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UNIVERSITY OF KENT

‘MEMORY, IDENTITY AND THE BOUNDARIES OF JEWISHNESS’

ABSTRACTS
Seeking divine intervention against the unsympathetic Judge, the cause of illness and the stubbornness of an unruly Cow: Drawing comparisons between Nineteenth Century Christian Charms and Jewish Incantation Bowls from Late Antique Mesopotamia.

It has often been said that the small selection of Nineteenth century Christian magical charms made known to us by the English Rabbi and Scholar Sir Hermann Gollancz (1912), bear a significant resemblance to the Jewish incantation Bowls from Late Antiquity. Both alluded to an understanding of a world governed by the supernatural, a host of malevolent and benevolent beings, whose mere whim could result in an assortment of unexplainable and insufferable evils, or in the unexpected blessings of healing, prosperity and joy. Both would also allude to an understanding of the power and technology of the written charm to dissuade or induce this interference from the divine and diabolic for the benefit of its wearer, whether to prevent illness, to encourage leniency from the unsympathetic Judge or to counter the stubbornness of an unruly cow. But how is one to understand the relationship of these sources, divided not only by time but also by the boundaries of communal identities? What might their comparability tell us about the wider interaction of these Jewish and Christian communities of Mesopotamia? These questions represent the start of a journey of research that I am only beginning to map out and embark upon, inspired by the suggestion of comparability between the least likely of sources. Whilst my research is by no means complete, these hints of comparability between Christian and Jewish incantation are beginning to allude to an aspect of Jewish identity in Mesopotamia, which would seem to have been defined, at least in part, by the most unexpected cultural exchange with Mesopotamia’s Christians.

A Possible Paradigm Shift? Exploring the Jewish Question in Literature and Politics

This paper explores the relevance of the Jewish Question in the Twenty-First Century. The Jewish Question, what political space exists for the Jews in the modern world, was seemingly answered by two historic events in 1948. The first of these was the creation of the State of Israel on May 14, 1948. The second was the adoption by the United Nations General Assembly on December 10, 1948 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The first of these meant that Jews could live as Jews in their own state as a majority, in control of their own political destiny. The second of these paved the way for the age of minority rights that developed in the 1960s. This development meant that Jews could live a life as Jews in the Diaspora thereby significantly altering the terms under with assimilation could be understood. Consequently, it would appear that the Jewish Question was answered. However, if that is the case, why is it that the Jewish Question has served as a key plot element in the novels of two award-winning Jewish novelists, Howard Jacobson and Michael Chabon? Jacobson’s *The Finkler Question* is essentially a running commentary on the unresolved tensions found in these two answers to the Jewish Question, Chabon’s novels, *The Amazing Adventures of Kavalier and Clay*, *The Yiddish Policeman’s Union* and *The Final Solution* all use the Jewish Question as an important plot element. The Jewish Question has been answered. We know what the answers to it are. Why, consequently, is it so strongly featured in the work of leading Jewish authors in the Twenty-First Century? Because it has not been answered. Using a combination of Jewish literature and a political sociological framing of contemporary debates regarding Diaspora/Israel relations, this paper explores how the Jewish Question was not answered, and
suggests that part of the reason why the Question has not been answered is because we were never clear on what the Question was in the first place.

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The Boundaries of Eretz Israel and the Character of the Jewish Identity during the second Temple period and the Mishna and Talmud periods
In this paper I would like to discuss the affinity between the mental map of the Land of Israel and the Jewish Identity in the second Temple period and in the Mishnah and Talmud periods. I would like to assert that the constant varied and variable scope of the boundaries of "Eretz Israel" in the Jewish consciousness, was an important component in the self identity of the Jewish people during these periods. This claim is based on several examples which are quoted from the literature of the above mentioned periods. The denomination "Jew" arose after the exile of the people of the kingdom of Israel (720 b.c.e), when only the people of Judea were left in their homeland. While at the end of the second temple period, when the Hasmonite state expanded up to the Galilee, and the Jewish state had been inhabited all over by Jews we can find a beginning of use of the denomination "Israel". The Rabbis who lived mainly in the Galilee after the Bar Kokhba revolt went on using the denomination "Israel". Josephus, who rewrote the Biblical story, omitted consistently the biblical boundaries of the Promised Land, trying to avoid the vision of a "Jewish-Empire" at the end of the days. The appearance of Paul who, in the plot of Acts, had blurred and dropped out the boundaries that separated between Jews and gentiles, highlights the fact that the arena of the plot of the NT wanders from the boundaries of Eretz Israel to the Mediterranean arena. The definition of the Land of Israel (The borders of the emigrants from Babylon), in the Rabbinic literature is based more often on the area which was inhabited by Jews during that time, then the biblical traditions. In the Rabbinic literature we can find the Halakhic status of "the Impurity of the foreign land" (טומאת ארצות החוץ) This status is derived from the direct scope of the area in which Jews resided. This space had been considered as pure, and the space outside that region had the status of impurity of a foreign land. Such a space could be purified by the expansion of Jewish settlements into the impurity space.

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‘The Liberal parties should be the real Conservative ones’ – Moritz Lazarus’ attempt to shift political boundaries within imperial German Jewry
Within the diversity and development of German Liberalism in the second half of nineteenth century, the German-Jewish philosopher and founder of Völkerpsychologie (an early attempt to social psychology) Moritz/Moses Lazarus was one of those National Liberals who had been part of the national unification process and thus were very reluctant to utter criticism against the state. In 1887, he alienated himself within liberal German Jewry during the Septennatsdebatte: The imperial government under Bismarck wanted the Reichstag to submit a seven-year military budget which was heavily opposed by the Liberals who saw the budget power of the parliament at stake. But Lazarus and his colleague Goldschmidt signed for supporting a pro-government election cartel. This act was particularly infuriating Jewish liberals because also several anti-Semites had signed the list. Shortly after, Lazarus publicly justified his support for the cartel in a booklet – what made things even worse and resulted in losing much of his reputation among German Jews and even some of his many positions within German Jewry. Nevertheless, the text is an intriguing document of challenging traditional political borders within Liberal German Jewry. In it, a prominent representative of the German Jews, particularly Liberals, questions their quasi-natural choice for the Left-Liberal parties and as a results gets ostracized. In emphasizing how German Jews were part of the German nation and as patriots had to support the state, the military and the government, he considers negligible that also anti-Semites were on the list of the cartel parties. He was sure the state and the nation
would never step down from the level of equality and emancipation of the Jews it had reached by 1871. The political boundary most German Jews drew at the time was between us – Freisinnig, left-liberal - and them – conservative, anti-Semitic. It was bound to a Jewish political identity (rightly) identifying anti-Semitism with the right but associating the fight against anti-Semitism only with left-liberal parties. Lazarus contested that correlation on the ground of the argument that the state would be the guarantor for the rights of the Jews and the Liberals should be the real conservatives, in order to conserve the achievements the imperial nation state had brought for German Jews. The paper discusses the text, its context and the reactions within German public, including the Jewish one.

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Becoming Jewish in a Taxi: Borders and Behaviours on the Journey Towards Judaism

“Jewish...Jewish, here in the back.” Nathan Englander opened his short story The Gilgul of Park Avenue (Englander, 1999) with the intriguingly bizarre premise that a man in a taxi could suddenly experience metempsychosis and find themselves, as Englander wrote “the bearer of a Jewish soul.” [p.109]. In the post-Holocaust Jewish world, survival straddles the top of every communal agenda, and whilst one commonly thinks of survival in macro-political terms, that is, how Israel and its security ensure the survival of the Jewish people, many of us in communal life work with the questions not just of who is a Jew, but also, what is a Jew, what does a Jew, and how does one become a Jew? This focuses not on nationalism and sovereign states, but rather, the constituting population. My paper will examine and analyse the various ways that various contemporary Jewish movements allow or discourage conversion as a means to ensuring the literal security of the Jewish people.

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Takkanot Candia – Self-Definition of a Jewish Community by the Means of Legal Statutes in Medieval and Early Modern Crete

The collection of legal texts known as Takkanot Candia has long been known to scholars as a valuable historical source pertaining to the Jewish community in Crete in the time of Venetian rule over the Island (1204-1669). This collection, including statutes from early 13th to late 16th centuries, was put together by Elijah Capsali, one of the most prominent members of Cretan Jewish community in the 16th century, an eminent writer of historic works whose family were involved in the communal leadership in Candia (modern Iraklio), the Capital of Venetian Crete. Takkanot Candia is one of the most comprehensive and best-preserved examples of the genre takkanot kahal (communal statutes) which have a specific place within Jewish Medieval and Early Modern literature. Unlike other genres of legal literature, notably Rabbinic responsa, takkanot kahal do not derive their authority from the Bible or other canonical texts of Rabbinic Judaism, but from the authority of the elected communal leaders. These decrees address a wide range of questions of Jewish life, from the implementation of halakhic laws in everyday life to solving arguments between landlords and tenants. As such, takkanot kahal provide a valuable insight into the inner proceedings of Jewish communal life. Besides its worth as a historical source, Takkanot Candia can also be interpreted as a unique testimony to the mechanisms of Jewish self-government in the pre-Emancipation era and the self-perception of the elite class of its communal leaders. The theme of memory of things past and its preservation for the next generation stand at the very beginning of the collection of texts. Capsali states his intention to provide his contemporaries and descendants with the testimony of the statutes which had ruled Jewish life in Candia during the previous three centuries, so that the community may continue to benefit from their example. The importance which successive generations of communal leaders ascribe to the preservation of their decrees is a constant feature of
the corpus. By compiling these decrees in a single coherent collection, Capsali made a claim in favour of a certain way of life and recorded his view of the identity of the Candia Jewish community. The statutes recorded there tell us a great deal about how the communal elders saw the position of the Jewish minority in relation to the Venetian rulers of their native island and how they perceived the “boundaries of Judaism” within the microcosm of their community life.

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The use of the Jews as topic at the End of the Roman Empire. The Letter of Severus of Minorca.

This BAJS Annual Conference studies topics such as the memory, identity and boundaries. I propose a document in which it is possible to find the three items. Some decades before the end of the Roman Empire in the West, a bishop of Minorca, included in the administrative and ecclesiastical structures of Hispania, wrote a strange but very interesting letter in 417/418. Although the end of the Western Roman Empire could be dated in 476 (fall of Romulus Augustulus), in terms of historical processes, it was a transformation during a long time. Really, during the first two decades of the fifth century, we see some of these changes, especially the question of barbarians and, on the other hand, the ideological and religious redefinition of boundaries. After all, Theodosius had imposed by law the Catholicism as official religion of the empire. There were many identities and boundaries to be reconstructed. And it was in that moment when Severus wrote his letter to all the Catholic communities. This document is essential to understand how the coexistence of Christians and Jews in the Late Roman Empire could be broken. In this case, the arrival of relics of St. Stephen from Palestine to Minorca was a strong change of the identities in Magona, the main town in the island. The boundaries between the both communities were used to the ideological projection of the conversion of the Jews that in the practical level had violence (sacking of the synagogue). The historical context was the beginning of the end of the Roman Empire in the West. Around seven years before this letter, for example, the emperor Honorius had ordered the withdrawal of Britannia! There were many changes during those decades, and the redefinition of the boundaries and identities, especially in religious terms, was one of them. Finally, the memory. The Catholic bishop tried to construct an image of the conversion of the Jews of Magona, in Minorca. In a world in which Augustine wrote the City of God to fight against the pagans that saw in the Christianity the cause of the Alaric’s sack of Rome (410), the religious boundaries and identities were in transformation, in definition, and the bishops tried to control the process. Really, the bishops were the main authors of memory about those changes. The Jews and the Christians of Minorca are an example of that competition, and Severus was one of those bishops.

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Holocaust Studies – the 'black sheep' of Jewish Studies?

The Holocaust – how should it be approached by historians? Is it a chapter of German History or of Jewish History? Or should it be viewed and researched as a chapter of a transnational history of Genocide? The answers to these questions will also inform the question of whether we should be aiming at perpetrator history or at history that articulates the voice of the victim. It will also influence the place we accord to the Jews and to anti-Semitism in this story. The development of Holocaust research has been delineated by the fault lines created by these questions. This presentation will explore the development of Holocaust research in view of the above questions and show how the field moved from a German oriented perpetrator history to more recent work that has a place for the Jewish experience of the Holocaust. On the background of this development the proposal will show the fallacy of detaching Jewish History from history of the Jews during the Holocaust. Historian David Engel, in his book, Historians of the Jews and the Holocaust, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010), claims that historians of the Jews were reluctant to research the Holocaust and to integrate it into Jewish history and that this trend becomes more apparent as
we get further away from the event. This presentation will argue that Jews arrived at the Holocaust with a full cultural and social baggage, with community norms and sensibilities that developed in respective Jewish communities. This baggage informed their reactions to Nazi policies and their attempts at surviving personally and communally. It was also carried with them to the post-war period and informed their actions then. Using the basic historical matrix of continuity and rupture I will show how aspects of pre-war Jewish life and culture infuse Jewish life and death under Nazi rule: Community leadership, both in its own eyes and in the eyes of the Jewish public (Judenrat or Kahal). Social cohesion and disruption with social, political, ideological and religious divisions carried from the pre-war years into the ghettos. Cultural and mental mind sets concerning issues of identity and survival, and actions of doctors, teachers and rabbis carrying on in the ghetto their traditional role in modern Jewish society.

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Ruth as Border Crosser: Reimagining Israelite Identity

In contrast to the perspective of the book of Judges alluded to in its first words, the book of Ruth portrays peacefully traversed, not militantly defended, boundaries. Seemingly without much fanfare, Ruth the Moabite crosses geographical, ethnic, religious, gender, and generational borders to become an ideal Israelite and a progenitor of the Davidic house. Ruth’s fancy footwork treads on negative images of the Other enshrined in other texts of the developing canon. Utilizing a type-scene in which proactive women force fearful fathers into sex to carry on the family line, the writer of Ruth shows how the acceptance of the foreigner transforms Israel in response. This paper explores that transformation by reading Ruth in three contexts, in terms of its rhetoric, its intertextual exegesis, and its social process. Finally, it suggests that by recasting the ancient past as an era of open borders, geographically and socially, the book makes a claim for a shift in the national memory in order to undergird a wider Israelite identity.

