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## CONTENTS

Christian-Georges Schwentzel, <i>Les Juifs et le pouvoir politique : des Hasmonéens au règne d'Hérode le Grand</i> .....	7
Edward Dąbrowa, <i>The "Camp of the Assyrians" and the Third Wall of Jerusalem</i> .....	19
Werner Eck, Dirk Koßmann, <i>Ein Legionssoldat in einer Inschrift aus Nazareth und die Präsenz der legio IV Flavia Felix in den östlichen Provinzen</i> .....	31
Alicja Maślak-Maciejewska, <i>The Association of Progressive Jews in Kraków and its Synagogue in the Last Quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century</i> .....	41
Paweł Jasnowski, <i>The Failure of the Integration of Galician Jews According to Lvov's Ojczyzna (1881-1892)</i> .....	55
Andreas Lehnardt, <i>From Bobowa to Magenza to Jerusalem. The Biography of Avraham Shlomo Stub – between Hasidism and Zionism</i> .....	67
Agnieszka Friedrich, <i>The Image of a Wealthy Jewish Family in the Anti-Semitic Polish Weekly Rola</i> .....	81
Marek Tuszewicki, <i>Demonology at the Crossroads. The Presence and Significance of Non-Jewish Beliefs within Ashkenazi Folklore</i> .....	93
Magdalena Kozłowska, <i>Briders un Shvester? Women in the Tsukunft Youth Movement in Interwar Poland</i> .....	113
Agnieszka Yass-Alston, <i>Rebuilding a Destroyed World: Rudolf Beres – A Jewish Art Collector in Interwar Kraków</i> .....	121
Natasza Styrna, <i>Between Chortkiv and Paris. Sasza Blonder / André Blondel 1909-1949</i> .....	143
Magdalena Ruta, <i>„So kommen die Juden in Europe zurück“. Antworten auf den Holocaust in der Lyrik polnischer Juden 1941–1948</i> .....	155
Ewa Tartakowsky, <i>Mise en histoire du passé juif en Afrique du Nord (Autour de Histories of the Jews of Egypt. An imagined bourgeoisie, 1880s-1950s de Dario Miccoli, London – New York: Routledge, 2015)</i> .....	173

## REVIEWS

William den Hollander, <i>Josephus, the Emperors, and the City of Rome: From Hostage to Historian (Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity, vol. 86)</i> , Brill, Leiden – Boston 2014, pp. 410; ISBN 978-90-04-26433-5 (Edward Dąbrowa) ....	189
Iris Idelson-Shein, <i>Difference of a Different Kind. Jewish Constructions of Race during the Long Eighteenth Century</i> , University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia 2014, pp. 267; ISBN 978-0-8122-4609-4 (Marzena Szugiero) .....	191

---

Zuzanna Kołodziejska, <i>“Izraelita” 1866–1915. Znaczenie kulturowe i literackie czasopisma (Studia polsko-żydowskie)</i> , Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Kraków 2014, pp. 352; ISBN 978-83-233-3829-1 (Paweł Jasnowski) .....	193
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## LES JUIFS ET LE POUVOIR POLITIQUE : DES HASMONÉENS AU RÈGNE D'HÉRODE LE GRAND

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**Key words:** Hasmoneans, Herod, political Judaism

**Abstract:** At the time of the Hasmoneans and Herod the Great, the Jews were divided into various “groups” that defined themselves not only by doctrinal positions but also by political choices. These “groups” chose to support or not support the political power. Sometimes they radically changed their position, supporters suddenly becoming opponents, and vice versa. The problem is that the reasons we find in our sources, like Josephus, are often only pretexts.

### Introduction

Quels Juifs ? Quels pouvoirs ? Ces deux questions paraissent pertinentes pour appréhender la relation qu’entretenaient les Juifs avec le pouvoir politique dans la Judée hellénistique et romaine. La société juive paraît fragmentée en divers mouvements dont l’idéologie varie, entre le II<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C et le I<sup>er</sup> siècle après J.-C. Flavius Josèphe parle d’*airésis* (« choix » ; *AJ* XIII, 288), de *morion* (« partie » ; *AJ* XVII, 41), ou encore de « philosophies » (*AJ* XIII, 171-173). Ces termes désignent un positionnement idéologique de la part d’un groupe, sorte d’école « philosophique ». Les mouvements juifs peuvent jouer un rôle politique ou, tout au moins, s’illustrer par des choix politiques, en accordant ou non leur soutien au pouvoir en place.

Divers niveaux de pouvoir politique coexistent à l’époque qui nous intéresse : le pouvoir local des souverains juifs ; le pouvoir extérieur, séleucide lors de la révolte des Maccabées, romain sous les derniers Hasmonéens, Hérode et les Hérodiens. On peut aussi se demander si tout pouvoir est politique. On peut distinguer le pouvoir sacrificiel du grand prêtre de celui, uniquement temporel, du roi ou de l’ethnarque. Mais les Hasmonéens ont cumulé les fonctions politique et sacerdotale, rendant floue la différence entre les deux formes de pouvoirs. Enfin, il existe encore un autre niveau de pouvoir : celui de Dieu ou *théokratia*, selon le néologisme forgé par Flavius Josèphe (*Contre Apion* II, 165). La théocratie est le pouvoir électif de Dieu, son influence directe sur la politique : il est censé intervenir dans les affaires du monde et les détenteurs du pouvoir terrestre prétendent avoir été choisis par lui. Selon Flavius Josèphe, Hérode, par exemple, aurait affirmé qu’il régnait « par la volonté de Dieu » (*théou boulései* ; *AJ* XV, 383 et 387).

Notre enquête s’appuie sur les deux premiers livres des Maccabées qu’on peut étudier sous un angle politique et non uniquement religieux. On assiste, dans ces deux livres (et tout particulièrement dans le premier) à la construction progressive d’un État juif en

Judée et à l'instauration d'un régime politique « ethnique », c'est-à-dire propre à l'*ethnos* juif. Un lien étroit s'établit entre l'*ethnos* et le pouvoir politique, comme l'a montré B. Eckhardt.<sup>1</sup>

Ledit « deuxième » livre des Maccabées est, en réalité, le plus ancien. Il a été rédigé vers 120-110 av. J.-C. Traitant de la période allant de 175 à 161 av. J.-C., il s'arrête juste avant la mort de Judas. Le but de l'ouvrage paraît clair : il s'agit de glorifier le héros juif, libérateur du Temple. En se limitant à la geste de Judas, l'ouvrage semble critiquer implicitement la dimension dynastique acquise ensuite par l'autorité des Hasmonéens qui se succédèrent entre frères ou de père en fils. On a sans doute là un positionnement idéologique antidynastique.

Le premier livre des Maccabées remonte aux années 105-100 av. J.-C. Il traite d'une période plus vaste que le deuxième livre, puisqu'il s'étend de 175 à 134 av. J.-C. Judas y est glorifié en même temps que ses frères ; l'auteur paraît défendre le principe de la succession dynastique qu'il fait remonter à Mattathias, père de Judas. On peut donc voir un ouvrage de propagande dont le dessein est de justifier l'autorité des Hasmonéens.<sup>2</sup>

Flavius Josèphe est également incontournable. On ne peut cependant pas mettre son œuvre sur le même plan que les deux premiers livres des Maccabées, puisqu'il écrit après la destruction du Temple. Lorsqu'il publie ses ouvrages, il n'est plus contemporain du judaïsme politique. Il n'a pas à soutenir ni à s'opposer à un pouvoir politique juif en place. Les enjeux sont donc très différents par rapport aux deux premiers livres des Maccabées.<sup>3</sup>

Il faut encore mentionner une autre source : les monnaies, et plus précisément les types et les légendes monétaires. La monnaie est un « média » officiel qui nous donne l'autodéfinition du pouvoir (par la légende) et son autoreprésentation (par le type).<sup>4</sup> Comme nous ne possédons pas d'ouvrage théorique sur la monarchie hasmonéenne ou hérodiennne, l'étude des types et des légendes comble en partie ce manque. Les séries monétaires, pour peu qu'on parvienne à en déchiffrer la symbolique, constituent une sorte de mini-traité de monarchie illustrée.

## Le pouvoir politique des Maccabées

### *Le « judaïsme de combat »*

Avec la révolte de Mattathias, on assiste à l'émergence de ce qu'on peut appeler un « judaïsme de combat » qui va donner naissance au judaïsme politique de l'époque hellénistique. Le « judaïsme de combat » en est, en quelque sorte, la première étape.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Eckhardt 2013.

<sup>2</sup> Sur les différences idéologiques entre le premier et le deuxième livre des Maccabées, voir Dabrowa 2012, p. 351-356.

<sup>3</sup> Vidal-Naquet 1977 (2012), p. 7-115, définit Flavius Josèphe comme un « intermédiaire », entre Juifs et Romains.

<sup>4</sup> Schwentzel 2013, p. 29-34 ; Regev 2013, p. 175-223.

<sup>5</sup> Sur la lutte menée par Mattathias et ses fils, voir Goldstein 1989, p. 292-351 ; Sievers 1990 ; Nodet 2005. Sur l'histoire des souverains hasmonéens, voir Schürer 1973, p. 164-286 ; voir également Dabrowa 2010a.



Au début de la révolte des Maccabées, en 167 av. J.-C., des Juifs pieux, assiégés le jour du Sabbat, avaient préféré se laisser massacrer plutôt que d'enfreindre la Loi en se défendant. Apprenant cette nouvelle, Mattathias réagit à sa manière en adaptant l'interdit aux circonstances du moment ; il réinterprète la Loi en affirmant que nul Juif ne devra plus respecter le Sabbat dès-lors qu'il sera attaqué par l'ennemi. C'est là un trait constant des Maccabées dont le souci premier est de mener l'insurrection armée jusqu'à la victoire. De toute évidence, l'annulation de l'observance du Sabbat en cas d'agression ne dut pas faire l'unanimité, puisqu'un siècle plus tard, lors du siège de Jérusalem par Pompée, en 63 av. J.-C., des Juifs pieux s'abstiennent encore de combattre le jour du Sabbat. Mais l'auteur du premier livre des Maccabées, tout acquis à Mattathias et à sa famille, se garde bien de souligner la moindre dissension sur ce point. Et ce n'est pas un hasard si l'auteur place juste après cette réinterprétation de la Loi sur le Sabbat l'évocation du ralliement à Mattathias des *Assidaïoi* (Assidéens) ou *Hassidim*, les Juifs « pieux » (1 *Maccabées* 2, 42). Nous avons aussi, dans notre source, la mention d'un premier groupe idéologique pour la période qui nous intéresse : les *Assidaïoi* qui font le choix politique de soutenir Mattathias.

Le groupe des insurgés se transforme rapidement en une petite armée, avec laquelle Mattathias pénètre au cœur des villages hellénisés, il y renverse les autels et fait circoncire de force tous les enfants incirconcis qu'il y trouve. C'est sans doute là une deuxième liberté que Mattathias prend par rapport à la Loi. On retrouvera encore cette tendance par la suite, notamment sous le règne de son petit-fils Jean Hyrcan I<sup>er</sup> (134-104 av. J.-C.) qui reprendra à son compte cette politique de judaïsation forcée, thème très discuté dans l'historiographie.<sup>6</sup> Les Juifs n'avaient jamais circoncis que des garçons juifs. Les premiers Hasmonéens généraliseront cette pratique indistinctement, judaïsant l'ensemble des populations des territoires passés sous leur contrôle. Cette politique traduit une volonté d'uniformisation de la population. La judaïsation n'est cependant pas sans poser problème, car elle laisse entendre qu'il suffit d'être circoncis pour être considéré comme juif, mais aussi qu'on peut devenir juif sans le souhaiter. Comme le rappelle Edward Dabrowa, la judaïsation forcée n'appartient pas à la tradition biblique.<sup>7</sup> Le principe de la conversion au judaïsme est accepté dans le livre d'*Esther* (*Esther grec* 8, 15), mais il semble que ce petit roman grec ait justement été écrit pour justifier la politique des Hasmonéens. Sur ce point, pas plus qu'au sujet de l'autorisation de se défendre en cas d'attaque le jour du Sabbat, l'auteur du premier livre des Maccabées n'évoque la moindre dissension dans l'entourage de Mattathias. Il paraît néanmoins possible que ces circoncisions forcées aient fait l'objet d'un débat. Si la circoncision d'enfants de Juifs hellénistes ne paraît pas contestable, ce ne saurait être le cas de toutes les conversions forcées. Or, Mattathias est-il bien sûr de ne circoncire que des fils de Juifs hellénistes ? *A priori* non, si l'on considère que Jean Hyrcan poursuivra la politique inaugurée par son grand père.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Sur la politique de judaïsation, voir Kasher 1988, p. 44-78.

<sup>7</sup> Dabrowa 2010b, p. 7-14.

<sup>8</sup> Les conversions au judaïsme paraissent discutables au regard du Deutéronome qui présente Israël comme le peuple consacré à Dieu (Deutéronome 7, 5). La définition du peuple juif comme l'élu de Dieu ne laisse a priori pas beaucoup de place à d'éventuelles conversions, même si elles ne sont pas formellement exclues, sauf dans le cas des Ammonites et des Moabites selon le Deutéronome (23, 4-5) ; ce qui n'empêche pas la conversion de l'Ammonite Akhior dans le livre de *Judith*.

Mattathias est donc le chef incontesté, à la fois religieux et politique, de la révolte. Il instaure ce qu'on peut appeler un « judaïsme de combat », contestable d'un point de vue strictement dogmatique, mais dont l'étonnante efficacité sur le terrain a dû faire taire toutes les réserves. Au nom de la lutte armée, Mattathias et les Maccabées réforment à leur manière le judaïsme.

On retrouve ce judaïsme, un peu plus tard, avec la figure de Judas Maccabée.<sup>9</sup> C'est un judaïsme héroïque et militaire : on se souvient de Judas décapitant l'officier séleucide Nicanor, en 161 av. J.-C.

### *Le judaïsme politique*

Après la libération du Temple et de Jérusalem, l'ancien commandant des insurgés se retrouve, de fait, à la tête d'un petit État indépendant, doté d'une armée et d'une capitale. Avec Judas Maccabée, le judaïsme devient une idéologie politique au service d'un État qui possède ses différents attributs que sont l'armée, l'administration, sans doute un système fiscal etc.

Mais cela n'était pas un objectif pour les *Assidaïoi*, plutôt adeptes d'un judaïsme non politique. C'est pourquoi, ils font défection en 162 av. J.-C., lorsque le nouveau roi séleucide, Antiochos V, reconnaît officiellement la nouvelle dédicace du Temple (2 *Maccabées* 11, 24-25). La liberté religieuse suffit aux *Assidaïoi*, en échange de leur soumission à Antiochos V. On a donc deux visions antagonistes du judaïsme : le judaïsme religieux et spirituel des *Assidaïoi* (avec une autorité politique extérieure et étrangère) contre le judaïsme de Judas qui se veut aussi politique. Ce judaïsme politique, dans le contexte de l'époque hellénistique, est une nouveauté qui peut paraître presque révolutionnaire pour les *Assidaïoi*, dans la mesure où c'est une sorte d'adaptation politico-militaire de la Loi. Mais Judas espérait autre chose qu'un simple retour en arrière. Il voulait vraisemblablement fonder un État juif indépendant, après avoir totalement libéré la Judée de toute domination étrangère.<sup>10</sup>

Mais on remarque que l'aspiration à l'indépendance politique n'était pas partagée par l'ensemble des Juifs, comme en témoigne la défection des *Assidaïoi* que le rétablissement du culte traditionnel, au sein de l'empire séleucide, satisfaisait pleinement. C'est cette dimension politique de la révolte maccabéenne, et l'idée que les desseins religieux passent obligatoirement par leur réalisation terrestre, c'est-à-dire concrètement par la création d'un État juif indépendant, qui expliquera, plus tard, la méfiance, voire la « censure » des livres des Maccabées par les rabbins, pour reprendre l'expression de D. Jaffé.<sup>11</sup>

Après la mort de Judas, en 160 av. J.-C., son frère Jonathan lui succède, devenant le nouveau champion de ce judaïsme politique. Il s'établit d'abord à Bethbasi, entre Bethleem et Thérokoé. Il s'y comporte en véritable souverain, « jugeant le peuple », comme l'écrit l'auteur du premier livre des *Maccabées* (1 *Maccabées* 9, 73). L'expression traduit un pouvoir politique qui rappelle celui des anciens juges d'Israël. Ensuite, en 153 av. J.-C., Jonathan s'empare de Jérusalem. Puis il négocie avec un concurrent de Démétrios I<sup>er</sup> : Alexandre Balas. Il aspire à la grande prêtrise, mais ne sait comment y accéder,

<sup>9</sup> Sur Judas Maccabée, voir notamment Bar Kochva 1989.

<sup>10</sup> Mais la question a été débattue par les historiens ; voir Dabrowa 2010a, p. 33.

<sup>11</sup> Jaffé 2008, p. 105-126.

une partie de ses sujets y étant hostiles, car il n'est pas d'ascendance sadocide. Balas et Jonathan finissent par conclure un accord dans lequel chacun trouve son compte : le premier en détachant de Démétrios I<sup>er</sup> un puissant allié, le second en obtenant de l'extérieur un titre auquel ses origines familiales modestes ne lui permettaient pas d'aspérer.<sup>12</sup> Jonathan cache ses prétentions derrière l'affirmation commode d'une sorte de suzeraineté séleucide. C'est pour cette raison que l'on peut éventuellement constater une gêne de la part de l'auteur du premier livre des Maccabées qui se refuse à commenter cette prise du titre sacerdotal par Jonathan. On peut y voir la marque d'une contestation du pouvoir sacrificiel de Jonathan par des traditionalistes pour qui cette fonction ne pouvait être assumée que par un Sadocide. Jonathan n'a recours à l'autorité extérieure que représente le roi séleucide que de manière à court-circuiter l'opposition intérieure. Il choisit donc une solution de facilité, mais qui lui permet de faire porter la responsabilité de sa nomination sur la personne du roi.<sup>13</sup>

## Partisans et opposants de Jonathan et de Simon

*L'opposition à Jonathan : « la peste d'Israël » et les trois courants du judaïsme selon Flavius Josèphe*

C'est de l'intérieur de la Judée que surgit alors la principale opposition au pouvoir de Jonathan. Le mouvement est mené par ceux que l'auteur du premier livre des Maccabées désigne comme des « impies », ou encore « des gens sans foi ni loi, la peste d'Israël » (1 Maccabées 11, 25 et 10, 61). Ces expressions dont le but est de flétrir les ennemis de Jonathan sont malheureusement peu claires. Qui sont donc ces contestataires ?

Selon Flavius Josèphe, le judaïsme se serait divisé en trois grands courants de pensée à l'époque de Jonathan (*AJ* XIII, 171-173). Tous étaient peut-être issus du mouvement des *Assidaïoi* qui a pu se scinder vers 152 av. J.-C., lorsque Jonathan prit le titre de grand prêtre. Selon l'historiographie traditionnelle, le mouvement des Pharisiens aurait accepté le pouvoir du nouveau grand prêtre, tandis que les Sadducéens et les Esséniens s'y seraient opposés, car ils auraient été attachés au principe de l'ascendance sadocide du grand prêtre. Les Esséniens, selon la théorie traditionnelle, auraient alors pris le chemin de l'exil.<sup>14</sup>

Bien que beaucoup d'incertitudes demeurent concernant ces divers groupes, l'émergence d'une opposition interne ne fait aucun doute. Jonathan est contesté, qu'il s'agisse de son pouvoir personnel et autoritaire ou du cumul des titres et des fonctions (grand prêtre et stratège).

