

WHAT DOES TEL SHALEM HAVE TO DO WITH THE BAR KOKHBA REVOLT?*

Menahem Mor

(University of Haifa/University of Denver)

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Abstract: In the research on the Bar Kokhba revolt (132-136 CE); one of the central subjects that were given prominent attention was the territorial extent of the second revolt. During all the years of research on this geographical question, two schools of thought were formed. One of them is that of the maximalists, who claim that the revolt spread through the entire Provincia Judaea and even beyond it into neighboring provinces such as Provincia Arabia in the south and Provincia Syria in the north. The second one is that of the minimalists, who restrict the revolt to the area of the Judaeian hills and their immediate environs. The role of the Galilee region in the second revolt was discussed in great depth and centered on the question of whether the Galilee had taken part in the revolt. Since 1999, Professor Werner Eck of the University of Cologne focused on the power and range of this revolt from the Roman perspective. His general conclusion was that the second revolt was a central event in the history of the Roman Empire. Large military units participated in the event, which spread all over the province and even beyond. The rebels caused the Romans enormous casualties. They were forced to subdue the revolt savagely, causing the rebels massive losses. The revolt had a strong influence on the Roman Empire, and caused heavy damage to the Roman army that had immediate effects as well as long-term implications. His conclusions were based on a study of a variety of subjects including the archaeological discoveries from Tel Shalem, situated in the Beth Shean Valley, two kilometers south of Kibbutz Tirat Zvi and about 12 kilometers south of Scythopolis. The finds consisted of parts of a bronze statue and a head that was identified as that of the Roman emperor Hadrian, and a monumental inscription which had been inscribed in three lines on an arch that was 11 meters wide. According to W. Eck, these findings testify to the participation of the north, the Jordan Valley and the Galilee in the Second Revolt; and that the “Galilee felt the revolt more than has hitherto been conceded. A decisive battle may have been won here, not far from Caparcotna, the camp of the Second Legion in Judaea” (Eck 1999). This paper will re-examine the evidence from Tel Shalem, and other places in Galilee, mainly the findings from Kh. El-hamam in eastern Galilee, findings that were used to include the Galilee Region in the geographical expansion of the revolt. We will study anew the historical background for the erection of the Tel Shalem inscription, the various epigraphic interpretations, and other evidence and its implications for the study of the revolt. Our study will question some of the broadening assumptions of the revolt, and will leave out Galilee in general, and Tel Shalem in particular, from the geographical scope of the Bar Kokhba Revolt.

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In the research on the Bar Kokhba revolt (132-136 CE), one of the central subjects that were given prominent attention was the territorial extent of this second revolt. During all the years of research on this geographical question, two schools of thought were formed. One of them is that of the maximalists, who claim that the revolt spread through the entire *Provincia Judaea* and even beyond it, into neighboring provinces such as *Provincia Arabia* in the south, and *Provincia Syria* in the north. The second is that of the minimalists, who restrict the revolt to the area of the Judaeian hills and their immediate environs. The role of the Galilee region in the second revolt was discussed in great depth and centered on the question of whether the Galilee had taken part in the revolt.

During the discussion entitled “The Jewish Settlements in the Galilee in the Yavneh and Bar Kokhba Period,” held in 1977 with the participation of Aharon Oppenheimer, Moshe David Herr, Shmuel Safrai, Gideon Foerster, Yoram Zafirir and David Rokeach and published in Hebrew in *Cathedra*, Oppenheimer summed up the discussion regarding the participation of Galilee in the Bar Kokhba Revolt as follows:

Galilee did not take an active part specifically in this revolt, either because it was instigated for the sake of Jerusalem and even its aim and slogan was the ‘Freedom of Jerusalem,’ or because of the watchful eyes of the Roman authorities in the Galilee. This means that the camps and fortresses that were set up in the Galilee in the intervening period between the two revolts obstructed to a certain extent the ability of the Galileans to participate fully and actively in the Bar Kokhba revolt. However, it is possible—and even probable—that there also were some incidents of rebellion in the Galilee during the Bar Kokhba revolt.¹

In rejection of this conclusion, Herr claimed that:

As in a number of cases in historical research, we unfortunately have to be content with the decision that there is no final proof in this matter, and it would therefore benefit more from denial rather than from affirmation.²

In spite of Herr’s suggestion to refrain from further discussion on the subject, the book that I published in 1991 gave a comprehensive appraisal of the part played by the Galilee in the second revolt based on literary, archaeological and numismatic evidence and reached the conclusion that during the years 132-136 CE no significant events took place in the Galilee that indicated its participation in the revolt.³

Since this is not the subject of the paper, I shall not use the many sources and testimonies that could be interpreted as evidence for incidents of the second revolt in the Galilee. Nor shall I deal with the differences between the population in Judaea and the population in the Galilee, which has been interpreted as a possible factor that inhibited Galilean Jewry from taking part in the second revolt. The discussion over the Bar Kokhba revolt flourished during the 1980s and 1990s; the studies were devoted to a variety of subjects, and the question about the part played by the Galilee and its population became a “closed question.”

In 1999, a “landmark” article was published on the second revolt, written by Werner Eck of the University of Cologne, a renowned scholar on Roman ancient history in gen-

¹ Oppenheimer 1977: 63.

² Herr 1977: 73.

³ Mor 1991.

eral, and particularly Roman military diplomas. The article, entitled “The Bar Kokhba Revolt: The Roman Point of View,”⁴ focused on the power and range of this revolt from the Roman perspective. His general conclusion was that the second revolt was a central event in the history of the Roman Empire. Large military units participated in the event, which spread all over the province and even beyond. The rebels caused the Romans enormous casualties. The Romans were forced to subdue the revolt savagely, causing the rebels massive losses. The revolt had a strong influence on the Roman Empire, and brought heavy damage to the Roman army that had immediate effects as well as long-term implications. His conclusions were based on a study of five subjects:

1. The transference of Julius Severus, the Governor of *Provincia Britannia*, to command the defeated Roman army in *Provincia Judaea*.
2. Compulsory conscription throughout the Empire for various units in the Roman army as a result of Roman losses in Judaea.
3. Hadrian’s granting of decorations for excellence to the governors of neighboring provinces, Arabia and Syria, for their outstanding performance in battles within their area of command and also for their part in suppressing the revolt in Judaea. In addition, on Hadrian taking the title of Emperor for the second time.
4. The name *Provincia Judaea* was changed to *Provincia Syria-Palaestina* by Hadrian in reaction to the harrowing events that occurred during the revolt in Judaea.
5. The archaeological findings from Tel Shalem as testifying to the participation of the north, the Jordan Valley and the Galilee in the revolt.

In his summing up of the evidence from Tel Shalem, he concluded that:

Galilee felt the revolt more than has hitherto been conceded. A decisive battle may have been won here, not far from Caparcotna, the camp of the Second Legion in Judaea.⁵

At a conference held in Princeton in 2001, Glen Bowersock, a distinctive epigraphist and professor of Classical Studies at the Institute for Advanced Studies at Princeton University, criticized Eck’s article, discussing at length mainly Eck’s epigraphic interpretation of the Tel Shalem findings.⁶ In my lecture at the same conference, I also rejected point by point the inferences made by Eck regarding the subjects I noted above,⁷ and arrived at the conclusion that the revolt took place in fairly restricted areas, and that in view of the evidence in hand the Galilee did not take part in the second revolt. Though Eck has persisted in a series of additional articles to argue that the revolt was very powerful, and expanded his hypothesis concerning the points he made earlier,⁸ I decided to devote this paper only to the last point, and to the question: “What does Tel Shalem have to do with the Bar Kokhba revolt?”

What are the findings from Tel Shalem that in Eck’s opinion testify to the great importance of this site during the course of the second revolt? Tel Shalem is situated in the Beth Shean Valley, two kilometers south of Kibbutz Tirat Zvi and about 12 kilo-

⁴ Eck 1999: 76-89.

⁵ Eck 1999: 88.

⁶ Bowersock 2003: 171-180

⁷ Mor 2003: 107-131.

⁸ Eck’s considerations were repeated in different versions in various places: Eck 1999: 76-89; 2001a: 46-63; 2001b: 45; 2003a: 123-144; 2003b: 153-170; 2007: 49-54; 2012: 249-265.

meters south of Scythopolis. The site has command over an important crossroads between Scythopolis, Jericho and Shechem and over the Scythopolis-Legio-Ptolemais (Acre) road.

About 50 years ago, a building inscription of a vexillatio of the Legio VI Ferrata was found within the area of Tel Shalem.⁹ Tzori and others linked the inscription with the existence of a Roman camp in the place where a unit of the additional second legion had already been stationed in *Provincia Judaea* since 117 CE. The command headquarters of the second legion was located in the Roman camp in Legio (Kfar Othnai), in today's region of the Megiddo crossroads. This region was a strategic location on the road between Caesarea and Beth Shean, on the southern slopes of the Jezreel Valley. By 120 CE, roads had already also been laid from the legion headquarters to the capital of the province, Caesarea,¹⁰ as well as to Beth Shean,¹¹ Sepphoris,¹² and Acre.¹³

Gideon Foerster, an emeritus professor of archaeology at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, described with much excitement how he was urgently invited by his student, a member of Tirat Zvi, to come to the kibbutz after a guest from New York had made a discovery with a metal detector near Tel Shalem on July 25, 1975. The find consisted of parts of a bronze statue and a head that was identified as that of the Roman emperor Hadrian. Later on, more statue fragments and another head were also found in the area. In view of these finds, Foerster then conducted three short seasons of excavations in the years 1976-1978.

In January/February 1977, one and a half kilometers northeast of the Roman camp in Tel Shalem, three tombs were found unexpectedly, one of them built of cut stones that were fragments of a huge inscription written in Latin.¹⁴ Foerster was a participant in the aforementioned discussion, published in July 1977, entitled "The Galilee on the Eve of the Bar Kokhba Revolt: Archaeological Evidence." He noted that:

The place in which the statue and the inscription on it were found is surprising in itself, since it was not known as a site of any significance. According to a probable reconstruction, the inscription was written in honor of the victory over Bar Kokhba. But, as said before, this is still merely a supposition.¹⁵

In the two articles published in 1999,¹⁶ Eck dealt extensively with the reconstruction and deciphering of the monumental inscription which had been inscribed in three lines on an arch that was 11 meters wide. The letters of the inscription were gigantic in height: 41 cm in the first line, 24 cm in the second, and 18-19 cm in the third. From the inscrip-

⁹ Tzori 1971: 53-54. On the inscription: VEXILLTO/LEG VI/FERR see also: *Hadashot Archeologiot* 57-58 (April 1976): 17-18; *Hadashot Archeologiot* 65-66 (April 1978): 9 (Hebr.).

¹⁰ On the roads to Caesarea see: Roll & Ayalon 1986: 113-134; Roll & Ayalon: 1986/1987: 156-157; Peleg 1990: 19-32; Roll 1996: 556-557; 1999: 109-113, esp. note 6; Peleg 2002: 141-148; Tepper 2004: 47-82; Roll 2011: 239-256; Tepper 2011: 257-274 (with an extensive bibliography).

¹¹ Isaac & Roll 1982: 156-157; Roll & Ayalon 1986: 113-134.

¹² Hekker 1961: 175-186; Isaac & Roll, 1979a: 54-66 (= Isaac 1998: 182-195; Postscript, 196-197); Isaac & Roll 1979b: 149-156 (= Isaac 1998: 198-205; Postscript, 206-207); Isaac & Roll 2004: 41-54; Rea 1980: 220-221; Isaac & Roll 131-132 (= Isaac 1998: 208-209; Postscript, 210).

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ See Foerster, Arubas & Mevorach 2008.

¹⁵ Foerster 1977: 80.

¹⁶ Eck 1999a: 87-88; Eck & Foerster 1999: 294-313.

tion and the fact that it was a dedication to Hadrian written in Latin, Eck inferred that this was part of a colossal arch. Although only a quarter of the letters in the inscription were found in the area, Eck managed to reconstruct it on the basis of the accepted formula for inscriptions of this kind:

**IMP CAES · DIVI · TRAIANI · PAR
THICIF · DIVI · NERVAE · NEP · TRAIANO · HADRIANO · AUG
PONTIFMAX · TRIB · POT · XX · IMP · II · COS · III · P · P · S · P · Q · R**¹⁷

Line 1: The Caesar and Emperor, son of the divine Trajan

Line 2: Conqueror of the Parthians, the nephew of the divine Nerva.

Trainus Hadrianus Augustus

Line 3: Pontifex Maximus, twenty times with tribune authority,
imperator for the second time, consul for the third time, father of
the homeland, the Senate, and the people of Rome (the dedicators
of the arch).

Eck's reconstruction and completions of the titles of Hadrian, mainly in the third line of the inscription, have direct implications for the dating of the inscription. Since Hadrian had the authority of a tribune for the twentieth time, he was consul for the third time, and especially imperator for the second time (*Imperator iterum*, second acclamation as Imperator), all these numbers indicate that the year 136 CE is the definite date for the engraving of the inscription in the Tel Shalem camp. That is to say, the date tells us that the arch with the inscription engraved on it was erected after the suppression of the Bar Kokhba revolt.

The arch was therefore a Roman triumphal arch raised for the victory over the Bar Kokhba rebels, and the initiative for its erection was that of the Roman government that intentionally raised it in the war zone.

The date, however, raises a number of important questions that Eck himself had asked. Firstly, why was the arch with the inscription to honor Hadrian erected in such a peripheral location? Secondly, who was the person who instigated the erection of the arch and dedicated it to the emperor?

Before answering these questions, let us present the proposal made by Bowersock. He filled in the missing letters of the third line in the inscription in a different manner. In his view there are only two chronological indications in the inscription. The first was that Hadrian had been given the authority of a tribune for the 14th time, and the second was having been a consul for the third time. These two dates point to the year 130 CE, the time of Hadrian's visit in the region, which means that the arch and the dedication inscription may have been related to the occasion of Hadrian's tour of the region.¹⁸

Let us return to the questions mentioned above, and begin specifically with the date. The description of Hadrian as the "imperator for the second time" (IMP II) [second ac-

¹⁷ Line 1: Imp(eratori) Cae[s(ari) divi T]ra[iani Par-]; Line 2: th[i]ci f(ilio) d[ivi Nervae nep(oti) Tr]aiano [Hadriano Aug(usto)]; Line 3: pon[t]if(i) m[ax(imo), trib(unicia pot(estate) XX?, imp(eratori)I], co(n)s(uli) [III, p(at)ri] p(at)riae S(enatus) P(opulus) q(ue) R(omanus)?].

¹⁸ Bowersock 2003: 172.

clamation as Imperator] in the reconstruction by Eck determines that the dating of the inscription should not be earlier than 136 CE. Bowersock continued:

But at this point of his argument he never told his readers why he thought the vertical hasta before COS has to belong to a second imperial acclamation at all, instead of the numeral for the tribunician power, the title that would certainly have followed the pontificate ... Eck had noted of the hasta: "Diese Zahl könnte zur tribunicia potestas gehört haben oder zu einer Imperatorenakklamation." But he never again returned to the first of these possibilities.¹⁹

According to Bowersock, Eck was aiming for a later date, and therefore rejected the possibility that the arch was erected by the legion with the argument that there was not enough space for inscribing its name, a claim that did not convince Bowersock.²⁰

On the question of who had dedicated the inscription, Eck gives prominence to the fact that it was engraved in Latin, whereas this was a region in which the lingua franca of the provincial population was Greek. In Eck's view, the use of Latin negates the possibility that those who wrote the inscription were from the neighboring city of Beth Shean.

In his opinion, the gigantic lettering and the Latin language indicated that whoever dedicated the arch was a Latin speaker with the authority to erect an arch and dedicate it to the emperor, and that the area in which the arch was raised had to have been the site of an event of extraordinary achievement. Therefore, the name or title of the dedicator must have "closed" the inscription and appeared at the end of the third line.

According to these criteria, Eck notes two authorities that could have fulfilled these "conditions." The first is the governor of *Provincia Judaea*. The second is one of the legions permanently stationed in *Provincia Judaea*: Legio X Fretensis or Legio VI Ferrata. However, he rejects both proposals for the same reason, which is the lack of space in the third line of the inscription for the names of the governor and his titles, or for the name of the legion.²¹

According to Bowersock, if we limit ourselves to the two titles of Hadrian, that of holding the authority of a tribune 14 times and being a consul for the third time, than there are enough gaps in the third line that allow us to add the name of the legion that erected the arch. Following this suggestion, it is possible to add the name of the legion to the inscription: LEG X FRET.²²

Concerning the possibility that the dedicator of the inscription was one of the two legions stationed in Judaea, apart from the claim about the lack of space in the inscription for the appearance of their names, Eck raises another argument to reject this option. In the history of the Roman legions there is only one example in which a legion honored an emperor. This event occurred during the Parthian wars near Dura Europos, when the Legio III Cyrenaica which had participated in Trajan's wars against Parthia dedicated an arch erected a mile away from the walls of Dura Europos in honor of Trajan's victory over the Parthians. It was built before Trajan received the additional title of Parthicus, and therefore should be dated before the year 116 CE.²³

¹⁹ Bowersock 2003: 174 and note 3.

²⁰ Bowersock 2003: 175.

²¹ Eck 2003b: 159-162.

²² Bowersock 2003: 175; Abramovitch 2011: 94-102; 239-241.

²³ Gould 1933: 56-65; 1936: 480-482. See also: *AE* 1982, 904; Bowersock 1982: 198.

Since the above example is a solitary one, Eck ruled out the possibility that the names of one of the legions—the Tenth Fretensis or the Sixth Ferrata—could have appeared in the third line of the Tel Shalem inscription. This argument is totally unacceptable to me, and I shall ask not even with a hint of cynicism whether the soldiers of the Third Legion Cyrenaica, who had indeed dedicated an arch to Trajan, were at all interested in creating a precedent, or if they even discussed the question that an arch could not be erected because in the history of the legions it had not previously been experienced. Or perhaps they were absolutely forbidden to erect an arch, because nothing like this had ever been done before?

Apparently, since 2005 there was a possible additional example for a legion honoring an Emperor, namely the monumental inscription found in Jerusalem at the Haram al-Sharif reported by Tibur Gröll.²⁴ His restoration, completion and interpretation of the inscription pointed to a victory arch, that its building was initiated by Lucius Flavius Silva, the governor of Judaea, the commander of the legion X Fretensis, and the conqueror of Masada. At the end of the great Revolt 70 CE the legion X Fretensis built an arch and engraved an inscription honoring Emperors Vespasian and Titus in honor of their victory in Judaea.²⁵

However, following Cotton and Eck's criticism of Gröll's conclusions, we must reject the inscription as possible evidence for the phenomenon of a legion erecting an arch to honor the emperor. According to Cotton and Eck, this is a building inscription which belongs to an arch, and they dated it after the foundation of the Colonia Aelia Capitolina (131 CE), which erected the arch to honor the reigning emperor.²⁶

After Eck rejected the possibility of a legion as the builder of an honorary arch, he raised the third possibility, of completing the inscription in an entirely different direction. In his opinion, there was enough space in the third line only for the following letters: SPQR, which is an abbreviation for Senatus Populusque Romanus, meaning that the arch was built by the decision and agreement of the people of Rome and according to the decree of the Senate.

There is indeed some evidence that the Senate and the people of Rome were the ones who gave their consent to erect large monuments for special achievements, mainly after some significant military victory.²⁷ All the examples that Eck noted were from much earlier periods. The last decision of the Senate to erect a triumphal arch was made in 49 CE, to commemorate the military achievements of Claudius in Britain. The arch was erected on the shores of Gesoriacum, from where the emperor set out on his expedition to conquer Britain.²⁸

These examples show that more than 90 years had passed since the Senate used its authority to erect and dedicate a triumphal arch for military achievements. The question is: Were there no worthy military achievements to be commemorated during this period

²⁴ Gröll 2005: 16-17.

²⁵ Gröll 2006: 183-200. See also Abramovich 2011: 159-163; 98 note 368, who argued that in his article of 2003 Eck was not aware of this inscription.

²⁶ Eck 2005: 160-165; Cotton & Eck 2009: 97*-118*; Eck 2011: 45-53; Eck & Cotton 2012: 20-22.

²⁷ Eck 2003a: 143, cites examples which are all dated early—from the days of Augustus and Tiberius, and the last example is dated to the year 43 CE, in the days of Claudius. This indicates that nearly a hundred years had passed since the SPQR made use of its authority.

²⁸ Barrett 1991: 1-19; Osgood 2011: 94-96.

of time? And if we return to the example we mentioned about Dura Europos, were Trajan's military achievements not worthy of an arch being dedicated to him by the Senate?

Concerning our case, in Eck's opinion it was the **SPQR** who dedicated the arch to honor Hadrian in Tel Shalem, and the reason for this was his victory in the Bar Kokhba revolt, a revolt that in his view had spread into Arabia and even into Syria. The victory restored Roman self-confidence, and the monumental structure testifies to the renewed power of Rome, which is why the Latin language was used. In his words:

All this makes it quite certain that the arch was built in the context of the Bar Kokhba revolt, and had nothing to do with Hadrian's first visit to the region.²⁹

What, according to Eck, does *all this* include?

1. Cities can erect arches in honor of the visit of the emperor, but the Latin here puts Scythopolis out of the picture.
2. There are no examples in which legions or the SPQR even set up arches for an imperial visit to a province.
3. It is not possible to interpret a broken-up and disjointed inscription without having examples or parallels from other provinces.³⁰

Eck connected the great military achievement to the description of Hadrian as "imperator for the **second** time" (IMP II), and therefore he adds it to the third line of the inscription. He found a complete correlation between the end of the second revolt, the declaration of Hadrian as imperator for the second time, and the erection of the arch in Tel Shalem.

He ends his discussion on this matter, questioning why the arch was erected at Tel Shalem. Since this site has no value in itself, the location could not have been chosen at random. Therefore, the only reason for its choice as the site for a war memorial was that this location was part of a battlefield in the second revolt.

According to Eck, participants in the Senate session at which the subject of the arch at Tel Shalem was discussed were senior army officers who had taken part in suppressing the revolt, and were persons of military authority to explain to the Senate why Tel Shalem deserved this honor. "Tel Shalem was the right choice. Tel Shalem was not chosen arbitrarily."³¹ At the end of his discussion on the inscription, Eck sums up by saying:

... the arch bears witness to the intensity of the revolt and its impact on Rome; and conversely to the enormous relief, deeply felt when it was over.³²

With much cynicism, Bowersock makes a correlation between the inscription in Tel Shalem and the inscription in Petra. Some of Eck's conclusions are derived from the size of the Latin letters in the inscription, but the dimensions of the inscription in Tel Shalem are dwarfed by those of the inscription that Eck did not know at the time, from the area of the large temple in Petra.³³ He keeps on asking who set up this Latin inscription. The

²⁹ Eck 2003b: 158.

³⁰ Eck 2003b: 158-159.

³¹ Eck 2003b: 162 and note 34, in which he refers to p. 18; however, the reference is to an article by Peter Schäfer that deals with the second revolt and the Rabbis!

³² Eck 2003b: 162.

³³ Tracy 1998: 370-375; 1999: 56-58.

Senate and the people of Rome? And in honor of which military victory?³⁴ Bowersock continues by asking how this could be, if the Senate and the people initiated the monumental arch and inscription that no evidence of any kind remains in the written sources.

Following his restoration of the inscription, Bowersock dates the arch and the inscription to the year 130 CE. In his view there is no space difficulty at the end of the third line of the inscription, and therefore the name of the legion can be entered at the end of the line, either the Tenth Fretensis or the Sixth Ferrata, as Eck had done himself when he discussed the various possible completions of the inscription.

In his reconstruction of the third line, Bowersock prefers the name of the legion Tenth Fretensis.³⁵ However, I rather add the name of the legion Sixth Ferrata, which was the second legion stationed in *Provincia Judaea* since the year 123 CE. The camp of this legion was in Legio (Kfar Othnai).³⁶ From the evidence mentioned above, the camp in Tel Shalem apparently served as a camp for a Vexillatio of this legion.

In my opinion, the arch and inscription in honor of Hadrian are connected with the visit of the emperor to the region in 130 CE.

Kenneth Holum and Layton Lehmann reconstructed Hadrian's itinerary in the area.³⁷ Eck criticizes and negates the reconstruction of Lehmann and Holum with the argument that they claimed that Hadrian had visited Caesarea, even though they had no direct evidence for this visit.³⁸

However, do the inscriptions on the aqueduct to Caesarea not hint to the building and restoration of it during Hadrian's visit to the city? Recently, Cotton and Eck together, as well as each of them separately, published inscriptions from Caesarea in one of which the name Tineius Rufus, the governor of Judaea in the years 130-133, was mentioned for the first time apart from its reference in rabbinical literature:

To Imperator Caesar Trianus Hadrianus Augustus, son of the divine Traianus Parthicus grandson of the divine Nerva, Pontifex Maximus, with tribunician power for the fourteenth (?) time, consul for the third time, father of his country, the beneficiarii of Tineius Rufus, imperial legate with praetorian rank, (have erected a statue)?³⁹

The Caesarea inscription is a dedicatory inscription to Hadrian, dedicated by the *beneficarii* of Tineius Rufus. The inscription in Latin was one meter long and had a life-sized statue of Hadrian placed above it. The inscription should be connected with the headless statue found in Caesarea.⁴⁰ Cotton and Eck dated the inscription and the placing of the statue to the year 130 CE, when the emperor visited the province and its capital. The inscription confirms the estimation made by Kenneth Holum, in an article which

³⁴ Bowersock 2003: 177.

³⁵ Bowersock 2003: 175.

³⁶ Tepper 2007; Adams/David/Tepper 2013.

³⁷ Lehmann & Holum 2000: 12-13; Holum 1992: 51-61. See also: Birley 2003.

³⁸ Eck 2003b: 155 and note 12. See Halfmann 1986: 207. He omitted the name of Caesarea from Hadrian's tour.

³⁹ *CIIP* II, 1276; Cotton & Eck 2001: 215-238; Cotton & Eck 2006: 31-52. See also: *AE* 2003, 107. The Latin inscription: [Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) divi Traiani Parthici f(ilio) divi Nervae nep(oti) Traiano Hadriano] Aug(usto)] pont(ifici) ma[x(imo), tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) XIV (?) co(n)s(uli) III p(atr) p(atr)iae]] | b(eneficiarii) Tinei Rufi [leg(ati) Aug(usti) pr(o) praet(ore)-|--].

⁴⁰ Avi-Yonah 1970-71: 203-208.

reconstructs the visit of Hadrian to the region, that the emperor also visited Caesarea. In view of this, perhaps Holum's article deserves more serious consideration, along with his reconstruction of the *Adventus* of the Emperor in the region.

Various sources present Hadrian as the "wandering emperor," who spent many years during his reign traveling throughout the empire and visiting many cities and provinces.⁴¹ Hadrian visited Judaea in the spring and early summer of 130 CE on his way from Syria to Egypt.⁴² After spending the winter in Antioch, he continued on to Palmyra.⁴³ From Damascus he entered the region of *Provincia Arabia*,⁴⁴ arriving in Bosra, the capital city, where the Third Legion Cyrenaica was encamped. He then followed the *Via Nova Traiana* along the limes through Philadelphia (Amman) to Petra, which in honor of his visit changed its name to Hadriana Petra.⁴⁵ From Petra he returned along the *Via Nova* to Gerasa, where the city dedicated a triumphal arch to Hadrian.

According to the inscription engraved on the arch, it should be dated to the year 130 CE. On the same occasion, three statues were set up in the city in honor of the emperor.⁴⁶ From there he continued on through the cities of the Decapolis, and near Pella he probably crossed the River Jordan into the Jordan Valley and *Provincia Judaea*. The visit of the emperor was commemorated by coins with the inscription *ADVENTVI AUG IVDAEAE*.⁴⁷ Scythopolis was apparently the emperor's first stop. In a number of inscriptions he is connected to the city, and should probably be dated to 130, and Hadrian's visit to the region.

1. A dedicatory inscription mentioning Hadrian's visit to Judaea and Scythopolis.⁴⁸

⁴¹ Dio Cassius 69.5.2-3: "...and he aided the allied and subject cities most munificently. He had seen many of them,—more, in fact, than any other emperor,—and he assisted practically all of them, giving to some a water supply, to others harbours, food, public works, money and various honours, differing the different cities."

⁴² See Dio Cassius 69.12.2; *SHA* Hadrian 14.4-6; Epiphanius of Salamis, *De mensuris et ponderibus* 14 (PG 53, 260-261).

⁴³ *CIS* II, No. 3959 = Cantineau 1930: I, no. 2 = Dunant 1971: no. 44: Haddriane. This bilingual inscription in Palmyrenian script is dated to 130/1. [MR]N HDRY[N'] 'LH' (Our Lord Hadrian, (the) God).

⁴⁴ Mattingly & Sydenhman 1926: 452, 464: *ADVENTVS AVG ARABIAE RESTITVTORI ARABIAE*.

⁴⁵ See coins: Spijkerman 1978: 220-235; Bowersock 1983: 110-111. See the papyrus documents from Nahal Hever. On the change in the name of Petra, see: Yadin 1971: 248-249; Lewis 1989: no. 25, dated: 9 July 131, a countersummons issued by Babatha, *I*. 11: Ἀδριανῆ Πέ{π}τρα = Hadrianic Petra, and commentary *ad loc.*: Lewis 1989: 112: "The Hadrianic epithet of Petra appears only in this document, which may be an indication that the appellation was a recently bestowed honor, on the occasion of Hadrian's visit there." See also: 5/6 Hev 25: *Pap. Yadin* 25.

⁴⁶ For the inscription of the arch see: Welles 1938: no. 58. For the inscriptions on the statues, see nos. 143-145.

⁴⁷ Mattingly 1936, III: 493-494, nos. 1655-1661. Mildenberg 1984: 97-98 argues that the *adventus* coins were struck in the years 130-132.

⁴⁸ The inscription has not yet been published, see: Mazor & Najjar 2007: xiii, 4: "He presumably visited Nysa-Scythopolis at some point between the end of 129 and mid-130 CE. Inscriptions found in the agora temples bear witness to this visit, the reception of which was hosted by the governor of the province, Tineius Rufus." In a private email dated April 11, 2012, Mazor mentioned that in the temple of Demeter and Kore Persephone two inscriptions were found, and still unpublished: one dedicated to Tineius Rufus' wife, and a second to his daughter. And an additional inscription dedicated to Hadrian; however, Rufus name is not mentioned.

