GLOBAL HISTORY & JEWISH STUDIES: PARADOXICAL AGENDAS, CONTRADICTORY IMPLICATIONS

by Bernard Dov Cooperman

These days, "globalization" has become as hot a topic for historians as it was already for economists and political scientists, financiers and businessmen, and all the other strategists who operate in the "real" worlds of markets, weapons, and public policy[1]. While the term "globalization" did not appear in Raymond Williams' classic *Keywords* (1976; revised 1983), it was prominently featured in the 2005 *New Keywords*[2]. The term seems ubiquitous, almost *de rigueur*, in article titles in "important" historical journals[3]. In the United States, at least, what seems to have begun with a single book on "world history" published in 1963 has become an academic association and a journal, a staple of college teaching, textbook publishing, and scholarly discussion[4]. It comes as no surprise that two of the recently elected presidents of the American Historical Association are noted advocates of the world-history approach: Kenneth Pomeranz[5] in 2013 and Patrick Manning for 2016[6]. Curricular planners

[1] In March 2009, Lynn Hunt searched on Google for English books whose title included the term "globalization": for the 1970s, she found only 1 such title, for the 1980s she found 173, and between 2000 and 2009 she found 3288. *Writing History in the Global Era* (Norton: 2014); p. 44 f., and n. 1 ad loc. The book first appeared as *La storia culturale nell'età globale* (Pisa: ETS, 2010); the figures are cited on p. 35. Of course, these numbers no doubt include many volumes not dealing with historical topics.

[2] *New Keywords: A Revised Vocabulary of Culture and Society,* edited by T. Bennett, L. Grossberg, and M. Morris (Blackwell: 2005). "Globalization" is discussed on pp. 146150.

[3] Typical is the prestigious *American Historical Review*. The February 2014 issue, for example, includes seven reviews in the relatively new "Comparative/World" category. The featured presidential address by K. Pomeranz, "Histories for a Less National Age," is devoted to clarifying the term "globalization." The October 2014 issue of the same journal featured a "Forum" of four articles on "Early-Twentieth-Century Japan in a Global Context" and thirteen reviews of books in the "Comparative/World" category. The journal's sponsoring organization, the American Historical Association, chose "globalizing historiography" as the theme for its annual conference (2009).

[4] W. H. McNeill, *The Rise of the West: A History of the Human Community*(Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), and see his essay http://www.uhpress.hawaii.edu/journals/jwh/jwh011p001.pdf. Again to provide a typical example, a search on the current catalog of the prestigious Yale University Press yields 386 titles relating to "global." These include the much-praised study of *Global Crisis: War, Climate Change, and Catastrophe in the Seventeenth Century* (New Haven: Yale, 2013) by G. Parker, a well-established military historian and scholar of the early modern period. Among American historians who have dedicated considerable effort to textbooks on this approach are P. Stearns (see, for example, his *Globalization in World History* [Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2010], one of a series on Themes in World History for which Stearns himself composed many of the volumes).

[5] Pomeranz, a specialist in Chinese history, won acclaim in 2000 for his book *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000). He is co-editor with J. R. McNeill of the two parts of volume VII of the *Cambridge World History* dealing with *Production, Destruction, and Connection, 1750-Present* (Cambridge: 2015).

[6] Manning, an Africanist by training, is currently the Andrew W. Mellon Professor of World History and founded the Center for World History at the University of Pittsburgh; see the website at http://www.worldhistory.pitt.edu/ as well as his account of his earlier work at Northeastern University: "Concepts and Institutions for World

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seem convinced that "global history" is what students want, and each academic press has developed its own version of what Harvard University Press calls "A History of the World."

There have been many "turns" and programmatic reformulations proposed by historians over the last half-century. What is the specific, defining thrust of this new global history? As a theoretical concept, globalization was used at first to refer to the increasing scope and pace of economic, demographic, and cultural transfer seen towards the end of the twentieth century. For economists, the concept opened up important debates about types of development and the relative levels of inequality generated by the flow of western technology and capital into the rest of the world. Other social scientists took up similarly sensitive issues as they investigated the political and cultural impact of various forms of "westernization"[7]. Historians, for their part, pushed these very contemporary concerns back in time, using a global approach to reconsider the birth of modernity and the so-called "rise of the West," the impact of the Industrial Revolution, and the broader impact of exploration, long-distance trade, and imperial expansion—pushing back what they called a "first globalization" into the early modern, and even medieval, periods. On one level, global historians were simply calling for geographic and chronological expansion of the subject-areas of research. The sub-field of "Big History," for example, took the universe as its timeline, the planet earth as its geographic specialty, and the human race and all other living creatures as its subject[8]. But for many other writers, adopting the new perspective was a way of questioning older Eurocentric narratives and teleologies, challenging the positive emphasis on the emergence of the nation state, and upsetting the facile equation of western imperialism with human progress[9]. If the pointed

History: The Next Ten Years," *World History: Global and Local Interactions* (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publications, 2005), pp. 239–268 (http://www.worldhistory.pitt.edu/documents/World_History-_Global_and_Local.pdf). Manning is an activist in the field: he has authored a range of world history textbooks – for example, *Migration in World History* (London: Routledge, 2004) – and serves as president of the non-profit World History Network, devoted to encouraging research and producing copyright-free textbooks (worldhistorynetwork.org).

[7] To highlight the productively contentious disagreements involved in the study of globalization, we need only note that several of the most distinguished writers have independently adopted the title *Globalization and Its Discontents* for their contributions. These include the Nobel Laureate economist Joseph E. Stiglitz (New York: Norton, 2002), the cultural critic Saskia Sassen (New York: New Press, 1998), and the political activist Roger Burbach (London: Pluto Press, 1997).

[8] See D. Christian, *Maps of Time: An Introduction to Big History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004; revised 2011), "Preface," as well as the journal website *World History Connected,* vol. 6:3 (October, 2009), http://worldhistoryconnected.press.illinois.edu/6.3/index.html. This sort of approach is also quite popular in the new "online" courses (MOOCs) aimed at a broad audience. See for example, Y. N. Harari, "A Brief History of Mankind," offered at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and available online in a 17-lecture version via Coursera. Harari has also authored a textbook for the course: *Sapiens: A Brief History of Humankind* (London: Harvill Secker, 2014). While this is hardly unprecedented (one thinks, for example, of H. G. Wells, A. Toynbee, Spengler, the Durants, and so many others), my point is that what was once aimed at popular audiences now seems to define university teaching. The treatment has also informed many enormously popular history books in the United States: J. M. Diamond's *Guns, Germs and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies* (1999), or C. C. Mann's *1493: Uncovering the New World Columbus Created* (2011) to cite only two blockbuster examples.

[9] G. C. Gunn, *First Globalization: The Eurasian Exchange, 1500-1800* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003) tries to distinguish between westernization and imperial expansion on the one hand and a bi-directional exchange of products and ideas on the other. A. Gunder Frank, *Re-Orient: Global Economy in the Asian Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998). A. E. C. McCants, "Exotic Goods, Popular Consumption, and the Standard of Living: Thinking about Globalization in the Early Modern World" *Journal of World History* 18:4 (December, 2007), pp. 433-462 uses data from after-death inventories and orphanage diet summaries from Amsterdam to shift emphasis from industrial production to consumer consumption. She thus demonstrates the significant rise in globalized trade and consumption of ostensibly "luxury" commodities far earlier than is usually assumed.

contentiousness of globalization studies was sometimes lost in historical treatments, if definitional categories could become disconcertingly vague or redundant, that was perhaps only to be expected as scholars left behind the immediacy of contemporary concerns. Still, the situated and even overtly political context of the approach was never completely absent. As historians crossed geographic and disciplinary boundaries, what they included or excluded from their treatment reflected each individual historian's own socio-cultural sensitivities or politicized agenda as much as any global methodology[10].

The World History Association gives a good sense of the complex agendas that could come into play in the new globalized approach. The redundancy and vagueness of the Association's list of acceptable and excluded topics were of a piece with other elements in the Association's self-presentation. First there was a narrative "myth of origin." Founded in 1982, the group saw itself as responding to "the shift in higher and secondary education away from a sole emphasis on national and regional histories." The Association was a response, in other words, to a shift that had occurred first in a *pedagogical* context, including (and perhaps especially) at the secondary school level. (Article 5, Section 2 of the Association's constitution still requires that the board include two secondary-school educators.) Second, the organization carefully eschewed traditional elitist academic rhetoric by articulating its idealistic goals in enthusiastically *communitarian* and egalitarian terms. It saw itself as a "*community* of scholars, teachers, and students who are *passionately* committed to the study of the history of the human *community* across regional, cultural and political boundaries"[11]. Without in any way meaning to disparage these goals or the exciting scholarship they have inspired, I want to stress that, at least in its American context, World History was attempting to create a more all-inclusive curriculum that consciously addressed the interests of an increasingly diversified U.S. population. The older narrative – "Eurocentric" in its focus and nationalist in its framing and purpose – was now to be replaced by the promotion of "historical awareness, understanding among and between peoples, and global consciousness"[12]. If all this sounds a little naïve and simplistic, it does remind us that in the American context at least, global history was not merely additive; it was driven by its own moral agenda stemming from a particular moment in American history[13]. When we consider the impact of the "global turn" on Jewish Studies, we must not forget this curricular context or its specific rejection of a nationalist narrative that it equated with blind jingoism and patronizing arrogance towards the other.

One last point about the American context. Even among advocates, there have been some who have gradually come to see a danger in globalized history itself. The very American-ness of the project became a source of embarrassment for some globalists. Looking back twenty-

[10] For a sense of the broad reach and confusing specifics see, for example, the home page of the *Journal of World History* http://www.thewha.org/about-wha/areas-of-specialization-in-world-history/ and the statement of purpose of the American online journal *Globality Studies Journal: Global History, Society, Civilization* published at https://gsj.stonybrook.edu/about/ between 2007 and 2014.

[11] Wording from the home page of the website of the World History Association, http://www.thewha.org/# accessed January 6, 2015; emphasis added.

[12] The scholarly debate over the origins, substance, and political agendas of global history is far too extensive to be summarized here. For an introduction to the debate in France see Pierre Grosser, "L'histoire mondiale/globale, une jeunesse exubérante mais difficile," *Vingtième Siècle* 110 (2011), pp. 3-18 and the sources cited there.

[13] According to a recent issue of *The American Historian*, the bulletin of the prestigious Organization of American Historians (No. 3, February 2015), American history itself must now be "internationalized." For a good example of the potential of this approach see Kiran Klaus Patel's lecture at Royal Holloway, University of London (http://backdoorbroadcasting.net/2015/02/kiran-klaus-patel-the-new-deal-a-global-history/) about his new book, *The New Deal: A Global History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, forthcoming, January 2016).

five years later, for example, William McNeill found it obvious that even his foundational book, *The Rise of the West,* "should be seen as an expression of the postwar imperial mood in the United States." Not only had he based his explanation of global history on theories of cultural diffusion developed by American anthropologists in the 1930s – itself a form, he felt, of "cultural imperialism." He had also defined "contact with strangers possessing new and unfamiliar skills" as the major lever of change and progress[14]. This approach, McNeill retrospectively suggested, was intended to help Americans understand, and "naturalize" their own new dominance, and to "neutralize" the concomitant resentment their "beneficial" presence seemed so often to elicit. The study of global history, a methodology intended to help readers understand what lies beyond America's borders, had itself become a powerful tool for criticizing American expansion into the wider world. McNeill's concerns are echoed by many recent authors as, for example, when American humanitarian efforts in international settings have been regularly presented as part of an ongoing political and even militarist campaign that began with World War I[15].

Though my focus in this article will be on the American academic context, it is useful here to make one general point about the slightly later development of global history in Europe. Even if the topic is just as difficult to pin down[16], European writing on globalization does seem to me to be consistently marked by a more aggressive challenging of traditional historiographical categories. Even the terminologies of physical geography are subjected to systematic interrogation[17]. Older "Eurocentric" approaches are rejected not only because they are geographically limited. Eurocentrism is condemned for implicitly or overtly assuming the uniqueness and superiority of the western experience, and for evaluating all cultures and societies in western analytical categories [18]. Perhaps the burdens of past empire are especially pressing in Europe and demand a stronger position on the part of historians there. Certainly, the far-stronger European traditions of philosophically and ideologically informed historiography contribute to this approach, as does the greater integration of social scientists from more theoretical fields (for example, social geography, historical sociology, and cultural

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[14] W. H. McNeill, "The Rise of the West after Twenty-Five Years," in *Journal of World History* 1:1 (1990), pp. 1-21, accessed at http://www.uhpress.hawaii.edu/journals/jwh/jwh011p001.pdf, February 12, 2015.

[15] S. Fieldston, *Raising the World: Child Welfare in the American Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015) presents American efforts to improve the lot of children in developing nations as a "political project." J. F. Irwin and J. Branden, *Making the World Safe: The American Red Cross and a Nation's Humanitarian Awakening* (2013) argues that American involvement in humanitarian efforts in Europe, the Soviet Union, and the Near East from 1914 laid the groundwork for American involvement in foreign wars, both then and today; J. D. Keene, "Why World War I Matters in American History," *The American Historian* 3 (Feb. 2015), pp. 22-27. Compare also the linking of missionary activity to the development of "soft power" in I. Tyrrell's influential *Reforming the World: the Creation of America's Moral Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010).

[16] See, for example, "Histoire Globale – Le Blog" http://blogs.histoireglobale.com/ and its accompanying website www.histoireglobale.com. Sub-categories include "mondialisation," "histoire connectée," histoire comparée," "histoire économique," "Big History," "histoire environmentale," and "géohistoire."

