

## Kalman Schulman's Josephus and the Counter-History of the Haskalah

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The first time I heard of Kalman Schulman was at a meeting with Professor Menachem Stern in the corridors of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem when I was a young student. He had heard that I was interested in the Jewish Enlightenment (Haskalah), and mentioned that someone ought to do some research on Schulman, who had played a major role in his life. He told me that he had acquired his love of history in general and of ancient history in particular through Schulman's books, which had occupied a place of honour in the library of his Lithuanian father in Bialystok. He first encountered Josephus, he said, when, as a boy, he read his books again and again in Schulman's dramatic, moving translation.

Stern was not the only one; quite a few Jewish scholars and intellectuals from Eastern Europe were inspired by Schulman's translations as they began constructing their national and Zionist ideology in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, and they learned about the history of the Second Temple through them. Ahad Ha'am and Simon Dubnow, for example, thanked Schulman enthusiastically for fostering their interest in studying the history of the Jewish nation. 'The translation of the *Jewish War* that I bought and devoured when I was only twelve', wrote Joseph Klausner, historian, literary scholar, and one of the founders of the Hebrew University, 'was the first work that caused me to love and become addicted to the Second Temple period'.<sup>1</sup>

Kalman Schulman's translations of Josephus from the 1860s were indeed an enormously important and meaningful event in the history of Jewish culture. Judging them from the perspective of the inspiration they provided for scholars and historians from Eastern Europe we may also consider them milestones in Jewish Studies. For generations, Josephus's works had been absent from the Jewish library and the collective memory drew mainly upon talmudic sources and *Sefer Yosippon*, a Hebrew work from the tenth century, which was mistakenly attributed to Josephus. Interest in Josephus grew as

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<sup>1</sup> Joseph Klausner, *History of Modern Hebrew Literature*, vol. 3 (Hebrew; Jerusalem, 1953), 371–72, 379–80, 384 (384).

historical research developed since the early nineteenth century, and founders of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* like Jost and Graetz already used it in their historiographic reconstruction of the ancient period in Jewish history. Hebrew readers, however, only became acquainted with the *Jewish War* and Josephus's other works at a relatively later time, and the first one to place it on the shelf in a Hebrew translation (from the German) was Kalman Schulman (1819–1899) of Vilna, an important Jewish agent of culture in his time, but later almost totally forgotten and neglected.<sup>2</sup>

## 1 Schulman's Translation Project

Kalman Schulman was born to a hasidic father in White Russia, studied at the famous yeshiva in Volozhin, and joined a group of maskilim in Vilna when that city was becoming a most dynamic centre of the Haskalah movement in Eastern Europe.<sup>3</sup> He was no doubt one of the most successful, prolific, and hard-working agents of the Haskalah project. Since the eighteenth century, the maskilim had been committed to the task of establishing modern Jewish culture by building a new library that would complement and even present an alternative to the traditional library. This enormous cultural project, aiming to regenerate and re-educate the entire Jewish society, also provided new bookshelves that held books of science, philosophy, geography, history, poetry, and, since the mid-nineteenth century, also Hebrew novels.<sup>4</sup> From his modest apartment on Stefan Lane in Vilna, the autodidactic scholar Kalman Schulman initiated a remarkable, vast project: to make available the entire corpus of the Jewish historian Josephus to readers of Hebrew.

2 See: Shmuel Feiner, *Haskalah and History: The Emergence of a Modern Jewish Historical Consciousness*, trans. Chaya Naor and Sondra Silverston (Oxford, 2002), 247–73. Just to balance the picture a bit, perhaps I should note that the leaders of Tel Aviv in the 1950s did see fit to commemorate his name in a small street, Kalman Schulman Street, which one can find today branching off Haskalah Boulevard, squeezed between two streets named after the most well-known moderate maskilim who were his contemporaries and friends: Abraham Baer Gottlober and Eliezer Zweifel. They too were extraordinary agents of culture in their times, and a great deal still needs to be done to acknowledge their contribution to the development of modern Jewish culture.