2. A dedicatory inscription from Beth Shean dated to 130, dedicated by the soldiers of the first cohort of the legion X Fretensis. The inscription was probably the base for Hadrian's statue.⁴⁹

Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) Traiano
Hadriano Aug(usto)
p(atri) p(atriciae) leg(io) X Fret(ensis) coh(ors) I

Since the title *Pater Patriae* was bestowed on Hadrian in 128, we can date the inscription to 130, during Hadrian's visit to the region.⁵⁰ Did the legate of legion X Fretensis send one of his units: the first cohorts to welcome the Emperor? To commemorate the visit they erected a statue with the inscription.

3. Cotton and Eck noted two indirect epigraphic testimonies to this event. The city of Scythopolis erected statues to honor the wife and daughter of Tineius Rufus and perhaps also in his honor. The statues may have been set up during the visit to the city by the governor and his family, who came to receive the emperor.⁵¹

4. Another testimony for the possible visit of the emperor in 130 CE in Scythopolis was proposed in the research of Lea Di Segni and Benjamin Arubas. They found a Greek inscription in March 2007, in the south gallery of the central court in the Rockefeller Museum. The translation of the inscription is:

In imitation of Hadrian, Silvanus the most
Distinguished and spectabilis count and governor
Has built his own city

The inscription had originally come from Beth Shean, Silvanus was its governor during the reign of Emperor Arcadius, and it is dated after the year 385 CE. According to researchers, the inscription notes that Silvanus built the city in imitation of Hadrian's construction of it.

The rebuilding of the city in the 4th or 5th century is linked to the earthquake of 363 CE. Yet what does this 4th-century inscription have to do with the visit of the emperor to Scythopolis in 130 CE? Hadrian, more than any emperor, is known as the Founder and Builder, and in the Land of Israel he founded Aelia Capitolina and built the high-level aqueduct in Caesarea and in other places where no testimonial inscriptions remain. Could it be that Hadrian's part in building the city was still recalled in the Scythopolis of the 4th century? Is this merely a literary comparison, or was it some real and well-established memory of Hadrian's construction in the city? Archaeologists dated the flourishing of the city as beginning in the 2nd century after the Bar Kokhba Revolt until

⁴⁹ The inscription was first published by Clermont-Ganneau 1897: 171, as originating from Scythopolis. In *CIL* III, 13589 the publishers claimed its origin to Samaria. In *CIL* III, 14155.14 it was corrected to the first place of origin. For a picture of the inscription, see: Cornfeld 1962: 347.

⁵⁰ Eck 2003b: 156 and notes 15-16. He claimed that the title cannot serve as an indication of a date—128—since the provincial population used the title before 128. Eck 2012: 262, argued that this inscription should be considered a questionable one.

⁵¹ Cotton & Eck 2006: 50.

the reign of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius,⁵² but more recently have pushed the date back to the time of Trajan and Hadrian and linked it with the visit of the emperor in 130 CE.

In an appendix written by Arubas regarding the inscription under discussion, he asserted that the building of the central monument should be dated to the year 130 CE, during Hadrian's visit to the region, and should be compared with the triumphal arch in Gerasa. Arubas suggests that in the rivalry between the two cities over the reputation of the two, Scythopolis would not have ceded to Gerasa.⁵³

Nevertheless, I agree with Eck that the inhabitants of Scythopolis had no connection with the erection of the arch or its inscription in Tel Shalem. But the reason for this is not because of the Greek or Latin language! In my opinion, during the preparations for the visit of the emperor in the region, a unit of the Legio VI Ferrata set up the magnificent arch and dedicated it to the visiting Emperor. These soldiers were Latin speakers, and therefore they engraved the inscription in their own language. The arch and the inscription were in honor of the emperor who knew Greek, and was nicknamed *Graeculus*, but the language of the dedicators of the arch was Latin!

Did the emperor actually visit the camp? This is a difficult question with no decisive answer. Whatever the response may be, the monumental arch and its inscription are a historical fact!

From Scythopolis or Tel Shalem, the emperor continued on the renovated road between Scythopolis and Legio,⁵⁴ and visited the legion's camp in Legio/ Caparcotna.⁵⁵

It is not clear whether he went north to Sepphoris, which had changed its name to Diocaesarea to honor the name of the emperor and the Greek god Zeus whom he highly favored.⁵⁶ Or perhaps he continued from Legio to Caesarea, the capital of the province. We mentioned his visit to Caesarea above. Holum suggested linking the visit of 130 CE to Hadrian's promise to the inhabitants of Caesarea during his visit to improve the water supply to the city, which resulted in the construction of Channel B, the High Level aqueduct.⁵⁷

Evidence of this can be found in the inscriptions on the aqueduct, most of which mention the name of Hadrian, and there is no doubt that it was built in the year 130 CE in honor of his visit to the city.⁵⁸ Hadrian then went up to Jerusalem, and during his visit he decided to found Aelia Capitolina.⁵⁹ From Jerusalem he returned to the southern coastal plain and visited Gaza, and from there he went to Egypt.⁶⁰

⁵² Tsafir & Forester 1992: 7; Tsafir & Forester 1997: 89. The urban plan of Beth Shean should be ascribed to the Roman period. The earliest Roman remains known to us, such as the first stage of the basilica or the first foundations of the theatre, are probably from the 1st century CE. Most of the construction and planning of the city should probably be attributed to the 2nd century CE, most likely during the reigns of Antonius Pius and Marcus Aurelius, when the main period of florescence in the Roman East occurred.

⁵³ Di Segni & Arubas 2009: 115*-124*.

⁵⁴ Note that in 129 CE the road from Scythopolis to the Valley of Jezreel was renovated. See Isaac & Roll 1979a: 57; 61 note 17.

⁵⁵ Isaac & Roll 1979a: 58-61; Isaac & Roll 1979b: 33.

⁵⁶ Hill 1914. See also Isaac & Roll 1979a: 63.

⁵⁷ Holum 1992: 56-60.

⁵⁸ On the inscriptions, see *CIIP* II, 1200-1209.

⁵⁹ On the founding of Aelia Capitolina, see Magness 2011: 313-324.

⁶⁰ On the visit to Gaza and Egypt, see Birley 2003.

Di Segni used the following inscription as evidence of the emperor's visit to Judaea. Though the original location of the marble inscription is difficult to trace, its content were linked with the visit of Hadrian.⁶¹ The inscription reads as follows:

To the Olympian gods; for the preservation of the Emperor Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, father of the motherland, the savior and benefactor, villagers of Caparbanaia.

Di Segni suggested two possible identifications of Kafar Banaya: Khirbet Baniya (Horvat Binaya) in Western Samaria, to the east of Caesarea; or Khirbet B'inna (Banna Ib'anna) in Southern Samaria. According to her, in the 2nd century, in a village with a mixed population, the dedicators of the inscription called themselves "villagers" and not "the villagers," which shows their knowledge of the Greek language, or that they do not represent the village population.

In a publication from 2003, Eck linked the inscription to Hadrian's visit, concluding:

It reveals that the patterns of interrelations between ruler and subjects familiar from other provinces were not as foreign to this province as is commonly assumed.⁶²

However, in a recent publication based on Di Segni's second publication from 2003, he argued that the inscription is a modern forgery!⁶³

Let us return to Tel Shalem. If we accept the conclusion that the soldiers of the Roman legion set up the arch and the inscription, all the questions that Eck raised above will disappear! Neither the arch nor the inscription has anything to do with the second revolt, since they were erected as early as 130 CE, two years before the outbreak of the revolt. Even if new evidence exists of a more powerful impact by the second revolt than we had previously thought, the inscription in Tel Shalem cannot testify to this!⁶⁴

After the events of the Polemos of Kitos, the Romans brought a second legion to be permanently stationed in Legio.⁶⁵ Around it, they built a highly developed road system in the region, with roads extending between Legio and Tel Shalem through Scythopolis, from Legio to Diocaesarea and Tiberias, from Legio to Ptolemais (Acre), and another road from Sepphoris to Tiberias. These roads prevented them from collaborating with the inhabitants of Judaea.⁶⁶

What is the significance of the arbitrary statement by Eck that a military victory was achieved in the region of Tel Shalem, not far from Kfar Othnai, the camp of the second legion to be stationed in Judaea? Against whom did they fight, and whom did they conquer? The road system in the region, including the road from Legio to Beth Shean and Tel Shalem, prevented any possibility of a serious joining of forces between Jewish rebels from the Galilee and their Judaeans brethren. Also, in view of the information we have about the possible participation of the Galilee in the second revolt, it is not reasonable

⁶¹ Di Segni 1994: 579-584; *SEG* 44, 1361; *AE* 1994, 1781. For a different identification, see: Di Segni 2003: 335-340. Di Segni dealt with the same inscription several times. Her first identification of the village should be ignored. In the second publication she identified the village as Kafr Banaya.

⁶² Eck 2003b: 156. Based on Di Segni 1994.

⁶³ Eck 2012: 262 and note 52. He referred to a further forgery with the same text but on a bronze piece.

⁶⁴ Bowersock 2003: 171.

⁶⁵ Eck & Tepper 2001: 85-88.

⁶⁶ See Roll 1976: 38-50; Isaac & Roll 1982a. For a site of the Roman Roads and Milestones in Judaea/Palaestina, see: <http://milestones.kinneret.ac.il>.

to suppose that a battle was held in the Tel Shalem region that could be connected with the Bar Kokhba revolt. The claim that battles could have been conducted even in regions outside the control of the rebels is generally a correct one. But existing evidence points to the fact that during the course of the second revolt, the preparatory stage was already focused in regions that were under rebel control. In fact, the evidence indicates that they acted against the Romans mainly in the areas in which they resided and where they set up self-government, without widening the circle of conflict outside these areas.

An additional note:

Uzi Leibner recently reported on finds in Khirbet Wadi Hamam in the eastern Galilee region, and notes among other things a hoard of coins that was found in Area B of the excavation. The hoard contains sixty silver and bronze coins from the beginning of the 2nd century CE. The silver dinarii are dated to the third consulate years of Hadrian, 119-138 CE, and a single coin with countermarks of Legio VI Ferrata which he dated to the years 123-135 CE. Leibner very cautiously links the destruction layer at the site to the Bar Kokhba revolt, or to the unrest among the Galilean Jews after the stationing of the Sixth Legion in the area, apparently during the years 123-127 CE.⁶⁷ Although the coin hoard is of the Hadrianic period, no coins of the second revolt were found in it. Also, if the temporary destruction layer at the site was connected with the stationing of an additional legion in the Galilee region, then there is no direct link to the Bar Kokhba revolt. It is also difficult to imagine that a small village in the Galilee reacted in opposition to the reinforcement by the Sixth Legion, which required military intervention that caused damage to the village.

Contrary to Leibner's hesitation over the participation of the Galilee in the second revolt, in his book he notes explicitly that the results of the archaeological survey indicate that Jewish settlements in the Galilee were not damaged during the second century CE, which implies that the Galilee did not take part in the Bar Kokhba revolt.⁶⁸ From the distribution pattern of the coins of the second revolt, it appears that they were in use only in the areas under the control of Bar Kokhba.⁶⁹ The fact that so far no large quantities of the second revolt coins have been found in the Galilee clarifies that the abovementioned attempts do not contribute anything to our discussion. We should not apportion much importance to random finds of coins,⁷⁰ and the absence of coin finds of the second revolt period in the Galilee only strengthens the claim that the Galilee did not participate in the Bar Kokhba revolt.

⁶⁷ Leibner 2009b: 32, 40; 2011: 225-226.

⁶⁸ Leibner 2009a: 345, 407.

⁶⁹ Eshel 1995: 173-182.

⁷⁰ An example that proves that we cannot attach too much significance to coincidental findings of coins is the Bar Kokhba coins found at different Roman sites. See also Eshel, Zissu & Barkai: 2009-2010: 91-97.

ABBREVIATIONS

AE – *L'Année Épigraphique*, Paris.

CIIP – H.M. Cotton, L. Di Segni, W. Eck et al. (eds.), *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palestinae*, vols. 3, Berlin – New York.

CIL – *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin.

SEG – *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Leiden – Boston.

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THE ACTIVITY OF SZYMON DANKOWICZ, THE CHIEF RABBI OF BULGARIA (1889-1891), IN THE LIGHT OF THE SOURCES PRODUCED WITHIN THE CIRCLES OF THE ALLIANCE ISRAÉLITE UNIVERSELLE¹

Alicja Maślak-Maciejewska
(Uniwersytet Jagielloński, Kraków)

Key words: Bulgaria, Chief Rabbi, Alliance Israelite Universelle, 19th century, Szymon Dankowicz

Abstract: This article concerns the events that occurred in Sofia, Bulgaria, in the late 1880s and the early 1890s when the position of the Chief Rabbi of Bulgaria was granted to an Ashkenazi rabbi Szymon Dankowicz (1834-1910). Dankowicz was able to obtain this title thanks to the Alliance Israélite Universelle (AIU) which intensified its activities in Bulgaria after the country had been liberated from the Turkish occupation in 1879 and the Principality of Bulgaria had been formed. The main focus of this article is to present the activities of Dankowicz in Bulgaria as well as the relations between the Sephardic and the Ashkenazi Jews in that period as they are depicted in the sources stored in the archives of the AIU in Paris.

The purpose of this article is to bring to light a little-known chapter in the history of the Bulgarian Jewish Diaspora in the 19th century,² namely, the activities of Szymon Dankowicz, who served as the Chief Rabbi of Bulgaria from 1881 to 1891. This office was created under the Constitution of Turnovo which regulated the status of the Jews after the liberation of Bulgaria from the Turkish occupation in 1879. The Constitution included the provisions of the Treaty of Berlin regarding religious minorities in Bulgaria and Eastern Rumelia. As a result, the Jewish communities were granted a certain degree of autonomy and freedoms. The Constitution guaranteed the freedom of worship to all religions insofar as it did not infringe on the laws of the country. The Constitution stipulated that a chief rabbi, who would be paid from the State Treasury and treated like any other high government official, was to become the head of all Jewish communities and officially represent them before the state.³ Nevertheless, despite all these favourable political changes, the situation of the Jews in the 1880s was an adverse one, primarily because of their disadvantageous economic standing as well as bad relations with the Bulgarian population and a growing wave of anti-Semitism fuelled by a number of anti-Jewish pamphlets published in the last two decades of the 19th century.⁴

¹ Project was supported by National Science Center (Poland) grant DEC-2011/01/N/HS3/04470.

² About this subject, cf. Gelber 1946; Arditì 1970; Keshales 1972; Tamir 1979; Rozen 2005.

³ Tamir 1979: 99; Maślak-Maciejewska 2013: 117-119.

⁴ Concerning anti-Semitic pamphlets published after the liberation of Bulgaria, cf. Benvenisti 1980.

An important factor that had a positive impact on the situation of the Jews in Bulgaria in the last quarter of the 19th century was the Alliance Israélite Universelle (AIU), founded in Paris in 1860, which had been expanding its influence and activities to the areas of South-Eastern Europe populated by the Sephardic diasporas. The philosophy of the AIU, as summarized by E. Benbassa and A. Rodrigue, “represented Western Jewry’s urge to reform its coreligionists in the East”.⁵ The work of the AIU was multidimensional. Firstly, it focused on defending the rights and interests of the Jews, seeking to improve their political situation and facilitate their legal emancipation in those areas and protect them from persecution.⁶ Secondly, the AIU conducted work of charitable and social nature on a wide scale. Above all, however, the Alliance’s main focus was educational activity, conducted in gradually expanding network of schools. In these schools, which became the instrument of Westernization, French was the language of instruction and—apart from the teaching of Hebrew and Judaism—the local language and general subjects, such as history, geography, or sciences, were an important items of the curriculum.⁷

The first Alliance school was founded in Tetuan, Morocco in 1862. In 1914, the network of Alliance’s educational institutions already encompassed 183 schools attended by 43,700 students.⁸ The first school in the Ottoman Empire was founded in 1865 in Volos (modern-day Greece). In Bulgaria, the schools had begun to be formed almost a decade before its liberation—in 1870 a school for boys was opened in Shumen. Other schools in these lands were founded in Vidin (1872), Samkov (1874) and Rouse (1879). In total, by the end of the 19th century, seventeen schools in eleven Bulgarian cities were established (customarily, each city hosted two schools—one for boys and one for girls, the latter usually opened several years after the former).⁹

The role that the teachers in the AIU schools were supposed to perform was a very special one, involving far more than teaching and dealing with administrative matters. Living in towns in which the organization operated, they reported to the AIU Central Committee in Paris on the situation of the Jews as well as the current issues that stirred the community at large. Due to the fact that, very often, they were the only representatives of the AIU in the area, the local Jews consulted them when problems arose; in such circumstances, the teacher was authorized by the AIU to intervene with the local authorities or to make a request to the headquarters of the organisation for support or intervention on a higher political level. The role performed by the teacher, who was a protector of the Jews and a representative of their interests, can be compared to that of a *shtadlan* in a typical Jewish community.¹⁰

⁵ Benbassa & Rodrigue 2000: 83.

⁶ For example, it exerted pressure on the British and German political circles before and during the Congress of Berlin, which contributed to the enactment of favourable laws for religious minorities (religious freedom and equal rights regardless of professed religion), cf. Chouraqui 1965: 86-87; Tamir 1979: 98.

⁷ A permanent curriculum emerged in the years 1883 to 1884; before, there had been a greater freedom in this regard, cf. Rodrigue 1993: 25-30.

⁸ Benbassa & Rodrigue 1998: 9.

⁹ Rodrigue 1993: 15-16.

¹⁰ Rodrigue 1993: 201. In reference literature, their role has been summarized as follows: “The work of the Alliance Israélite Universelle in the Sephardi and oriental Jewish communities depended almost exclusively on the activities of the schools’ teachers and directors. While they had to supervise the daily functioning of the educational system, they were very much more than ordinary pedagogues. They represented

The teachers in the AIU schools were greatly committed to their educational and social work which, in consequence, was marked by the sense of an ideological and moral responsibility. They were generally well-educated and, apart from the teaching work, they also engaged in journalism and literary endeavours, quickly becoming members of the intellectual elite. For their work, however, they received relatively low remuneration.¹¹

One of such teachers was Gabriel Arié, born in 1863 in Samakov in the Ottoman Bulgaria. As a child, he received a traditional religious education in *meldar* (an equivalent of the Ashkenazi *heder*) and then he attended an AIU school established in his hometown in 1874. During the Russo-Turkish War (1877-1878), he moved to the AIU school in Balat, a Jewish quarter of Istanbul. After graduation, he decided to choose the career of a teacher in the AIU schools and thus he completed a four-year studies at the *École Normale Israélite Orientale* in Paris, founded in 1867 to provide teachers' training in accordance with the aims of the organization. During his stay in Paris, Arié won a remarkable confidence, as well as appreciation for his work, of his teachers and the members of the AIU Central Committee. As noted by E. Benbassa and A. Rodrigue, who wrote a book about Gabriel Arié, he became a "favorite son of the Alliance" and his relationship with the members of the AIU authorities were absolutely outstanding—intimate, close, and, simply put, friendly.¹²

In 1887, when an all-boys AIU school was founded in Sofia, Arié became its head teacher and held this position until 1893, showing great commitment and initiative.¹³ Like any other AIU schoolmaster, he reported to Paris very often, in some periods writing letters even each day. In this correspondence, he detailed not only educational matters (such as curricula, the construction of a new school building, problems with teachers and students) but also social relations within the Jewish community and issues it dealt with. Because of his close association with the AIU authorities, he freely expressed his views, opinions, and judgements. In his letters, one can discern two perspectives. The first one is a perspective from within—as a Bulgarian, Arié perfectly understood the problems of the community. However, a few years of education in Paris, during which he thoroughly explored the philosophy and the mission of the AIU as well as friendships he formed with many of its members, gave him an outside perspective and a broader outlook on the life of Jews in Bulgaria.

This body of letters, which has survived to the present day and is stored in the AIU Archive in Paris, is currently a source whose importance cannot be overestimated. It is a testimony to all major processes and phenomena that occurred in the Jewish community of Sofia in the late 1880s and the early 1890s, such as Westernization, an increasing

Alliance locally, provided it with almost daily information events which might concern it", cf. Benbassa & Rodrigue 2000: 85.

¹¹ Rodrigue 1993: 51-62.

¹² Benbassa & Rodrigue 1998: 11-12. This book is provided with an extensive introduction and contains a wide selection of texts produced by G. Arié—both his letters sent to the Central Committee of the Alliance and his never-before-published autobiography.

¹³ Benbassa & Rodrigue 1998: 13.

influence of the AIU, the dynamics of the relationships between the Ashkenazi and the Sephardic Jews as well as the incidents of anti-Semitism.¹⁴

One of the events that these letters allow to investigate in details is the work of the first Ashkenazi Jew to hold the position of the Chief Rabbi of the country—Szymon Dankowicz.¹⁵ His stay in Sofia in the years 1888 to 1892 coincided with the period when G. Arié was the head teacher of the AIU school in Sofia and regularly sent letters to Paris. This correspondence sheds light both on the complicated course of events initiated in the fall of 1887 which led to the appointment of Dankowicz as the Chief Rabbi as well as on the years of his rabbinic ministry and, eventually, the loss of this position.¹⁶

As mentioned above, since 1880, the Chief Rabbi was supposed to be a legal representative of the Bulgarian Jews before the public authorities and thus he was able to really affect their situation. The first to be granted this honour was Gabriel Almosnino, who at the time held the position of the Rabbi of Sofia. As soon as the 1884, the Bulgarian Jews began their efforts to replace Almosnino with a person from Western Europe, someone thoroughly educated but, above all, young and dynamic; someone who would actively defend the interests of the Bulgarian Jewish community.¹⁷ Such candidates were missing in the country. The problem of choosing a new Rabbi returned in 1885 when Almosnino resigned from the post. A special committee formed in Sofia towards the end of 1887 in order to choose a new Rabbi. At that time, all-boys AIU school had already been operating in the city and the influence of the organization on the Jewish community had greatly increased. The strength of this influence is evident in the fact that the newly constituted committee first turned to Paris, asking for suggestions as to the candidates for the post of the Chief Rabbi. It is also worth noting that the committee's secretary was Gabriel Arié himself, who systematically sent to Paris detailed reports on the committee's meetings.¹⁸

The first person whose candidacy came into consideration was Moses Netter, a Sephardic rabbi of Algerian origin, recommended by the AIU. His position was very strong and it seemed that he would be granted the post.¹⁹ However, in March 1888, when the details of Netter's future employment—such as his availability and salary—were already being negotiated, the opposition of the Jewish community became so strong that other candidates began to be considered. At that point, Arié already sensed that Netter's candidacy would fail and, with some discontent, he informed the Central Committee about

¹⁴ The sources for this article come from the following units stored in this archive: Bulgarie: I C 5; I C 7; I C 10; IV B 99; XXII E 153a; XXIII E 153b; XXII E 153c.

¹⁵ Szymon Dankowicz (1834-1910)—a rabbi, a preacher, and a teacher. A graduate of the Main School in Warsaw and of the Jewish Theological Seminary in Breslau. Before coming to Sofia, he worked in the Jewish community in Kraków (1868-1875) where he became the first regular preacher of the Tempel Progressive Synagogue. While living on territory of former Poland, he led an intensive patriotic work. For more information on his activities before coming to Bulgaria cf. Maślak-Maciejewska 2013: 19-115.

¹⁶ The issue of the activity and the competence of the Chief Rabbis of Bulgaria have not yet been explored in depth; moreover, the reference literature lacks the answer to the question why from the end of the 1880s onward the position of the Chief Rabbi in the country populated mostly by the Sephardic Jews was granted to Ashkenazi rabbis.

¹⁷ At the time, such a solution was rejected by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Religion, cf. Avraamov 1987: 68-69.

¹⁸ AAIU Bulg. XXII E 153a. 15.11.1887; 16.12.1887.

¹⁹ AAIU Bulg. XXII E 153a; 15.11.1887; 16.12.1887; 25.01.1888; 20.02.1888; 5.03.1888; 16.03.1888.

this.²⁰ His correspondence shows that the objections were voiced primarily by the Ashkenazi minority, who for a long time had unsuccessfully sought to establish closer relations with the Sephardic community. The choice of a rabbi of Polish or Austrian origin could facilitate the integration of the two communities. It was stressed, moreover, that a Slavic rabbi would learn the Bulgarian language faster and gain influence in the country easier.²¹ In the spring of 1888, while still negotiating with Netter, the committee started to send to eminent European rabbis requests for additional opinions on Netter as well as for suggestions as to another candidate.²² In April 1888, the committee received an answer from Adolf Jellinek from Vienna who, with a high degree of confidence, recommended Szymon Dankowicz for the post.²³ However, that Dankowicz was eventually invited to Sofia for the talks was probably the effect of a personal meeting of the committee's chairman Abraham D. Levy with Jellinek in Vienna, in June 1888. During this meeting Jellinek assured Levy that Dankowicz was fit for the position and that his appointment would bring many benefits to the Bulgarian Jewry. He also mentioned that if the candidate he endorsed was chosen, he would use his influence to obtain additional financial resources to organise the Bulgarian Chief Rabbinate. The AIU, whose representatives had, too, previously asked Jellinek to name a suitable candidate, raised no objections to such a solution.²⁴

Dankowicz arrived in Sofia on July 1, 1888, for a week-long visit; during his stay, the committee was to decide whether to grant him the post. After a few days, the negotiations concerning the terms of Dankowicz's employment were commenced; factors such as the amount of his salary, the length of the contract, and housing conditions were considered. Eventually, Dankowicz's initial requests were reduced—the committee did not agree to reimburse the cost of his removal or to signing a contract for indefinite period of time (a three-year contract was agreed to instead); moreover, his annual salary was reduced by a fifth.²⁵ Also, there were concerns related to Dankowicz's Ashkenazi extraction, which is evident by the fact that it was decided that a special administrative council would be established, with members elected from among the Sephardic Jews, without whose consent Dankowicz would not have the authority to take any decision relating to the Ashkenazi community.²⁶

When on July 6 Dankowicz agreed to the conditions he was presented with, his candidacy was voted through and the procedure of granting him Bulgarian citizenship was commenced. This finally occurred in December 1888 and only after that, on December 19, 1888, by the virtue of the Prince's ukase, Dankowicz was granted the office of the

²⁰ AAIU Bulg. XXII E 153; 1.04.1888. Arié wrote in this letter that he sensed that "the future rabbi will come from Poland or at least from Austria, for the greatest satisfaction of our local Ashkenazi community."

²¹ AAIU Bulg. XXII E 153a; 1.4.1888.

²² Among others, rabbis from Warsaw, Vienna, St. Petersburg, Berlin were asked to give their opinions, cf. AAIU Bulg. XXII E 153a; 19.03.1888; 1.4.1888.

²³ AAIU Bulg. XXII E 153a; 25.4.1888.

²⁴ AAIU Bulg. XXII E 153a; 4.7.1888. For more information on how the election of Dankowicz was influenced by Jellinek, cf. Maślak-Maciejewska 2013: 123-124.

²⁵ AAIU Bulg. XXII E 153a; 4.7.1888; 18.7.1888.

²⁶ AAIU Bulg. XXII E 153a; 18.07.1888.

Chief Rabbi of Bulgaria.²⁷ In a letter of January 3, 1889, Gabriel Arié described a general feeling accompanying these events:

Today, a new chapter in the history of our community has been opened. We're entering into an unpredictable period: the direction that the matters of our community will take in the future is going to depend heavily on the work, the authority, and the experience of Mr Dankowicz.²⁸

Dankowicz's duties in Sofia included, first and foremost, protecting the rights and interests of all the Jewish communities in Bulgaria and representing them before the state authorities. It is well-established that Dankowicz managed to maintain good relations with the Prince of Bulgaria, knyaz Ferdinand I.²⁹ His competence as the Chief Rabbi allowed him to make decisions affecting all Jewish communities, such as organizing a census or initiating the work on a universal statute.³⁰ His responsibilities encompassed caring for the state of the Jewish communities in the rural areas of Bulgaria; because of this, he regularly visited them and systematically solved any problems arising there.³¹ One of Dankowicz's primary duties was to take the lead in religious matters throughout Bulgaria and to chair a religious court which, among other things, gave its opinion on the conversion cases. His religious ministry also included giving sermons in Sofia, at least on the occasion of important holidays.³²

Dankowicz focused much of his efforts on improving the quality of the education of children and youths—he often visited the AIU school in Sofia and even assisted on final exams in religious education; he was also involved in revising its curriculum—for example, he initiated a discussion on increasing the number of hours devoted to learning Hebrew.³³

A description of all of the above-mentioned duties performed by Dankowicz can be found in the letters of G. Arié sent to the AIU Central Committee in Paris; not all issues, however, are discussed there in equal details—some, such as Dankowicz's visits to the rural communities or his work in the religious court, have only been touched upon while describing other matters. Other issues were discussed in details and in a series of letters. Matters on which Arié reported most extensively, apart from Dankowicz's appointment to the position and his subsequent loss of it, were his fight against anti-Semitism as well as involvement in the educational issues. Undoubtedly, matters connected to education and social or legal problems of the community were of great interest to the AIU Central Committee; these were the areas in which it could provide financial and diplomatic support.

The event to which Arié devoted most attention and described in dozens of letters is the scandal in Vratza. In June 1891, the Jews from Vratza were indicted on a charge of committing a ritual murder, that is, the so-called blood libel, on a Christian girl. This case dramatically worsened the situation of the Jews in Vratza and led to the publication

²⁷ AAIU Bulg. XXII E 153a; 4.12.1888; 3.1.1889.

²⁸ AAIU Bulg. XXII E 153a; 3.1.1889.

²⁹ DN 1892, 30; AI 1890, 44.

³⁰ Maślak-Maciejewska 2013: 129-130.

³¹ Arditi 1970:120; AAIU Bulg. XXIII E 153b; 13.7.1890.

³² AAIU Bulg. XXII E 153a; 25.1.1888; 31.1.1888.

