



**Second Contact Day
JEWISH STUDIES ON THE LOW COUNTRIES
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Abstracts

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**SESSION I:
INSTITUTIONS, RELIGION, EMANCIPATION
AND SECULARISATION**

**Chair: Peter Tammes
(Universiteit Leiden)**

STATE, RELIGION AND JEWISH IDENTITY IN THE PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL THOUGHT OF SIMONE LUZZATTO, JOHN TOLAND AND MENASSEH BEN ISRAEL

Rosa Reicher

The proposed research undertakes a comparative reading of several pamphlets on Jewish Toleration and Emancipation set in Italy, the Netherlands and Great Britain at the beginning of 17th and 18th century. In addition the research project explores the influence of the text on German-Jewish Emancipation.

Venice was the first municipality in Europe to establish a special Jewish quarter. Walled off in 1516, it eventually took its name from the foundry, or *ghetto*, which was situated nearby. Nevertheless, the Jewish community played an important role in the city and produced such figures as Simone (Simha) Luzzatto (1583-1663) – scholar, rabbi, mathematician, and supporter of religious toleration. The principal text is Simone Luzzatto's "*Discorso circa il stato de gli Ebrei et in particolar dimoranti nell'inclita Città di Venezia*" ("*Discourse on the Condition of the Jews and, in Particular, those Dwelling in the Glorious City of Venice*"). Luzzatto was one of the most prominent representatives of the Jewish political thought of Early Modern Venice. His most important work, a political and apologetical treatise which was published in Venice in 1638 is based on a remarkable synthesis of elements drawn from various Classical, Biblical, and Medieval Islamic and Jewish sources. '*Discorso*' was addressed to the leaders of the Venetian Republic and was the first apologetic which argued for toleration of the Jews on the basis of their economic usefulness. The Jews, he wrote, performed tasks usually done by foreign merchants but, advantageously, remained under the control of the republic. In his '*Discorso*', Luzzatto invests great effort in tracing the causes for Venice's decline and in proposing an effective remedy. This research is intended to provide a closer study of the relations between the political thought of Simone Luzzatto and the Italian tradition of "*Reason of State*". The question of the sources of the '*Discorso*' will be also addressed. Giuseppe Veltri refers to some indirect quotations of or allusions to the work of Francis Bacon. Following closely the tradition of the "*Reason of State*", as originated by Niccolò Machiavelli, Giovanni Botero, and Paolo Paruta, Luzzatto advocates the sharp disjunction between ethics and politics. At the same time, he applies the image of the Platonic ruler, which was central to Medieval Islamic and Jewish political philosophy, to the model of Renaissance prince whose main concern should be employing all necessary means to seize and preserve political power, as sketched by Machiavelli and other major political thinkers of the Italian Renaissance. Luzzatto underlines characteristically the decisive role of the Jewish community of Venice in the development of the city. He attempts a thorough refutation of the arguments against their presence in the economic, social, and political life of Venice and embarks upon a dynamic confrontation with Tacitus' libels against the Jews. His political theory culminates in the view that the Jews, assuming the reins of the Venetian government is a *conditio sine qua non* for revitalizing the economy of the city and ensuring her political and social stability. The '*discourse*' influenced many Jewish and Christian scholars from Menasseh ben Israel, John Toland until Moses Mendelssohn.

The second text deals with Menasseh ben Israel's [1604-1657], a Dutch rabbi, printer, polyhistor and politician. His petition to Oliver Cromwell: "*To His Highness the Lord Protector of the Common-Wealth of England, Scotland and Ireland. The Humble Addresses*", published [1655] at the height of his efforts to obtain the return of the Jews to England, shows evidence of his original contribution to Jewish apologetics during the seventeenth century. He bases his arguments on Luzzatto's *'discourse'* without mentioning his name. Menasseh was most profoundly interested in Messianic problems, but his chief attention was directed to securing the readmission of Jews into England, with many leading theologians of which country he was in active correspondence on this point.

The third text is John Toland's anonymous analysis of the "*Reasons for Naturalization the Jews in Great Britain and Ireland. Containing also, A Defence of the Jews against All vulgar Prejudices in all Countries*" It was published at the end of 1714. [One copy of the pamphlet exists at Trinity College Dublin.] Toland was an English deist. He was born in 1670, near Londonderry, Ireland; he died in 1722 in London. Brought up as a Roman Catholic, he became a zealous Protestant in his sixteenth year. Toland's motives in writing the pamphlet are unclear. He had been in favour of the measure passed in 1709 which provided for the naturalization of foreign Protestants, and, although this was repealed the following year. Toland was in a sense strengthening his case by exploiting the extreme example of the Jews. Nevertheless, Toland's quite detailed defence refers to the arguments of Luzzatto's *'Discorso'*. He even mentions Luzzatto's name in his writing. Toland opens his plea with an address to the bishops and archbishops of Great Britain, noting that "*as by your Learning you further know how considerable a part of the British inhabitants are the undoubted offspring of the Jews (to which the old Irish can lay no claim)*", and praying that "*as you are the advocates of the Jews at the Throne of Heaven, so you will be their friends and protectors in the British Parliament*". Toland then proceeded to attack the question from every possible angle, religious, economic, and social alike. Toland noted that Jews would never become embroiled in disputes between Protestant churches, they would not drain England of her wealth; and they would serve as brokers, bringing further trade and commerce to England.

