

Christian–Jewish Theological Yearbook

2017



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JÓZSEF SZÉCSI

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“You will love your neighbour and hate your enemy”

(Mt 5:43)

The Sermon on the Mount¹ is characterized by sentences polemizing with the stipulations of the Torah (Mt 5:3-7:29); it is thought to be the longest speech of Jesus Christ, which is at the same time the key to His ethical viewpoint (Servais Pinckaers 1995), and in which everything can be read from His teaching that differentiates Him from any other Jewish theologian. Before going into details about these polemics, however, it is worth dedicating some sentences to the extent and parallels of the Sermon on the Mount as well as to the research of its genre.²

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- 1 Most important writings: Kissinger, Warren S. *The Sermon on the Mount: A History of Interpretation and Bibliography*. Metuchen: Scarecrow Press, 1975. St. Augustine of Hippo. *Commentary on Sermon on Mount*. Translated by William Findlay. <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/1601.htm>. Betz, Hans Dieter. *Essays on the Sermon on the Mount*. translations by Laurence Welborn. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985. Knight, Christopher *The Hiram Key* Century Books, Random House, 1996. Kodjak, Andrej. *A Structural Analysis of the Sermon on the Mount*. New York: M. de Gruyter, 1986. Lapide, Pinchas. *The Sermon on the Mount, Utopia or Program for Action?* translated from the German by Arlene Swidler. Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1986. Lambrecht, Jan, S. J. *The Sermon on the Mount*. Michael Glazier: Wilmington, DE, 1985. McArthur, Harvey King. *Understanding the Sermon on the Mount*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1978. Prabhavananda, Swami *Sermon on the Mount According to Vedanta* 1991. Easwaran Eknath. *Original Goodness (on Beatitudes)*. Nilgiri Press, 1989. Stassen, Glen H. and David P. Gushee. *Kingdom Ethics: Following Jesus in Contemporary Context*, InterVarsity Press, 2003. Stassen, Glen H. *Living the Sermon on the Mount: A Practical Hope for Grace and Deliverance*, Jossey-Bass, 2006. Stevenson, Kenneth. *The Lord's prayer: a text in tradition*, Fortress Press, 2004. Soares de Azevedo, Mateus. *Esoterism and Exoterism in the Sermon of the Mount*. *Sophia journal*, Oakton, VA, USA. Vol. 15, Number 1, Summer 2009. Soares de Azevedo, Mateus. *Christianity and the Perennial Philosophy*, *World Wisdom*, 2006. Luz U.: *Das Evangelium nach Matthaeus I/1*. EKK Benzlinglerl III Neukirchchen 2002.
 - 2 Cf. in Hungarian, I would like to draw attention to three major Hungarian publications. I. Kocsis: *A hegyi beszéd* 3. kiadás Bp., ; Jel, 2005. V. Kókai Nagy: *Hegyi beszéd...* Bp., L'Harmattan, 2007. A. Thorday: *Jézus programbeszéde: a hegyibeszéd* Szeged, 2008.

I. In the tradition of Matthew, Mark, and Luke

In the Gospel according to St. Matthew, the Sermon on the Mount extends to Chapters 5-7; in the Gospel according to St. Luke, the essence of this sermon is summarized as a “field sermon” (6:20-49).

Topic	Matthew	Luke	Luke at other places
Audience	5:1-2	6:20a	
Beatitudes	5:3-12	6:20b-23	
Alases		6:24-26	
Salt and light	5:13-16		14:34-35;11,33
The perfect Law	5:17-20		16:16-17
The letter of the Law	5:18		16:17
Anger and forgiveness	5:21-24 --		
Road to the court	5:25-26		12:58-59
Adultery...	5:27-30.		
Divorce	5:31-32		16:18
Oath	5:33-37		
Revenge	5:38-42	6:29-30	
Love of the enemy	5:43-48	6:27-28.32-36	
Charity	6:1-4.		
Prayer	6:5-8 --		
The Lord’s Prayer	6:9-15		11:2-4
Fasting	6:16-18		
Heavenly treasure	6:19-21		12:33-34
Clear eyes	6:22-23		11:34-36

Topic	Matthew	Luke	Luke at other places
Two masters	6:24		16:13
The providence of God	6:25-34		12:22-31
On Judgement	6:37-38	7:1-2	
Blind leaders	6:39		(15,14)
Disciple and master	(10:24) 6,40		
Splinter and log	7:3-5 ;6:41-42		
Sacred things	7:6 – –		
Effective prayer	7:7-11		11:9-13
“Golden Rule”	7:12 6:31		
The narrow gate	7:13-14		13:23-24
False prophets	7:15 –		
The tree and its fruit	7:16-20	6:43-44	
Good people	(12:34b-35)	6:45	
To say and to do	7:21-23	6:46	13:26-27
Built on rock or on sand	7:24-27	6:47-49	
Effect of his speech	7:28-29		7:1a

The Gospel of Mark lacks a real parallel; however, the topics of the sermon appear in Mk 6:24-26; however, the prophetic warnings starting with the exclamation **alas!** can be found in the Luke’s sermon in the field. Some topics of the Sermon on the Mount appear also outside the sermon block of Luke, in the so-called travelogues (9:51-18:14).

There is no agreement about the source of the Sermon on the Mount / in the field. Some excerpts are said to have originated from a pre-Gospel source, the ancient

Logion³. However, neither there is agreement on the question whether Matthew and Luke made a review on the same Logion source⁴ or they used different ones. Luke left out the special Jewish topics from his summary; perhaps that is for the same reason why Mark leaves out this sermon from his Gospel. Regarding the Gospel of Matthew, this speech is the first of five: after it comes from Mt 10; Mt 13:1-53 parables, from Mt 18 is the speech given to the disciples and Mt 24 is the speech in the temple. This text is the overture of the Gospel of Matthew, which can be found between the baptism of Jesus and the invitation of the first disciples.

The beginning and the end of the Sermon

The Sermon on the Mount precedes the public activities of Jesus and the mission of Jesus regarding the multitudes. The Beatitudes (Mt 5:3-12; Lk 6:24-26); the salt (Mt 5:13; Mk 9:49-50; Lk 14:34-35), the light for the world (Mt 5:14-16, Mk 4:21 Lk 8:16 Jn 8:12) and the similitude of the hidden lamp, the similitude of the splinter and the log and that of the wise and crazy house builders dominate the speech.

The theological structure of the text is obvious; however, its form is argued upon by researchers. According to some, the sermon ends with the Lord's Prayer (Mt 6:7-15; Mk 11:25; Lk 11:1-4) and it is the introduction to the prayer. But in reality it goes on with the topics of fasting, the real treasure, the lamp of the body, the Mammon, Providence, hypocritical judgement, effective prayer, narrow gate, false prophets, following the will of God and the house built on a rock. And we can find a reference only in Mt 7:28-29; Mk 1:12-22 and Lk 7:1; 4:32 that Jesus "finished what he wanted to say". John once refers to the fact once that "servants" were extraordinarily impressed by the discourses of Jesus. "No one has ever spoken like this man" (Jn 7:46). Thus it is more likely that in the Gospel of Matthew, the Lord's Prayer stands in the middle of the discourse which is preceded by a structure leading to it.

3 In the argument about the synoptic question, it talks about the sources before the Gospels. A witness of this theory from ancient times was Bishop Papias of Hierapolis (A. D. Ca. 150), who had seen a Hebrew / Aramaic fragment of the Gospel. Streeter, B. H.: *The Four Gospels, a Study of Origins treating of the Manuscript Tradition, Sources, Authorship, & Dates*, (1924)

4 The best expert of oral tradition is Dunn, James D. G. See: *The Oral Gospel Tradition*. Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company 2013.

Argument on the structure and the genre of the discourse

The circle of those researchers who consider the beatitudes to be the theological summary of the discourse extends from Saint Augustine (354–430)⁵ to Michael Douglas Goulder (1927–2010) of the 20th century.⁶

G. Bornkamm (1905–1990) thinks that the Sermon on the Mount was built around the Lord's Prayer; while from Danniell Patte (1939–) to Ulrich Luz consider that we can talk about a speech structured in a parallel way.

Dale Allison and Glen Stassen⁷ stand up for the triadic or triple structure. Jack Kingsbury (1983?–1997?) and Hans Dieter Betz (1931–) talks about a thematic relationship; according to them all topics are structured around the right or true way of life.

II. A short interpretation history of the discourse

The obviously high ethical teaching of the discourse has been interpreted in the most different ways throughout history; the different interpretations have often been the source of great conflicts between certain Christian groups: they also divided the different directions of the religious orders and the members of the different Christian confessions. Craig S. Keener has collected at least 36 different interpretations, which he put into eight different categories.⁸

Throughout the Middle Ages, this teaching was considered to be obligatory only for the clergy and for members of the religious orders: they were thought to be the only ones who were able to understand and follow it. Martin Luther (1483–1546) insisted that these texts relate to all Christians. The Anabaptists took this interpretation verbatim. Others have seen the view of society of the Gospels in it. Some have considered it to be the basic foundation of Christian existentialism. Albert Schweitzer (1875–1965) thought it was related to the eschatology standing on the threshold and to the inner moral of Christian man: to a moral that precedes the coming of the Kingdom of God and thus the moral teaching of the discourse

5 The latter gave the title to Mt 6-7: *De sermone Domini in monte libri duo* Id. *De Sermone Domini in monte*. Cf. PL 34, 1229–1306, vö. *De consensu evangelistarum* II, cap. XVII, 35, PL 34, 1094; cap. XIX, 43–47, PL 34, 1098–1100). “This discourse contains all the commands necessary for Christian life. (1:1). Calvin also said something similar: “*brevis summa doctrinale Christi*”

6 Charles H. Talbert: *Reading the Sermon on the Mount*: 2004 pp 21–26.

7 Allison, Dale C.: „The Structure of the Sermon on the Mount” (PDF). *Journal of Biblical Literature* 106 (September 1987): 423–45.

8 Craig S. Keener: *The Gospel of Matthew* 2009. pp 37–38.

always points out only the target and do not contain a command that can be fulfilled and that is accountable in an exact way but they rather contain a so-called ethics of responsibility (*Verantwortungsethik*).

The parallels and the sources of Matthew and Luke

There has been a great debate about the relationship of the Sermon on the Mount by Matthew and the sermon in the field by Luke (6:17-49) and about whether Luke tells the same event in his own way or they are different because Jesus gave such teaching to his audience many times, which were summarized by the two Gospel writers in different ways.

Parallels of speech outside the Bible

Several researchers have looked for parallels to these sermons outside the Bible. This was how a quite adventurous idea⁹ was born according to which Jesus was the fourteenth Dalai Lama, who connected Christian and Buddhist teaching. However, the relationship of Jesus and Buddhism has not been supported by any historical fact. Jesus never went to India during his life on Earth, especially not before his public activities.

Despite this fact, several modern researches have been eager to prove that Jesus visited Tibet, Kashmir or India. The novels dealing with the hidden life of Jesus, disguised as researches, talk about this topic.

The viewpoint¹⁰ of Frithjof Schuon from Indiana, USA (1907–1998), a historian of comparative religion is quite particular; he is the researcher of eternal philosophical truths. According to him, the Sermon on the Mount is a perfect synthesis of the whole Christian teaching since the text announces eternal and universal truths and spiritual teaching. The discourse contains views that carry the essence of all religions and shows the esoteric feature of Christianity. All these rather different approaches convince me to say that the genre of the Sermon on the Mount is unique and uncategorizable the same way as are the parables of Jesus.

9 Nicholas Roerich Russian painter, traveller, archaeologist, revolutionary, spy and who knows what else set out with his family and friends to a big journey to the east in 1925. They also visited the Hemis monastery in Ladakh, where allegedly they found the proofs: Jesus spent 18 years in India; these are the so-called “lost years” about which the Bible does not talk. The information has been revised and nothing seems to give foundation to this idea. Cf. *Jesus lebte in Indien – Sein geheimes Leben vor und nach der Kreuzigung*. Ullstein-Verlag, Berlin 1998, *Das Jesus-Komplott: die Wahrheit über das Turiner Grabtuch*. Heyne-Verlag, München 1997, *Der Ur-Jesus – Die buddhistischen Quellen des frühen Christentums*. Langen-Müller Verlag, München 1994, *Jesus starb nicht am Kreuz – Die Botschaft des Turiner Grabtuchs*. Langen-Müller Verlag, München 1998,

10 The following work has been published also in Hungarian: Frithjof Schuon: *A kereszténységről az örökérvényű bölcsesség fényében* Bp, 2014.

III. Polemics in the Sermon on the Mount

The following texts introduce the statements polemizing with the Old Testament or with the old law: “You have heard how it was said to your ancestors...” Then the sentence goes on the following way: “But I say this to you...” Altogether we can find five such formula in the Sermon on the Mount and almost all of them makes an Old Testament command of the Torah stricter.

The first polemic can be found in Mt 5:21: “You shall not kill” (Ὁὐ φονεύσεις). It makes Ex 20:13 stricter but it does not quote the text exactly but adds to it: “And if anyone does kill, he must answer for it before the court.” This is followed by the restriction of Jesus (verse 22) *But I say this to you: “Anyone who is angry with a brother will answer for it before the court; anyone who calls a brother “Fool” will answer for it before the Sanhedrin, and anyone who calls him “Traitor” will answer for it in hell fire.*

The second polemic can be found in Mt 5:27 with the same kind of introduction. “You shall not commit adultery.” (Ὁὐ μοιχεύσεις.) The exact text of Deuteronomy (5:18) is: “You must not commit adultery.” The restriction of Jesus is: *“But I say this to you, if a man looks at a woman lustfully, he has already committed adultery with her in his heart.”*

The third polemic can be found in Mt 5:33-37. “You must not break your oath, but you must fulfil your oaths to the Lord.” (Ὁὐκ ἐπιορκήσεις, ἀποδώσεις δὲ τῷ κυρίῳ τοὺς ὄρκους σου.) (cf. Lev 19:12, Num 30, 2 Dt 23:21) Jesus makes this command stricter, too: *Do not swear at all, either by heaven, since that is God’s throne, or by earth, since it is his footstool, or by Jerusalem since it is the city of the great King. Do not swear by your head either since you cannot turn a single hair white or black. All you need say is “Yes” if you mean yes, and “No”, if you mean no. Anything more than this comes from the Evil One.* (verses 35-37)

The fourth polemic can be found in Mt 5:38: *“Eye for eye and tooth for tooth.”* (Ὁφθαλμὸν ἀντὶ ὀφθαλμοῦ καὶ ὀδόντα ἀντὶ ὀδόντος) (Ex 21:24 Lev 24:20, Deut 19:21). The restriction of Jesus is: *Offer no resistance to the wicked. If anyone hits you on the right cheek, offer him the other as well. If someone wishes to go law with you to get your tunic, let him have your cloak as well. And if anyone requires you to go one mile, go two miles with him. Give to anyone who asks you, and if anyone wants to borrow, do not turn away.* (verses 40-42)

The irregular polemic

Mt 5:43-48	Lk 6:27-28.32-36
<p>⁴³You have heard how it was said, You will love your neighbour and hate your enemy.</p> <p>(Αγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου καὶ μισήσεις τὸν ἐχθρόν σου.)</p> <p>⁴⁴But I say this to you, love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you; ⁴⁵So that you may be children of your Father in heaven, for he causes his sun to rise on the bad as well as the good.</p> <p>⁴⁶For if you love those who love you, what reward will you get? Do not even the tax collectors do as much?</p> <p>⁴⁷And if you save your greetings for your brothers, are you doing anything exceptional? Do not even the gentiles do as much? ⁴⁸You must therefore be perfect, just as your heavenly Father is perfect.</p>	<p>²⁷ But I say this to you who are listening: Love your enemies, do good to those who hate you,</p> <hr/> <p>ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν, καλῶς ποιεῖτε τοῖς μισοῦσιν ὑμᾶς,</p> <hr/> <p>²⁸ bless those who curse you, pray for those who treat you badly.</p> <hr/> <hr/> <p>³²If you love those who love you, what credit can you expect? Even sinners love those who love them. ³³And if you do good to those who do good to you, what credit can you expect? For even sinners do that much. ³⁴And if you lend to those from whom you hope to get money back, what credit can you expect? Even sinners lend to sinners to get back the same amount. Instead, love your enemies and do good to them, and lend without any hope of return. You will have a great reward, and you will be children of the Most High, for he himself is kind to the ungrateful and the wicked. ³⁶Be compassionate just as your Father is compassionate.</p>

The fifth polemic is irregular and problematic: *You will love your neighbour and hate your enemy* (Mt 5:43) It is hard to find a parallel quote in the Torah. According to some, this is a reference to Lev 19:18 but this passage does not talk about this. It says, “You will not exact vengeance on, or bear any sort of grudge against, the members of your race, but will love your neighbour as yourself. I am Yahweh.”

Although we can find a similar passage in Ex 34:12-15

- יב** השמר לך, פן-תִּכְרַת בְּרִית לְיוֹשְׁבֵי
הָאָרֶץ, אֲשֶׁר אֵתָּה, בָּא עֲלֶיךָ: פֶּן-
יִהְיֶה לְמוֹקֵשׁ, בְּקִרְבְּךָ.
- יג** כִּי אֶת-מִזְבְּחֵתָם תִּתְּצוּן, וְאֶת-
מִצְבְּתָם תִּשְׁבְּרוּן; וְאֶת-אֲשֵׁרֵיוֹ,
תִּכְרֹתוּן.
- יד** כִּי לֹא תִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה, לְאֵל אֲחֵר: כִּי
יִהְיֶה קַנָּא שְׁמוֹ, אֵל קַנָּא הוּא.
- טו** פֶּן-תִּכְרַת בְּרִית, לְיוֹשְׁבֵי הָאָרֶץ;
וְזָנוּ אַחֲרֵי אֱלֹהֵיהֶם, וְזָבְחוּ לְאֱלֹהֵיהֶם,
וְקָרְאוּ לְךָ, וְאָכַלְתָּ מִזִּבְחֹהוּ.
- 12** *Take heed to thyself, lest thou make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land whither thou goest, lest they be for a snare in the midst of thee.*
- 13** *But ye shall break down their altars, and dash in pieces their pillars, and ye shall cut down their Asherim.*
- 14** *For thou shalt bow down to no other god; for the LORD, whose name is Jealous, is a jealous God;*
- 15** *lest thou make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land, and they go astray after their gods, and do sacrifice unto their gods, and they call thee, and thou eat of their sacrifice;*

However, the sentence “love your neighbour and hate your enemy” cannot be found in the Torah and thus the question where Jesus could have taken it from arises. Some think that Jesus quoted some **Targum of the Torah**¹¹; however, the proper text has not been found. This text is at the same time the most drastic anti-Judaist text of Matthew. But of course we should not forget the fact that Matthew himself was Jewish so we cannot say he was anti-Semitic. Such hatred can be felt when we read about the enemies of God:

God will let me feast my eyes on those who lie in wait for me. Do not annihilate them, or my people may forget; shake them in your power, bring them low, Lord, our shield. Sin is in their mouths, sin on their lips, so let them be trapped in their pride for the curses and lies that they utter. Destroy them in your anger; destroy them till they are no more.” (Ps 59:11-14). The curse psalms belong here in which

¹¹ See Strack-Billerbeck: Kommentar zum NT aus Talmud und Midrasch... München, 1978. I. 337–342. see Josephus Antiqu. 4,8.35 Mechita Ex 21:23

the curse of God is asked against the enemies of Israel (79:6-12; 83:10-19; 129:5-8) or against their own personal opponents and oppressors (5:11; 6:11; 7:10-16 and next.; 10:12; 28:4; 31:19; 35:4-6; 40:15; 54:7; 58:7-10; 69:23-29; 109:6-19; 139:19; 140:9-12; 141:10; 143:12; Jer 15:15; 17:18; 18:21-23). It was not allowed for the sons of Israel to take revenge on each other (cf. Ex. 23:4 and next; Lev 19:17 and next. 34; Job 31:29; Par 25:21; Eccl 28:1-7), but taking revenge on the enemy was taken for granted (2Sam 16:5-13; Psalms 139:21 and next; cf. 1Tess 2:15). Thus it is not the stipulations of the Torah but the curse psalms that show that the command of Jesus to love our enemies and the summons that we should pray for those who persecute us (Mt 5:44; Jn 13:34; 15:12) – was a brand new one based on a new viewpoint.

This hatred idea appears in the **Qumran texts** talking about the fights of the sons of the light against the sons of darkness (1QS 1:10).¹² In the texts of the Old Testament we do not read about hatred but rather about the fact that the love of your neighbour extends only to the borders of Israel (Lev 19:34); if it crosses the borders it only extends to the Proselytes; however, Hellenistic philanthropy can hardly be connected to the Bible passage above. That is why this text is considered to be an Early Christian Anti-Judaist declaration (G. Dautzenberg 1934-)¹³. It reflects rather the viewpoint of the Hellenistic vulgar ethics in which one should react to love with love and to hatred with hatred.

IV. Reception history concerning the command to love our enemies

In the Early Christian Church, the love of enemies was interpreted as quite an important basic law. “Is it a merit for you if you only love those who love you? You will find merit only if you love your enemies as well as those who hate you (cf. Lk 6:32-35). If they hear this, they wonder about such up-welling of benevolence, but

12 The Hebrew title, *Milhámá* (War); scholarly marking: 1QM scroll of combat: Hebrew literary work from among the Dead Sea Scrolls. 19 columns survived but damaged as well as their bottom part. During the Apocalypse the war between the devout of Belial, the sons of Darkness against the sons of Light breaks out; the armies of the latter one is led by angels. Both the armies of Belial and those of the angels win three times; however, the final victory will be that of the sons of Light, thanks to the intervention of God. Cf. Fröhlich, I.: *A qumráni szövegek magyarul* PPKE Piliscsaba Budapest 2000.166–184.

13 See. *Studien zur Theologie der Jesustradition*, Stuttgart 1995

if they see that we do not only dislike those who hate us but also those who love us, they will laugh at us and they will curse the Name.” (2 Kelemen, end of 13.f)¹⁴

Augustine makes an attempt to give a multistage ethical introduction when he writes the following: “The truthfulness of the Pharisees who belonged to the old law was graded. We have seen this from the fact that there were many who hated even those who loved them. Thus the one who loves their neighbour but still loves their enemy has taken a step further. This is why the texts says “and hate your enemy”. However, this should not be conceived as a command directed to the true but rather as an allowance for the weak.¹⁵ It is quite interesting that **Augustine** also discovers that “hate your enemy” cannot be found in the text of the Torah, when he argues with the Manichaeans. “*I am asking the Manichaeans: why do they attribute this passage to the law of Moses: hate your enemy? Didn’t St. Paul say that some people are the enemies of God? (Rom 1:30)*”¹⁶ We can discover the first allowance in **Origen**: “*Love as you love yourself.*” According to him, the love of enemies differs from the love of neighbours as long as the previous one only means that you don’t hate your enemies.¹⁷ Jerome followed a similar track concerning differentiation: “Obviously, the hot love of enemies is impossible: one cannot love their enemies the same way as they love their blood relatives or their friends...”¹⁸

There are several attempts of two-staged ethics: **Ambrose** thinks that in duty ethics the love of enemies is the highest rank of love, the so-called “via perfecta.”¹⁹ Augustine states that only “with the perfect mercy of God may we be able to love our enemies. And those Christians who cannot perform the greatest good, i.e. the love of their enemies, how can they pray the Lord’s Prayer? (Mt 6:12). **Scholasticism** has never considered the love of our enemies as a piece of advice of the Gospel; rather it differentiated between general philanthropy with the help of Stoic philosophy, from which it did not exclude the love of enemies either. This is “necessitas occurretet” but “absque articulo necessitas” which “pertinent ad perfectam caritatis” the love of the enemy, which however is not absolutely necessary to receive salvation.²⁰ By this, the love of the enemy slips from the centre of Christian ethical practice to the peripheries. In ecumenical dialogue, the

14 Ványó L.: Apostoli atyák Bp., SZIT 1980. 156. old. cf. also Theodore Stratelates „Christ did not give us a command that cannot be fulfilled”

15 Augustine: De sermo Domini 1,41. Ench 19(73).

16 Augustine: Contra Faustum 19,24

17 Origen Hom in Cant.2,8. PG 13,53 and next

18 Hieronymus: Pelag 1,3

19 Ambrose: Offl 1,11. see also Liber Graduum (kiad Kmosko, M. 1926) 19,32

20 Thomas Aq Summa Theologica 2/II.qu 25. art 8.corpus 18

love of the enemy slips to the area of personal feelings. War enemies are taken from this category and the love of the enemy falls back to the frames of private life in that unfriendly neighbours and workplace rivals should not be hated; however, the so-called Tolstoi humanism does not fit into this category. The author in his diary, following a prayer experience, wrote the following: “love as the feeling of “uniting all good and rejecting all bad”.²¹ Unfortunately, this feeling has not overwritten the hatred between nations. The balance teetered between the hatred of the enemy and individual love.

Reception history today

The passages 2:12-22 in 2Peter do not restrain from reviling and spattering the enemies of God and sinners: *“But these people speak evil of what they do not understand; they are like brute beasts, born only to be caught and killed, and like beasts they will be destroyed, being injured in return for the injuries they have inflicted.”* However, we can find contradictions also in the Gospel of Matthew who considers the command to love our enemy to be the highest form of love in the Sermon on the Mount; at the same time, when he talks about the Pharisees in Chapter 23 he talks a bit differently.

The concept of “Selbsthass” – self-hatred – is related to the German poet Heinrich Heine (1797–1856). “If the love of God makes me perfectly joyful then he lets me fully experience this joy; however, it can only be perfect if I can hang 6-10 of my enemies in this tree... Yes, one should forgive their enemies but only after having hanged them.”²²

Montefiore, C. J. (1858–1938) Jewish religion historian; he was among the first who dealt with the Gospels. He considers that Christians did not relate the command to love our enemies to the Jewish.²³

Josef Klausner (1874–1958), who was the first to write a Jewish biography in Hebrew, also says in his volume entitled “The Jewish Jesus” that this ethical command of Jesus has not been fulfilled throughout the history of the Church.²⁴

21 Tolstoi: Diary. Budapest: 1996; p. 27.

22 Heine, H.: Gondolatok (Gedanke) Sämtlichen Schriften VI/1 Munich, 1975. 653

23 Montefiore, C.G. C.G. Montefiore, The Synoptic Gospels, London: Macmillan, 1927 II. 523.

24 Klausner, J.: Zsidó Jézus, quote 541.

Nietzsche, F. (1844–1900) thought that the restraint of power is the sign of weakness. “I only want an enemy that I can hate and not one that I can respect: one should be proud of their enemy.”²⁵

According to the Polish culture philosopher Kolakowski, L (1927–2009) the command to love our enemy does not work because it contradicts the basic anthropological and psychological orientation of human nature.²⁶

Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) analyses the problem of loving our enemy from a psychological point of view. “The love of enemies – even if it is successful – is still an unpleasing experiment to exceed the Me-culture; we repress aggression with the sense of guilt.”²⁷ However, he evaluates its effect on the Christian culture in a different way. “Since Apostle Paul made general philanthropy become the foundation of the Christian community, the intolerant manifestations of Christian against those who had been left out from this have had irremediable consequences.”²⁸

An early expert of capitalism, the sociologist Max Weber (1864–1920) says, “Due to the fact that this command is actually more serious than faith, it is a well-loved quote. ... When it means the love ethics deprived from the Cosmos: “But not to oppose violence” – this means to the politician that one can either oppose violence without using violence or it is one who is responsible for the spreading of it.”²⁹

According to Martin Buber³⁰ (1878–1965), the love of the enemy is not merely some moral teaching but the very essence of the faith in God. The love of the enemy is not a mere feeling, as neither is the love in general that Jesus talks about but a clear attitude. It takes a decision about our relationship towards our neighbour (in this case, towards our enemy) and acts accordingly. The love of the enemy is a context of ethnical and religious tensions between states and peoples. According to the command to love our enemy we should not consider only our kins, our blood relatives but also non-Jewish strangers to be of complete value and accept them as those who are equal to us in all respect. “When you harvest your vineyard, you must not pick it over a second time. The foreigner, the orphan and the widow shall have the rest. Remember that you were once a slave in Egypt. That is why I am giving you this order.” (Deut 24:21-22) The maxim of Jesus, however, is as follows: “*But I say this to you, love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you; So that you may be children of your Father in heaven, for he causes*

25 Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900): Also sprach Zarathustra III 21, Werke VI/1, 260.

26 Kolakowsky L.: The Key to Heaven under the title The Devil and Scripture, 1973), 1965.

27 Freud, S.: Das Unberhangen in der Kultur Frankfurt 1960.

28 Sigmund Freud (1856-1939), Das Unbehagen in der Kultur (1930), Werke XIV 474.

29 Max Weber, Politik als Beruf (1919), Ges. polit. Schriften, Tübingen 1974, 550f.

30 Buber, M.: Zwiesprache. (Erstdruck 1929, Buchausgabe 1932).

his sun to rise on the bad as well as the good” (Mt 5:44-45). Buber is attracted to the Hasids because in their teaching the love of the enemy is alive without any Christian influence, as it is proven also by a Hasidic prayer: “Lord of the World, please save Israel. But if you would not want to, please save the goyim at least.”

V. Final considerations

1. Jesus says that “a sound tree produces good fruit” (Mt 7:17). We need to acknowledge that the realization of the love of the enemy is not clearly positive within the different churches although the lack of it has always produced bad fruit. Crusades, violent baptisms, Christian anti-Judaism and the hatred of different confessions towards each other has never been the accomplishment of the command of Jesus to love our enemy but rather the projection of the image of the enemy in our rivals. Unless the love of enemy touches the enemy it cannot be fully the same as Jesus conceived.
2. By examining the reception history of the command to love our enemy we can see that the instrumentalization of love has been realized in the Church: charity is a strategical tool in the Christian Church and often serves mainly missionary purposes just to tie the members to the organization of the Church rather than being testimony of the transcendent.
3. The critics of the love of the enemy agree upon the conviction that it cannot by any means be considered to be a natural human attitude. However, in Jesus’ mission the love of the enemy is not built on tactical considerations: according to Him, it is not a brave feat of the hero or the resignation of the winner but rather the result of wise consideration. According to Jesus, the love of the enemy is essentially the break-in of the Kingdom of God into the world. Thus it cannot be considered the peak of human love as it used to be interpreted in the exegesis history of the Middle Ages. It is the command of the risen Christ and is not a natural thing: it testifies that we have understood Jesus’ teaching and that we cooperate with His mercy.
4. The love of the enemy is basically a testimony about Jesus’ love, the human verification and rationalism of which is not correct since it comes from a different context, from “above”. It exceeds earthly justice upon which otherwise even realpolitik cannot be built, as Weizsacker C. F. says.

Das Alte Testament als gemeinsame Wurzel des Rabbinismus und der Evangelien

1. Das Alte Testament als gemeinsame Wurzel des Rabbinismus und der Evangelien

1.1. Der hermeneutische Hintergrund

Das hebräische Wort *Maschal*¹ ist überaus reich an Bedeutungen. Werden die Gleichnisse Jesu – auf Grund des Alten Testaments und des Rabbinismus – für Maschalim gehalten, so müssen wir des Bedeutungsreichtums dieses Wortes innesein. Die folgenden Bedeutungen lassen sich – ohne Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit – anreihen:

Tierfabel: Hes 72,2:	Vom Zedernwipfel und vom Weinstock (»[...] lege dem Hause Israel ein Rätsel vor und sprich einen <i>Maschal!</i> «)
Sprüche der Weisheit:	Spr 1,1–6 (»Dies sind die <i>Maschalim</i> Salomos, des Sohnes Davids, des Königs von Israel [...]«)
Sprichwörter:	1 Sam 10,12 (»Daher ist das Maschal gekommen: Ist Saul auch unter den Propheten?«)
Spottverse:	Deu 28,37 (»Und du wirst zum Entsetzen, zum <i>Maschal</i> und zum Spott unter allen Völkern, zu denen der HERR dich treibt.«)
Klagelieder:	Mich 2,4 (»Zur selben Zeit wird man einen <i>Maschal</i> von euch machen und klagen: Es ist aus – so wird man sagen –, wir sind vernichtet!«)

1 Auf aramäisch Matla. Vgl. RGG. II. S. 1615

Zeichen, Vorbild:	Jer 24,9 (»Ich will sie zum <i>Maschal</i> des Entsetzens, ja des Unglücks machen für alle Königreiche auf Erden, zum Spott und zum Sprichwort, zum Hohn und zum Fluch an allen Orten [...]«)
Beispielhafte Handlung:	Hes 24,3–8 (»Und gib dem Haus des Widerspruchs einen <i>Maschal</i> und sprich zu ihnen [...] Setze einen Topf auf, setz ihn auf und gieß Wasser hinein! Tu Fleisch hinein [...]«)
Allegorie:	Hes 21,1–5 (»[...] und sprich zum Wald im Südland: [...] Siehe, ich will in dir ein Feuer anzünden, das soll grüne und dürre Bäume verzehren [...] Ich aber sprach: Ach, Herr HERR, sie sagen von mir: Redet der nicht immer in <i>Maschalim</i> ?«)
Lehrende Worte:	Hiob 27,1 und 29,1 (»Hiob fuhr fort mit seinem <i>Maschal</i> und sprach [...]«)
Orakel:	Num 24,3 und 15 (» [...] und er hob an mit seinem <i>Maschal</i> und sprach: Es sagt Bileam, der Sohn Beors, es sagt der Mann, dem die Augen geöffnet sind; es sagt der Hörer göttlicher Rede, der des Allmächtigen Offenbarung sieht [...]«)

Man kann feststellen, daß sich die Bedeutung des Maschal nicht mit der von דָּאָנָאָד'עַר־דֶּקֶט deckt. Untersucht man hingegen nach dem Wort *Maschal* jene narrativen Texte des Alten Testaments, die den neutestamentlichen und rabbinischen Gleichnissen formal am meisten ähnlich sind (*das Gleichnis des Jotham*, Das Buch der Richter 9, *des Nathan*, 2 Sam 12, *des Joas*, 2 Kön 14 usw.), so wird man nicht fündig.

Was also das Alte Testament mit *Maschal* bezeichnet, ist nur teilweise mit der neutestamentlichen Gleichnisrede verwandt. Aus gattungstheoretischer Sicht stehen die synoptischen Parabeln den Maschalim der Rabbiner wesentlich näher. Diese Erkenntnis bewegt viele Forscher der Gleichnisreden, bei ihrer Forschung das Alte Testament vollends auszuklammern. Ich halte das aus drei Gründen für ein großes Versäumnis. *Erstens* weil sowohl für Jesus wie auch für die großen Meister der Aggada die Welt des Alten Testaments jenes natürliche Medium bedeutete, das ihr Denken und ihre Ausdrücke geprägt hatte. *Zweitens* weil ein beträchtlicher Teil der rabbinischen Gleichnisse exegetischer Art ist. Da ich sie zum Gegenstand detaillierter Untersuchung machen will, liegt die Bestrebung auf der Hand, die alttestamentlichen Bezüge ebenfalls kennenzulernen. *Drittens*:

Die Gleichnisse entwickelten sich im Laufe der Jahrhunderte fortwährend und die Gattung erreichte gerade zu Jesu Zeit jenes Niveau, das man als klassisch bezeichnen darf.²

Dem immanenten Verständnis der Gedanken- und Bilderwelt der rabbinischen und Jesuanischen Parabeln kann die Untersuchung der Erzähltechnik des Alten Testaments viel beitragen. Ich bediene mich bewußt des Wortes *Erzählung*, da ich der Überzeugung bin, daß wir am ehesten an die Botschaft der Gleichnisse herankönnen, wenn in ihnen nicht – stabile –

Bilder, sondern – dynamische – Erzählungen gesehen werden. Seit Jülicher trägt die Gleichnisforschung hinwiederum das Joch des Begriffspaares von *Bildhälfte* und *Sachhälfte*.³ Diese steife Unterscheidung geht nicht von der Natur der narrativen Formen des Judentums aus, sondern von der der Rhetorik des Griechentums. Claus Westermann, der als erster unter den Forschern dem alttestamentlichen Hintergrund der Gleichnisreden Jesu wahre Aufmerksamkeit widmet, weist darauf hin, daß sich hinter Jülichers Ansichten die Unterscheidung des Aristoteles von *ornatus* und *res* verborgen hält.⁴ Die Nachwirkung von Jülicher hatte ihrerseits zur Folge, daß bei Jesu Gleichnisreden das Gewicht auf deren *Bedeutung* fiel, der Text selbst konnte weniger zu Wort kommen. Fand der jeweilige Forscher die wahre oder vermeintliche Bedeutung einer Parabel, so hatte er sich nunmehr ausschließlich mit jener befaßt und die Erzählung selbst war dahingestellt. Das Alte Testament hingegen kennt diese Unterscheidung nicht, die theologische Botschaft findet sich vielmehr gerade in der erzählten Geschichte (oder in *der* Metapher, in *der* Gleichnisrede). Eben deshalb können literarische, folkloristische, soziologische und komparative Untersuchungen der Gleichnisse sehr von Nutzen sein.

Die hermeneutische Deutung der Gleichnisse blieb lange Jahrzehnte hindurch im Einfluß der Unterscheidung von *Bildhälfte* und *Sachhälfte* befangen. Erst im letzten Drittel unseres Jahrhunderts konnte der Erkenntnis entsprechender Nachdruck verliehen werden, daß die Natur der Metapher Unterscheidungen dieser Art kaum zuläßt, den Gedanken birgt ja gerade die Sprache, das Bild.

Paul Ricoeur hat viel zur Annäherung zwischen theologischer und philosophischer Hermeneutik beigetragen. Die Ähnlichkeit beider Disziplinen bekundet die Darstellung von den Eigenheiten der Metapher.⁵ Er erachtet in der Sprache ein

2 D. Flusser: *Die rabbinischen Gleichnisse...*, S. 47, 93

3 Jülicher, S. 24

4 Thoma / Lauer, S. 15.

5 Paul Ricoeur: Metapher. In: *Evangelische Theologie*, (Sonderheft), Chr Kaiser Verlag München, 1974

Zeichensystem, das nicht aktuell, sondern ausschließlich virtuell, in bewegter Bewegtheit existiert. Dadurch, daß das Wort der lebendigen Sprache in schriftliche Form gebracht worden war, änderte sich die Rolle des Niedergeschriebenen bedeutsam. Die Schriftlichkeit des niedergeschriebenen Textes fixiert und bewahrt nicht nur das lebendig Gesprochene, sondern eröffnet eine neue Ebene der Deutung: Der Text hat von nun ab ein autonomes Eigenleben. In seiner Analyse kommt Ricoeur auf diese Art von der *Rhetorik* über die *Semantik* zur *Hermeneutik*. Nach der Untersuchung der Eigentümlichkeiten des alttestamentlichen Maschals kommt er zur Feststellung, daß dasselbe ursprünglich in einen sprachlichen und einen gedanklichen Teil nicht zerfallen sei, so lasse sich die Jülicherische Distinktion kaum anwenden: »Das hebräische maschal verbindet direkt die Bedeutung des Spruches und eine entsprechende Disposition in der Sphäre der menschlichen Existenz ohne den Umweg über eine allgemeine ethische Aussage, die das Gleichnis veranschaulichen würde. [...] Deshalb müssen wir den Dualismus 'Sache' und 'Sprachfigur' vergessen, seine Umsetzung als 'Gedanke' und 'Bild' vergessen.«⁶ Ricoeur leitet die Gleichnisreden demzufolge nicht vom starren *Bild*, sondern der dynamischen *Metapher* ab, wobei er die Parabeln für Metaphern hält, die zur Erzählung expliziert worden sind.⁷ Eine solcherart zentrale Beurteilung der Metapher läßt sowohl die alt- wie auch die neutestamentliche Hermeneutik ins Licht einer neuen Beleuchtung rücken.⁸ Ricoeur verweist darauf, daß die metaphorische Rede den Gedanken intensiviert, besonders dann, wenn dies mit der Anwendung des Paradoxesons einhergeht. Letzteres bestimmt die Deutung der symbolischen Taten der alttestamentlichen Propheten entscheidend, bzw. die Bedeutung solcher Gleichnisse, wie *Die bösen Weingärtner*, *Die Arbeiter am Weinberg*, *Das große Abendmahl*, *Der verlorene Sohn*. Ricoeur schöpfte viel aus der literarischen und ästhetischen Annäherungsweise in dem Gleichnisbuch des Amerikaners, D. O. Via.⁹ In Vias Lesart verfügen die Gleichnisse als autonome, organische und ästhetische Einheiten über eine eigene Dramaturgie. So unter formalem wie unter inhaltlichem Aspekt sind in ihrer Ausarbeitung Anfang und Ende von Belang. Die Dialoge ergeben ihrerseits den dramatischen Charakter, den Konflikt.¹⁰ Die Applikation von Ricoeurs Theorie auf das Alte Testament wird von

6 Op. cit., S. 62

7 Op. cit., S. 55 (»Ein Gleichnis kann man versuchsweise als eine Redeweise definieren, die einen metaphorischen Prozeß auf eine Erzählform anwendet.«)

Derselbe in: *Biblical Hermeneutics Semeia* 4 (1975), S. 31: »The parable, it seems to me, is the conjunction of narrative form and a metaphorical process.«

8 Vgl.: H. Weder: *Die Gleichnisse Jesu als Metaphern*.

9 Ricoeur: *Metapher*. S. 37.

Via: *The Parables. Their Literary and Existential Dimension*.

10 Via, S. 44 bis 83

Westermann vollzogen und zwar dergestalt, daß er in den Gleichnissen nie Bilder, sondern stets als epische Meisterwerke konzipierte Erzählungen erblickt.¹¹

E. Jünger betont, daß die Sprache des Glaubens metaphorisch sei.¹² Die Sprache sei nur funktional existent. Demgemäß dürfe man die Metaphern aus ihrer Umgebung keineswegs herausgreifen. Als Beispiel sei an den Löwen hingewiesen. Als in Gen 49,9 Juda mit einem Löwen verglichen wird, dann verweist das darauf, wie stark und von welchem Ansehen dieser Stamm ist. In Hosea 5,14 meint die Löwenmetapher hingegen Gott selber, der den abtrünnigen Stamm überfällt. Die Metapher bezieht sich nicht einmal in diesem Fall auf den Löwen als solchen, sondern auf dessen furchterregende Kräfte.¹³ Die Funktionalität der Metaphern macht auch sinnfällig, weshalb Jesus bald als Lamm (z.B. Joh 1,29), bald als Hirt (z.B. Joh 10,11) in Erscheinung tritt. Die Verwechslung dieser Bilder würde zu einem Wirrwarr in denselben führen! Auf die gleiche Art verursacht die willkürliche Verknüpfung von Bibelstellen verschiedener Umgebung auch bei der Deutung der Gleichnisse einen hermeneutischen Fehler.¹⁴ Wir würden beispielsweise fehlerhaft verfahren, läsen wir in das Gleichnis *Der von selbst wachsenden Saat* (Mark 4,26–29) auch das *vom Säemann* hinein, oder würden wir in Anbetracht des Gleichnisses *vom Senfkorn* (Matth. 13,31 f.) die Eigenheiten des *Glaubens wie ein Senfkorn* (Matth. 17,19) schildern.

Der Name des in die Gleichnisforschung bedeutende, neue Aspekte bringenden Hans Weder muß in dieser hermeneutischen Einleitung ebenfalls erwähnt werden. Er sieht die Gleichnisse – wie es bereits der Titel seines Buches *Die Gleichnisse Jesu als Metaphern*¹⁵ bekundet – im Grunde als Metaphern an. Seine Argumentation verfolgt folgende Logik. Die klassische Metapher des Homer lautet *Achill, der Löwe*. Das Subjekt dieses kurzen Satzes ist der griechische Gott, das Prädikatum der Löwe. Die biblischen Gleichnisreden faßt Weder so auf, daß dort an der Stelle des Prädikats die *Gleichnis-Erzählung* steht, das Satzsubjekt kann entweder Gottes Reich oder ein zu veranschaulichender Begriff sein. Aus der Natur der Metapher ergibt sich aber, daß sich diese beiden voneinander nicht trennen lassen, da der Gedanke in seiner Intensität geradezu vom Bild getragen wird. Demnach

11 Westermann, S. 48, 93, 106

12 Eberhard Jünger: *Metaphorische Wahrheit. Erwägungen zur theologischen Relevanz der Metapher als Beitrag zur Hermeneutik einer narrativen Theologie.* In: *Evangelische Theologie*, S. 55

13 Thomas v. Aquin: *Summa Theologica*. I. Q. 1. Zitiert nach B. K. Levalski: *Protestant Poetics*, Princeton, 1979, S. 70

14 Siehe 3.6.3.1

15 Wahrhaft Neues gebracht hat Weders Arbeit in der Gleichnisforschung des deutschen Sprachraums. Mit seiner literarischen Annäherung, die die Metapher neuartig interpretierte, hat er die Richtung künftiger Forschungsarbeiten höchstwahrscheinlich dauerhaft vorbestimmt. In Amerika werden ähnliche Gedanken von Wilder und Crossan vertreten.

rechnet auch der Theologe aus der Schweiz mit dem Jülicherschen Dualismus ab: »Die Unterscheidung zwischen Bild- und Sachhälfte [...] (ist) aufzugeben.«¹⁶

Als Ricoeur so formuliert, daß die Sprache nicht aktuell, sondern virtuell existent ist, dann artikuliert er den Gedanken des *Sprachereignisses*. Wie bekannt bildet die Achse von Jüngels theologischen Ansichten ebenfalls dies.¹⁷ Unter den Gleichnisforschern greift auch Georg Eichholz diesen Gedanken auf. Er leitet in seinem Buch die Ereignisnatur der Sprache von deren Bildhaftigkeit ab.¹⁸ Er verweigert ebenfalls die Jülichersche Auffassung der *Bildhäfte* zu teilen, weil sich die Anschaulichkeit der Gleichnissprache nicht in einzelnen Bildern, sondern in ganzen Reihen von Bildern, eben in der erzählten Geschichte, in der *Erzählung* zeigt. In der Gleichnisrede stehen miteinander also zwei Geschehnisse in analogem Verhältnis: jenes, das der Erzählung selbst innewohnt, und dasjenige, auf welches jenes hindeutet. Als Beispiel kann die Parabel vom *Schalksknecht* gelten. Im Vergleich zum Geschehnis, auf das sich die Sprache bezieht, ist das im Gleichnis dargelegte nur eine bruchteilhafte, bedingte Analogie. Was das Gleichnis zu zeigen *sucht*, ist Gottes Erbarmen. Was es zu zeigen *vermag*, ist die Barmherzigkeit einer fiktiven Person. Diese zwei Dinge sind zweifellos zweierlei, aber zwischen ihnen waltet dennoch das Verhältnis einer Analogie ob. Vom Letzteren kann man aufs Erstere folgern: vom König auf Gott, vom Knecht auf den Menschen in seiner Jeweiligkeit. Von Gott darf nur so, durch die Analogien der Sprache geredet werden.

Die Analogie ist also der eine Schlüssel der Gleichnisreden.

Durch eine mit sprachlichen Mitteln faßbare *Geschichte* versuchen wir das mit sprachlichen Mitteln nicht ausdrückbare *Geschehnis* zu fassen. Diese Geschichte- und Ereignishaftigkeit gilt sogar für scheinbar reglose Gleichnisse und bildhafte Wortgefüge. In Matth 13 bezeichnen Senfkorn und Sauerteig an und für sich noch gar kein Ereignis, gerade der *Vorgang*, der ihnen widerfährt, ist von großem Belang. (Faßt man sie als Gleichnisse vom Wachsen auf, dann ist dieser Vorgang wirklich eindeutig, das Wachsen bzw. die Säuerung des Brotteigs gehen ja vor unseren Augen vorstatten. Erblickt man in ihnen Gleichnisse des Kontrastes, so liegt der Akzent auf dem Übergang aus dem einen extremen Zustand in den andern). Ebenso wenig können solche bildhaften Wortgefüge wie das Salz und das Licht (Matth 5,13–16) vom Vorgang des Geschehnisses abstrahiert werden,

16 H. Weder, S. 97

17 Vgl. E. Jüngel: Die Problematik der Gleichnisrede Jesu, In: *Paulus und Jesus*, S. 87 bis 139, und überdies Ernst Fuchs: Was ist ein Sprachereignis? In: *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, Band 2, Tübingen, 1965, S. 424 bis 430

18 G. Eichholz: *Gleichnisse der Evangelien*, S. 21.

Salz und Licht haben ja beide die ihnen innewohnende Funktion in Erfüllung zu bringen, diese aber liegt einerseits im Schmecken, andererseits im Scheinen. Es ist also ein Charakterzug der metaphorischen Sprache, daß selbst ein scheinbar stehendes Bild die Eigenschaft des Ereignisses bekommen kann.

Wie mag sich dies auf die hermeneutische Untersuchung des alttestamentlichen Hintergrundes auf die Gleichnisse Jesu auswirken? Das Ergebnis läßt sich unter vier Punkten zusammenfassen:

1. Die Gleichnisse dürfen wir nicht unter den *Kriterien der Jülicherschen Zweiteilung in Bild- und Sachhälfte* suchen, bzw. deuten. Der Maschal und überhaupt die semitische Dichtung im allgemeinen läßt sich mit Kategorien und Regeln der griechischen Rhetorik und Poetik weniger erfassen.
2. Die Gleichnisse könnten auf die Urform der *Metapher* zurückgehen, diese soll hingegen in ihrer sprachlichen Intensität untersucht werden.
3. Die Metaphern und demgemäß auch die Gleichnisse reden von Gott in analoger Weise.
4. Die Metapher und das Gleichnis sind nicht einmal der Form nach Bilder, sondern *Geschichten, Erzählungen*.

1.2. Metaphern, Gleichnisse, Parabeln

Mit Hilfe der unten wiedergegebenen Beobachtungen will untersucht werden, inwiefern die metaphorische Welt des Alten Testaments auf die Bildhaftigkeit und die narrativen Lehren der Evangelien gewirkt hat.

1.2.1. Geschichtliche Bücher

Die metaphorische Denkweise schimmert auch durch die geschichtlichen Erzählungen und Gesetzestexte des Pentateuchs hindurch. Es seien einige Beispiele genannt:

»Es werden Lichter an der Feste des Himmels« (Gen 1,14) – diese Formulierung liefert auch eine verkappte Kritik der astralen Religion von Babilonien, da sie Sonne und Mond *nur* als leuchtende Lichter bezeichnet, die man am Himmel »anbringen« kann. So bringt bereits einer der ersten biblischen Sätze ein offensichtliches Beispiel für den Reichtum metaphorischer Ausdrucksweisen!

Auch die Metaphern aus der Erzählung der Sintflut tragen zur dramatischen Steigerung der Situation bei, z. B. »und es taten sich die Fenster des Himmels

auf« (Gen 7,11). Die Verheißung an Abram wird durch solche Metaphern, wie »und ich will deine Nachkommen machen wie den Staub auf Erden«(! Mose 13,16) sowie »sieh gen Himmel und zähle die Sterne [...] so zahlreich sollen deine Nachkommen sein!« (Gen 15,5), noch intensiver. Vom Aspekt der Bildhaftigkeit her verdienen die allegorischen Träume der Joseph-Erzählungen (Gen 37), sowie Jakobs Segenssprüche in Gen 49 besondere Aufmerksamkeit. Letztere Bibelstelle liefert Westermann die Grundlage bei der Beweisführung darüber, daß sie die Gleichnisrede aus einem Vergleich entfaltet.¹⁹ Bei Gen 49,14 steht folgendes zu lesen:

Isaschar wird ein knochiger Esel sein [...] da hat er seine Schultern geneigt, zu tragen, und ist ein fronpflichtiger Knecht geworden.

Was ist hier das Subjekt des Satzes, der Esel oder der Stamm? Die Antwort kann nur lauten, daß beide zusammen, und gerade das macht die Schönheit dieses metaphorischen Ausdrucks aus. Diese doppelte Ineinanderverwobenheit realisiert sich auch im Falle der Gleichnisse. Beim Lesen *des Liedes vom unfruchtbaren Weinberg* kann man mit gleichem Recht fragen: Was ist denn jenes, dessen »Zaun weggenommen« und dessen »Mauer eingerissen werden solle« (5,5)? Im wörtlichen Sinne ist es natürlich der Weinberg, im Sinne der Botschaft des Gleichnisses hingegen Israel. Dies ist aber schon eine metaphorische, oder eher allegorische Bedeutung. Die Annahme einer Ineinanderverwobenheit ist in diesem Fall deswegen besonders zweckmäßig, weil man sich nicht nur das Einreißen der Weinbergsmauer gut vorstellen kann, sondern auch das Zertrümmern der Stadtmauern von Jerusalem. Diese Relevanz ist der eine verborgene Grund des Erfolges dieser Gleichnisrede, und auch für die überwiegende Mehrheit der Parabeln des Neuen Testaments ist das das Charakteristische. Zu den seltenen Ausnahmen gehört meines Erachtens das *Gleichnis von der königlichen Hochzeit* (Mt 22,1–14), wo der im 7. Vers beschriebene Rachezug (mit dem Entsenden des Heeres und mitsamt der Anzündung der Mörderstadt) sozusagen aus der Reihe der Bilder tanzt. Die Vorstellung, daß der König die aus Anlaß der Hochzeit seines Sohnes begangene Feierlichkeiten kurzweilig aussetzt, einen solchen Krieg ausficht und hinterher die Hochzeit zu Ende feiert, kann kaum real sein. In diesem Fall schimmert die inhaltliche Botschaft des Gleichnisses hindurch, die auf die Zerstörung Jerusalems verweist.²⁰

19 Westermann, S. 41

20 Meiner Meinung nach läßt sich nicht entscheiden, inwiefern in der Überlieferung der Gemeinde die Ereignisse des Jüdischen Krieges und darin in Sonderheit die der Zerstörung von Jerusalem die ursprüngliche Jesuanische Botschaft mitgefärbt haben.

Ein Satz der Numeri verwendet in bezug auf Mose ein Bild, bzw. Vergleich, das im Evangelium im Zusammenhang mit Jesus begegnet:

[...] damit die Gemeinde des HERRN nicht sei
wie die Schafe ohne Hirten.

(Num 27,17)

[...] und es jammerte ihn [Jesum] derselben,
denn sie waren wie Schafe, die keinen Hirten haben.

(Mk 6,34)

Dieses Motiv taucht auch in den Apokryphen des Alten Testaments auf:

Eine Herde, die keinen Hirten hat [...]

(Judith 6,9)

In den Büchern der Tora finden wir die Grundlegung der sogenannten *narrativen Theologie*.²¹ Die göttliche Offenbarung vollzieht sich in großem Maße im Medium von Geschichten und Erzählungen. Die mündliche und später die schriftliche Tradition bedeutete deren Weitergabe, deren Weitererzählung. Im Rabbinismus ist es allen voran das Gebiet der *Aggada*.²² Aggadistisch zu lehren war auch für Jesus charakteristisch, selbst wenn nicht ausschließlich, da er der Welt eine nicht nur in Erzählungen gehüllte Lehre gab. Die narrative Theologie darf auch im Judentum nicht für ausschließlich gehalten werden. Der überwiegende Teil der Tora selbst läßt sich durch eine legislative (juristisch interpretierende) Sicht charakterisieren, ob daneben schon auch die Narrativität zum Zuge kommt.²³ Die erstere ist eher

21 Vgl.: Schalom Ben-Chorin: *Narrative Theologie des Judentums* [i.w.: Narrative]

Harald Heinrich: *Narrative Theologie* (In: *Concilium* 9; S 329 ff.)

Johann Baptist Metz: *Kleine Apologie des Erzählens* (In: *Concilium* 9; S 334 ff.)

G. Lohfink: *Erzählung als Theologie* (In: *Stimmen der Zeit*, 192 (1974))

B. Wachter: *Narrative Theologie?* (München, 1977)

L. Steiger: *Erzählter Glaube* (Gütersloh, 1978)

E. Jüngel: *Gott als Geheimnis der Welt* (Tübingen, 1977), insbesondere Kapitel 19

Georg Baudler: *Einführung in symbolisch-erzählende Theologie*, Schöningh, Paderborn, 1982

Sammlungen von Predigten im Zusammenhang der narrativen Theologie:

H. Nitschke: *Erzählende Predigten*, Gütersloh, I-II. 1976–81

H. D. Knigge (Hrsg.): *Erzählend predigen*, Gütersloh, 1988

22 Die Aggada ist nicht ausschließlich als Feld narrativer Theologie anzusehen, sie enthält ja nicht nur – Theologisches vermittelnde – Erzählungen. Dennoch ist es vielleicht keine Übertreibung zu sagen, daß die Wurzeln sowohl der narrativen Theologie wie die der narrativen Predigt bis zur Aggada zurückreichen. Die Tradition des Exodus bedeutet wiederum eine Sichtweise, die im gleichen Maße die Aggada und die narrative Theologie geprägt hat. Über die Aggada siehe noch 2.3.1.

23 Narrative, S. 13 f.

autoritativ, die letztere aber *meditativ*.²⁴ Die Narrativität ist nicht nur für die Lehre von Jesu Gleichnissen charakteristisch, sondern im Wesentlichen für das Evangelium als Gattung selbst, zumal darin die Offenbarung durch Geschichten, Erzählungen und Narrationen vermittelt wird.

Die Einsetzung des Pessachmahls in Ex 13,8 beginnt mit dem wohl bekannten Satz:

Ihr sollt euren Söhnen *erzählen* an demselben Tage: Das halten wir um dessentwillen, was uns der HERR getan hat, als wir aus Ägypten zogen.

Jahrhunderte und Jahrtausende hindurch wurde die Tradition auf Grund dieses Spruches in den jüdischen Familien gewahrt, bewahrt und vom einen Geschlecht auf das andre weitergereicht. In der Sedernacht erzählte der Hausvater auf die Fragen des Jüngsten an der Tafelrunde immer wieder die Geschichte des Auszuges vom Ägyptenland. Und es wurde dabei keineswegs bloß vergangener geschichtlicher Ereignisse gedacht, sondern es bedeutete stets auch eine unentwegte Aktualisierung: Wie einst, so kann uns Gott auch jetzt befreien. Die Geschichte des Exodus und deren getreue Weitererzählung nährte auf diese Art die Hoffnung des Judentums, sogar in der Zeit der allerschlimmsten Krisen.

Der andere Grundspruch der narrativen Theologie findet sich in Deut 26,5 und den nächstfolgenden Versen. Dieses ebenfalls wohlbekannte *Kredo* bedeutete wiederum nur die Heraufbeschwörung und Neuerzählung der einstigen Geschichte. Dies aber formte und prägte das Leben des Judentums und noch mehr dessen theologische Sichtweise entscheidend:

Dann sollst du anheben und *sagen* vor dem HERRN, deinem Gott:
Mein Vater war ein Aramäer, dem Umkommen nahe, und zog hinab nach Ägypten
und war dort ein Fremdling mit wenigen Leuten
und wurde dort ein großes, starkes und zahlreiches Volk.
Aber die Ägypter behandelten uns schlecht [...]

So wird das Judentum durch die *Geschichte* belehrt, deren Lehren durch Geschichten vermittelt werden. Der erste Spruch aus dem Exodus spannte eher das Leben der Familien um, die letztere, aus dem Deuteronomium stammende Narration hingegen viel mehr jenes der Gemeinschaft im breiteren Sinne.

Richter 9,8–15 bietet eines der bekanntesten Gleichnisreden des Alten Testaments, nämlich *Jothams Fabel* vom Königsalben der Bäume. Darin widerspiegelt sich die historische Wirklichkeit auf eine deutliche und geistreiche Art. Die Gattung

24 Ebenda, S. 15

der Fabeln ist zwar nicht identisch mit jenem, was wir unter Jesuanischen oder rabbinischen Gleichnissen verstehen, aber sie hat bei deren Entstehung ihren Beitrag geleistet.. Die märchenhafte Formulierung verallgemeinert irgend ein menschliches Verhalten, in diesem Fall die Machtgier. Von diesem Aspekt her steht sie dem Gleichnis sehr nahe:

Die Bäume gingen hin,
um einen König über sich zu salben [...]

Diese Fabel verfügt sogar über eine der wichtigsten Eigenschaften der Gleichnisse, nämlich über Dialogizität. Vom guten Stilgefühl des Verfassers zeugt auch, daß sich nach dem Verzicht der edleren Bäume (Ölbaum, Feigenbaum, Weinstock) ausgerechnet der minderwertige Dornbusch zum König salben läßt, um gleich hinterher mit Feuer zu drohen. Dies ist eine veranschaulichungsstarke Gleichnisrede vom Machtmißbrauch und von der Kontraselektion, die für alle Zeitalter charakteristisch sind.

Es ist für die Universalität der Lehre dieser Fabel charakteristisch, daß sie unter den Fabeln des Äsop beinahe wörtlich vorkommt, natürlich ohne den historischen Zusammenhang des Alten Testaments.²⁵

Das novellistische Buch der Ruth ist an und für sich ein gutes Beispiel dafür, wie groß die Rolle der Narrativität in der biblischen Literatur ist. Der Vers 2,12 zeigt hinwiederum, daß sich die Bilderwelt des Alten Testaments im Neuen Testament bisweilen unmittelbar widerspiegelt:

[...] und dein Lohn möge vollkommen sein bei dem Herrn,
dem Gott Israels,
zu dem du gekommen bist, daß du *unter*
seinen Flügeln Zuflucht hättest.

Laut Matthäus 23,37 klagte Jesus so über Jerusalem:

Jerusalem, Jerusalem, [...]
Wie oft habe ich deine Kinder versammeln wollen,
wie eine Henne versammelt ihre Küchlein unter ihre Flügel [...]

Für Jesus hat das Alte Testament ein natürliches sprachliches Medium bedeutet, so hat sich dieses auf seine Bildschöpfungen notwendigerweise ausgewirkt. Das Gleiche gilt für seine Hörerschaft, so daß Jesu Worte in ihr rege und reiche Assotiationen aus dem Alten Testament dürften hervorgerufen haben. Das Alte

25 Siehe *die Fabeln des Äsop*, S. 143

Testament hat seine Auswirkungen nicht nur auf Jesu Metaphern, sondern auch auf die Gleichnisse, ja sogar auf die gesamte Kirchensprache selbst gehabt.²⁶

Im zweiten Buch Samuels (12,1–14) findet sich die vielleicht bekannteste Gleichnisrede des Alten Testaments, die Nathan zu David, dem König spricht. Zunächst wollen wir unser Augenmerk auf den aus seiner Umgebung herausgehobenen Text richten:

Es waren zwei Männer in einer Stadt, der eine reich, der andere arm. Der Reiche hatte sehr viele Schafe und Rinder; aber der Arme hatte nichts als ein einziges kleines Schäflein, das er gekauft hatte. Und er nährte es, daß es groß wurde bei ihm zugleich mit seinen Kindern. Es aß von seinem Bissen und trank aus seinem Becher und schlief in seinem Schoß, und er hielt's wie eine Tochter. Als aber zu dem reichen Mann ein Gast kam, brachte er's nicht über sich, von seinen Schafen und Rindern zu nehmen, um dem Gast etwas zuzurichten, der zu ihm gekommen war, sondern er nahm das Schaf des armen Mannes und richtete es dem Mann zu, der zu ihm gekommen war.

Flusser nennt diese Erzählung »einen Rechtsfall des Alltags«²⁷ (?) und hält sie in Wahrheit für kein Gleichnis, sondern für eine Allegorie. Stellen wir aber einen Versuch an und lösen wir diesen Text aus seiner so gewohnten Umgebung, aus dem Dreieck David–Bathseba–Uria heraus! Dies ist umso schwieriger, zumal auch der Psalm 51 diesen Kontext widerspiegelt. Gelingt es uns jedoch, dieses Gleichnis unabhängig von der ihm vorangegangenen Verführungsgeschichte und der darauf folgenden Zwiesprache zwischen König und Prophet zu untersuchen, so kann eingesehen werden, daß es in seiner Selbständigkeit als Gleichnisrede durchaus besteht. Der märchenhafte erste Satz (»Es waren zwei Männer in einer Stadt [...]«) eignet sich zur Erweckung der Aufmerksamkeit. Diesem Anfang folgt die bunte Ausmalung einer Geschichte. Das Verhalten des Armen wird – mit besonders großer Einfühlung – geschildert, aber ebenso treffend wird auch die Geizigkeit des Reichen vor Augen geführt. Die Geschichte wird erst dadurch dramatisch: Der jeweilige Zuhörer kann nach und nach genauso aufbrausen wie David.

Wir haben es also mit einem wahren, aus zwei Episoden bestehenden Gleichnis zu tun. Sollte es aber wegen der Rahmengeschichte womöglich doch für eine

26 Die Kenntnis solcher Bibelstellen ist dazu nötig, die liturgische Sprache der Kirche, oder eben den Text der Lieder genau zu verstehen. Das Kirchenlied »*Oh, breite, mein Jesus, deine schützend Flügel über mich aus*« käme, ohne daß man die obigen Bibelstellen kennen würde, ziemlich bizarr vor.

27 Flusser: Gleichnisse, S. 141

Allegorie gehalten werden? Mitnichten! Bereits die detaillierte Darstellung, wie der arme Mann sein Schäflein liebhat und heranzüchtet, wächst über jedwede mögliche Bathseba–Uria–Allegorie hinaus. (Obzwar dies alles freilich darauf verweist, daß David eine harmonische Ehe zugrunde gerichtet hat.) Der im Text zweimal erwähnte Gast hat keinerlei allegorische Entsprechungen! Alles das bestätigt nur, daß es ein gelungenes Gleichnis ist. Was Davids Zwischenruf betrifft, ist er aus zwei Gesichtspunkten wichtig. Einerseits rühmt Nathans narrative Suggestivität, daß der König, ohne das Ende der Geschichte richtig abgewartet zu haben, vom Aufruhr seines Gefühls für Gerechtigkeit geleitet mitten darin auffährt und dazwischenruft. (Die ursprüngliche Kraft der Gleichnisrede war von der sie sprechenden Person weitgehend bestimmt, darum darf man nicht vor Augen verlieren, daß die synoptischen Gleichnisse gerade Jesus erzählt hat.²⁸) Andererseits bringt es im Sinne von *tua res agitur* ein schönes Beispiel für die existenzielle, durchwegs persönliche Deutung von Gleichnissen.

Damit in parallelen Zusammenhang zu bringen ist aus dem Neuen Testament das Gleichnis von *den bösen Weingärtnern*. Nach der Parabel lesen wir da (Mt 21,45 f.): »Und da die Hohenpriester und Pharisäer seine Gleichnisse hörten, *verstanden sie, daß er von ihnen redete*. Und sie trachteten darnach, wie sie ihn griffen; aber sie fürchteten sich vor dem Volk, denn es hielt ihn für einen Propheten.«

Auf auffallend wenige Metaphern stößt man hingegen in den Büchern der Könige. Diese Art von Geschichtsschreibung zeigt wenig Sinn fürs Dichterische. Westermann bemerkt, daß man auf Gleichnishafte höchstens in diesem oder jenem prophetischen Einzelspruch oder in wenigen militär–politischen Ansprachen trifft.²⁹ Von eben diesen letztern stammt das plastische Gleichnis des Rehabeam, das seine politisch betrachtet verhängnisvolle Entscheidung zu begründen hat:

Mein kleiner Finger soll dicker sein
als meines Vaters Lenden [...]
Mein Vater hat euch mit Peitschen gezüchtigt,
ich will euch mit Skorpionen züchtigen.

(1 Kön 12,10–11)

Ähnlicherweise ist auch jenes Gleichnis ein Werkzeug *politischer Rhetorik*, das Sanherib, der König von Assyrien Hiskias sagen läßt (2 Kön 18,21):

Siehe, verläßt du dich auf diesen *zerbrochenen Rohrstab*, auf Ägypten, der jedem, der sich darauf stützt, in die Hand dringen und sie durchbohren wird?

28 Vgl. 3.7.1

29 Westermann, S. 21

Zweifelsohne ist dies eine wirksame Metapher, weil sie den absehbaren Mißerfolg jener Politik plastisch vor Augen führt, die sich auf ein zur Neige gehendes Reich stützen will. Der metaphorische zerbrochene Rohrstab (Ägypten) kann nicht nur keine Stütze sein, sondern verursacht Juda sogar weitere Qualen.

Dieses Gleichnis bietet die Gelegenheit, einen *Exkurs ins Folkloristische* zu machen und das Motiv des Rohrstabs zu untersuchen.

An der soeben zitierten Stelle (2 Kön 18) tritt der Rohrstab als eine Metapher größter Unzuverlässigkeit und Gefahr auf.

Der vielzitierte Satz von Jes 42,3 spricht geradehin vom Knecht, der kein Nichtiges und Unnützes kennt: »Das geknickte Rohr wird er nicht zerbrechen [...]«

Im Neuen Testament (Mt 11,7 und Lk 7,24) steht die Metapher des Rohrstabs mit Johannes, dem Täufer in Verbindung: »Was seid ihr hinausgegangen in die Wüste zu sehen? Wolltet ihr ein Rohr sehen, das der Wind hin und her weht?« Der Sinn dieses Jesuanischen Satzes hat man schon vielfach gedeutet. Er könnte auf das tragische Ende des Täufers verweisen. Ist dem so, dann steht er der Bedeutung der Sanherib–Metapher nicht fern. Am Jordangestade wimmelte es indessen geradehin von Schilfarten und Rohrstäben, so dürfte diese Metapher auch »irgend Alltägliches« bedeuten.³⁰ Es könnte sogar sein, daß dieser Spruch eine getarnte Anspielung Jesu auf Herodes Antipas in sich berge, dann bezöge sich der Spruch »des Menschen in weichen Kleidern« (Mt 11,8) bzw. die Anspielung auf den Rohrstab auf ihn, um so mehr, weil im Wappen des Herodes das Motiv des Rohrstabs ebenfalls vorkommt.³¹ Wäre dem in der Tat so, dann würden Jesu Worte einen, den gehaßten Herrscher betreffenden schwarzen Humor in sich bergen. Flusser³² und Young³³ suchen nach einer Quelle dieser Metapher. Ihrer Auffassung nach könnte hinter den Worten Jesu die bekannte Fabel von Eiche und Rohrstab stehen. Er wolle damit nahelegen, daß Johannes, der Täufer keinerlei Neigung zu faulen Kompromissen habe (ein solches Verhalten veranschaulichte das vom Wind hin und her bewegte Rohr), im Gegenteil er würde zu einer Eiche geworden sein, die vor Herodes Antipas fest bestünde und deshalb tragisch zu enden habe.

Aus folkloristischen Gründen ist nicht unnützlich, die vorhin erwähnte Fabel näher zu untersuchen, da sie zumal in verschiedenen Kulturen immer wieder auftaucht.

