosevelt. This was made possible, however, by a largely forgotten figure on the US intellectual scene, Alexander Woollcott. Part of the reason why Woollcott is not remembered or closely examined is because he is accused of being antisemitic. But his stance vis-a-vis the US engagement in World War II, and his personal relationship with Harpo Marx, is critical in this bizarre but true story.

# 09.21 Standing Alone: The Intimate and Public Life of Single Jewish Women in the First Half of the Twentieth Century

## The Life and Death of a Single, Feminist Jewish Leader in Germany: Hannah Karminski (1897-1943)

Natalie Naimark-Goldberg; independent scholar

Hannah Karminski, social worker and educator, was among the most active leaders of the Jüdischer Frauenbund in Weimar and Nazi Germany; she never married. Rather than merely noting this biographical fact, this paper examines Karminski's life through the prism of singlehood. After considering the circumstances that kept her unmarried, I will focus on the role this status played in her public activism and private life. As a leader, Karminski raised consciousness concerning the fate of "single-standing" women and sought to improve their lot. The freedom she enjoyed having no husband and children may have fatefully influenced her decision to remain in Germany caring for her community, until her deportation to Auschwitz. Karminski's case, reconstructed based on her numerous publications and letters, both illuminates the individual trajectory and tragic fate of this untiring woman, and highlights the challenges facing women in the modern world and their far-reaching repercussions in private life.

#### A Portrait of a Relentless Feminist: Ada Fishman Maimon (1893-1973)

Bat-Sheva Margalit Stern; Schechter Institute for Jewish Studies

Akin to many women of her time, Ada Fishman Maimon, founder and leader of the Women Workers Movement in pre-state Israel and later a member of the Knesset, refrained from marrying and remained a childless single woman throughout her life. Her criticism of the marriage institution and women's status sprang at an early age and defined her private and public paths. In my talk, I aim to analyze Fishman Maimon's worldview, maintaining that it was a catalytic power in her decision to remain single. Her strong position is unveiled in personal letters and journals, her public writing, and her speeches. They convey an awareness of the patriarchal social order, misogynistic attitudes, and harsh living conditions, which affected women in the Zionist arena. What were Fishman

Maimon's coping mechanisms to overcome her solitude? What did she do to remedy women's inequality? These are some of the questions I intend to consider.

The Question of Marriage in Sarah Schenirers Polish Diary: "My Maiden Self, my Surname, dies, and the Individual is Reborn with Completely New Concerns and Responsibilities"

Joanna Degler (Lisek); University of Wrocław

Sarah Schenirer (1883-1935) is known as the founder of the first religious school for Orthodox girls (1917), which later developed into the successful Bais Yaakov movement. Based on her unpublished handwritten Polish diary (1908-1913), my talk will examine the connection between her earlier life and her later development as a successful educator and public figure. I will focus on the many diary entries in which Schenirer describes her failed marriage and her decision to end it. Born to a Hasidic family, she was during that period an unknown Krakow seamstress, but her diary reveals her aspirations to become an Orthodox educator and activist. She demonstrates rebellious inclinations against the marriage situation she was trapped in, a result of bending her will in order to please her parents. The divorce she initiated freed her to dedicate herself full-time to her educational activities. She remained single for most of that time.

### Challenges Confronting a Single Orthodox Female Teacher in Interwar Poland: A View from her Diary

Rachel Manekin; University of Maryland

Born in 1912 to an Orthodox family, Bracha Levin completed her studies at the Krakow Bais Yaakov teachers' seminary and worked as a teacher in several Polish Bais Yaakov schools between 1930-1934. Becoming economically independent and having a meaningful job were of immense importance for her. But while investing her time and energy in being a successful teacher, Levin did not abandon her intellectual passions. She was an avid reader, loved going to the movies, and dreamed of further studies. Levin had several male suitors who wished to marry her, but marriage and raising a family were not on her mind. Based on Levin's diary, which she kept between 1924-1936, I will examine the challenges she faced as a single working young woman in an Orthodox environment

and elucidate how her experience allows us to complicate the picture of the lives of young single Orthodox women in interwar Poland.

#### 09.22 Transcultural Jewish Identities

### The Arab Ashkenazi: the History of Jewish European Integration in the Levant and its Implications

Yair Wallach; SOAS University of London

Ashkenazi migration to Palestine is one of the most studied episodes of Jewish migration in the early modern and modern eras. The scholarship has framed this migration through the particular Jewish attachment to Eretz Israel, and in relation to Zionism. My research offers a re-examination of this migration through the prism of Ashkenazi integration and acculturation in local society and culture - a topic that has largely been left unstudied. Looking at Ashkenazi integration into Arab society and Arabic culture, local Jewish communities, and Ottoman state structures, I have unearthed a wide spectrum of practices of integration and acculturation, from the adoption of dress, food, and music; through business integration and local politics; to high-level involvement in Ottoman and regional politics, military service to crime and radical politics. The emerging picture challenges many of the dichotomies through which we think of Ashkenazim and the Middle East and indicates the complex and shifting racialised taxonomies in play. It has also prompted me to rethink the very category of Ashkenazim as something that came into being through the interaction of Jews (of various European backgrounds) with Mizrahi/Sephardic Jews and with Muslims and Christians in the Middle East.

## Transcultural Memory Transmission: Arab and Indian Jews in Comparative Perspective

Rebekah Vince; Queen Mary University of London

Recently, there has been a growing recognition of the interconnectedness of Jewish studies and postcolonial studies, within the context of rising antisemitism and Islamophobia. Ella Shohat (2017) highlights how the figure of the 'Arab-Jew' crosses these two disciplinary fields and challenges both forms of racism.

It was in the context of Tunisian, and specifically Djerban, Jews that the figure of the 'Arab Jew' developed. Meanwhile, it was in relation to the Jews of Kerala that Indo-Judaic Studies emerged. Yet the figures of the 'Arab-Jew' and the 'Indian-Jew' have not yet been brought into dialogue, despite the ways in which they each represent 'Jewish/postcolonial diasporas' (Cheyette, 2007). Moreover, both figures challenge Eurocentric or Zionist conceptualisations of Jewish identity seen through the lens of Ashkenazi memory, with an emphasis on the Shoah, or diaspora versus Israeli 'homeland', premised on the 'negation of exile' (Raz-Krakotzkin, 2013). In the context of decolonisation and partition, these comparative figures of exile trouble fixed identities, suggesting alternative frameworks of coexistence.

Adopting a comparative approach to Indian Jews and Arab Jews in postcolonial perspective, the paper will analyse how Jewish memory in and of Djerba and Kerala is preserved and transmitted through documentaries, blogs, and social media outlets.

### The Evolving Plurilingualism in Le Judaisme Sépharadi (1932-1966, Paris, London) and its Political Meaning

Damien Fabre, Ana Stulic; Bordeaux Montaigne University

Le Judaïsme Sepharadi (sometimes written as Le Judaïsme Sephardi) was a newspaper published by the Universal Confederation of Sephardi Jews, then by the Sephardite World Federation between 1932 and 1966. This publication took place within the frame of the Sephardist movement ideology: an identity, cultural and, political claim, specific to the Sephardic world, rooted in a context of contestation of Ashkenazi leadership over the Zionist movement and sometimes qualified as national-diasporic. While the first issues of the journal, published from Paris, were written almost exclusively in French, other languages, such as English, Italian, Spanish or Judeo-Spanish/Ladino were then increasingly used in its columns over the course of time. This development was particularly striking after the Shoah and the founding of the state of Israel in the second period of existence of Le Judaïsme Sepharadi (1950-1951, Paris, 1952-1966, London). Through an approach combining quantitative and qualitative analysis of texts published in this newspaper, we relate those shifts to the multiple political changes that affected the Sephardic world in the mid-20th century.

## Acavah Across the Atlantic: Jews in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands and Their Relationship with European Jewry in the Twentieth Century

Gabrielle Lyle; Texas A&M University

This paper examines the direct connections between Jewish communities in the United States-Mexico borderlands and those in Europe. Judaism in smaller towns is often treated as existing in isolation from larger Jewish institutions and trends in the Jewish experience. Many Jewish residents in the region migrated directly from European countries such as Germany and Poland. This paper explores the specific routes Jews took from Europe to the U.S.-Mexico borderlands and demonstrates how they reflect overall Jewish migration trends between 1870 and 1950. Special attention is given to the economic motivations for settling along an international border as well as the impact of the 1924 American immigration quotas on Jewish migration out of Europe. For Jews who did not immediately go to the borderlands, this paper investigates where in North America they first settled and what caused them to migrate again. Furthermore, there is discussion on the communication between Jews in the U.S.-Mexico borderlands and those in Europe throughout the Nazi era, with an emphasis on how borderland Jewry played an active role in the resettlement of Holocaust survivors following the end of World War II. Jewish communities in the borderlands maintained strong ties with those in Europe despite the distance.

# 10.01 Antisemitism in Western Europe in the Nineteenth Century

"The Champion of a Wronged People": Antisemitism in British Policy in the Late 19th Century

Karolina Sierzputowska; Jagiellonian University

Jewish Studies researchers have struggled with the conceptualisation of antisemitism for decades. The historical context in which this term was born further complicates the precise

definition of this phenomenon. During my presentation, I aim to demonstrate how the concept of antisemitism was embraced in British policy in the late 19th century and show that the distinction between antisemitism and philosemitism can be just illusory.

The word antisemitism was intercepted in British political and cultural discourse relatively quickly and was used to maintain the division between the Western and Eastern worlds.

The term was used in a dialectic game of opposites between the civilised and progressive West and the fanatic and "savage" East. England claimed to be a beacon of liberty and morality. Hence, anti-Jewish sentiments were used as a pretext to interfere in the politics of Middle Eastern countries and thus to expand the civilising mission of Great Britain. It raises a question about whitewashing the exploitation of the indigenous people by proving the moral superiority of the colonialists who opposed antisemitism. Therefore, antisemitism should be understood as a social concept used as a weaponry strategy to maintain the imperial position of Great Britain.

### Diverse Constructions of "The Jews" in the Tablet, and a Re-evaluation of Cardinal Archbishop Herbert Vaughan (1868-1903)

Simon Mayers; EAJS Administrator

Cardinal Herbert Vaughan, the Archbishop of Westminster at the end of the nineteenth century, has been presented as a defender of Jews by some scholars, based on documents in Vatican archives and memoirs of the then Jesuit Superior General. These sources reveal that Vaughan was suspected of being lenient towards Jews (and liberalism) by prominent Catholics in Rome.

This paper examines the Tablet and presents a more balanced, if tentative, conclusion about Vaughan. The Tablet, an English Catholic newspaper, was purchased by Vaughan in 1868 and remained in his possession until he died in 1903. Vaughan regarded the Tablet as a "powerful organ for Catholic truth" and used it to articulate an ultramontane worldview. From 1868 onwards, "the Jews" were frequent characters in the Tablet (for example, as "the backbone of the party of aggressive liberalism" at "war to the knife against the Church"), particularly after the capture of Rome in 1870 and during controversies in the 1890s. Whilst it may make sense to consider Vaughan as an advocate for Jews in comparison to, and from the perspective of, some of his contemporaries in

Rome, this is problematized by his newspaper which constructed "the Jews" as diverse, dangerous, villainous characters.

Generating and Gendering Hate: The Visual Vilification of the Jewess in the Graphic Work of Gyp (1849-1932)

Neta Peretz; Hebrew University

The lecture explores the graphic work of Gyp, the nom de plume of Sibylle de Mirabeau, Comtesse de Martel de Janville (1849-1932), who actively participated in the construction of antisemitic and misogynist stereotypes in late 19th century France.

First, I will show how her works undermined the prevalent literary and artistic conventions which associated the Jewess with sensuality and beauty: the pious Belle Juive and the seductive Femme Fatale. Second, I will demonstrate the unique nature of her antisemitic caricatures, which created a "hybrid" female Jew who was both irresistible and repulsive. Created during the increasingly racist antisemitic discourse surrounding the Dreyfus Affair, Gyp's work targeted the Jewish woman and influenced the contemporary visual vocabulary of Jewish types like that of no other visual polemicist. Framed within the semiotic theory and grounded in iconographic and formal analysis of art, this study offers a reevaluation of Ann Pelligrini's assertion that in antisemitic discourse, "all Jews are womanly, but no women are Jews," as Gyp's caricatured figure is clearly both a woman and a Jew. This study analyzes the perceptions of the French Jewess through the changing sociopolitical climate of the nineteenth century, thereby adding an important dimension to the study of antisemitism.

### 10.02 Facing Antisemitism

Decoding the Secret: Conspiratorial Reading against Antisemitism

Edmund Chapman; Maynooth University

Antisemitism is frequently, arguably usually, conspiratorial - claiming to expose hidden, secret knowledge. In being conspiratorial, antisemitism presents itself as a form of decoding and interpretation or, simply, reading. Building on Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick's classic essay on 'paranoid reading', I propose a concept of 'conspiratorial reading' -

reading that does not simply present itself as decoding but that builds upon this decoding to suggest an entire hidden body of knowledge, accessible only through the revelation the 'reader' provides. I suggest that we can understand several prominent twentieth-century Jewish writers - in this paper, I focus on Theodor Adorno and Hannah Arendt - as practising conspiratorial reading to reveal 'secret" knowledge within the language and writing itself; for example, a hidden form of 'language within language', mirroring historical ideas of a "hidden language of the Jews.' Yet these writers invert or even parody the exclusionary logic of antisemitism through practising conspiratorial reading that suggests "knowledge' that is anti-fascist and inclusive. These writers thus show that conspiratorial modes of thinking are not anomalous but central to post-Second World War European literature and philosophy. Yet equally, they show that such thinking need not be based on fear and prejudice but can be welcoming or even liberatory.

#### Competing Knowledge about Antisemitism in Contemporary France

Sebastien Mosbah-Natanson; Sorbonne University

We have witnessed in the last twenty years in France a surge of antisemitism which is hardly denied today: violent attacks against Jews have exploded, and even murders have occurred. One of the major tasks for French social scientists and other types of intellectuals has been to comprehend this phenomenon. New labels appeared to qualify it, such as "new Judeophobia" or "new antisemitism," while other intellectuals criticized those, arguing that the phenomenon was not so new and that old antisemitic tropes could be found at the core of contemporary antisemitism. Competing theories and analysis have appeared in the academic sphere but also in the public sphere, with a political dimension such as the link between antisemitism and antizionism, but also a competition between the emphasis on antisemitism or on islamophobia, as if studying the former meant discarding the latter, and reciprocally. A large number of intellectual professions have been involved in this endeavour: social scientists, historians, philosophers, psychoanalysts but also journalists and even rabbis have published books and articles on antisemitism developing different perspectives about it This communication will aim at analyzing the emergence of this new field of knowledge about contemporary antisemitism, emphasizing its diversity but also the conflicts of interpretation among the French intellectuals addressing the phenomenon.

#### Monument Debates, Memory-Making, and Stolpersteine

Ruth Mandel; University College London

collaboration during WWII.

The past several years have seen escalating activity about monuments and memorials; debates revolve around whether to remove, replace or redefine them. Our contribution to this debate is an ethnographic examination of how groups and individuals engage with one Shoah 'counter-memorial'— Gunter Demnig's Stolperstein project. These are small brass plaques embedded in the pavement in front of the final homes of Nazi victims; more than 90,000 Stolpersteine currently are in 29 countries.

Counter-memorials, a genre of political art and memory activism, pose a direct response to, and rejection of the type of conventional monuments being challenged and toppled. However, they also have evoked a host of reactions, including bans and vandalism, provoking debates about their relationship to memory, history, and identity. Our ethnographic research in 10 countries entailed observing and participating in hundreds of installations. The paper discusses significant variations in the reception of Stolpersteine, revealing local and national memory debates and problematic modes of forgetting. We examine what role these small plaques might play in public and private discussions challenging national narratives about heroic resistance versus complicity and

We conclude by demonstrating how our ethnography compares to and intersects with ongoing international memory-monument debates.

#### 10.03 Antisemitism and Shoah in Poland

The Beginning of the Holocaust in Breslau 1933. Walter Steinfeld's Murder and its Impact on the German-Jewish Community

Jonathan Kaplan; University Library Frankfurt am Main

The political instability in early 1933 evolved into anarchy across Germany. While new laws that limited the civil rights of Jewish citizens came into effect, riots against Jews, communists and other political groups erupted nationwide. A tragic event that took place in Breslau, only a few days after Hitler's nomination to the chancellor, marked a new level of violence and brutality: a young Jewish student, Walter Steinfeld, was killed by National-Socialists in a rally of the Social Democratic affiliated organization "Eiserne Front" (Iron

Front). Shortly after his death, Steinfeld's parents and siblings managed to escape from Germany.

My paper examines this particular event as an indicator of future developments in the Jewish confrontation with National-Socialism in Germany. I reveal local and international responses to Steinfeld's death by focusing on reactions of Jewish figures from Breslau, such as historian Willy Cohn, while analyzing the coverage of the event and its outcomes in the German-Jewish and Hebrew press. Moreover, my paper suggests that the unique historical circumstances in Breslau made Walter Steinfeld the first Jewish victim of the Holocaust after the Nazi takeover.

## Policy set in Stone? Polish Diplomacy, the "Jewish Question" and two Visits of Foreign Minister Józef Beck in London (1936 and 1939)

Kinga Czechowska; Institute of National Remembrance in Bydgoszcz

It is a very traditional approach to analyse the history of diplomacy, focusing on important official visits. It allows a scholar to answer such basic questions as who important allies were at a given point in time, what were the dynamics of certain bilateral relationships or by which problems they were shaped. Yet, in the case of the well-known interest of the Polish government in Jewish emigration, no one has analysed actions which were taken by the Polish minister for foreign affairs, Józef Beck.

My argument is that by focusing on two visits he had paid in Great Britain — the colonial empire and, even more importantly, the mandatory power in Palestine — we can learn a lot about his views and intentions in regard to the "Jewish question". As the first visit took place in November 1936 and the second in April 1939, it allows us to see both the elements of continuity and changes. What were the main objectives of Polish diplomacy when it came to the "Jewish question"? How did they change during these critical years? What factors were of the utmost importance: Polish internal politics, British policy in Palestine or the ever-present fear of Germany?

## Shmuel Zygielbojm and the Polish Government in Exile. A History of Disappointment

Michal Trebacz; University of Lodz

Szmul Zygielbojm's activities in London, and his efforts to inform the free world about the ongoing mass extermination of Jews in Poland, have become part of Polish historical policy in recent years. In it, Zygielbojm - a Jewish socialist - became the embodiment of the "good Jew," who publicly expressed gratitude to the Polish authorities and Polish society for the assistance provided to persecuted Jews. Such an image of a Bund politician is a serious abuse. Nevertheless, many of Zygielbojm's actions, public speeches, and declarations help to create it. He provides the key to understanding the Bund's attitude by analyzing the racial and class conditions in which he had to operate. Coming from a working-class Jewish family, he had to find his way in an environment so different from his. He faced not only anti-Semitic stereotypes but also class prejudices. The adaptation strategies he adopted are an interesting way to analyze his attitude and a key to understanding mutual disillusionment. They allow us to better understand the actions he took and evaluate their effectiveness.

# 10.04 EMPATHIA<sup>3</sup> Project – On the Way to a Core Curriculum for Future Officers and History Teachers

## Between Demands and Expectations: The Evolution of the EMPATHIA<sup>3</sup> Joined Project

Ulf Plessentin; Tikvah Institut

The paper addresses the development of our joint project from a loose idea to EMPATHIA<sup>3</sup>. The project involves researchers from the fields of religious studies (PL Alexandra Cuffel, Ruhr-Universität Bochum), history (PL Nicola Brauch, Ruhr-Universität Bochum), pedagogy (Marc Grimm, Bergische Universität Wuppertal) educational research (PL Ulrich Trautwein, Universität Tübingen), police training (PL Sarah Jahn, Hochschule für Polizei und Verwaltung Gelsenkirchen) and civil society (PL Volker Beck, Tikvah Institut gUG Berlin). Their different roles, as well as the challenges for an interdisciplinary project whose members are working with different methods and approaches, will be discussed by

introducing the general ideas behind the project's three components: 1) a core curriculum on the prevention, intervention and repression of anti-Semitism, 2) a standardized test instrument to further define the curriculum's contents and to provide information on existing knowledge and attitudes of future police officers and history teachers in North Rhine-Westphalia and 3) an intervention that will be used and tested in training.

## What should Future Police Officers and History Teachers know about Jewish Life, Religion, and History?

Jonna-Margarethe Mäder; Ruhr University Bochum

The paper is about introducing one of our core curriculum's six parts and is asking what future police officers and history teachers should and must know about Jewish life, religion, and history. The selected topics: being Jewish - definitions, self-images and realities, the religious tradition and its interpretation, ethics in Judaism, Jewish life and history will be addressed and explained. The focus will be on the challenges regarding a suitable presentation of the diversity of Jewish perspectives and realities and the question of the importance of specific knowledge or an adjustment of knowledge about Jewish life and Jewish traditions for our target groups. In-talk polling (e.g. mentimeter) will be used to take advantage of the opportunity for immediate feedback on the selected topics and the way of presenting them.

### What should Future Police Officers and History Teachers Know about the History of Israel and the Arab-Israeli Conflict?

Nicola Brauch; Ruhr University Bochum

The paper is focusing on one of the core curriculum's six parts and is asking what future police officers and teachers should and must know about the History of Israel and the Arab-Israeli Conflict. The selected topics: the democratic state of Israel, Zionism and Antisemitism, roots of the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1967 up to today, and Israel-related Antisemitism in Germany will be introduced and explained. The focus will be on the challenges regarding a suitable presentation of the complexities of the history of Israel and the question of the importance of specific knowledge or an adjustment of knowledge about the history of Israel and the Arab/Israel conflict for our target groups. In-talk polling (e.g.

mentimeter) will be used to take advantage of the opportunity for immediate feedback on the selected topics and the way of presenting them.

# 10.05 Diverse Perspectives of Ego-Documents from the Holocaust Period

The Collection of Alfred Schwarzbaum's Letters — an Expression of the Victims' Internalization of Terror

Mali Eisenberg; Bar Ilan University

My presentation will deal with Alfred Schwarzbaum's collection of letters sent by Jews from Bedzin ghetto during the Holocaust. Schwartzbaum was a wealthy Jewish businessman from Bedzin, who escaped to Switzerland with his wife and two daughters, and from there, became a "one-man institution" of help and rescue. He sent thousands of packages of food, clothing, and letters to Jews in Poland, offered financial aid, and visited Jewish refugee camps in Switzerland. Later, he made remarkable efforts to help Polish Jews to escape by providing them with visas to Latin America. Hundreds of people turned to Schwarzbaum for help – it is assumed that half of the Jewish population of Bedzin and Sosnowiec was in contact with him.

In my new reading of the letters, using methods from the field of the history of emotions, I will focus on two subjects: the first will examine the letters as a seismograph of the events and the ways the victims interpreted them in real-time and hence - the difference between their calls for aid and for rescue. The second subject will address the issue of censorship, the use of code-words in the letters, and the ways the victims internalized the Nazi terror that was inflicted upon them.

#### Re-Reading of Letters of Viennese Jews in the Lublin District

Talia Farkash; The Open University of Israel

In October 1939, with the establishment of the Generalgouvernement, a comprehensive plan began to be implemented which was to have ethnic Germans settle in areas occupied by the German Reich at the same time as evacuations from Jews and Poles and their transfer to the Generalgouvernement. From December 1939, Jews and Roma from other

parts of the Reich, such as Vienna, Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, and Germany, were to arrive. The deportations were stopped. But with developments in the war, they were resumed from the autumn of 1940 to the spring of 1941, among them Jews from Vienna and other places.

On February 1, 1941, the authorities informed the heads of the Jewish community in Vienna, Austria, of the plan to expel 10,000 of the residents by May of that year. Between the beginning of February and mid-March 1941, 8,112 Jews were deported from Vienna and transported by five trains to the Generalgouvernement. On 15 and 26 February 1941, two means of transport for deportees were sent from Vienna to Opole in the Lublin district. In the first, there were 1,000 Jews, and in the second, there were about 1,034 more Jews. In March 1941, the deportations from Vienna ceased altogether because the German priorities had changed due to the preparations for Operation Barbarossa.

In the upcoming conference, I would like to discuss the experience of the 2,000 Viennese Jews who were deported to the town of Opole in February 1941, as they expressed in letters in real-time. The issues consistently that came up in the correspondence of the Jews of Vienna who came to Opole were: hope, despair, difficulties in adapting and relations with the local population.

#### New Observations on Sexual Violence in the Nazi Concentration Camp System

Rotem Taitler; Tel Aviv University

Primo Levi's autobiography, *If this is a man?*, exposes the reader to a profound point of view of life and death in Auschwitz from page one. The renowned Auschwitz survivor provides a detailed account of the events he encountered as he arrived at the notorious death camp and was sent to the Sauna for registration. One aspect repeatedly mentioned in the first few pages of Levi's account is the forced nudity he and his fellow prisoners were subjected to.

The proposed lecture will present a fresh perspective on ego documents that present the narratives of concentration camp prisoners through a unique framework that combines a history of emotions and insights drawn from the social and cultural feminist revolutions as well as the #metoo movement. In fact, we will see how two dimensions that have not been acknowledged up until today come to light:

- Prisoners of the Nazi concentration camp system were systematically subjected to aspects of sexual violence upon their arrival at the various camps
- Survivors seldom speak of these events either due to shame, which often accompanies victims of sexual violence or because they did not know to frame their experience as an act of sexual violence

### 10.06 Antisemitism and Shoah: the Local Perspective

#### Anti-Jewish Gendered Violence in Poland, 1918-1919

Jan Kutílek; University of Pardubice

The first months of reborn Poland witnessed brutal violence against the Jewish community. As a result of the fall of the centuries-old empires and the Polish-Ukrainian conflict, soldiers and citizens committed atrocities against the local Jews. Gender-based violence had also become common practice during the period. This specific type of violence became a deliberate expression of power over Jews in the symbolic and physical sense of domination. Since it was carried out in public, it was an expression of domination over the victim and the other community members who were forced to watch. Drawing upon the research of Irina Astahkevich and others, the paper argues that performative character turns gendered violence into a practice with immeasurable consequences as it causes trauma to the entire community. It was not only intended to dishonour women but also to humiliate and degrade men who are unable to protect the women and thus demasculinize them. In particular, rape was shrouded in a cloak of shame and fear of social rejection of the victims and their families.

#### Jewish Women Rescued by the Sisters of the Studite Rule During the Holocaust

Yuriy Skira; Ukrainian Catholic University

The story of the rescue of Jewish women by the Sisters of the Studite Rule belongs to the lesser-known pages of the Holocaust history in Ukraine. The issue involves many other female orders and congregations of the Greek Catholic Church as well. The subject, considered from this perspective, is paradoxical - in fact, the activity of the Studite Nuns provides a most promising area of research because of its source base and contemporary

references in the works of Ukrainian historians. The reason for this is that the rescued were primarily adults who left testimonies. Even though other congregations were larger in number and had better material resources, they hid children of a very young age who remembered very little. This is why we have a paucity of recollections.

We may claim that the subject of the Greek Catholic Church's female congregation's hiding of Jewish women during the Holocaust warrants further research. It is a complex subject that requires thorough archival investigation coupled with modern Holocaust research methodology. But it is very necessary. It will offer a broader look at the response of the Greek Catholic Church to the needs of the Holocaust victims.

## Commitment and Reality. A Snapshot of (Group) Jewish Emigration from Hungary (1945-1946)

Attila Novak; National University for Public Service

In the spring of 1946, the Budapest State Police detained Hungarian Jews who, using false identity cards and - on several occasions - accepting financial compensation from certain emigrants, accompanied transports by rail to Austria. The transports included Holocaust survivors who wanted to leave Hungary. The police interrogations clearly outlined a world in which (Zionist) ideological commitment, the desire to escape at all costs and the need to leave for economic reasons were all present, but often in conflict with each other.

The lecture will give a case study in an attempt to outline the historical possibilities of the Hungarian Jewry choosing to leave after the Shoah and to sketch the socio-political background that accompanied this uncommon historical movement.

# 11.01.1 Transnational Balkan Jewish Lives in the first Half of the Twentieth Century

Salonica Jews' Emigration Reconsidered: The Case of the Habsburg Empire

Lida-Maria Dodou; University of Vienna

There has been a recent surge of studies of Jewish life in Salonica, especially after the Balkan Wars and subsequent incorporation into the Greek state. An important aspect of

these studies has been the issue of emigration from the incorporation into Greece until the 1930s. Emphasis is mostly given to France and the USA as destination countries. Another Great Power of the time, the Habsburg Empire, which played a crucial role in the region by virtue of its investments, is left unexamined.

By studying hitherto unexamined sources from the Habsburg consulate's archive, this presentation examines and analyzes the migration current towards the Habsburg Empire from the start of the Balkan Wars in 1912 until the end of the First World War and the dissolution of the Habsburg Empire in 1918. It aims to reexamine our understanding of Salonica Jews' emigration trends during that period and their overall strategies when facing these adverse circumstances.

### "La mujer en kaza, el ombre al charshi"? The Migrations of Jewish Women from Greece and Turkey in Interwar France: Trajectories, Work, and Marriage (1917-1939)

Esther Saltiel Ragot; École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (EHESS)

Migrations of Ottoman Jews to France can be traced back to the second half of the 19th century. It took a turn during the Interwar period. The centuries-old ties between France and the Ottoman Empire were one of the main reasons around 35 000 Greek and Turkish Jews migrated to France before 1939. Contrary to the long-held image, the flows were not only composed of young men. However, the study of women in migrations is recent in French historiography, especially in Jewish history, and it is necessary to get them out of the stereotypes to which they have been confined.

The aim of this paper is to explain how an invisibilised population can be found in archives. Focussing on Paris, Marseille, and their suburbs, I will also draw a social and demographic portrait of Greek and Turkish women in France through religious marriage, work, and naturalisation.

#### Jewish Business Networks in the Balkans: Transnational Ethnic Entrepreneurship

Orly C. Meron; Bar Ilan University

The lecture will focus on the world of Jewish-owned businesses in Bulgaria between the world wars. The socio-economic comparative research will outline the branch structure of Jewish business entrepreneurship in Bulgaria between the Wars. The paper will examine

the connections between Jewish businesses in Bulgaria and those in the neighbouring Balkan countries, Greece and Yugoslavia. The proposed paper argues that existing Jewish networks across national borders made possible the continuous activity of Jewish businesses in Bulgaria between the two world wars. The comparative study will show the similarity between the branch structure of Jewish business entrepreneurship in Bulgaria and in the neighbouring new autocratic economies established in the Balkan countries.

#### The Unique History of the Barascheum Jewish Theatre in World War II Romania

Felicia Waldman; University of Bucharest

The theatre has always been at the forefront of Romanian Jewish cultural life, but during World War II, it became a means of cultural resistance and political defiance. The Barascheum Jewish Theatre functioned for four years in a war-torn far-right-led country. This was an act of despair but also of courage. It eventually paid off, as many were able to survive this way. The reaction of Romanian cultural personalities to the persecution of the Jews in general and Jewish artists, in particular, gives an idea about the civic spirit among the majority. While some enthusiastically supported the far-right authorities and others boldly defied them, many remained indifferent. Yet there were also some who had the boldness to show their support. Even the public who came to the shows included an unlikely range, from Jews to Romanians, Germans, and Americans. All of this makes the Barascheum a unique case in wartime Europe.

# 11.01.2 Political Culture and Politics of Culture in Interwar Southeastern Europe

### Hugo Spitzer and Julijo Pfeiffer — Two Intertwined Destinies

Branko Ostajmer; Croatian Institute of History

Hugo Spitzer (1858-1936) was one of the pioneers of the Zionist movement in Croatian lands and South Slavic countries in general. Julijo Pfeiffer (1853-1942) was an Osijekbased printer, publisher and journalist, and owned one of the largest printing houses in Croatia. In addition to their generational closeness, Spitzer and Pfeiffer shared many things: they were among the most prominent members of the Osijek and wider

Slavonic/Croatian Jewish community, had similar political views and were upper middle class. All of that disappeared after 1941, including Pfeiffer, who was probably killed in Auschwitz in 1942.

Based on archival sources, newspapers and literature, I offer a cross-section through the biographies of Spitzer and Pfeiffer, with an emphasis on their mutual contacts, collaborations, but also disagreements and conflicts. The illumination of Spitzer and Pfeiffer's disagreements over Zionism represents an important contribution to a better understanding of the history of the Jewish community in Croatia in general.

### Yugoslav Zionists, Local Jewish Relief Committees, and the Flight of European Jews to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, 1933-1941

Marija Vulesica; Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

In the spring of 1933, Jewish associations in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia started a relief action for the fleeing German Jews. Throughout the country, committees of help were formed. Zagreb and Belgrade soon became the centres of the new Jewish immigration. In the beginning, the Jewish actors in charge - most of them ardent Zionists - believed they knew the right answers to the Jewish situation, namely Palestine. Their agenda quickly had to change due to shifting political developments and contexts, inner-Jewish debates, financial constraints, and the refugees' individual needs and desires.

This paper presents new insights and findings based on my long-term research project on the local Jewish relief committees. It analyzes their work, (limited) scope of action, and self-perception. Furthermore, it questions long-lasting narratives - such as the alleged 55000 European Jews being said to have fled to Yugoslavia. I "correct" these highly exaggerated numbers and, at the same time, explain the historical context of their creation.

### Di Vilna Trupe in Romania: Revolutionizing the Yiddish Cultural Life

Camelia Crăciun; University of Bucharest

The paper proposes an analysis of a less-known episode in the history of global Yiddish theatre as well as in the history of Yiddish culture in Romania, respectively the presence and impact that Di Vilna Trupe had on the local Yiddish theatrical and cultural scene in the

1920s and early 1930s Romania, when it participated in several European tours, deciding to eventually remain as a permanently performing company in Bucharest for several years. Coming to the cradle of Yiddish theatre half a century after Goldfaden actually created the first Yiddish performance in Yassy, in 1876, Di Vilna Trupe brought a new, modern approach to an originally traditional theatre which was in decline due to a high rate of acculturation in Greater Romania and also introduced a new perspective on the old "jargon" altogether within the rather secular Jewish community.

# 11.01.3 Life and Lives after the Holocaust: Biographical and Communal Histories and Narratives of Jewish Life in post-1945 Southeastern Europe

The Historian Mirjana Gross and her Academic Life in the Shadow of the Holocaust

Martina Bitunjac; University of Potsdam

Mirjana Gross (1922–2012) was a young medical student when the Independent State of Croatia was declared, and she, as a Jew, had to go into hiding with her parents near Zagreb. When she and her family were discovered in 1943, the Nazis first deported them to the Buchenwald concentration camp; Mirjana Gross was then sent to the Ravensbrück women's camp, where she was made to do forced labour until May 1945. After arriving in Zagreb, she studied history and eventually became the most important historian and university professor in Yugoslavia resp. Croatia. Although, like most Holocaust survivors, she repressed the painful past, the tragic memories of torture and death remained everpresent and affected her life. On the basis of various sources, including interviews conducted by M.B., the influence of the Holocaust on the life and work of the historian will be explicated.

# Danilo Kiš' Documentary Goli Život and the Socialist Labor Camp Goli Otok as a Memory Site of Yugoslav Jewry

Yvonne Živković; Karl Franzens University

When the Israeli novelist David Grossman published *More than I love my life* in 2020, only a few reviewers noted that the story about a Jewish woman who had escaped the

Yugoslav labour camp Goli Otok had already provided artistic inspiration for the Yugoslav-Jewish author Danilo Kiš in the 1980s. Both Grossman and Kiš had interviewed Eva Panić-Nahir, after whom the character of Vera in Grossman's novel is modelled. While Grossman incorporated Panić-Nahir's story in his novel, Kiš created a controversial TV documentary including extensive conversations with Panić-Nahir. This talk examines Goli Otok as a memory site for Yugoslav Jewry, including the intertwining of antisemitic and anti-Stalinist sentiment in Socialist Yugoslavia, and asks to what extent Jewish activists became collateral damage in the Yugoslav search for a middle path between Soviet and Western spheres of influence. Kiš's documentary is examined as part of different literary and cinematic narratives arising from and about Yugoslav Jews challenging the myth of inclusion and harmonious diversity since Tito's death.

### The Role of the Jews in Bulgaria before and after the Second World War

Rumyana Marinova-Christidi; Sofia University St. Kliment Ohridski

The modern Bulgarian state was established in 1878, and the Jews played an important role in its political, economic and cultural life. Bulgaria's Jewish community maintained excellent relations with the state and grew between the two world wars to reach 48000 (0.8% of the total population). As a result of different factors and combined efforts, the Bulgarian Jewish community fully survived WWII. 90% of them left Bulgaria and went to Israel in 1948. The Jews that remained in communist Bulgaria had to face difficult dilemmas concerning their identity. They were communists, and they participated in the construction of the new regime, yet were obliged to follow a policy against the State of Israel and often at the expense of Soviet Jews, a reality that generated conflicting feelings for many. This paper is based on archival materials and aims to examine the role of the Jews in Bulgaria before and after the World War II.

# 11.01.4 Print Culture, Linguistic Practices, and Orality in Balkan Sephardi Communities in the long Nineteenth Century

# Rabbi Nathan Amram and the Hebrew Presses in the Balkans: A Prism for the Relationship between 19th-century Jewish Centers

Lilac Torgeman; University of Haifa

Many nineteenth-century rabbis and scholars used Jewish printing presses in Livorno and Salonika. One such figure, who published over fifty books in presses throughout Europe and the Middle East, was Rabbi Nathan Amram (1791-1870). Well-known in his day, he has been pushed to the sidelines of historical inquiry. This multifaceted individual was not just a rabbi, *dayyan*, rabbinical emissary on behalf of the Yishuv, and chief rabbi of Alexandria but also a healer, merchant, and prolific writer.

I examine Amram's intensive contacts with the Salonika and Livorno Hebrew printing houses. This paper discusses Amram's contact with their owners, his understanding of their worldview, and the quality of the different presses. This sheds light not only on the uniqueness of these presses but also on the relationship between rabbinical scholars from throughout the Jewish world who travelled to these port cities, and between Jewish centres and the periphery, both within and without the Balkans.

### David Moshe Alkalay and the Printing of Ladino Books in Belgrade: Behind the Scenes

Katja Šmid; Spanish National Research Council (CSIC)

Moshe (ben) David Alkalay (1834-1901) was introduced to the printing of Ladino and Hebrew books by his father David (ben) Moshe Alkalay (1814-1882), a writer, commentator, translator, and typesetter of numerous Jewish books published in Belgrade. He continued his father's work and authored, translated, and published many works with him. He was the school principal of the Talmud Torah in Belgrade and substantially improved primary Jewish education. He wrote Ladino textbooks for children and religious booklets for Jewish holidays.