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Converging Identities, Deviance, and Musical Voyeurism: Examining ‘In-Between’ Music Performance Spaces in South Tel Aviv

Using Homi Baba’s concept of ‘in-between space’ in the context of Tel Aviv-Yafo reveals how urban spaces form locales outside traditionally sealed borders of identity and community (Golan, 2012). The infamous ‘Block Club’ of 157 Salame Street in South Tel Aviv, which is located inside the large Central Bus Station (HaTachana HaMerkazit), is one such site. The strategic location borders multiple communities including the Jewish Florentine artists’ neighbourhood, the ‘African’ area, and the predominantly Arab neighbourhood of Jaffa, allowing for the convergence of traditionally hermetic Jewish and non-Jewish identities in contemporary Israel. Using my fieldwork from a CD release performance of the Palestinian-Israeli nationalist Hip-Hop group DAM on 16 January 2013 at ‘The Block Club’ as a case study, I will investigate how the literal and symbolic use of performance space allows for the overlapping of Jewish, Arab, and other identities that would not normally be possible. But while traditionally segregated communities occupy the same performance space, DAM’s performance caters to disparate audience expectations and distinctive, and sometimes inimical, collective memories. In particular, DAM’s performances attract a specific tourist population, a voyeuristic mostly secular audience that can enjoy a musical Palestinian ‘fight’ for equality and the company of its Jewish-Israeli left-wing supporters, without having to deal with the oppressive everyday realities of Israeli and Arab nationalism. Ingrid Monson has made a similar argument in the context of jazz: ‘white hip’ participation brought segregated communities together, but the participation was limited due to a lack of understanding of the routine stigmatization faced by the ‘deviant’ participants (Monson, 1995). Similarly, the tourist audience at DAM’s performance (of which, to a certain extent, I found myself a part) is compelled by the perceived deviance of the location, performers and local audience members. However, paradoxically, the local communities
that perpetuate this attractive ‘deviance’ and difference, that fall outside of the middle class Jewish, Arab and tourist populations that attend the performances, cannot actually be present due to financial/ethnic constraints.

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Nostalgic identity and the quest for authenticity

Nowadays, it would be difficult to reduce the identity of European Jews to the common denominator. Life in the modern diasporas requires participation in a host society, obtaining the dominating national identity, and only contextual turning to ancestral background. Postmodernism offers opportunities to choose various options and to combine them into new totalities (e.g. secular and religious traditions). Herbet J. Gans named the above phenomenon the Jewish symbolic religiousness, unique for its vestigial and minimalist obedience to the teachings of Judaism, on the one hand, and quasi-mystic perception of a Jewish nation but without following tradition in everyday life, on the other. Even though some traditions are to some extent reproduced, this revival takes place beyond their natural context. New forms of ethnic manifestations: parades, concerts, publications, ethnic cuisine restaurants often reduce the category of ethnicity to exposition of cultural diversity in order to meet the needs of culture consumers. Hence contemporary identifications may take a nostalgic identity form. Paradoxically, in the countries where Jews belong “vestigial minorities”, a Jewish culture is flourishing now. However, the sphere of its organization and perception was annexed by no-Jews fascinated by the legacy of Judaic heritage. Ruth Gruber argues that a new form of Jewish culture – without Jews, is now coming into being. So-called virtual Jewishness/Jewry is developing. Similar transformations of Jewish identity can be also observed in Poland. Jewish community is being given more and more media coverage (major television stations broadcast anniversary commemorations, festivals of Jewish culture, current events in Jewish communities). Democratization of social life in Poland after 1989 contributed to the change in Jews’ attitudes to their national descent. For many, their ‘Jewishness’, which now can be spoken about openly, has become the object of profound interest, intellectual search or the way to stress one’s individuality. As a result, the Jewish community started to acquire new members, in particular from Polish-Jewish families. Whether it means that there an authentic Jewish life in Poland, or whether these are merely attempts to recollect a Jewish life preceding the Holocaust? What identity narrations prevail in the community which is now experiencing an institutional revival? The group of young Polish Jews under my study is the first post-war generation which can openly build their identity based on religion and (or) national traditions. The joining bond is the intended construction of cultural identity, selection of its attractive and important elements, postmodern experimenting with identity but - on the other hand – the quest for authenticity: even though cultural differences fade away under the influence of pop-culture, their ethnic background and membership in the national group is still of great importance.

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Demons, Madness and Tangled fluid Boundaries in Mendele Mocher Sforim's "Di Kalitshe"

The story "Di Kalitshe" is one of the peaks of Mendele Mocher Sforim's oeuvre and of modern Jewish literature as a whole. It depicts an untypical young East-European Jewish man, trying to break away from the constraints of the traditional way of life. His endeavor, though, fails, which leads him to madness. Characteristically of Mendele, this madness has broader significance and could be perceived as a collective collapse of the traditional world in the face of modernity. But in fact everything collapses in the story, modernity included; certainly the "promise" of modernity. Facing the challenge and danger of modernity, traditional images emerge out of the collective fantasies to create a demonic carnival that brings the hero to the brink of lunacy. Mendele lays out here one of the most detailed literary versions of Jewish demonology, mixed with Slavic demonology and his
own fantastical images. This demonology seemingly serves to represent old tradition in an attempt to block modernity, but in this role the demons become the true representatives of "good old Judaism" (instead of God). Then again the demons seem to take the side of modernity against old tradition (always treated critically in Mendele's writing). In the end the reader – trying to read some "message" into the story – is left as confused and dizzy as the hero. It would seem the author mocks all ideology and ridicules all attempts to make sense of either tradition or modernity. The hero tries to cross a threshold into something, into improvement, sense, enlightenment, but the author tells him life itself is nothing but a threshold, a windy twilight zone that stretches onward before us and blurs our imaginary solid identity. He also implies that literature cannot rid us (or itself for that matter) from the demons of the past, the present or the future, because literature is the sphere of demons; literature, as such, is demonic.

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The Buberian Man as a struggler in the Field of Existential Choice between the boundaries of the "I-It", and the Dialogic Freedom of the "I-Thou"
The Buberian dialogue is mostly identified with a dialogue of peace, tranquility, serenity and pleasantness, and the dialogical man is mostly perceived as a person that exists in wholeness, acceptance and ease. When applying the Buberian philosophy to various social fields, Buber is mostly a source of inspiration for the creation of models of inter-subjective relations which are described as interactions filled with attention, inclusion and complete willingness to meet the other. Most of the studies in this field assume that the directive to relate to the other with attention, openness and in dialogical manner, as well as the demonstration of this relation, creates the dialogical relation and the dialogue. In light of the harmonious image that emerges from the description of the "I-Thou" encounters, it seems that it is only needed to highlight the advantages and the humanistic importance of this encounter, and the choice to live and practice it, will happen by itself. Yet, one who examines in depth the Buberian ontology and the dialogical philosophy, encounters the choice of the "I-Thou" relation as a choice that involves a strong underlying struggle of human existence, and also sees the dialogical man as a man within whom there is a constant struggle between the safe and marked boundaries and structured frameworks, vs. freedom, openness and unregulated presence. In order to understand just how much the choice of the dialogical relation is complex, difficult and not quite obvious, the lecture will focus on clarifying the inherent difficulty in the ontological duality of I-Thou and I-It that involves a fear of lack of control, helplessness, defences, escaping from existential demands, temptations and different counter-force which influence man's ability to choose his way of relating. The lecture will focus on the difficulty in employing the "I-Thou" relation, the temptation to run away from the heaviness of the encounter, and the technological Era as a Stumbling Block for Choosing the "I-Thou" Relation.

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‘Which self?’: The Jewish Child’s Christian Persona in Survivor Fiction
Within survivor literature about children hiding on false papers, there are shifting boundaries between each character’s personal identification with Judaism. These narratives also represent a comingling of boundaries within the field of literature with the survivor-writer’s mixture of the autobiographical with fictional. This paper will explore the issues of memory and religious identity for child survivors of the Holocaust as represented in several narratives. The texts literarily demonstrate one breadth of the real Holocaust experience that challenged multiple boundaries: that between innocence and cruelty, children and adults, and, perhaps most importantly, Jewish identity and Christian charade. One of the predominant ways in which Jewish children survived the Holocaust was by living on false papers and leading Christian lives, which often led to lifelong internal conflicts. Louis Begley’s Wartime Lies and Henryk Grynberg’s The Jewish War and The
Victory portray the experience of young Polish Jewish boys who survive using Aryan papers. From another perspective, Elisabeth Gille’s *Shadows of a Childhood* describes the experience of a young girl placed for safekeeping in a French convent. These settings are two examples of the ways in which child Holocaust survivors create characters to signify the constant struggle to maintain the boundaries of self—between knowing who they are as a Jew, knowing this Jewishness causes their suffering and the suffering of their loved ones, and necessary pretensions to be otherwise. The narratives highlight that the pressure of religious pretence can lead to an internalization of the lies they tell to survive, blurring the lines between the Jew they were born and the Christian they must portray. The characters discussed here, often interpreted as guises for the authors themselves, also throw into relief the conflict these survival tactics create between the children and the adults responsible for them, whilst ending in a postwar period in which the protagonist’s Jewish identity has been neither resumed nor resolved. I argue that these literary works provide new ways with which to view the child’s experience of the Holocaust, an event that transgressed boundaries between the innocence of childhood and the cruelty of adult wars and persecution, and provide important insight into the subject of Jewish identity.

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**Being Jewish in Andhra Pradesh: Social Protest, Boundaries of Jewishness and the Lost Tribes Discourse.**

The paper discusses how notions of Jewish identity and boundaries of Jewishness are challenged and negotiated by the Bene Ephraim of South India. The community of the Bene Ephraim was established in the late 1980s in the Indian State of Andhra Pradesh by a group of former Christian Dalits who declared that they belonged to the Lost Tribes of Israel and adopted a number of Jewish beliefs and practices. In this paper I will use the example of the Bene Ephraim to explore how Judaism and Jewishness acquire new meanings in the narrative and practices of communities who started identifying as Jewish in the past century. I will argue that the Judaisation of the Bene Ephraim can be read as the community’s way of celebrating not only their Israelite, but also Dalit heritage and will demonstrate how by embracing the Israelite narrative the community renegotiates the conventional boundaries both of the Jewish and the Hindu traditions.

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**Jewishness on the Edge: The Peripheries of Jewish/non-Jewish Identity in Twentieth Century Suburban Britain**

In Britain across the twentieth century, boundaries of Jewishness – of what it means to be ‘Jewish’, how it is to be enacted and performed, and indeed the parameters and environments of Jewish life itself – have become more elastic. It is no longer helpful or accurate to talk of Jews in Britain as a singular ‘community’, distinctive and isolated from the surrounding society. Nor is it useful to define noticeably ‘Jewish’ quarters of British cities as ‘ghettos’ cut off from the outside world, despite the ferocity of objections to the construction of *eruvim* in Britain in recent times. Neither have Jews in Britain been simply passive receptors of ‘Britishness’. Instead the majority of Jews in Britain have been integral to the process of multiculturalism, contributing towards an imagined national community of shared values, political ideals and common cultural reference points. This paper will argue that this process of cross-fertilization between Jews and non-Jews in Britain entered a new phase with large-scale Jewish suburbanisation from the inter-war period onwards. Whilst, for many Jews, migration to the suburbs marked an important step in the path towards integration, for some non-Jewish residents it signified their first encounter with ethnic, cultural and religious diversity. Although tensions between Jews and non-Jews were not uncommon, these newly forming, racially-mixed communities were also shaped by ‘normal’ and ‘positive’ relations, interactions and transactions, and episodes of daily encounter. These ‘connections’ took multiple forms – actual,
virtual, and imagined, from glancing eye contact across the garden fence to exposure to the same fashion advertising campaign – and were crucial in blurring and complicating the boundaries of Jewish identity in modern Britain.

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Jewish identity, secularism and education in Argentina in the early 20th century

Changing conditions, in Argentina generally and in the Argentine Jewish community, affected what kinds of Jewish schools were possible in Argentina in the early 20th century. Two major school types dominated Jewish education in Argentina at the time: the strictly Orthodox Talmud Torah and the popular Yiddish language schools affiliated to the socialist FARBEID FUN IDISHE FOLKS SHULN (Federation of Jewish Popular Schools in Argentina). A close reading of the foundational document of the Max Nordeau SHULE in the city of La Plata, which this author recently discovered at the archives of the IWO Foundation in Buenos Aires, allows us to gaze at the tense interactions between orthodox and secular Jews as well as the anti-assimilation educational views of both these groups in Argentina at the moment of birth of this SHULE. Most importantly, the document reveals for the first time and in great detail the circumstances surrounding the creation of a IDISHE FOLKS SHULE in Argentina, a “purely secular but thoroughly Jewish” school, to use Tony Michels expression. The document allows us to witness an important event in the history of Jewish education in Argentina, on Wednesday December 2, 1931, in the library of the cultural center Max Nordeau in La Plata, when a hand-full of Jewish immigrants from Poland, Lithuania and Byelorussia, led by the library’s secretary, met to discuss the future of Jewish education in Argentina with M. D. Guiser, an Yiddish writer of world-wide reputation at the time. Their major concern was that, as Guiser strongly argued in the meeting, “like with Jewish children in the United States [at the time], children in Argentina were assimilating to the local Spanish-speaking culture and could barely speak Yiddish.” The meeting participants argued passionately into the night about what kind of Jewish schools were possible and desirable for their Argentine-born children. At the end of the meeting, they agreed to issue a document which proclaimed the formation of a Yiddish school, a FOLKS SHULE, later called Max Nordeau, which is the subject of this presentation.

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Two faces of universality: Jewish emancipation and the 'Jewish question'

I argue that universalism shows two faces to the world: one that embraces a universal conception of humanity in order to follow logic of radical inclusion; the other that universalises ‘us’ only to particularise ‘the others’. I maintain that universalism has shown precisely these two faces to Jews: a kindly inclusive face that looks at Jews as fellow human beings and draws practical consequences from a sense of common humanity; but also a cruel judgmental face that turns ‘the Jews’ into an abstraction, treats them as a unitary category, and deems them incapable of living up to the universal standards of humankind. I do not claim that the two faces of universalism are only a problem for Jews; they are a problem for all categories and classes of people to whom the labels of the ‘inhuman’, the ‘not-yet human’ or more actively the ‘anti-human’ are attached. However, the dialectic of universality we see in relation to Jews brings this problem to the fore in the most interesting of ways. See Seyla Benhabib, ‘Nous et les autres: is universalism ethnocentric?’ in The Claims of Culture: Equality and Diversity in the Global Era (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002)
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What is my place? Negotiations of Memory, Identity and Urban Space in Muriel Spark’s The Mandelbaum Gate

The ubiquity of the Middle East conflict is in part a consequence of the symbolic overdetermination of the city at its center, Jerusalem. Its role as a central site in the collective memory and identity of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, and as the center of the struggle between Israelis and Palestinians, makes it a city of all too many divisions. Much research deals with Jerusalem’s contested history and the current conflict, but little work has been done on how Jerusalem has been represented in literary texts. Such an exploration is, however, necessary because literature, as a socio-cultural seismograph, allows us to explore narratives of collective memory and the literal and imagined boundaries mnemonic communities have mapped onto the city. The Mandelbaum Gate was the only point where one could cross the Israel and Jordan border that divided Jerusalem from 1948 to 1967. This paper argues that Muriel Spark’s 1965 novel uses this symbol of Jerusalem’s division to explore how in this location, different narratives of collective memory interplay with collective and personal identities. Set in 1961, the novel portrays a multiply divided city: between Arab and Jewish Jerusalem, between Israeli and Jordanian rule and between Jews, Christians, and Muslims. However, Spark not only explores current realities, but conflicts of the past and the negotiations of their place in the collective memory of the different mnemonic communities, too, for instance British colonial rule over Mandate-period Palestine. Set against the backdrop of the Eichmann trial, The Mandelbaum Gate also invokes the European Jewish history and the Holocaust. This first significant public memorialisation of the Holocaust in the young Jewish state still shapes present-day Israeli and Jewish identities and is also central to the questions of self-definition driving the novel’s protagonist Barbara, a British visitor to the city. This enquiry will uncover how the protagonist struggles with her Jewish heritage and her adopted Christian faith in light of the divisions of Jerusalem. This paper argues that literary texts aid in understanding the impact of collective memory on this contested urban space. In the case of The Mandelbaum Gate this can be done through unpacking the negotiations of personal identity in this setting that represents the boundaries between religious, ethnic and national groups.