3 Klausner, *History*, 3: 361–88 (361–62 for references to some older biographies).

4 Among the new studies on the nineteenth-century Haskalah see: *Religion and Life: The Jewish Enlightenment in Eastern Europe*, ed. Immanuel Etkes (Hebrew; Jerusalem, 1993); Mordechai Zalkin, *A New Dawn: The Jewish Enlightenment in the Russian Empire – Social Aspects* (Hebrew; Jerusalem, 2000); Shmuel Feiner, *The Jewish Enlightenment in the 19th Century* (Hebrew; Jerusalem, 2010).

In 1861 Schulman published an open letter for the purpose of signing up advance subscribers, finding sources to finance the printing expenses and to provide some profit for the translator. It was probably written already in 1859, but now it was printed by his close friend Samuel Joseph Fuenn in his new Hebrew periodical *Ha-Karmel*. Fuenn did not just provide space in his first volume for him, but also helped him financially and advised him how to proceed in this project, to raise the money, and to organize a network of agents and distributors.<sup>5</sup> We may therefore consider the Josephus translation a collective project initiated and supported by the maskilim of Vilna. The open letter explained that it was inconceivable that the masterpiece of ‘the noblest of all the writers of antiquities in their generations and the finest of all authors of ancient history’, which had already been translated ‘into all the languages on the earth’, had never appeared in Hebrew.<sup>6</sup> Schulman presented himself as completely committed to the great mission, almost as a martyr sacrificing himself on the altar of the reviving Hebrew culture: ‘after having dedicated my time and my pen to our holy language, and having risked my life to rebuild its destroyed altar, and having offered up the best years of my youth, I have zealously preserved the honour of our holy language and the honour of the books composed by the anointed priest (*ha-kohen ha-mashuah*), and I have started the great and weighty task of translating these wonderful books into clear and dynamic Hebrew (*li-sfat ‘ivrit tzeḥah ve-nimretzah*).’<sup>7</sup>

When these words were written, Schulman had already achieved the height of his success in the ever-expanding Hebrew book market. He had completed the translation of the four parts of the turbulent adventure novel *Mysteries of Paris* by Eugène Sue, which immediately became a bestseller. Two thousand copies were sold and were passed on from hand to hand. It competed for success, to Abraham Mapu’s dissatisfaction, with the latter’s *Ahavat Zion*, the first original Hebrew novel. But Schulman took to heart the criticism of his fellow maskilim ‘grumbling under their breath about my translation of *Mysteries of Paris*, saying: “see how this Hebrew person (*ish ‘ivri*) has brought gentile children to our Hebrew sons (*yalde nekhar el bene ‘ever*)”’. For his critics this popular novel of crime, romance, and adventures was undermining the true mission of the Haskalah. Schulman wanted to believe that the translation of Josephus’s works would correct the impression that he was disseminating inferior foreign literature, and would increase his status in his critics’ eyes, since he would be

5 On Fuenn as an editor and publisher see: S. J. Fuenn, *from Militant to Conservative Maskil*, ed. Shmuel Feiner (Hebrew; Jerusalem, 1993), 26–41.

6 Kalman Schulman, ‘Qol qore’, *Ha-Karmel* 1 (1860/61): 252.

7 Ibid.

restoring the works of an ancient Jewish writer to the Jewish library.<sup>8</sup> 'I should honestly say', Schulman declared proudly, 'that no one before me did such a great thing in the field of Hebrew literature'.<sup>9</sup>