<sup>12</sup> Comme l'écrit Main 2004, p. 299, l'octroi du titre de grand prêtre par le roi séleucide n'était « qu'à usage interne des Judéens ».

<sup>13</sup> Sur la prise du pouvoir par Jonathan, voir Sievers 1990, p. 77-81 ; Babota 2014, p. 141-169.

<sup>14</sup> Babota 2014, p. 186-187.

### *Simon : la réticence des Sadducéens ?*

Simon succède à son frère Jonathan, en 142 av. J.-C. Il innove en se faisant donner la fonction de grand prêtre par proclamation d'une assemblée du peuple. Le procédé était totalement nouveau ; la prise du titre sacerdotal par Simon fut, si l'on suit Flavius Josèphe, la conséquence d'une sorte de coup d'État antiaristocratique, légitimé par plébiscite.<sup>15</sup>

Le premier livre des Maccabées nous apporte une importante précision au sujet de cette proclamation de Simon : « les Juifs et les prêtres » avaient nommé Simon, « chef et grand prêtre à perpétuité jusqu'à ce que se lève un prophète fidèle (*prophètès pistos*) » (1 *Maccabées* 14.41). Le décret contient l'idée que la dignité de Simon pourrait être suspendue et remise en cause par l'apparition d'un prophète.<sup>16</sup>

On peut voir dans cette réserve une concession de la part de certains membres de l'aristocratie sacerdotale, réticents face à l'accroissement des pouvoirs de Simon. Ces opposants auraient accepté de rallier Simon, moyennant une sorte de compromis : ils se joignaient à la proclamation de Simon comme grand prêtre, à la condition que celui-ci ne prétende pas instaurer une nouvelle dynastie sacerdotale. Les Hasmonéens n'étant pas des Sadocides, leur pouvoir ne pouvait être admis qu'à titre provisoire. On peut émettre l'hypothèse que cette mention du *prophètès pistos* ait traduit une tentative de rapprochement entre Simon et une partie des Sadducéens qui avaient pu rejoindre l'opposition en 152.<sup>17</sup>

## **Les Hasmonéens et leurs soutiens**

### *La contestation du pouvoir sacrificiel de Jean Hyrcan I<sup>er</sup>*

Jean Hyrcan I<sup>er</sup> (134-104 av. J.-C.), fils et successeur de Simon, remporte de grands succès militaires sur les voisins de la Judée ; il fait figure de champion du judaïsme politique. Mais il se heurte, comme ses prédécesseurs à des contestations internes. Lorsque Jean Hyrcan succède à Simon, l'autorité religieuse de la dynastie était susceptible d'être remise en cause, puisqu'elle n'avait été reconnue aux Hasmonéens qu'à titre provisoire « jusqu'à ce que se lève un prophète fidèle » (1 *Maccabées* 14.41). Conscient que son autorité n'est pas définitivement acquise, Jean Hyrcan veut faire croire qu'il est lui-même le nouveau prophète auquel se réfère l'expression du décret.<sup>18</sup> Selon Flavius Josèphe (*AJ* XIII, 282), on raconte que Dieu parle à Jean Hyrcan qui, en conséquence, est doué du don de prophétie. Par les fables du discours officiel, le souverain entend légitimer son autorité religieuse : il suggère que Dieu lui-même l'a choisi comme son représentant terrestre.

Cependant, la propagande de Jean Hyrcan ne parvient pas à entraver le développement d'une opposition. C'est dans ce contexte qu'un Pharisien, nommé Éléazar, aurait

<sup>15</sup> Selon Schürer 1973, p. 193, le pouvoir des Hasmonéens est usurpé ; Regev 2013, p. 113-117 ; Babota 2014, p. 236-244.

<sup>16</sup> van Henten 2001, p. 116-145 ; voir commentaire de Main 2004, p. 300-305.

<sup>17</sup> Philonenko 1992, p. 95-98.

<sup>18</sup> Regev 2013, p. 117-118.

demandé au souverain de renoncer à assumer la fonction de grand prêtre, sous le prétexte que sa mère avait été captive, selon Flavius Josèphe (*AJ* XIII, 288-296).<sup>19</sup> La mère de Jean Hyrcan avait été violée puis tuée par les soldats. « Déshonoré » par sa mère, Jean Hyrcan ne pouvait donc exercer la grande prêtrise au regard des règles de pureté exigées pour les prêtres (Lévitique 21.13-14). En fait, l'« impureté » de la mère de Jean Hyrcan n'était peut-être qu'un prétexte pour souligner l'indignité du grand prêtre qui ne descendait pas de Sadoq : c'était, de manière générale, les origines familiales de Jean Hyrcan, et non pas seulement sa mère, qui posaient problème. En réaction, Jean Hyrcan fait mettre à mort Éléazar et les Pharisiens rompent avec le pouvoir, tandis que les Sadducéens, qui se trouvaient jusqu'alors dans l'opposition, se rallient au grand prêtre dont ils reconnaissent la légitimité. C'est donc un double retournement d'alliance qui se produit alors.

### *Les Pharisiens contre Alexandre Jannée*

Après le règne très bref de Judas Aristobule (104-103 av. J.-C.), son frère Alexandre Jannée lui succède (103-76 av. J.-C.). Le règne du souverain, qui porte le titre royal (introduit, pour la première fois, dans la dynastie, par son prédécesseur, selon Flavius Josèphe, *AJ* XIII, 301) est agité par une terrible guerre civile. Les Pharisiens contestent au roi le droit d'assumer non la fonction royale, mais celle de grand prêtre. En prémisses de la révolte, le grand prêtre est violemment bombardé de citrons, alors qu'il célèbre la fête des Tabernacles dans le Temple (*AJ* XIII, 372-373). Jannée riposte en envoyant sa garde massacrer les opposants. Suit une guerre civile qui dure six ans. Comble de la haine que suscite le roi chez les Pharisiens, les insurgés en viennent à faire appel au séleucide Démétrios III. Mais les insurgés sont finalement vaincus.

C'est ici que l'on peut aussi avoir recours aux sources numismatiques. Sur des monnaies datées de l'an 20 à l'an 28 du règne d'Alexandre Jannée, l'inscription paléo hébraïque est remplacée par une légende en araméen signifiant : « Le roi Alexandre ». L'abandon du paléo hébreu intrigue. Pourquoi l'autorité émettrice choisit-elle alors de s'exprimer en araméen ? M.J. Geller avance l'hypothèse que cette innovation pourrait correspondre à une concession faite par le souverain aux Pharisiens qui auraient eu une préférence pour l'araméen, langue comprise par le peuple, alors que les Sadducéens utilisaient avant tout l'écriture paléo hébraïque.<sup>20</sup> Cette série de monnaies serait en relation avec une volonté d'apaisement de la part du roi.

Sur son lit de mort, en 76 av. J.-C., Alexandre Jannée confie à sa femme, Alexandra Salomé, la régence de ses deux fils, Hyrcan II et Aristobule II. Conformément à un ultime vœu de son époux, la reine conclut aussi un accord de paix avec les Pharisiens dont des représentants intègrent dès lors le Conseil du Temple. Alexandra Salomé aurait ensuite bénéficié de l'« affection » des Pharisiens. Un nouveau retournement d'alliance se produit donc.

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<sup>19</sup> Commentaire du passage dans Mason 1991, p. 213-245 ; Mimouni 2012, p. 373 ; Regev 2013, p. 155-160.

<sup>20</sup> Geller 1979, p. 208-209 ; Schwentzel 2013, p. 88-90.

## Hérode et les mouvements juifs

### *Les débuts : le soutien des Pharisiens*

En 47 av. J.-C. (sept ans avant d'être nommé roi par le Sénat romain), Hérode est fait stratège de Galilée. Il y remporte quelques succès : au service de la « paix romaine », il élimine des bandes de brigands qu'il fait exécuter, ce qui lui vaut les félicitations de Sextus César, gouverneur de Syrie. Mais ces succès ne sont pas du goût des « premiers des Juifs » (οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν Ἰουδαίων), nous dit Flavius Josèphe (*AJ XIV*, 165). L'expression désigne ici l'élite sacerdotale de Jérusalem qui siège au *Synédron* ou Sanhédrin (nommé deux fois dans le passage : *AJ XIV*, 170-171). Aucun groupe n'est ici précisément mentionné, mais il ne semble pas faire de doute, selon E.M. Smallwood, que les « premiers » en question soient les chefs des Sadducéens, qui auraient alors été attachés à la dynastie hasmonéenne, suite à un nouveau retournement.<sup>21</sup> Ils tentent quelques démarches auprès du grand prêtre Hyrcan II contre Hérode auquel ils reprochent d'avoir outrepassé ses prérogatives en faisant exécuter les brigands.

Les raisons invoquées sont peut-être un pur prétexte, car le pouvoir d'éliminer les opposants est non seulement conféré par Rome au stratège, mais il fait partie intégrante de sa mission « pacificatrice ». Mais, selon les Sadducéens, Hérode doit être convoqué à Jérusalem et traduit devant le Sanhédrin. Hérode répond à la convocation du grand prêtre et comparaît, mais sous la protection de ses gardes du corps. Il répond aux questions du Sanhédrin avec une extrême arrogance. Pourtant, à l'issue des délibérations, il est finalement acquitté, avec le soutien assez inattendu d'un certain Samaïas (« homme juste », *AJ XIV*, 172) qui prédit l'arrivée au pouvoir d'Hérode dans un discours adressé à Hyrcan (il dit qu'Hérode va prendre le pouvoir et qu'il châtiara ses opposants ; *AJ XIV*, 174). Qui est Samaïas ? Il ne pourrait s'agir que d'un Pharisien, puisqu'il s'oppose aux Sadducéens. Il pourrait même s'agir du chef du groupe des Pharisiens qui siègent au Sanhédrin depuis le règne d'Alexandra Salomé.<sup>22</sup> Le nom, donné sous sa forme grecque par Flavius Josèphe, correspondrait à Shemayah selon M. Hadas-Lebel. On aurait donc une alliance de fait entre Hérode et les Pharisiens de l'époque qui souhaitent la fin de la dynastie hasmonéenne.

Hérode est nommé roi en 40 av. J.-C. par le Sénat romain ; il prend possession de Jérusalem, en 37, après trois ans de lutte contre son ennemi, Antigone Mattathias, le dernier roi hasmonéen. Devenu maître de Jérusalem, Hérode fait arrêter et exécuter ses opposants. Il purge le Sanhédrin en éliminant quarante-cinq de ses soixante-dix membres (« Il tua quarante-cinq *prôtoi* du parti d'Antigone »).<sup>23</sup> Il devait donc s'agir avant tout de Sadducéens.<sup>24</sup>

Quant à Samaïas, il est épargné.<sup>25</sup> Hérode se souvient du soutien qu'il lui a apporté neuf ans plus tôt. De plus, avec son maître Pollion, il a conseillé aux Juifs d'ouvrir les portes de Jérusalem à Hérode pour abréger le siège de la ville, en 37, nous dit Flavius

<sup>21</sup> Smallwood 1976, p. 45: *Herod's success (...) annoyed the Sadducean aristocratic party in Jerusalem.*

<sup>22</sup> Le Talmud de Babylone (*Sanhedrin* 19 a) a gardé le souvenir de ce jugement.

<sup>23</sup> *AJ XV*, 6: ἀπέκτεινε δὲ τεσσαρακονταπέντε τοὺς πρῶτους ἐκ τῆς αἰρέσεως Ἀντιγόνου.

<sup>24</sup> Smallwood 1976, 63: *Almost certainly these men, or most of them, were members of the Sanhedrin.*

<sup>25</sup> Dans un autre passage, Samaïas est le seul rescapé de la purge : ὁ γὰρ Ἡρώδης τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβὼν πάντας ἀπέκτεινε τοὺς ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ καὶ Ὑρκανὸν αὐτὸν χωρὶς τοῦ Σαμαίου (« Ayant pris la royauté Hérode les tua tous, y compris Hyrcan, à l'exception de Samaïas » ; *AJ XIV*, 175).

Josèphe : « étaient en honneur auprès de lui (Hérode) Pollion le Pharisien et Samaïas son élève ; en effet, alors que Jérusalem était assiégée, ils avaient conseillé aux citoyens d'accueillir Hérode ».<sup>26</sup> Pollion serait la forme hellénisée d'Abtalion, selon M. Hadas-Lebel, qui avance aussi l'hypothèse qu'il puisse être à l'origine de la figure du sage Hillel, cité dans le Talmud.<sup>27</sup> Les Phariséens des années 40-30 n'auraient donc pas condamné le pouvoir hérodien.

### *Les Phariséens et les crises de la fin du règne*

À la fin de son règne, Hérode impose à ses sujets un serment de fidélité envers l'empereur et envers lui-même (*AJ* XVII, 41). Les Sadducéens, alors proches du pouvoir, s'exécutent. S'ils se sont opposés à Hérode, c'était avant qu'il ne monte sur le trône, mais tous les Sadducéens pro-hasmonéens ont été éliminés lors de la purge de 37. Les « nouveaux » Sadducéens sont donc des fidèles d'Hérode.

Les Esséniens, très légalistes, parce que, selon eux, un roi ne peut qu'avoir été nommé par Dieu, ne sont pas considérés par Hérode comme des opposants. Ils soutiennent le pouvoir royal, tout en refusant de se soumettre au serment. Mais Hérode les en dispense volontiers selon Flavius Josèphe (*AJ* XV, 372-373) ; il favorise même leur chef, Manahem, et leur communauté.

Par contre, les Phariséens entrent alors en conflit direct avec Hérode.<sup>28</sup> À cette occasion Flavius Josèphe présente rapidement ce mouvement : « et il y avait un groupe (*morion*) juif (...) ; on les appelle les Phariséens ; ils prévoyaient d'agir grandement contre un roi puissant ».<sup>29</sup> D'où leur vient cette puissance ? Les Phariséens jouissent d'un large soutien populaire.

Plus de six mille d'entre eux refusent de prêter le serment de fidélité (*AJ* XVII, 42). Hérode, qui hésite à mettre à mort six mille personnes d'un coup, et qui craint sans doute aussi leur popularité, les condamne, dans un premier temps, à une amende. C'est alors qu'intervient sa belle-sœur, épouse de son frère Phéroras, qui fait savoir qu'elle paiera la totalité des sommes dues au roi. Hérode est alors furieux : sa belle-sœur prend parti pour les Phariséens insoumis ! Il exige de son frère qu'il répudie sur le champ cette femme qui, de surcroît est une ancienne servante (la modestie de son origine explique sans doute aussi ses sympathies phariséennes). Mais Phéroras refuse, répondant au roi qu'il préférerait mourir plutôt que de quitter sa femme.

Les Phariséens se retrouvent donc, d'une certaine manière, coresponsables de la brouille entre Hérode et son frère. D'autant plus que, pour récompenser la femme de Phéroras, les Phariséens lui annoncent que Dieu a décidé de retirer le royaume à Hérode pour le donner à Phéroras et à elle-même (*AJ* XVII, 43).

Suit un curieux passage (*AJ* XVII, 44-45) qui nous apprend que des Phariséens étaient parvenus à entrer en contact avec Bagoas, un jeune eunuque, et Caros, un mignon d'une

<sup>26</sup> *AJ* XV, 3: ἐτιμῶντο δὲ μάλιστα παρ' αὐτῷ Πολλίων ὁ Φαρισαῖος καὶ Σαμαῖας ὁ τούτου μαθητῆς. Πολι-  
ορκουμένων γὰρ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων οὗτοι συνεβούλευον τοῖς πολίταις δέξασθαι τὸν Ἡρώδη.

<sup>27</sup> Hadas-Lebel 1999, p. 33. Les noms de Pollion et Samaïas correspondent à Abtalion et Shemayah dans le Talmud (*Pesahim* 70b).

<sup>28</sup> Sur Hérode et les Phariséens, voir notamment Mason 1991, p. 116-119 et 260-280.

<sup>29</sup> *AJ* XVII, 41: καὶ ἦν γὰρ μῦθόν τι Ἰουδαϊκὸν (...) Φαρισαῖοι καλοῦνται, βασιλεῖ δυνάμενοι μάλιστα πρᾶσσειν προμηθεῖς.

grande beauté, qui partageaient la couche d'Hérode. Le vieux roi avait plusieurs femmes, mais il appréciait aussi la compagnie de jeunes garçons. Des Pharisiens rencontrent donc les deux amants du roi. Ils leur font croire que Dieu lui-même les a désignés pour mettre fin au règne du tyran. On peut imaginer qu'ils se sont inspirés de l'histoire de Judith qui tue d'un coup d'épée l'horrible Holopherne. Coïncidence : l'eunuque d'Holopherne, dans le livre de *Judith* (*Judith* 13.11), se nomme lui aussi Bagoas ! Ainsi, selon les Pharisiens, Bagoas et Caros qui dorment avec le roi n'auront aucun mal à tuer leur maître. À en croire les Pharisiens, la mort d'Hérode devait permettre la venue d'un nouveau roi désigné par Dieu ; Bagoas, le castrat, pourrait alors retrouver sa virilité par la volonté de Dieu ; il pourrait aussi se marier et avoir des enfants. Le nouveau roi considérerait l'eunuque comme « son père et bienfaiteur » (πατήρ τε καὶ εὐεργέτης ; *AJ XVII*, 45). On a là un étonnant exemple de l'utilisation politique que les ennemis d'Hérode ont pu faire du thème du roi à venir, promis par Dieu. Mais, la sœur d'Hérode, Salomé, découvre le complot ; elle révèle tout à son frère. Hérode fait supplicier son eunuque et son mignon, de même que les six mille Pharisiens (*AJ XVII*, 44).

La dernière grande crise du règne serait également liée à l'activisme des Pharisiens de cette nouvelle génération qui a succédé à Samaïas et Pollion.<sup>30</sup> En 4 av. J.-C., intervient un petit groupe d'une quarantaine de jeunes, commandés par Judas, fils de Sariphéos, et Matthias, fils de Mergolathos (*AJ XVII*, 151-161). Ils escaladent l'une des portes du Temple et en décrochent le grand aigle d'or que le roi y avait fait placer. Tombé à terre, l'aigle est détruit à coups de hache, au motif qu'il est contraire au « deuxième commandement » de Moïse. Judas, Matthias et les quarante jeunes opposants sont brûlés vifs.

Cette « affaire de l'aigle » est extrêmement intéressante. Les quarante opposants pensaient sans doute que l'aigle constituait un outrage à la Loi. Mais il est également improbable que le roi, après tant d'argent et d'efforts consacrés à la reconstruction du Temple, ait pu sciemment commettre une impiété. Il s'agissait donc plutôt, pour la nouvelle génération pharisienne, d'un prétexte pour manifester son opposition au pouvoir d'Hérode et rompre, au moins implicitement, avec l'attitude pour le moins ambiguë de Pollion et Samaïas.