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“I always felt on the edge of things and not really part of it”: fuzzy boundaries in an extended Scottish Jewish family

Sociologist Robin Cohen suggests that the boundary of a group is a useful site of study. Discussing the problem of British identity, he argues that boundaries are ‘fuzzy’ places and that ‘by investigating the outstations, checkpoints and turnstiles where these boundaries are policed, defended and defined, it should be possible to discern how an insider gets separated from an outsider, a “self-hood” from an “other-hood”’. Floya Anthias discusses the ‘constructed, rather than essential or fixed nature of ... boundaries′ adding that ‘boundaries are imposed and also taken up by subjects themselves’. Similarly Shaye Cohen reminds us that: ‘Jewishness, like most - perhaps all - other identities, is imagined; it has no empirical, objective, verifiable, reality to which we can point and over which we can exclaim “This is it!”’ In this paper I will consider all of these positions, using as the context my doctoral research into an extended Scottish Jewish family. Carrying out oral history interviews with all the living descendants of Rabbi Zvi David Hoppenstein and his wife Sophia who arrived in Edinburgh in the 1880s, I found stories of Jewish people who felt like outsiders within the Jewish community itself, family members who were cast as outsiders by others in the community, and others who, through outmarriage, felt that they had situated themselves as outsiders. The three conversions which have taken place within the family will be discussed in the paper: two which took place through the orthodox synagogue and one through the reform synagogue. This latter conversion was a woman whose Jewish father had ‘married out’, therefore rendering her
halachically non-Jewish, but who had married a Jewish man and who wanted to ensure that her daughter would be considered Jewish. I will discuss how these conversions illustrate how far the boundary of Judaism is a constructed one: each different insider ‘gatekeeper’ designs its own rules, seeing its role as maintaining some kind of boundary between ‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders’. But it is not only rabbis conducting conversion processes who define who is an ‘insider’ and who is an ‘outsider’ when it comes to Jewishness. The Hoppenstein family, I will show, offers us a context where we can see clearly how insider and outsider status can be self-assigned, ascribed by others, or mediated by internal gatekeepers.

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A typical British officer? Military culture, class, and the identity of Robert Henriques.
Prior to the creation of the state of Israel, for many Jews identity was to be hidden behind a civil and secular national identity, and military service was not usually seen as a natural aspect of Jewish identity. This paper focuses on the life and career of British author Robert Henriques (1905-1967) whose way of life appeared to represent that of an archetypal upper-middle-class soldier, writer and gentleman farmer. At a time when many Jews in Britain had contested identities, the Rugby and Oxford educated Henriques had absorbed the class values that allowed him to become a conventional British officer in peacetime, and to serve as a commando and staff officer in war. It was only after the Second World War that Henriques developed a high level of public association with Jewish concerns, and this was in marked contrast to his earlier self representation as a highly assimilated member of the Anglo Jewish community. Despite apparently conforming to the dominant cultural forces of upper-middle-class English society, he still retained his Jewish identity, unlike other Jews who shared his class background. In this paper I will explore his representation of Anglo-Jewish military experience and identity in his two semiautobiographical novels No Arms, No Armour and The Commander.

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Jewish, Half-Jewish, Jew-ish: Negotiating Identities in Contemporary British-Jewish Literature
Adam Thirlwell’s contention that ‘Jewish is always half-Jewish’ is provocative. Whilst themes of not belonging are central to much Jewish writing, Thirlwell’s claim effectively dismisses the idea that there could ever be a wholly Jewish identity. To the extent that all identities are, arguably, provisional, constructed and contingent, this might be the case. However, there is a danger that Thirlwell’s contention threatens to dispose of any meaningful sense of what it is to be Jewish and this proposition is not entirely playful. The implications of such a manoeuvre are explored in Andrew Sanger’s novel, The J-Word (2009) and Mark Glanville’s memoir, The Goldberg Variations (2004), which, in different ways, both reflect on the challenges of inchoate identities. This paper will look at the ways in which these texts problematise a sense of blurred boundaries in terms of (half)Jewishness. It will go on to argue, however, that whereas some contemporary British-Jewish writers demonstrate a rather fraught sense of wanting to belong, other, perhaps younger, writers are less attached to a singular or even dual sense of defining identity. Increasingly, British-Jewishness is being understood as a series of evolving identifications. For many contemporary writers, there is undoubtedly still an interest in understanding oneself in relation to a collective Jewish history; but, as the twenty-first century unfolds, British-Jewishness is increasingly figured as a matrix of connections that form ever more imbricated ways of belonging. There is, then, in some recent representation by writers such as Thirlwell and Jake Wallis Simons, an embrace of diverse,
hybridized and seemingly incongruent forms of Jewish identification. In these figurations, the angst described by Sanger and Glanville comes to seem unnecessarily morose. As issues of divisibility and indivisibility become re-envisioned, we see instead explorations of the ways in which Jewishness becomes deployed as a component of identities in process. So, through literary analysis, this paper explores how for many Jews in contemporary Britain feelings of disconnection can be complex and troubling. This is undoubtedly a theme that has informed much recent British-Jewish writing. However, the paper will also suggest that multiplicity is a progressively more defining aspect of identification. In this context, the boundaries that define Jewish identities are shown to be porous and increasingly open to negotiation.

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Holocaust memory and Jewish identity in Post-apartheid South Africa

As South Africa negotiated its transition to democracy in the early 1990s, one of the historical analogies most frequently invoked was between the ‘twin atrocities’ of apartheid and the Holocaust. The genocide of European Jewry, and particularly the Nazi regime that perpetrated it, was perceived as a potent historical benchmark for understanding what had happened in South Africa, for envisioning justice and reconciliation, and for thinking about how apartheid might be historicized and commemorated. The larger research project from which this paper is drawn explores the ways in which the Holocaust shaped understandings of and responses to apartheid for a broad range of groups both during the apartheid period (1948-1994) and after the transition to a non-racial democracy. Memory of Nazi Germany and the genocide was regularly invoked under apartheid, but different groups drew starkly different conclusions about the implications of the connection. For Jews, the Holocaust was powerful currency in the debate about whether or not to be involved in the anti-apartheid struggle, and how to relate to racially-motivated human rights abuses. Both mainstream and leftist Jewish positions were nourished by Holocaust memory, but in each case that memory had widely divergent implications and forms. A broad range of anti-racist activists also identified obvious parallels between Nazism and local practices, and the parallel became a powerful symbol for mobilizing international resistance and support. The Afrikaner National Party government, by contrast, consistently and strenuously denied any Nazi connections, despite its considerable association during the 1930s and 1940s with pro-Nazi groups and the presence of several radical right-wing figures in the cabinet. Despite the pervasiveness of Nazism in South African public discourse, there has been little scholarly discussion of Holocaust memory as it developed and shifted over the course of more than five decades. In the context of the growing literature on Holocaust memory in Israel, the United States, Germany, and further afield, the absence of South Africa is conspicuous, not least because of its identity as the quintessential racial state after World War II. This paper will focus on the period following the collapse of apartheid from the early 1990s. The Holocaust was integral to the conceptualization of the Truth and Reconciliation commission, and has become the cornerstone of human rights education in school and museum settings throughout the country. It has also paradoxically become one of the key conduits for the Jewish community’s re-integration into the new South Africa, despite the community’s emphasis on the Holocaust’s uniqueness under apartheid.

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The Roman State and Diaspora Jews after Bar Kokhba

Why did the Roman state continue to recognise diaspora Jewish communities as distinct ethnic groups within the cities of the empire after the uprisings under Trajan (in 115-117 CE) and Hadrian (in 132-135 CE)? The paper will investigate the evidence for such recognition and will demonstrate the extent to which such treatment was anomalous in Roman policy towards minority ethnic groups, which were generally treated by the state simply as part of the wider urban populations among whom they lived. It will trace the implications of the attitude of the pagan Roman state to Jewish
diaspora communities for the treatment of Jewish communities by Christian emperors after the conversion of Constantine in 312 CE.

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'What have thou to do with Marino's song?': Negotiation of boundaries in Hebrew Baroque poetry

During the 17th Century a noteworthy corpus of Hebrew poetry was written across Europe, mainly in Italy and in the western Sephardic Diaspora (especially in Amsterdam), but also in Central and eastern European countries. This corpus was evidently under-studied hitherto, a situation which may be related to its 'marginal' position in the history of Hebrew verse – later than the highly acclaimed medieval schools of Hebrew poetry, and earlier than the beginning of modern Hebrew poetry in the age of Enlightenment (Haskalah). In the present paper I would like to shed some light on the intriguing and little known world of Hebrew Baroque poetry, while focusing on negotiations of identity and contested boundaries reflected in it. A key issue in this regard is the complex relation between these poets' profoundly Jewish identity, manifested first and foremost in their dedication to the Hebrew language, and their unprecedentedly deep indebtedness and belonging to the wider circles of European culture of their time. A particularly complex form of this tension was present among the formerly crypto-Jewish 'Judíos Nuevos' of Amsterdam, as will be illustrated by some impressive Hebrew poems of Shelomo de Oliviera and Imanuel Frances, dedicated to persecution of Marranos by the Spanish Inquisition. But, so it will be argued and demonstrated, a comparable dialectic is implicit and discernible also in many other Hebrew poems, religious as well as secular, composed during this era. These clearly express, in various ways, both the Jewishness of their creators (clearly visible through their masterly command of Hebrew) and their familiarity and affinity with contemporaneous non-Jewish poetic models, as well as their specific Baroque sensitivities, which reflect their genuine acculturation to early modern European civilization.

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"Don't be a stranger" – giyur as theologisation of the boundaries of [Jewish] identity

This paper focuses on contemporary discourses about and experiences of conversion to Orthodox Judaism in Israel and Britain. As part of the Advanced Seminar in Jewish Studies at the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies this year, I have been conducting interviews with converts to Jewish Orthodoxy both in Britain and in Israel. This paper draws on those interviews, juxtaposing what is related by converts themselves about the experience of the process of giyur and being a ger/giyoret with the way in which “official” rabbinic responsa, academic papers and the popular Jewish (and occasionally non-Jewish) press portray the phenomenon of conversion. Through these interviews and the texts I use to elucidate and comment upon them, I aim to examine: (i) how Religious Zionism has created a theology of giyur (not just a political drive to effect conversions) which is qualitatively different from the dominant conception in Britain and in more “Chareidi” circles within Israel; (ii) the interaction of popular and rabbinic ideas about giyur and geirim, probing whether the effect of each upon the other may be more marked than is sometimes assumed; and (iii) the way in which writings about conversion and the communal, as well as rabbinic, treatment of people who are either undergoing or have gone through the process of conversion to Judaism may reveal fundamental theological conceptions about the nature of identity and, particularly, Jewish identity which are not widely or explicitly expressed.
Remembering Moses Gaster in Romania

Moses Gaster (1856-1939) was an intellectual, bibliophile, rabbi and leader in the Zionist movement. He was born in Bucharest in the middle of the nineteenth century, studied in Germany, and spent most of his adult life in England (after his expulsion from Romania in 1885). He was the Haham of the British Sephardic community (1887–1918), principal of the Lady Judith Montefiore College (1889–1896) and one of the founding members of the English Zionist Federation. As a scholar he was engaged in diverse fields of study, such as Romanian language and literature, folklore, Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, magic and mysticism, and Samaritan studies. As a bibliophile and collector, he assembled a magnificent library of manuscripts and printed books reflecting his wide ranging interests. A significant portion of his written output consists of editions and studies of ancient and medieval texts from manuscripts in his possession. The boundaries between collecting and hoarding are not easily drawn, which is reflected in the enormous amount of archival material which survives (especially the UCL Gaster papers, but smaller archives exist in the Rylands Library in Manchester, and the YIVO Institute in New York). The archives include for example calendars, postcards, invitations, diplomas, notebooks, work in progress, correspondence, descriptions of his library and his attempt at writing his memoirs. When he dictated to his assistants (on various dates between 1930 and 1938) the assortment of personal reminiscences which has come to be known as ‘Moses Gaster’s Memoirs’, he was nearly blind and not able to check written sources to refresh his memory. Although problematic as an historical source, the ‘memoirs’ provide insight into Gaster’s perception of the world around him. How Gaster remembered and portrayed himself contrasts with how he is frequently presented in the context of Anglo-Jewish history, where he seems to be best remembered for his difficult personality and lack of diplomacy. Although not much has been written in English about Gaster’s scholarship, there is an abundance of Romanian material, including encyclopaedia entries, scholarly and newspaper articles, editions of his memoirs and correspondence, and even monographs. Here the gap with Gaster’s own memory is smaller, as the ‘memoirs’ are often used (unfortunately frequently uncritically) as one of the main sources. This paper will compare and contrast Anglophone and Romanian portraits of Gaster (focussing especially on the Romanian material), and compare these presentations with how Gaster appears from his own autobiographical writings, how he seemed to have constructed his identity as a wide ranging scholar, collector and Jewish leader.