30 U. Lutz: *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus*, Neukirchener Verlag, 1990 EKK/II S. 174

31 Theissen: Das »schwankende Rohr« (Mt 11,7) und die Gründungsmünzen von Tiberias, ZDPV 101 (1985), S. 45–49
Luz, S 174

32 Gleichnisse, S. 52

33 Young, S 539; Strack/Billerbeck, I. 598

Bei Äsop (corp. fab. Äsop. 71) zerstreiten sich Eiche und Rohr darüber, wer von ihnen beiden wohl am stärksten sei. Im urplötzlich über sie hereinbrechenden Sturm bewegt sich dann das Rohr in die Windrichtung. Zwar leistet die Eiche hingegen Widerstand, er wird entwurzelt und vom Winde umgestoßen. (Einen ähnlichen Gedanken bringt auch die Äsopsche Fabel Nr. 239 zum Ausdruck.)

Auch im indischen Kulturkreis ist dieselbe Fabel bekannt gewesen, es begegnet ja im Mahabharata die Stelle: »Die Eiche beugt sich nicht, darum wird sie zerbochen, wenn sie im mächtigen Winde steht. Das Rohr hingegen läßt sich vom Wind hin und herwehen, beugt sich nach ihm und übersteht so den Sturm.« (XII. 4138)

Verschiedene Rabbiner bedienten sich mit großer Vorliebe ähnlicher Metaphern. R. Schescheth sagte: »Und beugte sich wie das Schilfrohr, und erhöhte sich wie die Schlange.«³⁴

Mit R. Elasars Namen verbindet sich der Spruch: »Der Mensch soll beugsam sein wie das Schilfrohr und nicht steif sein wie die Zeder.«³⁵

Ähnlich positiven Klang hat das beugsame Schilfrohr im folgenden rabbinischen Mahnspruch: »Du sollst beugsam sein wie das Schilfrohr, welches der Winde nach Belieben hin und herweht, denn die Tora vollendet sich nur in demjenigen, dessen Sinn sich fügt und dessen Gefühle sich beugen.«³⁶

Eine Talmudstelle gebraucht in bezug auf König Salomo ein ähnliches Bild. Demzufolge sei der Grund von Salomos Abkehr vom rechten Glauben, daß er bezüglich der Götzdienste seiner Frau viel zu nachgiebig gewesen wäre. Dies sei dann auch zum Wendepunkt in der Geschichte Israels geworden. »Als Salomo die Tochter des Pharaos heiratete, geriet der Engel Gabriel in solche Wut, daß er einen Schilfstock nahm und ihn ins Meer steckte. Auf die Spitze dieses Stockes setzte sich dann nach und nach Erde an und darauf war später das zur Weltherrschaft und zur Besetzung Israels bestimmte 'Rom, die große Stadt' gebaut worden.« (Sab 56b)³⁷ R. Abun, der etliche Jahrhunderte nach Jesu Zeit gelebt hat, verwendet die Schilfrohrmetapher ebenfalls auf eine sehr interessante Art. In seinem Gleichnis (PesR 10,35b) streiten Schilf, Spreu und Stoppel und wird von jedem behauptet, das Ackerfeld werde nur um seinetwillen bestellt. Das Weizenkorn macht den Vorschlag, man möge die Erntezeit abwarten, dann stelle sich schon alles heraus. Als es zur Ernte kommt und sich der Bauer die Worfchaufel in der Hand daran

34 Ber 12b, zitiert nach *Jónsson*, S. 51

35 Taant 20b, Vgl.: *Strack/Billerbeck*, I. 598; *Gleichnisse*, S. 52; *Luz*, S. 174; *Kraus*, S. 164

36 Samuel Krausz: *Talmudi életszabályok és erkölcsi tanítások*, (Talmudische Lebensregeln und moralische Lehren), S. 24

37 Bacher: *A babiloniai amorák*, (Die babylonischen Amorph), S. 40

macht, das Getreide zu reinigen, wird die Spreu vom Wind fortgeweht, das Stoppelfeld von den Flammen verzehrt, das Schilfrohr zu Boden gedrückt, nur den Weizen sammelt der Bauer in die Scheune.³⁸

Dieses rabbinische Gleichnis erinnert eher an die Worte, die der Täufer über Jesus sagt: »Und er hat seine Worfsschaufel in der Hand; er wird seine Tenne fegen und den Weizen in seine Scheune sammeln, aber die Spreu wird er verbrennen mit unauslöschlichem Feuer.« (Mt 3,12 und Lk 3,17) Flusser hält für keinen Zufall, daß in bezug auf den Täufer – und Herodes Antipas – im Nacheinander ein Motiv der Äsopfabeln auftaucht. (Der andere Fall ist die Fabel des Fuchses. Vgl. Lk 13,32)³⁹

Daß diese Abschweifung nicht völlig illegitim gewesen ist, zeigt nun folgendes Gleichnis von Joas. Seine Bilderwelt sieht ja den zitierten Stellen auffallend ähnlich. Auch im Hintergrund des Märchens von 2 Kön 14,9 spielt sich ein politischer Zwist ab, und zwar zwischen Amazja und Joas, dem König von Israel und dem König von Juda. Die beiden Völkerbrüder sind nunmehr verhängnisvoll unwiderruflich aneinander geraten. Auch das Gleichnis von Joas ist sarkastisch:

Der Dornbusch, der im Libanon ist, sandte zur Zeder im Libanon und ließ ihr sagen: Gib deine Tochter meinem Sohn zur Frau! Aber das Wild auf dem Libanon lief über den Dornbusch und zertrat ihn.

Ein ähnlich ironisches Gleichnis taucht auch bei Äsop auf, obendrein mit einem verwandten Bildmaterial.⁴⁰

1.2.2. Dichterische Bücher

Das Buch Hiob ist ein dichterisches Werk, in dem die Grenze zwischen direkter Rede und Vergleich sinngemäß verschwommen ist. Mancher Vergleich in ihm spricht über Gott in so einer Kühnheit, die man später nur mehr hinter den Gleichnissen Jesu wittern kann (9,17; 16,12; 19,10; 30,22). Ihrer Natur nach zwar anders, aber die Gottesbilder von Jesu Gleichnissen sind ebenfalls kühn. Stutzig macht jedenfalls, daß hinter einem beeinflussbaren Richter Gott selber steht (Lk 18,1–8). Dieses wahrhaft provokative Gleichnis kann man erst in der Kenntnis jüdischer Logik verstehen: Handelt selbst ein ungerechter Richter so, dann handelt

38 Gleichnisse, S. 36

39 Op. cit. S. 342

40 »Der Granatapfelbaum und der Apfelbaum wetteiferten, wessen Frucht besser schmecke. Wie die Flamme des Zwistes aufloderte, rief der Dornbusch, der in der anliegenden Hecke alles mitgehört hatte, dazwischen: »Aber liebe Freunde, laßt uns doch mit dem Zwist aufhören! Ebenfalls versuchen die Nichtsnützigten in den Streitigkeiten der Hervorragenden zum Ansehen zu kommen.«

der gerechte RICHTER um so mehr nach diesem Prinzip! Die Art und Weise, wie im Gleichnis *vom verlorenen Sohn* (Lk 15,11–32) die Figur des Vaters gezeichnet wird, kann nur dem oberflächlich Zuhörenden arglos vorkommen. Im alten Orient war nämlich das Laufen für ältere Männer größte Schmach und Schande.⁴¹ Der Vater, seinem Alter zum Trotz, läuft dem heimkehrenden Sohn entgegen. Aber gerade die Absurdität dieses Bildes gibt den Schlüssel zum Gleichnis und zu dessen Gottesvorstellung. Wie die Jesuanischen Gleichnisreden durch *die Darstellung menschlicher Wesen* über Gott sprechen, so finden sich auch im Buch Hiob Antropomorphismen, als der HERR Hiob antwortet (38–41). Die dichterischen Sätze veranschaulichen Gottes Taten mit menschlichen Handlungen: Er »gründet die Erde« (38,2), »setzt das Maß« (38,5), »verschließt mit Toren« (38,8), »bricht Bahn« (38,25), »zeugt« (38,28), »bindet die Bande des Siebengestirns« (38,31). Tief im Innern durften auch diese Gottesvorstellungen auf Jesu Erzählungen gewirkt haben, der von Gott dergestalt spricht, als würde dieser »ausgehen und säen«, »eine große Hochzeit machen«, »einen Krieg führen« und »Arbeiter für den Weinberg dingen und mit ihnen um den Tagelohn eins werden«.⁴²

Natürlich finden sich auch im Psalter unzählige Vergleiche. Die vielleicht am meisten charakteristische Hirtenmetapher taucht bei weitem nicht nur im Psalm 23 auf, sondern an mehreren andern Stellen ebenfalls: 28,19; 78,52; 80,2.

In den Psalmen finden Naturbilder in auffallend großer Anzahl Verwendung. In den Psalmen 8, 29 und 104 wird die Schöpfungstat gepriesen, aber an vielen andern Stellen mehr trifft man auf Vergleiche aus der Vegetation. M. D. Goulder weist nach, daß die Naturvergleiche, derweil deren im Alten Testament und bei Jesus so viele sind, im Rabbinismus eine im Wesentlichen unbekanntes Gattung darstellen.⁴³ Es fällt also auf, daß Jesus die Kontinuität in jenem auch die Gleichnisse durchdringenden Bekenntnis vertritt, daß Gott Herr der Schöpfung ist. In den rabbinischen Parabeln – im Gegensatz zu den Evangelien – sind Handwerker, Buchhalter, Knechte, Seeleute, Wirte etc. als Metaphern häufiger, also solche Bilder, die sich mit menschlichen Relationen befassen. Die Naturmetaphern der Psalmen sind hingegen wahre Bekenntnisse. Das schönste Beispiel dafür ist vielleicht, wie im Psalm 8 die Wunder bestaunt, Himmel und Erde, Schafe und

41 Bailey: *Poet and Peasant*, S. 181: Der Mann, der im alten Orient aufwuchs, durfte nirgends in seinen langen, am Leibe schlotternden Kleidern hinlaufen. Sirach 1,30: »Die Art, wie ein Mann geht, verrät, wer er in Wahrheit sei.« Bailey beruft sich auch auf den Spruch des Aristoteles: Große Männer liefen nie vor der Öffentlichkeit.

42 Diese Beispiele sind deshalb nicht für volle Antropomorphismen zu nehmen, weil es an den aufgezählten Stellen nicht um Gottes »Morphe«, sondern um Handlungen und Taten geht. Dies gilt so für Jesus wie für das Buch Hiob.

43 »This tradition of nature-parables are foreign to the rabbis. It is rare to find a rabbinic parable that is not concerned with human relationships.« Goulder, S. 67

Rinder, Wilde, die Vögel des Himmels und die Fische des Meeres für Gottes Werk gehalten werden.

Von zwei Psalmen sei hier auch in Sonderheit die Rede. Der Psalm 1 kann als ein Urbild der Kontrastgleichnisse angesehen werden. Er hält mit größter Kunst und Plastizität den Frommen und den Gottlosen einander gegenüber. Der eine ist, wie »ein Baum, gepflanzt an den Wasserbächen«, der andere hingegen »wie Spreu, die der Wind zerstreut.« Die Wirkung dieses Gegensatzes dürfte sich sogar bis ins Gleichnis von *den zwei Häusern* verfolgen lassen.

Weniger bekannt ist, daß sich im Psalm 80 ein kurzes, aber ins Detail gehendes Gleichnis findet. Die Bilder sind wiederum aus der Welt der Natur entnommen und das Gleichnis umfaßt die Geschichte Israels vom Exodus bis zur Gefangenschaft:

Du hast einen Weinstock aus Ägypten geholt,
hast vertrieben die Völker und ihn eingepflanzt.
Du hast vor ihm Raum gemacht,
und hast ihn lassen einwurzeln, daß er das Land erfüllt hat.
Berge sind mit seinem Schatten bedeckt
und mit seinen Reben die Zedern Gottes.
Du hast seine Ranken ausgebreitet bis an das Meer
und seine Zweige bis an den Strom.
Warum hast du denn seine Mauer zerbrochen,
daß jeder seine Früchte abreißt, der vorübergeht?
Es haben ihn zerwühlt die wilden Säue
und die Tiere des Feldes ihn abgeweidet.

(Ps 80,9–14)

Die erste Hälfte des Gleichnisses mutet an, als sei sie die dichterische Fassung der Formel »Mein Vater war ein Aramäer, dem Umkommen nahe«. Das vielleicht einzige Gebrechen des zweifelsohne schönen Textes ist, daß anfangs an einer Stelle die Deutung durch den metaphorischen Text hindurchschimmert. Anstatt der Formel »hast vertrieben die Völker und ihn eingepflanzt« der zweiten Zeile würden die Gesetzmäßigkeiten des Gleichnisses nach einer andern Formulierung verlangen, wie z.B.: »hast andere Pflanzen ausgejätet [...]«

In der Überschrift zu den Sprüchen Salomos (1,1) lesen wir, daß diese Salomos Maschalim seien. 1 Kön 5,12 sagt über Salomo folgendes: »Und er dichtete dreitausend Sprüche [...] Er dichtete von den Bäumen, von der Zeder an auf dem Libanon bis zum Ysop, der aus der Wand wächst. Auch dichtete er von den Tieren des Landes, von Vögeln, vom Gewürm und von Fischen.« Zu Beginn dieses Kapitels haben wir bereits gezeigt, daß der Maschal ein Ausdruck weit breiteren Sinnes ist als die neutestamentliche Bezeichnung δάανάδ'ε]. Dementsprechend

enthält auch dieses Buch nicht Parabeln, sondern verschiedene Aphorismen, Worträtsel, Sprichwörter. Das sind nicht narrative, sondern aphorismative Maschalin.⁴⁴ Sie sind dermaßen im wirklichen Leben verwurzelt, daß sie den Zuhörenden oder Lesenden notwendigerweise ergreifen. Nur Werken bester Stilistik ist die Fähigkeit, die dieses Buch auszeichnet, eigen, nämlich einzelne Situationen mit bündigen, aber umso gewürzteren Ausdrücken zu charakterisieren. Es ist keine Übertreibung anzunehmen, daß diese miniatüren Lebensbilder auf die treffenden Situationsbeschreibungen Jesu ihren prägenden Einfluß gehabt haben. Das Gleiche läßt sich über die mit funkendem Geist vorgetragenen Äußerungen der Heiterkeit, ja sogar des Humors sagen. (Beispielsweise (15,17; 19,14; 27,15 etc.)⁴⁵

In bezug auf eins der Jesuanischen Gleichnisse scheint die unmittelbare Wirkung der Sprüche Salomos eindeutig zu sein:

[...] denn es ist besser, daß man zu dir sage: Tritt hier herauf!, als daß du erniedrigt wirst vor einem Edlen, den deine Augen gesehen haben.
(Spr 25,7)

Wenn Du von jemandem geladen wirst zur Hochzeit, so setze dich nicht obenan, daß nicht etwa ein Vornehmerer als du von ihm geladen sei, und dann komme, der dich und ihn eingeladen hat, und spreche zu dir: Weiche diesem! und du müssest dann in Scham untenan sitzen. [...]
Denn wer sich selbst erhöht, der soll erniedrigt werden; und wer sich selbst erniedrigt, der soll erhöht werden.
(Lk 14,8)

Die Bezugnahme auf die Metaphern der Sprüche Salomos sei mit einem Aphorismus beendet, die wesentlich zum Anliegen meiner Arbeit gehört.

Wie einem Gelähmten das Tanzen,
so steht dem Toren an, von Weisheit zu reden.
(Spr 26,7)

Ein Spruch in des Toren Munde ist
wie ein Dornzweig in der Hand eines Trunkenen.
(Spr 26,9)

Auch der Prediger Salomo ist ein literarisch inspirierter Text. Das Gedicht »Ein jegliches hat seine Zeit« (Pre 3,1) ist ein besonders schönes Beispiel dafür. Die darin vorkommenden Gegensätze durften als Quelle von Kontrast-Gleichnissen

44 Siehe 3.3.1.

45 Siehe 2.4.4.5.

gedient haben, sogar die Annahme läßt sich nicht ausschließen, daß der Vers 3,4 – zumindest mittelbar – mit ein Motiv für das Gleichnis von *den spielenden Kindern* geliefert hat:

Wir haben euch aufgespielt und ihr wolltet nicht tanzen;
wir haben euch vorgeklagt, und ihr wolltet nicht trauern.

(Mt 11,17)

In dem genannten Buch findet sich auch eine kleine Erzählung, die den Gattungsmerkmalen des Gleichnisses gerecht wird, und von der die Fachliteratur trotzdem keine Notiz genommen zu haben scheint:

[...] da war eine kleine Stadt und wenig Männer darin, und es kam ein großer König, der belagerte sie und baute große Bollwerke gegen sie. Und es fand sich darin ein armer, weiser Mann, der hätte die Stadt retten können durch seine Weisheit, aber kein Mensch dachte an diesen armen Mann. Da sprach ich: Weisheit ist zwar besser als Stärke, doch des Armen Weisheit wird verachtet und auf seine Worte hört man nicht.

(Pre 9,14–16)

Dieses lebensnahe Gleichnis spricht mit der für das gesamte Buch charakteristischen Resigniertheit über die Differenz zwischen der Macht des Intellekts und der militärischen Stärke. Den Leser überkommt das Gefühl, als beschriebe hier der Verfasser sich und seine bitteren Erfahrungen selber.

Der Prediger Salomo bedeutete für die exegetischen Gleichnisse des Rabbinismus eine besonders reiche Quelle. Wir bringen Zitate aus zwei solchen Gleichnissen. Alle beiden handeln vom Bezug zwischen Leib und Seele – und beide zeigen auffallenderweise manch Gemeinsames mit gewissen synoptischen Gleichnissen.

In Pre 9,8 lesen wir: »Laß deine Kleider immer weiß sein und laß deinem Haupte Salbe nicht mangeln.« Jochanan ben Sakkai fügt diesem Gleichnis folgendes an:

Fürwahr ist es dem Fall jenes Königs nicht unähnlich, der seine Diener zu einem Festessen lud, aber die Zeit des Festes nicht ansetzte. Alle Gescheiten kleideten sich prachtvoll und versammelten sich vor den Toren des königlichen Palastes. ‘Könnte man etwa in des Königs Hause notleiden?’ dachten sie. Die Toren hingegen hielten in ihrer Arbeit nicht einmal inne und dachten bei sich: ‘Kann man ein Fest geben, ohne Vorbereitungen zu treffen?’

Und siehe, plötzlich hatte der König seine Diener zum Feste kommen lassen. Die Gescheiten erschienen vor dem König prachtvoll, die Toren

hingegen schmäählich. Mit Freude blickte der König auf die Gescheiten und mit Zorn und Grimm auf die Toren.

‘Diese, die sich zum Fest prachtvoll gekleidet haben’ sagte der König ‘mögen nähertreten und sich setzen, sie sollen sich des Essens und des Trinkens freuen. Diese aber, die sich schmäählich gekleidet haben, sollen herumstehen und zusehen.

Rabbi Elasar bezieht sich ebenfalls auf diese Stelle im Prediger Salomo: »Du sollst dich bekehren einen Tag vor deinem Tode!«. In ähnlicher, aber ungleicher Weise fügt der Talmud zum Prediger Salomo (12,7) hinzu: »Und der Odem kehrt zu Gott zurück, der ihn gegeben hat.« Es wird als weiterführende Erklärung noch hinzugefügt: »In der Reinheit, mit der du ihn empfangen, sollst du ihn auch zurückgeben.«

Fürwahr ist es dem Fall jenes Königs nicht unähnlich, der unter seinen Diener kostbare Kleider verteilte. Die Gescheiten falteten die prächtigen Gewänder zusammen und hoben sie gut auf, die Toren aber verrichteten ihr Tageswerk darin.

Nach einer Weile wollte der König die Gewänder wiederhaben. Die Gescheiten gaben sie ihm prachtvoll und sauber zurück, die Toren aber schäbig und zerfetzt.

Mit Freude blickte der König auf die Gescheiten, aber mit Zorn und Grimm auf die Toren. Also sprach er zu den Gescheiten: ‘Die kostbaren Gewänder bringe man in die Schatzkammer, diese hier aber mögen in Frieden ihres Weges gehen.’

Zu den Toren sprach er aber so:

‘Man wasche die Gewänder, diese aber schlieÙe man ein.’

Kaum brauchen die Ähnlichkeiten mit Jesuanischen Gleichnissen dargelegt zu werden. Jochanan ben Sakkai als jüngeren Zeitgenossen trennen zumal nur etliche Jahre von Jesus. Die Bilder kommen vor allem wegen dem Gleichnis von dem großen Abendmahl bekannt vor, die Erzählung schlägt aber je eine andere Richtung ein und beschwört jeweils andere synoptische Parallelen. Das zuerst zitierte Talmudgleichnis erinnert an die *Gleichnisrede von den klugen und den törichten Jungfrauen* (»es hat noch Zeit...«), das zweite hingegen an das Gleichnis *von den anvertrauten Zentnern* (man ist für die erhaltenen Wertgegenstände Rechenschaft schuldig). Es ist gar nicht fraglich, ob sich die beiden rabbinischen Gleichnissen von der ursprünglichen Richtung des Prediger Salomo gänzlich abweichen, oder nicht: Die hier wie dort zitierten einzelnen Sätze dienen quasi

nur als Sprungbretter, mit deren Hilfe sich der Gedanke des Rabbis abheben kann. Beide Gleichnisse schließen mit der Vision des Urteils. Dieser eschatologische Zug ist in den synoptischen Gleichnissen noch stärker – und hat einen christologischen Inhalt.

Eschatologischen Bezug hat auch eine kurze Metapher des Buches, die wiederum im Jesuanischen *Fangnetz*gleichnis wiederkehrt:

Auch weiß der Mensch nicht seine Zeit, sondern wie die Fische gefangen werden mit dem verderblichen Netz und wie die Vögel mit dem Garn gefangen werden, so werden auch die Menschen verstrickt zur bösen Zeit, wenn sie plötzlich über sie fällt.

(Pre 9,12)

(Beim Propheten Hesekiel kommt diese Netzmetapher sogar zweimal vor: 17,20 und 32,3).

Die Dichtung des Hohenliedes Salomos bietet die Gelegenheit zwischen primären und sekundären Allegorien unterscheiden zu lernen.⁴⁶ Die kühne Erotik des Buches hat vom Altertum an viele Exegetiker bewogen, es allegorisch auf das Verhältnis zwischen Gott und seinem Volk zu beziehen und es dadurch zu deuten. Meine Ansicht ist aber, daß die Deutung, die in dieser Schrift im Sinne eines *amor sanctus* die Gott gegenüber gehegte Liebe erblickt, eine Allegorie schafft, wo es sie ursprünglich überhaupt nicht gegeben hat. Dies heißt freilich nicht im geringsten, daß es sowohl im Alten wie im Neuen Testament gewisse *vordergründige*, denn bereits als solche erdachte allegorische Züge nicht gäbe. In diesem Zusammenhang sind einerseits Hesekiel, andererseits – ebenfalls beispielsweise – die Allegorie des Weltgerichtes (Mt 25,31–46) zu erwähnen.

Westermann bemerkt bezüglich der Vergleiche im Hohenlied Salomos schon richtig, daß auch hier keine steifen, unbeweglichen Bilder nebeneinander stehen, sondern daß das ganze Buch einen Bogen, eine Geschichte hat und die Gleichnisse eben dieser Dramaturgie dienlich sind. Es wäre ein Irrtum zu behaupten, das Buch vergleiche diesen oder jenen Körperteil mit einem Tier oder Gewächs. Die Metaphern der Art »Deine Augen sind wie Taubenaugen« und »Dein Haar ist wie eine Herde Ziegen« (4,1) brauch niemand zu »übersetzen«, sondern in diesen Vergleichen tritt die Schönheit der *einen* Sache der *andern* voran.⁴⁷ So wird auch vermieden, daß diese oder jene Metapher gerade infolge der visionstarken Vergegenwärtigung grotesk wirken kann. (Zum Beispiel: 6,6: »Deine Zähne sind wie eine Herde Schafe, die aus der Schwemme kommen [...]«; 4,13: »Du bist gewachsen wie ein

46 Siehe 3.6.1.

47 Westermann S. 13

Lustgarten von Granatäpfeln mit edlen Früchten, Zyperblumen mit Narden, Narde und Safran, Kalmus und Zimt, mit allerlei Weihrauchssträuchern, Myrrhe und Aloe, mit allen feinen Gewürzen.«)

Neben solchen beinahe lautstarken Vergleichen verfügt dieses Buch über einige ganz leise, flüsternde Metaphern auch. Zur taktvollen Formulierung »Meine Schwester, liebe Braut, du bist ein verschlossener Garten, eine verschlossene Quelle, ein versiegelter Born.« darf man wohl kaum etwas hinzufügen (4,12). Auch der Satz »Ich schlief, aber mein Herz war wach.« (5,2) spricht dem hoffnungsvollen Warten dichterischer das Wort als eine detaillierte Darlegung desselben.

Auch für das Hohe Lied ist die vollständige Identifizierung mit der Natur typisch. Auch der Verfasser entlehnt seine Vergleiche – wie in der überwiegenden Mehrheit seiner Gleichnisse Jesus – aus der belebten Natur. Ohne den Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit seien nun diese aufgezählt. Tiere: Tauben, Geißen, Gazellen, Hirsche, Rehe, Rösser. Pflanzen: Trauben, Äpfel, Palmen, Granatäpfel, Nüsse etc. Wer solche Vergleiche aus Gottes Schöpfung schöpft, hat nicht nur seine Lebensgefährtin lieb, der muß auch seine Umgebung inbrünstig lieben. Auch hinter der Bilderwelt der Jesuanischen Gleichnisse steht der Glaube an Gottes Schöpfertum und Schöpfung.

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Jewish folklore and rabbinic tradition: the case of gastronomy¹

According to one of the E-ternal's fundamental commandments:

„*You shall be holy, for holy am I, HASHEM, your G-d*”.²

For a religious Jew, this means that he is constantly supposed to live a way of life which aims at approaching the saintliness of the E-ternal. And this means not only the fulfilment of the *mitzvos* in general, the (moral) behavior in general, but also things apparently very special and distant, as *e.g.* eating. It can eventually be said that the best known part for the external non-Jewish world of the highly complicated system of Jewish religious precepts, the *halochoh*, are definitely those concerning diethetic rules, called together *kashrus*. These rules can be grouped following three criteria:

- (i) which animals may be consumed, and which are forbidden;
- (ii) how can the permitted animals be prepared for consumption;
- (iii) the separation of meat and dairy food.

In the followings, after a short overview of these three groups of rules, I will present a special field of Jewish folklore, the holy origins and the importance of the different plates traditionally consumed by religious Jews during the *Shabbos* and *Yom-tov* meals. First of all, however, we have to state, that the Hebrew word *kosher* is not reserved exclusively for food, it means 'fit, proper' in general, *i.e.* something fit for religious use. Hence, it can be used for all kind of objects – prepared according to religious prescriptions and, consequently fit for ritual use-*e.g. tefilin, mezuzah*, etc. also.

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2 *Vayikroh* 19:1.

1. General Rules of „Kashrus“

1.1. Animals permitted and prohibited³

(i) Rules concerning quadrupeds:

„...These are the creatures that you may eat from among all the animals that are upon the earth. Everything among the animals that has a split hoof, which is completely separated into double hooves, and that brings up its cud – that one you may eat.”⁴

(ii) Rules concerning fish:

„This may you eat from everything that is in the water: everything that has fins and scales in the water, in the seas, and in the streams, those may you eat”.⁵

(iii) Rules concerning fowl:

Concerning birds, the Torah does not give such characteristics, instead enumerates the forbidden birds.⁶ However, the Talmud –based on the Sinaitic oral tradition– lists these features: an extra finger on the foot (behind), crop, the skin of the gizzard should be removable, and it should not be a bird of prey.⁷ In general terms, poultry – chicken, duck, goose, turkey – can be eaten.

(iiii) Amphibia and insects:

All amphibia and all insects are forbidden for consumption. And it also results from this prohibition that all kind of fruits and vegetables have to be thoroughly checked before consumption, in order to cleanse it from eventual insects.⁸

Naturally, all kind of products made of forbidden animals, even their milk or eggs are also forbidden, exception made to honey „produced” by bees. Wild beasts (carnivores) are generally prohibited, exception made to deers and roe-deers which are herbivores, still they must be caught with toils and slaughtered according to ritual prescriptions.⁹

3 For the detailed rules and the list of the permitted and prohibited animals see *Vayikroh* 11; *Devorim* 14:3-21.

4 *Vayikroh* 11:2-3.

5 *Ibid.* 11:9.

6 *Ibid.* 11:13-22.

7 *bChulin* 61a.

8 *Shulchan Aruch Yoreh Deah* 84:8.

9 See below.

The consumption of blood and of the fat surrounding the inner parts of cattle is also strictly forbidden:

*„Every moving thing that lives shall be food for you; like the green herbage I have given you everything. But flesh; with its soul its blood, you shall not eat...”*¹⁰

*„For the soul of the flesh is in the blood; and I have assigned it for you upon the Altar to provide atonement for your souls; for it is the blood that atones for the soul. Therefore I have said to the Children of Israel: Any person among you may not consume blood, and the proselyte who dwells among you may not consume blood.”*¹¹

*„An eternal decree for your generations in all your dwelling places, you may not consume any fat or any blood.”*¹²

And it follows from the above prohibition that an egg has to be opened before consumption in order to be checked whether there is a drop of blood in it. Naturally, a boiled egg has to be checked after cooking.

The Torah also prohibits the consumption of the sinew on the hip-socket (*guid hanosheh*) of otherwise permitted animals.¹³

(v) *Vegetables:*

In the Torah, one can find several rules concerning agriculture: *shmitah* (sabbatic year),¹⁴ *kilaim* (it is forbidden to sow a field with two different kinds of seeds),¹⁵ *orloh* (it is forbidden to eat the fruits of a tree in the first four years),¹⁶ etc.

1.2. Kosher slaughtering, the shechitah

The Torah forbids the consumption of flesh cut from a living animal.¹⁷ However, the rules concerning the ritual slaughtering of animals, the rules of *sechita*, are not present in the written text of the Torah, where one can only find the words: „...you may slaughter from your cattle and your flocks ...as I have commanded you”.¹⁸

10 *Beraishis* 9:3-4.

11 *Vayikroh* 17:11-12.

12 *Ibid.* 3:17.

13 *Beraishis* 32:32.

14 *Devorim* 15:1-18.

15 *Vayikroh* 19:19.

16 *Ibid.* 19:23-24.

17 *Beraishis* 9:4.

18 *Devorim* 12:21.

The detailed prescriptions concerning ritual slaughtering were conserved by the Sinaitic oral tradition, the *Torah shebeal peh*. These rules are presented in Tractate *Chulin* of the Babylonian *Talmud*.

The rules of „*kosher* slaughtering” are only applied to warm-blooded animals (quadrupeds and fowl), while they are not applied to cold-blooded animals (*i. e.* fish). The same is true for the prohibition of consuming blood: it is only the blood of warm-blooded animals which is forbidden, that of fish is not.

When slaughtering, the slaughterer (*shochet*) is supposed to cut through with his perfectly sharpened knife four things with the same movement: the windpipe, the esophagus, the carotid artery and the throat-vein. In this way, the animal will suffer the least possible and, at the same time, the maximum possible quantity of blood will flow out of it. The consumption of an animal narcotized in one way or another before slaughtering is forbidden. The *sochet* is supposed to be a strictly observant Jew, besides disposing a rabbinical certificate approving his professional skills.

All permitted animals not slaughtered and „*kosherized*” according to ritual laws, or even died from some disease (*neveloh*), or devoured by wilde beasts (*trefoh*) are also forbidden for consumption.¹⁹ More than that, it is also forbidden to eat from an animal unfit to live (*i. e.* suffers of some mortal disease or even has only a broken leg). Consequently, after slaughtering, the animal has to be thoroughly checked in search of such illnesses.

Once the animal is slaughtered according to ritual laws, its meat has to be „*kosherized*”, *i. e.* has to be salted that the remaining blood should leave. At first the meat has to be thoroughly washed, and put into water for at least half an hour. Thereafter, its entire surface has to be well salted and it stays salted for an hour. Finally the meat is again good strongly washed. Liver which contains much more blood than all other parts of an animal, has consequently to be burned over open flame (salting would anyhow render it unfit for consumption).

1.3. Separation of meat and dairy food

In the Torah, we find three times the commandment of

„*You shall not cook a kid in its mother’s milk*”.²⁰

Referring to this, the *Talmud* explains that meat and dairy food have to be strictly separated, and the threefold prohibition means that it is forbidden to cook, to eat

¹⁹ *Shemos* 22:8.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 23:19, 34:26; *Devorim* 14:21.

and even to serve them together.²¹ It is forbidden to prepare dairy food in vessels used to cook meat, and vice-versa. A „mixed up“-vessel becomes immediately unfit for further use, and the food cooked in it becomes forbidden. Consequently, not only meat and dairy food has to be strictly separated, but even the vessels of them have to be isolated, they can not even be washed together.

It also comes from the same Torah-prohibition that a certain time has to pass between the consumption of the two. After having eaten meat one is supposed to wait six hours before eating dairy things, while in the opposite case, half an hour (max. one hour) is also enough (exception made for certain kinds of „hard“ cheeses which also need a break of six hours).²²

There is a third category of food, called *parveh*, which –being considered neutral– can be prepared and also consumed together with meat or dairy food. These are vegetables, fruit, sugar, meal and salt, and also fish, eggs, and artificially prepared (synthetic) foods.

Certain metal vessels which through „accident“ became unfit for use (e.g. meat and milk was mixed up in them) can be „*kosherized*“: rendered fit for use through immersion in boiling water or (in case of vessels directly used on fire) through glowing. Glazed earthenware, porcelaine can not be „*kosherized*“.

New vessels (metal and glass) have to be immersed in a ritual bath (*mikveh*) before the first use.²³ Wodden-, earthen- and synthetic vessels are exempted from this immersion.

2. The Altar (Mizbeach) and the Manna

In *Yechezke-l*'s profecy concerning the third *Bais hamikdosh*, we find the following words:

„*The Altar was of wood ...He said to me, This is the table that is before HASHEM*“.²⁴

According to the Talmud, as the verse

„...begins with the altar and ends with the table! R. Jochanan and Resh Lakish both explain: At the time when the *Bais hamikdosh* stood, the

21 *bChulin* 115b.

22 *Shulchan Aruch Yoreh Deoh* 89:1-2.

23 *Ibid.* 120:1.

24 *Yechezke-l* 41:22.

altar used to make atonement for a person; now a person's table makes atonement for him."²⁵

To this, *RASHI* adds: „through the *mitzvoh* of hospitality”.²⁶

Accordingly, the table for *Shabbos* (and *Yom Tov*) is arranged that it should remember the *Bais hamikdosh* where the Candelabrum (*Menorah*) stood on the Southern side and the Table (*Shulchan*) of the twelve „show-breads” on the Northern, with the golden Altar of the incenses in the middle.²⁷ Consequently, where it is possible, the candlesticks are placed on the Southern part of the table, while the loafs of bread on the Northern one. Again, according to the Talmud,

„R. Isaac said: He who desires to become wise should turn to the South [when praying], and he who desires to become rich should turn to the North. The symbol [by which to remember this] is that the table [in the Tabernacle] was to the north of the altar and the candlestick to the south. R. Joshua b. Levi, however, said that he should always turn to the south, because through obtaining wisdom he will obtain wealth, as it says »*length of days are in her [wisdom's] right hand, in her left hand are riches and honour*«”.²⁸

Prescriptions and customs concerning the *Shabbos*-meals are mainly related to the sacrifices of the *Bais hamikdosh* and/or to the *manna*. During the forty years of their wandering in the wilderness, the E-ternal was feeding the *Bnai Yisroel* with the *manna*.²⁹ According to the *Midrash*, the *manna* was a purely spiritual food which did not produce any secretion.³⁰ From the *manna* falling daily, every cheef of a family had to collect the quantity of one *omer*, for the daily needs of his family. On Fridays, double portion *manna* was falling while on *Shabbos* there was no *manna* falling at all.³¹

On the first *Shabbos* after the *manna* started to fall, *Moshe rabainu* informed the people concerning the second portion fallen on Friday:

„...*Eat it today; for today is a Sabbath for HASHEM; today you shall not find it in the field*”.³²

25 *bChagigah* 27a; *bMenachos* 97a. The latter place has R: *Elozor* instead of *Resh Lakish*.

26 To *bChagigah* 27a. Cf. *bSanhedrin* 103b.

27 *Shemos* 40:22-26.

28 *Mishlai* 3:16; *bBB* 25b.

29 *Shemos* 16:35, *Devorim* 8:4.

30 *Mechilta* *Bashalach*.

31 *Shemos* 16:16, 22, 26-27.

32 *Ibid.* 16:25; emphasis added.

Based on this verse, the *Sages* ordered that three meals have to be eaten on *Shabbos*: one Friday night, one *Shabbos* at noon after having finished the morning prayers, and one *Shabbos* afternoon. However, according to R. Chidka, the total number of the meals is supposed to be four, as the verse makes allusion to the three meals only speaking about the day of „today”, consequently we have to say, Friday night is the fourth occasion.³³ This opinion is satisfied with the „*Kedeshim*” *Shabbos* morning, before the meal where there are „only” liqueurs and cakes served.

3. The Traditional „Menue” of the Friday Night and Shabbos Noon Meals

3.1. Friday night

Kidush. The fourth Commandment starts with the following words:

„Remember the Shabbath day, to sanctify it”.³⁴

And the Torah gives immediately after the reason also:

„for in six days *HASHEM* made the heavens and the earth, the sea and all that is in them, and He rested on the seventh day. Therefore, *HASHEM* blessed the Shabbath day and sanctified it”.³⁵

This is the reason why Jews are obliged to sanctify the *Shabbos*, according to the *Sages*’ instructions, with a blessing said over a cup of wine, already Friday night, immediately after *Shabbos* begins.³⁶

Loafs of bread. At the beginning of every *Shabbos*-meal, it is obligatory to say a blessing over two entire loafs of bread,³⁷ to remember the double portion of *manna* fallen on Fridays. As the Torah says:

„It happened on the sixth day that they gathered a double portion of food [*lechem mishneh*]...”.³⁸

33 *bShabbos* 117b.

34 *Shemos* 20:8.

35 *Ibid.* 20:11.

36 *bPsochim* 106a.

37 *bBrachos* 39b; *bShabbos* 117b. See *Shulchan Aruch Orech Chaim* 274:1.

38 *Shemos* 16:22.

The bread specially baked for *Shabbos* and *Yom tov*, is called in German-speaking (*Ashkenaz*) lands *Barches* from the Hebrew word *brochoh* 'blessing'. In the *chasidic* regions of Eastern-Europe it is called *challah*, as the Torah calls the piece to be separated of a dough before baking it.³⁹ When the *Bais hamikdosh* stood, this was one of the 24 dues the Jewish people was supposed to support the *kohanim* with, as the latter „only” served in the *Bais hamikdosh*.⁴⁰ Since its destruction, it became customary to burn this symbolic little piece of dough.

For *Shabbos*, long loafs are baked as opposed to the round ones prepared for *Yom tov*. According to the Torah prescription, on the Table (*Shulchan*) in the Sanctuary, there had to be permanently present twelve loafs of bread (*Lechem haponim* 'show-breads'), representing permanently the twelve tribes of Israel before the E-ternal.⁴¹ The long form of the loafs recalls the Hebrew letter *vov* (ו), the *gematriah* of which is six, thus the two long loafs recall the two times six *viz.* twelve „show-breads”. It is for the same reason that the loafs are braided of six „threads”, as the altogether twelve „threads” of the two loafs again remember the twelve *Lechem haponim*.⁴²

According to the *Midrash*, during the Jews' wandering in the wilderness, the ground was first covered with dew, upon this fell the *manna*, finally the latter was covered with a new layer of dew.⁴³ This is one of the reasons why the two loafs are covered from above, and also a special plate is put under them, and are not placed directly on the tablecloth. An other reason for this covering of the loafs is that, according to *halachic* prescriptions, the blessing over the bread has to be said before the blessing over the wine, however, it is forbidden to eat or drink before *kidush*. The Torah praises *Eretz Yisroel* with its following products:

„...a Land of wheat, barley, grape, fig, and pomegranate; a Land of oil-olives, and date-honey.”⁴⁴

39 *Bamidbor* 15:20.

40 *mChalah* 1:9; *bBK* 110b, *bChulin* 133b.

41 *Shemos* 25:30; *Vayikroh* 24:5-9.

42 In his desperate effort to find the „Slavic proselyte origins” of European Ashkenazic Jews, Paul WEXLER recalls SCHAUSS' 1938 proposition to connect the braided *Shabbos* bread to „...the cult of the Germanic goddess, since in the pagan Germanic rites, women offered the goddess their hair symbolically braided.” Hence the German-Jewish (*Deutsch-Jüdisch*) name *barxes* can be derivated from „*Berchta* ~ *Perchta*, the name of a Germanic goddess of vegetation and fertility.” Paul WEXLER, *The Ashkenazic Jews: A Slavo-Turkic People In Search Of A Jewish Identity*. Columbus, Ohio: Slavica Publishers, 1993, 115. See Hayyim SCHAUSS, *The Jewish Festivals. From their beginnings to our own day*. New York, 1938, 31. [1958²] It is interesting to remark that the goddess in German mythology is also protectrice of spinning.

43 *Mechilta*, based on *Shemos* 16:13-14.

44 *Devorim* 8:8.

When someone wants to eat them together, he is supposed to eat them in the above order and to say the blessings over them respectively. As it is forbidden to eat before *kidush*, precedence has to be given to the wine (made of grapes) and eat the bread (made of wheat) only afterwards. This is the other reason for the covering of the bread: it should not see – so to say – „its shame”.

Salt. According to a commandment of the Torah,

„...on your every offering shall you offer salt”.⁴⁵

More than that, the same *posuq* speaks about

„...the salt of your G-d's covenant...”.

Actually, the *halochoh* has been established accordingly:

„One should not cut his bread until salt is not put before him”.⁴⁶ Because „...it is a *mitzvoh* to put salt on every table before cutting the bread, as the table is like the altar and the meal is like bringing sacrifices⁴⁷ ... And this protects from punishment”.⁴⁸ „...until the Jews are sitting and waiting for each other that everyone should wash his hands, and they cannot fulfil *mitzvos* [as it is forbidden to interrupt between the ablution of the hands and the eating of the bread] the accusing angel brings an accusation against them while the covenant of the salt protects them”.⁴⁹

Cutting the bread. It is also an allusion to the sacrifices brought to the *Bais hamikdosh*, that a perfectly sharpened knife is used to cut the bread and not a saw-like one, the same as it is a prescription for ritual slaughtering.⁵⁰ It is also customary to cut the bread transversely, that the first slice should be like a slice of a cake, surrounded by the crust from only three sides, again to remember the abovementioned *Lechem haponim* which was, according to the Talmud, shaped like an angular **U** (or **V**) letter.⁵¹ And the first piece of bread is dipped into the salt three times, as the *gematrioh* of *lechem* 'bread' (78) is three times the *gematrioh* of the E-ternal's Name (26).

Breadcrumbs. It is customary to sweep together the breadcrumbs after having cut the bread and eaten the first morsel, and to eat them. This is (also) based on

45 *Vayikroh* 2:13.

46 *Shulchan Aruch Orech Chaim* 167:5.

47 *Bais Yosef* based on the *Midrashic compendium Shibolai haLeket*.

48 *REMO ad loc.*

49 *Mishnah Berurah ad loc.* based on *Midrash Aggadah*, see also *Tosafos bBrachos* 40a.

50 *RAMBAM, Misneh Torah, Hilchos Shechitah* 1:14; *Shulchan Aruch Yore Deoh* 18:1-3.

51 *bMenochos* 94b.

the Talmud: the breadcrumbs spread over the floor and people stepping on them can lead to poverty.⁵² The „*Kav haYoshor*”, a well-known book of ethic teachings (*musar*) quotes an other reason from R. Yeshaya-h HURWITZ’s (1555-1628) „*Shnai Luchos haBris*”. As the table symbolizes the *Mizbeach* of the *Bais hamikdash*, where the *kohanim* had to pay attention to put immediately back on the altar the fallen pieces of the sacrifices, in the same way, today it is necessary not to let breadcrumbs be wasted. This is specially important concerning the piece over which the blessing was said which, in this system of symbols, corresponds to the burnt-offering (*korban olah*), one of the most holy sacrifices.

Fish. According to the Talmud, *Shabbos* has to be honored with prestigious foods: among others with fish.⁵³ The *Midrash* relates that *Noach* had not to enter fish into the Ark during the Flood because the E-ternal had hidden the letters under the hot water of the Flood where the water remained cold.⁵⁴ This was their reward for abstaining from immorality, not mingling with other species. And it is for this reason that fish is eaten at every *Shabbos* and *Yom tov* meal.

Meat. This also belongs directly to the category of honoring the *Shabbos*, as it is also remembering the (animal-)sacrifices brought to the *Bais hamikdash*.

Four kinds of garnishment (Yiddish *Tzimes* < German *zum essen* 'to be eaten with, garnishment'):

- (i) (sweet)**carrots**: in *Ashkenazi* regions, it is customary to eat in the evening of *Rosh hashonoh*, often (specially among *chasidim*) it is served evry Friday night. The custom is based on a German-Yiddish play on words: German *mehren* 'to multiply' (*i.e.* the merits should be multiplied) and *Möhren* (pl.) 'carrots';
- (ii) **egg barley**: in Yiddish *farfel* (*cf.* Italian *farfalla* 'butterfly', French *farfeli* 'bizarre'). Again a play on words: *ferfallen* means approximately 'there is no other solution, just too bad', before *Shabbos*, the E-ternal surely has to forgive sins;
- (iii) (fried)**liver**: the *gematrioh* of its Hebrew name, *kaved*, is 26, as of the four letters of the E-ternal's Holy Name (the *Tetragrammaton*);

52 *bChulin* 105b. *Cf.* *Shulchan Aruch Orech Chaim* 180:4.

53 *bShabbos* 118b. The Talmudic text literally means 'to delight the *Shabbos*'. The commentaries draw the attention to the fact that one is supposed to take delight from the *Shabbos*, instead of calling his delight by the name *Shabbos*.

54 *Midrash Lekach Tov*. See also *bZevachim* 113b.

- (iii) **compote:** it causes pleasure at the end of the meal, and also the blessing (*brochoh*) said over it adds to the number of blessings said on *Shabbos*. According to tradition, it was *Dovid hamelech* who instituted that every Jew is supposed to say every day hundred *brochos*.⁵⁵ As a dozen blessings are omitted of every *shemoneh esrai* on *Shabbos*, they have to be replaced by many other *brochos*.⁵⁶

When the meal has been finished, to the grace after meals (*Birkas hamozon*) a small piece of bread has to be left on the table.⁵⁷ There are several reasons for it:

- (i) during *Birkas hamozon* it should be clear for everyone that they are supposed to bless the E-ternal for His lovingkindness and His goodness He cares for His creatures with,⁵⁸
- (ii) the story of the prophet Elishah shows that the E-ternal's blessing does not fall upon an empty thing,⁵⁹
- (iii) there should always be prepared a piece of bread, to can immediately invite a poor man entering the house. According to the Talmud, when someone „draws out his meal”, the [E-ternal] prolongs his days, „because perhaps a poor man will come and he will give him something” to eat;⁶⁰
- (iiii) to thank the E-ternal for His kindness, as He makes it possible for people to eat to satiety and there should even remain as it is written in the story of the prophet Elishah and the *Sunnami* woman: „...and they ate, and left over, as the word of *HASHEM*”.⁶¹

At the end of the meal, before *Birkas hamozon*, it is customary on weekdays to take off the knives of the table or at least to cover them,⁶² because iron [viz. a sword made of iron] shortens human life, and it is not correct to put on the table -symbolizing the Altar destined to prolong human life- knives which shorten human lives.⁶³ As it is written in the Torah:

55 *Bamidbor Rabboh* 18:21; *bMenachos* 43b.

56 See in the precedent article of the present volume.

57 *Shulchan Aruch Orech Chaim* 180:1.

58 *Levush*.

59 *2Melochim* 4:1-7; *Mogen Avrohom to Orech Chaim* 180:1.

60 *bBrachos* 54b-55a.

61 *2Melochim* 4:44.

62 *Shulchan Aruch Orech Chaim* 180:5.

63 *Bais Yosef ad loc*.

„There you shall build an altar for *HASHEM* your G-d, an altar of stones; you shall not raise iron upon them”.⁶⁴

On *Shabbos* it is not necessary to care about, as it is forbidden to build during *Shabbos*.

3.2. The meal at *Shabbos* noon

Kidush. As the *posuq* says, „Remember the *Shabbath day*, to sanctify it”,⁶⁵ *Shabbos* morning, after the morning prayer, *kidush* is repeated. This *kidush* is called by the Talmud „great *kiddush*” (*Kedusho rabbo*),⁶⁶ despite the fact that the *Sages* did not institute a special blessing for it as for the *kidush* of Friday night, when *Shabbos* enters: the *kidush* of *Shabbos* morning consists of the single blessing over wine (or some other alcoholic beverage).

Bread* and *fish: see above at Friday night.

„***Eiertzwib***”: as the name indicates, it is made of hard-boiled eggs (Yid. *Eier*) and oignon (Yid. *Tzwibel*) cut together with a little bit of oil added. In certain places liver and radish is also mixed in.

- (i) **oignon**: According to the *Midrash*, the *Manna* had always the taste of a food one intended to eat.⁶⁷ This miracle was a retribution for *Avrohom ovinu*’s offering various plates for the angels who visited him.⁶⁸ However, five tastes were never present in the *Manna*: the taste of oignon, garlic, melon, cucumber and leek. And this was so because these five vegetables are harmful for pregnant and nursing women.⁶⁹ Now, if the *manna*, this holy spiritual food was not „perfect”, on *Shabbos* which is, according to tradition, a reflex of the World to Come, these gaps can be filled up. This is also the reason why Jewish food is generally prepared with a lot of oignon and garlic;⁷⁰
- (ii) **egg**: is a well-known Jewish symbol for mourning symbolizing the recurrence of life and death, and also the introverted state of spirit of a mourner. There were three outstanding personalities of Jewish history who

64 *Devorim* 27:5.

65 *Shemos* 20:8.

66 *bPsochim* 106a.

67 *Shemos Rabboh* 25:3.

68 *Beraishis* 18:6-8; *Tanna debeh Eliya-h Rabboh* 12.

69 *Sifrai*; cf. *Bamidbor* 11:5.

70 For some other reasons for eating garlic, especially on Fridays, see *bBK* 82a.

died on *Shabbos*: *Yosef hatzadik*, *Moshe rabainu* and *Dovid hamelech*. Although *halochoh* prohibits any sign of public mourning on *Shabbos*, their death is still remembered in such a „hidden” way, through eating eggs. It is for the same reason that *Shabbos* afternoon, during the *Minchah* prayer, three *psuqim* In the same way, *Pesach* night, at the *Seder*, at the beginning of the dinner, the destruction (*churban*) of the *Bais hamikdosh* is remembered through eating a hardboiled egg. At the same time, the egg eaten at the beginning of a meal is also a repetition of the free Romans’ custom⁷¹ just like the way of eating – during *Seder*-night – reclined on one’s left side, as a demonstration of freedom;⁷²

(iii) **liver**: see above, at Friday night;

(iiii) **radish**: according to the Talmud, *Rabbi YEHUDAH hanosi* (second century CE), the redactor of the *Mishnah*, and emperor ANTONINUS (138-161) were both so rich, that radish was not missing of their respective tables neither in summer nor in winter.⁷³

Sholet (Yiddish *Tsolent*). In Hungary it is made of beans (sometimes with potatoes added), while in other countries it can be prepared with potatoes, chick-peas, rice, wheat etc. The main thing is not the vegetable used but the fact that it has to be prepared on Friday for *Shabbos*, and kept warm until *Shabbos* noon. In rabbinic texts it is simply called *chamin* ‘warm [food]’. This plate and its preparation became accentuated upon because of the *Tzadoqim* / *Sadducees* and *Karaites*, as these sects were rejecting rabbinic oral tradition, the *Tora shebeal peh*. The E-ternal’s commandment,

„*You shall not kindle fire in any of your dwellings on the Sabbath day*”,⁷⁴

was interpreted by them that it is also forbidden that a fire [kindled naturally before *Shabbos*] should burn in your home on *Shabbos*. And it was for this reason that *Sages* of earlier generations instituted that a special plate should be prepared on Friday, to be kept warm until *Shabbos*, thus demonstrating not to belonging to the *Tzadoqim* / *Karaites*’ sects.

For the etymology of the word *sholet* / *tsolent*, many theories have already been presented. Let’s remember just three of them. Certainly say, it goes back to the

71 According to an old Latin saying, a meal extends *ab ovo usque ad mala* ‘from the [appetizing] egg until the apple [which cleans the teeth]’.

72 *bPsochim* 108a.

73 *bBrachos* 57b.

74 *Shemos* 35:3.

French expression *chaud lit* 'warm bed', as it was often kept warm covered with pillows in a bed. According to this, it could be traced back to the French expression *chaud lent* 'slow warm' also.⁷⁵ Again according to others, it comes from the German expression *Schulende* 'the end of the synagogue [*i.e.* of prayer]', that is to say, people eat it after having finished to pray *Shabbos* morning. Again others consider the Latin participle *calentem* 'warming' being the etymon.⁷⁶

Meat. See above at Friday night.

Kugel / Kigel. Evidently, the name takes its origin from the German word *Kugel* 'ball', as it was generally baked in a round frying pan. Rav Shmuel ROSENBERG (1842-1919) of Hunsdorf (Hung. Hunfalva, today Huncovce, Slovakia) connected its origin to the already mentioned twelve *Lechem haponim* which had to be permanently present on a special table in the *Bais hamikdosh*.⁷⁷ According to the Torah, the twelve loafs of bread representing the twelve tribes of Israel had to be changed for new ones every *Shabbos*.⁷⁸ It was one of the many miracles present continuously in the *Bais hamikdosh* that these breads remained warm even after being exposed a whole week in the Sanctuary. After a week, these breads belonged to the *kohanim*, as one of the 24 dues the Jewish people was supposed to support the *kohanim* with, as the latter „only” served in the *Bais hamikdosh*.⁷⁹ And the *kohanim* ate these breads when still warm, presumably inside the *Bais hamikdosh*. Rav Rosenberg explains that the leftover –which was a food but also something already once used for a holy purpose, and hence forbidden to be thrown away– has been dried and grinded for the next *Shabbos* and used to prepare from it some kind of a pulp or porridge similar to the stuffing used for stuffed-chicken. Presumably this plate is meant by the word *pashtida* in rabbinic Hebrew-Aramaic.⁸⁰

75 It has to be kept in mind that, opposed to the actual French pronunciation of 'chaud' [sho], Medieval French pronunciation was [cho].

76 Max Weinreich, *Geschichte fun der jidischer sprach*. I-IV. New York, 1973 (Partial English translation Chicago 1980.), 2:56-57, 4:79-81. Quoted by Paul Wexler, *The Ashkenazic Jews: A Slavo-Turkic People In Search Of A Jewish Identity*. Columbus, Ohio: Slavica Publishers, 1993, p. 125.

77 *Shemos* 25:30, see above.

78 *Vayikroh* 24:8.

79 *mChalah* 1:9; *bBK* 110b, *bChulin* 133b.

80 *Machzor Vitry*, *Hilchos Shabbos* 28; *Bais Yosef to Orech Chaim* 512.

4. The Plates of the Jewish Religious Holidays

The traditional plates prepared for the Holidays, the *Yomim tovim*, are also manyfoldedly attached to rabbinic tradition. Let's mention some of them, without any intention of completeness.

Rosh hashonoh is the first day of the Jewish calendar-year, the day of the creation of the first human being, when the E-ternal judges the entire world. The first night, at the beginning of the festive meal, so-called *simonim*, symbolic things are eaten to remember through them also the special character of the day, and to pray for a good year:

- (i) **sweet apple dipped in honey**: that the year should be a sweet one, that is to say to „sweeten” *i.e.* to reduce somewhat the severness of the impending judgment;⁸¹
- (ii) **sweet carrots**, see above at Friday night: that the merits should be multiplied, *i.e.* the E-ternal should consider the Fathers' merits for the sons' generation;
- (iii) **head of a fish or of a lamb**: symbolizes the marching at the head.⁸²

Hoshanoh rabboh is the last day of the intermediate days (*chol hamoed*) of *Sukkos*, when the E-ternal so to say puts definitely away the judgments sealed.

It is customary to eat **kreplech** [French *crêpe* 'pancake']: a kind of pastry filled with minced meat and cooked in the (meat or chicken)soup. The meat, although more important, is inside, so to say hidden in the dough, in the same way as the festive character of *chol hamoed* [lit. the weekday of the holiday] is concealed by the restriction of the prohibition of work on the *Yom-tov* (hence the name *chol hamoed*).

Chanukah. As the miracle was performed through oil, it is customary to eat things prepared with **oil**, *e.g.* **donuts** fried in oil. It is also customary to eat **dairy** things. According to a tradition conserved by the so called *Antiokhos*-scroll (*Megilas Antiochos*), during the Maccabean uprising a Jewish woman by the name Jehudith gave to the Syrian general *Haliporni* (Holofernes) cheese and wine, and when the latter asleep she killed him.⁸³

81 In France, it is customary to eat bananas on *Rosh hashonoh*, as the new year's wish is said in French *bonne année*, and this sounds similar to the word *banane*.

82 Cf. *Devorim* 28:13; 44.

83 According to the apochryphal *Book of Judith*, all this happened when *Nevuchadnetzar* invaded *Eretz Yisrael*.

Purim. Similar to *Hoshanoh rabboh*, it is customary to eat **kreplech**, see above. For the same reason, it is also customary to eat **stuffed cabbages** too.

Shovuos. On the first day, it is customary to eat **dairy** cakes when making *kidush*. One of the reasons for it is that the E-ternal commanded the separation of meat and dairy food when giving the Torah:

„You shall not cook a kid in its mother’s milk”.⁸⁴

Consequently, their vessels became unfit for „kosher” use, and they only could drink milk.⁸⁵ An other explanation refers to a verse of the *Song of Songs*:

„...like honey and milk it lies under your tongue...”,

which is traditionally interpreted as an allusion to the Torah and, hence the costum to eat sweet dairy things on the day of the giving of the Torah.⁸⁶ According to again an other explanation, when *Moshe rabainu* went up to Mount Sinai to receive the Torah, the angels did not want to let the Torah fall into human hands, they wanted to keep it among them. Encouraged by the E-ternal, *Moshe rabainu* referred himself to the fact that the Torah forbids mixing up meat and dairy food and that, this notwithstanding, the angels consumed milk, butter and meat when visiting *Avrohom ovinu*.⁸⁷ Certain people even bake specially with butter the bread (*challos*) for this *kidush*. The one with butter, and the „second” one cut at the beginning of the main meal, remember the two loaves of bread brought to the *Bais hamikdosh* on *Shovuos*.⁸⁸

84 *Shemos* 23:19.

85 *Misnah Berurah* to *Orech Chaim* 494:3.

86 *Shir haShirim* 4:11; R. Yeshaya-h HURWITZ, *Shnai Luchos haBris*.

87 *Beraishis* 18:8; *bShabbos* 88, *Pirkai deRabbi Eliezer* 46.

88 *Vayikroh* 23:17; *REMo* to *Orech Chaim* 494:3.

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Holocaust Narratives and Social Construction

The present paper a theoretical discussion. A brief overview of the various discourses apparent in the Holocaust narrative where I endeavour to proceed from the meta-narrative of the Holocaust to the timeliness of a personal conception of history that is based on micro- and oral history. This is how I will attempt to explain why I examine the Holocaust a more personal, socio-historical point of view and not from the traditionally accepted historical, quantitative scientific perspective. I will outline Alexander's approach to trauma, at the same time expanding the theoretical frameworks. In my study of people traumatized by the Holocaust I will attempt to render the social and cultural aspects of my research more intelligible by looking at how social constructs inform both the researcher and the researched subject.

Holocaust Narratives

Rosenfeld¹ gives a good summary of the numerous attacks Holocaust's canonized memory has had to face. 70 years after Auschwitz, Jewish and non-Jewish people alike question the justification and legitimacy of remembering itself, and the various forms of this remembrance. There are those who would lessen it, blur it or even deny it. We can envisage the struggle against the diverse forms Holocaust remembrance as if they appeared on a palette from one extreme to another. For instance, committed Jews detect the neglect of positive Jewish values in remembering the Holocaust, and there are those who oppose the moral self-absolution of the State of Israel presenting itself as a victim of the Holocaust, or those who view Holocaust remembrance as an excessive self-advocacy originating from the power position of Jewish people. And finally, there are those who feel that other, non-Jewish genocides are being overshadowed by the abundance of Holocaust remembrance, and those who believe that the Holocaust did not happen

1 Alvin Rosenfeld, *The End of the Holocaust* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011).

the way we think it did, there were not as many victims, and anyway, everyone suffered during the war. We could create a long list ending with extremist heads of Muslim states who out right deny the Holocaust, and the openly racist views of Neo-Nazi groups.

More and more voices in these heated debates call our attention to the importance of returning to the survivors and their memoirs. In the beginning, research focusing on the perpetrators' point of view was more widespread but later on, research focusing on victims gained ground as well. However, separating the two might feel a bit forced, thus, redefining some rigid and overused topics can prove to be useful. Individual human stories and their micro-historical presentation have become the favoured task of most researchers when they are working on or teaching Holocaust remembrance. Great, symbolical representational commemorations, monumental statues and museums are increasingly neglected because they appear to be emptied-out of meaning and therefore disappointing. Mnemo-political strategies and national identity politics that enforce the claim for exclusiveness have also lost their support. It seems that the time for locality and individual narratives has come. Refreshing examples from the internet include pages where micro-narratives are being processed in contemporary historical settings with photographs and documents, such as Centropa.² Abandoning mnemo-political conflicts does not necessarily mean giving up, it rather signals that communities' and grass-roots organizations' honest communication have become more intimate. A good example for this is the Yellow-star Houses project³ or the Facebook group, "A Holokauszt és a családom" ["The Holocaust and My Family"]. When Rosenfeld wrote about the "end of the Holocaust", he might have meant that after 70 years Holocaust remembrance, its interpretation, narrative and reading seem to be changing. However, it would not be appropriate to uncritically accept the exclusivity of micro-narratives and testimonies. Naturally, we cannot discount historians', scholars' and philosophers' role in researching the general, more abstract phenomena of collective memory. At the same time, the various layers of personal memory, traditions and knowledge amassed by historians can be treated simultaneously and are legitimised as separately existing fields.⁴ I would like to call attention to the fact that there have been strengthening and weakening processes in post-Holocaust remembrance in the past 70 years, and it seems identity, traditions and the various segments of cult have moved into the

2 "Centropa", *Megőrzött emlékek interaktív könyvtára* [*Interactive library of preserved memories*], accessed August 5, 2016, www.centropa.hu

3 "Csillagos házak, 1944–2014 [Yellow-star Houses Project, 1944–2014]," accessed August 5, 2016, www.csillagoshazak.hu

4 Gábor Gyáni, *Az elveszített múlt* [*The Past We Can Lose*] (Budapest: Nyitott Könyvműhely Kiadó, 2010).

forefront. One of the reasons for this is that history-writing itself and the questions of what constitutes proper scholarship – independent of Holocaust remembrance – are being continuously reconsidered. Postmodern story-writing, oral history and micro-biographies have become almost mainstream by today. One of the major factors in the changing processes of remembering is the changing of current or long-term political, power or economic interests. Another influential circumstance is the fact that the number of living witnesses are continuously diminishing. If more people are concerned in our closer environment or live among us as survivors; individuals, some of whom can be our friends, relatives, well-known people or even our enemies, all of this influences our remembering. Survivors' guilt, shame, psychological problems, meaningful silence or even their presence itself render the act of remembering more intense and acute. Those who speak out as witnesses, victims or as humiliated people in sad, ashamed voices make remembering and historical research extremely difficult. Talking about questions of the Holocaust in a clear manner and researching these issues independent of emotions is only possible if we distance ourselves from the events and if there is practically no-one who could tell their own story. Unfortunately, today there are hardly any living survivors, meaning that Holocaust research has also changed significantly. This is also to say that several disparate effects come into play as we temporally move away from the Holocaust. On the one hand, 70 years after the event personal stories and eyewitness accounts are considered as rare treasures, and consequently, gain significance. On the other hand, the emotional intensity of the researched topic diminishes, that is, the emotional baggage does not interfere with historical or any other scholarly discipline's research any more.

The last 70 years have not passed without intense and unsettling emotions and debates. I do not intend to give a detailed analysis of these debates; I merely wanted to show that we really are talking about a passionate struggle of constantly changing, newer and newer scientific views, criticisms and refutations. During the past period of time, most of the intellectually decisive survivors, such as Kertész, Lévi, Wiesel, Améry and Heller have recounted the story of the Holocaust as a symbolic and mythical narrative; as an event that is unexplainable and incomprehensible in rational terms, the symbol of which is Auschwitz, as well as Mount Sinai. They emphasized the Holocaust's ethical and moral message for the world, rejecting positivist historians who would emphasize the significance of the perpetrators' motivations in "grave-robbing" and their overall calculation of possible gains (Aly Götz). These positivist historians speak primarily against the mystification of the Holocaust.⁵ There were debates about Hanna Arendt's theories on the Jewish Councils' collaboration and

5 The most important among these in Hungary are Aly Götz, Christian Gerlach, Gábor Kádár, Zoltán Vági and Krisztián Ungváry.

the “banality of evil”, which have since lost their relevance, although at the time, after the Eichmann trial, they were considered to be exciting and unsettling views. However, by today they have come to be viewed as rough and oversimplified, possibly leading to negative misinterpretations. The members of the Jewish Council were also victims of the Nazi killing machinery; they were not heroes but fallible human beings who were consciously intimidated and abused in cruel ways. There were no Jewish Councils in many Soviet-ruled territories and yet, Jews were still massacred, and on many occasions in more cruel ways than in Poland where there were no collaborating Jewish Councils everywhere either. Unjust accusations that rendered Jewish Councils into scapegoats also originate from false premises. Unfortunately, Bauman also contributed to the prevalence of this viewpoint but facts are contradictory, too. The banality of evil is an interesting notion and it has the capacity to explain a few things but not too many. There is an intense debate between the intentionalists (Goldhagen and Dawidowitz), the functionalist-structuralists (Hilberg and Bauman) and others as to whether the plan and implementation of the Jewish population’s massacre came from above, from Hitler and the leadership or from below, from the lower classes of the German population. By today, the controversy has obviously been synthesised and has become somewhat outworn. Bauman cites modernity as the explanation for the Holocaust, and Goldhagen cites the sadistic tendencies inherent in Germans and German society. Today, both of these viewpoints appear as exaggerations.

Of course, I have not mentioned socio-psychological and other discourses from among the vast list of literature as arguments around concepts such as sites of memory, museums, places of memory and representations of the Holocaust fill volumes and volumes of books. However, it has to be noted that while scientific and philosophical debates on Holocaust remembrance have remained within intellectual circles, there has been a popularization process of Holocaust remembrance. The graphic novel, *Maus* was still largely restricted to intellectual elites, as well as Lanzmann’s *Shoah* (1985). On the other hand, the fact that the Washington Holocaust Museum’s opening in 1993 coincided with the release of Steven Spielberg’s *Schindler’s List*, which changed and legitimately canonized the Holocaust in popular culture can be considered a huge breakthrough. This was further reinforced by the release of Roberto Benigni’s *Life is Beautiful (La vita è bella)* in 1997 which received a number of academy and other awards. The Holocaust Memorial in Berlin was inaugurated in 2005. The fact that the Holocaust has become part and parcel of popular culture is also signalled by the release of Quentin Tarantino’s, who is in a way the symbol of American popular culture, *Inglourious Basterds* to worldwide acclaim in 2009. Apart from the aesthetic considerations and other assessments, I merely wanted to point out that

after 70 years the Holocaust has become an integral part of our civilization's collective consciousness and has seceded from real historical events. The "end of the Holocaust" signals for me that this event that happened 70 years ago has, on the one hand, become an unavoidable symbol of Western civilization with a considerable socio-ethical bearing but not exactly in the same way Heller and Kertész had hoped for or thought. The Holocaust has become the genocide of genocides but in a simplified form, as a conflict of Jews and Nazis, good and evil, perpetrators and victims, each acting according to its proper function with the appropriate message, as a myth or a meta-narrative is supposed to be. On the other hand, there is also the story of the researchers who investigate eye witness accounts and documents, inherently closer to reality but reaching much narrower audiences. This is the reason why the Holocaust is becoming more and more universal and has become the linguistic synonym of all sorts of horrible ethnic cleansings, massacres and the murder of innocent people. More and more people demand that Jewish people should not monopolize the term Holocaust. We are at the beginning of a process which will eventually become very similar to Jesus's or Moses's metaphorical story. There is an abyss between the reality of ordinary people and the Grand Narrative. As usual, historical research remains in the midst of those interested, and the Grand Narrative goes on its way.

The Holocaust and Social Construction

Several researchers have undertaken the investigation of post-Holocaust Israeli society's various segments. Using different disciplines, Mann⁶ relies on modernity and Tel-Aviv's Jewish urban space in her investigation of contemporary social phenomena. Uzi Rebhun and Chaim I Waxman⁷ look at Holocaust remembrance and identity from the point of view of contemporary social and cultural patterns in relation to Israel and the diaspora. Zertal⁸ makes use of the terminology of power, and the provocative and controversial Pappa⁹ calls forth a rather more traditional discipline of history. The theoretical framework of this study is based on Jeffrey C. Alexander's notion of cultural sociology, prevalent in Hungary as well. Within this, I based my research on his most relevant work, *Trauma*.¹⁰ It was Alexander who introduced the concept and theory of "cultural sociology" as opposed to classic

6 Barbara E. Mann, *A Place in History* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2016).

7 Uzi Rebhun and Chaim I Waxman (Eds), *Jews in Israel* (Hannover & London: Brandeis University Press, 2004).

8 Idith Zertal, *From Catastrophe to Power* (Berkeley, Los Angeles & London: University of California Press, 1998).

9 Ilan Papp, *The Idea of Israel* (London & New York: Verso, 2014).

10 Jeffrey C. Alexander, *Trauma. A Social Theory*. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012).

theories of the “sociology of culture”. For Alexander, the concept of culture gained significance starting from the 90s. The recounting and various codes of trauma narratives are the results of collective cultural processes. This way, trauma is also a social construction. Thus, in my study I rely on Alexander and consider the language apparent in contemporary media as a retelling of a coded story. We recount trauma as if we were telling a story which is more a question of certain cultures than the result of oppressive systems, acknowledging at the same time that this latter also contributes to the formation of trauma. Following Durkheim, Alexander considered culture both as a classificatory system that sets up hierarchies and both as a realistic social practice, a deterministic, yet malleable system. Alexander essentially interprets narratives and codes while using we instead of I, signalling that for him, trauma is not individual but collective. In the centre of Alexander’s Durkheimian cultural theory in the 90s, we can find modern societies’ collective emotions and thoughts, those cultural representations or “collective notions” through whose everyday maintenance and use society’s members render modern society’s restrictive institutions meaningful. He formulates the idea that trauma is not about “who did what to me” but rather about “who are the people who did this to us”. This, of course, can be true for the Holocaust trauma but also for any other collective abuse carried out by other discriminating groups. Power and politics can, for instance, also traumatize a person and it is also true that it is individuals who suffer, but ideologies and the collective consciousness presuppose some sort of societal, cultural construction. The most significant innovation of Alexander’s theory is that – as opposed to Bourdieu’s, Foucault’s or Stuart Hall’s theories raising similar questions – he considers the cultural forms that feed the above collective notions independent from the ruling economic-social-ideological structures. Of course, when I say this, I abstract away from language and linguistic expression and use these terms in a symbolical sense. The newspaper articles and texts constitute the telling of a story and this is where I am always looking for the subtext, trying to interpret it and to further develop the texts’ symbolic meaning beyond themselves. According to Alexander, those meaning-assigning and interpreting cultural practices through which participants render their lives’ fundamental limits and possibilities meaningful and acceptable, are feeding from such cultural codes which are just as objective as any other societal fact that is more material than culture. There can be wars and catastrophes with mass deaths and suffering but if there is no collective narrative that would organize it all into a trauma, then these events will not become traumas while suffering and loss have indeed occurred. These autonomous cultural codes which represent the universal values of societal solidarity are reproduced in society’s consciousness independently of any dominant economic and ideological determination, forming at the same time active participants’ widely accepted beliefs parallel to those same determinations.