## Conclusion

Le judaïsme n'est pas seulement une religion ou un ensemble de coutumes et de croyances ethniques, c'est aussi une idéologie politique, à partir de la révolte des Maccabées et de l'instauration d'un pouvoir juif en Judée. Les Juifs sont alors divisés en divers groupes qui se définissent par rapport à des questions de doctrine, mais aussi en se positionnant dans leur relation avec le pouvoir en place. Les mouvements juifs sont donc amenés à faire des choix politiques ; il s'agit autant de partis politiques que de groupes religieux.

On assiste parfois à des retournements d'alliance assez spectaculaires, les anciens soutiens devenant des opposants et inversement, comme sous Jean Hyrcan I<sup>er</sup>, au début du règne d'Alexandra Salomé, ou encore vers la fin du règne d'Hérode.

Le problème est que les raisons invoquées et relayées par nos sources, notamment Flavius Josèphe, ne sont peut-être que des prétextes. Il est possible que les causes vé-

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<sup>30</sup> Smallwood 1976, p. 98-99.



ritables, les motivations réelles de tel mouvement de contestation ou de tel ralliement, nous échappent, d'où des discussions parfois interminables dans l'historiographie.<sup>31</sup> Mais, quoiqu'il en soit, une chose est certaine : la relation entre les mouvements juifs et le pouvoir en place a connu une grande variabilité, liée aux circonstances politiques du moment.

Si leurs prises de positions politiques peuvent changer, leurs fondements doctrinaux ne font, par contre, l'objet d'aucune variation. Les Sadducéens s'en tiennent strictement au texte de la Loi ; ils refusent toute explication ou spéculation qui constituerait un ajout au texte originel. Ainsi, la Torah ne parlant pas de vie après la mort, ils pensent que les âmes meurent comme les corps. Au contraire, la croyance en la résurrection des morts est un point essentiel de la doctrine des Pharisiens qui considèrent que la Torah écrite ne constitue pas la totalité de la Loi. Il existe, selon eux, une loi transmise oralement par Dieu à Moïse, puis par Moïse à Josué et, à travers divers docteurs, jusqu'aux maîtres pharisiens du I<sup>er</sup> siècle av. J.-C.

Tableau récapitulatif : les souverains juifs, leurs soutiens et leurs opposants

Souverain	Soutiens	Opposants
Mattathias (168-167)	<i>Assidaioi</i> (à partir de 167)	
Judas Maccabée (167-160)	<i>Assidaioi</i> (jusqu'en 162)	<i>Assidaioi</i> (à partir de 162)
Jonathan (160-142)	152 : scission des <i>Assidaioi</i> ? Pharisiens	Sadducéens Esséniens
Simon (142-134)	Pharisiens	Sadducéens Esséniens
Jean Hyrcan I <sup>er</sup> (134-104)	Pharisiens (début du règne) Sadducéens (deuxième partie du règne)	Sadducéens (début du règne) Pharisiens (deuxième partie du règne)
Judas Aristobule I <sup>er</sup> (104-103)	Sadducéens	Pharisiens Esséniens ?
Alexandre Jannée (103-76)	Sadducéens	Pharisiens Esséniens ?
Alexandra Salomé (76-67)	Pharisiens	Sadducéens Esséniens ?
Hyrcan II (67-40)	Pharisiens	Sadducéens Esséniens ?
Aristobule II (67-63)	Sadducéens	Pharisiens
Antigone Mattathias (40-37)	Sadducéens	Pharisiens
Hérode (40-4)	Pharisiens (Saméas et Pollion, au début du règne) Sadducéens Esséniens (Manahem)	Sadducéens (au début du règne) Pharisiens (Judas fils de Sari-phéos et Matthias fils de Mergo-lathos, à la fin du règne)

<sup>31</sup> B. Eckhardt résume ces discussions dans son livre : chacun y va de son explication, par exemple sur les relations entre Hérode et les Pharisiens : Eckhardt 2013, p. 135.

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## THE “CAMP OF THE ASSYRIANS” AND THE THIRD WALL OF JERUSALEM

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**Key words:** Jerusalem, Siege of Jerusalem (70 CE), “Camp of the Assyrians”, Third Wall, Second Wall, Damascus Gate, archaeology of Jerusalem

**Abstract:** On two occasions in his description of the siege of Jerusalem in 70 CE, Josephus mentions the “Camp of the Assyrians” as the area in which Titus’ quarters were located. The historian’s account suggests that the location of this site meant that it played an important role in the battles at the city walls. Scholars do not agree on where it was situated, despite the significance of this fact for accurate reconstruction of the progression of the siege of Jerusalem as well as determining the course of the so-called Third Wall. Analysis of the literary and archaeological evidence leads to the conclusion that the name “Camp of the Assyrians” refers to an area lying north-west of the present-day walls of Jerusalem, whose southern borders are demarcated by the remains of an ancient wall unearthed during archaeological excavations and identified by archaeologists as the Third Wall.

The historical works of Josephus, though not the only source of our knowledge of the topography of Jerusalem until its destruction in 70 CE, are certainly the most valuable. The importance of the information provided by the historian is all the greater as he had an excellent knowledge of Jerusalem from personal experience, having spent much of his life in the city. Despite the frequency with which we refer to his works in reconstructing a picture of the city, it is not always possible to place many of the toponyms, characteristic places and buildings which he mentions with any accuracy. These difficulties are the cause of incessant disagreements between scholars which often highlight various weaknesses in Josephus’ account. These include excessive vagueness, occasional lack of credibility of the statistical data and dimensions of the sites he describes, or lack of the requisite care in providing significant topographical details associated with the places in which the events he describes were played out. The liberties Josephus takes in describing the city were natural for somebody who knew Jerusalem’s topography very well and was addressing his work to contemporaries with a similarly good knowledge of how it had looked before the destruction. For later generations of readers, on the other hand, much effort is required to reconstruct this picture.

Since the beginning of the first systematic archaeological excavations in Jerusalem in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, along with studies on the city’s historical topography, it has been possible to clear up a number of ambiguities and inaccuracies in Josephus’ works. Still, though, the identification and location of many places and buildings that he refers to continue to be unknown or controversial. The toponyms still to be located on the map include the “Camp of the Assyrians,” which Josephus mentions in the context of the

siege of Jerusalem in 70 CE on two occasions in the *Jewish War* (BJ 5.303; 504). The context in which this name appears suggests that owing to its convenient location, the area identified as the “Camp of the Assyrians” gave the Roman command full control over the course of the battles waged on the line of the Second Wall, stoutly defended by the Jewish rebels, and at the walls of the Antonia fortress.

Despite the strategic importance of the “Camp of the Assyrians” during the siege of Jerusalem in 70 CE, scholars debating various details of the course of the fighting have never made a serious effort to locate this site. In general, they place it as they see fit.<sup>1</sup> I would argue that its location is important both for correcting certain aspects of the picture of the battles at the walls of Jerusalem, and for solving important problems concerning the history and topography of the area to the north of today’s line of the walls of Jerusalem’s Old City, especially the question of the course of the Third Wall, the erection of which is attributed to King Agrippa I.<sup>2</sup>

The toponym “Camp of the Assyrians” used by Josephus does not appear in any other source. This seems to suggest that it was known only to the residents of Jerusalem, referring to an event that had taken place in the distant past. The name itself sounds as if it referred to an extensive area. The only event that can be linked to this name was the siege of Jerusalem during the rule of Sennacherib, mentioned in the Books of Kings (2 Kings 18: 17 - 19: 36), Chronicles (2 Chr 32: 1-21), and Isaiah (36: 2 - 37: 38). These sources, unfortunately, contain no indication of the place where the camp was located.<sup>3</sup> With the shape of the terrain around Jerusalem in mind, as well as examples of other sieges in later eras, we can only assume that it was probably situated to the northern side of the city, where the comparatively flat land offered good conditions for setting up camp not too far from the walls of Jerusalem. If we acknowledge that “Camp of the Assyrians” was a toponym known to the inhabitants of Jerusalem contemporary to Josephus, the aim of its use in the description of events was probably to maintain the narrative’s clarity, as well as avoiding the need to introduce any further topographical explanations. In order to determine whether this is hypothesis is correct, we need to look more closely at those passages of *Bellum Judaicum* in which Josephus refers to the “Camp of the Assyrians.” I shall quote these here in order to make the subsequent discussion clearer. The first mention appears in connection with Titus’ decision to move his quarters to the area of the “Camp of the Assyrians” after the Romans had taken the Third Wall.

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<sup>1</sup> According to M. Avi-Yonah (1968, p. 113), M. Kenyon located “the Camp of the Assyrians” “within the present day Old City.” Avi-Yonah himself (1968, p. 113, note 89) suggested that it “would be about where the Russian Compound is at present.” Other proposals are: Ussishkin 1979, p. 139 (the Northwest Hill); Price 1992, pp. 132-133 (the northwest corner of the city); Ussishkin 1995, p. 292; 2014 (the Northeast Hill); Kokkinos 2015, p. 99\* (“This [i.e. Camp of the Assyrians] occupied the area from the Third Wall to the Kedron [tower] (...) or, in other words, beginning from above the Royal Caverns (...) and extending a part of northern Bethesda some way towards the eastern line of the Third Wall by the Kedron Valley (...).”).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Jos. BJ 2.218-219; 5.152-155; AJ 19.326-327. Scholars frequently differ in their opinions as to what part of this wall was built during his rule and what part after his death, as well as whether it was Agrippa I who built it, or somebody else should be credited. Josephus himself is to blame for these discrepancies, as in each case when he mentions the construction of the wall by this king in his works he gives a different version of the circumstances and a different time.

<sup>3</sup> See Ussishkin 1979, pp. 139-142; 1995, pp. 290-292; 2014, pp. 95-96.

The Romans having thus on the fifteenth day (of the siege), being the seventh of the month Artemisius, become masters of the first wall, razed a large part of it along with the northern quarter of the city, previously destroyed by Cestius. Titus now shifted his camp within the first wall to the so-called Camp of the Assyrians, occupying all the ground between it and the Kedron, but keeping far enough back to be out of bowshot from the second wall, which he forthwith proceeded to attack (BJ 5.302-303; tr. H. St. J. Thackeray).<sup>4</sup>

The second appears in the description of the course of the circumvallation, or earthen rampart built by the Romans to encircling Jerusalem. According to Josephus, this fortification started and finished in the “Camp of the Assyrians”:

Beginning at the camp of the Assyrians – the site of his own encampment – he directed the wall towards the lower region of the New Town and thence across the Kedron to the Mount of Olives (...) (BJ 5.504; tr. H. St. J. Thackeray).<sup>5</sup>

Titus’ attack, which led to breaking of the first insurgent line of defense of Jerusalem, probably took place close to the Psephinus Tower, from the western side. It also allowed the city gate to be opened from the northern side, and as a result enabled the remainder of the onrushing units to quickly pass through and immediately begin cleansing the area (BJ 5.301-302). The first wall that Josephus mentions, seen from the side of the attacking Romans, is identified as the Third Wall seen from the city side. This means that the new Roman camp found itself in the area between the Third and the Second Wall, i.e. in the part of the city which we otherwise know to have been called the New City or Bezetha (cf. BJ 5.149-152), and which in 66 CE was the target of the intervening attack on the governor of Syria, G. Cestius Gallus (BJ 2.527-530), in Jerusalem at the time. This account makes it clear that the term “Camp of the Assyrians” did not refer to the whole area. The name might therefore have been used only to refer to the western part of the area between the walls, which undoubtedly also confirms the contents of the second reference. Yet stating that the area known as the “Camp of the Assyrians” should be placed to the north-west of the Second Wall by no means brings us any closer to its actual location. It would be possible to determine this only if we were to definitively solve the problem of the course of the Third Wall. This problem presented itself in 1838, when Edward Robinson discovered a section of the reinforcements lying north of the western line of the present-day walls of Jerusalem’s Old City (and probably constituting an extension of them) and called them a remnant of the Third Wall.<sup>6</sup> The debate on the path of this wall grew in intensity many years later, following the archaeological excavations of E.L. Sukienik and L.A. Mayer in 1925-1927<sup>7</sup> and 1940.<sup>8</sup> These led to the discovery of further sections of the same defensive wall of length of around 500 meters, extending over a space of 750 meters and located practically parallel, approximately 400-450 meters away, to the

<sup>4</sup> Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οὕτω τοῦ πρώτου τείχους πεντεκαίδεκάτῃ κρατήσαντες ἡμέρα, ἑβδόμη δὲ ἦν Ἀρτεμισίου μηνός, αὐτοῦ τε πολὺ κατασκάπτουσι καὶ τὰ προσάρκτια τῆς πόλεως ἃ καὶ πρότερον Κέστιος. Μεταστρατοπεδεύεται δὲ Τίτος εἰσω κατὰ τὴν Ἀσσυρίων παρεμβολὴν καλουμένην, ἐπισχῶν πᾶν τὸ μεταξύ μέχρι τοῦ Κεδρώνος, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου τείχους ὅσον ἐξωτέρω βέλους εἶναι. προσβολὰς δ’ εὐθὺς ἐποιεῖτο.

<sup>5</sup> ἀρξάμενος δ’ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσσυρίων παρεμβολῆς, καθ’ ἣν αὐτὸς ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο, ἐπὶ τὴν κατωτέρω Καινόπολιν ἦγε τὸ τεχοῖς, ἔνθεν διὰ τοῦ Κεδρώνος ἐπὶ τὸ Ἐλαιῶν ὄρος.

<sup>6</sup> Hamrick 1981, p. 262; cf. Paton 1905, pp. 196-211; Ariel, Baruch, Zilberbod 2014, p. 156.

<sup>7</sup> Sukienik, Mayer 1930.

<sup>8</sup> Sukienik, Mayer 1944, pp. 145-151.

present Turkish northern walls of the Old City. Its discoverers dated the wall to the end of the 60s CE, stressing that its foundations were from much earlier.<sup>9</sup> Later archaeological works along the line of this wall not only corroborated their findings as to the time when it was built, but also made it possible to discover new sections and unknown elements of its construction.<sup>10</sup> Essentially, the debate comes down to either accepting the argument that the remains are part of the Third Wall, or insisting that the course of this wall basically coincided with the line of the present northern wall of Jerusalem, which dates back to Ottoman times. Since the early 1990s, the vast majority of scholars expressing an opinion on this question are in no doubt that the remains of fortifications discovered by Robinson as well as Sukienik and Mayer are part of the Third Wall.<sup>11</sup> Yet there is still no shortage of scholars questioning this opinion.<sup>12</sup>

For the proponents of both these views, the main point of reference is Josephus' description of the Third Wall. To obtain a better understanding of the arguments made by both sides it is necessary to refer to the passages from this description containing significant topographical information:

The third [wall] began at the tower Hippicus, whence it stretched northwards to the tower Psephinus, and then descending opposite the monuments of Helena (queen of Adiabene and daughter of king Izates), and proceeding past the royal caverns it bent round a corner tower over against the so-called Fuller's tomb joining the ancient rampart terminated at the valley called Kedron. This wall was built by Agrippa to enclose the latter additions to the city, which were quite unprotected (...) (BJ 5.147-148; tr. H. St. J. Thackeray).<sup>13</sup>

Although this passage does not contain any mention of a gate in the wall, Josephus confirms the existence of one elsewhere. It was situated next to the "Women's Towers," with the main road from Jerusalem northward leading through it (cf. BJ 5.54-55).<sup>14</sup> The gate was well fortified by the insurgents<sup>15</sup> and played an important role in the defense of the city (BJ 5.55-66.109-119). Titus almost died in its vicinity when the unit he was leading, carrying out a reconnaissance of the Third Wall's fortifications, was lured into a trap by the rebels (BJ 5.55-66).

Key factors in this debate are the distance of the discovered fortifications from the Old City and the location of the Psephinus Tower and the "royal caverns." One argument frequently cited against recognizing these fortifications as the Third Wall is the large

<sup>9</sup> Sukienik, Mayer 1930, p. 56.

<sup>10</sup> Kenyon 1966, pp. 87-88; Hamrick 1966, pp. 19-26; Ben-Arieh, Netzer 1974, pp. 97-107; Ben-Arieh 1976, pp. 60-62; Hamrick 1985, pp. 217-222; Tzaferis, Feig, Onn, Shukron 2000, pp. 287-288. For a detailed description of all discovered sections of the fortification see: Sukienik, Mayer 1930, pp. 13-35; Ben-Arieh, Netzer 1974, pp. 98-102; Hamrick 1966, pp. 21-24; 1985, pp. 217-219; cf. also Kloner 2001, pp. 105\*-107\*; Kuchler 2007, pp. 978-985.

<sup>11</sup> Ben-Arieh, Netzer 1974, pp. 106-107.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Kokkinos 2015, pp. 95\*-96\*.

<sup>13</sup> τῷ τρίτῳ δ' ἀρχὴ ἦν ὁ Ἰππικὸς πύργος, ὅθεν μέχρι τοῦ βορείου κλίματος κατατεῖνον ἐπὶ τὸν Ψήφινον πύργον, ἔπειτα καθῆκον ἀντικρὺ τῶν Ἑλένης μνημείων, Ἀδιαβηνῆ βασιλῆς ἦν αὕτη Ἰζάτου βασιλέως θυγάτηρ, καὶ διὰ σπηλαίων βασιλικῶν μηχανόμενον ἐκάμπτετο μὲν γωνιαίῳ πύργῳ κατὰ τὸ Γναφέως προσαγορευόμενον μνημα, τῷ δ' ἀρχαίῳ περιβόλῳ συνάπτον εἰς τὴν Κεδρῶνα καλουμένην φάραγγα κατέληγεν. Τοῦτο τῇ προσκτισθείσῃ πόλει περιέθηκεν Ἀγρίππας, ἥπερ ἦν πᾶσα γυμνή.

<sup>14</sup> N. Kokkinos (2015, p. 97\*) identifies this gate as the present Damascus Gate.

<sup>15</sup> This is confirmed by archaeological excavations carried out by this gate, which provide archaeologists with evidence of the work the rebels did to fortify the city: Sukienik, Mayer 1944, pp. 148-151.

distance between them and the present-day walls of the Old City. If, as Josephus suggests and archaeological data confirms,<sup>16</sup> the area of the New City was not densely populated, according to critics of this identification it would not have made much strategic sense for Agrippa I to build defensive walls at such a distance from the city. They therefore argue that the line of the Third Wall more or less coincided with the course of the present northern walls of Jerusalem, and that the "royal caverns" mentioned by Josephus were quarries found beneath the Old City.<sup>17</sup> Taking these elements of the current topography of the city as a reference point, these scholars sought to identify the fortifications variously with the remnants of the circumvallation built by Roman soldiers during the siege of Jerusalem, the so-called fourth wall, intended as a barrier built by the insurgents to protect Jerusalem from the north, part of the fortifications of the camp of legion *X Fretensis*, and earthworks built at the time of the Bar-Kokhba revolt.<sup>18</sup> It has also been argued that there is no historical context permitting an understanding of the function of the find.<sup>19</sup>

The description of the battles at the wall furthest removed to the north of Jerusalem, which Josephus calls the first one, mentions something that has not been used in the discussion on its identification with the Third Wall or with today's northern wall of the Old City. Josephus notes the considerable distance of the wall from the city and the fact that the long battle had sapped the energy of its defenders and discouraged them from continuing their resistance, which they saw as useless as there were another two walls behind them (BJ 5.299-300). If we accept the hypothesis that the line of the Third Wall constituted the line of the northern walls of the Old City, that would not justify the defeatist approach of some of its defenders, if behind them, in full view, was the Second Wall. The existence of the Third Wall on the course of today's northern walls of Jerusalem is

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Tzaferis, Feig, Onn, Shukron 2000, p. 287; Geva 1993c, pp. 745-746; 2011, pp. 301-309.