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‘Edinburgh’s Jews’ - introducing an exhibition and guide to archival resources

This presentation will introduce a recent physical and online exhibition on the history of the Jewish community in Edinburgh. First evidence of a Jewish population in Edinburgh dates back to the seventeenth century, however, the largest waves of immigration occurred in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. A small, but enterprising community, Edinburgh’s Jews made Scotland and its capital their home, and continue to make a distinctive contribution to the life of the city. The exhibition allows viewers to trace the patterns of migration and settlement, occupational and religious history. It shows integration and conflict with the majority population, and highlights the life of exemplary individuals. Furthermore, this presentation will offer an insight into the recently published guide to archival resources relating to Jews which can be found in repositories in Edinburgh and the surrounding region. The guide is accessible online and invites researchers to explore the local collections.
Judaism, Monotheism and Hybridity

From its very beginning the people of Israel was characterized as ‘a people that dwells alone’ and one that ‘is not reckoned among the nations’ (Numbers 23:9). Indeed, the Jewish Religion was different than all other ancient religions in that it worshipped one God, believing him to be the source of all creation and professing he could not possess any physical manifestation. But Jewish religion was not characterized by its unique faith alone. It also maintained a peculiar set of commandments to be followed by its adherents, thus distinguished from other people and being defined as Jews. Many of these commandments deal with creating strict borders between different categories, such as between sacred and profane ('טהור וטמא', קדוש ויהלום), pure and impure (with regard to food: כשר וחטאי), human and divine. In addition, large portion of the Jewish law is dedicated to defying mixture or hybridity as such. These are the famous Shaatnez laws, prohibiting using wool and linen fabrics in one garment, planting together of different kinds of seeds, interbreeding of different species of animals and even simultaneous use of two different species of animals for agricultural work. Judaism thus admires purity, regarding its concept of deity and its adherents’ daily conduct alike. It may very well be that this influential Jewish tradition resulted in typically perceiving ‘hybridity’ as being by and large an inferior quality, while ‘purity’ is a desirable one. However, careful scrutiny of Biblical monotheistic faith exposes its diverse Egyptian, Canaanite and Hittite origins. Moreover, study of the history of Israel and at its on-going spiritual development reveals that the Jewish people maintained close reciprocal relationships with numerous nations and religions, resulting in various cross-fertilizations. The current paper claims that despite its so called rejection of multiplicity and hybridity, the monotheistic Jewish religion is in fact of multiple & hybrid nature. Paradoxically, it is this Heterosis or hybrid vigor which enabled its endless creativity and its seemingly miraculous renaissance after undergoing major crises. The twentieth century has witnessed frantic worship of imaginary racial purity leading to catastrophic consequences for humanity in general and for the Jewish people in particular, thus contaminating the concept of “purity” for good. The Jewish people have managed to overcome physical destruction. Hence, three thousands years after the monotheistic revolution it could once more launch a worldwide spiritual renaissance. On the verge of the third millennium it can reveal its true hybrid nature advocating it is a universal quality that ought to be acknowledged and embraced.

An anonymous letter against philosophy as a dialogue between the traditional Jewish identity and its rational challenge

The arguments from the anonymous letter against philosophy, which was written in Ashkenaz in the first half of the fifteenth century, is analysed in the paper as far as the historical and intellectual context. Based on this discussion the question of the philosophical and Jewish religious way of thinking interference is raised and the nature of this interference is discussed. Furthermore, the examples of the potential problems arising due to the clash between philosophy and Judaism are illustrated. This paper claims that problems arising from dialogue between philosophy and Judaism are not the problems of rationalism and tradition (Athens vs. Jerusalem) as is often suggested, but that it is a problem of two different traditions (cosmopolitan one and particular one) and a resultant problem of the two identity approaches. The medieval Jew identity was created in traditional and religious terms and as such was connected with concept of faith. When philosophy came with redefinition of the faith, the redefinition of the identity had to necessarily follow. Thus the two approaches towards identity arose; thanks to spreading and popularity of philosophy within the Jewish intellectuals, it was noticeable the most in the medieval world. The anonymous letter against philosophy introduces deep discrepancies arising from the connection of philosophy with Judaism as
it was in the most vigorous way created by Maimonides. Anonymous author formulated his arguments from the position of the religious Jew and therefore highlighted the problems that are significant for the religious side of the dialogue. When philosophy revises Jewish religious doctrine, when philosophy limits these doctrines and critically reflects them, the anonymous author of the letter against philosophy shows it and discusses the possible danger for religion. Nevertheless, I also claim that the possible limitations and dangers are circulating by two directions: not just from philosophy towards Judaism but also from Judaism towards philosophy. Among other things, this is the reason why Jewish philosophy is so intellectually mesmeric, because of this vivid and challenging dialogue. This paper can contribute to the discussion on Jewish Identity and Secularism as it deals with the traditional Jewish identity in the Middle Ages which had to face this challenge brought by another way of thinking, different tradition and identity.

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The Politics of Circumcision & the Boundaries of Priestly Ethnicity
This paper will examine the Priestly requirement of circumcision in Genesis 17:1-21, suggesting that its prescription was crucial to determining the identity of Abraham’s chosen successors in the post-exilic period, i.e. before the matriarchal principle qualified Jewish birth in subsequent rabbinic law. Here the Priestly stipulations ensured that the privilege of hereditary succession was restricted to Isaac (circumcised upon the eighth day after his birth), in preference of Abraham’s first-born son Ishmael (circumcised at the age of thirteen). In addition, a number of widely recognizable political and legal conventions were integrated into the framework of this patriarchal narrative – each of which was intended to communicate the necessary authority and gravitas of the rite to its earliest audience(s): namely those Judeans who remained in the Persian province of Yehud, and potentially also those in the process of establishing exilic communities in Babylon and Borsippa. My discussion will identify key elements of these conventions found in Genesis 17:1-21, clarifying also their relationship to Esarhaddon’s Vassal Treaty, a text previously associated with Deuteronomic, rather than Priestly, scribes. Inevitably these findings will not inform the question of whether there was an actual copy of the VTE (Vassal Treaty of Esarhaddon) in Menasseh’s temple, nor will I address the reconstruction of any possible vectors of transmission from cuneiform to biblical sources.

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Memory, Postmemory and Identity in German-Jewish Holocaust Memoirs
The vast literature about the second generation (the children of Holocaust survivors) documents the shared experience of many of this generation. In recent years, literature about the third generation (the grandchildren of Holocaust survivors) has gradually emerged, showing that this generation also shares a generational narrative. The corresponding scholarship about the descendants of Nazi perpetrators and bystanders further shows that the effects of the Holocaust have been transmitted to further generations, whether they are descended from victims, perpetrators or simply grew up in Germany. For those Germans who are descendants of Jewish survivors of the Holocaust therefore, questions of Jewish and German identity revolve around memory and postmemory (Hirsch) of the Holocaust. This paper explores the boundaries of Jewishness by analysing two German-Jewish narratives of the Holocaust, Lektionen des Verborgenen (2001) by Helena Janeczek and Eine exklusive Liebe (2009) by Johanna Adorján (translated as An Exclusive Love (2010)). It considers the intersection of German and Jewish Holocaust memory, loosely categorised as ‘perpetrator’ and ‘victim’ narratives, in memoirs where the narrator may be considered part of both categories by descent. Deploying a generational approach – and thus broadening a nascent area of Holocaust Studies literary criticism pioneered by Caroline Schaumann – the paper explores the intersection of German and Jewish Holocaust narratives in the second and third generations. It argues that these texts suggest that for the second generation, this identity is irreconcilable, but for the third generation, greater distance from the Holocaust means that it is possible to incorporate both
identities. As the generation of witnesses disappears, such texts illustrate a contrast to the dominant Holocaust narratives of survival and persecution. By presenting a view of victim and perpetrator narratives that is both nuanced and complicated, *Lektionen des Verborgenen* and *Eine exklusive Liebe* show that development of Holocaust memory into the second and third generations is far from straightforward. While *Lektionen des Verborgenen* emphasises themes of exile and Janeczek’s sense of not belonging either as a German or a Jew, *Eine exklusive Liebe* presents a much more ambivalent sense of Jewish identity, instead focussing on Adorján’s Holocaust survivor grandparents and the choices they made. The paper thus demonstrates how narratives of Holocaust memory shape and problematize the boundaries of German-Jewish identity, thereby illustrating not only the metamorphosis of Holocaust memory as it passes from generation to generation, but the inherent contradictions of German and Jewish narratives of this shared past.

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Beyond the Religious-Secular Divide: The Philosophical and Educational Legacy of A. D. Gordon

Gordon is no teacher of oratory but a teacher of life. /What he articulates is no mere attitude /But the very reality of his life. (Buber) Aaron David Gordon (Russia-Palestine, 1856-1922), became an iconic figure of the Zionist movement, both through writings that argue for the spiritual and transformative value of a life of labor, and through personal example. In this paper, I aim to investigate the philosophical and educational legacy of Gordon through a close study of his opus magnum *Man and Nature*. In this groundbreaking work Gordon developed one of the basic models of Jewish secularism, a model that the paradoxical label ‘the religious model of Jewish secularity’ captures well. This model aims to offer a secular substitute for religion without excluding the religious impulse that expresses man’s yearning for the absolute. Assuming that religiosity expresses a permanent and authentic need inherent in human existence, Gordon’s famously declared that “The human spirit cannot, the greater its depth, be at peace without religiosity.” Gordon’s philosophical and educational legacy might contribute to a new understanding of current Jewish secularity, as well as assist in the re-shaping of its future trajectory in light of the recent reassertion of power by religious forces in the spheres of politics and culture worldwide.

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Kanada: The Effect of The Canadian Jewish News and Survivors on the Memory of the Holocaust

Few historians have explored the experience of Holocaust survivors and their adaptation and contribution to Canadian society. Franklin Bialystok’s *Delayed Impact: The Holocaust and the Canadian Jewish Community* (2000) remains the authority on the topic. Bialystok measures the evolution of attitudes in three periods- from the end of the war to 1960, from 1960 to 1973, and from 1973-1985. The initial period was “virtually devoid of a communal consciousness of the Holocaust” due to a lack of interest within the established community in listening to the survivors, and the lack of interest in survivors in recounting their experience. The shortcoming of his assertions in *Delayed Impact* lies in his timeframes and his overemphasis on the politicization of survivors at the expense of *The Canadian Jewish News*. Kanada is the name that the inmates of Auschwitz gave to barrack warehouses that stored food, clothing, jewellery, and other confiscated items. To the victims, these barracks represented wealth and liberty yet remained a “completely sealed-off haven-as was Canada in the years between 1933 and 1945.” Therefore, Kanada was considered “a garden of Eden in Hell.” After the Second World War, Canada remained inaccessible to European victims of Nazism and made clear its position that the issue of survivors “was not Canada’s problem.” Nevertheless, after extensive lobbying by the Canadian Jewish Congress (CJC) and other groups,
Canada’s immigration policies began to ease, resulting in the greatest influx of Jewish immigrants to the country since 1911. Although the initial impact of the survivors was limited, *The Canadian Jewish News* (CJN) - most influential vehicle for expressing the concerns of the Canadian Jewish community - created an awareness of the Holocaust’s long-term implications on Canadian and international Jewry by easing strained relations and bridging the gap between the established and survivor communities. Troper and Abella have exposed the unreceptive attitude towards Jews and particularly Holocaust survivors by gentiles, nativists, and government officials in *None is too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe: 1933-1939*, but what is less known and more unexpected is the unreceptive attitude by the established Jewish community towards the survivors. The established Jewish community in Canada were not strangers to latent and overt antisemitism, and were focusing on becoming fully assimilated into mainstream society. Few in the established community were interested in assisting new Jewish immigrants who stood out as more religious based on dress and practice and who were unfamiliar with Canadian language culture. The eventual integration of survivors into society, supported and facilitated by the CJN, resulted in their participation in defining what the Holocaust meant to the Jewish and wider community. If not for the pioneering achievement of the CJN and the Holocaust survivors who politicized important issues and made them resonate with the wider public, Canada’s memory and recognition of the Holocaust, legislation on hate crime, and school curriculum would be nonexistent.

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**How Yiddish socialist poet Morris Winchevsky negotiated the boundaries of poetry and politics. London 1884-94**

Morris Winchevsky, socialist activist and poet, came to London in 1879 as part of the wave of Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe, escaping poverty, and, in his case, imprisonment for radical activity. Only 23, he was already famous across the Yiddish-speaking world as a socialist writer. Nicknamed the zeyde (grandfather), he was seen as the “great awakener”, where London was the springboard of Jewish socialism. Attempts to organise and trade unionise Anglo-immigrant Yiddish-speaking workers was led by socialist agitation. Despite their immediate attempts to alleviate current conditions, these Jewish socialists’ main aim was overturning capitalism and revolution across the Yiddish-speaking world. Supporting local issues, rallying workers to strike and demonstrate to improve their conditions and pay was a strategy towards that end. In 1884 Winchevsky set up the first Yiddish-socialist newspaper *Der Poylishe Yidl* (The small Polish Jew), followed by the *Arbeter fraind* (Workers’ Friend). He edited, contributing articles and feuilletons, using the press as a vehicle for his poetry. His poetry was popular, declaimed at meetings and rallies, put to music and sung at demonstrations. David Glover’s research on the 1905 Alien’s Act examines the relationship between cultural texts and political events. He argues for the role of literature not simply in reflecting a debate, but in participating as an active agent within it. I argue that Winchevsky’s poetry attempted to engage with the debates on poverty and impart anti-capitalist and revolutionary ideas to Jewish immigrants in a number of ways. Through crafted descriptions of extreme poverty, he poses awkward questions about the status quo. Through poetic dialogues with *di arbetter* (the worker) and *di raykhe* (the rich) he starkly portrays inequality and hypocrisy, and through idealistic visions, he offers alternative perspectives on the immigrant’s working life. He questions, not only the actions of the ruling class, but also the priorities of the worker, demanding they rise up and take action against their situation. An internationalist, Winchevsky’s audience extended beyond London, his writing reaching back into Eastern Europe and on to America. In 1894 Winchevsky, exhausted by the failure of workers’ organisation in London and the takeover of the radical left by the anarchists, left for New York, now the centre of socialist and trade union activism. Almost absent from the historiography with only a few translated, Winchevsky’s poems expose
important strategies used to engage poverty-stricken, struggling Jewish immigrants with socialism, and provide a valuable collection of historical records.

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Pushing the boundaries: identity and the challenge of contemporary Jewish anti-Zionist writers and activists

For over a century, Jewish anti-Zionist writers and activists have aroused antipathy and suspicion. Their public protests against Israel in the United States, the UK and in Australia have frequently caused them to be labelled disloyal and treacherous. Their claims to Jewish identity dismissed as disingenuous and made with ulterior political motives. Yet very little academic discussion has been conducted on the phenomenon of contemporary Jewish anti-Zionism. Much has been ideologically driven - attacking or defending the claims of Jewish anti-Zionists. However impartial analytical treatment has been rare. The paper will examine this unique phenomenon dispassionately and objectively. Drawing on the writings and activism of Jacqueline Rose, Mike Marqusee, Mark Ellis and Antony Loewenstein the paper contextualises the re-emergence of global Jewish anti-Zionism since the Second Intifada. It assesses claims by Sander Gilman and others that ‘one of the most recent forms of Jewish self-hatred is the virulent Jewish opposition to the existence of the State of Israel’. And its counter claim, that Jewish anti-Zionism in the twenty-first century lies deep within a historic tradition of Jewish universalism. Moreover, what of the argument that Jewish anti-Zionists offer nothing in the way of positive affiliation or identification with being Jewish? This paper will also submit that suggestion to closer scrutiny.