³³ AAIU Bulg. XXII E 153a; 4.1.1889; 31.1.1889; AAIU Bulg. XXIII E 153b; 16.5.1890; cf. Maślak-Maciejewska 2013: 131-135.

of a number of anti-Semitic pamphlets which even further exacerbated Christian-Jewish relations in the country.³⁴ In the autumn of 1891, Szymon Dankowicz also got involved in defending the accused by publishing a brochure entitled “The Jews and Blood,” which aim was to demonstrate that the allegations that the Jews used Christian blood in some sort rites was absurd. The brochure, dedicated by the author to “Christian fellow citizens who love truth and justice,” was probably the strongest voice against anti-Semitism in Bulgaria at that time.³⁵ In October 1891, during the trial of the accused from Vratza, Dankowicz appeared in the court with a copy of the brochure, which, however, seemed to have had no impact on the opinion of the judges. Its contents were referred to in the official act of indictment but they appeared alongside popular anti-Semitic texts, indicating the truthfulness of the blood libel claims. It was stated that although for the educated Jews the use of blood may have seemed unacceptable, “the uneducated Jewish masses may treat this as God’s order.”³⁶

The publication of this brochure turned out to have very negative consequences for Dankowicz himself, who, in turn, was accused of presenting the Christian population in a bad light—as fanatical and cruel. It was felt that the opinion delivered by a person holding a high position partially paid from the State Treasury may harm the image of Bulgaria in Europe. As a result, Dankowicz was put before the court. The indictment was prepared already in November 1891 and the trial began on February 12, 1892 before the Criminal Court in Sofia.³⁷

In December 1891, Dankowicz’s three-year contract expired and the discussions about its potential extension coincided with the alarming news of the lawsuit. The letters of G. Arié allow to retrace these events in details.³⁸ On one hand, in October 1891, there were talks of extending Dankowicz’s contract, even at the cost of yielding to some of his demands. The lawsuit, however, damaged the trust put in the rabbi and sparked off opposition to his activities; concerns started to be raised that he hadn’t showed sufficient discernment in local affairs and that he had ceased to be a worthy representative of the Jewish population because he had lost the confidence of the state authorities. Arié’s subsequent letters show that the moods of the community’s authorities were changing and so was the stand of Dankowicz himself, who in the autumn of 1891 was prepared to resign from the position but who then fought to keep it, disagreeing with the reasons for the dismissal.³⁹

Dankowicz left Sofia in the late March or the early April of 1892, after the Prince had issued an order dismissing him from the position. Already in March, the duties of Chief

³⁴ AAIU Bulg. I C 5.

³⁵ Dankowicz 1891.

³⁶ AAIU Bulg. I C 5.

³⁷ Arié reported to Paris in details about all the stages of the trial; he also sent a translation of both the brochure and the act of indictment into French language, cf. AAIU Bulg. I C 5; 18.10.1891; 10.1.1892; 4.2.1892; 12.2.1892; AAIU Bulg. I C 7.

³⁸ AAIU Bulg. I C 5; I C 7. Letters sent between October 1891 and April 1892.

³⁹ One of the reasons for the dismissal, apart from the lawsuit, was Dankowicz’s behaviour during the National Assembly in December 1891 where he wilfully seated himself next to Archbishop Parteni, instead of taking a less prestigious seat that was provided for him in the diplomatic sector, cf. AAIU Bulg. I C 5; 10.1.1892; Arditi 1970: 115-118; Tamir 1979: 115.

Rabbi were temporarily entrusted to Moshe Tadjer and, eventually, this position was granted to another Ashkenazi rabbi—Moritz Grünwald.⁴⁰

The sources discussed above have not yet been widely used in the study of the history of the Jews in the Principality of Bulgaria.⁴¹ However, it appears that researches may use them for much more than simply retracing the educational activities of the AIU in those areas. The reports of G. Arié were very regular and meticulous; he wrote to Paris about all the major events in the life of the Jewish community in Sofia and about the matters that may have been of interest to the Central Committee. They reflected many aspects of the Jewish life, partly because the activities of the AIU included both political and social work and were closely connected to how the Jewish community was organized. In the case of the Bulgarian Jewish community, the influence of the AIU on the election of the Chief Rabbi is indisputable. Szymon Dankowicz, as well as his successors, maintained a regular contact with the AIU Central Committee by mail; Dankowicz wrote to Paris concerning some consequential matters, such as the revision of the schools' curriculum or the construction of the new school building. Sometimes he also interceded for individuals or organizations petitioning the AIU for assistance. Shortly after being appointed as the Chief Rabbi of Bulgaria, Dankowicz wrote to Paris a letter in which he expressed a great appreciation for what the AIU had already accomplished in the fields of education and the advancement of the Jewish population of Bulgaria and he also expressed hope that he would be able to continue the work initiated by the AIU.⁴²

Letters written to Paris by persons other than G. Arié, however, are scarce and the fact that almost the whole body of letters sent from Sofia to Paris in the years 1887 to 1892 was written by one person compels one to show considerable criticism and caution. As mentioned before, Arié enjoyed great favour of the AIU Central Committee; his letters contain many casual comments and personal remarks which do not necessarily reflect the actual or prevailing feelings of the whole Jewish community in Sofia. Such is the case, for example, with the election of Dankowicz to the position of the Chief Rabbi. On his arrival to Sofia in July 1888, Arié sent to Paris a long letter describing the candidate—his appearance, character and demeanour—in a very negative light. Among other things, he wrote:

Dankowicz's gestures, speech, and behaviour are German by which I mean that they are cold, heavy, and a bit clumsy. Without any energetic motion, without a single warm word or a single friendly gesture (...) Dankowicz haven't even smiled the whole day! The source of instruction though he may be, I'd prefer to see less depth and more refinement and splendour.⁴³

He added, too, that Dankowicz liked to impress others with his erudition and lofty words. He also mentioned his hoarse voice. His feelings did not really change during the entire period of Dankowicz's stay in Bulgaria; in the letters he sent to the AIU in those years, he regularly included some critical comments about Dankowicz, for example that the rabbi reminded him of Moliere's *Tartuffe*, that he lacked dignity, or that he was self-

⁴⁰ AAU Bulg. I C 5; 16.5.1893.

⁴¹ In addition to synthetic studies of the history of the Jews in the Balkan countries, by A. Rodrigue and E. Benbassa, where the history of the Bulgarian Diaspora has been discussed very generally.

⁴² AAU Bulg. IV B 99; 20.1.1889; 9.7.1889; 21.7.1889; AAU Bulg. XXIII 153b; 2.10.1891.

⁴³ AAU Bulg. XXII E 153a; 1.7.1888.

centred. He accused Dankowicz of making a ritual out of eating meals, of being slow to act, and of clumsiness. Although Arié often suggested that his sentiments are shared by other members of the community, this seems unlikely in the light of facts; for example, if Dankowicz had been judged equally negatively by other members of the committee responsible for choosing the chief rabbi, he would probably never have been chosen in the first place.⁴⁴

The dislike Arié showed, however, clearly reveals an important aspect of the Jewish life in the Principality of Bulgaria. With the increasing influence of the AIU, the processes of Westernization sped up and the importance of the Ashkenazi Jews increased as well. This is most evident in the fact that from 1889 the position of the Chief Rabbi of Bulgaria was occupied successively by three Ashkenazi rabbis—Szymon Dankowicz, Moritz Grünwald and Moritz Ehrenpreis. Arié was disapproving of all of them;⁴⁵ at the same time, he suggested the AIU to elect a candidate of Sephardic extraction. Such was the case, for example, at the turn of the years 1891 and 1892 when it was still unknown whether Dankowicz's contract would be prolonged. Arié noted at that time that the reason for many of the problems that had surfaced was Dankowicz's lack of understanding of the local colour:

There is a need for things other than a doctorate in any field, to be the leader of communities in a situation as volatile as ours.⁴⁶

At the same time, he praised the qualities of a candidate for Dankowicz's successor—Abraham Danon.⁴⁷

Letters sent to the AIU constitute, therefore, a very important source in the research into the relationships between the Ashkenazi and the Sephardic Jews in Bulgaria. This is one aspect of the history of the Bulgarian Diaspora which, similarly to the work of subsequent Chief Rabbis, still waits to be further explored.

ABBREVIATIONS

AI = Archives Israélites. Recueil politique et religieux.

AAIU Bulg. = Archives of the Alliance Israélite Universelle in Paris. Collection Bulgarie.

DN = *Die Neuzeit. Wochenschrift für politische, religiöse und Kultur-Interessen.*

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ Benbassa Rodrigue 1998: 23.

⁴⁶ AAIU Bulg. I C 5; 10.1.1891.

⁴⁷ AAIU Bulg. I C 7; 25.1.1892.

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*IN ETERNAL MEMORY SHALL HE REMAIN RIGHTEOUS.
FORMED FROM THE DUST OF THE GROUND, MORE SPLENDID THAN A JEWEL.*
**LITHOGRAPHIC PORTRAITS OF RABBIS IN THE COLLECTION OF THE NATIONAL
MUSEUM IN KRAKÓW**

Magdalena Czubińska

In Memory of My Aunt, Helena Wolf-Tešlik

Key words: rabbi, portrait, lithography, the National Museum in Kraków

Abstract: The article presents the rare and unknown collection of Rabbis at The National Museum in Kraków. In Poland, ravaged by so many wars and pogroms, such objects are extremely rare. The National Museum in Cracow has a relatively sizeable collection of lithographic portraits of *rabbis*, composed of 28 items, which were mostly donated by the great benefactors of the Museum, Waław Lasocki and Władysław Bartynowski. A social position of Rabbi in Jewish community has been described. The names and the biographies of the Rabbis have been established. The information about their lives has been given, together with the descriptions of the portraits. The text is the first scientific information, description and interpretation of these portraits.

In Poland, ravaged by so many wars and pogroms, such objects are extremely rare. The National Museum in Cracow has a relatively sizeable collection of lithographic portraits of *rabbis*, composed of 28 items, which were mostly donated by our great benefactors, Waław Lasocki and Władysław Bartynowski.

In 1904, Waław Lasocki presented the Museum with, among other things, 19 lithographic depictions of *rabbis*. In the same year, Władysław Bartynowski donated six portraits. One lithograph was donated by Zygmunt Wolski (1912), another one by Hieronim Wilder in 1922, and two are of unknown origin. Most of the portraits were obtained prior to the First World War, bearing testimony to the versatile interests of the contemporary Cracow-based collectors of graphic arts.

The portraits will be discussed according to the chronological order of the historical figures they represent, as it is impossible to attempt any precise dating of the lithographs in question.

The term *rabbi* is derived from the Hebrew word *rav* (“master”, “teacher”). It refers to the spiritual guide of a Jewish community, held in great esteem and recognized as an authority in Mosaic Law, as well as a teacher in the Torah, Talmud, and Halacha.

A Jewish *rabbi* is neither a priest nor a cleric, as he does not perform any religious rites. His competence is affirmed by a document known as *smicha* (literally, “the laying of hands”), issued by a renowned scholar in Jewish Law. *Rabbis* are not distinguished by any particular (liturgical) costume, although they tend to wear their traditional clothes (a long gaberdine, sidelocks, beard). The Ashkenazi Jews usually wore black (dark-coloured), sometimes striped or patterned, gaberdines. They also wore the obligatory skull-cap (yarmulke), fur caps (called *shtreimel* or *spodik*) or hats. On the other hand, the Sephardic Jews would be distinguished by different head coverings, such as “turbans,” pointed hats, as well as wider, patterned gaberdines, and Turkish-like pointed slippers. *Rabbis* were adept in the Jewish religious law and competent to resolve all questions pertaining to the sphere of ritual purity, the life and functions of a Jewish community, including education (supervision of *yeshivas*). However, as they were in fact secular individuals, they could engage in private enterprise, such as trade and commerce.¹

The first depictions of *rabbis* appeared in Italy in the 16th century. At that time, *rabbis* would keep the portraits of their spiritual masters inside their quarters. This custom would then spread to other countries as well. Portraits of some Dutch *rabbis* are attested as early as the 17th century. For the most part, they were copper- and (later) steel-engravings. From the beginning, representations of *rabbis* conformed to a certain established iconographic pattern. Most often, it would be a *rabbi*'s bust holding a book in his hand, with bookshelves and a window with a view in the portrait's background. The books were symbolic of the teacher's knowledge, studies, wisdom, and of his important role, while the open window constituted a metaphysical reference to seeking contact with God. Sephardic *rabbis* were usually portrayed wearing their turbans or hats, and tunics or gaberdines,² whereas the Ashkenazi would be shown wearing gaberdines (alternatively, coats or *bekishe*) and fur hats (*spodik* or *shtreimel*) or simply yarmulkes on their head, the *tallit* on their shoulders, sometimes with the phylacteries on their head.³ *Tzadikim*⁴ wear gaberdines or *bekishe* (coats cut in at the waist, buttoned up with loops, with a fur lining), hats, *shtreimels* of fox fur,⁵ characteristic white socks, and knee-breeches.

Rafał Żebrowski describes the social function of *rabbis* in Poland as follows:⁶

The *rabbi* was employed by the [Jewish] community, and therefore he did not belong to any distinct hierarchical structure (such as that of the Church). In the first half of the 16th century, the Polish kings appointed general rabbis, for the whole of the state or its provinces, who

¹ *Polski słownik judaistyczny. Dzieje, kultura, religia, ludzie*, autorzy: N. Aleksion [et al.], eds. Z. Borzymińska, R. Żebrowski, vol. 1-2, Warszawa: Prószyński i S-ka, 2003, vol. 2, p. 386.

² For an extensive article on the Jewish garments (male and female) in the course of the centuries and in various countries, see the relevant page of the *Jewish Encyclopedia*: <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/4699-costume>.

³ *Tefillin* (Greek: phylacteries) – two black boxes made from the hide of a kosher animal, containing Biblical passages handwritten by a *sopher*.

⁴ *Tzadik* (Hebrew: “caddik” – righteous one) – in Hasidism, a charismatic leader of a religious community, venerated by community members. He is the highest authority on matters of faith and daily life of the community. *Tzadiks* were credited with the ability to remain in direct relations with God as well as many other supernatural capabilities: levitation, clairvoyance, miracle-working. They were referred to with the title *rebe* or *reb*.

⁵ See note 1.

⁶ *Rabi, rabbin, rebe. Rabini w Polsce*, Warszawa: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny im. Emanuela Ringelbluma, 2012, pp. 41-42.

would represent all of the Jews and were endowed with fairly extensive prerogatives in regard to the communities under their jurisdiction. The first of such rabbis was Jakub Polak, the renowned scholar from Cracow. Afterwards, the obligations of representing the Jews in the Commonwealth and exercising supervision over the communities were taken over by the units of self-government (the Council of Four Lands and the Council of the Land of Lithuania, abolished on the strength of the resolution of the Polish Diet in 1764) and the land rabbis. In the territories under Austrian rule, district rabbis were established by the Imperial patent of 1789, but the office was abolished in 1870. In the Congress Kingdom of Poland (under Russian rule), gubernatorial rabbis were appointed, but the term is misleading in that it did not reflect any territorial authority but referred to the Chief Rabbi (Polish: *nadrabin*) of the community in a gubernatorial city (among other things, he performed certain consultative functions, particularly as regards verification of the eligibility of candidates for rabbis). In general, the idea of establishing hierarchical “clerical” structures was alien to the spirit of Judaism. The position of a rabbi was decided above all by his renown as a scholar (and also that of his *yeshiva*,⁷ if he was the head of one), and, to a certain extent, the stature of the city/town where he held his office. Over time, several rabbis would be appointed in the major centres, thus forming collegial bodies known as *rabbinate*s.

The earliest figure represented in our collection of lithographs (the portrait donated by Władysław Bartynowski) is **Moses Maimonides**⁸ (also known as *Rabbi Moshe ben Maimon*, *Rambam*, *Abu Imran Musa Ibn Maimun*, Hebrew: רבי משה בן מיימון, Arabic: موسى بن ميمون بن عبد الله القرطبي الإسراييلي (Cordoba, 1135 – Cairo, 1204). Maimonides was a philosopher, the most important representative of Jewish Aristotelianism. He remains one of the most interesting and outstanding Jewish figures of the Middle Ages. He was born in Spain, at that time under Islamic rule. Some sources claim that prior to his flight from Spain he had converted to Islam in order to save his life and protect his family. He left for Fez (Morocco), where he studied theology and medicine. In 1165, he took up residence in Egypt. His close acquaintance with sultan Saladin and his service as the sultan’s personal physician are well-known (he is sometimes called “great Islamic rabbi”). Also called the *Rabbi of Cairo*, he acted as the leader of the Jewish community there. He is the author of several treatises.⁹

This imaginary portrait depicts the interior of a chamber, with a bearded man dressed in a gaberdyne and wearing a fur cap, sitting at a low table and writing in a book. The portrait shows the figure in left profile. A treatise on geometry (opened) and a bread-

⁷ One of the important tasks of *rabbis* was the establishing and managing of *yeshivas* (academies). In the 16th century, *yeshivas* in the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania rose to prominence and were noted for their high level of education, to mention only those in Cracow (since 1509), Poznań, Lvov, Ostrog, Vladimir in Volhynia, Pinsk, Brest’, and Slutsk. The most famous *yeshivas* existed in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, notably in Volozhin (active in the years 1802-1892), Mir (active until 1939, and later reactivated in Jerusalem and New York), Telsiai (re-established after World War II in Cleveland), Slobodka, Navahrudak, Baranoviचे, Panevezys, Slutsk, Kielmy, and Raduń.

⁸ <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/11124-moses-ben-maimon>.

⁹ He is the author of the *Guide for the Perplexed*, where he laid out the basics of rationalist philosophy and the doctrinal principles of Judaism. His views on the philosophies of Plato and Aristotle influenced such Christian philosophers as Thomas Aquinas. He also wrote the most significant commentary on the Talmud entitled *Book of Commandments (Sefer ha-Micwot)* and formulated the so-called *Thirteen Principles of Faith*, where he set forth the fundamentals of Judaism. For a discussion of his writings, see Isadore Twersky, *Maimonides*, in: *Understanding Rabbinic Judaism. From Talmudic to Modern Times*, ed. Jacob Neusner, New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1974, p. 202. ISBN 0-87068-238-5.

basket (?) can be seen on the table. A spherical globe and books are placed behind the table. In the background, a triangle and a shelf with glass utensils on the wall to the left and a draped curtain on the right.

The Hebrew inscription is accompanied with the following Polish one below: *Moyzesz Majmonides Żył w Wieku XII: m:* [“Moses Maimonides. He Lived in the 12th Century”].

Another portrait is that of **Hezekiah da Silva** (1659-1695), a Sephardic *rabbi* in Jerusalem. According to the inscription, the lithograph was made in Poland. It is worth noting that images of Sephardic Jews are fairly rare in Poland. The only Sephardic community in Poland was located at Zamość, where Jan Zamoyski allowed a group of Sephardic Jews (of Spanish and Lusitanian origin) to settle in 1588. They came from Italy to take up residence in the city of Zamość (founded by Zamoyski).¹⁰ They dealt in diamonds, expensive textiles, and Oriental handicrafts. The Sephardic community of Zamość retained its autonomous status and had not been subordinate to the highest authority of the Jewish self-government in the Commonwealth (*the Council of Four Lands*) until as late as the mid-17th century. Following the period of the Cossack uprisings of the 17th century, a large number of Ashkenazi fugitives from Volhynia and Podolia came to settle in Zamość.¹¹ In 1684, a Sephardic community was established in Zamość. Eventually, the two groups became intermingled, which would result in a specific and unique culture drawing from the both sources. The renowned *rabbis* Eliezer Lipman ben Manli and Shlomo ben Moshe lived and worked there in the 18th century. Towards the end of the 18th century, Zamość became a centre of the Haskala (Jewish Enlightenment). The city was noted for its numerous Hebrew printing houses and the weekly *Zamojszczer Sztyme* (“The Zamość Voice”). The famous figure Icchak Lejb Percec was born to a Sephardic family living in Zamość (in 1852). Hence, it is reasonable to assume that the lithographic portrait of *Rabbi da Silva* was made in Zamość.

Hezekiah da Silva (Hezekiah Silva, 1659-1698) (הזקיה בן דוד די סילווא) was a Sephardic Jewish scholar born at Livorno, Italy. He went to Jerusalem to begin his studies at the *yeshiva* of Moses Galante. After a period of travelling (he published his famous *Peri Hadash* in Amsterdam), he settled in Jerusalem, where he continued to be active as a scholar and *rabbi*. It is a half-length portrait, *en trois quarts* right. The man is dressed in a gaber-dine and wears a turban on his head. The whole portrait is set within a rectangular frame, its corners adorned with an acanthus pattern. Below the Hebrew inscription, there is also one in Polish: *Rabin Ch. Diesilwe*. It is not known whether the portrait is modelled on an actual depiction of the *rabbi* or is a purely imaginary representation.

¹⁰ Maria and Kazimierz Piechotko, *Oppidum Judaeorum. Żydzi w przestrzeni miejskiej dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, Krupski i S-ka, Warszawa 2004, pp. 220-221.

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 221: *The Ashkenazi Jews, the so-called Polish Jews from the territories of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, were not entitled to the privileges. They were permitted to reside at Zamość in exceptional cases, with the consent of both the Jewish community there and the proprietor of the city. And further on: The first mentions referring to a rabbi and synagogue service date from the years 1601-3. The Jews would probably gather for prayers at private houses, in accordance with the privilege of 1588, after which they built a wooden synagogue (first mentioned in 1603). Most likely in 1620, or a little later, it was replaced with the surviving brick synagogue, located at ul. Żydowska (Jewish St.). The kahal building, cheder, and mykvah were added later.*

Another figure represented in the lithographs collection is **Aryeh Loeb ben Saul**, also called Levi Saul Löwenstamm (Cracow, c. 1690 – Amsterdam, 1755).¹² He was the son and grandson of, respectively, *Rabbi* Saul and *Rabbi* Hoeschl of Cracow. He lived and worked as *rabbi* at various locations such as Dubno (in Volhynia), Dukla, Tarnopol, Rzeszów, Głogów, Lwów (Lviv). In 1740, he was appointed *Rabbi* of Amsterdam. In 1751, he was asked to serve as *Rabbi* of Prague, but he declined the offer. His son, Saul, served as *Rabbi* of London and Berlin, while his daughter was the wife of Yitzhak HaLevi, *Rabbi* of Cracow. Their son, Tzvi Hirsch David Ha-Levi, would later serve as *Rabbi* of Cracow as well.

The lithograph depicts the interior of a room and a sitting man with a round, serene face, portrayed *en trois quarts* right. He is dressed in a (silk?) floral-patterned coat and a fur-trimmed cap (*shtrimele*). In the background, there are a window and a column on the right and a bookcase on the left. A draped curtain can be seen above.

Below the picture, there is an inscription in Hebrew. The corresponding Polish inscription below reads: *Saul Levi urodzony w Polsce niegdyś Rabin Synagogi Niemieckiej Izraelitów w Amszterdamie* [“Saul Levi, born in Poland, formerly the Rabbi of the German Synagogue of the Israelites in Amsterdam”].

The following portraits represent the figure whose whole life was closely connected with Vilnius, namely **Elijah ben Shlomo Zalman Kremer**¹³ (Hebrew: ר' אליהו בן שלמה זלמן) (Vilnius, 1720 – Vilnius, 1797), known as the Vilna Gaon (Hebrew for *genius*) or Elijah of Vilna. He was also referred to by his Hebrew acronym “Gra” (“**G**aon **R**abbenu **E**liyahu”) or Elijah Ben Solomon. He was a Talmudist, Halachist, and kabbalist. He acted as the leader of the *Misnagdim*, the Orthodox movement in opposition to Hasidism (he pronounced two excommunications against the followers of Hasidic movement and ordered the burning of their books). He encouraged his prominent disciple, *Rabbi* Chaim Volozhin, to establish a *yeshiva* at Volozhin¹⁴ (in present-day Belarus). Opened in 1803, it revolutionized Torah study and became one of the best rabbinical academies in the world. The Vilna Gaon introduced philological methods into Torah study, subjecting the language and literary values to the criteria of academic study. He wrote numerous commentaries on the Talmud. On his incentive, three groups set out from Lithuania to Israel and settled permanently at Safed.¹⁵ Elijah of Vilna had an impact on the formation of the spiritual identity of the Lithuanian Jewry (not to be confused with the “Litvaks”¹⁶).

There are seven portraits of the Vilna Gaon in possession of the National Museum in Cracow. The authors of six of them remain unknown, while one was made by Józef

¹² <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/1863-aryeh-loeb-ben-saul>.

¹³ Heschel Lewin, *‘Aliyyat Eliyahu*, p. 74, Wilna, 1854, and Stettin, 1862.

¹⁴ The *yeshiva* was founded in 1806. It was called the “Mother of all *yeshivas*.” As the first modern establishment of this type (the building has survived to this day), it served as a model for others.

¹⁵ Cf. <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/8291-israel-ben-samuel-ashkenazi-of-shklov>, as well as <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/7397-hayyim-ben-tobiah>.

¹⁶ “Litvaks” (Polish: *Litwacy*) is a colloquial term that refers to the Jews migrating to the Congress Kingdom of Poland from the territories of the partitioned Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth under Russian rule, particularly Lithuania and northern Belarus, in the late 19th century. The first “Litvaks”, about 70,000 families, arrived in the Congress Kingdom of Poland in the early 1890s. The Jews from the Russian-ruled partition of Poland had mostly adopted Russian culture and used Russian in their daily life. Poles would often regard them as instruments of Russification. The “Litvaks” preferred to settle near the major industrial centres such as Warsaw and Łódź. Cf. Andrzej Nieważny, *Litwacy*, <http://www.rp.pl/artykul/149365.html>.

Hilary Głowacki (1789-1858), a Vilnius-based artist. The latter portrait is marked by its precise modelling and chiaroscuro, whereas the other images are more contour-like and “flat”. All of them were made in the first quarter of the 19th century. The portraits show an elderly man in a room, half-length, with his right elbow resting on a desktop and holding a quill pen in his right hand. He is dressed in a wide coat with a large fur collar or a gaberdine with loops, and a high fur *kolpik*. There is a bookcase visible in the background. Four of the Vilna Gaon’s portraits show him with an unidentified book in his hand, symbolizing his knowledge. On two portraits, he is shown wearing a gaberdine with loops, with a *tallit* on his shoulders, a yarmulke and the *tefillin* (phylacteries) on his head. Three of the portraits bear the following inscription: *podług Oryginału znajdujacego się w Bibliotece Warszawskiej* [“based on the original kept at the Warsaw Library”].

And below: *W pamięci wiecznej będzie Raban ELIASZ Syn Salomona z Wilna przyłączon do ludu swego 28 Września 1797 r.* [“In eternal memory shall Rabbi ELIJAH of Vilnius Son of Salomon be united with his people, 28 September 1797”].

Four of the portraits, including the one by Głowacki, bear the following inscription (in Polish and Hebrew):

W PAMIĘCI WIECZNEY BĘDZIE SPRAWIEDLIWY.

Z gliny odcięty wyborniejszy od klejnotu

Jeśli go czyje oko niewidziało,

wyrażona przed nami wielkość Jego

Ten to jest wysoki, wielki, podziw wieku, pochodnia Izraelitów Któremu równy we wszystkich

siedmiu umiejętnościach nie powstał (...)

RABAN ELIASZ SYN SALOMONA z Wilna

przyłączon do ludu swego 28 Września MDCCXCVII Ru.

[“IN ETERNAL MEMORY SHALL HE REMAIN RIGHTEOUS. Formed from the dust of the ground, more splendid than a jewel/Should he not have been noticed in anybody’s eyes/His greatness is manifested before us/For He is the eminent and grand one, the marvel of his century, the torch of Israelites who has no rival in all of the seven abilities (...)

RABBI ELIJAH SON OF SALOMON of Vilnius/united with his people on 28 September MDCCXCVII”]

The collection contains just one portrait of **Aryeh Löb ben Hayyim Breslau**,¹⁷ the Talmudist born in Wrocław (Breslau) in 1741. He was appointed *Rabbi* of Rotterdam in 1781 and worked there until his death in 1809. Known as the author of a large number of responsa and commentaries, he was a very popular and respected figure in the Netherlands. In his responsa *Pene Aryeh*, published in Rotterdam in 1790, he made use of the principles of logic for the purpose of interpreting and reading the Talmud. His style was very lucid and clear, void of intricate phraseologies characteristic of the styles of many scholars.

Considering its iconography, the portrait represents the type of rabbinical image that was popular throughout Western Europe. The sitting man, half-length, is situated within a niche bordered by pilasters at its sides, a semi-circle at the top, and a sort of a ledge

¹⁷ <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/3684-breslau-aryeh-lob-ben-hayyim>.

(writing desk). The figure is shown *en trois quarts* right, moving the index finger of his right hand over the text in a book resting on the desk. He is dressed in a gaberdine, patterned coat, and a high fur hat (*spodik*). The portrait is accompanied by the inscriptions in Hebrew and Polish: *Lewek Breslau były Rabin w Rotterdamie* [“Lewek Breslau, former Rabbi in Rotterdam”].

Another lithographic image portrays **Israel Jonah Landau** (Jonasz Izrael Landau) (d. 1824), *Rabbi* of Kępcno (in Wielkopolska), the initiator of the erection of the impressive synagogue in that town in 1814. Israel Jonah Landau is the author of the famed work entitled *Me'on ha-Berakot*, published at Dyhernfurth (1816). There are two portraits of this *rabbi* in the collection of the National Museum, both of them signed, which is rather uncommon for such items; one of them was made by Jan Grządzielski, the other by Johann David Grūson, a painter and lithographer from Wrocław.

The portraits are based on the same original depiction of the *rabbi*. He is represented half-length, *en trois quarts* left, with his head slightly turned to the left, and an open book in his hands. He is dressed in a gaberdine, with a yarmulke on his head. In the background of the lithographic portrait by Grządzielski, there is a bookcase on the left, and a window with a draped curtain to the right. The Polish inscription reads: *Rabi Israel Jonas Landau Rabin w Kempnie przeniósł się do wieczności d. 18. Stycznia 1824* [“Rabbi Israel Jonas Landau, Rabbi in Kępcno, passed away on 18 January, 1824”]. On the other hand, the portrait by Grūson has a uniformly blank background, with no window or bookcase. The German inscription reads: *RABBI ISRAEL IONES LANDAU OBERRABINER zu KEMPEN*.

Rabbi Tzvi Hirsch David ha-Lewi (Cwi Hirsz Dawid Ha-Lewy), the son of *Rabbi* Yitzhak HaLevi and the grandson of the aforementioned Aryeh Loeb ben Saul, was one of the significant personages of the Jewish community of Cracow. There are two portraits of this *rabbi* in our collection. One of them is a work of the Cracow-based lithographic workshop of Piotr Wyszowski, and the other was made by an anonymous artist. The two lithographs are very similar in their composition: a sitting man, half-length, turned to the left, is shown inside the interior of a room, all set within a rectangular frame. His head is shown *en face*. He is dressed in a gaberdine and an overcoat, with a high fur headgear known as *kolpik* (*spodik*). An open book rests on the *rabbi*'s knees. In the background, bookcases and a draped curtain can be seen to the left.