<sup>17</sup> The problem of the identification of these "royal caverns" is connected to the unspecified character of the name used by Josephus, as well as the suggestion of their identification with King Solomon's quarries, also known as the Cave of Zedekiah (cf. Kokkinos 2015, pp. 96\*-97\*). This opinion is not shared by all scholars; cf. Ross 1942, pp. 77-78. According to A. Kloner (1986, pp. 126-129), who is in favor of identifying the fortifications as the remains of the Third Wall, the "royal caverns" should be identified as graves hewn in a rock found by Nablus Road in land belonging to the École Biblique, although again this may be doubted owing to the distance between these graves and the fortification lines. The results of archaeological works conducted in the last two decades in the immediate and further vicinity of the wall and the remains of quarries that they unearthed in many places, from which the material for building it was taken, together with numerous graves and caves hewn nearby, justify another hypothesis still: the name "the royal caverns" used by Josephus refers neither to any of the topographical points previously known to us, with which attempts were made to link them, nor to specific royal graves, but perhaps instead to expansive quarries discovered by archaeologists with numerous burial graves hewn in rocks from Herodian times (cf. Ben-Arieh, Netzer 1974, pp. 97-98; Kloner 2001, pp. 82\*-87\*, no. 241-261). Their name may be connected not to royal burial grounds, but rather to King Agrippa I, as it was during his rule that they began to be utilized intensively as a result of work on the fortifications. Data obtained during the excavations tells us that they also functioned for a long time afterwards.

<sup>18</sup> On the history of research on this wall, the proposed interpretations of its function and scholars' opinions on the time of its erection, see Paton 1905, pp. 196-211; Sukienik, Mayer 1930, pp. 7-12; Ross 1942, pp. 75-81; Kenyon 1966, pp. 87-88; Avi-Yonah 1968, pp. 98-122; Hamrick 1968, pp. 23-25; 1977, pp. 21-22; Ben-Arieh, Netzer 1979, pp. 140-141; McNulty 1979, pp. 141-144; Schmitt 1981, pp. 153-170; Hamrick 1981, pp. 262-266; Hamrick 1985, pp. 215-216, 223-232; Margalit 1990, pp. 31-32; Price 1992, pp. 290-292; Geva 1993b, pp. 744-745; Wightman 1993, pp. 159-181; Bieberstein, Bloedhorn 1994, I: pp. 115-116, 125-127; Magness 2000, pp. 328-329; Küchler 2007, pp. 978-985; Galor, Bloedhorn 2013, pp. 71-74.

<sup>19</sup> This isolated position is represented by Kokkinos 2015, p. 96\*: "The notorious 'Mayer and Sukienik wall,' as often called, is a wall with a historical context totally unknown to us."

also not confirmed by the archaeological excavations near Herod's Gate and Damascus Gate.<sup>20</sup> Archaeologists have been unable to identify any traces of the foundations of this wall there. Neither has any evidence of the existence of the Psephinus Tower been found nearby Tancred's Tower, which was located in the place where the Collège des Frères can currently be found. The remains discovered there date from much later historical eras.<sup>21</sup>

Describing Titus' preparations for the attack on Jerusalem, Josephus mentions that after carrying out a reconnaissance of the area and preparing the terrain, he transferred the joint camp of legions *XII Fulminata* and *XV Apollinaris* and the auxiliary units active with them to the vicinity of the Psephinus Tower, locating it at a distance of two stadia from the tower. From the western side, at the level of the Hippicus Tower and at a similar distance from the walls of Jerusalem, was the camp of legion *V Macedonica* (BJ 5.133-134). One can assume that this distance was justified by the range of some of the Roman siege engines of the time, held by the rebels.<sup>22</sup> Irrespective of whether the insurgents had the means to make use of their technical possibilities, this distance ensured the safety of the soldiers billeted in these camps. It also created a wide strip of land between the warring sides, allowing any unexpected sorties on Roman positions from the rebel units to be quelled.

After securing the external wall, Titus again moved the camp of his units, this time to the area of the "Camp of the Assyrians" (BJ 5.303). This decision must have been dictated by particular strategic concerns, as any change in the position of the camp was a major logistical operation whose successful completion required time and a huge amount of work connected with transferring a large number of people and a mass of military equipment as well as building the entire camp infrastructure from scratch, from fortifications to quarters for several thousand soldiers. Such a move could be justified only by a significant change in the situation on the battlefield, i.e. a shift in the frontline making it hard for Titus to command effectively and to efficiently lead the siege of the city from the previous position. This happened only when the Third Wall was conquered, and so it must indeed have been far removed from the line of the Second Wall. If we take into account the distance of 400-450 meters that divides the line of the fortifications discovered by archaeologists from the current northern walls of Jerusalem, and add to this the two stadia, that is 370-390 meters, that divided the Psephinus tower from the then Roman camp, we get a total distance of over 800 meters. This would make Titus' decision to move the camp nearer to the city fully understandable.

If we accept that the Psephinus tower was indeed located in the north-western corner of the Old Town, then its conquest together with the line of the Third Wall must rightly have led to doubts as to the wisdom of the Roman leader's decision. In this case, his units would be separated from the line of the Second Wall by a strip of land measuring

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<sup>20</sup> This conclusion is supported by archaeological and numismatic material allowing us to date the building of the wall running along the line of the present northern wall of the Old Town to at the earliest the late 3<sup>rd</sup>/early 4<sup>th</sup> centuries CE: Hamilton 1940, pp. 19-20, 35, 52-53; Magness 2000, pp. 330, 335-336. Another important piece of evidence showing that at the time there were no defense walls in the place of the present northern walls of the Old City is the lack of archaeological evidence of their presence in the segments either to the east or to the west of the Damascus Gate: Hamilton 1940, pp. 35, 52-53; Kloner 1986, pp. 124-126; Baruch, Avni, Parnos 2008, pp. 1819-1820; Bahat 2008, pp. 1821-1822.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Ross 1942, p. 71; Avi-Yonah 1968, pp. 103-105. N. Kokkinos (2015, p. 96\*) disagrees, regarding them as relicts from this tower.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. BJ 5, 269-270.



between 250 and 400 meters in width.<sup>23</sup> It is doubtful that a new camp could have been made in this space in a way that would offer Titus and his men the necessary security. At the same time, it is unlikely that Titus would have abandoned the caution employed previously in setting up a new camp. The intensive nature and changing situation on the front line of the battle for the Second Wall, with unexpected rebel sorties, showed that safeguarding his army’s positions was a priority for the Roman commander, making Josephus’ rhetorical assertion (BJ 5.303) that he chose to make a camp in the immediate vicinity of the Second Wall rather improbable.<sup>24</sup> Assuming that the Third Wall could indeed be found in the place of the present northern walls of the Old City, we can state unequivocally that owing to the topographical realities there is no way that Titus’ new camp could have been located in the area between the Second and the Third Wall.

In considering where the “Camp of the Assyrians” was located, it is also important to think about the size of the camp that Titus had to set up there. Josephus makes several mentions of Roman camps around Jerusalem. These references are in particular to the camps of legions scattered around the city. When speaking of Titus’ camp, however, he means the camp housing his billets, at least two legions and auxiliary units working with them. Finding quarters for such large forces required a suitably extensive area. Since archaeologists have examined dozens of Roman camps of various sorts – of legions as well as auxiliary units – providing us with reliable data on their size, construction and the layout of the internal construction, we are able to determine the dimensions of Titus’ camp.

The question of the size of the camp where Titus’ quarters were housed should be considered against the background of similar Roman military installations known to us elsewhere in the Roman Empire. It does not matter much whether these were permanent camps – fortresses – or temporary camps built on a short-term basis for the duration of a campaign. Regardless of whether a soldier was staying in a camp or fighting outside of it at a given moment, he had a guaranteed place there. Even if the infrastructure of temporary camps might sometimes not meet the same standards as those of fortresses, it was certainly always put in place, as it was difficult to foresee how long the camp would be in operation. Excellent examples of the remnants of temporary camps are provided by the Roman military installations at Masada<sup>25</sup> and Machaerus.<sup>26</sup> These are of inestimable importance, as we can base on them our ideas of how the fortifications that the Romans built around Jerusalem might have looked.

An analysis of the dimensions of the legionary camps that we know of suggests that their average size was 18.5-20 ha.<sup>27</sup> With Titus’ camp in Jerusalem, however, we are

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<sup>23</sup> This width is purely hypothetical, as we do not know what the course of the Second Wall was. It may in fact have been smaller, depending on which hypothesis regarding the course of the Second Wall we view as being the most probable.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Kokkinos 2015, p. 99\*.

<sup>25</sup> Davies 2011, pp. 65-82.

<sup>26</sup> Strobel 1974, pp. 128-184.

<sup>27</sup> By way of an example, let us cite the dimensions and area of several legionary camps from various parts of the Roman Empire from the 1<sup>st</sup> and early 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries CE: the camp of legion *XIII Gemina* at Apulum, 470 x 470 m; approx. 22 ha; the first camp of legion *II Adiutrix* at Aquincum, 460 x 430 m, approx. 19.80 ha; the camp of legions *XV Apollinaris* and *X Gemina* at Carnuntum, 490 x 334/391 m, approx. 16.5/ approx. 18.2; the camp of legion *XI Claudia* at Durostorum, 410 x 520 m, 21.3 ha; the camp of legion *IV Flavia* at Sarmizegetusa, 546 x 600 m, 32.8 ha; the camp of legion *IV Flavia* at Singidunum, 560 x 330 m, approx. 18.5 ha; the camp of legion *VII Claudia* at Viminacium, 443 x 386 m, approx. 17.1 ha (Wilkes 2000,

looking at a site where two legions were quartered, along with an unknown number of soldiers sent by vassal rulers and Roman auxiliary units. We can rule out a situation in which the allied units and *auxilia* were all placed in one common camp, as such a concentration would make little tactical sense. When the decision to build the circumvallation was made, most auxiliary units were quartered around the city, in positions between the legions' camps (cf. BJ 5.510). Only units supplied by rulers allied with Rome could, for various reasons, stay in the main camp of the Roman commander. Bearing in mind the medium size of the Roman legionary camp, we are justified in assuming that to quarter both legions and the accompanying allied units Titus would have needed an area of at least around 50 ha. If we then take into account the aforementioned issue of security, requiring that a certain distance be maintained between the camp and the line of the Second Wall, and the size of the area between the Second and Third Walls (assuming that the latter corresponds to the course of the Turkish walls) available to Titus, we can see that it would have been simply impossible to billet his army there, even if it had been spread across all the way from the north-western corner of the Old City to the Kidron Valley.

There is one more reason why it is hard to accept the hypothesis of the dislocation of the Roman units in this area. Josephus' description of the course of the Second Wall is so general that any efforts to reconstruct it are only suppositions, of varying degrees of probability, which it is extremely difficult to verify.<sup>28</sup> Not only do they lack any significant topographical elements, but they also fail to mention whether it had any gate apart from the towers.<sup>29</sup> This information is of huge importance as the lack of a gate in the Second Wall would have made communication between the old quarters of Jerusalem and the New City as well as access to the road heading north from Jerusalem towards Damascus impossible. Since there is no doubt that such a gate must have existed, it remains to be considered where it may have been located – which is indirectly also significant for the location of Titus' camp in the area of the "Camp of the Assyrians."

Despite the lack of any written mentions of the location of the gate in the Second Wall, archaeological data is available that is worth some attention. The excavations carried out at the Damascus Gate by R.W. Hamilton in 1937-38 and under the direction of C.M. Bennett in 1964-66 provided evidence that allows us to date its origin at least to the reign of Hadrian.<sup>30</sup> The next phase of these excavations, conducted in 1979-84 by Menahem Magen, demonstrated that the Roman gate was raised on the foundations of an earlier one, from Herodian times, that is from the period from the rule of Herod to the death of Agrippa I.<sup>31</sup> This discovery is extremely important as most scholars cite the

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pp. 114-116); the camp of legion *III Cyrenaica* at Bostra, 440 x 350 m, approx. 16.5 ha (Lenoir 2002, p. 176; cf. Parker 2000, p. 124: 463 x 363 m, 16.8 ha); the camp of legion *XVI Flavia Firma* at Satala, approx. 470 x 350 m, 16.5 ha (Parker 2000, p. 123).

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Ross 1942, pp. 72-75; Avi-Yonah 1968, pp. 123-15; 1971, p. 169; Margalit 1990, pp. 30-31; Price 1992, p. 292; Wightman 1993, pp. 181-184; Geva 1993a, p. 736; Kokkinos 2015, pp. 88\*-90\* and 81\*, fig. 2.

<sup>29</sup> The context in which Josephus (5.336: ἄλλοι δ' ἔξω τοῦ τείχους κατὰ τὰς ἄνω προσηδῆσαντες πύλας) mentions the upper gates in the Second Wall suggests that he is not referring to a large gate, as G.J. Wightman (1993, p. 182) and N. Kokkinos (2015, p. 89\*) believe, but rather an element of the construction of this embankment.

<sup>30</sup> Hamilton 1940, pp. 19, 21-23; Hamrick 1968, p. 22; Hennesy 1970, p. 24; Wightman 1993, pp. 167-173; Magen 2000, p. 286; cf. Kloner 1986, pp. 125-126.

<sup>31</sup> Most elements of the earlier gate construction were preserved in the lower part of the towers that flanked it; cf. Magen 2000, pp. 283-284, 286. According to J. Magness (2000, pp. 333-335), the Romans

results of the earlier excavations and argue that the Roman gate was the first such construction built from materials used in Herodian buildings.<sup>32</sup> Only some believe that the unearthed Herodian remains belong to the gate of the Second Wall and take its position into account in their proposed reconstructions of its course.<sup>33</sup> I would suggest that the location of this gate in the place of the present Damascus Gate is supported by the fact that it is close to the Women's Towers in the Third Wall, since both these gates would be joined by the same road heading northwards from Jerusalem, whose course continues to coincide partially with today's Nablus Road. In selecting a place for the gate, the builders of the Third Wall must have borne in mind the course of this road, which had long been in use, and made the section of it between the two walls a communications axis linking the fortifications of the Old and New Cities. By recognizing the Damascus Gate as a constituent part of the Second Wall, we can state that the southern edge of Titus' camp was north of the line of the current walls.

A common feature of the sieges of Masada, Machaerus and Jerusalem was the circumvallation built by the Roman soldiers around each of these points of resistance. This was designed to prevent the defenders from escaping, and at the same time prevent support arriving from outside. This feature of the Roman fortifications is worthy of attention, as in the case of Jerusalem we know of it only from the rather imprecise description given by Josephus (BJ 5.503-508). Owing to the lack of agreement among scholars as to where some of the topographical points mentioned in this account may have been, there are many disparities in the proposed reconstructions of the course of the circumvallation outside Jerusalem. One factor that must be considered when establishing its likely course is the location of the Roman camps. With the sieges of Masada and Machaerus, the camps of participating units were located either on the line of the circumvallation itself, with one of their sides being an integral part of it, or at a certain distance behind this line. The ramparts themselves were built at a considerable distance from the places under siege.<sup>34</sup> In the case of Jerusalem, it is certain that the part of the fortifications of the camp located in the "Camp of the Assyrians" was made part of the structure of the circumvallation,<sup>35</sup> which is one more piece of evidence showing that Titus' camp must have been located at some distance from the line of the present northern walls of Jerusalem.<sup>36</sup>

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erected not a gate, but a free-standing triumphal arch in honor of Hadrian, founder of Aelia Capitolina, which was transformed into a gate only in the late 3<sup>rd</sup>/early 4<sup>th</sup> centuries CE, when the fortification system was built on the line of the current northern wall of the Old City. Nevertheless, this conclusion is not supported by the content of the fragmentarily preserved Roman inscription on the Damascus Gate. This shows that the building was erected on the basis of a decree of the authorities of the Aelia Capitolina colony. Moreover, it is highly likely that the block on which the inscription is carved was placed inside the already existing construction of the gate (arch) later: *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palestinae*, vol. 1: *Jerusalem*, Berlin – Boston 2012, pp. 30-31, no. 728 (*comm. ad loc.* by W. Eck).

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Hamilton 1940, p. 19; Avi-Yonah 1968, pp. 122-123; Hamrick 1966, pp. 22-23; 1977, p. 20; Kloner 1986, pp. 125-126; Wightman 1993, pp. 169-173; Geva 1993d, p. 761.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Ross 1942, p. 74; Avi-Yonah 1968, pp. 124-125.

<sup>34</sup> The width of the strip of land between the circumvallation and the besieged fortresses was in the case of Masada and Machaerus determined by terrain conditions, which prevented Roman units from getting too close to the positions occupied by the insurgents.

<sup>35</sup> We can assume that although Josephus does not refer to this explicitly, a section of these ramparts must also have run in the proximity of the camp of *legio V Macedonica*.

<sup>36</sup> According to Josephus, it took just three days to build the embankment (CJ 5.509). But his assertion that the sole cause of this speed was the soldiers' fervor seems rather dubious (BJ 5.502-503). Without

Since the size of Titus' camp excludes the possibility of it having been located within the present Old City walls, it must have been situated in an appropriately large terrain. Here we should mention Josephus' mention of demolitions carried out by Roman soldiers in the area of the New City immediately after controlling it (BJ 5.302). One of the objectives of these actions was without doubt to destroy all the existing buildings that might have offered cover or shelter for launching unexpected attacks on the Roman units. But more important in these systematic demolitions and the levelling of the terrain that came with them was the preparation of the land for a new camp.<sup>37</sup> The same process was followed each time the Roman camps were moved at the walls of Jerusalem. The area of the New City to the north of the Second Wall is the only area in which there was sufficient space to set up a camp. In order to safeguard the soldiers stationed there, at least some sections of the Third Wall might have been used, especially those that surrounded the New City from the east and north.<sup>38</sup> Bearing in mind the shape of the terrain of the New City east of the Nablus Road line, where rocky elevations are now situated,<sup>39</sup> it is more probably that Titus had his quarters and the legions' camp located rather on the western side of this road, in the area of the valley contained approximately within today's streets Shivtei Yisra'el and Derekh Shkhem (the Nablus Road).<sup>40</sup> This valley is sufficiently vast, and the gentle slopes of the surrounding hills would have been perfectly suited to setting up a large camp there. In addition, it was very close to the front of the battles at the walls of Jerusalem – so close that the besieged rebels could observe the Roman soldiers' camp life from the heights of the First Wall and Temple Mount (BJ 5.348-352). Owing to the proximity of Titus' camp to the city, we can assume that it was this valley that Jerusalem's inhabitants called the "Camp of the Assyrians."

The conclusions that this discussion allows us to make confirm that scholars who on the basis of interpretation of the archaeological data identify the Third Wall, which we know from the work of Josephus, with the line of the discovered fortifications, are correct to do so. An analysis of the description of Titus' activities at Jerusalem not only provides further arguments to corroborate this interpretation, but also means that we can

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underestimating the significance of this factor, we must assume that the decision to build an embankment must have been preceded by collection of the necessary amount of the appropriate building materials, especially as adequate quantities of some of them, e.g. wood, could not be found near Jerusalem. For the circumvallation around Masada and Machaerus, stone was used, large amounts of which were readily available. However, in both cases much work, and no doubt also time, was needed to collect sufficient quantities of it. The preparations for building the circumvallation around Jerusalem may have begun as soon as the idea of building it was first considered among Titus' men; cf. BJ 5.491-501.