Barzilay points out common ground and distinction of Toland and Luzzatto in his article, ("*John Toland's Borrowings from Simone Luzzatto. Luzzatto's Discourse on the Jews in Great Britain and Ireland. 1714*") This article gives valuable impression in the context of this proposed research.

A comparison of Luzzatto's *'Discorso'*, Menasseh ben Israel's *'The Humble Addresses'* to Toland's *'Reason for Naturalization'* provides useful perspective, by setting a seventeenth-century rationalist who remained loyal to Judaism alongside one whose views about Jewish religion were as critical as his views about Christianity. Between them, the three pamphlets interlock (especially given the relationship between the authors) and they approach the same issue from different trajectories. Luzzatto offers a unique view of Jewish society in Venetia at his time. Menasseh ben Israel directed his reader's attention to three virtues: *Profit, Fidelity* and the *Noblenes and purity of blood*. Toland presents an insight into the wider situation into which this fit. They offer,

respectively, micro-and macro-historical perspectives on the same issue, and can be analysed on numerous levels. Luzzatto's account is perhaps best approached from the opposing perspective of politics and philosophy, given his undoubted role in the background of the process of Jewish emancipation. The most effective way of approaching Toland's account would be from the perspective of social and cultural history, rather than political or religious history. Menasseh ben Israel fits in the same context, but as a symptom of a social and cultural phenomenon typical of the victims of the Spanish and Portuguese expulsion. They should be interrogated and contrasted with the realities of Jews in Italy, Netherlands as well as in Britain they sought to manipulate. These are key issues to be addressed within the research project. What is proposed is a critical analyse of the pamphlets and to provide a comprehensive analytical examination, situating them firmly within their broader contexts in Italy, Netherlands and Britain, but with the greater emphasis on philosophical and political background of that time. In addition it is intended to examine the role of Italian [Venetian], Dutch and British Jews generally in the formation of the socio-cultural identity of European Jewry.

STATE, RELIGION AND JEWISH POLITICAL EMANCIPATION IN THE NETHERLANDS

Karin Hofmeester

In 1796, Jews in the Dutch Republic received full civil rights, including the right to vote and to be elected. The discussions in the National Vergadering (the first Dutch parliament) that preceded the acceptance of the Emancipation decree are revealing for prevailing ideas on the relation between State, Religion and the Political Emancipation of members of a religious minority.

The actual political participation of Jews started only after the liberal constitutional change of 1848. Jewish politicians started to enter the Lower House and to participate in Dutch national politics. In my presentation I will look at these Jewish representatives and their willingness to defend Jewish interests. Discussions in Jewish as well as non-Jewish circles will be analysed to see how Jews and non-Jews perceived Jewish political participation as part of Jewish emancipation and how the relation between State, Politics and members of Religious denominations evolved in the 19th century.

SECULARISATIE, DE JAREN 1960 EN HET RELIGIEUZE JODENDOM IN NEDERLAND

Paul van Trigt

In de historiografie van het Nederlandse Jodendom in de twintigste eeuw is de secularisatiethese dominant. Het is echter de vraag of de ontwikkelingen in het religieuze Jodendom goed begrepen kunnen worden wanneer we uitgaan van een these die een problematische relatie tussen religie en moderniteit veronderstelt. In de geschiedschrijving over religie in de moderne samenleving is de secularisatiethese de laatste decennia niet langer het vanzelfsprekende uitgangspunt. Historici hebben voor West-Europa een nieuw perspectief ontwikkeld waarbij de periode 1800-1960 wordt opgevat als een tweede confessioneel tijdperk. De culturele revolutie van de jaren 1960 markeert het einde aan dit tijdperk. Het confessionele regime moest toen plaats maken voor een nieuw regime van consumptie en zelfontplooiing. In deze presentatie wordt het nieuwe historische perspectief toegepast op de twintigste-eeuwse geschiedenis van de Joodse gemeenschap in Nederland. Vormen de jaren 1960 ook daar een breukmoment, of juist niet? Op die vraag wordt een voorlopig antwoord geformuleerd. Tijdens de presentatie wordt stilgestaan bij het concept religie, de secularisatiethese en onderzoeksmethoden.

**SESSION II:
JEWISH ECONOMIC LIFE IN THE LOW COUNTRIES**

**Chair: Cor Trompetter
(Independent Scholar, Weststelligerwerf)**

**DE DUITSE BISCHOFFSHEIMS IN DE NEGENTIENDE EEUW:
AMSTERDAM, ANTWERPEN, BRUSSEL EN PARIJS.
EEN INTERNATIONAAL OPERERENDE JOODSE BANKDYNASTIE**

Huibert Schijf

In Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* treedt Shylock op, een naam die synoniem zou worden voor de hartvochtige Joodse geldwoekeraar. Dat beeld was in de negentiende eeuw wijdverspreid. Bekende Joodse bankiersfamilies als de Rothschilds waren dikwijls het mikpunt van antisemitische pamfletten en spotprenten. Karl Marx beschreef met een venijnige antisemitische toon, een groep 'loan-mongering' Joden in Amsterdam rond 1855. Over de bankiersfamilie Bischoffsheim in Amsterdam is hij positiever. De Brusselse vertegenwoordiger van de familie prijst hij zelfs als iemand met grote bekwaamheden en hij schrijft dat deze als bankier en spoorwegmagnaat zeer werd gerespecteerd.

