

# Philo of Stockholm

## *The Unrequited Love of Rabbi Marcus Ehrenpreis*

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### Abstract

Dr Marcus Ehrenpreis was already a prominent figure on the European Jewish scene when he in 1914 travelled through the first pangs of World War One to become the Chief Rabbi of Stockholm, a small and largely dormant Jewish community in the periphery of Jewish life in Europe. This would seem an unexpected move by a man who had served as the personal secretary of Theodor Herzl at the first Zionist congress in Basel 1897 and as the Chief Rabbi of Bulgaria for fourteen years and who had made himself known as a leading proponent for making Hebrew the language of a Jewish spiritual and cultural renewal. Instead he was to make Sweden and the Swedish language (!) the central elements of his remaining life and the experimental ground for his vision of a deepened and energized spiritual and cultural Judaism in a dynamic relationship with the non-Jewish world.

**Keywords:** cultural Zionism, Jewish diaspora, Marcus Ehrenpreis, Philo of Alexandria, Swedish Jews, Young Hebraists

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### Origins

In early September 1914, travelling through the first pangs of the First World War, Marcus Ehrenpreis arrived in Stockholm to become the new Chief Rabbi of a small, dormant and largely assimilated Jewish community. It must have seemed a surprising move at the time, considering where Marcus Ehrenpreis came from, and who he at the age of forty-five had become.

His immediate point of departure was the Bulgarian capital Sofia, where he had served as the first Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi of a considerably larger Sephardic community in a seemingly more challenging and potentially more rewarding political and religious setting. During his fourteen years of rabbinical reign in Bulgaria, Ehrenpreis had managed to assume a



position of great authority and respect. He was on a personal and friendly footing with the royal family, and he had come to play an important role in the diplomatic efforts to secure protection for religious and ethnic minorities in the wake of the Balkan Wars of 1912–1913.<sup>1</sup> Although he certainly had made his enemies, his departure was widely and publicly bemoaned by Jewish and non-Jewish personalities and institutions alike. In short, it seemed that Marcus Ehrenpreis had left a position of promising prominence for a position of potential obscurity.

It also seemed that he had left a Jewish world vibrating with ideas, movements and visions, for a society where it was hard to speak of a Jewish world at all. This was all the more remarkable, since Ehrenpreis already at a very young age had become an important figure and an influential voice on the Jewish cultural scene, fomenting a Hebrew literary renaissance, penning essays, editing magazines, founding societies and planning nothing less than a wholly new future for Jews and Judaism. In 1897, at the age of twenty-eight, Ehrenpreis had been a personal assistant to Theodor Herzl in convoking the first Zionist Congress in Basel, their names appearing side by side on the Hebrew language invitation, hoping to make a Jewish cultural and religious renaissance the sine qua non of the Zionist enterprise. By then he had already achieved a rigorous German academic training and an equally rigorous rabbinical training, which was a combination peculiar to a generation of Jews having had its feet and heart in the traditional Jewish shtetls of Eastern Europe and its head and vision in the rapidly modernizing West.

Marcus (or Mordechai) Ehrenpreis was born in 1869 in what was then Lemberg, in what was then the province of Galicia, in what was then the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and which at the time had a population of forty thousand Jews and growing. The languages of his home were Yiddish and Hebrew (the languages of his city were also German and Polish) and the languages of his future walks of life were Croatian, Bulgarian, Judeo-Hispanic and Swedish, and he learnt to master them all. He had a genius for language, one could say, which is of some relevance in the context of this article.

More importantly perhaps, the small circle in which Ehrenpreis developed his early views of Judaism and the world were made up by young men (no women in sight) with a similar background; strong emotional and religious ties to traditional Judaism on the one hand, and an equally strong urge to have Judaism make its voice heard in the world of German *Bildung* on the other. In the early 1880s, together with his close friends and fellow rabbinical students, Ossian Thon and Markus Braude, Ehrenpreis joined a newly founded organization, Mikreh Kodesh, offering a curriculum of both Jewish and non-Jewish learning, in both Hebrew

and German. Or as Ehrenpreis later wrote: 'We studied the Hebrew language according to modern methods and the Bible in an exegetic and historical light, which had never occurred in the conservative study houses'.<sup>2</sup>