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Die Emanzipation der Juden in Ungarn im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert

Ein historischer Überblick

Die von Moses Mendelsohn inspirierte jüdische Aufklärung und die 10 Jahre (1870–1790) der Herrschaft Kaisers Joseph des zweiten haben in Ungarn große Veränderungen auch im Bezug auf den Staatsgewalt und die sich langsam säkularisierende Mehrheitsgesellschaft einerseits und auf's ungarische Judentum andererseits eingeleitet.

Der *Systematica Gentis Judaicae Regulatio* genannte Judenpatent wurde am 31-en März 1783 von der Ungarischen Staathalterei veröffentlicht. Die lateinsprachige Verordnung, die sich vorwiegend mit dem Schulwesen der ungarländischen Juden beschäftigt, hat die früheren Beschränkungen der Wirtschaftstätigkeit der hiesigen Juden zumeist abgeschafft. Die Juden haben das Recht erworben, in den Städten – königliche Freistädte inbegriffen – ansiedeln zu dürfen, nur die Tore der Bergstädte blieben weiterhin für sie verschlossen. Der Erlaß gestattete auch sämtliche Beschäftigungen, die die Zünfte bis dahin vor den Juden versperrt hielten. Die Juden konnten vom diesen Zeitpunkt an als Lehrlinge bei christlichen Meistern tätig sein und auch Gesellen werden. Wenn sie selbst bebauten, konnten sie auch Boden pachten.

Der Kaiser hat im Interesse der bürgerlichen Emanzipierung der Juden die Errichtung der deutschsprachigen Normalvolksschulen unter staatlichen Aufsicht verordnet. Ferner wurde auch der Besuch von christlichen Schulen den Juden genehmigt. Im Jahre 1787 wurde der Militärdienst der Juden (vorübergehend ohne Waffen) eingeführt. In diesem Jahr hat man auch verordnet, daß die Juden deutsche Familiennamen wählen und von diesem Zeitpunkt an offiziell immer diese benutzen sollen. Auch die Matrikel musste man in deutscher Sprache führen.

Das Ableben des Herrschers hat diese günstige Veränderungen stark zurückgeworfen, nachdem Joseph der zweite auf dem Totenbett auch seine jüdische Verordnungen zurückgezogen hatte. Die Städte, die ihre frühere

Privilegien wiedererwerben wollten, verlangten, daß die Juden aus den Städten wieder vertrieben werden und daß man die früheren Beschränkungen wiederherstelle. Diese Versuche wurden aber von der Regierung und des adeligen Landtag (die Interessen waren auf beiden Seiten fast identisch) zurückgewiesen. Laut Gesetzartikel 1790:38, De Judaeis wurden die Städte zur Wiederherstellung des status quo von 01. Jänner 1790 verpflichtet. Das Gesetz, De Judaeis, obwohl man die baldige Regelung der Lage der Juden versprochen hat, blieb ein halbes Jahrhundert lang in Kraft und wurde mit der Zeit zu einem Mittel der Beschränkung der emanzipatorischen-assimilatorischen Bestrebungen und zu einem Hindernis der gesellschaftlichen und wirtschaftlichen Mobilität der ungarischen Juden. Die sich auf dieses Gesetz beziehende Städte versuchten die Juden in ihrem früheren Status zu halten.

Um 1840 lebte rund der Dreiviertel des damals 240.000 köpfigen Judentums im Provinz: in Dörfern und Siedlungen mit weniger als 5000 Seelen. Die jüdische Bevölkerung hat nur eine Rumpfgesellschaft gebildet: es fehlte sinngemäß der Adel, es gab kaum Bauer, die Zahl der Grossbürger, Unternehmer und Intelligenzler (Intellektuelle) war bis Mitte des 19-en Jahrhunderts gering und bis Ende des 19-en Jahrhundert gab es unter den Juden auch kaum in der Industrie tätige Arbeiter. Die Mehrheit der Juden lebte auf dem Lebensniveau der armeren Stadtbevölkerung. Typische Erscheinung vom armen Juden ist der Hausierer und der Kleinhändler; die meisten gingen diesen Beschäftigungen nach. Es gab auch viele arme Schneider (ohne Gesellen), Schuhmacher, Krämer, Branntweinnmacher und Gastwirte unter ihnen. Als Gastwirten, Krämer, Hausierer, Händler, Verwalter und später auch Pächter der Adelsgüter spielten sie eine Vermittlungsrolle zwischen den Handwerkern und der Bauerwirtschaft, sie waren die Vermittler zwischen Städte und Dörfer. Die Juden verbanden im Agrarland Ungarns die Gutsbesitzer, die Bauer, die städtischen und Provinzhandwerker zu einem Wirtschaftskreislauf. Die jüdischen Kaufleute haben in den meisten Fällen die Mehrheitsproduktion der Adelsgüter aufgekauft und teilweise waren sie auch diejenigen, die diese Produkte im Ausland weiterverkauften. Das akkumulierende Gewinn der jüdischen Kaufleute verwandelte sich langsam in eine Kreditquelle. Die Juden als Kreditoren waren in der Lage erst die sich umwandelnde adelige Landwirtschaft, später (seit den vierziger Jahren) auch die industriellen Unternehmen zu finanzieren.

Die Ideen der Aufklärung und der französischen Revolution, auch im Bezug auf Toleranz gegenüber Juden, blieben auch in Ungarn nicht ohne Konsequenzen. Seit den ersten Jahrzehnten des 19-en Jahrhunderts konnte man immer öfter im ungarischen politischen Leben und Öffentlichkeit die Parole „Judenemanzipation“ hören. Im Vormärz (1825–1848) – das heißt, im „Zeitalter der ungarischen Reformen“ – entfaltete sich eine breite liberale Bewegung in Ungarn. Der mit

der nationalen Wiedergeburt zusammenhängende allgemeine Aufschwung bot den ungarländischen nationalen und religiösen Minderheiten große ökonomische, gesellschaftliche und kulturelle Aufstiegsmöglichkeiten, wenn diese dazu fähig waren, die nützliche Initiative zu ergreifen und/oder über das nützliche Startkapital verfügten. Im armen Agrarland Ungarns war das Erscheinen der Vorläufer der Unternehmer, die das in Landwirtschaft akkumulierte Kapital in Handels- und industriellen Unternehmen investierten, ein Zeichen der industriellen Gesellschaft

Der ungarische Nationalismus war liberal, aufnehmerisch, und im Vergleich zu anderen Ländern fast ohne Beschränkungen. So war es auch in der Falle der erfolgreichen Elementen der schon damals wichtige Wirtschaftsfunktionen besitzenden Juden. Andererseits darf man nicht vergessen, daß die Aufnahme-gesellschaft die Juden als eine ethnisch und religiös fremde Gruppe betrachtete, und deswegen im Vergleich zu anderen Minderheiten anders beurteilte. Obzwar die Judenemanzipation und die Rezeption ihren Religion zu den Forderungen der Reformbewegung gehörte, verhielt sich die Mehrheit der Gesellschaft (auch die meisten Förderer der Judenemanzipation) den Juden gegenüber kritisch und forderte als Bedingung der Gleichberechtigung bestimmte konfessionelle und gesellschaftliche Reformen.

Im Bezug auf die Judenemanzipation kann man über drei verschiedene Standpunkte reden.

1. Unbedingte Emanzipation ohne Bedingungen.
2. Bedingte Emanzipation für gesellschaftliche und konfessionelle Reformen.
3. Ablehnung der Emanzipation, weil die Zeit für einen solchen Schritt noch nicht reif oder die Emanzipation in sich nicht erwünscht sei.

Während der dreißiger und vierziger Jahre wurde die Judenfrage auf dem Landtag und in der Presse mehrmals diskutiert. Trotz wiederholten Proklamationen eines Teiles des Stadtbürgertums und des Adels gegen die Emanzipation wurde die Forderung der totalen Gleichberechtigung von Seite der Fortschrittspartei immer lauter. Als Zeichen eines Doppelrichtungsprozesses hat auch ein Teil des Judentums eine immer stärker gewordene Bestrebung nach Assimilation gezeigt. Es bildete sich eine vermögenshabende Elite, die nach moderner Bildung strebte und die Sache der Reformen in die Hand nahm. In ferner Zukunft hat diese immer einflußreichere Elite das Tempo und die Richtung bestimmt, wo die Masse des ungarischen Judentums sich hinbewegte. Am Anfang der dreißiger Jahre des 19-ten Jahrhunderts war die traditionelle jüdische Gesellschaft fast unberührt. Eine Generation später hat ein bedeutender Teil der jüdischen Bevölkerung in Ungarn die traditionelle Lebensform ihrer Väter verlassen.

Der Gegensatz zwischen der traditionsgebundenen (orthodoxen) und nach den Reformen strebenden Juden (Neologen) war in Ungarn wesentlich größer und heftiger als in den anderen Ländern Mittel- und Osteuropas, in denen eine große jüdische Bevölkerung vorhanden war. Im Gegensatz zur allgemeinen Meinung wurden beide Parteien immer stärker, und es gab zwischen ihnen eben deshalb einen wirklich heftigen und verbissenen Kampf.

Nach Sitten, kulturelle Traditionen, Sprache und Abstammung kann man die ungarländischen Juden in der ersten Hälfte des 19-ten Jahrhunderts in drei große Gruppen aufteilen. Zur ersten Gruppe der Judenschaft gehörten die nordwestlichen und westlichen Gebiete Ungarns (*Oberland*): hier lebten Juden böhmisch-mährischer oder österreichischer Abstammung, die entweder deutsch oder west-jiddisch sprachen. In den nord-östlichen Komitaten (*Unterland*) fand man meistens aus Galizien stammende Juden, die ostjiddisch sprachen. In den später *Mameland* genannten Kerngebieten des Landes befanden sich die deutsch oder ungarisch sprechende Juden, unter denen die Assimilation schon stark fortgeschritten war. (Mitte 19. Jahrhundert waren die drei Gruppen zahlenmäßig fast gleich.) In geringer Zahl gab es auch sephardische Juden in Südungarn in der Umgebung von Temeschwar und Semlin, deren Ahnen im 17. Jahrhundert von Türkei gekommen waren.

Neben der herrschenden Orthodoxie westlicher Prägung, derer Galionfigur der weltberühmte Moses Scheiber alias Chatam Sopher war, erschien in der ersten Hälfte des 19-ten Jahrhunderts und nahm stufenweise die große jüdische Bewegung der volkstümlichen Religiosität, der aus Polen und Ukraine stammende Chasidismus an Stärke zu. Diese Bewegung konnte zuerst in den östlichen Territorien des Landes Fuß fassen, wo sie bei den in primitiven Verhältnissen lebenden örtlichen Rabbinern kaum auf Widerstand stieß.

Seit den dreißigen Jahren des 19-ten Jahrhunderts fand Echo und verbreite sich in vielen Gemeinden in Ungarn die jüdische Aufklärungsbewegung (Haskalah) und die konfessionelle Reformströmung, dessen zur ersten Generation gehörende Mitglieder meistens noch deutschsprachig waren. Die Hauptfiguren dieser Bewegungen in Ungarn waren der von Mähren stammende Rabbiner von Arad Aaron Chorin (1766–1844), der Vertreter der moderaten Reformen, Löw Schwab, der Pester Oberrabbiner (1794–183) und der auch aus Mähren stammende berühmte Leopold Löw, den man wegen seinem großen Charisma und Einfluss nur mit Chatam Sopher vergleichen kann.

Die von Deutschland bekannten extremen Reformversuchen fanden in Ungarn kaum Echo. Der Wunsch nach Reformen im kulturellen und konfessionellen Bereich vermehrte sich in breiten Kreisen der jüdischen Gesellschaft. Diese

Strömung stoß in den immer besser organisierten und fester werdenden Schichten der Orthodoxie auf einen jedes Mal größeren Widerstand. In den vierzig Jahren des 19-ten Jahrhunderts erreichte die mit der Magyarisierung zusammenhängende Assimilation der hiesigen Juden immer größere Ausmaße.

Die Verbreitung der Reformideen hat ermöglicht, daß auf dem Reformreichstag in den Jahren 1839/1840 im Leben der ungarischen Juden eine grundsätzliche Wendung stattfinden konnte. Die liberale Opposition unter der Führung von József Eötvös, Ferenc Deák und anderen hat vorgeschlagen, die jüdische Religion in die Reihe der „eingenommenen“, akzeptierten Religionen aufzunehmen, die Toleranztaxe abzuschaffen und den Juden sämtliche Rechte, die die Nichtadeligen in Ungarn schon vorher besitzt haben, zuzusprechen. Die Mehrheit des Deputiertentafels (Unterhaus) hat den Vorschlag in dieser Form angenommen, aber der Magnatentafel (Oberhaus, Herrenhaus) und die Staathalterei, obwohl diese Institutionen einen gewissen Fortschritt in der Judenfrage auch nützlich hielten, haben die meisten Vorschläge zurückgewiesen. Nach dem Kompromiß der beiden Tafeln hat der Reichstag den berühmten Gesetzartikel 1840:29 verabschiedet. Laut dieses Gesetzartikels:

1. Die in Ungarn geborene oder dorthin gesetzgemäß eingewanderte Juden dürfen im Lande mit Ausnahme der Bergstädte überall ansiedeln.
2. Die Juden haben das Recht, Fabriken zu gründen, Handeln und Handwerk selbst oder mit Hilfe jüdischer Angestellten auszuüben und jüdische Lehrlinge und Gesellen aufzunehmen.
3. Sie müssen feste Vor- und Familiennamen tragen, Matrikel führen.
4. Sie müssen ihre Urkunden und Verträge in einer der im Lande üblichen Sprachen anfertigen lassen.

Infolge dieser Verfügungen hat sich die Siedlungsstruktur der Juden in Ungarn in den darauf folgenden Jahrzehnten wesentlich verändert. Es gab eine starke Migration nach Zentralungarn, meist mit der ethnischen magyarischen Bevölkerung zusammen, und auch die Zahl der in den Städten lebenden Juden stieg an. Im Jahre 1825 lebte etwa 60% der ungarländischen Juden im österreichischen, mährischen oder polnischen Grenzgebiet. Im Jahre 1869 sank diese Zahl auf weniger als 40%. Diese Umstrukturierung hat in bedeutendem Maße zur Beschleunigung der Assimilation und Magyarisierung der Juden beigetragen. Obwohl im Bezug auf die Gleichberechtigung der Juden auf dem nächsten Reichstag (1843/1844) keine Fortschritte gemacht werden konnten, verbesserte sich ihre Lage mit der Abschaffung der sogenannten Toleranztaxe im Jahre 1846 in bedeutenden Maße. Bald wurde auch der aus dem Mittelalter stammende Judeneid abgeschafft.

Infolge dieser Verfügungen verstärkte sich im internen Leben des Judentums die Reformbewegung, die es sich zum Ziel machte, die religiöse Zeremonien mit den ungarischen Verhältnissen in Einklang zu bringen und dadurch die Assimilation zu fördern.

Die Neigung zur Assimilation steigerte im Judentum gleichzeitig die Spannung zwischen den Anhängern der Aufklärung bzw. Reform und den Traditionsgebundenen Kräften, die weiterhin in Mehrheit waren. Gleichzeitig wuchs auch die Spannung zwischen der Gesamtheit des Judentums und jenen Schichten der ungarischen Gesellschaft, die weiterhin an ihren früheren Privilegien festhielten. Mit der Zunahme der Assimilationsneigung wuchs und verstärkte sich auch die schon vorhandene jüdenfeindliche Stimmung in der Mehrheitsgesellschaft. Der Einzug der Juden in die Städte verschärfte die Gegensätze zwischen der an den Privilegien hängenden städtischen Bevölkerung (meist deutscher Abstammung) und den Neuankömmlingen. Früher hat man konfessionelle Reformen und Assimilation von den Juden gefordert, jetzt, unter dem Vorwand der Einwanderung aus Galizien war es möglich, antiemanzipatorische Argumentation zu führen. Der Kampf verschärfte sich um die Bürger- und Wahlrecht. Obwohl das Hauptmotiv der jüdenfeindlichen Haltung des Stadtbürgertums der Kampf gegen die Wirtschaftskonkurrenz war, waren sich auch viele Schichten der christlichen Gesellschaft in der Ablehnung der jüdischen Beamten einig. Die Vision eines jüdischen „Vizegespanns“ war das geliebte Schreckensbild der damaligen Zeiten.

Auf dem letzten feudalen Reichstag in den Jahren 1847/48 war die Frage der Judenemanzipation wieder an der Tagesordnung. Aber die jüdenfreundliche Stimmung der Reformreichstagen kam auch diesmal nicht zur Geltung. Bei Schließung des Reichstags konnten sich die verbitterten Juden nur mit Hoffnung auf den nächsten Reichstag trösten. Die rechtliche Lage der Judenschaft wurde weiterhin durch Gesetzartikel 1840:29 bestimmt.

Im Frühling der Völker erwies sich die jüdenfeindliche Stimmung – trotz der Hoffnungen der Juden – effektiver, als die Bestrebungen der Anhänger der Emanzipation. Ende März hat sich die allgemeine Stimmung – ähnlich wie in Wien, Prag und an vielen Orten des Habsburgerreiches – auch in Ungarn gegen die Juden gewendet. Der Reichstag wollte die Spannung nicht verstärken und verschob die Erteilung der Emanzipation auf einen späteren Zeitpunkt.

Das meist deutschsprachige Bürgertum der Städte hat versucht die entsprechenden Paragraphen des Gesetzartikel 1840:29 zu annullieren und die Juden auszutreiben. Der erste Pogrom geschah in der Krönungstadt Preßburg, die damals der Sitz der Reichstagen war. Während der Euphorie der Märzrevolution kam es zu einem dreitägigen Judenkravall. Zu gleicher Zeit versuchte die aus der alten Bürgergarde

neu geschaffene Nationalgarde der Hauptstadt Pest die jüdische Freiwilligen aus ihren Reihen auszuschließen. Solche judenfeindliche Gefühle konnte man fast ohne Rücksicht auf ethnische oder gesellschaftliche Unterschiede überall im Land beobachten. Ende März wollte die auch von der Presse aufgehetzte Bürgerschaft von Sopron (Ödenburg) und Pécs (Fünfkirchen) die örtlichen Juden binnen drei Tagen aus ihren Städten vertreiben. Es gab Unruhen in vielen Orten: wie zum Beispiel in Nyitra (Neutra) und Kassa (Kaschau), Győr (Raab), Eger (Erlau), Esztergom (Gran), Veszprém (Vesprim), Nagykanizsa (Gross-Kanischa) und Balassagyarmat.

Trotz allen Bestrebungen und Verordnungen der neuen nationalen Regierung verbreiteten sich die Gewalttaten gegen die Juden immer weiter: Die Juden wurden von Székesfehérvár (Stuhlweissenburg) und Szombathely (Stein am Anger) vertrieben und man hat es auch in Várpalota und Temesvár (Temeschwar) versucht. Mitte April 1848 gab es in der Hauptstadt große Unruhen. Kaum entschärfte sich die Lage in Pest, gab es schon wieder Krawalle an den Ostertagen in Preßburg. Ähnliches wiederholte sich an vielen Orten der Komitaten Pozsony (Preßburg) und Nyitra (Neutra).

Die neue Regierung – vielleicht aus Vorsicht um die judenfeindliche Gesinnung nicht weiter zu verschärfen – hütete sich davor, energisch aufzutreten und das Schweigen und die ewige Aufschiebung war – auch ungewollt – Wasser auf die Mühle der judenfeindlichen Elementen.

Obwohl die Aufmerksamkeit der Öffentlichkeit nach Zuspitzung des Konflikts zwischen der ungarischen Regierung und der auferstehenden Wiener Oberherrschaft über die Judenfrage abgelenkt wurde, waren die Gegensätze in dieser Sache so groß, dass der erste parlamentarische Reichstag vor dem formalen Ausbruch des Freiheitskampfes die Debatte über die Judenemanzipation vertagt hat. Immerhin haben die weitreichenden judenfeindlichen Bewegungen des Jahres 1848 die progressiven Elementen des ungarländischen Judentums von weiteren Schritten in die Richtung der Integration in die ungarische Gesellschaft nicht abgebracht. Während der Revolution und des Freiheitskampfes 1848/1849 unterstützte der bedeutende Teil des ungarländischen Judentums die legale ungarische Regierung, die Freiheit und Liberalismus vertreten hat. Die Juden hofften fest darauf, daß sie von den ungarischen Behörden – sozusagen als Gegenleistung – gleichberechtigt werden.

Und tatsächlich – einigermassen als Anerkennung für die Kriegleistungen der Juden – hat das ungarische Parlament in den letzten Tagen des Freiheitskampfes, am 18-en Juli in Szeged (Szegedin) die teilweise und bedingte Gleichberechtigung proklamiert. Der ungarische Staat aber war nicht mehr in der Lage das

Emanzipationsgesetz in Wirklichkeit, wenn auch nur provisorisch, in die Tat umzusetzen. Die siegreichen Österreicher haben dann sämtliche, den Juden gegebenen Rechte überprüft, eingeschränkt oder aufgehoben.

Wegen der aktiven Unterstützung des ungarischen Kampfes von Seiten der Juden hat die österreichische Militärverwaltung als Strafe einen Kriegstribut in Höhe von 2,3000.000 Gulden von den jüdischen Gemeinden in Ungarn verlangt. Diese kollektive Strafe wurde am 20-en September auf Erlaß des jungen Kaisers Franz Joseph aufgehoben und anstelle des Tributs hat der Monarch befohlen, dass die Judenschaft mit der Einzahlung von 1,000.000 Gulden einen jüdischen Erziehungs- und Schulfonds errichten soll. (Viele jüdische Institutionen, unter anderem der auch heute funktionierende Rabbinerseminar Ungarns wurde von diesem Fonds finanziert.) Im Jahre 1851 hat die Wiener Regierung die ungerländischen Gemeinden durch Regierungsverordnung neu organisiert, liquidierte die letzten Überreste ihrer früheren weltlichen Macht und von Amts wegen hat sie die Mitglieder des Gemeindevorstands selbst bestellt. In den fünfziger Jahren traten wieder viele wirtschaftliche und rechtliche Beschränkungen im Leben der Juden zum Vorschein. Der im Jahre 1848 gegründete Reformverein, der auch in der Magyarisierung aktiv war, wurde aufgelöst und im nächsten Jahre hat man die vom Ausland stammenden hebräischsprachige Gebetsbücher und Religionsschriften verbannt. Auch die unterwürfige Einrichtung des Judeneides wurde erneuert und blieb bis 1868 gültig. Beim Erschaffen des österreichischen bürgerlichen Gesetzbuches hat man das Zeugerecht der Juden beschränkt und mit der baldigen Einführung der Ehrebewilligung wurden auch die jüdischen Ehrechte eingeschränkt. Binnen einiger Jahren war die Sache der Emanzipation so steckengeblieben, daß die Lage des Judentums in vielen Beziehungen der demütigenden und beschränkten Situation vor 1840 ähnelte.

Am Ende der fünfziger Jahre, infolge der Niederlage des absolutischen Systems im Kriege in Italien ereignete sich eine allgemeine politische Entspannung und deshalb verbesserte sich auch die rechtlich-gesellschaftliche Lage der Juden. Die überwiegende Mehrheit der Beschränkungen wurde abgeschafft: man hat die Ausübung aller Beschäftigungen erlaubt und die Juden erlangten das Recht sich im Lande überall frei niederlassen zu können. Im Jahre 1859 erlaubte man ihnen die Anstellung christlicher Diener und Knechte und bald darauf wurden auch die Beschränkungen der jüdischen Eheschließungen abgeschafft. Im Jänner des Jahres 1860 wurden auch die in den bestimmten Beschäftigungen (Apothekenwesen, Ausschankerei, Branntweinmacherei) noch vorhandene Verbote mit einem kaiserlichen Erlaße aufgelöst und am 8-en Februar 1860 deklarierte man auch Besitzfähigkeit der Juden.

Das nach der Niederlage des Freiheitskampfes locker gewordene Bündnis der ungarischen politischen Elite und der jüdischen Reformer wurde bis 1860 wieder hergestellt. Nach dem „Ausgleich“ zwischen Österreich und Ungarn, der eine Wendepunkt der modernen ungarischen Geschichte bedeutete, hat nach einigen Monaten der Hesitation am 20-ten Dezember 1867 auch das von dem ungarischen Judentum schon seit einem halben Jahrhundert erwünschte Gesetz (1867:17) über die Emanzipation verabschiedet. Das Gesetz (diesmal ohne irgendwelche Beschränkungen) wurde im Unterhaus einstimmig, im Herrenhaus 64 zu 4 angenommen. Laut Gesetzartikel 1867:17

1. Die israelitischen Einwohner des Landes sind mit der christlichen Bevölkerung im Bezug auf alle bürgerlichen und politischen Rechte gleichberechtigt.
2. Alle entgegengesetzte frühere Gesetze, Bräuche und Verordnungen werden abgeschafft.

Das Emanzipationsgesetz hat nur die jüdischen Individuen gleichberechtigt. Die jüdische Religion und die jüdische Religionsgemeinschaft wurden dem christlichen Glauben und den christlichen Konfessionen weiterhin nicht gleichgestellt. Dieser Widerspruch diente als Ausgangspunkt weiterer Kämpfe.

Aus jüdischer Hinsicht betrachtet hatte die Emanzipation einen hohen Preis. Es bedeutete praktisch die Akzeptierung der in West- und Mitteleuropa allgemein verbreitete Auffassung, die die Juden nur als eine Konfessionsgemeinschaft betrachtete und das Recht auf ihre selbständige nationale Identität leugnete. Auch der ungarische Nationalismus erwartete eine radikale Anpassung zu dem nationalen kulturellen Modell und forderte die Abschaffung der fremdartigen ethnischen und kulturellen Symbolen. Der Standpunkt und die Antwortreaktion des ungarischen Juden zur Emanzipation waren komplex und vielfältig.

Es gab viele Juden, die freiwillig und vom ganzen Herzen die Aufforderung zur Ablehnung der Vergangenheit in Interesse der Zukunft begrüßten. In vielen jüdischen Gruppen Ungarns konnte man die Neigung zur totalen Assimilation feststellen: vollendeter Sprachwechsel, der zunehmende Zahl der Mischehen (besonders in Budapest, in dem „nationalen Schmelztiegel“ nach 1895), öffentliche Tätigkeit, Wohltätigkeit und Mäzenatur, Bestrebung nach Adelstitel und als die symbolische Krönung des Ganzen – der Glaubenwechsel waren an der Tagesordnung.

Die (totale) Trennung vom Judentum aber war nur die extremste in einer Reihe anderer Reaktionen. Eine Extreme war die Ultraorthodoxe: um den Gefahren

der Assimilation und des Verlassens des Judentums aus dem Weg zu geben, unterbrachen sie alle Verbindungen zur Mehrheitsgesellschaft.

Die große Mehrheit aber befand sich zwischen den beiden Extremen. Eine Gruppe bildeten die mehr oder weniger gemäßigten Reformorientierten. Zu einer anderen Richtung gehörten die traditionsgebundenen Kräfte, die – obwohl gar nicht so, wie die Ultraorthodoxen – ihren konservativen Standpunkt unverändert aufrechterhielten.

Die Gegensätze zwischen den Orthodoxen und Reformorientierten (die man in Ungarn Neologen genannt hat) verstärkten sich ständig. Die Konfrontation hat ihren Höhepunkt ein Jahr nach der Erteilung der totalen und vollständigen Emanzipation auf dem Jüdischen Landeskongress im 1868/69 erreicht. Dieser Kongress wurde auf Initiative der Regierung einberufen um eine sogenannte nationale jüdische „Kirche“ zu schaffen, die sich einigermaßen nach den annehmbaren Modellen richtet. Diese Bestrebung verlangte, daß in den Schulen in magyarischer Sprache unterrichtet wird, daß die synagogalen Gottesdienste reformiert werden, aber in erster Linie sollte man den langjährigen Wunsch nach der Errichtung eines modernen, den Erwartungen der Wissenschaft entsprechendes Rabbinerseminars erfüllt werden.

Die gewählten Vertreter des ungarischen Judentums versammelten sich am 10-ten Dezember 1868 im Festsaal des Pester Komitatshauses. Es waren 126 Neologen und 94 Orthodoxen unter den Kongressdelegierten zugegen. Der Kultusminister József Eötvös hat den Kongress eröffnet. Er hat in seiner Öffnungsrede betont, daß das Hauptziel der Einberufung der Versammlung die Erschaffung der Rahmen der autonomen Organisation der ungarischen jüdischen Glaubengenossenschaft sei. Er betonte besonders, daß der Kongress weder Fragen der Glaubensprinzipien, noch die der Glaubenslehren zu entscheiden hätte. Unter den gegebenen Umständen aber war die Trennung der Glaubens- und Organisationsfragen unmöglich. Die Kongressverhandlungen dauerten fast zweiundhalb Monaten und brachten die im inneren Leben des Judentums schon seit Jahrzehnten verborgene Gegensätze zum Vorschein. Statt einer gewünschten einheitlichen Organisation zu schaffen, ereignete sich die Spaltung des innerlich ansonsten schon sowieso geteilten Judentums auch formell in drei Teilen.

Der Gegensatz unter den einzelnen Richtungen verschärfte sich besonders dann, als die neologe Mehrheit die Forderung der Orthodoxen, daß man die Tätigkeit der Kultusgemeinden in Einklang mit dem traditionellen Glaubensgesetz, dem *Schulchan Aruch* („Gedecktes Tisch“) aufbauen solle, abgelehnt hat. Die Orthodoxen opponierten besonders dagegen, dass man an einem Orte nur eine einzige Gemeinde existieren darf. Sie hielten das Prinzip der

Mehrheitsentscheidung für Gewalt gegen das Gewissen und deklarierten, daß sie die Mehrheitsentscheidungen als für sie nicht gültig betrachten würden.

Die Vereinigungsarbeit des Kongresses endete nur dem Schein nach wegen religiösen, gottesdienstlichen und zeremoniellen Fragen mit einem Fiasko. Die Wurzeln des Misserfolgs lagen aber tiefer, als es im ersten Augenblick scheint. Die Polarisierung des ungarischen Judentums war das Ereignis eines langen Prozesses und hat sich als beständig erwiesen. Die (dreifache) Spaltung hat bis an den Holocaust das Leben der Juden in Ungarn und ihre innere Organisationsstruktur bestimmt.

Die den Verführungen des wirtschaftlichen, gesellschaftlichen und kulturellen Aufstieg ausgesetzte, langsam sich modernisierende und sogar magyarisierende Orthodoxie hielt am traditionellen Lebensform und dem spätmittelalterlichen Religionsgesetzbuch, dem Schulchan Aruch fest und wollte dessen Vorschriften auch in Gerichtsangelegenheiten anwenden.

Der Verband der Kongressgemeinden, der neologe Flügel des ungarischen Judentums, dessen Anhänger sich als Nachfolger der Geistigkeit von Leopold Löw sahen, bildeten fast die Hälfte des ungarischen Gesamtjudentums. Sie waren der Meinung, daß man sich den Anforderungen der Zeit in erhöhtem Maße anpassen muß.

Vor der Öffentlichkeit hatten die Anhänger dieser Richtung Anspruch auf die Repräsentation des Gesamtjudentums in Ungarn. Die Anhänger dieser in das wirtschaftliche und kulturelle Leben des Landes in Sturmschritt sich einschaltende Richtung haben sich als Mitglieder einer Konfessionsgemeinschaft definiert. Sie waren in den Großstädten, vor allem in Budapest die stärksten und betrachteten sich in Gefühl und Denken als Teil des neuen liberalen Ungarns. Sie haben die ungarischen Interessen und Standpunkte als ihre eigene aufgefasst und sie waren auch bereit, dies in ihrer Lebensführung, Glaubensbekenntnissen, Arbeit- und Gesellschaftsleben zum Ausdruck zu bringen. Sie hielten sich für Magyaren Mosaischen Glaubens.

Neben den Orthodoxen und Neologen existierte an einigen Orten auch noch eine dritte Strömung (etwa 5-6 Prozent des Gesamtjudentums), die sogenannten *Status Quo Ante* Gemeinden, die sich keiner der beiden Bewegungen anschließen wollten und in ihren vorkongresslichen Zustand verblieben.

Der Gesetzartikel 1867:17 über die Emanzipation der Juden hat sie nur in bürgerlichen Hinsicht gleichgestellt, hat aber über die Gleichberechtigung der jüdischen Religion nicht disponiert. Die israelitische Konfession gehörte nicht zu den rezeptierten, das heißt, eingetragenen Konfessionen, war den christlichen

Konfessionen nicht gleichgestellt. Die Christen konnten nicht in den jüdischen Glauben übertreten und auch die Mischehen zwischen Juden und Christen waren gesetzlich nicht erlaubt.

Diese Mangel hätte man – auch nach österreichischen Vorbild – leicht korrigieren können, aber die Gleichberechtigung, die Rezeption der jüdischen Religionsgemeinschaft hat man in den siebziger und achtziger Jahren des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts bedauerlicherweise mit dem Fragenkomplex der obligatorischen bürgerlichen Eheschließung, beziehungsweise mit der Führung der Matrikel verbunden. Wegen der langen kirchenpolitischen Kämpfen um diese Fragen konnte man den gesamten Fragenkomplex nur in den Jahren 1894–1895 in dem Reichstag gesetzlich regeln. Das Gesetz über die Rezeption des jüdischen Glaubens (1895:42 tc.) wurde am 16-ten Mai 1895 im ungarischen Parlament verabschiedet.

Die ungarische Gesetzgebung hat neben dem Gesetz über die Religionsfreiheit auch ein Rezeptionsgesetz geschaffen. Dadurch wurde die jüdische Konfession mit den anderen historischen Konfessionen gleichgestellt. In dem auf die Privilegien basierenden Feudalgesellschaft konnten sich die Juden nur individuell einfügen. Um aufgenommen zu werden mußten sie dem Judentum den Rücken kehren und konvertieren. Die bürgerliche Emanzipation und die religiöse Rezeption haben mit der Idee der Toleranz und bürgerlicher Gleichberechtigung, beziehungsweise mit der religiösen „Gleichgültigkeit“ des Staates die prinzipiellen Bedingungen der Massenassimilation des Judentums erschaffen. Die Verabschiedung der Gesetze hat die rechtlichen Grundlagen der ungarisch-jüdischen Doppelidentität zustandegebracht.

Die Ereignisse zwischen 1867 und 1895 führten zur Vervollständigung der Emanzipation des ungarländischen Judentums im Vielvölkerstaat Ungarn. Nach dem ersten Weltkrieg aber veränderte sich die Lage in Ungarn völlig. Infolge des Friedensschusses in Trianon/Frankreich hat das Land die Mehrheit der Minoritäten bewohnten Territorien verloren und wurde ethnisch einheitlich. Dadurch waren die Interessen der führenden ungarischen politischen Kräfte an der weiteren Assimilation des vermagyarisierenden Judentums um die Sicherung der zahlenmäßigen Oberhoheit der Magyaren im Vielvölkerstaat Ungarn verlorengegangen. Es hat der Rassenideologie Platz gegeben und führte teilweise zur Beschränkung der Emanzipationsrechte. Obwohl die Konsolidierung der zwanziger Jahre des 20. Jahrhunderts noch einmal ein Signal der Hoffnung gesetzt hat, daß etwa die früheren Zustände zurückkehren könnten, haben die internen Ereignisse der dreißiger Jahre Hand in Hand mit der Vertiefung der Weltwirtschaftskrise und mit den Folgen Hitlers auch in Ungarn

spürbarer Machtergreifung eine solche Situation geschafft, die zur drastischen Beschränkung der Rechte der Juden führten und den tragischen Untergang der Mehrheit des ungarischen Judentums nach der deutschen Okkupation im Jahre 1944 vorsegnalisierten.

Das am 28-en September durch die ungarische Nationalversammlung angenommene, sogenannten *Numerus clausus* Gesetz (1920: 25. tc.) war die erste Beschränkung der Rechte der ungarischen Juden, die für den Zusammenbruch im ersten Weltkrieg, die kurzlebende kommunistische Machtergreifung und für die territorialen Verlusten verantwortlich gemacht wurden. Im Sinne des Gesetzes sollte man in der Zukunft den Studenten nach Zugehörigkeit der einzelnen Volkstämme und Nationalitäten in den Universitäten Zutritt gewähren.

Im Jahre 1920 betrug die Zahl der ungarischen Juden etwa 6 Prozent der Gesamtbevölkerung. So hat man den Prozentsatz der aufnehmbaren Studenten im ersten Semester in 5% bestimmt. Für die ungarischen Juden und die internationalen Minderheitsrechtsorganisationen war das Gesetz inakzeptabel. Ihr Einspruch hat endlich zum einen Teilerfolg geführt. Während der Konsolidation der zwanziger Jahre hat man im 1928 (1928:14 tc.) den ominösen Paragraph des Gesetzartikel 1920:25 so modifiziert, dass der Grund der Aufnahme an den Universitäten statt der „Zugehörigkeit einzelner Volkstämme und Nationalitäten“ die Zugehörigkeit zu verschiedenen Beschäftigungszweigen sein sollte. (Zwei Jahre vorher hat man auch im Rahmen des Konsolidierungsprozesses je einen Platz für die Vertreter der orthodoxen und neologen Gemeinden in dem wieder funktionierenden Oberhaus des ungarischen Parlaments eingeräumt.)

Diese „zufriedenstellenden“ Schritte seitens der Regierung in der zweiten Hälfte der zwanziger Jahre war aber nur die eine Seite der Münze. Infolge der Weltwirtschaftskrise verschärften sich auch in Ungarn die gesellschaftlichen Zwiespaltigkeiten und es wurden auch die Stimmen stärker, die die schwere Lage der christlichen Mittelschichten und das Problem der Bodenfrage auf Kosten der Juden lösen wollten. Gemäß der damaligen Parolen forderte man „eine christliche Wachtablösung“, das heißt, die Beschränkung und Verminderung der Zahl und Rolle der jüdischen Mittelschichten.

Seit 1938 ist der Gedanke der Wachtablösung ein Teil des Regierungsprogramms geworden. Dieses Jahr ist eine Wasserscheide in der ungarischen Geschichte. Trotz des *numerus clausus* Gesetzes blieb bis zu diesem Jahr die Gleichgerechtigkeit der Juden fast unberührt. Der sogenannte erste Judengesetz, was das ungarische Parlament im Jahre 1938 verabschiedet hat, begann die ständige Verminderung der Rechte der Juden und die stufenweise Aufhebung der Gleichgerechtigkeit. Infolge die im Schatten des zunehmenden Druckes des dritten Reiches

proklamierten weiteren (hier nicht detaillierten) zwei Judengesetze (1939, 1941) und Verordnungen, beziehungsweise die Aufhebung des Rezeptionsgesetzes (1942) bedeuteten am Vorabend der ungarischen Endlösung (1944) die völlige Liquidierung der Emanzipation.

Nach dem Ende des zweiten Weltkrieges hat man sämtliche zur Entrechnung dienende frühere Gesetze widerrufen. Das Überbleibsel des ungarischen Judentums konnte für eine kurze Zeit den Segen der Emanzipation genießen. Der kommunistische Machtergreifung aber hat diese Reche bald illusorisch gemacht. Wie ein damaliger Witz formuliert hat, war der Kommunismus eine Ausdehnung der Judengesetze für die Gesamtbevölkerung. Aber es ist eine andere Geschichte.

Máté HIDVÉGI

Professor of University

I have lost everything, but my books and students found life for me again

**Alexander Scheiber
(1913–1985)**

The ancestors of the Scheiber family lived in the Hungarian county of Vas, partly in what is Slovenia today. The glass-man Lázár Scheiber married Sára Kohn and their son, Lipót Scheiber was born at Nagysimonyi. He married Terézia Reiner and fathered seven children: Franciska, Lajos, Gyula, Gizella, Hermina, Lina and Malvin.

Lajos Scheiber (1867–1944) was born at Nemes Hollós, but as a child he lived at Muraszombat, because his father, who used to be a tavern-keeper at Bozza, became the deputy chazzan (sub-cantor) of the synagogue there. He was ordained as a rabbi in 1901 in Budapest and he became the teacher of the Pest Jewish religious community, and later the rabbi of the Nagyfuvaros Street district in Budapest. He visited Palestine in 1907.

Mariska (Mária) Adler (1888–1944) was born at Paks as the sixth child out of the seven children of Alexander (Sándor) Adler (1846–1894) and Jozefina Wéber. Her father, who was born at Ada village (Bácska county), was the dayan of the synagogue at Paks, the colleague of the legendary Joél Ungár (1800/2–1885/6), who was the student of Moses Sofer (Schreiber) (1762–1839). Later he became the chief rabbi of the *status quo* synagogue. He was the first rabbi to preach in Hungarian at Paks (the Adlers spoke Hungarian at home). He was famed for living a sacred life. (Alexander Scheiber got his name from him.)

One of Mária Adler's siblings, Illés Adler (1868–1924) was the chief rabbi and famed orator of the synagogue of Rumbach Sebestyén Street, Budapest. His wife was Hanna (Hanika) Kramer. (According to the family tradition, in an intellectual, spiritual sense, Scheiber inherited his eloquence from Illés Adler.) The second among the Adler children, Cháim emigrated to America and was never heard of again. Ignác Adler (1878–1944) became the chief rabbi of Gyula and married

Rózsika, the daughter of Mózes Feldmann (1860-1927), the Chief Rabbi of Pest. In 1944 they were both deported and murdered in Birkenau-Auschwitz. Eszter married Sámuel Mandel (1875–1943), who was first the rabbi at Apostag and later became the chief rabbi of the synagogue of Aréna Road in Budapest. In 1943, Rabbi Mandel mystically offered up his lifetime, whatever left, for one of his sons, and died shortly. Their eldest son, Miklós (Mandel) Máté (1906–1984) was the chief rabbi of the synagogue at Bethlen Square in Budapest. (The psychologist Péter Popper was the grandchild of Eszter and Sámuel Mandel.) Regina lived at Dunapentele, her husband was Zsigmond Deutsch and they had ten children. They all perished in Birkenau-Auschwitz. The youngest Adler child, Cecília married the physician Zsigmond Vajda (Weisz) and they had two sons: Sándor died in the days of the liberation of Budapest; György became a chemical engineer.

Mária Adler married Lajos Scheiber who was nineteen years older than her. (He was thought to be her father when they were on their honeymoon.) She was an educated woman, she read a lot. They had three children, Noémi (1912–1955), who took after both parents, Sándor (Alexander) (1913–1985), who resembled his father and Lipót (1914–2000), who was like his mother.

Alexander Scheiber was born on 9, July in 1913 in Budapest, VIII. district, at the apartment 27, third floor, 12 Kún Street. His maternal grandmother lived with them. A lot of religious Jews lived in the neighborhood, at Teleki Square and the surrounding streets. There were several small Orthodox and Hasidic houses of prayer. The Galician Jews, who fled to Pest, lived there, and Rabbi Aharon Rokeach, the Belzer “Wonder” Rebbe was hiding there during the Holocaust. The Rabbinical Seminary (today it is the Jewish Theological Seminary – University of Jewish Studies, Hungary) was in a walking distance, in the Bérkocsis Street (now it is called Sándor Scheiber Street). Nearby, in a house designed by Emil Vidor, lived the Hungarian-Jewish “supreme poet”, József Kiss.

As a child Scheiber was vivid, benign, withdrawn, a rather solemn boy. He did not cry easily, but he was sensitive and emotional.¹ He loved cakes and vegetable marrow. He might have wanted to be a medical researcher, but his father wanted him to become a rabbi. He did not resist. (His younger brother became a surgeon.) His uncle, Illés Adler saw the future religious leader in him. He started the first year of his education as a private student, but he was taught little. When the exams came at the end of the year, he could hardly read or write. He went to the public school of Szilágyi Street for his second year, the elementary school of the Jewish Training College for his third and fourth and continued his studies at the School of the Rabbinical Seminary from his fifth year to maturation. Móric Dercsényi taught him Latin and Ancient Greek. (He spoke at the funeral of Dercsényi in

1961 and called him one of the thirty-six righteous people of the world.) He was an eminent student. He never used nasty words. He had an excellent sense of humor. He wrote the tests of other students. He liked collecting and telling student anecdotes. The writer, Károly Pap (1897–1945) and his wife often visited the Scheibers. Scheiber recalled Károly Pap as being a genius. Even at such a young age, Alexander Scheiber could put his relationship to religion into words clearly: “*The Jewish people have survived because they have their religion.*” An incident illustrates his solemnity: the children of the big family were on a summer vacation at Balatonszárszó. One of his cousins (György Vajda) were saying Kaddish for his mother in 1929 and Sándor joined him every day, while all the other children were playing and bathing. At one time, his geology teacher, Gyula Rados hit him. Scheiber could never forget this, but after the liberation he gave food and a winter coat to his lonely teacher. When he spoke at his funeral in 1969 he finished his speech by this sentence: “*Those he had hurt forgave him, even the little student he once slapped on the face half a century ago undeservedly and who did the last service for him in his life and death.*”²

He was his father’s favorite, they went to synagogue together. His father looked up to him, he felt the genius in his son. He never hurt him, but sometimes he chastised Lipót. Their mother loved Lipót better, and the favorite of the big family was Noémi.

Alexander Scheiber graduated in 1932, by that time he was an excellent orator and almost a scholar. Together with his classmate, István Hahn, they entered the national academic competition. Scheiber won the first prize in Hungarian Language and Literature and Hahn in History. They were admitted to the Faculty of Humanities at the Péter Pázmány University of Budapest as supernumeraries of the *numerus clausus*. Scheiber went to the Hungarian and the Latin Departments, Hahn to the History Department. They attended both the Rabbinical Seminary and Pázmány at the same time. At the Pázmány, Scheiber was part of the inner student circle of professor János Horváth (1878–1961). After eight semesters Scheiber and Hahn were denounced and accused of taking up other courses beside semitic philology. (At the time the Rabbinical Seminary and the Pázmány University had an agreement that supernumeraries of the *numerus clausus* were obliged to take up semitic philology at the university and get a doctorate degree in it. This was the prerequisite of the rabbi exam.) János Horváth protested in vain, the two students were expelled, their records were annulled.

At the Rabbinical Seminary Scheiber was a student librarian and the head of the Ignác (Ignaz) Goldziher Theological Association. Bernát (Bernhard) Heller (1871–1943) was one of his most important and favorite professors, who loved

him as a son. An anecdote shows the nature of their relationship. Scheiber was always sitting in the first row at the classroom. During lectures Heller was only talking to him as if they were alone and he was continuously slapping his face gently. Once Sándor got tired of it and sat in the last row of the room. From then on Heller took no notice of him. If he asked the students a question and only Scheiber put up his hand, Heller said “So nobody knows the answer?” “But Scheiber knows the answer,” the students shouted in vain. And Heller only repeated: “So nobody knows”. This went on for weeks. Eventually Scheiber sat back in the first row and Heller went on slapping him. He was the favorite again.

It was due to Heller’s influence that the genius of Scheiber could flourish. Motif research, that he learnt from Heller, became one of his favorite fields and a source of joy for him. He received his doctorate in 1937 with a dissertation entitled *Keleti hagyományok a nyelvek keletkezéséről* [*Eastern traditions on the origins of languages*]. He met his future wife in the same year at Balatonszárszó. The beauty with an Eastern touch, Livia Bernáth (1921–2007) was sixteen at that time. She was the daughter of Miklós Bernáth (1885–1963), who became a widower when Lili was just a small child. Bernáth was the chief rabbi of Budapest-Zugló and the theology teacher of the Jewish Grammar School. He was a scholar of the faith in the afterlife. Lili was not interested in Scheiber, who had a beard, wore a bowler-hat and old-fashioned clothes. They met again a year later on a Sabbath meeting at the apartment of Ábrahám Klein (1884–1944). From then on Sándor became a regular guest at the Bernáths. (Later Scheiber told Lili that he only married her because her father had the complete series of the History of the Jews by Graetz, and he would not have got the books otherwise.)

Alexander Scheiber was ordained a rabbi on 21, February in 1938. He spoke about his dead professors in his ceremonial speech (*Ezékiel, a példakép* [*Ezekiel, the model*]). He mentioned Miksa Weisz (1872–1931), Bertalan Edelstein (1876–1934), Ludwig (Lajos) Blau (1861–1936) and he commemorated the library of the Seminary.

In February 1939, upon persuasion by Heller, his father sent Scheiber to England to research old manuscripts in the libraries of London and Oxford. His father paid the cost of travel and living (10 pounds a month) and Heller asked the help of friends: Adolf Büchler (1867–1939), the Hungarian director and professor of the Jews’ College in London, who had read the articles and doctoral thesis of Scheiber and Moses Gaster (1856–1939), the professor of Slavistics at Oxford University, the national chief rabbi of England’s Sephardi Jews. Büchler’s letter of recommendation opened the way for Scheiber to the manuscript collection of the British Museum. “*Büchler is very kind, he gave me a letter to the British*

Museum... he wrote that 'his writings show that he is an excellent scholar'. (A letter from London by Alexander Scheiber to his parents, 12, February 1939.)³

This journey to England had Scheiber committed to science for a lifetime. “My dear Father! I have worked all day in the British Museum. ... I am full of plans and will. I want to celebrate your birthday in this atmosphere and with this emotion. ... My soul is full of gratitude for Your generosity, that you gave me the opportunity to do scientific work and to have further education. All I can say now is that I want to work a lot. And I promise to acquire world fame to your name. So help me God! Amen. Sanyi (8, February 1939).⁴ Büchler died in February 1939 and Gaster in March. Heller sent an article for the Büchler Festschrift. At the end of his writing Heller’s tone became more personal by saying that the memory of Wilhelm (Vilmos) Bacher (1850–1913) connected him to Büchler, and he had hoped that by his guidance the oeuvre of Bacher would be continued in London by the student he had let to go: Alexander Scheiber (13, April, 1939).⁵ Scheiber listened to some moving speeches. Stefan Zweig’s commemoration of Joseph Roth, or the homily of Alfred Jospe, the rabbi of Berlin who had been freed from the lager of Sachsenhausen. That speech was given to German refugees on a Friday night in the synagogue, on Jospe’s way to the United States. The librarian asked Scheiber to take visitors around the library of the British Museum several times. He met the chief rabbi of Munich, the famed orientalist, Ernst Ehrentreu, professor Eugen Mittwoch, who was the leader of the archeological expeditions in Inner Asia, the Hungarian Aurél Stein and Isaac Markon, the professor of Orientalism at the universities of Leningrad (now Saint Petersburg) and Minsk.

Scheiber was on his way home, in Paris, when the Second World War broke out. He spent the night at a hospital where his classmate, Armand (Árpád) Grünwald MD worked. The next day he tried to travel home by train, but at the Italian border he had to get off the train due to his Jewish origins. He travelled back to Paris and from there to London. During the Jewish fall holidays (High Holidays) he took up a job as a cantor in Burgess Hill to earn his living and to collect enough money to travel home. In the middle of October 1939 he got back to Budapest by hiding in the closed railway carriage of the Simplon express.

The scientific summary of his journey to England is presented in his own words: “*He browsed the unpublished texts of medieval Jewish Bible exegesis in the manuscript collections of the British Museum and the Jews’ College, he reconstructed the commentaries of Saadia from the quotations of commentaries in manuscripts, he copied the notes of Menahem b. Simon Posquières on Jeremiah and Ezekiel, the notes of Nissim b. Reuben on Genesis, the notes of Benjamin b. Jehuda Bozecco on the Book of Kings and the Book of Chronicles. He went to*

Oxford to study the prayerbook and pieces of liturgy by Saadia, to look for Karaite texts and following the directions of Karaite writers he discovered the fragment of the oldest rabbanite prayerbook.” (Introduction to the opening lecture at the upper course of the National Rabbinical Seminary, 17, April 1945.)

On the 70th birthday of Bernhard (Bernát) Heller (16, March 1941) he organized a jubilee ceremony and edited a 450-page Festschrift in which he published the bibliography of Heller, with 569 entries. “*No jubilee volume has ever had to get over so serious obstacles of world history, as the Heller Festschrift,*” he wrote in the introduction of the book.

He corresponded with Lili from England. His wife believed this correspondence brought them close together. (Later, in Dunaföldvár, Scheiber had a wooden box made by a cabinet-maker. On top of it there was the form of a letter, and Lili’s name and address in his hand-writing. The box was destroyed in 1944.) They got married in the Budapest Great Synagogue of Dohány Street on 8, February 1942 in a ceremony conducted by the two fathers, R. Lajos Scheiber and R. Miklós Bernáth. (Alexander Scheiber has been the rabbi of Dunaföldvár by then.)

During the High Holidays it was customary to send students of the Rabbinical Seminary as “legates” to Jewish religious communities where there was no rabbi. This was how Alexander Scheiber got to Dunaföldvár where he became a favorite, and was later asked to take the place of the deceased rabbi, Sámuel Partos (Pártos) (Pinkusfeld) (1858–1929). He started his inaugural speech⁶ on 30, March 1941 at Dunaföldvár with the following sentences: “*I feel gratitude and I am deeply touched by your love. Thank you for the warmth with which you welcomed the young student and closed him in your hearts; for the faith with which you accompanied the one who had abandoned you and desired other fields; for your kind interest with which you followed him on his wanderings to the great libraries of England; for the confidence with which you trusted him with the orphaned shepherd’s crook...*” His father gave a speech at his inauguration with the title “Be brave and strong”. His manuductor was Bernát Heller.

Alexander Scheiber worked in the rabbi apartment of Dunaföldvár. There was a plaque on the house indicating that it had been built from the donation of Mór Kálmán, chairman of the synagogue and his wife, Etel Spitzer. The writing on the plaque said: “so that the flock would not be without its shepherd”. Anti-semitic youngsters broke its windows more than once. The authorities confiscated the radio of the Scheibers.

He corresponded a lot. A characteristic data of his professional acknowledgement: Immanuel Löw (1854–1944), who was called “the most learned rabbi in the

world” by Ludwig Blau, directing professor of the Rabbinical Seminary of Budapest, in his eighties sent his writings from Szeged to Scheiber for review before publication. In one of his letters to his best friend, Heller, Löw writes that he wants to start a “movement” to get a job for Scheiber in Budapest.⁷ (23, April 1941) (*“I agree with your opinion regarding our young colleague Scheiber. I was glad to hear that you had been his manuductor at his inauguration at Dunaföldvár. It is good he has a place, but it is a shame to waste his scientific talent and worth in the countryside. My colleague Frenkel told me he was a great orator, too. It would be a shame to waste him in the country when there is a place in Buda. Cannot we start a movement for his sake?”*)

Scheiber was drafted for forced labour service in 1943; but his wife saved him from the relocation camp with wonderful courage, just a few days before leaving. This was the company of Mohács that died in the winter in Ukraine. In the Jewish cemetery of Dunaföldvár, it was Scheiber who inaugurated the memorial plaque of the martyrs of the death unit of Mohács. He worked a lot at funerals, he comforted his flock, he preached. His beautiful speeches were like poems and he knew them by heart. (After 1945 he read his speeches from paper. This is why we still have them: they were typed on sheets that were cut in half and held together by paperclips.) Beside the songs of the liturgy he sang Hebrew and Yiddish songs, as well.

The Jewish children of Dunaföldvár spent Friday nights at the Scheibers: they listened to fairy tales, sang, prayed, had milk-loaves. Palika Schwarcz was the favorite of the Scheibers. Bernát Heller died on 26, February 1943. His tombstone was unveiled on 19, March 1944. Imre Benoschofsky (1903–1970) chief rabbi of Buda asked Scheiber to take part at the ceremony. The Scheibers wanted to travel to Budapest by train in the morning of 19, March. The Schwarczes wanted to travel in the evening the day before, but by ship. Palika begged “Uncle Sanyi” to travel with them by ship. At noon, on 19, March 1944 the invading SS forces arrested all the Jews arriving from the country to Budapest by train. But the Scheibers evaded them because they had arrived by ship the previous evening. They unveiled the tombstone in the afternoon. Scheiber believed the occupation affected only Budapest and invited the Hellers, Samu Szemere and his friends to travel to Dunaföldvár where all was quiet. Somebody went to enquire about the trains. He never came back, he was seen being arrested. The Scheibers decided to wait for another day. The next day all the rabbis of Budapest were called into the central office of the Jewish community at Síp Street, including Lajos Scheiber and Miklós Bernáth and they were told that Jews were not to travel. Those from the country who were stuck in Budapest had to wait till the local authorities sent them certifications, because without that they would be arrested at

the railway stations. Scheiber wanted to get back to his flock at all costs. He sent a telegram and a petition to the chief administrator of Dunaföldvár asking for a permit, a certification to travel home from Budapest. They did not get it. What's more, the chief administrator denounced Lili at the National Central Authority for Controlling Foreigners (KEOKH) that Lili was a foreign refugee, because her father emigrated to Hungary from Transylvania. (The Jews of Dunaföldvár were among the ones to be last deported to Birkenau-Auschwitz. At the memorial service of the martyrs of Dunaföldvár in 1961 Alexander Scheiber said: "*I have been often tormented by the afterlife of the Hasidic legend: sometimes I imagine what could have happened to our children. During the past years I imagined when Gyuri Becski, Laci Hirschl, Ede Kállay should have become bar mitzvah, when Gyuri Gottlieb, Andris and Pali Schwarcz should have graduated, when Hédi and Ágota Deutsch, Ági Gottlieb and Vera Spornáth should have married...*")

Lili and Sándor moved in with Scheiber's parents at 12 Kún Street. It was a yellow star house, appointed for Jews. Scheiber's room was destroyed by a bomb. He was working in the National Hungarian Jewish Museum in the summer of 1944. In his words: "*When I was forced to stay in the capital – I arrived from Dunaföldvár on 19, March 1944 to give a memorial speech at the unveiling of the tombstone of Bernhard Heller and did not get a permit to travel back – I got a place at the Natl. H. J. Museum. I was working on the catalogue of the book collection together with professor Jenő Grünvald. At the end of July, one morning the head of the Museum, Fülöp Grünvald told us that a truck stopped in front of the Museum and under the instructions of Béla Berend all the books were loaded on it. There were several other books on the truck that were brought from elsewhere. He was informed that the books were to be taken to one of the buildings of the anti-Semitic Institute for Research on the Jewish Question, at the Rózsadomb (26 Bogár Street). The head of the department that ran the Museum at that time was Ernő Naményi. He was an excellent man and a famous Jewish art historian who gave proof of his courage several times during the German occupation. I was there when an official of the municipal district authorities, a Nazi sympathizer, visited the Museum with his colleagues. He asked: What is valuable here? Naményi said: None of this really has a market value. The official pointed at a Roman stone at random, it was from Esztergom: And this? Naményi: They would give you a few pengos for it at the market of Teleki Square! Official: But we are not going to sell it at Teleki Square, but to the British Museum. Naményi: The British Museum does not buy stolen property. – I would not have believed it if I had not heard it myself. Ernő Naményi expected courage from others, as well. He told me to get a receipt of the books that were taken for the Institute for Research on the Jewish Question. I walked up to Rózsadomb with my wife in the sultry summer weather, because*

wearing the yellow stars we were not allowed to use a bus or a cab. Finally we saw the building. It was a nice, one-storeyed villa on the top of Rózsadomb, with a wide forefront and iron fences. It was taken from its Jewish proprietor. A young official answered the door and introduced himself as a teacher. He let us in and allowed us to wait for his boss who was solely authorized to issue the receipt. The few hours we waited later proved to be very useful. We walked around the building. There were great amounts of books and Torah scrolls in the garage, later we learnt they were mainly from Transcarpathia. There were fitted cases on the first floor, filled with books. There were rows of shelves everywhere on the ground floor. I was astonished to find the library of Mihály Guttman (1872-1942), the deceased head of the National Rabbinical Seminary of Budapest. I was eager to browse the carefully chosen, excellent collection that was kept hidden even from the best students of its proprietor. Suddenly I caught sight of the second volume of a very rare book, *J. Mann: The Jews in Egypt (Oxford 1922.)*, that I had been long searching for in vain. I could not resist the temptation and put it in my briefcase. I found exoneration in the saying "It's no crime to steal from a thief". I had no idea that this volume was to become the first of my new collection of books, instead of the one that had been destroyed at Dunaföldvár."⁸

The last carriage of the deportation train that was started from the brick factory of Szeged at the end of June 1944 was disconnected in Budapest as part of the Kasztner rescue plan. 66 Jews were traveling in the carriage, among others Immanuel Löw and his family. They were taken to the ghetto of the Aréna Road synagogue (today Dózsa György Road). The Scheibers took a pot of hot meat soup to Löw, because he was famished. Scheiber described this incredible event in one of his interviews⁹: "He was famished. My wife and I went to the Aréna Road on the Sabbath and took him some hot meat soup. We got there when he was brought out. He was wearing a big loden coat and a barret. He was put in an ambulance car. The whole family sat in with him, Mrs Löw... (Question: 'When was this?') July 1944... (correcting) the end of June 1944. And I wanted to give him the soup and Lipót Löw... his son... told me 'go to the front, that is where papa is sitting'. And I handed in the soup... And his son said: 'Papa, Scheiber is here, he brought you something,' and Löw took the pot in his hand immediately and he started slurping it excitedly, I could see how hungry he was, and he said: 'Well, your soup is certainly better than your handwriting,' because he was angry at me for writing tiny letters. And he used to tell me: 'I will cut you a quill and you will write with that for me, because you can only write big letters with that.' Löw was taken to the Jewish emergency hospital at 44 Wesselényi Street (today the building of the foundation school)¹⁰, where he died on 19, July. The next day Scheiber asked Vilmos Csaba Perlrott to draw the deceased.¹¹ Löw was laid to rest – "in

the presence of a handful of courageous and determined friends” – by Alexander Scheiber and Imre Benoschofsky at Farkasrét.

The national socialists took Scheiber to entrenching on 15, October. At Pécel, they were burying executed escapees. (Four men were sentenced to death for desertion. One of them was a boy. His father begged them to execute him instead of his son. “We cannot do that!” So he told them to execute him as well. They did.) Scheiber gave a speech about the innocence of the murdered men at the roadside burial. Those who were present felt he had a personal relationship with God. At the end of his speech one of the soldiers gave him a pair of shoes to give it to whoever he wanted. (He gave the shoes to the actor Jenő Szigeti, who was serving in forced labour service.) They met a humane and brave officer of Transylvanian Armenian origin, Kabdebó, who was the commander of a Jewish female forced labour service company. He had Scheiber sit on his motorbike and took him to the so-called Glass House at 29 Vadász Street, that was under Swiss protection to help him get the necessary documents of protection (“Schutzpass”-es) for the women. Scheiber got the documents and the female company was spared. The Zionist leaders of the Glass House asked Kabdebó to leave Scheiber there and he had his wife, father-in-law and sister-in-law brought in there. His parents were in the Jewish emergency hospital at Wesselényi Street. In the basement of the Glass House that was called «orthodox cellar» he gave lectures on cultural history. At the Budapest ceremony of the Scheiber Prize in 2005, Chief Rabbi József Schweitzer commemorated these lectures: *“In the forced, annoying idleness of the safe house at Vadász Street and the cellar, Scheiber gave scientifically accurate lectures on the history of liturgy based on the notes he had brought with himself. How characteristic it is, that he brought the notes he prepared in the quiet of the summer period to the safe house! We, the young rabbis, seminary students surrounded him crouching on sacks and rugs. As they said in the old times: we literally sat at his feet. The environment was terrible, but the lecture could have been given at the most elegant university of the world.”*¹²

Scheiber’s father died on 28, December. He had his mother brought to the Glass House in an ambulance on the day of New Year’s Eve. They were hardly together for an hour when drunk national socialists (Arrow Cross militia), as New Year’s fun, broke into the cellar and shot above the crowd who were fleeing among some crates of windowpanes. Mária Adler was climbing over one of the crates when a bullet hit her lungs. Alexander Scheiber was flooded by his mother’s blood. The wounded woman was somehow taken back to the Jewish emergency hospital she left that day (the national socialists allowed neither Scheiber, nor Lili to accompany her), but as László Tauber, the surgeon later said, due to the severe loss of blood there was nothing they could do to help her. Scheiber could never

get free of the burden that he had his mother brought to the place of her death. He was devastated. Lili asked Sámuel Löwinger (1904-1980), the president of the Rabbinical Seminary who was with them in the Glass House not to let Sanyi fall into the abyss of depression, but to encourage him to pull himself together as they would have to start the Rabbinical Seminary again.

At the memorial service of 1, January 1948 at 29 Vadász Street Alexander Scheiber gave a speech entitled *"The Blood of Martyrs"*. The following quotation is from this speech: *"For me 29 Vadász Street is more than the place of a historical event or the scene of escape. I come here to stroke the counter on the ground floor where my Mother laid last, in her blood... She was taken from the side of the coffin of our father, she wanted to come to me in her widowhood and loneliness. I saw her in the small forefront, with a little bundle in her hand, silk scarf on her head. She was so prostrate, so defenseless, so lonely and I was so happy to be the one who can save her. She sat on our cellar berth and talked about the last hours of our father; there was gratitude in her eyes and face, the sense of duty in her voice, that she was beside her husband to the very last moment. And suddenly the ceiling shook above us. There was the sound of shooting, the cracking of machine guns and the Arrow Cross militia broke into the cellar with weapons and hand-grenades, shouting like animals. They were shooting rapturously among the defenseless people who were trodding on each other, agonizing screams of mortal fear and pain followed their movements. I was protecting, sheltering my Mother with my own body, still, the first fatal bullet hit her. And her sacred blood... my mother's blood smeared my hand. I cannot tell you how the murderers rushed me to haul the squirming, suffering woman to the street among the other Jews they lined up to be their victims, I cannot tell you how I stumbled back with her to the counter on the ground floor. My brother and sister will never know this, let this be my heavy inheritance that invades my nights and permeates my days. Let them never hear the screaming, crying, wailing sound that sometimes grates on my ears so unbidden, suddenly and accusingly. This inheritance should only be mine, it can never be taken away from me. I can only tell you that my Mother always felt a poem by József Kiss, The heart of the mother, quite bizarre. She could not believe that the last thought of the dying mother's heart would be about her sinful son. But, alas, her dying justified the poet in a horrible way: in her terrible suffering, with the world swimming before her eyes, in her dim voice she could only beg the beasts not to hurt her son, not to take him away!"*

After the liberation Scheiber and his younger brother were looking for the corpses of their parents for weeks so that they could bury them. They went to the places where the corpses from the ghetto of Pest were taken. Every day they went to the cemetery of Kerepesi Road where thousands of frozen corpses were heaped on

each other for months. It was on one of these occasions, at sunset, when they were going home from the cemetery, that Alexander stopped, pointed at the sky and told his brother, that was where their parents were, taking care of them. Leopold replied bitterly that it could not be true, because if their mother saw they were famished, she would not let it. At that very moment a Soviet military truck stopped by them and a soldier gave them a loaf of bread. They buried their parents temporarily in the old cemetery of Kerepesi Road and a few months later in the Jewish cemetery of Kozma Street, opposite to the grave of Illés Adler. Alexander Scheiber appointed his own grave next to his parents'. (He rests there now.) He said the following words on 14, February 1945 at the temporary burial: "... *We found our dear Mother at the mortuary of the hospital, the noble face of our Father appeared in the heap of corpses at the cemetery's mortuary. If we had known we would return to life as orphans, robbed and destroyed in our souls we would not have faced the hardships: one of us hiding under an alias, the other hiding at a friendly family, the third in the cellar of an embassy building. We could not go home after the liberation, because we had nobody to go home to. We lost everything we had in four days: we lost our parents.*"

Education started in February 1945 at the Rabbinical Seminary with a single student. The library had been bombed. They heated the building with the broken shelves. Schreiber described the fate of the library during the Holocaust¹³: "*The building of the National Rabbinical Seminary was seized by the Germans on 19, March 1944 and they established a concentration camp there. On the very first day they brought the leftist journalists, public figures, lawyers here. Twenty-thousand people were marched through here toward death. Eichmann visited the library and took the keys. He had the catalogues taken to his residence at the Svábhegy. He must have had an overview of the library from the catalogues, because he had the two sections transported that dealt with the history of Hungarian Jews and he could only get these books at this library. The books were supposed to be delivered to the Institute for Research on the Jewish Question in Frankfurt am Main, but plunder only got as far as Prague. When the Jewish religious community of Prague was organizing its huge collection of books under the professional guidance of O. Muneles, they found our books. Approximately a hundred books were sent back to us, the rest is still waiting for a transport home. On the last days of the siege of Budapest, a bomb fell on our library and almost the whole third floor [II. emelet] crashed into the second floor [I. emelet]. We had to rescue the rest of the books, wet with snow and rain, from there. The manuscripts and the pristine prints survived in the cellar that had been carved in the rock.*" The students returned slowly, one by one. On the evening of the Seder everyone got a hard-boiled egg.