[17] See for example volume 3 (July 2013) of the journal *Monde(s): Histoire, Espace, Relations* devoted to *Inventions des Continents,* and especially Christian Grataloup and Vincet Capdepuy, "Continents et oceans: le pavage européen du globe," pp. 29-51.

[18] J. Goody, *The Theft of History* (Cambridge: 2006), and the increasing critique of eighteenth-century European concepts of race in the works of Kant and of course Hegel. The historian of philosophy Robert Bernasconi, whose many works provide a good introduction to the 18th-century development of European concepts of race and difference, highlights the relation between European travellers' accounts and such conceptualization; "Silencing the Hottentots: Kolb's pre-Racial Encounter with the Hottentots and its Impact on Buffon, Kant, and Rousseau," *Graduate Faculty Philosophy Journal* 35:1-2 (2014), pp. 101-124; conveniently summarized in his 2013 lecture available at http://backdoorbroadcasting.net/2013/09/robert-bernasconi-kant-and-the-hottentots/.

anthropology) into the European study of the past[19]. But whatever the specific contributing factors, European treatments of globalization reinforce the conclusion that the globalized approach, rather than being a universal methodology, arises from the specific cultural and political traditions of the historian's own social milieu.

II. Globalization and Jewish Studies

How has the "global turn" affected my own academic field—Jewish Studies? When I was first invited by Dott. Roberto Benedetti and Professor Marina Caffiero to participate in this issue of *Giornale di Storia*, I assumed that the question was a simple one, and that answering it would require no more than a brief survey of recent literature. I came to realize, however, that various aspects of globalized historiography present fundamental challenges to many of the basic assumptions that have characterized Jewish Studies for the past half-century. As we have seen, globalized thinking is not merely the application of historical considerations to an expanded geographic territory; it is a way of challenging traditional categories and approaches. The paradox lies in the fact that, as we have seen, each globalized historiography reflects the very specific concerns and arguments of the field and community from which it stems. Where then do the tensions lie in a globalized program of Jewish Studies? What follows is a beginning attempt to answer that question[20].

The first thing to notice is that the almost oppressive ubiquity of globalizing terminology to be found in American historiographical literature is still remarkably absent from Jewish Studies journals[21]. We might assume that this is merely a lexical quirk, an assertion that such "new-fangled" terminologies are not needed in Jewish Studies. After all, haven't Jewish historians long prided themselves on their chronologically and geographically vast subject matter? Not for them the specialization in such short-lived and locally specific topics as "the ante-bellum United States" or "Fascist Italy." Not for them a topic whose primary and secondary sources are all in one language. The Jews have been around for thousands of years, spread out over much of the world's surface. And Jewish "trans-nationality" is not merely a fact; it has long served as a major interpretive category. Dispersion has been central to Jewish self-understanding for millennia. In recent times, moreover, the religious aspiration for the "ingathering of the exiles" from around the world has become central to Zionist rhetoric and policy. Jewish historians have thus taken a global stance from the start. Heinrich Graetz in the nineteenth century, and then Simeon Dubnow and Salo Baron in the twentieth, wrote world histories as a matter of course[22]. Even local Jewish histories seem necessarily to embrace the

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[19] On ethnography, for example, see Laurent Berger, "L'histoire globale, une science sociale pluriséculaire et transdisciplinaire," http://blogs.histoireglobale.com/author/laurent-berger (posted 20 June 2013; originally published as "La place de l'ethnologie en histoire globale," in *Monde(s)*2013:2, pp. 193-212).

[20] For reasons of space as much as substantive considerations, I have chosen to limit myself almost completely to works published by North American scholars in English. I hope to treat European and Israeli scholarship and works published in European languages and Hebrew in a follow-up paper. Where I cite non-English works, references will be, as much as is possible, to English translations.

[21] It is difficult to document the absence of a concept, but searches in the Jewish studies database of scholarly articles RAMBI, in broader scholarly databases to which my university library subscribes, and in lists of article titles in journals of Jewish Studies yields almost no evidence for the term "global" except, as we shall see below, in discussions of anti-Semitism.

[22] The last such "polyhistory" composed by a single author was, of course, S. Baron's *Social and Religious History of the Jews*, originally in three volumes. Baron was engaged in a massive revision planned for at least 22 volumes but this remained unfinished at his death (New York: Columbia University Press, 1937; revised, second edition 1952-83). It is common to regard such a massive conceptual task as nowadays beyond the abilities of any

global. For example, Robert Bonfil's study of a south-Italian medieval Jewish chronicle explores immigrants and influences from gaonic Baghdad, imperial Constantinople, and Fatimid Egypt[23]. Treating the Fascist and Nazi periods in Italy raises issues about papal responsibility for German genocide in Poland. Surely then, Jewish Studies has always taken a global approach, emphasizing the *longue durée* and a transnational perspective.

A closer look soon reveals, however, the thinness of this assertion. For one thing, even while focusing on a marginal and even excluded group within European history, Jewish historians have from the start applied a profoundly Eurocentric set of categories to the past. Nineteenth-century *Wissenschaft des Judentums* (Science of Judaism), as critical Jewish historiography called itself, was very much built upon the intellectualist understandings of the eighteenth-century *Haskala* or (Jewish) Enlightenment. The structures of *Wissenschaft* were constructed, in other words, on the solid foundations of the Enlightenment's "grand narrative"[24]. In order to prove that Jews were worthy of political emancipation and social acceptance into European society, *Wissenschaft* sought to demonstrate the rationalist essence of Jewish thought and religiosity through the ages. And at the same time, members of the school were trying to teach less-westernized Jews how to think and behave so as to become worthy of acceptance into European societies. The inevitable effect of this agenda was a quite selective treatment of the Jewish past. They disparaged non-rationalist trends within Jewish thought[25] and decried or marginalized any tendencies that rejected westernization[26]. For example, even when treating the large majority of the medieval Jewish world population located within the confines of *dar al-Islam,* these historians praised and sought to promote the

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single individual. The usual approach is an edited collection of articles or chapters by a number of specialist authors. See for example *A History of the Jewish People by Leading Scholars at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem* edited by H. H. Ben-Sasson (1969: English edition 1976) or *Cultures of the Jews: A New History* edited by D. Biale (New York: Schocken, 2002). The former book sought to shape a national history for Israeli university students; the latter sought to use more than literary and aesthetic sources in order to demonstrate that "Jewish self-definition was … bound up in a tangled web with the non-Jewish environment in which the Jews lived…." (p. xxiii). The coverage in both cases is inevitably uneven.

[23] R. Bonfil, *History and Folklore in a Medieval Jewish Chronicle: The Family Chronicle of Aḥima'az ben Paltiel* (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

[24] For the Enlightenment as narrative, J. F. Lyotard's classic 1979 study published in English as *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984) provides a useful starting point. Recent scholarship has begun to question just how monolithic was the Enlightenment's historiographical narrative; see for example J. Knudsen, "The Historicist Enlightenment," in *What's Left of Enlightenment? A Post-Modern Question* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001), pp. 39-49. Haskalah, its historical narrative, and its agenda for social reform are also now seen as far more complex than I have presented here. See the recent work of Shmuel Feiner, "Towards a Historical Definition of the Haskalah," in S. Feiner and D. Sorkin, eds., *New Perspectives on the Haskalah* (Oxford: Littman Library, 2001), pp. 184-219 and *Haskalah and History: The Emergence of a Modern Jewish Historical Consciousness* (Oxford: Littman Library, 2002). Although Feiner's *Haskalah* is geographically broader, it remains within the same Eurocentric orientation.

[25] This approach was famously decried by G. Scholem in his "Reflections on Modern Jewish Studies" [1944], reprinted in *On the Possibility of Jewish Mysticism in Our Time & Other Essays* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1997), pp. 51-71.

[26] In the twentieth century, this rationalist tendency was labeled "scientific," "critical," objective, and free of religious doctrine; see N. N. Glatzer, "The Beginnings of Modern Jewish Studies," *Studies in Nineteenth-Century Jewish Intellectual History,* ed. A. Altmann (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1964), pp. 27-45 Interestingly, Glatzer ends his positivist survey with some doubts about the ability of modern Jewish scholars to lend significance to Judaism in terms of world history. Indicative of the mood of the field at the time, he assumes that world history is informed by an ultimately Christian perspective and that "the Jew [!] entered this domain without a tradition of his own… a *homo novus*" (p. 44 f.). These assumptions are still basic to Y. H. Yerushalmi, *Zakhor* (Seattle: University of Washington, 1982), a point I am currently exploring in a separate study.

aesthetic, intellectual, and tolerant values that they associated with western modernity. Thus they presented medieval Muslim Spain as more "nineteenth-century European" than Europe itself[27].

If modern Jewish historical writing was Eurocentric in its values, it was also nationalist in its ambition. (The oft-criticized, almost utilitarian, conscription of historical writing in the service of a Zionist or anti-Zionist political agenda is only part of this broader orientation[28]). "Imagined communities," as Benedict Anderson has felicitously and provocatively labeled them, are integral to the historiography of all nations[29], and the national trope underlies the entire endeavor of Jewish historiography at least as much as notions of a "French" or "Italian" nation underlie the historiography of France or Italy.

But creating nationality for Jews was hard work for these historians since, paradoxically, it demanded a "global" approach. Unwilling to define the Jewish people merely in terms of a shared set of sacred practices, Jewish historians found they lacked obvious tools such as contiguous territory or a common language that other writers used to delimit their subject. They lacked also the apparatus of a modern state to support their efforts. Nineteenth- and twentieth-century historians of the Jewish people had literally to scan the globe in order to "find" their topic. Ethnographic projects—surveys, artifact collection, documentation of the local in photographs, recordings, and of course publications—became the order of the day[30].

[27] B. Lewis, "The Pro-Islamic Jews," *Judaism* 17 (1968), pp. 391-404, reprinted in his *Islam in History: Ideas, People, and Events in the Middle East* (Chicago: Open Court, 1993), pp. 137-151:148: "The golden age of equal rights was a myth … invented by Jews in nineteenth-century Europe as a reproach to Christians …." See also his "The Cult of Spain and the Turkish Romantics," *Islam in History,* pp. 129-133. A recent comprehensive overview is provided by *Histoire des relations entre juifs et musulmans des origines à nos jours,* ed. A. Meddeb and B. Stora (Paris: Albin Michel 2013) (English: *A History of Jewish-Muslim Relations From the Origins to the Present Day,* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013]).

[28] On the relation between the Zionist endeavor and the rise of the state of Israel on the one hand and the early stages of academic Jewish historiography in Israel on the other, see E. Shmueli, "The Jerusalem School of Jewish History (A Critical Evaluation), *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 53 (1986), pp. 147-178; D. N. Myers, **"**Was There a 'Jerusalem school'? An Inquiry into the First Generation of Historical Researchers at the Hebrew University," *Studies in Contemporary Jewry* 10 (1994), pp. 66-92; idem, *Re-Inventing the Jewish Past: European Jewish Intellectuals and the Zionist Return to History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995). Important new insight into the ideological and national orientation of the so-called "Jerusalem school" will undoubtedly emerge from the ongoing Hebrew-language multi-volume history of the Hebrew University and from prosopographic studies such as E. Telkes-Klein's *L'Université hébraïque de Jérusalem à travers ses acteurs: La première génération de professeurs (1925-1948)* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2004).

[29] *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (1991; revised edition 2010). More hostile to nationalism and more emphatic about its negative implications is E. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) and see also the earlier volume he co-edited with T. Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983; reprint 2012).

[30] The best known of these efforts is undoubtedly the 1911-1914 ethnographic expeditions led by S. An-sky [Shloyme Zaynvl Rapoport] through the Russian Pale of Settlement; see Benjamin Lukin in http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/An-ski_Ethnographic_Expedition_and_Museum as well as his, and others' broader treatments in G. Safran and S. J. Zipperstein, eds., *The Worlds of S. An-sky: A Russian Jewish Intellectual at the Turn of the Century* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), esp. the last 5 chapters. The survey has been continued more recently in the Archives of Historical and Ethnographic Yiddish Memories Project; see J. Veidlinger, *In the Shadow of the Shtetl: Small-Town Jewish Life in Soviet Ukraine* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013). An-sky's was not the first such trip; see for example I. L. Peretz's reportage of a journey undertaken more than a decade earlier available in English as "Impressions of a Journey through the Tomaszow Region," in R. Wisse, ed., *The I. L. Peretz Reader* (Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 17-84. (A contextual and formal discussion emphasizing the narrator's intentionally distanced, outsider position is provided by M. Caplan, "The Fragmentation of Narrative Perspective in Y.L. Peretz's *Bilder fun a*

The rhetoric was one of preservation—the need to salvage what still could be saved from the rapidly disappearing world of tradition. But by documenting Jewish continuity in the shtetls of the Pale or the mellahs of North Africa, these amateur ethnographers were engaged in the quintessentially modern project of reconstituting a nation. (The excitement over the discovery of the New Christian communities of northern Portugal in the 1920s, though ostensibly of religious import, should also be understood as part of this flowering nationalist enthusiasm)[31]. The ethnographers simultaneously identified with their subjects and felt deeply the chasm between themselves and the people they described. The writers were seeking to transform this raw material into an identity for themselves; in doing so they invented a Jewish nation with which they could identify and, not less important, which they sought to educate and lead[32]. In various contexts—from Jewish exhibits at World's Fairs to specialized Jewish museums in Paris, London, St. Petersburg or New York—Jews sought to make their nation real by displaying artifacts drawn from all over the Jewish world[33]. In archives and specialized library collections, at first privately and then publicly sponsored, Jewish scholars sought to make

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Provints-Rayze," *Jewish Social Studies: History, Culture Society* n.s. 14:1 [2007], pp. 63-88.) Roman Vishniac's photographic expeditions on the eve of World War II later published in several different anthologies including *A Vanished World* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1983) can be seen as a continuation of this effort though they gain a very different meaning seen from a post-Holocaust pespective. Well known are the political and westernizing activities of European organizations like the Alliance Israélite Universelle. See, for example, M. Laskier, *The Alliance Israélite Universelle and the Jewish Communities of Morocco 1862-1962* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983). In the present context, I would add that the regular reports on North African and Middle Eastern communities published in the organization's *Bulletin* from 1861 were also part of this effort to breed a sense of national identity among European Jews.