This paper examines some paratexts we find in Alkalay's Ladino works that speak about the production of Ladino books in Belgrade: difficulties he encountered dealing with Hebrew types and typesetters, lists of Ladino books and authors, and information regarding the Ladino book trade (sales, prices, bindings, etc.). This analysis will help us understand Alkalay's role in publishing Ladino books and shed light on this extraordinary Sephardic literary figure.

### Sephardic Education in Former Yugoslavia between Tradition and Modernity

Ivana Vučina Simović; University of Belgrade

The paper deals with formal education in Sephardic communities in the former Yugoslavia. The varied corpus consists of archival documents and memoirs dating from the late 19th and early 20th centuries, as well as articles from Jewish periodicals and other publications in the interwar period. These sources point to the fact that Ottoman rule and lifestyle favoured a close social life within Sephardic communities, which resulted in centuries-old maintenance of ethnic and religious traditions and schooling in the Judeo-Spanish language. Likewise, they show that Sephardim's living conditions in modern, post-Ottoman times led to progressive integration and cultural assimilation into wider society, especially fostered through education in public schools and in languages dominant in Serbian/Yugoslav lands.

I argue that, besides testifying to the social and cultural history of Sephardic centres such as Belgrade, Sarajevo, Bitola/Monastir and Skopje, the data on Jewish education sheds light on changing identities, ideologies, and linguistic practices.

### The Role of Memory in the Storytelling Performance: Judeo-Spanish Folktales from Bitola's Oral Tradition

Zeljko Jovanovic; Sorbonne University

In 1927, the American linguist Max A. Luria came to Monastir (Bitola) in Macedonia to interview Judeo-Spanish speakers to examine this particular variety of the language. Three years later, the British linguist Cynthia M. Crews visited several Balkan Sephardic centres with a similar aim. Bitola was one of her stops, where she collected a number of folktales and ballads. Curiously, the linguists shared only two informants despite the insignificant time distance and the community's modest size. These informants told Crews the same stories they had previously recounted Luria but with substantial differences.

My aim is to look into these differences as a result of the ephemerality which characterizes the ontology of performance. This paper examines the role the performer's memory plays in shaping the performance and, ultimately, the language and, to some extent, the ideas as well. The starting point for the analysis will be Peggy Phelan's theory on performing memories.

# 11.01.5 The Holocaust in Southeastern Europe: Old Narratives and New Perspectives

### Judging Anti-Jewish Persecutions before Nuremberg? A Unique Bulgarian Trajectory

Nadège Ragaru; Sciences Po Paris

The talk aims to explore the dynamics behind the creation and workings of the specialized chamber dedicated to prosecuting crimes against Jews in end-of-war Bulgaria, a former Nazi ally who switched sides in September 1944. Set up in the fall of 1944, this jurisdiction was the first of its kind in Europe.

Drawing on a wide range of archival records relating to the trial and its political and institutional environment, this paper explores the examination by the court of crimes such as deportations from the occupied territories, the expropriation of Jewish properties and the death of Jews detained in concentration camps. Thus, it shows how the very jurisdiction whose purpose was to shed light on the unique predicament suffered by Jews during World War Two ended up contributing to the creation of a historical narrative centered on the non-deported Bulgarian Jews, wartime solidarities between Gentiles and Jews, and Bulgarian national tolerance.

### Emergence of Holocaust Historiography and the Yugoslav Jewry

Lovro Kralj; University of Rijeka

The early historiography related to the persecution of Jews in Yugoslavia is linked to the activities of the State Commission for Investigating the Crimes of the Occupiers and their Collaborators. Holocaust survivor Albert Vajs was involved in it, preparing evidence for the Nuremberg trials and gathering materials on war criminals. Other survivors wrote reports

offering some of the first interpretations of the causes of the Holocaust in Croatia, domestic antisemitism, and the degree of German involvement. These provide an insight into the interaction between state-sanctioned narratives on the origins of mass political violence in Yugoslavia, personal memories, and local specificities in implementing antisemitic measures.

This paper examines how survivors shaped the gathering of material related to the persecution and the first narratives about it, with a particular focus on Croatia, how they mediated between state-sanctioned narratives, their local conditions and personal experiences, and how they contributed to Holocaust research and commemoration outside of the Commission.

# "Hotel Conditions"? Holocaust Survivors in the Italian Occupation Zone and the Narratives of the Holocaust in Yugoslavia

Željka Oparnica; University of London

When the Wiener Library sent a questionnaire requesting information about the Kupari camp next to Dubrovnik in the Italian occupation zone, the Yugoslav Jewish Community knew whom to direct it to: Emilio Tolendino, pre-war functionary and post-war president of the Dubrovnik Jewish community. Tolendino had already testified about his wartime experience in the Yugoslav Jewish Community journals. This time was different; the YJC asked him to amend his answers as they, supposedly, gave the impression that Jews in Kupari lived in "hotel conditions."

This paper historicises the narrative about Holocaust survivors in the Italian-occupied territories on the Eastern Adriatic coast. Posing the question of why and how the Jewish experience of the war there was different, it addresses established and rarely contested tropes such as Italian benevolence towards Jews and especially Jewish refugees and the conditions of Jewish survival under Italian rule. It offers new insights into the history of the Holocaust in the Adriatic and the Mediterranean.

### The Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg and the Plunder of the Jewish Libraries of Greece

Dimitrios Varvaritis; University of Vienna

On 9 April 1941, the German army entered Thessaloniki. Within weeks, the staff of the special command force of the Nazi leader Alfred Rosenberg, better known as Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR), arrived in Greece and started to systematically plunder Jewish libraries and archives. Over the subsequent six-month period, the ERR staff visited a number of Jewish communities throughout Greece, gathered statistical and other information from their leaders, seized their library collections and shipped the looted libraries and archives to the Reich. Although new and innovative research has been and continues to be, done on the Holocaust in Greece, the ERR activities have not been studied in detail. This paper addresses this lacuna by providing an overview of the case of Greece. Through close examination of the archival material, it aims to describe and contextualise the fate of these libraries from the eve of the war to the early post-war years.

# 11.01.6 The Balkans as a Liminal and Connected Space: Crossing Cultural, Ethnic, Linguistic, and Denominational Boundaries

Between Ashkenazim and Sephardim: Ottoman Balkan Jewry as a Liminal Space

Tirza Kelman; Ben Gurion University

From the 16th century onwards, the Ashkenazi-Sephardi dichotomy became a common framework for discussing various Jewish diasporas. In contrast, this paper examines Ottoman Balkan Jewry as a liminal space. The Balkans' complex connections with the Iberian, former Iberian, and Ashkenazi communities turned the region into a space with a unique influence on the conceptual developments in forms of Jewish literature in the early modern era.

One of the most important writers in this regard is Rabbi Josef Karo, the author of Beit Yosef and the Shulchan Aruch. Although his image later became identified with the Sephardi world, his self-perception was not opposed to Ashkenazim. In his use of Ashkenazi sources, he showed awareness of the differences in traditions but did not set a

firm boundary between the spaces. His perception of differences form a starting point for examining the categories of Ashkenazim and Sephardim in the early modern era.

#### Portuguese Jews in the Balkans in the 16th Century: Sources and Problems

José Tavim; University of Lisbon

The specific migration of Jews and converts of Portuguese origin to the Ottoman Balkans has been somewhat neglected by historians, more interested in the larger number of Jews of Castilian or Aragon origin. The sources are scarce, but some, such as the trial of the Inquisition of Lisbon raised against João Bezerra, the former hazzan of the synagogues of D. Yosef Nasci and D. Grácai Nasci in Istanbul, allow us to know the intricacies of the flight of some converts in the 16th century to the Ottoman Empire, including the Balkans. In addition to the case of Thessaloniki - considered by Samuel Usque, in his Consolation to the Tribulations of Israel, as similar to Jerusalem - we will consider two Balkan cities, economically and socially linked to it: Skopje and Monastir, where the Portuguese presence is best documented. Our main sources are the Portuguese Inquisitorial trials and the Rabbinic Responsa.

#### Space and Sound in Sephardic Balkan Synagogues

Fani Gargova; Goethe University Frankfurt

The 19th century saw a profound change in European Jewish religious practices, accompanied by a redefinition of the synagogue space, function, and appearance. The Reform movement affected the architecture of the synagogue, the space at the heart of these changes. Unlike for the Western Ashkenazi world, little has been written about this process within the Balkan Sephardic communities. Scholarly interest has centred on these communities' transition from Ottoman subjects to citizens of several nation-states. The increasingly westernizing appearance of synagogue buildings in the late 19th and 20th centuries has been understood as a 'natural' development of the overall intellectual and political modernization efforts within Balkan Jewry.

This paper examines the modernization of Balkan Jewish religious practice and the modelling of new Balkan synagogues on German Reform trends. It focuses on the

introduction of choirs and organs during services and on changes in the design of the synagogue space to fit a Reform service.

### Stability of Judeo-Spanish Subjunctive in Independent Optative Sentences

Iskra Dobreva; Sofia University St. Kliment Ohridski

This paper examines the loss and maintenance of the subjunctive in Judeo-Spanish compared to standard Spanish. Judeo-Spanish expanded the use of the subjunctive in independent optative and deliberative sentences resulting in innovations like autoquestions. Over its extra-Iberian development, Judeo-Spanish tended to replace the subjunctive by indicative forms. However, the subjunctive is preserved in certain semantic-syntactic areas, e.g. Judeo-Spanish purpose clauses.

Based on Judeo-Spanish texts (16th-20th centuries), I show the maintenance and expansion of Judeo-Spanish subjunctive in optative sentences. This change is explained in line with the contact with Greek and other Balkan languages. Greek optative mood is regarded as the main trigger for this change: although absent in modern Greek, it entailed changes in the syntax and morphology of modern Balkan languages (Bulgarian and Albanian renarrative, attested before Turkish influence). The contact with Balkan languages ensured Judeo-Spanish reinforcement of subjunctive in optative sentences. This stability/reinforcement contrasts with other semantic-syntactic areas where Judeo-Spanish tends to replace subjunctive by indicative.

### 11.02 Regional Jewish Food

Industry, Biographies, and Culture: How Jews and Non-Jews Created the Famous Viennese Cuisine from the late 1700s to 1938

Susanne Belovari; University of Ilinois, Urbana-Champaign

In Vienna, Jews and non-Jews had long met through food and foodways and together created and enjoyed what became the internationally famous Viennese Cuisine. With reliable statistics on Jewish participation in food businesses before 1938 no longer available, Jewish community reports, anecdotal data, recent research, restitution cases, biographies, and the arts clearly demonstrate that it was extensive, however, and second

only to the textile industry. Tellingly, the National Socialists not only aryanized gastronomy and food industries but even a famous cookbook by a Viennese Jewish author.

To track Vienna's extensive and collaborative culinary relationships since the 1700s, the usual sources (cookbooks, recipes, and oral histories) were not enough. Materials had to be drawn from a diversity of fields: literature, poetry, children's rhymes, movies, musical compositions, and radio broadcasts; popular, even antisemitic portrayals in newspapers, the arts, and exhibitions; patents; publications by city institutions; medical and "race science" literature; and Holocaust restitution and genealogical records. Sources had to be read against the grain to locate absences, changes in terminology, and indexing to reveal how the "Viennese cuisine was the product of both Jewish and non-Jewish experts [and

the general population], crossing the divide of antisemitism," as a Holocaust survivor put it.

### Gastronomic Code of Latgale Jews in the 1970s-1990s

Ilze Olehnovica; Daugavpils University

The proposed study is part of a research project focusing on the Jewish text in Latgale (the south-eastern part of Latvia) in the 1970s-1990s. Within the project, a field study – semi-structured interviews – has been carried out. The groups of respondents interviewed: representatives of Jewish ethnicity, born in the 1960s-1970s (currently living in Latvia and Israel), their parents, and representatives of non-Jewish ethnicities, born in the 1960s-1970s.

In the course of the field study, the gastronomic theme appeared to be especially relevant in the respondents' narrative. The emotional marker of the gastronomic code, both in the minds of Jews and in the narrative of non-Jews, has pronounced positive connotations. It is the gastronomic code that plays a decisive role in the model of Jewish identity of the Soviet period. In addition to the connection with the Jewish tradition (celebration of holidays, the Kashrut Laws), the gastronomic code also reveals other components of Jewish identity: the connection of generations (the gastronomic theme always accompanies memories of a grandmother or another female representative of the older generation); the gastronomic theme bears a pronounced personalized character (recurring names of those who in the space of the city were known as specialists in cooking festive dishes); contrasting Jewish gastronomic traditions with Soviet cuisine and food shortage. A separate point in considering the gastronomic code concerns the traditions of the

Passover (Pesach) Seder in the Soviet and post-Soviet times. In addition, the collected oral material demonstrates a certain mythologization of the gastronomic code (characteristics of Jewish children, the marker "A Yiddishe Mame"), its presence in folklore texts.

The gastronomic code of the Jewish community of Latgale of the Soviet period is constructed as the intersection of the Ashkenazi Jewish tradition and the model of the Soviet household.

### "Gefilte Fish can be the Next Sushi." Jewish American 21st Century Culinary Inventions and Aspirations

Nora Rubel; University of Rochester

In 2004, a character in Tova Mirvis's novel *The Outside World* presciently remarked, "Gefilte fish can be the next sushi.... Because people are hungry for something authentic... They miss the past. Even if they never had it, they still miss it." Twelve years later, Liz Alpern and Jeffrey Yoskowitz released their cookbook, The Gefilte Manifesto: New Recipes for Old World Jewish Foods, to both popular and critical acclaim. The trajectory of Jewish food in America has changed dramatically in the last decade, calling into question the ever-fraught relationship between "Jewish" food and "kosher" food. The impact of explicitly Israeli food in hip American restaurants, as well as the establishment of high-end, unapologetically Ashkenazi (and non-kosher) delis and bakeries, has challenged earlier historical narratives that tended to treat ethnically Jewish food as casual and inexpensive. To paraphrase Mordechai Kaplan, these new arbiters of Jewish food give kashrut and "authenticity" a vote but not a veto. This paper will grapple with the questions thus posed to historians about the changing nature of Jewish food studies as narratives shift from arguments concerning acculturation and orthodoxy to contemporary arguments regarding sustainability, social justice, and the place of nostalgia on the Jewish American plate.

# 11.03 Jewish Cemeteries in Early Modern Germany: Interdisciplinary Perspectives

After the Expulsions: Rural Cemeteries and Jewish Life in Early Modern Germany

Lucia Raspe; Steinheim Institute

The wave of expulsions that marked the end of the Middle Ages in German-Jewish history was accompanied by the loss of almost all of the old urban cemeteries. From the sixteenth century onward, when the centre of Jewish demography had shifted to the countryside, new cemeteries were established in rural areas. Some, although situated in the remotest of places, were to serve dozens of small settlements over the following centuries. The opening presentation in the panel will offer a taxonomy of these rural cemeteries and discuss the criteria used to establish the corpus that will form the basis of our research in the coming years. Exploring the way the dynamic relationship between settlement patterns, territorial fragmentation and rabbinic authority played out in these different types of cemeteries will significantly enrich our knowledge of Jewish history in post-expulsion Germany.

### From Rabbi to Lawyer: Emancipation History as Reflected in Grave Monuments

Susanne Talabardon; University of Bamberg

How did the transition from traditional rural Jewish life to civil emancipation in the Christian majority society take place? How can Jewish cemeteries, as witnesses to centuries of social and religious development, be systematically made to speak?

This twofold question motivates the look at a Franconian-Jewish family in the rapid transition from traditional learning to secular knowledge, from Buttenheim (where the inventor of jeans once peddled) via Bamberg to Paris, to Munich and London. The inscriptions on the tombstones become shorter but no less informative. The epigraphic texts enter into a dialogue with other written sources and can shed light on many things that the mostly official archival records could not and would not express.

The numerous and, in part, astonishingly old cemeteries in the region can provide significant testimony to the still largely unexplored Franconian-Jewish history.

# Digitisation Methods for Jewish Graveyards — 3D Imaging, Topographic Survey and (3D) Surface Imagery for an Efficient Analysis of Graveyard Ensembles

Mona Hess; University of Bamberg

Cemetery topography and object characteristics of gravestones, their typology, design and production, as well as changes, have not yet been comparatively documented or analysed. Digital technologies in heritage conservation, such as surveying with 3D laser scanning and photogrammetry, will produce 3D records of topography and digital terrain models of the ensemble and single stones. Cemeteries will be recorded in detail and redrawn into plan sets. Paired with the analysis of gravestone architecture is the topographical analysis of cemetery grounds. With the help of geo-referenced site plans, it is possible to map the chronology of occupancy, special rows of graves, community and family clusters, as well as gender-specific occupancy patterns based on inscriptions and object properties. This provides new information about social forms of organisation, burial practices and the social and religious habitus of the respective communities.

### A Semantic Structural Model with Vocabulary of Descriptive Terms for the Analysis of Formal, Constructive and Conservation Features across Jewish Cemeteries

Tobias Arera-Rütenik; University of Bamberg

The recording of the construction history of the formal, constructive and conservation features of the gravestones as material culture is carried out synchronously with the epigraphic documentation as a semantic structural model with descriptive terms from a vocabulary. This digital description structure systematically breaks down the overall object into its individual units, describes its elements, its interaction, and assigns qualifying terms. Due to structure, any level of detail and the possibility of subsequent differentiation are possible. Inscription elements of the epigraphic record can be closely interwoven with the semantic descriptions. Therefore, the interaction with the textual content of the epigraphy through combinations of features allows a multi-layered quantitative analysis. The language of form can be used as a complementary layer of meaning to supplement the textual tradition and also help to bridge gaps caused by loss.

# 11.04 Desecration of Jewish Cemeteries: Research and Prevention in the Multidisciplinary Network "Net Olam"

### The Collaborative Project "Net Olam" - Diverse Partners, Diverse Strategies

Helge-Fabien Hertz; Steinheim Institute

In the first presentation of the section, the joint project "Net Olam" will be introduced. Emphasis will be placed on the interdisciplinary composition of the project group as well as on the way theory, research and practical work are connected in the network. For the Steinheim Institute, which is responsible for the overall coordination of the project, digital methods of data collection (e.g. evaluation of digital journal archives), analysis and georeferenced visualization play a major role (Digital Humanities). The goal is to create a robust research database covering both causes and possible ways of prevention.

The Germany-wide network is also being established with the help of a digital platform that links actors on the local, regional and national levels. Numerous partners from theory and practice, politics and society have already joined. And we would like to expand our network beyond Germany.

### Gravestones, Documents, Databases – Diversity of Sources for Researching Desecration of Jewish Cemeteries in Bavaria

Elisabeth Singer-Brehm; Bayerisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege

Gravestones bear scars of the desecrations, documents in archives tell the stories about them, and databases help to explore the phenomenon. In the end, it becomes clear that many Jewish cemeteries in Bavaria have completely changed their face through repeated desecrations and repairs, which is not obvious at first glance.

The sub-project of the Bavarian State Office for Historic Preservation of "Net Olam" with the working title "Damage Patterns, Extent, Historical Context" focuses entirely on historical building research and source studies in archives. It will present case studies of massive, but hardly visible destruction of Jewish cemeteries.

### Protecting Jewish Cemeteries through the Courts? – A Comparison of Court Decisions

Ann-Kathrin Steger; Justus-Liebig University

German criminal law does not consider the desecration of Jewish cemeteries a separate offence. However, through norms that criminalise the disturbance of the peace of the dead or incitement to hatred, perpetrators can be taken to court.

Since cases of cemetery desecration are mostly decided by first-instance courts, there exists a great gap in research: The judgments are not published and are generally deemed irrelevant by legal science. As a result, questions regarding the application of legal norms, the representation of Jewish communities in the trial and how the political dimension of such cases is addressed doctrinally are insufficiently understood.

By comparing four recent judgments retrieved from prosecution offices in Bavaria, North Rhine-Westphalia, Lower Saxony and Thuringia, this talk aims to provide an insight into the jurisprudence. Furthermore, it aims to contribute to discussions on the potentials and limits of combating and preventing the desecration of Jewish cemeteries through courts.

### Maintaining, Reminding, Remembering – Jewish Cemeteries in the German Commemorative Landscape since 1945

Katrin Keßler; Technische Universtität Braunschweig

Often, there were and still are desecration events that draw the attention of the non-Jewish population to Jewish cemeteries. Just like the desecrations, the reactions to them vary from place to place and depend strongly on the respective social "mood" of their time. From ignoring them in the early postwar period to vigils, protest demonstrations or the founding of working groups to care for orphaned cemeteries —development can be traced in both German states since 1945.

In the lecture, different possibilities to better protect cemeteries will be presented and discussed: Does "sealing off" and closing Jewish cemeteries really mean better protection, or is it precisely the opening, better visibility and integration into the commemorative landscape that leads to this goal? How visible are Jewish cemeteries, and what significance do they have in commemoration and remembrance? Who is commemorated there today, by which groups of people and on which occasions?

# 11.05 Jewish Culture in a Changing Central European Landscape

# The Family Correspondence of Rabbi Mayer Bretzfeld (c.1750-1823): Daily Life and Literacy of Franconian Rural Jewry

Carsten Wilke; Central European University

Mayer Bretzfeld, who died in Schnaittach two hundred years ago, was the last incumbent of the oldest provincial rabbinate (Landrabbinat) in Bavaria. A scion of the famed Heller dynasty, he was one of the first rabbis who presented Judaism to a non-Jewish audience in a German publication issued in Munich in 1813. Yet he performed his functions of halakhic adviser, marriage broker, and circumciser in a rural environment where premodern patterns of rabbinic learning, children's education, and gender relations had largely remained intact. The recent discovery of a trove of family letters in the local archives, where they presumably arrived as Kristallnacht spoils, offers a glimpse into his social life. In their typical mix of rabbinic Hebrew and Franconian Jewish dialect, the letters record the voices, emotions, and Ashkenazi scripts of peddlers, teachers, women, and children in the Franconian countryside on the eve of the Emancipation era. The lecture will report on the edition and translation of the corpus that is currently carried out with the support of the Bavarian government and the Franconian Jewish Museum.

# "Dr. Elsass tends to place the coverbs incorrectly": A Sociolinguistic History of the Landesrabbinerschule in Budapest in the 19th Century

Tamás Biró; University of Jewish Studies

Following Spolsky (2014:i), this paper "shows the value of adding a sociolinguistic perspective to issues commonly ignored in standard histories."

Established in 1877, the Jewish Theological Seminary (Országos Rabbiképző Intézet, a.k.a. Landesrabbinerschule) in Budapest, the flagship institution of neológ Judaism, is usually portrayed as a pioneer of Magyarization. It trained rabbis to become leaders of their modernizing, Hungarian-speaking communities, putting much emphasis on familiarity with the Hungarian language and culture. The Seminary also launched a monthly to promote the Wissenschaft in Hungarian.

This is the traditional narrative, which shall be nuanced by this paper. Many proposals for the establishment of a seminary had been advanced since the early 19th century, and they reflect the complexities and the slow changes in the sociolinguistic conditions of the Jews in Hungary. Data about the professors and students of the first decade also testify to the difficulties of transitioning from German to Hungarian. While Wilhelm Bacher worked hard to establish the discourse on Judaism and Jewish scholarship in Hungarian, and David Kaufmann learnt the language prodigiously quickly, some students did not. The 1889 case of Bernhard Elsass (who would end up as a reform rabbi in Prussia) shall be presented as a negative example.

### Jewish Landlords and Agricultural Modernisation in Western Hungary before 1947

Tünde Csendes; University of Jewish Studies

they believed to be real was revealed as imaginary.

My presentation will shed light on the role played by Jewish landowners in the agriculture of Western Hungary from the late 19th century until 1947.

This paper will seek answers to the following questions: How did the Mautner, Laendler and Bánki families in the West Hungarian region run their prosperous farms and pass them on to the next generation? To what extent was the abandonment of these families' religious tradition related to the family's place in mainstream society? How far has the increasingly active role of these families in the public sphere intensified the process of secularization across generations?

In order to put the answers into a new theoretical framework and to nuance the general picture of the life of Jewish citizens in Hungary, the available sources will be approached with methods of mental history, micro-history and historical anthropology.

The Jewish agro-entrepreneurial families of Győr were important representatives of the modernization process in Hungary. They saw agriculture as an entrepreneurial enterprise, a complex business including the processing industry. The key to their success was the rationalization of holdings, conscious farming and the adoption of modern techniques. These families became victims of the worst anti-Jewish actions of all time, their properties were seized, their factories and estates looted, and their huge herds of cattle and everything they owned were taken away. The acceptance by the mainstream community

# 11.06 The Rise of Israel Studies: Navigating the Intersection of Jewish Studies and Middle East Studies

### Israel Studies in the Pursuit of Autonomy: Methodological and Political Dimensions

Artur Skorek; Jagiellonian University

Israel Studies have developed in the last decades as an academic discipline with a distinct yet contested and problematic identity. There are international associations, journals and university departments committed to this field of study. At the same time its independence has been put in doubt, both by proponents and opponents of greater autonomy. The paper explores different challenges and controversies concerning contemporary Israel Studies. It focuses on two groups of issues: theoretical and political, leaving aside the institutional one. The first issue presented in the paper concerns the question if Israel Studies have a separate subject of their research. Is the discipline a part of Jewish Studies? Is the rather vague category of "Israel" a subject common to different disciplinary approaches? Another issue pertains to the relation of Israel Studies with different "established" disciplines: economics, sociology, cultural studies etc. Challenges to the political autonomy of Israel Studies include issues such as the political agenda of scholars, financing of research and attempts to restrict freedom of research (both from supporters and opponents of Israel and its policies).

# In the Shadow of Vergangenheitsbewältigung: On the Emergence of Israel Studies in Germany

Johannes Becke; Hochschule für Jüdische Studien Heidelberg

Israel Studies has emerged relatively recently in German academia - and always in close connection to the field of Jewish Studies. While this proximity makes sense in terms of teaching Modern Hebrew and introducing students to Jewish history, this framing of Israel as a Jewish state risks to detach the country from its regional setting and its neighbours. The paper surveys the emergence of Israel Studies in Germany and argues that the small research field needs to strengthen its ties to the discipline of Middle East Studies: In a German context, the legacy of the Shoah and the German attempt to overcome the past sometimes stand in the way of a critical and comparative understanding of Israeli society.

In order to understand core elements of Israel's statehood (from irredentism to ethnoconfessionalism), students require a deep understanding of Middle Eastern statehood, ideally complemented by an advanced understanding of Modern Arabic.

### Israel Studies and Mizrahi Studies: Locating the Jewish State in the Middle East?

Marcela Menachem Zoufala; Charles University

Israel Studies, as a relatively new discipline to a certain extent, mirrors the longstanding dilemmas of Israeli statehood and society. The Ashkenazi elites' vision of Israel as a Western European country located by a twist of fate in the Middle Eastern "jungle" collides with the country's demographic reality when nearly half of the population originates in the region. Analogically to this condition, the academic anchoring of Israel Studies fluctuates mainly between Jewish and Middle East Studies, not entirely belonging to any of them. This paper will explore if Mizrahi Studies have the potential to provide a centre of gravity for the discipline in focus and create a viable platform or even an all-embracing intersection between Jewish and Middle East Studies. The concept of the easterness, "Mizrachiut," as discussed by Aziza Khazzoom (2002) in connection to Israel Studies, will be revisited concerning the Abraham Accords and the recent changes in the Middle East.

# Putting Israel Studies into Practice: Notes on the Promotion of Civil Society in Israel Jenny Hestermann; Heinrich Böll Foundation

While the field of Israel Studies has a longer tradition in the US and in Israel itself, the research field is still emerging in a European context. The dire need for a differentiated analysis of the (past and) current state of Israel presents itself more sharply in the recent years: On the one hand, antizionism and antisemitism are on the rise in Europe, on the other hand, Israel's current government has begun to systematically undermine the country's democratic traditions since early 2023. The role of Israeli civil society has become more important than ever, thereby turning the promotion of Israeli civil society into a core topic of European-Israeli relations. The paper argues that the discipline of Israel Studies provides crucial tools for understanding how Israel operates on the ground - and how European-Israeli relations have been changing over time. Based on the promotion of civil society in Israel, the paper argues that Israel Studies is training students not only to

understand Zionism in Israel but also to transform into change makers of European-Israeli relations themselves.

# 11.07 Material Culture of Ukrainian Jewry (In Memory of Dr. Iryna Serheyeva)

Biblical Texts in the Judaica Collection at the V. Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine

Oleksiy Khamray; National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine

#### Provenance of Judaica in Museum Collections in Ukraine: Lviv's Case

Maksym Martyn; Lviv Museum of the History of Religion

The lecture has to be cancelled since M. Martyn is still serving in the Ukrainian army and cannot attend the congress.

# Publishing Activity of Kultur-Lige in Ukrainian People's Republic and Early Soviet Union: A Comparative Analysis

Anna Umanska; National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine

### Book Collections from the Kamianets-Podilskyi State Historical Museum: A Question of Provenance

Nadia Ufimtseva; National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy

### Jewish Themes in Ukraine's Philately

Vitaly Chernoivanenko; V. Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine

### 11.08 Being Jewish for Ukraine

#### The Found and the Perceived: Judaica in the Main Historical museum of Ukraine

Tamara Kutsaieva; National Museum of History of Ukraine

The proposed study provides for the first time a complete overview of the collection of Judaica in the National Museum of History if Ukraine – the main historical museum of Ukraine, Kyiv. This case study is important for the development of museum communication. Despite the fact that Judaica museum objects were often presented at various permanent and temporary exhibitions and in catalogs, there are still no generalizations about the history of the mentioned collection, its content and perspectives. It should be noticed that the museum collection is the set of museum objects that relate not only to Jewish culture. No less than 500 different museum objects, documents, books, photographs, etc., give a diverse idea about history of the Jewish community of Ukraine in 19th – the late 20th century.

The purpose of the proposed review is to focus on the most valuable in the cultural and historical, therefore museum and social sense, museum objects symbolizing Jewish culture. The proposed conclusions are based on the research of the museum collection during 2018-2022, publications about the collection and the documents of the museum archive that were retrieved in 2018.

The museum staff have collected most Judaica objects during 1950-2000th. Museum documentation let to collect information about more than 300 museum objects. The main part of them consists of rarities of rites and the daily life of the Jewish community of Ukraine in 19th – the first third of the 20th century. There are numerous cult objects from synagogues and praying houses made of gold, silver and some non-precious metals. More than 100 cult objects made of precious metals, some of which are unique in the world, formed the collection of the Museum of Historical Jewelry of Ukraine (1963) – nowadays the Treasury of the National Museum of the History of Ukraine. However, there is still no a complete catalog of this unique collection.

The second part of the museum Judaica collection (almost 40 cult objects made of non-precious metals) was studies and attributed in details only in 2018. Some of them were presented at temporary exhibition "(Not)lost: Relics of Rituals and Everyday Life of the Jewish community of Ukraine in 19th – the early 20th century". It became the first Judaica temporary exhibition of the museum.

The third part of the museum Judaica collection was not known at all until 2018 and jointed knowledge about museum funds and museum library. Antique religious books (19th century) and one Torah scroll as well as different antique books (19th century – the early 20th century) with Jewish bookplates, ex-libris, donatives and marginal inscriptions were attributed, introduced into scientific circulation and museum communication. They were represented as important material symbols of history and culture of the Jewish community of Ukraine, sources that let make connections between particular persons, their philosophy, social and spiritual missions.

The study of the museum collection also let to join Judaica and the tragedy of Babyn Yar – some religious books and objects belonged to the victims of the Holocaust. The collection of museum objects that depict the Holocaust in Ukraine is also not systematized and cataloged. Most unique museum objects, including pictures, photographs, letters and documents have never been performed in the permanent museum exhibition. Research of this part of the collection let to present the National Museum of History of Ukraine as local archival center, which possesses unique topical documentary collections and photo collections, for example the part of the archive of Olexander Shlaen (1932-2004) – the Jewish activist and Ukrainian human right defender.

The key conclusion to the conducted research is that Judaica collection of the National Museum of History of Ukraine should be not only cataloged and introduced into scientific circulation, but also rethought and determine taking into account its cultural, historical and memorial value for different target museum audiences.

# Integrative Approach to Teaching Hebrew in Schools of Ukraine: Implementation of the Content of Education in Educational Programs, Textbooks and Manuals

Nataliia Bakulina; independent scholar

In this lecture current educational programs, textbooks and manuals of the Hebrew language for grades 1-4 of Ukrainian schools with a Jewish ethno-cultural component will

be presented. In particular, the conceptual foundations of the development of the new Ukrainian school and the leading approaches to education are considered; factors of content integration and characteristics of integrative situations are determined; the integrative principles of content construction and the implementation of the integrative function in modern programs, textbooks and manuals for the initial teaching of the Hebrew language are presented.

# The Activities of Leading Jewish Organizations in the Context of the War in Ukraine: Political Aspect

Alla Zakharchenko; Odesa Mechnikov National University

Since the first days of the Russian aggression, Jewish organizations all over the world are working to deliver impressive humanitarian support, such as funds, food, medical supplies, psychological support, and other so-much needed services to the people of Ukraine, including those who have fled their homes. This paper analyses the political aspect of Jewish organisations' activities, which is not as evident as the humanitarian one. Today Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky and Andrii Yermak, the Head of the Office of the President of Ukraine, are appealing to the representatives of Jewish communities for additional support, as Russian forces continue the aggression. The paper presents the comparative analysis of political statements and initiatives of leading Jewish organisations (as well as individuals) in Europe, America and Israel with regards to the war in Ukraine, and perspectives of further developments in this field.

# 11.09.1 Old Sources, New Corpuses: Approaches to Studying Judaism of the Italian Peninsula

"Time Capsules": From the Nikolaus Müller and Cesare Colafemmina Archives to the Corpus of Apulian-Lucan Jewish Epigraphs

Mariapina Mascolo; École Pratique des Hautes Études

The corpus of Jewish epigraphs of southern Italy, of Puglia and Basilicata, has survived through reuses or archaeological discoveries between the nineteenth and mid-twentieth centuries, as attested by sources. The Found photographic "Nikolaos Müller", preserved in

the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin in numbered cassettes without captions, turned out to be an unpublished "time capsule" accidentally found in the 90s. In my paper, I will present this Fund, which is fundamental for the identification of the epigraphs, especially those now unavailable. The photos were taken by Müller during his surveys from Salento (Oria, Brindisi) to Taranto, up to Venosa, visited several times until 1904. For me, it was possible to identify these images in the doctoral thesis EPHE, Paris PSL 2019 «Épigraphie hébraïque dans l'archive de Cesare Colafemmina», with the direction of Judith Schlanger, comparing them with the materials of Colafemmina, who systematically investigated and published most of the epigraphs until 2012.

# Jewish Burial Rituality in Testamentary Dispositions and Epigraphic Sources in Trieste in the 18th Century

Antonio Spagnuolo; University of Bologna

Testaments reflect the whole personality of the individual dictating his or her last will, his religious sense, his attachment to the family, and thus his attitude to life, as well as his attitude in the face of death. These correspondences are increasingly characterised by elements concerning the manner and place of burial. This also occurs in Trieste, particularly as a result of the widespread fear of being buried in a state of 'apparent death'. While testamentary dispositions sometimes include some directives on burial and on how the body of the deceased should be materially placed in the ground, in epigraphic sources, one can instead find poetic compositions that ideally describe the path the soul takes to reach heaven. In my lecture, I will compare these two types of sources in order to shed light on Jewish burial rituality and the conception of death in Trieste in the 18th century.

# 11.09.2 Old Sources, New Corpuses: Approaches to Studying Judaism of the Italian Peninsula

Individuals among Identities in Early Modern Venice: Problematics of Archiving, Names, and Denominations

Evelien Chayes; French National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS)

SION-Digit (Signifying Objects, Texts and Networks: Digitising Transactions in Jewish European Culture, 1500-1700), a project working from notarial deeds of early modern Venice, allows for a reconstruction of Jewish lives. Notarial records represent a mine of information, and by using them, SION-Digit aims to create a new digital archive that can improve our knowledge and understanding of people and objects moving from generation to generation and between geographical areas. However, when it comes to tracing religious belonging and practices, the sources itself confront us with a deeper historiographical problem: the gap between Jewish lives on the one hand and, on the other hand, that of the history of archiving and the ideological principles that came to organise the different collections within the Venetian archives. This paper is an attempt to untangle these still confused entities of truth, mapping out both and presenting sundry examples taken directly from the sources.

#### Agostino Giustiniani's Zohar

Saverio Campanini; University of Bologna

The Kabbalistic glosses of Agostino Giustiniani's polyglot Psalter, published in Genua in 1516, contain, among other rare texts, a significant number of quotations, in the original Aramaic and in Latin translation, from the Sefer ha-Zohar, constituting thus one of the first, albeit partial, appearances of the Zohar in print and certainly its first occurrence in translation in any language in printed form. Having discovered other manuscript sources of the Dominican's rare and exquisite quotations, I have also traced the manuscript which, as I am persuaded, Giustiniani read and excerpted. My paper will be dedicated to demonstrating this genetic link, furthering the project of reconstructing Giustiniani's legendary Kabbalistic library.

#### The Jewish Sources of Pietro Galatino's Opus de Arcanis Catholicae Veritatis

Guido Bartolucci; University of Bologna

Pietro Galatino's Opus de Arcanis Catholicae veritatis is one of the most important works for understanding Christian interest in Jewish tradition in the 16th century. It was first published in 1518 and was one of the most widely read books in the Catholic world. For centuries, Galatino was accused of plagiarizing Raimon Martí's Pugio Fidei. Although Galatino used Martí's work, he added many new Jewish texts from various sources. The paper attempts to reconstruct the origin of these quotations and Galatino's relationship with the most important Hebraists of his time.

### 11.10 Jewish Life in the Soviet Republics

### Jews in Waste Recycling Activities in the Early Soviet Union: Strategy of Survival. Case Study of Ukraine

Tetiana Perga; National Academy of Science of Ukraine

This report will focus on the environmental history of the Jews in the early Soviet Union using the example of the Ukrainian USSR. We intend to disprove the popular idea that recycling began to develop in the USSR only during the Cold War, since due to resource hunger the USSR overestimated the role of waste already in the 1920-1930s, and began to widely use it as additional resources for the development of the Soviet economy. Results of our work in the Ukrainian archives demonstrate that Jews made up a significant part among the workers in waste picking and recycling activities, particularly in the Kyiv region.