It was a well-planned project. The first translation to come out was *Toledot Yosef* ('The Life of Joseph'), followed by a biographical article in *Ha-Karmel*.<sup>10</sup> Then in 1861, Schulman published his open letter announcing the translation project in an effort to find agents to distribute the book, and mainly to interest advance subscribers. Since the eighteenth century, this method had been widely adopted among maskilim in order to finance their works.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, the project also faced problems and obstacles. The greatest surprise came when one of the major figures among the maskilim of the nineteenth century, the poet Judah Leib Gordon, told Schulman that a parallel project of translating Josephus was already underway. Particularly worrying was the information that another maskil, Ze'ev Kaplan, had already begun translating *Toledot Yosef*. What am I to do, Schulman asked Gordon, 'I am greatly disturbed for standing as an obstacle in his way.' But he went on: I cannot put aside my translation for it is almost ready. If I had known this two weeks earlier, I would have been prepared to wait until he published and sold the entire edition, but now it is too late. Schulman asked Gordon to apologize to Kaplan and to tell him he need not worry about the two translations that would be on the Jewish book market at the same time. He believed that the readers were so eager for Josephus's books that they would buy both translations. But then he added something even more interesting. He pointed out that there was a great difference between the two translations, for while Kaplan had been selective in his translation, 'I have translated from beginning to the end', and 'while he is only translating, I will publish a scholarly book most of which will consist of notes and annotations'.<sup>12</sup> In the end, Kaplan's translation was never published, and the Josephus project came to be identified entirely with Schulman.

8 'May they respond that this translator removed the foreign garments (*bigde nekhar*) from the children of the Hebrews and dressed them in coloured robes of linen from Jerusalem (*va-yalbishem mahalatztot hatuvot atun Yerushalayim*).<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

9 Ibid.

10 Kalman Schulman, *Toledot Yosef* (Vilna, 1859); Kalman Schulman, 'Toledot Yosef ben Mattityah ha-kohen ha-mashuah ha-mekhuneh Flavius Josephus', *Ha-Karmel* 1 (1860/61): 79–80, 87, 95–96.

11 See: Stefan Litt, 'Lists of Subscribers as a Key for the Study of the Haskalah Readers', in *The Library of the Haskalah: The Creation of a Modern Republic of Letters in Jewish Society in the German-Speaking Sphere*, ed. Shmuel Feiner et al. (Hebrew; Tel Aviv, 2014), 273–91.

12 Kalman Schulman, 'Tzeror iggerot shel Kalman Schulman el Yehudah Leib Gordon (YaLaG)', *Me'assef* 1 (1960): 536–53 (539).

## 2 Schulman's Counter-History

Schulman's assumption that readers were eagerly awaiting the books proved to be correct. The two parts of *Milhamot ha-yehudim* ('Wars of the Jews'), together comprising close to 800 pages, were enthusiastically received when they came out in 1862. For decades, it was the only translation available in Hebrew. Schulman's translation was read like a dramatic historical novel that depicted the last years of independence in the Jewish homeland for the Hebrew reader in rich detail and followed the political events that culminated in the battles between the rebels and the Romans and, eventually, in the destruction of the Temple. Thus, for example, the readers could re-imagine with excitement the tragic moment in which, according to Josephus's story, the fate of the Temple was decided almost by chance through the action of a Roman soldier, in opposition to Titus's wish. This is how Schulman describes it in his translation:

Then one of the Romans implored his companion to lift him up, and without an order from a ruler or commander and without considering that he was committing a sin worth of the death penalty, he hurled a blazing torch through the golden window of the inner sanctuary where the priestly garments were kept; the flames reached the garments, burnt the entire interior and devoured all its surroundings. When the Jews saw the great fire and the flames that engulfed the Temple of the LORD, they sent up a loud and bitter cry that matched the immense and dreadful calamity, and seized by mortal fear, they rushed with lamentations, wailing and bitter weeping to the gushes of fire to extinguish them with their tears, since they preferred death to seeing their God's Temple consumed by the flames.<sup>13</sup>