[31] S. Schwarz, *Os Cristãos-Novos em Portugal no Século XX* (Lisbon: 1925). Discoveries of "lost Jewish tribes" in Africa, south-east Asia, and Latin America continue to this day; the extent to which such groups are "re-incorporated" into the Jewish and Israeli body politic is often a source of considerable tension stemming from the interplay of state and religious considerations in Israel.

[32] That the modern Jewish writer, whether of fiction or of historical studies, was claiming not only a place but also a leadership role in a community of his or her own invention seems to me a crucial point with broad implications for historical writing as well as fiction. The trope of the "returning" modernized Jew, alienated from tradition but seeking his roots, is much debated with regard to An-sky in the opening essays of Safran and Zipperstein, *The Worlds of An-sky* cited above. See also Gabriella Safran, *Wandering Soul. The* Dybbuk's *Creator S. An-sky* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010). For the German-Jewish experience of *Ostjuden* as simultaneously obsolete and authentic see S. L. Gilman, "The Rediscovery of the Eastern Jews: German Jews in the East, 1890-1918," in D. Bronsen, ed., *Jews and Germans from 1860 to 1933; A Problematic Symbiosis* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1979), pp. 338-365; S. E. Aschheim, *Brothers and Strangers: The East European Jew in German and German Jewish Consciousness, 1800-1923* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982); D. N. Myers, "'Distant Relatives Happening Onto the Same Inn': The Meeting of East and West as Literary Theme and Cultural Ideal," *Jewish Social Studies* 1.2 (Winter 1995), pp. 75-100; and the work of N. Isenberg, especially "The Imagined Community: Arnold Zweig and the Shtetl," in *Between Redemption and Doom: The Strains of German-Jewish Modernism* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), pp. 51-76, and the introduction to his translation and edition of A. Zweig, *The Face of East European Jewry* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).

[33] On the representation of Jews at world fairs see B. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums and Heritage* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998). The ever-growing discussion among anthropologists, museum personnel, and historians of the relation between the globalized (heritage) tourism industry and the changing function of museums is beyond the scope of this paper, though its relevance is clear. See meanwhile *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations*, ed. by I. Karp and C. Kratz (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), a volume to which Kirshenblatt-Gimblett also contributed, pp. 35-45; 161-202. On Isaac Strauss as collector of Jewish religious objects and "inventor" of a Jewish art, see D. Fabre, "De Isaac Strauss à Claude Lévi-Strauss: Le judaïsme comme culture," in *Claude Lévi-Strauss, un parcours dans le siècle,* ed. P. Descola (Paris: O. Jacob, 2012), pp. 267-293. Fabre identifies this "artification" of religious objects as part of a post-emancipatory "conscious affirmation of a *more global* identity; p. 273 (emphasis added). My thanks to Prof. Gérard Delille for bringing this work to my attention.

transnational resources attest to nationalist claims[34]. But insofar as any archive is itself an artificial selection and ordering of the past[35], a Jewish history based on a selection of references to Jews is therefore necessarily doubly derivative, creating a Jewish "reality" by dismantling the broader context within which these documents were first to be found[36]. In other words, writers, archivists, ethnographers and curators created the Jewish collectivity as a subject of historical investigation by their very act of selecting from the global evidence[37]. The subject they found inevitably reflected their interpretive starting point[38].

To summarize, the modern field of Jewish Studies was born in a series of paradoxical self-contradictions. First, it was heavily committed to a set of western ideals, ideals that it simultaneously held at arm's length by demonstrating (and celebrating) Jewish difference. And second, it assumed, and sought to demonstrate, what we might call a "transnational nationalism." Matters became even more complicated with the rise of Zionism and the establishment of the State of Israel. The Zionist rhetoric, as we shall see, reified and romanticized sub-ethnic boundaries between Jewish groups while simultaneously challenging those same boundaries. Over the years, Israeli political realities have both invoked and undermined a global Jewishness. The particular application of a globalizing agenda to the

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[34] The YIVO archives in Vilnius and New York, and the Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People in Jerusalem are the two best known examples of the phenomenon. I hope to treat their historiographical implications in a separate paper.

[35] The constructed nature of archives and their mythic status as pristine sources for "objective" history has been much discussed. See for example J. Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998 in English); A. Burton, ed., *Archive Stories: Facts, Fictions, and the Writing of History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005); F. X. Blouin and W. G. Rosenberg, eds., *Archives, Documentation, and Institutions of Social Memory: Essays from the Sawyer Seminar* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006); idem, *Processing the Past : Contesting Authority in History and the Archives* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); A.L. Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009). To my knowledge, there have not been similar broad-ranging analyses of Jewish archival projects even though the scholarly literature in Jewish Studies is replete with factual reports about archival collecting and even though Jewish scholars have been central to discussions of social memory and history generally. On Holocaust archives see P. Fritzsche, "The Archive," *History and Memory* 17:1-2, (Spring-Winter, 2005: a special issue devoted to "Histories and Memories of Twentieth-Century Germany"), pp. 13-44. Sarah Abrevaya Stein treats the archival complications of a transition from colonial to post-colonial administration in her article, "Black Holes, Dark Matter, and Buried Troves," cited below, n. 58.

[36] Paradoxically, we can often better understand even "internal" Jewish history by using general archives than through exclusive reliance on Jewish sources. Jews show up far more often than their relatively small proportion of the population would have suggested. The reasons for this may lie in the Jews' specialized economic pursuits but I suspect it tells us more about their dependence upon the state. Other group mechanisms for resolving disputes (for example, urban associations) were simply less available to Jews. Be that as it may, by expanding our archival search beyond legislative pronouncements and inquisitorial proceedings to include the every-day matters of notarial records, debtor proceedings, merchant licenses, and so forth, it is possible to dispel the assumption that Jews did not trust the organs of the state or that Jews feared taking their cases to outside authorities who would inevitably be biased and unjust. I have explored Italian examples of this elsewhere; for example "Licenses, Cartels, and Kehila: Jewish Moneylending and the Struggle against Restraint of Trade in Early Modern Rome," in R. Kobrin and A. Teller, eds., *Purchasing Power: The Economics of Modern Jewish History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), pp. 27-45.

[37] On the necessity of selectivity for writing the history of the Jews see J. Katz, "The Concept of Social History and Its Possible Use in Jewish Historical Research," *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 3 (1956), pp. 292-312. Katz was criticized by colleagues in Jerusalem who saw his argument as undermining, as they saw it, the claimed unity of the Jewish people. The many volumes, too numerous to list here, of Italian archival sources digested and translated by Shlomo Simonsohn highlight the methods and problems of such selectivity.

[38] H. White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973) and *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987).

Jewish historical experience has inevitably been shaped by the specific rhetoric and emphases of that experience. The global turn, in its effort to frame a narrative outside the nation-state and to de-privilege Eurocentric values, both confirms and challenges the internal dynamic of Jewish Studies. This is the heart of the matter.

To concretize this generalization, let me now turn to three basic areas in which globalized historiography challenges, and responds to, conventions of Jewish Studies: identity, geography, and economy.

III: How Coherent is Jewish Identity in a Global Age?

For the purposes of this paper, Jewish identity will be understood in a purely functional sense: I am interested in the group of cultural markers that determine how Jewish Studies scholars decide whether to include given individuals or groups within their purview. Identity, and Jewish identity in particular, are endlessly debated terms in social science literature; the discussion is far too vast and complicated to be addressed here[39]. I avoid as well the popular usage by which "identity" is a measure of an individual's willingness to identify *with* the Jewish community – that is, to respond to its needs, and to participate in its causes. (This is especially true in the modern diaspora where membership in the community is voluntary and such Jewish identification – whatever its religious or cultural parameters – is seen as crucial to group survival.) In this sense, the term is invoked most often in an air of crisis and imminent loss. A seemingly limitless flood of books and articles takes the measure of levels of identification, reporting most often on how one or another factor is threatening the continuity of Jewish identity and thus the survival of the group. Leaving such concerns and their implicit judgmentalism aside, I would like to suggest that globalizing historical scholarship has both expanded and problematized the task of defining the Jewish historical subject.

To understand this, we must remember that global history's search for factors beyond the borders of the institutionalized nation-state often relies upon a cultural-studies approach to identity. This is an approach that itself cuts across traditional disciplinary subdivisions to tell a tale "from the viewpoint of the motives and meanings that individual and collective historical agents…gave to whatever they were doing, and to the contexts in which they operated"[40]. Under the influence of anthropology, and especially its poststructuralist articulations, cultural history has challenged binary oppositions, presenting both individual and group identities as evolving through ongoing interactions and entanglements with various others. In this sense, the cultural approach challenges Jewish Studies whose task after all, was traditionally to identify (and often to celebrate) that which was "authentically" Jewish – that

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[39] So common is this term nowadays in both popular and scholarly literature that it comes as something of a shock to realize that its contemporary usage is quite recent. Cf. the entry "identity" in the *Oxford English Dictionary.* According to Google's Ngram viewer, the use of the term "identity" and "Jewish identity" both became common only after 1960.

[40] A. Arcangeli, *Cultural History: A Concise Introduction* (London and New York: Routledge, 2012), p. 16. Arcangeli acknowledges the same "fuzziness" and lack of clear disciplinary definition for his subject as we have already encountered with globalization. For Lynn Hunt, "cultural theories helped blow apart the consensus about the utility of history but failed to offer a compelling alternative to the earlier social theories. Globalization is that kind of compelling alternative." *Writing History in the Global Era,* above note 1, p. 9-10. (In retrospect, it is interesting to note the anger that Hunt's book inspired; see Richard Bosworth's hostile (and, I think, sanctimoniously unfair) review of the book as post-modern, liberal nonsense: https://www.timeshighereducation.co.uk/books/writing-history-in-the-global-era-by-lynn-hunt/2016256.article.)

is, to delineate a Jewish "exceptionalism" and to map the boundaries of Jewishness within the broader social context[41].

Cultural studies has brought important tools to the study of the Jewish past[42]. For one thing, the approach has allowed for an expansion of the traditionally text-based methodologies to address questions of the authentic vs the alien, the static vs the developing, in Jewish (religious) history[43]. Of course, recent Jewish cultural historians are following paths already well marked out by folklorists and ethnographers[44]. Even if these latter had often focused less on analyzing than on "collecting" the quaint and picturesque[45], they could rely on centuries of Jewish travel literature produced by pilgrims and others[46] as well, of course, as on modern field research. But more recent works in Jewish cultural studies have gone beyond ethnography, and now seem to be seeking out alternative forms of Jewish identity in order to present positive models for study and even for emulation. In surveys and synthetic works we have begun to hear about a search for multiplicities of Jewish *cultures* whose dynamic reveals patterns not defined by the conventionally polarized distinctions[47].

But as we saw for globalizing approaches in other contexts, the thrust of this transnational

[41] In an early article on the need for contextualizing Jewish diasporic history, Gershon David Hundert evoked this challenging contradiction between the need for context and comparison and his sense of obligation—"custodial, even proprietary" in studying one's own national history; *Reflections on the 'Whig' Interpretation of Jewish History:* Ma'asei banim siman le'avot," *Truth and Compassion. Essays on Judaism and Religion in Memory of Rabbi Dr. Solomon Frank,* ed. H. Joseph, J. N. Lightstone, and M. D. Oppenheim (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1983), pp. 111-120.

[42] J. Boyarin and D. Boyarin, eds., *Jews and Other Differences: The New Jewish Cultural Studies* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997); R. S. Boustan, O. Kosansky and M. Rustow, eds., *Jewish Studies at the Crossroads of Anthropology and History: Authority, Diaspora, Tradition* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011). The editors' introduction to this latter volume provides an excellent overview of issues in the field.

[43] M. Rosman, "A Prolegomenon to the Study of Jewish Cultural History," *Jewish Studies Internet Journal* 1 (2002), pp. 109-127 (http://www.biu.ac.il/JS/JSIJ/1-2002/Rosman.pdf), reprinted as chapter 5 of his *How Jewish Is Jewish History?* (Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2007), pp. 131-153.

[44] The Israel Folktale Archive, established in the 1950s by Dov Noy, arguably the leading figure in the study of Jewish folk literature for two generations, is a repository for the traditions of Jewish groups from all over the world who made their way to Israel before, and especially after, the creation of the State. Eli Yassif's definitive and illuminating study of *The Hebrew Folktale: History, Genre, Meaning* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), is heavily based on written sources, even when dealing with modern Israel where he focuses on the shifting function of the tales as they are translated into Hebrew and told in the context of a new urban society (407 ff). On the methodological differences between the folkloric and historical approaches, see Rosman, "Methodological Hybridity: The Art of Jewish Historiography and the Methods of Folklore," *How Jewish Is Jewish History?* pp. 154-167.