Based on archives of the "Ukrutilzbir" Ltd. Company, we intend to define the place of Jews in the recycling system of the Ukrainian SSR in the 1920s: experience, skills, motivation, duties, innovation, interaction, communication, networking, achievements etc. The main research question is: what were the reasons of this phenomenon? According to our hypothesis, it was certainly a strategy for survival, not only on the personal but also on the state level, as there were many disenfranchised and impoverished Jews in the Ukrainian SSR. Did this strategy give positive results both for Jews and the Soviet state?

### Motivation of Lithuanian Jews to Serve in the 16th Lithuanian Division as Part of the Red Army during the Second World War

Gelena Ioffe; Ben Gurion University

The proposed study examines Lithuanian Jews who served in the 16th Lithuanian Division of the Red Army. This division was unique in that it was one-third Jewish and thus gained the reputation of being a "Jewish division". The research focuses on the period beginning with the outbreak of the war between Germany and the USSR in June 1941, ending when the 16th division was sent to the front in January 1943.

Analyzing the difficulties faced by Lithuanian Jews at the beginning of the war and during their stay in the rear of the USSR, one can trace the formation of motivation among a part of Lithuanian Jews to join the Red Army.

The creation of the 16th Lithuanian division was an additional step in forming the motivation of Lithuanian Jews to call up for service in the Red Army as part of this national division. Some of them expressed a desire to become volunteers, others were obliged to do this because of their draft age. The last part is devoted to the process of mobilization into the 16th Lithuanian division and includes the results of studying various components that influenced the desire of Lithuanian Jews to join this unit.

#### Calendar Holidays of Latgale Jews in the 1970s-1990s

Elina Vasiljeva; Daugavpils University

The proposed study is part of a research project focusing on the Jewish text in Latgale (the south-eastern part of Latvia) in the 1970s-1990s. Within the project, a field study – semi-structured interviews – has been carried out. The groups of respondents interviewed: representatives of Jewish ethnicity, born in the 1960s-1970s (currently living in Latvia and Israel), their parents, and representatives of non-Jewish ethnicities, born in the 1960s-1970s.

The present study focuses on a specific pattern of calendar holidays for a Jewish family in the Soviet period.

It is the holidays that form the basis of Jewish identity both in Jewish and mixed families (i.e., families in which one of the parents is of non-Jewish ethnicity). In the narrative of childhood memories of the Soviet period, the celebration of certain holidays becomes a

sign of belonging to Jewish culture. It is characteristic that the celebration of these holidays in children's consciousness is not connected with the tradition of Judaism and religion in general, which corresponds to the Soviet ideological doctrine. At the level of perception, the holidays combine both the everyday context (cooking, cleaning) and the mystical symbolism (those were holidays of the closed world of relatives, they could not be talked about at school).

Particularly interesting is the inclusion of secular and Soviet holidays in the calendar of a Jewish family.

The study also examines the evolution of the tradition of celebrating Jewish holidays from the 1960s-1970s to the 1980s-1990s.

One of the significant aspects of the study is a cross-comparative analysis of the narratives-memories of children and their parents; the results of this analysis make it possible to speak about the presence of the dictates of Soviet ideology (there is no factor of fear and caution in children's memories, but it guided parents in minimizing a part of the Jewish tradition).

# 11.11 Politics and Education of Iberian and Mediterranean Jews (16th-20th Centuries)

Education and Politics in Ottoman Constantinople: Rabbi Elijah Mizraḥi (c. 1450–1526) and the Controversy over Teaching Karaites

Susanne Härtel; Hochschule für Jüdische Studien Heidelberg

The transmission of knowledge often has political dimensions. This applies, in particular, to decisions about educational content determining the shape as well as the boundaries of the community in the future. Not surprisingly, many persons often claim a say in matters of education – scholars and community leaders alike. This may be all the more the case among a population as strongly influenced by migration and various religious currents as the Jewish community of Constantinople around 1500 C.E. Central to a controversy, there was the question whether Rabbanite Jews could teach Karaite Jews in the city. The analysis of the case will offer fascinating insights into the position and course of actions available to a rabbinic scholar like Elijah Mizraḥi, striving to become the local authority of

all Jews in Constantinople. The paper discusses in which social constellations the halakhic argumentation is situated and what strategies Rabbi Mizrahi chose to pursue.

# The "Bedrock of our Nation": Education in the Portuguese Community of Hamburg in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century

Hugo Martins; University of Potsdam

Focusing on education in the Portuguese-Jewish community of Hamburg between 1652 and 1682, this study will analyse fundamental institutions, such as the Talmud Torah and Ets Haim, and understand their contributions in the formation of young members of the community. Particular attention will be dedicated to congregational statutes relative to educational institutions and their evolution along the thirty years considered, specifically with regard to the dynamics among the various parties involved – students, professors and administrators – as well as the main reforms and conflicts shaping the history of the community. By analyzing the nature, scope and intervention of these institutions during what was arguably one of the most important periods of its development, the current study pretends to highlight a little-known dimension in the history of this community: the particularities of the educational experience in Hamburg, by contrast to other centres of the Western Sephardic Diaspora, in particular Amsterdam.

# The Contribution of Sephardi Jews to the Expansion of Vocational Education in Southwest France in the 18th Century: Examples from Bordeaux and Bayonne

Nimrod Gaatone; Université libre de Bruxelles (ULB)

In response to the great progress in international commerce during the 18th century, several Sephardi communities added general and vocational classes to their school curricula. This was the case, for example, in the former Marrano communities in Hamburg, London, southwest France and Surinam. The main goal of these classes was to provide Jewish boys with the basic tools to integrate into the world of commerce, which was the main occupation open to European Jews before their emancipation.

Some Sephardi Jews shared their professional knowledge also with the French general public by publishing manuals and teaching classes. I present examples from Bordeaux and Bayonne in southwest France in the 18th century and examine the content of these

ventures. Given the significant divide that existed between Jews and Christians, I discuss the exceptional nature of these ventures and explore to what extent they demonstrated a rapprochement between the two communities.

Jewish Education between East and West at the Turn of the 20th Century: The Case of Sephardi Women Teachers at the AIU

Vincent Petit; PSL University

Established in Paris in 1860, the Alliance Israélite Universelle (AIU) quickly developed a network of Jewish schools that spanned 14 Middle Eastern countries. By 1914, 48,000 students were enrolled in 188 schools. Providing teachers for so many schools rapidly became an acute problem. Women teachers for the girls' schools were especially hard to recruit since few European women teachers were willing to embrace a career in North Africa or the Middle East.

In this paper, I examine the tactics taken by the AIU to address the lack of suitable local candidates. The organization's identification of suitable teaching candidates, recruitment methods and training processes contributed to a unique model of training Jewish women teachers in Europe, the Middle East, and North Africa at the turn of the 20th century.

### 12.01 Medieval Jews in Intellectual Contexts

The Antiquity of the Laws of Moses vs. their Historical Accumulation: A Chapter in 10th Century Karaite Thought

Aviram Ravitsky; Ariel University

The question whether the divine commandments were observed by the Patriarchs prior to the revelation at Sinai has vast theological and hermeneutical implications and has been dealt with already by Jewish and Christian writers in antiquity. In the Middle Ages, the question took place in the context of biblical commentaries and theological writings. One of the extensive discussions on the subject is found in the 10th-century Karaite scholar Yaʿqūb al-Qirqisānīʾs Kitāb al-Anwār w-al-Marāqib.

Qirqisānī discusses two theories: that of the Ananites, according to which the divine commandments were given already to Adam, and that of a group of Karaites, according to

which God's law was given in an accumulative process, the Torah being developed in accordance with the historical circumstances.

My paper analyses both the theoretical and the hermeneutical aspects of Qirqisānī's discussion, demonstrating the methods of biblical interpretation that are discussed by Qirqisānī.

The paper also demonstrates that the Ananites' stance concerning the antiquity of Moses' laws, and Qirqisānī's arguments against this stance, are both rooted in a Muslim-Jewish debate that was conducted in the first half of the 9th century concerning the Muslim principle of abrogation (naskh).

### Musiqah Iyunit — The Themes of Speculative Music According to Medieval Hebrew Texts

Alexandre Cerveux; University of Oxford

Speculative music is an important part of medieval music theory. Its domain is best known in the Latin sphere. Broadly speaking, it includes reflections on music that deal with its mathematical, physical (in the sense of ancient natural philosophy), metaphysical and theological justification and that are not concerned with the production of sounds or musical composition. Medieval speculative music theory is both a part of the history of science and a part of cultural and intellectual history. This essential component of the medieval episteme is derived from Greek philosophy and music theory, particularly of Pythagorean orientation.

Historical musicology traditionally identifies speculative music in three major cultural spaces – Latin Europe, Mediterranean Islamic Lands, and Greek Byzantium. This paper intends to highlight its presence in the Jewish diaspora. Not only do medieval Hebrew texts contain elements of the Pythagorean-Platonic culture of music, but they also testify to a distinctively Jewish type of speculative music. Moreover, in accordance with the aim of the medieval Jewish sciences, the purpose of the content of speculative music is higher than music per se. Thus it occupies an important place in the acquisition of knowledge, thanks to the repertoire of analogies it provides.

#### Sa'adyah's Involvement with Scepticism

Almuth Lahmann; independent scholar

Scepticism has become a vast research project in Jewish Studies (see MCAS-Jewish Scepticism, 2022). The entry on Sa adyah Gaon (882-942) in the forthcoming Encyclopaedia of Scepticism and Jewish Tradition (edited by Giuseppe Velti, Yehuda Halper and Yoav Meyrav) will reflect a discourse on epistemological questions intertwined with sceptical traditions rejected in majority by classical Arabic scholarship. Sa advah's tireless enquiry into transmitted theological and philosophical arguments for establishing reasoned belief for the doctrine of creation (Sa adyah 1880) and his plea for the quest for practical and theoretical wisdom (Sa adyah 1979) demonstrate a great affinity to ancient scepticism characterised by a continued search for convincing arguments for beliefs about the objects of the world (Sextus 1994). However, their attitude concerning the aspiration to attain knowledge and certainty predominantly oppose each other. While Sextus Empiricus concludes his intellectual journey with the suspension of judgment, Sa adyah aims to unfold the truth, particularly and universally, meaning with respect to Rabbinic Judaism and to philosophical insights about the world and the universe. Hence, Sa adyah shared a scholarly perspective beyond religious confinements in the Islamicate/Arabic World of the 10th century (Heck 2013; Wakelnig 2020). Interestingly, his account of sceptical approaches seems to be the most comprehensive of his times (see Heschel 1943, Eichner 2022).

In my presentation, I will follow the structure of the entry: 1) a biographical note on Saʿadyah's life and scholarly context, 2) an overview of Saʿadyah's engagement with scepticism in his Kitāb al-Amānāt wa-I-iʿtiqādāt and Kitāb Ṭalab al-ḥikma, including two examples of investigation for his restrictive adaptation of a sceptical attitude and methodology. And 3) a suggestion on Saʿadyah's probable sources of the various sceptical views outlined.

### 12.02 Variations of Jewish Scepticism in the Twentieth Century

Jewish Wisdom: Durkheim and Freud on Religion

Cristiana Facchini; University of Bologna

The twentieth century brought many challenges to Jewish life and thought. Secularising trajectories that defined notions of modernity had a significant impact on how scholars and intellectuals interpreted their traditional religious values and practices. In this paper, I will focus on the first decades of the twentieth century and explore some relevant questions related to outstanding Jewish intellectuals. I would like to explore the texts on religion in the work of two towering figures of the twentieth century, Émile Durkheim and Sigmund Freud. In doing so, I will try to unearth different representations of religion and, if possible, hidden or conscious discourses about Judaism, composed against the backdrop of those different philosophical traditions that influenced them.

### The Dark Ground of the World: Theodicy and Scepticism in Jacob Taubes

Kirill Chepurin; Hamburg University

My presentation takes its starting point from the polemic between Hans Blumenberg and Jacob Taubes on the question of theodicy. Against Blumenberg's Leibnizian approach, Taubes offers, I suggest, a "negative" conception of theodicy from within the post-Holocaust context. "Within the boundaries of its conciliating enclosure," Taubes observes, "a theodicy allows for an intensified expression of the suffering and ugliness in the world." In the Taubesian analytic, "theodicy" exposes what he calls "the dark ground" that "theology"—as the affirmation of the goodness of creation—seeks to conceal. This dark ground of the world, I argue, is at once an apocalyptic and sceptical ground, which persists in and with the darkness and negativity of history, prioritising questions over answers and hesitation and darkness over certainty and light, and ungrounding any theodical reconciliation. This highlights, I contend, an irreducible sceptical dimension at the core of Taubes's apocalypticism.

### 12.03 Essentialism in Halakha: Philosophical Aspects

Who is a Woman? Who is a Man? Orthodox Halakhic Discourse on Trans\* People — Essentialism or Flexible Naturalism?

Ronit Irshai; Bar Ilan University

In this lecture, I would like to examine the attitudes towards gender reassignment surgeries of Jewish law as understood by Rabbi Eliezer Waldenberg in his responsa Tziz Eliezer and by Rabbi Idan Ben-Efrayim, in his book Dor Tahapukhot. Through the analysis of their halakhic writings, I would like to understand if there is an essential, objective, unchangeable sign of gender. Are genitals the essential sign of gender, or perhaps chromosomes or, at least according to some references to the kabbalistic tradition, is it the soul?

Rabbi Waldenberg is unclear about that, and even though Ben-Efrayim's explicit position supposedly fashions an inherent gender essentialism, I would like to propose that, in light of some of his halakhic decisions about how gendered individuals may or may not behave in various social and personal situations, several different answers may be offered to the question of what the essential indicator of gender may be.

### Who is a Jew? A Historical, Philosophical and Halakhic Inquiry

Noam Oren; Hebrew University

Surprisingly, there a tension between the 'halachic facts' and the answers that Jewish thinkers throughout the ages gave to the question 'Who is a Jew?'. Roughly speaking, in the Jewish tradition, one can find two streams: the essentialist and the anti-essentialist. The essentialist stream believes that 'being Jewish' is an innate property that is inherited. The anti-essentialist stream believes that 'being Jewish' is an acquired property that depends on adopting certain beliefs and/or practices.

The tension arises from the fact that according to the halacha, one can become a Jew, but one cannot stop being a Jew. Each stream can explain only one of the directions and not the other.

My lecture will be divided into two. First, I will present the two streams and review their motivations. Second, I will discuss what type of property 'being Jewish' has to be, given the halachic sources.

### "When Pigs Become Kosher": Natural Properties, Halakhic Properties, and Variations of Halakhic Non-naturalism

Israel J. Cohen; Hebrew University

The halakhic system includes a variety of normative categories – 'Kosher', 'Traifa', 'Pure', 'Impure', etc. These categories stand in relation to natural properties. What is the nature of this relationship between natural properties and the halakhic categories?

I propose to discuss this question using what is known in the literature as a theoretical distinction between "Halakhic Realism" and "Halakhic Nominalism". However, this distinction is too vague to bear much theoretical weight (Lorberbaum, 2015). In this paper, I discuss this distinction in a more systematic way, through a philosophical analysis of rabbinic sources (Babylonian Talmud, Rosh-Hashana, 28b; Avnei-Nezer, Hoshen-Mishpat, Ch. 145) and in correspondence with contemporary philosophical literature on meta-ethics (Jackson, 1998; Enoch, 2020; Salinger, 2022) and metaphysics of essential properties (Rosen 2010; Trogdon, 2013). This discussion will allow me to carefully develop different versions of the non-naturalistic view and finally adopt a rather radical and surprising version of this view.

#### Response to Session "Essentialism in Halakha: Philosophical Aspects"

Aaron Segal; Hebrew University

I will briefly lay out the various issues that go under the heading of essentialism and then sketch some ways in which "halakhic data" might bear on those issues. Then I will turn to the specifics of the three talks, keeping in view two questions: (1) the specific issue at hand, i.e. do the "halakhic data" support essentialism, anti-essentialism, or some combination thereof? (2) the broader issue that this discussion exemplifies, i.e. do halakhic texts purport to speak to such extra-halakhic philosophical questions as to whether essentialism is true (see Segal 2019)? And whether or not they purport to do so, do they, in fact, speak to such questions?

### 12.04 Jewish as Other to the West?

### Decolonial Jewish Thought in post-1968 France

Elad Lapidot; University of Lille

This talk will discuss the renaissance of interest in historical corpora of Jewish intellectual tradition by assimilated Jewish thinkers in France after 1945, and more precisely after 1968. Looking at cases such as Emmanuel Levinas and Benny Lévy, the talk will contextualize their turn to Jewish traditions within the French discourse around movements such as decolonialism, Maoism and poststructuralism. My argument will be that a crucial turning point for this movement of the French Jewish renaissance was marked by the European and French perception of the 1967 Six-Day War through the lens of anti-colonial movements. I claim that this moment set in motion a process of alienation between French Jewish thinkers and European intellectual tradition, which led these Jewish thinkers to look for alternative epistemologies in Jewish, mostly rabbinic literatures, such as Kabbalah and Talmud.

### The Other Within: The Marrano Difference and the Western Modernity

Agata Bielik-Robson; University of Nottingham

The purpose of my presentation will be to show the role of the Marranos and their descendants in shaping the culture of Western modernity as – borrowing the title of Yirmiyahu Yovel's book on the conversos – 'the other within.' I will analyse the concept of the internal otherness in terms of the dialectical opposition, which aims at transforming the host culture in such a way that it becomes more sensitive to the plurality of its sources, i.e. more heterogenous and less hegemonic. My intervention will focus on the three thinkers who professed to have participated in what Yovel calls the 'Marrano experience': Michel de Montaigne, Benedict de Spinoza, and Jacques Derrida. I will argue that there is a common Marrano thread of internal subversion, which unites their modes of thinking: from Montaigne's new variant of scepticism, through Spinoza's modern critique of religion, to Derrida's deconstruction.

### Nietzschean Prophecies: David Frischmann's Translation of Also Sprach Zarathustra and the Antinomies of Modern Jewish Experience

Orr Scharf; University of Haifa

The Hebrew translation of Also Sprach Zarathustra by David Frischmann (1859-1922) is hailed as a masterpiece. Rendering Nietzsche's prose in an impeccable biblical idiom, Frischmann seems to have simultaneously Hebraicized the German thinker and infused the Hebrew language with the Zarathustran quest for ultimate freedom. Yet, unlike contemporaneous Nietzsche admirers such as Ahad Ha'am or M.Y. Berdyczewski, Frischmann was a stalwart of a secular Jewish identity, universalist to the point of being anti-Zionist. The current paper will highlight on the inescapable contradictions in Frischmann's motivations for translating Nietzsche: is the Hebrew rendering of Zarathustra an act of Jewish appropriation of European philosophy or vice versa? If, according to Frischmann, Jews ought to become secular, universalist members of modern European society, what makes them Jewish? The paper will argue that Frischmann's biblical aesthetics ultimately overpower his universalistic sentiments, and allow him to stage Nietzsche's work as a modern prophecy for Jews.

### Colonial Histories and Postcolonial Perspectives in North-African French Jewish Thought

Yael Attia; University of Potsdam

In my paper, I will suggest thinking of North African French Jewish intellectuals Albert Memmi, Jacques Derrida, and Hélène Cixous as forming a Jewish intellectual tradition that stems from Jewish encounters with colonialism. I will demonstrate how their coming to age in the Maghreb region of North Africa in the time of colonial rule enabled them to postulate a different Jewish political positioning when working on concepts such as identification, universalism, diaspora, and cosmopolitanism.

While Memmi's writing was informed by the Jewish colonial condition already in the 60s, the decade that marked the hope of anticolonial thought and revolutions, Derrida and Cixous began writing about French Algeria only in the 90s, at the exact same time as they began addressing their Jewishness, and in the decade that marked the complete collapse of the hopes of the era of decolonization. Therefore, I will show that their thought is

entwined with both Jewish and (post)colonial perspectives and should be read alongside concepts and frameworks more often used in postcolonial theory.

### 12.05 Postmodernism, Ethics and Religion

A Flight before Light: The Diversity of Femininity in Levinas' Writings

Dorit Lemberger; Bar Ilan University

The ethical demand regarding the Other is a central theme in Levinas's writings. One of its aspects is a metaphysical concept of the feminine, which sets up a complex and even ambivalent discussion. Despite the feminist criticism levelled at Levinas's concept of femininity, a chronological presentation of Levinas's ideas regarding femininity may expose a range of characteristics that provide counterarguments to this criticism and create a fruitful interpretive channel for clarifying Levinas's ethical demand regarding femininity. There are five main sources in Levinas's writings in which he formulated his conception of the feminine: Existence and Existents (1947); Time and the Other (1947); Totality and Infinity (1961); "Judaism and the Feminine" in Difficult Freedom: Essays on Judaism (1963), and Ethics and Infinity (1982). The proposed argument is that the Feminine is the Of Itself Other, so alterity is accomplished in the Feminine. Following Peter J. Giannopoulos in "Levinas's Philosophy of Transcendence" (2019), the lecture will present a range of "feminine alterity" which "is situated on another plane than language" and "includes all the possibilities of the transcendent relationship with the Other" (Levinas 1961, p. 155), such as hospitality, sensitivity to suffering and responsibility toward the other.

## The Idea of "Sacred Text" in Contemporary Jewish Philosophy: "Biblical Deconstructionism" in Paul Ricoeur and Jacques Derrida

Miriam Feldmann-Kaye; Bar Ilan University

This paper will bring one of the foremost discussions in contemporary Jewish Philosophy to the fore: that of the new meaning of Sacred Texts after the deconstructionist turn. The deconstructionist turn, according to Jacques Derrida and others, sought to break down the idea of 'original meaning' in texts, for some, compromising the idea of the 'Holy' and, thus,

for some, the authority of Jewish scripture. One of the main responses to this deconstructionist view has been to reconceptualise the idea of Sacred Texts in contemporary Jewish Thought.

Building on the philosophies of sacred texts in the twentieth century according to Emmanuel Levinas and Abraham Joshua Heschel, this paper will consider two contemporary thinkers who have amalgamated and also problematised their respective views into their understanding of 'Torah' in the twentieth century: Susan Handelman in her work: "The Slayers of Moses: The Emergence of Rabbinic Interpretation in Modern Literary Theory" and Rav Shagar in his Hebrew work: "BeTorato Yehege".

Both thinkers present new but conflicting interpretations of Derrida, but both view the philosophy of Paul Ricoeur to be crucial in understanding the role of biblical interpretation from a deconstructionist perspective. This discussion will allow for an important analysis as to the meaning of sacred text in contemporary Jewish thought and life, and also will bring to light broader developments of Jewish thought, in its aspirations to integrate the continental philosopher of its times into its worldviews and perspectives.

### "The Erasure of the Erasure": A Philosophical Examination of the Re-writing of Modern Judaism Through a Derridean Lens

Hanoch Ben Pazi; Bar Ilan University

In this lecture, I would like to present my thesis about "the erasure of the erasure" - as a phenomenon of culture and identity. Modern Judaism embodied and articulated a Jewish renaissance of great interest and excitement. These forces created the Zionist movement as well as the new religious movements. But, at the same time, it was a critical development against the Jewish past and certain aspects of Jewish life and thought were 'erased'. The first erasure was made by secular, political and cultural forces that sought to erase the identity of the other - either the immigrant or the citizen, in the name of the new culture, in the name of the revolution, and in the name of modernity.

I would like to think about this act of erasure in light of Derrida's Grammatology – a philosophical analysis of the phenomenon of writing. The cultural relations that are created between supposed 'dead' letters placed in opposition with 'living thinking' – forge important links between the act of writing, and the possible conception of the reader as the one who

'gives life' to the written texts. Derrida's philosophy allows for a significant and original perspective in a re-examination of the erasure phenomenon.

### 12.06 New Research in 20th Century Jewish Thought

### War and Peace in the Thought of Rabbi Shimon Gershon Rosenberg (Shagar)

Ron Wacks; Herzog Academic College

This lecture will deal with Rabbi Shimon Gershon Rosenberg's (= Shagar, 1947-2007. Rosh Yeshiva, "talmid hacham" and an original philosopher) attitude to war and the meaning of peace. These issues concerned Shagar in an existential manner, both as someone who experienced war in his youth (he was seriously injured in the Yom Kippur War), and as a Rosh yeshiva who lost students in the 1982 Lebanon War. Moreover, his concerns about the Israel-Palestinian conflict brought him to deal intensively with the meaning of war and conflict. R. Shagar tried to outline a spiritual and religious path to peace. His position was derived from sources from all rabbinic literature, Jewish, Kabbalistic and Hasidic philosophy, as well as sources from European and postmodern philosophy. This synthesis creates an original and groundbreaking position regarding the concept of war and peace.

#### The Perception of Man in The Thought of Yosef Schechter

Sarit Schussheim; Herzog Academic College

Dr. Yosef Schechter (1901-1994) was born in Galicia and was a religious existential philosopher, educator, writer and rabbi. At the age of 20, he immigrated to Vienna and was counted with the members of the Viennese circle, which established the school of Logical Positivism. The existential religious thought of Yosef Schechter combines diverse fields of knowledge. Schechter wrote approximately ten books and hundreds of articles. Until now, only two comprehensive studies have been written about him. Following his arrival to the Land of Israel in the year 1938, Schechter held diverse educational roles. In this lecture, I will show that "authenticity" is the centre Schechter's philosophy (in comparison to Søren Kierkegaard's stages of existence), which also forms and consolidates his perception of man – "The Essential Man".

### Textuality, Orality, and Context in the Hasidic Sermon

Daniel Reiser; Herzog Academic College

When we study a Hasidic sermon, we only have the written text in front of us. However, Hasidic traditions that have been preserved and passed down orally – make it possible to understand the sermon in a new light. In addition, these homilies were recited on a certain date and to a certain audience (and in many Hasidic sermons, the date was preserved). If we analyze the historical or social context, i.e. the events that took place within this audience and time – we can deepen our understanding of the sermon's philosophical insights. In my lecture, I will bring several examples from Hasidic teachings from the 20th century and show that they cannot be properly understood without the oral layer that accompanies them and without examining the historical and social context, which is a central background.

## 12.07 New Discoveries in Hebrew Philosophical Manuscripts of Metaphysics and Philosophical Theology

A Unique Blend: Merging Two Hebrew Versions of al-Baalyawsi's "Book of Imaginary Circles"

Lucas Oro Hershtein; Hamburg University

Al-Baṭalyawsī's metaphysical treatise "The Book of Imaginary Circles" enjoyed a wide medieval Hebrew readership, mostly through Moses ibn Tibbon's popular mid-thirteenth-century translation, which is extant in several manuscripts. Characteristically, Moses's translation is highly literal and employs consolidated philosophical terminology. But thirty years before Moses, a little-known Solomon ibn Daud produced the first translation of this work, using a completely different style and idiosyncratic terminology. Three manuscripts of this translation survive. One of these, Vatican ebr. 270, is actually a hybrid version which preserves a copyist's attempt to come to terms with ibn Daud's unfamiliar style with the aid of Moses ibn Tibbon's translation by glossing, recording variants, and sometimes silently revising. In my presentation, I will first introduce some salient features of Solomon ibn Daud's translation and then analyze the philosophical priorities of the copyist of Vat. ebr. 270 when creating his hybrid version of the text.

## Aristotelizing Pseudo-Aristotle: Abraham ibn Hasdai's Hebrew Translation of "The Book of the Apple" and its Manuscript Tradition

Ioana Curut; Babes-Bolyai University

Abraham ibn Ḥasdai translated the pseudo-Aristotelian "Book of the Apple" from Arabic into Hebrew in 1235, conveying a fictitious yet influential image of Aristotle as a supporter of the immortality of the soul and creation 'ex nihilo'. In his translation, ibn Ḥasdai dared to go further than Maimonides (whom he much admired) in bridging the gap between Aristotelianism and central tenets of the Jewish faith, despite Maimonides's rejection of the book's Aristotelian paternity, calling it "entirely valueless." Based on an investigation of the manuscript tradition of "Sefer ha-Tapuaḥ," I will reconstruct the relationship between textual witnesses and showcase a few examples of how scribes and readers engaged with the text. In particular, I will discuss attempts to restore the Aristotelian authorship of this text, either by modifying its title or by modifying its terminology, in spite of ibn Ḥasdai's own claim that the work was composed by the "sages of Greece."

### A Forgotten Prolegomenon to the Study of Divine Science

Yonatan Shemesh; Yale University

The proposed paper introduces an enigmatic medieval Hebrew philosophical composition that has gone almost completely unnoticed. This work, which survives in three versions and twelve manuscripts, under different titles and credited to different authors, is a reworking and repurposing of several passages from Averroes's "Incoherence of the Incoherence," incorporating additional materials and featuring several interpolations. Its arrangement challenges the distinction between "translation" and "original," and it seems to be earlier and independent from the other known translations of Averroes's "Incoherence." The paper's first part will describe the manuscript tradition and the different versions of the text, suggesting some possibilities regarding its production and transmission. The second part will examine the work's inner logic: How does it rework material from Averroes's "Incoherence," and why? The conclusion will consider the apparent purpose of the work and what its transmission can teach us about the place of metaphysics in medieval Hebrew philosophy.

## A Philosopher Hiding in the Margins: An Anonymous Scholar's Critique of a Metaphysical Text

Yoav Meyrav; Hamburg University

A large part of MS Bodleian Opp. Add. Qu. 10 reproduces a collection of philosophical texts compiled and copied by an anonymous scholar who had a special interest in metaphysics. One of the works in this collection is an anonymous translation of Moses Halevi's "Metaphysical Treatise." Our scholar had a very special interest in this text, as he annotated it heavily, both in the margins and with lengthy interpolations. Despite their polemical character, sometimes to the point of slander, the comments reveal a highly trained scholar with knowledge of several philosophical texts and a clear philosophical agenda, which is heavily affected by Maimonides's notion of the limitations of metaphysics. Further scrutiny of the codex reveals that the scholar was critically involved with other texts as well, enabling us to reconstruct his intellectual persona and perhaps even speculate about where and when to situate him historically.

## 12.08 Jewish Christian Religiosity: A Session on the Possibility of Jewish and Christian Thinking and Theology

### St. Paul and the Beginning of Jewish Wissenschaft

George Kohler; Bar Ilan University

Unfortunately, the reception of Paul by the Jewish Wissenschaft movement is almost entirely neglected so far by scholarship - though it seems to be exciting to look into what the first Jewish academics wrote about the Apostle and his view of the Jewish religion. This is specifically true for Paul's much-discussed rejection of Jewish religious law – since many of those Doktor-Rabbiner belonged to the liberal, non-orthodox camp of Judaism (to different degrees of radicalness), a camp that was highly critical of the legal tradition of Judaism itself. In addition, the Wissenschaft scholars of the 19th century were interested in a strict demarcation of their own, first-time academic theology of Judaism from equally modern and ethical Protestant Christian thought, and worked hard to carve out fundamental differences between the two religions. Here it was Paul who often served as

the historical and theological point of no return for most Jewish scholars, that is, for the actual starting point of Christianity in Jewish eyes.

### The Wordliness of Judaism: J.-J. Rousseau, Hermann Cohen, and Leo Baeck

Anaël Malet; Bar Ilan University

A long line of thought since the Enlightenment has traditionally depicted Christianity as an other-worldly and, therefore, fundamentally anti-political and anti-civic religion. At the same time this critique was elaborated, Jewish and non-Jewish authors emphasized the worldliness of Judaism as a model for the new political order. What do these arguments have in common? Despite their similarity, do they rely on the same vision of Judaism, and serve the same goal? We will explore these questions through three authors that defended the worldliness of the Jewish religion in the modern period: J.-J. Rousseau, Hermann Cohen and Leo Baeck.

## Linked in Translation: The Case of Ruach and the Interplay between Jewish and Christian Theology in the Buber-Rosenzweig Bible

Dana Rubinstein; Hebrew University

Martin Buber's and Franz Rosenzweig's German rendition of the Bible, Die Schrift, with its resonant and often highly unique translational choices, has long been regarded as a paragon of twentieth-century Jewish thought. But a look at the underlying Arbeitspapiere - the two thinkers' largely unpublished 5000-page correspondence of drafts and letters about the project - reveals just how many of these choices were shaped by placing Jewish sources in dialogue with Christian theology. The highly charged translation of the Hebrew word Ruach is one significant example. Over the course of many weeks and dozens of letters, Buber and Rosenzweig wrestled with this word, using Luther as the starting point and thinking through a myriad of ancient, medieval, and modern Jewish exegetes before taking their ultimate inspiration from a contemporary Protestant thinker.

#### German-Jewish-Christian Occultism: Martin Buber and Ernst Mueller

Amir Engel; Hebrew University

The talk explores the interaction of the German, Jewish, and Christian traditions in the first part of the twentieth century in Central Europe to show two test cases where traditional distinctions between Jews and Germans and Jews and Christians are overcome. It will discuss Martin Buber Hasidic Maerchen and Ernst Mueller's Book of Anthroposophical Zohar. Both cases, we shall see, convey the belief that spirituality could bridge the gap between people and promote a more open society for all. Both cases expand notions first conceived by Romantic and idealist thinkers in order to facilitate interest in arcane Jewish sources like the Kabbalah and Hasidism.

# 12.09 Variations and Anomalies in Medieval Hebrew Philosophy and Science: Manuscripts, Sources, Terminology, and Comparison

The Manuscript Transmission of Moses Narboni's Commentary on Averroes's Questions in Physics in the Italian Renaissance

Hanna Gentili; The British Library

Moses Narboni played a fundamental role in the transmission of Averroes's Questions in Physics. Narboni's commentary on Averroes's Questions in Physics has a complex textual transmission: the Hebrew manuscripts containing Narboni's commentary are the largest extant corpus of witnesses of Averroes's text – and the only complete one – as the nine treatises are only partially available in Arabic and Latin.

This paper focuses on the manuscript transmission of Narboni's commentary in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, its textual composition, and its importance in the study of natural philosophy. Starting from some of the most interesting manuscripts where Narboni's commentary is transmitted, this paper will bring attention to the relevance of Narboni's work in the Renaissance both within the Jewish context and in comparison with the Christian contemporary debates.

### The Hebrew Version by Salomon ben Joseph Ibn Ayyub of Averroes' Middle Commentary on Aristotle's De Coelo

Margherita Mantovani; Hamburg University

Salomon ben Yoseph Ibn Ayyub of Granada (13th century) was a Jewish physician and translator who moved to Béziers, where he composed a medical treatise and translated from Arabic into Hebrew a few works, including Averroes' Middle Commentary on Aristotle's *De Coelo*. The first part of this paper explores the figure of Ibn Ayyub in the context of the Arabic-into-Hebrew translators who were active between the 12th and the 13th century in Provence. The second part pays attention to the terminology of Ibn Ayyub's Hebrew version of Averroes' Middle Commentary on *De Coelo*. The last part of the paper discusses the manuscript circulation and the Italian reception of Ibn Ayyub's Hebrew version, with particular emphasis on the 1471 copy which Yeshu'a ben Dawid ha-Kohen produced in Apulia. The Italian circulation of the Hebrew version also enables to understand the premises, which led to the 1511 Hebrew-Latin translation.

### "Entelechy" in Jewish Philosophy: The Case of Nissim of Marseille and Joseph Albo Giuseppe Veltri; Hamburg University

The Aristotelian concept of entelechy is actualization of potentiality. The thing in itself must be actualized, according to Physics, II.3,194, in its end or purpose, for which the process began (ἔτι ὡς τὸ τέλος - τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ τὸ οὖ ἕνεκα). Maimonides, following Aristotle, applies this to human beings (Moreh III.27) while according to Joseph Albo the entire Torah is perfect per se, and it does not admit neither addition nor diminution or, according to Sefer Iqqarim, III:23: "A thing is perfect if we cannot conceive of it other than without addition or diminution. Now, since David characterizes Torah as perfect, it follows that it cannot in any way be deficient in the fulfilment of its purpose." According to Nissim of Marseille, the perfect Torah develops itself and actualizes its possibility in history. The lecture addresses the implication of the concept for Jewish philosophy and theology.

### 12.10 Tolerance and Diversity in Pre-Modern Jewish Thought

#### Return of the Gods

Norman Solomon; Oxford University

This paper, which parallels a chapter in my forthcoming book "Making Sense of 'God'" (due to appear ahead of the Conference), examines the reemergence of ancient pagan ideas and traditions within traditional Judaism, ranging across the Talmudic endorsement of amulets, evil eye and magic, the newly discovered incantation bowls of the first to eighth centuries, the rise of sefirotic theology and the objections of Meir ha-Me'ili and Abraham Abulafia, and the absorption into Jewish practice of mourning customs and sundry superstitions from surrounding cultures. The central question addressed is whether pure monotheism is truly sustainable. Do the pagan gods sneak back in disguise?

### Maimonides' Evolving Toleration of Karaites

Aaron Adler; Herzog Academic College

It is safe to state that Moses Maimonides (1138-1204) was the most influential Torah thinker of all times. His impact upon the world of Halakha and Thought is surreal. His creativity in these areas is expressed not only by his vast writings but also by his dynamic approach to his conclusions. In a word, Maimonides constantly refreshed his thoughts and Halakhic decisions. In my forthcoming volume, "On the Wings of Eagles" (Hebrew), I discuss hundreds of such revised opinions in his various writings. However, the process of these changes is not at all limited to the sphere of Torah and Rabbinic Law.

Young Maimonides, in his early travels from Spain to Morroco, to Eretz Yisrael, and finally landing in Egypt, was fiercely antagonistic to the Karaite breakaway movement, which had many followers in his day. This can be borne out from his early writings in the first draft of his Mishnah Commentary. However, the mature Maimonides, living in Old Cairo (Fostat) amongst no small number of Karaite adherents, adjusts his tone to his approach toward the Karaites. Textual emendations are incorporated into his Mishnah Commentary, along with a more conciliatory tone in his Mishneh Torah codes and responsa letters.

This lecture will trace the movement of Maimonides' evolving attitude of tolerance towards the Karaites.