13 Kalman Schulman, *Milhamot ha-yehudim 'im ha-roma'im* (Vilna, 1861–1862), vol. 2, 304: ואז חילה איש רומי את פני רעהו להרים אותו במרום, ומבלי פקודת שר ונגיד גם מבלי דעת את חטא משפט מות אשר הוא עושה, השליך לפיד אש בחלון הזהב אשר ללשכת הדביר מקום אשר בגדי הכהנים מונחים שם, ותאחז האש בבגדים, ותבער בבית פנימה, ותלחך את כל סביבותיה. והיהודים אשר ראו את האש הגדולה ואת השלהבת המתלקחת במקדש ה', צעקו צעקה גדולה ומרה, כאשר יאתה להצרה האיומה והנוראה ההיא, ובחרדת מות וקול יללה ובכי ונהי תמרורים קפצו אל נחלי האש לכבותם בדמיהם, כי יקר להם המות באש מלראות את בית מקדש אלהיהם מאכל באש. Cf. *BJ* 6.252–253 in Thackeray's translation: 'At this moment, one of the soldiers, awaiting no orders and with no horror of so dread a deed, but moved by some supernatural impulse, hoisted up by one of his comrades, flung the fiery missile through a low golden door, which gave access on the north side to the chambers surrounding the sanctuary. As the flame shot up, a cry, as poignant as

Schulman's Hebrew translation, via German, offers to its Hebrew readers an impressive account of this crucial historical moment in the life of their people.

For Schulman, however, the translation of the *Jewish War* was more than a literary achievement. It was part of a national endeavour to redeem what remained from the glorious era of Jewish history that had unfolded on the soil of the Land of Israel.<sup>14</sup> Beyond his literary ambition to make forgotten literature available to the Jews, it was for him a project to strengthen the national Jewish identity by reconnecting it to Jewish ancient history. That history had to be glorious and dramatic, capable of evoking national pride. The national movement of the Jews was not yet created, but the concern about the declining collective Jewish identity in Europe shaped the agenda of the maskilim and motivated their projects. This was true especially for moderate maskilim like Schulman, who strongly rejected assimilation.

From a social and cultural standpoint, Schulman's translation project was woven into the special texture of the culture and society of the Vilna community. Schulman was one of the major figures in the circle of maskilic writers and scholars. His close acquaintances included the poet Abraham Dov Levensohn (Adam ha-Kohen), his son Micah Joseph (Mikhal), and Samuel Joseph Fuenn.<sup>15</sup> Schulman earned his livelihood as a teacher, at a school that prepared students for the rabbinical academy that opened in Vilna in the 1840s as part of the Russian government's educational system.<sup>16</sup> Schulman and Fuenn represented the moderate Haskalah that was not eager to clash with the orthodox defenders of tradition. Schulman was also recognized in Vilna as the man 'who stood out among the other maskilim in the city for his devotion to religion'. People there used to say that he 'was a true orthodox in his spirit and behavior ... in his forelocks that grew below his ears, his long beard and his clothing, which was similar to that of a teacher (*melammed*) of that generation'.<sup>17</sup> His books may also have gained popularity because although he was identified with the circles of maskilim, he was not regarded as a threat to religious values, and his readership consisted not only of supporters of the Haskalah but also of yeshivah students. Like the other moderate maskilim in Vilna, he greatly

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the tragedy, arose from the Jews, who flocked to the rescue, lost to all thought of self-preservation, all husbanding of strength, now that the object of all their past vigilance was vanishing'

14 Leon Rosenthal, *History of the Society for the Promotion of Enlightenment among the Jews in Russia*, vol. 2 (Hebrew; St. Petersburg, 1890), 31.

15 See Zalkin, *A New Dawn*, 92–107.

16 See Michael Stanislawski, *Tsar Nicolas I and the Jews: The Transformation of Jewish Society in Russia, 1825–1855* (Philadelphia, 1983).