<sup>37</sup> These operations were so painstaking that they resulted in the removal of almost all traces of previous human activity. It is very likely that this is why archeologists have been unable to find very many relics dating from the period before the siege of Jerusalem in the New City (Hamrick 1981, p. 265 offers a different interpretation of this fact).

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Ariel, Baruch, Zilberbod 2014, pp. 152-156, 159.

<sup>39</sup> However, the terrain was not an obstacle in setting up a camp of one of the auxiliary units here when the circumvallation was built; cf. BJ 5.510. Its presence was justified by the strategic position of this area opposite Antonia. The Romans may also have used part of the eastern section of the Third Wall as an element of the camp's reinforcements.

<sup>40</sup> The area needed for the camp on the east-west axis probably went beyond the western line of the Third Wall. Presumably, a large section of it on this side might have been destroyed during the fighting, and the process of its further demolition might have been accelerated when Titus decided to move the camp to the area of the New City.

look at them from another point of view than that which has previously been widely accepted. We can therefore have more confidence in pinpointing the location of the quarters of the Roman commander outside of Jerusalem in the decisive phase of its siege and identifying one of the important points of the city’s topography.

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## EIN LEGIONSSOLDAT IN EINER INSCRIFT AUS NAZARETH UND DIE PRÄSENZ DER *LEGIO IV FLAVIA FELIX* IN DEN ÖSTLICHEN PROVINZEN

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**Key words:** *legio IV Flavia* in the East, Parthian wars, Bar Kochba revolt

**Abstract:** An inscription allegedly found in Nazareth attested according to its first edition (1905) a *cohors III Heliopolitanorum*. However, no such unit ever existed in the Roman army. A new reading of the inscription shows that in reality a soldier of the *legio IV Flavia* is mentioned in the document. The article shows the problem of dating the presence of this legion, normally stationed in Moesia superior, in the East. It seems possible that the *legio IV Flavia* or a *vexillatio* of it participated in the war against Bar Kochba.

Die Musées royaux du Cinquantenaire in Brüssel erwarben im Jahr 1903 eine lateinische Grabinschrift, die nach Angaben des Verkäufers aus der Umgebung von Nazareth stammen sollte. Sie wurde zuerst 1905 von Ch. Clermont-Ganneau aufgrund der Mitteilung von F. Cumont publiziert, dann nochmals von letzterem selbst 1913 in einem Katalog des Museums,<sup>1</sup> gelangte allerdings nie in die *Année Épigraphique*, so dass sie auch nur sehr gelegentlich beachtet wurde.<sup>2</sup> Beide Autoren sind skeptisch hinsichtlich der Herkunftsangabe des Verkäufers, man könne aber sicher davon ausgehen, dass die Inschrift aus Palästina oder Syrien stamme.

Die Inschrift ist auf eine Stele gemeißelt, die 88 cm hoch, 55 cm breit und 5 cm tief ist. Die Buchstabenhöhe beträgt 5 cm.<sup>3</sup> Die Zeilen waren vorgeritzt. Links und rechts des Textes sind zwei erhöhte Streifen zu sehen, die den Eindruck vermitteln, als ob der Steinmetz hier zwei Säulen gestalten wollte. Dafür spricht auch, dass links oben zwei runde Abschlüsse zu erkennen sind, die wie eine Art Kapitel wirken; auf der rechten Seite ist dieser runde Abschluss nur noch links erhalten, während der rechte lediglich noch ansatzweise zu erkennen ist. Auch am unteren Rand sind je zwei runde Vorsprünge zu erkennen, die wie zwei runde Doppelbasen unter den Säulen (Pfeilern) wirken. Offensichtlich sollte der Text „architektonisch“ eingerahmt werden. Der Stein wurde später wiederverwendet; dabei wurde im unteren Teil ein Loch gebohrt; vielleicht sollte dadurch Wasser abfließen können. Durch diese Öffnung sind in Zeile 9 einige Buchstaben weitgehend verloren gegangen; allerdings reichen die Reste zur Identifizierung der einzelnen Zeichen aus.

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<sup>1</sup> Clermont-Ganneau 1905, S. 199 ff.; Cumont 1913, S. 197 ff. Nr. 168.

<sup>2</sup> Siehe z.B. Belayche 2001, S. 55.

<sup>3</sup> Alle Angaben nach Cumont.

Cumont bot folgenden Text:

*D(is) M(anibus). / C(aius) I(ulius) Qu(intus), miles / coh(ortis) III Fl(aviae)  
Hel(iopolitanorum?) P(iae?) Se(verianae?), vi/xit annis XXX / militavit ann/is VIII.  
Castori/us Maximus m/[il(es) coh(ortis) ei]usdem, [a]m/ico bene mere/nti posuit.*

Die Lesung von Clermont-Ganneau weicht nur beim Beinamen der Einheit ab:

*coh(ortis) III Fl(aviae) Hel(iopolitanorum?) p(iae?) f(idelis?).*

Dieser Text weist mehrere Probleme auf, die zu irrigen Aussagen führten. Vor allem ist die Lesung und Ergänzung der Militäreinheit von Anfang an grundsätzlich problematisch gewesen. Cumont hatte in seinem Austausch mit Clermont-Ganneau zunächst eine Lesung als *coh(ortis) III Fl(aviae) Hel(vetiorum)* vorgeschlagen, übernahm aber dann abgesehen vom letzten Bestandteil der Beinamen in seiner Publikation die Rekonstruktion Clermont-Ganneaus. Eine Auxiliäreinheit mit dem Beinamen *Heliopolitanorum* existierte aber nicht, weder mit der Ziffer *III* und *Flavia*, in der der Verstorbene gedient haben sollte, noch sonst mit einer anderen Ordnungszahl. Und daran hat sich bis heute nichts geändert.<sup>4</sup> Auch der Name des Kommilitonen, der den Grabstein setzen ließ, wurde von beiden Autoren nicht richtig erkannt.

Dank zweier neuer Photos, die uns von Frau Cécile Evers aus Brüssel freundlicherweise gesandt wurden, war es möglich, den Text neu zu lesen und merklich zu verbessern.<sup>5</sup> Das Resultat ist folgendes:

5 D 5 M 5  
 C 5 IVLIVS QV  
 3 INTVS MIL LE *oder*  
 3 ARTVS MIL LE  
 G III FL FELISE V (!)  
 5 IXIT ANNIS XXX  
 MILITAVIT ANN  
 IS VIII C ARTORI  
 VIS MAXIMVS M (!)  
 IL LĒG EIVSDEM M (!)  
 10 AICO BENE MERE (!)  
 NTI PCSVIT.

Das Problem, weshalb die Inschrift schon für Clermont-Ganneau und Cumont so schwierig zu lesen war, liegt wesentlich darin, dass der Steinmetz ganz offensichtlich mit der lateinischen Sprache und der Einmeißelung lateinischer Buchstaben nicht vertraut war und mit der Umsetzung dessen, was ihm handschriftlich vorlag, Probleme hatte.

<sup>4</sup> Das Fehlen von Parallelzeugnissen für Einheitsnamen war auch Cumont (1913, S. 199) bewusst, stimmte ihn aber nicht bedenklich hinsichtlich der vorgeschlagenen Lesung: „La cohorte III d’Héliopolitains – comme d’ailleurs la cohorte III d’Helvétès – est jusqu’ici inconnu et ce texte apporte donc un renseignement intéressant pour l’histoire de l’armée romaine“.

<sup>5</sup> Wir danken Frau Cécile Evers sehr, dass sie neue Photos anfertigen ließ, die Neulesung ermöglichten. Ebenso danken wir Françoise van Haperen für die Vermittlung.





Abb. 1: Grabinschrift für einen Soldaten der legio III Flavia aus Nazareth (?)

Man sieht das u.a. sehr klar daran, dass er offensichtlich *hederae distinguentes*, die sicher in einer handschriftlichen Vorlage standen, nicht gekannt und deshalb missverstanden hat, weshalb er statt der *hederae* einige Male ein hebräisches Lamed schrieb, wie man sehr deutlich in Zeile 1 vor und zwischen D und M und auch nach dem M sieht, ebenso in Zeile 2 nach dem Praenomen C(aius). Danach hat er auf das Trennzeichen verzichtet. Noch bemerkenswerter ist die Missrepräsentation des Buchstabens S, der wie ein schlecht geschriebenes lateinisches P aussieht, dem manchmal die untere Hälfte der Senkrechten fehlt. Man hat den Eindruck, er wollte hier ein hebräisches Qof schreiben. Beachtet man vor allem diesen Buchstaben in seinem richtigen Wert als S, dann lässt sich der Text relativ leicht verstehen, da es sich, wie man nach der Entzifferung feststellen kann, um eine recht normale Grabinschrift für einen römischen Soldaten handelt.

Andere auffällige Wiedergaben von Buchstaben sind:

Das I erscheint an mehreren Stellen mit einer unteren Querhaste wie bei einem L. Beim A fehlt der Querstrich, bei manchen N ist die rechte senkrechte Haste getrennt vom Rest des Buchstabens eingemeißelt. In Zeile 4 war offensichtlich der Beiname der Legion FELICIS voll ausgeschrieben; dort aber hat der Steinmetz beim F am Beginn des Wortes die obere Querhaste ausgelassen und die drei letzten Buchstaben nicht bewältigt, sondern wohl das C völlig ausgelassen, dann aber zunächst das missgestaltete S und danach ein E geschrieben. Angesichts des Umstandes, dass sonst konsequent P für S geschrieben wird, fragt man sich, welchen Buchstaben er mit dem s-förmigen Zeichen wirklich wiedergeben wollte.<sup>6</sup> Das Wort *annis* in Zeile 2-3 erscheint als ΛΛINIP. Hier erstaunt, dass das zweite N richtig geschrieben, das erste jedoch missverstanden wurde. Nimmt man dies zum Vergleich für die Lesung des Cognomens in Zeile 1, dann könnte die Lesung der früheren Herausgeber QVINTVS vielleicht zutreffen, obwohl eines der Photos, das uns zur Verfügung steht, eher die Lesung QV/ARTVS wahrscheinlich macht. Die Zahl der *stipendia* in Zeile 7 wird in dieser Form geschrieben: *VIIII*, was also die Ziffer zehn ergeben würde. Die Ziffer steht auch so auf dem Stein,<sup>7</sup> doch ist es sehr unwahrscheinlich, dass sie in dieser Form bereits in der Vorlage stand, da diese wohl von einer Person geschrieben war, die üblicherweise Latein verstand; vermutlich hatte der Kommilitone C. Artorius Maximus, der sich um die Bestattung des Kameraden und den Grabstein kümmerte, den Text verfasst. So darf man annehmen, dass der Steinmetz die Vorlage nicht genau reproduzierte; denn die Ziffer zehn wird nie mit *VIIII* wiedergegeben. Somit darf man am ehesten annehmen, dass an der Stelle wohl tatsächlich die höchstmögliche Zahl von senkrechten Hasten nach V stand, nämlich vier, dass der Steinmetz aber dann eine senkrechte Haste zu viel einmeißelte. In Zeile 8 wird in der Schlussilbe von ARTORI/VS zwischen V und S noch ein I eingefügt. Clermont-Ganneau und Cumont hatten den Namen als *Castori/us Maximus* gelesen,<sup>8</sup> jedoch handelt es sich bei dem Buchstaben nach CA nicht um ein P=S, sondern tatsächlich um ein R wie

<sup>6</sup> Clermont-Ganneau (1905) deutet es S. 201 mit Bezug auf die Zeichen in Zeilen 1 und 2 als Abkürzungszeichen. Freilich weicht es zum einen von diesen in seiner Form ab, zum anderen kann man die beiden früheren Zeichen nicht als Abkürzungszeichen bezeichnen.

<sup>7</sup> So auch richtig in der diplomatischen Wiedergabe bei Clermont-Ganneau. Cumont, der nur einen Lesetext gibt, hat dort zwar *VIIII*, macht aber im Kommentar einen entsprechenden Vermerk: „L. 7 Au début L est pour I et *VIIII* pour VIII.“

<sup>8</sup> Entsprechend wird die Publikation von Cumont bei Solin, Salomies 1988, S. 49 als einer von zwei Belegen für das Gentiliz Castorius aufgeführt.



zwei Zeichen weiter. Die Schräghaste unten rechts ist sichtbar. Ferner liegt es nahe, dass wie beim Verstorbenen die *tria nomina* genannt waren, so dass sich die Lesung *C(aius) Artori/u{is} Maximus* ergibt. Am Übergang von Zeile 9 zu 10 wurde beim Wort *amico* die Reihenfolge von A und M vertauscht: M/AICO; der Steinmetz hat möglicherweise die dicht geschriebenen Buchstaben AM, die, wenn die Querhaste des A nicht oder undeutlich geschrieben war, wohl aussahen wie drei griechische Lambdas (ΛΛΛ), missverstanden. In der letzten Zeile schrieb der Steinmetz C statt O.

Berücksichtigt man alle diese Fehler, dann lässt sich der Text folgendermaßen wiederherstellen:

*D(is) M(anibus) / C(aius) Iulius Qu/artus oder Qu/intus, mil(es) le/g(ionis) IIII Fl(aviae) Feli<c> r̄is̄v̄ixit annis XXX / militavit ann/is VIII{I}, C(aius) Artori/u{is} Maximus m/īl(es) lēg(ionis) eiusdem, r̄a/m̄ico bene mere/nti p̄ōsuit.*

Die Grabinschrift berichtet somit von einem C. Iulius Quartus/Quintus, der in der *legio IV Flavia* als Soldat diente. Die Legion war seit domitianischer Zeit in Singidunum (Belgrad) in Moesia superior stationiert. Sie nahm wie viele andere Legionen mit Vexillationen an verschiedenen Feldzügen teil, u.a. auch nach dem Osten, ist aber nie für längere Zeit Besatzungslegion in einer dortigen Provinz gewesen.<sup>9</sup>

Wenn die Inschrift wirklich aus Nazareth oder Umgebung und damit aus Palästina stammt (und nicht vielleicht aus Syrien, wie Cumont andeutet), dann ist dies bereits die dritte Inschrift aus der Provinz Iudaea/Syria Palaestina, in der die *legio IV Flavia* bezeugt ist. Aus Neapolis (Nabulus) kennen wir einen C. Valerius Longinus, der als Soldat nach 15 Dienstjahren in der Legion verstarb und dort von seinem Bruder bestattet wurde. Der Grabaltar steht heute im Rockefeller-Museum in Jerusalem.<sup>10</sup>

Sodann nennt eine ebenfalls bereits vor längerer Zeit in Neapolis gefundene, aber erst jetzt bekannt gewordene Inschrift einen Ti. Claudius Mansuetus, der als Veteran dort von einem Freigelassenen bestattet wurde. Da er aus Pergamum in der Provinz Asia stammte und in einer Legion gedient hatte, die in Singidunum in Moesia superior stationiert war, ist es sehr verwunderlich, weshalb er als Veteran so weit von seiner Stationierungsprovinz bzw. seiner Heimat Pergamum entfernt bestattet wurde. Er muss sich wohl in Neapolis niedergelassen haben. Natürlich ist es unmöglich, den Grund dafür präzise zu erschließen. Doch da in seiner Nomenklatur die Tribus *Sergia* voll ausgeschrieben wurde, was sehr ungewöhnlich ist, ergibt sich die Vermutung, dass der Veteran dort vielleicht unter Philippus Arabs angesiedelt wurde, dessen Tribus eben die *Sergia* gewesen ist und der Neapolis zur *colonia* erhoben hat, wobei sie auch den Namen *Sergia* annahm.<sup>11</sup>

C. Iulius Quartus/Quintus war allerdings kein Veteran, sondern ein Soldat, der noch nicht aus dem Heer ausgeschieden war; er starb nach nur 9 Dienstjahren, muss also wohl im Kontext eines Krieges in diese Ostprovinz gekommen sein, entweder mit der gesamten Legion oder, was wahrscheinlicher ist, mit einer Vexillation, jedenfalls zusammen mit einer Gruppe von Soldaten. Das zeigt die Nennung des C. Artorius Maximus, der der gleichen Legion angehörte und der seinen Kameraden bestattete. Das ist derselbe Tat-

<sup>9</sup> Siehe Ritterling 1912, S. 1540 ff.; Le Bohec, Wolff 2000, Bd. 1, S. 239 ff.; Piso 2000, S. 208 ff.

<sup>10</sup> AE 1948, 147.

<sup>11</sup> Siehe Eck 2015.

bestand wie bei Valerius Longinus, dessen Bruder Valerius Valens den Grabaltar setzen ließ.<sup>12</sup> Mit größter Wahrscheinlichkeit gehörte auch Valens zur selben Legion wie sein Bruder. Es kam nicht selten vor, dass Brüder in derselben Einheit dienten.

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Zeugnisse für die Anwesenheit der *legio IV Flavia* im Osten:

Alle Zeugnisse für die Anwesenheit der *legio IV Flavia* in Provinzen des östlichen Imperium Romanum sind epigraphischer Natur.

Es sind zusammenfassend folgende Texte:

1. aus Asia:

CIL III 387 = Inschr. Alexandria Troas 116 (Alexandria Troas):

*D(is) M(anibus) / C(aius) Iul(ius) Alexander / mil(es) leg(ionis) IIII Fl(aviae) F(elicis) sti(pendiorum) X / M(arcus) Sex(tius) Candidianus / secu(ndus) here(s) et Q(uintus) / Variu[s] Marcellus / proc(urator) corp(or)is b(ene) m(erenti) h(unc) t(itulum) / p(osuerunt) vixit annis p(lus) m(inus) / XXVIII.*

AE 1976, 667 (Synnada):<sup>13</sup>

*D(is) M(anibus) / filio / Iul(ius) Cel/sus mil(es) / leg(ionis) IIII Fl(aviae).*

CIL III 13663 (Apamea Cibotus)

*D(is) M(anibus) / M(arcus) Aur(elius) Athenio veteranus / ex leg(ione) IIII Fl(avia) ex b(ene)ficiario sibi vivos et / coniugi suae Aur(eliae) Ammiae sar/cofagum posuit in aram quam / ipse construit in quo iam posi/tus est filius eorum alter / enim non ponetur in eum [ni]/si ipse con coniugi sua [eum] / si quis atfectaverit i[n]fe/ret poenae nomi[ne] fisco(?) / (denarios) MM.*

Die Texte sagen nichts über eine längere Stationierung einer Abteilung der Legion in Asia, obwohl es bei der Grabinschrift aus Synnada nicht ausgeschlossen ist, dass der Vater des namenlosen, also wohl bald nach der Geburt verstorbenen Sohnes dort zur Bewachung der Steinbrüche abgeordnet war. Der *beneficiarius*, der sich nahe von Apamea Cibotus niedergelassen hatte, stammte möglicherweise aus dieser Region.<sup>14</sup>

2. aus Galatia:

AE 1931, 130 = AE 1937, 95 = St. Mitchell – D. French, *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Ankara*, Vol. I, München 2012, Nr. 184 (Ancyra)<sup>15</sup>

*D(is) M(anibus) Aur(elio) As/clepiad<sup>τῆ</sup> {et} vet(er)[a]/no ex leg(ione) IIII F[la]-v[i]/a convet(er)[ani su]/i et heredes [memo]/riam posuer[un]t.<sup>16</sup>*

<sup>12</sup> Siehe Anm. 10.