Although this certainly was a generation with strong enlightening ambitions for Judaism, it was also a generation to which the shortcomings and failures of the earlier Jewish enlightenment, the Haskala, had become apparent. Not only had it largely failed to communicate the lasting values and virtues of Judaism to modern Christians, but it had failed to do so to modernizing Jews as well. It had bent over backwards to make Judaism more understood and appreciated by fellow Germans and Poles, but it had done so by diminishing its Hebrew soul and thereby obscuring its universal spirit. These were men who firmly believed that Judaism, properly expressed on its own terms and in its own language, Hebrew, could have an important role to play in an emerging Europe of spiritual confusion, nationalist awakening and cultural creativity. They wished to revitalize Judaism by affirming its own religious and cultural tenets and not by accommodating it to the tenets of European *Bildung*. They wished for a Judaism that would be able to change Europe as much as it would be changed by it.

## The Young Hebraists

They were not the only ones thinking about the future of Judaism, of course. This was a time when the Jews of Europe were continuously supplied with new and often ominous reasons to contemplate their existence. And many of them famously did. Suffice to name a few of those with whom Ehrenpreis came into early and close contact. In addition to Theodor Herzl, notably Ahad Ha'am, the founder of what was to be called cultural Zionism, in distinction to political Zionism, the idea of Palestine as a centre for a Jewish spiritual and cultural renaissance rather than a territorial refuge. Also Martin Buber, some ten years younger, with whom Ehrenpreis came to share many of his ideas regarding the nature of such a renaissance. Also the names of those yet unknown poets and novelists who were making Hebrew their chosen language of literary expression and exploration, and at the end of the day the language of the radical Jewish cultural and spiritual renaissance, which they were all groping for. Here we come across the names of Josef Berdyczewski, Shaul Tchernichowsky and Chaim Nahman Bialik, all sharing more or less the same background, all straddling the same dissolving walls between yeshiva and university, shtetl and cosmopolis, all hoping to construct a two-way passage between the two. They were to be known as the movement of Young Hebraists and young Marcus Ehrenpreis was to be in its forefront. At the age of twenty

he was already a prolific and widely publicized writer in four languages, although no one could yet imagine that Swedish, and not Hebrew, would become his language of prophecy and preaching, if you so wish. In any case, it was the language in which he would come to express his views of the world and his visions of Judaism, and in which he would become a renowned literary and cultural personality in his own right.

Although such a move, literally and figuratively, would have been hard to predict under any circumstances, it would have appeared as almost indefensible, a kind of treason in fact, to those Young Hebraists who were convinced that making Hebrew the language of Jewish expression was the key to Jewish self-understanding, and the central means by which to bring Judaism into a mutual and fruitful relationship with modernity. Explicitly inspired by Nietzschean concepts of individual power, they imbued their Hebrew crusade, if the expression may be allowed, with the task of remaking Judaism in the image of its poets and writers, or as Ehrenpreis himself wrote in the manifesto of the Young Hebraists: 'We know nothing of a dogmatic Judaism which, like an historical abstraction, stonily stares into the present out of the pages of lifeless folios. We know only living Jewish individuals, who create values and destroy values'.<sup>3</sup>

I would like to think of 1897 as the 1968 of Marcus Ehrenpreis and the circle of young men to which he belonged, a year marked by events and expectations that would have a lasting formative effect on all of them. This was the year when the Young Hebraists took their cause to the Jewish public, penning polemical articles and manifests, declaring that '[t]he historical hour for Israel's spiritual renewal by spiritual means had arrived'.<sup>4</sup> This was of course also the year of the first Zionist Congress, in which they had invested so many dreams. Or as Ehrenpreis would later reminisce in an article commemorating his close friend and comrade in arms (Micha Josef) Berdyczewski:

The summer of 1897 was our finest and most stirring time together. ... Our young hands had firmly opened a new page in the age-old book of Hebrew literature. Our youthful arrogance had declared: here and now a new era is beginning. ... [O]ur revolt had been incited by the splitting of life into a Jewish side and a universal one ... we wanted the synthesis, universal Jewish man.<sup>5</sup>

## An Evolving Credo

What remained, I believe, after their youthful arrogance had mellowed and their hopes for a cultural and spiritual Zionism had been quelled by

the territorial politics of nation-building, was the vision of a new synthesis between Judaism and the world. If only Judaism could achieve the means to communicate its spiritual ideals and values to the emerging European world of *Bildung* and thereby become a part of it, a new era would indeed be at hand. 'The downtrodden soul of mankind rose within these latter-day children of the ghetto and yearned for liberation', Ehrenpreis wrote in that all-important summer of 1897.<sup>6</sup>

Seventeen years later he would still remain a latter-day child of the ghetto and he would still yearn for a liberation of sorts, and he would still believe in the power of language and literature to bring about a new synthesis between Judaism and the world.