17 Eliezer Elishah Friedman, *Sefer ha-zikhronot* (Tel Aviv, 1926), 182.

admired the Gaon of Vilna, and the approbation he received for his *Milhamot ha-yehudim* from Rabbi Abraham Simhah of the Mastislav community granted him legitimacy and approved the translation project.<sup>18</sup> In the approbation, Schulman is depicted as a man who fulfils the Gaon's wish to see books of science translated into Hebrew, a wish, which, according to the Lithuanian tradition, was passed on from the Gaon to Baruch of Shklov and to his pupil Hayim of Volozhin and explicitly included a desire to see the writings of Josephus in Hebrew, as an aid to the study of the Talmud: 'For through it, we will arrive at an understanding of the intention of our Sages of blessed memory in the Talmud and the midrashim.'<sup>19</sup>

But behind the moderate Haskalah there was actually a hidden cultural trend which was transformative, even radical. Schulman's goal was to engender a revolution in the Jewish book world by expanding it into two spheres which until then had been neglected: geography and history. The publication of his history books in general (the nine volumes of his *Weltgeschichte* were extremely important<sup>20</sup>) and Josephus's works in particular dramatically opened the world to the Hebrew reader in Eastern Europe, and it is no wonder that they were enthusiastically received by keen and inquisitive young people. Although today we would consider Schulman an orthodox Jew, he actually contributed to the secularization of Jewish culture.

The historical circumstances in which Schulman lived, his involvement in the Russian system of Jewish education, and the ideology and agenda of the moderate Haskalah in the 1860s also determined his attitude towards Josephus. In his eyes, the author of the *Jewish War* was an exemplary figure: a descendant of high priests and Hasmonean kings, a dedicated national leader, a great military commander, an excellent, prolific historian, a Jew who had earned the esteem of the leaders of the Roman Empire. Although Josephus was one of the soldiers, it was in his power to prevent the calamity of the Destruction. He foresaw what would happen, took exception to the bloodthirsty Zealots, and 'if the people of Judah had listened to him, Titus would not have devoured Jacob and left waste his habitation'.<sup>21</sup> After his failure, Josephus became, in Schulman's eyes, the representative and founder of diaspora Judaism at its best:

18 Abraham Simhah ben Nahman, "Edut bihosef", in Schulman, *Milhamot ha-yehudim*, 2: v-vi.

19 Ibid., v.

20 Kalman Schulman, *Divre yeme 'olam*, 9 vols (Vilna, 1867-84).

21 Schulman, *Toledot Yosef*, v-vi (Introduction).

The Jew who is faithful to his God will not cease being a Jew, even after the temple of his God is destroyed, even after he wanders throughout the lands of the globe and distant isles. He will then carry the torches of the Temple in his heart, and from its ruins will build there a new temple, in the name of the Almighty, and that temple of his he will carry with him to all the places where the furious storms of the world will hurl him.<sup>22</sup>

Although the moderate maskilim developed a nationalist attitude, they did not consider leaving Europe. Jewish nationalism in the diaspora took the form of keeping Jewish religion and culture, which was the substitute for political sovereignty and territory. Schulman hastened to defend Josephus's defamed reputation and to clear him of the accusations of treason and desertion to the enemy camp.

Perhaps the most intimate lines that Schulman wrote to show his great admiration for Josephus can be found in the dedication 'To the Soul of the Author' that precedes his translation of the *Life* of Josephus:

Yosef ben Mattityahu: Hail! In your name and your memory though my heart and body fail! I compare you to Jeremiah son of Hilkiah, the prophet of truth and justice, for the story of your life and the story of his life are so much alike. Like him, you saw the poverty of your people as they wasted away in affliction; like him you rightly advised your brethren, the sons of your land, to heed the voice of their king whom the God of the world anointed as their sovereign, for God places kings on their throne and he bestows his glory and majesty upon them. Like him you loved the sons of your people boundlessly, and like him you were harassed by them for having sought their good and their happiness, and they regarded you as a traitor taken by their enemies and the destroyers of their land.<sup>23</sup>

Above all other motivations, Schulman's translation project should be understood also as a counter-history. He found it important to suggest a