Alexander Scheiber opened the library of the Rabbinical Seminary on 8, July 1945. In his inaugural speech¹⁴ he described the work that had been done since the end of the war: *“We have rescued several hundreds of books from the Institute for Research on the Jewish Question that had been bombed. These books were mainly from the legacy of our deceased director, Dr Mihály Guttman. We succeeded in getting the Hebraica and Judaica of the recently deceased excellent professors, Dr. Ignác Kúnos and Dr. Gyula Donáth. We also received the bookstands of professor Donáth. We bought the Jewish-related books of the legacy of the excellent aesthete, Dr Károly Sebestyén. We came to possess the library of the late Dr József Farkas, the district rabbi who bequeathed it to us along with the bookcases. The honest life of this devout priest ended as that of a martyr. His rich library, that shows his wide and constant interest in Jewish literature and sciences, will preserve his memory in our Institute. The huge library of the world famous professor Bernát Heller, the teacher of our Institute had been deposited here, together with all his equipment. The study that saw so much of his work and was the starting place of so much value. I noticed that his ex-students still step softly in his room and touch his books with such care as if he were still watching from every corner... We received on perpetual loan the 7000-volume library of Dr Lajos Szabolcsi, rich in respect of Hebrew and Jewish materials. The negotiations are going on currently. Our latest plan is to acquire the larger rabbi-libraries in the country that were left ownerless. We have made the first steps to achieve this. We have the peerless library of Immanuel Löw in mind particularly that would in itself satisfy our hiatuses.”*

Although the apartment in Kún Street was robbed and the study of the rabbi’s house in Dunaföldvár was used as a stable for horses by the Germans, and Scheiber’s books, manuscripts and cards were soiled with excrement, he started his life and his scientific work again. He finished editing the Immanuel Löw Memorial Volume, although “the one it was meant to celebrate perished together with some of its authors”. He visited the survivors. He helped many of them financially, for example Vilmos Nagy de Nagybaczon who was in dire need. Scheiber got some money, food and clothes through Joint (American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee) and distributed everything. He starved and gained energy from want and non-existence. The philosopher and academician Samu Szemere, whose son, daughter-in-law and grandchild were killed in Auschwitz-Birkenau, considered him as his son.¹⁵

The little money he had he spent on books. A few days after the siege Scheiber went to buy books at Teleki Square. He would not tell their true price, he would always say, “it was eighteen fillers”. (Decades later, when a guest at the Scheibers admired his library, Lili used to say, “Even the most expensive of our books cost only

eighteen fillers.”) He bought his huge bookshelf, adorned with twisted columns at Teleki Square after the liberation. It cost 1000 forints which was considered to be a great amount of money. (There were also chairs in the same style for 500 forints, but he did not have enough money).

As a professor of the Rabbinical Seminary of Budapest he taught literature and Bible studies. He returned to England in the summer of 1947 to study manuscripts. Sándor Bálint (1904-1980) invited him to give an inaugural speech at the Ethnography Department of the University of Szeged on 7, April 1949 (*Kálmán Mikszáth and the Eastern folklore*). (His friendship with the Roman Catholic Bálint, whose beatification is currently under way, is like a medieval legend. He sent money when Bálint was starving, he visited Bálint when he was persecuted. They were best friends, the most beautiful and touching examples in the history of friendship – if there is such a thing.)¹⁶

When Sámuel Löwinger immigrated to Israel in 1950 he trusted Scheiber with the office of director (also of president) of the Rabbinical Seminary. The management of the Jewish religious community wanted Ernő Róth (1908-1991) to be the director so they agreed on alternating the office every year till 1956 when Róth immigrated. After five years of many conflicts Alexander Scheiber became the sole director and he directed the Rabbinical Seminary, the only such institute in the countries of the “Soviet block” till his death. His daughter was born in 1954 and got the name of her martyr grandmother, Mária. His grandchild, Anikó Györi was born in 1982.

From the fifties his name was one with the Hungarian capital in the foreign Jewish scientific centers. The name Scheiber could have been the emblem of Budapest. Although he was often invited abroad, for example he was officially asked to be the chief rabbi of Stockholm in 1947, he never accepted any such positions, because he wanted to live in Budapest. Eventually he received honorary doctorates from all the significant Jewish scientific institutions of the world. Somewhat late, but he received the Doctor of Science degree in linguistics¹⁷; he became honorary professor of the Attila József University of Szeged, the Lóránd Eötvös University of Budapest and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, he received the honorary doctorate of the Debrecen Reformed Theological Academy, the Hebrew Union College (Cincinnati), the Baltimore Hebrew College and the Jewish Theological Seminary of America (New York); he became the ordinary member of the American Academy for Jewish Research of Boston; he won the Kaplun Memorial Prize of the Dropsie University (Philadelphia); in the early 1960s, without prior notice, he was elected the director of a newly founded rabbinical seminary in Brazil; at the beginning of the 1970s he was formally offered the post of Director of the Jewish

National and University Library at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem; and in 1984 – during his trip in Israel – he was invited as a visiting full professor to the Bar-Ilan University.

He became the emblem of Jewish continuance in our region. He personified hope itself. People looked at him and knew that not everything had been lost. He had been building a spiritual catacomb from the 1940s where he could hide and maintain all the different layers of Jewish culture. He had the fate of Moses: he ensured the survival of Hungarian-Jewish culture, but could not enter the promised land.

During the 1956 revolution he visited the Kossuth (Szikra) printing-house at Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Road every day. The facsimile of the Kaufmann Haggadah was printed at the time and due to the street battles the wonderful codex could not be transported back to the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Scheiber was restless, he believed it was his personal responsibility to protect the Kaufmann Haggadah. So he went to check on it every day. The neighborhood of Kún Street, where he lived was one of the most dangerous areas, because it was close to the Hungarian Working People's party's headquarters at Köztársaság Square (today it is called Pope Saint János Pál II Square). Scheiber usually travelled to the printing-house by hitchhiking. While other people tried to get food, he was taking care of the Kaufmann Haggadah. Scheiber chose his symbol in those days: the watchman (tzopeh) who protects the surviving Jews.¹⁸

Between 2-10, August 1984 he could travel to Israel for the first and last time, as member of the official delegation. (Earlier the authorities always denied his requests for a travel permit to Israel.) An exhibition was organized for the 40th anniversary of the Hungarian Holocaust with the title “The story of the Jews in Hungary” in Beth Hatefutsoth, the Nahum Goldmann Museum of the Jewish Diaspora in Tel Aviv. One of the history experts of the exhibition was Scheiber. His family joined him. His travel was a veritable triumph. His ex-students, who lived in Israel surrounded him. Everybody wanted to meet him. Although he protested, even the women kissed his hand. He visited Ottó Komlós (1913–1988), who was his best friend among the professors of the Rabbinical Seminary. He was advised not to visit him, as Komlós was severely ill, he did not communicate with anybody. When Scheiber asked him, “Do you know me?”, his friend said, “You are Sanyi”. He visited the historian László Gonda (1910–1985), who was also very ill, in the hospital. The Hebrew University of Jerusalem conferred on him the title “Honorary Fellow” on 3, August 1984. At the end of his Israel diary¹⁹ he wrote this in Hebrew: “Thanks to God, I have been found worthy enough to visit the Land of Israel.” The third volume of *Folklore and subject* history was published

in this year and was the last book to be published in his life. We found a piece of paper behind the cardboard of his own copy with his handwriting, a quote from the poet, Jenő Komjáthy: “I, who is the light, lived among shadows.” He must have meant himself. He kept letters behind the back cover. A quote from a letter of Jerusalem: “Dear Master, 26, October 1984... Your book is excellent, I could not put it down, it is so interesting... I long to see you... You are among the few people who are even greater than their own great work. Only Scholem was like this. ...Ezra (Fleischer)”

When Scheiber was visiting in Israel, his colorectal cancer was in the final, fourth stage. One of his fellow travellers, the art historian Katalin Dávid (b. 1923) recalls that Scheiber “was ill in Jerusalem, he could not eat, he said if he had something to eat, he felt great pain. I do not know if he was aware of his illness at that time or it only turned out later”.²⁰ A few days after his arrival from Israel he was operated on in the Third Department of Surgery of Semmelweis Medical University (István Hospital, now called Szent István Hospital). Professor Tibor Marton performed the operation in the presence of Leopold Scheiber (Titi).²¹ Several sizeable liver metastases were found in his liver. According to Mária Scheiber when Titi came out of the operating theatre he said “we have lost Sanyi”, thereby referring to his incurable state.

Before leaving, Scheiber blessed the writer Gábor Goda who was in intensive care.

The next year in February he was mostly lying among his books in his home. His last scientific work was to be written about the letters of Mikszáth. He was to give an inaugural speech at the Attila József University of Szeged. He tried to write but could not hold the pen. He dictated to his wife. He noted with resignation: “I have written enough for a lifetime”. He last read the tales of Isaac Bashevis Singer. He put down the book. “Why aren’t you reading, Sanyi?”, Lili asked. “It is too difficult for me,” he said. “How can English be too difficult for you?” “Not the reading, but holding the book.”

His brother, Lipót and Lili took care of him in his last weeks. He was mainly lying on his right side, facing the wall of the smaller room. Lili was always with him. “What is eating you, Sanyi? Why don’t you tell me a story instead? Let’s switch on a tape recorder, we could record your stories that made us laugh so much.” “I cannot do this without an audience,” Scheiber said. “Well, I am going to be your audience,” Lili answered. “I cannot tell stories,” he whispered sadly, “not without the mood for it”. At another time he said: “You should not think I have bad thoughts. I am thinking about my childhood and the songs.”

Approximately three weeks before his death Alexander Scheiber went on his last walk with his daughter, Mari and her husband, Tamás Győri. They walked from Kún Street to the cemetery of Kerepesi Road nearby to visit the grave of the poet János Arany. As a youngster, preparing for his school-leaving exams, Scheiber often visited there and sat on the grave to study.

He blessed his family on the day he died. Before blessing them he told them to be very happy and to take care of each other. Alexander Scheiber died on 3, March 1985 on the bed of the little room at Kún Street, beside the window. His last words in his strengthening morphine stupor were: "The German horses are coming too fast". His wife asked: "What horses?" "The ones that are coming." Somebody later said²² they might have been the horses of the Apocalypse. The pallbearers carried his corpse around the Rabbinical Seminary. He was buried in the grave he had chosen for himself at Rákoskeresztúr, at 2 p.m. on 7, March in the presence of thousands. They were all silent and numb. One of his rabbi students²³ said: "It will take a century to fill the void he left behind".

Beside his name and titles there is a quotation on his black tombstone, the 24th verse of the poem "The memory of Széchenyi" by János Arany²⁴. There is a Hebrew inscription on the back of the tombstone that Ezra Fleischer (1928–2006), the Transylvanian-born, Israel Prize laureate poet and scholar sent from Jerusalem on the request of Scheiber's widow:²⁵

HERE IS HIDDEN // THE TEACHER AND EXCEPTIONAL SCHOLAR / THE RABBI AND PROFESSOR / ALEXANDER SCHEIBER BEN ELIEZER / (MAY HIS MEMORY BE A BLESSING) / DIRECTOR OF THE RABBINICAL SEMINARY OF BUDAPEST/ FROM 5710 TO HIS DEATH / HE WAS ONE OF THE GREAT RESEARCHERS OF JUDAISM IN HUNGARY IN HIS LIFE / AND ONE OF THE GIANTS OF SCIENCE IN THE WORLD / THE AUTHOR OF HUNDREDS OF ARTICLES AND BOOKS / ON THE PEOPLE AND CULTURE OF ISRAEL / HE DIED ON THE 10TH DAY OF THE MONTH ADAR IN 5745 / IN THE 72ND YEAR OF HIS LIFE / HE WAS THE HONORABLE LEADER, EDUCATOR AND TEACHER, PRIDE AND BRIGHTNESS OF HIS GENERATION / MAY THE ETERNAL GOD HIDE HIM UNDER HIS WINGS // MAY HIS SOUL BE BOUND UP IN THE BOND OF ETERNAL LIFE"

*

The number of his preserved and available publications exceed 1700 if we do not differentiate between a short article and a whole monograph. If we distribute these more than 1700 publications evenly in his creative period, that is the years from his twenties to his death, the result will be an article, study or book in every

10th day. Those who know what it takes to write something, especially a scientific piece, will understand how enormous his creativity must have been. We only mention the works that have been preserved, because part of his oeuvre was lost in the summer and winter of 1944 in Dunaföldvár. His scientific notes, the ones made in England among them, and several of his manuscripts were destroyed. We only mention works that are preserved and available, because some of his speeches were never written down or are awaiting collection. His several-volume-long diary that consists of his type-written letters to his younger brother, has not been published yet. (His wife typed his articles and letters.)

We were together once, and the writer of these lines asked him to tell a story.

He asked me what it should be about. I chose a literary topic. He listed writers, poets, literary critics, literary historians. I chose Dezső Kosztolányi. He told us lovely stories about Kosztolányi for over an hour. A complete alternative Hungarian culture history could have been written on the basis of his anecdotes. His unrecorded speeches, talks, notes, stories, anecdotes can never be reconstructed. This whole world is lost.²⁶

One of his rabbi students²⁷ says he does not know when Scheiber wrote his works, because he was together with him day after day at the Rabbinical Seminary and Scheiber was always busy with pastoral work: weddings, funerals, giving comfort, preaching. One of his major achievements was forming the musical liturgy of the Rabbinical Seminary's synagogue (it was also called the synagogue of József Boulevard). He found eminent colleagues: the chief cantors Rezső Feleki (1900–1981) and Emil Tóth (1942–2017), the choir leader and composer Emil Ádám (1905–1987) and the organist and scholar György Kármán (1933–2008). All that work would have been enough for one man.

He would often say: “I’d like to see a student who knows nothing when I want him to study!” Indeed, his students felt the same way about the subjects he taught.

His anteroom was always full of people waiting. He listened to everybody. He had time for everybody. In his legacy we found a letter of shaky handwriting from 1976 that show exactly how important he was for the community: “Dear Professor! I would be glad to die if you were to bury me. As we are all mortals I humbly beseech you to grant me this service! I am grateful for your goodness in advance, yours truly and faithfully ...”

He organized the Hungarian Jews' lives with such charismatic force that the secret of his magnetic power is still unknown. He had the aura of a tzadik. At his legendary Oneg Shabbats he personally broke up and distributed the challah to everybody. He was also busy with matchmaking. Over the years he became something of an

institution in this respect and he introduced hundreds of couples. A heap of cards were found on his writing desk and in his pockets with names of people seeking their spouse. He used to say: "I wanted to become a world famous scholar and I became a world famous shadchan." He also said that in the old days marriages were made in heaven, but now they were made at the Rabbinical Seminary.

If we examine the virtual sphere of his life's work, for example the works of his students and followers or all the scientific work he organized (for example the series entitled *A Magyarországi Zsidó Hitközségek Monográfiái* [*Monographs of the Hungarian Jewish Religious Communities*], or the setting up of the *Hungarian Jewish Archives*), he seems to be the epitome of the Hungarian-Jewish scientific institutions.

All his work was somehow cathartic. A seemingly insignificant topic turned monumental in his hands. He understood the significance and responsibility of being the spiritual heir of Hungarian-Jewish science: as if the deceased scientists held his hand when writing and those killed could work on through him. He had his works chronologically bound in soft leather, and he used to show his visitors the volumes noting that at least their binding had a truly lasting value. The thick volumes (with the title OPUSCULA) were lined up on the big bookcase at his home. (They are still there at the house in Zugló where the family moved after his death.) At the beginning of the books, on the inside of the book-cover, or on the endpapers he wrote a short quote. There is a citation from a psalm in the volume that includes his works written during the Shoah: "*For though my father and my mother have forsaken me, the LORD will take me up.*" (Ps 27(26):10). In one of the volumes from the 1950s he wrote another quote from a psalm: "*If your law had not been my delight, I would have perished in my affliction.*" (Ps 119(118):92). His attitude towards the fields of research he chose can be characterized with these quotations; memories, transcendental relations and some very deep and simple sorrow fill all his writings, even the purely scientific ones.

Scheiber commented on the age of the Shoah in a speech in 1948²⁸, using a variation of Ps 27(26):10 in Hebrew, than in Hungarian: "I have lost everything, but my books and students found life for me again". This transformation of the Holy Scripture to his own life could be considered the motto of Alexander Scheiber.

He usually wrote in Hungarian, German, English and Hebrew, but he also had French and Italian publications. He researched various fields in depth: Hebrew studies, Jewish studies, Oriental studies, linguistics, classical philology, textology, literary history, literary criticism, bibliography, folklore, subject history (the history of motifs), history of the book, manuscript history, art history, iconography, history, cultural studies, epigraphy, archeology.

The most important work he did in the field of Hebrew and Oriental studies was the research of the Genizah. The Genizah is a collection of a quarter of a million manuscripts that have very diverse genres, from private letters to hymns and it is scattered in the libraries of the world, from Cambridge to New York, from Budapest to Saint Petersburg. Very often the different pieces of the same manuscript can be found in different libraries. Reading, understanding and fitting these pieces is the “puzzle game” of Hebrew studies. It requires immense professional knowledge, memory and a unique sense of association. To quote István Hahn, Scheiber was a virtuoso of finding connections between Genizah fragments. His most famous finding was the identification of the man who put down the first known Jewish melody. Scheiber recognized the handwriting in a piyyut of the Adler Collection as the handwriting of Obadiah whom he identified in the Kaufmann Collection²⁹. There were fourteen years and an ocean between the two findings. The research he inspired has a secondary literature that would fill a library by now. Due to his results the image of the early medieval Jews was considerably enriched: they created relations between the Christian west and the Muslim east.

He had a unique work style. When they returned to the house at Kún Street after the liberation, Scheiber sat on a chair in the plundered and cold apartment, he covered himself with a blanket and started writing.

He often worked at night.

The most peaceful room of the apartment was his study, so they put their child’s cot there and the little girl slept beside her father’s writing desk. If he was at home, Mari did not want to go to sleep: she talked, laughed and would not let her father work. “It only happens when you are at home,” his wife said. “If she does not see you, the child goes to sleep without any problems.” Scheiber did not want to believe this. “Go on, try it!”, his wife advised. “Act as if you went out.” Scheiber got dressed, he put on his shoes, coat and hat, he said goodbye to Mari and left the study. A few minutes later the child was asleep. Scheiber sneaked back to his writing desk to work. This went on night after night: he got dressed, said goodbye, sneaked back and worked with little light on listening to the breathing of his daughter. “So you did not leave after all?”, Mari asked when once she woke up and found her father sitting at the desk. “I did not,” he answered and the child went back to sleep quietly.

“I can only work at home properly,” he used to say.

Pieces of paper, rubbers, blotting-papers, empty pens, old cards covered his writing desk. He used to dislike ballpoint pens, he used thin quills, but often the inkstand was upset on his desk, smudging all the things, so willy-nilly he got used

to ball-point pens. He collected pens. If his wife or daughter got a set of pens as a present he would examine it with wistful eyes, until they got sorry for him and gave it to him. Strings, spectacle-cases, purses, pocket-books and slightly rumpled envelopes filled his drawers. If he got a book from abroad he saved the envelope to send books himself. But he never used them up.

The Hebraica and Judaica of Scheiber's private library were bought by the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences about six months after his death. György Rózsa (1922–2005), the head of the Library called in professor Róbert Dán (1936–1986) to give his professional opinion in regard to the collection. Their excellent choices helped to make the Scheiber library public property, as it became the founding collection of the unique reading-room of the Oriental Collection. The Scheiber Collection has always been managed as a separate collection, the catalogue of its 5293 items was completed by 1990.³⁰ Besides the books and journals, the Academy also acquired Scheiber's correspondence.

We only understood the sacred nature of Scheiber's home, study and the place of his death when Lili, his widow asked the writer of these lines to help her move the library as she did not have enough fortitude to do it alone. I went to the apartment at Kún Street to help and found the writing desk untouched, covered with cards, pens, books, all the things he had, even though he had passed away several months before. There was a sense of piety in the atmosphere that one only feels at truly sacred shrines. Lili and me disassembled the library in two weeks. Every third or fourth day a truck came to take away the material we sorted out. In a sense, his whole home was one continuous library. This environment suited his magical personality and became the shrine of Jewish studies. There were two main fields: Hebraica, Judaica and Oriental studies and Hungarian literature, linguistics and folklore. The publications of the Kisfaludy Society and the Academy of Sciences were placed in the middle of the grandiose, huge bookshelf with the twisted columns that reigned over the study. To the right, beside books by the poets Ady and Babits, there was a much liked collection: the autographed works of Sándor Bálint. Beside them there were the works of the polymath László Péter from Szeged. And several other books, some very rare volumes. On the left side of the bookcase there was one of the unique collections of the Scheiber library: the collection of Festschrifts. He was an ardent collector of these books that were all written in honor of a great scholar or artist. All the second-hand bookshops of Budapest knew that they could sell professor Scheiber such books. He especially liked the intimate bookshop of the Bordas and he referred to their catalogues in his articles. We found the kind dedication of the Ráday Archives in one of his books: "To professor Sándor Scheiber, because we know he collects these". His writing desk was surrounded by books, too. Under the huge volumes of the Talmud there

were all the year-books of the IMIT (Israelite Hungarian Literary Society) that he continued to publish 25 years after its publication was stopped in 1943. There were two portraits on the bookshelf beside his desk: Bernát Heller's and Immanuel Löw's.

Nobody was supposed to touch the bookshelves, not even to dust them. Once, when he travelled away for a few days, Lili dusted the huge bookstand in the study and accidentally changed the order of two books. Scheiber only commented: "After this I would not be surprised to find my books on the corridor, or my desk in the kitchen." A whole chapter should be devoted to his sense of humor.³¹ A study was written in which we collected the anecdotes about him.³² He could even make a joke of death. He was to leave for a funeral and somebody urged him to start so as not to be late. He commented: "What's the hurry, not even the dead will be there yet".

We can only guess how he had enough fortitude to work. The state used informers to spy on him and several reports were written about him.³³ It is known who were the leaders of the National Representation of Hungarian Israelites (MIOK) who regularly denounced him³⁴ at the State Office of Church Affairs (ÁEH), the organization that was created by the dictatorship to control and intimidate churches. He never gave in to political authority or the state party, he would not offer the smallest friendly gesture towards them. After the Six-Day War of 1967 the ÁEH called in the Jewish leaders and told them to condemn Israel and to support Socialist internationalism. Scheiber sat there speechless. "Director, we haven't heard your opinion yet", they asked him. "Well, my opinion is that after this war nobody can say 'cowardly Jews' again!"³⁵ He also told them: "the Jew who speaks against Israel, is not a Jew or is lying".

In 1976 he was summoned to the police for weekly interrogations for months. There was a reason for this: somebody presented the library of the Rabbinical Seminary with some volumes of the journal *Múlt és Jövő*, but later changed her mind and asked them back. The students took back the volumes, but some issues were said to be missing. (The library had numerous copies of the journal.) This became the reason for his police investigation. His rabbi students were also summoned. They were called foul names and they were intimidated. Scheiber was handled as if he were a criminal. The most famous lawyer of the age asked for a day to think about representing him and then refused. He suggested somebody else, who took on the job but did virtually nothing. The leaders of MIOK refused Lili's request for help, although she argued that her husband could die due to the case. The ÁEH also refused help, stating that they were not authorized to act in this case. Lili had some friendly help and managed to take her husband

to the surgery of the János Hospital (now called Szent János Hospital). Due to the continuous humiliation Scheiber had severe, more and more frequent biliary attacks at nights. The police officer who led the investigation threatened to have him arrested in spite of the attacks. The husband of Lili's colleague³⁶ was well-connected enough to let her know that a show trial was being prepared against her husband and they could do nothing against it. Lili turned against the system herself. She wrote a letter and threatened the authorities that she would reveal the case in the world press and make a huge scandal. One day a letter arrived from the police of the 6th and 7th district of Budapest, stating that they had terminated the investigation due to "lack of evidence". Lili was not satisfied with the answer. She insisted on rephrasing the reason for the termination of the case to "lack of crime", otherwise she would turn to the world media. Shortly a document arrived from the public prosecutor's office stating that the action of the police was illegal, because it took so long and there was no case to investigate. (Years later, at a legal meeting the Scheiber case was mentioned as the typical instance of illegitimacy.) A day after the arrival of the certificate Lili's lesson was interrupted (she was a German language teacher at the Technical University of Budapest). One of the leaders of MIOK³⁷ wanted to talk to her immediately. She told her that the ÁEH notified them that the investigation against Scheiber had been terminated. The long humiliation nearly crippled Scheiber spiritually. I think that this case became the original cause of his illness. But no sign of it can be found in his oeuvre. He worked and wrote as if nothing had happened. The next year, in the presence of a huge crowd, he was awarded the title Doctor of Hebrew Letters, *honoris causa* by the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. It was a mass event, several people were given various titles, but when his name was announced, the whole crowd stood up as one man and the standing ovation went on for a long time.³⁸

On his 70th birthday he was awarded the memorial plaque of the World Association of Hungarian Jews and received the Hungarian Order of the Flag. His students announced the compilation of a Festschrift in his honor³⁹. At his birthday celebration on 9, July 1983 Scheiber gave a beautiful speech (that has since become legendary) about his life (*Summa vitae*)⁴⁰:

"If a 70th birthday is the overture to old age, then I have nothing to be happy about. At a similar occasion my father professed he could age in body but his heart remained young. I would have quoted him in any case. I learnt the respect for scholarship and scholars from him, and I gained enthusiasm for literature from my mother. I haven't got over her martyr's death to this day. I often see her in my dreams. At such times I keep telling her what a good son I am and that I have achieved something in life. My childhood and youth was embittered by the fact that

she loved my younger brother more than me. I understand it today, since I also love him and all four members of my family more than myself.

Attila József writes in his Curriculum vitae that he wasn't a genius, just an orphan. Let me vary his words: I am not a great scholar, I just ended up lonely. Those who were better than me did not come back or deserted me. Thus, in a tragic era, I had to rebuild the Rabbinical Seminary by myself, I had to teach students, deal with academic administration, editing, proofreading and correspondence. All this diverted my best powers away from work.

In spite of frequent and dazzling temptation I stayed in Hungary. My love of the Hungarian language and literature detained me. A sense of vocation convinced me that processing the local material served the interest of the universal Jewish scholarship. My books grew out of this: the Inscriptions, the Fragments of Hebrew codices, the Folklore and the Genizah. And there will be some more if, 'God grants the poor minstrel power...'

Where is the end of elaborate craftsmanship and the beginning of art? Where is the end of the craft and the beginning of the master?

Posterity will decide what remains of my life-work. However, I already know this now: I introduced Hebrew studies and Jewish studies into the disciplines of Hungarian science; I educated colleagues; I awoke an interest in Jewish culture among adults and the youth; I sustained the reputation of our college and my students carry it on as educators; I preserved Hungary and Budapest among the centers of Jewish intellectual and spiritual life. 'That is my task and none too small it is.'

I thank you all for making this anniversary memorable."

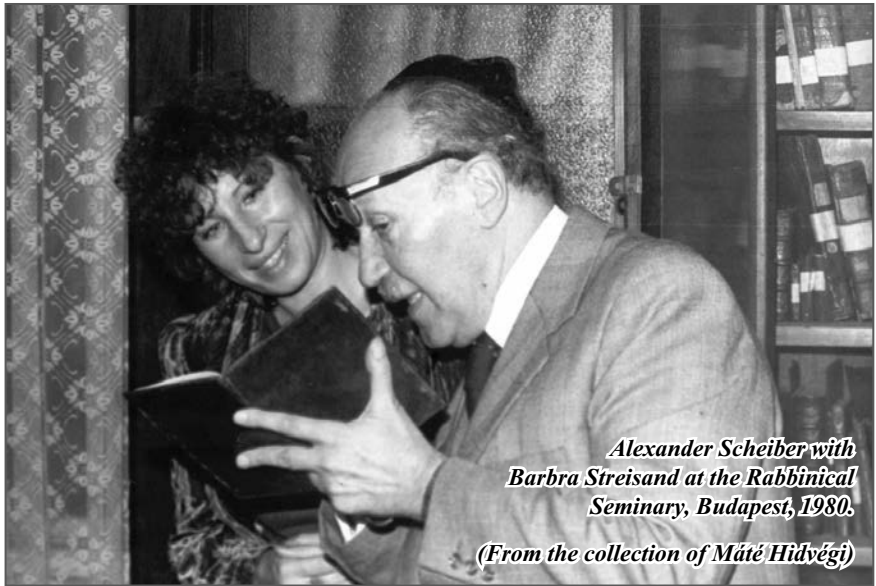
*

The Jews of Vilna built a playground and a sports-ground in the ghetto. At the opening a Jewish official, Joseph Muszkat said: „If one, in the future, would like to discover traces of our life in the ghetto, and there would be no documents or diaries to be found to bear witness, this site will be a genuine symbol of an unrestrainable vitality and an unrelenting will for survival in us.”⁴¹

This can also be said about the oeuvre of Alexander Scheiber: if one, in the future, would like to discover traces of the lives and culture of Hungarian Jews, and there would be no other documents to be found, but his works, they would be enough to represent the richness of Hungarian Jewish cultural history and would be a genuine symbol of the spiritual power and courage that after the Holocaust helped Hungarian Jews to start over again and to stay alive.



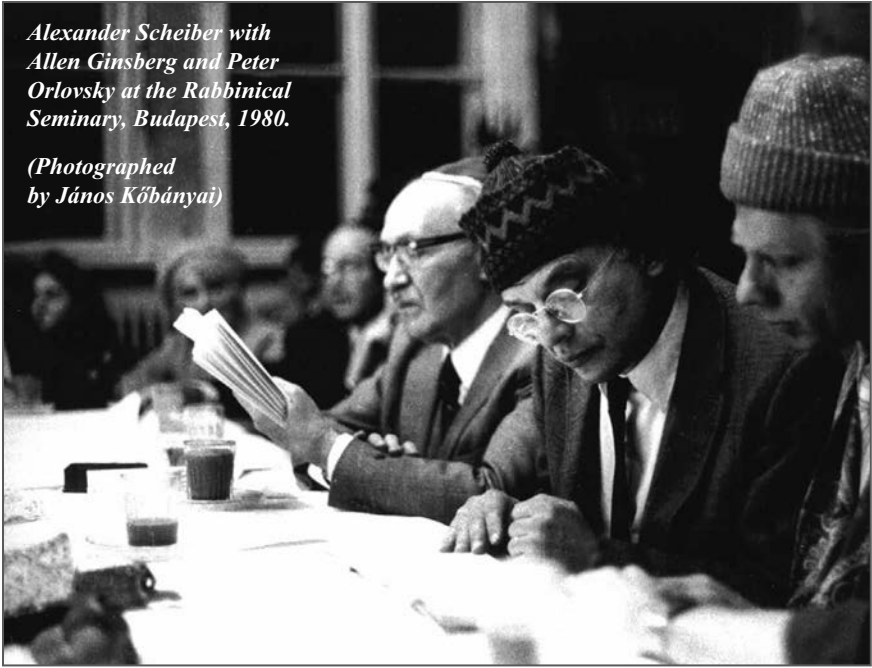
*Nahum Goldman and Alexander
Scheiber at the centennial of the
Rabbinical Seminary, Budapest, 1977.
(From the collection of Máté Hidvégi)*



*Alexander Scheiber with
Barbra Streisand at the Rabbinical
Seminary, Budapest, 1980.
(From the collection of Máté Hidvégi)*

*Alexander Scheiber with
Allen Ginsberg and Peter
Orlovsky at the Rabbinical
Seminary, Budapest, 1980.*

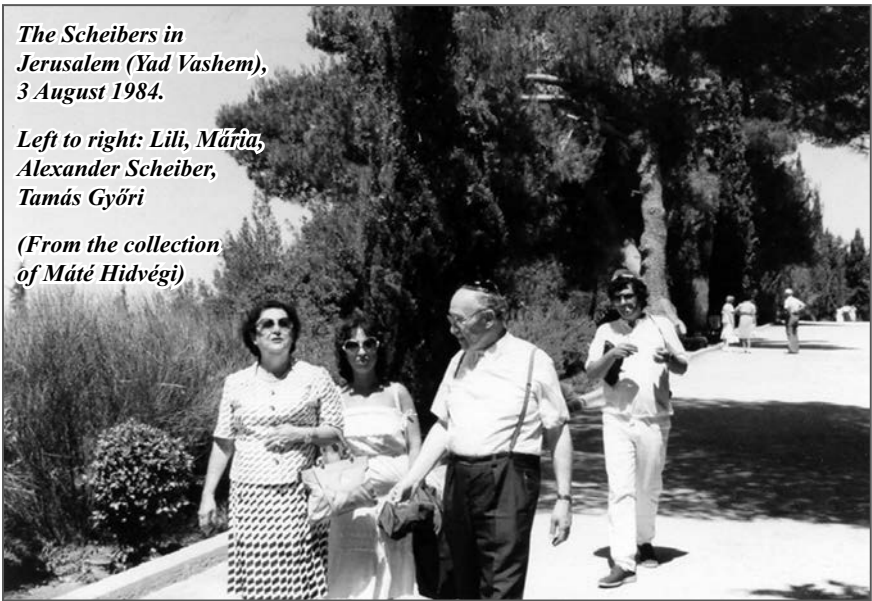
*(Photographed
by János Kőbányai)*



*The Scheibers in
Jerusalem (Yad Vashem),
3 August 1984.*

*Left to right: Lili, Mária,
Alexander Scheiber,
Tamás Győri*

*(From the collection
of Máté Hidvégi)*



Notes

- 1 The most important sources of my study were the recorded conversations I had with the widow of Alexander Scheiber, Livia (Lili) Bernáth in the second half of the 1980s in Budapest.

I also used my previous writings:

Lélekkönyvtár. Scheiber Sándor emlékezete [Spiritual library. The memory of Alexander Scheiber] *Élet és Irodalom*, 16, October 1987, p 10.

Scheiber Sándor 1939-es angliai napló-levelei [Alexander Scheiber's diary letters from England from the year 1939] In: *Múlt és Jövő. Zsidó kulturális antológia.* (Ed. János Kőbányai) Budapest, 1988, pp. 38–48.

The entry about Sándor Scheiber in the Hungarian Biographical Lexicon.

Csendélet házaidban [Still life in your houses] *Hitel* 3 (16), 1990, pp. 36–37.

„Nem tudok mesélni, ahhoz hangulat is kell” – Történetek Scheiber Sándorról. [“I cannot tell stories, not without the mood for it”. Stories about Alexander Scheiber] *Irodalomismeret* 6(3), 1995, pp. 98–109.

„Ki fény vagyok, homályban életem” – Scheiber Sándor emlékezete. Előszó [“I, who is the light, lived among shadows.” The memory of Alexander Scheiber. Introduction] In: Scheiber Sándor: *Folklór és tárgytörténet. Teljes kiadás* [Complete edition]. Makkabi Kiadó, Budapest, 1996. pp. 5–12.

Alexander Scheiber. In: *Tributes in memory of Alexander Scheiber (1913–1985)*, [Leopold Scheiber, New York], 1998, pp. 17–24.

„Ki fény vagyok, homályban életem” – Scheiber Sándor emlékezete [“I, who is the light, lived among shadows.” The memory of Alexander Scheiber] In: Máté Hidvégi: *Tenyereimre rajzoltalak. Liget Könyvek*, Budapest, 1998, pp. 71–89.

Scheiber Sándor, az ember és tudós [Alexander Scheiber, the man and the scholar] In: „A tanítás az élet kapuja” – Tanulmányok az Országos Rabbiképző Intézet fennállásának 120. évfordulója alkalmából. [“Education is the door of life” – Studies for the 120th anniversary of the Rabbinical Seminary of Budapest] (Ed. József Schweitzer, György Gábor, Piroška Hajnal, Gábor Schweitzer), Universitas Kiadó, Országos Főrabbi Hivatal, Budapest, 1999, pp. 13–29. (Together with Mrs. Livia Scheiber, née Bernáth).

Scheiber Sándor laudációja [Laudation of Alexander Scheiber] In: *Magyar Örökség. Laudációk könyve 1995–2000.* (Ed. Márta Farkas), Magyarországért Alapítvány, Budapest, 2001, pp. 216–219.

„Ki fény vagyok, homályban életem” [“I, who is the light, lived among shadows.”] In: Péter Kertész: *A könyvek hídjá. Emlékfüzér Scheiber Sándorról.* [The bridge of books. Reminiscences on Alexander Scheiber], Urbis Könyvkiadó, Budapest, pp. 36–45.

Scheiber Lili halálára. [On the death of Lili Scheiber] *Új Élet* 62(14), Aug. 1, 2007.

Scheiber Sándor élete. [The life of Alexander Scheiber] In: Scheiber Sándor emlékezete. [The memory of Alexander Scheiber] (Ed. Tamás Domokos), Scheiber Sándor Gimnázium és Általános Iskola, Budapest, 2013, pp. 19–35.

Scheiber Sándor. A Scheiber-bibliográfia gyöngyszemei [Alexander Scheiber. Gems from the Scheiber-bibliography] Remény 16(3): 25–31, 2013.

Mit kérjünk Scheiber Sándortól? [What should we ask from Alexander Scheiber?] Élet és Irodalom 57(32), Aug. 9, 2013.

Scheiber Sándor laudációja [Laudation of Alexander Scheiber] In: Papírhíd az egyetemes kultúra szolgálatában. Tanulmánykötet Scheiber Sándor születése századik évfordulójára. [Bridge of papers in the service of universal culture. Essays in honour of Alexander Scheiber's centenary] (Ed. Antal Babits), Logos Kiadó, Budapest, 2013, pp. 9–11.

Scheiber Sándor izraeli naplója. [The Israel diary of Alexander Scheiber] In: *ibid*, pp. 434–461. (Together with Antal Babits).

Alexander Scheiber and the bibliography of his writings. (Ed. Máté Hidvégi), OR-ZSE, Budapest, 2013, XIV, 461, 28 [Hebrew index] p.

Alexander Scheiber (1913–1985). In: *ibid*, pp. 3–47.

Scheiber Sándor (1913–1985). In: *ibid*, pp. 49–90.

Introduction to the Scheiber bibliography. In: *ibid*, pp. 171–179.

Bevezetés a Scheiber-bibliográfiához. In: *ibid*, pp. 181–189.

Scheiber Sándor beszámolója a Rabbiképző könyvtáráról a holokauszt után [Alexander Scheiber's account on the library of the Rabbinical Seminary of Budapest after the Holocaust] Múlt és Jövő 2013/4, pp. (5–6), 7–9.

Scheiber Sándor munkássága a Scheiber-bibliográfia szerint. [The work of Alexander Scheiber according to the Scheiber bibliography] In: 100 éve született Scheiber Sándor. Festschrift. [The centenary of Alexander Scheiber. Festschrift] (Ed. János Oláh), Gabbiano Print, Budapest, 2014, pp. 53–65.

Scheiber Sándor kézírásos mottói az Opusculák előzéklapjain [Hand-written mottos of Alexander Scheiber on the endpapers of the volumes of his Opuscula] Múlt és Jövő 2016/2, pp. 23–34.

- 2 The quotes from Sándor Scheiber's speeches that have no reference are from Scheiber Sándor könyve. Válogatott beszédek [Alexander Scheiber's book. Selected speeches] (Selected, ed. János Kőbányai), Múlt és Jövő Lap- és Könyvkiadó, New York, Budapest, Jerusalem, 1994, XIV, 428 p.
- 3 The expression is "brilliant scientist" in the original letter of recommendation. C.f.: Hidvégi Máté: Scheiber Sándor 1939-es angliai napló-levelei [Alexander Scheiber's diary letters from England from the year 1939] In: Múlt és Jövő. Zsidó kulturális antológia. (Ed. János Kőbányai) Budapest, 1988, p. 40.

- 4 Ibid., p. 39
- 5 Ibid., p. 42
- 6 Scheiber Sándor: Ámosz nyomában (...) Székfoglaló beszéd [On the trail of Amos (...) Inaugural address] (Dunaföldvár: Dunaföldvári Izr. Hitközség, 1941).
- 7 See the facsimile of the letter in: Scheiber Sándor: Löw Immánuel és a zsidó néprajz [Immanuel Löw and Jewish ethnography]. In: Scheiber Sándor: Folklor és tárgytörténet. Teljes kiadás [Folklore and subject history. Complete edition] Makkabi, Budapest, 1996, p. 361.

“*My colleague Frenkel*” refers to Rabbi Jenő Frenkel (1902–1989), assistant of Immanuel Löw at Szeged at that time.

Immanuel Löw called Heller “his closest friend” in his letter of condolence to Mrs Bernát Heller, 1, March 1943. (Quoted in: Scheiber Sándor: Löw Immánuel. In: Semitic studies in memory of Immanuel Löw. Ed.: Alexander Scheiber. The Alexander Kohut Memorial Foundation, Budapest, 1947, p. 5). Part of Heller’s personal tragedy was that he did not agree with his daughter’s marriage. His daughter got divorced and lived in England, alone, separated from the family. She committed suicide. Scheiber supported Heller’s widow all along.

- 8 Scheiber Sándor: Zsidó könyvek sorsa Magyarországon a német megszállás idején [The fate of Jewish books in Hungary during the German occupation] Magyar Könyvszemle Vol. LXXXVI (1970), pp. 233–234. The quotation goes on like this: “*After the liberation I learnt that the villa had been bombed. As soon as we could, my students and I went there by a van and started digging among the ruins. I remembered the layout of the house, so I knew where to look for the Guttman library. We found several of its volumes, most of them in acceptable shape. Part of the books were taken by his son, Henrik Guttman, former teacher of our institution when he went to America, the others were used to fill up the library of the Rabbinical Seminary. Unfortunately the huge collection of card-indices he prepared for his life’s work, Clavis Talmudis, of which only four volumes had been published (1910–1930), was destroyed.*”
- 9 From the recorded conversation of professor Nathaniel Katzburg and Sándor Scheiber that took place in Budapest, November 1983. The whole interview in print: Nathaniel Katzburg: Beszélgetések Scheiber Sándorral és Fejtő Ferencsel. Bábel Könyvkiadó, Budapest, 2000. pp. 11–12. (I got the original tape of the recorded conversation from the poet András Mezei. The quotation is from the original tape.) First Scheiber mentions July of 1944 as the time of the story, but later corrects it to the end of June, 1944. But he very confidently describes it as Sabbath day. The last Sabbath in July of that year was the 24th. The most comprehensive book of the topic puts the date of the Jewish transports of Szeged to 25, 27 and 28, June and mentions Löw in the third transport. (See Randolph L. Braham and Zoltán Tibor Szabó (eds.): A magyarországi holokauszt földrajzi enciklopédiája. I. kötet. Park Könyvkiadó, Budapest, 2007, pp. 426–427). If we accept the data of this book, the story could only have happened after 28, June 1944, a Wednesday. That means that the meeting took place on the Sabbath of 1, July. So the

ancient Immanuel Löw spent three days in the synagogue of Aréna Road. This could have been the reason for his being famished. The ambulance he mentioned must have been acquired by members of the *Va'adat Ezrah Vehatzalah (Vaada)* lead by Rezső Kasztner.

Lívía Bernát remembered that her husband and Löw talked about the Löw Festschrift, as well, which was under preparation. The printing of the Festschrift was stopped by the censure on 19, March 1944 in Karcag. The Kertész Printing House was just printing the 105th page at the time of the German occupation and two sheets were ready from the Hebrew part. When József Kertész returned from the deportation, the printed sheets were found in both presses in perfect condition. The Löw Festschrift was published in 1947, although “the one it was meant to celebrate perished together with some of its authors”. There is a memento at the end of page 105: “*We had to abandon the work of the Festschrift here because of the German occupation. The censure did not allow the publication of this article. – Scheiber.*” (See the introduction of the Festschrift by Scheiber and the interview he gave to Péter Kertész in 1982: *Mi lett Haynau kétmillió hadisarcából?* [What had Haynau’s indemnity of two millions transformed into?] In: Péter Kertész: *A könyvek hídjá. Emlékfüzér Scheiber Sándorról.* Urbis Könyvkiadó, Budapest, 2005, p. 13.)

- 10 At the exhumation of the remains of Immanuel Löw, Scheiber commemorated the rescue: “*In June 1944 the Zionist rescued Immanuel Löw from the deportation wagon of Szeged... At the time I had a quarrel with one of the Zionist leaders who did not like the idea that Löw was to be taken to Palestine (viz. at the time they believed that all the rescued must go to Palestine). He argued that the 90-year-old man should not be made to travel so far, because he would not survive the travel. I emphasized that Löw is one of the few reasons why the unreasonably selected first alijah group could travel to Palestine as the most worthy and last members of the Hungarian Jews. If it is only the coffin of Löw that gets to Palestine, that will be welcomed with celebrations, as well.* (Emlékezés Löw Immánuelre, a Szentföld tudományának gáluti művelőjére [Remembrance of Immanuel Löw, the galuth scholar of the science of the Holy Land] Brit Trumpeldor, 3, May 1947.)
- 11 The drawing can be found in the collection of the Jewish Museum in Budapest. Scheiber published its reproduction in the frontmatter of the Löw Festschrift (Semitic studies in memory of Immanuel Löw. Ed. Alexander Scheiber. The Alexander Kohut Memorial Foundation, Budapest, 1947). On the death of Immanuel Löw, see Máté Hidvégi: *Löw Immánuel utolsó hónapjai.* [Immanuel Löw’s final months] *Remény* 18(4): 3–19, 2015.
- 12 <http://regi.sofar.hu/hu/node/21721>
- 13 See note 8, p. 233; “Eichmann”: Adolf Eichmann (1906–1962), high ranked Nazi officer, “one of the major organisers of the Holocaust” (quotation from Wikipedia). “O. Muneles”: Otto Muneles (1894–1967) rabbi and scholar.
- 14 Az Országos Rabbiképző Intézet könyvtára. Beszéd a könyvtár megnyitó ünnepségén, 1945. július 8-án. [The library of the Rabbinical Seminary of Budapest. Speech at the

opening ceremony, 8, July 1945.] (Manuscript, in the collection of the author. See the facsimile with an accompanying study: Máté Hidvégi: Scheiber Sándor beszámolója a Rabbiképző könyvtáráról a holokauszt után [Alexander Scheiber's account on the library of the Rabbinical Seminary of Budapest after the Holocaust] *Múlt és Jövő* 2013/4, pp. (5–6), 7–9.)

- 15 According to the memories of Mrs Scheiber, Szemere was angry with his son for his marriage. His daughter-in-law gave birth in the ghetto – or the deportation wagon. His son could have escaped deportation, because he was called in for forced labour service. But he followed his family. They all died a martyr's death. Samu Szemere looked on Scheiber as his son. "Sanyi is my son," he would say. "*He was a rare man who was worthy of the legends that could be heard about him. He preserved his polished, elegant stature even on his deathbed. We live together with many of our contemporaries, but only few of them become memorable. He was among the few. We honor eternal ideas at his coffin. As he had lost all his relatives, we all mourn him. Let me say my thanks for the honor that he considered me his son.*" (Sándor Scheiber: Funeral speech of Professor Samu Szemere, 7, May 1978.)
- 16 See: Katalin Dávid: Imádkozott egy keresztény asszonyért. [He prayed for a Christian woman] In: Péter Kertész: *A könyvek hídjá. Emlékfűzér Scheiber Sándorról.* Urbis Könyvkiadó, Budapest, 2005, pp. 243–249.
- 17 In the 1950s the state frequently gave the title C.Sc. to eminent scientists, based on their professional bibliography. Gyula Németh told Scheiber to hand in his bibliography. Scheiber did, but as later turned out, Németh did not forward it. Later the Scientific Committee of Qualifications refused to qualify Scheiber, saying that "idealists could not receive a scientific title". Tibor Scher received the title partly for working on the oeuvre of Scheiber. Scheiber never got the title, but towards the end of his life he received D.Sc., that is above C.Sc. During the communist era, representatives of the churches could not receive the highest scientific title. The first to break the rule were academician István Hahn D.Sc. (1913–1984), academician János Harmatta D.Sc. (1917–2004) and Károly Czeglédy D.Sc (1914–1996) who managed to acquire the D.Sc. title (linguistics) to Chief Rabbi Alexander Scheiber in 1983. After this, László Márton Pákozdy of the Reformed Church got D.Sc. (linguistics) in 1983; academician József Lukács D.Sc. fought for the title of D.Sc. (philosophy) for Tamás Nyíri, a Roman Catholic priest in 1984, and a year later Benjámin Rajeczky, Roman Catholic Priest received the title D.Sc. (musicology). (See Margit Balogh: *Egyháziak a Magyar Tudományos Akadémia életében.* Magyar Tudomány, May, 1999, pp. 581–585.)

At the defense of Scheiber, Hahn, who was his opponent, closed his speech with the following words: "*And if now, on the basis of the entire life-work I recommend Sándor Scheiber with the deepest conviction and with a feeling of deubisset pridem (= it should have been earlier! M. H.) to receive the Doctor of Sciences degree, this recommendation does not only (perhaps not even primarily) serve as another recognition of his in any case undisputable scientific achievement, but also strengthens the values of a very public Hungarian scientific life.*" (Cf. István Hahn: Scheiber Sándor tudományos

munkássága. [The scientific work of Alexander Scheiber] In: Évkönyv [Yearbook] 1983–1984. (Ed. Sándor Scheiber), Magyar Izraeliták Országos Képviselete, Budapest, 1984, pp 3–12. Also see: Alexander Scheiber and the bibliography of his writings. (Ed. Máté Hidvégi), OR-ZSE, Budapest, 2013, pp. 115–124.)

According to the reminiscence of R. Alfréd Schöner, at the death of István Hahn, Scheiber came to the Seminary with a distressed face and said: “Hahn died... he was always overtaking me... Even now.”

- 18 József Schweitzer, at that time chief rabbi of the Jewish religious community of Pécs phoned Scheiber in the days of the 1956 revolution and spoke in code about the possibility of leaving Hungary. Schweitzer spoke also about this shocking phone call in Budapest at the Scheiber Prize ceremony of 2005: „*Their home was in the vicinity of a rather noisy place where there was a lot of shooting. Knowing this I phoned him from Pécs and only told him: I know your life is unrestful. There should be enough place for both you and us in the spacious and sunny apartment of Professor Löwinger. Of course Scheiber understood what I meant. Löwinger had moved to Israel by then. He answered me with four words of a sentence by the prophet Jehezkel. Tzopeh nethatika leveth Yisrael. (Ezekiel 3:17; 33:7; M. H.) Then he spoke about something else, but I understood, because these four Hebrew words meant: I have made you a watchman for the house of Israel. All can shake, all can perish, but the watchman stands his guard unwaveringly. He was a watchman, and stood his guard unwaveringly.*” <http://regi.sofar.hu/hu/node/21721>

József Schweitzer (1922–2015) rabbi and professor. After Scheiber’s death Schweitzer headed the Jewish Theological Seminary in Budapest. Between 1996–2000 he held the office of the (Neolog) National Chief Rabbi of Hungary. R. Schweitzer was also a much-loved participant of Jewish-Christian interfaith dialogue.

- 19 Máté Hidvégi and Antal Babits: Scheiber Sándor izraeli naplója. [The Israel diary of Alexander Scheiber] In: Papírhíd. (Ed. Antal Babits), Logos Kiadó, Budapest, 2013, pp. 434–461.
- 20 See note 16.
- 21 Leopold (Lipót) Scheiber (1914–2000) was an urologic surgeon in New York. See Scheiber, Leopold, MD (Obituary). The New York Times, 3, September 2000.
- 22 Pál Miklós (1927–2002) sinologist and, theoretician of visual culture.
- 23 Alfréd Schöner (b. 1948) rabbi and professor. Since 2002, president of the Jewish Theological Seminary – University of Jewish Studies, Budapest.
- 24 “*HE WHO SPENDS THE RICHES OF HIS LIFE ON MILLIONS, / WILL NOT DIE ALTHOUGH HIS DAYS ARE SPENT, / BUT SHAKING DOWN WHAT IS EARTHLY IN HIM / WILL ETHEREALIZE INTO AN IDEA / THAT LIVES FOREVER WITH EVER-GLOWING LIGHT, / AND WHEN HE LEAVES TIME AND SPACE, / THE VIRTUE OF HIS SUCCESSORS WILL BE HIS PRAISE: / AS THEY WISH, HOPE, BELIEVE AND PRAY.*”

25 “PE 'NUN // HA 'MORE VE IS HA 'MADA HA 'DAGUL / HA 'RAV PROFESSOR / ALEKSANDER BEN ELIEZER SCHEIBER / ZAYIN 'LAMED / M 'NAHEL BET HA MIDRAS LERABBANIM BA 'BUDAPEST / MISNAT TAV-SIN-JUD AD MOTO / GADOL CHOKRE HA 'YAHADUT BE 'HUNGARIYAH BE 'YAMMAV / UMIGDOLE HA 'MECHKAR BA 'OLAM / MECHACBRAM SEL HARBE MEOT MA 'AMARIM USFARIM / BE 'TOLDOT AM YISRAEL VE 'TARBUTO / NUN-LAMED-BET-AYIN B 'YOM LE 'CHODES ADAR TAV-SIN-MEM-HE / B 'SNAT AYIN-BET LE 'CHAYAV / DABBOR LE 'DORO U 'MECHNACHO U 'MORIPAARO / HA 'SEMB 'KNEFAV YASTIRO // TAV NUN CADI BET HE” (Romanized by Sándor Tóth, OR-ZSE).

Mrs Livia Scheiber-Bernáth (Lili) spent her widowhood by tending to her husband's memory and caring for the rest of her family. In her obituary (Máté Hidvégi: Scheiber Lili halálára. [On the death of Lili Scheiber] *Új Élet* 62(14). 1, August 2007) I explained that as she was the widow of the greatest personality among Hungarian Jews after the Shoah, she became the representation of the classical “Jewish woman”. They were meant for each other, without her Scheiber could not have found the safe background he needed to do his scientific work and would not have survived the Holocaust. Livia Bernáth was an educated woman. She earned a doctoral degree with her book, entitled *A magyarországi zsidóság személy- és családnevei II. József névadó rendeletéig* [The personal and family names of Hungarian Jews till the decree of Joseph II]. She translated the best parts of the German diary of Ignác Goldziher. After her husband's death she (and Györgyi Barabás) edited his work *Magyar zsidó hírlapok és folyóiratok bibliográfiája* [Bibliography of Hungarian Jewish Newspapers and Journals]. She worked together with János Kőbányai on publishing the posthumous Jewish literary history reader of her husband (*A feliratoktól a felvilágosodásig. [From Inscriptions to Enlightenment]*) and his selected speeches (*Scheiber Sándor könyve. [Sándor Scheiber's book]*). She took part in a documentary (*Aki értette a növények nyelvét – Löw Immanuel. [He Who Understood the Language of Plants – Immanuel Löw]*) and gave lectures together with the writer of these lines about her husband at a scientific congress (*A tanítás az élet kapuja. [Teaching is the Gate of Life]*). She worked with Györgyi Barabás and the writer of these lines on the Scheiber bibliography until she died. She died at the Buda hospital of the Brothers Hospitallers of St. John of God on 3, July 2007. She rests beside her husband. She was an emblem of intelligence, culture, erudition and history. Upon request of her daughter, Mária Scheiber MD, her epitaph was phrased by the writer of these lines: “*HIS WIFE, DR. LÍVIA BERNÁTH / 1921–2007 / THE PARAGON OF THE SCHOLAR'S WIFE. / (S. SCH'S BOOK, PAGE 369.)*”

26 Towards the end of his life Scheiber often mentioned that he would compile a collection of Hungarian–Jewish anecdotes. See e.g. Pál Benedek: „Még az életben és nem a halálban”. Interjú Scheiber Sándor professzorral, a budapesti Rabbiképző Intézet igazgatójával. [“Still in life, not in death”. Interview with professor Alexander Scheiber, director of the Rabbinical Seminary of Budapest] *Új Kelet*, 10, August 1984; János Paál: Scheiber Sándor emléke. Karcolatok halálának ötödik évfordulójára. [The Memory of Alexander Scheiber. Sketches on the 5th anniversary of his death] *New Yorki Figyelő* 9, March 1990, p. 5.

- 27 György Landeszman (b. 1944) rabbi.
- 28 Rabbikertató beszéd dr. Murányi Miklós főrabbi beiktatásán az Újpesti Zsinagógában, 1948. október 31-én. [A speech given at the inauguration of Chief Rabbi Miklós Murányi at the Synagogue of Újpest] In: Scheiber Sándor könyve. Válogatott beszédek [Sándor Scheiber's book. Selected speeches] Ed. János Kőbányai. Múlt és Jövő, New York, Budapest, Jeruzsálem, 1994, p. 188.
- 29 This is why Scheiber became the honorary citizen of Oppido Lucano, the birthplace of Obadiah.
- 30 Apor, Éva (Szerk. / Ed.), Kárteszi Á., Kordován V., Ormos I. (Összeáll. / Comp.), (*A Scheiber-könyvtár katalógusa / Catalogue of the Scheiber Library* (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtára, 1992), 450 [1] p. (Keleti tanulmányok / Oriental studies, 9)
- 31 *“His sense of humor was unique... He had an excellent talent for imitation, professional actors could have learnt from him... He imitated the ones he loved, as well... And when mentioning his characteristic humor that permeated his life, we also have to mention the joy that radiated from his whole personality... This joy was really radiating from him, making his close friends and occasional acquaintances light at heart, but surprising as it may be, he himself was not a joyful person... Often we would see him in company, surrounded by people, telling funny anecdotes with excellent wit. And when the guests left and he stayed there alone or with a few friends, all the fun and wit disappeared in a second. He sat there silently and sadly, often with a pale face, not caring for anyone, and even if there were others there, he seemed to be totally alone.”* Ilona Benoschofsky: Scheiber Sándor. [Alexander Scheiber]. In: *Évkönyv 1985–1991.* (Ed. József Schweitzer), Országos Rabbiképző Intézet, Budapest, 1991. pp. 10–14.
- 32 Máté Hidvégi: „Nem tudok mesélni, ahhoz hangulat is kell” – Történetek Scheiber Sándorról. [“I cannot tell stories, not without the mood for it”. Stories about Alexander Scheiber] *Irodalomismeret* 6(3), 1995, pp. 98–109
- 33 András Kovács: Körbekerítve. Scheiber Sándor utóvédharcai. [Surrounded. The rearguard actions of Alexander Scheiber] *Szombat* 25(7): 11–13, 2013.
- 34 László Csorba: Tudta, hogy miket jelentettek róla. [He knew what was reported of him] In: Péter Kertész: *A könyvek hídjá. Emlékfüzér Scheiber Sándorról.* Urbis Könyvkiadó, Budapest, 2005, pp. 319–326.
- 35 See the study of Katalin Dávid at note 16, pp. 247–248.
- 36 Pál Fazekas, Sr, who risked his position for Scheiber.
- 37 Mrs Ilona Seifert (1921–2006).
- 38 “Doctor of Hebrew Letters, *honoris causa*” citation for Alexander Scheiber. Speech delivered by Gerson D. Cohen, Chancellor of The Jewish Theological Seminary of America. Park Avenue Synagogue, New York City, May 15, 1977.

“We welcome you today in the spirit of joyful reunification with a brother.

We greet you as president of the Landesrabbinerschule, The Jewish Theological Seminary of Hungary, which this year celebrates the hundredth anniversary of its founding and continuous existence even through parlous times, an anniversary and survival in which we all rejoice. This seminary, your younger brother, which recently celebrated the ninetieth anniversary of its founding, shares with yours, and The Jewish Theological Seminary of Breslau (whose existence lamentably has passed into history), dedication to the training of rabbis, teachers and scholars, and, moreover, close and enduring kinship based on a common philosophy of Judaism: commitment to the proud tradition of Jewish scholarship which is punctilious in its observance of, and respect for, the preservation of our ancient heritage, yet open to the insights by which new scientific methods can illuminate Jewish history, culture and religion. As president of The Jewish Theological Seminary of Hungary, you stand before us today as living witness of the continuing bonds of friendship and scholarly collegiality which linked our predecessors on the faculties of our two seminaries – Wilhelm Bacher, Ludwig Blau, Israel Davidson, Bernhard Heller, David Kaufmann, Alexander Marx and Solomon Schechter – even as we are linked today in a continuing bond of brotherhood.

We salute you today for your achievements as a scholar. Scion of a long and noble line of rabbis and scholars, you have made lasting contributions to the enrichment of Jewish learning. Searching in the libraries of the world among the fragments of the Cairo Genizah, you have brought to light the long-lost treasures of our literature, uncovering among other significant texts, the Rabbanite prayerbook mentioned by Kirkisani, fragments of She’elot Attikot, and part of the medieval chronicle of Obadiah, the Proselyte, in which you identified for us the first notation of Jewish music. You are making significant contributions to the field of Jewish history, by editing a series of important monographs on the history and literature of the Jews of Hungary, including, among others, the sixteen volume work, Monumenta Hungariae Judaica. You are also enriching Jewish bibliography, studying the history of manuscripts and printed books and of Jewish book art. Your studies illustrating parallels and universal motifs among the folklore of the Jews and those of other peoples show you to belong to the brotherhood of scholars in the family of nations.

Finally, we honor you today for those great qualities of your soul and spirit which have obliged you to continue to serve as pastor and communal leader of our brethren in the Hungarian Jewish community, inspiring them, and, with God’s help, making possible their spiritual survival through the tragedies of the Holocaust and its aftermath. We rejoice with you on your having reached this day upon our shores, we celebrate with you the centenary of your institution’s founding and we pray that your life and the lives of those souls who are entrusted to your care may be blessed by the Almighty with special grace and favor.

And now, it is my great pleasure to symbolize our kinship by making The Jewish Theological Seminary of America your alma mater, and, acting on the unanimous vote of the faculty, Board of Directors and Board of Overseers of The Jewish Theological

Seminary of America, to confer upon you the degree of Doctor of Hebrew Letters, honoris causa, in token whereof I hereby hand you this diploma.”

- 39 See e.g. Vilmos Voigt: Scheiber Sándor hetven éves. [Alexander Scheiber is seventy] In: Évkönyv 1983–1984. (Ed. Sándor Scheiber), Magyar Izraeliták Országos Képvisellete, Budapest, 1984, pp. 528–529. By the time the Festschrift – Occident and orient. A tribute to the memory of Alexander Scheiber. (Ed. Robert Dán), Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest and E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1988 – was ready, Scheiber died, and by the time it was published, the editor and three contributors (Shlomo D. Goiten, István Hahn, Leib H. Wilsker) passed away, as well.

After the dictatorship of the party state collapsed, the Budapest Jewish Religious Community (BZSH, Budapesti Zsidó Hitközség), member of MAZSIHISZ (Magyarországi Zsidó Hitközségek Szövetsége, Federation of Hungarian Jewish Religious Communities) named the Jewish high and elementary school in Budapest after Alexander Scheiber (BZSH Scheiber Sándor Gimnázium és Általános Iskola, BZSH Scheiber Sándor High and Elementary School). The Secretary of Education, Gábor Fodor founded the Scheiber Prize (Scheiber Sándor-díj) in 1995. *“The Scheiber Prize is to be given to Hungarian citizens living home or abroad, who did something outstanding in the field of Hebrew studies, Jewish studies, Jewish religion, culture and education and the development of co-operation and tolerance between Jews and non-Jews. The prize is to be given by the secretary of culture once a year, on the anniversary of Professor Sándor Scheiber’s death.”* (Wikipedia). In Budapest, on the 100th anniversary of Alexander Scheiber’s birth, a part of Bérkocsis Street between Gutenberg Square and József Boulevard was named after him. Thus the present address of the Rabbinical Seminary (Jewish Theological Seminary – University of Jewish Studies, Országos Rabbiképző – Zsidó Egyetem, OR-ZSE) is 2 Scheiber Sándor Street (Scheiber Sándor utca 2), 1084 Budapest.

- 40 Summa Vitae. In: Sándor Scheiber: Folklore and subject history. Volume III. Magyar Izraeliták Országos Képvisellete, Budapest, 1984, pp. 585–586. (Translated by Katalin Mezei)

*I haven’t got over her martyr’s death to this day – Scheiber dedicated one of his main works, the 1983 English edition of *Jewish inscriptions in Hungary* (originally published in 1960) to the “blessed memory” of his mother and at the end of the dedication he wrote the latin form of *vivid mourning: Luctu meo vivit.**

In spite of frequent and dazzling temptation I stayed in Hungary. My love of the Hungarian language and literature detained me. A sense of vocation convinced me that processing the local material served the interest of the universal Jewish scholarship. In the conclusion of a memorial speech which he gave on 17, January 1950, at the tomb of Wilhelm Bacher in the cemetery of Kerepesi Road, Scheiber said: “His memory obliges us to keep our watch posts in our churches, schools, libraries and at our writing desks as long as the circumstances make this possible.” Also see note Nr. 18 about the watchman who “stands his guard”.

If; “God grants the poor minstrel power” – quotation from János Arany’s poem, *Buda halála* [Death of Buda]. The original text: “New songs, new deeds are waiting to be sung if only God grants the poor minstrel power.” (Anton N. Nyerges’ transl.)

Where is the end of elaborate craftsmanship and the beginning of art? On 9, December 1973, in the synagogue of the Rabbinical Seminary, on the occasion of his daughter’s wedding, Scheiber gave a speech with the title: *Munka és művészet* [Work and art]. In this speech he said that he devoted his life to the library and Jewish history.

“*That is my task and none too small it is*” – from the last line of Attila József’s poem, *A Dunánál* [By the Danube]. The original text: “*Remains our task and none too small it is.*” (John Székely’s transl.)

- 41 George Eisen: Children and play in the Holocaust: Games among the shadows. University of Massachusetts Press, Amherst, 1988. p. 101.

Acknowledgments

Author is grateful to the family of Alexander Scheiber. His deepest gratitude is expressed to the late Mrs Lívia Scheiber-Bernáth, Dr Scheiber’s widow. He is also grateful to Mária Scheiber MD and Tamás Gyóri, Dr Scheiber’s daughter and son-in-law, respectively. The author thanks Katalin Dávid for her intellectual contributions.

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Translated by Judit Horgas

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Professor of Sociology of Religion

Refugee Nativity

A chapter of Pope Francis His Legendry¹

Pope Francis had at heart the fate of the refugees coming to Italian shore from across the sea to the extent of preparing to receive them himself at Christmas 2013. All day he was walking up and down the sea-shore, reciting his breviary; then he tried to decipher the Alkoran with the help of a dictionary in order to be able to welcome the newcomers in Arabic. But nobody came until twilight, and the coast-guard commander did not expect further refugees any longer. So he asked pope Francis if the helicopter should be made ready to take him back to Rome. Pope Francis begged permission to stay a bit longer at the completely deserted shore which everybody left by then in haste, to celebrate Christmas at home. The commander tactfully mentioned the midnight mass, but pope Francis assured him: he had trusted a young Franciscan father with the task – giving great pleasure to him and the order. The commander helped pope Francis to light his candle, then – shaking his head – withdrew to his post.

Just as pope Francis began the Angelus, a rough blast of wind came which, surprisingly, did not blow off his candle. “The wind of God’s spirit blows wherever it pleases,” – crossed his mind, but no further opportunity arose for meditation as events got revved up a good deal. A shaky small boat came ashore, and a man got out of/from it, followed by a woman with a baby in her arms. A shrill whistle was blown, the coast guard appeared in a moment, and an identity check got started – and got stuck quite soon, as the refugees spoke neither Italian, nor English. Fortunately, the commander remembered the two previous popes had greeted the crowd of the faithful in a huge number of languages on Easter Sunday, so he respectfully asked pope Francis for help.

So pope Francis, clad in white from top to toe, holding the candle, went up to the refugees. He smiled at them, held out his hand, then – searching his mind for words – addressed them in rather poor Arabic:

¹ Ferenc pápa legendárium. Budapest, 2015. Egyházfórum Alapítvány. Luther kiadó, pp. 11–16.

– Good evening. Me pope Francis. Me shepherd.

The man smiled, and tried some Italian:

– Good evening. Me Yussuf. – then pointing to his wife: – Me woman Maryam. – then pointing to the infant: – Me child Issa.

– He is Yussuf, in our language Joseph, his wife Maryam, in our language Mary, their child Issa, in our language Jesus – translated pope Francis.

– All right, but what now? – asked the commander a bit embarrassed.

– Warm clothes, warm food, warm reception – suggested pope Francis.

The refugees had no luggage. The soldiers packed them and pope Francis on a jeep, and sped them to the headquarters hardly a hundred yards away.

– I have sent the rest of the men home for their Christmas dinner – apologized the commander. – I did not expect further problems.

Pope Francis assured him:

– You were right. The problem – and he smiled – we will solve ourselves.

The refugees got warm clothes and warm food. The commander tried (on the language of signs and gestures) to explain them he was absolutely no Herod, but a well-meaning Christian, which Yussuf and Maryam acknowledged with indulgent smiles. In the meantime, pope Francis made arrangements with the help of his cell-phone. First he sent the papal helicopter back to the Vatican; then he asked Pietro Paolin, under-secretary of the Holy See, to assemble as soon as possible a number of cardinals, the more the better, for the task of acting in his company as shepherds in the Nativity play on the sea-shore; and to bring along milk, butter, curd, cheese and a lamb.

The animal should be without blemish, male and of the first year. You may take a kid of the goats or a lamb, as it has been written – specified pope Francis, then with a wink at the commander, added: – And of course it can also be a young llama. You know, commander, being a true-born South-American, I am immensely fond of those gracious creatures, and fortunately for me, my Holy See under-secretary is Venezuelan.

Apparently, pope Francis had chosen his new under-secretary well, as three quarters of an hour had hardly passed when the helicopter landed, issuing in good order five cardinals, a lamb, a goatling and an enchanting llama kid. The little llama at once ran up to pope Francis, rubbed itself against him who, slightly moved, stroked it.

In a minute the cardinals got informed that they would appear before a family of refugees as shepherds, singing, praying and offering their presents.

– Is it true that Mary, Joseph and Jesus are Arabs? – inquired cardinal Farael García de la Serrona Villalobos wrinkling his forehead.

– Indeed! And we shall present ourselves before them in such disposition. Right? – asked pope Francis.

– Yes, but in what language? – asked scrupulously cardinal Raffael Farino.

– Everybody in his own mother-tongue. And I have already a tiny bit of Arabic – assured them the pope.

– And the Three Wise Men? – asked hopefully Giuseppe Betri.

– They may drop in as well, but we, Vaticanians, will be simple shepherds for the time being – stated pope Francis, adding: Any more questions?

There were none. In a state of serious stage-fever, the cardinals left for the headquarters. The commander, opening the door, signaled with vehement gestures that there was trouble. Which they could see at once. In front of the holy family there stood, and bowed deep frequently, three beturbanned dignitaries, brown and/or black each of them. They recited their benedictions, often interrupting each other, in presumably impeccable Arabic – as Yussuf and Maryam thanked them again and again gratefully. The cardinal-shepherds looked at each other first, then at pope Francis, who assured them with a gesture that everything would go on according to the play-script. The beturbanned dignitaries drew respectfully aside, leaving them space to sing, pray and offer their presents. After their prayers pope Francis gave his Alkoran to Yussuf-Joseph to let him pray from it. Yussuf-Joseph tried, deeply moved indeed, dropping tears (of emotion or effort) on the pages of the holy book. “Hey, the deuce!” winced pope Francis realizing only then that he was still stroking the neck of the llama kid, his would-be present. So he fortified his intention and with a deep sigh led the gracious present to little Issa-Jesus.

The Three Wise Men applauded, then after several more deep bows took their dignified leave. The commander reported to pope Francis the imminent arrival of the Red Cross people.

– I am afraid I cannot take you to my lodgings, dear ones, as I live in the Saint Martha house room 102; but I shall go to see you – apologized pope Francis.

In a little while “Glory be to God on High” resounded, as it did that night; but it was not the Red Cross people coming, though the new arrivals also had red-

cross armbands. They were merely a merry host of angels escorting the red-cross helicopter. The refugee holy family were looking agape at the host of angels, then waved joyfully to the cardinal-shepherds who were shaking their heads in amazement at the sight of such a number of miracles. When they, too, got on their helicopter, cardinal Angelo Comastri, looking at his watch, observed with some fright:

– I am afraid we will surely be late of the midnight mass.