[45] See, for example, the academic and semi-popular books of R. Patai, for example, *The Vanished Worlds of Jewry* (New York: Macmillan, 1980); *The Jewish Mind* (New York: Scribner's, 1977); and *Israel between East and West; a Study in Human Relations* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society 1953; 2nd revised edition, Westport CT: Greenwood, 1970). Patai's concepts and terminology may sound naïve and even patronizing to the modern ear, as when he insists on the "cultural substratum…common to Arabs and Oriental Jews…which clearly differentiates all Middle Eastern population groups from the Jews of Europe, and especially of non-Mediterranean Europe; *Israel between East and West,* p. xii), but it deserves more serious scholarly treatment for its pioneering ethnographic efforts. See now D. Schrire, "Raphael Patai, Jewish Folklore, Comparative Folkloristics, and American Anthropology," *Journal of Folklore Research* 47:1-2 (2010), pp. 7-43, as well as his 2012 Ph.D. dissertation, written at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem on "Collecting the Pieces of Exile: A Critical View of Folklore Research in Israel in the 1940s-1950s."

[46] M. Jacobs, *Reorienting the East. Jewish Travelers to the Medieval Muslim World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015) is only the most recent treatment of a much-studied body of literature. For an overview, see A. E. Cooper, "Conceptualizing Diaspora: Tales of Jewish Travelers in Search of the Lost Tribes," *AJS Review* 30:1 (2006), 95-117.

[47] D. Biale, ed., *Cultures of the Jews: A New History*, "Introduction," p. xxv f.

approach must be seen against the specifics of the Jewish case. The "globalized" interest in Jewish diversities is paradoxically and inextricably linked to a very "national" event – namely, the establishment of the Jewish territorial state in 1948 and the subsequent "ingathering of the Jewish exiles." As Yitzhak Ben-Zvi, second president of Israel, put it: "The establishment of the State drew to Israel large masses of… forgotten Jewish communities… who were thus rehabilitated in the land of their ancestors from which they had been expelled centuries ago." Ben-Zvi called for a uniform state education system to train the newly arrived tribes from the "Ishmaelite diaspora" for leadership in the effort to reconstruct [*sic*] the State. But because he was so confident of the rapid acculturation of the newcomers into a single national culture, Ben-Zvi saw it as "imperative for historians and sociologists to proceed without delay to a definitive study of the qualities, characteristics and cultural value brought by these tribes from the Diaspora." Thus the Zionist enterprise of state building and national unification ironically highlighted the difference between various Jewish communities, promoting the "authentic" Jewish values of the very same people whom it disparaged as unprepared for modern civic life[48]. The massive influx into the nascent state of Jews from "backward" places soon led to social and cultural conflicts that continue to this day in ever more strident and politicized forms. Initial faith in the assimilatory powers of European-style education coupled with an overly naïve trust in a shared (and politically benign) religiosity led to the optimistic assumption that patriotism would eventually eliminate difference. In fact it could be argued that Israeli realities politicized ethnic differences thus fixing ethnic borders that had once been labile, and stabilizing relatively fluid socio-cultural patterns into stratified categories of status. Indeed, the stubborn intransigence and ineradicability of ethnic distinctions, nowadays variously termed "Ashkenazic hegemony" or even "whiteness," has become a trope of social scientific and literary discourse in Israel, although it seems to me that the scholarly discussion reveals some hesitation at applying categories taken from racial confrontations in other societies to the friction between universalizing narratives and ethnic divisions in (Jewish) Israel[49].

The complexity is not simply a product of Israeli cultural politics. New disciplinary considerations have also led historians everywhere to look for broader definitions of Jewish culture. Social history, the approach that came to dominate in American universities from the 1970s, focused interest on the quotidian and the non-elite, making central, as one historian put it, that which "had been marginal at best"[50]. Early modern historians, practitioners of another

[48] *The Exiled and the Redeemed* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1957; rev. 1961). The quotes are from pp. xi and 11-12. The government-chartered Jerusalem institute that bears Ben-Zvi's name continues his focus in an elaborate program of research, publication, and public history.

[49] For a sociological (rather than anthropological) unpacking of the category of ethnicity in Israel see E. Ben-Rafael and S. Sharot, *Ethnicity, Religion, and Class in Israeli Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991). O. Sasson-Levy provides a useful starting point and a bibliographical guide for the recent discussions in English and in Hebrew in "A Different Kind of Whiteness: Marking and Unmarking of Social Boundaries in the Construction of Hegemonic Ethnicity," *Sociological Forum* 28:1 (March, 2013), pp. 27-50. A. Kara's suggestion that Israeli [Jewish] society typically reinforces the hegemony of the dominant ideology by co-optation rather than marginalization provides another approach that might be applied to the less than absolute divisions of ethnicity; "Parading Pridefully into the Mainstream: Gay and Lesbian Immersion in the Civil Core," in G. Ben-Porat and B. S. Turner, *The Contradictions of Israeli Citizenship: Land, Religion and State* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), pp. 180-202:188. Efforts to build competing identity narratives are heard on many sides. See, for example, the suggestively plural title of *Identities* ("Zehuyot"), a journal published by the prestigious Van Leer Institute in Jerusalem.The ethnic history of Israeli society, one of the most fruitful areas of current scholarly research in that country, cannot be adequately summarized here.

[50] T. M. Endelman, *Broadening Jewish History: Towards a Social History of Ordinary Jews* (Oxford and Portland OR: Littman Library, 2011). This collection of articles treats not only the non-elite majority; it focuses

historiographical specialty that can be dated from the 1970s, have seen Jewish mobility and a consequent blurring of identities as defining characteristics of their period and as pointers to modernity[51]. Feminist historians – that is, scholars interested in identifying and studying the half of the Jewish people usually "missing" from traditional narratives – were soon doing more than filling in gaps. They began to question the very categories of authority that they believed had marginalized Jewish women in the first place[52]. The result of all this has been a reshaping of the investigation into key areas in Jewish historiography including family, childhood and adolescence, assimilation, and Jews' private life[53].

Considerations of globalization and its associated terminologies are now pushing the challenge to established Jewish identity norms and historiographical conventions even further. The study of Jewish behaviors in far-flung areas has become a declared search for new contexts in which the "authoritative" religious and communal narratives could not have been maintained easily, and where different behavioral norms could therefore have emerged. These latter were not just deviations from normative Jewishness; they were "valid" alternates in themselves. As we noted, cultural studies sees identities as constantly constructed rather than essential and continuous. Accordingly, scholars began to treat each local Jewish group as an

on "marginal" Jews from criminals to converts (radical assimilationists). In a fascinating introduction, Endelman equates his approach with a "normalization" of Jewish historiography, and attributes what he describes as a generational shift in approach to "a radical egalitarianism" and "a strong ideological commitment to championing the dispossessed, the downtrodden, and the inarticulate and rescuing them and other 'casualties of history' from obscurity" (3). Endelman goes further, it seems to me than does P. E. Hyman, "The Ideological Transformation of Modern Jewish Historiography," in S. J. D. Cohen and E. L. Greenstein, eds., *The State of Jewish Studies* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1990), pp. 143-157 and Endelman's response, ibid., pp. 158-164.

[51] D. Kaplan provides a useful literature survey in "Jews in Early Modern Europe: The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *History Compass* 10:2 (2012), pp. 191-206. The importance of mobility in the period was already highlighted by M. A. Shulvass, *From East to West: The Westward Migration of Jews from Eastern Europe during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Detroit: 1971). D. B. Ruderman sees increased mobility as a major factor in Jewish self-definition in *Early Modern Jewry: A New Cultural History* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010).

[52] Just how radical was the challenge posed by considerations of women and of gender to traditional analytical categories can be seen in the conference give-and-take preserved and developed in "On Law, Spirituality, and Society in Judaism: An Exchange Between Jacob Katz and Chava Weissler," *Jewish Social Studies* 2:2 (1996), pp. 87-115. Katz, whose Weberian ideals were quite revolutionary for Jewish Studies when he first wrote in the 1950s, seems not to have understood the implications of Weissler's anthropologically informed challenges. Weissler is probably best known for her *Voices of the Matriarchs: Listening to the Prayers of Early Modern Jewish Women* (Boston: 1998) but see also her programmatic essay, "The Religion of Traditional Ashkenazic Women: Some Methodological Issues," *AJS Review* 12:1 (1987), pp. 73-94. Good examples of scholarship on the questioning of traditional models by contemporaries can be found in Tamar El-Or, *Next Year I Will Know More: Literacy and Identity among Young Orthodox Women in Israel* (Detroit : Wayne State University Press, 2002), and S. Starr Sered, *Women as Ritual Experts: The Religious Lives of Elderly Jewish Women in Jerusalem* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992). For a combination of historical scholarship with personal narrative and advocacy see S. Grossman and R. Haut, eds., *Daughters of the King: Women and the Synagogue; a Survey of History, Halakhah, and Contemporary Realities* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1992). L. Davidman and S. Tenenbaum, eds., *Feminist Perspectives on Jewish Studies* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994) provides a good indicator of the excitement and impact of this approach up to that point.

[53] On the use of gender as a category with which to analyze Jewish history see the work of P. Hyman, *Gender and Assimilation in Modern Jewish History* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995) and her "Does Gender Matter? Locating Women in European Jewish History," in J. Cohen and M. Rosman, eds., *Rethinking European Jewish History* (Oxford: Littman, 2009), pp. 54-71. Her pioneering studies have been followed by many other scholars: see M. A. Kaplan and D. Dash Moore, eds., *Gender and Jewish History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010).

independent cultural sphere shaped by its immediate context[54]. This argument, already brewing "under the institutional radar" in the 1970s became more visible with the change of generations in the 1990s[55]. To mention just a few recent examples, Iris Idelson-Shein has understood the self-image of eighteenth-century Jews as incorporating and internalizing the new European notions of race[56]. In her treatment of both the Ladino and the Yiddish press as instruments of *Making Jews Modern,* Sarah Abrevaya Stein has introduced the imperial experience (Russian and Ottoman) into our understanding of the creation of Jewish identities[57]. In *Saharan Jews and the Fate of French Algeria* Stein has turned her attention to another "global" question – the relation between law and identity in colonial settings[58]. For Ottoman areas, Stein's sometimes collaborator, Julia Phillips Cohen, has explored the surprising malleability of ostensibly derogatory categories, for example, a "self-orientalization" by Jews and other colonial Jews motivated by material, nationalist, or other considerations[59]. The list of such studies can easily be continued, especially with regard to those recently referred to as "Arab Jews"[60]. Their histories provide excellent case studies of how Jews were affected by, and participated in, important global trends – migration and nationalism, colonialism and postcolonialism. Through such studies, historians have been able to challenge the regnant narratives of identity contained within Jewish collective and academic memory. The questioning of the binary oppositions through which Jewish scholarship has distinguished Jewish identity from that of surrounding societies will sound very familiar to readers acquainted with the terminologies of *histoire croisée*[61]*,* called in

[54] A. E. Cooper, *Bukharan Jews and the Dynamics of Global Judaism* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2012); L. D. Loeb, *Outcaste: Jewish Life in Southern Iran* (London: Routledge, 1977) on Jews in Shiraz and their adaptation to the Muslim environment; and J. Bahloul, *The Architecture of Memory: A Jewish-Muslim Household in Colonial Algeria, 1937-1962* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

[55] For the maturation of anthropology within Jewish Studies see H. E. Goldberg, *The Life of Judaism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001) and the edited volume *Judaism in Practice* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001). For the sense of a shift in the field, see the perceptive report on the annual AJS conference of l998 by S. Heller, "The New Jewish Studies: Defying Tradition and Easy Categorization," *The Chronicle of Higher Education* 45:21 p. A21 (accessed via Academic Search Premier, Feb. 14, 2015). The accompanying list of 23 "recent and forthcoming books" provides a real sense of the impact of the new approaches in "cultural studies" and other areas of modern Jewish Studies.

[56] *Difference of a Different Kind: Jewish Constructions of Race During the Long Eighteenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014).

[57] *Making Jews Modern: the Yiddish and Ladino Press in the Russian and Ottoman Empire* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2004). I thank Professor Abrevaya Stein for allowing me to read her "Jews and Modern European Imperialism," in *Cambridge History of Judaism,* 1815-2000, ed. T. Michels and M. B. Hart (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming).

[58] Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014. For more on the definition of the Jew as colonial subject in law and in the archives that law produces, see also her "Black Holes, Dark Matter, and Buried Troves: Decolonization and the Multi-Sited Archives of Algerian Jewish History," *American Historical Review* 120:3 (June 2015), pp. 900-919. Stein's ample footnotes can guide the reader to what is a growing field of inquiry.

[59] J. Phillips Cohen, "Oriental by Design: Ottoman Jews, Imperial Style, and the Performance of Heritage," *American Historical Review* 119 (2014), pp. 364-398 and see her *Becoming Ottomans: Sephardi Jews and Imperial Citizenship in the Modern Era* (Oxford University Press, 2014). She is co-editor with S.Abrevaya Stein of *Sephardi Lives: A Documentary History, 1700-1950* (Stanford University Press, 2014).

[60] Y. Shenhav, *The Arab Jews: A Postcolonial Reading of Nationalism, Religion, and Ethnicity* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006). Shenhav's terminology is an intentional challenge to the common "hegemonic" Hebrew *mizrahiyim* (Orientals); p. 15. On the origins, use, and significance of this terminology, see the "Forum: On the Arab Jew" in *Jewish Quarterly Review* 98:4 (Fall, 2008): E. Benichou Gottreich, "Historicizing the Concept of Arab Jews in the Maghrib," pp. 433-451, and L. Levy, "Historicizing the Concept of Arab Jews in the Mashriq," pp. 452-469.

[61] The term was coined by M. Werner and B. Zimmermann, "Beyond Comparison: *Histoire croisée* and the Challenge of Reflexivity," *History and Theory* 45 (2006), pp. 30-50, and see also their earlier essay, "Penser

America "connected"[62] or "entangled" history[63]. This approach seeks an alternative to the "merely" comparative. It goes beyond cultural interaction as a simple one-way (or even two-way) "transfer" between static civilizations. The focus is rather on the overlapping spaces of differing cultural systems, on borderlands and frontiers, on permeability and constant refashioning of cultural consensus. When studying encounters between groups, cultures, and civilizations, these scholars seek not influence but negotiated, and constantly evolving, interacting singularities[64].