In an era of hotly contested identity politics, Jewish opposition to the State of Israel and solidarity with Palestinian nationhood stands as something of a curious case. It pushes boundaries and notions of what it means to be a “good” and “loyal” Jew. Though it may sit on the margins, Jewish anti-Zionism reminds us of the diverse voices that make up the global Jewish diaspora. The time has come to reflect on its evolution, meaning and direction.

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Jewish Women and Graphic Memoir - Visualising the Silenced

Why are so many Jewish women choosing to make visual memoirs in the 20th and 21st Century? How are these text/image projects a manifestation of Jewish cultural forms reflecting sacred Scrolls and multi-voiced Talmud pages? How do these artworks seek to rectify the silent treatment women have encountered both in the original Biblical texts and in later Rabbinic literature: “There are the texts in which women are ignored, texts in which women and the body are the subject of study, [...] texts in which women are given a space, but a space defined and controlled by men.” In this paper I will examine the artwork of a number of Jewish artists including Sharon Rudahl’s four-page comic “The Star Sapphire” (1974) and the photographic scrolls of Joanne Leonard Roots and Wings (1998) and The Reel Family (2000). I will also present my own artwork, the animations and drawings that form my ongoing visual memoir, The Book of Sarah (1994 - onwards). My art is inspired by the lack of a book about my Biblical namesake, Sarah, as well as my own search for a voice and audience.

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The Problem of Boundaries: Jewish Magic and non-Jewish Magic

Jewish mysticism is an area of study that has received an increasing amount of scholarly criticism since Gershom Scholem published his Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism, the field is far from exhausted, but at least a beginning to examine this vast subject has been made. However, the same cannot be said for the more practical side of mysticism and Western esotericism, such as magic and alchemy. In my paper, the main emphasis will be Jewish magic, which leads to the question: when are elements from Jewish religion in fact magic and how can it distinguish itself from pagan, or
forbidden, forms of magic? Whether one sees the distinction between magic and religion as arbitrary, in Judaism this (perceived) difference has mattered a great deal. Magic was to a certain extent recognized within Rabbinic Judaism, although there was much discussion between rabbis about the limits of the use of magic, since enchantments could only come from God and any pagan or Christian magic was strictly forbidden. Jewish magic is partly defined by the fact that it is almost entirely language based as opposed to heavily ritualistic. God and his angels remain the source of power and the sorcerer is merely an instrument that channels these divine forces. One is also allowed to use objects that serve as a protection from the Other Side: the devil and his many accomplishers. Amulets clearly distinguish themselves as Jewish magic when they contain magical names, exempla from biblical stories and direct adjurations to the angels.

In my paper, I will examine these different forms of Jewish magic and analyse how they are kept within the boundaries of Jewishness.

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**Creating and Breaking Through Boundaries among Hareidim in mid-20th century USA**

The Hareidi communities in Brooklyn in the 1940s and 50s faced the immediate issue of preservation of halachic and supra-halachic boundaries in the context of a strong modernisation trend even among leading representatives of orthodoxy, such as Rabbi Moshe Feinstein (1895-1986). A major issue was *halav Yisrael* (‘Jewish milk’), the question whether or not, in order for milk to be ‘kosher’, the milking had to be supervised by a Jew. In 1950 R. Moshe ruled this was unnecessary: government inspection would ensure that no milk from non-kosher animals would be added. Rabbis to the right strongly disagreed, particularly the Krasna Rov, Rabbi Hillel Lichtenstein (d.1979) (great nephew of the eponymous Hillel Lichtenstein who had worked to establish haredi orthodoxy in Hungary a century earlier). His tract on this issue, *Kuntres Kavvanat Halev* (Williamsburg, 1955), provides an introduction with a full programme of boundary maintenance, including avoidance of even Yiddish Radio, Yiddish newspapers, and of course, television. Rabbi Lichtenstein was a firm admirer of Rabbi Yoel Teitelbaum of Satmar (1887-1979) who represented the intense enclave ethos of Hungarian haredi Judaism. At the same time, also in Brooklyn, Rabbi Yosef Yitzhak Schneersohn, the sixth Lubavitcher Rebbe (1880-1950), and his son-in-law and successor Rabbi Menachem Schneerson (1902-1994) likewise emphasised the need for Jewishly supervised milk, and a talk by the younger Rebbe in 1954 condemned television. However, Rabbi Yosef Yitzhak used the Yiddish Press to disseminate his ideas, and Rabbi Menachem Mendel would soon approve radio presentations of Hasidic teachings on the WEVD Radio station. Later his Hasidic gatherings were broadcast on Cable TV, scandalizing the Satmar following. While seeking to maintain certain haredi boundaries, the Lubavitch outreach ethos sought to break through those between the orthodox and the secular, emphasising themes such as “Even though he sinned he is a Jew” and developing a religious activist programme based on that ethos. This combination of opposites is illustrated by another boundary issue: female hair covering. Should this be wig, *sheitel*, or headscarf, *tikhl*? In the same talk in which he condemned television, Rabbi Menachem Mendel emphasised the wig, as a mode of clothing in which a woman might comfortably meet “President Eisenhower”. For Satmar, a *tikhl* was preferred – and there was no expectation that a woman might meet the President. The ambiguous stance of Lubavitch helps us understand more of the paradox of Hasidism and modernity.

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**Maintaining Jewish boundaries: how is done and is it good for mental health?**

The generally positive effects of religion on mental health are by now very well documented and research attention has been focused on unpacking the nature of these effects, and looking at effects in different cultural-religious groups. This paper will refer to work published from the 1980s.
onwards, still ongoing, focussing on the impact of religious factors on mental health with particular reference to orthodox Judaism. I and my colleagues have examined the impact on mental health of a number of factors within Judaism, and have often been able to compare effects with other groups, particularly Protestant Christians, Muslims and the religiously non-affiliated. Among Jews, we have studied haredim, traditionally orthodox, religious Zionist and non-practising Jews. The factors we have examined include: life events and difficulties arising directly from the individual’s Jewishness, their stressfulness and impact on mental health compared to other life-events; Jewish religious coping beliefs and their effectiveness in coping with stress; family size and its effects; Jewish alcohol use and its impact; specific Jewish practices – for example Shabbat observance, and women’s dress and head-covering - and their reported effects on well-being. All these (and other) factors relate to Jewish identity and the maintenance of boundaries. Mental health is a broad term, and in several studies we have used either clinical interviews, or specific measures of depression, anxiety, and positive mood. In some studies we have obtained descriptive material depicting and elaborating on states of well-being and distress. The paper will offer summaries of findings, illustrating the sometimes complex impact of Jewish observance and boundary-maintenance on mental health. It will also offer some qualitative material from different studies illustrating Jewish boundary-maintenance – for example clothing and head-covering, thinking “Jewishly” about stressful life-events, observing Shabbat, and experiencing anti-semitism. Often underlying these examples are two key features: identity and spirituality, and I will conclude by trying to understand how, at least for the orthodox, these two features are interlinked.

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Shades of closeness. Familiarity, global ethnopolitics and ontologies of relatedness in a Jewish congregation in contemporary Poland.
Post-socialist Poland witnessed a profound transformation of Jewish social life, enabled by the political shift, grassroots activism and growing influence of global NGOs. Re-constituted religious congregations along with transnational social spaces of heritage tourism, education and ‘identity-building’ are witness to nascent forms of sociality and self-understanding. The Jewish Religious Community in Wrocław brings together generations of people, each having distinct experiences of being Jewish in Poland. Many individuals affiliated with the community, particularly young adults, are either of partial Jewish ancestry or their Jewish self-identification was predicated by deathbed revelations, premonitions of otherness, scraps of memory and documents rescued from the maelstrom of wartime. In many cases, decades of under-communicating Jewish ancestry, out of fear of stigmatization, by grandparents and parents continue to structure their children’s first encounters with Jewish institutions. The meaning and boundaries of the congregation are in a continuous and dynamic process of re-definition. Sense of belonging based on familiarity and kinship resonates with the haunting legacy of otherness that crosses generational divides. At the same time the influx of newcomers into the Polish Jewish institutional world is enabled and informed by heterogeneous ontologies of Jewish relatedness fostered by transnational projects and rabbis. The procession and coexistence of multiple agendas, claims for authority and ethno-religious imaginaries foster criteria contrasting with notions of affinity informed by challenges and compromises of the post-Holocaust life. Consequently, the seemingly formalized rules like kinship and conversion are informed by constant friction between multiple scales of Poland’s ‘Jewish revival’. In the everyday of the Wrocław Jewish Community, these contentious tenets of Jewish relatedness are subject to dynamic and situational negotiation that exemplifies the predicaments of re-imagining the collectivity of Polish Jews. My paper discusses a theme from my doctoral research based on extensive ethnographic fieldwork in Poland and in Israel.
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Messianic Past and Apocalyptic Present: ‘Collective Memory’ and Modern Jewish Orthodox Identity in Isaac Breuer (1883–1946)

This paper deals with the role of ‘collective memory’ and history in the thought of the philosopher of Jewish Orthodoxy Isaac Breuer. Breuer’s writings show his awareness to live in a new historical epoch. Breuer realises that with the end of the “long 19th century” (Eric Hobsbawm) new questions called for an answer. The confessional model of 19th century Judaism lost much of its attraction and its persuasiveness. With the Balfour Declaration Zionism became a political option. Breuer’s answers to the question of modern Jewish existence centre on his general philosophy of history that follows from his understanding of the First World War. Though loyal to Germany, Breuer develops a full-fledged critique of war and of nationalism that he both viewed as the “radical evil”. For him, the war represents the crisis of humanity and of world history. As such, it designates the beginning of the messianic epoch. In the framework of Breuer’s political activism in the Jewish community this entails a harsh critique of Zionist aspirations and of Orthodoxy. Zionism fails to realise the fundamental threat that political sovereignty poses to humanity, whereas Orthodoxy fails to grasp the divine call for re-orientation (Neuorientierung) implicit in this war. Drawing on a variety of Breuer’s writings, I argue that Breuer’s attempt to re-orientation is based on his apocalyptic reading of the Hebrew Bible. The biblical narrative from the expulsion from the Garden of Eden to the revelation on Mount Sinai serves as Breuer’s basic interpretative framework for contemporary events. Breuer’s argumentation shows the political potential of ‘collective memory’ using the biblical account of Yezi’at Miẓrayim to construct Judaism as a political religion, and the Jews as a nation opposed to a community of religious individuals. Breuer’s reading of the Bible calls for obience to the halakhah, and, at the same time, constructs an ideal past whose potential could still be materialised in the present.

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“The Jew might be ‘a hard nut to crack’; at any rate the kernel was sweet”: Jewish Identity According to the Catholic Guild of Israel (1917-1943)

Abstract: The Catholic Guild of Israel was founded in England in December 1917 by Father Bede Jarrett with the support of the Sisters of Sion and the Arch-Confraternity of Prayer for the Conversion of Israel. This initiative received the blessings of Benedict XV and Pius XI. Whereas the Sisters of Sion and the Arch-Confraternity were content to pray for the conversion of Israel, the new Guild took a much more proactive approach to converting Jews. One aspect of the Guild’s mission was to improve the way that English Catholics perceived Jews. Jews, the so-called “lost sheep of Israel,” were to be brought to Jesus through love and understanding rather than through coercion. According to Guild minute books, leaflets about Jews were produced and distributed to children at Catholic schools. However, despite the Guild’s allegedly benign intentions, the senior members were not able to master their own prejudices. Their articles and lectures frequently contained stereotypes of the greedy stock-market and usurious Jew, and the revolutionary Bolshevik Jew. Whilst it was acknowledged that Jews had been persecuted by Christians, this was countered by caricatures of “the Jewish Mentality” and the Talmud as violently anti-Christian. It was suggested that Christian violence towards Jews was not always unprovoked. The stereotype of the smart powerful Jew was also a reoccurring theme in Guild publications, but it was part of an ambivalent narrative. The President and the Vice-President of the Guild both explained that “the Jews” could be an asset if their “zeal” and “flame” could be brought into the Church. They suggested that whilst “the Jew” was “a hard nut to crack,” their “kernel was sweet,” and that they contained a reservoir of intellect and energy, which though dangerous to Christian civilisation, could be put to good use if assimilated to the Church. Significantly, similar stereotypes of “the Jew” can also be found in the discourses of Jewish converts within the Catholic Guild of Israel. Hugh Angress, a convert from Orthodox Judaism,
repeated these stereotypes, and he argued in lectures and a booklet that Catholicism is Judaism. The most prominent convert in the Guild was Hans Herzl, the son of Theodor Herzl, the well-known Zionist leader. Hans Herzl converted to Catholicism and joined the Guild in 1924. Though he did not remain in the Church for long, he too published articles in English Catholic newspapers that were ambivalent about Jews (and Zionism). This paper will examine the published and unpublished works of Guild members, to illustrate how the image of the Jew was constructed by members of the Guild, and how the boundaries of Jewish identity were redrawn by its Jewish members.

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The reasons for contributing to anti-Semitic literature in Turkey: Interviews with popular conspiracy theorists
Despite conspiracy theories’ apparent and ever-present political significance, academic literature hardly provided any sociological analysis on the topic. To fill the scholarly lacuna, this study examines anti-Semitic conspiratorial literature about Dönmes (Converts) in Turkey from a sociological perspective. It relies on a content analysis of popular conspiratorial accounts about the community and semi-structured interviews with three prominent conspiracy theorists. The paper shows that the conspiracy theorists use their accounts to confirm their political viewpoints and points to rational choice theory as a valuable perspective to understand social significance of conspiracy theories.