What would not remain, however, was the chosen language of his youthful arrogance. The chosen language of Marcus Ehrenpreis was henceforth to be Swedish, not Hebrew. His many books, essays, articles and sermons were primarily to be aimed at a Swedish audience, Jews and non-Jews alike, and only in translation would the bulk of his literary production be available to the world at large.

One might have assumed that this was a choice of necessity; the Chief Rabbi of Stockholm must first of all make himself understood in Stockholm with surroundings, but in the case of Marcus Ehrenpreis necessity quickly became embedded in a credo of sorts, an expressed belief in the transformative power of any language, even Swedish, to bridge the gap between modernizing Jews and Judaism – and between Judaism and the modernizing world.

In any case, with the arrival of Ehrenpreis in Stockholm, the scene was set for a rather unique experiment in European Jewish revival. Was it possible to transform a largely dormant and rapidly assimilating Jewish community in the periphery of Europe into a self-confident force for cultural and spiritual exchange? Could the Jews of Sweden be brought to embrace the richness and relevance of their own heritage, and could the non-Jews be brought to understand that a spiritually revitalized Judaism had something to contribute to them as well? In many ways, this was what Moses Mendelssohn had hoped to achieve when he set out to bring the culture of enlightenment to the Jews of Germany, while at the same time bringing the ideas and values of Judaism to a German culture still impregnated with anti-Jewish tropes and traditions.<sup>7</sup>

However, being a philosopher of that same enlightenment, firmly believing in the power of reason to change minds, the task Mendelssohn set for himself was to demonstrate that Judaism was as reasoned and rational a religion as ever Christianity, in certain aspects perhaps even more so, but in any case fully compatible with an enlightened society. Judaism was not an obscure and obsolete religion superseded by Christianity, but

a living tradition with its own distinctive role to play in the moral universe of humankind. The enlightened society of Moses Mendelssohn was a society in which religious pluralism would be the natural corollary to the inherent right of the individual to freely examine and express his or her own beliefs and judgements.<sup>8</sup>

Mendelssohn as a philosopher was convinced that the reasoned argument would carry the day; he aimed at the mind rather than the heart, but as we know he would soon be bogged down by the most unreasonable and heartless recriminations for disavowing his own reasoned beliefs and judgements.

At the time of Ehrenpreis and the Young Hebraists, the heartlessness of the arguments had only increased, and with the emergence of 'modern' anti-Semitism reason had gone even further out the window, and it had become all but clear that the road of enlightenment was becoming a trap, or a cul-de-sac, at least for those who wished to see a revitalized and relevant Judaism emerge from it, and not a humiliated, depleted and despised remnant. Not to mention, God forbid, a Judaism with no remnants at all.

This was, then, a time for Jewish self-reflection and reevaluation, opening up a wholly new landscape of Jewish hopes and anxieties, giving rise to a new set of Jewish movements and ideologies, most of them in reaction to circumstances where the tenets of nation and history, language and culture, roots and race, *blut und boden*, were replacing the tenets of enlightened reason and individual citizenship as the markers of identity and belonging.

## A Romantic Turn

This is the background against which I believe we must understand the position of Ehrenpreis at the time of his arrival to Sweden. Where Moses Mendelssohn had hoped to reach the reasoned minds of his contemporaries, Ehrenpreis and his generation were left with groping for their hearts. The languages of religion, literature and poetry were to be as important means of communication as the languages of politics and philosophy, bringing about an era of spiritual enlightenment during which the values and ideals of Judaism would again be brought to resonate with the world.