<sup>13</sup> Siehe Drew-Bear, Eck 1976, S. 309.

<sup>14</sup> Speidel 1980, S. 732 und 742.

<sup>15</sup> Bei Le Bohec, Wolff 2000 sind aus den beiden AE-Nummern zwei verschiedene Inschriften geworden.

<sup>16</sup> Nach Mitchell, French S. 380 soll der Verstorbene aus Ancyra gestammt haben; wegen der Formel *ex legione* sei der Text ins dritte Jh. zu setzen, ca. 220-240, da erst damals diese Formel aufgetreten sei. Das

AE 1987, 942 (Apollonia)

*[Silv]an[o(?)]/[pro s]alute/[Iu]l(i?) Licini \ (centurionis)/[leg(ionis) IIII Fl(aviae) voveru/nt Aur(elius) Zoticus tes(serarius)/[et] Aur(elius) Bello mil(ites)/leg(ionis) eiusdem/votum posuer/unt.*

AE 1987, 944 (Apollonia)

*D(is) M(anibus)/Aur(elius) Aurelianus mil(es)/leg(ionis) IIII Fl(aviae) vixit annis /XXXV militavit/annis XV contub/ernalis carissi/mus bene mere/nti posuit.*

Während die Ancyraner Inschrift auf eine Ansiedlung von Veteranen verweist, zeigen die anderen beiden Texte aus Apollonia die Anwesenheit einer Abteilung in oder nahe der Stadt, vielleicht in dem Sinn, wie es M. A. Speidel angenommen hat: Wegen der sich wiederholenden Transfers von Truppen aus den Donauländern an die Ostfront hätte man permanente Stützpunkte an den Durchmarschstraßen eingerichtet.<sup>17</sup>

3. aus Syrien:

AE 1939, 234 = IGLS III 1173 (Seleucia Pieriae)

*D(is) M(anibus)/Val(erius) Victor signi[fer]/leg(ionis) IIII Fl(aviae) vixit ann(os) [--]/militavit ann(os) [--]/ex praecepto test[am(enti)]/sui Aur(elius) Proculin[us]/b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuit).*

AE 1993, 1578 (Apamea)

*D(is) M(anibus)/Fl(avium) Diofan/tum vete/ranum l(e)g(ionis)/IIII Fl(aviae) Fl(avius)/Asclepiade(s)/lib(ertus) (h)er(es) heder(?) /fecit patr/ono.*

Die Grabinschrift aus Seleucia Pieriae zeigt, dass wohl eine Abteilung der Legion in der Provinz im Einsatz war.<sup>18</sup> Der Veteran Flavius Diofantus könnte aus der Region stammen und deshalb wieder dorthin zurückgekehrt sein. Näheres lässt sich nicht erschließen.

4. aus Iudaea/Syria Palaestina:

AE 1948, 147 (Neapolis)

*D(is) M(anibus)/C(aius) Val(erius) C(ai) f(ilius)/Aemil(ia) Lon/ginus Stob(is)/mil(es) leg(ionis) IIII Fl(aviae)/stip(endiorum) XV vix(it)/ann(os) XXXV/C(aius) Val(erius) Valens/fratri/b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuit).*

Unpubliziert (Neapolis)<sup>19</sup>

trifft allerdings nicht zu; die Formel ist lange vorher nachzuweisen (siehe die zahlreichen Beispiele in der Datenbank Clauss-Slaby).

<sup>17</sup> Speidel 2009, S. 255 ff.

<sup>18</sup> Sowohl AE 1988, 1044 aus Satala als auch CIL III 195 = IGLS I 150 aus Cyrrhus sagen nichts über einen Aufenthalt der Legion in Syrien (bzw. Kappadokien aus). M. Speidel (1980, S. 271) hält es für möglich, dass eine Abteilung dieser Legion auch zeitweise in Zeugma war und dort geziegelt hat (vgl. AE 2003, 1791), was möglich ist, aber bisher auf einer unsicheren Materialbasis beruht.

<sup>19</sup> Vgl. oben Anm. 11.

*Tiber(ius) Clau(dius) Serg(ia) (tribu) Mansuetus / vet(er) (amus) leg(ionis) IIII Fl(aviae) Fe(licis) / do(mo) Perg(amo) Asi(ae) vixi(t) / ann(os) LXI Tib(erius) Clau(dius) / Magn[us] liber(tus) et (h)e/res fecit patrono / bene merenti.*

Zwei der Zeugnisse aus der Provinz sprechen für eine Vexillation der *IV Flavia* im Rahmen eines kriegerischen Geschehens, während die Inschrift des Claudius Mansuetus vielleicht über eine Ansiedlung berichtet.

Schlussfolgerung:

Alle aufgeführten Zeugnisse zeigen deutlich, dass die obermösische Legion offensichtlich öfter im Osten mit Abteilungen präsent war. Allerdings liefert keiner der Texte einen genauen Zeitpunkt, wann dies jeweils geschehen ist. So kann man nur allgemein vermuten, dass die *legio IV Flavia felix* im Rahmen von Feldzügen im Osten Vexillationen abordnen musste. Das könnte während der Partherkriege Traians gewesen sein, oder auch unter Marcus bzw. während der Feldzüge der Severer oder auch noch bei den Feldzügen von Severus Alexander Severus und von Gordian III.<sup>20</sup>

Dieser Mangel an zeitlicher Präzision gilt auch für die Zeugnisse in Iudaea/Syria Palaestina. Die Provinz diente auch während eines Feldzuges gegen die Parther als Aufmarsch- und Versorgungsgebiet. Näher liegt es freilich, wenn man einen Einsatz während kriegerischer Konflikte in der Provinz selbst annimmt. Damit ist es nicht ausgeschlossen, die Anwesenheit einer Vexillation der obermösischen *legio IV Flavia* in der Provinz mit dem Bar Kochba Aufstand in Verbindung zu bringen. Das lässt sich mit den bisherigen Zeugnissen nicht nachweisen. Doch ist es nicht unwahrscheinlich, dass auch Teile dieser Legion aus diesem Grund nach dem Osten abgeordnet wurden, nicht anders, als dies etwa mit Vexillationen der *legio V Macedonica* und der *legio VII Claudia* aus dem Donauraum oder der *legio XII Fulminata* aus Kappadokien der Fall war. Gerade während dieser letzten Erhebung von Teilen des jüdischen Volkes gegen Rom mussten außerordentlich viele Einheiten von anderswo nach Iudaea verlegt werden. Dies zeigt u.a. eine Dedikation für Hadrian aus Jerusalem, an der mindestens sechs verschiedene Legionen beteiligt waren, von denen aber nur drei identifiziert werden können.<sup>21</sup> Für eine definitive Aussage, ob auch die *legio IV Flavia* vielleicht bei der Niederschlagung der Erhebung unter Bar Kochba eingesetzt war, muss man auf ein aussagekräftigeres Zeugnis warten. Ausgeschlossen ist es nicht.

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ANRW – H. Temporini, W. Haase (Hg.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, Reihe II: *Principat*, Berlin – New York.

CIIP – *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae / Palaestinae*, Berlin – Boston 2010-

RE – *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart 1894-1980.

<sup>20</sup> Wie viele Legionen (bzw. Vexillationen) bei der einen oder anderen Krise nach dem Osten verlegt wurden, ersieht man etwa an den Stempeln, die man in Zeugma am Euphrat gefunden hat, auch z.B. die einer Abteilung der *legio III Augusta* aus dem nordafrikanischen Lambaesis, die dort neben anderen nicht-syrischen Legionen ihre gestempelten Ziegel hinterlassen hat; siehe Speidel 2012, S. 603 ff.

<sup>21</sup> CIIP I 2, 717.

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## THE ASSOCIATION OF PROGRESSIVE JEWS IN KRAKÓW AND ITS SYNAGOGUE IN THE LAST QUARTER OF THE 19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

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**Key words:** progressive Judaism, Kraków, Galicia, Tempel synagogue, 19<sup>th</sup> century, preacher, Moritz Duschak, Samuel Landau

**Abstract:** This article presents the history and religious views of the Kraków's Association of Progressive Jews in the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a favorable period in the history of this group. The article discusses certain aspects of the history of this milieu (legal status, authorities, finances, growth), social work it undertook, and the religious life of the Tempel synagogue. Special emphasis was put on the sources of religious standpoint of progressives, on the scope of the religious life, and the preachers' activities (Moritz Duschak and Samuel Landau at that time). The article contributes to the research on Progressive Judaism in Polish lands and to the religious history of Galician and Krakovian Jewry.

The aim of this article is to describe the history and religious life of the progressive milieu in Kraków in the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The milieu of progressive Jews existed in Kraków since the 1840s until the outbreak of the Second World War. Kraków's progressives, like progressive Jews in other cities in Polish lands (e.g., Lvov, Warsaw),<sup>1</sup> organized as an association, and prayed in their own synagogue (Tempel), which was built in 1861. Previous research on Kraków's progressive milieu concentrated on the decade from 1864 until 1874<sup>2</sup> and later on the activities of Ozjasz Thon, who was appointed a preacher in Kraków Tempel in 1897.<sup>3</sup> The period of the last two decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century has never been the object of deeper scholarly interest; perhaps this is the reason why in the literature it has been called a "period of stagnation."<sup>4</sup> It appears, however, that the opposite is true. Not only were the years 1874-1897 a time of significant growth for the group of progressives, which almost tripled during this time, but they were also a period of stabilization of synagogue life. Moreover, the late 1870s and 1880s saw a vivid development of social initiatives of progressives – many new charitable associations were founded or launched in these decades, and Kraków progressives became active members of other, non-Kraków-based institutions such as the *Israelitische Allianz zu Wien* and *Agudas Achim* in Lvov.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> On the development of the so-called progressive Judaism in Polish lands, cf. Corrsin 2000; Galas 2011.

<sup>2</sup> The most comprehensive research on this period was conducted by Hanna Kozińska-Witt, cf. Kozińska-Witt 1999a; 1999b; 2000; 2011. See also Mahler 1934.

<sup>3</sup> The literature on Thon is relatively rich; the newest studies on him cf. Galas, Ronen 2015.

<sup>4</sup> Galas 2011, p. 10.

<sup>5</sup> On the influences of Agudas Achim on Kraków progressive circles, cf. Maślak-Maciejewska 2014.

## The Progressive Association in 1874-1897<sup>6</sup>

During most of the period under discussion, the Progressive Association was governed according to its 1864 statute. According to this document the Association had two major aims: to maintain its own prayer house, in which services would be held in accordance with “the requirements of civilization,” and to support needy members of the Association, especially students.<sup>7</sup> The next statute, adopted in 1895, reformulated those objectives and declared that the Association had three main aims: fulfilling the religious needs of its members and maintaining the prayer house, supporting youth with a special emphasis on its religious instructions, and exerting influence on the development of communal institutions in the “progressive spirit.”<sup>8</sup>

According to the statute from 1864, which in this matter repeated the provisions of the first statute from 1843, the Association was governed by a body comprised of nine members: three chairmen who held the office interchangeably, three inspectors, cashier, controller and secretary.<sup>9</sup> From the late 1870s, the office of association chair was held by Józef Oettinger, Chaskel Eibenschutz and Leopold Reich; in the 1890s by J. Oettinger, Jan Albert Propper and Leon Horowitz. A new statute from 1895 differed significantly in this matter from the previous two documents. The board was increased to 15 members and divided into three sections: “for religious and charitable aims,” “for administrative and financial purposes” and educational.<sup>10</sup> The number of chairmen was reduced to one and L. Horowitz was elected to this office in 1898.

The main sources of income of the Progressive Association at that time were fees for seats in the synagogue (approx. half of its income) and membership dues. Less important, although still significant, were one-time subventions, legacies, incomes for selling aliyot, and donations for rituals such as weddings and funerals. The main expenses of the Association were the salaries of its functionaries, maintaining the synagogue building and supporting the needy, as well as charitable and educational institutions.<sup>11</sup>

The Progressive Association developed steadily in the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century; in 1871 it had 130 members,<sup>12</sup> and in 1885 it numbered 218 members.<sup>13</sup> This number further increased in the next decade, and at the end of the century membership totaled

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<sup>6</sup> In this article I am using the umbrella name *Association of Progressive Jews* (or just *Progressive Association* or *the Association*) because it has a tradition in the literature on the subject – this English translation was used in cf. Kozłowska-Witt 2011. Actual name of this institution changed many times during the times of its existence, which can be observed in the titles of the official documents it published, cf. *Sprawozdanie 1872*; *Sprawozdanie 1899*; *Sprawozdanie 1900*; *Statut 1857*; *Statut 1866*; *Statut 1895*. Whenever I use the term “progressives” in this article, I am referring to the members of this association.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Statut 1866*.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *Statut 1895*.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *Statut 1857*.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *Statut 1895*.

<sup>11</sup> Unfortunately the yearly financial reports of the Association for the entire period do not exist; therefore the presented analysis was based on the only-existing budget statements from 1870-71 and later from 1898-1900. Although sources are not sufficient to draw solid conclusions about the changes in budget, certain features might be pointed out, such as a significant decrease in the percentage of expenses spent on salaries (71% in 1871 and 43% in 1898), or general improvement in the financial standing of the Association.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *Sprawozdanie 1872*.

<sup>13</sup> ANK, Akta Magistratu, sig. 7014.

376.<sup>14</sup> According to the Association's statutes from 1864 and 1895 members were entitled to an additional seat in the synagogue for their spouse. Analysis of membership lists shows that in the discussed period the practice indeed existed that only a head of the family (or a widow) joined the Association, allowing their closest family to benefit from membership. Therefore we can ascertain that the number of people actually belonging to this group (participating in the religious life of the synagogue and agreeing with the ideals it promoted) was significantly higher than the number of members listed in the official register. Considering that, at this time, the average Jewish family had 5 members,<sup>15</sup> it may be assumed that the progressive milieu could have constituted a substantial part of the Jewish population in Kraków at the time – even 7-8% (a maximum estimate). The growth of the Association is reflected well in the architecture of the Tempel synagogue; the building, erected in 1861, was significantly extended in the years 1893-94.<sup>16</sup>

Progressives were also an influential group due to their economical and professional standing. In 1885 almost one third (29%) of the members of the Association were part of the professional intelligentsia (including clerks, lawyers and doctors); 25% were proprietors and another 24% were merchants. Entrepreneurs were also a significant group (9%). Almost absent were craftsmen.<sup>17</sup> Many of the progressives maintained professional bonds with Christian citizens of Kraków and were active outside of the Jewish quarter, Kazimierz. It should be mentioned that the Progressive Association itself facilitated its members' participation in their professional lives by stipulating that, in the case of students, doctors and public officials, the obligation to participate regularly in religious services should be enforced leniently.<sup>18</sup>

The position of progressives within the Jewish community was gradually gaining strength during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, which is reflected, among other factors, in their growing presence in the communal authorities. In 1883 an orthodox rabbi of the community, Simon Sofer, a son of the Hatam Sofer and an ardent opponent of progressives, died.<sup>19</sup> In the same year, progressives succeeded in the communal elections and their representatives – J. Oettinger, Józef Rosenblatt and J.A. Propper, among others – entered the board of the Jewish community and dominated it.<sup>20</sup> The position of the Progressive Association was strengthened further in 1887 when the progressive preacher (Moritz Duschak at that time) was granted a permission to perform wedding ceremonies without the approval of the rabbinate – a privilege for which the Progressive Association had solicited since 1868.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Cf. Sprawozdanie 1900.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Zyblikiewicz 2013, p. 296.

<sup>16</sup> ANK, ABM, ul. Miodowa 24 f. 68; ANK, BM 46, Dz. VIII, 1, p. 112A. On the architecture of the synagogue and the extensions of the building, cf. Zbroja 2005.

<sup>17</sup> My calculations according to ANK, Akta Magistratu, sig. 7014.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Statut 1866: § 29.

<sup>19</sup> On Sofer's hostile attitude towards progressives cf. Manekin 2011, p. 175.

<sup>20</sup> *Izraelita* 1883, no. 41; *Ojczyzna* 1883, no. 21. I am grateful to Prof. R. Manekin for sharing with me her private copy of *Ojczyzna*.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Maślak-Maciejewska 2013, pp. 59-61.

## Social and Charitable Work

Since its foundation, one of the main aims of the Progressive Association was supporting and assisting the needy. This objective was carried out through the Association's "support fund," but the scope of aid provided this way was limited due to financial reasons. The Progressive Association and its members created, participated in and financed numerous other charitable institutions serving various segments of Jewish society – children, youth, widows and the elderly. The main aim of these initiatives was not only to improve the material situation of various social groups but also to instill in them social and civic awareness, a pro-Polish attitude and to encourage them toward intellectual development. Engagement in charitable and social work became one of the pillars of the ideology promoted by the progressive milieu and was presented as a moral responsibility of its members.

The last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century saw a great flourishing of the social initiatives of progressive circles. In these decades progressives set up far more charitable associations than in previous decades, and some of them proved to be durable, existing up until the outbreak of the Second World War. Particular attention was paid by progressives to children and youth. Impoverished schoolchildren were supported extensively by the Association of Support of Poor Disciples of Mosaic Faith (*Stowarzyszenie Wsparcia Biednych Uczniów Wyznania Mojżeszowego*), founded in 1877. Every year it provided hundreds of children with textbooks, shoes and clothes, and sometimes also assisted them financially.<sup>22</sup> In 1887 the Association extended its activities and launched a new initiative – a free dining hall for boys and girls who were attending school in the Kazimierz quarter. Although the institution was founded, financed and managed by Jews, it was open for Christian children as well.<sup>23</sup> In 1890 the Association for Curative Summer Camps for Jewish Children (*Towarzystwo Lecznicznych Kolonii Wakacyjnych dla Izraelickiej Działwy Szkolnej*) was launched, and by 1939 sent out more than 10,000 underprivileged children, often those diagnosed with tuberculosis, for a summer stay in the Rabka resort.<sup>24</sup> Progressives also continued their support for another initiative, the Aid Association for Poor Jewish Boys (*Stowarzyszenie Wsparcia Biednych Chłopców Starozakonnych*), founded in 1866.<sup>25</sup> In the 1880s progressives constituted two thirds of the association board, and their support for the institution was steady and significant in the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>26</sup> Although at that time children remained the main focus of progressives, they also organized and supported associations for adults. Among the most active of such associations launched and active in this period are: the Women's Association for Supporting Jewish Widows (1874), the Association for Support of the Jewish Elderly (1873) and literacy courses for Jewish adults (1897). Progressives also opened and supported institutions that had educational and scientific aims, such as Sfas

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<sup>22</sup> Cf. Statut [1876]; Sprawozdanie 1878; Sprawozdanie 1880; Sprawozdanie 1883; Sprawozdanie 1886.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. *Ojczyzna* 1887, no. 16; 1888, no. 21.

<sup>24</sup> My calculation according to *Towarzystwo* 1929; Sprawozdanie 1939.

<sup>25</sup> More on this initiative in the period before the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, cf. Kozińska-Witt 1999a, pp. 157-159. On Dankowicz's extensive involvement in the work of this association, cf. Maślak-Maciejewska 2013, pp. 66-67.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Sprawozdanie 1893; Sprawozdanie 1896.