22 Schulman, *Milhamot ha-yehudim*, 1: iii.

23 Schulman, *Toledot Yosef*; Dedication: לשמך יהוה, יוסף בן מתתיהו! הנה, אל נשמת המחבר. יוסף בן מתתיהו! הנה, לשמך יהוה, ולזכרך יכלה שארי ולבבי! אותך אשווה ואדמה לירמיהו בן חלקיהו נביא האמת והצדק, כי הליכות תולדות ימי חייד עם תולדות ימי חייו נשתוו. כמוהו ראית עני בת עמך בשבט עברתו, כמוהו יעצת צדק לאחיד בני ארצך לשמוע ולהקשיב בקול מלכם אשר המליך אל מלך עולם עליהם, כי אלהים מושיב מלכים לכסא, והוא נותן מהוד הדר מלכותו עליהם. כמוהו אהבת את בני עמך אהבה בלי מצרים, וכמוהו רדפוך המה בלי חשך על רודפך טובם ואשרם, ויתנוך לבוגד ונופל אל צורריהם ומחריבי ארצם. On Schulman's comparison of Josephus with Jeremiah, cf. also the chapters of Yotam Cohen and Tessa Rajak in this volume.



counter-narrative and to offer an alternative to the hostility towards Josephus that he found in German-Jewish historiography. While in his view the great historians Jost, Graetz, and others used the method of 'free criticism' (*biqoret ḥofshit*) in their research, he adhered to 'the way of faith' (*derekh emunah*).<sup>24</sup> Schulman wanted most of all "to save Josephus from the defamation (*ha-dibah ha-ra'ah*) he suffered from members of our people, the German scholars (*ḥakhme Ashkenaz*)".<sup>25</sup> I believe this is one of the most interesting insights in Schulman's project of translating Josephus. Here, two trends of the moderate Haskalah in Russia during the time of Czar Alexander II (1855–1881), then considered the most liberal ruler ever, converged. On the one hand, Schulman represented what may be called the second direction of Jewish Studies in the nineteenth century, which attempted to provide a more conservative alternative, one in the Hebrew language, to the research conducted by the representatives of the main direction in German.<sup>26</sup> In the 1870s, for example, Schulman began a project of translating Graetz in order to present his own version of Jewish history.<sup>27</sup> He interpreted the criticism of Josephus as an expression of the radical trend among Jewish historians in Germany, Graetz in particular. Paradoxically, he considered the criticism of Josephus to represent the assimilationist approach rather than the nationalistic one: the German Jewish historians were not proud enough of their national heroes. On the other hand, he understood his own approach, which defended Josephus against the accusation of treason and compared him to the prophet Jeremiah, as a nationalistic one: he took pride in this remarkable first-century historian and, rather than denouncing his memory, identified with him and upheld him as a model. In this way, Schulman promoted the self-identity of the Eastern European maskilim vis-à-vis the Jewish scholars in Germany.

### 3 A Useful Past

Schulman's extremely sympathetic attitude towards Josephus reflects also the ideology of the moderate Haskalah that advocated Russian patriotism,

24 Kalman Schulman, 'Mikhtav galui', *Ha-Tzefirah* 3 (1876): 262–63.

25 In the words of a letter by Schulman as reported by its recipient, the anonymous author of the announcement of *Toledot Yosef* in *Ha-Maggid*: 'Besorat sefarim', *Ha-Maggid* 3 (1859): 140 (7 September).

26 See: Shmuel Feiner, 'Nineteenth-Century Jewish Historiography – The Second Track', in *Reshaping the Past: Jewish History and the Historians* (= Studies in Contemporary Jewry 10), ed. Jonathan Frankel (New York, 1994), 17–44.

27 Feiner, *Haskalah and History*, 266–73.

complete loyalty to the government, and identification with the Russian empire and its Jewish policy. Schulman unreservedly accepted the pacifying position of his hero and rejected the claims of those that denounced him as a traitor. His negative view of the revolt against the Romans was clear, and he repeated it in his writings many times. In his eyes, the Zealots were responsible for the destruction of the Temple. The political revolt was totally devoid of any legitimacy. 'He who rebels against his king also rebels against God who has enthroned him,' Schulman firmly declared, 'and he who rises up against the king shall be regarded as one who lifts a hand against the throne of God.'<sup>28</sup> The tragedy of the revolt against the Romans in the first century as well as the Bar Kochba revolt, Schulman believed, obliged the Jews to realize that they ought to remain loyal to the ruling government.