The first *rabbi* of Warsaw in our collection **Chaim Dawidsohn** (Dawidson) (Pińczów, 1760 – Warsaw, 1854). He was the son of scholar Dawid Teweli. Bereaved at a young age, he was brought up by Naftali Hersza of Secemin, a merchant, bill of exchange banker, and court factor of King Stanisław Poniatowski. During the November Uprising in the Congress Kingdom of Poland (1830-1831), he was opposed to the Jewish participation in the Municipal Guard and disapproved of their practice of beard-shaving. In 1840, he was appointed Chief Rabbi of Warsaw (after Salomon Załman Lipszyc). In 1854, he was awarded the title of “eminent citizen” (the only *rabbi* to have received this particular distinction).¹⁸ Despite his strong affiliation with the *Misnagdim* (who were in

¹⁸ The adjective *poczesny* stands for “important,” “distinguished.” The rank “eminent citizen” originated in Russia and refers to the type of distinction similar to the Polish “honorary citizen.” This title was conferred by municipal authorities in the Russian-ruled partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

opposition to the Hasidim), he was able to co-operate with all the circles of the Jewish community of Warsaw.

There are two portraits of Chaim Dawidson in our collection, both of them representing the same, and the most common, iconographic type. The *rabbi's* bust, *en trois quarts* right, is set within a rectangular frame. He is dressed in a cloak (*kapote*) and a fur cap (*spodik*), an open book held in his hands.

There is a Hebrew inscription below the portrait. The corresponding Polish inscription reads: *CHAIM DAWIDSOHN Rabin Okręgów Warszawskich, zgał r. 1854 w 94 r. cnotliwego życia swego* [“CHAIM DAWIDSOHN Rabbi of Warsaw Community Districts, passed away in 1854, in the 94th year of his virtuous life”].

The following two portraits in the collection of our lithographs are those of **Akiva Eger** (*Akiva Güns*, Hebrew: עקיבא אייגער) (Eisenstadt, Burgenland, Austria, 1761—Poznań, 1837), an outstanding Talmudic and Halachic scholar, and the head of the *yeshiva* at Leszno. He served as *Rabbi* of Mirosławiec and, later on, of Poznań. Regarded as a spiritual leader of the Orthodox circles of German Jewry, Akiva Eger was an opponent of the Reformist tendencies of the period. He was also a *mohel* and the author of many writings. In 1807, he took part in talks concerning the rights of the Jewish communities in the Principality of Warsaw.¹⁹

The National Museum in Cracow has two portraits of Akiva Eger in its collection, one of which is signed by Jan Grządzielski, the author known for the aforementioned portrait of Israel Jonah Landau. It represents the half-length figure of the *rabbi* sitting behind a lectern in his room, with a window on the right and a bookcase to the left. The German inscription reads as follows: *JAKÓB EGER, Ober Landes Rabiner zu Posen*. The other portrait depicts the sitting half-length figure of the *rabbi*, *en face*, dressed in a large cloak fitted with a wide collar and a soft fur-trimmed hat on his head. The German inscription reads: *RABI AKIBA EIGER Oberlandes Rabbiner zu Posen*. To the right, the same text repeated in Hebrew.

The first portrait of a *tzadik* in our collection is a depiction of **Isachar Dow Ber** (1765-1843), the founder of the Hasidic dynasty of Radoszyce. He was a student of Jacob Isaac Horowitz (Ha-Choze mi-Lublin, known as “the Seer of Lublin”) and Yaakov Yitzchak of Przysucha (known as “the Holy Jew”). He was considered as a miracle-worker with the gift of exorcising evil spirits (he was called the *Little Baalshem*). Isachar Dow Ber appears in a narrative of his visit with “the Seer of Lublin” in order to ask the latter for some grain for the feasts of Purim and Pesach. Because of food shortages in that year, the grain supplies had run out before the Pesach. Also, a snowstorm came on and it was impossible to go out and get some food. Unexpectedly, on the day before the Pesach, some rich man came in an expensive carriage and brought some supplies of meat, potatoes, and flour from “the Seer of Lublin.” After the feast day, Isachar Dow Ber went to visit “the Seer of Lublin,” and the latter spoke to him with the following words: *Berele, on your behalf I had to intercede with the Lord, in order that He change the weather and bring on this awful blizzard. And this is so that you could have food on the Pesach. Don't ever make me do it again!*²⁰

¹⁹ *Rabi, rabin, rebe, op. cit.*, pp. 64-65.

²⁰ Cf. <http://www.kirkuty-lublin.pl/stary-cmentarz-w-lublinie/postacie.html>.

The *tzadik*'s portrait is impressive and elaborate in its iconographic depiction. It is set inside a study with an alcove. There is a man, dressed in a floral-patterned gaberdine and a fur hat, sitting at his desk. Two men wearing Hasidic garments are standing in front of him. A little boy is standing by the desk, to the right. In the background, a window can be seen on the right and the alcove curtains to the left.²¹

We have three lithographic portraits of **Dow Ber Meisels**²² (Meisels, Dob Berush B. Isaac) (Szczekociny, 1798 – Warsaw, 1870). He received his education at Kamieniec Podolski (where his father was a *rabbi*), founded a banking house, maintained relations with members of the wealthy bourgeoisie and nobility, and could speak Polish. At the time of the November Uprising, he acted as a man of confidence of Count Ludwik Morsztyn, a delegate of the government of the Kingdom of Poland. He helped to supply weapons and munitions to the insurgents. In 1832, he became the *Rabbi* of Cracow. Also, he was a senator of the Cracow Republic, a deputy to the first Parliament of the Austrian Empire, and an opponent of anti-Jewish discrimination. In 1848, he wrote a pronouncement addressed to the Jews, calling for support for the demands of the Spring of Nations movement, and began his co-operation with the pro-Hungarian committee in Cracow, aiding in smuggling arms and printed material from Prussia to Hungary. In 1856, he was appointed *Chief Rabbi* of Warsaw, thanks to the support received from members of the assimilation movement. However, he used the title of “*Rabbi* of Cracow residing in Warsaw,” due to the superior status of Cracow in the Jewish religious hierarchy. He called for the unity of Jews and Poles. Along with the *rabbis* Kramsztyk and Jastrow, he was a leading figure in the political phenomenon called “Polish-Jewish fraternization.”²³ On February 27, 1861, a demonstration took place in Warsaw, demanding social reforms, protection of the civil rights, and release of those arrested during the manifestation two days before, on February 25, 1861. The Imperial Russian troops opened fire, killing five protesters. During the disturbance, the Russian soldiers and policemen entered the premises of some of the churches in Warsaw, in an attempt to break up the crowds. As a sign of protest, the churches were closed, following this apparent act of desecration. In an effort to show their solidarity with the Catholics, the *rabbis* Meisels, Kramsztyk, and Jastrow ordered the closing of all the Warsaw synagogues, in response to the appeal made by Archbishop Antoni Melchior Fijałkowski. The *rabbis* Meisels and Jastrow attended the funeral of the victims that took place at the Powązki Cemetery on Saturday, March 2, 1861,²⁴ which would turn into a manifestation of solidarity among the various sectors of the society of the Congress Kingdom of Poland (on Aleksander Lesser's painting *The Funeral of the Five Fallen*, Dow ber Meisels is portrayed to the left of Archbishop of Warsaw Zygmunt Feliński, in the central part of the painting, with Markus Jastrow, a preacher at the Reformed synagogue, next to him). He was arrested for his participation in this social and political demonstration, imprisoned in the Citadel of Warsaw, and subsequently forced to leave the territory of the Kingdom of Poland. Following his

²¹ Cf. “Radomir”, issue 5 (11) 87 (the quarterly published by PTTK-Radom, the Radom branch of the Polish Tourist Association), featuring a portrait of Izroel Hopsztajn, the *tzadik* of Koziencice, set up in a similar iconographic pattern: the *tzadik* sitting at a writing desk, in front of him, to the right—a group of three men standing, a student (his son) to the left.

²² <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/10766-meisels-berisch-baer>.

²³ *Atlas historii Żydów polskich*, Warszawa: Demart, 2010, p. 205.

²⁴ The Jewish holiday, inappropriate for a funeral to take place on.

return to Warsaw, he would avoid direct involvement in the January Uprising (1863), but he refused to excommunicate the Jewish insurgents. For the rest of his life, he remained under surveillance by the Imperial Russian state police. He was also active in the fields of charity and academic work. *Rabbi* Meisels was interred at the Jewish Cemetery in Okopowa St., his funeral becoming a great manifestation of the Polish and Jewish unity against the repressive policy of the Imperial Russian administration.²⁵

In two of the portraits, *Rabbi* Meisels²⁶ is depicted as a figure sitting in an armchair, half-length, wearing a gaberdine, with a yarmulke on his head and a book in his right hand. One of these portraits was made by an anonymous artist, while the other one is the work of the well-known Warsaw-based lithographer Henryk Aschenbrenner. The third portrait, signed with the initials H.P., represents a male bust, *en trois quarts* left, dressed in a cloak and a fur-trimmed hat (*shtreimel*). The same composition of the figure (*Rabbi* Meisels) was used by Aleksander Regulski (as based on a drawing by Franciszek Tegazzo) in a portrait produced by means of the end-grain wood engraving technique for the journal *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*, in 1870 (no. 104).²⁷

Contemporary with Dow Ber Meisels, *Rabbi Izaak Kramsztyk*²⁸ (Warsaw, 1814 – Warsaw, 1889)²⁹ received his education at the rabbinical school in Warsaw and afterwards became a teacher there. Affiliated with the Reformist rabbinical circles, he was active as a preacher, lawyer, and known as a Polish patriot. He was the founder of the synagogue at Nalewki St., where he would become the first one to teach the Talmud in Polish. On April 10, 1852, he delivered his solemn sermon at the newly-opened synagogue in Nalewki St. Contrary to the Tsarist restrictions against the Polish language, he continued to use Polish at the rabbinical school. He remained in support of the cause of Polish independence throughout his life. Like *Rabbi* Meisels, he took part in the funeral of the five victims of the bloody crackdown on the patriotic demonstration of February 27, 1861. For this reason, he was arrested and imprisoned in the Citadel of Warsaw, and then deported to Germany. He returned to Poland, but was arrested again following the outbreak of the January Uprising and deported to Siberia. He was allowed to return to Poland in 1867, several years after the fall of the insurgence. In 1871, he translated parts of the

²⁵ *Rabi, rabin, rebe, op. cit.*, p. 71.

²⁶ The National Museum in Cracow also has a portrait photograph of *Rabbi* Meisels: MNK XX-f-20140, by Karol Beyer, a Warsaw photographer, the author of photographs of such figures as Michał Lande, a student in the rabbinical school, “defender of the cross,” killed by the Russian troops during the demonstration of April 8, 1861.

²⁷ Aleksander Tadeusz Regulski (1839-1884), as per Franciszek Tegazzo (1829-1879),

Wood-engraving workshop of the journal *Tygodnika Ilustrowanego*, Warsaw

Dow (Dov, Dob) Ber (Beer, Berisz, Berush) Meisels (1798-1870), *Rabbi* of Cracow, later of Warsaw

Source: *Tygodnik Ilustrowany* 1870(1)104, 1870

13.8 x 10.6, end-grain wood engraving, paper

Signed, bottom left: monogram FT; bottom right: A. REGULSKI

Origin unknown

MNK III-ryc. 37317 & III-ryc. 37 312.

²⁸ <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/9495-kramsztyk-isaac>.

²⁹ *Rabbi* Izaak Kramsztyk is the great-grandfather of Stanisław Hartman [professor of mathematics, an inmate at the Gestapo prison of Pawiak in Warsaw, and a co-founder of the Wrocław mathematics school (in continuation of the Lvov school), an associate of the Workers’ Defence Committee (KOR) and the Academic Courses Society (*Towarzystwo Kursów Naukowych*)] and the great-great-grandfather of Professor Jan Hartman, philosopher and bioethicist.

Talmud into Polish, wrote commentaries thereto, and published *The Truth of Faith, or the Principles of the Mosaic Religion*. In 1878, he translated *The Parables of Salomon* into Polish. After his death, *The Sermons of Izaak Kramsztyk*, a collection of his first Polish-language sermons delivered at the synagogue, were published in Cracow (1892). He collaborated with the first Jewish periodicals issued in Polish: *Jutrzenka* and *Izraelita*.

Our lithographic collection has two portraits of Kramsztyk, by Henryk Aschenbrenner, printed at the popular lithographic workshop of Maksymilian Fajans in Warsaw. They depict a standing, knee-length portrait of Izaak Kramsztyk, *en trois quarts* left. A book in his left hand, his right hand rests on the table with a book on it. The third portrait, by Henryk Aschenbrenner as well, is a $\frac{3}{4}$ bust, in right profile.

The last but one portrait of the collection is that of **Marcus (Mordecai) Jastrow**³⁰ (Rogoźno, 1829 – Germantown, Philadelphia, 1903) a merchant, preacher, scholar, lexicographer, and an activist of the assimilation movement.³¹ He attended a Polish elementary school and the *Friedrich Wilhelm Gymnasium* in Poznań. Afterwards, he went to Berlin to study history of philosophy, logic, philology, and Greek literature. In 1853, he was appointed *rabbi* (he received his *smicha* at Rogoźno). Later on, in 1858, he became the *rabbi* and preacher at the German (Reformist) synagogue in Daniłowiczowska St., Warsaw. Just like the *rabbis* Dow Ber Meisels and Izaak Kramsztyk, he took part in the funeral of the five victims of the patriotic demonstration in 1861. Despite the fact that the burial took place on a Sabbath day, the three *rabbis* were present at the Powązki Cemetery (Jastrow was one of the notable figures commemorated in Aleksander Lesser's painting in honour of the event). On the same day, Jastrow preached his first sermon in Polish at the Warsaw synagogue. In an effort to evade the Russian censorship, the sermon was published on the following day (Sunday) in 10,000 copies and distributed within a week. After the desecration of the churches in Warsaw by the Russian soldiers in connection with the suppression of the demonstrations, the three *rabbis* (M. Jastrow, Dow Ber Meisels, Izaak Kramsztyk) decided to close down the synagogues. In consequence, Jastrow was arrested and imprisoned in the Citadel of Warsaw. He was held in solitary confinement for twenty-three days; subsequently, he spent seventy-two days in a cell shared with *Rabbi* Meisels. As a Prussian subject, he was released from prison and left Warsaw. For two years, he served as *Rabbi* of Worms. Finally, in 1866, he emigrated to America and was appointed *Rabbi* of the Rodeph Shalom Congregation in Philadelphia. He was one of the advocates of Conservative-Reformist Judaism and a lecturer at the Maimonides College in Philadelphia. In the editing field, he was a co-editor of the *Jewish Encyclopedia* and a coordinator of the work on the new English translation of the Hebrew Bible. He was also the vice-president of the American Zionist Society. His sermons in Polish were collected and published as *Kazania Polskie* (Poznań, 1863).

His portrait in the collection of the National Museum in Cracow³² was made by Henryk Aschenbrenner and published by the Artistic Lithography Workshop of Adam

³⁰ <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/8532-jastrow-marcus-mordecai>.

³¹ Michał Galas has written and published two studies on *Rabbi Jastrow: Rabin Markus Jastrow i jego wizja reformy judaizmu. Studium z dziejów judaizmu w drugiej połowie XIX wieku*, Wydawnictwo Austeria, Kraków 2007^[5] and *Rabin Markus Jastrow (1829-1903) – polski patriota i reformator amerykańskiego judaizmu*.

³² The National Museum in Cracow has a photo of *Rabbi Jastrow* (MNK XX-f.-19998) by the Warsaw-based photographer Karol Beyer, known as the father of Polish photography. See note 20.

Dzwonkowski in Warsaw. It is a waist-length view of the *rabbi*'s figure, almost *en face*. He is dressed in a cloak, covered with a *tallit* and *atara*,³³ and a yarmulke on his head, with an open book held in his hands.

The latest lithograph of this collection is a portrait of **Abraham Cwi Perlmutter** (**Abram Hirsz Perlmutter**, Hebrew: אברהם צבי פערלמוטער) (Łęczycza [most probably], 1843 – Warsaw, 1930). His father was a cantor (*chazan*) and composer. In 1861, he was appointed as *Rabbi* of Łęczycza; thereafter, he served as *rabbi* at Oświęcim, Będzin, Raciąż, and Pabianice. He may have possibly taken part in the January Uprising.³⁴ In 1886, he was appointed as *Rabbi* in Radom, where he would be held in high esteem, receiving the title of *Radomer Rav* (*Rabbi* of Radom). Around 1901, he became the head of the rabbinate of Warsaw and the Warsaw rabbinical court. He acted as a representative of the Jewish community in the State Council of the Congress Kingdom of Poland (as a virilist). Afterwards, he became one of the founders of the Jewish Orthodox party *Agudat Israel* and would represent that party as a deputy elected to the Legislative Assembly (*Sejm Ustawodawczy*) of the Second Polish Republic, from the electoral district of Lublin. In the years 1919-1922, he was a member of the Free Union of the Deputies of Jewish Nationality. As a deputy, he supported and worked for such causes as emancipation of the Polish Jews (in terms of both civil rights and duties) and granting autonomy to the Jewish communities. He was also active in the field of charitable work. Posthumously, he was awarded with the Cross of the Order of *Polonia Restituta*.

He was the author of Talmudic treatises such as *Demeszek Eliezer* and *Erec Cwi*.

The lithographic portrait depicts a bust of an elderly man with a long, grey beard, in 3/4 right, with a yarmulke on his head.

The twenty-eight lithographic portraits of *rabbis* in the collection of the National Museum in Cracow appear to be a very valuable and comparatively rare set of works. It is unique in both its early date of origin (as most of them were donated in 1904) and the donors themselves, who were well aware of the great historical and cultural values of these lithographic depictions. It is worth noting that there are some 18th-century portraits of *rabbis* (etchings and steel engravings) in various museums of Western Europe. In Poland, historical monuments and works of art suffered major damage during the First and the Second World War, and thus the fact that the lithographs were donated to the museum in 1904 proved to have been crucial in helping to preserve them.

On the strictly artistic level, not each one of these portraits is an equally extraordinary work. Certainly, the portrait of *Rabbi* Perlmutter, by the accomplished artist Stanisław Lentz, is an artistically valuable lithographic representation. Other noteworthy portraits are those of the Vilna Gaon by Józef Hilary Głowacki, Israel Jonah Landau by Johann David Gruson, as well as the portraits of *rabbis* Meisels, Kramsztyk, and Jastrow by Henryk Aschenbrenner. At the same time, let us note that lithographic portraits were not very common and were usually made for the purpose of preserving images of famous figures – such as patriotic insurgents, officers, writers, poets.

³³ It is a decorative stripe, of varying lengths and widths, with geometrical silver embroideries sewn on to the upper hem of the *tallit* (a kind of collar).

³⁴ Marian Fuks, *Abraham Perlmutter*, in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. XXV, 1980; Szymon Rudnicki, *Żydzi w parlamencie II Rzeczypospolitej*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Sejmowe, 2004, pp. 411-419. ISBN 83-70596-39-8.

Catalogue of the lithographic portraits of Jewish Rabbi in the collection of the National Museum in Cracow



1.

Artist unknown, Poland [c. 1830]

Moses Maimonides, *Rabbi* Moshe ben Maimon, Rambam, Abu Imran Musa Ibn Maimun (Cordoba, 1135 – Cairo, 1204), philosopher (chief representative of Jewish Aristotelianism) and physician, *Rabbi* of Cairo

22.5(26.6) x 18(21.2), lithograph in pencil, ribbed paper

Unsigned

Inscription in Hebrew (3 lines); below, in Polish: *MOYZESZ MAYMONIDES ŻYŁ W WIEKU XII.*

Donated by Władysław Bartynowski

MNK III-ryc.-37324



2.

Artist unknown, Poland (Zamość?)

Hezekiah da Silva (1659-1695), *Rabbi* of Jerusalem, [2nd quarter of the 19th c.]

9.5 x 7, lithograph, coated paper

Unsigned

Hebrew inscription; below, in Polish: *Rabin Ch. Diesilwe*

Donated by Waclaw Lasocki, 1904

MNK III-ryc.-37318



3.

Artist unknown, Cracow (?)

Aryeh Loeb ben Saul, also known as Levi Saul Löwenstamm (c. 1690-1755), *Rabbi* of Amsterdam, [c. 1825]

34.7 x 21.9, lithograph in pencil, paper

Unsigned

Hebrew inscription; below, in Polish: *Saul Levi urodzony w Polsce niegdys Rabin Synagogi Niemieckiej Izraelitów w Amszterdamie*; bottom right, in pencil: *około 1780 r.*

Donated by Waclaw Lasocki, 1904

MNK III-ryc.-37322



4.

Artist unknown, Vilnius (?)

Elijah ben Salomon Zalman Kremer, also known as the Vilna Gaon (1720-1797), eminent Talmudist, [c. 1840]

23(37.4) x 18(22.9), lithograph in pencil, hand-made paper

Unsigned

Below the portrait, alternately, Hebrew and Polish subtitles; above: *podług Oryginału znajdujacego się w Bibliotece Warszawskiej*; below: *W pamięci wiecznej będzie Raban ELIASZ Syn Salomona z Wilna przyłączon do ludu swego 28 Września 1797 r.*

Donated by Waclaw Lasocki, 1904

MNK III-ryc.-37289



5.

Artist unknown, Vilnius (?) or Warsaw

Elijah ben Salomon Zalman Kremer, also known as the Vilna Gaon (1720-1797), eminent Talmudist, [c. 1830]

29.2 x 18, lithograph in pencil, paper

Unsigned

Below the portrait, alternately, Hebrew and Polish subtitles; above: *podług Oryginału znajdujacego się w Bibliotece Warszawskiej*; below: *W pamięci wiecznej będzie Raban ELIASZ Syn Salomona z Wilna przyłączon do ludu swego 28 Września 1797 r.*

Donated by Waclaw Lasocki, 1904

MNK III-ryc.-37288



6.

Artist unknown, Vilnius (?)

Elijah ben Salomon Zalman Kremer, also known as the Vilna Gaon (1720-1797), eminent Talmudist, [c. 1830]

28(45.8) x 25(32), lithograph in pencil, paper

Unsigned

Below the portrait, on the left: *W PAMIĘCI WIECZNEY BĘDZIE SPRAWIEDLIWY./Z gliny odcięty wyborniejszy od kleynotu,/Jesli go czyie oko niewidziało, wyrażona przed nami wielkość Jego Ten to jest wysoki, wielki, podziw wieku, pochodnia Izraelitów**Któremu równy we wszystkich siedmiu umiejętnościach nie powstał /.../ RABAN ELIASZ SYN SALOMONA z Wilna/ przyłączon do ludu swego 28 Września MDCCXCVL Ru.;* on the right: Hebrew text

Donated by Waclaw Lasocki, 1904

MNK III-ryc.-37287



7.

Artist unknown, Vilnius (?)

Elijah ben Salomon Zalman Kremer, also known as the Vilna Gaon (1720-1797), eminent Talmudist, [c. 1840]

23(33.8) x 18(21.1), lithograph in pencil, ribbed paper

Unsigned

Below the portrait, alternately, Hebrew and Polish subtitles; above: *podług Oryginału znajdujacego się w Bibliotece Warszawskiej*; below: *W pamięci wiecznej będzie Raban ELIASZ Syn Salomona z Wilna przyłączon do ludu swego 28 Września 1797 r.*

Origin unknown, N.I. 37422

MNK III-ryc. 37286



8.

Artist unknown, Vilnius (?)

Elijah ben Salomon Zalman Kremer, also known as the Vilna Gaon (1720-1797), eminent Talmudist, [c. 1840]

41.8 x 28.7, lithograph in pencil, paper

Unsigned

On the left: *W PAMIĘCI WIECZNEY BĘDZIE SPRAWIEDLIWY./Z gliny odcięty wyborniejszy od klejnotu./Jesli go czyje oko niewidziało, wyrażona przed nami wielkość Jego*

Ten to jest wysoki, wielki, podziw wieku, pochodnia Izraelitów

Któremu równy we wszystkich siedmiu umiejętnościach nie powstał /.../ RABAN ELIASZ SYN SALOMONA z Wilna/ przyłączon do ludu swego 28 Września MDCCXCVL Ru.; on the right: Hebrew text

Donated by Waclaw Lasocki

MNK III-ryc. 37285



9.

Głowacki, Józef Hilary (1789-1858), Vilnius

Elijah ben Salomon Zalman Kremer, also known as the Vilna Gaon (1720-1797), eminent Talmudist, [1810-1827]

38.1 x c. 25.7, lithograph in pencil, ribbed paper

Signed, bottom left: *Rys. na Kamie. Józef Głowacki w Wilnie.*On the left: *W PAMIĘCI WIECZNEY BĘDZIE SPRAWIEDLIWY./Z gliny odcięty wyborniejszy od klejnotu./Jesli go czyje oko niewidziało, wyrażona przed nami wielkość Jego**Ten to jest wysoki, wielki, podziw wieku, pochodnia Izraelitów**Któremu równy we wszystkich siedmiu umiejętnościach nie powstał /.../ RABAN ELIASZ SYN SALOMONA z Wilna/ przyłączon do ludu swego 28 Września MDCCXCVL Ru.;* on the right: Hebrew text

Donated by Zygmunt Wolski, 1912

MNK III-ryc. 25892



10.

Artist unknown, Vilnius (?)

Elijah ben Salomon Zalman Kremer, also known as the Vilna Gaon (1720-1797), eminent Talmudist, [c. 1830]

38.3 x 28.5, lithograph in pencil, paper

Unsigned

On the left: *W PAMIĘCI WIECZNEY BĘDZIE SPRAWIEDLIWY./Z gliny odcięty wyborniejszy od klejnotu./Jesli go czyje oko niewidziało, wyrażona przed nami wielkość Jego**Ten to jest wysoki, wielki, podziw wieku, pochodnia Izraelitów**Któremu równy we wszystkich siedmiu umiejętnościach nie powstał /.../ RABAN ELIASZ SYN SALOMONA z Wilna/ przyłączon do ludu swego 28 Września MDCCXCVL Ru.;* on the right: Hebrew text

Donated by Władysław Bartynowski

MNK III-ryc. 25891



11.

Artist unknown, Cracow (?)

Aryeh Löb ben Hayyim Breslau (1741-1809), Talmudist, *Rabbi* of Rotterdam, [c. 1830]

29(32.4) x 19.5(20.7), lithograph, ribbed paper

Unsigned

Below the portrait, a Hebrew inscription in six lines; below, in Polish: *Lewek Breslau były Rabin w Rotterdamie.*

Donated by Waław Lasocki, 1904

MNK III-ryc. 37321



12.

Grzędzielski, Jan (d. before 1852), Warsaw

Israel Jonah Landau (Jonasz Izrael Landau) (d. 1824), *Rabbi* of Kępnno, the author of "Me'on ha-Berakot" (Dyhernfurth, 1816), [2nd quarter of the 19th c.]

29 x 20, lithograph in pencil, ribbed paper

Signed, bottom left: *Grzędzi*

Inscription: *Rabi Iszael Jonas Rabin w Kempnie przeniósł się do wieczności d: 18. Stycznia 1824;* above, the same inscription in Hebrew

Donated by Waław Lasocki, 1904

MNK III-ryc.28191



13.

Grüson, Johann David (1780-1848), Wrocław

Israel Jonah Landau, Jonasz Izrael Landau (d. 1824), *Rabbi* of Kępno, the author of “Me’on ha-Berakot” (Dyhernfurth, 1816), [c. 1825]

31 x 21.6, lithograph in pencil, paper

Signed, bottom right: *litho: bei J.D.Grüson in Breslau.*Inscription: *RABBI ISRAEL IONES LANDAU OBER RABINER zu KEMPEN*; above, the same text in Hebrew

Donated by Waław Lasocki, 1904

MNK III-ryc. 25898



14.

Artist unknown; printed by the lithographic workshop of Piotr Wyszkowski, Cracow

Tzvi Hirsch David ha-Levy (c. 1759-1831), *Rabbi* of Cracow, grandson of *Rabbi* Aryeh Leib ben Saul, [1831]

33 x 20.3, lithograph in pencil, paper

Unsigned

On the frame: *HIRSCH DAWID LEWY NAD RABIN.*

Inscription in Hebrew, in 3 lines, with the date 1831

Donated by Władysław Bartynowski

MNK III-ryc. 25899



15.

Artist unknown, Cracow

Tzvi Hirsch David ha-Levy (c. 1759-1831), *Rabbi* of Cracow, [1831]

24.1 x 18.4, lithograph in pencil, paper

Unsigned

Donated by Władysław Bartynowski

MNK III-ryc. 37323



16.

Sterling, S.; printed by the lithographic workshop of J. Müller, Warsaw

Chaim Dawidsohn (Dawidson) (1760-1854), *rabbi* and scholar, chief *Rabbi* of Warsaw in the years 1839-1854, [1854]

60.7 x 44.7, lithograph in pencil, paper

Signed, bottom left: *w lito J. Müller*; bottom right: *Litografował z natury S. Sterling*

Inscription in Hebrew; below, in Polish: *Rabin Okręgów Warszawskich zgaśł r. 1854 94 r. cnotliwego życia swego*

Donated by Waclaw Lasocki, 1904

MNK III-ryc. 37319



17.

Artist unknown, Warsaw

Chaim Dawidsohn (Dawidson) (1760-1854), *rabbi* and scholar, chief *Rabbi* of Warsaw in the years 1839-1854, [c. 1854]

13.5(27.2) x 9.5(18.3), lithograph in pencil, paper

Unsigned

Inscription in Hebrew; below, in Polish: *CHAIM DAWIDSOHN Rabin Okręgów Warszawskich, zgasł r. 1854 w 94 r. cnotliwego życia swego.*

Donated by Waław Lasocki, 1904

MNK III-ryc. 37325



18.

Artist unknown, Poznań (?)

Eger (Eiger) Akiwa (Akiba) ben Mosze, Jakub Eger, Akiwa Güns (1761-1837), *rabbi*, Halachist, scholar, one of the most prominent Talmudists of his time, [c. 1830]

27 x 18.3, lithograph in pencil, paper

Unsigned

Below: *RABI AKIBA EIGER Oberlandes Rabbiner zu Posen*; on the right, the same text in Hebrew

Donated by Waław Lasocki, 1904

MNK III-ryc. 25889



19.

Grządzielski, Jan (d. before 1852), Warsaw

Eger (Eiger Akiwa (Akiba) ben Mosze, Jakub Eger, Akiwa Güns (1761-1837), *rabbi*, Halachist, scholar, one of the most prominent Talmudists of his time, [2nd quarter of the 19th c.]

33.2 x 20.9, lithograph in pencil, paper

Signed, bottom right: *J. Grządziels Litogr.*

Inscription: *JAKÓB EGER, Ober Landes Rabiner zu Posen*; bottom left, in pencil: *zmarł 12 paździer. 1837, mając lat 79.*

Donated by Waław Lasocki, 1904

MNK III-ryc. 25888



20.

Artist unknown, Warsaw (?)