De Bischoffsheims waren een van de vele Joodse bankiersfamilies die in de 19^{de} eeuw vanuit diverse hoofdsteden opereerden. In 1820 vestigde Louis Raphael Bischoffsheim zich in Amsterdam. Gedurende zijn verblijf in Amsterdam participeerde hij actief in lokale Joodse filantropische instellingen en richt hij zelf ook een stichting op. Zijn jongere broer - hij was toen pas dertien - Jonathan Raphael voegde zich bij hem in 1821. Zes jaar later vertrok deze naar Antwerpen waar hij een eigen bank opende die een filiaal was van de bank van zijn broer in Amsterdam. Nadat België onafhankelijk werd stichtte hij in Brussel de Bischoffsheim & Goldschmidtbank. Enkele decennia later vertrok Louis-Raphael uit Amsterdam naar Paris, maar hield zijn bankiershuis in Amsterdam wel aan. Een aangetrouwd familie leidde toen de bank. Die zou pas in de jaren zestig fuseren met Bischoffsheims Parijse bank onder de naam Banque de Paris et des Pays Bas (Paribas).

De familie Bischoffsheim zal als voorbeeld worden genomen om diverse thema's rond het fenomeen van de negentiende-eeuwse internationaal opererende Joodse bankiers aan te snijden. Waren er naar verhouding veel Joodse bankiers in de negentiende eeuw of is dit een antisemitisch cliché, welke strategieën werden er gebruikt om als privé-bank te functioneren, hoe werd vertrouwen tussen de verschillende internationale bankiers opgebouwd. Belangrijk is ook de vraag in hoeverre hun handelswijze typisch Joods is te noemen. Betoogd zal worden dat Joden in hun manier van werken veel gemeen hebben met zulke gespecialiseerde handelsminderheidsgroepen als Joden, Quakers of Doopsgezinden. In alle gevallen vormen familierelaties de basis van hun internationale netwerk.

JOODSE ONDERNEMERS IN DE NEDERLANDSE LEDERNIJVERHEID (1870-1940). DE MOGELIJKHEDEN EN ONMOGELIJKHEDEN VAN EEN KWANTITATIEVE BENADERING

Serge ter Braake

De rol van Joden in het economisch leven is een klassiek onderwerp in de historiografie over de Joodse gemeenschap in Nederland. Met name de grote invloed van Joden op de opkomst en bloei van de diamant- en textielindustrie heeft al de nodige aandacht gekregen. Een tamelijk verwaarloosde economische tak in de Joodse geschiedschrijving is het produceren van leder en de verwerking daarvan in voornamelijk schoenen. Om het aandeel van de Joden bij de opkomst en bloei van deze industrietak te kunnen bepalen is zowel een kwalitatieve als een kwantitatieve aanpak noodzakelijk. Met name aan het kwantitatieve aspect is in vergelijkbaar onderzoek naar andere bedrijfstakken weinig aandacht besteed. Deze paper gaat daarom specifiek in op de mogelijkheden van een kwantitatieve aanpak bij een onderzoek naar de rol van Joden in de lederindustrie vanaf de opkomst van de industrialisatie tot het begin van de Tweede Wereldoorlog. Er zal zowel op de mogelijkheden van het bronnenmateriaal worden ingegaan als op de vragen die bij een dergelijk onderzoek aan de orde gesteld moeten of kunnen worden. Welke bronnen zijn er en wat zijn de mogelijkheden en beperkingen daarvan? Hoeveel Joden werkten in de lederindustrie? Hoeveel Joodse ondernemingen waren er? Aan hoeveel Joden en niet-Joden verschaften deze ondernemingen werk? Hoe staat dat alles in verhouding tot landelijke cijfers en cijfers voor de centra van de lederindustrie? Namen Joden het voortouw bij de industrialisering of volgden ze de initiatieven van anderen? Tot slot volgen er enkele bespiegelingen over onderzoek naar de rol van Joodse ondernemers in het algemeen.

**SESSION III:
JEWISH AND NON-JEWISH ENCOUNTERS:
MIGRATION, TRANSLATION,
GEOGRAPHIC AND SYMBOLIC SPACE**

**Chair: Veerle Vanden Daelen
(Universiteit Antwerpen)**

THE JEWISH CONNECTION

19TH CENTURY POLISH LITERATURE IN DUTCH TRANSLATION

Kris Van Heuckelom

This paper will discuss the catalyzing role that the issue of Jewish emancipation seems to have played in the 19th-century reception of Polish literature in the Low Countries. Departing from a general discussion of Jewish assimilation narratives in 19th-century Poland, it will focus on the Dutch reception of a series of novels dealing with Polish-Jewish topics, that is to say:

1. Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, *Levi en Sara. Eene joodsche familie-geschiedenis in Polen* [*Levi and Sara. A Jewish Family History in Poland*] (Amsterdam 1825)
2. Eliza Orzeszkowa, *Meier Ezoficz. Een verhaal uit het leven der Poolsche joden* [*Meier Ezoficz. A Story from the Life of the Polish Jews*] ('s Hage 1886)
3. Eliza Orzeszkowa, *Mirtala* (Amsterdam 1900)

First, attention will be drawn to the mechanisms of cultural transfer underlying the publication of these texts in Dutch translation. Second, consideration will be given to the presence of discursive translational strategies in the target texts. Third, attention will be paid to the reactions these publications generated among the Dutch (and Dutch-Jewish) readership.