– Do not be afraid! – laughed pope Francis.

– In my mind this here was the midnight mass if I may propose so. – remarked the Venezuelan cardinal. Pope Francis gave him a hearty hug for the remark; then, to the gently drizzling strains of the angelic chorus, he hugged the rest of them; and, encouraging them to rejoice at last in earnest, he also patted each on the back.

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Holocaust Poetry in “Terra Santa”: Arabic–Jewish Coexistence in the Israeli Town of Ramla

First Impressions

In the beginning of the first semester of the academic year of 2000–2001 (5761 in the Jewish calendar), that was sadly marked by the bloody events of the second Intifada which broke out exactly on the first day Rosh Hashana, as a student of an international one-year program of the Melton Centre for Jewish Education at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, I was sitting in a lecture hall of the university waiting for the first lesson of the “*Methods in Teaching Hebrew*” course, when to my great surprise I saw some Muslim women entering the classroom and taking seats. Due to my ignorance I thought they arrived here by mistake. At that time I could not imagine that Arabs taught Hebrew, although I was aware of the fact that Hebrew was a compulsory language in Israeli Arab schools but I was almost convinced that Hebrew was taught by Jewish teachers. It sounded like non-sense to my European mind that Arabs would put an effort into mastering a language in order to teach it while in the eyes of most of them it is considered to be the language of the enemy. This new reality aroused my interest, and I decided to learn more about the issue. In the course of time I developed a friendly relationship with one of the Hebrew teachers, *Marcelle*, a Christian Arab lady from Ramla¹. She worked in the famous Roman Catholic School, the “Terra Santa” established by the Franciscan Order in the late 18th century.

1 Ramla or in everyday use „Ramle”, an Israeli town of 65,000 inhabitants, 20 kms to the south-east of Tel Aviv, close to Ben Gurion Airport was founded by the governor of the area of that time, the future Umayyad caliph Sulaymanibn Abd al-Malik between 705–715. As the town lies along the so-called Via Maris, the route stretching from Damascus to Cairo, it was an important commercial center with high military importance throughout history. It was one of the major Arab towns before the War of Independence in 1948 when the Arab population either fled or was expelled. In 2001 the ratio of different ethnic groups in the town: 80% Jews, 20% Arabs (16% Muslims and 4% Christians (mostly Greek Orthodox). source: Wikipedia

So, when in one of the courses of our program we were assigned to write a seminar paper about a school, it was obvious for me, that this could give me an opportunity to visit an Israeli Arab school, and to learn more about the Israeli Arab existence in the State of Israel, their way of life, their way of thinking, their attitude towards the State.

Generally speaking Israeli Arabs hold Israeli citizenship, and identify themselves as Arabs and especially from the onset of the second Intifada, as Palestinians. No wonder: most of them have close relatives on the other side of the green line, where they are referred to as “forty-eight people” denoting the historical fact that they remained within the border of the Jewish state born in 1948. Probably for the same reason most of the Arabs in the world do not consider them even as Arabs, rather Israelis or simply traitors. It is obvious that their status is rather on the edge from all points of view, and it is not surprising that books about Israeli Arabs / Arabs of Israel bear titles such as “*Sleeping on the Wire*” (by David Grossman) or “*Between Hammer and Anvil*” (by Ori Stendel).

In the light of the above mentioned historical facts, I was more than thrilled to have the opportunity to enter into their world. Thanks to Marcelle’s kind efforts – the gates of the “Terra Santa” Franciscan School of Ramle opened up for me. On February, 22nd I got off the Egged bus at the central bus station, and following my friend’s instructions I easily found the school in the neighborhood that was known by the locals as the “Arab Ghetto”. After ringing the huge doorbell at the entrance of the courtyard, I had to use my very broken Arabic to explain who I was. When the old and rather mistrustful gatekeeper understood my friendly intentions – and heard my friend’s name from my mouth – he quickly escorted me to the school office in a very polite manner. There my friendly reception continued and the secretary in a “sabrah” Hebrew gave a detailed explanation about the past and the present of their school, even presenting photocopies of their “*animaamin*”² (the mission statement) and the history of the institute.

When Marcelle arrived from her lesson, she quickly introduced me to the headmaster, a very respectful Franciscan monk, who kindly wished me all the best to my work and confirmed the free access to information about the school and to visiting lessons.

Following that, Marcelle showed me around the building complex, which included the school, the courtyard, the church and an additional building with extra classrooms. Wherever we went, I found the whole area – both inside and outside – clean and well kept, nothing luxurious and there was a certain order in

2 literary ‘I believe’ in Hebrew, i.e. ars poetica

each place I saw. First we visited the teacher staff room where I was offered tea and cookies, and then we went outside to the school yard. While we were walking around, I could make some observations of the students who were spending their recess outside. Although they were joyful and playful as youngsters usually are, their behavior showed gentleness, a sort of grace and a lot of respect towards the teachers and the adults, in general. We passed the old, more than 200-year old building of the church, and visited the small library, where a group of senior students worked diligently. Beside the Arab volumes I saw lots of Hebrew books, as well, since the language of instruction for most of the subjects is Hebrew: Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Biology and a part of Geography. As far as I understood, only Arabic Literature, History and Civil Rights are taught in the students' mother tongue. The reason for this, they explained, was very practical: if students wanted to continue their studies in the universities of Israel in the fields of science or medicine, they needed Hebrew. In addition to the subjects listed above, English and French languages were also the part of the curriculum.

Leaving the library behind, we passed the churchyard again where a short incident happened, that caught my attention and what, I think, is worth sharing:

A group of visiting students entered the church while some of the boys stayed behind, taking a rest in the shade of the building opposite to the church. All of a sudden, I noticed that Marcelle approached them and started to talk to them, and then finally the boys got up and followed the group. Later she explained to me that a group of Muslim students from the Upper Galilee came here to visit as a part of their trip to the south. The boys did not want to enter the church because as they said, "they were not interested in Christian stuff". She managed to convince them in a gentle way, and they decided to see it, at least, in order to get to know one another. Marcelle added to her explanation to me, with a hint of sorrow in her voice, that there were so many frictions in the country, including among the Arabs.

One of the main goals of the school was to teach their students to understand and accept the others who think differently, and live in peace with one another. The fact that the school received Muslim students indicated to me that their goal was put into practice, hopefully in an effective way.

The Past and the Present of the “Terra Santa” Franciscan School of Ramla

According to the official records of the school that was handed over to me for this study, the Franciscan order³ established the school in the year of 1699, in order to provide Christian education for the Catholic population of Ramla. At that time there were five children (from the age of 5 to 12) who studied Religion, Arabic, Italian and French languages and Geography. In 1764 the number of students was thirteen. Due to the increase of the Christian population in Ramla by the year of 1907 sixty students studied at the school, boys and girls separately.⁴ Until 1947 only Catholic students attended the institute but in that same year the gates opened up for children not only from other Christian denominations, (for eg.: Greek Orthodox), but also for Muslim students, as well. At that time there were eight teachers, who worked at the school on a long-term basis.

In 1970 the co-education of boys and girls was introduced that resulted in the increase of the number of students, which reached 175, from grade 4 (*Daleth*) up to grade 8 (*Cheth*)

For years children who wanted to continue their studies in Christian schools after the 8th grade had had to travel to Yaffo to attend school. Finally, in the year of 1996 the “Terra Santa” received the license from the Ministry of Education to extend the classes up to grade 12th and to hold final (matriculation) examination (*bagruth*). That same year 14 students passed the final exam successfully, i.e. graduated from high school, and a year later, the number of graduating students reached 23 students, of whom all had good results.

In the school year of my visit (2000/2001) the number of students was 307, studying from grade 4 (*Daleth*) up to the 12th grade (*Yud Beth*). There were sixteen teachers at the school, with BA or MA qualifications. During the last four years (1996–2000) the ratio of students who passed the Final Examination successfully was between 87% and 95%. The general fall-out is around 7%.

According to the mission statement of the school, **pluralism** was a dominant feature of the philosophy of the school management: both among the students

3 In the mid-14th century, when the Black Death significantly reduced the town's population, the Franciscan Order appeared and established their presence in the town. – Wikipedia

4 According to the census of the year 1922 conducted by the British in Palestine, the whole population of the town was 7, 312 of whom 5,837 Muslims, 1,440 Christians, 35 Jews. (Christians were Orthodox, Syrian Orthodox (Jacobites), Roman Catholics, Melchites, Maronites, Armenians, Abyssinians and Anglicans.) – Wikipedia

and among the teachers we could find people from totally different backgrounds: Jewish teachers together with their Christian colleagues and among the students quite a few Muslims, as well. (At that time there were no Muslim teachers in the staff.)

The **main purpose** of the school was to provide a high quality of knowledge in order to enable students to continue their studies in colleges, universities etc., and to cope with scientific and technological challenges of the future. At the same time, the teachers' staff had certain educational goals, including the transmission of different social and cultural values that could help students become integrated into the society and that would follow them throughout their lives. These goals were clearly defined in the declaration of the policy (mission statement) of the school, together with the general aim of helping the development of the students' personalities. It was also stated that these goals were in full accord with the policy of the Ministry of Education and Culture of the State of Israel.

Visiting Two Hebrew Lessons

Thanks to Marcelle's openness I had the privilege to visit two of her Hebrew lessons during my stay at the school. The first lesson in the 12th class was dedicated to the intense preparations for the final exams. To my surprise, it was not a language lesson, which I had supposed earlier, instead, it was a lesson on Hebrew literature in a very high level Hebrew.

They studied and discussed *Dahlia Ravikovitch's*⁵ – rather difficult poem – with some psychoanalytical aspects referring to her childhood memories and the sufferings of the Jewish people during the Holocaust. While sitting among the students I greatly enjoyed their very positive attitude towards their teacher, and also towards the poem. I can say that almost each of the 25 students, both girls and boys alike, took part actively in the discussion, expressing their personal opinions and analyzing the poetess' feelings from a psychological point of view. There were hardly any problems of discipline.

My second visit was to another Hebrew literature lesson in the 11th class. This lesson was even more exciting for me since the reading material was from the Torah, from *Sefer Shmoth* (Exodus), the part about Moshe's first encounter with the Almighty on Mount Horeb. It was already towards the end of the workday, one

5 Dahlia Rabikovitch (1936–2005) was an Israeli poetess and translator. She published ten volumes of Hebrew poetry, three collections of short stories, children's literature and translations. Her poetry has been translated into 23 languages. – Wikipedia

of the last lessons, so I expected restlessness, a negative or neutral attitude, at least, to the subject, as it natural for students of this age group. Again, what happened was just the opposite: the children near me willingly shared their books to enable me to follow the lesson, and the whole class participated in the reading of the text and the discussion afterwards very actively. It is important to mention that the teacher, in order to help the Muslim students get closer to the texts, *referred to the Muslim traditions of taking off the shoes before entering a mosque* when talking about the famous scene of Moshe's dialogue with the Almighty at the burning bush. Although the main emphasis was on the text as an art piece of literature, however it was unavoidable to speak about the cultural-religious background of the subject. In my opinion the teacher led the discussion in a very smooth way and obviously with lots of routine. The students of different backgrounds could take part in it in a very natural way, without anybody getting embarrassed or annoyed. This lesson also convinced me about the genuine pluralism described in the school's philosophy.

The Israeli Arab Identity – Thoughts

First of all, my question was this: "Is there anything like *Israeli Arab identity* or is it just an Israeli definition?" After having talked to some Arab people, after having listened to some radio broadcasts on the Israeli radio station, *Kol Israel*, I got the impression that the "*Israeli Arab*" term exists mostly in the Jewish mind. The Arabs – it seemed to me – did not really like this 'label'. Instead, they call themselves either just '*Arabs*'.

The Arab world definitely uses a totally different expression, "*the '48 people*", as I mentioned it earlier. In the beginning of May, 2001, I heard a radio interview with *Prof. Sami Samooha* of Haifa University, who had just finished a sociological research on Israeli Arab identity at that time. According to *Prof. Samooha*, the result showed a very significant changes as far as the self-identification among the Arabs in Israel is concerned: the number of people who identified themselves as *Palestinians* had grown since the October, 2000 uprising and its aftermath (13 deaths). Now the ratio is almost half & half, i.e. about 52–53% of the questioned population identified themselves as '*Arabs living in Israel*', the remaining, 47–48% of the population defined their ethnic status as '*Palestinians*'. Interestingly enough our group, the participants of the *Senior Educators Program of the HUJI in 2000/2001*, also witnessed this change when we visited a museum in an Arab town, in *Sakhnin* Central Galilee) in May, which hosted a regional exhibition on Arab folklore. Arriving at the museum we could see two signs showing the name of the institute, both in Arabic and in English (Not in Hebrew, though!). The old

one simply stated: “*Arab Museum – Arab Heritage Centre, Sakhnin*”, whereas the new and bigger sign indicated that the building was the “*Museum of Palestinian Folk Heritage*”. Having asked the manager of the museum about this obvious change in the content, we could not get a clear answer.

On the other hand, during our conversation with the manager, he expressed his definite intention to remain the citizen of Israel, even after a possible declaration of a Palestinian state. Despite all of their hardships, maltreatment by the government, they preferred to keep their status. Their only aspiration was *equal rights* with the Jews in every area of life.⁶

According to my personal experience in the ‘Terra Santa’ School in Ramle, this attitude was also characteristic among the Christian Arab community of the town, being expressed even more definitely. They told me, that although they worry about their relatives and friends in Bethlehem, Beit Jalla, Ramallah, they personally feel themselves as members of the Israeli society, they wished to continue their lives here – with necessary improvements in the areas of equal possibilities with the Jews in work, in learning, etc. Eventually I understood what they meant by equal possibilities when I read a paragraph in David Grossman’s book about the low proportions of the Arabs in the different area of life in Israel:

“If out of the 5,100 full-time university faculty members in Israel only twelve are Arabs; if out of 13,000 employees in the eight most important government ministries only 5% are Arab; if among the 400 prosecutors in the Ministry of Justice there is not a single Arab; if the Department for Muslim Affairs in the Ministry of Religious Affairs is headed, still, by a Jew; if there is not a single Arab on the managing committee of the Israel Broadcasting Authority, meaning the Arabs have no influence on broadcast policy; if the director of the government’s Arabic language radio is a Jew; if 44.9% of all citizens in the bottom tenth income level are Arabs; if according to the standards of the social-security system, a Jewish child in a large family is »worth« two Arab children – if all this happens here, what will happen here?” – asks David Grossman.⁷

6 “It is evident that the dual Jewish and democratic character of the state renders the status of the Arab minority problematic. Examination of their situation can shed light on the duality and viability of the democratic ethnic state as a general type found in certain plural societies.” Smooha, S., *Minority Status in an Ethnic Democracy: the Status of the Arab Minority in Israel In Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Volume 13 Number 3, July 1990, Routledge 1990, p. 394

7 Grossman, D., *Sleeping on the Wire – Conversation with Palestinians in Israel*; Farrar, Straus & Giroux, New York, 1993, pp. 314–315



Although Grossman's data are all from the early 1990s, I assume there have been no dramatic changes – in a positive sense – recently. At least, the present facts do not testify about that. At the same time, after lots of discussions with my Israeli friends and acquaintances, I was *not* much surprised when D. Grossman describes the misconception of 'the Arab' in the mind of the Israelis as follows:

*"'My Arab' is, generally, the mechanic, the gardener, the plumber, the metal worker or construction laborer or the tile layer, and sometimes, the student at the university. 'My Arab' working where we good citizens live, is no more than an inmate of that institution permitted to work outside (for wages lower than what we would normally pay). Generally he has only a first name, like a child.... 'My Arab's' good features are, for his Jewish friend, startlingly exceptional in the society from which he comes ("His Hebrew is amazing!", "He is so clean! And honest!"), and his negative characteristics confirm everything the good citizen always knew."*⁸

I have spent a relatively short time in Israel and my background knowledge is very limited to make any serious statements. At the same time, I feel free to express my wishes, at least, that goes like this: I would like to see all those young Arabs, whom I met in the 'Terra Santa' School, both students and teachers, – who actually live a very "Hebraized" (assimilated) lives – to be fully integrated in the Israeli society with equal rights and without hatred, suspicion. I would like to see them as mediators for mutual understanding between the two peoples.

Conclusion

First of all I am very thankful for this unique opportunity and to all those who helped me to take part in: to *Marcelle*, to the management of the Terra Santa School, – and for the useful advice of my professor at the Hebrew University, Prof. *Dr. Marc Silberman* that supported me with his helpful guidance throughout my visit.

I learnt a lot from this experience: despite all the political turmoil and renewals of bloody war scenes, I am convinced that there is hope for peaceful coexistence that is based on mutual understanding which must be well – established from an early age with the help of the educational system.

8 Ibid. pp. 310–311

Erik KORMOS

Professor of Adventist Biblical Theology

Examination of Jesus as a historical person, according to Adventist and contemporary theologies

***„Seeing then that we have a great high priest,
that is passed into the heavens, Jesus the Son of God,
let us hold fast our profession.”¹***

Heb. 4,14

Summarise

First of all if we would like to speak about this topic it is matter how we think about the history. There are two basic ways we can do it: The German language has two expressions to describe the human history.² The “Geschichte” means the kind of history which we can describe the events by punctual dates at least by years. The “Historie” has very similar meaning in English, but if we use this expression we need not to make emphasis to dates or times. So, according to the American Bible criticism there is no two perspectives, instead this is so called “Salvation History” where the texts of the Bible are the fundament of the happening the history is the framework or background according to the happenings were, are, of will be. Thus the Seventh-day Adventist Theology was born in USA in 19th Century it was formed by the “salvation history” but in the first decades of the 20th impacted by the European theological thinking and also German history. I’d like to show this progress in the light of this specified historical thinking within the framework of the Seventh-day Adventist Theology.

1 I use the King James Version of the Bible as a motto.

2 Peter M. Head wrote a good article about these two perspectives: The Role of Eyewitnesses in the Formation of the Gospel Tradition. A Review Article of Samuel Byrskog, Story as History – History as Story. In Tyndale Bulletin, (Issued by The Tyndale Fellowship for Biblical Research), Tyndale House, Cambridge, 52.2 (2001) 275–294. p.

1. Introduction

This is a very important text (see the Motto), quoted from the Hebrews, for the Seventh-day Adventist theology and good to use it as a perspective from we can see the question of “quest for Jesus” as Christ.

The Seventh-day Adventist theology exists more than 150 years, its starting point we use 1831.³ In this year William Miller as an Arminian Baptist started to preach the Parousia without any skill of theology.⁴ Same time Charles Darwin sailed to the Galapagos Island on the board of Beagle.⁵ These events were so influential; two different movements came from these backgrounds: The evolutionism and Seventh-day Adventism.

Nowadays the Seventh-Day Adventist Church has 17 million members around the Whole Word including the Muslim identified countries.⁶ The evolutionism as a scientific perspective influenced the life of Universities, the Areas of Academic Sciences and also the Protestant and the Roman Catholic theologies. Two backgrounds, two movements, two perspectives of the history. So, if we would like to know whether is “quest for Jesus” as Christ or no within the Adventist theology, we need to know the perspective of history of the mentioned theological movement.

2. Perspectives of Seventh-day Adventist Theology

This perspective started in the England in 17th Century. THOMAS WOOLSTON (1669–1733) was educated at Cambridge and ordained in the Church of England.⁷ WOOLSTON was against the miracles of Jesus. He mocked them because according to His opinion they were not logical. He used a caustic Bible critic and the tool in His mind to do that was the deist philosophy. For example, WOOLSTON said about the miracle in Cana when Jesus turned the water into wine; there was not a miracle. If it had been a miracle, the dwellers of Cana would have been drunk all including the children. The Church of England was more tolerant in England then the Christians in middle Europe in that time. So the deism as a philosophical

3 See the Britanica Lexicon (or Britanica Hungarica)/Adventist.

4 http://hu.wikipedia.org/wiki/William_Miller 28.02.2017.

5 http://hu.wikipedia.org/wiki/Charles_Darwin 28.02.2017.

6 <http://www.adventist.org/world-church/index.html> 28.02.2017.

7 William Baird: History of New Testament Researc. From Deism to Tübingen. Fortress Press, Minneapolis, 1992, 45–49.

perspective of the Bible critic of the Western World became each pillar of the scientific Bible Research.

Professor BRYAN BALL wrote a book, titled: *The English Connection. The puritan roots of the Sevents-Day Adventist Belief*.⁸ In that book He point out the connection between the USA (where the Seventh-day Adventist theology was born) and England (where the salvation history was born). From 1831 to 1844 there was a movement in USA; the followers of WILLIAM MILLER. They were not Adventists because they came from 12 different denominations, but they were Protestants. This movement was like the USA a “Melting Pot of the Nations” and denominations.⁹ These Christians were *deists* according to their minds, actually *Arminians* and same time mainly *puritans*. There were 3 different minds, but **one** movement respecting the second coming of Jesus as a King of the Heavenly Kingdom. What happened after 1844 within the movement?

Professor GERARD P. DAMSTEEGT a Dutch theologian divided parts the history of this movement and also the Seventh-Day Adventist theology according to this historical view.¹⁰ The first part was between 1831 and 1844. This is that we also called as “movement of William Miller”. The second part was from 1844 to 1863. In this year (1863) was founded the Seventh-Day Adventist Church officially. In this period of time the mentioned 3 thinking were forming the doctrines. Nobody knew in that time how influenced them the Arminians’, the deists’ and the puritans’ thinking, but in the doctrines can be outlined 3 methods of the Bible critics as hermeneutical perspectives according to these perspectives.

WILLIAM MILLER was a *deist* before he “returned”. As a Bible Interpreter he was *Baptist*, but same time *Arminian*. He used the KJV Bible and the Cruden’s Concordance, which was made by ALEXANDER CRUDEN and first published 1737.¹¹ The English puritans also used KJV Bible. So he was determined by 3 methods. Later these methods were getting strength, but not against each other, instead in coexistence.

8 Bryan Ball: *The English Connection. The Puritan Roots of Seventh-day Adventist Belief*. James Clark, Cambridge, 1981.

9 Gerard P. Damsteegt is presenting this movement where there were Arminian Baptist, English Calvinists, Metodists, Lutherans, Anglicans, Episcopal and also Congregationalists. This movement was like USA named as “Melting Pot of Nations”. In: *Foundations of the Seventh-day Adventist Message and Mission*. William Eerdmans Publishing Company Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1977, 3–30.

10 Gerard P. Damsteegt: *Foundation of The Seventh-day Adventist Message and Mission*. William Eerdmans Publishing Company Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1977, 48-50, and also: 254–259.

11 See at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cruden's_Concordance 28.02.2017.

The deists used a *critical* and also *logical* method like THOMAS WOOLSTON did earlier in England. Thus Miller's hermeneutic was a historio-grammatical method same time there was another perspective that determine the deists thinking about the Bible. This was an *ethical* hermeneutic which was the standpoint on that the revelation of the Bible stands by the Christians in 19th USA.¹² There is a typical example to outline this: SAMUELE BACCHIOCCHI who did his PhD at *The Pontifical Gregorian University* in Rome¹³ as the first Adventist in this famous Institute wrote a book titled, *Wine in the Bible*.¹⁴ He agrees with WOOLSTON and use same Bible Critic method, but he did not mention him. First of all BACCHIOCCHI agrees the Seventh-day Adventist ethical doctrine about the anti-alcoholism which was created according to this ethical hermeneutic in 19th Century.¹⁵ This hermeneutical thinking is a Biblical criticism against the protestant orthodoxy and its root can be found in Arminian Theology, as well.

It is also need to be mentioned HUGO GROTIUS (1583–1645) as the first Arminian who used the Bible critic¹⁶ like later the Seventh-day Adventist did, too. The most famous book of this author: *The Truth of Christian Religion*. He was using a solid historical criticism on his writing. This is a low critic perspective and its tool is the deist logic which was against the radical (or rigorous) Calvinism and protestant orthodoxy. GROTIUS also used the history to make as a tool for the low critical thinking and same time as an Arminian also apply ethical hermeneutic. Later JONATHAN EDWARDS developed¹⁷ this system: His PhD: *Concerning the End for Which God Created the Word* shared us a high level of intellectual thinking

12 This is influential thinking also nowadays in the Seventh-day Adventist Theology. According to the Handbook of the Seventh-day Adventist Theology the “high-critic” as technical terms must be rejected by the Adventist theologian. The term of “low-critic” should be acceptable, but the authors of this Handbook advised to use instead “Bible-analysis”. See at: Revelation and Inspiration In George W. Reid-Raoul Dederen (editors): Handbook of Seventh-Day Adventist Theology. Reiew and Herald Publishing Association, Hagerstown, Md 21740, 2000, 94–95. p.

13 His PhD is about a historical investigation how the Sabbath did as seventh day of the week turned into Sunday (as day of the Sun). Whole titles see at: From Sabbath to Sunday. A Historical Investigation of The Rise of Sunday Observance in Early Christianity. The Pontifical Gregorian University Press, Rome, 1977.

14 Samuele Bacchiocch: Wine in the Bible. A Biblical Study on the Use of Alcoholic Beverages. Biblical perspectives. 4569 USA, Lisa Lane, Berrien Springs Michigan. 49103, 1989. Hungarian translation: Samuele Bacchiocchi: A bor a Bibliában. Tanulmányok az alkoholtartalmú italok használatáról. Reménység Alapítvány, Budapest, 2008.

15 Seventh-day Adventists Believe... A Biblical Exposition of 27 Fundamental Doctrines. Ministerial Association General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, USA, Washington, D. C. 20012, 297–313. p.

16 William Baird: History of New Testament Researc. From Deism to Tübingen. Fortress Press, Minneapolis, 1992, 7–11.

17 Donald K. McKim (editor): Dictionary of Major Biblical Interpreters. IVP Academic, Nottingham, England, 2007, 397–400.

about Jesus personality and same time a high level of the Authority of the Bible.¹⁸ Thus he also used the history (salvation history) as a mainline the translation of the Bible making correction the text. Therefore, when he applied critical systems reached the New Testament Greek texts, but as second source.

The 3rd way of thinking was the *puritan* Biblicism.¹⁹ In 19th Century in USA sometimes they were named “Primitivisms”.²⁰ They read the King James Version of the Bible and also their thoughts were formed by the KJV. The English puritans used two methods of the Bible critic. First it was the *allegorical* interpretation which generally means the Old Testament foreshadows Christ and its *fulfilment* is the New Testament. This is accommodation theology, but same time a certain critical thinking of the Bible. Secondly it was use of typology. For example as for Moses was the heavenly Temple a pattern to make tabernacle in desert of Sinai for puritans Jesus was the pattern *as the Bible shown us* Him. The puritans did not use the Greek Bible, didn’t use critical thinking. They apply also accommodation Theology determined by *allegorical* and *typological* thinking. On the basis of all these it was a certain way of critical thinking about Bible: If something is logically understandable it is can be found in the Bible. If something is not logical, but can be found in the Bible, is really not important. The puritans applied certain parts of the Old and New Testaments to have background their principals of a rigorous education, but they did not use the whole Bible. Some of these principals can be outlined from some famous Adventists founders like Ellen Gould White was, thus she was neither clearly puritan, nor clearly Arminian. He actually was Methodist.

There were 3 mainlines of the critical thinking of the Bible in this movement which determinate the whole Seventh-day Adventist theology. It is same time separated us from the European historical thinking about Jesus *personality*, because it was another platform of the historical way formatted by School of Tübingen and also the Hegelian philosophy.²¹

18 Jonathan Edwards kept the principle of literal sense but same time he sourced for the hidden symbols of the text and he interpreted them for the modern intellectual audience. To use the salvation history applied accommodation theology and also typology. See: Donald K. McKim (editor): Dictionary of Major Biblical Interpreters. IVP Academic, Nottingham, England, 2007, 397–400.

19 Bryan W. Ball: The English Connection. The Puritan Roots of Seventh-day Adventist Belief. James Clark, Cambridge, 1981, 15-30.

20 The Primitivisms were not same as the puritans, but there were some puritans who had political power and also mandate in Parliament. This was the Nativist political party. The Nativists wanted to make his political power became the government political way. This way was called “primitivism”. See at: Georg R. Knight: Ellen White kora. Advent Kiadó. Budapest, 2002, 61-64. (Hungarian translation and edition.)

21 Horton Harris: The Tübingen School. A Historical and Theological Investigation of the School of F. C. Baur. Appollos, 1975. The introduction and from first to third chapters.

3. The mainlines of the Biblical criticism in the Seventh-day Adventist Theology

In the first decades of 20th Century the Adventist Theology confronted the European thinking and this progress has been being continued during the 20th Century, thus far. DONALD MCKIM write: “It is difficult to decide what the most important attitude in Europe was in 19th Century, but it is true the history for understanding of the Bible was really important.” He also mentions: “the history was influenced by the Hegelian philosophy”.²² According to the Adventist interpreters the history also was an important element, but influenced by deist philosophy instead of the Hegelianism. These are two different ways which can be highlighted from Adventist literatures. For example: *The Handbook of the Seventh-day Adventist Theology* as an official issue is about revelation and inspiration; reject applying high critic, doesn't use the term of low critic. Instead of them it suggests to use term of “Bible analysis”, but practically there is no difference between the low critic and this kind of Bible analysis. Sometimes Adventist use high critic thus it is not to be widespread. The only different is the *role* of history which determines the aim of Bible critic and also the quest for Jesus.

So this is the place where I need to speak about the historio-grammatical method of the Seventh-day Adventist hermeneutic. According to this perspective the Bible in the light of the human history is a story of the salvation thus we named as history of Salvation.²³ This is a meta-narrative story, because the dates given the Bible are not exact, but the events are. Same time all parts of the Bible are reliable story (or history) but not a saga.²⁴ The human history is a tool of restoration of the Bible, because the human history is the fulfilment of the Bible stories from Genesis to book of Revelation. Same time I need to be cleared there are not two kinds of perspectives (story and history) of Salvation in our mind. I tried to be expressed the story is not a saga; instead the history is used with two meaning, or two aims, or goals.²⁵

22 Mc Kim (editor): Dictionary of Major Biblical Interpreters. IVP Academic. England, Nottingham, 2007, 22–44.

23 See also: S. Byrskog, Story as History – History as Story: The Gospel Tradition in the Context of Ancient Oral History (WUNT 123; Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2000).

24 This word „saga” was used by David Cook at Cambridge to be expressed the different and distance between two German words: die Geschichte und die Historie. According to his use the saga means Historie the Geschichte means History.

25 According to my understanding these two words enough to make difference the time period which has punctually points given and time period which has instead given stories but without punctually points in time line.

So here is also the place to speak about the role of Grammatik in this method. From the beginning of the Adventist theology by the Arminians there is a scientific line in the religious life and theological science among the Adventists. We use and our pioneers used Bible critic like I have written about it. The Grammatical method is a part of this scientific line including text critic. Otherwise like the history help us to understand Jesus personality and also Divinity the textual criticism also a tool for us to take our critical perspectives constructive instead of destructive. This line of the textual critic is a kind of *structural criticism*,²⁶ because we use the Bible as a textual structure separated from the dated human history. The dates given by archaeologists and philologists are used as strengthen element the salvation story (or history) which is standing on the Authority of the Bible.²⁷ This authority of the text exists even if the Bible is using as a translation, because of ethical hermeneutic.²⁸ To take the authority on this way the reliability is higher than the criticism. The early fragments of texts are reconstructive relations with the whole Bible instead of the theory of they would be like the elements of a mosaic or Puzzle. We can use the text fragments and early copies of the New Testament as a weapon against destroyers of the authority as evidences which shown us how possible to keep the absolute Authority is which came from God directly.²⁹ So according to our mind (and also official theology) there are not two different personalities of Jesus; as Jesus and as Christ.

26 This is not same as the structural criticism represented by de Sassure and Levi Straus. This kind of structuralism was born in the literature study and linguistic. According to this method the text is a closed structure. The Adventist theologians use the text in relation of the history, not as a closed structure. In Richard N. Soulen – R. Kendal Soulen: *Handbook of Biblical Criticism*. James Clarke Co. Ltd, Cambridge, 1977, (2002 reprint), 180–182 p. Also see: Gray P. Radford – Marie L. Radford: *Structuralism, post-structuralis, and the library: de Sassure and Foucault*. In *Arts & Humanities Journal of Documentation; Publisher and Institutes, Akademie Verlag, Oldenbourg*. 2005/61/1,60–78 p.

27 Richard M. Davidson: *Biblical Interpretation* divided 4 parts this topic: 1) human facts, 2) history, 3) special accommodation, 4) The word as word of God. This last point is determining the Grammatik: The word is God's word. In Georg W. Reid: *Handbook of Seventh-day Adventist Theology*. Review and Herald Publishing Association Hagerstown, MD 21740, 2000, 22–58.

28 The ethical hermeneutic is standing on the inspiration of content theory which is the official standpoint of the Seventh-day Adventist theology. See *Revelation and Inspiration* In George W. Reid-Raoul Dederen (editors): *Handbook of Seventh-Day Adventist Theology*. Review and Herald Publishing Association, Hagerstown, Md 21740, 2000, 94–95 p.

29 We believe the inspiration of the contain, but same time it is means that the canonisation the translation and also the reconstruction of the text would be inspired by the Holy Spirit like the Greek term express it: θεόπνευστος. Otherwise this is a hapax legomenon that is very difficult to understand and translate exactly. According to my PhD I examine the question of hapax legomena in the New Testament text.

4. Christ as the High Priest of the Heavenly Sanctuary

This historical thinking resulted that, we believe the history of salvation is going through the Bible from Genesis, to Revelation. Because of the genre of the book of Revelation this salvation history is pointing to the future like the Genesis going back to the Creation. The Genesis is a “hexahemeron” story (not history with fixed dates) and the Book of Revelation is an apocalyptically coded future story (also not a history with given dates). Seeing the Bible from this perspective there have not been the most important question the quest for Jesus thus far. Jesus as historical person and as Christ have been equal thus far. For the most important question are the roles of Christ as Saviour (because of the salvation history) instead of his reliability according to (dated) history. This is a systematically question that I would like to show for you in nutshell.

Among the first Adventists there was a disappointment because of fulfilment of Parousia in 1844. So they had to examine the reason what was the mistake in their belief and thinking about the Bible as inspired revelation. Actually they had to examine the Christology as the most important element of the Adventist Theology in that time. There are two parts of the Christology His person and His work.³⁰ In the first decades from 1844 to 1888 there was a turning on the soteriology. FRANK HOLBROOK writes about this period of time; Christ was self-atoning heavenly high Priest and heavenly King who we can wait from heaven.³¹ This typology standing on Exodus 25 and also the Hebrews which use typology as well as this verse shared us: „*Seeing then that we have a great high priest, that is passed into the heavens, Jesus the Son of God, let us hold fast our profession.*” Heb. 4,14

The second problem was the question of the Parousia, but it was *not* that when it *will be happen*, instead how we would be perfect continually respecting our ethical status. Ellen G. White interprets the Mathew 25 *allegorically* to take it clear. This is the parable of ten virgins who are waiting for the bridegroom. She tells us the bridegroom is Christ and the virgins are the member of the Christian church. We must be perfect and Christ will come as heavenly King.³²

30 See at Raoul Dederen: Christ: His Person and Work. In Handbook of Seventh-day Adventist Theology. Commentary Reference Series. Volume 12. Review and Herald Publishing Association. Hagerstown, MD 21740, 2000, 160–203.

31 See at Holbrook: Christ's Inauguration As King-Priest. In Frank B. Holbrook: The Atoning Priesthood of Jesus Christ. Adventist Theological Society Publications Berrien Springs, Michigan 49103, 1996, 1–17.

32 Ellen G. White: Christ's Object Lessons. USA, Pacific Press Publishing Association. Mountain View, California, 1900, 282–293.

This doctrine about rolls of Christ was adapted from CANTERBURY ANSELM: *Cur Deus Homo*?³³ He wrote there are 3 rolls of Christ: He is anointed *prophet*, anointed *priest* and anointed *King*. CALVIN also thought that in His Religious Institution.³⁴ That is the reason why the Seventh-day Adventist theology is compatible with European Protestantism, but same time more conservative like the contemporary protestant denominations are. And the background of this conservative attitude is the progress that I have shown. Otherwise according to deist philosophy it would be un-logical, if there were two personality of Christ given the Bible. When the first canonical Gospel (Mark or Mathew) was recorded it was the *typology* or *written pattern* of the fist Christian faith about Christ. The question what happened between the death of cross and the first recording (which would be the text of Q)³⁵ really not important watching it from this perspective.

5. 'Imitatio Christi' as an ethical perspective of the Seventh-day Adventist Theology³⁶

Each part of the Anselm's work shared us Christ as anointed prophet. Also *The Seventh-day Adventist Believe... A Biblical Exposition of 27 Fundamental Doctrines* about Christ work also mention this attitude and same time strengthen the *Pericorensis* doctrine.³⁷ Because of the tradition of ethical hermeneutic this aspect, Jesus as prophet, is also important. Like THOMAS WOOLSTON (1669-1733) said, we also do: Jesus had not been an anointed prophet, if He would have turned the water into alcoholic wine. This is also important according to the accommodation theology: If Jesus with His whole and undividable personality is an anointed prophet, He would fulfil the prophecies of Old Testament, but if He is not, He would not. So, Jesus Divine and human personality together is a *pattern* to follow Him and to be good Christian. For example we say that: Jesus was anointed prophet and as a Jew Sabbath keeper. So we also need to keep Sabbath as the 7th day

33 See at: <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/anselm-curdeus.asp> 28.02.2017.

34 This them „Munus Triplex Christi” used by Calvin at the so called „Shorted Institution.” According to Hungarian edition: Kálvin János: Tanítás a keresztyén vallásra. 1559. Magyarországi Református Egyház Zsinati Irodájának Sajtóosztálya. Budapest, 1991, 104–108.

35 Richard A. Edwards as an Adventist theologian agree with the conception of Q using same historical evidence like the Tübingen Theologians. This books a real pattern, how we can use the evidences in two different methods. See Richards A. Edwards: A Theology of Q. Eschatology, Prophecy, and Wisdom. Fortress Press, USA, Philadelphia, 1972, 22–32 p.

36 In the Seventh-day Adventist theology does not to be used the expression „Imitatio Christy”. It is a so called dogmatically expression, but it expresses the ethical method of following Jesus as an educational pattern.

37 *Ibd.* 60.

of week, because this is an important element of the doctrine of *Imitatio Christy*. When professor BACCHIOCCHI (1977) did his PhD at *The Pontifical Gregorian University* it was about from Sabbath to Sunday. The Roman Catholic Church respected this argument built by the historical evidences. These evidences were sourced from the early Christian era. The texts from the Bible as *stories* (without given dates) shown to the happening which was the ideal state of the Christianity and after the last book of the NT Canon was written the Christianity turned toward corruption. So, we need to use the Bible to be taken better our Christianity in the light of Bible. The 7th day is an element of this ethical, dogmatically and also textual reconstruction.

6. Christ centralism as an outline of the New Testament research and the contemporary theology

From this perspective essential the question is, whether would be Christ centralism in the New Testament Research? This question is more difficult than we believe. I had an opportunity to attend a very god scientific program in Cambridge held by the Tyndale House and the Sidney Sussex College.³⁸ They drafted us this problem from the perspective of contemporary protestant theology.

In Europe when the 20th Century started the whole Protestantism were divided. The traditional Protestantism was *liberal* because of the historical thinking. The smaller denominations were *evangelicals*. They were also liberal because of their *fundamentalism*. GREG PRITCHARD said at Cambridge:³⁹ “We went miles away with the message of the Gospel, but we ploughed only one inch deep.” There were other denominations predestined themselves to be sects. The protestant sects were fundamentalists, but not conservatives, some of them instead bended into occultism, because they were so called “isms”. These resulted European Christians lost their leading factor.

The traditional protestant Churches used the Biblical Criticism influenced by the age of Enlightenment philosophies. As the influence of the Enlightenment philosophy spread, other fields of thought began to operate from these new philosophical presuppositions. One of the most significant fields of influence of the Enlightenment was filtered thought the prism of sceptical biblical criticism.

38 As the reference of the whole CSN P program see at: http://www.christianheritageuk.org.uk/Groups/28152/Home/Courses/Cambridge_Scholars_Network/Cambridge_Scholars_Network.aspx 28.02.2017.

39 Greg Pritchard: *The Global Vision of the Gospel and Europe's Strategic Importance*. (Sine Pub.) The paper was a part of my Accepted Reading of Cambridge Scholars Network program.

One leading scholar summarizes this influence: Biblical criticism has been a principal tool in the critique of classical theology by forces of the Enlightenment. By subjecting the Bible to humanistic presuppositions and treating it as a merely human text under the control of our superior techniques, we have seen the message relativized and debunked time and again.⁴⁰

This prospect influenced both the evangelicals and fundamentals. The *fundamentals* rejected the kinds of Biblical Critics, so they determined themselves to be sects. The *evangelicals* also rejected this criticism, because their message was a social perspective of the Gospel and there was not need to use biblical critic. According to my opinion this is the Christian liberalism that we need avoid, because it is *come from the sceptical criticism* which is standing on the opposition of the European historical perspective. DONALD MCKIM divided the history of American Protestantism parts highlighted us the reason why it is different.⁴¹

From 1990's the American Protestantism orientalised to the high critics. This was the mainline of the 20th Century. There were 4 kinds of high critic perspective of this era: 1900–1915 was the grammatical high criticism. 1916–1915 was the English period. From 1945 to 1980 was the European period and lastly from 1981 to 1999 is North-American period. (The mentioned book was published in 2000.)

In the first period the German professors opposite the USA's because of the high critic. The reason was clear: The Americans tried to use the history for the reconstruction of the Bible, same time the Germans rejected the Authority because of the earlier protestant orthodoxy.

In the second period students immigrated into America from Cambridge and Oxford. During this time period the interpretation was influenced by the empirism instead of Hegel. The empirism structured the Bible critic into reconstruction of the text and its authority for the ethical applications.

The third period was also the perspective of the reconstruction and its results are the narrative analysis, rhetorical analysis, ideological criticism. These are constructive critical perspectives and don't reach Jesus personality. On this way the scholars use same methods like the Europeans, but the result is not same.

40 Greg Pritchard: Ibd.lim.

41 Ibd. 88–103.

7. Final clauses

The Seventh-day Adventist Theology is come from the American historical criticism thus impacted the European era. After World War II European Adventist theologians immigrated to USA and apply the European sciences to the USA's historical thinking.⁴² The systematically thinking was strengthened by this historical view of point and same time it was lead by the New Testament Theology instead of dogmatic.

The main difference between them the theological perspectives: The European systematic in the protestant theology determined by dogmatic and lead by philosophical perspectives. The American's riding on the ethical thinking which came from the Bible directly. When this perspective impacted the European sceptical criticism this perspective could not correct the earlier perspectives. This perspective started in 18th Century with JOHANN PHILIP GABLER (1753–1826). This famous Scholar did his study in Germany in Jena, but using the accommodation theology separated from the philosophical thinking. This ethical mainline can be shown out from his work: *Dicourse on the Proper Distinction between Biblical and Dogmatic Theology, and the Right Determination of the Aims of Each*. Earlier the systematic theology *applied* the New Testament and the resources lifted the dogmatic upper to New Testament text. From GABLER the New Testament scientists just *give instructions* to systematic, but did not do more. The base of the Biblical ethic leads by the accommodation theology which resulting the *reconstruction* of the Authority of the Bible instead of scepticism.

The Seventh-day Adventist Theology became international movement determined by evangelicalism, Puritanism, but mainly by the western historicism. We usually say that our theological thinking did not come from university's pulpit. Our founders were simply educated people but pious believer. Nowadays we have reached the pulpits and Universities, but kept the historical thinking according to which we see the history as salvation story or history. On our mind Christ is an undividable person with His personality and also Divinity. Professor EDWARD HEPPANSTAL as Seventh-day Adventist theologian wrote⁴³ we agree with the first, second, third and forth ecumenical councils. We agree with *Trinity* and *Pericoresis* dogma and

42 Ch. T. Vrieezen: *An Outline of Old Testament Theology*. Charels T. Brandford Company, Newton Centre, Mass. 02159, 1966. In his preface take it clears us when he wrote: The early Christina theology is standing on the Shoulders of the Judaism. The theology of Judaism influenced the western protestant theology and also the Seventh-day Adventist Theology.

43 Edward Heppenstal: *The Men Who Is God*. Rewiv and Herald Publishing Inc. USA, Washington DC, 1972. Also can be reached at <http://www.sdanet.org/atissue/Christ/index.htm> 22.04.2012.

the *kenosis* regarding Christ personality, but we would not like examining whether there are two kinds of Christ.

This paper shown us there were perspectives which influenced the Seventh-day Adventist Theology. We are protestant and we have a Christ centralised New Testament science and research. God can give movements in history if we examine the history as salvation history. When I was at Cambridge the university's scholars shared us a new perspective which will reach the whole European Christianity. They as Evangelicals said us: there is no future for the evangelicalism as a movement which preaching the Gospel without consistency. Also the fundamentalism will be dying, because there is no need separated sects in Europe. Otherwise the traditional Christian scientists have shown an unbelievable interest about evangelicalism as a new paradigm of the historical thinking for them. They also shared us that there were 3 same clashes with the European Christian theology: the Enlightenment Philosophy, the Darwinism and the sceptical Bible Criticism.

The Christians accepted more of them from these structures. Thus there was a mistake; the *evangelicals* rejected them and same time *turned into fundamentalism*. In the 20th Century there was a radical change. All perspectives wanted to change something, so the Christians searched the evangelicalism. I don't know if this perspective will be the solution is, but I have an experience within the Protestantism as pastor and NT teacher: It is need the Quality in all. With other words, we need the *content* instead of *container*. The secularized and unchurch people don't need scepticism anymore, but they must be given a new perspective or paradigm. This perspective is Jesus as Christ instead of any kind of scepticism.

Prof. András MÁTÉ-TÓTH

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Compassion in times of moral panic¹

From freedom to security

The leading value put forward by politicians today is not freedom but rather security. The world, value systems, society, health, culture – all of these are portrayed as vulnerable and open to attack, and are therefore perceived as such.

This reality is concocted by the media, which have their agendas of economic and political interests, fuelled by daily rations of shock, horror, fear and vulnerability.

Yet “freedom”, not “security”, is the message that the major religions of the world are putting forward, namely their vision of “what is still possible”. This is the message that religious representatives should be proclaiming, whether or not the timing is right.

Understanding fear: moral panic

Fear and panic that are prevalent in the general public contribute to the basic dynamics of public opinion. The ability to understand the fundamental tendencies in today’s societies demands a bold intellectual acceptance of incalculable complexity (Armin Nassehi), volatility (liquidity), differences (Zygmunt Bauman) and the unconditionality of the basic values of living together in plurality (Ernst-Wolfgang Böckenförde, Chantal Mouffe).

“Moral panic” is a theoretical approach that helps us to understand the dynamics of fear and panic in society.

1 Europe Infos – christian perspectives on the EU Newsletter monthly of Comece and the Jesuit European Office – eleven issues per year.
COMECE Jesuit European Social Centre Home #199 – December 2016

The elements of moral panic are: first, worries about a possible threat; second, hostility towards real or merely supposed perpetrators; third, group consensus about the present dangers; fourth, exaggeration of general consequences based upon only a few cases; fifth, the fleeting nature of panic, which appears suddenly but disappears just as suddenly.

Different formulations exist of this theory, which has been used by either “the elite”, “interest groups” or individuals who transform their “individual fears” into societal fears, as a focus for their work. For any moral panic to be triggered, there must already be some latent fears in society, and a readiness of institutions to be driven by these fears.

A fact-based debate with the people and cultures of today must take this approach into consideration and use it as a basis for attempting to understand the “signs of the times”.

On the other hand, compassion means providing open spaces in precisely those areas where it could be claimed that there is no space, no recognition, and no forgiveness. Compassion is our weapon against all exclusion and takes away fear.

According to studies conducted in Central and Eastern Europe, the religions are expected to provide responses to questions of solidarity with the weak and the outcast, denunciation of injustice and corruption. Comments from the churches must reveal a firm grasp of social reality and stand firm on the foundations of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Without Christ there is no Christianity.

“Religious” religion

We have seen from experience some ecclesiastical representatives sometimes advance opinions on complex social issues in a manner that is both naïve and self-confident. In these cases, their statements are rarely grounded in social science and may often not be even theologically sound. Too often their statements are simple, uncritical restatements of the political positions of the preferred (government) parties. When this happens, they speak using the language of religion, but not its spirit, without serious (i.e. reflective) knowledge of society.

This kind of public statement does not take seriously either scientific knowledge or even religion itself. The demand for “religious religion” therefore appears to be a very modern trend. That means it is a religion that puts forward its own religious perspectives and logic with a deep understanding of cultural and social processes and contexts.

“Political” politics

Other experiences teach us – again, above all in Central Europe – that politicians are increasingly resorting to religious and spiritual elements when promoting their policies, and incorporate references to the religious shaping of their country’s history. In doing this they are always exploiting the religion of the majority for their own purposes, thereby influencing general thinking about religion and the Church. Basic religious principles then become incorporated into their political hermeneutics. Politicians are doing this without any genuine knowledge of religion or of the Church. They do not even see that religious plurality is a true choice. They disregard the intrinsic value of religion and subordinate it to their own political logic – demonstrating, at the same time, both a misjudgement of politics and a contempt for religion.

This is what lies behind the demand for “political politics”, where political arguments and clarification of private political objectives are established without the inclusion of any religious rhetoric and without any exploitation of religion for secular purposes.

During times of moral panic, representatives of churches and religions have an enormous opportunity to disseminate religious values and wisdom. The latter also imply a greater responsibility towards society. Thus the way in which these values are transmitted must be adapted to suit the context. To this end, those who are spokesmen for the Church must not only think carefully but also undergo (continuing) education, and there should also be cooperation with the scientific community that possesses a deep knowledge of social processes. In these times where people are lethargic and without vision, the Christian message of God’s compassion today offers a great opportunity to allow God to be experienced in words and in deeds, thus providing our culture with a new vision and a new objective.

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The Characteristic Economic Rules of Muslim Communities

Introduction

Muslim communities approach the questions of economic and financial issues, first of all, from a point of view of faith and moral. Namely, according to the teaching of Islam, approach to wealth and handling material questions are in correlation with faith and world view as well as with the relationship between man and God and man and created reality. According to Islam, the source of wealth is the Creator God Himself since He has created the goods necessary for the existence of mankind and He has assured the conditions of maintaining ourselves. Allah says in the Holy Quran: „Do you not see that Allah has made subject to you whatever is in the heavens and whatever is in the earth and amply bestowed upon you His favours [both] apparent and unapparent? [...]” (Qur’an 31:20); „Alif. Lam. Meem. This [the Koran] is the book about which there is no doubt, a guidance for those who fear [Allah]. Who believe in the unseen, establish prayer, and spend out what We have provided for them” (Quran 2: 1-3). Allah, thus, is the Provider, who cares for people according to His will; at the same time, He trusted the handling of created goods to man, ordering him to show responsible attitude and gratitude towards it. “Oh children of Adam, take your adornment at every prayer, and eat and drink, but be not excessive. Indeed, He likes not those who commit excess” (Quran 7: 31); “O you who have believed, eat from the good things which We have provided for you and be grateful to Allah if it is [indeed] Him that you worship” (Quran 2: 172).

As far as money and wealth are concerned, the religion of Islam, fundamentally, warns Muslims to fear God, to keep in mind that they will have to make an account in the after-life, to be moderate, to keep balance and to perform good deeds. The Quran says: “But seek, through that which Allah has given you, the home of the Hereafter; and [yet], do not forget your share of the world.” (Quran 28:77): “O you who have believed, spend from the good things which you have earned and from that which We have produced for you from the earth” (Quran 2: 267).

In favour of keeping moderateness, the Islam draws up a series of teachings that help to achieve this goal. A good example for this is the teaching that the life of this world is ephemeral and it is insignificant compared to that of the after-life. The Quran says: “And this worldly life is not but diversion and amusement. And indeed, the home of the Hereafter – that is the [eternal] life, if only they knew” (Quran 29:64). The wealth a person accumulates in this world does not last forever since it cannot be taken to the after-life; and it is only the good deeds that are imperishable. “Wealth and children are [but] adornment of the worldly life. But the enduring good deeds are better to your Lord for reward and better for [one’s] hope” (Quran 18:46).

Furthermore, the Islam inspires its followers not to consider making money and becoming wealthy to be a target in itself; since wealth will do no good on the day of doom unless it is accompanied by the fear of God and an attitude of conscientiousness: “The Day when there will not benefit [anyone] wealth or children, but only one who comes to Allah with a sound heart” (Quran 26: 88-89). Furthermore, on the day of doom Allah will make people account for how they have treated the material goods entrusted to them. On the day of the Resurrection, each and every person will be asked about their wealth: how they acquired it and what they spent it on. The Prophet Muhammad (be praised and saved by Allah) said: “The servant shall not take a step on the day of the Resurrection before he is asked about his life, about how he spent it; about his knowledge, about what he did with it; about his wealth, about how he acquired it and on what he spent it; and about his body (his youth), about what he used it for” (al-Tirmidhi).

According to the Islam, thus, material goods are only instruments that may become the source of happiness or unhappiness for man in this life as well as in the after-life depending on in what way that wealth was acquired and for what purpose it was used for. As long as man acquires wealth in a way that pleases God, i.e. in an honest way, and spends it on things that are allowed and are useful from a religious point of view both for the individual and the society and as long as man does good in the world to give thanks to God, then wealth becomes the source of blessing and happiness for him in this world as well as in the after-life. The Quran says: “Certainly will the believers have succeeded: They who are during their prayer humbly submissive, and they who turn away from ill speech, and they who are observant of *zakat* [obligatory donation]” (Quran 23: 1-4).

However, if man acquires wealth in a dishonest way or if he does not give away a part of it to the poor, or if he spends it on something that is harmful for him or for his environment then, according to the teaching of Islam, this attitude will lead him to unhappiness both in this world and in the after-life. Selfish adherence to

money and wealth may procure penalty in the after-life. The Prophet Muhammad (be praised and saved by Allah) said: “The worshipper of the gold taler will grief”. And the Quran threatens with this after-life penalty those whose only aim in this world is to accumulate wealth: “And those who hoard gold and silver and spend it not in the way of Allah – give them tidings of a painful punishment. “The Day when it will be heated in the fire of Hell and seared therewith will be their foreheads, their flanks, and their backs, [it will be said], «This is what you hoarded for yourselves, so taste what you used to hoard»” (Quran 9: 34).

Traditional principles of the functioning of the economic and financial system of Islam

In the centre of economic life of the Muslims, there are the Quran and the Sunnah (the way of life and the practices of the Prophet Muhammad) and the rules and regulations derived from these. The *Sharia* (moral code and religious law of Islam) considers acceptable only the incomings or businesses that are allowed (these are called *halal*); these all come from clear sources. It is forbidden, for example, to invest in enterprises or to earn money from activities that have anything to do with alcohol, pork, gambling, business founded on interest, pornography or drugs.

The Holy Quran condemns fraud committed in trade: “Woe to those who give less [than due]. Who, when they take a measure from people, take in full. But if they give by measure or by weight to them, they cause loss. Do they not think that they will be resurrected? For a tremendous Day - The Day when mankind will stand before the Lord of the worlds?” (Quran 83: 1-6)

Islam considers important both the activities attached to earning money in order to obtain material goods and those attached to social care. From a religious point of view, the activities performed in order to make money to keep the family and children, caring for parents and supporting the poorer layers of society all qualify as a service to God. Considering the latter one, Islam rules that a part of the material goods behoves the poor *ab ovo*, and it is not a question of favour or willingness: “Eat of [each of] its fruit when it yields and give its due [zakat] on the day of its harvest [that behoves the poor]” (Quran 6:141); “*And from their properties was [given] the right of the [needy] petitioner and the deprived*” (Quran 51:19).

Giving away or paying this rightful part is one of the five pillars of Islam, and the word for it in Arabic is *zakat*. This obligatory “religious tax” means one of the most significant sources of income of the Muslim state and the public charges undertaken voluntarily by Muslims; it is paid primarily in order to support the poor

and those in need. The Quran says: “Zakat expenditures are only for the poor and for the needy and for those employed to collect [zakat] and for bringing hearts together [for Islam] and for freeing captives [or slaves] and for those in debt and for the cause of Allah and for the [stranded] traveller – an obligation [imposed] by Allah. And Allah is Knowing and Wise” (Quran 9:60).

From a point of view of religious law, zakat is a part of wealth to be paid periodically the payment of which is an obligatory service to God. All further alms or donations are considered voluntary offerings. The zakat-donations apply to cash, cattle, crops, different goods, jewels and natural resources as well as to all personal and real assets that belong to Muslims as far as they do not belong to the objects of direct and personal use of the owner, i.e. they do not constitute an object of direct trading activities (for example, an automobile or a flat used as a home). Besides this, the zakat only refers to that kind of wealth the value of which reaches or exceeds the value limit determined by the laws of Islam (in Arabic “*nisab*”), the value of which is about 3 ounces (87,48 grams) of gold.

The proportion of zakat in the case of cash is 2.5% percent of the wealth provided that the wealth reaches the above mentioned value limit and does not fall under this limit for a whole year. The Shariah gives decrees on the determined proportions for each kind of other types of wealth.

In addition to this tax, according to the traditional decrees of Islamic law, circumstances might occur in which believers are obliged to contribute from their wealth, within the framework of supporting society and one’s own family. These circumstances might include deterioration in the financial situation of parents, which results in the child’s obligation to maintain his parents; or the occurrence of a catastrophe like, for example, a natural disaster or a state of war against an Islamic state.

Originally, according to the Islam law, the leader of the state (*caliph*) is entitled to lay a tax on wealthier Muslim citizens provided that the incomes from the zakat and the whole wealth of the state are not enough to cover expenses since one of the legal principles of Islam is that a thing without which an obligatory one cannot be fulfilled will itself qualify as obligatory.

The proportion of the tax is determined by the superiors, i.e. the leading office-bearers of the Islamic state with the approval of authoritative wise men entitled to counselling; and it should be determined exclusively on the basis of necessity. As a result, the tax imposed this way cannot exceed the real necessity of income. Furthermore, the taxes should be divided equally among those who are obliged to pay.

The most significant traditional taxes include the contribution of non-Muslim citizens who live in the territory of the Muslim state; these people are exempt from zakat. Their taxes are the land tax (*kharaj*), and the poll-tax meaning a military contribution (*jizyah*). It is to be noted that these taxes mean much lower expenses compared with the zakat that the Muslims have to pay; and it means the contribution of non-Muslims to common charges, to the maintenance and the defence of the state since in an Islamic state everybody should take part in common charges depending on their religious affiliation.

Besides all these, there is the traditional and direct fund or foundation for religious purposes (in Arabic *waqf*), that serves for the maintenance of religious institutes like, for example, that of the Quran schools. However, these funds function exclusively on the basis of voluntaries giving away money; so they do not belong to the category of obligatory donations.

We should not ignore the fact that sometimes, both from the point of view of ideology and proportion, there can be significant differences between the zakat defined as religious tax and the other traditional taxes determined in the religious law of the Islam and those imposed these days. The reason for this should be searched in the fact that the Shariah is a set of laws based on the Islam religion the effectiveness of which is only partial in some Muslim countries since some Arabic-Islam countries set their laws on the basis of secular practices; or at least they are some kind of mixture between the legal practices of Islam and those of the West.

Forms of trading companies in Muslim communities

The most important elements of the economic life of the Muslim world have been the trading associations and companies from the very beginning. The common characteristic features of the foundation of traditional economic companies in accordance with the Shariah include oral contract, the unconditional trust of the parties towards each other, common faith and the fear of penalty in the after-life. Usually these companies are founded on the basis of some low-volume business; however, nowadays it is also a use and wont that the parties, similarly to Hungarian articles of association, prepare a written contract agreement or even appoint company office-bearers.

According to the scholars of Islamic religious laws, these trading companies can be divided into two main groups:

I. *Sharikat tamalluk* means more or less an association in common property. It basically means that members own something – for example, some real estate, ship, etc. This form of organization only regards the common property; the operation of the property is independent from this.

II. *Sharikat al-Aqd* essentially corresponds to business associations in Hungary. Depending on what kind it is, the association may be founded with or without seed capital and obligatory personal contribution on behalf of members is also possible. According to the Sariah, there are six traditional forms of the sharikat al-aqd:

1. *Al-Inan*: the members contribute to the seed capital in the proportion of their share in the association and they do not contribute to the operation of it merely with their wealth but also with their personal collaboration. They all have equal management rights. They share the profit in the proportion of their share and bear losses.

2. *Al-Modaraba*: one of the parties only gives free run to his wealth and the other party utilizes it through his personal contribution. The proportion of profit and loss depends on the agreement established between the parties.

3. *Al-Wujuh*: a credit union, within the framework of which the credits obtained by the individual partners are put in a common fund; they buy goods from the money and after selling the goods, they share the profit between themselves. This business activity involves no personal assets and it is founded on the mutual trust in the trading experience and knowledge of the members. The proportion of profit depends on the agreement established between the parties.

4. *Al-Abdan*: it is founded and it operates on the basis of an obligatory contribution on behalf of the members. There is no registered capital, or at least it is not compulsory. The objectives and the thriving of the association are realized through the personal contribution of the members. The share of profit and loss is made in the proportion of personal contribution.

5. *Al-Tafwid*: one of the parties takes assets to the company and entrusts the other party to utilize it; the role of the latter one only includes personal contribution. The members share profit according to the proportion and conditions agreed upon beforehand; however, the losses are only born by those who invested their wealth, in the proportion of their investments.

6. *Al-mufawadah*: trading company of unlimited liability; the responsibility of the partners is universal, they manage the company together. They can share profit and loss only in equal proportions.

The prohibition of interests is one of the most well-known teachings of Islamic law.

A Muslim person may never charge or accept interest under any circumstances. “And whatever you give (or lend) for interest to increase within the wealth of people will not increase with Allah. But what you give in zakat, desiring the countenance [satisfaction] of Allah – those are the multipliers [of their rewards]” (Quran 30:39).

In the Quran, there is no other war initiated on behalf of Allah towards anybody else but those who collect interests, who will be unblessed in this world and sufferers in the after-life unless they repent their deed and get rid of the interest: “Oh you who have believed, fear Allah and write off [all outstanding] interest [due you] that still accrues, if you [really] are the believers. And if you do not do it, then take a notice of war from Allah and His Messenger” (Quran 2: 278-279). The prohibition of interest is effective not only between the rich and the poor but it is of universal nature: it extends to all persons independent from the amount of money lent. According to the Shariah, all interest qualifies as usury, exploitation, abuse of the difficulty of the other party.

In this respect, the greatest difference between the Shariah and the European law is that while the Islamic law definitely prohibits interest, the Civil Code of Hungary announces its legitimacy as a general rule. 232. § (1) says: “Within contractual relations -unless the law specifies otherwise- interest is due. In the contractual relations of private entities between each other, interest is due only if it is stipulated.” In the Hungarian legal folk tradition, interests were usually maximized and those who exceeded the upper limit were proclaimed usurers; their interest and then their capital were both taken.

It stands to reason that since the Shariah is a living religious law to be applied in all areas of everyday life, it applies exceptions that can diverge from the main rule. The Quran proclaimed that repentance may be exercised and made it clear how it should be done: “But if you repent, you may have your principal - [thus] you do no wrong, nor are you wronged. And if someone is in hardship, then [let there be] postponement until [a time of] ease. But if you give [from your right as] charity, then it is better for you, if you only knew. And fear a Day when you will be returned to Allah. Then every soul will be compensated for what it earned, and they will not be treated unjustly” (Quran 2: 279-281).

This *ayah* says that one who asks for interest for a loan should disclaim the unjustly inflicted interest; moreover, the best thing he can do for making his penitence complete is to release some of the balance of principal provided that the indebted

gets into a hard financial situation and becomes insolvent. At the end of the ayah, Allah warns the interest collectors that the war of Allah shall not only reach them in this world since on the day of the Resurrection the unjust shall all be punished.

The rules of lending money and banking services in the Islam

In the times before Islam, loans were not primarily taken in order to develop a business. People who could not make ends meet in lean times asked for loans under the pressure of necessity; however they often had to sacrifice their whole existence in order to survive in a short run.

At the beginning of Islam – exactly due to the developed and well-functioning trading– the institution of credit without interest was soon born. The importance of loans is supported by the fact that the longest verse of the Quran talks about it (Quran 2:282). Loans are among the few transactions in Islamic law that should be committed to paper. In case the parties are in a situation where this is not possible to do, then a security deposit should be given (Quran 2:283).

However, by the birth of interest-based banks and due to their spreading in the Muslim world, the situation has fundamentally changed and Muslims have had to face a number of problems that affect both those who live in traditionally Muslim areas and those who live in the West. Dr. Yusuf al-Qaradawi, an Egyptian Islamic theologian who lives in Qatar received the following letter from the United States of America, from a Muslim who lives there:

“I am writing to you, most honoured scholar, due to a topic that I consider crucial in my life [...] Recently I have had the opportunity to start an enterprise together with an American building engineer which may lead me to the necessity of asking for a bank loan. Naturally, I know that this thing is *haram* [prohibited]; thus I have tried everything in my power to avoid it. However, no Islam bank would give me help. I am looking forward to your answering my question.”

The scholar reached the following *fatwa* (legal ordinance):

“For Muslims, there is no problem with trying to get rich. The Islam does not say what is said for the Christians in the Bible that it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for someone rich to enter the kingdom of Heaven. On the contrary: in the Quran, Allah considers it meritorious, to be a blessing if somebody gets rich. At the same time, the writer of this letter should be aware of the fact that wealth has an immense power of temptation and that material wealth

is not everything. Striving for wealth, if it is accompanied by impatience, may become very dangerous since it may lead to frivolity towards the Shariah. In aware of this, let us examine the question of our brethren who would start his enterprise by a profitable step; however, the scholars of Islam have reached a consensus according to which interest is forbidden.

The necessity for claiming interest is very exactly described in the fatwas that are determined by the Shariah, which is based on the principles of Quran. In order to make something prohibited become allowed there has to be a real emergency; and not one that is imagined to be an emergency or something that serves as an excuse to circumvent prohibition.

The well-known example for this is the quotation from the Quran in connection with consuming pork: Allah said:

“Prohibited to you are dead animals, blood, the flesh of swine, and that which has been dedicated to other than Allah , and [those animals] killed by strangling or by a violent blow or by a head-long fall or by the goring of horns, and those from which a wild animal has eaten, except what you [are able to] slaughter [before its death], and those which are sacrificed on stone altars, and [prohibited is] that you seek decision through divining arrows. That is grave disobedience [...]” (Quran 5:3).

About those who consume these due to necessity, Allah says: “But whoever is forced by severe hunger with no inclination to sin - then indeed, Allah is Forgiving and Merciful” (Quran 5:3). We have to make sure that there is no other substituting solution through which a thing that is allowed may be done. *In conclusion, the absolution from prohibition due to necessity may not imply that the allowance for the deed has become a basic principle but should merely be considered a strict exception that loses its effectiveness as soon as the emergency is over. The brethren who raised this question has the possibility to take one step after the other on the stair that leads to richness and he should not strive for getting rich overnight since this method may lead to his losing his life both here and in the after-life.*”

Besides these it also should be mentioned that in connection with loans, the so-called *European Fatwa Committee* has made a decree that in the case of European Muslims the lack of a self-owned flat results in emergency; thus in their case, the Committee allowed for taking a bank loan provided that it means buying their first flat. Furthermore, those that place their riches in an interest-based bank from necessity or from the fear that it might be lost or stolen may claim these banking services; however, they should turn to Allah for His forgiveness and they should do everything in their power to find a solution that is in full accordance with the stipulations of the Islam.

Provided that they place their money in a bank that pays interest, they should get rid of the interest in a way that is allowed by the Islam. It can be spent on the poor or on some infrastructural aims but it cannot be offered as donation but the intention should be to get rid of it; because donation, i.e. zakat which, as one of the practical pillars of Islam, cannot originate from a surreptitious source. Furthermore, the interest cannot be spent on one's own family and it cannot be used to pay tax or damages or alimentary endowment.

The Grand Mufti of Saudi Arabia, Abd al-Aziz ibn Baz was once asked the following question:

“I have a current account at a bank that normally pays interest, but I have one that is not interest-bearing. I wonder whether the leading-case considering interest affects me and whether I sin through this. Shall I close my current account knowing that this way I may lose my money?”

The Grand Mufti's answer was as follows:

“Since you have placed your money in an account that does not bear interest in order not to lose it and in order that it should be safe this qualifies to be an emergency and thus you have not sinned. Notwithstanding, when you have the opportunity, you should place it in an Islam bank because this way you incite its work and help it do its tasks. Islamic banks should be incited and supported and if they make a mistake, their attention should be drawn to this fact. They need to correct the mistake in order to be competitive against interest-bearing banks and in order that Muslims choose an Islamic bank. Provided that you place your money in an Islamic bank you have the possibility of obtaining some profit that is allowed by religious laws through some so-called modaraba transactions. The Islam does not allow for a determined return or interest. An example for determined return: you place SAR 100.000 at a bank that bears interest or at a merchant in order that he should pay you interest of a given proportion every month. According to the Sariah, this is forbidden. However, the Islamic bank does have the possibility to invest your money in accordance with Islamic stipulations in the form of a modaraba transaction; for example through buying certain goods. The goods are sold by the bank in accordance with previous agreement; it collects the profit and, in compliance with the previous contract, bonus is paid to the owner of the capital. In short, you do not sin if due to your fear of losing your riches you place your money in a bank that pays interest provided that you do not accept the interest.”

Forms of financing at Islamic banks

The Islam offers solutions in the areas of bank credit and investment that are widely different from interest calculation. One of the simplest concept is „*sukuk*” (singular: *sakk*, the word “cheque” derives from this word) which is practically the counterpart of Western bonds in a form that aligns with religious stipulations.

The *sukuk* transactions are of different types. In the case of *Bay' al-'Inan*, the issuer of the bond sells the bond to the other party and then immediately hires it from him at a previously agreed value and at the end of the transaction the bond becomes the property of the issuer once again. The fee of hiring, in total, is of course higher than the purchase price. In the case of *Bay' Bithaman Ajil*, a similar transaction is carried out; however, this one is not confined to bonds. Beyond this, exists the so-called *Bay' al-Isti'jar* which is an agreement of transporting goods, and the *Bay' al-Salam* which is contracted for future transports; the *Kafalah* means a guarantee contract.

A classical solution for investment financing, as we have already mentioned, is the sharing of profit. In the case of the transaction *modaraba* that we have already mentioned, the risk of the enterprise is undertaken by the investing party and he bears losses if the original conception did not materialize (except for the case where the implementer of the business deliberately causes damage). In the case of the *Musharakah* option, however, we can talk of a complete partnership. The business partners share equally not only the profit but also the expenses of the bankrupt business plan.