Emes (1893), which aimed at promoting Hebrew language and Hebrew literature, or the Ezra library (1899). The support of progressives for the above-mentioned institutions was multidimensional: they entered their boards, became their members, supported them financially, promoted them and organized meetings or celebrations connected to their activities in the Tempel building.

## Religious Life

Kraków progressives did not frequently discuss their religious stance or their expectations regarding liturgy and synagogue services. Rare statements on this topic, however, reveal that progressives perceived themselves simultaneously as traditional and sensitive to the aesthetic needs of modern times. In 1883 one of the leaders of this milieu, Jonathan Warschauer, characterized the difference between the orthodox and progressives by saying that the latter did not have any religious dogmas that differed from the orthodox, but they prayed in the “European way,” paying attention to order during the service and to a dignified atmosphere.<sup>27</sup>

In the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, similarly to the previous decades, the service in the Kraków Tempel was organized according to the Vienna Rite. A special emphasis was put on the decorum and elegance of the service, and a choir was introduced.<sup>28</sup> Hebrew liturgy was retained with only a few elements in other languages: a prayer for the emperor, which was said in German, and Polish patriotic prayers and songs – such as *Boże coś Jude*, popular in Kraków since 1882 – which were recited at the end of the service. Similar to Vienna and many other synagogues in the Habsburg Empire, a modern sermon was also introduced in Kraków. First it was delivered in German, in 1868-1875 in Polish, and after 1877 again in German. Only in the last decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was a Polish sermon reintroduced. Differently than in Vienna, from the very beginning the Kraków Tempel had a small organ (harmonium),<sup>29</sup> not used, however, during Shabbat. It should be assumed that introduction of harmonium to the Kraków progressive synagogue was due to influences coming from Prague. The introduction of organs to the Old Schul in 1837, used mainly for weddings and liturgy outside of Shabbat, was the most important modification of Vienna Rite made in Prague, which had otherwise adopted the Viennese model.<sup>30</sup> The existence of this inspiration on Kraków was confirmed in 1885 by the progressives themselves who, in a letter sent to the Vice-Regency in Lviv, referred to the similarities between the Kraków Tempel and the Old synagogue in Prague.<sup>31</sup> They acknowledged that religious services in these synagogues were held in the same way, “according to the modern forms.” They also added that the association that administered

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<sup>27</sup> Cf. *Nowa Reforma* 1883, no. 47.

<sup>28</sup> In the interwar period the choir was already mixed; this change might have been introduced earlier. Unfortunately no sources were found which could confirm when this transition took place.

<sup>29</sup> *Die Neuzeit* 1861, no. 14.

<sup>30</sup> Meyer 1995, p. 153; Fruhauf 2009, pp. 24, 78. About discussion on organs in Vienna, cf. Fruhauf 2009, pp. 38-39.

<sup>31</sup> They referred to the present “Spanish Synagogue.” The building of the „Old synagogue” was razed in 1867 and a year later at its site the new synagogue was built, only later called the “Spanish Synagogue.”

the Old Synagogue (Association for the Improvement of Jewish Worship) had the same goals as the Kraków Progressive Association.<sup>32</sup>

The progressive milieu in Warsaw had also an impact on Kraków progressive circles. It appears that the pro-Polish attitude of Kraków progressives might have been reinforced by impulses hailing from the Polish Kingdom. Festive Polish patriotic services, organized regularly in the Kraków Tempel in the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, were organized for the first time in October 1861 on the same day as the Polish-Jewish patriotic manifestations in Warsaw. They were organized for the second time in 1869, the central part of which was a Polish sermon delivered by Szymon Dankowicz (1834-1910) – a preacher who came to Kraków from Warsaw, where he was active in progressive circles and presumably was a pupil of Marcus Jastrow, a rabbi famous for his patriotic activity.<sup>33</sup> Having a command of the Polish language, Dankowicz was able to preach and teach in this language, which became greatly important in the Polonizing progressive circles of Kraków. In the discussed period Kraków progressives regularly read *Izraelita* – the most important Warsaw periodical edited in Polish by progressive Jews. Kraków's progressives not only sent their correspondences and private announcements to this journal, but also, in 1889, announced on its pages the opening of the preacher position in Kraków's Tempel.<sup>34</sup>

Last three decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century saw a stabilization of synagogue life in Kraków's Tempel. In 1867 the Progressive Association appointed Józef Fischer as cantor of the synagogue. Fischer kept this position for almost half a century, until his death in 1914.<sup>35</sup> Thus his appointment ended a period in the history of this milieu, when it did not have a permanent cantor. Fischer was a very charismatic figure and soon became one of the leaders of the progressive milieu. Besides his work in Tempel he was also the owner of a flourishing publishing house, which printed statutes and reports of the Progressive Association and of other various charitable associations it supported. His publishing house also printed works of progressive leaders (including Izaak Cyłkow, a preacher in Warsaw) and renowned Jewish writers, such as Hayim Nahman Bialik. As a cantor in Tempel, in addition to leading prayers, Fischer was also the choir conductor and its mentor. Supposedly due to his ardent Polish patriotism and his fluency in the Polish language, the tradition of organizing pro-Polish patriotic manifestations in the Tempel synagogue prevailed even in periods when there was no Polish-speaking preacher. Moreover, it was only in the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century that organizing Polish patriotic manifestations became a regular custom in Tempel, which lasted until the outbreak of the Second World War. Progressives celebrated occasions such as the anniversaries of the adoption of the Constitution of May 3<sup>rd</sup>, the anniversary of the Battle of Vienna and various anniversaries and celebrations commemorating Polish writers, especially Adam Mickiewicz.<sup>36</sup> Involvement in organizing such ceremonies did not contradict with celebrations honoring the Habsburgs, which were organized simultaneously.

<sup>32</sup> ANK, Akta Magistratu, sig. 7014.

<sup>33</sup> More on Dankowicz's activities in Warsaw cf. Maślak-Maciejewska 2013, pp. 24-50. More on Jastrow, cf. Galas 2013.

<sup>34</sup> *Izraelita* 1889, no. 14.

<sup>35</sup> *Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny* 1914, no. 72; *Nowości Ilustrowane* 1914, no. 14; Bałaban 1936, p. 512. I am grateful to Mr. E. Duda for sharing the information about the latter source with me.

<sup>36</sup> More on these celebrations cf. Maślak-Maciejewska 2012.

The stabilization in synagogue life was reflected, however, primarily in the fact that, for the majority of the period under discussion, Tempel had a permanent preacher. Expectations regarding his service included not only delivering regular sermons and fulfilling the religious needs of progressives (such as assisting wedding ceremonies), but also teaching religion in Kraków's secondary schools, which became a customary duty of progressive preachers since the late 1860s.

## **Preachers – Moritz Duschak and Samuel Landau**

When Dankowicz left Kraków in 1875, presumably due to his unstable position and conflicts pertaining to his salary, the progressive synagogue was left without a preacher. It took the progressives two years to find a proper candidate for this position.

In 1877 the position was granted to Moritz Duschak (1815-1890).<sup>37</sup> Duschak was born in Moravia; in his youth he studied with rabbi Joachim Pollak and after that moved to Bratislava [Pressburg] to study in the orthodox yeshiva of the Hatam Sofer. Although he probably was expelled from the yeshiva because of his growing interest in secular knowledge, he appreciated and referred to the formation he received there until the end of his life. In 1839, after successfully passing the gymnasium exams, he entered the Philosophical Faculty of the Prague University where, in 1842, he received his PhD.<sup>38</sup> Before coming to Kraków, Duschak served as a rabbi in several communities: Habern, Aussee and Gaya, where he spent more than two decades (1855-1877). During his stay in Gaya, Duschak published many halachic and historical works and became known as a prominent Talmudic scholar. His religious stance at that time was conservative and might be called “modernized traditionalism” and “anti-Reform”. In the 1840s Duschak spoke openly against the proposals of the conferences of reformed rabbis – he disagreed with the proposal to modify the circumcision ritual, spoke openly against abandoning observance of the second day of festivals and disagreed vigorously with Samuel Holdheim's proposal to move Shabbat from Saturday to Sunday.<sup>39</sup> His views on the reform of Judaism were similar to those of Zacharias Frankel. Duschak, along with rabbis such as Michael Sachs, Shlomo Jehuda Rapaport and Heinrich Graetz, supported Frankel's idea to organize the “Conference of Theologians” (Theologen-Versammlung), which was supposed to bring together rabbis and scholars who had conservative views but strived for progress based on the historical nature of Judaism.<sup>40</sup>

In the 1870s the Kraków progressive milieu was already Polonized and the newly hired preacher was expected to preach and teach religion in this language. While granted a post, Duschak was obliged to learn Polish within three years of his nomination. Sources confirm that he undertook this task, but never achieved a language fluency that would allow him to freely express himself.<sup>41</sup> Although he tried to teach religion in Polish

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<sup>37</sup> Cf. BHR I; Heller 1930.

<sup>38</sup> AUK Katalog; BHR I.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Duschak 1846.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Frankel 1846a; 1846b.

<sup>41</sup> *Czas* 1878, no. 79; 1878, no. 108.

(he was a teacher of Mosaic religion in gymnasia),<sup>42</sup> presumably for the whole period of his tenure in Tempel, the weekly sermons were delivered in German – Duschak's first language, and in which he published. The only exceptions were Polish patriotic manifestations during which Duschak would say a prayer in Polish and give a short speech in the language. By doing this Duschak fulfilled the expectations of his position but, unlike his predecessor Dankowicz, he did not engage in any other Polish patriotic activities. He did, however, express his loyalty to the Habsburg monarchy many times by dedicating his work to the monarchy and the emperor and praising them. The only preserved sermon from this period is one consecrated to the emperor.<sup>43</sup>

Although Duschak was a former student of the Hatam Sofer, an ultra-orthodox leader, his arrival to Kraków did not result in any significant betterment of progressive-orthodox relations in this city. He was never welcomed by the leader of Kraków orthodoxy and son of the Hatam Sofer, Shimon Sofer. However, owing to his halachic knowledge and status as a Talmudic authority, Duschak gained some recognition in the orthodox circles of Kraków's Jewry. He even became a teacher of orthodox children and youth who would visit him at home to study together.<sup>44</sup>

During his tenure, Duschak engaged in expanding in Kraków the activity of the Israelitische Allianz zu Wien, an institution initiated by Viennese preacher Adolf Jellinek, whose aim was to advocate emancipation, modernization and cultural standing of Jews via extensive educational work.<sup>45</sup> In March 1881 a branch of the Allianz, presided by Duschak, opened in Kraków and attracted many leaders of the Progressive Association, among others J. Warschauer, J. Oettinger and J. Rosenblatt.<sup>46</sup> Duschak hoped that the support of this organization would facilitate the establishment of a religious school for Jewish youth, an idea he promoted since the 1860s and which was never fulfilled. Thanks to Allianz support, another institution did, however, open in Kraków – the School for Training Jewish Craftsmen, for orphaned boys. The school offered instruction in carpentry, ironwork and carving, combined with fostering Polish patriotism. Its opening in 1889 became a great success of Kraków's progressives.<sup>47</sup> At that time Duschak was no longer present in Kraków – already in 1888 he left for Vienna, where he died two years later on July 21, 1890.<sup>48</sup>

The moment Duschak resigned from his position, the Progressive Association started a search for his successor – a candidate fluent in Polish, having philosophical training and a graduate of a rabbinical seminary. Despite serious difficulties in finding a proper candidate (no one answered the first job announcement), the Progressive Association managed to hire a preacher by 1890. The person hired was Samuel Landau, whose biography is difficult to reconstruct due to some contradictions in the sources. Landau was born in 1854, presumably in Będzin. In the 1880s he studied in Berlin's Hildesheimer's

<sup>42</sup> Landau 1937, p. 7.

<sup>43</sup> Duschak 1878; 1883; 1888.

<sup>44</sup> Bader 1953, p. 199.

<sup>45</sup> More on this institution, cf. Siegel 2010.

<sup>46</sup> Jahresbericht 1882.

<sup>47</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1887, no. 4; 1888, no. 11, p. 19; 1889, no. 13. The building of the school was financed by Arnold Rapaport, a member of the Progressive Association.

<sup>48</sup> He was buried at Zentralfriedhof; his gravestone is well-preserved.



Rabbinerseminars.<sup>49</sup> Simultaneously he commenced philosophical studies at Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, which he continued at the University in Halle, where in 1888 he received his doctorate.<sup>50</sup> Some sources suggest that after receiving his title he moved to Hannover to take a rabbinic position there. Even if he did, already in 1889 he participated in the competition for the preacher post in Kraków. Sources are inconclusive as to whether he had a command of the Polish language at that time or if he had committed to learn it within a reasonable period of time.<sup>51</sup> It should be assumed that he had a basic knowledge of the language and mastered it quickly. Already in December 1891 he was able to deliver sermons in Polish.<sup>52</sup> Unfortunately none of them were published and no detailed records pertaining to their content exist.

During his stay in Kraków, Landau, similarly to his predecessors Dankowicz and Duschak, engaged extensively in social and charitable activities. He became a board member of the Aid Association for Poor Jewish Boys, and of the Ezra Library.<sup>53</sup> In 1894 he assumed the role of president of the Sfas Emes association and as such vigorously engaged in the cultural and educational activities of this institution.<sup>54</sup>

One of Landau's initiatives was founding a private religious school for boys and girls in Kraków, which opened in the preacher's own apartment in 1894. Instruction was given in Polish three times a week in the afternoons. Children learned Bible and Halacha: boys additionally received instruction in reading and writing in Hebrew, translating prayers and the Bible; girls, in reading Hebrew, writing in Yiddish and translating prayers. The institution was modeled on other schools existing in Wrocław, Leipzig, Szczecin and Hanover.<sup>55</sup>

In 1897 the Progressive Association hired a new preacher, Ozjasz Thon, who on June 26, 1899 became a progressive rabbi. The new statute of the Jewish community, adopted in 1897, provided that there should be two rabbis in Kraków – communal and progressive, whose activities would pertain exclusively to the members of the Progressive Association.<sup>56</sup> This change meant a considerable strengthening of the position of the Progressive Association, which already for a few decades had endeavored to strengthen the position of its preacher. In the next decades, tradition established that, besides a progressive rabbi, the Progressive Association hired a preacher whose activities were ancillary to the du-

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<sup>49</sup> At that time there were two Samuels Landaus at the Seminary and the yearly school reports, including the jubilee report published in 1898, confuse one with another. One S. Landau was born in Warsaw and is listed as a student of the seminary in 1881 to 1886 and later as rabbi in Hanover. Another S. Landau[er], born in Będzin, studied only one year 1878/79. According to the jubilee report, the Landau who received position in Kraków was a graduate of the seminary (which might suggest that he studied longer than one year) and was born in Będzin, cf. Bericht 1898; Jahres-Bericht [1879]; Jahres-Bericht [1882]. The Landau who was later appointed as a preacher in Kraków stated himself that he was born in Będzin. His doctorate was published in Hanover, which might suggest his bonds with this city. Landau's biography requires further study, especially since scarce existing literature confuses not only the two above mentioned Landau's but also third one, Samuel Izaak Landau, a rabbi in Sochaczew (1876-1916), cf. BHR II; Hildesheimer, Eliav 1996, p. 68; Hildesheimer, Eliav 2008, p. 167.

<sup>50</sup> Landau 1888.

<sup>51</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1890, no. 12; 1891, no. 8.

<sup>52</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1892, no. 1.

<sup>53</sup> Sprawozdanie 1901.

<sup>54</sup> *Sprawiedliwość* 1894, no. 21.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>56</sup> Statut 1901 § 30.

ties of the rabbi. In the interwar period, this post was granted to Samuel Schmelkes, and two years after Thon's death (and successive nomination of Schmelkes as a progressive rabbi), to Hirsch Pfeffer.<sup>57</sup> The question of whether Thon's nomination for the preacher post, and successively as a progressive rabbi, resulted in Landau's dismissal from his position, requires further research. It should be noted, however, that at the time Landau still lived in Kraków, he participated actively in communal life and became a member of the rabbinate. He also shared teaching duties with Thon in secondary schools.<sup>58</sup>

## Summary

The last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century should be assessed as a favorable period in the history of the Kraków progressive milieu, in which it significantly grew, broadened its influences and launched several successful charitable initiatives. There were, however, areas in which it was less successful. One of them was finding a proper candidate for the preacher position. Presumably, the most important competence which the progressive milieu sought in a prospective preacher was a university degree and interest in secular studies – this is the only condition, unlike a fluency in the Polish language, which had never been compromised and which, according to progressives was a feature of a “modern rabbi.” In 1875-77 and 1888-90 Tempel was left without a spiritual leader due to the lack of candidates meeting all the requirements and willing to take the position for a relatively low salary. Awareness of the lack of rabbis who would be well-educated, both religiously and academically, and fluent in the Polish language became a reason why progressives in the 1880s proposed opening a rabbinical seminary to educate “Polish rabbis” and include in their curriculum subjects such as Polish literature and the history of Jews in Polish lands. The school, which never opened, was supposed to be modeled on rabbinical seminaries in Wrocław and Pest, and educate rabbis who would serve not only Kraków Jewry, but also other Jewish communities in Polish lands.<sup>59</sup>

In the period discussed the entirety of religious life in Kraków's Tempel remained relatively traditional, although it adopted some innovations, such as a choir and harmonium (not used however during Shabbat), regular sermons, holding wedding ceremonies inside the synagogue, and put emphasis on decorum. In terms of a religious standpoint, Kraków progressives were strongly influenced by the positive-historical Judaism of Zacharias Frankel, by Prague and Vienna's synagogues and by other progressive synagogues in Polish lands (Warsaw, Lviv). They openly opposed German propositions of Reform of Judaism and did not identify themselves with this movement. This modernized traditionalism is especially visible in the biographies of preachers hired at the Tempel in the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, who both studied in orthodox institutions.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Maślak-Maciejewska 2015.

<sup>58</sup> *Sprawiedliwość* 1899, no. 19, p. 22.

<sup>59</sup> *Nowa Reforma* 1884, no. 5.

<sup>60</sup> Proofreading: Kathryn Bailey.

## ABBREVIATIONS

ANK = National Archive in Kraków.

AUK Katalogy = Archiv Univerzity Karlova v Praze, Katalogy posluchačů Karlo-Ferdinandovy univerzity 1755-1882 (1892), Filosofická fakulta, inventarní číslo 427, Cataloge über die philosophischen Obligatstudien des Iten und Iiten Jahrgangs an der K.K. Universität zu Prag im Schuljahre 1839: p. 39.

Bericht 1898 = *Das Rabbiner-Seminar zu Berlin. Bericht über die ersten fünf und zwanzig Jahre seines Bestehens (1873-1898)*, Berlin.

BHR I = *Duschak, Moritz*. In: *Biographisches Handbuch der Rabbiner, Teil I: Die Rabbiner der Emanzipationszeit in den deutschen, böhmischen und großpolnischen Ländern 1781-1871*, Bd. 1: Aach-Juspa, Stuttgart: pp. 256-258.

BHR II = *Landau, Samuel*. In: *Biographisches Handbuch der Rabbiner, Teil II: Die Rabbiner im Deutschen Reich, 1871-1945*, Bd. 1: Aaron-Kusznitzki, Stuttgart: p. 362.