It is hard to underestimate the radicalness of this approach for the field of Jewish Studies, a field that has for over a century sought to describe and analyze the Jewish encounter with, integration into, and separateness from, surrounding society[65]. Once we focus not on the individual static unit but on "intercrossings," and accept that "the entities, persons, practices,

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l'histoire croisée: entre empirie et réflexivité," *Annales HSS* 58:1 (Jan-Fev 2003), pp. 7-36 and their edited volume, *De la comparaison à l'histoire croisée* (Paris: Seuil, 2004). It is important to remember that this approach, for all of its historiographical abstraction, emerged in an environment of very practical discussions about public policy in a Europe then undertaking economic and monetary union: see, for example, B. Zimmermann, C. Didry and P. Wagner, *Le travail et la nation: Histoire croisée de la France et de l'Allemagne* (Paris: Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1999), a collection of essays sponsored by French and German research institutes on the relation between the nation state and economic, labor, and welfare policy.

[62] Perhaps the scholar most prominently associated with this approach and terminology is S. Subrahmanyam. See among many works, "Connected Histories: Notes towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia," *Modern Asian Studies* 31:3 (1997), pp. 735-762; "Holding the World in Balance: The Connected Histories of the Iberian Overseas Empires, 1500-1640," *American Historical Review* 112:5 (December, 2007), pp. 1359-1385; the two volumes of collected essays, *Explorations in Connected History* (Delhi: Oxford, 2005; reprint 2011). When he turns to cultural history, Subrahmanyam's approach offers fascinating new ways to look at phenomena that are usually seen as quite local and specific, as for example in his call for consideration of the millenarian enthusiasms that marked the early modern from Portugal to India and that served as the backdrop to global imperial expansion; "Turning the Stones Over: Sixteenth-Century Millenarianism from the Tagus to the Ganges," *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* 40:2 (2003), pp. 129-161. This article, like his description of early modern non-European and Iberian colonial writers' treatments of universal history bring new light to bear on parallel issues in the Jewish sphere; "On Early Modern Historiography," *Cambridge World History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), volume 6, ed. Jerry H. Bentley et al., pp. 425-445.

[63] E. Gould, "Entangled Histories, Entangled Worlds: The English-Speaking Atlantic as a Spanish Periphery," *American Historical Review* 112:3 (June 2007), pp. 764-786. The article is one of four presented in that issue as an "AHR Forum" on "Entangled Empires in the Atlantic World." Gould explained the approach as one which "examine[s] interconnected societies … [and is] concerned with 'mutual influencing,' 'reciprocal or asymmetric perceptions,' and the intertwined 'processes of constituting one another.'"

[64] An excellent example of this approach, though admittedly outside the scope of this article, is R. Bertrand's description of the initial contacts between the Dutch and the Javanese, *L'Histoire à parts égales: récits d'une rencontre Orient-Occident, XVIe-XVIIe siècle* (Paris, Le Seuil, 2011). Bertrand emphasizes that the binary oppositions implied in western accounts of that encounter are not to be found at all in contemporary Javanese accounts, indicating that the momentous "encounter" simply did not occur to the Javanese participants. See also the back-and-forth between M. K. Matsuda of Rutgers University, C. M. Stolte of Leiden University, and Bertrand in *Monde(s): Histoire, Espace, Relations* 3:1 (2013), pp. 147-169.

[65] The anxiety is almost palpable in the essays collected in a book we have mentioned several times already - M. Rosman's *How Jewish Is Jewish History?* (above, note 43). This is, I believe, the first comprehensive effort by a Jewish historian of his generation ("trained in the 1970s" as he put it in n. 9, p. 58) to take on the broader issues raised by postmodernism and other new critical approaches. The author's intellectual and professional sense of crisis, intensified as he tells the reader in the "Preface," by his lengthy struggle with blood cancer, is resolved only in the conclusion of the book where Rosman assures his reader that "it is possible to incorporate postmodern sensibilities and methods into researching and writing Jewish history while preserving—and even enhancing—the fundamental coherence of the subject…" (p. 182). He must caution, however, that postmodern Jewish historiography…cannot…allow its subject to be contextualized to the point of dissolution" (186). Rosman clearly feels that preserving this coherence will require bravery on the part of future historians. He ends with a moving, and very personal, call to battle: "How Jewish is Jewish history? As Jewish as the Jews have been, and as Jewish as historians have the courage to present it" (p. 186).

or objects that are intertwined with, or affected by, the crossing process, do not necessarily remain intact and identical in form," what is left of the Jewish people to study[66]? The Jewish encounter with the "other" has long been assumed to have been hostile, with outside society offering only persecution or pressure to convert[67]. When the encounter has been portrayed in positive terms, emphasis has been placed on the Jewish participation in, and contribution to, the glorious achievement of an outside civilization[68]. Now the "entangled" approach to Jewish cultural encounters is slowly beginning to make itself felt in areas even beyond the study of Jews in Islamic lands which we emphasized above. Treatments of Jewish history in the Second Temple period give indications of being drawn in this direction. Basic identity binaries (Greek/Jew; Christian/Jew) that were once assumed obvious have come to be seen as no more than backwards projections by later generations onto what was a much more fluid reality[69]. Similarly for the modern era, a foundational category such as ethnicity has been challenged and destabilized for both disciplinary and historical reasons. Especially, but not only, in the study of American Jewry the notion of a stable ethnicity fixed by religion, language, and genealogy has been challenged by newer terminologies of difference and an appreciation for the contextualized and personal shaping of this identity category[70].

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[66] The quote is from Werner and Zimmermann, "Beyond Comparison," p. 38. For an effort to reframe Jewish studies in terms of cultural transfer see the collected volume edited by W. Schmale and M. Steer, *Kulturtransfer in der jüdischen Geschichte* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus-Verlag, 2006). In her introduction to the volume, Steer relies upon A. Funkenstein, "The Dialectics of Assimilation," *Jewish Social Studies* 1:2 (winter, 1995), pp. 1-14 to characterize traditional Jewish historiography as obsessed with distinguishing between the authentic and the alien (and therefore insisting that there is such a thing as the autochthonous and unchanging). The new approach she advocates seeks rather to find the foreign within the natural, to study the process by which what comes from the outside is internalized and made new (pp. 10-22). Stein, *Saharan Jews and the Fate of French Algeria,* notes "the hazards of approaching Jewish history as a discrete, homogenous, or 'natural' field, and, conversely, points to the necessity of writing entangled histories of Algeria's Jewish and Muslim residents." (p. 6). For her, "entangled" histories are a break from the "historiographic tradition that has privileged communitarian or intra-Jewish histories" (p. 171, n. 17).

[67] The literature is far too large to list here. For an important recent contribution to the study of hostility towards Jews, see D. Nirenberg, *Anti-Judaism: The Western Tradition* (New York: Norton, 2013). Although declaredly not about the treatment of "real" Jews, the book insists on a continuity of negative symbolic significance for the figure of the Jew through the ages, and in that sense pre-determines the West's encounter with the Jewish other. On this level, the book seems a reversal of the approach Nirenberg adopted in his earlier work, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996). Hostility in the opposite direction—that is, from Jews towards the outside society—has been much less investigated, at least for the pre-Zionist period, if only because the Jewish minority rarely had the power to affect the surrounding majority. Still useful is J. Katz' treatment of the medieval world of Christendom in *Exclusiveness and Tolerance: Studies in Jewish-Gentile Relations in Medieval and Modern Times* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961). I. J. Yuval, *Two Nations in Your Womb: Perceptions of Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999) saw a Jewish desire for messianic vengeance to be brought down on Christians following the brutalities of the First Crusade. His positions were fiercely debated by Jewish historians.

[68] One of the most enthusiastic recent explorers of Jewish participation in western culture has been D. Ruderman, for example in his *Jewish Thought and Scientific Discovery in Early Modern Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995). Recently J. Cohen and R. I. Cohen have edited an important investigation of this concept in *The Jewish Contribution to Civilization: Reassessing an Idea* (Oxford: Littman Library, 2008).

[69] M. L. Satlow, "Beyond Influence: Toward a New Historiographic Paradigm," in A. Norich and Y. Z. Eliav, eds., *Jewish Literatures and Cultures: Context and Intertext* (Providence, RI: Brown Judaic Studies, 2008), pp. 37-54; E. S. Gruen, *Diaspora: Jews amidst the Greeks and Romans* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002).

[70] *Ethnicity and Beyond: Theories and Dilemmas of Jewish Group Demarcation, Studies in Contemporary Jewry: An Annual,* Vol. 25 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011). As E. Lederhendler points out in his editor's introduction, the issue is closely connected to the development of multicultural paradigms (as opposed to the now, largely abandoned, "melting pot" approach) in American academia. See D. A. Hollinger,

Before we leave this discussion, one last point deserves consideration even though it may seem irrelevant to the question of the coherence of Jewish identity in the global age. I noted already that word searches on the titles of books and articles in Jewish Studies do not reveal a preoccupation with the global. But in at least one area this is not the case; anti-Semitism has come to be regularly described as "global"[71]. In political rhetoric[72], in the publications of Jewish defense organizations and academic centers[73], and in journalistic articles[74], this usage has turned into a catch phrase. It has become too a valid subject for academic research in various guises[75]. This is not the context in which to discuss whether anti-Semitism is properly a part of Jewish Studies. Nor is it the place to question the historical logic of viewing anti-Semitism, as some would, as an independent and eternal, meta-historical force that simply and opportunistically assumes new faces[76]. (Suffice it to say here that I find such a position incompatible with the historian's endeavor to find change and causality in timebound narratives.) But it would be simplistic to dismiss the recent focus on global anti-Semitism as no more than politicized posturing linked to vagaries in the balance of Middle East politics. Invoking anti-Semitism may well be a mantra invoked to avoid any consideration of the responsibility of Israel and its supporters for injustice to Palestinians or others just as using anti-Semitic rhetoric may be a way for those who support the Palestinian cause to avoid any

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"Communalist and Dispersionist Approaches to American Jewish History in an Increasingly Post-Jewish Era," *American Jewish History* 95:1 (March, 2009), pp. 1-32; idem, *Postethnic America: Beyond Multiculturalism* (New York: 1995); idem "Jewish Identity, Assimilation, and Multiculturalism," in *Creating American Jews,* ed. K. S. Mittelman (Philadelphia: National Museum of American Jewish History, 1998), pp. 52-59. On Jewish religion and identity, see S. Magid, *American Post-Judaism: Identity and Renewal in a Postethnic Society* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2013).

[71] I cite here a sample of (semi-)popular works by authors who have focused on the field: D. J. Goldhagen, *The Devil That Never Dies: The Rise and Threat of Global Antisemitism* (New York: Little Brown and Company, 2013)) and R. S. Wistrich, *A Lethal Obsession: Anti-Semitism from Antiquity to the Global Jihad* (New York: Random House, 2009). D. Nirenberg's *Anti-Judaism,* a very different type of book, similarly adopts a globalizing approach when, for the purpose of presenting "several thousand years of thinking about Judaism," it makes Islam part of "the western tradition" (above, n. 61).

[72] The Global Anti-Semitism Review Act passed by the 108th U.S. Congress in 2004 linked together a statement by a former prime minister of Malaysia with vandalism in Australia, Russia and Canada in mandating an annual report on world anti-Semitism.

[73] The Anti-Defamation League of the American Bnai Brith publishes "ADL Global 100: An Index of Anti-Semitism" at global100.adl.org. Tel-Aviv University's Kantor Center for the Study of Contemporary European Jewry and the European Jewish Congress produces an annual report, "Antisemitism Worldwide" at kantorenter.tau.ac.il. The Institute for the Study of Global Antisemitism and Policy, dedicated to "fighting anti-Semitism on the battlefield of ideas" with offices in New York City, Montreal, Paris and Rome invites "eminent scholars and researchers" to seminars it sponsors at prestigious universities (Columbia, Harvard, Sapienza, and National University, Ukraine); isgap.org.

[74] Frontpagemag.com reports on "The Rising Global Anti-Semitism: The Virus that has Become Epidemic," (April 19, 2015).

[75] See, for example, again almost at random, chapter 5: "Global Anti-Semitism," in M. Wievorka, *La tentation anti-Semite: haine des Juifs dans la France d'aujourd'hui* (Paris: 2005) that I cite from the English, *The Lure of Anti-Semitism: Hatred of Jews in Present-Day France* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007); P. Werbner, a scholar we have mentioned previously, "Folk Devils and Racist Imaginaries in a Global Prism: Islamophobia and Anti-Semitism in the Twenty-First Century," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 36:3 (March 2013), pp. 450-467. In 2011, Indiana University established an Institute for the Study of Contemporary Antisemitism. An inaugural conference yielded a broad-ranging collection of scholarly articles on anti-Semitism among European young Christians and Muslims, on rhetorics of anti-Zionism in Iran and Israel, on Holocaust denial and campus anti-Semitism in the U.S.; see A. H. Rosenfeld, ed., *Resurgent Antisemitism: Global Perspectives* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 2013).

[76] W. Z. Laqueur, *The Changing Face of Antisemitism: From Ancient Times to the Present Day* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

confrontation with ugly realities. But what is relevant here is to ask how a phenomenon that Jewish scholars once sought to confine within very narrow contexts has become so "globalized"[77]. What cultural purpose does this new understanding serve? I would tentatively suggest that a globalized anti-Semitism is culturally useful to its inventors (and therefore attractive to many writers) because it restores the binary polarity between Jewish and non-Jewish, and thus restores the identity of a Jewish group that can less and less coherently be identified by shared ethnic, religious, or political views. It is important to remember that for all the universalist values usually associated with globalization, it can ironically lead to the reinforcement of highly politicized and highly divided identity formulations, a phenomenon by no means unique to Jewish Studies[78].