Isachar Dow Ber (1765-1843), disciple of the great figures of Hasidic Judaism, Yaakov Yitzchak Hurwicz (Horowitz) and Yaakov Yitzchak of Przysucha, *Rabbi* (the first *tzadik*) of Radoszyce, [c. 1850]

42.2 x 29.2, lithograph in pencil, paper

Unsigned

Inscription in Hebrew, five lines; below, in Polish: *śp. RABIN BER Z MIASTA RADOSZYCE.*

Donated by Waław Lasocki, 1904

MNK III-ryc. 37320



21.

Artist unknown, Warsaw

Dow (Dov, Dob) Ber (Beer, Berisz, Berush) Meisels (1798-1870), *Rabbi* of Cracow, later of Warsaw, an advocate of Jewish support for the cause of Polish independence, [3rd quarter of the 19th c.]

13(28) x 11(18.5), lithograph in pencil, paper

Unsigned

Inscription: *BAER MEISELS RABIN OKRĘGÓW WARSZAWSKICH*; the same title in Hebrew

Donated by Waclaw Lasocki, 1904

MNK III-ryc. 37314



22.

Aschenbrenner, Henryk; printed by A. Dzwonkowski i Sp., Warsaw

Dow (Dov, Dob) Ber (Beer, Berisz, Berush) Meisels (1798-1870), *Rabbi* of Cracow, later of Warsaw, an advocate of Jewish support for the cause of Polish independence, [between 1859 and 1872]

35.5 x 26.4, lithograph in pencil, paper

Signed, bottom left: *Lit.H.Aschenbrenner*; further on, *Nakladem J. Rothwarda i N. Winkelhakena i w Zakł: A. Dzwonkowskiego i Spki*Inscription: *BAER MEISELS / RABIN OKRĘGÓW WARSZAWSKICH*; the same text in Hebrew; below, facsimile autographs, in Polish and Hebrew

Donated by Waclaw Lasocki, 1904

MNK III-ryc. 25902



23.

H.P.; printed by the lithographic workshop of Leopold Wattson, Warsaw

Dow (Dov, Dob) Ber (Beer, Berisz, Berush) Meisels (1798-1870), *Rabbi* of Cracow, later of Warsaw, an advocate of Jewish support for the cause of Polish independence, [2nd half of the 19th c.]

30.3(39.8) x 22.5(28.6), lithograph in pencil, paper

Signed, bottom left: *H.P.*; bottom right: *w Lit. L. Wattson w Warsz.*; centre: *Nakladem Leopolda Wattson*

Inscription: *BAER MEISELS / RABIN OKRĘGÓW WARSZAWSKICH*; on the right, the title in Hebrew

Donated by Władysław Bartynowski

MNK III-ryc. 23906



24.

Aschenbrenner, Henryk; printed by the lithographic workshop of Maksymilian Fajans, Warsaw

Izaak Kramsztyk (1814 or 1816-1889), *Rabbi* of Warsaw, preacher, writer, [3rd quarter of the 19th c.]

28.5(39.9) x 22(28.4), lithograph, grey paper, print

Signed, bottom left: *Lit H. Aschenbrenner*; bottom right: *Odbito w Lit. M. Fajansa*

Inscription, below: *IZAAK KRAMSTÜCK*

Origin unknown

MNK III-ryc. 37316



25.

Aschenbrenner, Henryk; printed by the lithographic workshop of Maksymilian Fajans, Warsaw

Izaak Kramsztyk (1814 or 1816-1889), *Rabbi* of Warsaw, preacher, writer, [c. 1875]

32.5 x 22, lithograph in pencil, paper

Signed, bottom left: *Lit H.Aschenbrenner*; bottom right: *Odbito w Lit.M.Fajansa*

Inscription, below: *IZAAK KRAMSTÛCK*

Donated by Władysław Bartynowski, N.I. 37229

MNK III-ryc. 25897



26.

Aschenbrenner, Henryk; printed by A. Dzwonkowski i Sp., Warsaw

Izaak Kramsztyk (1814-1889), Reformist *rabbi* of Warsaw, preacher, lawyer, author, Polish patriot, [3rd quarter of the 19th c.]

13(14.4) x 12(19.5), lithograph, light-grey paper, print

Signed, bottom left: *Odbito w Lit. A. Dzwonkowskiego i Sp.*; bottom right: *Lit. H. Aschenbrenner*

Inscription: *IZAAK KRAMSTÛCK*

Donated by Waław Lasocki, 1904

MNK III-ryc. 37315



27.

Aschenbrenner, Henryk; printed by A. Dzwonkowski i Sp., Warsaw

Markus Mordechaj Jastrow (1829-1903), Reformist *Rabbi* of Warsaw, Worms, and Philadelphia, preacher, lawyer, activist of the assimilation movement, Bible scholar, [4th quarter of the 19th c.]

28.5(38.7) x 22.2(28.5), lithograph, paper, print

Signed, bottom left: *Lit. H. Aschenbrenner*; centre: *Nakładem A. Karlsbada w Warszawie*; bottom right: *Odbito w Lit. A. Dzwonkowskiego i Sp.*

Inscription: *Dr M. JASTROW KAZNODZIEJA SYNAGOGI PRZY ULICY DANIŁOWICZOWSKIEJ.*

Below, a facsimile autograph

Donated by Waclaw Lasocki, 1904

MNK III-ryc.-25896



28.

Lentz, Stanisław (1861-1920), Warsaw

Abraham Cwi (Hersz, Hirsz) Perlmutter (Perlmuter) (c. 1843-1930), *Rabbi* of Łęczycza, Oświęcim, Będzin, Raciąż, Poddębice, and of Warsaw, virilist of the Council of the Congress Kingdom of Poland, deputy to the Legislative Assembly of the Second Polish Republic

66 x 50, lithograph in pencil, hand-made paper

From the portfolio: *Sejm ustawodawczy Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej w portretach*, Warszawa 1919

Signed, bottom left: *St. Lentz*

Below: *Rabin Posel do Sejmu A. Perlmutter*

Donated by H. Wilder, 1922

MNK III-ryc. 8379

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L'HISTOIRE DU CIMETIÈRE MILITAIRE JUIF N° 387 À CRACOVIE

Anna Jakimyszyn

(Uniwersytet Jagielloński, Kraków)

Key words: Jewish cemeteries, World War I, Cracow Jews, creation and history of military cemeteries

Abstract: K.u.K.Militär-Kommando Krakau (established as a part of Kriegsgräberabteilung) built 400 cemeteries in Western Galicia. For Jewish members of the Austro-Hungarian Army 15 war cemeteries were erected. This paper presents a short historical overview of Jewish military cemetery from Cracow (Miodowa Street) till 1939. This cemetery (no. 387) was a part of Jewish cemetery from 1804. The article also outlines the creation of the monument, which was built on this cemetery in 1937.

Beaucoup d'hommes sont morts pendant les premiers mois de la Première Guerre mondiale. Normalement les membres de famille ont enterré les morts. Mais, pendant la guerre le gouvernement a garanti l'enterrement des soldats. Aussi cette situation avait la place dans l'Empire austro-hongrois, c-t-d l'autorité était obligée assurer d'enterrement des soldats qui étaient de l'armée propre, de l'armée alliée ou de l'armée opposée. Le patronage des tombes a été en gestion de l'Empire.¹ En résultat, à la fin de 1915 près du Ministère de la Guerre a organisé 9 Département des Tombes de Guerre (*9 Kriegsgräberabteilung*).² Ce département est obligé de s'occuper du problème lié avec la technique et l'organisation d'enterrement des soldats. Ce département avait le patronage et la surveillance au-dessus des cimetières de guerre et de l'organisation des cimetières nouveaux. La réalisation de ces missions a basé sur les sections territoriales. Une – *Kriegsgräberabteilung K.u.K. Militär-Kommando Krakau* – a eu son siège à Cracovie et avait sous son administration le terrain de Galicie d'Ouest où existaient 400 cimetières de guerre.³ La loi interdisait enterrer les soldats juifs avec les autres soldats. A cause de cela les 15 cimetières étaient pour les soldats de la confession israélite.⁴

Les règlements qui concernaient des tombes de guerre, publiés par 9 Département des Tombes de Guerre (*9 Kriegsgräberabteilung*), prévoyaient que chaque mort va identifier et ensuite enterrer. Chaque mort va être traité comme l'héros, c-t-d il va avoir

¹ Schubert 2011 : 186-187.

² Schubert 2009 : 169-200, n° 13.

³ Il y a beaucoup d'informations: Schubert 1992; Nykiel 1993; Duda 1995; Drogomir 2002, Partridge 2005.

⁴ Pendant la Première Guerre mondiale dans l'armée autriche-hongroise étaient les 300 000 des soldats de la confession israélite : Schmidl 1989.

le monument et la mémoire éternelle.⁵ Chaque a eu le droit que son enterrement a été conformément avec les exigences de sa religion.

Sur la base de ces règlements les personnes identifiées comme les juifs, indépendamment qu'ils étaient dans les divisions de la première ligne ou dans les forces hors des fronts avaient la garantie de l'enterrement en accord avec les exigences de la religion israélite.⁶ Les soldats Juifs ont enterré dans les cimetières de guerre, qui se trouvaient pas de loin du lieu de mort. Ces cimetières étaient nouveaux ou ils étaient les secteurs dans les cimetières existants.

Chaque de ces cimetières sur le terrain de Galicie d'Ouest avait son numéro de l'identification. Le cimetière de guerre n° 387 a défini comme « Le cimetière des Juifs » (*Jüdischer Kriegerfriedhof*).⁷ Il était pour les morts de la confession israélite. Il se trouvait à Cracovie (rue Miodowa). Le cimetière de guerre n° 387 n'était pas unique à Cracovie où on inhumait les soldats de la Première Guerre mondiale. Deuxième cimetière de guerre se trouvait à Podgórze. Et il avait le numéro 385.⁸ Ces secteurs formaient les parties séparées des cimetières juifs. Le cimetière n° 385 était petit (seulement on enterrait 19 personnes).⁹ La dévastation de ce cimetière avait lieu pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale.¹⁰ Jusqu'aujourd'hui nous trouvons les traces du cimetière militaire de la rue Miodowa. L'histoire de ce cimetière sera le sujet suivant de cet article.¹¹

Le cimetière de guerre n° 387 était une partie du cimetière de 1804 (aussi il porte le nom « nouveau »).¹² Il se trouvait sur les terrains des méandres de la vieille Vistule. Jusqu'aux années 1920 il était unique pour la communauté juive de Cracovie.¹³ Systématiquement on grandissait le terrain du cimetière.

Entre le XIX^e et le XX^e siècle on a acheté une nouvelle parcelle qui était près du mur du cimetière du côté du remblai ferroviaire. Sur ce terrain, on a formé le secteur de guerre où plaçaient les soldats de la Première Guerre mondiale.

Nous savons que ce secteur était localisé près du mur du cimetière. Mais nous ne connaissons bien la localisation de ce secteur et nous n'avons pas d'information quelle était la grandeur de ce secteur (on n'a pas de données dans les archives). Seulement sur la base des cartes de registre on peut affirmer qu'il se trouvait sur le territoire de quatre secteurs marqués par les lettres a-d et les rangs marqués par les numéros 3-5, 7-15.¹⁴

⁵ ANKr, GW 4: *Bestimmungen für die Errichtung, Erhaltung, Ausschmeckung und Evidenz der Kriegergrabstätten.*

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Broch & Hauptmann 1918 : 15-16.

⁸ Broch & Hauptmann 1918 : 15-16; Schubert & Pencakowski 1993 : 132.

⁹ Schubert & Pencakowski 1993 : 132.

¹⁰ Biberstein 1985 : 229.

¹¹ L'histoire du cimetière de guerre n° 387 (1914-1939) n'était pas analysée. Dans cet article nous voulons présenter cette histoire (jusqu'à 1939). L'auteur croit que cet article va commencer les recherches sur l'histoire de ce cimetière.

¹² Le « vieux » cimetière se trouve derrière la Synagogue Remuh (rue Szeroka). Ce cimetière était fermé à la fin du XVIII^e siècle : Hońdo 1999 : 25.

¹³ Dans l'entre-deux-guerres, on installait le troisième cimetière. Il était à côté du cimetière de la commune de Podgórze (la commune de Podgórze était indépendante jusqu'à 1937) : Jakimyszyn 2010 : 35-53.

¹⁴ ANKr, GW 80 ; Drogomir 2005 : 345-347.

En 1914 dans le cimetière de guerre n° 387 avaient lieu les premiers enterrements des soldats juifs.¹⁵ Pendant la Première Guerre mondiale existaient 161 tombes séparés et 14 collectifs¹⁶, qui sont marqués par les numéros de 1 à 175.¹⁷ Le partage de secteurs individuels et communs a résulté des ordonnances qui concernaient d'enterrement des soldats dans l'armée autrichienne-hongroise. Le droit pour avoir le tombeau individuel avaient les officiers et les soldats qui présentaient le grand courage et le sacrifice sur le champ de bataille et qui étaient pour les soldats identifiés. On a appliqué le principe de l'enterrement commun dans les tombeaux collectifs pour les soldats qui n'étaient pas identifiés.¹⁸

On a placé les informations convenables sur les plaques tumulaires pour les soldats identifiés. On a écrit sur ces plaques: le prénom, le nom du soldat, le rang militaire et la date de mort. On a trouvé ces plaques sur les stèles de la rue Miodowa. Sur les cartes de registre existantes nous voyons la localisation du tombeau, le rang, le prénom, le nom, l'appartenance militaire et le nom de l'unité. Il y avait les tombes des soldats de l'armée autrichienne-hongroise (la base de cette information étaient les données sur les plaques d'identité militaire – *totenkapsel/legitymation kapsel*)¹⁹, de l'armée de Russie et de force polonaise.²⁰ Parmi les tués étaient les soldats de l'armée autrichienne-hongroise de garnison de Cracovie, les soldats du front qui sont morts dans les hôpitaux et qui sont tués pendant la bataille des forts de Festung Krakow.²¹

Après la Première Guerre mondiale dans le cimetière de la rue Miodowa on enterrait les quatre soldats (1919-1921).²² Le cimetière était le lieu de l'enterrement pour les combattants qui ont reçu l'ordre de *Virtuti Militari*, *Krzyż Niepodległości* (Croix de l'indépendance) et *Krzyż Walecznych* (Croix de Vaillance).²³ Aussi sur le terrain du cimetière juif reposaient les héros des soulèvements de l'indépendance, le chef de la garde nationale de 1848 Henryk Markusfeld, les insurgés de 1863, les sibériens. Ici, on a enterré Jozef Kwiatek – l'insurgé de la liberté de Pologne de 1905.²⁴

Dans ce cimetière reposent 325 personnes qui battaient au nom de la liberté aux XIX^e et XX^e siècles.²⁵ Il faut souligner que les lieux d'enterrement des combattants, des insurgés et des sibériens n'étaient pas dans un secteur.

¹⁵ Fritz Engel était le premier soldat enterré sur le cimetière de guerre n° 387. Il est mort le 27 août 1914 : Drogomir 2005 : 347.

¹⁶ Broch & Hauptmann 1918 : 413. Cf. ANKr, GW 80, la numération des tombes.

¹⁷ Broch & Hauptmann 1918 : 413 ; Frodyma 1998 : 162-163.

¹⁸ Schubert 2011 : 189.

¹⁹ Schubert 2011 : 190.

²⁰ Drogomir 2005 : 345-347. Cf. ANKr, GW 60. On a écrit dans les documentations que dans le cimetière de guerre n° 387 ont enterré 194 personnes. Nous trouvons les informations différentes qui concernent des nombres de soldats : 67 – polonais, 97 – allemands ou 138 tombes des soldats de l'armée autrichienne-hongroise, encore les trois autres soldats qui étaient de l'armée de Russie et les deux de force polonaise.

²¹ ANKr, GW 8. Cf. AŻIH Gm. Żyd. Wyzn. Kr. 107/678.

²² Drogomir 2005 : 347.

²³ GG 1937 n° 6 : 6-10. Pendant d'enterrement des soldats-combattants n'étaient pas de rabbins. Les informations de ce sujet : AŻIH Gm. Żyd. Wyzn. Kr. 107/678.

²⁴ La liste de personnes qui ont enterré dans le cimetière de guerre n° 387 : ND 1937, n° 314 : 6. Cf. Yaari, Haber & Tsini (n.d.).

²⁵ ND 1937, n° 314 : 6. Cf. GG 1937, n° 6 : 6-10. Sur la liste ont été : 3 commandants, 2 capitaines, 11 lieutenants, 8 aspirants, 17 sous-officiers, 276 soldats, 8 insurgés et sibériens.

Depuis le novembre de 1918 le terrain du cimetière militaire de la rue Miodowa était sous la direction du Bureau du Patronage Militaire pour les tombes de guerre de l'arrondissement corps n° V à Cracovie (Wojskowy Urząd Opieki nad grobami wojennymi Okręgu Korpusu nr V w Krakowie). En février de 1919 il a inclus à l'Administration de Construction Militaire à Cracovie (Zarząd Budownictwa Wojskowego w Krakowie) qui était obligé de conduire le registre des morts et des cimetières. Cette administration avait le patronage des tombeaux. Depuis 1922 Section des Tombes de Guerre de Direction de Travaux Publics (Referat Grobów Wojennych Dyrekcji Robót Publicznych) conduisait les affaires des tombes de guerre.

Ces offices n'étaient pas uniques qui s'occupaient du cimetière de guerre n° 387. Pendant la période de l'entre-deux-guerres Union des Juifs, Participants des Lutttes de l'Indépendance de Pologne (Związek Żydów Uczestników Walk o Niepodległość Polski), c-t-d l'organisation des combattants d'origine juive dans quelle étaient les membres des légions de Pilsudski et de l'Organisation militaire polonaise (Polska Organizacja Wojskowa) s'intéressait du problème de ce cimetière.²⁶ Cette organisation s'est divisée sur les régions et les régions sur les divisions. Depuis 1933 existaient la division de Cracovie qui était dans le région Cracovie-Silesia.²⁷ La première section de la division de Cracovie – Section de Tombes de Guerre (Sekcja Grobów Wojennych) – s'occupait des tombes de guerre et gardait la mémoire des Juifs combattants.²⁸

Section où le chef était Ignacy Schenker commençait son travail par l'enregistrement et par l'entassement des informations des lieux d'enterrement des Juifs.²⁹ Ensuite on a commencé la restauration des tombes, qui étaient en ruine. Souvent il n'y avait pas de possibilité de relire le nom sur la plaque d'identité.³⁰ A Cracovie les membres de cette section s'intéressaient du secteur de guerre dans le cimetière de la rue Miodowa.

Les travaux liés avec le rangement et la reconstruction des tombes des soldats dans le cimetière de la rue Miodowa étaient très importants à cause de problèmes suivants : premièrement il faut garder pour les nouvelles générations les lieux de l'éternel repos des soldats Juifs et il faut souligner le rôle des Juifs dans la défense de la patrie.³¹ Dans le journal *Gazeta gminna*³² – une publication de la communauté juive à Cracovie – a écrit cette action. Pendant les rencontres des membres de l'Union discutaient ce problème, parce que certains politiciens avaient non favorables opinions des combattants de la po-

²⁶ Jabłonowski 1996 : 113-123.

²⁷ Mierzwa 2001: 324.

²⁸ *Ibid.*; AŻIH, Gm. Żyd. Wyzn. Kr. 107/710. Pendant la rencontre des membres de région Cracovie-Silesia (1934) on écrit : « Ce travail sera lourd et grand parce que il y a beaucoup de négligences, mais il est nécessaire pour présenter que le patriotisme de la population juive en Pologne, ce n'est pas de mot vide, nous avons le patriotisme inné depuis les siècles, des grands-pères, il et vieux, sérieux et digne, il ne permet pas d'aucune escapade rhétorique. Il est digne, calme, modeste, pas imposé » / « Praca ta będzie duża i ciężka, bo wiele w tym kierunku zaniedbano. Jest ona jednak konieczna dla wykazania, że patriotyzm ludności żydowskiej w Polsce, to nie puste słowo, że jest on nam wrodzony od wieków, z dziada pradziada; że jest on tak stary, poważny i godny, że nie pozwala na żadne eskapady retoryczne, musi on być godny żydowskiego imienia, a więc spokojny, skromny, nikomu się nie narzucający » : Biuletyn 1934, n° 2 : 7.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ Biuletyn 1935, n° 3 : 5.

³¹ Biuletyn 1935, n° 6 : 10.

³² GG 1937, n° 2 : 6-8.



Photographie 1 : Cimetière de guerre n° 387 avant de rangement (en. 1934).

Source : Biuletyn 1935, n° 4 : 7.

pulation juive.³³ Bientôt il y avait lieu des attaques contre les combattants juifs. A la fin des années 1930 à Cracovie on a dévasté un tombe de combattant. Cet acte a été qualifier comme un attaque du banditisme. Les membres de l'Union ont déposé une interpellation dans quelle ils ont appelé de traiter de même manière tous les combattants indépendamment de la religion ou de la nationalité.³⁴ Mais, cette interpellation était sans résultat.

Premièrement Section des Tombes de Guerre faisait les travaux de révision et de rénovation dans le secteur de guerre. Les frais de ces travaux étaient hauts. Les membres de Section cherchaient d'argent parmi les membres de la communauté. En 1934 avait lieu la première collecte.³⁵ Pendant l'année suivante on a nettoyé ce secteur. On a transporté 15 charriots de terre et de gravats.³⁶ Aussi, on a construit la palissade qui séparait cette partie du cimetière.³⁷ Les entrepreneurs juifs ont donné les matériaux pour les travaux (le bois, les peintures, le ciment).³⁸ On a acheté les plaques émaillées (238) pour monter sur les colonnes en fonte et en béton qui marquaient les lieux d'enterrement des soldats.³⁹ On a fait la documentation photographique pour préparer un album de la mémoire.⁴⁰

Bientôt, on a vu que ces travaux pour Section étaient très difficiles. Et, en résultat on a cherché l'aide dans la commune juive.

³³ Cf. Mierzwa 2001 : 327.

³⁴ Mierzwa 2001 : 325-327.

³⁵ Biuletyn 1935, n° 4 : 7.

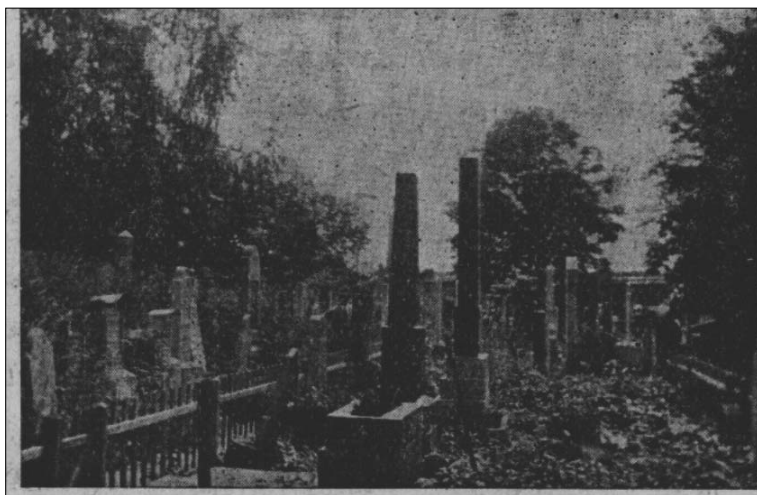
³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Biuletyn 1936, n° 6 : 10.

³⁸ Ing. Lilienthal a donné le bois, Firme Lutz les peintures et Firme Sonnenschein le ciment ; Biuletyn 1935, n° 4 : 7.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Biuletyn 1935, n° 4 : 8.



Photographie 2 : Cimetière de guerre n° 387 après le nettoyage (1935).

Source : Biuletyn 1935, n° 4 : 7.

En 1937, au mois d'avril, on a commencé les travaux communs.⁴¹ En juillet de 1937 on a mis la vente aux enchères pour les travaux de construction autour de muraille.⁴²

En juillet dans le journal *Gazeta gminna* on a publié un article où on a informé les lecteurs que les travaux dans le secteur militaire sont réalisés très vite. Dans ces travaux entraient : le nettoyage des tombes et la construction des nouvelles tombes.⁴³ Le cimetière de guerre a été divisé sur les secteurs, et chaque secteur sur les petites parties pour faciliter les travaux. Chaque partie était marquée par les lettres de l'alphabet latin. En été, il a construit les premiers 112 stèles (*macevas*). A la fin, on a fait la reconstruction 161 stèles séparés et 2 tombeaux collectifs.⁴⁴ Ils étaient identiques en forme, en matière (la dolomie) et en dimension. En haute partie des stèles on a placé l'étoile de David, plus bas le prénom et le nom de soldat et la date de mort. On a présenté ces informations en deux langues, en polonais et en hébreu.

Le couronnement de ces travaux va être le monument mémorial. Ce n'était pas d'une idée nouvelle. Conseil de Confession de la Communauté Israélite a présenté ce sujet en 1916. La commune a déclaré de payer tous les frais qui seront liés avec ce monument (la première déclaration était 10 000 couronnés).⁴⁵ Le projet du monument a fait après deux ans par Hans Mayr. Hans Mayr – architecte, ingénieur de construction – était l'auteur des projets des cimetières en Galicie d'Ouest.⁴⁶ Le monument préparé par Hans Mayr avait l'hauteur de 4,8 m et il basait sur le socle en pierre de la dimension 4,46 m x 2,98 m.

⁴¹ GG 1937, n° 2 : 6.

⁴² GG 1937, n° 3 : 9.

⁴³ Les rabbins ont préparé le projet des stèles pour les combattants : Biuletyn 1936, n° 6 : 24.

⁴⁴ Biuletyn 1938, n° 9 : 22.

⁴⁵ ANKr, GW 8.

⁴⁶ Broch & Hauptmann : 15-16.



Photographie 3 : Les stèles (14 novembre 1937).

Source : Biuletyn 1937, n° 7-8 : 16.

Il avait aussi deux escaliers. On voudrait placer les trois tableaux avec les inscriptions sur le fronton du monument, et, sur le champ d'une dalle de pierre. Les plaques dans les panneaux auront avoir les inscriptions en hébreu.⁴⁷ Le monument va avoir la forme semi-circulaire stylisée de *maceva*. Sur le relief va être la menorah flanquée des deux lions, la couronne de Torah, l'aiguière des Lévites et la geste de bénédiction des Cohanim et l'étoile David. En accord avec le projet de Hans Mayr on va placer deux saules pleureurs (souvent ces arbres se trouvaient sur les cimetières de la Première Guerre mondiale).⁴⁸

Définitivement le projet de Mayr n'a pas réalisé. Mais, on n'a pas renoncé de la réalisation du monument. L'idée a retourné pendant le printemps de 1936. La présentation de la mémoire des soldats juifs par la construction du monument a trouvé l'acceptation de la Commune et des membres de la communauté de Cracovie. La communauté a accepté le nouveau projet du monument préparé par Alfred Düntuch, Edward Kraeisler, Wiktor Gaeschler.⁴⁹ Ce projet du monument va être une œuvre magnifique. On peut commencer une action de recueillir des fonds pour réalisation ce monument.

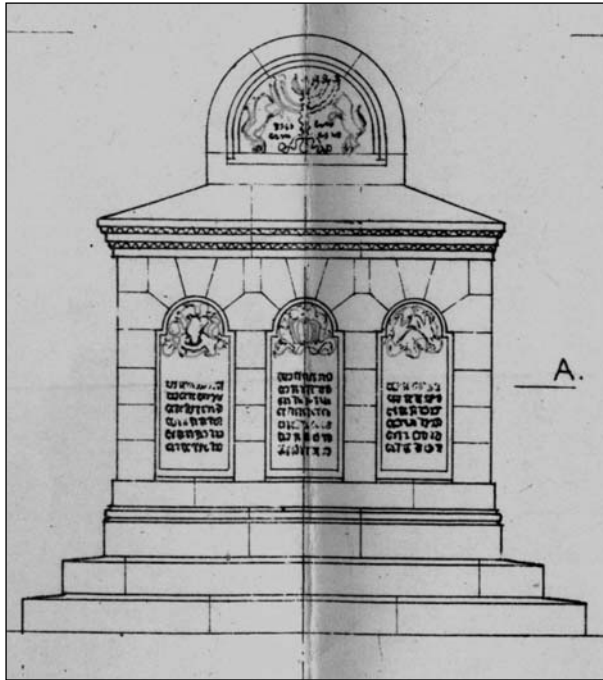
Le monument d'une hauteur de 2 m et d'une largeur de 2,5 m a fait de dolomie. Il avait la forme de triptyque. Au milieu on a placé l'aigle couronné, plus haut d'étoile David (le symbole de l'Union) et plus bas l'inscription en polonais et en hébreu « Pour les soldats Juifs tombés de 1914 à 1921 ». Près du monument sera le feu sacré et les fleurs. Jakub Grünapfel, le tailleur de pierres, a travaillé sous la direction de Samuel Mehl, Adolf Horn, Leon Raucher.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Nous ne connaissons pas d'inscription sur le projet du monument. En accord avec la tradition de la guerre on peut penser qu'elle a présenté le courage et la sacrifice : Patridge 2005 : 220.

⁴⁸ ANKr, GW 45. Cf. Schubert & Pencakowski 1993 : 149.

⁴⁹ ANKr, 29/665/3260.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* ; GG 1937, n° 6 : 6-10.



Photographie 4 : Le projet de monument de Hans Mayr (fragment), 1918.
Source : ANK, GW 45.

Les fonds avaient les sources: les dons en espèces qui donnaient les familles des soldats⁵¹, les membres de la communauté de Cracovie, la Communauté⁵² et Section des Tombes de Guerre.⁵³ On a prévu que la construction de monument devra terminer à la fin de l'année juive 5698.