One could perhaps describe this as a romantic turn of the Mendelssohn project, forgoing the rationality of Judaism for its spirituality, its adaptability for its authenticity. In the case of Ehrenpreis it can also be described as a messianic turn, linking the spiritual renaissance of Israel to a coming era of universal peace, tolerance and understanding.

This was the time of a spiritual reawakening within Judaism, a new Exodus, a new dawn, of Israel rediscovering the path to its own sources.<sup>9</sup> He would henceforth devote most of his writings to the exploration and promulgation of the Hebrew legacy, its prophets and sages, its literature and poetry, wishing to demonstrate that the distinct particularities of Judaism were part and parcel of its universal significance.

The fact that Ehrenpreis chose to do so in a language completely new to him, of very limited universal significance, with no expectations of being read and understood by more than a minute fraction of the Jews of Europe, not to speak of its non-Jews, must at first have been seen as an abandonment of sorts, a radical retreat from the lofty barricades of the Young Hebraists and the Cultural Zionists, an all too pragmatic accommodation of ideals to circumstances. How could it be that a man who had considered the revival of Hebrew the *sine qua non* for the revival of Judaism would suddenly substitute Hebrew for Swedish?

Whatever the pragmatic reason for such a move, Ehrenpreis would soon make it a matter of principle, in fact making it central to his vision for a Jewish renaissance. Although a self-declared Cultural Zionist in the vein of Ahad Ha'am, wishing for the establishment of a Jewish spiritual centre in Palestine, he was convinced that Judaism must flourish in a dynamic exchange with the world. A recurrent theme in his writings would be the 'happy' meetings between 'Israel and the peoples'; meetings in which Judaism had come in contact with the world and the world in contact with Judaism.<sup>10</sup>

A recurrent feature of these meetings, Ehrenpreis emphasized, had been the metamorphose of host languages into Jewish vernaculars, creating hebraicized forms of Aramaic, Greek, Arabic, Spanish and German, making for the evolution of wholly new Jewish languages. These languages were certainly formed and characterized by their majority languages, but as they increasingly became means for the literary expression of Jewish thoughts and experiences, they also came to leave 'a mark of the Jewish cultural spirit' on those languages themselves.<sup>11</sup> Moreover, Ehrenpreis argued, this synthesis between the spirit and language of Judaism and the spirit and language of the foreign cultures in which the Jews resided must remain at the very foundation of Jewish life in Diaspora. He would alternatively term this dynamic relationship 'cultural dualism' or 'synthetic assimilation', by which he meant a mode of coexistence in which a people retained faithfulness to its roots and cultivated its own spiritual and cultural values, while remaining open to what was sound, good and noble in the host culture, assimilating it into its own spirituality.<sup>12</sup>

According to Ehrenpreis, the exemplary Jewish thinker and leader in this regard was Philo of Alexandria, whom he credited for initiating the

very process of cultural dualism by expressing his Jewish philosophical system in Greek, thereby bringing the spirit of Judaism to the Hellenic world as a whole, Greek and Jews alike (the high point being the Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible, the Septuagint). In this way, according to Ehrenpreis, Judaism managed to serve as a 'spiritual corrective to disintegrative cultural assimilation' in the Hellenistic world.<sup>13</sup> Multilingualism was not a hindrance to the spiritual development of Judaism, but rather a condition for it. A Jewish literature written in Diaspora languages was the chief means of restoring a sense of pride and dignity among the Jews of the Diaspora while enabling them to engage in a fruitful dialogue with their non-Jewish cultural environment. From this perspective there was no difference between Alexandria and Stockholm. Ehrenpreis' radical immersion, at the age of forty-five, in the language and literature of yet another foreign culture might then best be understood as a manifest expression of his determination to make Sweden an example of Philo's synthetic assimilation.

## The Philo of Stockholm

Marcus Ehrenpreis was a linguistic genius, no doubt, and as he had already mastered Croatian and Bulgarian and Judeo-Hispanic along the road, he would soon make Swedish his language of preaching, teaching and writing, within a few years producing what was possibly the first translation of modern Hebrew poetry into any European language.<sup>14</sup> From now on a steady stream of Jewish topics expressed by Jewish writers and thinkers would be introduced into of the realm of the Swedish language. Ehrenpreis himself soon became a prominent cultural figure on the Swedish cultural scene, producing a series of widely acclaimed books, founding a high-quality Jewish magazine, *Judisk Tidskrift*, publishing a wide array of essays and commentaries on Jewish matters, translating and interpreting old and new Jewish texts, contributing to a surge in Swedish-Jewish cultural and educational activities, and inspiring leading Swedish cultural personalities to take an interest in Jewish ideas and values.