IV. Geography: Points and Directions

By definition, the heart of the global turn is a geographically enlarged field of inquiry. Ostensibly this threatens to trivialize the entire endeavor of Jewish Studies by marking it as narrow, parochial, and inward directed. If history is now to be about the Atlantic Exchange or the spread of Yellow Fever to the New World, what is the local but a set of epiphenomena? Doesn't significance now lie in underlying structures and shifting environments? It has become clear to historians that the matter is more complicated. Globalized historiography must also take the local into consideration, if only to reframe it in broader contexts, comparing it to parallel phenomena elsewhere, and explaining the parameters that pre-determine the range of local possibilities. And as we shall see, the new geographic understandings have spurred historians – Jewish historians among them – to rethink old problems and formulate new categories.

Let us take for example the reconceptualization of the Sephardic world. Sepharad, a biblical term, was used by medieval Jews to refer to Spain (*Hispania*) and thus to the religious customs and liturgical traditions of Iberian Jewish communities. By the end of the Middle Ages, and certainly after 1492, Sephardi referred also to the far-flung dispersion of Iberian communities that stretched eastward throughout the Mediterranean basin, in many cases overwhelming or dominating older, indigenous Jewish groups. Historians have also spoken of a Sephardic diaspora, including in it conversos – some still living in Spain and Portugal and some who had made their homes with or without group charters in Christian Europe, the Ottoman East, and the various sites of European colonial expansion. Thus a term originally religious, came to connote ethnic, linguistic, and legal realities. Nineteenth- and early

[77] The reader will quickly gain a sense of the revolution in scholarly treatments of anti-Semitism by comparing the brief entry on anti-Semitism in the *Jewish Encyclopedia* (New York: 1906) with the far, far longer (and more global) entry in the *Encyclopedia Judaica* (Jerusalem: 1972; 2nd edition 2007).

[78] We can see the same process, for example, in E. Said's *Orientalism* (1978), a foundational textbook of post-colonialism. The book's fundamental discussion of the inter-relation of "culture, ideas, history and power," as Said puts it [p. xii of the 2003 Preface available online at http://www.odsg.org/Said_Edward(1977)_Orientalism.pdf, accessed June 20, 2015], remains an exemplary articulation of engaged discourse about the categories of knowledge used by Europeans towards the "other." The book has been much criticized for its oversimplified understanding of European "oriental" scholarship and its own superficial treatment of the Arab cultures the author sought to emancipate from the European gaze; D. M. Varisco, *Reading Orientalism. Said and the Unsaid* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012). For our purposes this enormously influential book is a wonderful example of a globalized claim that addresses the anxieties of westernized intellectuals such as Said by reinforcing an identity through condemnation of perceived hostility. "Globalized anti-Semitism," I would argue, functions in the same way for some Jewish Studies scholars.

twentieth-century Jewish historians, writing largely within a central- or east-European context and at a time when Ashkenazic Jewries formed the vast majority of world Jewish population, tended to extend the term even further, now including any Jews who were not Ashkenazic, thus weakening the term's specificity and often giving it a subaltern implication. Since 1948, this implication has become more prominent and more problematic in light of the demographic movements and political realities of the State of Israel.

Globalized historiography, with its downplaying of "artificial" national or imperial borders and its emphasis on movement and communication across large geographic spaces, allows for new approaches to, and interrogations of, Sephardic history. Widely separated Sephardic communities can be treated as units within a "Mediterranean world" in which that sea serves less as a barrier than as a shared environment, a point of contact, and a means of communication[79]. This approach can reveal networks of people, trade, and religious authority, networks that united the various communities in unsuspected ways and structured the relations between them[80]. The travel diaries of a peripatetic rabbinical emissary from Palestine can become the key to discovering a "pan-Judaism," an incipient Sephardic modernity spreading across the entire area[81]. Emphases are shifting. Phenomena once seen as specific to Jewish history now stand revealed as part of the ebb and flow of a multi-ethnic world[82]. On the other hand, the newer approach has acknowledged the agency and cultural

[79] The classic treatment is of course F. Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le Monde Méditerranéen à l'Epoque de Philippe II* (1949; 2nd revised edition, 1966; English, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* [New York: 1972-73]). The flood of studies devoted to that astonishing book itself provides a useful entry into the development of globalized approaches to Mediterranean historiography. Among the many recent works see D. Abulafia, *The Great Sea: A Human History of the Mediterranean* (New York: Oxford, 2011); P.Horden and N. Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000); *A Companion to Mediterranean History,* ed. P. Horden and S. Kinoshita (London: John Wiley, 2014); and *Braudel Revisited: The Mediterranean World, 1600-1800,* ed. Gabriel Piterberg, T. F. Ruiz, and G. Symcox (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010). The chapters in *New Geographies,* vol. 5: *The Mediterranean.* ed. A. Petrov (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Graduate School of Design, 2013) challenge many of the established generalizations about Mediterranean unity and the unique functioning of Mediterranean port cities. Written from the perspective of urban design and architecture and consequently with a presentist or even futurist orientation, the pieces usefully help us to rethink the past as well.

[80] Evelyn Oliel-Grausz, for example, has devoted a number of important studies to illustrating the dynamic of a hierarchical network of communities within the western Sephardic diaspora. She presents this network as multi-modal, and follows its role in the distribution of information, the provision of religious personnel, texts, and ritual objects, the addressing of social needs, and the maintenance of norms. See, for example, "Networks and Communication in the Sephardi Diaspora: An Added Dimension to the Concept of Port Jews and Port Jewries," in Cesarani and Romain, *Jews and Port Cities* (below, n. 87), pp. 61-76; "A Study in Intercommunal Relations in the Sephardi Diaspora: London and Amsterdam in the XVIIIth Century," *Dutch Jews as Perceived by Themselves and by Others: Proceedings of the Eighth International Symposium on the History of the Jews in the Netherlands,* ed. C. Brasz and Y. Kaplan (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2001), pp. 41-58; "*Patrocinio* and Authority: Assessing the Metropolitan Role of the Portuguese Nation of Amsterdam in the Eighteenth Century," in Y. Kaplan, ed., *The Dutch Intersection: The Jews and the Netherlands in Modern History* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 149-172; as well as her presentation at the Seventh Early Modern Workshop (2012) on "Communication and Community: Multiplex Networks in the Eighteenth-Century Sephardi Diaspora," http://wesscholar.wesleyan.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1098&context=emw.

[81] M. B. Lehmann, *Emissaries from the Holy Land*: *The Sephardic Diaspora and the Practice of Pan-Judaism in the Eighteenth Century* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2014). Lehmann's approach to the changing Sephardic sense of self and of Jewishness is intriguing, even though he seems to me to push at least some of his textual interpretations further than they may warrant.

[82] The approach to Jewish history in Spain as exemplifying a long-standing tradition of tolerant "convivencia" is well known. But intolerance can also be a transnational phenomenon. The history of the Jewish exiles from Iberia will undoubtedly benefit from comparison with the new research into the fate of Spanish Moriscos; see for example M. García-Arenal and G. Wiegers, eds., *The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain: A Mediterranean*

independence of the non-European populations including those "indigenous" Jews who were once ignored or simply subsumed within the Sephardic diaspora. This has been especially noteworthy in the study of modernization in North African and eastern Mediterranean Jewish communities and the cultural fate of those Jews who migrated, whether to Israel or to Europe and the Americas[83].

A similar possibility was opened up by the conceptualization of an "Atlantic world" with its own bi-directional flow of populations, goods, and cultures. An Atlantic world allowed for the comparative investigation of regions in the so-called western Sephardic diaspora, consisting of highly mobile groups of conversos and former conversos living in Europe as well as under colonial conditions[84]. Thus Barry L. Stiefel, has made an interesting case for a distinctive tradition of synagogue architecture in the Atlantic region[85].

One geographic categorization that has especially caught scholarly attention is the focus on maritime ports as locations of contact and interaction between otherwise divided groups[86]. The theme has enjoyed considerable popularity in Jewish Studies as well: "port Jews" have been described as benefiting from relatively liberal settlement policies and enjoying world-wide trading connections with both Jews and non-Jews. Cosmopolitan in their lifestyle and acculturated in their religious stance, these Jews were understood as standing at the very vanguard of modernization[87]. It should be noted that the benign picture of the cosmopolitan

Diaspora (Leiden: Brill, 2014) as well as *Quaderni Storici* 48:3 (December 2013), a volume dedicated to the "Diaspora morisca." On the valence of the term diaspora, see below.

[83] The reader will find bibliographical guides to this flourishing field in the works cited above, nn. 57-59.

[84] A useful, if somewhat strident, introduction to available literature is H.Snyder, "Navigating the Jewish Atlantic: The State of the Field and Opportunities for New Research," *The Atlantic World,* ed. D'Maris Coffman, A. Leonard and W. O'Reilly, eds. (London and New York: Routledge, 2015), pp. 413-437. P. Bernardini and N. Fiering, eds., *The Jews and the Expansion of Europe to the West 1450-1800* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2001), includes treatments of law, commerce, religious identity, and cultural conceptions of the Jews in many regions of the Atlantic world from a 1997 conference. R. L. Kagan and P. D. Morgan, eds., *Atlantic Diasporas: Jews, Conversos, and Crypto-Jews in the Age of Mercantilism, 1500-1800* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009) seeks to contribute at "the convergence of two streams of scholarly endeavor: one focused on early modern Atlantic history and the other on so-called Port Jews" (p. vii).

[85] *Jewish Sanctuary in the Atlantic World: A Social and Architectural History* (Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 2014).

[86] On the "port of trade" as the site of institutionalized practices of cross-cultural trade in pre-modern times, see A. Leeds, "The Port of Trade as an Ecological and Evolutionary Type," in *Proceedings of the 1961 Annual Meeting of the American Ethnological Society* (Seattle: 1961), pp. 26-48. The economist K. Polanyi famously stressed the unique role of ports of trade as sites of free trade exchange that lacked an imposed price mechanism; see for example his "Ports of Trade in Early Societies," *Journal of Economic History* 23 (1963), pp. 30-45. His approach was developed further into a portrayal of the pre-modern port as politically neutral and marginal to powerful empires in R. R. Revere, "'No Man's Coast': Ports of Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean," *Trade and Market in the Early Empires: Economies in History and Theory,* ed. K. Polanyi, C. M. Arensberg and H. W. Pearson (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957), pp. 38-63.

[87] D. Sorkin, "The Port Jew: Notes Toward a Social Type," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 50:1 (Spring, 1999), pp. 87-97 sought to describe an elite social type to be found in the western Sephardic diaspora. L. Dubin, *The Port Jews of Habsburg Trieste* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999) used the term to describe an acculturated community treading a distinctive path toward modernization and integration in early modern Europe. The concept was developed further in symposia at the University of Southampton. See *Port Jews: Jewish Communities in Cosmopolitan Maritime Trading Centres, 1550-1950,* a special issue of *Jewish Culture and History* 4:2 (Winter 2001), ed. D. Cesarani, and *Jews and Port Cities, 1590-1990: Commerce, Community and Cosmopolitanism,* a special issue of *Jewish Culture and History* 7:1-2 (Summer/Autumn 2004), eds. D. Cesarani and G. Romain. The latter collection features Dubin's keynote talk, a reconsideration of the theme and somewhat modified definition of the group: "'Wings on their feet … and wings on their head': Reflections on the Study of Port Jews," pp. 14-30. The cosmopolitan openness and ultimate tragic destruction of port cities with once-enormous Jewish populations has been emphasized in several recent, well-received studies: C. King, *Odessa:*

port has been challenged of late[88]; my own work, as well as that of other scholars, on Venice, Pisa, and Livorno leads me to suspect that a more nuanced view of Jewish culture in port cities will also be necessary[89]. But for our purposes it is significant to note that the approach reassigns agency, content and context in the narrative of Jewish cultural change: intellectuals give way to merchants, ideas to life-style, and cities of government power and high learning to nodes in a global network of trade and international contact.

Arguably the most significant geographic conception in Jewish historiography is that of diaspora, understood as the obverse of the Land (or State) of Israel. This fraught term has often been equated with exile (Hebrew: *galut*), and understood as divine punishment for national sin[90]. But at least some Jewish writers have seen positive implications to the long diasporic reality: dispersion had actually helped Jews survive, and in that sense was proof of God's continued mercy and protection of his people[91]. From at least the end of the eighteenth century, Jews who sought membership in the nation state without giving up their religious identity simply denied the exilic character of diaspora[92]. Indeed, Jews of various cultural and

Genius and Death in a City of Dreams (New York: Norton, 2011), and M. Mazower, *Salonica, City of Ghosts: Christians, Muslims and Jews 1430-1950* (New York: Knopf, 2005).

[88] The positive view of port cities as cosmopolitan and tolerant is linked to the tourism industry's effort to promote a romanticized view of Mediterranean history generally. For a critique of the cultural approach see H. Driessen, "Mediterranean Port Cities: Cosmopolitanism Reconsidered," *History and Anthropology* 16:1 (March 2005), pp. 129-141. Already three decades ago, contributors to the conference volume on *Città portuali del Mediterraneo: Storia e archeologia* [=Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Genova 1985] edited by E. Poleggi (Genoa: Sagep Editrice, 1989) challenged an over-generalized approach, stressing rather the local specifics of geography and trade as crucial determinants in each port city.