## The Multiplicity of Voices in Nachmanides' Writings – Hermeneutics, Rhetoric, and Ideology

Oded Yisraeli; Ben Gurion University

R. Moses b. Nachman (Nachmanides) was one of the prominent rabbis and writers in the thirteenth century. He left his mark on many literary fields - commentary on the Torah and the Talmud, sermons, poetry, polemical literature, Kabbalah, and Jewish thought. In this paper, I shall address the various and diverse voices he uses to transmit his messages. That's reflected first and foremost in the diversity of his works, some of which are addressed to the Jewish intellectual elites while others to the more popular audience. Furthermore, his commentary on the Torah has double layers. He offers the plain sense to most readers alongside the esoteric commentary ('on the path of truth'), designed for kabbalists only. This characteristic also stands out in how Nachmanides presents the sublime religious ideal - in a double outline. This literary approach of Nachmanides to refer to a diverse audience of readers is expressed when he highlights the echoes of various religious ideals in the same biblical text. As I will show in my paper, Nachmanides's appeal to different circles of readers contributed to his acceptance and the fact that his religious approaches took a central place in the mainstream of Medieval Jewish thought.

## 12.11 Survivors Answering Nationalism: Scholem, Leibowitz, Taubes

## Gershom Scholem and Holocaust: A Question of Responsibility and Position of Judgement

Rosa Reicher; Goethe University Frankfurt

This presentation deals with Gershom Scholem's role in the remembrance and reception of the Holocaust, focusing on his position and critique of Hannah Arendt during the Eichmann trial in 1961, and how this can be seen in his correspondence with Arendt. But this presentation also examines the significance of the Holocaust for Scholem in his friendship with his colleague Theodor Adorno. Adorno played a special role in the culture of remembrance during post-war Germany. One main task and demand of education for Adorno was that Auschwitz must never happen again.

In 1979 the four-part American television film "Holocaust" had been seen on German TV, which was an excited nationwide discussion. At the same time was broadcast an almost unnoticed radio conversation between Scholem and a young journalist Sabine Berghahn about the "Holocaust".

The conversation with Sabine Berghahn shows Scholem in the role of someone who does not want to appear as an academic teacher with regard to the Holocaust but articulates his immediate dismay.

The question that follows is to what extent Scholem contributed to a German discourse on the culture of memory. The examinations will emphasise on different levels: Personal and biographical, morally and ethically, ideologically and historically, religious and philosophical.

## The Life of the Israeli Philosopher Yeshayahu Leibowitz as an Influence on his Philosophy

Israel de Vries; Bar Ilan University

The thesis defended here, and in my doctorate, is that the life of Leibowitz can be traced back to his philosophy. His work shows a great dislike for nationalism, certainly as displayed in Israeli politics, and Israeli philosophers differ on the reason. Granot explains that Leibowitz saw a comparison between the racist totalitarian theories of the Nazis that lead to the destruction of a race and what is happening in Israel. However, Leibowitz never claimed that the national religious party had racist theories. What bothered Leibowitz was Israeli nationalism.

Ben Pazi says that the Nazi rise to power played a decisive role in the philosophy of Leibowitz, and I agree with him. Leibowitz himself claimed that this rise to power took him by surprise, but my claim is that the daily parlour in Germany about nationalism was so widespread that it must have influenced Leibowitz more than he said. I would go on and claim that also his early life framed his view on the mind-body problem, and that you can clearly see the influence of his biography on his philosophy, more so than in many other philosophers. This influence took meanly place during his days in Germany.

## Adresse des Malum: Der Judengott. Resumption of a "Gnosis-Diskussion" Initiated by Jacob Taubes

Wanja Kirchhoff; Trier University

The philosopher Jacob Taubes, recently portrayed as the "Professor of Apocalypse" (Muller:2022), was one of those 'survivors' of the Shoah (Schulte:2001) whose Jewishness constitutively stood under the 'heretical imperative'.

In his essay "Der Dogmatische Mythos der Gnosis" (1971), the 'modern Gnostic' (Faber:2022) focused on a skandalon in the history of religion, which lets one of his main reference points seem like a precedent for 'metaphysical anti-Semitism': The aggressive devaluation of the Jewish God as the inferior demiurge of 'this' world. Why, asks Taubes, has the supramundane God of the monotheistic religion of revelation been chosen as the preferred object of Gnostic resentment? In debate with his contemporaries Hans Blumenberg, Hans Jonas, Gershom Scholem et. al. the passionate polemicist seeked to answer this disturbing question by interpreting the phenomenon out of the 'collision' of 'myth' and 'monotheism': "Die Rache des Mythos an seinen [jüdischen] Überwindern ist in der gnostischen Mythologie sinnlich zu greifen."

After reconstructing the "Gnosis-Diskussion", of which Taubes' theses are part of, my paper asks for the conditions under which they can still illuminate the relationship between gnosis and Jewish monotheism today.

### 12.12 Between Jewishness, Chosenness, and Universalism

Jewish Messianism, Universalist Utopianism, and Radical Hope: The Political Afterlives of Gustav Landauer and Ernst Bloch

Adam Sutcliffe; King's College London

The cross-fertilisation of Jewish prophetic idealism and messianism with revolutionary political radicalism reached its greatest intensity in the immediate aftermath of the First World War, when left-wing Jewish intellectuals played a leading role in the short-lived revolutionary regimes briefly established in Munich and Budapest. This paper will open with an exploration of Jewish messianic perspectives and concepts of Jewish political purpose in the radical thinking that shaped this era. It will focus on the writings of Gustav Landauer (1870-1919), who died defending the Munich revolution, and Ernst Bloch (1885-

1977), whose Spirit of Utopia (1918) was seminal, and who continued discreetly exploring these ideas in East Germany in the 1950s (The Principle of Hope, 1955-59). The paper will then explore the resonance between the work of these writers, and the broader traces and legacies of early twentieth-century Jewish messianic idealism and political universalism, in recent and contemporary left-wing thought and in controversies over the relationship between universalist idealism and Jewish communal identities and politics.

### Chosenness, Agapism, and the Search for Moderations Between Nationhood and Universalism

Nadav Shifman Berman; Ben Gurion University

The idea of Chosenness (or nivḥarut, in Hebrew) was initially interpreted by Jewish thinkers as a divine gift which is somehow encrypted in the body of each Jew or as a normatively acquired (rather than inherited) property. Many Jewish thinkers sought to defend one of these approaches or mediate between them. This paper proposes a novel examination of chosenness by interrogating it with its mirror concept - the Christian Agape, which mandates the love and care for every human being, regardless of their nationality, merit, ethnicity, or 'race'. Agape has its roots in the Hebrew Bible and was robustly developed in Christianity with its distinctive universalism. By juxtaposing chosenness with agapism, this paper will (1) Demonstrate that not only narrow chosenness conceptions have their parochial pitfalls, strict forms of Agape to have moral costs (2) Invite a search for pragmatist middle ways which balance between chosenness and agapism (3) Establish the conceptual 'Chosenness-Agapism' axis, and thus enrich Jewish-Christian dialogue by contributing to the ability of Jewish and Christian interlocutors to conceive how their Abrahamic fellow challenges their tradition in a way which is vital (in Menachem Fisch's terms) to the pursuit of their own tradition's equilibrium.

Universalist versus Particularist Reading of Jewish Traditions in Modern Jewish Thought: Moses Mendelson, Samuel David Luzzatto (Shadal), Elijah Benamozegh, and Rabbi I. A. Kook

Joseph Levi; Shemah - Institute of Jewish Studies

Universalist versus a particularist reading of Jewish biblical and rabbinical teachings is an issue related to the possible understanding of the biblical message itself. As a unique revelation open to Israel alone or as a religious revelation open to all humanity. The understanding of the ethical messages of the bible as universal or as a particularist teaching has been discussed in Jewish thought since ancient times to our own days. It became a significant argument of debate in modern Jewish thought since the spread of illuminism and the Haskalah in Jewish 19th-century European society. It dealt with the possibility of developing a universal Jewish understanding of both scientific and religious modern thought.

At first glance, the differences between the thinkers taken into consideration in our exposition could apparently be explained along the classical rationalist versus kabbalist lines of thought present in the history of Jewish philosophy. In such a scheme, Mendelsohn and Shadal's understanding could be easily confronted with the kabbalist line of thought of Benamozeg and Rav Kook. Our analysis will show the preoccupations and response to illuminist and Haskalah criticism of traditional rabbinic thought common to all four thinkers mentioned. We will expose their effort to save the particular character of Mosaic Law while maintaining its universal humanist dimension. They do so by using different systems of thought pertinent to their personal formation: moral and legal philosophy, historic philological and 19th-century scientific tradition, or kabbalist Neoplatonic traditions of thought. Despite their different philosophical reference and formation, these four traditional thinkers aimed at saving the particular value of Jewish tradition and practice against the criticism of a universal religious language developed by illuminist European thinkers of the time.

### 12.13 New Approaches in the Study of Musar

### Between Middot and Sefirot: Positive Psychology in Moshe Cordovero's Tomer Devorah

Patrick Benjamin Koch; Hamburg University

Notions subsumed under the term musar are typically concerned with disciplining and conditioning their audience toward a devout lifestyle. A particularly popular means of implementing this strategy involves vivid descriptions of the consequences of sin with the intention of evoking a range of negatively valenced emotions: such as anxiety triggered by the consequences of violating divine law, personal guilt in the face of the damage sin wreaks in the divine realm, or shame elicited by transgression. Musar books that primarily focus on positive emotions and traits are comparatively rare. An outstanding example thereof is Tomer Devorah by Moshe Cordovero (1522–1570). The presentation will show how Tomer Devorah concentrates on the cultivation of positively connoted values such as compassion, lovingkindness, and patience. Based on additional textual examples from Cordovero's late oeuvre, it will be demonstrated how his 'positive psychology' draws on medieval kabbalistic conceptions of the middot and sefirot.

### Musar as Emotion Machine: Psychagogy in Shevet Musar

Ilaria Briata; Hamburg University

The concept of 'emotion machine', coined by Ed Tan with reference to the narrative medium of film, can be suitably applied to the textual mode of musar, whose pedagogical functionality inherently tends to engage with the psychological realm of spiritual life. An outstanding specimen of an emotion machine is represented by one of the classics of early modern musar: Shevet Musar ("The Rod of Rebuke") by the Ottoman rabbi Elijah ha-Kohen Itamari (d. 1729), published in Istanbul in 1712. In Shevet Musar, the preoccupation with the affective aspects of the human compound of soul and flesh is a crucial feature of the work's psychagogic design, which methodically appeals to the cognitive force of emotions in the religious process of self-perfecting. The paper will present a selection of passages covering different emotional triggers, such as anxiety, disgust, and shame, and uncover the psycho-physical, behavioural, and spiritual facets of Shevet Musar's emotion machine.

### Angels and Demons in Early Modern Musar Literature

Isaac Hershkowitz; Bar Ilan University

Distant reading is a set of tools and methods that allows tracing lament trends in texts and corpora. Applying these methods to three musar treatises of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries reveals a striking pattern of the extreme presence of angels in the work Qav ha-Yashar by R. Zvi Hirsch Kaidanover (d. 1712). Angels and demons are not only present as bystanders in this work but also represent official divine functions, mediating between God and humans and vice versa. Comparing statistical findings of not only parallel texts (i.e. Reshit Hokhmah and Shevet Musar) but also undisputed sources of Qav ha-Yashar (i.e. Yesod Yosef and the Zohar) affirms the abundance of angelic beings in the ethical world view of Kaidanover. In my paper, I will focus on the theological meanings and applications of this textual irregularity and attempt to decipher the ethical worldview of this unique thinker.

### Books of Morality and Awe: The Curriculum of Hasidism

Leore Sachs-Shmueli; Bar Ilan University

The study of moral literature became a hallmark of Hasidim, and the instruction for studying specific moral books is very common in the writings of many Hasidic leaders. The role of these books is to direct the proper emotional stance that connects the intellectual to the practical realm, often associated with the cultivation of the emotion of reverence. In this paper, I will seek to present the widespread inclusion of the study of musar books on a daily basis, alongside the tensions it created with the 'Hasidic' way of life. In particular, I will examine the relationship between the book as a tool of instruction vis à vis the actual consultation with a guiding teacher. Furthermore, I will discuss the tension between the content of these books and the "new" moral guiding attributed to Israel Ben Eliezer (the BeShT, 1698–1760), the founder of the Hasidic movement.

## 12.14 New Findings in Hebrew Manuscripts of Logic, Philosophy, and Science

### Between Alphabetical Order and Al-Farabi's Iḥṣā: Samuel Ibn Tibbon's Explanation of Maimonides' Order of the Sciences

Yehuda Halper; Bar Ilan University

When Samuel Ibn Tibbon translated Maimonides' Guide into Hebrew, his readers had almost no books through which they could access the Aristotelian sciences Maimonides frequently referred to. Thus, Samuel dedicated another work, the Explanation of Foreign Terms, to sketching the outlines of such a background, in addition to explaining the linguistic idiosyncrasies he adopted for Aristotelian Hebrew. In doing so, Samuel created a reference work so different from earlier works that he had to explain at some length what alphabetical order is. Yet, he also sought to incorporate various elements of Al-Farabi's order of the sciences in various reference entries. In doing so, Samuel gives his readers the Farabian background he thinks is required for studying Maimonides. Yet, at the same time, his editing of these sections reveals his own understanding of Aristotelian science, a view that keeps astronomy at the centre.

## Yeḥi'el Nissim of Pisa and Aristotle's De anima: Sources, Context, and Engagement Michael Engel; Hamburg University

The talk will concentrate on a Hebrew manuscript from the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, MS Kaufmann A 283. This manuscript contains Averroes' long commentary on the De anima (incomplete), recently identified by Dr. Engel as belonging to the library of Yeḥi'el Nissim of Pisa, of the famous Da Pisa family. This identification will be presented by pointing to several parallel features belonging to this and to other Aristotelian manuscripts belonging to Yeḥi'el's library. Following this, evidence of a meticulous revision process in the Budapest manuscript will be presented, a process which consisted of carefully comparing and amending the text against Latin – most likely printed – sources. The presentation will conclude by drawing some conclusions concerning Yeḥi'el's - and, more broadly, mid-16th c. Italian Jewry - intellectual profile as

reflected in the Budapest manuscript, also referring to citations from De anima in Yeḥi'el's magnum opus, the *Minḥat ķena'ot*.

### Levi Gersonides' Commentary on the Topics as presented in Turin cod. Hebr. A. I. 14

Charles Manekin; Univesity of Maryland

My talk will consider Levi Gersonides' commentary on Aristotle's Topics, as presented by Averroes. The commentary is extant in three manuscripts, only two of which are complete, and only one of which is legible. That manuscript, Turin A. I. 14, is of utmost importance for the history of Jewish philosophy in Provence. It was copied by Crescas Vidal for Mordecai Todros Nathan on October 8, 1470, and contains quite a number of Averroes's commentaries in Hebrew translation with the commentaries of Gersonides, where they exist; annotations by the owner, Mordecai Nathan, appear in the margins. My talk will focus on the place of the Topics' commentary in Gersonides' writings on logic, report on the manuscripts of the commentary (with emphasis on the Turin manuscript), examine a few sample comments, and end with some preliminary takeaways.

#### The Midrash ha-Ḥokhmah in Manuscript

Resianne Fontaine; University of Amsterdam

During the thirteenth century, three Hebrew encyclopedic compilations were written that aimed to provide an overview of contemporary science. The first of these is the Midrash ha-Ḥokhmah by Judah ben Solomon ha-Cohen. The first Jewish text to make extensive use of Averroes's commentaries on Aristotle's philosophy, it combines non-Jewish science (philosophy, geometry, astrology and astronomy) with Jewish subjects (biblical exegesis and the letters of the Hebrew alphabet). Its Arabic original is lost, but the Hebrew translation, by the author himself (c. 1247), was studied in various regions. More than forty manuscripts of this Hebrew translation are known, most of which contain only parts of the work. In my lecture, I will discuss the manuscript tradition of the Midrash ha-Ḥokhmah, focusing on one manuscript that reveals clear traces of study, MS Bodleian Mich 551.

### 13.01 Reflection on/of Sacrifice in/and Prayer

### The Notion of Sacrifice in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice

Noam Mizrahi; Hebrew University

The Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice is a liturgical composition found in some ten copies among the Dead Sea Scrolls and comprising thirteen poetic works, which, according to their superscriptions, are to be performed in the consecutive Sabbaths of the first quarter of the sectarian calendar of a 364-day year. The superscriptions tie the notions of "song" and "sacrifice", highlighting their liturgical function and cultic context. Moreover, Song 13 includes a highly fragmentary passage mentioning several terms and phrases relating to the realm of sacrifices and higher knowledge. The paper will examine complementary aspects of this complex of phenomena, exploring their scriptural grounding as well as their implications for our understanding of Jewish spirituality of the Second Temple period.

### Sacrifice Reflected in Prayer beyond the 70 CE Divide

Arjen Bakker; University of Groningen

It is commonplace in scholarship on early Jewish liturgy to consider prayer and Torah study as replacements of sacrifice after the 70 CE destruction of the Temple. Authoritative accounts even hold that pre-70 synagogue services were exclusively dedicated to Torah reading without prayer, despite the common diasporic designation of "prayer houses" (proseuche), and despite the abundance of liturgical texts discovered in the caves of Qumran. This paper offers an alternative angle. I will discuss various texts from Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek-speaking Jewish communities in the Greco-Roman period that present prayer and the glorification of the deity as offerings that are considered pleasing as sacrifice. Such efficacious prayer is performed within a congregation and is mediated by and manifested in wisdom and knowledge, access to which requires preparation and purification of the human self. These sources reveal aspects of both change and continuity beyond the 70 CE divide.

### Some Reflections on Jewish Prayer in the Modern épistème

Irene Zwiep; University of Amsterdam

In the age of historicism, when liturgy became history, Jews continued to pray, they continued to read from prayer books and continued to adapt their contents to the demands of new times and audiences. This invites us to look beyond the textuality of the *siddur* and go in search of its epistemology. Situated at the nexus of the timeless and the timebound, the siddur was more than a historical witness or an instrument of embourgeoisement; it was, first of all, an instrument of prayer and a vehicle for its permanent truths. But in the new épistème, how were those truths received? How did 'traditional' Jewish prayer fit into the many reconceptualizations of Jewish religion and religiosity, of the self and its relations to the community and to God? According to the modern mind, precisely what did reading the siddur mean, what did it 'do', and what made it effective?

## 13.02 The (Re)-invention and Silencing of Ashkenazi Rituals and Traditions in the Modern Era

#### Hanukka in Koheles Shlomo

Ruth von Bernuth; University of North Carolina

In 1744, Shlomo Zalman London published Koheles Shlomo in Amsterdam, a compilation of ritual laws, prayers and benedictions in Yiddish and Hebrew. It was meant to be used at home by women and men and provided detailed instructions for the Jewish year and special celebrations in the Jewish life cycle. The many editions of Koheles Shlomo printed between the 18th and early 20th century were heavily revised and translated also into German in Hebrew characters in the 19th century. Using the celebration of Hanukkah, I will discuss the changes between the different editions of Koheles Shlomo. I will show how they reflect the different narrative traditions which were associated with the minor holiday of Hanukkah in which the Book of Judith, introduced in the first edition of Koheles Shlomo, gets replaced with the Maccabees by the 19th century.

### Yahrzeit: Ritualizing Time and Shaping Memory in Modern Judaism

Uriel Gellman; Bar Ilan University

Yahrzeit, the annual commemoration day for deceased relatives, is habitually preserved in many Jewish religious societies. It is denoted through specific rituals and prayers, such as the reciting of the Kaddish, which construct perceptions of kinship, mortality, memory, and temporality. My paper will trace the evolution of Yahrzeit customs as reflections of modern cultural substances and will examine their social and historical implications. Alongside its private features, the Yahrzeit holds communal, ideological, and political meanings as well. I will thus focus on the decisive contribution of Hasidism, as a religious movement that generated an extensive process of ritualization, on the reconstruction of the Yahrzeit on both the private and the public levels: I will describe how mystical insights which evolved since the early modern era were later applied for the formation of a new comprehensive body of Yahrzeit practices and perceptions that influenced modern Jewish culture in many ways.

### A Mitzvah that Dares not Speak its Name: The Erasure of Niddah from German-Language Devotional Texts for Women

Sarah Wobick-Segev; Hamburg University

Early-modern Ashkenazi *tkhines* include frank descriptions of niddah and sexuality. By the nineteenth century, German-language prayer and devotional books written for Jewish women and girls only rarely included texts related to niddah. Several scholars have suggested that this change reflects new codes of bourgeois modesty, which not only frowned upon open discussions about sexuality but about the body more generally. These same scholars have pointed to the decline in the use of the mikveh as a sociological phenomenon linked to modernization. This paper explores the ambivalence that stood behind the silencing of a central female mitzvah in devotional literature for (and sometimes by) Jewish women. As we will see, the seeds of doubt that led to the decline in prayers concerning niddah were sown not only in an era of major cultural and religious change but also at a critical juncture in the emergence of germ theory and modern hygiene and in the democratization of Jewish practice.

#### "Black Kasha" and the Invention of Ceremonial Food in Chabad Hasidism

Wojciech Tworek; University of Wrocław

Chabad's secret is eating kasha on 19 Kislev for the last 200+ years," – wrote a Chabad rabbi Dovid Margolin on his Twitter profile last December. Margolin's tweet marked the day of 19 Kislev, which for the Chabad Hasidim commemorates the day in 1798, on which the founder of Chabad, Shneur Zalman of Lady (1745-1813), was released from the Tzarist prison. With time, eating *shvartse kashe*, or "black kasha," became part of the celebrations of this day, later canonised by books of Chabad laws and customs. Today, due to Chabad's outreach and its strong presence in social media, black kasha's status as Chabad ceremonial food is stronger than ever. However, the first mentions of black kasha come from the early 20th century, the rationales behind its role in the celebration of 19 Kislev are contradictory, and the recipes – as many as the interpretations of the festival. In my paper, I will focus on the emergence of the practice of eating black kasha by Chabad Hasidim and on its various literary explanations. I will explore the factors that led Chabad to invent its own ceremonial food and use the black kasha as a case study for invented traditions in 20th-century Hasidism.

## 14.01 Branches of the Tree: Early Modern Scholars and their Kabbalistic Diagrams

The Use of Tables in Kabbala Denudata: Henry More's Commentary on Christian Knorr von Rosenroth's two Synoptical Tables

Lusdemar Rivera; Free University of Berlin

Henry More (1614-1687) was the most prominent figure among the so-called circle of the Cambridge Platonists, and his work comprehends a manifold of genres and subjects. In addition, his network is seen as fundamental to understanding the development of philosophy and theology in early modern Europe. In recent years, scholarship has overlooked More's kabbalistic efforts, even describing his attitude toward kabbalah as purely negative. However, More was the author of several texts included in Christian Knorr von Rosenroth's Kabbala Denudata, the greatest anthology of Kabbalistic texts translated into Latin. These texts exhibit the stages of More's way through kabbalah, specifically the

Lurianic tradition. In my lecture, I analyze Henry More's commentary on two tables made by Rosenroth to explain and epitomize the fundamental concepts of Kabbalah (the Tree of Life and the sefirot) and offer new perspectives on More as a Christian Kabbalist.

### Menaḥem Azariah da Fano's Studying and Editing of Moses Cordovero's Sefirotic Tree

Eugene Matanky; Tel Aviv University

Menaḥem Azariah da Fano (1548–1620) was perhaps the most influential agent in the transmission of Safedian kabbalah in Europe. While scholarship exists concerning Fano, most scholars have been concerned with his role as a disseminator of Safedian kabbalah. In contrast, this paper focuses on Fano's role as a critical reader and editor of this lore. Fano left behind many personal manuscripts with marginalia. These marginalia reflect his interpretation of Moses Cordovero's kabbalah and his role as an active editor. Like many contemporary humanists, Fano prepared texts for publication and discovered inconsistencies. In this paper, I will focus on one text in particular—the diagram of the channels of the sefirotic tree in Cordovero's writings. By tracing Fano's thought concerning the sefirotic tree through his marginalia and compositions, I materially demonstrate how Fano's reading and editing of Cordoverean kabbalah evolved and impacted later readers and printers of Safedian kabbalah.

#### The Poppers Ilan and the Geography of Lurianic Knowledge

Avinoam Stillman; Free University of Berlin

At thirteen, Meir Poppers (1624-1662) travelled from Krakow to Jerusalem to study Lurianic kabbalah. A few years later, around 1649, he returned to East-Central Europe, bringing with him a trove of Hayyim Vital's writings which he had edited into the Lurianic anthologies Derekh Ets Hayyim, Pri Ets Hayyim, and Nof Ets Hayyim. One reflection of Poppers' unique perspective on the Lurianic system was his creation of an ilan for his students in East-Central Europe. My lecture revisits earlier treatments of the Poppers ilan by Menahem Kallus and J.H. Chajes, centering insights from material philology and the history of knowledge. I will present some new manuscript evidence for the early reproduction and circulation of this ilan in the kabbalistic and scribal networks of East-

Central Europe. Since the circulation of knowledge always involves its transformation, I will also show how the Poppers ilan reflected both Ashkenazi and Ottoman kabbalistic cultures.

## Response to Session "Branches of the Tree: Early Modern Scholars and their Kabbalistic Diagrams"

J.H. Chajes; Haifa University

This response will address the presentations of Lusdemar Rivera, Eugene Matanky, and Avinoam Stillman in the context of the field of research on kabbalistic diagrams.

## 14.02 A Tree Branching Out: Adaptations of the Sefirotic System in Sabbatianism, Christian Kabbalah, and Freemasonry

#### The Sacred Secret of Shabbatai Zevi

Efrat Lederfein-Gilboa; Ben Gurion University

"The Sacred Secret Revealed to Us by AMIRA" is a Sabbatian-Lurianic text allegedly taught by Sabbatai Zevi and transmitted by Ephraim HaCohen of Ostroh, a disciple of Nathan of Gaza, in Modena in 1685. The text follows Nathan of Gaza's ideas as described in "The Book of Creation" (Sefer HaBeri'ah) and aims to explain the unification of the Divine (Yihud) performed by kabbalists when reciting the Shema Yisra'el verse. According to the text, this union takes place by combining various divine elements. Although HaCohen's ideas are based upon Nathan's writing, we are introduced here to novel ideas regarding the different Sefirot (divine attributes), in particular with respect to the key role of the Sefira of Tifferet (Glory) as a mediator between the lower attributes and infinity. The text is a unique combination of new Sabbatian ideas and liturgical instructions, and it enables us to better understand the use of the Tree of Life in expressing thoughts regarding the Divine.

### The Ancient Kabbalists' Orthodox Faith: Lutheran Christocentrism and the Doctrine of the Sefirot

Níels P. Eggerz; Goethe University Frankfurt

This paper explores the extensive Lutheran Orthodox engagement with Kabbalah, proposing that certain conceptual similarities enabled early modern Lutheran scholars to read kabbalistic texts through a rigorously dogmatic lens. The uncompromising Christocentrism put forward by Lutheran dogmatics relegated the Father to a position of utter transcendence, allowing for his identification with the unfathomable Kabbalistic En Sof, while the Son with his countless tasks and properties, could take the place of the Godhead as revealed in the Sefirot. Drawing on this, Lutherans could adapt a modified version of the kabbalistic notion that everything in Scripture was but a code referring to the Sefirot, reinterpreting these references as representations of Christ's threefold office and his many attributes. They could thus integrate central kabbalistic notions into their system of thought, fortifying them in their self-perception that they were professing the successfully restored primaeval religion of ancient Israel.

### The Sefirotic Tree in Freemasonry

Peter Lanchidi; Ben Gurion University

Being part and parcel of Western Esotericism, Kabbalah early on entered certain streams of Freemasonry with an esoteric bent. Of the various concepts of Kabbalah, the Sefirot, through their diagrammatic representation—the Sefirotic Tree—are of special interest to Masonic science for Freemasonry is customarily self-defined as "a peculiar system of morality, veiled in allegory and illustrated by symbols." As a fitting example of the diversity of, and interdisciplinary methods used in Jewish Studies, the talk will present the visual and conceptual amalgamation of the Sefirotic tree and Masonic symbols in the Paris of the July Monarchy (1830–1848). Besides addressing the interplay between Jewish and Christian Kabbalah, and the importance attached to the Trinity, the talk will also uncover the motivations behind the creation of such visuals and the question of why and how these artworks "worked" within the Masonic milieu of the period.

### Theosophic and Theological Implications of Sefirotic Transformations in Textual and Visual Testimonies

Elke Morlok; Goethe University Frankfurt

This response will compare the various concepts of the Sefirotic systems in the three lectures on Sabbatianism, Christian Kabbalah and Freemasonry, but also have a focus on the Sefirotic trees (Ilanot) in Christian treatises of early modern Europe. In what ways do new cultural and historical contexts transform both the visual and textual depictions of the divine attributes, and how are these innovative combinations transferred into theosophic and theological thought? How do novel Christological, esoteric or Sabbatian worldviews seep into diagrammatic, dogmatic or symbolic expressions, which were prevalent in early modern Europe? Of special interest will be the Christian focus on anthropomorphic visualisations of the Sefirot and their Christological and incarnational allusions, as found in the famous teaching panel of Princess Antonia. The Sefirotic structure as a major means of transfer and adaptation between Jewish, Christian and Masonic concepts shall be discussed in this final part of the panel.

## 14.03.1 Jewish Magic & Diversity I: Themes, Methods, Chronologies

Lists of Harmful Rituals in Aramaic Incantation Bowls – A Cognitive Exploration of Jewish Identity in the Sassanian Period

Miruna Belea; Hamburg University

Aramaic incantation bowls meant to ward off spells and entities resulting from the aggressive actions of other practitioners are a distinct category among the magic bowls found in the late antique period. Such counter-spells are taken at great lengths to list potential rituals that may be perpetrated against the owner of the artifact. From spells done in the synagogue, when blowing the shofar or exploiting the presence of the Torah scroll, to those performed in "houses of idols", the Jewish Aramaic bowls are a mix of identity-specific and generic elements, which point to the presupposed existence of harmful rituals in lived religion, in both Jewish and non-Jewish settings. This paper seeks to explore the extent to which improper ritualistic practices showcase the Jewish attitude towards

perceived supernatural threats. Using tools from the cognitive approaches to magic as well as new philology, this presentation discusses both the mechanisms at work in the production of lists and their continued use in the Babylonian cultural environment.

## Zoroastrian and Christian "Magic" Accusations against the Jewish Community in Sasanian and Early Islamic Persia

Neda Darabian; Ruhr University Bochum

This paper investigates Jewish-Christian-Zoroastrian-Muslim relations based on the discourse of 'magic' in late antique Persianate world. It aims to highlight the ways in which Jewish communities were depicted and labeled as 'magicians' or demonized under the Sasanian Zoroastrian empire and the change nature of these accusations as the Persianate world shifted from Zoroastrian to Islamic rule. It will begin by defining the term 'magic' based on Jewish, Zoroastrian and Christian literature from the third to the ninth centuries, and further it shows a) how the Zoroastrian and Christian religious authorities demonized the Jewish communities and employed 'magic' accusations as a rhetorical strategy to marginalize them and draw the borderlines of their own religious identity, and b) to examine the consequences of magic labels for interreligious relations both under the Sasanian and Muslim rule.

### Ancient Jewish Amulets as "Emotion Scripts": A Psychological Perspective

Anat Bloch-Feldman; Tel Aviv University

In a given emotional community, emotions compose culturally codified sequences: one emotion elicits another in a way that is specific to a culture and a context, linked to certain emotional values and norms. Dated to the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries CE, Jewish amulets were written in Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek, and – as the texts inscribed upon them make clear – sought to expel demons, to cure diseases, to ensure proper pregnancy and delivery and to protect their wearers from any harmful forces such as the evil eye or evil spirits. What can we learn about the emotional state of Jews in late antiquity through textual amulets? Can we conceive an ancient textual amulet as an "emotional script" divulging the psychological world of the person who wore it? These questions will be at the

center of my talk, that will focus on one ancient textual amulet as a case study, and as a potential source for the history of emotions in late antique Judaism.

### Intentional Textual Objects & the Materiality of Writing in Jewish Magical Tradition of Premodern Ashkenaz

Agata Paluch; Free University of Berlin

The use of tefillin and mezuzot as amulets has been recorded in various Jewish communities well since the antiquity. In the premodern Ashkenazi world, these textual objects of daily use were believed to acquire and retain supernatural - practical and kabbalistic - status, as they were validated by intentional and sensory performance of inscription by a qualified scribe during a minutely prescribed process. Controlling the production of such textual objects relied not only on implementing the regime of spiritual ritualisation, but also on intellectualisation of physical - artisanal and scribal - labour and of the materials that pertained to it. Zooming in on Ashkenazi handwritten magical and kabbalistic manuals for writing such text-objects, this presentation focuses on media and materiality of textual objects in the reading of Jewish magical traditions. It will showcase materials and objects as sites of spiritual and practical knowledge exchanges between elite and non-elite members of premodern Ashkenazi society.

## 14.03.2 Jewish Magic & Diversity II: Themes, Methods, Chronologies

### Cataloguers, Catalogues, and Jewish Magic Manuscripts

Michael Kohs; Hamburg University

Manuscripts containing Jewish magical texts usually did not receive much attention when being catalogued. For most cataloguers, magic was (and is) a peripheral subject. The share of magical texts in manuscript collections owned by libraries is often rather small, and magic manuscripts tend to present the cataloguer with a challenge: Many manuscripts are in a fragmentary state or are rebound with other materials of different provenance. When it comes to the contents, cataloguers often only unspecifically state that manuscripts contain *segullot* or *refu'ot*. This talk will ask how Jewish magic manuscripts are

represented in manuscript catalogues. I will consider a selection of catalogues, older as well as more recent ones, and their editors, among them most prominently Moritz Steinschneider. This view on catalogues and what is specified in them about Jewish Magic and its manuscripts may broaden our understanding of how Jewish magic was received by Jewish and non-Jewish scholars.

## A Guide to Unlocking Dreams in Yiddish: Introducing the Yiddish Book "Pisron Khaloymes" translated into Yiddish by Herz Rabbi Oyzers (Amsterdam, 1694)

Daniella Zaidman-Mauer; University of Amsterdam

"Pisron Khaloymes" is the first Yiddish translation of Shlomo ben Jacob Almoli's book on dream interpretations. The book, comprising 48 printed pages, is divided into three main parts. After an introduction, part one consists of general theoretical knowledge about dreams, the second part consists of the interpretation of specific images seen in dreams, as well as interpretations of dreams that have occurred, and the third part explains how to annul the negative effects of a bad dream. The translator, Herz Rabbi Oyzers, most probably comes from the line of the Amsterdam Ashkenazi *shamashim* and ne'emanim (sextons and trustees). I will introduce the Yiddish paratexts of the book as well as the book's structure. I will focus on the endeavour of Herz Rabbi Oyzers to present magical oneiric knowledge - until then unavailable to those men and women in Ashkenaz who did not master the Hebrew language - to a wider reading audience and thus to make it accessible to people of all walks of life.

## Catharsis of the Soul: Exorcism as Healing Ritual from Eastern Europe to Baghdad Andrea Gondos; Free University of Berlin

In this paper, I will trace the deployment of recipes and techniques to treat possessions by malevolent spirits in two distinct sources. First, by examining practical kabbalistic manuals from 18th-century Eastern Europe that contextualize demonic possession within broader issues of specific illnesses and healing. Second, by critically analysing the work of Rabbi Yehudah Fetayyah, Talking Souls (*Ruhot Mesaprot*), which is deeply concerned with the consequences of sin on the human soul in the afterlife. Focusing on reincarnation and soul-impregnation (*ibbur*), Ruhot Mesaprot portrays a religious world characterised by

fluidity, in which boundaries between body and spirit, man and woman, appear permeable and imbricated. Issues of embodiment, the complex relationship between embodied and disembodied existence, are framed in the context of soul reparation, a kabbalistic teaching developed extensively by Isaac Luria and his student Hayim Vital.

## The Last Great Jewish Magician? The "Practical Kabbalah" of Rabbi Izhak Kaduri Gideon Bohak; Tel Aviv University

Rabbi Izhak Kaduri (1898? – 2006) became widely known to the Israeli public in the mid1990s when he was recruited into the election campaigns of the Sephardic-Orthodox
party, SHAS. However, his recruitment by SHAS was due to his wide recognition among
its potential voters as "the eldest Kabbalist" and as an expert in "practical Kabbalah," who
healed or helped thousands of individuals over several decades. After his death, his recipe
books were printed in a partly-censored six-volume facsimile edition accompanied by a
commentary. Another set of sources is afforded by the many treatment diaries he had kept
over the years, in which he wrote down the names and complaints of every person who
sought his help. Combining the data from the recipe books, the treatment diaries, and the
many amulets that Kaduri wrote over the years (some of which are available online or sold
in auctions) allows us to reconstruct the actual practice of a Jewish "practical Kabbalist" of
the twentieth century – as I will try to do in my paper.

### 14.04 Generic Forms in Theoretical and Practical Kabbalah

## Is there a Genre of Poetic Wisdom Texts in Early Kabbalah? The Example of Keter Shem Tov in its Literary Context

Bill Rebiger; Martin-Luther-University Halle-Wittenberg

The first part of the kabbalistic treatise Keter Shem Tov ('The Crown of the Good Name'), attributed to Abraham Axelrod of Cologne, consists of a poetic text in rhymed prose praising the kabbalist who is able to understand the divine glory and the mystery of his name through the use of the anima intellectualis. My paper attempts to answer the question of whether there is a genre of poetic wisdom texts in the early thirteenth century Kabbalah represented, in addition to Keter Shem Tov, by texts such as the lyric proem of

the Sefer ha-Yiḥud ('The Book of Unity') by Asher ben David or the poems of Naḥmanides. To specify the supposed kabbalistic genre, the analysis expands the literary context by including some earlier texts, ranging from Keter Malkhut by Solomon ibn Gabirol or the poems of Abraham ibn Ezra to the Ashkenazic poem Shir ha-Kavod ('The Song of Glory').

### R. Moshe Zacuto's Haqdamot to Sefer ha-Zohar in Context

Vladislav Slepoy; Martin-Luther-University Halle-Wittenberg

A recently discovered autograph manuscript of R. Moshe Zacuto and several copies made during his lifetime shed new light on his approach to the Sefer ha-Zohar. These manuscripts contain hundreds of haqdamot (preambles) to different Zoharic passages, which he wrote in the course of about twenty years. Kabbalistic (especially Lurianic) haqdamot to the Zohar constitute a well-known genre in kabbalistic literature. By contrast, the newly discovered haqdamot are purely homiletical in character and only rarely touch on kabbalistic motifs. Apparently, they functioned as short homilies and served to introduce the Zohar to a wider circle of readers (or listeners) who were not familiar with kabbalistic literature. These haqdamot were arranged according to the weekly portions of the Pentateuch, festivals and other important events in the Jewish calendar. My paper aims to introduce these haqdamot, to analyze and to contextualize them by comparing them with related literary genres.