Le journal *Gazeta gminna* a publié cette information. On a présenté l'effet final des travaux (le finissage, l'implantation des tombes). Bientôt, on a terminé le montage de la clôture métallique autour du cimetière de guerre n° 387. Encore, on a mis le trottoir dans les allées de cette partie du cimetière. A cause de cela, toutes fêtes solennelles a eu lieu en novembre 1937.⁵⁴

La cérémonie d'inauguration a été le 14 novembre 1937⁵⁵, en présence de l'autorité du gouvernement, du président de la commune juive, de la Direction de l'Union et des représentants de différentes organisations et associations, des soldats polonais, aussi de

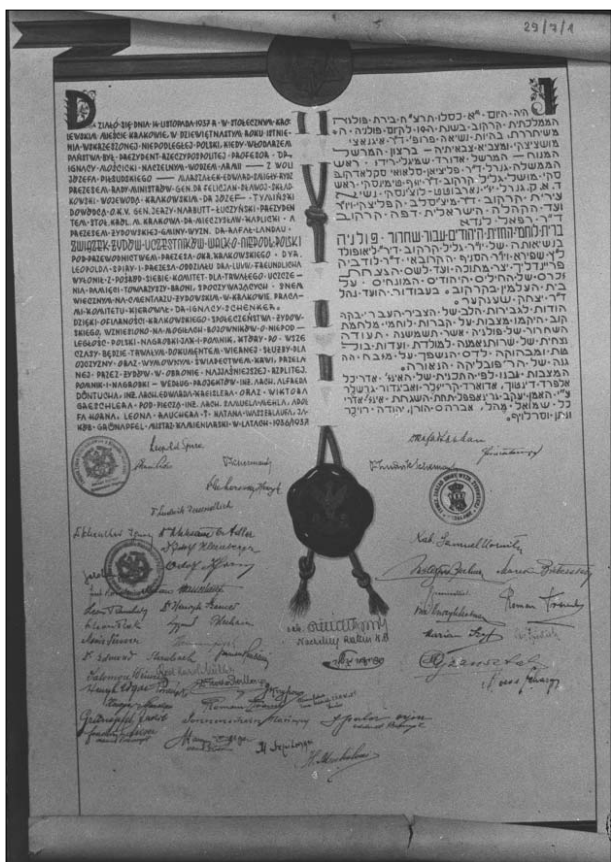
⁵¹ Biuletyn 1935, n° 3 : 5.

⁵² En 1937 la Communauté a donné 2 000 zloty : AŻIH, Gm. Żyd. Wyzn. Kr. 107/1148.

⁵³ En 1935 Section avait 500 membres : Biuletyn 1935, n° 3 : 14.

⁵⁴ GG 1937, n° 4 : 2.

⁵⁵ ANKr, StGKr 248 B.II-1. Cf. Brzoza 1998 : 307-308.



Photographie 5 : L'acte d'érection du monument, 1936-1937.

Source : ANKR, 29/665/3260.

la présence des habitants de Cracovie.⁵⁶ Il y avait beaucoup de délégations avec les drapeaux (Varsovie, Lviv, Katowice, Przemysł, etc.).⁵⁷

Pendant cette cérémonie le rabbin Dr. Steinberg a prié. Dr. Ernest Ader (le représentant des soldats) et Dr. Rafał Landau, le président de la Communauté de Cracovie, ont prononcé les discours. On a lu les noms des soldats qui reposent dans ce cimetière. La presse a présenté quelques noms des soldats : Adler Ignacy, Berger Karol, Berner Leon, Birnbaum Jozue, Burger Henryk, Engel Fritz, Enoch Szymon, Färber Leopold, Ferber Józef, Freifeld Jakub, Glaser Bernard, Glückstein Joachim, Goldfinger Mojżesz, Grossbart Zygfryd, Grosslicht Zygfryd, Heufeld Jakub, Immergluck Abraham, Jakobsohn Ulrich, Karfiol Józef, Kempler Edward, Kerner Paweł, Klein ber Dawid Mendel, Koplík Natan, Kraus Ignacy, Kwiatek Józef, Landau Wili, Liban Bernard, Liban Emil,

⁵⁶ AŻIH, Gm. Żyd. Wyzn. Kr. 108/109.

⁵⁷ GG 1937, n° 6 : 6-10.



Photographie 6 : Monument (1937).

Source : Biuletyn 1937, n° 7-8 : 15.

Lilienthal Józef, Liper Izidor Henryk, Löbel Adolf, Machauf Józef, Markusfeld Henryk, Moor Wilhelm, Nadel Zygmunt, Rappaport Berisz, Reiner Witold, Rosenbaum Alfred, Schechter Antoni, Schenker Dawid, Schnitzer Dawid, Schreiber Aleksander, Spitz Otto, Steinhaus Władysław, Süssfild Benzion, Unger Konrad Fryderyk, Unger Robert, Unger Wiktor Robert, Wilenko Gerson, Zimmerman Moritz, Złotogórski Fiszel.⁵⁸

Pendant la période de l'entre-deux-guerres, on a organisé les prières à la mémoire des soldats sur le cimetière de guerre n° 387 et dans les synagogues de Cracovie. Premièrement elles étaient irrégulières. Depuis 1935 récitaient les prières pendant la dimanche avant la fête Yom Kippur.⁵⁹ Aussi pendant les congrès de l'Union et les anniversaires des insurrections mettaient les couronnes sur les tombeaux.⁶⁰

Après les travaux dans le cimetière de guerre n° 387 on voudra nettoyer le cimetière de guerre n° 385. Mais ce projet n'est pas réalisé à cause de la déclenchement de la Seconde Guerre mondiale. Pendant la guerre on a dévasté le cimetière n° 387. Jusqu'aujourd'hui nous trouvons environ trente stèles.⁶¹

⁵⁸ ND 1937, n° 314 : 6.

⁵⁹ Biuletyn 1935 n° 4 : 8 ; Biuletyn 1936, n° 6 : 10 ; Biuletyn 1937, n° 4 : 8 ; GG 1937 n° 5 : 11. Cf. AŻIH, Gm. Żyd. Wyzn. Kr. 107/678.

⁶⁰ ANKr, StGKr 248 B.II-1. Cf. AŻIH, Gm. Żyd. Wyzn. Kr. 107/586/2.

⁶¹ Hońdo 2010 : 60.

LISTE DES ABRÉVIATIONS

ANKr – Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie

AŻIH – Archiwum Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego

Biuletyn – *Biuletyn Okręgu Krakowsko-Śląskiego Związku Żydów Uczestników Walk o Niepodległość*

GG – *Gazeta Gminna. Organ urzędowy Gminy Wyznaniowej Żydowskiej w Krakowie*

ND – *Nowy Dziennik*

SOURCES

ANKr : Wojskowy Urząd Opieki nad Grobami Wojennymi Okręgu Korpusu nr V w Krakowie, réf. GW 4, GW 8, GW 45, GW 60, GW 80 ; Zbiór afiszy i plakatów, réf. 29.665/3260 ; Starostwo Grodzkie Krakowskie réf. StGKr 248 B.II-1.

AŻIH : Gmina Żydowska Wyznaniowa Kraków réf. 107/586/2, 107/678, 107/710, 107/1148, 108/109.

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JÜDISCHER ORDNUNGSDIENST IN OCCUPIED KRAKÓW DURING THE YEARS 1940-1945¹

Alicja Jarkowska-Natkaniec
(Uniwersytet Jagielloński, Kraków)

Key words: *Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst*, II War War, Nazi occupation, Kraków ghetto, Kraków, Płaszów, Kazimierz

Abstract: The purpose of this article is to present the activities of the *Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst* [hereafter: OD] in Nazi-occupied Kraków during the years 1940-1945. This period includes OD organizations in Kraków's Jewish district, Kazimierz, in 1940, in the Kraków ghetto in 1941-1943 and in the German concentration camp at Płaszów in 1942-1945. Rounding off these topics is a paragraph touching on the post-war fate of OD officers under Polish law. Trials of OD members were held before the Special Criminal Court [hereafter: SCC] in Kraków in 1945-1947.

In discussing the issue, the author has sought to explain the reasons for which Jews joined the OD in light of the moral dilemmas facing OD members. The problems raised in this article are also an attempt to understand the role of the OD in the implementation of the German government's policy towards the Jews in the years 1940-1945, i.e. for the duration of the Jewish formation's existence. Holocaust studies lacks sufficient research on the history of the OD in Krakow, and it is therefore very important to fill this gap in the literature.²

In German-occupied Poland, several terms referring to the Jewish police were used interchangeably. In printed and archival sources, the organization is often called Ordnungsdienst, OD, Jewish Order Service (literal translation from German), Order Service, or, simply, the Jewish police. Its members are commonly called odemani [translation: OD-men] or Jewish policemen.

The OD in occupied Kraków (1940-1941)

It is difficult to unequivocally determine when the idea of establishing the Jewish police appeared. It arose from the need to maintain order in the Jewish community and to organize law enforcement operations within its territory. However, it is known that the formation of the OD occurred in the early years of the German occupation, and

¹ Summary of the thesis *Jüdische Ordnungsdienst in occupied Krakow 1940-1945*, written under the supervision of Dr hab. Stefan Gašiorowski.

² There have been a number of publications on the German occupation of Kraków, in both Polish and other languages. The operations of the OD are mentioned only in the context of the history of the Krakow ghetto, in (among others) the following works: Chwalba 2002; Zimmerer 2004, as well as M. Bednarek, E. Gawron, G. Jeżowski, B. Zbroja, K. Zimmerer, in: *Katalog wystawy Kraków – Czas okupacji 1939-1945* (Catalog of the exhibition "Kraków under Nazi Occupation 1939-1945)," Kraków 2010.

that it was partly subordinated to the Jewish Council (Judenrat). The first information about the OD dates from August 1940, when *Gazeta Żydowska (Jewish Gazette)*³ included an article by an anonymous author on the establishment of the OD in Piotrków.⁴ The organization was at that time responsible for matters related to sanitation in the Jewish quarter. The author drew attention to the specific nature of the activities of OD men cooperating with the Judenrat in the preparation of workers for forced labor outside the ghetto. The editorial staff of the *Jewish Gazette* portrayed the OD as important enforcers of the Judenrat's commands so that readers would regard it with respect and trust.⁵

The first Jewish order-keeping force was established in the Jewish community in Kraków in 1940, in connection with the creation of Judenrat structures and the need to maintain order. The force probably included members of the Jewish community who felt obliged to care for the security of their coreligionists. Based on the accounts and reminiscences of witnesses to those events, it can be assumed that at its inception this group operated unofficially, and may have emerged spontaneously as a result of the first regulations discriminating against Jews in the General Government [hereafter: GG].

Commonly, the date of creation of the OD is assumed to be 5 July 1940.⁶ However, the makeup of its original membership remains unknown. In official German documents dating from 1941, next to certain names there is only a stamp with the name of the organization and the information that it had been established by a decision of the *Starosta* (municipal administration) of Kraków. Not all documents from the period of the Nazi occupation of Kraków have been preserved; thus it is difficult to attest to the reliability of that date. It should be borne in mind that the regulation might have been transmitted to the Jewish community orally.

The first news about the newly created Jewish order-keeping force in Kraków was published in the *Jewish Gazette* of 10 April 1940, in which an anonymous author described the OD. The contents of the article indicated that the Judenrat had been given permission from the city government⁷ and the German police to set up the OD. The 40 men belonging to the Jewish police were subordinate to the Judenrat. Work for the OD was considered honorable, and its officers received no remuneration for their services. An OD man was distinguished from the other members of the community by a cloth armband with the inscription *Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst* on the right sleeve.⁸

OD members were assigned to either the so-called internal or external group. The former was responsible for issues related to maintaining order in the buildings and social care institutions of the Jewish community, while the latter took part in the implementation of resolutions of the Judenrat and monitored public life in the Jewish parts of the city.

³ Occupation-era paper issued in Kraków in the years 1940-1942 on the initiative of the German authorities, under the control of the Propaganda Department of the General Government [hereafter: GG]. The *Jewish Gazette* contained false and biased information regarding the situation of the Jews in the GG.

⁴ Author unknown, *Jewish Gazette*, Year I (1940), no. 6, p. 4.

⁵ *Ibid.*, no. 15, p. 3; no. 39, pp. 3-4.

⁶ Chwalba 2002: 165.

⁷ The function of municipal administrator in Krakow was performed by Karl Szmid (from February 1940 to March 1941).

⁸ Author unknown, *Jewish Gazette*, Year I (1940), no. 15, p. 2.

The first months of OD activity were probably limited to organizational and recruitment tasks: accepting, training, and supplying new applicants with the basic uniform. By December 1940, the OD had accepted 120 Jewish officers, selected by the Judenrat.⁹ This number, however, is not completely reliable, since it was published in the *Jewish Gazette* by an anonymous author.¹⁰ Based on an article of 10 September 1940, it can only be assumed that the Judenrat conducted a second round of recruitment for the OD.¹¹ Unfortunately, information regarding the terms and conditions under which candidates were to be accepted into the Jewish police is lacking. The first commander of the OD in Krakow was evidently Aleksander Choczner, a former OD captain in the Polish Army, who probably held the position from 1940 to March 1941.¹²

In their first months of activity, OD-men were not distinguished in any particular way from other members of the Judenrat. According to Aleksander Bieberstein, each member of the OD had a cap with a yellow ring, jacket and boots.¹³ Bieberstein did not give the exact date of the distribution of uniforms to OD-men; therefore, it must be assumed that it was at the beginning of 1941.

The first headquarters of the OD in Kraków was located in Kazimierz in a building at Estery Street 6.¹⁴ In February of the following year, it was moved to a building at Krakowska Street 41, the former premises of the Population Registry. No information has been found about any arrests made by the OD during this period.

A significant portion of the work carried out by officers of the OD consisted of policing the streets of the Jewish quarter in Kazimierz and its institutions. OD-men were also responsible for compliance with the curfew, established by the Germans from 9 pm to 5 am, by Jews in the Jewish community.¹⁵ In addition, the OD assisted in various operations of the occupation authorities against the Jewish community. OD-men were among those who took part in the deportation of Jews from Kraków, which lasted from November 1940 to April 1941.¹⁶ OD members escorted Jews to the transit camp located on Mogilska Street, and assisted SS troops in maintaining order.

The OD once carried out a command of the Gestapo. OD-men served, among other functions, as guards, bringing young Jews to the Resettlement Commission building at Piłsudskiego Street 23 and the German Department of Health at Grodzka Street 64 so that German doctors could conduct anthropological research on them.¹⁷ OD-men also participated in the requisition of Jewish housing organized by the German Billeting Office.¹⁸

The establishment of the OD in occupied Krakow was also related to the attitude of the German authorities towards the Jews. The creation of the Judenrat and a force

⁹ AJHI, ref. 301/448, p. 16.

¹⁰ Author unknown, *Jewish Gazette*, Year I (1940), no. 39, p. 4.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Kotarba 2009: 16.

¹³ Bieberstein 1985: 165.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Author unknown, *Jewish Gazette*, Year I (1940), no. 39, p. 4.

¹⁶ 6,292 people of Jewish descent were deported from Kraków.

¹⁷ Author unknown, *Jewish Gazette*, Year I (1940), no. 42, p. 3; testimony of Mieczysław Pemper in the trial of Oskar Brandt: AINR MC, 455/13, vol. 2, p. 63.

¹⁸ Author unknown, *Jewish Gazette*, Year I (1940), no. 28, p. 2.

responsible for maintaining order and sanitation in the Jewish quarter saved the Germans the trouble of creating their own system of administration. The service rendered in German institutions, the inspection of documents, participation in street round-ups, and escorting of Jews to transit camps all contributed to the gradual process of the OD's becoming independent from the Judenrat. The next phase in the activities of the Kraków OD was connected with the events of March 1941, when the force was reorganized and its members began to succumb to the process of demoralization.

The OD in the Krakow ghetto (March 1941 – December 1943)

The year 1941 was a turning point in the history of occupied Krakow and brought about many changes for the members of the city's OD and their families. One important event was the establishment of the Jewish ghetto in Kraków's Podgórze district, into which thousands of Jews were crammed in order to isolate them from the rest of society.¹⁹ Each body of German authority was then entitled to issue OD officers commands that had to be immediately executed. The smooth and efficient execution of the resettlement of Jews to the ghetto was connected with the participation of the OD as an auxiliary force. It is likely that the German authorities intended the Jewish police to serve as guards inside the gates of the ghetto in order to monitor and control the movement of people and vehicles entering and leaving the ghetto.

In March 1941, the OD office was moved to Podgórze, to a building at Józefińska Street 37.²⁰ An OD detention centre was also set up there, as a temporary holding area for Jews failing to comply with German regulations. The location was intended for individuals who had committed petty offenses such as fighting, assault, or theft. Initially, those lacking documents for the so-called Aryan side would go to this jail, and ultimately to the prison on Montelupich Street or directly to Auschwitz.²¹

In 1941, the post of OD director in Kraków was filled by Eng. Józef Ringel, a chemical engineering consultant. He probably headed the Jewish police for several months.²² His deputy was Symche Spira,²³ who did not enjoy a good reputation among the inhabitants of the ghetto, who believed he collaborated with the Gestapo and blindly carried out its orders. For the post of secretary of the OD, the former accountant Ozjasz Süsser²⁴ was chosen, followed by Benjamin Finster.²⁵ According to German official documents,²⁶ in 1941, 40 men aged between 19 and 53 belonged to the OD. The largest group among the members of the OD consisted of civil servants, tailors, and representatives of various

¹⁹ On 3 March 1941 the head of the district of Kraków, Otto Wächter, issued a decree establishing the Jewish quarter. By March 20 of that year, about 12,000 Jews had been resettled into the ghetto area.

²⁰ Author unknown, *Jewish Gazette*, Year II (1941), no. 62, p. 2.

²¹ Bieberstein 1985: 165.

²² State Archive in Kraków. Old German records, ref. PNN 33, p. 83.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

²⁴ Bieberstein 1985: 168.

²⁵ State Archive in Kraków. Old German records, ref. PNN 34, p. 59.

²⁶ Identity card, document collection: CMA, ref. 451-573; State Archive in Kraków. Old German records, ref. PNN 1-40.

crafts and professions. The latter group included merchants, accountants, doctors and engineers.²⁷ Thus, they represented the elite of the Jewish community in Kraków.

The OD in the Kraków ghetto was divided into four divisions: political, financial, criminal and civil. According to Bieberstein the latter branch was subject to and followed the orders of the Gestapo. Supposed members of this branch included: Julian Appel, a certain Blodek, the brothers Michał and Ignacy Pacanower, Natan Schleifer and Wiktor Wortal.²⁸

Starting in 1941, Symche Spira gradually became dependent on the authority of the Judenrat. It is not inconceivable that he was able to conduct recruitment to the OD single-handedly. Aleksander Bieberstein, a witness of those events, stated that the most important avenues for admission to the Jewish police were bribery, favoritism and the ability to salute superiors in Polish and German.²⁹

The uniforms of OD-men did not undergo any significant changes. Spira obtained an additional allocation for all order-keeping units. They received jackets supposedly made from blankets, along with nightsticks. Members of the civil division of the OD received additional allocations. In addition to the basics, they received jackets, shirts, ties and armbands with the inscription *Ordnungsdienst* in Hebrew.³⁰

OD members, in addition to their service at the gates of the Kraków ghetto, were responsible for maintaining order within the gates, writing out summonses, directing traffic, escorting Jewish workers for forced labor outside the ghetto, and inspecting the documents (identity cards) of ghetto residents. A gradual increase in the responsibilities of the OD followed from August 1941 to March 1943.

In August 1941, the German authorities issued orders for the relocation of Jews from new communities connected to Kraków to the ghetto.³¹ In October of that year more than 20,000 people lived in the Kraków ghetto.³² Consequently, the German authorities carried out inspections of the documents in the Jewish quarter, directed by Symche Spira. After preparing a list of about a thousand old and unemployed people, the OD began raids and blockades of housing along with identity card inspections.³³

On 30 and 31 May 1942, a mass deportation of Jews from the Kraków ghetto to the death camp at Bełżec was carried out.³⁴ On the night of 31 May 1942 OD-men, at the behest of the German authorities, conducted inspections of identity cards in the Krakow ghetto. Following this examination, they gathered those destined for deportation at Plac Zgody, and escorted them the next day to the train station in Płaszów. From there, the Jews were sent to the extermination camp at Bełżec, to which a total of about

²⁷ CMA 451-573; State Archive in Kraków. Old German records, ref. PNN 1-40.

²⁸ State Archive in Kraków. Old German records, ref. PNN 35, p. 95; Bieberstein 1985: 165, 167.

²⁹ Bieberstein 1985: 165.

³⁰ Bieberstein 1985: 165-166.

³¹ In 1941 the occupation authorities attached the surrounding villages and towns to Kraków, creating the following districts: Łagiewniki, Jugowice, Borek Fałęcki, Kobierzyn, Skotniki, Pychowice, Bodzów, Kostrze, Przegorzały, Bielany, Wola Justowska, Chełm, Bronowice Małe, Tonie, Prądnik Biały, Witkowice, Górka Narodowa, Prądnik Czerwony, Olsza, Rakowice, Czyżyny, Łęg, Rybitwy, Bieżanów, Rżąka, Prokocim, Wola Duchacka, Piaski Wielki, Kurdwanów.

³² Bieberstein 1985: 56; Pankiewicz 2012: 66.

³³ Bieberstein 1985: 53.

³⁴ Wroński 1974: 205.

2000 people were deported.³⁵ Further raids, round-ups and deportations from the ghetto to the Bełżec camp continued from 2 to 8 June 1942. About 5000 Jews went to the Bełżec death camp.³⁶ On 5 June the German authorities introduced a new identity card. On 7 and 8 June 1942, with the help of the OD, identity cards were inspected and a selection of persons to be deported was conducted. In the Kraków ghetto, several hundred Jews were killed and several thousand, including some from the “Optima” courtyard on Węgierska Street, were brought by the OD to the train station in Płaszów.³⁷ In summary, from the beginning of the operation to exterminate the Jews, about 7000 people had been sent from the Kraków ghetto to the death camp at Bełżec.³⁸

The main responsibilities of the OD were, therefore, maintaining order, issuing identity cards, carrying out document checks, participation in raids and blockades organized by the German authorities in the Kraków ghetto, and escorting people gathered at Plac Zgody to the Płaszów train station.³⁹ In addition, OD-men participated in searches of Jewish apartments in search of illegal residents in the Jewish quarter.⁴⁰ One consequence of the events associated with the extermination of the Krakow Jews, however, was the OD’s independence from the Judenrat.

On 20 June 1942, a decision of the German governor of Kraków, Rudolf Pavel, reduced the area of the ghetto.⁴¹ The Jewish police were given responsibility for the orderly resettlement of Jews to new homes.⁴² According to Franciszek Banaś, a “navy-blue” policeman [Polish policeman serving under the GG], following the deportations of June, the OD took control, among other things, of the division of population registration.⁴³

On 26 June 1942 OD-men were forced by the Gestapo to perform a show execution, hanging seven unknown men on the railway embankment next to the Płaszów station.⁴⁴ Because there were Poles among the murdered, the event was commemorated by the Nazis. This crime was aimed at awakening aversion to Jews, as the perpetrators, among the residents of Kraków.⁴⁵ One can only assume that the events of 26 June and October 1942 had a demoralizing effect on the members of the OD.

In October 1942, the OD once again carried out the orders of the German authorities. OD officers were responsible for maintaining order, taking people from their homes for deportation, forming them into columns and escorting them to Płaszów train station.⁴⁶ The process of deportation lasted one day. Approximately 600 Jews were killed on the spot and 7000 were deported to death camps.

³⁵ Wroński 1974: 207; Bieberstein 1985: 59.

³⁶ Wroński 1974: 208.

³⁷ Wroński 1974: 209; Bieberstein 1985: 64-65.

³⁸ Wroński 1974: 207; Bieberstein 1985: 59.

³⁹ AJHI ref. 301/448, p. 20; Bieberstein 1985: 64.

⁴⁰ AINR MC, DCINC, ref. case 127/46, p. 2.

⁴¹ AINR MC, DCINC, ref. case 127/46, p. 67.

⁴² Author unknown, *Jewish Gazette*, Year III (1942), no. 72 (9), p. 5.

⁴³ AJHI, ref. 301/5093, p. 2.

⁴⁴ Wroński 1974: 212; Bieberstein 1985: 77-78; Kotarba 2009: 19.

⁴⁵ AINR MC, DCINC, ref. Ds. 38/67 (testimony of Dawid Schlang, 1 September 1948); Pankiewicz 2012: 161.

⁴⁶ Bieberstein 1985: 75.

In November 1942, the German authorities excluded part of Lwowska Street, known colloquially as “Ukraine,” from the area of the Kraków ghetto.⁴⁷ During the same month, the Germans separated a group of 200 Jewish workers who were sent from the ghetto every day in the company of OD men to work on the construction of a labor camp in nearby Płaszów.⁴⁸ On 6 December 1942 the ghetto was divided by the German authorities into two parts: A for the employed and B for the unemployed.⁴⁹ The deadline for liquidation of the ghetto was set for 13-14 March 1943.⁵⁰

On 13 March 1943 at 6 o'clock in the morning, the SS, police and *Sonderdienst* surrounded the ghetto. From 11 am to 3 pm, OD-men gathered between 6000 and 8000 Jews from part A of the ghetto.⁵¹ In the next step, 14 March 1943, German troops carried out the liquidation of the ghetto's part B, whose residents were allegedly to be directed to the German forced labor camp Julag I. On the streets, in hospitals and shelters, the Germans segregated Jews by gender, age, state of health and ability to work.⁵² The segregation did not apply to the families of OD-men, who, during the operation, gathered the bodies of the murdered and loaded them onto the platform of a truck, which then drove away to Płaszów.⁵³ On that day, about 2000 Jews from the Kraków ghetto were deported to KL Auschwitz.⁵⁴ In the ghetto remained only a few dozen Jews who cleaned up the area. OD-men worked on the deserted streets as well, collecting the bodies of victims and loading them onto the truck platform. The bodies were taken to the area of the nearby Płaszów *Zwangsarbeitslager* [hereafter: ZL Płaszów], where they were buried in a mass grave.⁵⁵

The “clean-up” of the former ghetto lasted until August 1943. Members of the Judenrat and the OD and their families remained in the area. Until September 1943, the building at Józefińska Street 39 housed branches of the SS and Gestapo.⁵⁶ The most zealous OD-men in the civil division followed the orders of the German authorities. These OD officers believed until the end that their involvement would be appreciated by the occupiers. On 14 December 1943, at the behest of Wilhelm Kunde, director for Jewish affairs, inconvenient witnesses of the Nazi crimes were murdered at Płaszów. Symche Spira, Michał Pacanower and Dr Wilhelm Armer perished along with their families.⁵⁷ Thus ended another stage of the operation of the OD, which, now consisting mainly of former OD-men from the Kraków ghetto, went on to maintain order in the forced labor camp at Płaszów.

⁴⁷ Pankiewicz 2012: 154.

⁴⁸ AINR MC, DCINC ref. Ds.7/67, p. 12; AJHI, ref. 301/448, p. 25.

⁴⁹ Wroński 1974: 239.

⁵⁰ Bieberstein 1985: 82.

⁵¹ Borwicz, Rost & Wulf 1946: 60; Kotarba 2009: 28.

⁵² Narrative of Roman Kraftlos: Borwicz, Rost & Wulf 1945: 115.

⁵³ Kotarba 2009: 29.

⁵⁴ Kotarba 2009: 29.

⁵⁵ Blumental 1947: 276.

⁵⁶ Bieberstein 1985: 92.

⁵⁷ Pankiewicz 2012: 248.

The OD at the German camp at Płaszów, 1943-1945

The decision to build a German forced labor camp at Płaszów was probably made in October 1942 and was directly connected with Heinrich Himmler's secret order of 9 October of that year, in which he commanded that the Jews subject to forced labor for the German army be placed in camps organized by and subordinate to the SS. Then, under an agreement made on 13 October 1942 between the commander-in-chief of the SS, head of the GG Gestapo Wilhelm Krüger, commander of the GG military district General Siegfried Haenicke and chief inspector of armaments Max Schindler, the German military authorities took over control of the Jews from the General Government. Henceforth, German firms and managers of German military units had to obtain special permission from the security police to employ Jews, and then were obliged to pay a certain sum into the account of the commanders of the SS and police in exchange for the use of the Jewish workforce.⁵⁸

The decision to concentrate Jews in the Płaszów camp was issued by the commander of the SS and SS Police, Oberführer Julian Scherner. The camp was located in the area of two Jewish cemeteries at Abrahama Street 3 and Jerozolimaska Street 25. Until December 1942, it was the duty of OD-men to escort a group of about 200 Jews to forced labor from the Kraków ghetto to ZAL Płaszów. After 10 December 1942, the first group of workers and OD-men from the Jewish quarter were billeted at ZAL Płaszów. From 1942 to 1944, the German camp at Płaszów was systematically expanded, eventually covering an area of 80 hectares.⁵⁹

In order to improve the supervision of the exiles at ZAL Płaszów, a structure of functional positions was created: block, kapo and order-keeping. The Germans filled them from among the prisoners who were to supervise the other convicts. The main functions in the camp were performed by inmates originating from the Kraków ghetto OD. Their tasks included supervision of a particular part of the camp in Płaszów, either industrial or residential. The industrial part consisted of the Madritsch confection factory (sewing uniforms for the army) as well as workshops for locksmiths, upholsterers, carpenters, electricians, automotive mechanics, furriers, shoemakers, tailors, paper makers and printers. The residential part of ZAL Płaszów was divided into three separate areas: for Jews, for Poles, and a common economic-administrative area.⁶⁰

The tasks of the ON at ZAL Płaszów were to maintain order in the residential barracks, in the workshops⁶¹ and on the assembly ground.⁶² The responsibilities of OD-men also involved the work of Jewish forced laborers. As part of their role, OD-men were responsible for the assignment of prisoners to different work teams. The German authorities assigned a senior OD-man to each workshop in the camp; at the end of the day, he drew up a report on the work accomplished that day.⁶³ The tasks of the OD also included daily inspection and escorting of workers involved in the construction of camp roads,

⁵⁸ Kotarba 2009: 23.

⁵⁹ Kotarba 2009: 23-25.

⁶⁰ Kotarba 2009: 72.

⁶¹ AINR MC 502/505, p. 46.

⁶² AJHI, ref. 301/3405, p. 1.

⁶³ Kotarba 2009: 105.

wells and fire prevention tanks, the water supply network, barracks and other masonry structures. Another activity of OD-men at ZAL Płaszów was keeping clerical records of prisoners arriving at the camp, as well as the performance of basic administrative tasks. The camp authorities appointed specific members of the OD for this. Among them was Majer Kerner.⁶⁴

Until 1944, within the residential area at ZAL Płaszów, barracks 13 and 14 were most likely at the disposal of the OD. The former contained OD headquarters and the office of its commander, Wilhelm Chilowicz. The latter housed an OD prison with 20 cells, in which inmates of the camp or prisoners from Montelupich Street and Pomorska Street prisons were temporarily detained.⁶⁵

Apart from the supervision of other prisoners, some of the Płaszów prisoners also occupied management positions. The highest-ranking were the commandant of the OD, Wilhelm Chilowicz, his deputy Finkelstein and about ten managers commonly referred to as “OD officers.” According to the testimony of witnesses, those occupying leadership positions included: Majer Kerner,⁶⁶ Olek Spanlang, Maniek Feber, Maks Zimmermann⁶⁷ and Marcel Goldberg.⁶⁸ The order-keepers, senior OD-men and the so-called Profos (prison director) Wilhelm Kranz formed a lower rank in the IP. Senior OD-men included the brothers Ferdynand and Bernard Sperling. The OD also consisted of some members of the Jewish Fighting Organization: Jakub and Erwin Lieberman and Dawid Liebling.⁶⁹

Following their adoption into the ranks of the OD, some OD-men received a uniform, which included a cap with a yellow ring, a serial number, and a gray-brown uniform.⁷⁰ This was not mandatory, so some members of the OD went about in plain clothes. However, they regarded the uniform as a mark of distinction from the other prisoners at ZAL Płaszów.

