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SUMMARIES

'ANTIOCH IN JERUSALEM' : THE GYMNASIUM, THE POLIS AND THE RISE OF MENELAUS

by Menahem Stern (pp. 233–246)

This posthumous study traces the developments in Jerusalem narrated in II Maccabees 4, covering the period between the succession of Antiochus IV Epiphanes to the Seleucid throne (175 B.C.E.) until the murder of Onias III, the last high priest of the traditional line. At first, during a lull in the Oniad-Tobiad feuding, two institutional innovations were introduced: a gymnasuym and ephebate were founded, and the city was formally reorganized as a polis. Regarding the gymnasium and ephebate, which happen to be the best-documented ones in Syria-Palestine, their functions, curriculum and cultural significance are investigated, while concerning the polis, the investigation focuses first on the interpretation of 'Antiochians in Jerusalem' (II Macc. 4:9), in light of other evidence for 'X-ians in Y' in the Hellenistic world. Thereafter, the discussion turns to the cultural and social significance of the consitutional innovation, which created a distinction, within Jerusalem, between citizens ('Antiochians') and non-citizens. Finally, the life of the polis and the rise of Menelaus are traced, culminating in the expulsion of Jason and the murder of Onias, which together allowed for the usurpation of the high-priesthood by the House of Bilgah.

'IF WE HAVE FORGOTTEN THE NAME OF OUR GOD' (PSALM 44:21): INTERPRETATION IN LIGHT OF THE REALITIES IN MEDIEVAL SPAIN

by Joseph R. Hacker (pp. 247–274)

Verses 19–23 of Psalm 44, and in particular verses 21 and 23, emerged through the generations as prooftexts cited by sages and exegetes determined to prove the fealty of the Jewish people in exile towards their God, even to the extent of martyrdom. Beginning in the

tannaitic period, and especially from the days of Rabbi Akiva, these verses were linked to the ideology of *Kiddush Hashem* in times of oppression and religious persecution. This tradition was carried over from the literature of the Talmud and Midrash to the sages of the Middle Ages, who rendered these scriptures into cornerstones for their deliberations on martyrdom.

This article reviews the exegetical development surrounding these scriptures from the literature of the Talmud and Midrash to the writings of the sages of Muslim and Christian Spain, up to the 16th century: philosophers, exegetes and halakhists. The use of these scriptures within the context of descriptions of the Spanish persecutions prior to the expulsion is also examined. The study sheds light on a shift in the interpretation attached to these scriptures by the sages of Spain, beginning in the 1480s. Rather than serving to prove the steadfastness of Israel and its unswerving loyalty of the covenant with God, even to the extent of martyrdom, these verses would now be cited as proof of Israel's failure and indeed of its abrogation of that covenant. The author maintains that this change stemmed from the contradiction between the perception of the total commitment of Israel to its God and religion in past generations – in thought as well as in deeds, and the reality of Spain in the 15th century, wherein many Jews abandoned their religion and refrained from martyrdom. It is from that era that most of the expelled rabbis of Spain and Portugal, as well as their descendents, began to cite these scriptures as evidence of Israel's failure to meet the tests of the time. At most they were successful in preserving their faith, but this could not hide their culpability in embracing aspects of idolatry and not evincing a willingness to become martyrs. To be sure, there were some exegetes who addressed these scriptures within the context of the conversos' experience. While the latter did, in fact, embrace elements of idolatry, they nevertheless suffered for their faith, even to the extent of becoming martyrs.

From an analysis of all the above, the author concludes that the spiritual and religious crisis which enveloped the Jews of Spain at the end of the 14th century became more and more acute, until it ultimately burst forth for all to see and reshaped the self-perception of Spanish Jews just prior to the expulsion. Their self-confidence and esteem had been radically weakened, and the growing feelings of guilt and despair, coupled with the sense of failure, all contributed to a growing crisis of identity. The example cited in this article also proves how profoundly the events of the expulsion influenced the subsequent self-image of Sephardic Jewry. What must now be taken up and examined is the extent to which these developments influenced Jewish society at large during the 16th century.