### Lives of Kabbalists in Letters: The Case of R. Moses Zacuto

Gerold Necker; Martin-Luther-University Halle-Wittenberg

The art of letter-writing accompanies the development of Kabbalah from its very beginning. Considering the fact that kabbalists seldom offered autobiographical details in their mystical writings, the epistolary genre seems to be most promising in this respect. Relevant insight into the lives of individual kabbalists, however, is lacking before the early modern period. The rich correspondence of Moses Zacuto, which was first published in Livorno in 1780, displays a variety of private and official features alike. My paper will discuss the importance of letters written by kabbalists in general and the corpus of Zacuto's letters in particular by posing, on the one hand, the question of the extent to which his kabbalistic teachings matter from a biographical point of view and, on the other

hand, whether and how the treatment of Kabbalah in his letters affects this genre and vice versa.

#### Divine Names and Mundane Needs: R. Moses Zacuto's Book of Secrets

Yuval Harari; Ben Gurion University

R. Moses Zacuto's Book of Secrets (Sefer ha-Sodot) is a remarkable example of a literary genre that combines theoretical and practical Kabbalah: Zacuto copied to his notebook (MS Moscow, Guenzburg 1448) hundreds of magic recipes from various sources, leaving a very broad margin for commenting on them. His notes reveal a focused interest in the divine names embedded in them: Their origins and ways of construction as well as their place in the Kabbalistic scheme of the world. This interest will later take the form of his definitive dictionary of divine names, known as Book of the Roots of the [Divine] Names (Sefer Shorshei ha-Shemot), where the practical aspect became marginal and operational instructions were totally absent. In my lecture, I will focus on the Book of Secrets and its interplay between theory and praxis, divine names and mundane needs.

## 14.05 Occult, Magic, Folklore and Zionism from Mandatory Palestine to Present Israel

## Between Orientalism and Nationalism: "Magic" and the Study of Mizrahi Jews in Mandatory Palestine

Nimrod Zinger; Achva Academic College

Edward Said's concept of "Orientalism" is widely used in the study of Ashkenazi - Mizrahi relations to highlight European superiority in Zionist discourse. Over the years, research focused on many "orientalist" motives in writings concerning the Mizrahi Jews that described them as unproductive, dirty, and sick. Alongside these motifs, one can find many derogatory references to the Oriental Jews' belief in "magic" and "superstitions". These aspects have received no scholarly attention so far.

In this lecture, I would like to focus on depictions of Mizrahi Jews' relationship to "magic" in the writings of three Zionist scholars from Mandatory Palestine: Nahum Sloushz, Abraham Jacob Brawer, and Avraham Elmalih. I will demonstrate how by emphasizing the magical practices of Mizrahim, they aimed to strengthen the hierarchy within the Jewish world, but in doing so, revealed a deep sense of shared destiny and identity.

#### All Her Sons: Politics and Folk Culture in Rachel's Tomb in the last Three Decades

David Rotman; Hebrew University

The proposed paper is part of an ongoing research project dealing with the various ways in which religious rites and folktales involving Rachel the Matriarch have changed since the Oslo Accords. Folktales about the biblical matriarch date back to the Rabbinic era. Moreover, a unique Jewish cult at Rachel's Tomb in Bethlehem significantly intensified from the mid-19th century onwards. These rites, which were mostly female-led, were analyzed in a series of previous studies, most of which traced their development from their inception up to the 1990s.

My research project explores the cult and its main folktales from the 1990s to the present day. My research shows the degree to which the political sphere impacts modern-day Israeli-Jewish folk traditions, including bringing about the establishment of new traditions. Specifically, I argue that the increasingly political significance of the cult has led to its masculinization.

## Recycled Witches – The Retelling of Narratives from Rabbinical Literature within Contemporary Alternative Spirituality

Marianna Ruah-Midbar Shapiro; Zefat Academic College

Within the contemporary Alternative Spirituality sphere – in Israel and abroad – the affinity to Jewish tradition is challenged by the widespread suspicion and criticism of organized religion. The SBNR (Spiritual-but-not-Religious) stance contrasts between "spirituality" and "religion". The latter is considered the oppressor of the individual – especially women – the destroyer of magic, and a model of a conservative, aggressive establishment that lost its connection to the secrets of ancient perennial truth that unite all religions and cultures. This legend – which illustrates Shimon ben-Shatach's witch-hunt and includes an admission to false justice and the vicious execution of eighty witches – could become another example that supports this criticism of religious tradition and makes relating to Judaism within the alternative-spiritual space difficult. However, it seems the opposite is

true: spiritual-alternative leaders in Israel choose a retelling of this narrative, which identifies with its anti-heroines. Thus, the Jewish sources become a resource of the critical spiritual approach to tradition.

### 15.01 Scribes, Texts and Readers

### Did Isaac of Corbeil Initiate Communal Copying of his Semak? Revisiting his Letter to the Jewish Communities

Judah Galinsky; Bar Ilan University

One of the most famous passages from Isaac of Corbeil's writing comes from a letter he circulated to the Jewish communities of France. One short section of this letter seemingly describes his plan to initiate public financing for the copying (and the loaning of his Semak). Malachi Beit-Arie described this initiative in the following fashion: "In a bold, unique step-by-step plan of action the author outlines explicitly the appropriate method for disseminating his text: every community, he affirms, should finance the copying of his halakhic code and preserve one copy so that whoever wishes to copy or study it be able to borrow it on a daily basis. He further states that if a representative of a community has to stay in another town in order to copy the book, he should be reimbursed for his expenses from the public fund, and even the rates are prescribed."

In my paper, I wish to revisit this unique text relating to the circulation of books in medieval times. Through an examination of the manuscript evidence and a close contextual reading of its content, I will suggest an alternate way to understand Isaac's plan.

## Hannah's Dragons: Gender and Conversion in a Fourteenth-Century Jewish Woman's Manuscript

Milan Žonca; Charles University

In 1386, a female scribe named Hannah, the daughter of Menaḥem Zion of Cologne, copied a popular thirteenth-century halakhic handbook *Sefer mizwot ḥaṭan* by Isaac of Corbeil. One of only a handful of surviving Hebrew manuscripts written by female scribes, Hannah's *Sefer mizwot ḥaṭan* contains markings and marginal drawings that add an

additional layer of meaning to the structure of the text. Hannah was a member of an important and well-connected scholarly family. Examining those elements of her manuscript's physical layout that give clues to Hannah's interaction with the text, including interactions inflected by gender difference, will illuminate a unique intersection of scholarly and female piety. In addition, almost a decade before she produced her manuscript, Hannah was also involved in a traumatising trial of her husband, Simon of Siegburg, during which she may have been forcibly baptized. This paper will examine Hannah's manuscript in the light of her biography and explore how its marginal drawings may express not only her personal attitude to Jewish practice but also her struggle to articulate and preserve her Jewish identity.

### Jewish Female Scribes and Self-Production of Religious Manuscripts in Italy and German-Speaking Lands in the 18th Century

Dagmara Budzioch; independent scholar

Palaeographic research on Hebrew manuscripts confirms the presence – albeit only marginal – of Jewish women in Hebrew scribal culture throughout the ages. We have evidence of at least 10 Jewish women acting as copyists during the 18th century who noted their names in colophons of around 20 manuscripts crafted by them. They are codices, scrolls, and single-leaf manuscripts that all comprise religious texts, such as the Talmud, liturgical poems, benedictions, and the Book of Esther. The presentation will characterize works produced by Jewish female scribes from the point of view of palaeography and codicology, and it will discuss their ornamentation. At the same time, the manuscripts will be a starting point for a discussion as to the identity of their female makers, the level of education and literacy among women, and their position within Jewish communities.

## 15.02 Hebrew Manuscripts and Palaeography: New Perspectives 1

### Is There a Scribal School to which the Cairo Codex Belongs?

Vincent (Vince) Beiler; University of Cambridge

Few Hebrew Bible codices have been subjected to as many questions regarding authenticity and date of composition as the Cairo Codex of the Prophets. While the consensus (possibly) is that the codex was written during the 11th century, an opinion partially based upon a carbon 14 dating, some scholars hold that the colophon is genuine and the carbon 14 date is questionable--thus dating the codex to the end of the 9th century. Making an extended comparison of paratextual features of C with several dozen other early Oriental codices, this paper shows that C was produced in a scribal circle separate from codices such as the Aleppo Codex, Or. 4445, Sassoon 507, Sassoon 1053, the Leningrad Codex, II B 10, II B 26, II B 39, II B 55, and others. This separation does not mean that C is sui generis, however. Fourteen early codices are identified with significant similarity of scribal features with C, and it is hoped that these manuscripts can serve as a springboard for future research into the nature of C.

### Italian Bibles of 12th Century: Palaeographic Characteristics and Contexts of Production.

Roberta Tonnarelli; École Pratique des Hautes Études

The Hebrew script developing between the eleventh and twelfth centuries begins to move towards a local characterization and to distance itself from the Eastern-Oriental tradition. The survey of the fragments reused as bindings conducted in the Italian Archives reveals that many belong to an old Italian type. Among these, a limited number displays a typical writing style attributed to the rabbinical academies of Southern Apulia. However, some fragments from an ancient bible kept at the State Archives of Viterbo and a complete manuscript, the Ms. Vat. Ubr. Ebr. 2 display a significant similarity to Ms. A 186 Inf., a dated manuscript from 1145-46, which is attributed to a Roman or Tuscan context of production.

The study aims to propose a palaeographic-based reflection of ancient Italian-type script in

order to understand whether and how local sub-types were used and developed locally and to investigate different and distant ateliers of production.

Relation of Jewish Scribes to Halakhic Literature in Medieval Ashkenaz: Local Characteristics of Scribal Discrepancies in Barukh še-Amar

Mark Farnadi-Jerusálmi; École Pratique des Hautes Études

Throughout the ages, rabbinical communal leadership wished to retain the professional services of excellent artisans while ensuring that their work conformed in every manner to halakhic standards. They chose to work only with those who could meet these standards. Great halakhic works minutely detailed those laws concerning the writing of Torah scrolls and excerpts inserted in phylacteries [tefillin] and mezuzot, even detailing the shape of the letters and the various types of serifs.

One such example was *Barukh še-Amar*, a work by the 14th-century Ashkenazi sage Rabbi Samson ben Eliezer.

This paper deals with some of the halakhic-paleographic issues mentioned in *Barukh še-Amar*, especially common errors made by scribes that can be identified with certain areas in Ashkenaz (such as Erfurt, Lusatia or Bavaria), which Rabbi Samson sought to correct. The editions of *Barukh še-Amar* known today, even if they include illustrations, apparently had no access to scripts from Rabbi Samson's time and place. Instead, they showed examples based on the scribal art known to the publishers in their respective situations. We can conclude that in historical perspective rabbi Samson ben Eliezer was usually very

## 15.03 Hebrew Manuscripts and Palaeography: New Perspectives 2 (Digital Perspectives)

Seeing the Invisible: Digital Relevation of the Sarajevo Haggadah

Aleksandra Buncic; independent scholar

This paper explores preliminary research results of the multispectral imaging of the Sarajevo Haggadah, a fourteenth-century Jewish illuminated manuscript housed at the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It showcases how modern technology and advanced scientific analysis allow scholars to study medieval manuscripts in ways that

were not possible before. Through multispectral imaging, folios of the manuscript are exposed to different wavelengths of light ranging from ultraviolet to infrared. Each wavelength interacts differently with the surface of the manuscript, thus revealing details not visible to the naked eye. My presentation will focus, in particular, on censor's erasures and later additions to the original manuscript iconography. In 1609, Giovanni Domenico Vistorini, a censor of the Roman Catholic Church, purged the Sarajevo Haggadah of text deemed offensive to the Church while leaving untouched its depictions of the Passover seder and biblical history.

### HebrewPal: a New Digital for Hebrew Palaeography

Joseph O'Hara; Oxford University

The growing interest in Hebrew manuscripts in recent years has shown the need for reliable methods of dating and localising manuscripts. Hebrew palaeography offers non-destructive methods for script and handwriting typology but still lacks tools comparable to those of Latin palaeographers. This paper presents a new online Hebrew Palaeography Album (HebrewPal). Created in 2022, this searchable repository includes descriptions of the various graphic elements of the palaeographical samples, including consonants, punctuation, abbreviation, line management and mise en texte graphic symbols, modified letters (*otiyyot meshunnot*), decoration, etc. The descriptions include the global aspect of the writing and the dynamic and morphological features of the letters and other graphic components.

### Computational Paleography

Nachum Dershowitz; Tel Aviv University

Algorithms can be used for paleographic analysis in two very different ways, one humanoriented and the other machine-oriented, both of which will be explained and exemplified in this talk.

In a relatively straightforward fashion, algorithms can be designed to learn from experts which feature of handwriting are of significance and how they are to be used for classifying handwritten texts and matching hands. In addition to the rules used for the determinations, this requires a large quantity of text tagged by humans for those handcrafted features.

Once trained, the algorithm can analyze massive quantities of letters or letter combinations for the presence of these features and determine provenance on that basis. Algorithms can also be used to measure the relative contribution of different features and optimize the decision process.

A more modern machine-learning approach is to train neural networks on large amounts of manually classified images of texts, leaving it to the algorithm to discern relevant features in much the same way that algorithms perform facial recognition. The salient features of the algorithm may have little in common with the paleographic features that underlie a paleographer's expertise. One shortcoming of this method is that it may be difficult for the algorithm to explain the reasons for its decisions.

### Hebrew Manuscripts as a Source for Knowledge : A Case Study of Yemenite Hebrew Manuscripts

Gila Prebor; Bar Ilan University

The catalogue of Hebrew manuscripts in the National Library of Israel is a source of secondary historical knowledge that is not exhaustive, and a lot of information can be drawn from it. Traditionally, library catalogues have served as tools for managing library collections and as bibliographic tools for information retrieval. Consequently, library catalogues eventually became data silos.

Taking the vast amount of information gathered in the metadata records and applying them in a new digital approach can more effectively express the kind of complex relationships which are found in the metadata of the Hebrew manuscript catalogue and enrich the data. It will be possible to investigate questions that cannot be answered directly, such as questions concerning information about Jewish centres and the connections between these centres, literary trends in different Judeo-Languages in different periods and in different regions, as well as a description of figures, not necessarily well-known, from a bio-bibliographic point of view.

This research is a pilot study aimed at developing and testing a framework for aggregating historical information and exploring its suitability for addressing research questions relating to the history of Hebrew manuscripts. As a case study, we chose approximately 300 records of Yemenite Jewish manuscripts in the subject: Science.

## 15.05 Broadsheets and Other Printed Ephemera: New Perspectives

Jewish Broadsheets: An Overview

Avriel Bar-Levav; The Open University of Israel

Jewish broadsheets on various topics have been issued since the beginning of Hebrew printing, as already in the incunabula period at least one calendar was printed in Italy, perhaps the first example of this medium. Since then, broadsheets have been produced regularly and steadily across the Jewish world on many occasions and in various forms. However, although this medium represents about 10% of Jewish print production, its research and preservation were neglected. We have almost no catalogue or description of broadsheets, and even comparatively large collections in libraries were not usually catalogued and studied. This paper will offer an overview of Jewish broadsheets in the context of other Jewish textual products and discuss the research questions which they can help answer.

### Bilingual Broadsheets in Morocco in the First Half of the Twentieth Century

David Guedj; Hebrew University

Starting from the end of the nineteenth century, the opening of publishing houses and print shops resulted in profound changes among North Africa's Jewish communities, particularly in Morocco. These businesses precipitated the emergence of new writing elites and new readerships in Hebrew as well as Judeo-Arabic and European languages, such as French, Spanish, Italian, and English. In particular, they enabled the development of a corpus of printed texts in Hebrew and Judeo-Arabic, created specifically to appeal to local readerships. This paper explores for the first time the four main groups of broadsheet newspapers printed in Morocco in Hebrew and Judeo-Arabic: 1. broadsheets for the Jewish cycle of the year; 2. broadsheets of piyyutim in Hebrew and qasidas in Judeo-Arabic; 3. broadsheets dedicated to Tzadikim and Tzadikim's graves; 4. broadsheets of amulets. All four groups share the performance component of the broadsheets, evident in the connection between text, pattern and performance.

### Ephemera for the Future? Vernacular History among Early Modern Jews

Andrea Schatz; King's College London

When early modern printers issued historical texts for European Jews, they often operated in an interstitial space between transience and permanence. On the one hand, they created material records for local and translocal dissemination that promised greater durability than purely oral performances. On the other hand, texts were often cheaply produced as booklets for immediate use that did not encourage preservation and transmission to create enduring memories and satisfy the curiosity of future generations. Nonetheless, just as the production of short chronicles, historical songs and similar texts was a complex undertaking, their reception too was multi-faceted. While many works are lost, there were also various attempts to salvage them and to promote their relevance beyond the places and times for which they were produced. This paper discusses such strategies for preservation and their implications for the analysis of early modern approaches to history in exile.

## 15.06 New Perspectives on the Production and Interpretation of a Ritually Pure Torah Scroll

### Editorial Considerations. Text Tradition and Development of R. Samson ben Eliezer's Scribal Manual Barukh she-amar

Anna May Dallendörfer; Free University of Berlin

Barukh she-amar is a 13th-14th century scribal manual from mediaeval Ashkenaz which deals holistically with the production and writing of STaM, from the manufacture and preparation of the skins to the form of the Hebrew letters and rules for writing. The manual has survived in various text witnesses in both manuscript and printed form from across a wide geographical range which differ quite significantly from each other. In this session, we will look at the text tradition of Barukh she-amar and its development and will highlight some of the text's special features. In particular, we will deal with the question of what to consider when making a critical edition of this manual which seeks to accommodate its fluid nature as well as regional differences in Ashkenazi scribal practice. We will thereby see the advantages of a digital edition in the TEI format.

### Joining Halacha and Mysticism: Jom Tov Lipmann's Manual for sofrei STaM Sefer alfa beta

Annett Martini; Free University of Berlin

Undoubtedly, Jom Tov Lipmann's *Sefer alfa beta* is one of the most important sources for the history of scroll production in the Jewish tradition. The influential treatise from the early 15th century not only provides the professional sofer StaM with a detailed description of the correct and exact forms of all Hebrew letters for writing ritually pure scrolls, but also offers an anthology of rabbinic, mystical, and philosophical ideas on the symbolic meaning of the letters' shapes. To this end, Lipmann brings together various halachic and exegetic traditions from antiquity and the Middle Ages and – in terms of script and its interpretation – builds a link to the modern scribal tradition.

This paper will discuss the conception of this small manual in the light of the enormous variety of sources to which Jom Tov Lipmann refers, and explore how Lipmann resolves the inherent tension between halacha, mysticism and philosophy.

### Secrets of the Tagin in the Ashkenazi Tradition: Sefer Tagin of Eleazar of Worms

Dana Eichhorst; Free University of Berlin

Eleazar of Worms' work is deeply rooted in beliefs about the divine creative power of the Hebrew letters. This is reflected particularly in his speculative magnum opus, *Sode Razayya*, for example, in his commentary on *Sefer Yesira* or the exegesis on the Hebrew letters in *Sod Ma'aseh Bereshit*. In so far three known manuscripts, a text has survived that is attributed to Eleazar and in which he deals with the Tagin. Unlike the eponymous *Sefer Tagin*, Eleazar's text is not a manual for Torah scribes but rather a kabbalistic-speculative interpretation of these 'holy crowns'. Considering the manuscripts and their transmission also in Christian circles, the lecture pursues the question to what extent Eleazar's interpretation of the *tagin* allows new perspectives on those currents in Kabbalah that are characterized by letter and name speculations.

## How to be a Scribe – Keset HaSofer and the Teaching of Jewish Scribal Law in 19th Century Eastern Europe

Katharina Hadassah Wendl; Free University of Berlin

Keset HaSofer (1835) is now one of the most influential halakhic scribal guides. Written by R. Shlomo Ganzfried, it summarizes a vast array of halakhic literature on Jewish scribal law for both budding and experienced scribes. This lecture will trace how R. Ganzfried explains halakha and engages with rabbinic discourse to accurately and concisely educate the scribe of the 19th century. By analysing the structural and discursive features of Keset HaSofer and by looking at other scribal guides of his time and throughout the ages, R. Ganzfried's pedagogical intentions as well as broader historical and intellectual developments within Jewish scribal law in the 19th century, will be explored. R. Ganzfried remarks on the halakhic principle shelo kesidran will form the starting point for elucidating the educational and halachic trajectory of Keset HaSofer.

## 15.08 Writing, Printing and Reading Books in the Early Modern Period

### The Shifting Sands of the "Zohar": Weaving of Text(ure) Through Patterns

Hillel Feuerstein; Bar Ilan University

The gradual withdrawal from the urtext and even from the ideal of the 'final form' of the 'Zohar', is nothing but an invitation reassess the secrets of the 'Zohar'. Perhaps one major desideratum is rooted in the question regarding the repetitive paragraphs across the printed editions of the 'Zohar'. As manuscripts were printed, this peculiar occurrence became embedded in the text. Perhaps the epitome of this phenomenon is the triple appearance of the same verse in the Cremona and Mantua editions (1:65a; 2:266a, 168b-169a).

The reason this issue has been neglected by modern research could be because it was allegedly explained centuries ago, by the 17th century 'Amudei Sheva'. But upon closer inspection, even this attempt fails to account for one of the three repetitions of this verse. This lacuna was repeated by many modern scholars, and is striking given the high status of this verse. Generations following the composition of the 'Zohar', from the Safedian

Kabbalists and through to the Sabbatean theologists, scholars all treat this verse with great reverence. Reevaluation of this history reveals a miniature textual drama, which offers an exemplary case study to explore the editorial process of the 'Zohar'.

### Jewish Practices of Reading in the Light of Repeated Editions of Learned Hebrew Printed Books, 1515–1630

Pavel Sládek; Charles University

The existence of a printed edition is traditionally perceived by scholars as an indicator of readers' interest in the text. A systematic analysis of repeated printed editions of learned Hebrew texts shows that the situation was more complex. In some cases, a detailed look at specific editions shows that the publishers' motivation was not primarily the interest of readers but, for example, the acquisition of social status. At other times, repeated editions do reflect the interest of readers but then, rather surprisingly, show that the "library" of early modern Jewish intellectuals differed substantially from the expectations of modern scholars: Many texts whose content we would consider not very interesting were republished, while intellectually original texts often remained on the periphery of interest. The presentation is based on a combination of newly collected bibliographic data and a detailed study of paratexts. A diachronic view of a longer period allows us to identify some important trends and geographical shifts in the production and reception of Hebrew scholarly literature.

#### Yaakov Ben Haim and the Beginning of Hebrew Printing in Venice

Yakov Z. Mayer; Hebrew University

During the printing industry's first decades, most printed books were copied from medieval manuscripts. A set of methodological tools developed by the first printers enabled them to deal with the complicated and varied medieval text tradition and to produce one solid text out of the medieval mixture of copies and variations.

In my lecture, I will focus on one Jewish Printer –Yaakov ben Haim ibn Adoniahu, who was an active printer in Daniel Bomberg's printing house in Venice during the 16th century '20s. Going through the paratexts YBH left on his editions of the Biblia, the Jerusalem Talmud, and Maimonides' Mishneh Torah, and writings he added in the marginalia of the

Jerusalem Talmud's printer's copy (MS Leiden Or. 4720), I will aim to describe YBH's daily life in Venice, his professional methodology of preparing medieval texts for printing, and a specific polemic with another printer regarding the guidelines of text preparation for print. I aim to show that the way the text was reworked in preparation for print was accomplished by means of a unique combination of traditional, medieval editing techniques and new humanist textual processing practices.

## 15.09 Books within Books: Hebrew Fragments in European Libraries today

Newly Discovered Hebrew Binding Fragments from German Archives and Libraries

Andreas Lehnardt; Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz

The paper will present some of the most exciting findings of Hebrew Manuscripts discovered recently in German archives and libraries. Since the publication of the first comprehensive catalogue of Hebrew binding fragments for the series Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland (2021), several dozen new fragments have come to light and were identified by me. Among these fragments are rare texts from the Talmudim, some Midrashic fragments and Piyyutim. The presentation will focus on some of these discoveries and will highlight the most exciting insights from these pieces.

## Latin Fragments Matter: All Jewish Documents in a 14th Century Girona Bookbinding

Leor Jacobi; Bar Ilan University

Hebrew manuscript fragments extracted from Medieval bookbindings in Girona are cherished, but Latin and Catalan fragments are ignored. However, since the bookbinders who used paperboard were Jewish, their own documents should be highly represented. To test this hypothesis, Lidia Donat of the Nahmanides Institute reviewed all Latin fragments in volume Gi 1,7 from the Arxiu Historic of Girona. 11 out of 26 Latin fragments mention Jews (and probably many others did before they were fragmented). We compared these results with six Hebrew fragments in the binding catalogued by Esperança Valls-Pujol. A total of 14 towns are mentioned. Almost all are in the Northeast sector of the Province of

Girona, including Cadaqués, a picturesque seaside town with a medieval Jewish community whose archive burned down and later the town itself, so these documents provide a rare window into a forgotten world.

## Hebrew Documents and Re-Used Fragments from the National Archives (Archivio di Stato) in Rome

Elena Nicoletta Barile: École Pratique des Hautes Études

The presentation will start with a preliminary overview of the documents in Hebrew script preserved in the National Archives (Archivio di Stato) in Rome. References to the existing bibliography and research tools will be updated. Particular attention will be given to the new editions of the documents produced within the framework of the "Books within Books Project".

A description of 2 newly discovered fragments preserved in "Fondo Cenci Bolognetti" from the same Archives will be provided. The fragments will be analyzed according to their palaeographic and textual features, and their date and geographical provenance will be proposed and discussed. Finally, attempts to reconstruct the historical and cultural context of their production and preservation will be made.

### New Hebrew Fragments in the State Archive of Ravenna

Chiara Benini; Fondazione San Carlo, Modena

During the tidying-up of the Court fund in the State Archive of Ravenna, Hebrew re-used fragments have come to light. About a dozen fragments of medium and small sizes are found in the bindings of different registers. They came from Imola, Faenza, and Bertinoro. They show different typologies of writings, the parchments are different and the mode of their reuse changes. In this paper, I will focus in particular on three fragments and consider a digital 3D reconstruction of the eight strips glued together. The 3D reconstruction is presented as a non-destructive mode of the study of the fragments without the necessity of separating them.

## 15.10 Kimhi's Sefer ha-Shorashim: a Critical Edition and Questions Raised

## The Latin Translation of Sefer ha-Shorashim by David Kimhi in the Ms. Or. V of Merton College

Marta Fusaro; University of Turin

The Latin translation of *Sefer ha-Shorashim* contained in Ms. Or. V of Merton College is probably produced in the academic circle of Sir. Henry Savile, and it responds to new cultural needs that arose in the 16th-17th centuries in England, such as the necessity to learn Hebrew to read the Bible in the original language. It is possible to identify the witness of the Hebrew text of the *Sefer ha-Shorashim* used as the source to create the Latin translation thanks to some indications taken from the codicological analysis of Ms. Or. V, combined with the study of textual variants from the traditions of the Hebrew text. I will highlight some peculiar features of the translation process and show that the Latin translation of *Sefer ha-Shorashim* also assumes the function of an exegetical work: the translator adds explanations to the biblical verses cited by Kimhi and comments on his interpretations.

### Variants and Common Errors in Biblical Quotations in Sefer ha-Shorashim Manuscripts

Anamarija Vargovic; Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes

In this paper, we will discuss the importance of numerous passages in *Sefer ha-Shorashim* in which biblical quotations, whose original function is to illustrate the grammatical principles discussed by the author David Kimhi, differ from the Masoretic Text. We will present the frequency of variant readings that have already been attested in the transmission of the biblical text, as well as that of errors common to a significant number of *Sefer ha-Shorashim* manuscripts. Combining these data, we will discuss their philological interest and their contribution to our work on the stemma. We will present some of the most interesting examples encountered during our work and share our hypotheses concerning their origin.

### Poetic Tailpieces in some Sefer ha-Shorashim Manuscripts: What Do they Teach Us?

Judith Kogel; Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes

While working on the critical edition of Kimhi"s *Dictionary of Roots*, the *Sefer ha-Shorashim* (completed in 1210), it quickly became clear that some copyists took advantage of the end of each chapter, 22 like the letters of the Hebrew alphabet, to insert a personal formula. The original text was probably very sober "End of letter alef, and I will copy now letter beth", as it appears in numerous manuscripts. Others have short poems ending with the name of the following letter to copy. The subject of these verses is very classical, but I was able, rarely, however, to discern some elements that inform us about the city of copy. In this paper, I would like to present poetic tailpieces to some chapters and answer some questions: are these poems specific to a geographical area? Can they help us reconstruct the history of this famous book?

## 15.11 Masters of Letters: German-Jewish Type Designers in Service of Modern Hebrew Typography

Circling the Square: Visions of Modern Hebrew Typography

Nitzan Chelouche; DAAD Center for German Studies, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Hebrew typography experienced tremendous growth in the wake of Hebrew's linguistic renaissance of the 1800s. German-Jewish designers stood at the fore of this development, producing many, if not most, of the first modern Hebrew types. Several of these, such as Frank-Rühl and Hadassah, are still widely used in Israel today. While interest in these typefaces has grown among design writers and curators in recent years, scholarly research into their cultural significance is scarce. Using Rafael Frank, Josef Kaplan, and Henri Friedlaender as case studies, this presentation will explore the emergence of modern Hebrew typographic discourse in the early twentieth century. Based on a thematic analysis of articles written by the three designers, I will argue that their ideas extended well beyond mere design practice and included radical visions for the Hebrew alphabet in its entirety.

### "David Hebrew": The First Multi-Style Hebrew Typeface Family

Shani Avni; Rochester Institute of Technology

In 1954, Ismar David completed work on 'David Hebrew,' the first Hebrew typeface family. The project was expansive in both scope and design, taking more than two decades to complete. Unlike most works of that era, it consisted of three distinct typeface styles: a 'serif' style with instrokes, a cursive style, and a monolinear style, each including three weights. Although David's work included unprecedented typographic richness, his designs were not as widely adopted as others. While his work responded to a much-needed scarcity in typefaces, some designs were abandoned altogether. This presentation examines the novelty of David Hebrew through visual analysis of sketches and samples from David's personal archive. It considers the social context of the design's release and offers a hypothesis about its abandonment.

### The Lost Hebrew Typeface by Franzisca Baruch

Yael Segal Hermoni; Bar Ilan University

Franzisca Baruch was a German-born, award-winning type designer in the male-dominated type design scene of the early twentieth century. Having mastered calligraphy and lettering, she ventured into type design to respond to the urgent need for new Hebrew typefaces. This presentation argues that Baruch's typefaces substantially contributed to the emerging Hebrew visual culture of her time. Printed materials from Baruch's personal archive are visually analyzed, and her lived experience as an immigrant female designer in Israel is further highlighted. This talk is based on Segal Hermoni's ongoing Ph.D. research into pioneering graphic designers in Mandatory Palestine.

### 15.12 Bible and Targum Manuscripts

Mi-magom Acher - "From Another Place" Finding God Hidden in the Megillah.

Marc Michaels; University of Cambridge

God's absence from Megillat Esther (the Scroll of Esther) has perturbed many through the ages. However, some scribes and scholars have sought to insert, and thus reveal God through various exegetical conceits in the physical manuscripts. These have included

references to *ha-melekh* (the king), *ha-maqom* (the place), divine acronyms, the helping hand of God and even the name of the hero Mordechai. This paper explores how commentators and scribal employment of visual midrash have contrived to insert God into both the context and physical letters of the text. Helping uncover the architect behind the turnaround chronicled in the scroll of Esther, however, hidden that might be beneath the textual surface.

### A Previously Overlooked Manuscript of Targum Pseudo-Jonathan

Hector Patmore; KU Leuven

Targum Pseudo-Jonathan occupies a unique place among the extant Targums. Since the mid-19th century, scholars have recognised that it contains a perplexing mix of material drawn from Targum Onqelos, Palestinian Targums, and a wide range of other sources (e.g., midrashim). Scholarship on this Targum is, however, hampered by the lack of textual witnesses. To date, scholars have had to rely on one extant manuscript (British Library, Add. 27031) and a printed edition (Venice, 1590), both produced in 16th-century Italy. Another previously overlooked manuscript of Targum Pseudo-Jonathan has now come to light. Although this 'new' manuscript extends to only seven verses, its importance lies in the fact that it is the earliest known manuscript of Targum Pseudo-Jonathan. This paper will introduce the manuscript and its content, discuss its text, and explore the possible links between the copyist and the renowned Italian scholar Azariah de Rossi, who famously described seeing two manuscripts of Targum Pseudo-Jonathan that contained variant texts.

#### Targum Pseudo-Jonathan's Commentary Tradition

Gavin McDowell; French National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS)

Since its initial publication in Venice in 1590, Targum Pseudo-Jonathan has been the subject of a surprisingly robust commentary tradition. In the century following its publication, this once little-known Targum received at least four separate commentaries: David b. Jacob Zebrecyn (Szczebrzeszyn)'s Perush al Targum Yonatan ve-Targum Yerushalmi (Prague, 1609); Abraham b. David Ostroh's Kur la-Zahav (unpublished); Haim Feibel b. David Zechariah's Perush Yonatan (Hanau, 1614); and Mordechai b. Naphtali

Hirsch Kremisier's Ketoret ha-Sammim (Amsterdam, 1671). However, due to the obscurity of the subject, misinformation about the authors, contents, and dates of publication crept into the bibliographical catalogues of early pioneers such as Shabbetai Bass or Johann Christian Wolf, and these errors reappear in subsequent reference works. They have even been repeated in the monographs of major figures in modern Targum studies. This paper is an attempt to set the record straight: to establish what is true and what is false about the authors of each of these commentaries, and to make their contents better known to a wider audience. These commentaries are a window into the world of Pseudo-Jonathan's earliest known readers and a source of variant readings in the Targum.

### 15.13 Book Materials Study and Medieval Hebrew Manuscripts

### Hebrew Manuscripts at the Bundesanstalt für Materialforschung und Prüfung

Ira Rabin; Bundesanstalt für Materialforschung und -prüfung (BAM)

Starting with the project dedicated to the Dead Sea Scrolls, the BAM developed and is still developing protocols for the characterization of writing materials. The protocols range from a simple non-destructive determination of the ink types to the complex overall analysis that includes sample extraction for C14- dating or collagen fingerprinting.

The presentation will show a short overview of the experimental methods and the list of the Hebrew Manuscripts studied at the BAM in the last ten years.

### Writing the Name of God in Medieval Torah Scrolls

Nehemia Gordon; Bundesanstalt für Materialforschung und -prüfung (BAM)

Torah scrolls must be produced in accordance with exacting ritual specifications in order to be deemed valid for use in traditional Jewish liturgy. One of the requirements is that the name of God must be written with the specific intent of writing a sacred word that may not be erased. To ensure that every instance of the divine name was written with the proper intent, some scribes left blank spaces in the text that were filled in during the second stage of writing. This allowed the scribe to focus solely on writing divine names during this second stage and thereby maintain the proper concentration concerning their sanctity. The procedure of leaving blank spaces for the divine name was also practised for other

reasons in both the Dead Sea Scrolls and according to medieval rabbinic literature. Numerous Torah scrolls in which this procedure was employed have been identified based on the difference in graphic appearance between the divine names and the surrounding text. In a number of instances, these differences corresponded to different elemental signatures in the inks when tested with X-Ray Fluorescence (XRF).

### Characterisation of Non-Vitriolic Iron-Gall Inks used in Medieval Manuscripts

Grzegorz Nehring; Bundesanstalt für Materialforschung und -prüfung (BAM)

Iron gall inks are the product of a chemical reaction between iron (II) ions and gallic acid in aqueous medium. The source of the iron in most of the medieval recipes is vitriol, a mixture of hydrated sulphates of bivalent metals. Vitriolic iron-gall inks usually contain sulphur and metallic impurities such as zinc, copper etc., while non-vitriolic inks may contain only iron or an addition of a small amount of manganese when ink producers use metallic iron, e.g., nails.

The lack of a characteristic set of impurities turns the differentiation between non-vitriolic inks into a difficult challenge.

The presentation shows a novel approach based on displaying the data collected with an imaging micro-XRF instrument as heatmaps while studying a medieval Torah scroll from a private collection. The scroll bears many corrections and modifications executed in non-vitriolic ink. Using scanning XRF and heatmapping, we could visualize the altered portions of the text and, in some cases, virtually uncover erased script.

## Material Studies of Torah Scrolls at the Bundesanstalt für Materialforschung und Prüfung (BAM)

Zina Cohen; Bundesanstalt für Materialforschung und -prüfung (BAM)

In recent years the BAM has been focusing on the characterization of the writing materials of the medieval Torah scrolls. The challenge imposed by the study of this specific type of manuscript led to designing and building dedicated stages to ensure the safety of the scrolls during the analysis. Furthermore, the identification of multiple corrections executed in apparently identical inks required broadening the standard two-step protocol of near-infrared reflectography and X-ray fluorescence to include multispectral imaging. This work

has prepared the division to participate in the large collaborative project "To roll: Materialisierte Heiligkeit (Materialised Holiness)" based at the Free University, Berlin. The presentation will demonstrate the aims of the studies, preliminary results and the strategies adopted by the division 4.5 of the BAM.

## 15.14 The Many Faces Of Masoretic Manuscripts: Studies on the Abrezush Bible

The Making of the Abrezush Bible: Codicological and Palaeographical Observations

Ilona Steimann; Hochschule für Jüdische Studien Heidelberg

The Abrezush Bible is a multi-handed manuscript. Apart from the two masoretes, Abraham and Abrezush, who identified themselves in the manuscript, nothing is known about the other parties involved in the manuscript's production. The name of the patron, who commissioned the manuscript, also goes unmentioned. This paper will focus on the process of the production of the Abrezush Bible and the people responsible for it. By scrutinizing the manuscript's codicological and palaeographical features, it will be possible to provide insights into the work of its scribes and masoretes, and to shed some light on the manuscript's audience and intended use.

## Lament in Tiny Letters: The Abrezush colophon in ÖNB Cod. hebr. 16 and its Masoretic Hypotext

Hanna Liss; Hochschule für Jüdische Studien Heidelberg

The Abrezush Bible is known for its colophon, a lament over the death of his family that the scribe wrote beneath/below Ps. 19–108 (fol.s 248v–268r). The peculiarity of this text is the fact that Abrezush did not simply write his text in normal form, but fashioned the letters from masoretic material. The Masorah conveyed in this text, that consists of 101 words, matches the masora parva notes belonging to the main biblical text, and does not seem to be chosen arbitrarily. This paper deals with the masoretic hypotext, with its philological content, as well as with its meaning in the context of the lament, and asks why the scribe might have chosen this extraordinary design.