Senior OD officers in the camp wore a white belt, known colloquially as ‘the beam’, which probably signified the rank of OD officer. On the uniforms of OD-men of lower rank were badges or emblems. Each OD-man in the camp was also supposed to have a whip, which the prisoners called a “*rajpejtsz*” [evidently from the German *Reitpeitsche*, “riding crop”].⁷¹

OD members, besides fulfilling their everyday responsibilities, also participated in occasional actions organized by the authorities of the Płaszów camp. Until the end of 1943, for example, OD-men conducted inspections in barracks and on the assembly ground, searching the personal belongings of prisoners and participating in executions in the German camp.

On 10 January 1944 ZAL Płaszów was transformed into a concentration camp, whose full name was Konzentrationslager Płaszów bei Krakau [hereafter: KL Płaszów]. Under the new rules, the OD branch within KL Płaszów was liquidated, its duties taken over

⁶⁴ AINR MC 502/564, pp. 14, 132; Kotarba 2009: 67.

⁶⁵ Kotarba 2009: 47.

⁶⁶ AINR MC 502/564, pp. 14, 29.

⁶⁷ Kotarba 2009: 74.

⁶⁸ AJHI, ref. 301/2307 p. 1; ref. 301/4526, p. 1.

⁶⁹ AJHI, ref. 301/1589, p. 1. The question of infiltration of OD ranks by the Jewish Fighting Organization requires a separate study.

⁷⁰ Bau 1990: 146.

⁷¹ AINR MC 502/482, p. 101.

by German SS-men and guards (*Wachmänner*). OD men were reassigned, however, as so-called *Feuermänner*, members of the fire brigade. Their responsibilities, with a few exceptions, did not change significantly.⁷² The only OD-man who remained his post was Marcel Goldberg, who worked at the Labor Office (*Arbeitseinsatz*) as a manager.⁷³ The rest of the order played only a minor role in the camp. Occasionally, at the command of the Germans, they participated in operations in the grounds. For example, Amon Goeth appointed Wilhelm Chilowicz to set up a *Kinderheim* in the camp. With the participation of two other OD-men, Simon Koch and Simon Grüner, he adapted barrack no. 5 as a “children’s home”; the building fulfilled that function until 14 May 1944.⁷⁴

On 13 August 1944, Wilhelm Chilowicz, the camp leader (*Lagerälteste*), was publicly executed. His body, along with a placard indicating the inmate’s offense, was exposed to public view.⁷⁵ In July 1944 the liquidation of KL Płaszów was begun. Between August and October of that year, German authorities sent thousands of prisoners to concentration camps in Auschwitz, Gross-Rosen, and Buchenwald, and subsequently to Flossenbürg, Stutthof, and Mauthausen. On 14 January 1945, the Germans, under the leadership of commandant *SS-Hauptscharführer* Kurt Schupke, finally left the camp.⁷⁶

The trials of members of the OD before the Special Criminal Court in Kraków

On 16 April 1940, the “Resolution regarding the ‘hooded’ courts” [special courts which historically operated in periods of interregnum] issued by the Committee for National Affairs came into force in occupied Poland. It called for the death penalty for persons suspected, for example, of treason or espionage. In January 1942, the Military Special Courts began their operations. Until mid-1943 they examined matters involving criminal acts to the detriment of the state and the Polish nation. During the occupation, there were also Special Civil Courts and Judicial Commissions of Civil (from July 1943: Underground) Resistance.⁷⁷ A decree of the President of the Republic was issued in London on 30 March 1943 concerning criminal responsibility for war crimes.

After the end of World War II, former prisoners of Nazi concentration camps directed accusations to the Polish authorities against those who had exercised administrative functions in these camps. In the minds of Jews, the Judenrat and its subordinate units, particularly the OD, had become established as criminal organizations collaborating with the enemy. Criminal proceedings were initiated against members of these organizations, the chief accusation being collaboration with the occupation authorities. On 31 May 1944, the War Council of the Polish Armed Forces issued a “Decree on the punishment of the German-fascist criminals guilty of the murder and ill-treatment of

⁷² AINR MC 502/482, p. 101.

⁷³ AJHI, ref. 301/4526; ref. 301/4554.

⁷⁴ AJHI, ref. 301/3205, pp. 1-5.

⁷⁵ AJHI, ref. 301/3405, p. 2; Kotarba 2009: 146.

⁷⁶ Kotarba 2009: 124.

⁷⁷ Pasek 2002: 13-20.

civilians and prisoners of war, and of spies and traitors to the Polish people among Polish citizens and their supporters.”⁷⁸ Those suspected of war crimes or collaboration with the enemy were, however, judged according to the decree of the Polish Committee of National Liberation [hereafter: PCNL], issued 31 August 1944: “On the punishment of Nazi-Fascist criminals guilty of murder and ill-treatment of civilians and prisoners of war and of traitors to the Polish nation.”

In the years 1944-1960 many Polish citizens accused of being informers or of other forms of collaboration with the Germans appeared before ordinary courts. On the basis of complaints formulated in the so-called “August Decree,” 18,000 people were sentenced. Officers of the OD and the Judenrat accused of collaboration with the enemy appeared before the Jewish Committees’ Courts of Honor, and next before the Social Courts of the Central Committee of Jews in Poland [hereafter: CCJP]. Lawsuits against OD-men and members of the Judenrat were usually held before the CCJP Social (Civil) Courts.⁷⁹

The main task of the CCJP Civil Court was prosecution covering the activities of members of the Judenrat, the Jewish police, the administration of German concentration camps and Jews collaborating with the Germans during World War II. It consisted of 18 members and made rulings in groups of three to five. After voting and considering the evidence and the results of the investigation, a decision was made by majority vote concerning the sentence, which included: admonition, reprimand, censure, suspension of civil rights for a period of one to three years, and exclusion from the Jewish community.⁸⁰ Many trials of former Jewish policemen were held before the CCJP Citizens’ Court in Warsaw, but none of the cases resulted in a conviction.

Criminal proceedings against former members of the OD were launched by Special Criminal Courts, called into being by the State Decree of 12 September 1944.⁸¹ They resulted in the judgments recorded in the provisions of the aforementioned Decree of the PKWN, 31 August 1944, as subsequently amended.⁸² Before the SCC in Krakow stood several former OD-men accused of collaborating with the Germans during World War II: the brothers Ferdynand and Bernard Sperling, Majer Kerner, and Dawid Liebling.

Most famous is the trial of the doctor Leon Gross and OD-man Majer Kerner, who on 26 August 1946 were sentenced to death for collaborating with the Nazis. Kerner was born on 27 June 1904, graduated from the University of Economics in Kraków, and began his OD service in March 1941. In May of that year he was appointed a deputy on guard duty in the Kraków ghetto. He was sent to ZAL Płaszów on 14 February 1943, where until 14 October 1944 he was responsible for all administrative and office functions and for maintaining order in the barracks and assembly ground. Then, starting in 1944, Kerner was in charge of the issuing of cards to prisoners. On 15 October of that

⁷⁸ Pasek 2002: 20.

⁷⁹ Wóycicka 2009: 177-189.

⁸⁰ Podolska 1996: 90.

⁸¹ *Dziennik Ustaw* 1946, No. 59, item 32.

⁸² On 16 February 1945, the Supreme Court modified the decree of 31 August 1944, dividing it into separate paragraphs: 1§1 applied to “participating in killings,” as well as in “the identification, recognition or deportation of persons wanted or persecuted by the occupying power for any reason (except for prosecution of ordinary crimes); 1§2 applied to acts committed ‘in a different manner than that provided for in §1 to the detriment of the Polish State, or persons from the civilian population or prisoners of war.’” Another amendment to the so-called August Decree was made on 10 December 1946: Pasek 2002: 88.

year he was sent via transport to the camp in Gross-Rosen, whence after a few days he was taken to a factory in Brünlitz in the Sudetens.⁸³

In the summer of 1945, as a result of an accusation made by Leon Krzemiń, a criminal investigation of the case of Majer Kerner, former OD-man at ZAL Płaszów, was launched.⁸⁴ The trial of Majer Kerner began in January 1946. During its course, a number of former prisoners of the German camp in Płaszów were questioned. The witnesses predominantly testified against Kerner. They blamed him for collaborating with the Germans and for sadistic abuse of other prisoners at Płaszów.⁸⁵ On 26 August 1945, during questioning, Majer Kerner defended his conduct, emphasizing his role in helping to rescue people from the Kraków ghetto and the Nazi concentration camp at Płaszów.⁸⁶ The SCC, however, found the accused's argument to be groundless, finding him guilty of the allegations set forth in the Decree of 31 August 1944, concerning punishment for Fascist and Nazi war criminals and traitors to the Polish nation. On 26 August 1946 in the Kraków SCC, Majer Kerner was sentenced to death. However, the SCC received two petitions for clemency from the wife of the accused, on 31 August and 2 October 1946. In December 1946 the SCC dismissed these claims. The files regarding the Kerner case contain no information regarding when, exactly, the execution of Majer Kerner took place.⁸⁷

Jewish law enforcement groups were formed in various cities of occupied Poland. They differed in their responsibilities, organizational structures, and some elements of their members' uniforms. In the process of the OD's creation, important roles were played by the particular location, population density and area of the ghetto. For example, the Warsaw ghetto, which measured 307 hectares, held a peak population of 460,000, whereas the Kraków ghetto's 20 hectares held somewhat fewer than 20,000 Jews. This had a strong impact on the process of creating Jewish law enforcement organizations in these cities.

The creation of the OD in occupied Kraków by the German authorities was primarily aimed at shifting the burden of managing the ghetto to the Jews themselves. The German authorities may have worked on the assumption that actions directed against the Jews would proceed more efficiently if they had the support of their brethren, i.e. Jewish policemen. In the early months of the OD's formation, individuals from the so-called respectable professions, fulfilling important functions among the Jewish population, were accepted into its ranks. Probably many Jews decided to serve in the OD for the sake of the resulting privileges, such as increased food rations, the right to go beyond the ghetto, or the assurance of safety for their families.

In the years 1941-1943 there were numerous changes in the functioning of the OD. Under the influence of responsibilities imposed on OD-men during resettlement, deportation and liquidation of the Kraków ghetto, the attitude of the inhabitants of the ghettos to the enforcers changed. The OD then came to be regarded as a criminal organization

⁸³ AINR MC 502/564, p. 33; testimony of Majer Kerner, *ibid.*, pp. 33, 134-136.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 26, 27, 29, 34, 39, 55, 119-20.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 208.

collaborating with the occupiers. The collaboration of Jews with Germans during World War II is, however, a separate topic of study currently under development.

In the opinion of witnesses, the Jewish police remained a criminal force. Neither the inhabitants of the Kraków ghetto nor the prisoners of the Nazi concentration camp in Płaszów had any confidence in OD officers. In the eyes of their fellow Jews, the enforcers were accomplices to crimes committed in the ghetto and camp. Some OD members, however, avoided performing their duties during deportation by adopting a passive attitude, which their co-religionists did not understand. Also among the OD were people who collaborated with the Jewish conspiracy operating at ZAL Płaszów, including the Lieberman brothers and Dawid Liebling.

It is difficult to evaluate the performance of the order-keeping force, which only performed the commands of the Judenrat and, with time, of the German authorities. The OD was given tasks requiring knowledge of the Jewish language, contact with other Jews, and force. The OD-men were probably called in as an auxiliary group when German officers were lacking for the implementation of a task.

In the years 1945-1955, about 40 Jews were accused of collaborating with the enemy before Polish national courts. Three-quarters of them were sentenced. Several former Jewish policemen were judged by the SCC in Kraków. However, most of the OD-men died in December 1943 in Płaszów; there is very little information about the fate of the others, especially since many Jews emigrated beyond the borders of Poland at the war's end. The trials of former OD-men before the SCC proved only that according to Polish law, one could not be punished for belonging to the OD.

ABBREVIATIONS

AINR MC – Archives of the Institute of National Remembrance, documents of the Main Commission for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes in Poland

AINR MC, DCINC – Archives of the Institute of National Remembrance, documents of the Main Commission for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes in Poland; the District Commission for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes

AJHI – Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute, Warszawa

CMA – Kraków Municipal Administration

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SELF-SACRIFICING AND/OR OVERBEARING: THE JEWISH MOTHER IN THE CULTURAL IMAGINATION

Brygida Gasztold

(Politechnika Koszalińska)

Key words: American Jewish culture and literature, the Jewish Mother stereotype

Abstract: Given the historical proximity of Polish and Jewish groups, it is possible to identify their mutual interconnectedness. This paper presents one such example of the stereotypical Jewish Mother, in Israel known as a “Polish woman,” both in its sociohistorical and cultural aspect. Drawing from the theory of gendered and stereotypical representations, author traces a changing portrayal of the Jewish Mother on her way from the ghetto penury to middle-class affluence. Embodied by popular characters such as Molly Goldberg, the Jewish mother also became a target of bitter criticism, best rendered in the depiction of Sophie Portnoy—the iconic protagonist of Philip Roth’s novel *Portnoy’s Complaint* (1967). Feminist re-readings of this popular stereotype offer an interesting insight into its construction and try to explain its viability.

My paternal and maternal family come from the Eastern Borderlands, which were populated by a mixture of ethnic groups: Poles, Byelorussians, Karaims, and Jews. Both my aunt and mother, who were then little girls, recollect going with their mothers to visit a Jewish seamstress, a Jewish shoemaker (who made shoes for a deferred payment), a Jewish shopkeeper (who ordered special fabrics for my grandmother) and the familiar figure of the Jewish peddler (hawking pots and pans, and sharpening knives). Jewish crafts were generally appreciated because of their high professional reputation and reliability. My relatives remember the multiethnic neighborhoods of Soły and Wiszniewo, which were populated by Polish and Jewish neighbors, even if they rarely socialized with one another. The Jews from my family’s recollections were assimilated, not Orthodox, and were generally without discernible emblems of ethnic identity. I am aware of the fact that a child’s perspective is obviously limited and incomplete, but what these Polish children remembered about their pre-World War II Jewish neighbors indicates a fairly peaceful and mutually beneficial co-existence.

While researching my project about the stereotypical representations of Jewish women in American culture, I have observed that many of the features attributed to Jewish mothers can also be found in Polish mothers, at least in those I have come to know.¹ Their unrelenting emphasis on food and a fear of ever feeling hungry, a myriad of “be carefals,” which are to protect a child from the dangers of everyday life, and the insist-

¹ In Israel, the stereotypical American “Jewish Mother” is known as “Isha Polania,” or Polish woman.

ence on constant contact with grown-up children testify to the Jewish and Polish mothers' shared characteristics. The proximity and long cohabitation of Jewish and Polish communal groups must have resulted in their mutual influence; a process which was subject to the assimilative forces at work in the borderlands. Women, to a larger extent than men, could engage in inter-ethnic contact, normally connected with household duties and child rearing. Maternal and domestic tasks provided a common platform for both Polish and Jewish female cohorts, making exchange of information potentially possible. As the exact measure and history of Polish and Jewish women's reciprocal influence calls for another study, I assume that maternal behaviors are not ethnically specific. Different realizations of maternal love indicate its universal core, at the heart of which lies the well-being of the child. But what if this child, typically male, chooses to convert the mother's image into a stock character which triggers bursts of laughter and general scorn? Suspended between a self-sacrificing martyr and a guilt-producing manipulator, the literary representations of the Jewish mother demonstrate Jewish assimilative anxiety in post-war America as well as the resulting changes in family dynamics and shifting gender roles. Even though these stereotypical images are embedded within the Jewish American cultural milieu, they manage to interrogate the ambivalence of motherhood in general.

Gendered stereotypes

Although reductive and limited in nature, stereotypes allow people to classify new experiences by means of familiar tools. They provide labels, which help to sort out experience in order to form meaningful beliefs. Stereotypes require a social context in which the elements of their characteristics can come into play, allowing one group of people to be categorized against another. Mapping stereotypes may help to address such issues as ethnocentrism, prejudice, and alienation. Stereotypes are the lens through which members of the dominant group can identify their relationship to race, ethnicity, religion, social standing, gender, and age. Although stereotypes are often biased and ignore the diversity within the group, they still reveal much information about the society in question: "stereotyping is complicit in the dynamics of social power; that it is caricaturing of certain social groups, especially of those in subordinate social positions, serves to reinforce both the subordinate positions themselves and the social mythologies that rationalize such acts of social subordination" (Freadman 1993: 109). Moreover, they reflect the system of values and beliefs the society holds as normative and which pertain to those in power.

Gender is a social label whose power comes from the universality of its categorization: the division between men and women being the fundamental one. The term "gender" refers to a simplified and standardized conception, which communicates assumptions about male and female roles (both social and domestic), images and individual or group attributes. The term "gender stereotype" was adopted in the 1970s by feminists in order to distinguish between biological and cultural aspects of "maleness" and "femaleness." In 1979, R.K. Unger introduced a definition of gender to the psychological sciences as "those characteristics and traits socioculturally considered appropriate to males and

females” (1085). Biological approaches to gender indicate differences between the sexes as fundamental to their construction, whereas social theorists refer to societal expectations and cultural traditions as determinants responsible for gender differences. Gender stereotypes refer to a set of beliefs which affect conceptualizations of masculinity and femininity, whereas gender roles are recognized by certain behaviors, which, in turn, furnish the material for stereotypes.

Gender stereotypes are not innate, but culturally conditioned; they are learned, internalized and perpetuated by normative societal structures. Being the products of social activity, they are subject to change alongside the changes in the social structure. The fact that they employ both individual and collective representations allows them to function across racial, ethnic, class, and gender lines, and affect whole groups, regardless of personal beliefs. Mental representations of the world, such as stereotypes, are encoded in memory and later presented and disseminated via diverse vehicles of cultural communication, such as literature, radio, television, film, press, and advertising. The most popular and persistent image related to American Jewish culture is that of the Jewish mother, which has been present in the media since at least the 1950s and still enjoys notable manifestations, albeit significantly altered in comparison to the original prototype.

From the ghetto to the suburb

Probably the most dramatic change in regard to the female role in a Jewish family happened in the 20th century, when Jews began to leave the ethnic ghetto and join the American middle classes. This was a turbulent time not only for the Jews but also for America: the Great Depression of the 1930s inflamed ethnic problems within American society, especially among groups who were competing for the same jobs, anti-Semitism escalated as the Jews were accused of controlling American capital and business, and the tragic fate of European Jews—especially assimilated and successful German Jews—under the Nazi regime shook the American Jews’ belief in stability. The outbreak of World War II fueled American anti-Semitic sentiments so much that “during the 1940s from 15 to 24 percent of the American population surveyed defined Jews as a ‘menace to America.’ When the United States was at war with Germany and Japan, a greater percentage of Americans held negative attitudes toward Jews than toward German or Japanese Americans” (Prell 1999: 125). In order not to aggravate the situation, Jews tended to avoid public disputes and continued to blend into American society so successfully that “in the 1930s [they] began to ‘vanish’ as subjects from [...] American popular culture” (Prell 1999: 127). Their growing financial stability and increased access to middle-class living made it possible for them to move to the suburbs (“the gilded ghettos”), where they “retained their prewar residential patterns of living in close proximity to one another, but they did so by abandoning urban life en masse” (Prell 1999: 157).

Although geographically they became part of the middle classes and as American citizens enjoyed a wide array of professional opportunities, they were still unwelcome to join their Protestant neighbors in social activities. The postwar suburbs witnessed another struggle for Jewish social inclusion, which entailed both intra- and inter-ethnic disputes. More subtle but equally damaging discrimination of Jews took place at uni-

versities (which introduced quotas of admissible Jewish students), on housing estates (which refused Jewish home buyers), in workplaces (which used the ethnic criterion for employment), and through various forms of “gentlemen’s agreements,” which denied Jewish membership at clubs, fraternities, and sororities.

The shift in female roles in the Jewish family had already started when Jewish immigrants began to adapt to the prevailing bourgeoisie model of female domesticity, according to which women were basically expected to preserve traditional morality, stay religious, and do good deeds; the last of these roles combined Western philanthropy with traditional Jewish charity (*zedakah*). In the Old World, many shtetl wives had to provide for their families, and thus developed “strong personalities and sharp business skills” (Koltun 1976: 273). In American Jewish immigrant narratives, such as Abraham Cahan’s “Yekl, A Tale of the New York Ghetto” (1896), Edna Sheklow’s memoir *So Talently My Children* (1966), and Shalom Asch’s *East River* (1946), we can see female characters portrayed as essential to the survival of the family: “when women’s wage earning was still vital to the family, the energetic women who used their skills and ingenuity to help support their families are cast as admirable characters” (Baum, Hyman & Michel 1976: 191). Enterprising Jewish women were depicted as “robust and direct, energetic and independent. Female charm, in the recognized American sense, was not one of their virtues” (Baum, Hyman & Michel 1976: 189). Thereby, they exhibited traits which were in conflict with the model of American wifedom, as it advanced among the middle classes from World War II onwards. This emerging ideal portrayed a wife who was modest about her own needs and, instead, concentrated on her husband’s professional and social promotion, but who retained the appearance of a sophisticated lady. As a mother, she had to sacrifice herself for the happiness of her children; however, in no way should she impede their independence. Women who “held on to the old attitudes and attempted to take control of financial matters were seen, at least in literature, as domineering and emasculating – or as laughable” (Baum, Hyman & Michel 1976: 193). The endorsement of feminine qualities of domesticity and refinement, which were aligned with the American cultural ideal of womanhood, and the simultaneous portrayal of women as temperamentally and physically unsuited to do business, exposes the scale of impingement of the dominant American attitude on the Jewish community. The Western, middle-class definition of womanhood imposed on Jewish women a more conservative role than the one they had enjoyed in Eastern Europe. In America, however, Jewish women advanced in education and various forms of entertainment such as the Yiddish theatre, vaudeville, radio, and television.

The common representation of the transitional period between the working mother and the lady of leisure is “the foolish, overdecorated wife of the parvenu. She is a caricature of the real “lady,” her pretensions to refinement laughable, and her shallowness and materialism contemptible” (Baum, Hyman & Michel 1976: 199). Mrs. Cohen from Michael Gold’s 1930 novel *Jews Without Money* is a good example of such characterization:

Mrs. Cohen, a fat, middle-aged woman, lay on the sofa. She glittered like an ice-cream parlor. Her tubby legs rested on a red pillow. Her bleached yellow head blazed with diamond combs and rested on a pillow of green. She wore a purple silk waist, hung with yards of tapestry and lace. Diamonds shone from her ears; diamond rings sparkled from every finger. She looked like some vulgar, pretentious prostitute, but was only the typical wife of a Jewish *nouveau riche* (217).

Even though her depiction is most unfavorable, she is not an active participant in the oppressive capitalist system, which Gold criticizes in his novel. What she does is to perform the role that is expected of her: that of the consumer and a lady of leisure: “In spite of the fact that proletarian novels advocate social change by arousing class consciousness, their content is often gender-biased [...] they reduce female characters to passive agents who are ensnared in the man’s world” (Gasztold 2011: 135).

Conforming to middle-class lifestyle

The two major factors affecting the life of American Jews in the 1940s, the existent threat of anti-Semitism and their acculturated life style, resulted in the shifting of the hub of Jewish culture out of the public sphere toward the realm of domesticity. Jewish men concentrated on work, pursuing white-collar jobs which financially enabled, and later supported, their arrival in the middle classes. Providing was an exclusively male activity, for “man’s masculinity was defined in large part by his working and being breadwinner, and [...] attaining material success from it” (Cantor 1995: 170). The position of sole breadwinner consolidated their authority over the family. For an aspiring Jew, “the first status symbol on the Lower East Side of New York was a nonworking wife” (Cantor 1995: 172). Should a man’s wife go to work, it signaled her husband’s financial incompetence and lack of business skills. The wife’s duty, in turn, was to ensure that the Jewish household did not fall short of the American one, in either idea or design. In other words, it must be run in a manner that reflected her husband’s affluence and prosperity. Women were expected to find fulfillment in pursuing the roles of wives and mothers, and behave like “ladies of leisure”—now that they were freed from household chores by servants. “Their role as ladies must complement their husband’s financial position; by conducting themselves properly, they become assets” (Baum 199). As the Jewish father became associated with work outside the family, the Jewish mother, who had no direct access to production and wealth, except through her husband, concentrated on domestic issues such as raising the children and performing household tasks. Her prowess as a good housewife matched her husband’s professional accomplishments and completed the picture of an acculturated and successful family that had come a long way since its immigrant origins.

The moment the suburban Jewish family became an emblem of successful acculturation and assimilation marks the shift from an immigrant to an assimilationist position. Symbolically rendered in the opening line of the 1953 novel *The Adventures of Augie March* by Saul Bellow—“I’m an American, Chicago born”—the protagonist’s statement removes all doubt about his national identity. But the move from the margins towards the mainstream also channeled the Jewish anxieties that accompanied their newly acquired social position. Financial success was important, but it did not ensure the acceptance of the American middle-classes, which were still reluctant to embrace the newcomers. Once the unwelcoming attitude towards the Jewish neighbors became obvious, the brunt of criticism directed at the stereotypical Jewish mother came to represent all that still hindered American acceptance of Jews. In other words, the stereotyped Jewish mother conveyed both the worst traits of the Old World and the major obstacles to Jewish as-

similation in the New World. Thus, the figure of the Jewish mother became the focus of an intra-ethnic frustration and the source of the leading stereotype of the post-World War II period.

Beloved and criticized: cultural representations of the Jewish Mother

Not all cultural representations of the Jewish mother carried a negative bias and criticism, as there was one Jewish mother who became a beloved mother of many Americans of non-Jewish origin. Gertrude Berg was an actress, writer, and producer of a popular radio and, from 1949, television sitcom, *The Goldbergs*, which aired from 1929 to 1962. She created one of the most popular female characters of Jewish origin—Molly Goldberg. Combining the sentimentalized Yiddishe mama with the life wisdom and common sense of a knowledgeable matriarch, she captivated audiences across ethnic and religious borders, becoming the epitome of an open-hearted and caring American mother. Portraying the Goldbergs as a Jewish, but not too Jewish, family, she skillfully merged Yiddish inflected speech with general problems related to a working class background: financial worries, paying the rent, problems with employment, food, children, health, and managing the closest and most distant members of the family. The deliberate omission of potentially inflammable political and racial issues tailored the show to suit a gamut of American tastes. This is why its representation of a “typical” working-class Jewish family is not exactly accurate, as it eschews family feuds, divorces, religious concerns, mental illnesses, racial prejudice and the debilitating effects of physical work. In the relationship with her children, she is nothing like Portnoy’s mother; Molly is a respectful advisor who allows the children to reach their own decisions, and a patient observer of their—sometimes problematic—maturity. Good-natured, humane and smart, Molly manages to peacefully resolve all of her own, and her neighbors’, problems, always promoting moral values over material ones, thus proving that “immigrant mothers did not have to be left behind as Jews moved forward, nor would they pollute Judaic values with materialistic concerns. With mothers like Molly reliably steering the course, immigrants and other working-class citizens could make it in America” (Antler 2007: 48). Molly Goldberg was the prototype of later, more distorted, representations of Jewish motherhood.

The overall image of the stereotypical Jewish wife/mother was predominantly pejorative. She was accused of excessive consumption, “associated aggressively with wanting and demanding. Status success, and suburbanization were some of the demands she placed upon her husband” (Prell 1999: 145), who was presented as a victim of her insatiable needs, or somebody who fruitlessly tried to satisfy her gargantuan craving for accumulation. Her lack of moderation also revealed itself in the unequal way she tended to the needs of the family. She

suffocated her family, but especially her children, with food and nurturance that made giving and receiving a poisonous act. As an excessive giver, she never wanted or received anything directly, but she was highly manipulative. Her name was synonymous with guilt, her second attribute. Her demands were impossible to meet because she wanted what usually seemed impossible to give—total loyalty. [...] [S]he was often portrayed as naïve, stupid, or hopelessly out of touch with the world of her children (Prell 1999: 145).

She was impossible to please, like in the joke: “What did the waiter ask the group of dining Jewish mothers? Is ANYTHING all right?” Finally, she was seen as “crass, bullying, asexual, antisexual [...], she overfeeds everyone, and obsesses about digestion and elimination” (Pogrebin 1991: 260). In short, the Jewish Mother stereotype has become a universally recognized metaphor for emotional harassment whose fictional life has been perpetuated by means of cultural and scholarly representations.

Acquisition was an important element of assimilation, and women spearheaded the process, which “provided immigrants with the markers of American identity and social mobility—from American food products to a piano for the parlor” (Hyman 1995: 98). When Jews were moving to middle-class districts, they decorated their homes so that they would match their non-Jewish neighbors. At the same time, excessive consumption was seen as undesirable and corruptive of traditional American values. Ostentatious materialism was regarded by Protestant neighbors as tantamount to a lack of sophistication and crudeness. In the transitional period of social mobility Jewish mothers were both encouraged and chastised for buying, depending on who formulated the argument: the margins, or the mainstream, respectively. In both cases it was the woman who was held responsible for criticism: if she does not spend, her whole household and life style would be regarded as not up to her American neighbors’ standards—the evidence of Jewish failure to assimilate. A fiasco to successfully emulate the aspiring model had far-reaching consequences, one of which was a disapproval expressed by her husband who had been working hard to ensure the family had the means to match their peer group. However, if she spent money and paraded the latest, material symbols of affinity to middle-class living, her non-Jewish neighbors criticized her for her excess and vulgarity, and she would be deemed extravagant and reckless—again a signal of her—and by proxy Jewish—failed acculturation, and the reason for social ostracism.

Between sons and daughters

In the shtetl, the mother did not depend on the children’s success to affirm her social position, as she herself was also the provider. In the American milieu, where she was confined to the realm of domesticity, her self-esteem was connected with her children’s career, especially as she bore the responsibility for socializing them. “The shtetl defined success in terms of Jewish values: that she or he became a *mentsch*, and a good Jew. In America success meant the son’s material achievement and status and the daughter’s ‘good marriage’” (Cantor 1995: 209). This was why mothers encouraged their sons to pursue education and a professional career, preferably that of the proverbial doctor or lawyer. A daughter, however, needed education only inasmuch as it would enhance her prospects for matrimony. This is how the mother from Philip Roth’s *Portnoy’s Complaint* (1967) talks about her daughter: “The child is no genius, but then we don’t ask the impossible. God bless her, she works hard, she applies herself to her limits, and so whatever she gets is all right” (2).² Expectations towards Jewish daughters were modest, and

² All references are to this edition and are cited by page within the text: Philip Roth, *Portnoy’s Complaint*, London: Corgi Books, 1971.

a mother's goal was to "mold her daughter into a marriageable female" (Cantor 1995: 220), rather than insist on her academic or professional career. The mother's task was arduous, for the established canon of beauty was defined in non-Jewish terms: straight blonde hair, a small nose, and a slim figure. A young woman on the brink of matrimony also had to appear gentle, reserved, and not as outspoken as Jewish women can, allegedly, be. All in all, in order to become worthy of man's attention, she should come closest to the American ideal of beauty. Only social invisibility made her desirable, and it was her mother's job to make sure that she arrived at this target.