According to Dr. Saleh Al-Fawzan Islamic scholar, the *modaraba* –the most well-known form of bank financing– is a form of trading transactions that is allowed by the Islam religion and that was also known back in the time of the Prophet Muhammad. Its meaning in the Shariah: handing over determined riches to a person (or to an Islamic bank) in order that they trade with it. In the *modaraba* transaction, the client hands over the riches or resources to the trustee so that he would purchase something and then merchandise it. Purchasing may be substituted by taking part in some business or enterprise, in the form of investment.

When making the contract, the contracting parties determine the proportion of sharing the profit and the length of time the *modaraba* transaction will last. As a general principle, profit should not be shared before the termination of the contract except it is stipulated otherwise in the contract. The rules mentioned above naturally also apply to losses. The *modaraba* generally runs more risks but may result in greater profits than deposit interest since while in the case of placing a deposit the only risk that the depositor runs is that the bank may go bankrupt, the *modaraba* depends greatly on the changes in the circumstances of the market. This method may eliminate the role of

deposit as dead money outside economy since in the case of modaraba, money turns around, operates and can result in profit; true, it can also result in losses.

In conclusion, I would like to add as curiosity that the global economic crisis that broke out some years ago have had the least effect on the Muslim world. Due to their conservative investment policies, Islamic banks are more stable than their competitors; and nowadays stability and reliability are rare treasures in the market of banking. Thus everything is given that the Sharia-compatible financial institutions will be relatively unharmed by the crisis. The prohibition of taking interest in the Islam results also in the fact that there are many financial products prohibited that have been blamed for the surge of crisis that has been going on for five years now. It is not a coincidence that nowadays the principles of Islamic investments seem attractive also to many Western investors.

According to estimates, the amount of money handled within the framework of Islamic banks is now about USD 2,000 billion. Islamic banks have been operating for more than a millennium; and the past decade has seen significant and renowned European financial institutions establishing their own Islamic banks. The centre of the Islamic bank system can naturally be found in countries and regions where Muslims constitute a majority; however, it does manifest clearly the trend that the Islamic banks are looking quite steadily towards the West. At present, Islamic banks mainly operate along the Persian Gulf and in south-eastern Asia. In 2004, the licence was granted for the very first Islamic bank of Europe (Islamic Bank of Britain) to be opened in London.

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Note: The Quran quotes were translated personally by the author (from Arabic into Hungarian).

Bir-rúhi wal-haqq – In Soul and Truth

پال نيمت: ”بالروح والحق“

”أهكذا أنتم أغبياء. أبعدُما ابتدأتم بالروح تُكْمَلون الآن بالجسد“؟

(رسالة بولس الرسول إلى أهل غلاطية 3/3)

عندما كان الكاتب الروسي الكبير ليف تولستوي ضابطاً في شبابه، صفع أحد زملائه الضباط جندياً خرج من الصف دون أن ينتبه.

- ”كيف تعامل أخاك؟“ صرخ به تولستوي. - ”يبدو أنك لم تقرأ الإنجيل“.

- ”أما حضرتك فلم تقرأ لوائح الخدمة“. جاءه الجواب.

بهذا السخط وعدم الفهم يستقبل الفهم الحسي المعتاد على الأمور الأرضية الاعتراض والتنبيه الصادرين عن الرجل الروحاني الذي تحدد فكره ونظرته للحياة القيم الأزلية. هناك بون شاسع، من أية روحية تتبع أعمالنا. ما هي تلك القوى التي تحدد أعمالنا؟ هل ”الإنجيل“ ما يحدد طبيعة علاقتنا باخوتنا في الانسانية أم نكتفي بتطبيق ما هو موجود في ”لوائح الخدمة“؟ لأننا لو نظرنا إلى قريبنا، أحيانا في الانسانية، من منظور الانجيل، لوجدناها نظرة تختلف عن تلك التي نراها عبر نظارة لوائح الخدمة. فرؤية الانجيل للأخ في الانسانية والقريب هي الانسان الآخر الذي هو ابن نفس

الأب السماوي، مثلما أننا ابن هذا الأب السماوي ذاته، وهذا ما يضع على كاهلي مسؤولية تجاهه. أما لوائح الخدمة فهي تعتبر أخي في الانسانية " غريباً " عني، وفي مقدوري مطالبة هذا الغريب بأي شيء، وفي أي وقت ما دمت أشعر أن لوائح الخدمة تعطيني الحق في ذلك. عندما أقابل أخاً لي في الانسانية، فالأمر مختلف إن كان أول ما يخطر في بالي هو المسؤولية، أم أن لوائح الخدمة إلى جانبي وهي تخولني قياس قيمة هذا الانسان بمعيار تطبيقه هذه اللوائح. وأخال أن سبب أكثر الصفحات التي تنهال على القفا هو هذا.

تتجلى هذه الثنائية في عالم الأديان الروحاني أيضاً، وفي علاقة هذه الأديان بعضها بالآخر كذلك. فلو نظرنا إلى الأديان العالمية الموحدة الكبرى، لوجدنا في كل منها الجانب الروحاني الانجيلي والالهي، والجانب الجسدي، الذي يتعامل مع الآخر على أساس نظام وقواعد تحقيق الذات. عندما سلّم الرب بني اسرائيل ليد الملك البابلي جزاء معصيتهم، بدا أن كل شيء قد ضاع. كانت اورشليم والهيكل كومة حجارة، والبلاد مدمرة، وسيقت خيرة الشعب إلى بابل. عندئذ بدأ انبعاث شعب اسرائيل بالتجلي ببطء، رويداً رويداً. أخذ ما كان جسدياً بالتسامي ليغدو روحياً، ومنذ ذلك الحين لم يتزعزع إيمان الشعب اليهودي بالرب الواحد. ولد الدين اليهودي الروحاني في أرض غريبة، في المنفى، وللمرة الاولى تتفوق الفكرة التي بشر بها الأنبياء: الصلاة الصادقة والتعاليم الدينية المغذية للروح والمهذبة للأخلاق هي أكثر قيمة من طقوس الهيكل وتقديم القرابين. هناك تكونت

حياة البرّ في الكنيس وتقاليد العبادة اللتان لم تحفظان اليهودية الروحانية في الشتات فحسب، بل غدت المثل الذي احتذت به المسيحية في عبادتها كذلك. ومنذ ذلك الحين يتزايد الاغراء أمام اليهود كوجود وبتقل متعاضم، كما عبر عنه بولس الرسول في استفساره: ”أبعَداً ابتدأتم بالروح تكملون الآن بالجسد“؟

هذا الأجراء وصل أشده عند المسيحية إبان الحروب الصليبية. فالحروب التي دارت لتحرير القبر المقدس في جوهرها كانت من أجل تحقيق أهداف مادية وجسدية وحسية. ما بدأ روحياً في بناء الكنيسة، لبس لبوساً جسدياً دموياً عند احتلال بيت المقدس. ويعبر ج. ف. ف. هيغل عن هذا التناقض بصورة جليّة في كتابه *فلسفة تاريخ العالم*، فيقول في محاضراته: ”برز في كل أفعال المسيحيين هذا التناقض الشديد المتواجد في كل مكان على امتداد كل الحدث، عندما انتقل الجيش المسيحي من أشد العنف والانفلات إلى أعظم الندم والخشوع. سجد المسيحيون وارتموا على أرض قبر المخلص في صلاة عميقة وسيوفهم لا تزال تقطر من دم المقدسين المذبوحين“. هيغل الذي ترعرع في كنف اللاهوت البروتستانتي يرينا بوضوح كم كانت الحروب من أجل القبر المقدس متغطرة وعبثية بالكامل. ”تعيّن في هذا القبر الفارغ أن يزول مُعتقد العالم المسيحي القائل بالعثور على ضالّته القصوى في كينونة حسيّة. احتل المسيحيون بيت المقدس، لكنهم في روحيتهم عادوا وجلبوا معهم عكس ما ذهبوا للبحث عنه. فقد زالت في القبر المقدس كل غطرسة المعتقد، وها هنا غدا الأمر

جاءاً... وتحققت الآيات: "لأنك لن تترك نفسي في الهاوية. لن تدع تقيك يرى فساداً" (مزامير 10/16؛ أعمال الرسل 27/2، 31). لم يعثر العالم المسيحي في القبر ما هو الحقيقة القصوى بالنسبة إليه. في هذا القبر حصلت المسيحية على نفس الجواب الذي حصل عليه الحواريون عندما بحثوا عن جسد السيد المسيح: "لماذا تطلبين الحي بين الاموات. ليس هو ههنا لكنه قام" (لوقا 24، 5) (هيغل، محاضرات حول فلسفة تاريخ العالم، بودابست 1979، ص ص 672-673).

إذا ما نبغي تكثيف جوهر الدين اليهودي في تعبير واحد، سنقول، أن اليهودية هي دين *التعاليم*. ويمكننا تلخيص جوهر المسيحية بشكل مكثف: دين *المحبة الالهية*. أما جوهر الاسلام فتكشفه لنا كلمة الاسلام ذاتها، والاسم على المسمى: دين *التسليم* أمام الرب. فالكلمة كما نعرف جاءت من س ل م، والتي جاء منها السلام كذلك. نقرأ في القرآن: "وَعِبَادُ الرَّحْمَنِ الَّذِينَ يَمْشُونَ عَلَى الْأَرْضِ هَوْنًا وَإِذَا خَاطَبَهُمُ الْجَاهِلُونَ قَالُوا سَلَامًا" (سورة الفرقان 62). يقول الطبري المفسر الشهير في هذه الآية: "إن عباد الله هم الذين يمشون على الأرض بالحلم، لا يجهلون على من جهل عليهم".

لكن جوهر الاسلام لا يعني فقط عدم جواز ملاقاته بالسوء بالسوء، بل كذلك إذا ما قابلنا غريمنا بحسنة، فعلياً أن نقابله بمثله. وحتى في الحرب تجري القاعدة القائلة: "وَلَا تَقُولُوا لِمَنْ أَلْفَى إِلَيْكُمْ السَّلَامَ لَسْنَا

مُؤمناً“ (سورة النساء 94). ولهذا ينبع من طبيعة الاسلام الروحية تصرف مزدوج. فمن ناحية الشعور بالطاعة الكاملة العميقة تجاه الرب، ومن ناحية اخرى الجنوح إلى السلم أمام غير المسلمين والاخوة في الانسانية. ويخسر الاسلام روحانيته إذا ما غلفت غشاوة الصراع من أجل العالم المادي والجسدي الخلفية الروحية وفكرية للاسلام، التي يتعين أن تكون مصدر كل الأفعال المخلصة والتي ينهل منها كل تصرف إنساني ثري. يخاطب السؤال الذي ألقاه بولس الرسول أتباع الدين الاسلامي كذلك: “أبعدما ابتدأتم بالروح تكملون الآن بالجسد“؟

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One God in Countless Forms based on Laghu-Bhāgavatāmṛta by Rūpa Gosvāmī¹

The “Hare Krishnas” are everywhere, most people have met them at least once. However, few people know what is their faith, what, or rather, who, they believe in. Many people would think that they are polytheists, believers in many gods. This is, however, a misunderstanding, which I am going to dissipate by giving an introduction into the science of Kṛṣṇa’s incarnations (*avatāras*)² which explains how the One becomes Countless. This science is very detailed, therefore I will only attempt to give an overall presentation of the basic types of expansions of the Supreme.

I assume that most of my readers are not conversant in the terminology of *Gauḍīya-Vaiṣṇava*³ theology, therefore I will give their explanations in footnotes. I will try to support my statements by quotations or purports from scriptures, mainly from the *Bhagavad-gītā*, *Śrīmad-Bhāgavatam* and works by *Gauḍīya-ācāryas*⁴ – which is the tradition anyway.

The chief source of this study is the *Laghu-Bhāgavatāmṛta* by the 16th Century saint and author Rūpa Gosvāmī⁵ and its commentary by Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa⁶

1 English translation by Mátys Méréö.

2 The term will be explained later.

3 The Krishna-devotees are usually referred to as *Gauḍīya-vaiṣṇava*. *Vaiṣṇava* means a believer in Viṣṇu (Kṛṣṇa). This system of faith is divided into many branches, one of which is the *Gauḍīya*, or Bengali Vaisnavism. This tradition was taken to the West by A. C. Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupāda, founding *ācārya* of the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON). The Hungarian member of ISKCON is the Community of Krishna-Conscious Believers, abbreviated as MKTHK in Hungarian, which has been a registered religious organisation (“church”) in Hungary since 1989.

4 An *ācārya* is a *bona fide* teacher of the tradition.

5 Rūpa Gosvāmī (1489–1564) was one of the scholars mandated by Caitanya Mahāprabhu (according to *Gauḍīya*- tradition, an *avatāra* of Kṛṣṇa) to analyse Vedic scriptures, condense their essence and preach about devotional service. (*Caitanya-caritāmṛta* [in the following: *Cc.*] Madhya-līlā, 1.34.) He made an immense contribution to *Gauḍīya-vaiṣṇava* literature. He wrote more than sixteen volumes of approximately 100,000 verses.

6 Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa (?–1793) theologian, commentator of scriptures. Among others, his main work is *Govinda-bhāṣya*, the compendium of *Gauḍīya-vaiṣṇava* purports to *Vedānta-sūtra*.

(*Sāraṅga-raṅgadā*) as these works give a thorough treatise on the unlimited expansions of Kṛṣṇa. In writing *Laghu-Bhāgavatāmṛta* Rūpa Gosvāmī intended to prove that Kṛṣṇa is the original Supreme Personality of Godhead, without equal or superior and that He is the source of all *avatāras*.

At first, Rūpa Gosvāmī describes the main expansions, which are not really *avatāras* –, then goes on to define and present in detail the further groups of expansions. Because of constraints of space, I am going to deal only with the most important ones.

In presenting the quoted verses, I will give the Sanskrit word in (*brackets*) so as to underpin my proposition and to add value to those readers who understand Sanskrit. The translations of Sanskrit words relies on the Internet version of *Monier-Williams Sanskrit–English Dictionary*.⁷

Reasons for Kṛṣṇa’s appearance

The *vaiṣṇava* view of reality divides the cosmos into two main parts: the material vs. the spiritual world. As the living entities possess a tiny degree of independence, they may decide which world they want to belong. The spirit souls consider the material world as a place where they can enjoy, they take birth in it, however, at the same time, the material world exerts an influence on them.⁸ In this way, when the illusory energy of matter influence them, they forget their Lord, the Personality of Godhead, and they identify with their body and develop attachments to various actions serving their bodies.⁹ Thus, the living being, which is now far from being independent, in wandering in the cycle of repeated birth and death in various species, due to his actions. “Thus he goes up and down from a microbe in stool to a high position in the Brahmaloḥa planet.”¹⁰ By his own power he could never get out of this cycle.

Kṛṣṇa’s eternal abode is the spiritual world which is eternal and full of knowledge and bliss. He eternally resides there and His devotees can also partake in His transcendental pastimes¹¹.

The question may arise: what is the reason He appears in His original form at a place which is *asat*, *acit*, and *nirānanda*, i.e. temporary, full of ignorance and

7 *Monier-Williams Sanskrit-English Dictionary* on the Internet: <http://www.sanskrit-lexicon.uni-koeln.de/scans/MWScan/2014/web/webtc2/index.php>

8 *Śrīmad-Bhāgavatam* [in the following: *Bhāg.*] 6.16.52.

9 *Bhāg.* 4.29.26–27

10 *Bhāg.* 4.26.8.

11 *Cc. Ādi-līlā*, 3.5.

unhappiness? The answer is given by Himself in the *Bhagavad-gītā*: *suhṛdam sarva-bhūtānām*,¹² He is the benefactor and well-wisher of all living entities.

To explain the descent of Kṛṣṇa the following two verses of the *Bhagavad-gītā* are usually quoted:

“Whenever and wherever there is a decline in religious practice, O descendant of Bharata, and a predominant rise of irreligion—at that time I descend Myself. To deliver the pious and to annihilate the miscreants, as well as to re-establish the principles of religion, I Myself appear, millennium after millennium.”¹³ He lists three reasons why He expands Himself and descends to the material world.

These three reasons are as follow:

1. to deliver the pious,
2. to annihilate the miscreants,
3. to re-establish the principles of religion.

There is, however, a fourth, hidden, reason which we have already mentioned, connected to the first three, and this is the performance of pastimes. Actually, this reason is the original reason of all the others.

Kṛṣṇa, the Supreme Lord is the most merciful as he descends to the material world to manifest His pastimes (*līlās*).

“The Lord appeared in the mortal world by His internal potency, *yoga-māyā*. He came in His eternal form, which is just suitable for His pastimes. These pastimes were wonderful for everyone, even for those proud of their own opulence, including the Lord Himself in His form as the Lord of Vaikuṅṭha. Thus His [Śrī Kṛṣṇa’s] transcendental body is the ornament of all ornaments.”¹⁴

The *Śrīmad-Bhāgavatam* also writes that hearing about the pastimes of Bhagavān¹⁵ Kṛṣṇa is very auspicious.¹⁶ Hearing about these *līlās* the hearts of the spirit souls living in the material world becomes cleansed and become eligible to return to their original abode, to the spiritual world.

12 *Bhagavad-gītā* [in the following: *Bhg.*] 5.29.

13 *Bhg.* 4.7–8.

14 *Bhāg.* 3.2.12.

15 The *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* (6.5.79) describes the meaning of the word *bhagavān*: knowledge (*jñāna*), force, both subtle (*śakti*), and gross (*bala*), controlling power (*aiśvarya*), transcendental influence (*vīrya*), brilliant beauty (*tejāmsi*), and freedom (*vinā*) from all lower grade (*heyaiḥ*) quality: these are the attributes of Bhagavān.

16 *Bhāg.* 2.6.46, 3.9.7, 3.20.5.

Definition of Avatāra

Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupāda sometimes uses the word “incarnation” in his translations, however elsewhere notes that the concept is not quite the same as that of the Sanskrit *avatāra*.¹⁷ The etymology of the word *incarnation* derives from the Latin verb *incarno*, which was formed from the noun *caro* by adding the prefix *in*. The meaning of *caro* is “flesh”, therefore the full meaning of the word *incarnatio* is “someone who has become flesh”, or someone who is “of flesh”, i.e. who has taken a body.¹⁸ The word *avatāra*, however, means “someone who has descended”. The word itself derives from the radical $\sqrt{tṛ}$ by adding a prefix *ava*,¹⁹ therefore its meaning is “descend”.²⁰ There is, thus, no question of taking a body - as in the case of the concept of *incarnatio* -, as He does not become something but descends in His original form. Although Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupāda did use the expression *incarnation* as a synonym of *avatāra*, but, as has been mentioned, he stressed the significant difference in the meaning of the words. In this work I mostly used the words “form”, “shape” and “appearance” and tried to avoid “incarnation”:

Kṛiṣṇa’s avatāras

The forms we are going to describe first are not really *avatāras*, as according to the definition by the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* as well as the later *Laghu-Bhāgavatāmṛta* *avatāra* is who descends to the material world.²¹ This primary division only gives the sources from which those forms emanate that will appear as actual *avatāras* to perform pastimes in the material world.

Rūpa Gosvāmī divides the forms of appearance of the Lord in the following three classes: *svayam-rūpa*, *tad-ekātma-rūpa* és *āveśa-rūpa*.²² The question may arise,

17 Eg.: 1968. 12. 02. *Bhagavad-gītā* class (Los Angeles).

18 Although the word *incarno* does not exist in the *Bible* in this form, the expression comes from the Gospel of John, where he writes: *et Verbum caro factum est*, reading: “The Word became flesh [...]” *John* 1:14 (<http://read.cs bible.com>).

19 $\sqrt{tṛ}$: cross over, pass across.

20 *ava*: off; down.

21 *avatara*: descent, entrance. Note: with this second meaning (entrance), the word reaches its complete meaning viz. by descending from the spiritual world in the same time He enters to the material world.

22 “The form of the Lord that descends into the material world to create is called an *avatāra*, or incarnation. All the expansions of Lord Kṛiṣṇa are actually residents of the spiritual world. But when they descend into the material world, they are called incarnations [*avatāras*].” *Cc. Madhya-līlā*, 20.263-264; ill. *Laghu-Bhāgavatāmṛta* [in the following: *LBh.*] 1.2.2.

though, that how it is possible that the Supreme Lord, who is one without duality,²³ appears in various forms. To dissipate this doubt, Rūpa Gosvāmī starts his treatise with this classification and declares that these forms all originate in one source, *svayam-rūpa*.

Svayam-rūpa

According to Rūpa Gosvāmī's definition, *svayam-rūpa* is the form which does not depend on any other form.²⁴ Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa explains this thus: the word *rūpa* here refers to *svarūpa*, which means fundamental identity of the person. The original form of the Supreme Lord is also called *svayam-rūpa* because it is self-manifested, not coming from another person. Therefore the form of the Supreme Lord which was manifested by Himself and is independent from all is called *svayam-rūpa*.²⁵

Also Baladeva traces the expression *svayam-rūpa* from a word composition in the *Bhāgavatam* with the same meaning: *ananya-siddham*, which literally means "somebody not made perfect by any ornament",²⁶ meaning that He is perfect in Himself. The concept *anya*²⁷ only makes sense if the Lord expands Himself into various forms. This apparent difference (*viśeṣa*) does not mean a division of Himself though, but rather His expansion into countless forms through His unlimited energies. For, the eternally undivided oneness is a substantial attribute of the Supreme Lord.²⁸

After defining the concept, Rūpa Gosvāmī carries on by quoting the first verse of *Brahma-saṁhitā*, which says:

*sac-cid-ānanda-vigrahaḥ
anādir ādir govindaḥ sarva-kāraṇa-kāraṇam*²⁹

23 I will only explain the *svayam-* and the *tad-ekātma-rūpas*, and will leave out the *āveśa-rūpa* group, since the members of this division are not the direct expansions of Kṛṣṇa but empowered souls carrying a particular mission. They did not come to the material world because of the above mentioned reasons.

24 *ekam evādvīṭyam*, azaz: [the Supreme Lord is] one only, without a second [or: one only, without secondness] (*Chāndogya-upaṇiṣad* 6.2.1); vacy: *vadanti tat tattva-vidas / tattvaṁ yaj jñānam advayam*, azaz: "Learned transcendentalists who know the Absolute Truth (call) this nondual substance [...]." (*Bhāg.* 1.2.11).

25 *LBh.* 1.1.12. *svayam*: self. *sva*: own, one's own.

26 *LBh.* 1.1.12.

27 *Bhāg.* 10.44.14 word by word translation [in the following: wbw.], *Cc.* Ādi-līlā, 4.156, wbw.

28 *anya*: another person; here: every other person who is different from the Supreme.

29 *bahu-mūrty-eka-mūrtikam*, "Although You appear in various forms, You are one without a second." (*Bhāg.* 10.40.7)

Meaning, Kṛṣṇa is the Supreme Lord, Who is an eternally blissful and omniscient person, Who has no beginning and is the source of all other forms of God and the cause of all causes. *Śrīmad-Bhāgavatam* also confirms His originality: *puruṣam ṛṣabham ādyaṁ kṛṣṇa-samjñam*,³⁰ meaning: He, who is called Kṛṣṇa, is the superexcellent person, who is the origin of all living beings. To handle the supposition that *ādi* means that Kṛṣṇa is just simply a form appearing in the material world, *Brahma-samhitā* emphasizes that He is at the same time *anādiḥ* as well, which word points out that the form which appears in the material world as Kṛṣṇa, is an eternal one which exists in the spiritual world and which is the source from all other forms expand. The *Gopāla-tāpanī-upaniṣad* also declares: *eko 'pi san bahudhā yo 'vabhāti*,³¹ meaning: “Although the Lord is one, He is present in innumerable hearts as many”.

Tad-ekātma-rūpa

Therefore the *svayam-rūpa* is the source of all expansions, and, for various reasons,³² this form expands. According to the definition, *ekātma-rūpa* is a form of the Original Person that, apart from some bodily differences, is non-different from Him.³³ Even the expression “*ekātma-rūpa*” is very telling: it means those whose self (*ātman*) is one (*eka*), and thus indicates that the *ekātma*-forms are identical with the *svayam-rūpa*. The main difference between the two forms manifests in bodily characteristics and the pastimes. The *Viśva-kośa* defines the meaning of the word *ākṛti* as follows: *ākṛtiḥ kathitā rūpe sāmānya-vapuṣor api*,³⁴ meaning: *ākṛti* may mean a form (*rūpa*), similarity (*sāmānya*), or body (*vapu*).

The category of *ekātma* is divided into two subcategories by Rūpa Gosvāmī: the *vilāsa* and the *svāmśa* forms, i.e. from the *svayam-rūpa* – which is the source of all *avatāra* – the *ekātma* forms are manifested, which will, in turn, be the basis of further *vilāsa* and *svāmśa* – forms.

30 *Brahma-samhitā* [in the following: *Bs.*] 5.1; Note: as can be seen from the numbering, actually this is not the first verse of *Brahma-samhitā* but the first verse that has remained.

31 *Bhāg.* 11.29.49.

32 *Gopāla-tāpanī-upaniṣad* 1.19.

33 See also *Bhg.* 4.7–8; *Cc.* Madhya-līlā, 20.263; see beyond.

34 *LBh.* 1.1.15.

Vilāsa-rūpa

The expression *vilāsa-rūpa* indicates those forms that appear different from the *svayam-rūpa*, but during their pastimes³⁵ they manifest nearly the same power^{36,37}.

Svāmśa-rūpa

The *svāmśa*-forms³⁸ make the picture even more complicated as the difference between them and the *vilāsa*-forms is not as apparent as between the *svayam* and *ekātma-rūpas*. Rūpa Gosvāmī writes in his definition: *svāmśa-rūpas* are similar to the *vilāsa-rūpas*, however the potency they manifest is more limited.³⁹

Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa voices his doubt about the approach that makes a difference between different *avatāras*: he sees that stating that one part (*aṁśa*) is less than the owner of the part (*aṁśī*) is in contrast with the purport given by the great *ācārya* of the disciplic succession, Madhva, to Verse 1.1.9 of the *Vedānta-sūtra*.⁴⁰

The *sūtra* itself says: *svāpyayāt*, meaning that: “[...] as He merges back to Himself [and not something else]”.⁴¹ Madhvācārya explains the statement of the *sūtra* by the Vjāsaneya part of the *Yajur-veda*, according to which:

*om pūrṇam adaḥ pūrṇam idaṁ pūrṇāt pūrṇam udacyate
pūrṇasya pūrṇam ādāya pūrṇam evāvaśiṣyate*⁴²

The original form is complete, the manifested form is also complete. Both are complete and perfect. The manifested form appears out of the original form to perform various pastimes. Unifying the manifested form with the original, the original form remains elsewhere, without merging.⁴³ Therefore when the original, perfect expansion – *avatārī* – accepts a certain form (*avatāra*) in order to partake in various pastimes, the original form is always present, albeit in a covered form. The

35 QIbidited: *LBh.* 1.1.15, purport.

36 The appropriateness of the expression is well illustrated by the fact that *vilāsa* means *appearance*, *manifestation* as well as *pastime*.

37 These potencies are discussed in detail in *LBh.* Chapter 1.1.5.

38 *LBh.* 1.1.15.

39 *sva-aṁśa* means: portion of self.

40 *LBh.* 1.1.17.

41 *LBh.* 1.1.17, purport.

42 *Vedānta-sūtra* 1.1.9.

43 *Īsopaniṣad*, Invocation; *Bṛhad-āraṇyaka-upaniṣad* 5.1.1.

Supreme Lord never lose any of His perfection, no matter what the circumstances are.⁴⁴ Non-difference is true in the sense that all expansions of the Lord are perfect.

We regard Matsya and other *avatāras* as the *svayam-rūpa amśas* of Kṛṣṇa. These appearances, however, are not as different from the Lord as the *jīvas*⁴⁵ – *who are also amśas*, – for, these latter have a material body in the material world to which they are attached, their actions being sanctioned by the Lord,⁴⁶ whereas the *avatāras* are independent.⁴⁷

To sum up, the purport of the *svāpyayāt* is not that there is no hierarchy among the expansions of the Supreme Lord but that His existence is always perfect in all His appearances.⁴⁸

Prakāśa-rūpa

At the end of the first chapter of *Laghu-Bhāgavatāmṛta*, Rūpa Gosvāmī mentions the *prakāśa*-forms as additional information.⁴⁹

When a given form expands Himself to be at several places at the same time, such that these expansions are identical with Him in all respects, these forms are called *prakāśa*-forms⁵⁰. This group include forms that are completely identical to the original form from which they expanded, as to looks, qualities and pastimes as well.

We may mention here as an example the Dvārakā pastimes of Kṛṣṇa when He was present at all his 16,108 palaces at the same time. “It is quite amazing that in a single body Lord Kṛṣṇa simultaneously married sixteen thousand women, each in a separate palace!”⁵¹

44 *Govinda-bhāṣya* [in the following: *Gb.*] 1.1.9.

45 Bhaktivinoda Ṭhākura’s purport to the Invocation of *Īsopaniṣad*. (Bhānu Swami 2006: 4.)

46 The word *jīva* refers to individual souls, of which *Śrīmad-Bhāgavatam* writes thus: The living entity is eternal and imperishable because he actually has no beginning and no end. He never takes birth or dies. He is the basic principle of all types of bodies, yet he does not belong to the bodily category. The living being is so sublime that he is equal in quality to the Supreme Lord. Nonetheless, because he is extremely small, he is prone to be illusioned by the external energy, and thus he creates various bodies for himself according to his different desires.” (*Bhāg.* 6.16.9.)

47 Here the word sanctioning (*amujñā*) means that the Lord inspires the *jīvas* according to their desires to do good or bad deeds. (*Gb.* 2.3.46.)

48 *Vedānta-sūtra* 2.3.48: *ābhāsa eva ca*: Regarding *jīvas* and *avatāras* to be equal is a logical mistake.

49 *LBh.* 1.5.90. Note: The teachings told by Lord Caitanya to Sanātana Gosvāmī on the *tad-ekātma-rūpas* can be read in Verses 183-188 of *Cc.* Madhya-līlā, Chapter 20.

50 *LBh.* 1.1.20.

51 Meaning of *prakāśa*: expanded.

Even though the principle is that the *prakāśa-rūpas* are identical to their origin in their outward attributes, sometimes it is not so. In the following verse Rūpa Gosvāmī writes that, although Kṛṣṇa, whose original form is two armed (*dvi-bhujasya*),⁵² sometimes appears in a four armed form (*catuḥ-bhujatve*),⁵³ still, these four armed forms are the *prakāśa* expansions of the two armed forms.⁵⁴ How can this happen? This is explained by Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa as follows: according to *Medinī-kośa*, in the expression *kṛṣṇa-rūpatām* in the verse the word *rūpa* may mean character and beauty at the same time.⁵⁵ Therefore it may happen that, to crack a joke, He shows His four armed form without losing His original attributes. This is also the clue to the pastime when at His birth, Kṛṣṇa first appears before Vasudeva and Devakī in a four armed Viṣṇu form, then in the form of a two armed baby. Śrīla Śukadeva Gosvāmī declares: “He turned into an ordinary baby”,⁵⁶ which indicates that by turning into a two armed baby from a four armed form, Kṛṣṇa merely showed His attribute characteristic of Him, therefore rather than being in the *vilāsa-rūpa* category, this manifestation is rather of the *prakāśa-rūpa* kind.

Various scriptures, for instance, the *Padma-purāṇa* state that, as these expansions are eternal, they have a separate planet each in the Vaikuṅṭha world beyond material creation.

”All the abodes in which the Supreme Lord takes delight on the earth are present in Vaikuṅṭha. He honors each of them with various pastimes.”⁵⁷ “All the Lord’s supremely resplendent *avatāras* – Matsya, Kūrma, and the others – reside always in that eternal world of Vaikuṅṭha.”⁵⁸

After describing these categories, Rūpa Gosvāmī goes on to present those forms that play an important role in the creation of the material world and direct the events happening here, although the original abode of all these are in the spiritual world. Thus, the Lord creates the material world through His various manifestations not to fulfil His own desire⁵⁹ –, merely so that the *jīvas* can have a place where they can fulfil their material desires in apparent independence. The group of *avatāras* undertaking the role of creation is called *puruṣāvatāras*.

52 *Bhāg.* 10.69.2.

53 *Gopāla-tāpani-upaniṣad* 1.9 confirms: *dvi-bhujam jñāna* [elsewhere: *mauna*] -*mudrādyaṃ vana-mālinam īśvaram*: The Lord has two arms, showing the gesture (*mudra*) of knowledge [or great saints], and is wearing a garland made of forest flowers.

54 See: *Bhāg.* 10.60 chapter, in which Kṛṣṇa appears to Rukminī with four arms.

55 *Lb.* 1.1.23.

56 *rūpam svabhāve sundarye; svabhāva*: inherent disposition or nature; *sundara*: beautiful, handsome.

57 *Bhāg.* 10.3.46: *babhūva prākṛtaḥ śiśuḥ*.

58 *Skanda-purāṇa*, quotes: *Lb.* 1.1.24, purport.

59 *Padma-purāṇa*, quotes: *Ibid.*

Already the hymn *Puruṣa-sūkta* in the ancient *Ṛg-Veda* describes that the universes past, present and future are but the manifestations of the *puruṣa* expansions of the Supreme Lord. Even though He is immortal, He expanded Himself in the universe as *puruṣa*, so that the *jīvas* may enjoy the fruits of the material energy.⁶⁰ The *Monier-Williams dictionary* gives one of the meaning of the word *puruṣa* as: “The soul and original source of the universe (described in the *Puruṣa-sūkta* [sic!], q. v.).”⁶¹

As has been mentioned, the *avatārās* are those forms of Kṛṣṇa which descend from the spiritual world to perform a certain task. These forms are originally residents of the spiritual world, but when they descend to the material one, They are called *avatārās*.⁶²

Rūpa Gosvāmī’s definition is very similar: “When the above-mentioned forms of the Lord appear unprecedentedly (*apūrvāḥ*)⁶³ for various purposes in the material creation, either solely by Their own power or through some agency, they are called *avatāras*.”⁶⁴

From this point on, we are dealing with actual *avatārās*, among which Kṛṣṇa is the main, the most complete (*puṣkalaḥ*).⁶⁵ Oughtn’t we to object, however, to Rūpa Gosvāmī classifying Kṛṣṇa, the Supreme Lord (*svayam bhagavān*), simply as one of the *avatāras* when *Śrīmad-Bhāgavatam* and other scriptures declare Him to be the source of all expansions?⁶⁶ How can the cause be referred to as the result at the same time? This doubt is dissipated by Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa by explaining the meaning of the word *puṣkalaḥ* based on the *Haima-kośa*, which says: *puṣkalas tu pūraṇe śreṣṭhe*, i.e. *puṣkala* means complete, or super-excellent.⁶⁷ Thus He can be mentioned among the *avatāras* without contradicting the principle that He is *svayam bhagavān* and *svayam-rūpa*.

60 *Bhāg.* 3.21.20, + purport.

61 *Ṛg-veda* 10.90.2: *puruṣa evedam sarvaṁ / yad bhūtam yac ca bhavyam/ utāmrtaṭvasyeśāno/ yad annenātirohati.*

62 *Monier-Williams Dictionary.*

63 *Cc.* Madhya-līlā, 20.263–264.

64 The remote or unforeseen consequence of an act; extraordinary; not having existed before; unprecedented.

65 *LBh.* 1.2.2.

66 *LBh.* 1.2.1.

67 “All of the above-mentioned incarnations are either plenary portions or portions of the plenary portions of the Lord, but Lord Śrī Kṛṣṇa is the original Personality of Godhead.” (*Bhāg.* 1.3.28) Or: “Lord Nārāyaṇa, the four primary expansions [Vāsudeva, Saṅkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha], Matsya and the other *līlā* incarnations, the *yuga-avatāras*, the *manv-antara* incarnations and as many other incarnations as there are—all descend in the body of Lord Kṛṣṇa. In this way the complete Supreme Godhead, Lord Kṛṣṇa Himself, appears.” (*Cc.* Ādi-līlā, 4.11–12.)

Puruṣāvatāras

The medium through which an *avatāra* appears may be a *tad-ekātma* form of Kṛṣṇa, or His devotee.⁶⁸ The *avatāras* can be one of three forms: a *puruṣa-*, *guṇa-*⁶⁹ or *līlā-avatāra*.⁷⁰ The first class is responsible for the material creation, the second are the controllers of the modes of material nature, and the third group perform pastimes. Most of such *avatāra* is either a *svāmśa* or *āveśa* expansion, although the *svayam-rūpa*, – the source of all original forms – sometimes descends Himself to the material world.⁷¹

The first puruṣa Mahā-Viṣṇu or Kāraṇodakaśāyī Viṣṇu

To describe the first *puruṣa-avatāra* Rūpa Gosvāmī quotes a verse from *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*,⁷² which unambiguously states that the *puruṣa-avatāra* expands from the Supreme Lord.⁷³ The verse also confirms that although the Lord is one, He expands by his *amśās* in innumerable forms (*mūrti-vibhāga-bhedaiḥ*) without losing His one-ness,⁷⁴ and becomes the origin of all forms of life (*sakala-sattva-vibhūti-*

68 *LBh.* 1.2.1, purport.

69 *LBh.* 1.1.3.

70 The *guṇa-avatāras* are not treated in this paper as this group consists not exclusively of the expansions of Kṛṣṇa but *jīvas* with special empowerment may also appear as such. For more on the subject see Rātkai: 2016 64–79.

71 *LBh.* 1.2.4. Note: Caitanya Mahāprabhu in his teaching to Sanātana Gosvāmī names six groups of *avatāras* (q.v. *Cc.* Madhya-līlā, 20.245–246), of which four is joined by Rūpa Gosvāmī (the *līlā-*, *manvantara*, *yuga-*, and *śaktyāveśa-avatāras*) as *līlāvatāras*, those performing pastimes, thus the here referred threefold grouping results.

72 *LBh.* 1.2.5.

73 *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* 6.8.61, quotes: *LBh.* 1.2.6.

74 This claim is based upon the meaning of the word *anu* ([As a separable adverb] after, afterwards, thereupon, again, further, then, next), as an evidence he quotes Śrīdhara Svāmī's purport. In this purport he quotes a former verse (*Viṣṇu-purāṇa* 6.8.58) from which it turns out, that the word *anu* refers to Purusottama – the Topmost (*uttama*) Person (*puruṣa*), ergo Kṛṣṇa. Note: Jīva Gosvāmī also use this verses in the *Paramātmā-sandarbhā* (1) for the same reasons. Also confirmed by: “O Soul of all that be, the creation, maintenance and destruction of the universe are all carried out by a fraction of an expansion of an expansion of Your expansion [...]” (*Bhāg.* 10.85.31.) Śrīla Śrīdhara Svāmī explains this verse as follows: “The Lord of Vaikuṇṭha, Nārāyaṇa, is but one expansion of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. Mahā-Viṣṇu, the first creator, is Lord Nārāyaṇa's expansion. The total material energy emanates from Mahā-Viṣṇu's glance, and of that total material energy the three modes of nature are divided portions. Thus it is Śrī Kṛṣṇa, acting through His expansions, who generates, sustains and dissolves the universe.” (*Bhāg.* 10.85.31 purport.)

kartā).⁷⁵ It seems that the first form gets into contact with the material energy⁷⁶ when He glances at matter – *prakṛti*⁷⁷ –, thus mobilising it at the beginning of material creation and in the process of the conscious control of creation emanating from the same.⁷⁸ Would that mean, however, that He comes under the influence of matter? The answer is an unambiguous no, because the whole material creation only got moving by His will, therefore *prakṛti* cannot touch Him.⁷⁹ Even though the whole material existence is under the control of *prakṛti*, still, by His inconceivable energies (*acintya-śakti*) He remains unaffected.⁸⁰

Śrīmad-Bhāgavatam (2.6.42) says: Mahā or Kāraṇodakasāyī Viṣṇu, the *puruṣa*, is the first incarnation (*ādyaḥ avatāra*) of the Supreme Lord (*parasya*).⁸¹ This expansion is the *avatārī* beyond all other expansions.⁸² Verse 5.11 of the *Brahma-saṁhitā* and the first verse of the *Puruṣa-sūkta* in *Ṛg-veda* both begin with the words *sahasra-śrīṣā puruṣaḥ*, meaning that He, the *Puruṣa* has thousands of heads (*sahasra-śrīṣā*).⁸³ Jīva Gosvāmī⁸⁴ notes in his purports to this verse in the *Brahma-saṁhitā* that this *avatāra* is described as having thousands of heads and thousands of eyes (*sahasrākṣaḥ*), because this form is the source of thousands of further forms (*sahasrāmśaḥ*) and thousands of universes (*sahasra-sūh*).⁸⁵

75 According to Śrīdhara Svāmī's explanation: "[...] various forms such as Dakṣa and Manu". (*Viṣṇu-punāṇa* 6.8.58-59, quoted: *Paramātmā-sandarbhā* 1.) The following Verse also supports this point: "The Supreme Living Being in His feature as the transcendental *puruṣa* incarnation, who is the Lord's plenary expansion, impregnates the material nature of three modes, and thus by the influence of eternal time the living entities appear." (*Bhāg.* 3.5.26.)

76 According to the purport of *LBh.* 1.2.6. Note: Śrīdhara Svāmī explains this latter expression as follows: "He, who creates all the opulences manifested by the living entities." (*Paramātmā-sandarbhā* 1.)

77 *aśuddha iva*. Śrīdhara Svāmī's purport (*Ibid.*)

78 *tad aikṣata bahu syām prajāyeya*: "He glanced at *prakṛti*. May I become many; let me create progeny." (*Chāndogya-upaniṣad* 6.2.3, quoted: *Śārārtha-darśinī* 1.1.1.) *Prakṛti*: the material nature (*Bhāg.* 3.26.10.)

79 "As long as the Supreme Personality of Godhead continues to glance upon nature, the material world continues to exist, perpetually manifesting through procreation the great and variegated flow of universal creation." (*Bhāg.* 11.24.20.)

80 *Bs.* 5.7.

81 *Bhāg.* 1.7.23 also supports this point.

82 Note: they call Him Kāraṇava-śāyī Viṣṇu also. *kāraṇa-udaka-śāyī* → *kāraṇa*: cause, *udaka*: water; *śāyin*: lying down, resting.

83 *Bhāg.* 2.6.42.

84 *Bs.* 5.11 (quoted: *LBh.* 1.2.11); *Ṛg-veda* 10.90.1. Also writes similarly: *Bhāg.* 2.5.35.

85 Jīva Gosvāmī (1513–1598) is an outstanding philosopher of the *Gaudīya-vaiṣṇava* school, nephew to Rūpa Gosvāmī, author of twenty-five books.

Thus, Mahā-Viṣṇu is a partial expansion (*liṅga*) of *svayam-rūpa*, Kṛṣṇa.⁸⁶ This Mahā-Viṣṇu manifests Himself on the Causal Ocean so as to cast a glance at and mobilise *prakṛti*, thus initiating the creation of the material world.

The elements of the creation in their original position are disjunct as they lack the ability to mix with one another. They get connected by the first *puruṣa*, Mahā-Viṣṇu through His *māyā*-energy, mobilising them.⁸⁷ He manifests all ingredients of material creation so that, at first, He creates the sixteen basic elements of material action.⁸⁸ Having done so, He submerges into the state of *yoga-nidrā*. Before doing so, however, Mahā-Viṣṇu enters the universes as Garbhodakaśāyī Viṣṇu⁸⁹, causing the *jīvas* to reawake from the dream they got into at the previous annihilation of the universe (*prabhudyate*).⁹⁰ Therefore Mahā-Viṣṇu is the form which penetrates the universes, created from material elements, by expanding from Himself as Garbhodakaśāyī Viṣṇu.

The second puruṣa, Garbhodakaśāyī Viṣṇu

The *Brahma-samhitā* describes the second *puruṣa* as follows: *praty evam ekāṁśād ekāṁśād viśati svayam*⁹¹: *The same Mahā-Viṣṇu entered into each universe as His own separate subjective portions (eka-āṁśāt)*,⁹² without mixing with them.⁹³ Therefore Kāraṇodakaśāyī Viṣṇu expands Himself into the second *puruṣa*, and as separate portions, He enters each and every universe.⁹⁴

86 *Bs.* 5.11, purport; Note: Here *sahasra* (thousand) is not an exact number, rather, indication of very many.

87 For reasoning that Kṛṣṇa is higher than Nārāyaṇa, see *LBh.* 1.5.226–361.

88 *Bs.* 5.19, also *Cc.* Ādi-līlā, 5.56–62.

89 *Bhāg.* 1.3.1, 2.5.22; *Manu* 1.5–9 (quoted: *Gb.* 2.1.1). Note: on the lists of elements and the various ways of numbering them, see: *Bhāg.* 11.22 chapter.

90 *garbha-udaka-śāyī* → *garbha*: interior of anything, having in the interior, containing], filled with; *udaka*: water; *śāyin*: lying down, resting. → *tamālavṛkṣa*, then dvandva composition.

91 *Bs.* 5.20. About annihilation see: *Bhāg.* 12.4 chapter.

92 *Bs.* 5.14. (Quoted: *LBh.* 1.2.13.)

93 Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa remarks that *ekāṁśāt*, which is in ablative, may imply the gerundive of a missing infinitive. Thus, a translation of *ekāṁśāt avirbhāvya* can be: “appearing as *āṁśa* of Mahā-Viṣṇu.” (*LBh.* 1.2.13, purport)

94 “[...] He has nothing to do with the created material ingredients. His body is eternally in spiritual existence par excellence.” (*Bhāg.* 1.3.3); resp.: “The bodies of the Lord are all eternal, unchanging, and devoid of faults. They are never the product of matter.” (*Mahā-varāha-purāṇa*, quoted: *Śārārtha-darśinī* 1.1.1.)

The third puruṣa, Kṣīrodakaśāyī Viṣṇu

Rūpa Gosvāmī mentions the appearance of the third *puruṣā-avatāra* in a single verse, in which he refers the reader to the verse beginning with *kecit sva-dehāntaḥ* of *Śrīmad-Bhāgavatam*.⁹⁵ The Verse is as follows: “Others conceive of the Personality of Godhead residing within the body in the region of the heart and measuring only eight inches, with four hands carrying a lotus, a wheel of a chariot, a conchshell and a club respectively.”⁹⁶

The word *pradeśa* used in the verse is a measure of length equal to the distance from the tip of the thumb to the tip of the forefinger.⁹⁷ This measure is explained by the *Vedānta-sūtra* as follows: *hṛdy apekṣayā tu manuṣyādhikāratvāt*,⁹⁸ the Lord is the size of a thumb because this is the size of the heart of people who are qualified to meditate on Him.⁹⁹

Līlā-avatāras

By various periods – *kalpa*, *manvantara*, *yuga*, etc. Kṛṣṇa descends from the spiritual world for various reasons, in various forms so that He performs pastimes here, in the material world. Rūpa Gosvāmī writes that those *avatāras* which usually appear only once in a *kalpa*,¹⁰⁰ are called *kalpa-avatāra* or *līlā-avatāra*.¹⁰¹ Rūpa Gosvāmī lists twenty-four of them, including the ten main appearance called *daśavatāra*: Varāha, Matsya, Nṛsimha, Kūrma, Vāmana, Paraśurāma, Rāmacandra, Balarāma, Buddha and Kalki.¹⁰²

The purpose of this brief summary was to dissipate any misunderstanding as to the devotees of Krishna were polytheists. Although the space did not allow

95 According to the *Gaudīya-vaiṣṇava* world view, there are an unlimited number of universes in the material world. (Cc. Madhya-līlā 21.52.)

96 *LBh.* 1.2.15. Note: the third form, Kṣīrodakaśāyī Viṣṇu, will be dealt with in more detail in the part on the *guṇāvatāras* (1.2.33–58, and 1.5.153–164). In these latter verses, similarly to the previous forms, Rūpa Gosvāmī dissipates the doubt (*saṁśaya*) that Kṣīrodakaśāyī Viṣṇu is superior to Kṛṣṇa.

97 *Bhāg.* 2.2.8.

98 *LBh.* 2.15, purport.

99 *Vedānta-sūtra* 1.3.25.

100 This measure is also referred to by *Katha-upaṇiṣad* is (2.1.12–13). Note: more about the third *puruṣa*: *Bhāg.* 2.2 chapter, further: Cc. Ādi-līlā, 5.109–116 and Madhya-līlā, 20.294–295. Rūpa Gosvāmī *LBh.* 1.5.120–164

101 The word *kalpa* means one day or one night of Brahmā (the *jīva* in a specific universe responsible for the creation); the length of this period is also given by *Bhagavad-gītā*: “By human calculation, a thousand ages taken together form the duration of Brahmā’s one day. And such also is the duration of his night.” (*Bhāg.* 8.17.) The duration of one *kalpa* can be calculated thus: length of one aeon is: 4.320.000 human year. 1.000 such aeons make one day of Brahmā, therefore a total of 4.320.000.000 years.

102 *LBh.* 1.3.96.

a comprehensive study, by reviewing the various forms of appearance I tried to show the depth and variegatedness of *Gauḍīya-vaiṣṇava* theology, and thus inform the reader that this religious tradition recognises an only God, Who, to achieve various goals, expands Himself into an unlimited number of forms, all this without losing His one-ness. Behind the seemingly innumerable appearances there is only one person. This study had to suffice with giving just a glance, as this subject – like God himself – is unlimited.

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**מגילת אסתר מאוסף קויפמן
איוורים מהמאה הי"ז**

הרב ד"ר יואל שיגר

מרצה לאמנות יהודית באוניברסיטת חיפה

באיחור של כאלף שנה, בעידן כתיבי היד העבריים המאוירים, ניתקל שנית בסצינות סיפורי אסתר. נקודת המוצא של יצירות האמנות, שבהן מתוארות מגילת אסתר, הן: 1. התני"ך, 2. המחזור, 3. ההגדה של פסח.

בשלושת הטיפוסים האלה לא התפתחה האמנות המאירת את סיפורי אסתר והחותרת לשלמות. הקומפוזיציות הבאות כאן בחשבון מתארות סצינות בודדות, קטעים מקריים, בלי ליצור סדרת תמונות אחידות מבחינה אומנותית.

הבה ונעלה על נס דוגמות אחדות:

1. "חומש רגנסבורג", שנכתב ב-1300, וכלולים בו החומש, חמש המגילות, הפטרות, ספר איוב ונבואות החרבן של ירמיהו. בין איורי הספר אנו מוצאים את הסצינות הבאות: אסתר לפני אחשורוש, המן ועשרת בני התלויים על עץ ומדרכי רוכב על הסוס⁽³⁾.

2. בספריית האוניברסיטה של ליפסיה נשמר "מחזור ליפסיה", שנכתב ואויר בגרמניה מסביב לשנת 1320. ציור שוליים מתאר בו את המן ועשרת בני התלויים על העץ. ואת בת המן השופכת תוכנו של עבית מי שופכין על ראש אביה בחושבה שהוא מדרכי⁽⁴⁾.

3. אוירת הרנסנס של המאה ה-15 משתקפת ב"הגדת רטשילד" הנשמרת בבית הספרים הלאומי והאוניברסיטאי שבירושלים. על אחד העמודים של ההגדה

בימי הביניים אויורו קטעי חייה של אסתר המלכה בעיקר באמנות המיניאטורות. באמנות הכללית הונצחו סצינות שונות שבמגילת אסתר החל בתקופת הרנסנס. חיבה יתרה נודעה מאמנות תקופה זו לניבורים ולגיבורות.

בתור דוגמאות נזכיר את היצירות הבאות: סנדרו בוטיצ'לי: מדרכי מקונן לפני שער הארמון, שצוירה בשנת 1478; פיליפ'ינו ליפי: אסתר לפני אחשורוש, צוירה גם היא ב-1478; מיכלאנג'לו: מות המן, תמונה המצויה בקפלה הסיסטינית ונוצרה בין השנים 1508-1512; ויצירתו של טינטורטו: אסתר מתעלפת לרגלי אחשורוש - תמונה, שנושאה שאוב מהספרים החיצוניים.

מבין אמני הבארוק נפנה את תשומת הלב בעיקר על יצירות ומברנדט ותלמידיו ועל אלה של רובנס⁽¹⁾.

מגילת אסתר והאמנות היהודית

יצירה יחידה במינה באמנות היהודית היא סדרת הפרסקים, שהוכנה בחלק הראשון של המאה השלישית לפנה"ס בדורה אברופוס הנמצאת בסוריה של זמננו.

סדרה זו של ציורי קיר, שנתגלה לפני יותר משישה עשורים, פיארה את קירות בית הכנסת שבמקום. אחת הקומפוזיציות בקיר המערבי של בית הכנסת מתארת את האפיזודות של סיפורי חג הפרים⁽²⁾.

נמצאות שתי תמונות מיניאטוריות. באחת מהן מתוארת המלכה אסתר המצוה על נערותיה לצום איתה, בשניה אנחנו רואים את המן על עץ התלייה.

למרות הדוגמאות שהוזכרו, ונכל לומר, שמגילות מאוירות נותרו לנו רק החל במאה ה-17, בניגוד להגדות של פסח שאוירו כבר מאות שנים לפני כן על ידי אמנים יהודים, הואיל ובאלה השתמשו - בניגוד למגילות - לא בבתי הכנסת, אלא בליל הסדר, בחוג המשפחה. המאה ה-17 הוא המאה של הברוק, ולפיכך כמעט כל התוכן של מגילת אסתר: חצר המלכות, הארמון, נשי החצר, פמליית המלך, משתאות הפאר, האינטימיות, תהלוכת הניצחון - כולם, כולם מהווים נושאים נפלאים בשביל אמנות הברוק המתהדרת בצבעים ובאלמנטים קישוטיים.

"המגילה הישנה ביותר, שתאריך יצירתה מוכר לנו בלי עוררין, מוצאה משנת 1637. היא נמצאת באוספו של Arthur Howitt הוכנה באיטליה, ונוכל לגלות בה את הקווים האופייניים של סגנון הברוק באותה ארץ. הטקסט מתחלק לחלקים על ידי עמודים, ובין העמודים נמצא הנוסח של המגילה. זוהי הצורה טיפוסית הראשונה של המגילות בעלות העיטורים הארכיטקטוניים. מעל העמודים נמצאת פורטלה טיפוסית בסגנון הברוק, עליה אנחנו רואים דמות אישה נושאת ענף עץ הדקל. דמות זו שוה מעל לכל העמודים, ואין בה שום קווים יהודיים אופייניים. בין העמודים נראות הדמויות הראשיות של הדרמה: המלכה אסתר, המלך, מרדכי והמן. בתחתית העמוד מצויות תמונות קטנות יותר. מגילת Howitt היא בדרך כלל הטיפוס הראשי של איורי המגילה, שבמשך

מאות רבות שימש בסיס לחקויים"⁽⁵⁾.

"מגילת קויפמן"

מגילת Howitt הני"ל השפיעה על שלום ד'איטליה, הגרפיקאי, שנולד באטליה יצר באמסטרדם, וייסד שם בית דפוס, ועל המאסטרו האלמוני העומד במרכז חיבורנו זה, שהוסיף סדרת תמונות למגילת קויפמן.

מגילה זו שלנו מדוע קיבלה את הכינוי "מגילת קויפמן"?

David Kaufmann נולד ב-Kojetein שבמורביה, ב-7 ביוני 1852, ונפטר ב-6 ביוני 1899. הוא חסד לרבנות בברסלוי בשנת 1877. הודות לכשרונותיו המעולים הוזמן לבית המדרש לרבנים בבודפשט, ונתמנה שם להוראת הפילוסופיה הדתית ותולדות ישראל. מחקריו על תולדות עם ישראל בימי הבניים העניקו לו הערכה בינלאומית. הוא ראה כייעודו את הפצת מדעי היהדות בקרב ה - ציבור הרחב, והיה עורכו של ה - Monatschrift fur Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums. בנוסף לזה אסף כתבי יד ואינקונבולים בחוש ובמומחיות יחידים במינם. אוספו בעל השם העולמי עבר אחרי מותו לבעלות האוסף המזרחני (אוסף קויפמן) של האקדמיה ההונגרית למדעים. הקטלוג של האוסף, הוכן על ידי הרב dr. Weisz Miksa⁽⁶⁾.

הפריט האחרון שפורסם עד כה מאוסף קויפמן הוא "מגילת קויפמן"⁽⁷⁾.

את מגילת אסתר קנה דוד קויפמן במנטובה מידי Gabriele Trieste. השגת חפץ בעל ערך מיוחד נגע תמיד עמוקות בנפשו של קויפמן. וכך כתב אחרי שקנה את kodex Maimuni: "מי מילל לדוד,

שיראה במעונו מה שהביט בו בפליאה ובהתפעלות לפני תשע עשרה שנה בארמון האחים trieste, יחד עם ידידו הרופא Dr. Cosimo בקיץ 1877 בפדואה. על כן אני יכול לקרוא לימים אלה בשם פורים, מפני שגורלי העניק לי אוצר זה, מספית נפלאה זו של העונג, שלא קיוותי לראותה שנית. לבי התייאש כבר מכל תקווה, שאוכל להפוך לקנייני את שקינתי מאת האחים Trieste. מפני שכאשר הגיעו הספרים בעשרה ארגזים אל תחנת הגבול באודינה, המוכסים לא הרשו להוציאם מהמדינה... כבר אפסה בי התקווה, והנה רווח והצלה עמד לי ממקום אחר: ה- Galeria בפירנצה אישרה לי את היתר היצוא מהארץ... ביום שישי, פורים 1896 יכולתי להכניסם אל ביתי... (8).

האורך של מגילת אסתר השמורה באוסף קויפמן (סימונו: kaufmann A. 14) הוא 3 מטר ו-93,5 ס"מ רוחבה 39 ס"מ. הטקסט המסורתי הכתוב על קלף חולק על ידי הסופר ל- 16 עמודות. מגילת קלף מיוחדת שומרת את התפילות הנאמרות לפני קריאת מגילת אסתר ואחריה. מסגרת ארכיטקטונית עשירה ביותר בצבעים מקיפה בכל עמוד ועמוד את 22 השורות הכתובות בדי חומה - כהה. מעל לנוסח המסורתי של התנ"ך ממוקמות פעם מוזות במסומלות בדמויות נשים, ופעם פוטים מכונפים מחזיקים בכתר מעוטר, שמתחתיו רשומות ציטטות שונות מהמקרא, וחוזר חלילה.

כדאי להצביע על הזיקה שבין הטקסט ובין התמונות שמתחת לעמודות מייד נשאלת השאלה, אם היו הסופר והמאייר שניים שהם אחד. מגילת קויפמן לא הביאה כל רמז על אופן ההכנה. אי - לכך, בינתיים אין כל אפשרות לענות על שאלה

זו. אך עובדה, שהמאייר בחר ביד זריזה, בחריפות ואפילו בחוש המחשה מצויין אחת הסצינות האופייניות והקרקטוריסטיות של העמוד הנתון. כך "הופיע" לעיני הקורא הניסוח התמונתי האטרקטיבי של הנושא הנקרא. יחד עם זה, ברקע האחורי של המוטיבים התנ"כיים השונים נבזקות העיר בתקופת הרנסנס, אוירת החיים, וגם השפעת עולם הרגשות של הברוק.

המאייר סיכם את המעשייה, כלומר סיפר אותה "בשפת" האומנות המתארת. אלו הם הנושאים האלה:

1. משתה אחרשוש (אסתר א 3).
2. שבעת שרי פרס ומדי מופיעים לפני אחרשוש ומציעים לו את הענשת המלכה ושתי. (אסתר א 13-15)
3. אסתר מובאת אל בית הגי, שומר הנשים. (אסתר ב 8)
4. סופם של בגתן ותרש, קושרי הקשר. (אסתר ב 23)
5. המן מציע כסף למלך תמורת השמדת היהודים. (אסתר ג 9)
6. אסתר שולחת בגדים למרדכי, שילבש אותם במקום השק. (אסתר ד 4)
7. התך, שומר ההרמון של אסתר, מביא את ההודעה למלכה על תוכנית השמדת יהודי שושן. (אסתר ד 9)
8. בתום משתה המלך נתקל המן במרדכי, אשר לא משתחוה לפניו. (אסתר ה 9)
9. המלך סובל מנדודי שינה ומצוה להביא את ספר הזכרונות דברי הימים ולקראו בו לפניו. (אסתר ו 1)
10. סריסי המלך מגיעים אל בית המן

הדרמתית של הנושא ואת התיאטרליות.

על יסוד השוואת מגילת Howitt המתוארכת, שהוזכרה לעיל, עם מגילות אסתר אחרות הידועות מהתקופה היא והעימות ביניהן אפשר להניח, שמגילת קויפמן נוצרה באיטליה בין השנים האחרונות של המאה ה-17 והראשונות של המאה ה-18.

1. מתמונותיה של רמברנדט, תלמידיו ובני דורו על נושאים תנ"כיים נערכה בשנת 1993 תערוכה רפרונטטיבית במוזיאון ישראל שבירושלים. בהזדמנות זו יצאה לאור העבודה בשם "הולנד של רמברנדט" בעריכת מרטין וייל ורבקה ויסבלוק. את התמונות של הצייר הדגול מארצות השפלה על נושאים תנ"כיים מנתח:

Rembrandt and the Bible. Composition and explanatory notes by Hidde Hoekstra. Utrecht, 1990

הנושאים של רובנס הקלוחים מתכתי הקודש מוצגים ב: Rubens and the old Testament Corpus Rubenianum. by R.A. Dulst and M. Vandenvan.

2. דורא ארופוס מהווה שטח באמנות היהודית הנחקר ביסודיות. מהספרות העשירה על נושא זה נעלה על גס פרטים אחדים: סוקניק: בית הכנסת של דורא אברופוס וציוריו. ירושלים תש"ג.

C. H. Kraeling The Synagogue (The Excavations at Dura Europos.. Final Report, 8 pt. 1, 1956)

R. Goodenough, Ancient Symbols in the Greco Roman Period. N.Y. 1958. מלבד הספרות המקצועית בלשונות העברית והאנגלית הופיע מעטו של כותב שורות אלה המחקר הבא בנוגע לנושאנו Y. A. Schoner:

להבהילו אל משתה המלכה. (אסתר 14)

11. אסתר נופלת לפני רגלי המלך ומתחננת על עמה. (אסתר ח 3)
12. בשם המלך מרדכי מכתוב לסופרים - איגרת, שתישלח אל 127 המדינות. (אסתר ח 9 - 10)

13. היהודים נערכים לקרב עם אויביהם ומשמידים אותם. (אסתר ט 6)

14. תליית עשרת בני המן. (אסתר ט 7 - 9)

15. משלוח מנות איש לרעהו. (אסתר ט 22)

16. במבוא בית הכנסת מרדכי מרביץ תורה לעמו, לפי פירוש המלה "דורש" מהפסוק "דורש טוב לעמו" (אסתר י 3) מלשון דרשה.

במגילת הקלף המיוחדת - בה נכתבות התפילות לפני קריאת המגילה ואחריה - משלימות שתי קומפוזיציות מיוחדת את סדרת התמונות המתארות את ספורי חג פורים. על אחת מהן אנוחנו רואים קרינבל לכבוד פורים, ועל השנייה סצינות ההגנה העצמית.

בבדיקת יסודות הסגנון של האוירים במגילת קויפמן נוכל לקבוע, שמצויות בהם סגולות סימבוליות כמו כפות תמרים, כלי נגינה ועוד... בדומה לאלה של Jan van Eyck או Veronese העלו על הבד בחלומותיהם היפים וציירו בתמונות מזבח במאות ה-15 - 16. העמודים הלוליניים, דמויות הנשים המסמלות את המוזות, הפוטים המחזיקים בכתר - לקוחים כולם מהמאפיינים את הרנסנס הבשל. לעומת זאת אנוחנו יכולים לגלות את קבלקדת התנועות המאפיינות את שנות המעבר מהמאה ה-17 אל ה-18, את הבחירה

Edition of MS of the Kaufman Collection
in the Oriental Library of the Hungarian
Academy of Sciences, Budapest, 1957.

הוצאה השנייה של הגדת קויפמן בפסקימליה
יצאה לאור ב-1990.

A Majmuni Kodex. A valogatas es a
bevezeto tanulmany Scheiber Sandor
munkaja, a muvezzettorteneti tanulmany
es a a kepmagyarazatokat Sed-Rajna
Gabriella irta. Budapest, 1989.

Eszter Konyva. Facsimile Kiadas. A
kiserofuzet tanulmanyat Harasztné Takacs
Marianna irta. Budapest 1989.

8 p. 15 עבודה מצוטט מאומת
Kodex.

"Figuralis abrazolas es a zsidó művészet.

A Dura Europos-i zsinagoga nyugati
falanak fneskosorozata", MULT ES
JOVO, Budapest, 1993/1.

3. ב. נרקיס, כתיבי יד עבריים מצוירים,
ירושלים, 1984. pp. 125.

4. ב. נרקיס, העבודה המצוטטת, עמ' 52.

5. Dr. Munkacsı Erno: Eszter konyvenek.
muvezete. Evkonyv, 1973-74. Szerk.
Scheiber Sandor, Budapest, 1974. 274. p.

6. Miksa Weisz: Katalog hebraischen
Handschriftenn und Bucher in der
Bibliothek des Prof. Dr. Kaufmann.
Frankfurt am Main, 1906.

7. מתוך החומר שמורסם מאוסף קויפמן נזכיר את
הבאים: The Kaufman Haggadah. Facsimile:



דף ממגילת אסתר עתיקה. צילום: א. שטולמן
(באדיבות מוזיאון יהדות איטליה)

József SZÉCSI

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Tolerance?¹

When he participated in a conference held during the early years of the *Christian Jewish Society* on the chances of dialogue in the 21. century, the late Chief Rabbi József Schweitzer begun his lecture saying: “I don’t want to be tolerated”. Rather – he added –, he wants to be respected. József Schweitzer thus referred to the idea that it is not forbearance and tolerance what is needed in human relations, but respect and appreciation. As it is said: man has to respect his neighbour.

Now, the question is, on what extent the so called Abrahamic religions share this conviction. Let’s consider first the historical past. At the beginning, as religions, all three faiths claimed exclusivity, and although times have changed, this approach basically remained to be characteristic of their view.

According to the testimony of the Bible, during ancient times Jews shared the conviction that their religion was the only true faith, that it was of Divine origin, and that one day all nations will accept their views and their teachings as being true. Christianity upheld the same basic position with the difference, that in their faith, the centre of the teaching was Jesus and the theology about the person of Jesus. In the teaching of Islam, the right path is exclusively that of the Muslims. Where can we find the points of respecting one another in these views?

The Jewish way of thinking acknowledges and knows the so called Laws of Noah. Jews hold the view that a non-Jew can also reach the *Olam Haba*, the World to Come, and that a non-Jew also can rest on the bosom of Abraham, provided he follows the laws prescribed for them. Because a non-Jew lacks the guidance of the Torah, the laws he has to follow are the so called Noadic Laws, the *Seva Mitzvot bene Noach*. Thus, we can say, that Judaism, although has been a proselytising religion during the Hellenistic times, ceased to be being that during the first centuries of the Christian rule. One can convert to Judaism, and there are people converting to it even in our days, but proselytising is not, and has never been, a central characteristic of Judaism.

1 Lecture held on the 22 January 2017 during a Christian Jewish Prayer session, in the Church of Saint Therese of Avila, Budapest

The theological and practical intolerance has been an early phenomena in Christianity, and this lasted for a long time. It even flourished during the Medieval period. This attitude has started by being a theological anti-Judaism, that is a kind of religious anti-Semitism. This was a mistaken teaching, it was a heresy, a theological heresy that lasted almost two thousand years, right until the Decree of the Vatican Synod II, called 'Nostra Aetate', which finally put an end to it.

During the Advent of 2015, some 50 years after Nostra Aetate, a document of the Vatican declared that the words of the Bible tell us: God had an eternal covenant with the Jews that He will never revoke. This means that the Jews will be saved and get salvation even if they follow their religion and conviction, and do not recognise Christ as being their Messiah. The document thus elaborates the teaching of Vatican Synod II that was formulated by Karl Rahner, perhaps the greatest of Catholic theologians of the 20. century, who called this conviction 'anonym Christianity'. According to this notion, everybody will be saved if follows truth that he conceived through his own conscience. If somebody does this as a Muslim, he will be saved as a Muslim. The above mentioned Vatican document declared that the Catholic Church from now on, will stop all institutional mission towards the Jews. Declaring faith as a mission will stay to be the task of all Christians, but this will not be an institutional measure towards the Jews in the future.

Among the Christian denominations this teaching however appears only in the Catholic Church. The teachings of many Protestant churches still hold that salvation is only for those who believe in Jesus, and follow the formal requirements of this faith. In every other case the consequence is damnation. I used to say about this, that salvation, that is the entry to Heaven, cannot be like an exam of matriculation, that is whoever is unable to recite the proper theorem, will be expelled. Similarly, as on earth somebody cannot be jailed just for his or her rightist or leftist political view, one cannot be excluded from Heaven just for being a Buddhist, or even a non-believer.

At this point I always receive the question: what is the case of salvation if someone's conviction is to kill? The answer to this is that extreme and border-line cases always exist, and they are many. At the end, I cannot be the judge of them. Someone exists above us, who can be the judge of border-line cases, he is the Almighty God.

Islam's stand point is that we are all born Muslims, but something went wrong with us, and we deferred, thus we have to return to this original state. We all have to become Muslims. Jews, Christians and Zoroastrians hold a specific status, but they also have to convert. They alone represent the pure Monotheism, although the notion of Trinity in Christianity is unacceptable for Muslims. According to

Islam it's only an association, in reality it is a polytheistic notion. Atheism is not acceptable for Islam either, and it is not tolerated for explanation of existence.

All these themes touch "only" the world of God and religion, and they don't describe the social and political aspects of these questions. In ancient history of Israel, at the start of the emerging kingdom, vivid discussions went on the subject of the necessity of an earthly ruler. Israelites held the view that God is ruler over the land of Israel and its people. But Israel, in this case, followed the social order of the surrounding regions, and chose a ruler for himself. Still, the theological idea that the Almighty God holds the land and the people of Israel as His own property, lasted without end.

The Christian religious anti-Semitism worked out a replacement theology. This proclaimed that God rejected Israel on the ground that Jews have killed Jesus. After this rejection Christianity stepped in and replaced Jews. Christians are now the new people of God. We know of course, that Jesus was not killed by the "Jews", he was executed by the Romans who followed the demand of Jewish religious leadership. Just the same way as in the Medieval period secular authorities executed the victims condemned by the church.

In this Medieval period papacy became the representative of secular and religious authority. The *Donatio Constantini*, the Donation letter of Great Constantin, is a forgery that was written in the court of Charlemagne around the year 700 to use it as a proof that the crown of papacy was rightfully given to Charlemagne. The ground for this act supposed to be the legacy of Great Constantine who gave the rule over the Roman Empire to the papacy.

Later, after the Peace of Westfalia in 1648, nation states have emerged. The 1789 French Revolution and the foundation of the democratic states created a significantly new situation in the so called Christian world. Nowadays we hear a lot about the Christian roots of Europe, or that of Hungary. We hear this notion in the sayings that our country is a Christian country. I have also read the expression that we have Christian-Jewish roots. I never ever heard any attempt to call these roots of Europe or Hungary being of Christian-Jewish-Islam origin. Although the fact is that for example Hungary has that background not just since 1526, but right from the beginnings of the Settlements. Christian culture represents a majority in the culture of the 1000 years old Hungary where other cultures have also been always present. Majority on the other hand does not mean that the major part of population practice the ruling religion. Practising Christians represent only 10-15 percent of the population.