## Masora Parva Peculiarities among the Medieval Masoretic Bible Manuscripts in Ashkenaz Using the Example of Vienna ÖNB Cod. hebr. 16.

Sebastian Seemann; Hochschule für Jüdische Studien Heidelberg

The Masoretic Material is not evenly distributed within the Medieval Bible Manuscripts. Masoretic traditions in Ashkenazi Bible Manuscripts differ from the Oriental, Tiberian Masora as regards philological content, among other things. The Abrezush Bible belongs to those Ashkenazi Bible Manuscripts, which provides a lot of masoretic material, especially in the Masora Ketana (Parva). In contrast to the more detailed Masora Gedola (Magna), these short Masoretic notes are directly attached to the Main Bible Text. This brings to light various tensions between the Masora and the Biblical Text, thereby hinting at the diversity of traditions. This paper takes Vienna Cod. hebr. 16 as an example for elucidating the impact of the Masora Ketana (Parva) on the Biblical Text, leading to its corrections, as well as dealing with various Masoretic traditions.

## Profiling Masoretic Individuals: ÖNB Cod. hebr. 16 as a Case Study for Digital Corpus Analysis

Clemens Liedtke; Hochschule für Jüdische Studien Heidelberg

Beyond the fact that ÖNB Cod. hebr. 16's Masorah is reused as material to construct Abrezush's lament as an entirely different text in its own right, the list-based hypotext knowledge that it transmits was intended to be read and understood as such. As the process of integrating individual Masorah into a certain Bible Codex appears to be highly selective to a certain degree, the question arises how this artefact should be analyzed and compared with digital tools as a part of an entire masoretic text corpus. This paper presents the basic outlines of integrating the manuscript's masoretic features into a large-scale digital corpus and demonstrates various analytical approaches through the technological stack utilized by the project "Corpus Masoreticum".

## 15.15 BiNaH : an ongoing Research on the Hebrew Collection of the Bibliothèque nationale de France

### A Closer Look at the Bible Paris, BNF, Héb. 34 or Why Count Quires

Javier del Barco; Complutense University of Madrid

According to the descriptions so far available of MS Paris, BNF, Héb. 34 (Zotenberg, Sed-Rajna/Fellous, Garel) as well as some online descriptions (Gallica, Archives et Manuscrits), this Bible was produced in North-East France (Alsace-Lorraine) or in the Rhin Valley around 1300 CE. While both script and material analysis should be considered to suggest the place of production of a given manuscript – if there is no colophon stating the circumstances of copy, as is the case here – script has been the only criterion used for this particular Bible. In this paper, I will present the results of a deeper analysis of this manuscript, based not only on the script but also on a full codicological study, following the description criteria used in the project BiNaH (Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale). This analysis points to a different place of production than the one suggested in previous descriptions. I will finally present an outline of the alleged history and itineraries followed by this Bible in relation to other related manuscripts.

#### The Illuminated Hebrew Manuscripts of the Bibliothèque nationale de France

Sonia Fellous; Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes

The Bibliothèque nationale de France holds one of the largest collections of Hebrew manuscripts from the Iberian and Franco-Rhenian worlds and from Italy. One hundred and four and twenty-seven are illuminated, the bibles and prayer rituals being the most lavishly decorated (128 mss). The only items missing from this collection are the ornate books of the Eastern world. The collection also contains works on the Kabbalah, medicine, astronomy, philosophy, grammar and other translations of Greek, Arabic or Latin texts, with more modest but nonetheless original decoration, about sixty of them. The ornaments were executed by professional illuminators or less skilled artists, sometimes by the scribes themselves. They produced works ranging from the most spectacular Bibles with pages covered with sophisticated decorations formed by lines of micrographic writing, to Iberian Bibles containing movable calendars and other initial pages with varied ornaments, up to

the flamboyant decorations of the Italian Renaissance. The BNF possesses characteristic examples of medieval Hebrew book art, reflecting its links with contemporary local art and its own specificities engendered both by Hebrew writing and by the rules of Judaism. This paper will present the most outstanding works of this corpus gathered in France by great collectors.

### Paratextual Elements in the Kabbalistic and Magical Manuscripts of BNF

Emma Abate; Bologna University

In my presentation, I will briefly describe the architecture of BiNaH database, which aims at providing different cataloguing levels, allowing both essential and detailed description forms. In particular, I will focus on the challenge of leveraging the functionalities of the platform in order to provide not only in-depth descriptions of the manuscript content and codicology but also on paratextual elements and marginalia, which allow to gather information and shed some light on the provenance, use and transmission of the magical and kabbalistic manuscripts. I will take into account case studies which are likely to ascribe to Renaissance Italian collections and ownership.

#### The Hebrew philosophical manuscripts of BNF

Giacomo Corazzol; Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes

The Hebrew collection of the BnF includes 127 philosophical manuscripts (mss. hébreu 883-1009), among which 52 were bought in Istanbul in the early 1600s by the French ambassador Achille de Harlay de Sancy, who later donated them to the Bibliothèque de l'Oratoire. The paper intends to offer an overview of this corpus and to trace the provenance of the main bulks that compose it. Special attention will be devoted to some selected manuscripts and, most particularly, to the as-yet-unpublished lists of books found in some of these manuscripts.

### 15.16 Jewish Book Culture in the Islamicate World

### A Secret Book Historian at Heart? - Pierre Bourdieu and his Literary Field Analysis

Anna Busa; Ludwig-Maximilians-University Munich

Book history concerns itself with the production, reception and consumption of texts. It investigates reading and writing through a text's material expressions, its meanings, uses and functions in a society. In my paper, I intend to call attention to the striking similarities between the famous communication circuit developed by the book historian Robert Darnton (1982) and Pierre Bourdieu's literary field of social production (1992). In this comparison, I would like to discuss in what ways Bourdieu's approach may enhance book historical investigations of popular medieval texts from the Cairo Geniza even further by disguising advanced medieval Jewish literacy levels and providing deeper insights into the social implications of the mechanisms of popular literary production in a Middle Eastern multicultural society. Herewith I would like to provocatively explore whether Bourdieu might be called a secret book historian at heart?

### Jewish Books and their Physical Shape as Reconstructed from Medieval Book Lists from the Cairo Genizah

Ronny Vollandt; Ludwig-Maximilians-University Munich

Medieval book lists from the Cairo Genizah preserve important evidence on the availability and circulation of Jewish books in the medieval Near East. They also provide information on, possibly otherwise lost, works or authors. However, book lists often contain a rudimentary description of the physical appearance of a book and its codicological composition, specifying the book type (codex, daftar, scroll, rutolus), formats, quire structure, binding or absence of thereof. This presentation will provide a survey of aspects relevant to medieval Jewish book history and the terminology used to describe these.

#### The Worth of Books

Fabio Ioppolo; Ludwig-Maximilians-University Munich

Different circumstances, such as the apparition of paper and the affirmation of the Arabic language as lingua franca, favoured the rise of Jewish book production and trade

throughout the Islamicate world. The manuscripts of the Cairo Genizah, in this regard, offer numerous mentions of book prices, material prices, wages, and production costs. However, there is more to the worth of a book than the financial value of the object at the end of its production cycle and acquisition. In the Genizah manuscripts, we find mentions of books being used as, e.g. dowry items, deposits for a credit or a litigating factor in court, which seems to confirm that books were seen as an item not only of nostalgic value but also as an item which kept, if not increased in value over time. In my presentation, I will try to put forward some examples to better understand the worth of the Jewish book in the Islamicate world in the Middle Ages.

### Digitising Dedications: Haqdashot in the Jewish Book Culture Database

Judith Olszowy-Schlanger; École Pratique des Hautes Études, Oxford University

The history of Jewish books from the Islamicate world is often told on the pages themselves, where later hands have inscribed records of ownership, purchase, bequest, and dedication on unwritten areas of the parchment or paper. The Jewish Book Culture database, a new online collection of documents and sources for Jewish book history, brings these paratextual elements together as a searchable corpus of incodicated documents. This paper demonstrates the functionality of this new resource to the scholarly community through an exploration of dedicatory inscriptions identified in Jewish manuscripts produced in the MENA region between the tenth and thirteenth centuries.

## 16.01 Tracing the History, Legacy and Contents of Jewish Collections in Eastern Europe

Abba Balosher and his Library: The Crossing Fates

Olga Potap; Boston University

My presentation dedicates to the Lithuanian-Jewish library of Aba Balosher. For a few decades until 1941, this unique multilingual library was managed and owned by Abba Balosher, an educator, scholar, and librarian. His library was extensive in scope and impressive in content. Over the forty years of operations, by 1941, the library collection had grown to 38,000 volumes. It was the second-largest library in Kaunas after the

university library. The destiny of Balosher's library is similar to other European Jewish libraries. It was devastated and looted by the Nazis. Balosher and his family, who lived in Lithuania, share the fate of Lithuanian Jews, murdered in Ghettoes and Concentration camps.

Until recently, the librarians thought all Hebrew and Yiddish books from Balosher's library were destroyed. However, in 2017, the librarians at the National Library of Lithuania discovered a part of Balosher's collection. Among the other books, they found approximately 2,000 titles in the Yiddish and Hebrew languages.

This presentation portrays Abba Balosher and describes his library. The principal component of this work outlines the destiny of the library crossed with the fate of many people. This work is dedicated to the books and people connected by invisible threads of fate.

## Connecting the Dots: The Importance of the New Founding at the Judaica Collection of the National Library of Lithuania

Lara Lempertiene; Martynas Mazvydas National Library of Lithuania

In 2017, a substantial cache (circa 200 000 pages) of Jewish manuscripts, organizational documents and printed ephemera was found at the manuscript department of the National Library of Lithuania. It was proclaimed internationally as a major discovery and was immediately included in registering, digitizing and research projects. The amount and importance of those documents for re-imagining Jewish life in interwar Vilnius and Lithuania were immense. However, this was not the final discovery. In 2022 another part of similar documents, as well as a massive collection of Jewish periodicals, was encountered in a previously unused depository of the National Library. (The numbers remain to be established since the sorting is still in progress). This reveals yet another facet of the cultural history of Lithuanian Jewry. The paper will present the findings, as well as the strategies of the National Library for returning them to the sphere of research from which they were missing for decades.

### To the Problem of Identification of Manuscripts that Belonged to the "Schneerson Library"

Alina Polovintchik (Lisitsyna); Ariel University

The problem of "Schneerson Library" was widely discussed a few years ago in connection to moving of part of it from the Russian State Library to the Jewish Museum and Tolerance Center in Moscow. It was also a subject of the trial in the USA between the Russian Federation and Agudas Chasidey Chabad. However, the problem is that there is no "Schneerson library" today. In the case of printed books, the Chabad librarian from New York Sh. D. Levin separated some 4 thousand books which were, according to his opinion, a part of the library, but nobody ever raised the topic of manuscripts. The present paper is the first attempt to determine which manuscripts situated now in the Department of Manuscripts (Russian State Library) belonged to the collection or hypothetically originated from it. This analysis is based on some features: inscriptions of members of the Schneerson family, types of the script (possible or identified autographs), types of binding, owners' inscriptions, contents. The main part of such manuscripts is situated now in collection 182, but a few were found in another collection which has no number up today and is called "Tropheys", i. e. manuscripts brought to the USSR after World War II.

## 16.02 Two Decades Jewish Historical Press in the Digital World– JPRESS and Compact Memory

### Compact Memory – Building and Maintaining a Digital Collection of (German)-Jewish Press

Kerstin von der Krone; Goethe University Frankfurt

Established more than 20 years ago, today, Compact Memory provides access to about 500 Jewish periodicals published between ca. 1750 and 1950, with its majority relating to German-Jewish culture. Before digitization and digital collections, access to periodical literature has been challenging and, in the case of Jewish historical press, particularly difficult. As everyday literature, periodicals were not always collected systematically, while Jewish publications were often only preserved in Jewish collections, in libraries of communities, schools, seminaries or in private collections. The majority of these

collections in Europe were destroyed during the Shoah, with holdings lost or dispersed. In Post-war Germany, access to German-Jewish historical press was limited, with only a few collections preserving substantial holdings.

Compact Memory answered these challenges by reconstructing German-Jewish historical Press in the digital world. The paper will explore its origins and development over more than 20 years and provide insights into future plans.

# The Next 20 Years of Historical Jewish Digital Press; Challenges, Opportunities and New Directions in Light of the New Collaboration between Compact Memory and JPRESS

Eyal Miller; National Library of Israel

The last 20 years have been without a doubt, groundbreaking and revolutionary with the abundance of digital tools and opportunities that have been developed. Digital Humanities was a field known to few and is now a field acknowledged and discussed by many. The digital archiving of newspapers and periodicals has been one of the great revelations and innovations for numerous disciplines, opening up new realms of research and studies. In the context of the Jewish Press- Compact Memory (Frankfurt Goethe University) and Jpress (Tel Aviv University and The National Library of Israel) have been the leading and prominent projects, together giving access to over 1,000 Jewish periodicals and over 5.6 million pages. A collaboration between the two projects, to be presented in this paper, is a gateway to looking forward and discussing the new directions, opportunities and challenges that lay ahead of these two projects and the field in general.

#### German Israeli Newspapers between Two Cultures

Meirav Reuveny; Leo Baeck Institute Jerusalem, Wissenschaftliche Arbeitsgemeinschaft des Leo-Baeck-Instituts

A significant factor in the culture of the German Jewish immigrants to Palestine/Israel was their newspapers: "Mitteilungsblatt der Irgun Olej Merkas Europa" and "Blumenthal's Neueste Nachrichten"; both ran from the early 1930s well into the late twentieth century. With a combination of national and international news, opinion columns, and useful information, both publications enabled the recent migrant to understand his or her new

environment while staying in touch with their cultural heritage and fellow migrants. In my paper, I will discuss the ways their recent digitization, as part of the rich collections of Compact Memory and JPress, not only exposes the research community to a fascinating historical source about the German Aliyah but also allows us to place it against the broader background of German Jewry on the one hand, and pre-state Israel in the other.

## 17.01 Exhibiting Jewish History, Culture, and Religion: Four Comparative Studies

### Museum Display of Jewish Ritual Objects between Art and Pedagogy

Verena Kasper-Marienberg; North Carolina State University

Jewish ritual objects constitute the core of most Jewish museum collections and exhibitions in Europe and North America. The past decade has seen a rehaul of permanent exhibitions in several important central and eastern European Jewish museums (notably Berlin, Frankfurt, Vienna, Warsaw, Prague, and Budapest) that include new strategies of display for ritual objects. In the US, Jewish ritual objects increasingly find their way into general art museums that expanded their definition of fine art to include material culture of American minority groups past and present. The paper will explore the new narrative contexts Jewish ritual objects are embedded in Jewish and general art museums. It argues for an ongoing paradigm shift in the ways Jewish ritual objects are valued, categorized, and presented in European and North American museums. Questions of new visitor pedagogy, experiential curatorial concepts, and the integration of academic research into exhibitions will guide the comparative analysis.

## Exhibiting Jewish History in non-Jewish Museums — Three examples from the Federal Republic of Germany from the 1960s to the 1980s

Julia Roos; Leibniz Institute for Jewish History and Culture - Simon Dubnow, Leipzig

Although there were no Jewish museums in Germany in the first decades after the Holocaust, Jewish history was exhibited there: in non-Jewish museums. By presenting three of the largest exhibitions - the "Monumenta Judaica" (Cologne, 1963), "Leistung und

Schicksal" (Berlin, 1971), and "Siehe der Stein schreit auf der Mauer" (Nuremberg, 1988), the lecture explores the following questions:

- 1. Why was it felt relevant to present Jewish history in museums, when, where, by whom? How did socio-political aims influence the exhibitions?
- 2. How was Jewish history exhibited, what foci were set, what was left out?
- Which objects and biographies were understood as Jewish?

  In particular, the question of whether converted or secular Jews were allowed.

In particular, the question of whether converted or secular Jews were allowed to be the subject of the exhibition was intensively discussed during the conception as well as in the media; the contemporary argumentations and a possible change in the understanding of Jewishness will be elaborated.

## Collection and Display of Jewish Religion and History and Its Changes in the 20th Century: the Example of the Hungarian Jewish Museum and Archives

Zsuzsanna Toronyi; Hungarian Jewish Museum and Archives

The Hungarian Jewish Museum was founded in the early 20th century with the aim of presenting the Jewish community to the public. It was established on the initiative of Jewish intellectuals with around 1500 historical objects. The museum found its final home in 1932 in a building next to Great Dohány Street Synagogue, where it is still situated today and became an integral part of the institutions of the Jewish community. In 1942 two employees of the Hungarian National Museum hid the valuable artefacts of the Jewish Museum in the cellar.

As a result, the rich collection survived World War II, and the museum was able to reopen shortly after 1945. The museum's history mirrors the continuity of collecting and exhibiting Jewish objects across time and different political systems while considering the fundamental changes brought about by the Holocaust.

### The Integrationist Model of the first Jewish Museum Berlin

Sylvia Bailey; North Carolina State University

Exhibitions of material culture are expressions of identity. For the first Jewish Museum Berlin, the chosen artifacts became a self-representation of a strong Jewish community that represented itself through traditional religiously themed objects as well as Jewish fine

arts of the 19th and 20th centuries. In my paper, I argue that the Jewish community diverged from traditional ways of representation and followed an 'Integrationist' approach that enabled the community to exhibit fine arts with and without religious references and created a cultural environment that supported contemporary Jewish artists. Furthermore, I argue that, in contrast, the modern Jewish Museum Berlin is a representation of 'the other' that has presumably ceased to exist in the public eye. Therefore, the material culture has been selected to portray ordinary daily life to enable identification and familiarity among visitors to portray religion and tradition as the only divider between Jews and non-Jews.

### 17.02 From Medieval Ashkenaz to Jerusalem and Back

### From the Jewish Middle Ages to a Modern Exhibit

Elisheva Baumgarten; Hebrew University

This talk will describe the academic process of creating the exhibit "In and Out, Between and Beyond" and the challenges involved in turning sources into art. It will also discuss how moving the exhibit to Europe posed new challenges.

#### From Jerusalem to Erfurt

Maria Stürzebecher; Stadt Erfurt, Museum Alte Synagoge

In the museum Old Synagogue in Erfurt the exhibition "In and Out, Between and Beyond: Jewish Daily Life in Medieval Europe", which connects historical artefacts, current research, and contemporary art, is directly linked to the permanent exhibition through many themes and objects. In this respect, the current exhibition can be regarded as an extension of the permanent exhibition in Erfurt and, although based on the exhibition in Jerusalem, it has been redesigned to fit the authentic local medieval remains of Erfurt.

### 17.03 Collecting and Presenting: Case Studies

Visible to all: Interdisciplinary, Multi-perspective Work and Education at MiQua.

LVR-Jewish Museum in the Archaeological Quarter Cologne

Christiane Twiehaus; MiQua Cologne

The MiQua in Cologne, Germany, is an interdisciplinary museum project that brings together expertise from the fields of Jewish Studies, Archaeology and History as a team. Once open, the museum will make over 1000 years of Jewish history and presence accessible to the public at an authentic site in the heart of the city. Based on the evidence of a long-term and still ongoing archaeological excavation, the team discusses different historical events on an interdisciplinary basis and with a multi-perspective approach. This includes, for example, the different conception and definition of "space" in the medieval city. Here, the concept of the medieval Eruv and the Christian-initiated structuring of the medieval urban organism of Cologne meet. The question that carries us is: which story do we tell with which sources? Is there one narrative? And how do we make complex facts from the field of Jewish Studies and Archaeology comprehensible to different audiences, most of whom have no knowledge? The paper will discuss the possibilities and opportunities of interdisciplinary work and multiperspectivity in the museum using examples from the future permanent exhibition.

#### Cecil Roth's Invention of Tradition

Eva Frojmovic; University of Leeds

The paper proposes that Cecil Roth's book-collecting strategy was informed by a very British version of the "Sephardi mystique" (Marcus 1985, Schorsch 1989, Endelman 1996, Halevi-Wise 2012). But far from being a merely nostalgic move, I propose to see Roth's Sephardic mystique in the context of his attempts at a revival of Jewish culture and practice in the context of interwar Britain. Roth's concept was capable of incorporating Jewish cultures of the British empire and spheres of interest (Middle East, Eastern and Southern Mediterranean/Maghreb, South and East Asia). Although implicated in the British Empire, nevertheless, this part of his collection constitutes a "branching out" beyond Eurocentrism.

His "invention of tradition" (Hobsbawm), it will be argued, is based on a deeply classed

conception of Judaism which, in its ambivalence toward working-class and left-wing secular Ashkenazi identities, also embraced a political direction which in the post-war period chimed with the more conservative elements in Anglo-Jewry.

### Material Evidence of Charitable Activities of Selig Goldschmidt on Museum Display

Alla Sokolova; independent scholar

My paper will consider the organizational principles of an exhibition dedicated to the traditions of Jewish charity on the example of displaying items related to the activities of a well-known Frankfurt am Main benefactor and philanthropist, Selig Goldschmidt (1828-1896). The exhibition entitled "According to Justice and with a Pure Heart" was held on November 26, 2021-February 17, 2022, at the Museum of the History of Religion (St. Petersburg, Russia). There were displayed for the first time 19 items whose provenance was connected with the Jewish community in Frankfurt am Main (54 items from Germany in total). Among them were cups hand over as a gift by S. Goldschmidt to the "d'Kabronim" ("Gravediggers") funeral fraternity and congratulatory addresses received by S. Goldschmidt and his wife Clementina (1837-1888) from the "Israelitische Volksschule" in gratitude for their financial support. The cups testified S. Goldschmidt's commitment to Jewish traditional values, and the congratulatory addresses demonstrated the Goldschmidt's family involvement in this landmark philanthropic project for Frankfurt am Main.

I argue that the structure of the presentation of museum objects, tested at the exhibition, will be productive for their publication in a monographic study.

## 18.01 Jewish Careers in a "New" Professional Field in the 20th Century: Architecture, Civil Engineering, Design

### Careers of Jewish Women in Design and Architecture in Germany in the First Half of the 20th Century

Ulrich Knufinke, Katrin Keßler; Technische Universtität Braunschweig

With the beginnings of modern architecture and design at the turn of the 20th century, the corresponding occupational fields also changed and experienced a gradual opening

beyond the old professional boundaries. This development accelerated during the Weimar Republic. It opened up career opportunities for two groups that had previously been largely excluded in Germany: women and Jews. In view of the statistical analysis of student numbers, one gets the impression that in the study of architecture during the 1920s, for example, a large proportion of the female students were Jewish. A number of Jewish women also established themselves in the field of design, a fact that has not yet been systematically researched.

This contribution intends to explore the careers of Jewish women in design and architecture in Germany during the first half of the 20th century. In doing so, the two speakers aim to expand the field of research beyond questions of architectural and design history to sociocultural issues: What role did Jewish origins and gender roles play for these women, how did this influence their creative work in Germany and - in most cases - in emigration after 1933?

### Erna Meyer: A Jewish Home Reformer and her Influence on the Neues Bauen

Laura Altmann; Technische Universität München

The Jewish economist Erna Meyer (Berlin 1890 – Haifa 1975) was the most influential home reformer in Germany and across Europe. An author, magazine founder, editor, and curator, Meyers ideas on the modern home, especially the rational kitchen, were highly influential. In 1933, Meyer emigrated from Munich to Tel Aviv, where again she became a leading domestic reformer.

Until now, women such as Meyer, who substantially influenced the discourses on the New Woman and modern architecture but were no trained architects, have been largely ignored by scholarly research. Even so, due to her extraordinary influence on modern architecture and her participation in several architectural projects, we nonetheless refer to Meyer as an "Architekturschaffende", a creator of architecture. This paper seeks to assess how essential Meyer and her collaborators were for the development and dissemination of iconic architectural projects by modern architects such as Gropius, Mies, Oud, Schütte-Lihotzky, and others.

### Networks of Jewish Architects in the First Half of the Twentieth Century in Germany

Mirko Przystawik; Hamburg University

The construction industry in the first half of the twentieth century in Germany was not only affected by different political systems but also by major historical turning points: Two global wars, material shortages, a world economic crisis, etc., contributed to a transition in the occupational profile. The diversified profession corresponded with a diversified educational system in art academies, polytechnic universities, building trade schools, private schools, and practical work. Jews participated in the development as a part of society until the Nazi period, when they had to face occupational bans, especially in the professions. The lecture focuses its attention on the professionalization of Jewish architects and their networks based on case studies of students at the Technische Hochschule zu Berlin in Charlottenburg. The lecture explores individual biographies and evaluates the contribution of their networks to their professional practice in times of crisis: Who were the clients/employers at home and in exile?

### 18.02 The Synagogue and its Art

From Baroque Parochet to Neo-Avant-Garde Textile: Representation of Jewish Identity in the Tapestries of Hédi Tarján (1932-2008)

Mariann Farkas; Bar Ilan University

Although the Holocaust and Jewish identity in visual arts started to receive more scholarly attention in the last decades, the Hungarian Israeli art scene is still under-researched. Therefore, my presentation aims to introduce the figurative tapestries of Hédi Tarján (1932-2008), a Hungarian-born Israeli artist with a complex Christian-Jewish identity. Despite the fact that Tarján played an important role in the Hungarian Neo-avant-garde weaving reform movement and many of her works are housed in noted Hungarian and Israeli public collections, she remained virtually unknown. I claim that her tapestries include implicit stylistic and iconographic references to her East Central European Jewish experience. In particular, her wall-hangings Anxiety (1960), Theater (1962), Island (1964) and Phoenix (1967) show the impact of Shoah trauma and the Hungarian Neo-Secession movement. The artist's ironic nostalgia for the bourgeois fin de siècle was also a defence mechanism against the communist regime's cultural doctrine and memory politics. The

topic will be analyzed from interdisciplinary diverse points of view, including the perspective of art history, Jewish studies, and memory studies. The lecture seeks to present the means how the visual arts can contribute to cross-cultural dialogue, and at the same time, strengthen the Israel-Diaspora relationship.

### Scrolling Out: The Voluted Images in Jewish Contexts, Beyond the Texts

Ilia Rodov; Bar Ilan University

Despite their diversity of targets, approaches, and methods, the studies of Jewish civilization often share the same empirical evidence. The Jewish visual culture increasingly attracts not only the art historians and archaeologists who preoccupy with images and objects but also the historians and scholars of religions, literature, and folklore, who explore predominantly verbal evidence. Indeed, the letters are an indispensable source for artists and a conventional reference for art spectators. Moreover, the interpretations of visual sources are frequently skepticized as overinterpretations unless a researcher anchors his or her explication in a text. Many experts are cautious about the power of images alone to provide reliable clues to forgotten ideas and messages.

The paper highlights the imagery that cannot be associated with texts. My case study representing the kind is the volutes, a scrolling pattern occurring in Jewish art from the ancient Land of Israel to the pre-emancipated Jewish communities in Europe. Unlike the seven-branched menorah, whose depictions through the ages are incessantly related to the biblical description, there is no textual reference implying the volutes that have hitherto not been recognized as a meaningful sign and recurring motif in Jewish art through the ages. The presentation investigates the process of creating and perception of Jewish symbols, relying on visual rather than verbal associations in consequent historical and cultural contexts.

### Synagogues in Strasbourg, in Search of Memory

Max Polonovski; Ministère de la Culture

What are the architectural traces left by the Jewish presence in the urbanism of Strasbourg? What memories does the city keep of it in its urban network? Is the history of the Jews in the capital of Lower Alsace, made up of episodes of persecution, expulsions,

conflicts and coexistence, reflected in the town planning of Strasbourg? The responses to commemorate dramatic events, from the simple inscription on a plaque to the erection of a "restorative" synagogue, reflect the difficult relations between the city and its Jewish population over the centuries.

### 18.03 Cross-Cultural Artistic Encounters

Lead to Gold, Sorrow to Hope: Alchemy in Synagogue Paintings

Zvi Orgad; Bar Ilan University

Studies on early modern synagogue paintings in Poland, Moravia (today in the Czech Republic), and Franconia (Today in south-eastern Germany) noted potential textual sources for the painted motifs. Among these are biblical stories, Midrashim, Kabbalistic ideas, and popular literature. At times, more than one source was suggested to decipher a single painted motif since the different genres were intertwined and shared similar themes. This paper presents the topic of alchemy as an additional possible textual source for synagogue paintings. Alchemy was widely known and popular in early modern Europe. Apart from its material aspect, it included the notion of an internal effort to transcend the individual and world, hence, redemption - a prominent topic in synagogue paintings. Alchemy texts share motifs with Kabbalah (for example, the Ouroboros, which symbolizes the Leviathan in the Kabbalah and the perpetual inner work in alchemy) and Midrash (where the unicorn, for example, could represent self-sacrifice in Midrashim, and both the prima-materia and process in alchemy). Therefore, considering alchemy as an additional textual source for selected synagogue paintings can enhance our understanding of their messages and symbolism.

# Sound and Vision: Experiencing the Exodus Through Multimodal Devices in Medieval Illuminated Mahzorim

Meyrav Levy; University of Münster

According to the Mishnah Pesachim 10:5, "In every generation a man is obligated to see himself as though he personally had gone forth from Egypt". That is, at the core of Passover lies the duty to mobilize one's mind and thoughts in order to imagine oneself

participating in a biblical story, in another time and place. A transformative experience, in which one imaginatively reenacts the Exodus, could be activated by means that trigger the cognition and senses. I would suggest that a multimodal variety of such effective devices abound in the Passover liturgy that was performed out of illuminated Ashkenazi *mahzorim* (prayer-cycles). These ritual books, which were popular throughout Ashkenaz in 1250-1350, include *piyyutim* (liturgical poems) for each of the Jewish festivals and concomitant illustrations. On Passover, the textual-visual content of *mahzorim* communicate the Exodus narrative and its main theological ideas in a most affective and vivid way. It makes use of illustrations, evocative sound textures, foregrounded rhetorical devices, tangible metaphors and graphic poetic language. The multimodal content of illuminated mahzorim, especially once realized through a performance in the synagogue, animates the celebrated biblical event and invites worshipers to engage themselves in its staging.

#### Jewish Ceremonial Objects as Consumer Goods

Hannah-Lea Wasserfuhr; Hochschule für Jüdische Studien Heidelberg

The name *Lazarus Posen Wwe.* of Frankfurt (Main) is commonly associated with Jewish ritual objects of the highest quality. The company is often claimed to have been the most important producer of these goods in Germany before the Shoah. Perhaps this reputation is linked to the fact that Posen was a Jewish family business. However, was it really the case that mostly Jewish entrepreneurs were involved in the production of Judaica? As my research suggests, Jewish ritual objects were a more common product range than anticipated. Most prominently, the Posen company cooperated with several other companies for their Jewish ceremonial goods. These cooperations are the key to understanding certain designs, for example, a Hanukkiah decorated with Greek gods. Based on Jewish iconography, this Hanukkiah is somehow odd. Yet, seeing it as a mass-produced fashionable item allows us to understand the decoration as part of a consumers' culture, irrespective of religious connotations. Meaning, in the time of industrial production, Judaica iconography changed. As those mass-produced objects were part of a consumer culture which was not necessarily specialized on Jewish customers. Overall, my paper will argue how Jewish iconography and popular designs served each other's purposes.

## 18.04 Trauma and Art

### Actual Sacrifice in 20th Century Jewish Art: A Panoramic View

Monika Czekanowska-Gutman; University of Warsaw

Aqedat Yitzhak (The Binding of Isaac) as narrated by Genesis 22, referring to the aborted sacrifice of Isaac, was a very popular iconographic theme in Renaissance and Baroque Christian art as well as in medieval Hebrew manuscripts. However, over the centuries Jewish exegetical texts developed a tradition in which Isaac was in fact sacrificed, e.g., in Midrash Tanchuma. This paper traces this tradition from midrashic exegesis through Hebrew Crusade narratives into works by modern Jewish artists active in Israel (Moshe Gershuni, Menashe Kadishman, Igal Tumarquin, Dina Shenhav) and outside Israel (Marc Chagall, Leonard Baskin and others). Analysing the complex treatments of the actual sacrifice in modern Jewish and Israeli art and exploring this theme in Hebrew poetry (Amir Gilboa), the paper demonstrates how these artists by combining Christian iconography with Jewish traditions engaged with the textual idea of the actual sacrifice, situating it into historical and contemporary Jewish contexts. In particular, the paper discusses the cultural, psychological and historical background of the differences and similarities between the actual sacrifice in Jewish art created in and outside Israel.

# The Visionary Expressionist Rosy Lilienfeld (1896, Frankfurt am Main - 1942, Auschwitz)

Eva Sabrina Atlan; Jewish Museum Frankfurt

Born in Frankfurt am Main in 1896, Rosy Lilienfeld began her artistic career in 1918. Rosy Lilienfeld was fascinated by the Jewish legends in the Hasidic narrative tradition of Eastern Europe. In addition to her works based on contemporary literary publications, Lilienfeld created a series of graphic works based on figures such as the Kabbalist David Alrui and the messianic pretender Shabbetai Zvi. The "wealth of visions" in Samuel Agnon's "The Tale of the Headscarf" published in German translation in 1933 in a condensed volume entitled "In the Community of the Pious," inspired Lilienfeld to create a series of works which are now lost but that profoundly impressed Samuel Agnon himself at the time. In her own bilingual publication in 1935, Rosy Lilienfeld recounted Martin Buber's literary stories of the mystical figure of Rabbi Israel ben Eliezer, known as the Baal Shem Tov. Records

show that her works were exhibited for the last time from 26 April to 7 June 1936, as part of the "Reich Exhibition of Jewish Artists" in the rooms of Berlin's Jewish Museum. Three years later, in October 1939, she escaped Germany with her mother to the Netherlands, where she was deported in 1942, first to Westerbork and then to Auschwitz, where she was murdered upon arrival.

#### Art in Captivity: Case Study of Amalie Seckbach in Theresienstadt

Annika Friedman: Jewish Museum Frankfurt

Frankfurt artist Amalie Seckbach arrived in Theresienstadt (Terezin) on 16 September 1942, aged seventy-two. She was one of the 1,367 Jewish passengers on Transport XII/3 who were deported from Frankfurt's Grossmarkthalle (Wholesale Market Hall). Theresienstadt was known by many names, among others, as the 'model ghetto." Following the perception of a seemingly privileged ghetto, many artists brought supplies, which they were largely permitted to keep on arrival. The bizarre reality of Theresienstadt established an atmosphere where the desire to pursue the arts coexisted with the stark and inhumane conditions of the camp, wherein Seckbach, along with her artistic peers, continued creating. Seckbach appropriated a variety of materials over almost two years of internment at Theresienstadt, including China paper, wax paper, and pergament (parchment) paper, watercolours, coloured pencils, and chalk. She was one of many artists who used whatever scraps and supplies at hand — cardboard, graph paper from offices, posters, or even burlap bags. For nearly two years, Seckbach used all the materials at her disposal and continued to create artwork. Shortly before her death, Seckbach entrusted her artwork to her friend and fellow prisoner, Trude Groag. Amalie Seckbach died under the conditions of the ghetto on August 10, 1944.

## 18.05 Jews, Orientalism, and Identity

# Orientalization of the "Ostjude": Nostalgia, Romanticism and Modernity in the Work of Artur Markowitz (1872-1934)

Mirjam Rajner; Bar Ilan University

Images depicting prayer and study of religious texts, synagogue interiors, houses of learning, rabbis and Talmudists, Jewish holidays and traditional homes were (and still are) considered to be the staples of "Jewish art". However, this attitude, as I argue, grew out of the Western, especially German Jews' construction of the East European Jew - or Ostjude – as the orientalized "other". While initially adopting a condescending or paternalistic stance, with the beginning of the 20th century, this attitude changed into a romanticized admiration of the "authentic" Jewish life preserved in Eastern Europe, especially when compared to the allegedly spiritually-empty life of a secular, bourgeois Jew in the central and western Europe.

In my paper, I plan to follow these processes by examining the art of Artur Markowitz (1872-1934), a Krakow-born artist who, as a "painter of the Ghetto," embodied through his work such Western imagination, even further augmented in the post-Holocaust era. However, while following in the footsteps of his predecessor, Samuel Hirszenberg, Markowitz, with the help of Polish modernism, as I hope to show, embraced a novel technique of coloured pastels and presented the East European traditional world as a Jewish modernist.

# Back to the Light: Synagogue Textiles from Belarus, Lithuania, Poland, and Ukraine in the Nineteenth and the First Half of the Twentieth Centuries

Anna Berezin; Hebrew University

The corpus of papers on synagogue textiles is immense. Researchers studied types of objects and their history, textiles typical for different communities, techniques of their production, as well as the history of museum collections and separate objects.

Surprisingly, textiles produced in Belarus, Lithuania, Poland and Ukraine, where at least a half of the world's Jewry resided in the nineteenth century, have gained little attention.

Firstly, there are few objects from these countries that predate the late eighteenth century, while later objects are generally studied less. It is a frequent claim that throughout the

nineteenth century, the art of ceremonial textile was going into decline since traditional techniques were replaced by machine-manufacturing. Secondly, textiles from Belarus, Lithuania, Poland and Ukraine often lack traceable provenance. This paper offers an approach to better dating and localizing East European textiles based on a small pool of objects with recorded provenance. This paper disproves the idea that Ashkenazi textiles were similar in motifs all over Europe. Textiles from Belarus, Lithuania, Poland and Ukraine show region-specific motifs not spread in other lands. Moreover, the offered approach allows to study both: traditional decorative patterns, as well as new creative solutions, emerged to meet the needs of mass production.

### Secrets of a 17th Century Torah Mantle

Lenka Uličná; Jewish Museum Prague

The Torah mantle from the collection of the Jewish Museum in Prague Inv. No. JMP 178.565 comes from the oldest and best-preserved Bohemian genizah from thy synagogue in Luže. The Torah mantle was described briefly by Olga Sixtová shortly after it was discovered in 1996. According to the dedication, this Torah mantle was donated by Moses b. David and his wife Gitl in 1691. It is made of red woollen fabric and is decorated by a Magen David in a circle. Hitherto unexplored abbreviated inscription inside the Magen David, partly upside down, suggests a possible Sabbatian interpretation. Moreover, the symbol of Magen David on this rare mantle seems to be the first attested star of David on textile in the Czech lands. In this paper, I aim to explore the hypothesis of Sabbatian connections and the use of the symbol.