In a speech in Tel Aviv in 1935, celebrating the tenth anniversary of Hebrew University, Ehrenpreis felt obliged to defend his turn to Swedish, proudly informing his audience of mostly ardent Hebraists that 'everyone in Sweden could now familiarize themselves with the essence and spiritual values of Judaism'.<sup>15</sup>

So what were the 'spiritual values of Judaism', according to the Swedish 'gospel' of Rabbi Marcus Ehrenpreis? And what was their significance at a time when the whole of humanity, as Ehrenpreis perceived it,



was facing a spiritual crisis of biblical dimensions? Only a few months after the rise of Nazi-Germany, in a Passover sermon in the Great Synagogue of Stockholm in April 1933, later published in a pamphlet with the title *Malakis rop till tiden* (Malachi's Cry to the Ages), he evokes the perspective of a second Exodus:

A comparison between the memory of Egypt and the events of today ... proves that despite several thousand years of civilization, we have failed to gain any appreciable ground in terms of our humanity. We have not become better, nobler, more humane. All cultural progress, all the victories of technology and the gains of science have but scratched the surface of life. They have not been capable of turning hearts of stone into hearts of flesh ... The spiritual authorities stand helplessly before unbridled bestiality ... In the end, we stand in the same place: that which happened fifteen hundred years before our common era in Egypt can also happen and is happening before our very eyes in the year 1933, in almost the same form, with the same purpose, for the same reason.<sup>16</sup>

Making the values of Judaism better known to the world would be a way of countering those pharaonic or teutonic values that were now about to destroy not only Judaism but the Christian civilization with it. 'For centuries we have lived among the nations and with the nations, but the world does not know us', he laments in 1934, implying that if the nations only would know, things might turn out differently.<sup>17</sup>

Not surprisingly then, what Ehrenpreis, with increasing urgency, wants the nations to know, and what at least the Swedish people must be given a chance know, is the continued relevance of Jewish texts, tenets and traditions to the universal ideas of peace, justice and brotherhood. So here, then, in unforgivable brevity, the Judaism of Rabbi Marcus Ehrenpreis as it emerges from his Swedish writings:

- *Judaism is a non-national spiritual force for universal peace, brotherhood and justice.*

Ehrenpreis writes: 'The Jews are the only people to have survived by the power of the spirit alone, showing that a people can secure its existence and preserve its characteristics without weapons, with moral means only'. Ehrenpreis is quite aware of the inherent and recurrent dangers of such an existence, but insists nevertheless that herein lies 'Judaism's whole sense of being'.<sup>18</sup>

Ehrenpreis' strand of cultural Zionism thus evolves into a Diasporic mission, a striving for the revival of the Jewish spirit and the renaissance of the Jewish people among the gentiles, paving the way for 'a messianic humanity' and the pursuit of 'the true Zion'. To the activists of political

Zionism, the former secretary of Theodor Herzl turns out to be a disappointment. As late as 1945, with the smoke still rising from the ashes of European Jewry, he maintains that the survival of Judaism will depend not on the Jews becoming a nation like all the others, but on remaining a nation apart: 'We are not a nation because we have a common enemy, we have enemies because we are not a nation like all the others'.<sup>19</sup>

- *The values of Judaism are based on a messianic faith in the betterment of Humankind, in the betterment of the World, in the imperative of Justice.*

As the horizon darkens, the messianic element in Ehrenpreis' vision will be increasingly difficult to express and sustain. How to assign messianic meaning and purpose to the imminent prospect of the bearers of Judaism being annihilated? As the disaster approaches, the writings of Ehrenpreis on this topic will border on the apocalyptic, giving voice to a sort of moral Darwinism, as in an essay from 1939 in which Ehrenpreis introduces the term 'cataclysms': recurrent points in history at which the human order is turned upside down and destroyed.<sup>20</sup> The horrible human suffering and destruction wrought by such a cataclysm, Ehrenpreis maintains, may at the same time be seen as the birth pangs of the Messiah, *הבלי משיח*, an act of destructive creation in which a 'rotten world' is replaced by a new one. At each such cataclysm, he writes, 'we meet a few chosen individuals or groups, pure, pious and righteous human beings, having survived the destruction of *their* world in order to build a new one'.<sup>21</sup>