Today we live in secularised states where state and religion are separated. If we would live in an Islamic, that is a non-secular state, it would be only the question of time when the Christian minority would disappear. Our interest therefore is to live in a secular state where everyone can live according to his or her conviction. This is tolerance, or in the best of cases, this is respect.

From the beginning of Islam we know the so called Medina Constitution. This contains important guidelines. Throughout the history during the encounters with Islam we could see bloody and also peaceful periods. In Europe among many different periods there existed a peaceful Iberian Islam culture but also an era of bloody Turkish occupation of Hungary. Today the ideology of Islamic State disturbs the world. This ideology naturally is not equivalent of the view of many millions of Muslims. The basic idea of this “Islamic Kalifate” is that the laws of a state must come from God. In the nation states and in democracies people create their own laws, therefore nation states must be wiped out, borders and voting must be stopped. According the Islamic State, whoever participate in a vote already deserves the death penalty. This is the conviction of the Islamic State, but this is not the conviction of more than five hundred states that follow Islamic order. The Islamic State is in combat also with all the states that follow an Islamic order but reject the ideas of the Islamic Sate.

We have our pope, Pope Francis. During his papacy he has already demolished several walls that divided people and religions. He demolished the walls that divided Christians and Jews. Unfortunately, among the main aims of the Islamic State we always find the desire of the destruction and elimination of the Vatican too, as well as that of Israel.

Can we speak of respect and tolerance in a world that is moved by values and interests that fight each other? For a Muslim a Muslim refugee is not a migrant, he is a refugee, a brother. Today there is a growing fear that Muslims will represent majority in Europe in the near future. What can we do? One thing is sure, tolerance is lacking. We have to respect the other, we have to respect him also when he is a Muslim. We know that there is terrorism, that there ethnically separated communities in Europe. There are dangerous historical processes that rich our borders very quickly. The European countries search the solutions. What can a Christian, a Jew or a Muslim faithful do in this situation? I think everyone has to act in his or her conviction showing the sign of peace. Do this in acting life and in talking., Everyone has to make effort in tolerating and respecting the other person.

An elected representative has enormous responsibility in a democracy in this regard. They can bring decisions ‘over the heads’ of their electors. But we expect them to respect the electors!

Jews gather three times a day for prayer, Muslims do this five times a day, and the priests and religious of the Catholic Church also follow an order of prayer. But where are the ordinary Christians in this process? Do they participate in the daily worship whenever they can? Do they hold community gatherings for prayer and worship? No, they are not. This is not the general practice. The future belongs to prayer, to the daily prayer. We should try it! Pray, instead of engaging in daily talks of politics. Islam has tried this, and practice it. I travelled several times to Istanbul in Turkey I visited the Mosque Sultan Eyup. Every Sunday, 5 o'clock in the morning, many thousands of men pray there to God, that is to Allah. This is considerable number, even if we take in consideration that Turkey is a much larger country than Hungary, and Istanbul is not the size of Budapest.

The head of an iceberg is only the small part of a hill, the larger part is invisible below the sea. Although man is a rational being, this could be only the 'pick', the head. The larger part of him, the sphere of emotions and instincts are invisible, but this later is the decisive factor. The question is whether the rational and irrational sphere can live in harmony. Prayer belongs to the irrational part. Islam is a religion that follows this sphere of reality in a much stronger way than Christianity does. I am afraid to admit, but I think that in this regard we are not in a winning position.

I was told that each lecture has to end with a positive message. If I had to characterise the present situation of the Christian-Jewish-Islam dialogue I could do this by talking to you about a recent event. An elderly Jewish man, Mojse Fischbaum, was praying at the Wailing Wall for many years. CNN learned about him, and sent a reporter there. After the old man finished his prayers, the reporter asked him, since when was he praying here. – Since 68 years – the old man replied. – And what is you are praying for? – I pray for that Jews, Christians and Muslims live in peace and love in the Holy Land. – And what is that you feel in your heart when you are praying for this? – I feel like I am talking to a wall...

János SZÉKELY

Catholic Bishop, Professor of Theology

The Flux of Immigration from a Christian Point of View

The Crisis

In the regions of the Middle East and North Africa a humanitarian crisis of enormous proportion has developed during the last decade. In Iraq since 2003 almost 500 000 people died in military conflicts, in Syria, since 2011 the war demanded the life of at least 400 000 victims. In territories under the control of the Islamic State more than 400 churches and 1400 mosques were destroyed, and tens of thousands of people were killed only because of their religious or ethnical identity. These people were mostly Christians and Jazeds, as well as Alevites and other Shiite Muslims.

There are many reasons behind this crisis that also caused a wave of mass immigration. Many of these causes we cannot even see clearly or understand properly.

The main reasons are the war and the so called Islamic State that emerged from this war. The Islamic State is one of the cruellest terrorist organisation history has ever known. The overthrow of the formerly somewhat well-established governments in the region played a great role in this process, thus we can say that Western powers have a great responsibility in this outcome.

Among the causes of the immigration waves we find the wars supported in the background by the great Western powers, and the enormous differences in the standard of living of the different regions. This means that, just by moving few hundreds of kilometres across the borders, a person can be paid several times more for the same work and can have an income he could never even dreamed of in his native place.

Presently there are more than 1 million refugees in Lebanon (mostly Syrians). In Jordan there are approximately 1 million, in the refugee camps of Turkey we find almost 2 million peopel (mostly Syrians, but also Iraqis, Afghans, Iranians and

others). Across the Mediterranean many Africans (mostly from Eritrea, Yemen, Libya, Egypt, and Algeria) start their journey towards Europe.

„I was a stranger and you took me in“ (Mt 25,35)

The countries where the population live in some prosperity have to be open to accept those whose life, family or home are under a threat, or whose livelihood on their own land cannot be secured. The Creator created the Earth for the well-being of every man. The right to have a dignified life precedes the right to have a property.

Not only humanity and justice, but first of all the Gospel oblige us to help those in need. Jesus – inter alia – presents us the example of the good Samaritan (Lk 10,25-37), who helped with great generosity his neighbour in trouble. This parable also teaches us that the obligation of neighbourly love is beyond the ethnical belonging.

Rights and Obligations

Every man has the right to his or her personal security and dignified livelihood. When these factors are threatened strongly, a person can choose immigration. Thus, he can secure his family's proper livelihood and security. Countries that accept them, first of all countries directly neighbouring the territories under threat, are obliged to receive the refugees and treat them humanely. Other countries are obliged to help the receiving countries. They have to help them to achieve that the time spent in refuge would not be a lost time for the refugees, and make it possible that they can continue their normal life in their homeland when opportunity arises for this.

At the same time – according to Saint John Paul II. – “In such a complex issue ... we must identify some basic ethical principles to serve as points of reference. First of all, it is important to remember the principle that *immigrants must always be treated with the respect due to the dignity of every human person*. In the matter of controlling the influx of immigrants, the consideration which should rightly be given to the common good should not ignore this principle. The challenge is to combine the welcome due to every human being, especially when in need, with a reckoning of what is necessary for both the local inhabitants and the new arrivals to live a dignified and peaceful life¹ The receiving country can decide

1 II. János Pál pápa, *Üzenet a Béke Világnapjára* (2001, 13; AAS 93 (2001) 241.

how many refugees can a country receive without endangering their basic security and livelihood. The country has the right to stop the immigrants at the border and analyse their petition.

The Catechism of the Catholic Church writes: “Political authorities, for the sake of the common good for which they are responsible, may make the exercise of the right to immigrate subject to various juridical conditions, especially with regard to the immigrants’ duties toward their country of adoption. Immigrants are obliged to respect with gratitude the material and spiritual heritage of the country that receives them, to obey its laws and to assist in carrying civic burdens.” (KEK 2241)²

Addressing the Causes

It is indispensable to restore peace in the Middle East and disarm the terrorist organisations. The Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church issued by the Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace states: “The international community as a whole has the moral obligation to intervene on behalf of those groups whose very survival is threatened or whose basic human rights are seriously violated... it is “legitimate and even obligatory to take concrete measures to disarm the aggressor (506. 514)³

To create a more just economic system is of utmost importance. Private property of the world today concentrates only in the hands of very few people, and this means that profit arrives also only to these very few. This concentration of wealth reached such a high level of injustice that even determines and incapacitates world economy. Vatican Synod II appealed to all people of good will in this regard and stated that “To satisfy the demands of justice and equity, strenuous efforts must be made, without disregarding the rights of persons or the natural qualities of each country, to remove as quickly as possible the immense economic inequalities, which now exist and in many cases are growing and which are connected with individual and social discrimination” (GS 66). Pope Francis I. repeatedly emphasizes: “This wealth is killing!” It plunges people into misery, deprives and outlaw families. Today it is indispensable to create a radically new economic system the operational principles, the basic values and rules of which would restrict the excessive and intemperate growth of private properties.

2 A Katolikus Egyház Katekizmusa, 2241.

3 Az Igazságosság és Béke Pápai Tanácsa, Az Egyház társadalmi tanításának kompendiuma, 506. 514; II. János Pál, Üzenet a Béke világnapjára 2000, 11 in AAS 92 (2000) 363.

It is also indispensable to help the poorer nations of the World and give them technical and commercial assistance, to help them create conditions that foster increased work opportunities for their people in their place of origin. The first interest of the refugees, of the people who were sent away from their native land is to return there, to be able to return to their own culture, to be able to live in security and prosper in their own homeland.⁴

Possible Solutions

A Christian faithful who nowadays faces the many times dramatic, even tragic situations, first of all turns to God for help. We encourage every faithful and religious community to turn to God the Creator and pray for the refugees, pray for peace, pray for an open heart, and for the gift of justice and love.

The arrival of the refugees also raises the question whether there still exist a Europe capable to integrate anybody. Is there still a Europe that knows the values and basic principles that it wants to integrate the newly arrived to. Europe already lost its values and its identity in many ways. The flux of mass immigration calls us to find our faith and values again.

In our days, nothing is more important for Europe than a spiritual revival, a return to its life-giving roots, a renewed discovery and practice of its faith and values. A living Christian faith means that we turn to the needy with a Christian love. If we are unable to do this, this means we have already lost our Christianity. It won't be very joyful to live in a continent that refuses the arrival of the poor and needy.

In the concrete present situation, it is sorely needed to financially assist the refugee camps in the Middle East, and to make efforts in regards to create a situation where more and more people can return to their homeland and live there in security.

It is also indispensable to make it possible for the refugees to place their applications in the refugee camps situated in the Middle East and Africa, and that, in case of positive response, they could be directly taken from there to the accepting countries.

When we are looking for the ways of assistance, here we also can follow the example of the good Samaritan. After he has done what he could do, he gave money to the innkeeper and asked him to assist the sick further. We are right to help with

4 Vö. GS 66; II. János Pál pápa, Üzenet a Béke Világnapjára 1993, 3; AAS 85 (1993) 431–433; Az Igazságosság és Béke Pápai Tanácsa, Az Egyház társadalmi tanításának kompendiuma, 298.

our donations the official humanitarian and health organisations of the states and churches. It is also very important to assure that the donations reach the persecuted communities in the Middle East and the refugees sent away from their homeland.

It is important to help with information, medical help, legal advice and food those who turn to us for help. We thank you who opened your home and your heart to those in need. Thanks to be to those who pray for the gift of justice and love for all of us. Thanks to be to those who find the way to practice an active love even in a hard situation.

References

A bevándorlási hullám felszólít minket arra, hogy hitünket, értékeinket újra megtaláljuk. Semmire sincs nagyobb szüksége Európának, mint lelki megújulásra, az éltető gyökerekhez való visszatalálásra, hitének és értékeinek újrafelfedezésére és megélésére. Az élő keresztény hit pedig azt is kell, hogy jelentse, hogy krisztusi szeretettel fordulunk a bajba jutottak felé. Ha ezt nem tudjuk megtenni, akkor már is elvesztettük a kereszténységünket. Nem lesz örömteli egy olyan kontinensen élni, amely elutasítja a szegényt, a rászorulókat.

A konkrét jelen helyzetben égetően szükséges a Közel Keleten levő menekülttáborok anyagi támogatása, és annak elősegítése, hogy minél több menekült visszatérhessen otthonába, és ott biztonságban élhessen.

Elengedhetetlenül szükséges lenne annak a lehetővé tétele, hogy a menekültek közvetlenül a közel keleti és afrikai menekülttáborokban adhassák be a kérelmeiket, és pozitív elbírálás esetén onnan közvetlenül szállítsák őket az egyes befogadó országokba.

A segítségnyújtás formáit keresve ugyancsak követhetjük az irgalmas szamaritanus példáját. Ő, miután megtette, amit ott és akkor tehetett, pénzt adott a fogadónak, hogy tegye meg a továbbiakat. Helyesen tesszük ezért, ha segítők felajánlásainkkal a hivatásos állami és egyházi humanitárius és egészségügyi szervezetek tevékenységét támogatjuk. Különösen hasznos a Közel Kelet üldözött közösségeinek, és a hazájukból elmenekülteknek eljuttatott támogatás.

Fontos információkkal, orvosi segítséggel, jogi tanácsokkal, étellel stb. segíteni a hozzánk fordulókat. Fontos a hazai menekülttáborokban élők felé szolidaritásunk és szeretetünk kifejezése, számukra a segítségünk felajánlása.

Köszönet mindazoknak, akik ezt eddig is megtették. Köszönet azoknak, akik megnyitották otthonukat és szívüket a bajba jutottak előtt. Köszönet azoknak, akik imáikban kéri az igazságosság és a szeretet ajándékát mindnyájunk számára. Köszönet azoknak, akik a nehéz helyzetben is módot találnak a cselekvő szeretet gyakorlására.

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Die Fußmärsche im November 1944 nach Hegyeshalom–Nickelsdorf

Die vorliegende Arbeit befaßt sich umfassend mit den im November und Dezember 1944 durchgeführten Deportationen der Budapester Juden. Um diese Zeit übergaben die ungarischen Behörden bei Hegyeshalom–Nickelsdorf 50.000 ungarische Juden der SS. Kleinere Gruppen dieser jüdischen Frauen und Männer mußten in verschiedenen Fabriken Arbeitsdienst leisten, die meisten aber waren an der damaligen deutschen Reichsgrenze – im Grenzgebiet der heutigen Bundesländer Burgenland und Steiermark – für den Festungsbau bestimmt.

Nach unseren Forschungen kamen bis März 1945 13.500 bis 15.000 in der SS-Gefangenschaft um, sie starben den Hungertod oder an den Folgen von Brutalitäten und Krankheiten. Im folgenden widmen wir uns den Verfügungen betreffend der Judendeportation an die Reichsgrenze bis Mitte Dezember 1944 sowie der Verfolgung der Juden in der Zeit vor der Belagerung Budapests.

Terror und Verfolgung kamen nach Szálasis Machtübernahme vom 15. Oktober 1944 insbesondere über die hauptstädtischen Juden. Szálasis Anhänger, die bewaffneten Pfeilkreuzler, drangen bereits in der Nacht zum 16. in die Häuser ein, wo die Budapester Juden „konzentriert“ lebten, ihre Einheiten belagerten auch mehrere Unterkünfte jüdischer „Arbeitsdienstler“. Der deutsche „Reichsbevollmächtigte“, Edmund Veesenmayer, meldete am 18. Oktober in seinem Bericht, da.13 „seit gestern Einzelaktionen gegen Budapester Juden auch in Form persönlicher Ausschreitungen und Tötungen im Gange“ sind.¹ Der als Budapester Gauleiter wirkende Gesandte wurde von Berlin aus angewiesen, die ungarische Regierung nicht zu hindern, Maßnahmen zu treffen, die diese vor dem Ausland kompromittieren, „sondern sie vielmehr hierbei in jeder Weise zu unterstützen; insbesondere liegt es in unserem Interesse, wenn die Ungarn jetzt auf das allerschärfste gegen die Juden vorgehen“.²

In dem nun das Szálasi-Regime die Ausschreitungen und Plünderungen bewaffneter Parteikommandos, der Mitglieder der Pfeilkreuzler-Partei und der sich ihnen anschließenden Elementen der Unterwelt legitimierte, handelte es folglich völlig im

Sinne der Nazi-Interessen. In der Provinz hatten in erster Linie die im Arbeitsdienst eingesetzten Juden Gewalttätigkeiten zu erleiden. In Pusztavám wurden 160 aus der Jolsvaer Arbeitskompanie für Ärzte und Ingenieure hingerichtet. 3 Am 1. November wurden bei Kispest jüdische Schanzarbeiter von ihren Wächtern erschossen. In den darauf folgenden Tagen erlitten weitere Arbeitsdienstler in Dunaharaszti, Pécel, Gyál-puszta und auf der Straße nach Budapest dasselbe Schicksal. In Pestszentimre fanden am 3. November sechzig marschunfähige Schanzer im Salvenfeuer den Tod.⁴ Zehn Jüdinnen der Frauenarbeitskompanie Nr. 44 wurden beim Fußmarsch von der Ziegelei Drasche nach Albertfalva erschossen.⁵

Auch in den übrigen Arbeitskompanien wurden Attacken und Gewalttätigkeiten zur allgemeinen Praxis: Prügel, Plünderung, Hungersnot und Erpressung gehörten beinahe zur Tagesordnung. Die um sich greifenden Raubtaten und Brandschatzungen der Pfeilkreuzler endeten vielfach mit Tötungen. Das Regierungsprogramm von Ferenc Szálasi wies die Judenfrage – und somit das Schicksal der bislang von der Deportation verschonten Budapester Juden – in die Kompetenz des Justizministers László Budinszky, der Szálasis anfänglichen Standpunkt in einer Erklärung veröffentlichte: „Die Juden leisten Arbeitsdienst für die Nation; ihre Behandlung paßt sich ihrem Betragen an; ihre Rechtslage ist gesetzlich geregelt“.⁶

Szálasi wie auch Innenminister Gábor Vajna beteuerten, die Budapester Juden mit Schutzbrief – sofern sie bis 1. Dezember 1944 Ungarn verlassen – nicht anzutasten⁷, während alle anderen im arbeitsfähigen Alter zum Arbeitseinsatz verpflichtet werden.

Obersturmbannführer Adolf Eichmann, der die große ungarische Judendeportation im Sommer 1944 leitete, kehrte am 18. Oktober in die ungarische Hauptstadt zurück. (Noch im August hatte Eichmann Budapest verlassen, da er den Abtransport von 200.000 Budapester Juden nicht durchzusetzen vermöchte.) Wegen der schwierigen militärischen Lage und wegen Szálasis Position konnten in dessen die Judentransporte nicht wie im Sommer 1944 durchgeführt bzw. fortgesetzt werden. Es wurde von deutscher Seite deshalb vorgeschlagen, in der ersten Etappe 50.000 und später noch einmal die gleiche Anzahl einsatzfähiger ungarischer Juden dem deutschen Reich für ein halbes Jahr „leihweise“ freizugeben.⁸

Anfangs stand das Kontingent der angeforderten „Ausleihjuden“ zur Debatte. Schließlich willigte die Szálasi-Regierung, die bestrebt war, den Anschein ihrer Souveränität auch in der Judenfrage aufrecht zu erhalten, doch ein, dem Eichmann-Kommando vorerst insgesamt 25.000 arbeitsfähige Juden – Männer im Alter von 16 bis 60 Jahren und Frauen im Alter von 16 bis 40 Jahren – zur Verfügung zu stellen. Eichmann und Emil Kovarcz, „Minister für totale Mobilisierung und

Kriegsbereitschaft“, kamen überein, ihre Abschiebung aus Ungarn (sprich: ihre Deportation; Anm. d. Verf.), „da Transportmittel woanders benötigt, in Form von Fußtrecks durchzuführen“.

Am 20. Oktober begannen die Pfeilkreuzler in Budapest, Juden zwischen 16 bis 60 Jahren auszusetzen und in Sammellagern zu konzentrieren. Aus zahlreichen Judenhäusern“ wurden alle männlichen Bewohner, vom kleinen Jungen bis zum Greis, sogar Behinderte und Kranke, verschleppt. Selbst jene jüdischen Männer zwischen 18 und 48 Jahren, die ursprünglich militärischen Aushilfsdienst leisteten und zu dieser Zeit bei ihren Familien in Budapest weilten, wurden dem „neuartigen jüdischen Arbeitsdienst“ zugeführt.

Der ungarische Verteidigungsminister, Generaloberst Károly Beregfy, verpflichtete in seiner Verordnung vom 21. Oktober fortan auch Juden weiblichen Geschlechts von 16 bis 40 Jahren zum Arbeitseinsatz. Verordnet wurde auch, Ausrüstung, Rucksack und Lebensmittelvorrat für drei Tage mitzunehmen. Der letzte Satz der Verfügung enthielt folgende Mahnung: „Jene zur Meldung verpflichteten Juden, die dem Aufruf nicht Folge leisten, haben mit schwersten Strafen zu rechnen.“⁹

Während also die jüdischen Männer bereits ab dem 20. Oktober erfaßt wurde mußten die Frauen erst am 23. Oktober einrücken. Verschleppte und Eingerückt wurden von den Pfeilkreuzlern zu den Befestigungsarbeiten um Budapest getrieben und „Schanzer-Juden“ genannt, um sie – zumindest vorerst – von den in der ungarischen Armee Arbeitsdienst leistenden 18- bis 48 jährigen jüdischen Männern zu unterscheiden. Am 26. Oktober waren bereits 35.000 jüdische Männer und Frauen aus Budapest im Arbeitseinsatz.>^o

Ferenc Szálasi zeigte für die deutschen Anforderungen zur Linderung des Arbeitskräfte mangels im Reichsgebiet und zur Befestigung der Reichsgrenze „volles Verständnis“.¹¹ Auf seinen Befehl hin erließ Beregfy am 26. Oktober die Verfügung, da die ungarische Regierung aus den Reihen der eingerückten Arbeitsdienstler „den deutschen Behörden ein militärischen Aushilfsdienst leistendes Kontingent zwecks krieg wichtiger Bauten leihweise zur Verfügung stellt“. Die nach Westtransdanubien kommandierten Arbeitskompanien wurden verpflichtet, auf bestimmten Marschrouten und in einem festgelegten Zeitraum (2. - 11. November 1944) an der reichsdeutschen Grenz einzutreffen.

Von den 150.000 jüdischen Arbeitsdienstlern, die nach Mosonmagyaróvár dirigiert wurden, leitete man siebzig Kompanien nach Hegyeshalom weiter, um dort „die Aushilfen aufgrund von im voraus zusammengestellten Namenslisten und mit Hilfe der deutschen Dienststellen zu übergeben“.¹² Marschroute und Marschziel wurden nur den von Budapest aus in Bewegung gesetzten Arbeitskompanien vorgeschrieben,

während sie die übrigen je nach Willen ihrer Offiziere in Zsámbék, Vértestarján, Kocs (ein Tag Rast) Bana, Abda oder Mosonmagyaróvár (ein Tag Rast) den Trecks anschlossen. Noch vor Überlassung dieses Kontingents (der 70 Kompanien) gab Szálasi seine Zustimmung zu Veesenmeyers weiteren Anforderungen: Die ungarische Seite hob die Zahl der „zeitweilig freizugebenden“ ungarischen Juden von 25.000 auf 50.000 an.¹³

Am 2. November begann an der Landesgrenze, in Hegyeshalom, die Übergabe der Arbeitskompanien mit etwa 15.000 bis 17.500 Personen. Die SS richtete in Zurndorf eine sogenannte Übernahme- und Verteilungsstation ein, die im folgenden auch der Fußmärsche der von Budapest ins Reich Deportierten steuerte. Die zum Bau der *Reichsschutzstellung* – auch *Südostwall* genannt – verschleppten ungarischen Juden wurden entsprechend den Anordnungen von SS-Obersturmbannführer Rudolf Hoess (Ex-Lagerkommandant von Auschwitz - Birkenau), zum Arbeitsdienst eingeteilt.

Innenminister Vajna lief am 4. November durch eine streng geheime Verfügung die Obergespanne der zuständigen transdanubischen Komitate wissen, (lag „zum Arbeitsdienst taugliche Juden vom 6. 11. 1944 an bis auf weitere Anordnung täglich von Budapest aus zu ihrem angegebenen Arbeitsort in Marsch gesetzt werden“. Die Komitate hatten die Marschstrecke entlang „entsprechende Verpflegungs- und Unterkunftsstellen“ für 2.000 Personen pro Tag bereitzustellen. Solche Stationen gab es in Piliscsaba (ab 6.), Dorog (ab 7.), Süttő (ab 8.), Szőny (ab 9.), Gönyű (ab 10.), Dunaszeg (ab 11.), Mosonmagyaróvár (ab 12.) und Hegyeshalom (ab 13. November).¹⁴

Gábor Vajna verordnete entlang der „Umsiedlungsstrecke“ „dichte Razzien“, denn „es ist mit Fluchtversuchen der zum Teil in Fußtrecks in Marsch gesetzten Juden zu rechnen. Ab 6. November begannen die Trecks, wobei einerseits „zum Arbeitsdienst taugliche“ jüdische Männer aus Budapest und andererseits bei Haus- und Straßenrazzien festgenommene, zum Arbeitseinsatz verpflichtete Juden beiderlei Geschlechts in sogenannten Todesmärschen Richtung Westen getrieben wurden.

Ab 9. November fanden in Budapest ausgedehnte Razzien statt, in deren Folge etwa 30.000 zum Arbeitsdienst verpflichtete Juden am Rand der Stadt, im Sammellager der Ziegelei Óbuda, zusammengefaßt wurden. Die Pfeilkreuzler hielten sich – genauso wie am 20. Oktober bei der Aussonderung der jüdischen Männer – auch diesmal nicht an die von ihrer Führung festgelegten Bedingungen. So verschleppten sie auch unzählige Frauen unter 16 bzw. über 40 Jahren. Ebenso unbarmherzig gingen sie gegen Männer vor: verschärft wurde nach Flüchtlingen aus den Sammellagern gefahndet und nach jenen, die den Razzien am 20. Oktober

entkommen waren. Alle, die ihnen in die Hände fielen, auch Kinder und Alter verschleppte man, nicht einmal Kranke und Behinderte blieben verschont.

Die Zwangsarbeit wurde von der Wehrmacht, genauer von Kommandos der Todt-Organisation, befehligt. Außer an dem „Schanzen“ um Budapest waren von Ende Oktober 1944 an zugunsten der deutschen Wehrmacht, die ganz Ungarn zum Kriegsgebiet erklärte, Befestigungsarbeiten an der Sió-Linie und an der ungarisch-deutschen Grenze im Gange: Reichsschutzstellungen wurden südlich von Schachendorf und Stadt Szombathely sowie bei Rechnitz, Stadt Kőszeg, Engerau und Stadt Sopron gebaut. Zu diesen Einsatzorten marschierten die um Hab und Gut gebrachten Juden zu Fuß. (Auf der Hauptlinie Budapest-Győr-Hegyeshalom zogen die „Schanzer“, südlich davon auf Nebenstraßen die an die Reichsgrenze beorderten Arbeitsdienstler und nördlich davon die von der Front, den besetzten Gebieten zurückgezogenen Arbeitsdienstler.)

Die Deportationen nach Hegyeshalom - Zurndorf forderten unzählige Todesopfer. Die großen Verluste mußten die von den serbischen Gruben in Marsch gesetzten Arbeitsjuden erleiden. Das Lager in Bergbau Bor wurde in zwei Etappen evakuiert. Arbeitsdienstler der „ersten Evakuierungsstufe“ wurden nach Pancova zu Hunderten von der SS hingerichtet. Dem Massaker von Cservenka fielen 529 Menschen zum Opfer. Zwischen Kerény und Zombor bzw. Zombor und Bezdan wurden weitere 400 Juden erschossen.¹⁵ In diesem 3.000 Mann starken Transport wurde auch der ungarische Dichter Miklós Radnóti eingereiht. Er kam zunächst nach Szentkirályszabadja, von dort wurde er am 3. November in Richtung Hegyeshalom in Marsch gesetzt. Am 9. lud man ihn zusammen mit anderen nicht mehr Gehfähigen auf einen Leiterwagen und richtete ihn mit 26 Schicksalsgefährten am Damm von Abda hin.¹⁶ Einem ähnlichen Gemetzel fielen auf dem Weg nach Nickelsdorf-Zurndorf in der Gemeinde Abda 60, in Asványráró 48 Juden zum Opfer. Massengräber wurden nach 1945 auch bei Dunaszentpál, in Lébény, Mosonszentjános und Hegyeshalom gefunden.¹⁷

Die „zeitweilige Überlassung“ des restlichen Teils des ungarischen Judentums, die November-Gewaltmärsche nach Hegyeshalom bieten ein tragisches Beispiel für den moralischen Nihilismus des SS-Kommandos unter Adolf Eichmann und seiner ungarischen Handlanger.¹⁸

In jenen dramatischen Tagen bemühten sich etliche Vertreter von Gesandtschaften-neutraler Staaten in Budapest, möglichst vielen jüdischen Deportierten das Leben zu retten. Vornehmlich der Schweizer Konsul Dr. Carl Lutz und seine Gattin sowie der Generalbeauftragte des Schwedischen Roten Kreuzes, Valdemar Langlet, und der schwedische Botschaftsekretär Raoul Wallenberg zeichneten sich bei den Rettungsaktionen durch mutigen Einsatz aus. Mit aktiver Hilfe ihrer Mitarbeiter

versuchten sie, aus den „Schanzergruppen“ oder aus dem Sammellager der Óbudaer Ziegelei all die Juden, die über irgendwelche Schutzdokumente verfügten, herauszuholen.

Beharrlich und aufopferungsbereit setzten sich die Schweizer Dr. Peter Zürcher und Ernst von Rufs für die Rettung jüdischer Leben ein.¹⁹ Häufig besuchten sie das Sammellager in der Ziegelei und die sogenannten Schutzhäuser, die unter der Obhut der Botschaften standen. Ungeachtet der akuten Lebensgefahr leisteten im Sammellager einige ungarische Ärzte – z.B. Universitätsprofessor Dr. Tibor Verebély sowie die Krankenhaus-Oberärzte Dr. Boldizsár Horváth und Dr. Ferenczy – bzw. ihre Kollegen vom Rettungsdienst eine heroische Arbeit. Sie betreuten und behandelten Hunderte von Kranken, leisteten Erste Hilfe, holten Leute durch verschiedene Tricks aus dem Lager und retteten somit vielen das Leben.²⁰

Das Sammellager in Óbuda galt als erste Station auf dem Leidensweg nach Zurndorf. Hier begannen die furchtbaren Todesmärsche. Auf der Wiener Landstraße Nr. 1 (heute Nr. 10) erschienen ab dem 6. November die Marschkolonnen der mit dem gelben Stern gekennzeichneten Juden. Innerhalb einer Woche wurden 27.000 Budapester Juden aus der ungarischen Hauptstadt westwärts in Richtung Hegyeshalom in Marsch gesetzt.²¹

Augenzeugenberichte erzählen von den Grausamkeiten auf den sich bis zu 250 km lang hinziehenden Fußtrecks. (Täglich wurden 2.000 bzw. 4.000 „Leihjuden“ aus der Ziegelei auf den Weg geschickt.) Die ausgehungerten, um ihr Leben bangenden, oft nur in Lumpen gehüllten Menschen konnten sich kaum fortbewegen, die anstrengenden 30-km-Tagesmärsche (zwischen Gönyü und Dunaszeg sogar 40 km) machten ihnen schwer zu schaffen.²² Sie wurden von ihren Begleitern mit Stocken, Peitschen und Gewehrkolben bis zum äußersten vorangetrieben. Unterwegs war jeglicher Kontakt mit der Bevölkerung verboten, die Deportierten durften kein Stück Lebensmittel entgegennehmen oder kaufen. Die Personalpapiere und das meiste Geld wurden ihnen noch im Sammellager abgenommen, die Ausweise in den meisten Fällen sogar vernichtet. Die Übergabe der November-Deportierten an die SS erfolgte – ebenso wie im Sommer – bei der Verschleppung der Juden aus der Provinz wie es offiziell hieß, „nach Vermögens- und Papierentzug“.

Die Nachtlager wurden unter freiem Himmel (auf Sport- und Viehmarktplätzen) errichtet, gegebenenfalls auch in Baracken, auf Donauschleppern, in Fabriken, Ställen oder Scheunen. Für die Nachtaufsicht war die Gendarmerie verantwortlich. Die Übernachtung unter freiem Himmel bei Wind, Regen und Frost forderte stets zahlreiche Menschenleben. Vergebens rückten die Häftlinge dicht zusammen, um sich zu wärmen; in der Morgenfrühe lagen zahllose Leichen auf den frostigen

Sport- und Marktplätzen oder im Wellengrab der Donau. Es waren Opfer jeden Alters zu beklagen, vom 12 jährigen Kind bis zur 74 jährigen Alten.²³

Der Anblick der Fußtrecks war unerträglich. SS-Obersturmbannführer Kurt Becher gab seiner Meinung Ausdruck, in dem er den Gewaltmarsch „den reinen Mord“ nannte.²⁴ Trotzdem gingen die Märsche weiter. Veesenmayer rechnete am 13. November sogar mit weiteren 40.000 marsch- und arbeitseinsatzfähigen ungarischen Juden.²⁵

In Hegyeshalom, der ungarischen „Endstation“ vor Zurndorf, registrierte man bis 27. November auf ungarische Anzeige die örtlichen Todesfälle. Laut Totenregister starben bis zum angegebenen Zeitpunkt 93 Arbeitsdienstler an Entkräftung beziehungsweise 18 am Flecktyphus.²⁶ Doch auch über die Deportierten, die Zurndorf erreichten, mußten Beauftragte der Schweizer Botschaft berichten: „Ihr Zustand ist nicht zu vergleichen mit dem der Menschen, die andersartige seelische Entbehrungen oder körperliche Qualen zu erleiden haben“.²⁷

In der Donau schwammen bis zur Unkenntlichkeit entstellte Leichen von der Grenze flugabwärts. Die Győrer Polizei stellte Nachforschungen an, es „konnte aber nichts ermittelt werden“.²⁸ Fest steht allerdings, daß im Zusammenhang mit den Fußtrecks – also zwischen 1944 und 1945 – im Komitat Győr-Moson 184 tote jüdische Personen registriert wurden.²⁹ Von vielen Opfern fehlt jede Spur.

Die realistisch denkende, gutherzige Mehrheit der Bevölkerung an der deutschen Reichsgrenze schreckte vor den Schauerlichkeiten zurück. Die unbarmherzige Behandlung der Deportierten hatte vielfach eine entgegengesetzte Wirkung zu dem künstlich entfachten Rassenhaß. Viele verspürten Ernüchterung und Mitleid, und es gab auch solche, die den Grausamkeiten der Verfolger aktiv entgegentraten. In Győr-Révfalu zum Beispiel warfen die in der Schule untergebrachten ungarischen Soldaten Brot unter die vorbeiziehenden jüdischen Frauen. Am 15. November streuten Arbeiter der Győrer Pannonia-Feinbäckerei Kekse unter die vorüberziehenden Marschkolonnen. Mehrere wurden wegen der Hilfeleistung inhaftiert und schwer mißhandelt.

Mit Hilfe der örtlichen Bevölkerung gelang es einigen Deportierten, vom Faßreck zurückzubleiben und in der Hauptstadt unterzutauchen. Eine erhaltene Bauernkleidung, ein Gelegenheits- oder Dauerversteck konnte sich als lebensrettend erweisen. Aber auch eine geringe Menge an Lebensmitteln oder eine noch so winzige Geste des Mitgefühls konnten zur Ausdauer verhelfen.³⁰ An der Fähre von Vének gewährte zum Beispiel Pal Győri Zuflucht.

Aus der Ziegelei in Hegyeshalom wurden zahllose Verfolgte vom örtlichen Pfarrer und dem Kaplan aus Mosonszolnok gerettet. Zwei katholische Geistliche halfen

mit Schutzbriefen, die sie durch den aktiven Nazigegner Vilmos Apor, Bischof von Győr, erlangten. Menschliches Verhalten bezeugte u.a. auch Ernő Békefi, Direktor der römisch-katholischen Volksschule von Rajka.³²

Erfolgte Hilfeleistung wird auch aus jenem Rundschreiben ersichtlich, das allen, die Flüchtlingen Unterstützung gewährten, wiederholt Vergeltungsmaßnahmen bis hin zur Internierung androhte: „Von den vorüberziehenden Judentransporten (sic!) sondern sich einige Personen ab. Die Aufspürung der Flüchtlinge ist im Gange, wird aber dem Győrer ung. kgl. Gendarmeriekommando zufolge dadurch erschwert, daß die Bevölkerung einigen dieser Zerstreuten Unterschlupf gewährt“.³²

Die wieder eingefangenen Flüchtlinge wurden, falls nicht vor Ort „niedergemetzelt“, neuerlich an die Reichsgrenze geschickt. Sie kamen entweder in die Csillag-Festung nach Stadt Komárom, häufiger aber in die Baracken der Budai Straße nach Stadt Győr. Die Insassen des Barackenlagers von Győr mußten unter dem Arbeitsaufsichtskommando Nr. 202 Dantes Hölle durchschreiten. Völlig ausgeplündert fristeten sie ein kiimmerliches Dasein. Dreck, Ungeziefer und täglichen Gewalttätigkeiten ausgeliefert. Durchfall, Frost und Hunger steigerten ihre Qualen ins Unerträgliche. Selbst Kranke mußten in ungeheizten, fensterlosen Räumen mit Betonfußboden auf faulem Stroh lagern.

Die Anzahl der Lagerinsassen fluktuierte ständig. Todesfälle verringerten den Gesamtstand, erfolglos Geflüchtete ergaben Neuzugänge. Gelegentlich wurden die vor Hegyeshalom Abgesprungenen in Kompanien eingereiht und Richtung Reichsgebiet in Marsch gesetzt. Einige Győrer Pfeilkreuzler trugen auf ihre Weise ebenfalls zur Reduzierung des Lagerstandes bei. Auf „Dienstausweis“ forderten sie jüdische „Arbeitskräfte“ an, die nach Arbeit und Verprügelung nicht ins Lager zurückgeführt, sondern am Donau- oder Raab-Ufer hingerichtet und ins Eisloch versenkt wurden. Etwa 40 bis 45 Juden des Győrer Barackenlagers ereilte dieses Schicksal.³³

Neben spontaner, individueller Hilfeleistung kam es auch zu umfassenderen organisierten Rettungsaktionen. Diese wurden von Aktivisten des Internationalen Roten Kreuzes und des Ungarischen Komitees, von Mitarbeitern der Budapester Vertretungen mehrerer neutraler Staaten zugunsten der Verfolgten und Gefolterten durchgeführt. Noch im offenen Befehl Karoly Beregfys vom 26. Oktober 1944 wurden all jene jüdischen Personen vom Arbeitseinsatz ausgenommen, die über Rettungsurkunden (durch die Regierungsverordnung vom 10. Mai 1944 geregelt), über schwedische Reisepässe und Schutzbriefe, portugiesische Schutzpässe oder mit Lichtbild versehene Reisepässe des Internationalen Roten Kreuzes verfügten. (Die ersten Schutzbriefe wurden in Budapest im Sommer 44 von Schweden

ausgestellt. 120 auf Listen festgehaltenen Personen wurde dadurch „Immunität“ gewährt. Dem schwedischen Beispiel folgten auch die Schweiz und Portugal. Das Internationale Rote Kreuz nahm anfangs 1.300 Personen in Schutz.³⁴⁾

Die sogenannten Schutzbriefe boten ihren Besitzern im allgemeinen nur zeitweilige Rettung beziehungsweise die Hoffnung darauf. Jedoch gelang es einigen Gesandtschaftsvertretern, auf diese Weise Menschen noch vor Hegyeshalom dem Todesmarsch zu entheben und nach Budapest zu bringen. Raoul Wallenberg befreite 2.000 Personen: zum Beispiel aus dem Óbudaer Sammellager, aus Piliscsaba und Gönyü, und mit Hilfe seines Mitarbeiters Bela Elek gelang es ihm, nahezu 500 Deportierte (unter ihnen viele Kinder) sogar aus Hegyeshalom, kurz vor der unmittelbaren Reichsgrenze, zu retten.³⁵ Der Apostolische Nuntius Angelo Rotta ließ von Budapest aus Lastwagen auf die Marschstrecke schicken und Lebens- und Arzneimitteln verteilen. Auch unternahm man den Versuch, Deportierte, die über San Salvador-Zertifikate oder Schutzbriefe des Vatikans verfügten, aus dem Todesmarsch herauszuholen. Auch mit Hilfe gekaufter ungarischer Polizisten gelang es, Verschleppte nach Budapest zurückzuführen.³⁶

Ein weiterer Ertrag dieser Aktionen war, daß die in großer Anzahl erlassenen schweizerischen Schutzbriefe das Chaos in der ungarischen Verwaltung nur noch erhöhten und die Deportationspläne von Szálasi und Konsorten gründlich zerrütteten. Dennoch konnten weitaus mehr Menschen nicht gerettet werden und wurden am Ende des Todesmärsches der SS und dem Schicksal überlassen. Den Diplomaten neutraler Länder gelang es nicht – konnte es ja nicht gelingen alle oder die Mehrheit der „Leihjuden“ aus dem Sammellager, aus den Marschkolonnen noch vor Hegyeshalom zu befreien.

Im Vergleich zu den Deportationen des Sommers, wo 437.000 ungarische Juden aus der Provinz Nach Auschwitz-Birkenau verschleppt wurden, bedeutete die jetzt aufkommende Protesthaltung eine wesentliche Änderung der Situation. Viele Verfolgte wurden von Bekannten oder auch Unbekannten versteckt und auf verschiedenste Weise unterstüzt.³⁷ Mehrere Budapester Organisationen der Widerstandsbewegung fertigten für Juden fälsche Papiere an. Auch die Kirchen und ihre Institutionen brachen immer stärker mit ihrer früheren Passivität.

Im westlichen Teil Ungarns kam es des öfteren zur Sabotage pfeilkreuzlerischer Maßnahmen. Die Abtei zu Pannonhalma wurde zu einer Hochburg des kirchlichen Widerstandes. Ihr Gebäudekomplex und Park standen unter der Ägide des Internationalen Roten Kreuzes und genossen somit Exterritorialität.³⁸ Dieses Privileg nützend, wurde ein Waisenhaus nach Pannonhalma verlegt, wo neben Ordensleuten und Personal nunmehr weitere 760 Menschen – 418 Kinder, 220 Erwachsene (Mütter), 52 Pflugeschwestern und 70 bettlägerige Kranke – Quartier

und Verpflegung hatten. Die Abtei bedeutete für viele Verfolgte Rettung. Auch in Häusern des zur Abtei gehörenden Guts fanden fliehende Juden Aufnahme. Trotz strikter Bestimmungen und Hausdurchsuchungen der Gestapo verbargen die Benediktinermönche 36 Juden.³⁹

Die vor der Übergabe geretteten Deportierten wurden von den Mitarbeitern der Gesandtschaften und des Roten Kreuzes nach Budapest zurückgeführt. Die entkräfteten, häufig medizinische Betreuung benötigenden Menschen beherbergte man vorwiegend in den bereits erwähnten „Schutzhäusern“ der Botschaften. Etliche Schwerkranke, Verkrüppelte und Gelähmte brachte man auch in der Zentrale des Judenrates (Sip utca 12) unter, wo in Windeseile eine medizinische Ambulanz eingerichtet wurde. Die meisten Leute waren von den ausgestandenen Martern derart mitgenommen, daß sie oft innerhalb von wenigen Stunden oder Tagen starben. 15 bis 20 Tote lagen jeden Tag auf dem Hof der Zentrale in der Sip utca.⁴⁰

Da die überwiegende Mehrheit des ungarischen Judentums noch im Sommer 1944 nach Auschwitz-Birkenau verschleppt wurde, verblieb nur eine geringe Anzahl der Juden im Land, was wiederum Szálasi und Konsorten ermöglichte, mit dem Schicksal dieser Menschen zu manipulieren und darüber mit den Deutschen taktische Verhandlungen zu führen. Nicht Menschlichkeit veranlaßte die Szálasi-Regierung, vorsichtige „diplomatische“ Schritte zu tun und die lebensrettenden Papiere einzelner neutraler Staaten „großzügig“ anzuerkennen, sondern sie hegte die Hoffnung, dadurch ausländische Akzeptanz zu erzielen.

Vizeministerpräsident Jenő Szöllösi mußte vor den sich nach Sopron an die westliche Staatsgrenze zurückziehenden „Gesetzgebern“ jedoch eingestehen, daß sich die Umstände für die pfeilkreuzlerische „Diplomatie“ ungünstig gestalteten. In seinem, die Tatsachen erhellenden Bericht über Kriegslage und Judenangelegenheiten vom 1. Dezember 1944 vermerkte er, daß die von der Szálasi-Regierung erhoffte De-jure- Anerkennung seitens des Vatikans, Schwedens und der Schweiz „sich noch etwas hinauszögert, was sich eigentlich in der Lösung der Judenfrage gründet. Darin kennen sie (d.h. die am Rettungswerk teilnehmenden Gesandtschaften) keine Grenzen ...“.⁴¹

Doch auch, die Pfeilkreuzler, die „das Großungarn aufbauen“ wollten, kannten – trotz fortdauernder Verhandlungen und Versprechungen – keine Schranken mehr, wenn es um die politische und rassische Verfolgung ging. Durch die Ausbreitung der Pfeilkreuzlermacht kam auch der durch die Botschaften gewährte Schutz immer mehr ins Schwanken. Raub und Plünderung, Verschleppungen in Schubhaft oder ins Sammellager der Ziegelei gehörten für das ungarische Restjudentum nunmehr zum Alltag.

In den sogenannten Schutzhäusern fanden regelmäßig Razzien statt. Die Bewohner wurden in Reih und Glied aufgestellt und all jene ausgesondert und gruppenweise abgeführt, deren Dokumente die Schergen je nach augenblicklicher Laune für falsch erklärten. Von den tragischen Folgen der Razzien zeugten zahlreiche an der Donau gestrandete, Spuren von Brutalität aufweisende Leichname von Menschen, die, bis auf die Unterwäsche ausgezogen, meist mit Genickschuß hingerichtet worden waren.⁴²

Deportierte aus dem Todesmarsch herauszuholen, wurde mittlerweile immer schwieriger. Der Schwerpunkt der Rettungsaktionen verlagerte sich nun allmählich in das Grenzgebiet, zur Übergabestation in Hegyeshalom. Durch ihre aufopferungsvolle Rettungsarbeit zeichneten sich hier insbesondere Sándor Ujvari, die Mitglieder der Rettungskommission vom Internationalen Roten Kreuz, Gábor Alapy, Mitarbeiter Raoul Wallenbergs, und der Lazarist Pater Ferenc Köhler aus.⁴³ Sie wählten von den deportierten „Leihjuden“ diejenigen aus, die sich im schlimmsten gesundheitlichen Zustand befanden und offenkundig keine weiteren Qualen mehr überstanden hatten. Auf die Namen dieser Menschen wurden nun die bereits unterschriebenen Schutzbriefe ausgefüllt, welche von Mitarbeitern des Apostolischen Nuntius Alberto Rotta oder des Győrer Bischofs Vilmos Apor zu Hunderten zur Verfügung gestellt worden waren.

Eine höhere Stufe der Zusammenarbeit bei der Rettung verfolgter Menschen stellte das sogenannte Schutzbüro dar, das unter dem Patronat des Internationalen Roten Kreuzes von den diplomatischen Vertretungen der neutralen Staaten gemeinsam eingerichtet wurde. Die Aktivitäten des Büros erstreckten sich gegebenenfalls auch auf die bereits Geretteten, denn es kam nicht selten vor, daß manche aus Hegyeshalom zurückgeholten Schutzbriefbesitzer von Budapest, Komárom oder Győr aus erneut nach Deutschland in Marsch gesetzt wurden.

In solchen Fällen erhob das Schutzbüro beim ungarischen Außenministerium offiziell Einspruch. Wochenlang und auf unterschiedlichste Weise kämpfte das Büro auch gegen die sich erneut anbahnenden Deportationsversuche an, bis schließlich seine Aktivitäten am Auftritt des Eichmann-Stabes scheiterte.

Diplomatischer Druck, die stets wachsenden deutschen Anforderungen an Arbeitskräften, aber auch innere Störungen trugen dazu bei, daß Ferenc Szálasi am 17. November 1944 sein „Entjudungsprogramm“ verlautbarte. (In diesem reihte er die noch am Leben befindlichen ungarischen Juden in sechs Kategorien ein.) Das ungarische Außenministerium übermittelte den Budapester Gesandtschaften neutraler Staaten „den obersten Beschluß des Staatsführers“ in Form einer Denkschrift samt einer mündlichen Note.

Zur gleichen Zeit erhielt die „Entjudungsabteilung“ der Pfeilkreuzlerpartei den Durchführungsbefehl, daß alle gesunden jüdischen Männer und Frauen – Altersgrenze männlich 16-60 und weiblich 16-40 Jahre –, „verpflichtet sind, als Entgelt für an Ungarn zu lieferndes Kriegsmaterial zum Besten des ungarischen Volkes zu arbeiten“. (Dies widerspricht der früheren Vorstellung, die kaum einen Monat zuvor von Justizminister Budinszky bekanntgegeben wurde und die den Arbeitsdienst der „Leihjuden“ lediglich auf ungarischem Territorium vorsah.)

Auch Innenminister Vajna ordnete die Juden in Kategorien ein, allerdings stellte er im Unterschied zur Szálasi Denkschrift statt sechs sieben Klassen. Szálasi entschied darin auch über das spätere Schicksal der „Leihjuden“. Diese zum deutschen Arbeitseinsatz getriebenen oder dafür vorgesehenen Männer und Frauen sollten einzeln und „namentlich“ der SS übergeben werden und hatten – wie bereits erwähnt – auf reichsdeutschen Territorium Arbeitsdienst zu leisten, während das dafür versprochene deutsche Kriegsmaterial zur Aufrüstung der neu aufzustellenden ungarischen Truppeneinheiten dienen sollte. Die Botschaften der neutralen Staaten, die ungarischen Behörden und der Jüdische Rat wurden allerdings in jeweils anderer Version über das Szálasi-Programm „zur endgültigen Regelung der Judenfrage“ unterrichtet.

In der zweiten Novemberhälfte artikulierte sich der Protest gegen die grauenhaften Todesmärsche stärker. Einige ausländische Gesandtschaften – unter ihnen die Apostolische Nuntiatur – richteten wiederholt Grausamkeiten enthüllende Meldungen und Noten an die Szálasi-Regierung. Ihre Demarchen vermöchten nun auch eine kleine Wendung zu bewirken: Szálasi sah sich am 20. November gezwungen, weitere Gewaltmärsche der Frauen zu verbieten und überhaupt die Fußtrecks einzustellen.⁴⁵

Veesenmayer meldete am 21. November in einer Depeche an das Reichsaußenministerium: In der Evakuierung der Budapester Juden sei eine grundsätzliche Änderung eingetreten. Szálasi Anordnung – die Einstellung weiterer Fußmärsche von Judenfrauen und das allgemeine Transportverbot im Fußtreck – komme angesichts des Mangels an Waggons praktisch der Einstellung des Abtransports gleich. In des war ohnehin die überwiegende Mehrheit der zum Arbeitseinsatz verpflichteten jüdischen Frauen bereits bis 20. November an der Reichsgrenze der SS überlassen worden.

Einige Gruppen kamen nach Konzentrationslager Dachau und in seine Nebenlager, andere nach Konzentrationslager Ravensbrück, Spandau oder Oranienburg-Sachsenhausen, doch die meisten von ihnen wurden zum Bau der Reichsschutzstellung in die sog. Arbeitslager im Gau Niederdonau überstellt.

Zu Szálasi's Entschluß dürfte beigetragen haben, daß die SS ausschließlich bestens geeignete Arbeitskräfte, vor allem auf Dauer bestarbeitsfähige jüdische Männer, möglichst nicht über 40 Jahre, anforderte. Mittlerweile stellte sich auch heraus, daß ein Großteil des Arbeitsjudenkontingents nicht – wie vereinbart – in Rüstungsbetrieben, sondern zum Festungsbau eingesetzt wurde. Und bei den Befestigungsarbeiten am Ostwall waren – schon allein wegen der Dringlichkeit – Arbeitskräfte nötig, die die besonders schwere, auf bergigem, bewaldetem Terrain auszuführende ganztägige Arbeit auf längere Zeitdauer aushalten konnten.

Die Einstellung der Fußtrecks nach Hegyeshalom konnte nun folgende Gründe gehabt haben:

1. die nationalsozialistischen Parteileiter verlangten ausschließlich absolut arbeitsfähige jüdische Häftlinge zum Festungsbau und zu sonstigem Arbeitsdienst; nach Einstellung der Gaskammern von Auschwitz konnten sie mit den zum Einsatz Ungeeigneten „nichts anfangen“;
2. einige deutsche Offiziere – etwa SS-Obergruppenführer Hans Jüttner – versuchten, unmittelbar vor dem Zusammenbruch von solchen offenkundigen Brutalitäten Abstand zu nehmen;
3. das Memorandum der neutralen Staaten und des Vatikans an Szálasi. In dessen erwogen die Deutschen, ob und welche Gruppen des verbliebenen ungarischen Judentums noch in Betracht kamen, noch einzusetzen waren. Reichsaußenminister Ribbentrop wies Ungarns „Gauleiter“ Veessenmayer telegraphisch an, Szálasi nachdrücklich nahezu legen, er solle trotz der technischen Schwierigkeiten die Evakuierung der Budapester Juden energisch durchführen. „Szálasi müsse sich darüber klar sein, daß Budapest desto besser verteidigt werden könne, je mehr und je eher die Juden aus der Stadt herausgebracht seien. In diesem Zusammenhang sei an das Beispiel von Jassy erinnert, wo Antonescu trotz der Warnung des Führers die Juden in der Stadt gelassen habe, die dann bei Näherrücken der kämpfenden Truppe hinter der Front eine rote Revolution ausgerufen haben.“⁴⁶

Am 23. November konnte Veessenmayer nach Berlin melden, daß Szálasi seine Einwilligung gab, Budapest durchzukämmen, die Evakuierung energisch voranzutreiben; die noch vorzufindenden jüdischen Männer und die arbeitsfähigen jüdischen Frauen würden kontinuierlich erfaßt, damit sie „keine ernsthafte politische Gefahr mehr darstellten“.⁴⁷ Dem Abtransport der Judenkontingente an die Reichsgrenze standen in des beträchtliche Schwierigkeiten entgegen. Die ohnehin bombenbeschädigten Eisenbahnlinien

mußten den zurückziehenden, über knappe Treibstoffvorräte verfügenden Wehrmachtstruppen freigehalten werden.

Darüber hinaus verfügte in erster Linie der mit Vollmacht betraute SS-Obersturmbannführer Kurt Becher über die Waggons, um die demontierten ungarischen Maschinen und Ausrüstungen, Güter und Rohstoffe „in Sicherheit zu bringen“. Trotzdem – während sich die grauenvollen Todesmärsche noch bis 28. November in Richtung Reichsgebiet vorwärtsschleppten – gelang es Adolf Eichmann, aus Wien einige Waggons zu beschaffen. Der Eichmann-Stab erlangte am 28. und 29. November Gewalt über die von einigen Botschaften betreuten „Schutzjuden“ und über andere, noch nicht aus Budapest deportierten jüdischen Arbeitsdienstler, die dann unverzüglich nach Westen abtransportiert wurden.

Die Erbauer des Südostwalls benötigten also dringend jüdische Arbeitsdienstler, die von ihrem Alter und der Leistungsfähigkeit her zum Schanzengießen geeignet waren. Mittlerweile stellte sich aber heraus, daß die meisten, wahllos in Marsch gesetzten, im Fußtreck völlig abgezehrten ungarischen „Leihjuden“ bei den Erdarbeiten nicht zu gebrauchen waren. Es wurde offenkundig, daß das angeforderte Kontingent von 50.000 arbeitsfähigen Juden unmöglich zu erfüllen war. SS-Obersturmbannführer Rudolf Hoeß hatte in Zurndorf „bereits die Zurückweisung schon in Marsch befindlicher ungeeigneter Kontingente erwogen und davon nur aus politischen Gründen Abstand genommen“. Demnach wurde nur der Abtransport absolut einsatzfähiger Juden maßgebender Grundsatz.⁴⁸

Das ohnehin enorme Tempo des Ostwallbaus sollte angesichts der Kriegslage unverzüglich beschleunigt werden. In den unmittelbar betroffenen westungarischen Siedlungen wurde die Bevölkerung nunmehr auch direkt gewarnt, daß der Feind „über recht viele und moderne motorisierte Truppen verfügt, gegen die nur gebaute Stellungen effizient Schutz bieten können. Da sich der Feind rasch fortbewegt, müssen wir rasch handeln, falls wir nicht zugrunde gehen wollen“.⁴⁹

Ende November 1944 wurden selbst bisher „geschützte“ Arbeitskompanien den Deutschen zur Verfügung gestellt. Dazu trug neben den drängenden Forderungen der Partei- und Bauleitung vom Gau Niederdonau und Gau Steiermark auch der neuerlich geänderte Standpunkt der Szálasi-Regierung bei. In den oberen Kreisen der Pfeilkreuzler wurden jene Stimmen lauter, die auf eine vollkommene und sofortige „Entjudung“ drangen. Diese wollten nicht einmal jüdische Zwangsarbeiter in Ungarn belassen. Die SS-Offiziere forderten daraufhin mit taktischem Geschick sofort weitere Arbeitskräfte „in für die ungarische Armee

produzierende Rüstungsbetriebe“. Die Szálasi-Regierung kam dieser Forderung innerhalb von wenigen Tagen nach.

Die Kommandeure dieser neuen Arbeitskompanien empfingen am 26./27. November einen geheimen Befehl. In der Morgendämmerung des 29. November brachte man nun die unter der Obhut neutraler Staaten stehenden Arbeitskompanien, die unter „geschützt“ mit der Nummer 701 registriert wurden, sowie andere Zurückgebliebene auf den Budapester Bahnhof Józsefváros. Ohne daß sie zuvor von Familienangehörigen Abschied nehmen bzw. einige Habseligkeiten mitnehmen konnten, wurden sie per Eisenbahn (pro Waggon 60 bis 70 Menschen) nach Hegyeshalom abtransportiert.

Damit wurde schlechthin der Arbeitsdienst im Rahmen der ungarischen Armee abgeschafft. Auf dem Bahnhof von Józsefváros löste man die Wachen der aufgehobenen Kompanien durch Feldgendarmen ab, die den Transport bis zur Reichsgrenze begleiteten. Für diese waren die Deportierten nur noch „Nummern“, genauso wurden die ehemaligen Armeezwangsarbeiter – wie auch die „Zivilarbeitsdienstler“ – bei der Übergabe an die SS ausschließlich nach Nummern registriert. Im Armeeverband der Hauptstadt verblieben lediglich einige Aushilfskompanien sowie die sogenannte Kleidersammler-Kompanie Nr. 101/359, die im XIV. Stadtbezirk in der Abonyi Straße Quartier hatte.⁵⁰

Die Transporte Ende November 1944 brachten der SS – durch die SS – Hauptsturmführer Theodor Dannecker und Otto Hunsche sowie den mit dem Eichmann-Einsatzkommando bis zuletzt zusammenwirkenden Gendarmerieoberstleutnant László Ferenczy – weitere 17.800 einsatzfähige ungarische Juden. Dieser Deportation konnten nur die unter schwedischem und salvadorischem Schutz Stehenden entkommen.⁵¹

Mit der Verschlechterung der Kriegslage und dem Heranrücken der Front flohen deutsche und ungarische Dienststellen, Organisationen und Institutionen von Budapest ins westliche Grenzgebiet. Auch Eichmanns Kommando war schon am Aufbrechen, als es am 3. Dezember mit einer Gruppe von Pfeilkreuzlern etwa 3.000 bis 3.600 Juden in der Budapester Columbus-Straße überrannte, die sich unter der Ägide des Internationalen Roten Kreuzes befanden. Lagervorsteher Dr. Moskovits und Dr. Rafael wurden von den Pfeilkreuzlern auf der Stelle hingerichtet, die vom Roten Kreuz ausgestellten Schutzbriefe erklärte man für nichtig.

Die Heiminsassen aus der Columbus Straße füllten die Waggon eines der letzten Transportzüge. 1.200 Häftlinge des Budapester Schubhauses wurden am 11. Dezember in Marsch gesetzt. Ihre Zahl schrumpfte bis Komárom infolge von Erschießungen auf 880 Personen zusammen.⁵²

Die Todesmärsche nach Hegyeshalom, die wiederholten Deportationen, die aktenkundigen Massaker beweisen, wie ehrlos und verlogen das Judenprogramm des ungarischen Szálasi-Regimes von Anfang an gewesen war. Szálasis Regierung kam auf typisch faschistische Weise seinen übernommenen Verpflichtungen auch auf diesem Gebiet nicht nach.

Von der Wende im Oktober 1944, der „Machtübernahme“ der Pfeilkreuzler bis Mitte Januar 1945 ging die Zahl der Budapester Judentum um 105.453 zurück. Die meisten von ihnen wurden deportiert, die anderen in den Pfeilkreuzler-Parteiusern am Donauufer oder sonstwo in der Hauptstadt erschossen.⁵³

Nach der Machtübernahme verfügte erneut der Eichmann-Stab – den ursprünglichen Mellen und Deklarationen zum Trotz – über das noch existente ungarische Judentum. Zwischen dem 6. November und 1. Dezember 1944 – solange Laszló Ferenczy zufolge zahlenmäßig registriert wurde – übergab man 76.209 ungarische Juden bei Hegyeshalom der SS. Von den unterwegs umgekommenen mehreren hundert Häftlingen liegen keine genauen Zahlen vor. Bei den späteren Deportationen wurden 4.750 Personen verschleppt.⁵⁴

Die bisherigen Forschungen ergeben keinen ausreichenden Beweis dafür, daß – wie vielfach behauptet – 76.209 ungarische Juden dem Reich zur Verfügung gestellt worden waren. Nach Durchsicht und Analyse der Angaben hinsichtlich des Ostwallbaus und der Lagerbestände kann man diese Zahl bei etwa 50.000 ansetzen. 15.500 bis 18.000 von ihnen kamen bis Ende März 1945 beim erzwungenen Bau der völlig sinnlosen Reichsschutzstellung um.

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Intellectual responsibility in the virtual age. What can religious traditions teach us?

The world we know is changing. One of the most important and influential challenges is the birth of a new era: the virtual age. We can see with amazement the unfolding civilisation based on virtual reality. There are many point of views to reflect on these transformation and to adjudicate them, all of them brings us to different conclusions, whether in positive or negative direction. One thing is unfailling: it is not exclusively about technologies or medium, but about a new way of living, thinking, reasoning and feeling. The so-called “virtual natives”, the new generation born with a computer, iPad or iPhone in the hand, represent a new kind of human existence: the most fundamental human capabilities and potentialities are now functioning otherwise, the methods of communication and constructing communities is different, the realisation of one’s self became a kind of homework to resolve using the opportunities of web.2. About this “contemporary self” wrote William Deresiewicz:

»The camera has created a culture of celebrity; the computer is creating a culture of connectivity, As the two technologies converge—broadband tipping the Web from text to image; social-networking sites spreading the mesh of interconnection even wider—the two cultures betray a common impulse. Celebrity and connectivity are both ways of becoming known. This is what the contemporary self wants. It wants to be recognised, wants to be connected: It wants to be visible. If not to the million, on *Survivor* [a reality-show] or *Oprah* [a talk-show], the to the hundreds, on Twitter or Facebook. This is the quality that validates us, this is how we become real to ourselves—by being seen by others. The great contemporary terror is anonymity. If Lionel Trilling was right, if the property that grounded the self in Romanticism was sincerity, and in modernism was authenticity, then in postmodernism it is visibility« (cited in: Hedges, 22s).

The self-founding role of connectivity and the visibility as a special and central property of our time: these two elements are clearly visible in the world of Internet. The number of connected people is rising year by year, running up

exponentially the crowd of registered user on the social networks. Old-fashioned human relations and ways of cultural and religious transfers are out of date. Once we have collected our knowledge and received our faith through living persons: parents, grandparents, relatives, community-members, teachers, masters. The virtual self applies technical devices and uses the sources found on Internet to collect the element of his own worldview. On the place of old authorities we find the new collectivism of Wikipedia, and instead of the personal nearness and hearty brotherhood expressed by a real-time togetherness in the religious community we see an extreme individualism, that leaves one to himself, exactly in times of troubles or doubts.

The truths and values of religion are similar to the goods to buy in the stores: one enters and searches for the item that is the most likely to him, without any reference to its origin, context and traditional meaning, causing a proper religious chaos, followed by syncretism and relativism. Everyone has the right to create his own religion, working with bricks taken out of the immense buildings of various institutionalised religions. The result is a grotesque pseudo-religious monster, that has no mother or father, only a constructor – a man who takes the highest power in his own hand, as he makes himself the fountain and judgement of the truth itself, “knowing good and evil” (see Genesis 3:5).

The prophets of self-created religions are numerous, and wear the sign of our virtual age: they liberate themselves from every higher authority, are talking with an apodictic tone, revealing all the truths that the organised religious communities are hiding. They are spreading their words trough the social-networks, messaging systems, insecure home-pages and profiles, internet-sites, often being promoters of injustice, hatred, violent speaking and acting and (cyber-)bullying. They are disseminating rancour against everyone, who is disagreeing or standing for a temperate and healthy religious teaching. Their followers, fed by low-ranked intellectual and spiritual fruits, show a tendency, an inclination for short and unpretending answers, uncomplicated views, fundamentalist opinions.

We read a very impressive admonition in the second letter of Saint Paul to Timothy: “For the time is coming when people will not endure sound [here: healthy] teaching, but having itching ears they will accumulate for themselves teachers to suit their own passions, and will turn away from listening to the truth and wander off into myths” (4:3–4). The great Apostle of the Nations offers us not only a description of future unease and peril (that is highly applicable on our time and circumstances), but a therapy, a spiritual shielding against it: “As for you, always be sober-minded, endure suffering, do the work of an evangelist, fulfil your ministry” (4:5).

Saint Jude offers a more detailed description of the false teachers: “Yet in like manner these people also, relying on their dreams, defile the flesh, reject authority, and blaspheme the glorious ones” (v. 8). “But these people blaspheme all that they do not understand, and they are destroyed by all that they, like unreasoning animals, understand instinctively” (v. 10). The necessary defence is described in the following: “But you, beloved, building yourselves up in your most holy faith and praying in the Holy Spirit, keep yourselves in the love of God, waiting for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ that leads to eternal life. And have mercy on those who doubt” (vv. 20–22).

We can resume the over cited pages of the New Testament in the sight of intellectual responsibility emphasising the virtues, that are ancient like the human kind itself:

- Sobriety.
- Endurance.
- Perseverance in faith and work.
- Love and Mercy.

How can we apply them to the new context, we are living in? How can we find a practical way to meet our intellectual engagements and religious obligations, not only standing against the perils presented by the virtual age, but helping our contemporaries, the young generation, who are often in doubt about the importance and meaning of old traditions, words, rituals and communitarian practices?

1) *Sobriety*. The Christian theology knows the virtue of *temperantia*, attributed to someone, who is able to keep his good temper, control his own sentiments and anger. Saint Thomas of Aquin defines it as follows: “temperance evidently inclines man to this [reason], since its very name implies moderation or temperateness, which reason causes” (*Summa Theologica* II–II q. 141. a. 1. co.). As we see, this virtue (as all four cardinal virtues) is strictly connected with reason, therefore has a strongly intellectual character. The great Theologian lists many aspects of temperance, like honesty, abstinence, or in more material and corporal level: fasting, chastity, virginity, continence. There are spiritual components too, like clemency, modesty, humility, pride, and the same time directly intellectual characteristics, like studiousness and modesty (see *Summa Theologica* II–II qq. 144–170 passim). The sobriety appears at the Aquinas concerning especially with drink (see *Summa Theologica* II–II q. 149. a. 1. co.), but if we return to the biblical text, will observe, that the Word of God touches not foremost the abstinence of alcohol, but a proper spiritual and intellectual attachment in front of intellectual challenges raised by the false teaching (that is similar to a kind of poisonous or intoxicating spiritual nutrition).

How can we traduce in the language of our all-daily experience this ancient virtue of sobriety? At first, as the capability of abstinence: man has to withdraw himself time to time from the virtual and dwell in reality. This attachment can be described as the ideal of *mindfulness*, being-present-in-the-present, being-present-for-the-present. The reality regenerates our spiritual and intellectual forces and demonstrates the relativity of the virtual world, guiding us toward real experiences, real personal existence, real encounters with the others. These elements are indispensable in forming an honest personality that is able to recognise the dignity of other persons, of the truth's authority and the values deriving from it.

2) *Endurance*. One of the most disquieting characteristics of the virtual age is the living and thinking with a short perspective. Pope Francis wrote in his Apostolic Exhortation entitled *Evangelii gaudium*, the joy of the Gospel

»In the prevailing culture, priority is given to the outward, the immediate, the visible, the quick, the superficial and the provisional. What is real gives way to appearances. In many countries globalisation has meant a hastened deterioration of their own cultural roots and the invasion of ways of thinking and acting proper to other cultures which are economically advanced but ethically debilitated« (nr. 62).

The Pontiff alludes to the very serious implications of these phenomena that are influencing the mission and acting of our religious communities:

»In today's world of instant communication and occasionally biased media coverage, the message we preach runs a greater risk of being distorted or reduced to some of its secondary aspects. In this way certain issues which are part of the Church's moral teaching are taken out of the context which gives them their meaning. The biggest problem is when the message we preach then seems identified with those secondary aspects which, important as they are, do not in and of themselves convey the heart of Christ's message. We need to be realistic and not assume that our audience understands the full background to what we are saying, or is capable of relating what we say to the very heart of the Gospel which gives it meaning, beauty and attractiveness« (nr. 34).

Endurance is not a fashionable virtue of our time. We are living in a running moment that isn't a present, but an untraceable and mysterious temporality, a thrown away presence, a vibrating awaiting to the possible future. We want everything here and now, without any reflection on the days to come. "People live poised between each individual moment and the greater, brighter horizon of the utopian future as the final cause which draws us to itself" (*Evangelii gaudium*, nr. 222). Therefore we

have to adopt a new principle: *Time is greater than space*, space understood here as immediacy and directness, the lack of endurance, the thinking and living with a short-term perspective.

»This principle enables us to work slowly but surely, without being obsessed with immediate results. It helps us patiently to endure difficult and adverse situations, or inevitable changes in our plans. It invites us to accept the tension between fullness and limitation, and to give a priority to time. One of the faults which we occasionally observe in sociopolitical activity is that spaces and power are preferred to time and processes. Giving priority to space means madly attempting to keep everything together in the present, trying to possess all the spaces of power and of self-assertion; it is to crystallise processes and presume to hold them back. Giving priority to time means being concerned about initiating processes rather than possessing spaces. Time governs spaces, illumines them and makes them links in a constantly expanding chain, with no possibility of return. What we need, then, is to give priority to actions which generate new processes in society and engage other persons and groups who can develop them to the point where they bear fruit in significant historical events. Without anxiety, but with clear convictions and tenacity« (*Evangelii gaudium*, nr. 223).