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Inventing Jewish History, Memory and Genetic Identity in Hispanic New Mexico
In the wilderness landscape of the New World (the ‘New Israel’ of Protestant imagination), Europeans frequently identified native peoples as lost tribes of Israel. But Spanish New Mexico’s strikingly biblical landscape would cement the link between wilderness topography and long lost Jews in a manner unrivaled elsewhere. By the 1970’s, local Native Americans took command of their own self-definition, and began benefitting from their own tourist ventures. But--no longer defined as farmers wielding ‘digging sticks of Moses,’ or as water-toting ‘Maids of Palestine’--they left the land bereft of lost, hidden Jews; a population missed in habitual association with local topography, and almost certainly missed as lost tourist revenue. By 1980 Anglo-Americans outnumbered Hispanics in New Mexico. No longer dominant on their own turf, the new minority was redefined accordingly. As indigenous peoples regained the right of self-definition, local Hispanics lost that right to the power of academic fiat; traditional Spanish Catholic folkways were touted as ‘secret-’ or ‘crypto-Jewish’ folkways by a small group of local academics, none of them folklorists. When challenged by trained specialists, stakeholders and the media reinforced the ‘lost Jews’ of popular appeal, suggesting a number of undisclosed agendas more valued than accuracy. At first, no memory of the imagined community surfaced in New Mexico. But in an ascendent, racially punitive Anglo hegemony (one that classifies Jews as white, and Hispanics as non-white), Hispanics traumatized into collaboration were internationally celebrated for suddenly ‘recovering’ memories of a (racially safe and religiously empty) crypto-Jewish identity; their rhetoric clearly demonstrating what Pratt calls ‘instances in which colonized subjects undertake to represent themselves in ways that engage with the colonizer’s own terms; a recognized phenomenon important in unraveling the histories of imperial subjugation and resistance at the site of their occurrence.’ After completion of the Human Genome, pseudo-science was added to pseudo-ethnography with the local invention of demonstrably unfounded, malignant genetic markers for ferreting out unsuspecting Hispanics as ‘Jewish by disease.’ Using slides and a news clip, my presentation will explore the New Mexican invention of crypto-Jewish memories, as well as an invented site of crypto-Jewish pilgrimage, and
will refute a spate of naïve genomic adventurism all too reminiscent of more sinister interests in less enlightened times.

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“Joseph the Statesman as Tragic Figure in Philo of Alexandria’s De Iosepho”
In Genesis, Joseph is portrayed in a variety of roles: he is a skilled interpreter of dreams, in jail, we see him act as educator for the betterment of the other inmates, and finally, we see him assume a political role, second only to the pharaoh. Philo of Alexandria’s De Iosepho recounts the life of Joseph, with an emphasis on elucidating these roles and their relation to the ideal statesman, or, politikos. A great problem arises when we compare Philo’s treatment of Joseph in De Iosepho to that in his other treatises, particularly De Somniis 2, where we see Joseph standing in direct opposition to the pursuits of virtuous souls. So, on the one hand, in De Iosepho, Joseph, the politikos, assumes leadership over Egypt and facilitates improvement and betterment of character in the most morally shameful of souls. On the other hand, in the rest of the Philonic corpus, Joseph stands in direct opposition to the attainment of the virtuous life. How are we to understand this juxtaposition? In my paper, I shall first examine the dramatic potential of Genesis 37-50, which tells the story of Joseph. I shall then closely examine the dramatic elements in De Iosepho in order to argue that the light of seeming goodness in which Joseph is cast functions as dramatic irony. By examining Philo’s theory of epistemology, it becomes clear that Joseph’s life is an allegory of the kind of soul whose characteristic mode of knowing is through opinion, which belongs to the faculty of imagination. De Iosepho explores the consequences of the life of such a soul who has not been moved to apprehend the truth, and thus remains steadfast in his opinions. Using dramatic irony, Philo impels his audience to recognize the illusion of Joseph’s goodness – lest they too remain unaware of the underlying truth just as Joseph himself had been.

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Towards an understanding of incultrination: a study of the self in relation to environment in literary representations of the Holocaust perpetrator.
Incultrination, as defined by this paper, is the process by which one absorbs a socio-cultural identity from one’s environment; it includes, but is not necessarily limited to: cultural perceptions, social norms and ethical practices. When applied to Nazi Germany, this concept creates problems since, under such specific conditions, the agent had limited possibilities - if any - to adopt an alternative, unincultrinated identity; here, I refer to what Jonathan Bennett terms ‘bad morality,’ by which he means: “a morality whose principles I deeply disapprove of. When I call a morality bad, I cannot prove that mine is better; but when I hear call any morality bad, I think you will agree with me that it is bad; and that is all I need.” (Bennett 1994: 123) The aim of this paper is to examine the division of character as it occurs when the protagonists of Martin Amis’ Time’s Arrow (1991) and Edgar Hilsenrath’s The Nazi and the Barber (1971) are moved from one environment – a site of incultrination in which ‘bad morality’ is deeply embedded – to another. It will analyse the protagonists’ desire to ingratiate themselves within the respective social discourses as homogeneous elements so that, when the geographical movement occurs, it determines a corresponding change in identity. Hence, the search for a sense of belonging takes on particular significance and results in the body becoming a vehicle of two separate selves: the original-self and a new-self or, what I will term the disguise-self. These divergent self-formations become especially problematic when the embedded values of a particular society (Nazi Germany) are condemned from the outside and subsequently subjected to retroactive criminal laws. The basis of this paper is to map the impact that this change has on the protagonists’ sense of self and to call into question
problems of inculturation, the consequences of ‘bad morality,’ the damaging notion of the other, and the need to re-establish a sense of common humanity.

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Death by Chamberpot in the Bavli: Veiled Anti-Zoroastrian Polemic?
The paper will examine what are, arguably, discursive traces of negotiation of ethnic and religious boundaries between Babylonian Jews and Sasanian Zoroastrian Persians, using a synthesis of text critical and cultural historical methodologies, and framed in theories of identity and group cohesion from symbolic anthropology. The parallels between Babylonian Jewish and Sasanian Persian cultural beliefs and practices have recently developed into an entire sub-field of ancient Jewish Studies (Yaakov Elman, Shai Secunda and many others). Similarities between Babylonian Jewish and Zoroastrian purity practices have been a special focus of study, highlighting the cross-cultural influence that each religion must have had upon the other at different levels of class and caste in Sasanian Babylonian (224 – 642 C.E.). While general similarities in purity practice are certainly evident, the overall symbolic systems of purity and impurity in ancient Judaism and Zoroastranism are inherently different on a most basic level; while, in monotheistic rabbinic Judaism, the human body and its effluvia, although polluting, are both ontologically and morally inert, theologically speaking, in dualist Zoroastrianism they are charged with potent demonic ontological force, hence, theological power. This paper will focus on one aspect of both ancient Jewish and Zoroastrian impurity practices, the impurity of urine and excrement. Arguably, Zoroastrian attitudes and practices regarding urine and excrement, their extreme polluting potency and their practical regulation, may have been strange, baffling, even absurd, to the contemporary Jewish sensibility. For instance, in what is probably a parody of a martyr’s death, an exegetical narrative detail unique to the Bavli (absent in Palestinian textual parallels), has Haman’s daughter commit suicide after mistakenly emptying a chamber pot on her father’s head while he is leading Mordechai’s horse through the street below. This narrative, and several other sources, will be considered as possible examples of veiled polemic, humorously satirizing the valence of excrement as a substance of demonic potency in Sasanian Zoroastrian belief and practice. Other relevant texts in the Bavli will be considered in the context of the social function of practices of purity and impurity to maintain social boundaries of identity and social cohesion. The problem of why other purity practices, relating to death and menstruation, are not similarly satirized in the Bavli will also be addressed.

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Bridal Chests and Materials of Selfhood in Modern Hebrew Literature
The contents of the bridal chests/luggage that women bring to their married life and their interpretations in Modern Hebrew literature are the subject of this study, which is based on a joint project with Professor Hannah Naveh of Tel-Aviv University. Dowries and trousseaus are usually associated with traditions of a bygone age whereby a woman’s future is secured by marriage and proper marriages depend on the monetary value and social status of brides. The iconic literary representation of this social reality in Hebrew literature is Agnon’s The Bridal Canopy (1931), the epic search of Reb Yudel Hasid for dowries to secure his daughters’ marriages. We propose to shift and add to Reb Yudel’s search: from the monetary value of dowries to their actual contents from the perspective of the women characters who own them; from marriage as closure to how these contents fare through marriage life, how they position women in families and subsequently define and redefine their sense of selfhood; from Agnon’s masterly recapture of the past, to the politics of representation in the present. In this context the concrete contents of trousseaus are the luggage women carry on their travelling/migrating from pre-marital to marital life. They encapsulate both past experiences and preparations for a foreseen future. As such they delineate the boundaries of legacy and expectation that inform the shaping of subjectivity and the complex negotiations of past and contemporary discourses. They offer a study of the intersection of traditional practices, which
women are meant to be the custodians of, and their subversive twists and turns, which women disseminate. The historical identification of Modern Hebrew literature with the Zionist ideology could not but regard dowry practices as those aspects of traditional Jewish life to be rejected and revolutionised. Consequently, representations of dowry practices as oppressive and unjust are common in Hebrew literary works since the late 19th century, as exemplified in Dvora Baron’s depiction of women’s life in the East European shtetl. By the same token, the predominately Western leaning of the Israeli discourse leads to viewing dowries as constituents of the backward, yet exotic, Mizrahi/oriental culture. Nonetheless, a closer look at what women characters place in their bridal chests, challenges these sweeping generalizations. While reinforcing the allocation of home-making as the defining role of married women, the luggage/trousseau also contains objects of defiance and subversion through which women resist their pre-assigned positions in the familial and the national contexts. These objects will be discussed and illustrated in the works of contemporary Israeli writers.

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Religion and Jewish identity in the philosophical and political thought of Simone Luzzatto, John Toland and Menasseh ben Israel

The proposed research undertakes a comparative reading of several pamphlets on Jewish Toleration and Emancipation set in Italy, the Netherlands and Great Britain at the beginning of 17th and 18th century. In addition the proposal explores the influence of the text on German-Jewish Emancipation. The principal text is Simone Luzatto’s, [1583-1663, scholar, rabbi, mathematician, and supporter of religious toleration.] “Discorso…” ("Discourse on the Condition of the Jews …") [1638]. Luzzato was one of the most prominent representatives of the Jewish political thought of Early Modern Venice. His most important work, a political and apologetical is based on a remarkable synthesis of elements drawn from various Classical, Biblical, and Medieval Islamic and Jewish sources. 'Discorso' was addressed to the leaders of the Venetian Republic and was the first apologetic which argued for toleration of the Jews on the basis of their economic usefulness. The second text deals with Menasseh ben Israel’s [1604-1657], a Dutch rabbi, printer, and politician. His petition to Oliver Cromwell: “The Humble Addresses”, published [1655] at the height of his efforts to obtain the return of the Jews to England, shows evidence of his original contribution to Jewish apologetics during the seventeenth century. He bases his arguments on Luzzatto’s 'discourse' without mentioning his name. The third text is John Toland’s anonymous analyse of the “Reasons for Naturalization the Jews in Great Britain and Ireland.” [1714]. Toland’s ,[1670-1722] motives in writing the pamphlet are unclear. His quite detailed defence refers to the arguments of Luzzatto’s 'Discorso'. He even mentions Luzzato’s name in his writing. Luzzatto's account is perhaps best approached from the opposing perspective of politics and philosophy, given his undoubted role in the background of the process of Jewish emancipation. The most effective way of approaching Toland’s account would be from the perspective of social and cultural history, rather than political or religious history. Menasseh ben Israel fits in the same context, but as a symptom of a social and cultural phenomenon typical of the victims of the Spanish and Portuguese expulsion. What is proposed is a critical analyse of the pamphlets and to provide a comprehensive analytical examination, situating them firmly within their broader contexts in Italy, Netherlands and Britain, but with the greater emphasis on philosophical and political background of that time. In addition it is intended to examine the role of Italian [Venetian], Dutch and British Jews generally in the formation of the socio-cultural identity of European Jewry.

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Global Zionism in the Age of Nationality: Performing for the World
Since the mid-1970s, much of the literature on Zionism and the Zionist-Palestinian conflict has tended to view the years before the First World War as the formative period for the nascent national
movement. This tendency is in part a reflection of the Zionist mythology of the 2\textsuperscript{nd} aliyah. It also belongs to a wider trend in Middle Eastern Studies, in which scholars have downplayed the influence of the era of European colonial rule in the development of post-Ottoman political cultures, as they have sought to champion the agency of the peoples of the region. It will be argued in this paper, however, that the First World War marked a transformation in the political aims, modus operandi, and political styles of Zionism, in response to the imperatives of the new age of nationality that began in 1917: an international political order premised on the principle of national self-determination and shaped, in theory, by the will of peoples. It was on this new political landscape—a political space, a form, which did much to influence the content of politics in the post-1917 colonial world—upon which Zionism fought the new war that it faced from 1918: a struggle for statehood in \textit{Eretz Israel} against the new enemy of statist Palestinian nationalism. Post-Balfour Declaration Zionism, notwithstanding alternative voices within the movement, focused on securing the establishment of a Jewish State. To achieve this goal, this paper will argue, Zionism faced the challenge of making and sustaining its case to the world—the new, watching inter-national community, signified in part by, but by no means limited to, the existence of the League of Nations. This task required the performance on the global stage of a Zionism that fitted in with the criteria for admission into the community of nations: a unified will of the people, desire for self-determination, civilised national development, conformity with the needs and concerns of the Great Powers in the Middle East, and right to the Land. The Zionist response to this challenge was far-reaching and included the development of significant machinery for making its case, and for monitoring and countering opposing voices: Palestinian nationalists, anti-Zionist Jews, and anti-Zionists in the elites of the inter-national community. The Zionist focus in the 1920s was thus on fighting the war for statehood largely through stage managed spectacle, of performance—even, arguably, to an extent the act of settlement and state building itself. In the aftermath of the Palestinian violence of 1929, this spectacle enterprise was accompanied by more significant military means for protecting and assuring the Zionist project; the need to speak convincingly to the world, however, remained a crucial pillar of Zionism.

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The ‘discovery’ of equity on the borders of Roman and Rabbinic law

The beginnings of legal abstraction and the institutionalisation of legal tuition are apparently related in both Roman and Rabbinic law. In the early centuries CE two highly abstract, though significantly different, legal corpora emerged by the analytical study of case law traditions in the post-classical Roman ‘law schools’ and the Rabbinic ‘study houses’: the more functional \textit{Corpus Iuris} of Justinian (530-534 CE) and the more formalistic \textit{Palestinian} (ca. 350-400 CE) and \textit{Babylonian Talmuds} (6\textsuperscript{th} century CE). Are legal principles and concepts extracted from case law? Did legal scholars set out to create a system on philosophical and moral grounds? Are the differences in arrangement, style and rhetoric due to historical circumstances, or are the nature and process of legal abstraction significantly different in Roman and Rabbinic law? To address such general questions, my paper proposes a case-study based on an extended and controversial passage in the \textit{Babylonian Talmud} (\textit{bBava Qama} 37b-39a) which questions the Mishnaic legal discrimination against non-Jews in the specific tort case of the goring ox. My paper outlines what course of action Roman law might have offered in a similar case, and why Roman officials objected to the Rabbinic legislation according to the story incorporated in the Talmudic passage (\textit{bBava Qama} 38a). Variants of the story (\textit{Sifre Deuteronomy} § 344 and \textit{yBava Qama} 4:3) as well as corresponding Talmudic passages (\textit{bBava Qama} 113a-b, \textit{bBava Bathra} 54b-55a etc.) about the conflict of Jewish and foreign law indicate that the Roman idea of equity was a creative, but probably suppressed force of legal invention in Rabbinic circles too. My paper argues that once general moral principles penetrated practical legislation via the \textit{ius gentium} in Roman or the Noahide laws in Rabbinic law, they were used innovatively to create an abstract architectonic structure in both legal cultures.
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"Composite photography and Mirror photographs: Engaging the 'Jewish Type' in Fin-De-Siècle England."