To the very last, Ehrenpreis wants to save his Swedish congregation from losing faith in the messianic meaning of history, which to him remains the spiritual core of Judaism. This is what he has to say in his first Yom Kippur sermon after the war, on 17 September 1945:

If there has been a meaning to the unspeakable sufferings and to the extermination of millions of people and larger part of the Jews on our continent, then it is only this: that we, the survivors, the spared ones, shall be chastened, that we shall reduce our demand for affluence and imagined needs, that we shall become freer in our thoughts purer in our hearts. Then the sufferings shall not have been in vain ... The people of Israel must learn to find its place in the world right now, we must be determined to fill that task which has befallen on us, to reignite the spiritual light that has gone out, to infuse again the souls of the young with the power of the spirit. Thereby will the words of the prophet come true: "Not by might, and not by power, but by my Spirit", says the Lord of Hosts (Zech. 4:6).<sup>22</sup>

All this reflecting the perhaps most deeply held conviction of Ehrenpreis, succinctly formulated in an article in 1939, on 'the substance of Judaism':

‘One cannot create a culture of one’s misfortune; one cannot make a religion of one’s disappointment’.<sup>23</sup>

The values of the Judaism of Marcus Ehrenpreis are the values of a Diasporic Judaism, able to fulfil its messianic task only in a cultural and spiritual exchange with the peoples of the world. As Stephen Fruitman perceptively has noted, there is an increasingly post-Zionist ring to the cultural Zionism of Marcus Ehrenpreis.<sup>24</sup> To the spiritual homelessness of the Jews, the territorial cultivation of Palestine will not suffice as a solution. What is needed is the cultivation of a spiritual heritage, ‘which is home to all of us’.<sup>25</sup> And also: ‘What lends Jewry its unique character in world history lies in the very fact that it is neither a nation in the political sense, like the French or English, nor a church like Catholicism or Protestantism. It is rather a synthesis of both, a religious nation or a national religion – a spiritual fellowship with a religious attitude toward life’.<sup>26</sup>

## An Unrequited Love

So what became of this remarkable explosion of spiritual creativity and learning in the periphery of Europe? Sad to say very little. I say sad for many reasons. Perhaps, first and foremost, because there are still some things to be said for the Jewish vision of Marcus Ehrenpreis, particularly at a time when the values of Judaism are being hijacked by a Jewish nation-state in the service of messianic nationalism, turning Judaism into the opposite of what Ehrenpreis devoted his life to. Or as he formulated it in his article from 1939, harking back to the prophet Samuel: ‘The tension between prophets and kings is in essence nothing less than Judaism’s self-assertion as a spiritual force as opposed to a kingdom, which reduces Judaism to a political and militarized state’.<sup>27</sup>

Sadness too, of course, over the futility of the project as a whole, the dream of initiating a new era of cultural dualism in Europe, with Sweden as a testing ground.

There is a remarkable affection and tenderness in Ehrenpreis’ embrace of the Swedish culture and language and there is no doubt that he played his part in this intended Jewish-Swedish cultural love affair with agility and grace. But it is hard to see that it left any traces behind in the Swedish culture, certainly not enough to bridge the widening gap between Europe and its Jews.

In my hands I have a copy of a book containing the five lectures on Talmud and Phariseism that Ehrenpreis addressed to a Swedish audience in 1933, concluding with the following lines:

Our common enemy is the godlessness, the spirit of materialism, the mentality of barbarism. Our common enemy is that racial madness, which erects walls between human beings and demolishes the unity of humankind. In these dire times we all have a common task: to defend the eternal values of human existence against the life-denying powers of a generation gone astray.<sup>28</sup>

I note with great interest that the book carries a handwritten dedication from Ehrenpreis to the well-known Swedish publicist Torgny Segerstedt, thanking him for his support and encouragement. It is a beautiful little book, and still very much worth reading, but I note again with some sadness that its pages have never been cut open.