THE VISUAL IMAGE OF THE JEW AND JUDAISM IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE : FROM SYMBOLISM TO REALISM

by Richard I. Cohen (pp. 275–340)

Portrayals of Jews and Judaism in the high Middle Ages and early modern Europe are distinguished by and large by a symbolic and allegoric representation. Bent on educating the

Christian public and convincing it of Christ's dominion over the world, these symbolic representations of Jews that appeared in the church, in manuscripts and later on in the printed book, were geared to identifying Judaism and attributing to it certain characteristics. Many diverse iconographic elements were innovated in order to present Judaism as a counter-culture associated with anachronistic traditions, evil motives, reprehensible beliefs and practices. Notwithstanding the widespread expulsions from European cities and countries in the late fifteenth century, this iconographic tradition, with peaks and valleys, persisted through the Reformation and lasted as late as the eighteenth century. However, alongside it a new attitude towards Jews and Judaism began to emerge, one that emphasized the internal, religious life of the Jews in an ostensibly objective veneer. This article traces the evolution of this tradition in Western and Central Europe and its concomitant expressions in literary sources and Jewish mentalité, as it addresses the social and cultural context in which it unfolded.

Initial strides towards a new visual perception of Jews and Judaism were taken in the early sixteenth century in Germany, in a work by the convert Johannes Pfefferkorn (1508). Woodcuts of various Jewish customs relating to the Jewish High Holy Days were published in a relatively objective manner, though the theological intentions underlying their publication remained in tact: by illuminating the internal life of the Jews, their derision and abject behaviour were heralded. The dual message in these works points to a theme that reverberates in many of the illustrations discussed: objective portrayals may nevertheless carry hidden, or muted, perspectives on the nature of Jews and Judaism. Nonetheless, Pfefferkorn's work had few successors in the sixteenth century and it was only in the seventeenth, as a result of various social and cultural tendencies, that a more consistent visual image emerged.

Several factors in the seventeenth century contributed to this development: a changing perspective in the nature of science, wherein observation, encounter, and experiment – the primacy of the eye's image – became of central importance for understanding and categorizing perceived phenomena; the growing interest in foreign cultures, traditions, and customs; an increasing openness and tolerance of Jews and Judaism; and the movement in art away from symbolism towards realism. These diverse patterns coincided and intertwined with changes transpiring among elements within the Jewish community: openness to encounters with Christians, a growing sense of self and individualism, and recognition of the visual dimension as a form of communication and self-image. Holland was one of the centers where these parallel strains coincided, resulting in a variety of portrayals of Jews and Judaism, emphasizing Jewish religious customs and observance. Artists were prone to depict Jewish life after having observed it personally; often they singled out ceremonies (e.g. circumcision) that seemed to signify the difference between Jews and Christians. Bernard Picart's most celebrated series on Jewish life, published in 1723, stemmed from this interaction. Yet, Picart's series also illustrates how ideological positions often lay beneath the objective portrayal. A radical deist, who undauntedly challenged basic precepts of Christian theology and practice, Picart undertook this project with a slanted agenda: to lay bare the behaviour of religions and cultures, including Judaism. Physiognomic features, often attributed to Jews, appear sporadically but in no consistent way, neither in Picart's work nor in those of his predecessors.

The return of Jews to Germanic cities during the period of absolutism reawakened an interest in their internal life. Christian artists showed an uncanny precision in describing their religious practices, illuminating at times local and regional customs. Simultaneously, they often intimated that a realm of social intercourse was taking place between Jews and Christians, that their visual portrayals not only gave expression to but were also in fact indications of. Here, too, one sees how Jews were willing to take part in showing their world to the Christian visitors in a spirit of trust and tolerance. In certain cases (e.g. Boener's portrayal of the Jewish cemetery in Fürth), one must assume that without clarifications from the local Jews, the artist could not comprehend the scenes he observed. Paradoxically, many of these works that labored to be objective representations of reality appeared in compilations of Jewish ritual, geared to converting Jews and criticizing their way of life. The works discussed of Boener, Kirchner, and Bodenschatz were not without interest; they were popularized and several editions of the latter two were published within a short period of time during the eighteenth century.

The portrayals discussed in the article did not replace completely the more conventional, symbolic depictions of Jews and Judaism, but offered an authentic alternative. Though many later copies of their works appeared, they reached a plateau in the middle of the eighteenth century; from that point on the visual interest in Jewish life shifted to more economic and political concerns and often with a more acerbic edge. Thus the interest in Jewish religion and ritual that emerged during this intermediate period, between the symbolic representations associated with Christian ideology and the modern stereotypical depictions, presents a unique development and represents a significant aspect in the changing discourse on the Jews in early modern Europe. Jewish individuals took an active interest in the process and helped shape it.