**FEMALE JEWISH MIGRANTS FROM EASTERN EUROPE
AT BELGIAN UNIVERSITIES:
THE LIFE TRAJECTORY OF HÉLÈNE TEMERSON (1896 - 1977)**

Pascale Falek

Introduction

For my PhD I focus on East European Jewish women who migrated to Belgium to pursue their university studies in the interwar period. This paper will examine the biography of one of them: Héléne Temerson. The aim of this paper is to analyze Héléne Temerson's life story and to stress the impact of 4 factors on her life: migration, ethnicity, gender and education. These factors are common to the women studied in my research. It will allow me to raise questions such as Temerson's adaptation, integration, or assimilation in her host country and her difficulties to reconcile a private and a public life.

The most valuable sources to write Héléne Temerson's biography consist in her personal archives kept in Brussels by her daughter-in-law Simone Goriely.¹ It includes important correspondences, many pictures, official documents, and notes. In addition, I had the opportunity to speak at length with Simone Goriely and to ask her for specific details about Héléne Temerson's private life, since she knew her well.² I also consulted Héléne Temerson's file at the alien registration office and at the Université Libre de Bruxelles (ULB). And I examined the Archival Fund of Benjamin Goriely (Héléne Temerson's husband) at the Alliance Israélite Universelle (AIU) archives in Paris, which keeps his 600-page memoir.

Héléne Temerson

Héléne Temerson was born on September 9th 1896 in Wloclawek, Poland into a middle class Jewish family.³ She was sent to a Polish merchant high school for girls, from which she graduated in 1914. She was politically active and met her future husband Benjamin Goriely in young communist circles in Warsaw. Pregnant at 25 years old, she had to marry and moved with her husband to Berlin. Héléne Temerson and Benjamin Goriely lived in Berlin for two years and studied at university. In 1921, her husband moved to Brussels to study chemistry at the ULB. After being back in Poland at her parents' place with her child, Héléne Temerson joined her husband in Belgium a year later, without the baby. She registered at the ULB and graduated in 1926 in German language and literature with honors, while supporting her family. She worked

¹ I would like to thank Ms. Simone Goriely for her kindness, time, and care of these precious archives.

² Interviews of Simone Goriely, Brussels, January 16th and May 7th, 2009.

³ Héléne Temerson's biography is based on sources found in: AGR, Fonds Police des Etrangers, Dossier Héléne Temerson and Benjamin Goriely A. 190.924; ULB Archives, 1P. 774 file Héléne Temerson; Private Archives Simone Goriely and Archives of the Alliance Israélite Universelle (AIU), Paris, Fonds Benjamin Goriely, box 1, AP 21/5, *Souvenirs de Benjamin Goriely, Nul ne reconnaîtra les siens*.

hard, gave private lessons the whole day long to make money. Her husband was a writer and a journalist who liked spending time in cafés and bars discussing politics and literature. Through him she met many artists and writers. Hélène Temerson created important networks of friends, mainly composed of artists and intellectuals. Most of her friends were foreigners, often secular Jews, but not only, among them were the writer Neel Doff and the playwright Carl Sternheim. She asked to divorce and brought her older sister Ruchla from Poland to help her while she worked to support her household. Hélène Temerson did not directly encounter anti-Semitism in her community or at work, **(5)** but she was confronted to anti-Semitic acts perpetrated against her son. She reacted with control and diplomacy, took her pen and opted for writing letters, believing that it was the solution to prevent these outrageous acts.

Hélène Temerson continued to work at the beginning of the war (from September 1939 to March 1940) as a temporary professor at the Athénée Communal d'Uccle.⁴ Then (in 1941-1942) she taught German language at the Cyrming School to Jewish boys and girls. Hélène Temerson was involved in the resistance: she distributed notably false identity cards. Her light blue eyes helped her to circulate more at ease during the war. Her survival depended notably on her Belgian acquaintances and excellent knowledge of French language. Besides of French, she mastered several languages. On a daily basis, she spoke Polish with her sister, French with her son, she taught German at work and she could also read Yiddish, Russian, Dutch and English. Since 1950, she worked as a German language lecturer at the Solvay Business School at the ULB. She fought for improving her work conditions, salary and pension. Hélène Temerson retired in 1966 but from 1968 till her death in 1977 she kept herself busy with managing publications, translations and adaptations of her friend Neel Doff's literary work. She inherited from Doff's copyrights in 1942. **(6)** Hélène Temerson always had an intense social life, she had many friends, loved to travel and visit those who moved to other countries and continents.

How Migration, Ethnicity, Gender and Education impacted her life?

Migration

Hélène Temerson did not plan to migrate. She came to Belgium because she followed her husband. When she arrived in Belgium, her adaptation to the host country was to be made as a married woman. She lived with her husband and not with other students. They rented small rooms in houses inhabited by other East European intellectuals and artists, some of them said to be students. Hélène Temerson mainly integrated through her work. She studied and worked at the same time. She became friend with some of her students. As a migrant in a new country, the question of learning the language is crucial. Knowing Belgium's three official languages facilitated her adaptation to the country and survival during the war. Poland, her home country, remained important for her: she spoke Polish, had Polish friends, but she never returned to Poland. She wanted to become a Belgian citizen. She applied for the citizenship first in 1939 but only got a positive answer ten years later in June 1949.