The last words – “without anxiety, but with clear convictions and tenacity” – offer a description of a desirable and right habit and conduct in the context of virtual reality. We can not reverse the time already passed away, we can not be passive and lamenting contemporaries of the digital natives, we have to have founded prospects, appealing purposes for our brothers’ and sisters’ human and religious existence that is suitable for the technically and culturally determined context we are living in. We must offer an alternative for a life filled with perspectives on long-term. Pope Francis said once:

»The drama of our age is that a young person lives in a world which is itself not yet emerged from the adolescence. The youth grows up in a society that expects nothing of them, which does not educates them to sacrifice, and to work, do not know the beauty and the truth of these things. That is why the youth estimates low the past and is scared of the future. Therefore it is up to the Church to retrieve the feelings of hope again« (cited in Biallowons, 88).

Endurance is a virtue that is crucial in awakening hope, in opening the youth to the broader perspective of a real future liberated from the obsession of immediacy and pleasure. Without endurance we can not trace the spiritual and intellectual force needed in times of great tribulations and sacrifice.

3) *Perseverance in faith and work*. The church fathers availed many times the terminus *perseverantia finalis*, the *perseverantia sanctorum*, i.e. the final perseverance or the perseverance of the saints. What did they meant with it? The hope of the eternal life is based upon a special grace that makes us persistent, persevering in our faith and in the act deriving from it: this grace is called perseverance that is always a gift of God and the same time implies the active and free cooperation of the human subject, not at least through the virtue of endurance. The *Catechism of the Catholic Church* writes: “The children of our holy mother the Church rightly hope for the grace of final perseverance and the recompense of God their Father for the good works accomplished with his grace in communion with Jesus” (nr. 2016).

Perseverance means also a committed way of living, a decision, a choice brought in freedom and consciousness; it means the aptitude for intentions that witness the core of our faith. A time of great perplexity, syncretism and violent, false teaching rapidly spreading in the virtual space demands a clear speaking, logical and coherent reasoning, committed living – and the same time respect for the others, honesty in dialogue, and a common determination for a peaceful coexistence, based on a solid knowledge and practice of one’s own creed and moral, on the perseverance in faith and work. This virtue is key for the biblical sanctity – and a real, profound, true and dignified dialogue can be evolved only among “saints”, i.e. persons who are honest, trustful, committed, and perseverant. Believers rooted in their faith’s perseverance and its good works are able to recognise the faith of others, because they are not only talking about “religious issues”, but about their personal experience of God, prayer, moral attitude, in the context of a healthy, non virtual, but real community.

4) *Love and Mercy*. The *Catechism of the Catholic Church* – citing the pages of the Bible – points out a very proper dimension of the perseverance in the faith:

»Faith is an entirely free gift that God makes to man. We can lose this priceless gift, as St. Paul indicated to St. Timothy: “Wage the good warfare, holding faith and a good conscience. By rejecting conscience, certain persons have made shipwreck of their faith” (1Tim 1:18–19). To live, grow and persevere in the faith until the end we must nourish it with the word of God; we must beg the Lord to increase our faith; it must be “working through charity” (Gal 5:6), abounding in hope, and rooted in the faith of the Church« (nr. 162).

As we can see, love and charity is like the plenitude and perfection of faith. A believer should not make a concession or arrive to a compromise on this field;

it is a safe a solid standing point for all of us. In a world afflicted by so real, as virtual aggression, untruth, violence, bullying, lies and mendacity, the followers of different creeds have to stand up for each other; we are not talking only about the self-defence of our own faiths, about the classical apology against all others, but about a new kind of safeguarding mission: beyond the visible borders of our own religious communities, we have to have a protective habit and practice for all believers of good will against the offensives of incredulity, disbelief, hatred, often implicitly present in the assertions of fundamental or secularised ideologies. Our religious authorities has this very important mission in the world of uncontrolled information, pretentious views: they have to talk not only for their own good and interest, but for the good and interest of all faithful, of every human being rooted in his own healthy belief. One who believes in God, should see a brother in other God-fearing people knowing that the future of our world, the future of humanity is consigned in the hands of those, who hold the Almighty in reverence, and who are willing to act in accordance to his law, concealed in everyone's conscience, for the good of mankind. The angels of the heaven sung at the birth of Jesus Christ: "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace among those with whom he is pleased!"

*

The context of our postmodern societies, that on one hand offers many possibilities to contact and interact via Internet, on the other hand presents the phenomenon of individualism, atomising. A substantial and true dialogue among followers of different faiths and cultures can be seen as a sign of God's presence and power. He is the only One who can create accordance and peace in a world in troubles, submerged in the inferno of the conflict-generating discords. Inter-religious occasions, meetings and dialogues open a path toward a peaceful and respectful coexistence of God's children, making them to the ferment of a new humanity. We must stay for this fundamental option beside the love and mercy rising out of our faith in the One and Only, the Creator of all, Fountain of Love and Mercy for everyone.

Our religious beliefs can offer us a precious impetus on our way, revitalising the old virtues in a rapidly changing new world of virtual technologies, that can bring people closer together, at the same time present a previously unseen potential to the origination of perplexity, virtual and real violence, intellectual disorder and peril.

How can we imagine the face of a through old virtues renewed humanity? Pope Francis gives us an impressive metaphor and description:

»Here our model is not the sphere, which is no greater than its parts, where every point is equidistant from the centre, and there are no differences between them. Instead, it is the polyhedron, which reflects the convergence of all its parts, each of which preserves its distinctiveness. Pastoral and political activity alike seek to gather in this polyhedron the best of each. There is a place for the poor and their culture, their aspirations and their potential. Even people who can be considered dubious on account of their errors have something to offer which must not be overlooked. It is the convergence of peoples who, within the universal order, maintain their own individuality; it is the sum total of persons within a society which pursues the common good, which truly has a place for everyone« (*Evangelii gaudium*, nr. 236).

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Leah's Eyes

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וַיְעַנֵּי לְאָה רַבּוֹת – so the Torah characterizes the first born daughter of Laban and the first wife of Jacob. The adjective רַךְ (fem.: רַכָּה) means *soft, tender, sensitive*, and so, of course, *weak* (also in a mental, moreover in a stylistic sense)². According to that this passage is usually translated as: „Leah was tender eyed”³. So by the Septuaginta’s Ancient Greek interpretation „the eyes of Leia [were] powerless...”⁴

Of course, we may raise the question immediately: what do a „tender eyes” mean in that ancient context. Simply short-sighted ones? And why would it be such a remarkable problem; first of all in this passage appearing to be in contrast with the circumstances, i.e. that Rachel, Leah’s younger sister was „beautiful in relation of her looks and appearance”⁵. Therefore this information is interpreted in the Book of Jubilees so, that *although* Leah’s eyes were tender, her appearance was otherwise beautiful – nevertheless she was at a disadvantage unlike Rachel, who had perfect eyes in addition to her beautiful appearance.⁶ Consequently the tender eyes are obviously qualified as a deficiency of the appearance here. Exactly this is why an other prominent representative of the „re-written Bibles” of the Hellenistic Age, the Archaeology of Flavius Iosephus describes Rachels’s elder sister as a person with „non favourable appearance in relation of her eyes”⁷. Modern

1 Torah I. 29. 17.

2 Brown-Driver-Briggs s.v. רך

3 HB ibid (p. 52.)

4 Septuaginta ibid (οἱ δὲ ὀφθαλμοὶ Λεϊας ἀσθενεῖς...)

5 Torah ibid (מראה ורחל היפה יפת תואר ויפת מראה)

6 Book of Jubilees 28. 5. (I had no competence to look at the original Ethiopian text; the base of my reference is the English translation of O. S. Wintermute OTP p. 109.)

7 Flavius Iosephus: Archaeology I. 301. (...τὴν ἐτέραν τῶν θυγατέρων πρεσβυτέραν τε τῆς Ραχίλας καὶ τὴν ὄψιν οὐκ εὐπρεπῆ.)

translators and commentators interpret it the same way.⁸ Whereas Saint Jerome (Eusebius Sophronius Hieronymus) already writes directly in his Latin translation, that Lia was „gummy-eyed”⁹! And the „re-written Bible” of the Nestorian Syrian Christians, the Treasury Cave in the 5-6 century AD words directly so, that Jacob’s first wife „had disgusting eyes”¹⁰.

If we hereafter turn to the Aramaic translations (Targums) of the Torah, the view becomes even more complex. „And Leah’s eyes were being raised for prayer supplicating for let Jacob, the Honest Man marry her”¹¹ – as the Neophyti1 Targum (the oldest of the availables for us by Levine!¹²) interprets our passage. An other Targum remained fragmentarily specific: „And for Leah her eyes were tender, because she was crying and praying not to be lucky so to be married to Esau, the Evil Man...”¹³. The much later Targum by pseudo-Jonathan relates partially according with that, but partially – astonishing at first sight – resounding the point of view of Saint Jerome: „And Leah’s eyes were pus-flowed because of crying, because she begged in the presence of the Eternal not to assign her for Esau, the Evil Man.”¹⁴ In other words: he uses the placement formulated by the Neophyti 1 and the fragment, considerably different from the original Hebrew text known for us in order to explain the information of Jerome in much stronger terms than the original version.

On the other hand, the „professional”¹⁵ Torah-Targum by Ōnqelōs significantly differs from all those „translating” it as: „And Leah’s eyes were pretty.”¹⁶

8 By Driver’s commentary (p. 270.) the „weak” eyes are the contrasts of the big, black, shining, gazelle-character eyes demanded by the Eastern beauty-ideal. Von Rad (p. 253.) and Sarna (p. 204.) consider it similarly refusing explicitly, that a „weak eye” would here mean challenged sight: on the contrary, it means the absence of the shining, the fierity indispensable by them for the beauty-ideal of the Tanakh, that is to say of the East. (see Samuel I. 16. 2.; Song of Songs 4. 1., 9.; Ta’anit 24a) (Von Rad [ibid] adds it, that so the eye-shadow had been used from time immemorial!) Westermann (p. 564.) remarks it too, that although the translation of תָּךְ would be „weak, sensitive”, here you must interpret it as „unilluminated”.

9 Vulgata ibid (...sed Lia lippis erat oculis...”)

10 Treasury Cave p. 47. (I had no competence to look at the original Syrian text, so I used the Hungarian translation of István Ormos.)

11 Targum Neophyti1 ibid (...ועיני דלאה הוויין זקיפן בצלו בעיא למיסבא יעקב צדיקא.)

12 Levine 329.; contrary to him McNamara 168.

13 FT 57. p. (...ועיניה דלאה הוון ר כיכין על דהוות בכיא ומצליא דלא תסוק במוליה דעשו רשיעא.)

14 Jonathan-pseudo ibid (...ועיני לאה היין צירנייתן דבכביא ובעיא מן קדם ייי דלא יזמן לה לעשו רשיעא.)

15 Levine 328.

16 Ōnqelōs-Targum u.o. (ועיני לאָה; תָּךְ) The original text of Ōnqelōs is punctuated of course not by the Tiberian, but by the Babylonian Masorah; but the characters of the later can’t be reproduced by Winword.

The rich variety of the interpretations is remarkable by all means and it needs explanation.

Ōnqelōs' version is the most astonishing applying a definitely positive attribute for Leah's eyes against all the other cited texts, as it is he, who generally sticks most to the Hebrew original.¹⁷ But of course „generally” doesn't mean „all times”. And McNamara precisely enumerates which are the instances, when Ōnqelōs departs from the expectation of the truthfulness: the ones where if you may find the original text blasphemous for the Eternal, Israel or the ancestors enjoying great respect.¹⁸

It's obvious: in our case the two latter possibilities are found. For Leah is one of the ancestress (but in the Rabbinic Age already she is almost the only one practically) not only of the Jews generally, but especially on the one hand of the Levites consequently Moses and Aaron among them, on the other hand of the tribe of Judah, and so David, Solomon and after all the Messiah. Obviously therefore Ōnqelōs felt it offensive for all Israel, that one of the ascendants of all those could have had any problematic features in her appearance. All the more so, because we may know, that the Ōnqelōs-Targum was originally compiled on the territory of Palestine.¹⁹ And in this case the Palestinian Rabbinic authors – in contrast to their Babylonian contemporaries – were working under the pressure to defend against Christianity breaking forth victoriously: they had to disclaim that fundamental Christian statement, that the inheritors of Israel's selectness and alliance with the Eternal are not the Jews any longer, but the followers of Jesus.²⁰ In such a climate it particularly wouldn't be indifferent how they express their opinion of the Messiah's ancestress. It isn't a coincidence, that Rabbi Jonathan already responded to the tradition as a child according to the great, representative collection of Midrashim, the Bərešith Rabbah: „The teacher of Rabbi Jonathan [emphasized] that interpretation in his presence, that Leah had had weak eyes; [Rabbi Jonathan] told him onto this: your mother had had weak eyes!”²¹ In other words: whom this placement was heard about, she was the ancestress of both of them. Whereas his teacher only translated the Hebrew adjective רְפוּת for the Aramaic one רְכִיכִין literally.

17 McNamara 168.

18 *ibid* 174–175.

19 Levine 328. (Although later especially this was called „Babylonian Targum”, in contrast to pseudo-Jonathan for example – because the original variation was reconstructed in Babylonia in the course of the 3th century AD. But the fact it hasn't originally been formed there is indicated unambiguously by it's showing the characteristics of the western dialect of Aramaic language – Levine *ibid*)

20 Kalmin 288.

21 Bərešith Rabbah 16/70 (... וְיֹחָנָן דְר' יוֹחָנָן תְּרַגְּמֵיהּ עֵינֵיהּ דְלֵאָה הוּוּ רְכִיכִין אִמְרַ לֵיהּ עֵינֵיהּ דְאִמָּךְ הוּוּ רְכִיכִין...)

Even if this was the case – the solution of Ὠνqelōs is disputable not only because of its radicalism, but because of its practical usefulness, too. For it could have seemed hardly compatible with some further points of the narration of the Torah in the age of the Early Rabbinic literature.

„And he also loved Rachel much more than Leah...”²² – as we may read about Jacob in the continuation of the narration. Then already directly even a caput later: „And the Eternal saw, that Leah is hated...”²³ The Septuaginta translates precisely this time, too: „He loved Rachel more than Leah”²⁴ respectively „And as the Lord saw that Lea was hated...”²⁵ Although the first citation is simply left out of Vulgata, but the second one isn’t altered by Jerome either: „...Whereas as the Lord had seen that Lia is despised...”²⁶ We can read the same in the adequate place of the Book of Jubilees,²⁷ and Neophyti 1 doesn’t translate differently: the first citation can only be translated into English only correspondently with the original Hebrew text,²⁸ and the second one matches with the original one: „And it was revealed in the presence of Eternal, that Leah was hated...”²⁹ But Ὠνqelōs isn’t the odd one this time either: in the first case he also writes literally the same as the author of the Neophyti 1³⁰, but in the second one he words even more severely: „And the Eternal saw, that Leah was a hated-wife...”³¹ As Jastrow³² calls our attention to: Ὠνqelōs translates the Hebrew noun שְׂנוֹאָה by סְנוֹאָתָא. But this Hebrew noun is a juridical technical term by the evidence of Torah V.: it means a woman calumniated by her husband without a base, that she wasn’t found virgin at the wedding night.³³ Consequently not only does Jacob hate his first wife quietly by the interpretation of Ὠνqelōs, but he puts her in a position directly absent of rights! As for pseudo-Jonathan, first time he also differs from the other Targums only formally³⁴, but in the second one he formulates more euphemistically this time: „And it was revealed in the presence of

22 Torah I. 29. 30. (...וְיָדָעַתְּ כִּי מֵרַחֵל מְלֵאָה.)

23 Ibid 31. (...וַיִּרְאֵה יְהוָה כִּי שְׂנוֹאָה לְעָה.)

24 Septuaginta Genesis I. 29. 30. (...ἠγάπησεν δὲ Ραχὴλ μᾶλλον ἢ Λεῖαν...)

25 ibid 31. (Ἰδὼν δὲ κύριος ὅτι μισεῖται Λεῖα...)

26 Vulgata ibid (...videns autem Dominus quod despiceret Liam...)

27 Book of Jubilees 28. 12. (cf. note n. 6.)

28 Targum Neophyti 1 Torah I. 29. 30–31. (...ורחם אף ית רחל מלאה...)

29 ibid 31. (...וגלי קדם ייי ארום שניא הוות לאה...)

30 Targum-Ὠνqelōs u.o. 30. (...וירָהם אף יתִרְחֵל מֵלֵאָה); cf. note 16!

31 Ibid 31. (...תִּנְזָא ייי אַרְיִסְנוֹאָתָא לְעָה.) cf. note 16!

32 Jastrow s.v. סְנוֹאָתָא; see Sama p. 206. else, but he interprets the judicial character of the term not as an aggravating circumstance, but as a mitigating one; since in this way that’s not the point, that Jacob would really hate his first wife, but only that Rachel had a „relatively” more favourable position.

33 see Torah V. 21. 15. ff.; 22. 13–14.

34 [34]Pseudo-Jonathan Torah I. 29. 30. (...ורחם אוף ית רחל מלאה...)

the of Eternal, that Leah wasn't being loved by love..."³⁵ (As McNamara points to it: a fragment come to light from the Genizah from Cairo modifies the original one by the same way, but the noun שניא you can read in Neophyti 1 tries to interpret – it means to take the edge of it – according to a gloss.)³⁶

But this most moderate version may demand an explanation too. Because what cause could have the ancestor of Israel to hate especially the most important ancestress? Or only not to love her? Moreover although to love her, but not as much as Rachel?

Only Iosephus found the problem resolvable suggesting: „Leia was affected by her husband's love to Rachel terribly"³⁷ – in other words she was simply jealous because Jacob loved *also* his other wife. It was possible only in a paraphrase, since in the original text it is not Leah's subjective emotions that are the point, but what is seen by the Eternal, who can't be wrong. On the other hand positive exegetical possibilities *are* behind the unmerited ignoring of the woman. It's not a coincidence, that Philo of Alexandria having a propensity for interpreting the characters of the Holy Scripture as by words of abstract ethical ideas³⁸, demonstrates Leia as representative of the virtue realized at the expense of difficulties and struggle.³⁹ According to it – although he pronounces not a word about her eyes or any other deformity of her body – he *does* emphasize repeatedly, that Leah was „rejected”⁴⁰; moreover, he uses the attribute „hated” in connection with her: „At least Leia is presented as a hated [person] by the suggested [scriptures]...”⁴¹

Consequently the exegetical lesson was assigned: to find an explanation for Jacob's attitude towards his first wife, which isn't dehonoring for either of them; which makes the behaviour of the husband comprehensible, but doesn't depict the woman blameworthy either. (As Harris points to it: also the Pre-Rabbinic exegesis already focused on moral and/or logical anomalies, irregularities of this kind.⁴² Whereas the underlining of such problems and as much ingenious cancellation of their seeming contradiction as possible was an essential method of the Midrashim of Rabbinic Age.

It's obvious according to the facts mentioned above, that we must look for the solution of the problem concerning us in the oeuvre of the authors of Midrashim.

35 *ibid* 31. (...וגלי קדם ייי ארום לא הוה לאה רחמתא באנפי יעקב.) cf. Speiser 230. p.

36 McNamara 175.

37 [37]Flavius Iosephus: *Archaeology* I. 303. (...καὶ τῆς Λείας ἤπτετο δεινῶς ὁ πρὸς τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἔρωσ τάνδρός...)

38 Borgen 121–122.; Siegert 185–186.

39 Philo of Alexandria: *Peri tēs pros ta propaideumata synodu* 25–26., 31–32.; vö. Siegert 186.

40 Philo of Alexandria: *Peri tu Kherubim* 41. (ἀνανευομένη); u.ö: *Peri tōn metonomazomenōn kai hōn heneka metonomazontai* 254. (ἀνανευομένη)

41 *ibid* 253. (Τὴν γοῦν Λείαν μισομένην εἰσάγουσιν οἱ χρησιμοί...)

42 Harris 264–265.

And really, a passage of reflectable size in the *Bərēsīth Rabbāh* already mentioned it. „This is רכות, because it’s tender due to crying. Because the agreements run as follows, that the elder son would be the elder daughter’s one, and the younger son [would be] the younger daughter’s one; and [Leah] was distraught and she said: Let my request be not to fall to the evil Esau’s lot! Rabbi Hūnāh said: [this was] a great prayer annulling the resolution and [doing it] not only in the long run, but preceding her sister.”⁴³

It’s a really ingenious solution, especially in Palestina of the Rabbinic Age, where the name of Esau respectively the nation coming from him, Edom, recalls the Roman and so the Christian people!⁴⁴

Elements of Midrashim – as Kalmin emphasizes it⁴⁵ – occur in the materials of the both Talmūdh too, although these later are mainly Mishnah commentaries. So we cannot be surprised if a variety of the aggadah above occurs in the version in the Babylonian Talmūdh of the tractate *Baba Bathra*. Although it declares fundamentally, that the „tenderness” of Leah’s eyes was a punishment: „Why רכות, unless it isn’t possible, that they are tender because of the indictment of the impure animal?”⁴⁶ Nevertheless it publishes the dissenting opinion of the Rabbi (= Judah hanNāsī): „The Rabbi tells: they [namely Leah’s eyes] were really tender towards the world, but it isn’t an indictment against her, but qualifies her as superior, because she had heard that interpretation of the ways of the human’s sons, who proclaimed that Rebecca had two sons, Laban had two daughters, the elder daughter was for the elder son, the younger daughter was for the younger son. And she was sitting [it means she didn’t do anything] continuously because of the interpretation of this ways, and she inquired about what the elder son’s deeds were. »He is a wrong man, plunderer of the creatures.« And what are the deeds of the younger one? »He is an unblemished man, dwelling in a tent.« And she became so distraught, that drops falled off her eyes, and that is the written.”⁴⁷

43 *Bərēsīth Rabbāh* 70/16. (From the second sentence literally the same 71/2 too!) רכות מבכיא שכך היו (From the second sentence literally the same 71/2 too!) וקטן לקטנה והיתה בוכה ואמרת יהי רצון שלא תיפול בחלק עשו חרשע מאר ר' הונא גדולה תפילה שבטלה זו מהו רכות הגזירה ולא עוד אלא שקדמה לאחותה התנאין שיהא גדול לגדולה

44 They don’t recall Rome only in the Syrian translations of Bible (see Weitzman 608), but also generally; later Byzantium and so Christianity by the ideas of the Jews.

45 Kalmin 287.

46 *Baba Bathrā min Talmūdh Babhlī* fol. 123. (האמט) This point of view is repeated after the Rabbi’s dissenting opinion was interpolated, and so not only the problem of the eye is explained by that, but also the „hated” character of Leah.

47 *ibid* ומש ולא גנאי הוא לה אלא שבח הוא לה שהיתה שומעת על פרשת דרכים בני אדם שהיו אומרים שני בנים יש לגדול וקטנה לקטן והיתה יושבת על פרשת דרכים ומשאלת גדול מה מעשיו איש רע הוא מלסטם רב אמר לעולם רכות מעשיו איש תם יושב אוהלים והיתה בוכה עד שנשרו ריסי עיניו והייינו דכתיב לה לרבקה שתי בנות יש לו ללבן גדולה (בריות קטן מה

This Talmūdhic version contains two novelties we can't find in Bərēsīth Rabbāh. It denominates the original author of the exegesis, who is – if it's true – nobody else but Judah hanNāsī, the greatest of the Age of Tannaim, the alleged compiler of the Mishnah.⁴⁸ (In any case it indicates for him, that the examined texts earlier than him – so the Septuaginta, Philo, Iosephus and the Book of Jubilees developed in the 2th century BC⁴⁹ – know nothing about Leah's anxieties about Esau yet, but they also don't explain the tenderness of her eyes either – although for example the Book of Jubilees same explains elements of Midrashim too.⁵⁰) On the other hand it's important for us to see: the phrase „crying” (בְּבִיחָה) doesn't occur here. The „drops of her eyes” (דְּמֵי עֵינֶיהָ) could be, of course, tears, but they wouldn't by all means – in other words the origin of the roughest version you may read at pseudo-Jonathan may be taken in this variant. And of course at the same time the one of Jerome's too – although „gummy” (lippus3) may mean simply eyes in which the solidified remains of tears are eyesores – but not after crying! After all at such times the tears leave the eyehole completely. Consequently the tears turn into gum during your sleep; but it would be a very unmerited assumption about the ancestress of Jewry that she wouldn't have washed her eyes after getting up. Consequently this is a kind of gum mentioned by Jerome necessarily, that's caused by the suppurating secretion of the eyes – this, manifesting itself intensively, would be washed by the sick person in vain. According to it Graves and Patai (on the basis of Saint Jerome and pseudo-Jonathan, of course) establish, that Leah probably suffered from trachoma – an inflammation of the eyes considerably spreaded by flies, which has become curable by serum only recently.⁵¹

Of course, a medical diagnosis can't be the solution for us. Since the question isn't, what kind of infecton could have „probably” make an in all probability imaginary person suffer from; but even if we suppose Leah as a historical person, even in that case we must see, that the motive of pus-flowing didn't even arise in connection with her before the age of Judah hanNāsī (cca 200 AD). Consequently the real question is: why did the Rabbi ascribe to her a disease of such a character (obviously without diagnosing it with the tools of modern medicine)? What reason did he have to interpret the form of adjective רַחֵם so extremely?

As it has been mentioned earlier: he had to find an explanation for the passage of Torah degrading neither for Jacob, nor for Leah. At least not on the surface. After all how laudable it is, if a girl doesn't want to be the wife of the ill-famed, plunderer, evil boy, but rather of his righteous younger brother, the moral

48 Hauser-Watson 11., 26.

49 Charlesworth 257.

50 Davies 157.

51 Graves-Patai 197.

excellence of whom is already indicated by dwelling in a tent – in other words leading a life of a shepherd, idealized by custom in the Jewish thought for the movement of the prophets!⁵² Or is it not? Shouldn't have Leah protested against the „resolution” – no doubt, attributed to the „human's sons” but you see, alterable only by a „great prayer” by Rabbi Hūnāh? Shouldn't have she accepted it and try her best to turn it to the right? Maybe, Esau himself wouldn't have remained such an evil, plunderer man to the end, if a virtuous, loving, worthy wife had got beside him instead of those Hettitic girls, by whom he gave so much bitterness to his parents?⁵³ Maybe Leah, praying so desperately for becoming rather Jacob's wife in fact is trying to get rid the duty which would be her real mission? And the Eternal fulfils, what's asked from him so desperately – but the greatest punishment of the prayer with an inaccurate matter is exactly if it is fulfilled. Leah gets Jacob earlier than Rachel originally assigned to him, even she bears many more children for him and earlier – but she doesn't take pleasure in all this. So the sickness of the eyes is the punishment of the extreme, unjustified crying (because Judah hanNāsī hardly knew it's spreaded by flies) which makes impossible the happiness in the „sponged out” marriage, for Jacob is repulsed by the woman's gummy eyes understandably.

Did the Rabbi really mean this? We can't be sure. In any case his exegesis (if it's really by him!) is transferred not only into the Babylonian Talmūdh. It's obvious, that the version of Bōrēsīth Rabbāh goes back here too, only in a bit lighter form. And as Levine points it: the same elements occurring in the Targums, meaning surplus or modification compared with the original Hebrew text, first probably were appearing here as glosses but later becoming parts of the lead text, derived from the Midrashim.⁵⁴

In this case the „fragmental” Targum took the milder version over from the Bōrēsīth Rabbāh, whereas the one of the Neophyti 1 still tamed it a lot. Nevertheless the ruder and foreseeably more original version ascribed to Judah hanNāsī was taken over by only the Vulgata and pseudo-Jonathan – which leads to newer problems.

The first one is meant by chronological distance between the two texts. The Targum of pseudo-Jonathan in its present form can't be earlier than the 7th century AD, since it refers to Muhammad and his wife (in connection with Torah I. 21. 21.)⁵⁵; moreover, some scholars would date it to only the 9th century.⁵⁶ Consequently it's

52 Hahn 186–187.

53 Torah I. 26., 34., 35., 27., 46.

54 Levine 325–326.

55 *ibid* 327.

56 McNamara 168–169.

at best 350 but maybe half a thousand years later than the oeuvre of Saint Jerome. It raises the question at least of, how they can go back to a common origin.

But this question is answerable. Although the text of pseudo-Jonathan known at the moment was compiled much later, it contains very early materials in any case (for example a debate relating to Johanan Hasmonean High Priest in connection with Torah V. 33. 11. which couldn't have been formed after the own age of this High Priest in other words the first century BC anyway.⁵⁷) Consequently it isn't surprising that at all, it employed the Midrash of the Rabbi three hundred years later than Johanan.

In the case of Saint Jerome the chronology wouldn't mean any problem, since he is separated from Judah hanNāsī by only two hundred years. But in their case the very different cultural background could cause some difficulties. At the turn of the 4th and 5th centuries AD it's not already typical, if a prestigious Church Father could speak Hebrew, still less that he read also Midrashim.⁵⁸ But Jerome is the exception – acknowledged also by György Gábor.⁵⁹ He had learnt Hebrew a lot while already his residence in Antiochia – to be more precise: during his ascetic life in the desert (374/375-376/377) – in order to be able to controll Greek translation of the Septuaginta⁶⁰; then the period of more intensive Hebrew studies came after he had returned to the Holy Land and settled in Bethlehem.⁶¹ And although the modern specialized literature points it out, that he couldn't speak Hebrew so well, as he declares it⁶², that a part of his references to the Jewish exegesis comes from Origenes or Eusebios of Caesarea in fact,⁶³ that his masters in Hebrew Language kept mentioning with predilection (but not mentioned by name, except for Baranina = Bar Hanina!⁶⁴) could hardly be real Rabbiim (since they were also forbidden by their own law to teach the „goyim” anything about the Torah, but also at that time they weren't allowed to step inside the neighbourhood of Jerusalem), but only men converted to Christianity or Christians behaving yet as Jews, frequenting the synagogue too⁶⁵, until the Codex Theodosianus won't forbid such practices, and ultimately, that an original Midrash hardly could be in his hand⁶⁶ – on the other hand that's a fact contrary to everything mentioned

57 Levine 327.

58 Gábor 219–214.

59 *ibid* 211.

60 Kelly 86–87.; Kieffer 665.

61 Kelly 208., 230.; Kieffer 666.

62 Stemberger 581–582.

63 Kelly 235–242.; Stemberger u.o.; Brown 370–371.

64 Kelly 208.; Stemberger 583.; Gábor 211.

65 Stemberger *ibid*.

66 *ibid*.

above, that he really knew the Jewish exegesis to a certain level.⁶⁷ And taking it into consideration, that former Rabbim also could be among the men converted to Christianity, we have no reason to exclude the possibility, that Jerome could have learnt about the tradition of Midrashim thoroughly by Bar Hanina and his anonymous colleagues. The gummy condition of Lia's eyes verifies it more unambiguously actually than the arguments presented by Barr.⁶⁸

To sum up we can say that the problem of Leah's eyes has meant a difficulty for the Jewish exegesis since the Book of Jubilees certifiably. The really effective solution for it was found by Judah hanNāsī (if it's true); his interpretation was kept by the Babylonian Talmūdh and (in a tamed form a lot) the Bōrēsīth Rabbāh; the Targums also cherish it's more or less blunted version too, excepting the only Ōnqelōs, but his excessively radical modification couldn't resolve the question. And still Saint Jerome draws on this source for his Bible translation; as the Treasury Cave seems to believe, that „she had disgusting eyes” from there too.⁶⁹

But let us add to it: however much the diligence to despise the wish men of the Rabbinic Age with the self-confident arrogance of the man arrived later is alien to us, nevertheless we could hardly suppress that – the solution of the Rabbi is qualified as ingenious and effective very much only within the narrow bounds of Rabbinism. In a wider sense: within the bounds of that Jewish exegesis, for wick not only the indisputability and so exemption of contradictions of the Scripture are qualified as unquestionable, but it's simplyfied, black-and-white ethics too since the Book of Jubilees. Whereas the Torah itself – and in a wider sense: the Deuteronomic History, the aggadic passages of the Torah mean only the first part of which – is completely different: it isn't black-and-white and it isn't simplyfied. On the contrary: although it characterizes by only a few features, nevertheless it can produce very complex and involved figures and situations. In the original text of the Torah even Esau isn't infamous so unambiguously. Neither is it mentioned, that he would be a „plunderer” (מלסטם cf. Greek λήϊστης!⁷⁰), nor would he be evil-minded totally. It would be worth telling some words about discussing, which of them is the better brother: is it Jacob, who is ready to give his brother coming home hungry from the hunting a dish of stew only in return for his first born rights⁷¹, and who steals the paternal blessing due to his elder brother simply by cheating their

67 Kelly 238–239.; Brown 370–371; Stemberger 583.

68 Barr 263. (cited by Brown 357.) postulated the direct result of technics of Midrashim. Although Brown (356–357) has rejected it, but he same emphasizes the indirect result of it.

69 See note 10!

70 „An you will live after your sword” (ועל־הרבך תחיה) formed in Itzak's blessing (Torah I. 27. 40.) may be interpreted as well positively.

71 Tóra I. 25. 27–34.

blind father⁷² – or Esau, who burts into tears embracing and kissing the criminal, when he would be able to take vengeance on him for all that.⁷³ Taking this angle Leah has no reason to despair so much, even if she would be really intended to Esau. But of course there isn't any a single word about it in the Torah. And the problem of the eyes isn't needed for interpreting the disadvantageous position of Leah in her marriage. Since Jacob is simply *in love* with Rachel – it already turns out in Torah I. 29. 18. Therefore he serves seven years to marry *her* – but Laban cheats him, pays him with his other daughter, and Jacob must work for the loved Rachel a further seven years. In other words: the cunning father gets double work out of his son-in-law than they had agreed on, and besides he has disposed of his other daughter, for whom the suitors hadn't crowded up (maybe, really because of her eyes?) – not even one had come in seven years, as Jacob was serving for Rachel, nor before, otherwise no doubt, Laban would have married her willingly.

It's understandable, if Jacob takes offence at this. And although Leah apparently shouldn't be blamed for what happened (she hardly was allowed to resist her father's order!), but it isn't surprising, if Jacob can't ignore this circumstances in connection with her. Such real, lifelike, flesh-and-blood people and emotions had been allowed to go into the Torah, but they do not really seem to be allowed to appear into the Rabbinic exegesis.

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Das Menschenbild von „Gaudium et spes“ – und seine praktische Auslegungen

In meinem Referat möchte ich zuerst die wichtigsten Aussagen des 1. Kapitels „Die Würde der menschlichen Person“ der Pastoralkonstitution zusammenfassen. Danach versuche ich an den Themen des Atheismus und der Religionsfreiheit zu zeigen, wie das Konzil selbst dieses Menschenbild in seine pastoralen Überlegungen einbaut, die auch für die kirchliche Präsenz in der heutigen Gesellschaft von Bedeutung sind. Schließlich wende ich mich der praktischen Auslegungen des Menschenbildes des Konzils in unserer Zeit zu.

Was ist der Mensch?

Das II. Vatikanische Konzil betont mehrfach, dass die Kirche sich nicht gegenüber der Welt, sondern in der Welt positioniert. Bereits der erste, so oft zitierte Satz ist Bekenntnis und Programm zugleich: „Freude und Hoffnung, Trauer und Angst der Menschen von heute, besonders der Armen und Bedrängten aller Art, sind auch Freude und Hoffnung, Trauer und Angst der Jünger Christi. Und es gibt nichts wahrhaft Menschliches, das nicht in ihren Herzen seinen Widerhall fände.“ Darum erfährt die Gemeinschaft der Christen sich „mit der Menschheit und ihrer Geschichte wirklich engstens verbunden“ (GS 1).

Im nächsten Artikel wendet sich das Konzil deshalb „nicht mehr bloß an die Kinder der Kirche und an alle, die Christi Namen anrufen, sondern an alle Menschen schlechthin in der Absicht, allen darzulegen, wie es Gegenwart und Wirken der Kirche in der Welt von heute versteht“. Im nächsten Artikel bekundet es seine „Verbundenheit, Achtung und Liebe gegenüber der ganzen Menschheitsfamilie, der dieses ja selbst eingefügt ist“ dadurch, „daß es mit ihr in einen Dialog eintritt“, ihr „das Licht des Evangeliums bringt“ und „jene Heilskräfte bietet, die die Kirche selbst, vom Heiligen Geist geleitet, von ihrem Gründer empfängt. Es geht um die Rettung der menschlichen Person, es geht um den rechten Aufbau der menschlichen Gesellschaft. Der Mensch also, der eine und ganze Mensch, mit

Leib und Seele, Herz und Gewissen, Vernunft und Willen steht im Mittelpunkt unserer Ausführungen“ (GS 3).

Im letzten Satz sind bereits einige wichtige Aspekte des Menschenbildes des Konzils erwähnt worden, die aber später ausführlicher dargelegt werden. Vorher aber wird u.a. die enge Verbundenheit der Kirche mit der Welt erneut bekräftigt. Im Artikel 11 heißt es, „daß das Volk Gottes und die Menschheit, der es eingefügt ist, in gegenseitigem Dienst stehen, so daß die Sendung der Kirche sich als eine religiöse und gerade dadurch höchst humane erweist“. Dies bedeutet, dass die Humanität und christliche Glaube einander nicht nur nicht ausschließen, sondern die wahre Humanität sich sogar aus dem christlichen Glauben speist. Auf jedem Fall besteht die Grundlage des Dialogs und Zusammenarbeit mit allen Menschen in der Humanität, zu der sich die Kirche und alle Menschen guten Willens, inbegriffen der Atheisten, bekennen. Die Humanität ist demnach der praktische Prüfstein der Menschenbilder, am ihr müssen sie sich entweder beweisen oder scheitern.

Der Titel des ersten Kapitels des ersten Teils der Konstitution lautet: „Die Würde der menschlichen Person“. Bereits der erste Satz macht die gemeinsame Grundlage des Dialogs und Zusammenarbeit zwischen Gläubigen und Nichtgläubigen deutlich: sie sind nämlich fast einmütig der Auffassung, „daß alles auf Erden auf den Menschen als seinen Mittel- und Höhepunkt hinzuordnen ist. Was ist aber der Mensch?“ – frag das Konzil. Auf diese Frage gibt es viele, einander zum Teil widersprechende Antworten. Die Kirche kann „von der Offenbarung Gottes unterwiesen, für sie eine Antwort geben, um so die wahre Verfassung des Menschen zu umreißen und seine Schwäche zu erklären, zugleich aber auch die richtige Anerkennung seiner Würde und Berufung zu ermöglichen.“ Anstatt sich in theologische und philosophische Ausführungen zu verwickeln, weist der Konzilstext auf die Lehre der Heiligen Schrift hin, wonach „der Mensch >nach dem Bild Gottes< geschaffen ist, fähig, seinen Schöpfer zu erkennen und zu lieben“ (GS 12).

Es wird nicht erklärt, was es bedeutet, „nach dem Bild Gottes“ geschaffen zu sein, aber nach der Lehre der Kirche ist damit vor allem die „Seele“ als das geistige Lebensprinzip im Menschen gemeint, die ihn nicht bloß zu etwas, sondern zu jemanden macht. Darin liegt seine Würde als Person. Darum hat Gott ihn „zum Herrn über alle irdischen Geschöpfe gesetzt, um sie in Verherrlichung Gottes zu beherrschen und zu nutzen“.

Ein weitere Charakteristika des Menschseins ist, dass Gott ihn „nicht allein“, sondern „als Mann und Frau geschaffen“ (Gen 1,27) hat. „Ihre Verbindung schafft die erste Form personaler Gemeinschaft. Der Mensch ist nämlich aus seiner

innersten Natur ein gesellschaftliches Wesen; ohne Beziehung zu den anderen kann er weder leben noch seine Anlagen zur Entfaltung bringen.“

Im nächsten Artikel wird die Sündhaftigkeit des Menschen angesprochen. Er missbraucht seine Freiheit und erfährt sich „auch zum Bösen geneigt und verstrickt in vielfältige Übel“. Wenn der Mensch sich weigert, „Gott als seinen Ursprung anzuerkennen“, hat dies Auswirkungen auf verschiedenen Ebenen: er verfehlt dadurch „die geschuldete Ausrichtung auf sein letztes Ziel“, durchbricht „seine ganze Ordnung hinsichtlich seiner selbst“, aber auch „hinsichtlich der anderen Menschen und der ganzen Schöpfung. So ist der Mensch in sich selbst zwiespältig“ und sein Leben stellt sich „als Kampf dar, und zwar als einen dramatischen, zwischen Gut und Böse, zwischen Licht und Finsternis.“ (GS 13).

Bezüglich des Wesenstandes des Menschen heißt es, dass er „In Leib und Seele einer“ ist. Die zwei bedingen einander und sind voneinander nicht zu trennen. Damit erteilt das Konzil einem gnostisch-manichäischen dualistischen Auffassung von Leib und Seele eine Absage. Der Mensch muss „seinen Leib als von Gott geschaffen und zur Auferweckung am Jüngsten Tage bestimmt für gut und der Ehre würdig halten.“ Auf der anderen Seite irrt sich aber der Mensch nicht, „wenn er seinen Vorrang vor den körperlichen Dingen bejaht und sich selbst nicht nur als Teil der Natur oder als anonymes Element in der menschlichen Gesellschaft betrachtet“, sondern „die Geistigkeit und Unsterblichkeit seiner Seele“ anerkennt (GS 14).

In den folgenden Artikel werden drei Hauptmerkmale des menschlichen Geistes behandelt: die Vernunft, das Gewissen und die Freiheit. Der Mensch überragt „durch seine Vernunft die Dingwelt“. Er hat „die empirischen Wissenschaften, die Technik und seine geistige und künstlerische Bildung sehr entwickelt“. Darüber hinaus vermag die menschliche Vernunft auch „eine tiefere Wahrheit“ zu finden, und „geistig-tiefere Strukturen der Wirklichkeit mit wahrer Sicherheit zu erreichen“. Die Vollendung der Vernunft ist aber „die Weisheit, die den Geist des Menschen sanft zur Suche und Liebe des Wahren und Guten hinzieht und den durch sie geleiteten Menschen vom Sichtbaren zum Unsichtbaren führt“. Der Konzilstheologe Joseph Ratzinger vermerkt dazu in seinem Kommentar, dass die Wissenschaft allein den Menschen nicht humanisieren kann, dazu braucht er die Weisheit.¹

1 „Das Neue, die Entdeckung des menschlichen Verstandes, ist an sich nicht auch schon das Humanere, er muss erst humanisiert werden durch >Weisheit<. Die Vermenschlichung des Menschen wird von der Wissenschaft allein nicht besorgt. (...) So ist hier jede mechanische Wissensgläubigkeit und die Hoffnung auf die erlösende Macht des technischen Fortschritts durch das Prinzip >Weisheit< als das eigentlich Menschliche in Frage gestellt.“ Ratzinger Joseph: Erster

Ein weiteres Wesensmerkmal des menschlichen Geistes ist das Gewissen, dessen Stimme den Menschen „immer zur Liebe und zum Tun des Guten und zur Unterlassung des Bösen anruft und, wo nötig, in den Ohren des Herzens tönt: Tu dies, meide jenes.“ Gegenüber einem rein sozialwissenschaftlichen Verständnis des Gewissens betont das Konzil dessen transzendentalen Charakter. „Denn der Mensch hat ein Gesetz, das von Gott seinem Herzen eingeschrieben ist, dem zu gehorchen eben seine Würde ist und gemäß dem er gerichtet werden wird. Das Gewissen ist die verborgenste Mitte und das Heiligtum im Menschen, wo er allein ist mit Gott, dessen Stimme in diesem seinem Innersten zu hören ist.“ Auch wenn „das Gewissen aus unüberwindlicher Unkenntnis irrt“, verliert es nicht seine Würde (GS 16). Ratzinger erinnert daran, dass das Gewissen auch über die kirchliche Autorität steht.²

Das dritte Hauptmerkmal des menschlichen Geistes ist die Freiheit. Das Konzil behandelt deren philosophische, psychologische, soziologische oder kulturelle Aspekte nicht, obwohl dies für das richtige Verständnis notwendig wäre, denn die menschliche Freiheit ist nicht absolut, sondern durch in vielfältiger Weise eingeschränkt. Den Konzilsvätern ging es aber nicht um die komplexe Darstellung des Problems, sondern darum, die Freiheit aus dem Glauben heraus zu bejahen, denn „nur frei kann der Mensch sich zum Guten hinwenden“, auch wenn der Mensch seine Freiheit oft verkehrt, „als Berechtigung, alles zu tun, wenn es nur gefällt, auch das Böse. (...) Die Würde des Menschen verlangt daher, daß er in bewußter und freier Wahl handle, das heißt personal, von innen her bewegt und geführt und nicht unter blindem innerem Drang oder unter bloßem äußerem Zwang. Eine solche Würde erwirbt der Mensch, wenn er sich aus aller Knechtschaft der Leidenschaften befreit und sein Ziel in freier Wahl des Guten verfolgt“ (GS 17).

Im nächsten Artikel wird noch das größte Rätsel des menschlichen Daseins, der Tod angesprochen. „Der Mensch erfährt nicht nur den Schmerz und den fortschreitenden Abbau des Leibes, sondern auch, ja noch mehr die Furcht vor immerwährendem Verlöschen“. Gott aber ruft den Menschen und in Christus eröffnet ihm den Weg zur „ewigen Gemeinschaft unzerstörbaren göttlichen Lebens“ (GS 18). Es folgen drei Artikel über den Atheismus, auf deren praktische Bedeutung ich noch unten eingehen werde.

Hauptteil. Kommentar zum ersten Kapitel, in: Brechter Heinrich Suso und andere (Hrsg.), Das Zweite Vatikanische Konzil. Dokumente und Kommentare. Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche Bd. 14, Freiburg, Sonderausgabe 1986. Bd. 14, 313-354.,, 328.

2 „Über dem Papst als Ausdruck für den bindenden Anspruch der kirchlichen Autorität steht noch das eigene Gewissen, dem zuallererst zu gehorchen ist, notfalls auch gegen die Forderung der kirchlichen Autorität.“ Ratzinger, 328.

Das erste Kapitel über „die Würde des menschlichen Person“ schließt mit einem Abschnitt über Christus, denn „nur im Geheimnis des fleischgewordenen Wortes“ klärt sich „das Geheimnis des Menschen wahrhaft auf“. Er, „der neue Adam, macht eben in der Offenbarung des Geheimnisses des Vaters und seiner Liebe dem Menschen den Menschen selbst voll kund und erschließt ihm seine höchste Berufung.“ Dies bedeutet, dass eine Theologie, in deren Mittelpunkt Christus ist, ist zugleich eine Anthropologie, eine Lehre über den Menschen. „Denn er, der Sohn Gottes, hat sich in seiner Menschwerdung gewissermaßen mit jedem Menschen vereinigt.“ Er hat „gearbeitet, mit menschlichem Geist gedacht, mit einem menschlichen Willen hat er gehandelt, mit einem menschlichen Herzen geliebt.“ Die Christen sollen wie er gegen das Böse ankämpfen, den Tod ertragen, aber auch die Hoffnung haben, der Auferstehung entgegenzugehen. „Das gilt nicht nur für die Christgläubigen, sondern für alle Menschen guten Willens, in deren Herzen die Gnade unsichtbar wirkt“ (GS 22).

Das Menschenbild des Konzils und der Atheismus

Kehren wir nun zu den vorher übersprungenen drei Artikeln über den Atheismus zurück! Aus den bisherigen Ausführungen ist es deutlich geworden, dass sich das Menschverständnis und die wahre Humanität nach dem Konzil im christlichen Glauben gründen. Daraus sollte folgen, dass die Kirche andere Auffassungen vom Menschen und von der Humanität eine Absage erteilt, denn sie müssen den Menschen verkürzen, ihn an seiner vollen Entfaltung hindern. Dies gilt besonders für den Atheismus, der „diese innigste und lebensvolle Verbindung mit Gott gar nicht“ erfasst oder „ausdrücklich“ verwirft (GS 19). Im ursprünglichen Text war kein Abschnitt über diese Frage vorgesehen, aber in der Generaldebatte im Oktober 1964 kam sie mehrfach zur Sprache. Viele Konzilsväter drängten auf eine Verurteilung dieser gottlosen Weltanschauung, insbesondere auf ihre marxistische Variante. Es kam aber anders, und dem Kapitel über die Würde der menschlichen Person wurden drei umfangreiche Abschnitte über den Atheismus angehängt. Ohne dass wir hier die drei Artikel ausführlich behandeln würden, muss deren praktische Bedeutung hervorgehoben werden.

Nach der kurzen Vorstellung verschiedener Formen des Atheismus geht der Text auf deren Ursachen ein, „zu denen auch die kritische Reaktion gegen die Religionen, und zwar in einigen Ländern vor allem gegen die christliche Religion, zählt. Deshalb können an dieser Entstehung des Atheismus die Gläubigen einen erheblichen Anteil haben, insofern man sagen muß, daß sie durch Vernachlässigung der Glaubenserziehung, durch mißverständliche Darstellung der Lehre oder auch durch die Mängel ihres religiösen, sittlichen und gesellschaftlichen Lebens das

wahre Antlitz Gottes und der Religion eher verhüllen als offenbaren.“ Außerdem erkennt das Konzil an, dass der Atheismus durchaus humanitäre Motive haben kann, denn er entsteht „nicht selten aus dem heftigen Protest gegen das Übel in der Welt“ (GS 19).

Im 20. Artikel wird neben dem Existentialismus der marxistische Atheismus behandelt, auch wenn er nicht explizit beim Namen genannt wird. Trotz wiederholter Vorstöße von Hunderten von Konzilsvätern, ihn durch strakte Worte zu verurteilen, wie in der Vergangenheit mehrfach geschehen war, war eine Mehrheit des Konzils nicht dazu bereit – zu großer Enttäuschung vieler Christen in den ehemaligen sozialistischen Ländern. Dies ist aber nicht als Aufweichung der bisherigen kirchlichen Position zu verstehen, sondern zeigt die neue Akzentsetzungen des Konzils: anstatt Drohungen und Verurteilungen gegen andere auszusprechen, sollte sich die Kirche sich selbst kritisch überprüfen. In seinem Kommentar schreibt Joseph Ratzinger dazu, dass die Kirche „auf ihren eigenen Anteil an der ganzen Frage des Marxismus, auf die Mangelhaftigkeit ihres eigenen »Humanismus« sich besinnen“ muss. „Hier ist eine Haltung gewonnen. (...) Die Gewissensforschung, die von diesem Text ausgeht (...) wird in den bevorstehenden Auseinandersetzungen mehr Möglichkeiten der Wegweisung geben, als eine Durchgeführte Darstellung des Kommunismus und eine erneute Verurteilung sie hätten bieten können“.³

Dies hindert aber das Konzil nicht daran, „jene verderblichen Lehren und Maßnahmen“ „mit aller Festigkeit“ zu verurteilen, die „den Menschen seiner angeborenen Größe entfremden“. „Die Kirche hält daran fest, daß die Anerkennung Gottes der Würde des Menschen keineswegs widerstreitet, da diese Würde eben in Gott selbst gründet und vollendet wird.“⁴ Der Treffpunkt des christlichen Glaubens und des Atheismus ist die Verantwortung für diese Welt. „Wenn die Kirche auch den Atheismus eindeutig verwirft, so bekennt sie doch aufrichtig,

3 Der ganze letzte Satz lautet: „Die Gewissensforschung, die von diesem Text ausgeht (von dem, was er nicht sagt, mehr noch als von dem, was er sagt), die Erschütterung der Selbstidentifizierung des Christlichen mit der westlichen Welt und der Ansporn, das Leid der Armen, die Not der Entrechteten als christliche Aufgabe anzusehen, weil Christentum sich als Humanismus legitimieren muss, um bestehen zu können – diese Gewissensforschung wird in den bevorstehenden Auseinandersetzungen mehr Möglichkeiten der Wegweisung geben, als eine Durchgeführte Darstellung des Kommunismus und eine erneute Verurteilung sie hätten bieten können“ Ratzinger, 343.

4 „Wenn dagegen das göttliche Fundament und die Hoffnung auf das ewige Leben schwinden, wird die Würde des Menschen aufs schwerste verletzt, wie sich heute oft bestätigt, und die Rätsel von Leben und Tod, Schuld und Schmerz bleiben ohne Lösung, so daß die Menschen nicht selten in Verzweiflung stürzen. Jeder Mensch bleibt vorläufig sich selbst eine ungelöste Frage, die er dunkel spürt. Denn niemand kann in gewissen Augenblicken, besonders in den bedeutenderen Ereignissen des Lebens, diese Frage gänzlich verdrängen“ (GS 21)

daß alle Menschen, Glaubende und Nichtglaubende, zum richtigen Aufbau dieser Welt, in der sie gemeinsam leben, zusammenarbeiten müssen. Das kann gewiß nicht geschehen ohne einen aufrichtigen und klugen Dialog“ (GS 21). Damit erscheint das erste Mal in einem kirchenamtlichen Dokument die Aufforderung zum Dialog und zur Zusammenarbeit mit den Atheisten.

Das Menschenbild des Konzils und die Religionsfreiheit

Ich möchte noch ein zweites Beispiel erwähnen, das deutlich vor Augen führt, wie entschieden das Konzil sich dem dargelegten Menschenbild verpflichtet war, auch wenn dies deutliche Korrekturen an den bisherigen Positionen der Kirche bedeutete. Ich denke an „Dignitatis Humanae“, die Erklärung über die Religionsfreiheit. Wir müssen auf den Inhalt dieses Dokumentes jetzt nicht ausführlich eingehen, es genügt, wenn wir die Problematik verstehen, die auf dem Konzil zum Richtungswechsel geführt haben.

Die frühere Lehre der Kirche besagte, dass nur die Wahrheit und niemals der Irrtum Rechte hat. Da die religiöse Wahrheit mit der Lehre der katholischen Kirche identisch war, hatte nur sie Anspruch auf uneingeschränkte Freiheit. Die Päpste Gregor der XVI. und Pius IX. nannten die Gewissensfreiheit noch einen Wahnsinn.⁵ Leo XIII. ließ sie nur dann gelten, wenn sie dem Willen und Geboten Gottes gemäß Lehre der katholischen Kirche entsprach.⁶ Auch Pius XII. verkündete: „Das, was nicht der Wahrheit und der Norm der Moral entspricht, hat objektiv weder ein Recht auf Existenz, noch auf Propaganda und Aktion“.⁷ Dies bedeutete bezüglich der Religionsfreiheit folgendes: war die Mehrheit einer Gesellschaft katholisch ist, dann sollte der Staat nur Katholiken die volle Religionsfreiheit garantieren. Alle anderen Religionsgemeinschaften hatten kein Recht darauf, an der Ausübung ihrer Religion nicht gehindert zu werden, aber der Staat konnte sie im Interesse des Gemeinwohls tolerieren. Im umgekehrten Fall, wenn also die Mehrheit einer Gesellschaft nicht katholisch war, sollte sich der Staat den Katholiken gemäß Naturrecht die volle Religionsfreiheit garantieren.

Diese Auffassung war vor dem Konzil immer weniger haltbar. In der Allgemeinen Erklärung der Menschenrechte der Vereinten Nationen von 1948 heißt es im Artikel 18: „Jede Person hat das Recht auf Gedanken-, Gewissens- und Religionsfreiheit“. Papst Johannes XXIII., der ja das Zweite Vatikanische Konzil einberief, gab in

5 Pius, IX., Enzyklika „Quanta cura“ (1864), deutsche Ausgabe: Köln 1865.

6 Leo, XIII., Enzyklika *Libertas praestantissimum* (1888), deutsche Ausgabe: Essen 1903.

7 Pius, XII.: Ansprache vom 6. Dezember 1953.

seiner Enzyklika „Pacem in terris“ (1963) die neue Richtung an: er sprach alle Menschen guten Willens an und erklärte u.a. auch das Recht, „Gott der rechten Norm des Gewissens entsprechend zu verehren und seine Religion privat und öffentlich zu bekennen“ als Menschenrecht an.⁸

Trotzdem war die Verabschiedung der Erklärung über die Religionsfreiheit am Konzil keine einfache Sache. Der ursprüngliche Text wurde siebenmal überarbeitet, und selbst die letzte Version stieß auf heftigen Widerstand. Vor allem Bischöfe aus mehrheitlich katholischen Ländern pochten auf die Privilegien der Katholiken. Wenn der Irrtum die gleichen Rechte wie die Wahrheit habe, führe es zum Indifferentismus – war eines ihrer Argumente. Ein zweiter Vorwand war, dass die neue Auffassung des Konzils der bisherigen Lehre der katholischen Kirche widerspreche. Dabei vergaßen sie, dass die Geschichtlichkeit der Kirche auch die Geschichtlichkeit der Lehre beinhaltet, d.h. es gibt Lehren- und Dogmenentwicklung. Das Konzil befragt deshalb „die heilige Tradition und die Lehre der Kirche, aus denen es immer Neues hervorholt, das mit dem Alten in Einklang steht“ (DH 1).

Die Hauptfrage der Diskussion war: was hat Priorität, die Wahrheit oder die Freiheit? Darf man wegen des Schutzes der katholischen Wahrheit die Gewissensfreiheit anderer in einer Gesellschaft einschränken? Um umgekehrt: darf man wegen der Garantierung der Gewissensfreiheit anderer – auch derjenigen, die sich im Irrtum befinden – die katholische Wahrheit gefährden. Eine Konzilsmehrheit war der Meinung, dass die Beziehung von Menschen und Wahrheit eine metaphysische, dogmatische, evtl. moralische Frage ist, aber kein Rechtsverhältnis. Ein Rechtsverhältnis kann nur zwischen Personen bestehen, d.h. nur Menschen können einander das Recht auf Religionsfreiheit anerkennen, unabhängig vom Glaubensinhalt.

Im Vorwort von „Dignitatis Humanae“ bekennt sich das Konzil bezüglich der Wahrheit zur bisherigen katholischen Lehre: „Diese einzige wahre Religion, so glauben wir, ist verwirklicht in der katholischen, apostolischen Kirche, die von Jesus dem Herrn den Auftrag erhalten hat, sie unter allen Menschen zu verbreiten“. Der Standpunkt der Kirche hat sich nicht bezüglich der Wahrheit, sondern bezüglich der Freiheit des Menschen in der Gesellschaft geändert, denn die weiterhin bestehenden Pflichten, die Wahrheit zu suchen, „die Menschen in ihrem Gewissen berühren und binden, und anders erhebt die Wahrheit nicht Anspruch als kraft der Wahrheit selbst, die sanft und zugleich stark den Geist

8 Johannes XXIII., Enzyklika Pacem in terris (1963) Artikel 14, in: <http://198.62.75.1/www1/overkott/pacem.htm> (Angerufen am 20.11.2015)

durchdringt.“ Die religiöse Freiheit bezieht sich „auf die Freiheit von Zwang in der staatlichen Gesellschaft“ (DH 1).⁹

In der Schlussphase des Konzils neigten auch die ursprünglichen Gegner dazu, die Religionsfreiheit als positives bürgerliches Recht anzuerkennen, als Ergebnis einer geschichtlichen Entwicklung, das der Staat im Interesse des Gemeinwohls gesetzlich garantieren sollte. Die Mehrheit der Konzilsväter aber lehnte diese Überlegung kategorisch ab, und griff aufs Menschenbild der Pastoralkonstitution zurück. Das Recht auf religiöse Freiheit gründet nämlich nicht auf die staatliche Gesetzgebung, sondern „in Wahrheit auf die Würde der menschlichen Person selbst“, so „wie sie durch das geoffenbarte Wort Gottes und durch die Vernunft selbst erkannt wird“. Dieses Recht der menschlichen Person „muss in der rechtlichen Ordnung der Gesellschaft so anerkannt werden, daß es zum bürgerlichen Recht wird“ (DH 2).

Die Religionsfreiheit wird in der Erklärung als bürgerliches Recht behandelt, aber einige Konzilsväter wollten einen Abschnitt hinzufügen, die sich mit der Würde und Freiheit des Menschen innerhalb der Kirche befasst hätte. Ihr Anliegen wurde verworfen, weil es ein Fremdkörper in der Erklärung gewesen wäre und sehr sensible pastorale Fragen berührt hätte, und somit eine Mehrheit für die Zustimmung des Dokuments nicht zustande gekommen wäre. Auch ohne diesen Zusatz ist es klar, sagt Yves Congar, dass die Würde der Person mit all ihren Konsequenzen auch in der Kirche volle Geltung haben sollte.¹⁰

Praktische Auslegung des Menschenbildes des Konzils

Das theoretische Konstrukt des Menschenbildes des Konzils wurde in der katholischen Kirche in den letzten 50 Jahren weitgehend angenommen. Die theologische Begründung der Würde der menschlichen Person wird ebenso wenig angezweifelt, wie ihre Wesensmerkmale wie Vernunft, Gewissen und Freiheit. Woran sich aber die kirchlichen Geister scheiden, ist die praktische Auslegung

9 Im Artikel 2 wird diese Freiheit vom Zwang erklärt: „Diese Freiheit besteht darin, daß alle Menschen frei sein müssen von jedem Zwang sowohl von seiten Einzelner wie gesellschaftlicher Gruppen, wie jeglicher menschlichen Gewalt, so daß in religiösen Dingen niemand gezwungen wird, gegen sein Gewissen zu handeln, noch daran gehindert wird, privat und öffentlich, als einzelner oder in Verbindung mit anderen - innerhalb der gebührenden Grenzen - nach seinem Gewissen zu handeln.“

10 Congar, Yves: Einleitung, in: Hamer, Jérôme/Congar, Yves (Szerk.): Die Konzilserklärung Über die Religionsfreiheit, Verlag Bonifacius-Druckerei, Paderborn 1967., 15-19., hier 18.

dieses Menschenbildes, allen voran der Zusammenhang zwischen Glaube und Humanität.

Die einen sagen – dem Konzil folgend –, dass die Humanität der praktische Prüfstein des christlichen Glaubens ist. Sie positionieren sich in der Welt, betrachten sie als Partner, suchen mit ihr den Dialog, können Mal auch selbstkritisch sein, setzen sich für eine bessere Welt besonders für die Arme und Bedrängte ein. Den anderen ist eine erhabene, unversehrte Kirche wichtiger, die sich abgrenzt, die der Welt gegenüber oft feindselig ist, die zu belehren oder zu verurteilen ist. Gewiss können Sie für beide Positionen genügend Beispiele aus den letzten 50 Jahren oder aus unseren Tagen bringen. Da aber unser Thema das Menschenbild des Konzils ist, möchte ich zum Schluss ein Beispiel für die adäquate praktische Auslegung der Konzilslinie erwähnen.

Es ist kein anderer als Papst Franziskus, der sich mit bewundernswerter Konsequenz am Menschenbild des Konzils orientiert. Auf seiner Kuba-Reise sagte er in einer Predigt, dass ein Kind Gottes zu sein, verleihe jedem Menschen eine Würde, die jenseits von jeder gesellschaftlichen Bewertung liegt. Jesus sei in dieser Einstellung zum Menschen Vorbild und lade dazu ein, „Schritt für Schritt unsere Vorurteile zu überwinden“ und somit Veränderungen zu bewirken.¹¹ Werden Grundwerte wie Menschenwürde und Gemeingut bedroht, „muss eine prophetische Stimme erhoben werden“, und die Kirche „stets mit aller Klarheit auf die Grundwerte des menschlichen Lebens“ hinweisen, schreibt er in seiner Enzyklika „Evangelii gaudium“ (EG 218 und 241).

In seinen Ansprachen und Schriften finden sich zahlreiche Beispiele dafür, dass er bei gewissen Themen „alle Menschen guten Willens“ anredet, auch solche, die „die Idee eines Schöpfers ablehnen oder sie als irrelevant betrachten“ (Enzyklika „Laudato si“ – LS 62). Dennoch ist mit ihnen ein produktiver Dialog und auch Zusammenarbeit möglich. In Kuba erwähnte der Papst das Beispiel von kommunistischen, jüdischen und katholischen Studenten in Buenos Aires, die gemeinsam mit angepackt hätten, um ein neues Jugendzentrum zu bauen. Dies zeige, dass eine Gesellschaft, die in Lage sei, soziale Freundschaften zu schließen, eine Zukunft habe.¹²

In der Enzyklika „Evangelii gaudium“ widmet er ein ganzes Unterkapitel der gesellschaftlichen Eingliederung der Armen. „Aus unserem Glauben an Christus, der arm geworden und den Armen und Ausgeschlossenen immer nahe ist, ergibt sich die Sorge um die ganzheitliche Entwicklung der am stärksten

11 Kathpress 21.09.2015.

12 a.a.O.

vernachlässigten Mitglieder der Gesellschaft“ – lautet bereits der erste Abschnitt dieses Unterkapitels (EG 186). „Für die Kirche ist die Option für die Armen in erster Linie eine theologische Kategorie und erst an zweiter Stelle eine kulturelle, soziologische, politische oder philosophische Frage. Gott gewährt ihnen »seine erste Barmherzigkeit«“ (EG 198).

Selbst diese Sätze machen vielleicht noch nicht ganz deutlich, mit welcher Konsequenz Franziskus dem Menschenbild des Konzils verpflichtet ist. Dies wird erst deutlich, wenn er konkret wird und in sehr empfindlichen Fragen Stellung bezieht. So zum Beispiel in der Flüchtlingsproblematik. Im erwähnten Unterkapitel von „Evangelii gaudium“ schreibt er: „Die Migranten stellen für mich eine besondere Herausforderung dar, weil ich Hirte einer Kirche ohne Grenzen bin, die sich als Mutter aller fühlt. Darum rufe ich die Länder zu einer großherzigen Öffnung auf, die, anstatt die Zerstörung der eigenen Identität zu befürchten, fähig ist, neue kulturelle Synthesen zu schaffen“ (EG 210).

In „Laudato si“ setzt er sich nicht nur für politisch Verfolgte, sondern auch für Umweltflüchtlinge, die wir eher als Wirtschaftsflüchtlinge bezeichnen würden: „Tragisch ist die Zunahme der Migranten, die vor dem Elend flüchten, das durch die Umweltzerstörung immer schlimmer wird, und die in den internationalen Abkommen nicht als Flüchtlinge anerkannt werden“. Er beklagt mit dramatischen Worten „eine allgemeine Gleichgültigkeit gegenüber diesen Tragödien, die sich gerade jetzt in bestimmten Teilen der Welt zutragen. Der Mangel an Reaktionen angesichts dieser Dramen unserer Brüder und Schwestern ist ein Zeichen für den Verlust jenes Verantwortungsgefühls für unsere Mitmenschen, auf das sich jede zivile Gesellschaft gründet“ (LS 25).

Viele von uns erinnern sich noch an seine Reise nach Lampedusa vor zwei Jahren und an seine dramatische Worte angesichts der im Meer umgekommenen Flüchtlinge. „Diese unsere Brüder und Schwestern wollten aus schwierigen Situationen heraus und ein wenig Ruhe und Frieden finden; sie haben einen besseren Ort für sich und ihre Familien gesucht, aber sie haben den Tod gefunden. Und wie häufig finden sie kein Verständnis, keine Aufnahme, keine Solidarität! Und auch ihre Stimmen steigen zu Gott auf!“, sagte er mit Hinweis auf die Frage Gottes an Kain nach dessen Brudermord. Wer ist verantwortlich? „Heute fühlt sich auf der Welt keiner verantwortlich dafür; wir haben den Sinn für die geschwisterliche Verantwortung verloren“, und beklagte „die Globalisierung der Gleichgültigkeit“.¹³

13 Papstpredigt auf Lampedusa: „Wo ist dein Bruder?“, in: http://de.radiovaticana.va/storico/2013/07/08/papstpredigt_auf_lampedusa_%E2%80%9Ewo_ist_dein_bruder%E2%80%9C/teD-708497 (Angerufen am 20.11.2015).

Auch in diesem Jahr, als die ganze Flüchtlingsproblematik bereits auszufernen schien, scheute er sich nicht für diese Menschen einzusetzen, einigen von Ihnen im Vatikan Obdach zu gewähren, und Pfarreien, religiöse Gemeinschaften, Klöster in Europa aufzurufen, je eine Familie aufzunehmen. Das wäre eine konkrete Geste der Solidarität und der christlichen Nächstenliebe zum bevorstehenden Heiligen Jahr der Barmherzigkeit, sagte er. Als der ungarische Regierung das Problem durch die Errichtung eines praktisch undurchlässigen Zauns zu lösen glaubte, sagte er in einer Botschaft an das 28. Internationale Friedenstreffen der katholischen Gemeinschaft Sant'Egidio in Tirana: „Gewalt ist es auch, Mauern und Barrieren zu errichten, um diejenigen zu stoppen, die einen Ort des Friedens suchen“. Er fügte noch hinzu: „Und Gewalt ist es auch, Menschen zurückzudrängen, die vor unmenschlichen Bedingungen in der Hoffnung auf eine bessere Zukunft fliehen“.¹⁴

Option für die Flüchtlinge bedeutet nicht, dass der Papst eine unkontrollierte Zuwanderung befürworten würde. Sie bedeutet auch nicht, dass allen Migranten automatisch das Asylrecht gewährt werden sollte. Effiziente Kontrolle an den Grenzen und die gründliche Überprüfung der Asylgesuche sind Aufgaben der einzelnen Staaten oder einer Staatengemeinschaft wie der Europäischen Union. Option für die Flüchtlinge ist aber ein klares Bekenntnis für die Würde dieser Menschen. Jede und jeder von ihnen muss dementsprechend behandelt werden. Für Christen ist die humanitäre Hilfe an sie der Prüfstein ihres Glaubens.

Viele in den westeuropäischen Kirchengemeinden stehen zu Franziskus und legen die Würde der menschlichen Person so konsequent aus wie er. In den osteuropäischen Kirchengemeinden hingegen hält sich die Begeisterung sowohl unter Bischöfen und Priestern als auch unter Laien für seine Orientierung am Menschenbild des Konzils eher in engen Grenzen. Dem Papst ist, schrieb er in „*Evangelii gaudium*“, „eine „verbeulte“ Kirche, die verletzt und beschmutzt ist, weil sie auf die Straßen hinausgegangen ist, lieber, als eine Kirche, die aufgrund ihrer Verslossenheit und ihrer Bequemlichkeit, sich an die eigenen Sicherheiten zu klammern, krank ist“. Er warnt davor, „uns einzuschließen in die Strukturen, die uns einen falschen Schutz geben, in die Normen, die uns in unnachsichtige Richter verwandeln, in die Gewohnheiten, in denen wir uns ruhig fühlen, während draußen eine hungrige Menschenmenge wartet und Jesus uns pausenlos wiederholt: »Gebt ihr ihnen zu essen!« (Mk 6,37)“ (EG 49).

14 Kathpress 06.09.2015.

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