[89] In her treatment of the pace of cultural modernization among Livorno's Jews, F. Bregoli argues that the special freedoms provided by the port environment were actually held in check by the strong communal controls exerted by the Jewish community's merchant oligarchy; *Mediterranean Enlightenment: Livornese Jews, Tuscan Culture, and Eighteenth-Century Reform* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2014). I hope to treat the process of modernization and secularization in Livorno in a separate publication. Meanwhile, see my brief review of the book in *AJS Review* 39:2 (November, 2015), pp. 452-454. For an overview of Jewish secularization in this period see S. Feiner, *The Origins of Jewish Secularization in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010).

[90] See I. F. Baer, *Galut* (Berlin: Schocken, 1936; English: New York: 1947). (It cannot go without mention that this teleological conception of Jewish geography fit well with, and was perhaps reinforced by, traditional Christian views about the Jewish dispersion as punishment for the rejection of Jesus as messiah and for deicide; see for example the famous Epistle 363 of Bernard of Clairvaux in *Sancti Bernardi Opera,* ed. J. Leclercq et al [Rome: 1957-77], vol. 8, p. 316.) Modern Hebrew has also developed the term "tefutsa" (dispersion; pl. *tefutsot*) for Jewish communities outside of the Land of Israel. See, for example, the survey of modern Jewish history by J.Tsur, *Diyuknah shel ha-Tefutsa* [Anatomy of the Diaspora], accompanied by an anthology of primary sources prepared by I. Bartal (Jerusalem: Keter, 1975). The term, if ostensibly less theological and perhaps less negative than "galut," had its own connotations in Zionist discourse, and these deserve more extensive study. See for example the World Zionist Organization journal, *Bi-Tefustot ha-Golah* (1958-78) with its English edition *Dispersion and Unity* (and a parallel French edition) devoted to "research and overviews about the Zionist movement in the Lands of the Exile and in the Jewish World." A study group devoted to the "tefutsot" met for several years at the Israeli President's official residence and published its proceedings: *Hug Nesi' ha-Medina la-Tefutsot*, 1st series (2001-2002) (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 2004). *Beit ha-Tefutsot*, called in English "The Museum of the Jewish People," opened in 1978 on the Tel-Aviv University campus at the initiative of Nahum Goldmann, the long-time president of the World Jewish Congress. The Israeli Knesset (parliament) passed the Beit Hatfutsot Law (2005) that defined the museum as "the National Center for Jewish communities in Israel and around the world." The nationalist claims being laid to ownership of collective memory and identity are clear.

[91] S. Usque, *Consolação às tribulações de Israel* (Ferrara: 1553). A facsimile edition with an English-language introduction by Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi and a Portuguese study of "alguns dos seus aspectos messiânicos e proféticos" by J. V. de Pina Martins (Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1989).

[92] Perhaps the first articulation of this view was by the Alsatian Berr Isaac Berr, "Lettre d'un citoyen" (Nancy, 1791): "At length the day has come…when we recover those rights taken from us more than eighteen centuries

political persuasions have claimed a special advantage for Jewish communal life in the diaspora[93]. The nineteenth-century historian, Heinrich Graetz, famously assigned positive value to the diaspora in his multi-volume world history of the Jews[94]. The rise of political Zionism and the establishment of the State of Israel sharpened (and politicized) these distinctions, as we have noted, and essentialized diaspora identity even further.

Globalizing historians have found much that is useful in the concept of diaspora. It has allowed them to expand discussions of group identity from the territory of the nation state to a broader geographic context. In this approach, nationalism itself was no longer necessarily the product of the State; it could be borne in the hearts and minds of a diffuse group of transient individuals who chose to identify with a remembered or even imagined homeland. Group identity became transnational, mobile, and constantly (re-)negotiated through interaction with "foreign" environments. Even those victimized by the nation state – the subaltern, the refugee, and the exile who, as we noted at the start, are very much on the agenda of many global historians, could now be brought into the discussion[95]. And in the American academy, "diaspora studies" have given institutional structure and disciplinary legitimacy to both teaching and research about broad populations whose grouping together might otherwise be challenged or even seen as offensive and racist[96]. Thus "diaspora," like so many other aspects of globalization, is a conceptual tool that creates and strengthens certain favored forms of group identity just as it challenges others[97].

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ago.… We are now, thanks to the Supreme Being and to the sovereignty of the nation, not only Men and Citizens, but we are Frenchmen!" I quote here from the English translation in *The Jew in the Modern World: A Documentary History*, ed. P. Mendes-Flohr and J. Reinharz, 3rd edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 128-130:128.

[93] Of course, it is too simplistic to reduce these movements and cultural streams to geographic distinctions between a homeland and a diaspora. For example, the recent efforts of the American-Jewish Posen Foundation to fund and promote secular, as opposed to religious, interpretations of Jewish history, should be seen in this context even though it is active in Israel as well as the diaspora. My point is that within the broader cultural debate, the diaspora has often played a significant symbolic role as representing alternatively legitimate or even "superior" types of Jewishness.

[94] H. Graetz, "Introduction" to *History of the Jews,* Volume 4, available in English in *The Structure of Jewish History and Other Essays,* ed. Ismar Schorsch (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1975), p 125 f. and in M. Meyer, *Ideas of Jewish History* (New York: Behrman House, 1974), p. 229 f. Though Graetz understood the long exile as a period of unprecedented suffering, he also believed that it was characterized by "speculation" leading ultimately to the "theoretical-philosophic" development of Judaism. Contact with western intellectualism had allowed the sacrificial cult to become a spiritualized religion.

[95] Thus the journal *Diaspora Studies* (2008-), sponsored by the Indian Organisation for Diaspora Initiatives (http://www.odi.in/), expands the discussions of Indian diasporas to many different parts of the world. *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* (1991-), is sponsored by the Zoryan Institute whose major focus is on Armenian history. But the journal from the start sought an interdisciplinary approach to "the traditional diasporas—Armenian, Greek, and Jewish—and those transnational dispersions which in the past three decades have chosen to identify themselves as 'diasporas'" (http://www.utpjournals.com/Diaspora.html).

[96] "African diaspora"—a terminology that appears frequently in department and course names in American universities—allows for inclusion of black communities outside the United States but often omits the history and culture of Africa itself. See for example Vanderbilt University's African American and Diaspora Research Center (http://as.vanderbilt.edu/aads/). Boston College's African and African Diaspora Studies Program describes itself in terms of globalization (equated with the trade in African slaves), social justice, and "intersectionality" (an approach that will break down the monolithic claims of racism); http://www.bc.edu/schools/cas/aads/program.html. At Berkeley, a video on the website of the program in Asian American and Asian Diaspora Studies (part of the Department of Ethnic Studies), stresses the political origins of the program in a student strike and the communitarian engagement of the teaching agenda; http://aaads.berkeley.edu/.

[97] See for example the definition of diaspora given by R. S. Parreñas and Lok C.D. Siu in their introduction to the edited volume *Asian Diasporas: New Formations, Conceptions* (Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, 2007),

The tensions of diaspora studies have been very much in evidence in Jewish Studies as well. On the one hand, diasporic Jewish identity has come to be seen as necessarily hybrid, an expression of frontier fluidity produced in constant interaction with its surroundings. Indeed, this creative lack of fixedness has been understood as a hallmark of modernity, a cosmopolitanism that challenges hegemonic constructions of national homogeneity[98]. Some scholars have sought to replace what they see as an outdated "center/periphery" model of diaspora by focusing on "frontier" Jewries, hoping to identify (and validate) Jewish life in a range of distant, smaller communities[99]. But not all scholars have embraced these approaches to diaspora as stand-alone and positive. Skeptics have offered both conceptual and factual critiques[100]. And this has been gradually applied in Jewish Studies as well. A growing consensus has come to see that "diasporas… are both ethnic-parochial and cosmopolitan," growing organically without central direction around foundational myths whose ownership is itself highly contested[101]. Such theoretically informed discussions of diaspora have also contributed to a more nuanced discussion of identity in the Jewish "homeland" itself, an issue

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p. 1f.: "We define diaspora as an *ongoing and contested process of subject formation* embedded in a set of cultural and social relations that are sustained simultaneously with the "homeland" (real or imagined), place of residence, and compatriots or co-ethnics dispersed elsewhere. More precisely, we view the experience of diaspora as entailing (1) displacement from the homeland under the nexus of *an unequal global political and economic system*; (2) the simultaneous *experience of alienation* and the maintenance of affiliation to both the country of residence and the homeland; and finally (3) the sense of *collective consciousness and connectivity* with other people displaced from the homeland across the diasporic terrain. Necessary in sustaining these simultaneous relations are everyday practices of sociality, collective memory, economic exchange, and the work of cultural imagination and production, to name a few. [Emphasis added-BDC]".

[98] Da. Boyarin and J. Boyarin, "Diaspora: Generation and the Ground of Jewish Identity," *Critical Inquiry*19 (1993), pp. 693-725; and idem, *Powers of Diaspora*: *Two Essays on the Relevance of Jewish Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002). The attempt to provide independent cultural and even moral significance to the diaspora is often found in literary studies devoted to non-Israeli Jewish literature. See, for example, R. Omer, "Jewish Diasporism: The Aesthetics of Ambivalence," introducing *Journal of Religion and Literature* 30:3 (Autumn, 1998), pp. 1-8; the entire volume is devoted to diaspora literature. Not surprisingly, Omer's celebration of the diaspora is born out of his disenchanting personal experience in Israel; it is the existence of the State that has, time and again, created its alternative. For the diaspora as the home of Jewish universalism see A. Wolfe, *At Home in Exile: Why Diaspora is Good for the Jews* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2014).

[99] *Jewries at the Frontier. Accommodation, Identity, Conflict,* ed. S. L. Gilman and M. Shain (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999). The volume emerged from a 1996 conference held in Cape Town, South Africa. Papers cover widely divergent geographic areas and communal structures: from pre-Holocaust Galicia and Bukovina to contemporary Texas and South Africa, Alaska to Tunisia, New Zealand to Quebec. This makes the interpretive usefulness of the "frontier" approach somewhat unclear.

[100] On the proliferation of the academic use of this term and the resulting stretching of its meaning "to accommodate the various intellectual, cultural and political agendas in the service of which it has been enlisted," see R. Brubaker, "The 'Diaspora' Diaspora," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28:1 (January, 2005), pp 1-19, now collected in his *Grounds for Difference* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015); J. Clifford, "Diasporas," *Cultural Anthropology* 9:3 (1994) 302-338; M. Baumann, "Diaspora: Genealogies of Semantics and Transcultural Comparison," *Numen* 47 (2000) 313-337; and the survey treatment by R. Cohen, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction* (2nd edition, London and New York: 2008), especially chapter 1, pp. 1-19.

[101] J. Friedman, "Diasporization, Globalization, and Cosmopolitan Discourse," in the excellent anthology by A. Levy and A. Weingrod, eds., *Homelands and Diasporas: Holy Lands and Other Places* (Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, 2005), pp. 164-165. Friedman's emphasis on globalization as the self-understanding of a closed circle of mobile, "trans-national" intellectuals is particularly useful, it seems to me, in understanding claims for a diasporic cultural independence. In the same anthology see also P. Werbner, "The Place Which Is Diaspora: Citizenship, Religion, and Gender in the Making of Chaordic Transnationalism," pp. 29-48:30 and 34. I. Zvi Baron uses political theory as well as interviews and self-reflexive narrative to explore the fluidity of the "transnational sense of political obligation" felt towards Israel by diaspora Jews in *Obligation in Exile: The Jewish Diaspora, Israel and Critique* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015).

that has itself inevitably grown more and more complex with time[102].

V. A Globalized Jewish Economy?

Central to the global approach is an understanding of the broadening of trade and the ever-more-rapid world-wide circulation of capital. It is not surprising, then, to note that economic history was one of the first areas to benefit from, and contribute to, a more global approach to Jewish studies[103]. Foregrounding Jews' economic activities has, of course, its own problematic, echoing as it does the disparaging anti-Semitic fantasies that placed "world Jewry" at the center of aggressive and malignant global capitalism. There is still considerable discomfort at discussions that focus on a specifically Jewish "homo economicus"[104]. Still, the prominent role of Jews in long-distance trade and finance has been the subject of much scholarly investigation at least since Werner Sombart's *Jews and Modern Capitalism* (1911)[105]. Shelomo Dov Goitein famously reconstructed the commerce (as well as other aspects) of a medieval, Jewish "Mediterranean Society" from thousands of pages and fragments found in the Cairo Geniza,[106] work which has been continued and expanded by his students and others afterwards. For a portrayal of the Jews as a long-distance trading nation in the early modern period we can point to the many scholarly contributions of Jonathan Israel, beginning with his pathbreaking study of *European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism 1550–1750.* Israel's book, which also argued for studying the early modern as an important, separate period in Jewish history, emphasized the close link between economic activity and

[102] Consideration of Jewish diasporic nationalism is illuminated by comparison with other diasporic groups in A. Gal, A. S. Leoussi and A. D. Smith, eds., *The Call of the Homeland: Diaspora Nationalisms, Past and Present* (Leiden: Brill, 2010). In considering the relevance of the term "homeland" to Israel, it is always important to remember that for much of its history, most of the country's Jewish population was not native born.
[103] In 2014, Professor A. Teller of Brown University devoted an undergraduate course to "Early Modern Globalization: Jewish Economic Activity, 1500-1800."
[104] See the titles listed in Stein, *Plumes,* (below, n. 114), chapter 1, n. 22, p. 158. On the problematics of this investigation see especially the contributions of D. Penslar, G. Reuveni and J. Karp in G. Reuveni and S. Wobick-Segev, eds., *The Economy in Jewish History: New Perspectives on the Interrelationship between Ethnicity and Economic Life* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2011). D. Penslar, *Shylock's Children: Economics and Jewish Identity in Modern Europe* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001) explores how Jews understood their economic separateness and how they responded to it as a matter of apologetics and of social policy. J. Z. Muller, *Capitalism and the Jews* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011) is a recent treatment of the reality and interpretations of Jews' special relation to capitalism.
[105] Sombart's portrayal, now largely dismissed by historians, was of course a response to M. Weber's *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (English translation by T. Parsons; New York: Scribner, 1930). The debate ended up centering on historical evidence for economic activity and rarely took on Weber's key arguments for the role of religious conceptions in defining and directing this-worldly activity. This remains an important desideratum for Jewish Studies.
[106] S. Dov Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967-1993). For specifically trade-related materials, the six volumes of this magnificent work can be supplemented with Goitein's *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973) as well as the posthumously published *India Traders of the Middle Ages: Documents from the Cairo Geniza "India Book"* (Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute and Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008), edited and completed by Goitein's student and collaborator M. A. Friedman and the ongoing Hebrew publication of volumes of the *India Book* (Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute, 2009). "How Mediterranean Was Goitein's Mediterranean Society?" is clarified by N. Stillman in *Jews, Christians and Muslims in Medieval and Early Modern Times: A Festschrift in Honor of Mark R. Cohen,* ed. A. E. Franklin, R. E. Margariti, M. Rustow and U. Simonsohn (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014), pp. 29-39.

the shape of the Jewish community[107].