⁴ Archives Simone Goriely, Lettre des services de l'instruction publique de la commune d'Uccle, July 28 1943.

Ethnicity also shaped H  l  ne Temerson's life. Being Jewish influenced her choices, from her communist views and adhesion to communist youth groups in Warsaw to her destiny during the Second World War. Married to a communist Jew, she had many Jewish friends, spoke Yiddish and never denied her origins. During the Second World War, H  l  ne Temerson has been active in the resistance and she had to hide. Given that East European Jewish women migrated because of anti-Semitic measures, they were strongly marked by their ethnicity.

Gender influenced her life. She decided not to raise her son till he was 6 because she came to study in Brussels. She asked to divorce, which was rare and not well-seen at that time. H  l  ne Temerson could only rely on herself. She studied assiduously, worked hard, succeed to make a living and to have a social life. She reversed traditional gender roles and took on male's ones. Being a woman probably held back her career. She devoted her life to her son and focused on his education and promising career.

Finally, the last major factor that had a strong impact on her life is education. She finished gymnasium and studied in Warsaw, Berlin and Brussels. She gave private courses the whole day long. During the Second World War, she taught at the Jewish school. After the war, she taught at the Solvay Business School at the ULB and devoted her time to her students and to her son. For H  l  ne Temerson, one could always learn more. She applied it first to herself, and yet she knew many languages, she always wanted to study new ones. To access higher education was one of the main reasons of migration of many East European Jewish women, and they knew that in order to find a job, they needed to be educated.

Conclusion

To examine the impact of these 4 factors helped us to understand H  l  ne Temerson's life story. H  l  ne Temerson had a strong nature and could rely only on herself. To penetrate her life story and to identify her motivations help us to understand women of her generation who had to make difficult choices and perhaps took similar paths.

TELLING SPACES AND BODIES APART IN A MULTIETHNIC NEIGHBORHOOD: THE 'JEWISH' PERSPECTIVE

WORK IN PROGRESS

A.S. Vollebergh

This presentation focuses on the way Jewish residents of the Antwerp neighborhood Diamantbuurt/Haringrode navigate and read the city spaces they inhabit as well as the people they encounter there.

Following a combination of symbolic interactionism, phenomenology and deconstructivist theories, I argue that spatial practices and practices of 'telling' (recognizing someone as 'Jewish', 'Moroccan', or 'Flemish') are, on the one hand, the results of histories and politics folding in onto the neighborhood. On the other hand, these practices also shape or (re-)produce the very nature of local spaces. It is through everyday practices and interactions – strolling, shopping, watching and being watched, navigating the streets and passing a flow of other people – that spaces attain a specific identity, and that categories of people come about as 'naturally' there.

Though this presentation focuses on the practices and experiences of 'Jewish' residents, it is part of a research that pays attention to interactions between all residents of Diamantbuurt and Oud-Borgerhout, irrespective of whether they self-identify as 'autochthon/Flemish', as 'Moroccan-Muslim', or as 'Jewish'. The arguments and data that I will present are tentative: they are mostly based on previous research on Jewish perceptions of contemporary antisemitism (and probably biased in that respect), complemented with the preliminary findings of my first months of fieldwork.

MAPPING ENCOUNTERS IN AN INVISIBLE ARENA: THE (FLEMISH) MENTAL HEALTH CARE AND THE JEWISH COMMUNITY IN ANTWERP

WORK-IN-PROGRESS

Gila Schnitzer

Gerrit Loots

Carolina Valdebenito

In deze presentatie wordt de ontmoeting tussen hulpverleners en ultra-orthodoxe joodse ouders verkend, evenals de ruimte waarbinnen deze ontmoeting zich afspeelt.

In een eerste deel presenteren we een Social Worlds/Arena's map waarbinnen deze ontmoetingen zich afspelen. We zoomen ook in op interacties tussen individuen, hoe ze tot stand komen en verlopen. Eerst bespreken we hoe ultra-orthodoxe Joodse ouders de beslissing nemen om de reguliere hulpverlening te raadplegen inzake problemen bij hun kinderen. Dan kijken we naar hoe Vlaamse psychopedagogische consultants met ultra-orthodoxe Joodse ouders werken. Wij proberen de patronen, processen en gevolgen voor de counselingontmoeting in beeld te brengen, evenals de rol van culturele symbolen, de wijze waarop specifieke sociale settings condities van risico of steun creëren en de aanwezigheid van globale contexten.

In een tweede deel proberen we de dispositif in kaart te brengen die vormgeeft aan de hulpverleningsruimte waarin en waartegen bovenstaande actoren interageren tijdens het hulpverlening. We bekijken hiervoor welke dynamieken die ontmoetingen mogelijk of onmogelijk maken, en wat de aard van die ontmoetingen dan zijn.

In het laatste deel illustreren we een aantal onderzoekskeuzes en dilemma's die samenhangen met onze situated position.

RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION OF JEWS IN AMSTERDAM NEIGHBOURHOODS ON THE EVE OF SHOAH

Peter Tammes

The urban residential pattern can be considered as a spatial function of the degree of assimilation. Two widely used statistical measures to calculate the degree of spatial segregation are the Index of Dissimilarity and the Isolation Index. Using information on the Jewish inhabitants in Amsterdam in 1941 we calculate these degrees of spatial segregation to see to what extent Jews were assimilated and continue work done by other scholars which showed further residential integration. Did Jews continue to integrate residentially?

Next, we divide the Jewish population in Amsterdam into those belonging to the Israelite congregation, unaffiliated Jews, Jews converted from Judaism, mixed married Jews, and immigrants. Did these groups differ in their residential settlement in 1941?

To test the statement that residential segregation has an effect on other aspects of ethnic assimilation, we draw a sample of about 700 born in Amsterdam between 1883-1922 from the registration list of 1941, and constructed their migration history. We follow these Jews, in which unaffiliated, mixed married and converted Jews are overrepresented in their removals from birth. Did unaffiliated, mixed married and converted Jews show different moving patterns than those belonging to the Israelite congregation?

**SESSION IV:
WORLD WAR II IN THE LOW COUNTRIES**

**Chair: Pim Griffioen
(Independent Scholar, Amsterdam)**

DOCTORS, MEDICAL PROFESSORS AND STUDENTS IN BELGIUM DURING WWII: THE CONNECTION BETWEEN ANTI-SEMITISM AND ANTI-MASONRY VERSUS THE RESISTANCE

Marc Verschooris

Yves Louis

Anti-Semitism and hatred of Free-Masonry was prevalent between the two Wars and even prior before the First War. The anti Dreyfusism and Maurassian movements in France had significant influence on Conservative and extreme Right-wing thinking in Belgium.

At the time, Eugenist and racist theories were expressed freely in the supposedly rigorous and objective scientific community. These theories were initially expressed in an insidious fashion, but soon appeared openly in all their brutality.

As such, an anti-semitic and anti-Masonry climate arose well before the German occupation. In France, the infamous trio of doctors Louis-Ferdinand Destouches (Céline), Nobel-prize winner for Medicine Professor Alexis Carrel, and Eugenist George Montandon played a primordial role by holding a conference in Brussels on May 3, 1938 on their racist theories. This is best illustrated by the eviction of Professor Handovsky – of Jewish origin - from the University with the help of Professors Daels and Heymans, Nobel Prize winner for Medicine. Dr. Ouwex from Tienen became the leader and undisputed instigator of the extreme right wing movement and focused his efforts on the supposed Jewish-Masonry conspiracy.

Ouwex never did become chairman of the Wartime Order of Medicine, but instead it was the avowed anti-semite, Dr. Frans Van Hoof, whom the Germans preferred, who was appointed. Anti-communism and anti-socialism were also associated with Ouwex, in addition to a negative attitude concerning psychoanalysis which was considered of Jewish origin and supposedly a science responsible for the destruction of the family.

We will need to review these very important elements to understand the Imianitoff Affair. Dr. Ouwex led the Belgian anti-Masonry League (*L'Épuration - de Bezem*) and in 1939 he published a brochure, *'Les cagouleurs démasqués'*, in which he listed names of supposed Masons, which later was used as the basis for a further denunciation under Nazi occupation. In 1940, he published a new incriminatory brochure *'Les Précurseurs du Communisme. La Franc-Maçonnerie peinte par elle-même'*. In 1939 he published a pamphlet *'Trois impostures Le Scandale Imianitoff, la Franc-Maçonnerie et la bolchévisation de la Médecine'*. Furthermore, the anti-Masonry publications of *'Burcht-Le Rempart'* were inspired by the Germans. Dr. Soenen, professor of *Rassenkunde* at the University of Ghent and reknown anti-Semite, published his racist books with the same editor.

Anti-Masonry events were organised throughout the country. The Imianitoff Affair contained all the hatred and contradictions of the 1930s. Frédéric Imianitoff, freemason, socialist and of Jewish

origin held an English university degree in medicine. He was one of the founders of the discipline of preventive medicine in Belgium, and Secretary General of the Belgian Society of Preventive Medicine and Eugenics. Together with René Sand, General Secretary for the Public Health and professor at the *Université Libre de Bruxelles*, Imianitoff was one of the founders of social medicine.

Sand was also associated with the socialist party, while Imianitoff and Sand became targets for the fascists and Conservatives. The so-called Imianitoff Affair began in the Parliament in 1937, where he was attacked by Rexist politicians, including Paul de Mont of *Rex Vlaanderen*, and Edmond van Dieren from the *VNV*. The Ministry of Justice took the affair in hand in 1938 and tried in court in 1939. Imianitoff was sentenced to 6 years' imprisonment for forgery concerning his false military distinctions, and for performing an abortion, yet he was not sentenced for unlawful practice of medicine, since his medical degree had been judged to be equivalent to a royal decree in 1926.

The Imianitoff affair reflects all the hatred, contradictions and antagonisms of the period, including hatred of psychoanalysis and deemed a destroyer of the family values. Professor Jacques de Busscher, professor of psychiatry at the University of Brussels, Mason and member of the Septentrion lodge in Ghent, was also denounced in Ouwerx's publications.