This paper examines how the Anglo-Jewish community in fin-de-siècle England utilized two popular photographic techniques, composite and mirror photography, to articulate the increasing challenges of a liberal-state model of Jewishness and Jewish collective identity. “The two faces of liberalism,” indubitably embedded within classic liberalism according to John Gray, form the basic paradox of political liberalism: the belief that the universal implementation of certain liberties or a “best way of life” is necessary to secure tolerance for plural values systems relies on a faulty premise of congruity, or tolerance for likeness. These paradoxes of liberal tolerance are most evident in the debates on the Jewish Question in England throughout the nineteenth century. As a response, Joseph Jacobs, a Jewish sociologist and folklorist, worked with Sir Francis Galton in 1883 to produce a new narrative about the “Jewish Type” that attempted to replace negative stereotypes about Jews with positive ones (Rabinovitch 114). The techniques of composite and later mirror photography, both products of the cultural formations of the time, make visible what Anne McClintock terms the “dangerous” side of liberal nationalism—specifically its “relations to political power and to the technologies of violence” (McClintock 352). The composite photographic logic of liberalism—presenting the illusion of one image where there were many—was considered dangerous by two important Anglo-Jewish writers, Amy Levy and Israel Zangwill. This paper examines how Levy and Zangwill use these related but divergent techniques in their literary works to articulate their position on the effects of the “Jewish type” and composite photographic logic on the Anglo-Jewish community. I also consider how both Levy and Zangwill embrace “mirror photography” as a more conducive technique to present a multiple and polyphonic model of Jewish identity, both individual and collective. Drawing from specific examples in both The Romance of a Shop (1888) and Ruben Sachs: A Sketch (1889), I trace how Levy’s critique of Jacobs’s ideal “Jewish type” influenced Israel Zangwill’s approach to the Jewish type in his most famous novel, Children of the Ghetto (1892), and in his most controversial novel—Dreamers of the Ghetto (1898). I also place these readings within the historical contexts of emerging Jewish nationalist discourses of political Zionism and Jewish Territorialism in order to offer a new vantage point on the presumed divisions between these two political movements. By directing attention to the afterlives of composite photographic techniques, I expose new and deep connections between Joseph Jacobs, Amy Levy, Israel Zangwill, Political Zionism and Jewish territorialism that have been previously overlooked.

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The Biblicised Ethnographies of Diego Durán (1537?-1588): Between the Old Testament and the New World

The little-known figure Diego Durán (1537?-1588) was descended from a converso family on the Iberian peninsula, was living in Texcoco by the time he ‘acquired his second teeth’, spoke fluent nahuatl, and in 1556 became a member of the Dominicans in the land re-christened New Spain. In this paper I explore how aspects of his under-studied and for a long time undiscovered works The Book of the Gods and Rites and the Ancient Calendar (1574-1576) and A History of the Indies of New Spain (1581) function as biblicised ethnographies. Earnest attempts to read the New World through the heterogeneous corpus of the Old Testament/Hebrew Bible produced chaotic effects. These include hybridized Christian-Jewish rites mapped onto the unsuspecting Aztecs; an attempt to use the broken-down relationship between Esau and Jacob as a sign of failed intercultural
communication; and a justification of the controversial act of recording ‘Indian’ practices by invoking God’s command concerning the Amalekites to ‘remember (in order to) forget’.

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Dating While Jewish: Drawing Boundaries around Jewish Sexual Desire
In late 2011, “Charlie” posted a piece online on the US-based website Jewneric, entitled “Jewish Guys & Asian Girls, Oy Gevult!” In it, Charlie explained that “there is no doubt that this attraction exists”, and suggests that it is based on a certain attraction to “submissive” women. He tried out this idea on an unsuspecting Filipino woman who got stuck in a cab with him: “I don’t think she saw my point, that sometimes the attraction is rooted in low self-esteem men who can’t handle the tough Jewish woman, and are attracted to the general passivity of Asian women [sic].” Somewhat similarly, in his 2010 documentary series, “John Safran’s Race Relations”, John Safran—a Melbourne-based Jewish documentary maker and comedian—explored his desire to date ‘Eurasian women’, and the subsequent conflict that arose when his family, friends and community placed demands on him to marry a Jewish woman. My focus in this paper is on what these examples say about Jewish identity, and on what collective memories of Jewishness they rest. Jewishness is, of course, constituted a different times and places as many different things: ethnic, religious, national, racial. Why, and how, then do these two examples construct Jewishness as something born of blood and body, easily categorised, contained, analysed and disavowed? How is a racialised sexuality, or more particularly, heterosexuality, central to this construction? Both of these examples, we will see, construct an idea of Jewishness as white, and never Asian: of Jewish women as assertive and Asian women as passive; of Jewish women as too known, too intimate for sexual relationships, and Asian women as fundamentally outside the boundaries of Jewishness (and thus desirable). Complex ideas of the boundaries between self and other are thus established. By exploring the memories and histories of Jewish pasts on which these two examples draw, I will be able to expand on the ways in which Jewishnesses become defined by the sexual practices, and ideas of sexual desire, which are being created. In doing so we will be able to understand where the boundaries created around sexuality—and the various elements bound up in this, such as concerns about intermarriage and acceptable or desirable forms of Jewish femininity and masculinity—are being drawn by some young Jews today.

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“Crypto-Jewish” Identity of the Ottoman-Turkish Sabbateans (17th – 20th Centuries)
Sabbateanism was a highly influential Jewish messianic movement (perhaps the largest one after Christianity) that surfaced in 1665 in the Ottoman Empire, reached its climax in 1666, was stymied by the Ottoman authorities, who forced the founder of the movement, Sabbatai Sevi, to convert to Islam in the same year, yet continued in three sectarian forms (Yakubis, Karakas and Kapançlı) up until the present times. Although the movement has been examined extensively by the students of Jewish and European studies, neither the protagonist nor the movement itself as it existed within the matrix of the early modern and modern Ottoman social and religious developments has yet received the attention they deserve. The purpose of my main project is to write a comprehensive monograph of the movement and its sectarian developments in the seventeenth through the twentieth centuries. As part of my main project, in this presentation, I am going to deal with one of the curious questions in the Sabbatean studies: the ambiguity and multiplicity of the liminal Sabbatean identity. While the Sabbateans referred to themselves by the Hebrew terms maaminim (believers), and sometimes even Ba’ale-i Milhama (warriors), the outsiders, most of times paradoxically, call them with a plethora of other names. For example, the Jews called them Minim.
(heretics), _mamzarim_ (bastards, due to their reported extramarital practices), _Maaminiko_, or _Sazanico_; Christians called them “Zoharites,” “Jewish Mohedans,” or “Jewish Turks” and the Ottomans called them “_Nev-Muslim_” (New Muslim), _muhtedi_, (the one who attained the Truth),” Dönme or _Avdeti_, referring to their “incomplete conversion to Islam.” Which one of those labelings could explain the Sabbatean identity better? In attempting to answer this question, by relying on unexamined written and oral sources, I argue that the Sabbateans created a parallel space and time zone in the Ottoman Empire, where, unlike common assumptions, they kept alive their post-messianic identity by abiding by the Neo-Lurianic framework of the famous _Eighteen Sabbatean Principles_. In other words, rather than creating a “syncretic” religious identity which combined elements from Kabbala and Sufism, they created a meta-religion within a post-messianic framework, above and beyond all the existing religions. This meta-religion was inherently meta-doxic, “a state of being beyond doxies.” In time, however, they formed their own orthodoxy, especially as a reaction to the encroachment of missionary activities and modernity in the nineteenth century. By then, each Sabbatean sub-sect was differentiated once again along the lines of orthodoxy, reform, and assimilation. Until the present, multiple forms of religious and secular identities have been parts of the Sabbatean existence.

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**The Phenomenon of Mimicry in the Contemporary Russian- and Polish-Jewish Literature**

My lecture considers the phenomenon of _Jewish mimicry and Jewish body_ as dealt with in contemporary Polish-Jewish and Russian-Jewish literature. Due to the massive social, religious and political marginalisation of Jews in the 20th century, mimicry once again became widespread among Eastern European Jews over this period as a special means of ethnic and cultural assimilation, dissimulation and deception. The effects of mimicry on the identity of Jews, often long after the end of the Holocaust, or more recently the fall of the communist dictatorships, are reflected in texts by Eastern European Jewish authors. The lecture considers mimicry as a complex-laden strategy that gives contemporary relevance once again to the problems of stereotypes, socially and politically constructed “Jewish body”, and ancient historical phenomena such as European crypto-Judaism. Within the above mentioned context, the lecture deals also with (post)colonial identity and poetics patterns constituted in the works of some representative Polish- and Russian-Jewish authors (Julian Stryjkowski, Hanna Krall, Henryk Grynberg, Efraim Sevela, David Shryer-Petrov et al.). The phenomenon of Eastern European Jewry in the second half of the 20th century as a special topic of (post)colonial studies will be critically discussed: The unique position of the Jews during the Communism, their ambivalent and problematic relation to the power discourse and the emergence of the Jewish “mimic (wo)men”. The lecture is dedicated to literary texts, which I view as examples of fictional “de-colonisation” and in which the new identities are constituted by means of particular literary poetics.

**Helen Spurling** (Parkes Institute, University of Southampton)

**Apocalyptic Boundaries: From Popular Culture to Rabbinic Midrash**

This paper will provide a preliminary examination of the possible social contexts of Jewish apocalyptic literature of the seventh and eighth centuries and what this can (or cannot) tell us about the communities that produced apocalyptic writings. The seventh century is generally considered to be a critical period in the development of apocalypticism within Judaism(s) of Late Antiquity, with a number of apocalyptic tractates produced as a response to the political turmoil of the Persian and Arab conquests of Jerusalem. These conquests were regarded as a sign of the messianic era and the coming future age, which would be a time of restoration and/or reward for the Jewish people.
However, the social identity of the groups that produced such writings has remained an open question. In particular, Martha Himmelfarb has recently drawn attention to the ‘popular’ nature of apocalypses, such as \textit{Sefer Zerubbabel}, which have been deemed to be rare sources of popular Jewish culture in the seventh century (‘Sefer Zerubbabel and Popular Religion’, in E.F. Mason et al (eds), \textit{A Teacher for All Generations}, Leiden: Brill, 2012, 621-634). However, this paper asks to what extent the themes and motifs of Jewish apocalypticism are primarily a product of popular culture. ‘Rabbinic’ apocalypses, such as \textit{Pirqe Mashiah}, would suggest that apocalyptic ideology in fact reached across apparent social boundaries, and, while certain apocalypses may represent a source of popular culture, this ideology is also evidenced in more traditional rabbinic formats.

\textbf{Axel Stähler (University of Kent)}

\textbf{Jewish Metamorphoses and the Colours of Difference}

Early Zionist discourse was ripe with constructions of a new Jewish identity. Discussing responses to the so-called Uganda plan of 1903–5 and notions of Jewish colonisation in Africa and elsewhere, the paper investigates demarcations of Jewishness from, and identifications with, ‘blackness’ in the early twentieth-century German Zionist press and literature and their impact on the Zionist imaginary \textit{vis-à-vis} the colonial paradigm. Particular attention is given to Max Jungmann’s ‘Briefe aus Neu-Neuland’, published in the satiric journal \textit{Schlemiel} between 1903–7. It is argued that with his fictitious account of the Zionist settlement of East Africa (which historically never happened) and with the creation of the black African Mbwapwa Jumbo and his conversion to Judaism Jungmann articulates an intricate and critical response to colonial aspirations, Jewish or otherwise, and formulates a scathing but highly perceptive commentary on the convergence of Zionist, racial, and colonial discourses.

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\textit{‘Did Jews ever need to observe the festivals at the same time?’}

In this paper I question the general, tacit assumption that there is only one way of reckoning the dates of the Jewish calendar, and that all Jews, of whatever Jewish religious persuasion, must and do celebrate the festivals on the same days. This assumption draws its roots in early rabbinic sources, and is probably representative of Judaism today, but in reality, calendar uniformity took a very long time to become established. In Antiquity, calendar variety was the norm, because Jewish lunar calendars were reckoned differently by different communities, and some were not lunar at all (e.g. Qumran). In the Middle Ages, the Qaraites reckoned the calendar in a variety of ways, but even among Rabbanites, calendar practice was still far from uniform. Even after the Saadya-ben Meir dispute of the 920s, and as late as the 16th century, Hebrew manuscripts attest the widespread use of the \textit{iggul deRav Nahshon}, an easy-to-use, ‘rabbinic’ calendar that deviated somewhat from the official rabbinic calendar. The implication is that on some occasions, Jewish communities in France and in Ashkenaz could have celebrated festivals at different times. In societies where communications were not as developed as today, it is questionable indeed whether synchronicity of practice would always have been noticed and treated as an issue.