Does the sometime prominence of Jewish individuals in trade and finance reveal something unique or at least special about Jews as a group – something, we might add, that is transnational and not produced by specific local conditions[108]? Several well-received volumes have sought to argue just that, naturalizing, or even essentializing, Jewish success by attributing it to cultural traditions such as the principles of Jewish law (halakha) or group ethnic loyalty that somehow combined to give Jews specific trade advantages despite their limited numbers, resources and access to power. Take for example a book by the economists Maristella Botticini and Zvi Eckstein who identify a special link between the Jewish religious emphasis on literacy and Jewish economic activity and success[109]. Even more extreme is the "discovery" of Jews' essential "Mercurian" character in Yuri Slezkine's very popular 2004 description of *The Jewish Century*[110]. I must confess that I am not at all convinced by these generalizing and derivative works, and am far more impressed by the economic sociology of Simon Kuznets in his famous article on "The Economic Structure and Life of the Jews"[111]. But be that as it may, it is certainly important to point out that recent work on Jewish economic activity during the Middle Ages has tended to question the assumption of any special Jewish aptitude or separate trading network that crossed cultural spheres or empires. For example, Michael Toch has begun to sum up his many years of work on Jewish trade and finance especially in German-speaking lands, by rejecting unwarranted claims of supposed Jewish dominance in international trade, conclusions he says are based on thin, and often mis-read, documentary evidence[112]. Jessica Goldberg, in an exhaustive study of several of the most prominent merchants whose trade is recorded in the Cairo Geniza has emphasized the regional focus of their trade in staples, specifically rejecting Goitein's assumptions of a trans-

[107] Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985; now in its 3rd edition: Littman Library, 1997. The literature on wide-ranging trade among Jews is by now too large to list here, but special mention should be made of Benjamin Arbel, *Trading Nations: Jews and Venetians in the Early-Modern Eastern Mediterranean* (Leiden: Brill, 1995).

[108] For an early attempt to argue for a long-distance Jewish trade network, see L. Rabinowitz, *Jewish Merchant Adventurers: A Study of the Radanites* (London: Goldston, 1948). We might mention here F. Braudel's declaration of a "Jewish age" of trade domination during the later sixteenth century within *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World at the time of Philip II,* Vol. I: pII: pp. 802-823.

[109] *The Chosen Few: How Education Shaped Jewish History, 70-1492* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012). The book, which was well received among general economic historians, has been widely criticized by specialists in Jewish history for its unwarranted generalizations and weak understanding of historical texts and facts. See for example the lengthy [Hebrew] response of Meir Bar-Ilan to Eckstein's presentation of the book at a conference devoted to "The Economic History of the Jews" (Bar-Ilan University, July 2013); https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=00P2XPOcHZ4&index=45&list=PLXF_IJaFk-9DNXHPe3rmhe2l1jcPQwQ8z at minute 42:45. Bar-Ilan's criticism of the book's tendency to confuse normative language with historical reality is echoed in reviews by Phillip I. Ackerman-Lieberman, *The Journal of Economic History* 73:1 (March, 2013), pp. 310-11 and Robert Chazan, *American Historical Review* 119:1 (2014), pp. 229-230.

[110] Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004. While certainly an engaging read, the book's urbane cleverness reveals, it seems to me, much more about the self-image of the author than about the economic activities of real Jews. By linking economic activity and cultural values, the book reinstates as true many of the essentializing characterizations of Jews that one had hoped had been by now finally put to rest.

[111] S. Kuznets's description of social factors that impact the economic behavior of the Jewish minority seems to me much more convincing. "Economic Structure and Life of the Jews," is to be found only in the third edition of L. L. Finkelstein, ed., *The Jews: Their History, Culture and Religion,* (New York: Harper, 1960; reprinted Greenwood Press, 1979), pp. 1597-1666.

[112] *The Economic History of European Jews: Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), the first of a planned, 3-volume, survey.

imperial dominance in luxury goods[113]. For the modern period, even the remarkable work of Sarah Abrevaya Stein on *Plumes: Ostrich Feathers, Jews, and a Lost World of Global Commerce,* a book that describes a truly global market dominated at each separate node by a separate sub-group of Jews, also emphasizes that it was the specifics of each local trading landscape that shaped Jewish specialization (and identity)[114].

But let us return to our original question: the relevance of a globalized view of trade to the categories of Jewish Studies. Once we put aside the essentialist notion of some uniquely Jewish faculty for business success, we find that the Jews fit very nicely within the widely used category of "trading nation" or "trading diaspora"[115]. In this approach, emphasis is placed not on the cultural elements that delimit the group in the first place, but on how members of the widely distributed group maintain contact with each other and how they establish trust both amongst themselves and with the non-Jews with whom they must inevitably trade[116]. The economist Avner Greif has argued forcefully in influential articles and a book that informal (that is – personal, familial, and ethnic but non-state) institutions of enforcement were effective in building trade networks and expanding commerce. He bases his argument heavily on evidence drawn from the documents of the Cairo *geniza* to trace the activities of the medieval "Maghribi traders"[117]. Other scholars have taken up, and modified this approach. For example, in her detailed study of the records of a failed, eighteenth-century, Livornese Sephardic merchant firm, Francesca Trivellato has traced a many-branched trading network and showed that, contrary to many theories of economic development, the Sephardim relied simultaneously on family and ethnic bonds, state institutional support, and agents from other communities in order to make their way in the increasingly globalized trade world[118].

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[113] See her monographic treatment of *Trade and Institutions in the Medieval Mediterranean: The Geniza Merchants and their Business World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012) as well as her methodological article on "The Use and Abuse of Commercial Letters from the Cairo Geniza," *Journal of Medieval History* 38:2 (June, 2012), pp. 127-54.

[114] New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008.

[115] This is similar to, but not identical with, the approach of the sociologist W. P. Zenner, for example in *Minorities in the Middle: A Cross-Cultural Analysis* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991). Zenner was responding to the hostile stereotypes that he felt lay behind sociological theories of "middlemen minorities" developed by M. Weber, G. Simmel, and F. Tönnies, as well as the manner in which economic specialization grew out of, and contributed to, the minorities' status as "other."

[116] P. D. Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984) is the foundational text for the "economic-anthropological" study of this type of commerce. Curtin does not devote significant space to the Jews, perhaps because his developmental model of a trading diaspora assumes that representatives of a given culture spread as merchant-strangers into another cultural zone and eventually "work themselves out of the business" by assimilating into the host society; this trajectory does not apply easily to Jews. S. Subrahmanyam's brief introduction to the edited volume, *Merchant Networks in the Early Modern World* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1996), challenges several of the generalized portraits of the expanding European and world trade from the fifteenth century onwards. His remarks provide an excellent starting point for consideration of the sense of identity, the commercial methodologies, and the political influence of various merchant communities including that of the Jews.

[117] Among A. Greif's many studies of institutional economics, see "Reputation and Coalitions in Medieval Trade: Evidence on the Maghribi Traders," *Journal of Economic History* 49 (1989), pp. 857-882; "Contract Enforceability and Economic Institutions in Early Trade: the Maghribi Traders," *American Economic Review* 83 (1993), pp. 525-548; *Institutions and the Path to the Modern Economy: Lessons from Medieval Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); and recently, "The Maghribi Traders: A Reappraisal?" *Economic History Review* 65:2 (2012), pp. 445-469.

[118] *The Familiarity of Strangers: The Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009. See also *Religion and Trade: Cross-Cultural Exchanges in World History, 1000-1900* edited by F.Trivellato, L. Halevi and C. Antunes (New York: Oxford

VI. Last Thoughts: Treating Jewish Power

The study of globalization began out of a realization that profound changes were taking place in the pace of communication, population movement, and capital investment around the contemporary world. Economists and political scientists asked how such structural change was facilitating or masking change in the articulation of power – whether economic, military, or political. Each writer brought his or her own conceptions of how society should be organized to the ensuing fierce debates. When globalization was taken up by historians, the fierceness of the controversy may have been dampened, but the engaged and politicized nature of the discussion remained. As I tried to illustrate at the start, American global historians have been engaged not only in an extension of their geographic purview; they have all along been discussing the emergence and rise (and decline) of American power in the world. Globalized historiography is never simply a discovery of distance. As all good history, it is shaped by an engaged involvement in the nature of human experience and the goals of human society, addressing present concerns through examination of past experience. Thus the impact of the new, globalized perspective, will necessarily vary with the historian's own subject of interest. This is as true for Jewish Studies as for any other field.

Jewish Studies, from its very inception, bore many of the signs of a globalizing endeavor. It insisted that Jews, long a disenfranchised minority, were worthy of historical study. It demonstrated that Jewish cultural norms and forms of knowledge, though dismissed by mainstream society, were in fact valuable both intrinsically and for their contribution to universal human development. Jewish Studies scholars devoted themselves to collecting centuries of Jewish literature from all over the world. They collected liturgical, theological, homiletic, legal, poetic, and philosophical texts from long-forgotten caches, edited and studied them, and translated them into the languages and, equally important into the terminologies, of contemporary, western cultural discourse. Their argument, simultaneously defensive and aggressively polemical, is the very same as that which lies at the center of entangled history. Jewish Studies was never merely a dispassionate analysis of the past even though it might use the language of critical objectivity to legitimize its presence in the twentieth-century university[119]. Ironically, the very success of this intellectual undertaking has put Jewish Studies so solidly within the mainstream that new globalizing historiographies have challenged its very legitimacy. The emergence and dynamic power of the State of Israel has reified and institutionalized some categories within the Jewish historical metanarrative – in particular, though not exclusively, those associated for more than a century with Zionist nationalism. This has further stimulated historiographical challenges from globalizing scholars. Metanarratives, of course, should and will inevitably be questioned. Their intrinsic claim to global comprehensiveness can never do more than explain (or: justify) a present balance. As the balance changes, so must the narrative. This is intrinsic to the intellectual

University Press, 2014). The contribution of S. Marzagalli to that volume, "Trade across Religious and Confessional Boundaries in Early Modern France," p. 169-191, is specifically intended to undermine the assumption that trade networks were religiously homogeneous. J. Vance Roitman pays more attention to cultural identity in her study of merchant networks based in Amsterdam in *The Same but Different? Inter-Cultural Trade and the Sephardim 1595-1640* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

[119] P. Novick, *That Noble Dream: The 'Objectivity Question' and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) traces the vicissitudes of this approach from the late nineteenth century. I am currently preparing a separate study on the significance of the claim to historical objectivity made by twentieth-century Jewish historians in the United States.

endeavor of historical understanding itself, an endeavor that calls for constant reinterpretation of the past in light of present events, insights, and concerns.

When I began this article, I had a sense that the difference between globalized and older Jewish historiographies was over defined and expressed in terms that were too rigid. I have tried therefore to contextualize some of the challenges that a globalized historiography presents to Jewish Studies. It also, of course, has presented all sorts of new issues and new contexts for rethinking old approaches. For reasons of space, I have had to elide most of these.

But globalization, insofar as it examines the exercise and realignment of power, also demands that we take on the relevance of power among Jews. How were Jews shaped by each new configuration of power? And how have Jews participated in globalized forms of communication and movement to gain and exert power for themselves? Answering such questions is complicated by the fact that Jewish Studies is not a single, coherent and continuous, entity. It includes in complex and changing ways, the experiences, values, and methodologies of scholars from many different backgrounds. In my own work, for example, I have been aware of the difference in approach between Jewish-trained historians who imagine their subject as Jews who happen to live in Italy and that of Italian-trained historians working on the very same material who imagine their subject to be Italians who happen to be Jewish. Our frames of reference vary, sometimes quite widely[120]. Considerations of globalization will speak quite differently to each of us. But it strikes me that in studying the Jews, as any other group affected by and participating in a globalized world, we must heed the call to address the articulation of power[121].

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[120] The distinction is of course not an ethnic one but rather an expression of difference in training, academic context, and intended audience. And the distinction is often at the root of fierce university departmental and disciplinary politics. This is the “back story” to S. Stein’s remark in “Black Holes, Dark Matter, and Buried Troves” (cited above, n. 58), p. 915, that most of those adopting the global approach are not “in the field” of Jewish Studies.

[121] For a start in this direction see D. Biale, *Power and Powerlessness in Jewish History* (New York: Schocken, 1986).

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