The ideas behind preventive medicine, as proposed by Imianitoff and Sand, and more generally the organisation of medicine which they promoted was considered Bolshevik and collectivist. As well, ideas promoted by Nazi Germany and Vichy-France and incarnated by professor Alexis Carrel, also proposed hygienist and preventive medicine. Their pursuit for hygienist purity led them eventually to their extermination. The aim of preventive medicine was therefore entirely different according to the regime in power. Exactly the same thing can be said of eugenism. Imianitoff also made a distinction between positive and negative eugenism. Positive eugenism was seen as preventive medicine, while negative eugenism which included sterilisation and euthanasia led to Nazi eugenism and the T4 programme.

Specifically, the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* was mentioned in detail in Ouwerx's works. He was apparently well versed on the subject, as he mentioned certain elements of the Bern trial of November 1, 1937. This trial was initiated by the Jewish community against the Nazis with the intent of proving the falsification of the protocols. The idea of the conspiracy constituted the basis for the incrimination and the eventual denunciations. The list of Freemasons published by Ouwerx in his publications, in the *Libre Belgique* and in *Le Pays Reel* (by Rex), was later be used by the Nazis. The Germans and as well as the Collaborators considered the University of Brussels to be a bastion of Freemasonry and Jewery. The German order of October the 28th 1940, prohibiting Jews access to certain offices hastened the suspension of Jewish professors at the University of Brussels and their practice in the capital's public hospitals.

In 1933, the book "*The Third Reich and the Jews*" appeared. It gave full voice to the protest that was breaking out in various European countries and from a variety of quarters, against the Nazis' attitude towards German Jews. In 1934, students at the University of Brussels as well as their

professors established committees which were referred to as: *comités de vigilance anti-fasciste*. In 1939, 154 professors, 90 of whom were connected with the *Université Libre de Bruxelles* (ULB), signed a manifesto. Of the four universities of Belgium (Brussels, Ghent, Louvain and Liège), we have concentrated our studies on those of Ghent and Brussels for the purposes of this presentation. There was certainly reason to turn the University of Ghent into a political centre of collaboration. After all, it is there that the Von Bissing story played out. The University had already been changed previously into a Flemish-oriented institution during World War I. *Kriegsverwaltungsrat* Franz Petri wanted to appoint German visiting professors as quickly as possible. In the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Ghent, Daels and Speleers were the most vocal opponents to the return of the 'Toulouse' professors. After May 1940, about 70 professors from Ghent stayed for some time in the south of France. On June 23rd 1941, *Reichsgesundheitsführer* Leonardo Conti was welcomed with open arms to the Faculty.

Since its very beginning in 1834, the University of Brussels had always been an outspoken liberal-socialist institution. In November 1940, it was allowed to reopen with one important proviso: 75 radical professors must be replaced by 'reliable' Flemish colleagues. Heymans, the Nobel Prize winner, and Daels, both from Ghent, were specifically mentioned as being 'reliable'. The Flemish activists wanted to go even further by demanding that Flemish students be able to begin their studies at the ULB. The anti-Jewish measures had their impact on the medical faculty, from which Oscar Weill, Neumann, Cohen, Schwetz and others had been dismissed. In the end, the appointment of four pro-German professors led to the closure of the ULB on November 25th 1941 (officially on August 13th, 1942). The newly appointed professors included no less a figure than Antoon Jacob, who in 1919 had been condemned to death for collaboration. Three hundred lecturers and 3,600 students (out of a total of 12,000 students in Belgium) had to go elsewhere. Six hundred of the ULB students registered at the University of Louvain, but for the Jewish students, their studies came to an abrupt end. They could only continue their studies clandestinely or under a false name.

From December 2, 1940 onward, every registered student was required to sign a declaration supporting Decree Number 2 of October 28 and vouch that the restrictions did not apply to them. The Decree stipulated that they were not Jewish nor had Jewish ancestors on either their father's or mother's side.

When one considers the situation of the doctors in the Belgian resistance, one can divide them into 3 broad categories. The majority were involved in espionage. Most doctors maintained close contact with the Resistance and performed clandestine surgical operations. Finally, they were those who were involved in the clandestine press. Because of the nature of their espionage activities, a number of these doctors were eventually deported to Germany for sentencing, and in some cases, after a year of captivity, were beheaded. Some Belgium doctors were shot or did not survive the concentration camps. Or, doctors who were victims of the anti-Jewish measures were murdered in Auschwitz.

Anti-Semitism and hostility to Freemasonry already existed long before the Second World War. The ULB was regarded as a bastion of Jews and Freemasons. It is in this context that one must view

the persecutions which were to take place. While the medical faculty of the ULB suffered a loss by the dismissal of all Jewish professors, the medical faculty at the University of Ghent had definitely never been a model of Resistance; quite the opposite in fact. Even if a number of Ghent doctors were actively involved in the Resistance, there remains today a strong desire to consider Speleers, Heymans or Daels as icons of the Faculty of Medicine.

Some symptoms are apparent in the history of 20th-century medicine. Hitler saw himself as the political Robert Koch, who was the recipient of the Nobel Prize in 1905 for his discovery of *Mycobacterium tuberculosis*. Hitler regarded Jewry as a *Mycobacterium* of social decay (1941). The enemy was no longer an opponent as in a classical conflict, but degraded to the level of an animal. It is striking how 1913 Nobel Prize winner Charles Richet's *La sélection Humaine*, concerning the elimination of 'unsuitable' people, is recognized as scandalous, whereas Nobel Prize winner Alexis Carrel's *L'homme cet inconnu* (1935) remained a more or less successful title until the 1950's.