### 18.06 Feminist Interventions in Jewish Art

### Unpacking Rachel Félix's "Constructed" and "Self-constructed" Jewishness

Irina Rabinovich; Holon Institute of Technology

This paper aims to unpack the cultural, historical and political significance behind the representations (including pictures, caricatures, journalistic articles) and self-representations of Rachel Félix (1821–1858), the first prominent Jewish performer on the French, British, and American stage, as a prism which affords a broader discussion about

the literary formations of the figure the Jewish female artist. Félix, renowned for her exquisite beauty and daring sensuality, serves as an excellent paradigm of how Jewish artists used and, at times, manipulated their "biblical"/"oriental"/"sensual" beauty with the aim of promoting their artistic career. My discussion also aims at explaining the correlation between such literary formations and their political implications with regarding the representation of Jewish artists. Since the identity of an actress is "constructed," and because of the intricate relationship between Jewishness, artistic vocation and femininity, the figure of Félix provides a direct engagement with a particular set of cultural and political assumptions about Jewish female artists. Looking at Félix's literary and artistic representations by her contemporaries and at her own self-representation as reflected on the stage and in her letters leads to a better understanding of the relationship between the cultural, political and artistic constructs of Jewish female artists.

#### Jewish Female Presence in Medallic Art

Ira Rezak; Harry G Friedman Society, Stony Brook University

This paper will examine the diversity among Jewish women memorialized on medals. Such a search reveals variability in their characterization, in the projection of their social status, and in the national distribution of such subjects as recorded within a medium that is itself eccentric from and considered marginal to the more familiar modes of gendered representation - painting, statuary and literature. Medal making has been considered to lie somewhere between a "Fine Art" and a decidedly lesser genre, craft, or so-called "decorative art". Thus medals are situated in a category distinctive but marginal in relationship to the two more established genera. Medals are iconographic but also incorporate texts and also offer a dialectic between portraiture on the obverse of the medal and symbolic representation on its reverse side. Medals serve as a material form of memorialization, designed to be viewed at close range when held in the hand. They thus afford an intimate and palpable contact between the viewer and the Jewish female subject. Illustration and discussion of such above-described multi-tiered levels of diversity reveal the capacity of medallic art to project aspects of the historical roles of Jewish women and to serve as a significant documentary resource.

# Gender Politics and the Avant-Gardes. Mapping the Graphic Art of Vjera Biller in an Intersectional Framework

Mirjam Wilhelm; Hochschule für Jüdische Studien Heidelberg

Born in Dakovo in 1903 (then Habsburg Southern Hungary, now Croatia), Jewish avant-Garde artist Vjera Biller spent her formative years in interwar Berlin. There, Biller joined the Expressionist (often termed Jewish group) "Der Sturm" founded by connoisseur and art-critique Herwarth Walden. Alongside well-known colleagues such as Marc Chagall, Biller's graphics - centering on the leitmotif of children - were exhibited twelve times at Walden's gallery making her one of the most visible artists within this group in the early 1920s. Despite these significant contributions in Berlin and elsewhere, Biller remains largely unknown today.

# 18.07 Modernization of Tradition: Jewish Identity in the Architectural Practice of Ukraine in the 20th and 21st Centuries

# Jewish Architects in Soviet Ukraine and Political Propaganda Campaigns in Architectural Criticism: the late 1920s and 1930s

Serhiy Hirik; National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy

Before the 1917 Revolution, architects of Jewish origin could adopt traditional Jewish motives into their works in religious architecture and in projects of private mansions. In the 1920s and 1930s, such opportunities did not exist. The constructivist public buildings and apartment houses represented universal socialist values. Simultaneously, some Ukrainian architects (as well as those architects who worked in non-Slavic regions) continued to use motives perceived as "national". However, such use of "national" elements frequently was treated as a representation of "bourgeois nationalism".

In contrast, Jewish national elements in architecture were perceived first of all as a part of religious tradition. The Jewish public buildings as well as residence houses in the Jewish national districts in Soviet Ukraine, had not any visual distinction from non-Jewish ones. In my presentation, I will trace the influence of propaganda campaigns on "deethnization" or "detraditionalization" of the works by Jewish architects in Soviet Ukraine.

# Between "Jewishness" and "Internationality": Miletsky School in Kyiv Soviet Modernism

levgeniia Gubkina; University College London

In recent years, there has been a surge in the popularity of Soviet modernism. The most striking Kyiv phenomenon is a school that has common features with international critical regionalism, supplemented by elements of expressionism and/or futurism, represented by architects connected with Joseph Karakis, Michael Budilovsky, and Abraham Miletsky (all of Jewish origin).

Despite the popularity of Miletsky's legacy, his influence remains underestimated. His circle's approaches are not usually stood out in a school. The question is raised whether we can talk about Jewishness or Jewish identity in architecture, skipping an appeal to tradition?

Only an attempt to analyze a thought inherent in the objects and a way of expressing it can allow us to turn to reflection on the architects' Jewish experience. The narration of this architecture is not an appeal to tradition but an attempt to provoke a critical discussion on trauma, memory, and heritage of Kyiv Jews.

# An Image of the Synagogue in Preservation and Modernization of Cultural Heritage of Hasidism: The Case with the Tolna Hasidim

Eugeny Kotlyar; Kharkiv State Academy of Design and Arts

The general tendency to create a «usable past» (David Roskies) is illustrated by the case of the Tolna Hasidim in Jerusalem. It is a vivid experience of the construction of the memory of the old synagogue in the Ukrainian town of Talne (Tolna). The old photographs of this synagogue (1906–1909) revealed their heritage to the supporters of the current Tolner Rebbe and aroused the desire to include it in the structure of the new synagogue in Jerusalem (2014).

This experience shows a dual direction in preserving and presenting the cultural heritage of the Tolna Hasidim today. On the one hand, they mythologize their experience of the past and include it in their historical memory, and everything necessary is constructed within the framework of the accepted religious concept. On the other hand, those aspects

of heritage that still resonate with modern life are subject to revision within the framework of modernity.

# 19.01 Jewish Identity in TV Series and Films

#### The Land of Milk and Honey: Israel and Jewish Tradition in Israeli Film & TV Series

Verena Hanna Dopplinger; University of Vienna

The proposal focuses on Israeli film and serial productions, highlighting their interaction with Jewish tradition. This includes film as Midrash - reworking and commenting on Biblical motifs and stories - as well as instances in which the country, its landscapes and symbols are central to narrative and aesthetic choices. Fictional Israeli TV series and films are a medium that has increasingly gained importance for relaying changes in contemporary cultural narratives and popular culture, especially with regard to identity formation and questions of alterity. Thus, the scholarly analysis of visual culture and history is inextricably tied to current trends in Jewish studies, charting different approaches and representations of multiple Jewish backgrounds.

It is argued that precisely this usage of Jewish tradition, landscapes and symbols adds a visual layer of commentary to the productions' narratives, drawing from Ashkenazi, Sephardi and Ethiopian communities. Relying on exacting sequence analyses and historical contextualisations in Hebrew, English, and Arabic when needed, the challenges for Israeli society are shown to be reflected further by visual stylistic devices. The analysis thus presents the centrality of Jewish motifs in Israeli productions, as well as highlighting the dialectical challenges in those instances in which they are subverted.

# Exploring Third-Generation Poetic Expressions: Communicating Memory and Displacement in Poetry Films "Triptych" (2018) and "The Waltz" (2022)

Anna Hofman; Hamburg University

Literary memory studies are, since the past decade, engaging with Jewish third-generation writing, discovering elements of newness in comparison to the second, post-memory, generation as well as the ways authors deal with self-positioning and memory, or its absence. While much has already been said regarding 3G memoirs and novels, poetry

remains largely unresearched. In the 21st century, cultural production, and poetry especially, is increasingly intersecting with digitality and visuality. As such, I want to look at the poetic aperture beyond written poetry, in poetry film.

My presentation will begin mapping how individual filmmakers take on and communicate matters of memory and themes of home/displacement and seeking through spatial and mnemonic travel via this intermedial genre. The selected poetry films, studied within my doctoral dissertation, are "Triptych" (2018) by Katia Lom in English and "The Waltz" (2022) by Yulia Ruditskaya in Yiddish/English. The presentation will explore the effects of poetry film when retracing, constructing, and communicating themes of Jewish identity and memory, as lyrical subjects travel back to the past and forward to the future, engaging their audience(s) emotionally by interlinking orality, visuality, and the written word whilst underlining the diversity, culturally, linguistically, and genre-wise, of third-generation literary expressions.

### Representation of Haredi Jewry in the German-US limited Serial Unorthodox

Eik Dödtmann; University of Babelsberg

The representation of the transnational ultra-Orthodox (Haredi) Jewry in worldwide television, streaming services, and cinema has been gaining momentum since the 2010s. Recent productions touch on aspects of Haredi lifestyle, customs, and of the struggle of the individual with the fundamentalist interpretation of Jewish religious law. It was the Israeli soap opera *Shtisel* (2013-2021) which helped the genre of sorts to an international breakthrough – after being purchased by the US-American SVOD-platform Netflix with its approximately 200,000 subscribers. Following the success of *Shtisel*, Netflix commissioned its first transnational co-production on Haredi Jewry, *Unorthodox*, an Off-the-Derekh story based on the life of US-German author Deborah Feldman. The limited series, which was written and produced in Berlin, sparked controversy over the representation of the Satmar Hasidic community and traditional religious Judaism as a whole.

This paper will examine in what way Haredi Jewry is represented in *Unorthodox*. There will be analyzed which topics are raised, what stereotypes are broken or maintained, and which persons are active in these creative negotiation processes. A special focus will be

put on the different debates around *Unorthodox* – in Germany, in Israel, and in the US – ranging from praise to accusations of anti-Semitism.

### Regarding Jewish Utility Films as Film Heritage

Janina Wurbs; University of Potsdam

The aim of this case study is to investigate the distribution and significance of "Gebrauchsfilm" (utility film) within a Jewish film heritage. It explores a neglected and largely uncharted area in film history, and even more so in the context of Jewish film history. The term "utility film" focuses on the reception and exploitation contexts of the films; aesthetic criteria, however, are of secondary importance, although a rough distinction can be made between political, entertainment, and educational contexts or instrumentalization.

For archaeology of cinema, it is important to include utility films. They show in which contexts films have stood, which of their aesthetic, rhetorical, and argumentative forms of communication these films made use of, and to which visual formats they had access. One example of utility films will be presented in the context of DP camps, applying Thomas Elsässer's model of the "three As".

### 19.02 Jewish Film Studies

Jewish Film Festivals: Network Nodes and the Development of "Jewish Film"

Lucy Alejandra Pizaña Pérez; University of Babelsberg

The term 'Jewish film' did not originate from academia but was first and foremost a term that was used and established within the film culture: it has become popularized by Jewish Film Festivals since the 1980s.

In this presentation, I will focus on the analysis of the network of Jewish Film Festivals, in which an understanding of 'Jewish Film' is developed and negotiated. It aims to explore whether 'Jewish film' can be understood as a transnational concept, looking at the various network strategies that these festivals have pursued over the years, and assuming that a transfer of knowledge and experience took place within the framework of the various network events (as network nodes) – e.g. at conferences held in the early 2000s. Here the

question arises as to what role this transfer plays and how it shapes what is understood as 'Jewish Film' on a transnational level.

### Jewish Perspectives on Antisemitism and Film

Tirza Seene; University of Babelsberg

Debates on casting politics and typecasting have concerned (Jewish) audiences since the late 1920s, recently with comedian Sarah Silverman coining the term 'Jewface'. These discussions shed light on the understandings of antisemitism and film: How is accountability for antisemitic movie material framed, and what are their underlying understandings of antisemitism and film? Referring to the methodological idea of "Gojnormativität" ("Goynormativity") (Judith Coffey/ Vivian Laumann), this paper re-reads discourses about the expectations put on actors and actresses as Jews from the Jewish communities or from 'dominant' perspectives, thus rendering Jewish argumentations and perspectives visible and uncovering an aspect of the complex entanglements of antisemitism and film. I will illustrate my arguments on the basis of two cinematic examples, the discussions on the silent epic film The King of Kings (USA 1927, R: Cecil B. DeMille) and the Swedish comedy Pettersson & Bendel (SV 1933, R: Per-Axel Branner).

### What is Jewish Film Heritage in Germany? A Database Project

Johannes Praetorius-Rhein; University of Babelsberg

Jewish film studies is a growing field in Germany. In this panel, I will present a database project that is currently under development. Its aim is to serve as a connecting point between individual projects in the field and to not only store and secure research data, but to foster new research questions and to create the conditions for using digital methodologies. Moreover, it will explore the scope and limits of what is to be understood under "Jewish film heritage." As part of a larger research project of this title, the aim is to complement the conceptual intersections of "film heritage" and "Jewish heritage" with the collection of data on specific corpora, that can be considered "Jewish film heritage". The paper will discuss problems and challenges in the development.

#### Retrospective of DEFA-Documentaries. Part of a Jewish Film Heritage?

Ulrike Schneider; University of Potsdam

One of the main goals of the DEFA Foundation, founded in 1998, is to preserve the GDR's cinematic heritage. This "heritage" includes not only feature films but also documentaries. Since the late 1990s, a selection of the "film heritage" has been made accessible in various retrospectives shown at film festivals, in cinemas or on television. At the Leipzig International Festival for Documentary and Animated Film in 2021, the retrospective was entitled "Die Juden der Anderen. Geteiltes Deutschland, verteilte Schuld, zerteilte Bilder". Based on the documentary "Memento" (1966) by Karlheinz Mund, which was shown at the retrospective, the question of a "Jewish film heritage" as part of the DEFA legacy will be discussed. The focus of the paper concentrates on the context of the presentation of this film in 1966 as well as in 2021 and on its content to demonstrate possible parameters of a "Jewish film heritage".

### 19.03 When Music is Jewish

# Returning Memory: Reconstruction of the Life and Work of Violinist Daniel Pomerantz

Kamilė Rupeikaite; Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre

Lithuanian-born violin virtuoso Daniel Pomerantz (1904-1981), who graduated from music studies at the Royal Academy of Music in Berlin, was one of the brightest figures in interwar Kaunas, the temporary capital of Lithuania. Having mastered both classical and popular violin repertoire, he was a star of entertainment music and had formed his band in Konrad's cafe, favoured by bohemians and intellectuals. The life and career of Pomerantz were shattered during the Nazi occupation in 1941, when Jews of Kaunas were imprisoned in the ghetto. Having survived two concentration camps, Pomerantz returned to Lithuania after the war, where he clung to life and professional activities, trying to overcome the enormous psychological trauma caused by the Holocaust.

Due to the second Soviet occupation and emigration of the Pomerantz family from the Soviet Union in 1974, details of his biography were lost or were not spoken of among the family members who survived. The paper presents the attempts to reconstruct different

aspects of the life and works of the violinist based on archival documents, interviews with his daughter and reviews of the press at the time.

### Musical Borrowings in Greek Songs about the Holocaust

Chryssie Scarlatos; independent scholar

This paper deals with seven songs about the Holocaust. The songs were written in Greece, and the practice of contrafactum (borrowing melodies and changing the lyrics) was applied to all of them. The borrowed melodies originate from Western art music (e.g., opera songs), from Western and Greek popular songs of the time and also from Greek folk and urban folk music. The variety of musical borrowings reveals cultural interactions between the ethnic and religious groups of the Greek land. It is also indicative of the increasing role of mass media (radio, cinema) at that time. The lyrics of the songs are usually written in Greek and, in some cases, in Ladino (Judeo-Spanish of the Eastern Mediterranean area). Apart from having musicological interest, the songs are also important from a historical point of view. They were written either before the transportation to the extermination camps, or inside the camps, or after the Holocaust. Their lyrics depict aspects of the living conditions of Jews during World War II. Moreover, these songs acted as a way of expressing feelings and thoughts.

# Raising Awareness towards De\*colonization in Music Teacher Education: An Analysis of Jewish Roots in Argentinian Tango

Ina Henning; University of Education Schwaebisch Gmuend

This paper addresses deviations from constricting traditional understandings and colonial structures as well as reflections on stereotyping of Jewish music and culture using the example of Tango in Argentina. As a result of the expulsion of Jews from Russia at the time of Alexander III, thousands emigrated to South America, where Jewish colonies were established as an alternative to Palestine. Argentina had then opened its doors to immigrants from the Old World - expulsion on one side met population growth on the other. It will be shown how Tango served as a vehicle for acculturation and, conversely, how Jewish culture shaped Argentine tango.

Current international classroom research has shown that colonization can be promoted

through the unreflective use of materials in the classroom when facts are presented in a truncated manner. This is also true for music education. The latter is affected by the need for stronger approaches in teacher education that sustainably address issues such as hegemony and understanding how to deal with diversity and racism critique. This paper is therefore rounded off with examples of how the content can be used to decolonize music teacher education.

# 20.01 Jewish Gender and Diversity in the Modern World

# Marianne Beth (1890-1984) – Austria's first Female Lawyer, Zionist, Feminist and Cultural Scientist

Barbara Lorenz; independent scholar

Born into a Jewish family in Vienna, her father working with Theodor Herzl, Marianne Beth took a pioneering role in Austrian jurisprudence as the first female lawyer. as the first woman with two doctorates and within the bourgeois-liberal women's movement focusing on the legal empowerment. In addition to her then-highly regarded legal publications, a further area of research interests and publications was determined by interdisciplinary religious studies. Awarded the prize of the renowned Kant Society, she also worked as a journalist on economic and socio-political topics for various renowned newspapers. Based on her prolific life's work, her intellectual history grounding in contemporary philosophy as well as on religion is to be analyzed, her lifetime struggle for women's self-empowerment by means of professional activity will be outlined as well as her leading role in women's organizations in Austria as well as on an international level. Forced to flee to the US, Marianne Beth represents the paradigm of a Jewish "New Woman" (H. Freidenreich).

The intellectual versatility of this outstanding character in the interweaving of various disciplines to form visionary ideas has had a multi-faceted impact on research and will be unveiled in its complexity, especially regarding women's societal participation.

# Polish-Jewish Women on their Bodies and Sexuality at the Turn of the Twentieth Century

Zuzanna Kołodziejska-Smagała; University of Warsaw

The turn of the twentieth century saw a proliferation of ideologies and movements in Europe, including partitioned Poland. Social changes provoked, among others, by industrialisation, secularisation, modernisation, the emergence of women's movements influenced the discourses on body. Body, and woman's body, in particular, became an object of scientific research. Woman's sexuality started to be discussed by various members of intellectual elites in the lands of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. In the Jewish culture body was a subject of rabbinic and public debate since the very beginning, yet the changes in different elements of Jewish discourses on the body were also well visible at that particular historical moment. Thus, the question that the paper will try to answer is how were those discourses and changes within them reflected in literature, ego-documents and press articles by Jewish women who chose to write in Polish. Was their Jewishness important in that regard? The juxtaposition of different sources will reveal factors that influenced the way the discourses were reflected. Another question that the paper is aimed to answer is whether sexuality and female body were only literary topics that had no influence on individual biographies, and if it was so, what were the reasons.

### Ukrainian Jewish Refugees in Germany: an Ethnographic Portrait

Marina Sapritsky-Nahum; London School of Economics and Political Science

Since the Russian invasion of Ukraine in early 2022, a large part of the country's Jewish population has been internally displaced or has fled to neighbouring countries. Many Jews did not opt to make aliyah but instead chose to stay in Europe, hoping for a relatively quick return. Thousands arrived in Germany—some evacuated under the supervision of local rabbis and assisted by aid organisations, others fleeing on their own.

This paper, based on ethnographic research performed in Berlin since March 2022, describes the realities of Ukrainian Jewish refugees from Odesa, Dnipro and Kharkiv: their evacuation stories, their reasons and reservations when choosing Germany, and their feelings about how Germany operates as a host country. It draws special attention to how Ukrainian Jews arriving as refugees integrate with Germany's established Jewish

communities and its Russian-speaking Jewry.

This ethnographic portrait of the displaced allows for an analysis of how Russia's war on Ukraine, and the process of seeking refuge in Germany, has influenced Jewish identities and practices across modern borders. I argue that these experiences have brought some Ukrainian Jews closer to religious observance and faith while others suffer a weakened or even ruptured connection to Judaism.

# **20.02 Breaking Gender Roles**

# The "Disgraceful Use of the Male Body in a Female Manner": Lev 20:13 in 4th-Century Roman Legislation

Juni Hoppe; University of Potsdam

The earliest Roman law regarding homosexual intercourse among men appears to have been the Lex Scantinia which outlawed the rape of young male Roman citizens.

Consensual homosexual unions, however, were not legislated against – up until the 4th century. It was the "Christianization of the Roman Empire" which led to the trend of emperors in condemning homosexual acts were condemned among free adult males through Roman legislation. The pronouncement of Lev 20:13 alongside Roman law is explicitly quoted in the Collatio Legum Mosaicarum et Romanarum. The anonymous compiler of the Collatio begins each chapter with a citation from the Hebrew Bible, followed by a series of similar passages in Roman law. This way, Roman legislation was presented as "following fully the meaning of the law of Moses" (mentem tamen legis Moysi imperatoris Theodosii constitutio ad plenum secuta cognoscitur). In this paper I will re-examine the perception of the passive homosexual act as "feminine," diverging from the expected hyper-masculine role and therefore "to be condemned with the highest punishment," and explore in what way the Bible was (not) used as a tool for justifying new imperial law.

#### Voicing the Unspeakable: Women's Virtue in Early Modern Yiddish Mayses

Anna Rogel; Heinrich Heine University Düsseldorf

The Yiddish *mayse bukh* (Basel 1602) was a highly popular collection of stories which entertained and educated its Early Modern readership with religious as well as folkloric motifs, themes and texts. Promoted as proper reading material for a female readership, it was widely read by women and men alike.

Hagiographies of famous rabbis featured prominently in the *mayse bukh* and their protagonists served as role models for Jewish men. Similarly, *mayses* that exemplified female virtues through pious protagonists allowed for the identification of the female readership with these female role models. The diverse representations of such female virtue in the *mayse* book reveals the wide range of possible virtuous conduct for Early modern Jewish women.

In my paper, I will focus on the female virtue of outspokenness as a reoccurring motif in the representation of pious women in Yiddish *mayses*. Subjected to structural discrimination not only by Christians but by their own communities, virtuous women find the courage to address conflicts with the Christian majority culture as well as inner-Jewish conflicts and power imbalances. In my exemplary analysis, I will show how such outspokenness is rewarded in Jewish *mayses* and presented as pious ("*frum*") behaviour.

# A Queer Reading of Joseph: Jewish Interpretations of the Beautiful Young Man in the Hebrew Bible

Karin Hügel; University of Amsterdam

My queer readings of the beautiful young Joseph in the Hebrew Bible focus on later Jewish interpretations of the biblical Joseph narrative in the Book of Genesis. These interpretations can be captured under three headings, viz. (1) "Joseph being an effeminate youth", i. e. interpretations of Gen 37:2 and Gen 39:6; (2) "Potiphar buys Joseph in order to have sex with him", i. e. interpretations of Gen 39:1; and (3) "the beautiful Joseph ignores women", i. e. interpretations of Gen 49:22. The rabbis have used inconsistencies, ambiguities and obscurities in the biblical story of Joseph as an opportunity to create their own new interpretations of Joseph which are highly relevant for a queer reading of today.

# 20.03 Queering Jewish Studies and Jewish Cultural Heritage

### From Object to Experience: Jewish Cultural Heritage as Encounter

Miranda Crowdus; Concordia University

This talk draws on findings from the DFG-funded project "Queering Jewish Cultural Heritage in Europe" (Q-JCH). Viewed as reflecting European inclusion and diversity, the contemporary preservation and display of JCH in Europe constitute an imperative for many non-Jewish organizations. The display and examination of Jewish objects often function as a substitute for contact with living Jews and signal positive engagements with Jews and Judaism and, by extension, liberal values. These constructions of Jewishness often evoke an idealized, unchanging Jewishness that bears little resemblance to lived Judaism. This talk highlights the benefits of understanding JCH as an encounter rather than an object. Reframing JCH through the diversity of Jewish experience, phenomenology, and oral history, enacts a Queering process, an arguably necessary unsettling of Jewish cultural heritage in the public sphere.

### Negotiations of Jewish Culture and Heritage by European LGBTQI+ Jews

Sacha Kagan; Hildesheim University

How do both Queer-and-Jewish identified social agents relate and respond to their Jewish Heritage? Which kinds of cultural articulations and creative productions unfold at the intersection of queer and Jewish self-identifications? How do artistic processes queerly revisit and re-interpret Jewishness? Harnessing insights from previous research at the intersection of queer studies and Jewish studies, and highlighting perspectives identified in ongoing qualitative interviews and participant observation conducted with queer Jews in the Netherlands, France, the UK and Germany, the paper shares early empirical findings from the DFG-funded project "Queering Jewish Cultural Heritage in Europe" (part of SPP 2357). PD Dr. Kagan's empirical method-mix involves qualitative interviews, observation and "walks-with-video" under the methodological roof of sensory ethnography (after Sarah Pink).

#### Queer Jewish Organizing in Europe

Jan Wilkens; University of Potsdam

In 1972, the first group by and for Jewish Queers was founded in London (Jewish Gay Group). A few years later, two groups in Paris (Beit Haverim) and Amsterdam (Sjalhomo) followed. These groups tried to create a safe space for those Jews that felt excluded from their Jewish communities because they did not match heteronormative expectations. The paper will present how these groups started organizing in their respective countries, what their understanding of Jewishness and Queerness was (and still is), and how they connected on a European level in the 1980s/1990s. They established a network on the continent, a support structure at a time when Jewish support for Queers was still marginal. Additionally, the paper will address the advantages of introducing queer perspectives into Jewish historiography and how they can complicate the field in a meaningful way. The paper comprises the (preliminary) findings of the author's Ph. D. project "Queer Jewish Groups in Europe (1972–1990s) – Creating a Network of Jewish Queers."

# Talking Jewish Cultural Heritage: Decolonizing and Genderizing Discourses on Jewish Heritage

Sarah Ross; Hochschule für Musik, Theater und Medien

The respondent seeks to recapitulate the panel by focusing on the structures within which Jewish cultural heritage, and knowledge about Jewish heritage is being produced, (re-)constructed and transmitted: within the settings of Jewish communities, the cultural sector, and academia. These settings are not only dominated by non-Jewish actors, which leads - on the Jewish side - to the feeling of colonization, but also by christonormative/gojnormative perspectives on Jewish heritage. Aspects of gender are mostly excluded. This way of talking about Jewish heritage, which effects strategies of preserving and representing the same, is considered as non-sustainable. The respondent thus seeks to open up a panel discussion on how to decolonize discourses within these frameworks, by acknowledging that Jewish communities, particularly in Germany, belong to the "overstudied Others" within areas where Jews cannot express lived agency, and thus on how to make the transmission and safeguarding processes of Jewish heritage more sustainable.

## 20.04 Queer-Feminist Intersections in Jewish Media Studies

# Family Resemblances: Gender and Jewishness in Feminist (Post-)Underground Comics

Véronique Sina; Goethe University Frankfurt

Jewish artists have played a decisive role in the history of comics. This becomes particularly clear when looking at the alternative underground scene of the 1960/70s. In the wake of the Women's Liberation Movement, the first feminist networks and collectives were founded. With their unembellished political comics, these collectives broke new ground in feminist comics and paved the way for future generations. Also, working in a feminist collective enabled a specific form of solidarity and exchange among the artists. Using the example of Jewish-American feminist artists like Aline Komisnky-Crumb, Diane Noomin and Shira Spector, the paper examines the close connection between comics and Jewishness from a queer-feminist perspective. Not only will 'family resemblances' between different generations of the Jewish underground and post-underground artists be highlighted, but there will also be a special focus on the critical reflection on and the queer representation of (alternative) family structures and questions of parenthood.

### Melodrama and Memory Culture in Unorthodox (2020): A Feminist Analysis

Ina Holev; Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz

Sentimentality and highly stylized representations of mostly haredi Jewishness come together in Unorthodox (Schrader, 2020). In my paper, I will explore these connections and show how emotion and affect play an important role in the aesthetic representation of Jewish characters in German-language film and television. In *Unorthodox* (based on a memoir by Deborah Feldman), a Jewish woman flees the repressive environment of a strictly conservative Jewish community in New York and relocates to Berlin to build a new, seemingly freer life for herself. I suggest that this series could be read as a melodrama, which offers a new feminist perspective on examining Jewishness in German film and television. This mode of representation can be seen as similar to Linda William's understanding of racial melodrama (2001). Although the melodrama also as a feminist form

of working through the memory culture of German-Jewish history and as a site of reflection and reassessment of antisemitism as "memory theater" (Bodemann, 1996).

# Voices of Reason? An Investigation of Sound and Testimony in Yael Bartana's Redemption Now at the Jewish Museum Berlin

Simone Nowicki; Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz

The Memory Void at the Jewish Museum Berlin is perhaps the best-known aspect of the museum; today it houses the installation by Menashe Kadishman. Schalechet consists of more than 10,000 faces with torn, disharmoniously proportioned mouths made of heavy, iron plates that cover the floor of the void. What makes this installation particularly interesting here are the resonant qualities of the museum space itself: It is the sounds, such as reverberating voices, the whispering or silence of its visitors, as well as their acoustic bodies. Yet sound art remains marginalized as a stand-alone object of research. But, especially in the critical examination of the representation, orality, and visualization of Jewish history, sound must be considered as a challenge and possibility.

This ambiguity will be discussed using the example of Yael Bartana's queer-feminist film Malka Germania from the exhibition Redemption Now, which was exhibited in 2021, only a few meters away from Schalechet.

# 20.05 Gender, Memory and Migration: Jewish Masculinities from North Africa and the Eastern Mediterranean, 1940s-1970s

"An adventure only books can tell": Rhodesli Jewish Migrants in Congo and Rhodesia, 1910s-1940s

Dario Miccoli; Ca' Foscari University

Even though nowadays few people remember it, a small group of Jews from Rhodes (Judeo-Spanish: Rhodesli) settled in the Belgian Congo from the 1910s, particularly in the south-eastern region of Katanga. On the whole, it is estimated that from that period to the early 1960s c. 1,500-2,000 Jews from Rhodes lived in the Belgian Congo – a number that is far from irrelevant when one thinks that in the 1940s the island had a total Jewish population of c. 2,000 people. In the British colony that in 1923 became known as

Southern Rhodesia instead resided c. 800-1,000 Rhodeslis, particularly in the capital Salisbury (Harare), Bulawayo and in smaller cities such as Gatooma (Kadoma). The Rhodeslis remained in Congo until the end of the Belgian colonial rule and in Rhodesia until the late 1960s and early 1970s – in some cases even after – when most resettled in Belgium, South Africa, the US, Israel or Italy. This paper will look at the history of the Rhodeslis of the Belgian Congo and Southern Rhodesia, focusing on the founders of these two communities: mostly young men in their twenties that moved alone or with relatives and friends in the 1920s and 1930s or even earlier, working as traders and small entrepreneurs. Who were these young men and why did they migrate to Africa? Which (Jewish) notions of manhood did they have and how did the African setting influence them? How did they relate to the family back in Rhodes, where most of them went to get engaged and marry? And lastly, how did the Holocaust impact on all this?

# Memory, Masculinity, and Mobility: Narrating Colonial Environment, Gender Construction and Migration in the Autobiographies of Italian Jews of Tunisia

Martino Oppizzi; Ecole Française de Rome

In this paper, I propose to study the elaboration of public and private memory by the former members of a very active minority in colonial Tunisia: The Livornese Jews, most of which were Italian citizens. This double identity, both Italian and Jewish, led to a complex history from the colonial era until the massive migration after the Second World War. The departure from Tunisia, in the wake of the decolonization, led to a singular narration of childhood and the process of self-construction as Italian, as Jews, and as men.

Based on the analysis of eight autobiographical books published from the 2000s onwards by authors (all men) born and raised in the Livornese community of Tunisia, my proposal examines the mechanisms of memorial selection and re-elaboration of the past. I will also use a corpus of about 30 interviews realized during my doctoral and post-doctoral research.

# "I always remember him with a lot...... of sadness": Perspectives on Gendered Identities among MENA Jewish Migrants

Piera Rossetto; Ca' Foscari University

The paper applies gender and ageing to examine recollections by first- and 1.5/2nd-generation Jewish migrants in the context of migrations from North Africa and the Middle East to Italy (the 1950s-1970s). Recognition is a 'vital human need" and a crucial asset for intersubjective identity formation. Individuals build their intersubjectivity through love-, legal-, and solidarity-based relationships and, through them, grow in self-confidence, self-respect, and self-esteem, respectively. This is challenged during the migratory process as migrants face downward mobility, and forced migrants find the 'drop in wealth, status and recognition' even more challenging. To what extent can narratives of migrants' children be considered as a 'later coping strategy' for handling their parents' traumas during the (forced) migration process? How do those who were children at the time of migration and are now well into the ageing process engage with difficult migration memories along gendered lines? How does 'misrecognition', or the 'sense of discontent' that can develop when individuals experience a 'discrepancy between expectations of recognition and its absence', manifest in gender and intergenerational relations among Middle Eastern and North African Jews?

# 20.06 Diverse Approaches to Jewish Belonging, Identity, and Safety in the Contemporary World

Invading Aliens or Model Migrants? What Jewish Identity Negotiation in Multiculturalism Can Teach us about Refugee Issues

Jennifer Creese; University of Leicester

Much of the Western world is engaged in discussions about migration and 'belonging' in popular debate. Research in Australia concerning communal construction and performance of "Jewish Australian" identity reveals how securing safety and belonging have long been a process of negotiating identity, and how the Jewish community's rewriting of narratives of what being part of a multicultural national identity means might help create space for welcoming and empowering others.

If the Talmud Mentions many Genders why is it Hard to make Space for me?

Mie Astrup Jensen; University College London

This paper will present research on trans Jewish women's lived experiences in Jewish communities, across Jewish denominations, ranging from people born and raised as cultural Jews to people who were raised Haredi and Chabad and now identifying as traditional Jews. The qualitative findings will focus on four trans women and two non-binary people and how they negotiate, express, and experience their Jewish identities in England and Israel. The presentation will focus on issues such as making space for trans and non-binary people in Judaism, how trans people navigate the mechitzah in Orthodox communities, and learning and unlearning gendered Jewish practices such as no longer laying tefilin but lighting candles.

British/Jewish History: from Decline to new Directions

Gavin Schaffer; University of Birmingham

In this paper, I will raise questions about the appropriate approach to historicising British-Jewish lives in the twentieth century. In particular, I will explore the ways in which the narrative of decline (as part an international rendering of postwar Jewish experience) has come to dominate scholarly thinking about the community and question the broader impacts of this approach on Jewish studies in Britain.

Focusing on parts of the community often overlooked in communal narratives (queer Jews, progressive Jews, Orthodox Jews), I argue that the narrative of decline has served to stifle the extent to which the story of British Jewry might be told in terms of prosperity, innovation and new directions.

### Secular Jewish Morality in U.S. Jewish Communities

Jennifer Thompson; California State University

This presentation discusses work in progress toward a book on what it means to be non-religious in U.S. society using the case study of U.S. Jews. Population studies show that very high proportions of U.S. Jews feel proud to be Jewish and feel that Jewishness is important in their lives. Simultaneously, a growing share of U.S. Jews identifies as having no religion, while U.S. society categorizes Jewishness as a religious identity. Multi-sited

ethnography and interviews centred in Los Angeles provides insight into the experiences of Jews who identify as secular and see Jewishness as their moral centre. Their stories show overlooked strengths of moral communities that do not follow a traditional religious model. These communities hold special relevance in our current time of rising religious nationalism across the globe as they bridge the socially constructed gap between religion, morality, and secularism.

# 21.01 Branching out into the Present: Contemporary Jewish Studies in Germany

Love Between Past and Present: Relationships of Jews in Contemporary Germany
Ina Schaum; Goethe University Frankfurt

In this talk, I will propose a sociological analysis of love relationships and their entanglement in power relations. I will consider oppressive as well as liberating aspects of the love experience in order to understand how love takes place in front of what feminist scholar Sara Ahmed calls "a world that is inherited" yet which has the potential to go beyond it. More specifically, I will look at the stories of my Jewish interview partners, who told me their life stories with a focus on experiences with love. In the context of my research, which takes place in post-Shoah Germany, I will address how their relationships are - and in which ways they are, in fact, not at all - affected by the legacy of the Shoah. The insights of my analysis will not be limited to analyzing intimate relationships, but they can be applied to analyze other interactions between Jews and/or with non-Jews as well.

#### Contemporary Hebrew Prose in German: Between the Familiar and the Foreign

Tom Kellner; Martin-Luther-University Halle-Wittenberg

Following Germany's reunification, rapid changes in both political and social spheres had also affected Germany's cultural arena and, more specifically, the translation and publication of Hebrew prose in German. In this talk, I consider some of the various historical and cultural components that influenced the reception of these translated Hebrew works in their source and target cultures. Through the case of Zeruya Shalev's "Love Life" (*Hayei ahava*, 1997), which offers a unique example of the potential benefits

that arise from such cross-cultural translations, I wish to engage with broader questions of translatability, canon formation and the "intended reader", while examining the movement of Hebrew literature into the German literary sphere as a movement into World Literature.

# Transformation of Jewish Collective Identities in Germany by Immigration and Converts

Olaf Glöckner; University of Potsdam

Jewish communities in Germany have undergone tremendous changes in structure and identities over the last 30 years. Due to immigrants from the former Soviet Union the composition of many JCs has significantly changed. Russian has become the lingua franca. While many of the FSU immigrants (and their offspring) consider themselves as secular, a minority tends to traditional/orthodox Judaism. This contradicts with greater numbers of converted Germans ("Gerim") who are also very active in JC's but often tend to liberal Judaism (and not a few of them even aim to become Rabbis). Israeli Jews also came to Germany in greater numbers since the early 2000ies, but they did not yet affect Jewish-life in the country so far. This paper reflects different trends within the "new German Jewry" where competitive elements shouldn't be underestimated and several conflicts are not yet negotiated. Several recent empirical studies are considered, expert interviews as well.

#### Jewish Diversity, or why Jews are Good to Think with: Branching out

Dani Kranz; Ben Gurion University

Drawing on my previous and on-going research projects, I will connect the different areas addressed by the three presenters. Jewish life-worlds have become publicly visible in their diversity. Jews have arrived in Germany, and their different notions about Jewishness, Judaism, as well as the perceptions of Jews - as well as Israelis - from the side of the surrounding non-Jewish society have shown an increasing dynamic. Thus, this response will first address the notion of immigration and Jewish life-worlds in Germany, then the perception of Israel, and Israeli Jews by way of translated Hebrew language literature, and finally intimate, romantic, love relations of young Jews. These three interconnected areas reveal Jewish life-worlds but as well the perceptions of Jews. They allow showcasing that

Jews are bonnes à penser, and that research about them allows insights into much broader issues than 'just' Jewish topics: studies of Jewish life-worlds allow branching out.