Like his fellow maskilim in Russia, in the 1860s Schulman had high expectations from Alexander II. In the very same years in which his translation of the Jewish War was published, Gordon printed in *Ha-Karmel* the most important, well-known manifesto poem of the Haskalah: *Haqitzah 'ami* (Awake, my People), which contained a call for Jewish Russian loyalty and solidarity in an era of growing hope of emancipation. 'The land of Eden is now open to you,' Gordon wrote about Russia, 'Its sons now call you brothers/How long will you dwell among them as a guest/Why do you reject their hand?' And in the most famous words in the poem, he also suggested how to become a Russian citizen: 'To the treasury of the state bring your wealth/Bear your share of its riches and bounty/Be a man in the streets and a Jew at home/A brother to your countryman and a servant to your king.'<sup>29</sup> Schulman, we need to remember, began translating the *Jewish War* while under the influence of the royal visit of the Czar to Vilna, on 1 October 1860, when the Jewish community went out of its way to express its unqualified loyalty.<sup>30</sup> He himself published nine years later a book describing the wonders of St. Petersburg.<sup>31</sup> It seems this patriotism was projected on to the useful past that Schulman provided to his readers, and it explains his resolute objection to the revolt against the Romans and his determination to clear Josephus's name and present his position as one worthy of a Jewish leader. When he was asked whether his attitude towards the Zealots was so negative only because he was being cautious, since Hebrew books were then under the supervision of the Russian censor, he replied that

28 Kalman Schulman, *Halikhot qedem* (Vilna, 1854), 39: וכל אשר ירים יד בבס המלך יחשב כשולח יד בבס יה המורד במלכו מורד גם באל ממליכו.

29 On Gordon and his poem see: Michael Stanislawski, 'For Whom Do I Toil?' *Judah Leib Gordon and the Crisis of Russian Jewry* (New York, 1988), ch. 4.

30 Abraham Dov Lebensohn (Adam Hakohen), 'Or pene melekh', *Ha-Karmel* 1 (1860): 113–14.

31 Kalman Schulman, *Kiryat melekh rav* (Vilna, 1869).

his negative opinion of the Revolt had always been an inner conviction and not merely a matter of tactics.<sup>32</sup> His counter-history was patriotic, but more than anything else he wanted to express the autonomous stance of the maskilim in Russia, and how different they were from the Jewish historians in Germany.

#### 4 Conclusion

Kalman Schulman played a central role in the emergence of modern Jewish culture. His Josephus project can be understood within the historical context of the moderate Haskalah in Russia. It was a transformative part of the effort of the Haskalah to enrich the Jewish library in Hebrew. It was a project of transformation as part of the Haskalah's great aspiration to change Jewish society by opening avenues to the world at large and by disseminating knowledge. It was also part of the project to reconstruct Jewish historical consciousness. Schulman's translation of Josephus provided a 'counter-history' as an Eastern European Jewish alternative to German Jewish historiography. In addition, Schulman drew a picture of the past which fostered Jewish national identity by revealing the ancient world of the Jews. At the same time he took a clear political stand, urging the Jews to remain loyal to the state and the government. To clear Josephus of the accusation of treachery was, then, one of Schulman's major goals. Like most of his fellow maskilim, he hoped that the Russian Empire under Alexander II would improve the situation of the Jews and support the maskilim's effort to promote modernization. On the way to the realization of these political and cultural aims, something no less important occurred. Schulman made Josephus's books accessible to Hebrew readers just as the Hebrew language was about to be revived, and Josephus as a fascinating, attractive, and controversial figure made his way not only into scholarly discussions, but also into the modern discourse of the Jewish collective memory.

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32 Ben-Ami, 'Kalman Schulman', *Reshumot* 6 (1930): 114–24 (123).

# Josephus in Modern Jewish Culture

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