OMSTANDERS, SLACHTOFFERS EN DADERS BETROKKEN BIJ HET VERHAAL VAN EEN INFORMEEL NETWERK VAN PROTESTANTEN DIE JODEN TRACHTTEN TE REDDEN IN DE OMGEVING VAN ANTWERPEN EN LEUVEN TUSSEN 1942 EN 1945.

JAN MAES

Bij de reconstructie van de verhalen van de omstanders, slachtoffers en daders, die voorkomen in een eerder verschenen getuigenis van Julia Schuyten⁵, werd een voorheen nooit eerder geïdentificeerd, noch bestudeerd informeel netwerk van (minstens) zeventien Vlaamse protestantse redders ontdekt. Zij waren bijna allemaal aangesloten bij de protestantse gemeenschap in de Sanderusstraat te Antwerpen, of waren bevriend met de dominee ervan. Er waren er die joden verborgen uit winstbejag, maar er waren er ook vier die inmiddels erkend zijn door Yad Vashem als *Righteous Gentiles* of Rechtvaardigen onder de Volkeren, waarvan twee als rechtstreeks gevolg van dit onderzoek.

Samen verborgen zij – voor een kortere of langere periode – tenminste 29 joden. Zeven van hen werden uiteindelijk opgepakt, gedeporteerd en overleefden Auschwitz niet. Twee anderen werden ook opgepakt, maar overleefden het wel door uit één van de wagons van het XXe konvooi naar Auschwitz te springen. Nog twintig andere joden konden onderduiken bij protestanten in Antwerpen, Boechout, Edegem en Korbeek-Lo of konden (na de invallen in Edegem) met de hulp van een (kwart)joodse tandarts uit Brussel een appartement huren in Sint-Joost-ten-Noode. Zij overleefden het wel. Eén van hen was in juni 1942 juist 16 jaar geworden, en zij zette speciaal voor dit onderzoek haar verhaal voor het eerst op papier. Een andere had als klein meisje bij twee gezinnen ondergedoken gezeten, en wij slaagden erin haar terug te vinden in de Verenigde Staten en haar terug in contact te brengen met de kinderen van diegenen die haar toen het leven hebben gered. Nog een andere konden we identificeren en terugvinden, maar zij bleek inmiddels al overleden.

De daders die aanwezig waren bij een inval op 31 januari 1943 te Boechout en bij twee invallen te Edegem op 13 en 19 maart 1943 waren bijna allen Vlaamse medewerkers van de afdeling van de Sipo-SD in Antwerpen. Bij de eerste inval werden zij ook vergezeld door de VNV-oorlogsburgemeester van Boechout.

Het getuigenis van Julia Schuyten dateert van vijftig jaar na de feiten. Het werd minutieus onderzocht, aangevuld met cruciale bijkomende informatie en fouten werden verbeterd. Het onderzoek ernaar is gebaseerd op een grote variëteit van eigentijdse documenten uit de archieven van onder andere het Auditoraat-Generaal, de Dienst Oorlogsslachtoffers en de Dienst Vreemdelingenzaken te Brussel, uit brieven, uit de jaarbalansen van een handelsfirma... én op latere informatie van nabestaanden. Op basis daarvan konden we de meeste omstanders, slachtoffers en daders betrokken in dit verhaal identificeren.

⁵ J. SCHUYTEN, *Tenminste Sylvieke*, in J. DE VOLDER & L. WOUTERS, *Van binnen weent mijn hart. De vervolging van de Antwerpse joden. Geschiedenis en herinnering*, Antwerpen, Standaard, 1999, p. 120-126.

THE SHOAH IN ANTWERP: IS DENYING THE 'ANTWERP SPECIFICITY' TANTAMOUNT TO NEGATIONISM?

Jan Bernheim

Background:

Being a Jew in Antwerp during WWII was almost twice as lethal as in Brussels (See (2) in table).

This 'Antwerp specificity'

- is ignored by most of the public
- has been denied by a prominent Antwerp politician who disapproved of the current mayor's apologies for the city administration's wartime behaviour and (though a historian) stated that his city just underwent the war like all others
- when the Antwerp excess deportation is acknowledged, it is generally attributed to the 3 systematic manhunts in which the Antwerp municipal police participated.

The point of this paper is to show that the role of the police in 1942 is only a partial explanation.

Findings:

	Antwerp		Brussels	
	Number	% of total	Aantal	% of total
(1) Number of Jews at risk at the beginning of the deportation	21.277		29.134	
(2) Total deported in % of population at risk		65%		37%
(3) Arrested during razzias	2.712	13%	484	2%
(4) Deported after individual arrest		52%		35%

In fact, the Antwerp razzias accounted for only one fifth of all deportations from Antwerp (See (3) and (4) in the table).

Conclusions:

- The Antwerp specificity must be attributed to much more widely distributed risk factors than the compliance of the city's mayor.
- Technically, denying the Antwerp specificity is a local form of negationism.

Reference:

Bernheim JL. De Shoa aan de Stroom. *Streven*, september 2007, 74: 682-693

**Second Contact Day
JEWISH STUDIES ON THE LOW COUNTRIES
20 May 2009, University of Antwerp**

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