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## Notes

1. The Treaty of Bucharest, signed in the summer of 1913 between the Balkan states, gave ample cause for worry about the rights and safety of religious minorities, most notably in Romania with its population of 300,000 Jews. In August 1913, with the support of King Ferdinand and the Bulgarian government, Ehrenpreis went out on a wide-ranging and high-level diplomatic mission to bring the issue of minority rights to the attention of European political and religious leaders: 'My first task was to bring to the full attention of public opinion in Europe, the minority question in all its ramifications. Not as a Jewish issue in particular, neither as a political issue only, but as a question for humanity as a whole' (M. Ehrenpreis, 'Clemenceau såsom religionsfrihetens försvarare', *Judisk Tidskrift*, no. 8, 1929, 254–255). All translations from Swedish and German are by the author.
2. M. Ehrenpreis, 'Där eviga ljusen släcktes', *Judisk Tidskrift*, no. 1, 1944, 1.
3. M. Ehrenpreis, 'Den hebreiska litteraturen', in *Judarna*, ed. M. Ehrenpreis and A. Jensen, Stockholm, 1920, 199.
4. M. Ehrenpreis, 'Den historiska sommaren 1897', *Judisk Tidskrift*, no. 5, 1932, 133.
5. M. Ehrenpreis, 'Samtal med Berdyczewski', *Judisk Tidskrift*, no. 8, 1931, 300.
6. M. Ehrenpreis, 'Die junghebräische Litteratur', *Die Welt*, 16 July 1897.
7. By translating the Hebrew Bible into German (with Hebrew letters), Mendelssohn hoped to 'render a service to my children and perhaps to a considerable part of my nation ... This is the first step towards culture, from which my nation, alas, is being kept in such a great distance'. From a letter

- to August Hennings, 29 June 1779, quoted in *Biblical Interpretation in Judaism and Christianity*, ed. I. Kalimi and P.J. Haas, Bloomsbury, 2006, 193.
8. '[N]either church nor state has a right to subject men's principles and convictions to any coercion whatsoever'. M. Mendelsohn, *Jerusalem, or On Religious Power and Judaism*, trans. A. Arkush, Massachusetts 1983, 70.
  9. Cf. M. Ehrenpreis, 'Yttre och inre frihet', *Judisk Tidskrift*, no. 2, 1928, 45–48.
  10. In his book *Israels möten med folken* (Israel's Meetings with the Nations'), Stockholm 1934, Ehrenpreis explores five such 'meetings' – Babylon, Hellas, Christianity, Islam and the West.
  11. M. Ehrenpreis, 'Hur jag blev svensk författare', *Judisk Tidskrift*, no. 7, 1935, 203.
  12. Ehrenpreis, *Israels möten med folken*, 57.
  13. *Ibid.*, 66.
  14. *Nyhebreisk lyrik 1870–1920*, eds. M. Ehrenpreis and R. Josephson, Stockholm, 1920.
  15. Ehrenpreis, 'Hur jag blev svensk författare', 210–211.
  16. M. Ehrenpreis, *Malakis rop till tiden: Tal om gammal och ny trälldom*, Stockholm 1933, 9–10.
  17. Ehrenpreis, *Israels möten med folken*, 198.
  18. M. Ehrenpreis, 'Fredstanken i judendomen', *Judisk Tidskrift*, no. 1, 1928, 5.
  19. M. Ehrenpreis, 'Palestina och diaspora', *Judisk Tidskrift*, no. 6, 1945, 168.
  20. Cf. M. Ehrenpreis, *Frågetecknet Israel*, Stockholm 1948, 45.
  21. *Ibid.*
  22. *Ibid.*, 307.
  23. M. Ehrenpreis, 'Judisk substans', *Judisk Tidskrift*, no. 12, 1939, 373.
  24. S. Fruitman, *Creating a New Heart: Marcus Ehrenpreis on Jewry and Judaism*, Umeå 2001, 181.
  25. Ehrenpreis, 'Palestina och diaspora', 171.
  26. M. Ehrenpreis, 'Sekulariserad historieuppfattning', *Judisk Tidskrift*, no. 1, 1945, 2.
  27. *Ibid.*, 3.
  28. M. Ehrenpreis, *Talmud, fariseism, urkristendom: Fem föredrag*, Stockholm 1933, 151.