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\textbf{Yehuda and Binyamin –Biblical boundaries in late antiquity power struggle}

The tribal partition of the Jewish people – one of the most important tenets of the biblical narrative – did not survive, de facto, the destruction of the first temple. Half a millennia later, after the destruction of the second temple, the mythical-collective images of the tribes are raised once more – this time as a means in the contest between sages at the turn of the second and third centuries in the land of Israel as well as that of Babylon. Of the sons, soon tribes, of Jacob, two stand out: Judah and Benjamin. Their first significant confrontation sees Judah willing to put himself in Joseph’s custody in Benjamin’s place. Although we do not meet them head to head again in the Pentateuch,
Jacob's and Moses' blessings indicate future confrontations – the major one being that between Saul and David. A Baraita (b. Yoma 12a) transfers this confrontation to the question of actual geographical boundaries - the exact location of the altar in the Temple of Jerusalem. As is well known, there is a dispute whether the holy city is practically an ex-territory not divided between the tribes, or whether it was partitioned between the adjacent patrimonies of Judah and Benjamin. In a series of sources, we find that Rabbi (R. Yehuda Hanasi) sides with the Benjamin 'side', as in b. Zevahim 118b: When R. Dimi came [from the land of Israel], he said: The Shechinah rested on Israel in three places: in Shiloh, in Nob and Gibeon, and in the Eternal House; and in all of these it rested [on Israel] only in the portion of Benjamin, for it is said, “and the Lord shall cover him all the daylong”. all ‘coverings’ will be nought elsewhere but in Benjamin's portion. This opinion may explain Rabbi's own words about his lineage (br. 33): "...And if R. Huna, the Resh Galutha, were to come up here [the land of Israel], I would rise before him, for he is from Judah, whereas I am from Benjamin". In this paper I will try to demonstrate that these mythical biblical geographical boundaries find new meaning in the leadership struggle of Rabbi, arguably the greatest leader of the Talmudic era. Moreover, this use is no mere parable, but has an intrinsic meaning with deep and important implications not only in the Galilean social and cultural environment, but also with the hegemony contest between the house of the patriarch and that of 'Rosh Hagola'.

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Bi-national state or a state for one nation? What nation? The "Young Hebrews" versus Palestinians and Jews

The idea of a bi-national state in Israel/Palestine is as old as Zionism itself. Most of its proponents regarded the existence of an Arab-Palestinian nation as obvious, aiming to incorporate it in a single polity together with the Jews. However, this was not the only option available in the Israeli "market of ideas". The "Young Hebrews" ("Canaanites") movement, active from the 1940s, outlined a radically different political plan on the premise of a Hebrew nativism. Striving to incorporate the Palestinians into the Hebrew polity, the "Young Hebrews" rejected the national claims of the Jews and Palestinian Arabs on the basis of a unique historiography. This historiography also served to generate a geopolitical vision for the future, whereupon primordial – Jewish and Arab – identities were to be supplanted by a modern Hebrew national identity. It was therefore an extraordinary phenomenon in the Israeli political discourse: the "Young Hebrews" were the first to condemn the Palestinians' expulsion back in 1948, remaining nevertheless sworn enemies of their national self-determination. Thus, they defied the division into "left" and "right" in Israeli politics, whose axis is the "Palestinian question". My intention is to review the "Young Hebrews" approach to Palestinians and the question of their national identification from the 1940s manifestos till our days. An insight into this central aspect of their ideology will help to understand the dynamics of the "liminal zone" in Palestine/Israel, where Jewish, Palestinian and Hebrew identities intertwined.

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Postmemory and the Boundaries of Civic Family: Anne of Green Gables and Edeet Ravel

‘Postmemory’ is a term coined by Marianne Hirsch as a description of the experience of the children of Holocaust survivors, whose lives are shaped by a consciousness of events which they themselves were not alive to experience. In Hirsch’s account, postmemory functions on a familial scale, “distinguished from memory by generational distance and from history by deep personal connection” (Hirsch 1997, 22). Hirsch is not entirely consistent in her deployment of the term, however; Laura Levitt in particular has critiqued Hirsch’s suggestion that a site such as the Tower of Faces at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum is capable of bringing visitors who lack a personal family connection to the Holocaust into the circle of postmemory (Levitt 2007, 32-33). This
paper will argue that the picture Hirsch paints of postmemory in action—the consciousness of a great event which occurred outside of the living memory of the people whose lives it continues to shape—is applicable to a wider range of historical events than just the Holocaust. In particular, the cultural reception of the Great War in the eastern provinces of Canada, where the rate of military volunteerism and death was especially high, can be explored with reference to the broad understanding of postmemory. Further, part of the process by which post-war immigrants integrate into the Canadian civic family is joining that circle of postmemory. One of the most interesting aspects of this process of integration is the manner in which Jewish communal memory narratives are re-shaped to fit into the wider civic memory discourse, as with Canadian-Israeli novelist Edeet Ravel’s use of the form of L. M. Montgomery’s *Anne of Green Gables* books to tell a second-generation Holocaust story in the novel *Your Sad Eyes and Incredible Mouth*. Montgomery’s books were particularly influential in shaping ideas of Canadian identity in general, as well as memory of the Great War in particular (especially the last book in the series, *Rilla of Ingleside*, set during the war and published in 1921). Ravel’s use of tropes from the series in describing her cast of Holocaust survivor immigrants and their children represents a deliberate attempt to draw Jews into the Canadian civic family, by integrating the postmemory of the Holocaust with the postmemory of the Great War.

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Generic Hybridity: Agnon’s Magical Realistic and Gothic National Narration

Y. S. Agnon (1888 –1970) has been renowned both in Israel and worldwide as the national author of the early Israeli nation. His work has been perceived as part of the Magical Realism genre, as well as Gothic and neo-Gothic genres. The Gothic is the genre that reflects the fears of the colonial imperialist nation, and Magical Realism is the genre that allows the communities that have been subjected to colonialism to explore identities within the discourse of post-colonialism. Within post-colonial discourse the term ‘hybridity’ refers to the effects of synthesis upon identities and cultures of the colonized. Agnon’s dual generic location reflects his engagement with the complexities of the immerging hybrid Jewish-Israeli national identity, which is the product of both the active and passive aspects of colonialism. The proposed paper explores the dual generic reading of Agnon in “Avi hashor” [“The Ox’s Father”] (1945), which has been mostly neglected by critics, and “Tehila” (1950), which has been subjected to numerous readings from various perspectives, yet not in comparison to this particular Agnon text under the consideration of this paper. Both texts offer instances of what might be read as either Magical Realism or Gothic elements, and both texts explore nationalist issues as part of a (post)Modern narrative. The proposed examination of the location of these narrative moments in both generic rubrics allows for a more productive exploration of issues of national identities in these texts.

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The Scrolls of Auschwitz: Breaking the Boundaries of Testimony

This paper discusses the Scrolls of Auschwitz, the name commonly given to eight separate caches of manuscripts buried by members of the Sonderkommando in the grounds of the crematoria at Birkenau in an effort to attest to atrocities from within the death camp. It argues that these under-examined documents challenge current readings of testimony in two ways. Firstly, they call into question models of testimony that are exclusively about trauma and memory. Here especially, I contest Dori Laub’s claim that the Shoah was an ‘event without a witness’ and his explicit characterisation of the Sonderkommando’s writings as a ‘failure’. Secondly, the literary qualities of the Scrolls have not been adequately acknowledged even by the works that have addressed them. Editions produced by the Auschwitz Museum have left out highly rhetorical passages from one piece of writing that contain no information, and ignored the careful structuring of another piece in favour of matching its descriptions to historical events. While it is impossible to ignore the highly crafted
nature of Zalman Gradowski’s texts, this aspect has often been seen as a problem or embarrassment (e.g. by Nathan Cohen or David Roskies). No consideration has been given to the literary qualities of the other writers. This paper focuses in particular on one author, Leyb Langfus, to whom three unsigned manuscripts have been attributed. Where some scholars have seen the different styles, and the anonymity, of these texts as either insignificant or evidence of them being by different authors, I argue that they should be recognised as important decisions by a single writer. Rather than simply recording facts, or expressing his own suffering, Langfus was giving some quite careful consideration to the ways in which he could present events to future readers. Taking seriously the idea that Langfus wrote all of these pieces, therefore, necessarily involves acknowledging the inadequacy of conventional ideas of the Sonderkommando as being either virtual automatons or abjectly self-interested individuals who put their own temporary survival above any principles. Langfus can instead be seen, already within the event, to be working upon concerns that have troubled historians and writers ever since: how to find means of representation adequate to the enormity of the Shoah, how to position himself as a narrator, and how to give adequate weight to both individual and collective suffering.

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Weird Bodies: Philip Roth’s American Satires

The recent retirement of American novelist Philip Roth has provoked a frenzy of debate, much of which has centred on the precise nature of his literary achievement. Agreement has been hard to find – unsurprising, perhaps, to most of Roth’s long-term readers. Take, for example, the paradoxical reputation Philip Roth garnered during the 1990s as a both an analyst of contemporary American culture and a writer tied to his own biography, a problem illustrated by the titling of the novels that cemented his status. Known as either the ‘American’ or the ‘Newark’ trilogy, these works depict characters in thrall to broader cultural forces which they repeatedly fail to surmount. Neither of these labels seems to fit – most of Roth’s works thrive on the relationship between the broader sweep of American culture and a myopic focus on the Jewish community of Newark, New Jersey. An oft-neglected aspect of this dual focus can be found in works Roth published between 1970 and 1973. Satiric in nature and extravagant in style, these fictions continue to confound Roth’s readers; they may lose a deal when shorn of their context, but remain important as markers of a particular moment in Roth’s evolution as a literary stylist. What is significant is not the skewering of particular targets – Richard Nixon, radio broadcasting, psychoanalysis, baseball – but the means by which they become emblematic of a culture which Roth believed was rapidly losing the ability to contain itself. These works thus merit the ‘American’ tag better than any of Roth’s more explicitly linked series, yet the more culturally myopic ‘Newark’ (i.e. ‘Jewish’) side of things can seem to be underplayed. All of these works feature bodies which become violated and transgressed, but the broader strokes of subject-specific satire that such techniques promote can mask the ethnic undercurrent that gives these stories their peculiarly Rothian character. Focusing mostly (but not exclusively) on the more explicitly ‘Jewish’ bodily suffering in The Breast, this paper will offer a new analysis of Roth’s interest in Jewish embodiment and masculinity. Roth’s Jewish bodies are neither passive victims nor self-destructive, but become exaggerated as part of a broader process of cultural estrangement. Jewish identity thus becomes reconfigured as inseparable from Roth’s own conception of American identity, whilst simultaneously sharing an uneasy relationship with notions of American identity expressed in popular culture.

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Jewish Communal Institutions as a Reflection of an Emerging Irish-Jewish Identity

Much has been written in recent years on the use of Jewish communal institutions to cultivate an appropriate sense of Anglo-Jewish identity among east European immigrants in the late nineteenth
and early twentieth centuries. This paper will look at the situation from the reverse, by considering what Jewish institutions in a provincial outpost of the British Isles can tell us about the emergence of localised Jewish identities, and the relationship of provincial communities with each other, and with the Anglo-Jewish establishment. In the late nineteenth century, Dublin was home to one of the oldest ‘provincial’ communities in the British Isles. Like its counterparts, Dublin experienced considerable Jewish immigration between 1880 and 1914. The small, cosy ‘native’ community, on the brink of extinction, suddenly found itself engulfed by a tsunami of ‘foreign’ Jews from eastern Europe. The limited communal structures that were in place were, of course, both unable and unsuited to cope with the wants and needs of the new arrivals. As a result, from the mid-1880s, a host of new Jewish institutions of various sorts sprang up to fill the spiritual, charitable, educational, political and social gaps in communal life. This reflects the virtual takeover of the Dublin’s Jewish community by the new immigrants within the space of a decade or two. My paper will survey selected communal organisations in Dublin, in order to consider what these new communal organisations can tell us about the identity and self-perception of Ireland’s new Jews. While new institutions assumed anglicised outward forms, in reality they represent more of a fusion of ‘English’ and ‘foreign’ manners and pursuits. Often this was, whether consciously or unconsciously, little more than a nod to Anglicisation, and the bickering, feuding and partisanship associated with small-town eastern Europe remained rife in Irish-Jewish communal life. By examining the nature and hybridity of these organisations, we will see how they reflect the issues that beset the changing Irish-Jewish community of the time, such as internal tensions, the attitude towards Zionism, the relationship between the ‘provinces’ and the ‘centre’, the changing nature of Jewish identity and the evolution of Irish-Jewish identity. The paper will further support my existing argument that Irish-Jewish identity is a far more complex matter than hitherto recognised, by demonstrating that its conflicted nature is nothing new but has, on the contrary, been visible from the very beginnings of ‘mass’ Jewish immigration to Ireland.

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Preserving Memory and Creating Community - Exiled Rabbis as Bearer of German Jewry

The title of this conference is a significant part of my doctoral research, which was born out of the quest to identify ‘heritage’. German rabbis in British exile functioned as carriers of identity in their role as spiritual leaders in a time and a space where no personal or social stability in particular in a Jewish context could be found. Their extraordinary efforts in creating stability through forming community began under the Nazi oppression and was continued in exile. The rabbinate had undergone significant changes since emancipation at the turn of the 19th century - its existing boundaries defining the power of the rabbinate were dissolved and surrendered for entry into modernity. The classical rabbinate, reduced to administrative functions, re-invented itself by finding new meaning in academic endeavours of the ‘Wissenschaft des Judentums’ and in pastoral care. Under the Nazi regime, this new position gained ever increasing power in defence against rising anti-Semitism and persecution, marking the final departure from the traditional rabbinate. Rabbis not only defended their communities and congregants, but standing up against the danger, created new, temporary, passing communities - in jail, in concentration camps, under atrocious circumstances. The rabbis who remained in Germany served their ever decreasing communities to the very end. The ones able to emigrate immediately served their fellow refugees by becoming once again the leaders of this scattered, this ‘virtual’ community. In meeting halls or synagogues, in internment and transit camps, on deportee ships to Australia and Canada, in bombed-out London, German rabbis served and guided their fellow refugees, forming them into a new community. Besides attempting to ease the refugee experience in a spiritual context, they served as ignition spark for refugee memory. The religious services followed the traditions of Berlin and Frankfurt and thus constituted ‘a piece of
home’ that had been lost forever. Personifying the intersection between culture and religion, between enlightened education and deep religious devotion, the immigrant rabbinate served to preserve the heritage of German Jewry. Beyond their religious work, rabbis were instrumental in recording the recent history of their communities and created a context for mourning in a wide range of initiatives, such as the commemoration of the November pogrom. The remnants of the German rabbinate in exile in Britain played an important role in the creation of a religious context for the refugee community - both on the Orthodox and the Reform / Liberal side and significantly contributed to the growth of both movements - the temporary, ‘virtual’ communities of the early years of exile propelled Judaism into real communities, not only springing up in Britain, but as a worldwide phenomenon. (470 words)

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"Delineating Idolatry: Accommodation and Resistance to Late Roman Paganism"

The Palestinian rabbincic tractates on idolatry have flummoxed scholars for a long time. The depiction of Roman practices in Mishna, Tosefta, and in the Talmud Yerushalmi seem to approach actual pagan costumes in a way so distorted that it allows rabbinic Jews pragmatically to interact with their neighbours to a large degree. At the same time, it has long been noted that the rabbis single out the Roman Imperial cult as especially idolatrous. In my view, the rabbis amplified this focus on the veneration of the emperor after the onset of the Christianization of Rome. My talk reconsiders the evidence of the Yerushalmi in light of the Late Roman veneration of the Emperor's image associated with the rule of Constantine.