In regard to her daughter's upbringing, the Jewish mother faced conflicting motives. Teaching her daughter subservience and docility might secure a desirable match with a prominent gentleman, but it would shrink her daughter's chances of becoming an independent-minded and self-motivated person. Moreover, fashioning her physical appearance and self-expression in a way that erases Jewish traits, for example, by having the proverbial nose job, or dyeing dark hair blonde and straightening frizzy hair, might ensure her success at assimilation and attract wealthy suitors, but it would also query the survival of Jewish values and traditions—in short, the survival of Judaism. The mother's role was to balance her daughter's personal happiness and the expectations imposed on her by her diasporic legacy. Especially as for many Jewish families acculturation resulted in lessening the ties with Judaism and the diminishing role of rabbis in the lives of middle-class Jews. Therefore, the task of maintaining the Jewish tradition was delegated to the mother, as she already bore the brunt of responsibility for socializing her children. Any failure to do so would be attributed to her deficiency as a good mother and good Jewess. The daughter's rejection of maternal authority was more ambivalent, and less common, because of the same gender, which creates a strong familial bond, and societal expectations that targeted women regardless of their age. The daughter's negation of maternal values was directed against the concept of motherhood as the only socially approved itinerary available to women. For daughters, the mother figure embodied the restraints to personal and social development, which are grounded in the gender hierarchy, rather than in the particular mother-daughter relationship. Joyce Antler confirms: "Jewish mothers as presented by Jewish daughters are often troubled and troubling, but they are rarely the extreme caricatures given to us by men" (8-9).

As long as the daughter is to be groomed for marriage, which releases her from parental control, a mother's relationship with her son does not wither with his maturity. The Jewish mother is decried for her fixation on her son, for whom no woman is good enough. She infantilizes her son no matter how old he is, and sees him as somebody who is in constant need of motherly attention. The stereotypical Jewish mother, Sophie Portnoy, complains about her adolescent son: "the A student, who his own mother can't say poopie to any more, he's such a *grown-up*" (24). Her love creates a bond that is going to last forever: "Who is going to stay with Mommy forever and ever? Who is it who goes with Mommy wherever in the whole wide world Mommy goes?" (50). Thomas Sowell explains the Jewish mother's special care for her sons as a result of the trauma they experienced in the Pale of Settlement, where Jewish boys were kidnapped and forcefully conscripted into the army, in which they had to serve for the next 25 years: "understandable in view of the Jewish experience in eastern Europe, where Jewish children who wandered off might never be seen again... The life pattern of centuries was not readily

broken in America” (82). Although the mother never asks directly for love, she expects her son to express his gratitude since she is ready to sacrifice her happiness and overlook her own desires for the benefit of her beloved son. By installing in her son’s mind a feeling of irreparable guilt, she manages to control his life and ascertains his conformity.

Sophie Portnoy as the stereotypical Jewish mother

Paradoxically, it is her son-author who will often present her in a stereotypical and wry way, as do Henry Roth in *Call It Sleep* (1934), Bruce Jay Freedman in *A Mother’s Kisses* (1964), Dan Greenburg in *How To Be a Jewish Mother* (1964), Clifford Odets in *Awake and Sing!* (1935), Wallace Markfield in *Teitlebaum’s Window* (1970), and Philip Roth in *Portnoy’s Complaint* (1969). The Jewish mother, whose sacrifice was appreciated and welcomed on the way to assimilation, was later viewed as domineering and oppressive. The opening words of Philip Roth’s novel show how important the mother figure was for the protagonist: “She was so deeply imbedded in my consciousness that for the first year of school I seem to have believed that each of my teachers was my mother in disguise” (1). Alex is the apple of his mother’s eye: “Of me, the heir to her long Egyptian nose and clever babbling mouth, of me my mother would say, with characteristic restraint, ‘This *banditt*? He doesn’t even have to open a book—‘A’ in everything. Albert Einstein the Second!” (2). Mother “is vying with twenty other Jewish women [from the same apartment building] to be the patron saint of self-sacrifice” (15). She fills her life with baking, grating her own horse-radish, sewing, knitting, darning, ironing, watching the butcher “to be certain that he didn’t forget to put her chopped meat through the kosher grinder” (11), and lighting candles for the dead. “She is never ashamed of her house” (12); “where health and cleanliness are concerned, germs and bodily secretions, she will not spare herself and sacrifice others” (11). Her love is overpowering when she smothers her son with attention:

Open your mouth. Why is your throat red? Do you have a headache you’re not telling me about? You’re not going to any baseball game, Alex, until I see you move your neck. Is your neck stiff? Then why are you moving it that way? You ate like you were nauseous, are you nauseous? Well, you ate like you were nauseous (36).

Both Alex’s parents are presented as “outstanding producers and packagers of guilt” (39), but it is his mother who is “a master really at phrasing things just the right way to kill you” such as “I don’t love you any more, not a little boy who behaves like you do” (14-15). The upbringing in a postwar Jewish home involves a whole set of rules and regulations: “The hysteria and the superstition! The watch-its and the be-carefuls! You mustn’t do this, you can’t do that—hold it! don’t you’re breaking an important law!” (37). That is why Alex blames his parents for becoming “morbid and hysterical and weak” (40): “this is my life, my only life, and I’m living it in the middle of a Jewish joke! I am the son in the Jewish joke—*only it ain’t no joke!*” (39-40). Alex Portnoy blames his Jewish mother for his impotence and all other misfortunes which happen to him, and, in consequence, decides to avoid all Jewish women, a strategy whose aim is to ensure his happiness. Consequently, he pursues gentile women as the objects of his love—the exact

opposite of his mother in terms of appearance, speech, manners, and worldview. Thus, he parallels an assimilative path for immigrant Jews on which a marriage to a non-Jewish woman was seen as the final step and a reward for his successful assimilation.

As the father figure is virtually transparent and yields no formal control or authority, the Jewish mother stereotype testifies to the failure of traditional patriarchy in American Jewish acculturated families in the post-war period. The Jewish father took little active part in raising his children because he was mainly a provider: "This man, my father, is off somewhere making money, as best he is able" (49). Alex refers to him as the man with whom his mother sleeps and who "lives with us at night and on Sunday afternoons. My father they say he is" (49). The father's ambition is to maintain his family's middle-class life style, which usually comes down to providing financial security:

In that ferocious and self-annihilating way in which so many Jewish men of his generation served their families, my father served my mother, my sister Hannah, but particularly me. Where he had been imprisoned, I would fly: that was his dream. Mine was its corollary: in my liberation would be his—from ignorance, from exploitation, from anonymity (7).

His family's well-being is his personal reward, even if he had imagined his life differently. The post-war comic representation of the Jewish family differs from the American model in portraying "the father [who] is weak and almost invisible, the mother [who] is dominating and all-powerful while the son assumes the ambiguous role of a glorious victim [...] of his mother's solicitude" (Stora-Sandor: 137).

Anxiety of assimilation and the Jewish mother stereotype

The second generation of American-born and acculturated Jews no longer needs a controlling mother who gives herself over to her children and demands reciprocation. The jokes about the Jewish mother started when the children—mostly the second generation of American-born sons—no longer needed her concern. "She is charged both with expressing too much love, thus delaying the son's individuation, and with expressing too much criticism, thus undermining his self-confidence" (Ravits 2000: 7). The mother's unrelenting care was perceived as tyranny, she was "the all-engulfing nurturer who devours the very soul with every spoonful of hot chicken soup she gives, whose every shakerful of salt contains a curse" (Duncan 1980: 231). And what better way to challenge her, if not laughter. The jokes spread the stereotype of the nagging, Jewish mother beyond ethnic borders providing common ground for Jewish and non-Jewish men: the figure of an oppressive mother with whom any man could identify, and the common representation, which could jeopardize masculinity. "A crucial ingredient in this phenomenon was the misogynist message that coded unacceptable behavior as female rather than Jewish" (Antler 2007: 143). Jewish culture allowed men to be emotionally expressive, which in terms of American manhood was seen as a sign of weakness.

Deprived of political independence and, in most places, of the right to bear arms, Jewish men denigrated physical prowess as a cultural ideal. Instead, they cultivated intellectual and spiritual pursuits. They expressed their masculinity in the synagogue and in the house of study, not on the battlefield (Hyman 1995b: 25).

Hence, the Jewish mother stereotype passes from marginal—distinctively Jewish—to mainstream—American discourse introducing masculinity as a common standpoint for Jewish and non-Jewish men. It allowed a mutual identification for Jewish and American representations of manhood, which until then had differed considerably.

In the post-war period acculturated Jews quickly learned that, in spite of their remarkable social ascent, they were still socially ignored by their non-Jewish neighbors. The external indicators of middle-class life, which were relatively easy to acquire in the booming post-war economy, proved not enough to ensure Jewish social inclusion. “The overall economic success of Jews as a class in the United States, the jealousy others have felt over this success, and the discomfort this success creates in Jews who are fearful of living out the stereotype of the ‘rich Jews’” (Torton 1992: 93) finds a safety valve for their anxieties in the creation of the stereotype of the Jewish mother. The figure of the wife had long been the subject of Jewish humor, then the Jewish mother became the most popular character of American Jewish jokes until the 1970s. In the 1940s, the sentimentalized Yiddish Mamma is transformed into a martyr whose willingness to sacrifice everything for her family is only equaled by her talent in inducing her children’s guilt and repressing her husband. The key elements of the Jewish mother representation are her labor and activity measured against the amount of pressure she is capable of exerting on her family in order to achieve her goals.

The Jewish mother became the embodiment of the worst—according to non-Jews—traits connected with ethnic identity, especially those which signified her failure at complete assimilation: the Yiddish accent, the ethnic manner, and a lack of understanding of the dominant cultural mores. The more she encouraged her son towards Americanization, the more she herself became alien to him, thus becoming a burden that might hinder his acceptance by mainstream society. As a reminder of his immigrant origins, she becomes the source of his shame and embarrassment: “By virtue of gender and generation, [she] functioned as a scapegoat for self-directed Jewish resentment about minority status in mainstream culture” (Ravits 2000: 4). Pronounced as “being too Jewish” and therefore branded with “Otherness,” the Jewish (M)other stereotype marks an important phase in the Jewish transition from immigrant to “native” American status, and reflects in-group self-hatred, misogyny, and anti-Semitism. Undesirable qualities from both American and Jewish backgrounds were channeled into the collective image in which the female aspect coincides with ethnicity. “Roth, like other contemporary male novelists, projected into the Jewish mother the negative features of ‘Otherness’—Old World backwardness, loudness, vulgarity, clannishness, ignorance and materialism” (Antler 2007: 143). As the stereotype is ensconced somewhere between minority and the dominant group, it projects a meaning which encompasses both spheres of power. Therefore, as Riv Ellen Prell points out, “scholars of stereotypes ... understand them most often to be projections onto the minority of the dominant group’s fantasies about its own needs and desires” (Prell 1999: 12). Anxiety, which appears at the intersection of ethnicity, gender, and assimilation, reinforces the sense of Otherness. Consequently, the key to the viability of the Jewish mother stereotype may be located elsewhere: “[s]erving as icons for many of the criticisms of American life-permissiveness, indulgence, and a focus on consumption” (Prell 1999: 162), Jews came to realize that the nature of criticism is not necessarily ethnically or religiously related but represents the anxiety of American society at the time

of its postwar transformation. Having been the latest and most spectacularly successful addition to middle-class society, Jews fell victims to social prejudice, which surfaced at this time of social and cultural changes taking place in America after World War II.

Feminists redefine the Jewish Mother stereotype

The Jewish Mother stereotype as a cultural construct entered American letters in the 1960s, coinciding with the second wave of feminism that swept the country. The women's agenda gained importance together with other social and political movements of the time. Feminist theory provided innovative analytical tools for discussing the Jewish Mother stereotype, combining the study of Jewish tradition with the critical tool offered by the feminist lens. In feminist rhetoric, the Jewish mother stereotype embodies a double oppression: as woman and as ethnic. Such an approach is especially interesting since the majority of literary representations of the popular staple are of male authorship. The cultural resilience of the stereotype can be attributed to its overtly male perspective, which chimed with the dominance of male authors, characterizing the American literary scene of the post-war period (Saul Bellow, Philip Roth, Bernard Malamud). Hence, the Jewish Mother stereotype is so compelling because it targets two vital elements which are essential to its construction. On the one hand, the female character, both aggressive and selfish, threatens to emasculate male authority and questions gender roles, which are prescribed and sustained by the dominant patriarchy. "[T]he stereotype dovetailed so effectively with archetypes of the dangerous female, usurper of patriarchal power, just when women seemed on the verge of becoming newly dangerous and politicized through the women's movement" (Ravits 2000: 5). On the other hand, the ridicule and scorn accompanying its literary representations and the collection of jokes about the Jewish mother, which are still in circulation, aim to undermine an ethnic woman's authority. "What's the difference between a rottweiler and a Jewish mother?," asks one: "Eventually, the rottweiler lets go." The gender-inflected criticism conveys the message that codes her incongruous behavior as female, whereas her Jewishness reinforces and broadens the stereotype's appeal across social and ethnic barriers, bearing responsibility for its lasting impact on the American consciousness.

Another reason why the Jewish mother stereotype has become so firmly ingrained in the popular imagination may be attributed to the fact that it specifically appeared in those areas where Jewish culture had made a strong impact on mainstream American culture. Jewish entertainers chose the representations of the Jewish Mother as the subject of their repertoire and the aim of their satire. Jewish writers and film-makers used the figure of the Jewish Mother for the purposes of self-mockery, which was meant to ease the anxiety connected with their rapid social advancement. Representatives of stand-up comedy, such as Irwin Corey, the so-called Jewish Borsch Belt Comedians working in the Catskill Mountains resorts, Mel Brooks, Jerry Lewis, Milton Berle, and later filmmakers, such as Woody Allen, exploited and perpetuated the image, translating their anguish into humor. Due to the popularity of their comedy routines, they entered the mainstream culture, becoming a vital, vibrant part of it. In consequence, "the figure of the domineering mother in America came to be labeled specifically as a "Jewish mother" in the public conscious-

ness” (Ravits 2000: 4). The reason why this happened so smoothly may be attributed to the fact that the popular topos attracts misogyny, which is visible in both American and Jewish patriarchies. In Joyce Antler’s words: “A far-reaching and effective medium, comedy is in large part responsible for making the negative Jewish mother stereotype so pervasive and disproportionately popular” (Ravits 2000: 5).

Next to the Jewish American Princess, which is a later addition, the Jewish Mother stereotype has become the most popular representation of Jewish women in American culture. Its story is the story of American Jews, whose experiences chronicle their social mobility: from immigration and assimilation, to postwar consumer society and the nascence of feminism. Diverse images of Jewish mothers become a focal point in which Jewish anxieties and worries connected with American success are confronted. Today, even though the circumstances leading to the construction of this stereotype have long lost their grip, the Jewish Mother stereotype continues to appear in the popular media and as a topic of scholarly debate. In so doing, it demonstrates that the elements which contribute to its creation continue to allure contemporary audiences. In other words, the Jewish Mother stereotype manages to respond to social changes across gender and ethnic boundaries in a way that ensures its persistent viability.

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III. REVIEWS

BENEDIKT ECKHARDT (ED.), *JEWISH IDENTITY AND POLITICS BETWEEN THE MACCABEES AND BAR KOKHBA. GROUPS, NORMATIVITY, AND RITUALS* (SUPPLEMENTS TO THE JOURNAL FOR THE STUDY OF JUDAISM – 155), BRILL, LEIDEN – BOSTON 2012, PP. 282; ISBN 978-90-04-21046-2

The period of history of Judaea and Judaism between the 2nd century BCE and 2nd century CE is among the better known owing to the large number of surviving historical sources, which means that a fuller analysis can be carried out of the various social, political and religious phenomena which took place at the time. However, since the majority of the texts from this period are religious in character, scholars are interested especially in religious issues. Despite this, the analyses and interpretations of these texts are interesting not only for theologians and specialists interested in the history of Judaism, but also for scholars studying the history of ancient Palestine. This is because the even greater knowledge of religious problems means that they are also more able to understand social and political phenomena. One such attempt to take a different look at the issues of the period of the history of Judaea between the outbreak of the Maccabee uprising and the Bar Kokhba revolt was the conference “Groups, Normativity, and Rituals. Jewish Identity and Politics between the Maccabees and Bar Kokhba”, which took place in Münster in November 2009. The conference was attended by scholars from Austria, Israel, Germany and the USA giving 13 papers, 11 of which were published in the book *Jewish Identity and Politics between the Maccabees and Bar Kokhba*: D. Goodblatt, *Varieties of Identity in Late Second Temple Judah (200 B.C.E. – 135 C.E.)*, pp. 11-27; A. van der Kooij, *The Claim of Maccabean Leadership and the Use of Scripture*, pp. 29-49; J. Magness, *Toilet Practices, Purity Concerns, and Sectarianism in the Late Second Temple Period*, pp. 51-70; H.K. Harrington, *Identity and Alterity in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, pp. 71-89; B. Eckhardt, ‘*An Idumean, That Is, a Half-Jew*’. *Hasmoneans and Herodians between Ancestry and Merit*, pp. 91-115; A.K. Marshak, *Rise of the Idumeans: Ethnicity and Politics In Herod’s Judea*, pp. 117-129; L.-M. Günther, *Die Hasmonäerin Alexandra – Integrationsfigur für den Widerstand gegen den neuen König Herodes?*, pp. 131-155; J. Wilker, ‘*God is with Italy now*’. *Pro-Roman Jews and the Jewish Revolt*, pp. 157-187; C. Leonhard, ‘*Herod’s Day*’ and the Development of Jewish and Christian Festivals, pp. 189-208; G. Stemberger, *Forbidden Gentile Food in Early Rabbinic Writings*, p. 209-224; K. Spann, *The Meaning of Circumcision for Strangers in Rabbinic Literature*, pp. 225-242).

As the book’s title shows, the main theme of the conference was the issue of Jewish identity and political life in the period in question. Both issues have interested many scholars for some time. Yet although this conference was part of the same research current, it was also somewhat different. The main reason was that the participants attempted to present these problems from a different perspective. The essence of this new view is presented by Benedikt Eckhardt (“Introduction: Yet Another Book on the Jewish Identity on Antiquity”, pp. 1-10), the conference organiser and editor of its proceedings, who em-

phasises the difficulties that come with using such concepts of “identity” and “politics” with reference to the inhabitants of ancient Judaea. The most common way of conceiving Jewish identity is equating with this notion all the manifestations and aspects of the historical reality of Judaea in the period of the Second Temple. This conference sought to contribute to overcoming this stereotypical approach. Its main idea was to go beyond the strictly religious framework of Jewish identity by taking into account all those aspects included in the concept of “politics.” Since this can be understood in very broad terms, the discussion during the conference was supposed to concentrate mostly on three of its aspects: groups, normativity and rituals, seen in the context of the historical realities changing since the times of the Maccabees after the Bar Kokhba revolt. Although all of these aspects has a distinctly religious hue, their usefulness in reconstructing historical images is undeniable. Notable among the texts in which these issues are tackled is D. Goodblatt’s article, which accurately points out that the manner of expressing Jewish identity is to a great extent dependent on the character of the source text, the author’s origin, and even the language that was used. The influence of these factors on the way in which this identity is expressed is especially clear in the Hasmonean era. In Goodblatt’s summary, he states: “...the identity was one we today would call ethnic or national. It involved belief in a common descent and shared culture. Which ethnonym was chosen ultimately was secondary” (p. 27). B. Eckhardt and A.K. Marshak’s analysis looks at the question of the ethnic otherness of the Idumeans from a religious point of view in the context of the Hasmoneans’ political struggle with Herod. However, the conference organiser himself states that its objective was only achieved to a limited extent, since many of the authors approached issues of Jewish identity in a traditional way, examining them in particular from the angle of the norms and religious practices binding at the time. Yet the fact that the conference did not fulfil all the hopes vested in it does not mean that the proceedings are undeserving of closer attention. Their merit comes from the thematic diversity of the texts themselves. The fact that over half the articles in the collection are on the Hasmonean and Herod’s times means that it can be recommended especially to scholars specialising in these periods of Judaea’s history. They will without doubt find many interesting interpretations and observations concerning this period.

Edward Dąbrowa

DAVID M. JACOBSON, NIKOS KOKKINOS (EDS.), *JUDAEA AND ROME IN COINS 65 BCE – 135 CE. PAPERS PRESENTED AT THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE HOSTED BY SPINK, 13TH-14TH SEPTEMBER 2010, SPINK, LONDON 2012, PP. 243, COLOUR AND B/W ILL., MAPS; ISBN 978-1-907427-22-0*

Owing to the wealth of information provided by numismatic sources, their value for historical research cannot be overestimated. In a great deal of cases they are an important complement to the information in written sources, but they are frequently also the only evidence of past events. However, it is not always easy to use numismatic sources, as extensive specialist knowledge is often called upon. This is especially the case with Judaea, where numismatic evidence is extremely diverse. As a result, numismatic research is very important for adding to what we know about the past of Judaea.

The results of research on the coins minted in Judaea carried out in recent years at various academic centres were presented, alongside discussion on contentious issues, at the international numismatic conference “Judaea and Rome in Coins” held in London in autumn 2010. The conference was organised by David M. Jacobson and Nikos Kokkinos under the patronage of the Institute of Jewish Studies at University College London and the world-renowned numismatic company Spink & Son Ltd. There were over a dozen participants, from Austria, the Netherlands, Israel, the USA and the United Kingdom, whose papers are published here. A particularly interesting subject for participants was the coins minted in Judaea by various issuers between 65 BCE and 135 CE. This selection of time frame was dictated by historical events, which had a profound influence on the fortunes of this land and its inhabitants. These were determined both by Pompey’s interference in the affairs of Judaea which led to the loss of political independence of the Jewish state formed by the Hasmoneans, and by the failure of the Bar Kokhba revolt, following that the role of the Jewish population in Judaea was marginalised. This period, extremely rich in historical events, produced a huge number of issues of coins minted by rulers belonging to the Herodian dynasty, Jewish insurrectionary authorities and Roman provincial administration. All of these coins are extremely valuable to us owing to their ideological contents. These can be found in both the legends and the images portrayed on the coins. Understanding and interpreting the symbolism concealed in these elements is a very difficult task because of their ambiguity. Yet it is well worth the effort, as the contents expressed through coins is not always reflected in contemporary written sources. Studying numismatic evidence also allows us to become aware of the technique used in their production, is useful in determining chronology of events, and contributes to an understanding of economic phenomena. For the conference participants, the relations between Judaea and Rome seen from the perspective of numismatic sources were also important.

This volume comprises 14 articles arranged in chronological order, which seems an obvious decision, if only owing to the character of the problems analysed. This arrangement has the advantage that readers can easily find articles of interest in the table of

contents: A. Burnett, *The Herodian Coinage Viewed against the Wider Perspective of Roman Coinage* (pp. 1-18); R. Barkay, *Roman Influence on Jewish Coins* (pp. 19-26); A. Lykke, *The Use of Languages and Scripts In Ancient Jewish Coinage: An Aid In Defining the Role of the Jewish Temple until its Destruction In 70 CE* (pp. 27-50); D. Syon, *Galilean Mints in Early Roman Period: Politics, Economy and Ethnicity* (pp. 51-64); R. Bracey, *On the Graphical Interpretation of Herod's Year 3 Coins* (pp. 65-83); N. Kokkinos, *The Prefects of Judaea 6-48 CE and the Coins from the Misty Period 6-36 CE* (pp. 84-111); R. Deutsch, *The Coinage of the Great Jewish Revolt against Rome: Script, Language and Inscriptions* (pp. 113-122); D. Hendin, *Jewish Coinage of the Two Wars, Aims and Meaning* (pp. 123-144); D.M. Jacobson, *The Significance of the Caduceus between facing Cornucopias in Herodian and Roman Coinage* (pp. 145-161); T.V. Buttrey, *Vespasian's Roman Orichalcum: An Unrecognised Celebratory Coinage* (pp. 163-186); M. Heemstra, *The Interpretation and Wider Context of Nerva's Fiscus Judaicus Sestertius* (pp. 187-201); K. Butcher, *The Silver Coinage of Roman Arabia* (pp. 203-213); B. Zissu, D. Hendin, *Further Remarks on Coins in Circulation during the Bar Kokhba War: Te'omim Cave and Horvat Ethri Coin Hoards* (pp. 215-228); L.J. Kreitzer, *Hadrian as Nero Redivivus: Some Supporting Evidence from Corinth* (pp. 229-242).

The titles of the articles show that some of the authors are attempting not for the first time to interpret issues that have been controversial for some time (an example being Herod's issue of coins with the date "Year 3"), while others analyse the ideological contents contained in elements of the iconography of the obverse and reverse sides, demonstrate the connections between the minting of Judaea and Rome, present important new discoveries, point to reflections of events in Judaea or connected to Jews, in the minting of the Roman emperors and the monetary production of provincial mints. There is no doubt that each of the texts is important in its way, due not only to the problem it analyses, but also to the proposed conclusions. Still, it is worth devoting a few words more to at least some of them. Anne Lykke, in her analysis of Jewish minting from Persian times until the Bar Kokhba revolt, shows that it has an important common feature. Although the iconography of coins minted by various issuers contained individual ideological contents, it always also bore a common element referring to Jewish religious and national symbolism. This common feature characteristic of most of Jewish minting was the use of paleo-Hebrew writing in the legends of coins.¹ Robert Deutsch and David Hendin's deductions based on their analyses of the minting from the two Jewish uprisings confirm the correctness of this important conclusion. The discussion on the meaning of the legend FISCI IVDAICI CALVMNIA SVBLATA, which can be found on the sestertius of Emperor Nerva minted in 96 CE, has been going on for a very long time, with none of the proposed interpretations achieving general recognition. It is therefore worth taking heed of the latest one, suggested by Marius Heemstra. By referring to sources by Roman and Christian authors, evidence concerning the legal position of the Jewish population and their relations with Christians at the close of the 1st century CE, he demonstrates that

¹ *The reasons why specific language and scripts were put to use at certain times and not at others, over the lifetime of ancient Jewish coinage, should be sought in the identity of the minting authorities and their relation to the administration of the Jewish temple. The legends would vary, with their changing contexts, but essentially the use of this script held specific nationalistic and religious connotations, hence its use also on amongst others the pre-Hasmonaean stamps* (p. 44-45).

the most important criterion of Jewishness for the Roman authorities, with which was linked the obligation imposed by Vespasian to pay a special tax, was participation in religious practices including elements characteristic of Judaism. According to Heemstra, the legend of the Nerva coin is convincing proof of the fact that in the final years of the 1st century CE the Roman authorities possessed knowledge allowing them to perceive the difference between Jews and Christians. This led them to change their approach to all subjects for whom the similarity of their religious practices to Jewish customs meant that they were treated as Jews and wrongly forced to pay the new tax. From the time of Nerva, the *fiscus Iudaicus* tax was to be paid solely by those subjects who had declared themselves to be followers of Judaism (see pp. 192-195, 198). Numismatic sources allow us to throw new light on many issues and provide arguments aiding in solving various problems, but they can also give researchers taxing puzzles like the three recently discovered, and probably hidden at the time of the Bar Kokhba revolt, treasuries of coins and archaeological finds of coins from Horvat Ethri described by Boaz Zissu and David Hendin. The unique nature of these discoveries is expressed in their composition. Coins from the revolt were found alongside gold and silver Roman coins. For the first time too, as well as Bar Kokhba coins, those from the time of the Jewish War (66-73 CE) were unearthed (Hoard B from Te'omim Cave, Zissu & Hendin, p. 217). A silver half-shekel dated "Year 3" found in the context of the remains of the Bar Kokhba revolt in Horvat Ethri (Zissu & Hendin, p. 225) dates to the same period. These finds gave rise to a host of questions on both ideological and economic matters, which at present it is by no means easy to answer.²

Despite the great variety of issues depicted by the conference participants, it is noticeable that the same topics arise in the texts of more than one author. Of course, it is difficult to avoid such repetitions when various questions are being interpreted using the same group of coins as examples. The reader of this book should also be aware that the dates used in its title are only approximate. The authors of at least several articles refer to the coinage of the Hasmoneans, its symbolism and Herod's influence on it. This means that the book must also be recommended to all researchers interested in Hasmonean minting.

The volume *Judaea and Rome in Coins* is not addressed exclusively to numismatists; it ought also to have a place on the desk of any historian and archaeologist using numismatic evidence in research on the history of Judaea in the period from the 1st century BCE to the 2nd century CE. It may happen that some of the conclusions offered will be subject to change in future, but still there is no doubt that many of the opinions and

² Cf. Zissu & Hendin, p. 226: *Not a single Bar Kokhba bronze coin was found in the three hoards of the Te'omim Cave, even though several provincial bronze coins were found there. This is a bit mysterious, especially when one note that until now Bar Kokhba hoards or assemblages seem to contain either Bar Kokhba bronze or silver coins, but not both. (...) This separation of Bar Kokhba bronze and silver coins may simply result from the relative wealth of the original owners of the coins, but is interesting nevertheless. (...) Did Jews of the Bar Kokhba period save or collect earlier Judaeian coins for nationalistic reasons? (...) Future discoveries in archaeological context may reveal more information about this phenomenon. (...) Bar Kokhba coin hoards or assemblages discovered so far consist either purely of Bar Kokhba coins or Bar Kokhba coins together with other contemporaneous circulating coins. (...) But the question of whether Roman and Roman provincial coins, as well as earlier issues, circulated together with the Bar Kokhba coins within Judaea remains unanswered at this time.*

interpretations presented help to show contentious issues in a new light and allow us to see the context of certain historical events differently, as well as to perceive the ideological similarities visible in the propaganda of the various centres of power existing in Judaea at the time. A further important functional merit of the book is its numerous and excellent-quality reproductions of the coins that are discussed.

Edward Dąbrowa

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TYPESETTER

Wojciech Wojewoda

Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego
Redakcja: ul. Michałowskiego 9/2, 31-126 Kraków
tel. 12-631-18-80, 12-631-18-82, fax 12-631-18-83