# 21.02 The Medium is the Message: How Publications Influence Perception in Jewish Studies

#### What Makes a 'Jewish Life' a Jewish life?

Martin Goodman; University of Oxford

The Jewish Lives series published by Yale University Press aims to provide readers with 'biographies that illuminate the Jewish experience'.

Most of the sixty biographies so far included in the series deal with Jews in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. They had multifarious careers in the arts, business, entertainment, law, literature, politics, philosophy and science, but the extent to which their Jewish identity played a significant role in these careers varied enormously. This variety may in itself be thought to illuminate the Jewish experience in the modern world.

The seven Lives categorised simply under 'Antiquity' are very different from these modern Lives. The significance of Jewish identity for biblical figures such as David, Elijah, Jacob, Moses, Ruth and Solomon and for an early rabbi such as Rabbi Akiva is taken for granted. The paper will discuss the problems which arise in writing a biography of Herod the Great, a Jew from Antiquity whose Jewish status was challenged already in his lifetime, while for centuries the Jewish traditions about him were minimal and hostile. To what extent was Herod's life a Jewish life?

#### After Toaff: The Use of Blood in Jewish Healing Practice Revisited

Birgit Klein; Hochschule für Jüdische Studien Heidelberg

In his highly controversial book "Pasque di sangue. Ebrei d'Europa e omicidi rituali" (Bologna 2007 / 2nd ed. 2008), Ariel Toaff considers it possible that an extremist Jewish group may have actually committed the alleged ritual murder of Trent (1475) to avenge the persecution of Jews by Christians. In support of this thesis, he points to practices of using animal and human blood as remedies handed down in various Jewish tractates to identify similar statements made by the accused interrogated under torture at the Trent trial as

historically accurate, including even parts of the confessions regarding the ritual murder. This methodologically highly problematic conclusion led, on the one hand, to multiple anti-Semitic instrumentalizations of Toaff's book. On the other hand, Toaff's critics argued that the Torah prohibits any use of blood, thus also excluding the use of animal or human blood as a remedy. In a new approach, this article outlines the history of research and presents the most important sources on the use of blood as a remedy in Jewish practice from antiquity to the present (for example, the numerous "Sifre Segulot") and discusses in what form these findings can be published scientifically in view of their feared anti-Semitic use.

### Internet Responsa as a Narrative?

Leon Mock; Tilburg University

Responsa is an important Rabbinic genre of 'law' texts. Although its main focus is presenting a case for which a concrete answer is requested, the question itself could (in some cases) possibly be seen as a (short) narrative. This could be especially relevant to the relatively new phenomenon of Internet responsa from the orthodox world that has been around for about 20 years. The one-on-one context of the questioner addressing a rabbi (sometimes by choice) and the individualistic, customized nature of the Internet medium may create a different discourse of responsa questions. In this presentation/paper the following questions will be addressed:

- what is it that is narrated?
- how and why is it narrated?
- what would be the consequence of seeing (some) Internet respons as a narrative?

# 21.03 Intimate Entanglements: Contests and Confluences between Jewish & Islamic Studies in Europe

Citizen Strangers: Muslim Intellectuals, Jewish Intellectuals and a Politics of Responsibility in Germany and France

Elisabeth Becker; Heidelberg University

This paper draws on the idea of citizen strangers, embodied in modern Jewish and Muslim positionalities in Europe. It begins with an exploration of how the figure and experience as

a citizen stranger (that is, legal insider but cultural outsider) shaped the trajectory of German Jewish and French Jewish intellectuals in the 20th century. Here it explores struggles and some successes in gaining recognition and embeddedness in mainstream academia. It then moves to the contemporary social terrain of Germany and France to consider how 21st-century Muslim intellectuals engage with strangerhood as a barrier and critical opportunity to rethink the social order. Through interviews with contemporary Muslim intellectuals across Germany and France, it sheds light on how a sense of responsibility for Jewish history and culture (drawing on the notion of responsibility by Levinas), including its academic terrain, shapes self-understanding, knowledge-building efforts and institutional shaping of Islamic Studies by Muslim intellectuals, today.

## Ethics without Borders: Jewish-Muslim Confluences in Medicine and Biotechnology

Yulia Egorova; Durham University

This part of the session will consider how current debates in biomedical ethics intersect with Jewish and Islamic Studies, focusing on the way religious specialists in Judaism and Islam explore common approaches to the challenges presented by advances in biotechnology and medical practice. The presentation will also explore how the lay commentators and religious experts in Jewish and Muslim communities in the UK navigate and bridge the boundaries between their respective traditions, some of which they see as organically stemming from the differences in Jewish and Muslim doctrines and some as externally imposed by the wider public, academic and political discourses. On a broader plane, the paper will contribute to the main theme of the panel by discussing methodological possibilities of conducting ethnographic research at the intersection of medical anthropology, Jewish Studies and Islamic Studies.

# Curating Commonality: the French Museum of Immigration Exhibition on Jewish and Muslim Migration from North Africa to France

Sami Everett; University of Southampton

On the 60th anniversary of Algerian independence, the French Museum for the History of Immigration held an exhibition on Muslim and Jewish migration from North Africa to France. In a context wherein Algeria-born Jewish far-right television-pundit turned

politician Eric Zemmour shaped much of the electoral debate on immigration, the exhibition and the implication of the three curator-historians - Karima Dirèche, Mathias Dreyfuss and Benjamin Stora - met with stiff resistance as it narrated North African Jewish migration to France alongside Muslims, something seldom heard in France. Others felt that the exhibition either flattened out contemporary ethno-religious tensions that have their roots in colonial history or else put too much postcolonial focus on the colonial period (not before or after). This paper gives an inside track on to the exhibition from its inception to its reception thus excavating the discursive context in which Jewish and Islamic Studies are conducted in France today.

# Tracing the Institutionalisation of Jewish and Muslim Thought in Germany: From the Wissenschaft des Judentums to Islamische Theologie

Ufuk Topkara; Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

In the 19th century, the emergence of the Wissenschaft des Judentums entailed the institutionalisation of the academic study of Judaism, shaped by Jews themselves, in the broader German intellectual terrain. It created an interdisciplinary pathway to formalise and communicate Jewish thought that united textual study, history, and philology. Today, Islamische Theologie has emerged as an opportunity for Muslims to engage in not only theological but interdisciplinary humanistic intellectual pursuits within an institutionalised academic arena in Germany. In this conference paper, I bring these two historical and social movements together to think through the institutional potentialities, challenges, and limitations for both Jewish and Muslim thought traditions in Germany and in Europe, more broadly, as well as their potentials for engagement with one another in pluralising Germany's intellectual terrain.

## 22.01 Utilizing Digital Humanities in Digital Curation

#### The Posen Digital Library 2.0

Alison Joseph; Posen Digital Library of Jewish Culture and Civilization

The Posen Digital Library (PDL) is a diverse collection of texts and images from 3000 years of Jewish history. The EAJS congress will be the official launch of this new site.

While the project as a whole is a digital curation, the site contains a robust backend of metadata and linked data. This paper will address issues of converting content from print to digital and the challenges that arise, elements lost and gained, as well as dealing with ancient content and machine actionability, in particular, dealing with uncertain dating and creating a metadata schema that is machine actionable, and the value of diachronic curation.

### Understanding Jewish Collections through the Lens of Archival Dependency

Amelia Levi; University of Bonn

Digitization has increasingly made accessible a vast trove of material that historians can use for data-driven work. As heritage collections metamorphose from analogue into digital and, furthermore into data, issues of power, hegemony, and silences are reified and magnified. The ease of access to digitized collections result in scholarship that reinscribes inequalities and omissions of the past and favours those that are already visible. Using inherently partial and selective digitized collections for developing DH projects without interrogating underlying omissions, power structures, and distortions, we risk perpetuating the 'sins' of analogue collections. Such issues are even more prominent in dispersed archival collections of Jewish communities where entangled communities of people challenge concepts of community, identity, and belonging.

I explore how multiple aspects of 'archival dependency' affect scholarship and how we can

I explore how multiple aspects of 'archival dependency' affect scholarship and how we can use them in a generative way in DH projects.

## 22.02 Digital Jewish Studies of Textual Data

# Textual Diversity and Manuscripts of the Hebrew Bible. The Reverse Engineering Kennicott (REK) project

Luigi Bambaci; École Pratique des Hautes Études

In the 18th century, the English scholar Benjamin Kennicott set up a project involving various scholars from all over Europe with the aim of collecting variants of the Hebrew text of the Bible. This project culminated in the publication of the monumental Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum, containing approximately one million pieces of textual

information from more than 600 manuscripts. Since then, not only has no similar project been undertaken, but textual scholars have practically renounced the study of the medieval tradition in the belief that the biblical text is essentially identical.

The project we intend to illustrate, Reverse Engineering Kennicott (REK), funded by Biblissima, aims to bring Kennicott's work into the digital age, by putting manuscript diversity and variation back at the centre. By combining HTR, NLP and data mining of images, we will illustrate how we managed to encode automatically in TEI the critical apparatus of Kennicott as well as to provide complete transcriptions of many manuscripts. We will discuss how TEI encoding has allowed us to conduct in-depth phylogenetic analyses and how automatic transcription has enabled us to obtain a massive amount of training data useful for the HTR of medieval manuscripts.

### Rethinking Tanhuma in the digital era

Shimon Fogel; University of Haifa

Among the most influential midrashic genres of Jewish culture are the Tanahuma midrashim. Influenced by the dominance of printed editions, scholars tend to refer to the various texts that are part of this genre as "editions" or "redactions", even though it is widely agreed that they are not rooted in one text. Differences should be made between texts that are versions of each other, texts that are revisions or rewrites of previous texts, and texts that are independent and belong to a genre.

Accordingly, manuscripts may contain Tanhuma texts that are based on independent sources and have been compiled only by later scribes. It is for this reason that contemporary digital critical editions of Tanhuma literature cannot be solely based on the organization of Tanhuma units in manuscripts or Genizah fragments. This paper will propose thoughts, guidelines, and examples for a future multi-layered digital edition that represents the variety of Tanuma texts per Torah Seder (reading portion).

### Project "J-Doc": Experience of Documenting Soviet Oppression of Jews

Fredi Rotman; Nadav Foundation

During the report, I am going to talk about our experience in implementing the Internet project "J-Doc," which is focused on state policies of the USSR that affected Jews. The

goal of the project is to document the ways in which official activity under the Soviet regime affected Jews, to provide evidence for allegations of antisemitism under the Soviet system, and to create a memory bank to preserve the experiences of the victims of Soviet antisemitism. Based on the archival documents, this database also highlights the means employed by Jewish communities and informal Jewish associations to foster Jewish identity despite official repression; to disseminate knowledge about people who opposed the regime in various ways, and to provide information about the underground struggle for Jewish culture and religion, for civil rights and for the right to leave the USSR. My report will focus on issues related to the database itself, its content, the principles of acquisition and annotation of funds, as well as the problems and challenges associated with the work of such a project.

# Making Metadata Dynamic: Related Entities in the "Buber Correspondences Digital" Project

Thomas Kollatz; Academy of Sciences and Literature Mainz

Buber-Correspondences Digital is a project focused on the 41,400 preserved letters, postcards, and telegrams exchanged between Martin Buber and over 7,000 different correspondents. The goal of the project is to thoroughly research these dialogues in epistolary form, which has received little attention thus far. A tiered editorial process is being applied using the Text Encoding Initiative (TEI). A suitable framework for elementary metadata such as sender, recipient, location, and date is provided by the TEI element <correspDesc>. 20% of the correspondences, mainly those with notable figures, are being digitally edited in full text using the TEI. 65% of the letters are provided with a summary and indexes of the entities mentioned (persons, organizations, works, events, places) using the TEI-element <abstract>. With regard to the planned cultural-historical analysis of Buber's dialogical relationships and networks of scholars and intellectuals represented by the correspondences, the entities are brought into relation with each other, thus breaking up the purely static presentation of a plain register. This dynamization is achieved with the help of the TEI element <relation>, which interrelates entities in a triple-like structure: subject predicate object. Initial graph-based evaluations of this dynamic structuralization of letter content have shown promise.

# 22.03 Rabbis, Tsadikim, and Others: Quantifying East European Jewish History

Hasidic Leadership: From Lexicon to Network Analysis

Marcin Wodziński; University of Wrocław

The paper will present the concept and developments of the online lexicon of the Hasidic leaders (tsadikim), focusing on the transition from the stage of digital access and database construction to the stage of analysis of the data gathered. As the test case of the possibilities generated by such a database, I will present some of the findings on the marriage strategies of the Hasidic leadership, including its spatial characteristics. Special emphasis will be put on the social network analysis and how it sheds new light on the marriage choices among Hasidic dynasties.

#### Rabbis in the Kingdom of Poland and the Potential of Aggregating Sources

Aleksandra Oniszczuk; University of Warsaw

The paper will discuss the research potential of the recently-launched project aimed at the creation of a lexicon of the rabbis active in the Kingdom of Poland (1815–1918), as well as in the lands of the former Kingdom in the years 1918–1944. The final result of this project will be an online platform providing access to about 500 several-page biographies of rabbis and about 2,500-3,500 personal entries in basic form. It will serve as a tool for biographical research, network analyses or research on local history. Due to the large volume of the database, it will also enable advanced prosopographical studies. The novelty of the project lies in a certain symmetry – not only official sources for the study of the history of the rabbis will be taken into account, but also, to a large extent, sources of an internal character produced within Jewish communities (e.g., letters and memoirs).

#### Sippurim: From printed books to semantic annotations of Hasidic stories

Gadi Sagiv; The Open University of Israel

The paper will present the potential and challenges of an ongoing project of digital historical analysis of Hasidic stories. The project focuses on the first hundred years of

printed Hasidic hagiography: 1814-1914. The number of stories printed in anthologies in this period is estimated at about 5000 literary units, totalling about 15,000 for the whole period from 1814 till today. The project includes a process of machine-learning-based OCR of the particular layouts and texts of 19th-century Hasidic books; identifying the literary units; tagging them according to various categories and types; tagging places, personalities, works, and themes inside the stories; and conducting research on the basis of these tags. The paper will exemplify the research potential of this project on a sample of these books and will address the planned connectivity between this project and the project database of Tsadikim.

#### 22.05 Digital Jewish Studies: Beyond Texts

#### Jewish Religious Communities Online: Musical Heritage in Digital Contexts

Samuel Weigel; European Centre for Jewish Music

Digitality made its way into many areas of Jewish religious life. In recent years, online communities have emerged in Europe that organize themselves on a translocal basis, often connected to a worldwide network of institutions, websites, and databases, also in regard to cantorial education. These structures enable these communities to achieve more independence from dominant religious but also social and political authorities, resulting in new ways of managing their liturgical heritage through bottom-up processes of participation in worship and heritage transmission. The term heritage is here to be understood less as something exclusively tangible but more as the related immaterial processes of meaning-making: The present-day heritage work linked to the past and future (Smith 2006).

The research aims at investigating the phenomenon of Jewish digital communities in Germany and Europe through the lens of ethnomusicology: In particular, I will consider how digital technology influences musical liturgical heritage regarding its conceptions, practices, and processes of transmission by conducting a hybrid ethnography (Przybilski 2021, Kozinets 2020). In this presentation, I will present the initial findings from my doctoral research.

#### How to Deal with Audiovisual Material in Jewish Studies Research Contexts?

Martha Stellmacher; SLUB Dresden

Today, research in Jewish Studies, like in the humanities generally, often produces digital audiovisual material as a research outcome or by-product, e. g., interviews, field recordings, music audios or videos. This presents the researcher with the challenge of how to deal with these files after the end of the project. In the past years, a well-thought-out research data management has become an important aspect of research projects and the FAIR principles - making data findable, available, interoperable and reusable for future research - became an established framework.

This paper explores several currently existing options for digitizing, dealing with and storing audio(visual) material from research contexts in repositories according to the FAIR principles but also touches on legal and ethical questions.

## Sacred Ethics in the Digital Space: Contemporary Considerations on Data Collection

Shirly Piperno; University of Oxford

This work outlines Jewish perspectives on digital ethics, particularly on the concepts of privacy, confidentiality and moral responsibility. It establishes a framework under which these ideas can be compared and provides for interpretations which strengthen both. Privacy is recognised as something to be preserved through the understanding that it applies to an individual within a larger, particularistic group. Confidentiality is interpreted as the privilege to both provide and disguise information, while moral responsibility lies in what goes beyond the legal requirements of liability for one's actions. These concepts are then applied to the 2021 UK Census to explore how they can be reflected in the making, communication, collection, and management of this decennial national exercise. The objective is that Jewish participation in the 2021 Census should not limit itself to being counted as individuals but that Jewish ethics can play a role in shaping and voicing current and future digital ethics concerns.

### E 01. EAJS Emerge Session 1

### How The Bible Became Literature: Jewish Assumptions about the Nature of Text in the Hellenistic Period

Jeremy Steinberg; University of Pennsylvania

Although contemporary scholars frequently treat the Hebrew Bible as a work of "literature," the Bible itself offers no native literary theorization. My dissertation argues that the Bible first came to be understood as literature due to processes that occurred during the Hellenistic period and that contemporary discussion of the Bible is conditioned by descendants of these Hellenistic-era processes. I examine the manner in which the Hebrew Bible came to be assimilated into the discourses and categories of Greek literary composition during the Hellenistic period, arguing that this transformation constitutes a complete reconceptualization of what it means to produce and consume the Bible. My dissertation treats a range of case studies stretching from paratexts like the Letter of Aristeas and the proem to Josephus's Jewish Antiquities to the Additions to Daniel and Esther and a selection of Hellenistic-era poetic texts. Between these case studies, I show how Greek literary assumptions like textual fixity and the idea that texts have specific, individuated authors--assumptions not native to the Bible's compositional and earlyreception contexts--came to be applied to the Bible. I also show how Hellenistic-period Jewish writers reconceptualized the Bible according to Greek generic categories like history and poetry.

# Reading Sabbath Laws in Light of Sabbath Narratives: Reconsidering a Sabbath in Legal Traditions

Ludwig B. Noya; Vanderbilt University

The prevalent tendency in the Sabbath scholarship is to interpret the narratives related to the Sabbath in light of the Sabbath in legal traditions. For instance, the Sabbath in Genesis creation narrative was considered a universal phenomenon since Exod 20 suggests that Sabbath should be given to all people, even to animals. The story of wood-gatherers on the Sabbath in Num 15 was also considered a significant violation of the Sabbath laws, which is why it deserved capital punishment. This paper, however, proposes otherwise. It argues that the "messiness" of the Sabbath in the narratives challenges the Sabbath rest

in the legal traditions. Rather than serving as examples of the transgression of Sabbath laws, the Sabbath narratives exhibit the struggle for a privileged Sabbath rest postulated by legal traditions. To support this argument, the paper will be divided as follows. First, I will survey the previous scholarship on reading the narrative in light of Sabbath narratives. Furthermore, I employ a reading against the grain concept to disclose the struggle for rest in the Sabbath narratives. Finally, I read the Sabbath laws in light of the struggle for rest in the Sabbath narratives.

### Neither Minor nor Midrashim — The Literary Relocation of the so-called "Minor Medieval Midrashim"

Annabelle Fuchs; Hochschule für Jüdische Studien Heidelberg

In my Ph.D. thesis, I deal with the so-called "Minor Medieval Midrashim." This is a corpus of texts comprising about 300 shorter works. My dissertation project consists of three larger parts. In the first part, I deconstruct the notion of the "Minor Midrashim" as a unified textual group with the overarching genre attribution of "midrash." I then turn to three case studies, the Chronicles of Moses (Divre ha-Yamim shel Moshe Rabbenu), the Death of Moses (Peţirat Moshe), and the Death of Aaron (Peţirat Aharon). I present editions, translations, and a detailed commentary. From the commonalities of the three texts, I develop criteria for the third part of the thesis to define the genre of Medieval Hebrew Bible Tales. In doing so, I show exemplarily how a literary relocation of the hitherto "Minor Midrashim" texts can be accomplished. In this presentation, I will outline the structure of my work and introduce the results of my research.

# Between Halakha and Kabbala: The Scribal Manual "Barukh she-amar" as Witness to Mediaeval Jewish Ashkenaz

Anne May Dallendörfer; Free University of Berlin

The subject of this dissertation is a critical edition with commentary and English translation of the mediaeval scribal manual "Barukh she-amar" by Rabbi Samson ben Eliezer. Barukh she-amar is an anthology of halakhic material about the ritually correct production and writing of tefillin, including Tora scrolls and mezuzot. The work's time and place of origin is estimated to be the late 13th or early 14th century Ashkenaz, and its earliest manuscript

witness (Vat.ebr.283) has been dated to 1383. This dissertation aims to look historically-critically at the text witnesses to gain insights into the different text traditions and their development and provide a digital, critical edition of Barukh she-amar following TEI guidelines. Furthermore, it seeks to research and understand the wider context and impact of the work in its historical context and, in particular, Barukh she-amar's connection to kabbalistic ideas and the question of how and to what extent the halakhic rulings of this work became infused with kabbalistic meaning. The research also includes an analysis of the codicological and paleographical aspects of the manuscripts as well as their transmission history. The work of this dissertation is affiliated with the project "ToRoll: Materialised Holiness" at Freie Universität Berlin.

#### The Legal Status of al-Andalus' Jewish Population as per Ibn Hazm's Muhḥallá

Elizabeth Turner; Aga Khan University

Much of the existing literature on Medieval Spain, also known as al-Andalus, succumbs to the common pitfalls of either romanticizing the era as a utopia of coexistence or exaggerating the social stratification of the region. To further the discussion around this alleged Convivencia (coexistence) on a small scale, and while avoiding larger generalizations, the present study examines Ibn Hazm's 11th-century work of Islamic jurisprudence, the Muhallá, for its content related to al-Andalus' Jewish population. Falling under the umbrella of historical comparative law, the investigation employs digital humanities techniques and a traditional hermeneutical approach to address questions about Ibn Hazm's alleged polemic against and fascination with Judaism, his association with various magahib or schools of thought (singular: maghab), and the uniqueness of the source as a basis for understanding Jewish legal status in early al-Andalus. Since the project began as an exploratory study into the legal status of Jews in al-Andalus and shifted into a case study of a single work of figh, the comparative aspect was maintained through the use of al-Wansharīsī's 15th-century fatwā collection, al-Mi'yār al-Mughrib, as a point of comparison and Matthias Lehmann's Islamic Legal Consultation and the Jewish-Muslim "Convivencia": Al-Wansharīsī's Fatwā Collection as a Source for Jewish Social History in al-Andalus and the Maghrib as a source of guidance for the present study's direction.

### E 02. EAJS Emerge Session 2

### Transcending Boundaries: Sacred Spaces in Premodern and Early Modern Kerala, South India

Percy Arfeen-Wegner; Ruhr University Bochum

My doctoral thesis provides a fresh methodological framework to investigate sacred spaces of pluricultural societies which have witnessed a symbiotic existence of various religious cultures longue durée. The presence of West Asian religious communities (Jews, Muslims, and Christians) in Malabar, South India, can be epigraphically dated to the 9th century CE (oral histories claim even earlier dates). As is perhaps a battle for post-colonial cultures in general, modern academic pursuits grew out of a colonial (and later nationalistic) agenda that resulted in an uneven understanding and representation of cultures. For instance, building traditions in India were largely understood by translating Sanskrit treatises which were regarded as treasure troves of an unadulterated 'Hindu' past, completely disregarding their contextual histories of varied patronages, circulations, adaptations and changes through a multicultural space and time. This led to stereotypical categorisations of local traditions as overwhelmingly 'Hindu" and 'Indic" where other cultures were established as "foreign", albeit coexisting for over a millennium. The research undertakes an in-depth investigation of transcultural relations manifested in building traditions of sacred spaces, comprising synagogues, mosques, and churches, on the Malabar Coast, focusing on the premodern and early modern period (c. 13th to 17th centuries CE). Challenging the heuristic worth of conventional categories used in the study of architecture in the subcontinent heretofore, this research offers an alternative framework of analysis of sacred spaces, arguing that traditions of building drew from dynamic and evolving knowledge bases, never themselves divided into categories that could only be accessed through exclusive religious affiliations.

#### Translations of the Polish and Jewish Enlightenment as a Form of Cultural Transfer

Anna Zabraniak; University of Wroclaw

In the second half of the 18th century, the Haskalah movement embarked on a Jewish translation project that quickly became a tool for modernizing and enriching Jewish cultural heritage. The beginnings of Jewish translation activity can be traced back to the

proponents of the German Haskalah, but the maskilim of Eastern Europe soon followed suit. The situation of the maskilim in Poland was marked by dynamic political changes associated with the collapse of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the emergence of semi-independent forms of Polish statehood. In such conditions, the Polish maskilim waged a lively debate on the so-called "Jewish question," which resulted in various translations, partly being the outcome of cooperation with Polish enlighteners. This presentation aims to illustrate some of the main types of Haskalah translations between Jewish and non-Jewish languages. The analysis of Jewish translation activity during the period of Haskalah provides a closer look at its evolution and relations with similar movements occurring throughout Europe. Moreover, the way the maskilim utilized translations testifies to their involvement in debates on the place of Jews in modernizing Europe.

#### The Ideal Torah Scroll: Keset HaSofer in Dialogue with Rabbinic Literature

Katharina Hadassah Wendl; Free University of Berlin

I research rabbinic intertextuality in Keset HaSofer (Ofen, 1835). In this work, R. Shlomo Ganzfried summarizes a vast amount of halakhic literature on the manufacture and writing of Torah scrolls for the scribe of the 19th century. Similar to his more widely-known Kitzur Shulchan Arukh (1864), Keset HaSofer became highly influential and was expanded and reprinted several times. Till today, it serves as a guidebook for Jewish scribes on Safrut – Jewish scribal laws about how to write Torah scrolls, Tefillin, Mezuzot, and Megillot Esther. It shapes the way Halakhot about Jewish scribal practices are perceived, learnt and understood nowadays. Keset HaSofer creates, in a way, an ideal Torah scroll as a blueprint for budding scribes. Despite its popularity and importance, the work has never attracted scholarly attention before. The genre of halakhic writing guides has not been the focus of academia either. Through tools provided by Digital Humanities (escriptorium, dicta, TEI XML-encoding), I explore how Keset HaSofer engages with rabbinic sources to generate the ideal Torah scroll and present its original version in a critical edition. The thesis will also describe the genre of halakhic writing guides in the 19th century and embed Keset HaSofer in its wider genre system.

# The Tale of the Jewish "Little Man" and "Gentleman" — 19th Century Jewish Masculinities in Germany and the Netherlands

Kyra Gerber; University of Amsterdam

This Ph.D. will display how certain images of masculinities developed throughout the long 19th century. It takes both the idealized Jewish masculinities and their actual manifestation into consideration. It will elaborate on many different aspects, including behaviour, art, dress code, and social positioning of contemporary Jews. Further, it examines both the role of the commoner and the "gentleman" while differing between civil and elite masculinities. The project takes many different sources into account, including literature, theatre, clothing, art, renown events, synagogal records, and much more. It begins by providing an overview of how classical Jewish sources display masculinities. In general, the Ph.D. handles a comparative methodology. It examines the manifestations of Jewish masculinities in German and Dutch Jewry. In contrast to the Netherlands, a new-born state in 1796, Germany remained a puzzle of small states that struggled to become a nationstate during most of the century. In the Netherlands, Jews were emancipated in 1796, while German Jewry collectively gained formal emancipation in 1871. The project investigates how these differences had influences on how Jewish masculinities evolved. The comparative approach utilized should finally provide an answer to the main question by giving exemplary insight via two different Jewish communities.

### The Industrial Production and Marketing of Jewish Ritual Objects during the Second Empire and the Weimar Republic

Hannah-Lea Wasserfuhr; Hochschule für Jüdische Studien Heidelberg

In my Ph.D. project, I research the industrial production and marketing of Jewish ritual objects during the Second Empire and the Weimar Republic. Few Jewish ceremonial objects from this period survived, and little is known about their background, production, and distribution. Hence, I try to link the archives of manufacturers to known objects in private or museum collections and investigate the distribution and marketing of these consumer goods via catalogues and advertisements. This approach also helps us to understand the objects themselves. A purely Jewish study, historic, or art historic appraisal is prone to misread or overinterpret some of these objects. Here, my approach of

combining the history of art with economic and cultural history offers explanations that complement the insights from other fields. This will provide insights into the place, representation, and (possible) acceptance of Judaism in the context of 19th- and early 20th-century consumerism. This way, one can trace the visibility of Jewish culture on Germany's high streets.

### E 03. EAJS Emerge Session 3

The Image of Eastern European Jews in the National Press of the Anglo-Jewish Community during the Edwardian Period (1901-1910)

Apolonia Kuc; Jagiellonian University

The goal of the project is to bring a historical perspective to the topic of Jewish migration to Britain. This goal will be reached by three analytical tasks: 1) Characterisation of the image of Jews from Eastern Europe as presented in the national press of the Anglo-Jewish community between 1901 and 1910. 2) Presentation of the trends and contexts in which the topic of Jews from Eastern Europe appeared in "The Jewish Chronicle" and "The Jewish World" during this period. 3) Creation of a grid of terms describing Jews from Eastern Europe in Britain. In the second half of the 19th century, Britain experienced mass migrations of Jews from Eastern Europe. The press of the Anglo-Jewish community became the main medium for discussion related to the subject of the influx of these immigrants. Between 1901 and 1910, "The Jewish Chronicle" and "The Jewish World" were the only national newspapers published by the Anglo-Jewish community. They provide an invaluable source for research into this community and its functioning during the Edwardian period (1901-1910) in Britain. My research will analyse the discourse and content of the national Anglo-Jewish press, with the focus on the image of Eastern European immigrants. The use of these sources in this context was not previously explored by researchers.

#### Image of Jews in Polish Interwar Cartoons

Aleksandra Guja; Jagiellonian University

The project aims to analyze the cartoons representing the Jewish minority published in the most important satirical magazines using the methodologies of visual discourse and content analysis. The project will also draw from studies on humor, stereotypes, and representation. The primary sources include Polish and Yiddish interwar satirical magazines. The project's objective is to identify different types of visual discourses of Jews as well as to define the then-functioning norm of ethnic humor. The subsidiary questions are: what stereotypes does the image refer to? What kind of tools are used to create a specific image? How do the discourses of different journals relate to each other? The prospective result of the project is to create an overview of stereotypes about Jews, to recognize the often-contradictory visions of the other and one of us functioning at that time, and to characterize caricature and humor as means of shaping the relation of superiority as well as disarming this relationship (e.g., using autosatire). Another goal is to observe the changes and variations of stereotypes in the context of the images of Jews and to reflect on narratives that are reinforced by these images.

# Gerhard Kittel, Lutheran Theologian of the Third Reich? An Evaluation of his Ideology through Critical Discourse Analysis

Anne-Catherine Pardon; ETF Leuven

Gerhard Kittel (1888-1948), best known for the still widely used TWNT, was a member of the Nazi party. Because of his antisemitism and vicious attacks on Judaism (with his booklet Die Judenfrage (1933/34) and his work for the Nazi series "Forschungen zur Judenfrage" as the most notorious examples), Kittel is often regarded as having provided a theological framework for Nazi ideology. The central research hypothesis of this project is that if Kittel was in fact, a theologian of the Third Reich, one ought to find multiple traces of Nazi ideology in his work. Scholarship has confirmed the presence in his oeuvre of antisemitic thinking. However, this does not in itself prove the adoption of Nazi ideology as it – horrendous though it is – was widespread at the time and conveyed within Protestantism as well. The goal of the present dissertation is to show through Critical Discourse Analysis to what extent Nazi features are present in his work and how these

traces relate to his Lutheran and German background. An interdisciplinary investigation from an historico-linguistic point of view into the underlying ideology of Kittel's discourse, including a comparison with some of his contemporaries, will provide new insights for a historically responsible evaluation.

## The Bermuda Conference 1943. The Negotiations on the Rescue of Jewish Refugees and their Failure?

Annika Heyen; University of Osnabrück

In April 1943, delegates from the United States of America and Great Britain met in Bermuda to discuss the growing "refugee problem" in Europe. Although the Bermuda conference took place behind closed doors, it was keenly watched by world opinion, and its outcome was eagerly awaited. There was great hope on the part, especially of Jewish organizations, that the Allied powers would decide on measures to save the remaining Jews. There was corresponding disappointment with the results of the conference: the reactivation of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees (ICR) and the recommendation that small groups of "refugees" be allowed to leave for the U.S. or Palestine or find temporary protection in camps in North Africa. The remaining Jews could only be saved by an Allied victory, the governments argued. My Ph.D. project examines the Bermuda Conference from a mixed perspective of both migration and Jewish history and thus not (only) as a failed attempt to save Europe's Jewish population from the Holocaust but as a starting point for the development of the postwar refugee regime. The project, therefore, focuses on questions about the negotiation of flight in the context of World War II and the Holocaust.

### E 04. EAJS Emerge Session 4

"Anu olim artza." But in the meantime... Identity, Culture, and Literature of the Zionist-oriented Jewish Youth in Interwar Poland

Katarzyna Martinovic; Hochschule für Jüdische Studien Heidelberg

The Zionist youth organisations of different political stripes attracted the highest participation of the Jewish youth in interwar Poland. The aim of the dissertation is to sketch

a collective portrait of the Jewish young people in interbellum Poland who had a positive attitude to the Zionist enterprise by analysing youth sections in various periodicals as well as brochures and other publications of the youth movements, such as the so-called Books of Life – handwritten collective journals of the Zionist youth groups. The questions which lie at the heart of this dissertation are the identity-forming processes as well as literary and cultural trends among the Zionist-oriented Polish-speaking youth. Using the adaptation of post-colonial theories and tools such as contact zones, cultural transfer, and hybridity, I try to demonstrate that in interwar Poland, a new national identity and culture in Polish were appearing among the Zionist-oriented youth in the borderlands of traditional Jewish, modern Yiddish, Polish, Hebrew, and European cultural realms. Even though the Zionist youth culture denied other sources and was Hebrew-oriented, directed towards building a new homeland in Mandate Palestine, it was placed within these contact zones and used the motifs and symbols of their cultural domains for shaping its identity.

#### Ruth Cahn (1875-1966) - A Frankfurt Jewish Modern Artist

Dennis Eiler; Goethe University Frankfurt

Amalie Leontine Cahn was born in Frankfurt am Main in 1875; beyond the city limits, she became known as Ruth Cahn. Her artistic training took place in Munich, Barcelona, and in particular in the young Paris art scene where the foundations of modern art were laid at the time. In the 1920s, her paintings were displayed at the Frankfurt art dealers H. Trittler and Ludwig Schames. The famous Galeries Dalmau in Barcelona presented Ruth Cahn's paintings in a solo exhibition in 1924, another solo show followed in Paris in 1928. In 1935, Ruth Cahn emigrated to Chile and stopped painting. She returned to Barcelona in 1953 and finally to Frankfurt in 1961, where she died in 1966. The bulk of her work did not survive the turmoil of World War II and the Spanish Civil War and is today considered lost. In 2022/23 the Jewish Museum Frankfurt shows her known works collected in an exhibition for the first time since she was forced to flee the continent. The search for her paintings and the research on her position in the European art scene of the 20th century goes on.

## Women Graphic Designers in the Land of Israel: Designing Visualization of State, the 1920s to 1950s

Yael Segal Hermoni; Bar Ilan University

Research on graphic design in the Land of Israel in the first half of the twentieth century is not extensive, and the absence of women is even more striking. Women graphic designers that remain anonymous, despite the significant impact of their work. Esther Barli (Berlin) Joel (1895-1972), Franzisca Baruch (1901-1989), Friedel Stern (1916-2006), Elly Gross (1921-2014), and Miriam Karoly (1925-1994) were part of a generation that established the foundations for modern graphics in emerging Israeli society. They came from Austria and the Weimar Republic to the land of Israel and brought new design concepts and ideas developed in their countries of origin. These Pioneers became an important part of building the visual appearance of the Hebrew culture and of the Jewish state in the Land of Israel as they created various designs for the establishment, factories, and printing houses. Using in-depth fieldwork, including interviews with family members and archival materials, this study examines these women designers' artistic work and their professional and private lives through gender, modernist, and national perspectives.

# American Reform and Conservative Responsa and their Attitudes toward Religious and Societal Diversity from the 1950s to the Present

Martin Herholz; University of Münster

The Ph.D. project seeks to examine the Responsa published by the Responsa committees of the Conservative and the Reform denominations from the 1950s until the present day and their changing attitudes regarding religious pluralism and societal diversity. Both the Reform and the Conservative denominations in the USA have forced and undergone crucial changes regarding their attitude towards religious plurality and societal diversity. Among other factors, legal decisions and halachic reasoning in the form of Responsa can be identified as tools used by both denominations to navigate those challenges. Hence their different approach towards Halachah, both denominations had and have an official committee writing and publishing Responsa until the present day. The majority of Responsa dealing with plurality and diversity, e.g., the changing role of women within the community, the Integration of LGBTIQ+ members and communities, and changing

attitudes towards Non-Jews, were discussed within the framework of Responsa, and the published decisions had a recognizable impact. It is the purpose of this dissertation to identify how, over the past decades, a discursive corpus of legal decisions has been established. In addition, it will identify the ways in which this corpus continues to shape the identity of the two denominations.

Yizkor. The Ethics and Aesthetics of the Process of Mourning in the Short Fiction of Four Jewish American Writers: Saul Bellow, Cynthia Ozick, Bernard Malamud and Isaac Bashevis Singer

Myriam Ackermann Sommer; Sorbonne

I will attempt to demonstrate that the work of mourning lends itself to be described as a continuous process that is constantly reiterated through Jewish American literature – what Derrida calls "le travail au deuil" (a pun on Freud's travail de deuil – the work of mourning become a work on mourning, whereby bereavement never really ends). Examining the numerous losses that these four authors staged and dealt with through the literary medium, I will then delve into the question of the writer's responsibility in commemorating the unsung dead as it is conceptualized by these authors, laying emphasis on the creative differences between them. Finally, I will highlight that all four authors mourn for the possibility of fully accounting for the losses that are alluded to in their work, and notably the death of the Six Million Jews in the Shoah, and I will stress that this does not entail a rejection of responsibility but rather an awareness of the intrinsic limits of representation.