Jaresbericht 1882 = *Neunter Jahresbericht der Israelitischen Allianz zu Wien erstattet in der neunten ordentlichen Gemeinde-Versammlung*, Wien.

Jahres-Bericht [1879] = *Jahres-Bericht des Rabbiner-Seminars für das orthodoxe Judentum pro 5639 (1878-1879) vom Curatorium*, Berlin.

Jahres-Bericht [1882] = *Jahres-Bericht des Rabbiner-Seminars zu Berlin pro 5642 (1881-1882) vom Curatorium*, Berlin.

Sprawozdanie 1872 = *Sprawozdanie z dochodów i wydatków stowarzyszenia „Domu modlitwy i wsparcia” w roku 1871 oraz budżet na rok 1872*, Kraków.

Sprawozdanie 1878 = *Sprawozdanie kasowe. Stow. ku wsparciu uczniów szkół średnich wyz. Mojżeszowego w Krakowie*, Kraków.

Sprawozdanie 1880 = *IV. Sprawozdanie roczne Stowarzyszenia ku wsparciu uczniów szkół średnich i ludowych wyz. mojżeszowego w Krakowie*, Kraków.

Sprawozdanie 1883 = *VI. Sprawozdanie roczne Stowarzyszenia ku wsparciu uczniów szkół średnich i ludowych wyznania mojżeszowego*, Kraków.

Sprawozdanie 1886 = *IX. Sprawozdanie roczne Stowarzyszenia ku wsparciu ubogich uczniów wyzn. mojż. w Krakowie od 4 lutego 1885 do 24 stycznia r. 1886*, Kraków.

Sprawozdanie 1893 = *Dwudzieste siódme sprawozdanie zarządu Stowarzyszenia wsparcia biednych chłopców starozakonnych pod godłem „opiekujcie się synami ubogich” za czas od 1-go Grudnia 1892 do 30-go Listopada 1893*, Kraków.

Sprawozdanie 1896 = *Trzydzieste sprawozdanie zarządu stowarzyszenia wsparcia biednych chłopców starozakonnych pod godłem „opiekujcie się synami ubogich” za czas od 1-go grudnia 1895 do 30-go listopada 1896*, Kraków.

Sprawozdanie 1899 = *Sprawozdanie przełożenia Stowarzyszenia Izraelitów Postępowych w Krakowie za rok administracyjny 1898/99 przygotowane na Walne Zgromadzenie w dniu 24 września 1899 odbyć się mające*, Kraków.

Sprawozdanie 1900 = *Sprawozdanie przełożenia Stowarzyszenia Izraelitów Postępowych w Krakowie za rok administracyjny 1899/1900*, Kraków.

Sprawozdanie 1901 = *Sprawozdanie Wydziału Towarzystwa biblioteki i czytelnicy publicznej „Esra” w Krakowie za czas od 25. października 1899 do 25. grudnia 1900*, Kraków.

Sprawozdanie 1939 = *Sprawozdanie Towarzystwa Rabczańskiej Kolonii Leczniczej dla żydowskiej diatywy szkolnej im. Marii Fraenkowej w Krakowie z okazji pięćdziesięciolecia istnienia*, Kraków.

Statut 1857 = *Statut des Bet- und Unterstützungshauses der deutschen Israeliten in Krakau [1843]*, Krakau.

Statut 1866 = *Statut des Bet und Unterstützungs-Vereines der die Civilisation anstrebenden Israeliten in Krakau*, Krakau.

Statut [1876] = *Statut Stowarzyszenia Wsparcia Uczniów Szkół Średnich Wyznania Mojżeszowego w Krakowie, Nakładem Stow. wsparcia uczniów szkół średnich wyz. mojżesz.*, Kraków.

Statut 1895 = *Statut Stowarzyszenia Izraelitów Postępowych w Krakowie*, Kraków.

Statut 1901 = *Statut Gminy Wyznaniowej Izraelickiej w Krakowie. Statuten der Israelitischen Cultusgemeinde in Krakau, zatwierdzony reskryptem Wys. C.K. Namiestnictwa we Lwowie z dnia 8. listopada 1897 L. 62931 I z dnia 25. kwietnia 1900 L. 5155*, Kraków.

Towarzystwo 1929 = *Towarzystwo Rabczańskej Kolonii Leczniczej dla żydowskiej dziatwy szkolnej w Krakowie. Sprawozdanie jubileuszowe z powodu 40-tej wysyłki dziatwy do Rabki*, Kraków.

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## THE FAILURE OF THE INTEGRATION OF GALICIAN JEWS ACCORDING TO LVOV'S *OJCZYŻNA* (1881-1892)

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**Key words:** integrationist, integration, assimilation, Polonization, Lvov, Galicia, Polish-Jewish relations, anti-Semitism

**Abstract:** The article is devoted to the pro-Polish integrationist group, an important part of the modernizing section of the Jewish community in Poland, in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The author focuses on *Ojczyzna*, a Polish-language bulletin and the first regular Polish-language newspaper of the pro-Polish integrationist group in Galicia. The study is an attempt to show how the idea of integration was finally abandoned at the turn of the century, and integration ceased to be seen as the solution to “the Jewish question.”

### Introduction

The pro-Polish integrationist<sup>1</sup> group was an important part of the modernizing section of the Jewish community in Poland. Its origins date back to the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. It was at this point that Haskalah (the Jewish Enlightenment) began to take root in Galicia.<sup>2</sup> In the early days, the most influential leaders of the Haskalah movement were Menachem Mendel Lefin and his famous disciples, Joseph Perl (1773-1839) and Nachman Krochmal. The main centers of the movement were the towns of Brody, Lemberg (Lvov, now Lviv), and Tarnopol. Unlike in the Kingdom of Poland, right from the beginning a prominent characteristic of Haskalah in Galicia was its uncompromising struggle against Hasidism.<sup>3</sup> In contrast to the Kingdom of Poland, in Galicia the Haskalah movement was not deeply immersed in the Polish language and Polish culture; in Kingdom of Poland these sympathies could be described as a Polish version of integration with

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<sup>1</sup> In the use of the term “integrationist” (instead of “assimilationist”) I follow Mendelsohn’s (but also Wodziński’s) suggestion. The term “assimilation” – with its implication of total ethnic and cultural effacement – seems to be less accurate than “integration.” Theodore R. Weeks (2005, pp. 26-27) has pointed out that “The Polish term *asymilacja* [...] was used from the 1850s to the early twentieth century in a rather imprecise manner, probably quite unconsciously” and even the weekly “*Izraelita*” the foremost “assimilationist” journal in Poland, “aimed not at an obliteration of Jewishness but at the transformation and further development of Jewish religious and cultural traditions as ‘Poles of the Mosaic Law’.” Cf. Mendelsohn 1993, p. 16; Wodziński 2003, p. 16; Weeks 2005, pp. 26-27.

<sup>2</sup> For further details on the early Haskalah in Galicia, see: Mahler 1985; Sorkin 2004; Sinkoff 2004.

<sup>3</sup> For broader treatment of the attitude of the maskilim (in the Kingdom of Poland) towards the hasidim, see Wodziński 2003.

wider European culture.<sup>4</sup> In Galicia it was different. Lwów served as the capital of Austrian Galicia, and was dominated by the pro-German Jewish intelligentsia. Moreover, this particular branch of the Haskalah movement was very much attached to the German language and culture. German was the *Universal-Sprache*, the language of German liberalism.<sup>5</sup> The foundations for deeper integration were also much weaker in Galicia than in the Kingdom of Poland, where the movement had relatively quickly evolved from the Haskalah stance towards an integrationist ideology, and from Haskalah's loyalism to pro-Polish patriotism.<sup>6</sup> Here, the heralded end to the concept of modernization in the spirit of Haskalah and the evolution towards a greater degree of integration (unacceptable to the supporters of the Haskalah) came much later than in Warsaw.

The period of "Polish-Jewish fraternity"<sup>7</sup> (1861-1863) that preceded the January Uprising and the crisis of monarchy (as a consequence of the Franco-Austrian War and the Austro-Prussian War) accelerated the evolution of linguistic and cultural identity towards Polish national identity.<sup>8</sup> In the Kingdom of Poland, the integrationist group began publishing its own regular press organ (*Izraelita*) in 1866 (and a little earlier, between 1861 and 1863, *Jutrzenka*), while their counterparts in Galicia did so in 1881. Unlike in Krakow, the pro-Polish integrationists in Lwów were in the minority (until the 1880s).<sup>9</sup> Lwów as the capital of the province was a center of the German administration in Galicia and was prone to German influence. This changed at the end of the 1860s as a result of the Polonization of the city after the *Ausgleich* of 1867 (also called the Composition of 1867).<sup>10</sup> The first, ephemeral Lwów society for Jewish-Polish cooperation was founded in 1868. Filip Zucker, who has been described as "the first Polish-Jewish patriot in Lwów," appointed for life the Society of Israelites for the Spreading of Education and Civic Consciousness among Galician Jews (*Towarzystwo Izraelitów ku szerzeniu oświaty i obywatelskości pomiędzy żydostwem galicyjskim*).<sup>11</sup>

From 1869, *Der Israelit* (the organ of the pro-Austrian Schomer Israel<sup>12</sup>) appeared in the style of the German Enlightenment, but in German with Hebrew letters. In 1877, Bernard Goldman and Filip Zucker founded the agent of Polonization *Doreshei Shalom* ("Seekers of Peace") and published the journal *Zgoda*, which functioned only until 1878.<sup>13</sup>

Ultimately, the first regular Polish-language newspaper, *Ojczyzna* ("Fatherland"), was founded by a pro-Polish integrationist group in 1881.<sup>14</sup> As E. Mendelsohn and

<sup>4</sup> Wodziński 2004, p. 25.

<sup>5</sup> Niemczyzna, *Ojczyzna* 1886, no. 7, p. 26.

<sup>6</sup> Wodziński 2003, pp. 26, 32.

<sup>7</sup> For a broader treatment of the period of "Polish-Jewish fraternity," see Opalski, Bartal 1992; Wodziński 2003; Galas 2007.

<sup>8</sup> Wodziński 2004, p. 35; see also Wodziński 2003. In the Kingdom of Poland an important factor was "Odwilż posewastopolska" (1860-1881).

<sup>9</sup> For a broader treatment of the uniqueness of Kraków in Galicia, and the pro-Polish integrationist group there, see e.g. Maślak-Maciejewska 2012; Galas 2012.

<sup>10</sup> For further details on the pro-German Jewish intelligentsia in Lwów, see e.g. Kopff-Muszyńska 1992.

<sup>11</sup> *Prace nad uspołecznieniem Żydów*, *Ojczyzna* 1884, no. 10, p. 39. See also Polonsky 2010, p. 124.

<sup>12</sup> Schomer Israel ('Guardian of Israel') was established in Lwów, 1867. The organization promoted German culture among the Jews in Galicia (as a crucial element in the modernization of the Jews in Galicia) and loyalty to the Habsburg Dynasty. For further details on Schomer Israel, see e.g. Mendelsohn 1969; Kopff-Muszyńska 1992.

<sup>13</sup> *Prace nad uspołecznieniem Żydów*, *Ojczyzna* 1884, no. 10, p. 39.

<sup>14</sup> They strengthened their position then (also within the Jewish community).



Manekin rightly pointed out, its founders came from the younger generation of graduates from the gymnasia and from among university students, who were already “equipped with the linguistic and cultural skills necessary to facilitate their integration with their Polish surroundings.”<sup>15</sup> As Mendelsohn aptly noted, “a new generation of intellectuals supported the Polish cause out of conviction,”<sup>16</sup> not of political necessity. For them, the Polish language had an emotional value. As in the Kingdom of Poland, the establishment of a Polish-language newspaper marked the end of “a discussion behind closed doors.”<sup>17</sup> *Ojczyzna* was issued from 1881 to 1892, and it also contained a Hebrew supplement called *Ha-Mazkir* (ceased in 1886). *Ha-Mazkir* was formed by traditional maskilim, who had accepted a proposal of collaboration from the newly formed pro-Polish intelligentsia.<sup>18</sup> *Ojczyzna* was the Galician counterpart of *Izraelita*,<sup>19</sup> a Jewish-Polish weekly published in Warsaw. Both *Ojczyzna* and Agudas Ahim (Association of Brothers), established later – in 1882 – were open for cooperation with Poles. And indeed, its membership also included some Christian Poles (this group constituted about 10 percent of all subscribers).<sup>20</sup> Like the earlier *Zgoda*, the biweekly tried to popularize the Polish language, culture and history, stimulate patriotism, and sever the traditional connection of Galician Jewry to German language and culture. In brief – to promote integration into the Polish nation, but without complete assimilation. It must be noted that, despite being opposed to religious traditionalism and the use of Yiddish (“zargon,” or “jargon”) and external markers of Jewish distinctiveness, *Ojczyzna* would maintain Jewish religious identity.<sup>21</sup>

In order to achieve their goals, integrationists fought against social separation, and did this more radically than the proponents of Haskalah had ever done before. As in the case of *Izraelita*, the program of reforms was at first focused almost exclusively on “amending” the Jewish side.<sup>22</sup> This approach was predominant in their journalism, especially in the first half of the 1880s. They ruthlessly criticized the separation present in language (“jargon,” “German”), culture and civilization (zealotry, backwardness, attire), as well as indifference towards domestic political affairs. Both *Ojczyzna* and the Association of Brothers were promoting Polonization through the establishment of libraries, reading rooms and schools, series of lectures, and also through the organization of patriotic ceremonies commemorating great Polish anniversaries (e.g. the bicentenary of the Battle of Vienna).<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Manekin 2010, p. 121.

<sup>16</sup> Mendelsohn 1969, p. 581.

<sup>17</sup> See also Wodziński 2003, p. 160.

<sup>18</sup> For further details on the *Ha-Mazkir*, see Manekin 2010.

<sup>19</sup> Mendelsohn 2002, p. 15.

<sup>20</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1882, no. 12, p. 48. Agudas Ahim was a cultural and social organization also founded in Lwów. In 1882, upon its establishment, it turned the biweekly *Ojczyzna* into its official organ. An interesting study of the Agudas Achim can be found in Kopff-Muszyńska 1992; Soboń 2009; Manekin 2010; Soboń 2011; Maślak-Maciejewska 2014.

<sup>21</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1884, no. 5, p. 17.

<sup>22</sup> Kołodziejska 2014, p. 113.

<sup>23</sup> Maślak-Maciejewska 2014, pp. 182-185.

## The deadlock of integration

The history of *Ojczyzna*, however short, can be divided into consecutive phases. The early years were marked by somewhat exaggerated enthusiasm and naive faith in the eventual success of the program. In the second half of 1880s the tone changed to a more mature and matter-of-fact one, and in the early '90s it was a sense of disillusionment and apathy that became prevalent. The shift in tone and atmosphere was followed by a similar change in the subjects discussed and the assessment of the situation.

In an issue from 1885 we read “we happily observe (...), that a sense of citizenship takes deeper roots in the organism of society (...), that Polishness becomes more and more spread.”<sup>24</sup> This enthusiastic claim is followed by a list of achievements:

More and more Jewish students attend public schools. The medieval cheders are disappearing. Nowadays, one can find many evening schools and reading rooms that are being established in the cities to promote the Polish language.<sup>25</sup>

The “German” jargon – along with backwardness a major subject for the editors of *Ojczyzna* – also seemed to recede. *Ojczyzna* noted that “Lvov’s ‘Israelit’ changes its name to ‘Izraelita’”<sup>26</sup> (as it happens the change proved to be short-lived) or that the most “German” town of Brody now had its own Polish-Jewish newspaper – *Kronika*.

## In the face of Zionism

The emerging Zionist movement was not noticed by the editors of *Ojczyzna* until quite late – the first mentions appear in late 1883/early 1884. At first it was considered to be “not worthy of attention.” This seems to have changed after the “Palestinian-patriotic demonstration” organized by Józef Kobak and Ruben Bierer in Lvov. This is also when the student association Kadima – established in Vienna in 1882 – was first mentioned. Kadima’s support for settlement in Palestine and rejection of assimilation drew many young Jews from Central and Eastern Europe, Galicia in particular, according to *Ojczyzna*. In December 1883 the members of Kadima strongly condemned integration, “especially in Galicia, as it is a betrayal and a disgrace for the Jews.”<sup>27</sup> To make things worse, similar statements could be heard in Lvov:

We, the progressive Jews (in our attire, language and behavior) join the ranks of extreme conservatives. Along with them, bowing our heads before the idols of superstition, before the miracle-workers, we yearn for strict national independence for our coreligionists.<sup>28</sup>

The new ideology was referred to as “the pan-Jewish idea,” “the pan-Judea movement”<sup>29</sup> or “the all-Jewish current,”<sup>30</sup> the Zionists were called “nationalists,”<sup>31</sup> “our

<sup>24</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1885, no. 1, p. 1.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1884, no. 1, p. 3.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>29</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1892, no. 1, p. 1.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1885, no. 5, p. 17.

Palestinians,<sup>32</sup> or – somewhat patronizingly – “our dreamers,”<sup>33</sup> “the knights of Palestinian utopia”<sup>34</sup> and “slackers.”<sup>35</sup> The prospects of the new movement were judged harshly: “let’s not even talk about it,”<sup>36</sup> “we don’t know whether to laugh or cry,”<sup>37</sup> “it’s a utopia, nothing more, and there is no reason to think that it will ever succeed,”<sup>38</sup> “the possibility of a separate Jewish state is not something to be taken seriously into account.”<sup>39</sup>

Zionism forced *Ojczyzna* (and *Izraelita*) to deal with the issue of Jewish ethnicity. “There is a certain tribalism and spiritual connection among the Jews, but is it enough to call them a separate nation? Absolutely not!”<sup>40</sup> The aspects that could define a nation – “language, thought, customs, ideals and common goals (...) have already been lost by the Jews and they are left with nothing.”<sup>41</sup> Just like the integrationists from Warsaw, they considered Jews to be a religious community or “a religious association.”<sup>42</sup>

*Ojczyzna* tracked the advance of Zionism in Galicia (Lvov in particular) and noted the establishment of “Mikra Kodesh,” a proto-Zionist organization operating in Lvov that was soon reorganized, coming to be known as the “Syjon” association (1887). At first, the editors of *Ojczyzna* hoped that “Mikra” would not become politically engaged and would focus on Hebrew language and literature.<sup>43</sup> After Syjon was established, that hope proved to be a vain one. The organization “dropped its scholarly and literary mask and became strictly political.”<sup>44</sup> The Zionist movement was already a threat to integration, but was still made light of, at least officially.

Nevertheless, even *Ojczyzna* would signal every once in a while that the integration program might be under threat. They noticed, for example, that collection of money for the Palestinian settlements “weakens the links between the local Jews and their real homeland.”<sup>45</sup> To make matters worse, Zionism was “an argument handed to our enemies so that they can claim that Jews will never assimilate and that they have separate goals and distinct ethnicity.”<sup>46</sup>

Zionism was ruthlessly critical of the integrationist program. Integrationists were called “the worst cowards,”<sup>47</sup> “apostates,”<sup>48</sup> or even “anti-Semites” who had sold their Jewish souls. This was a way to show Zionism as an alternative that did not lead to eventual loss of Jewish values.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1891, no. 4, p. 30.

<sup>33</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1889, no. 3, pp. 17-18.

<sup>34</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1884, no. 3.

<sup>35</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1886, no. 6, p. 21.

<sup>36</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1889, no. 3, p. 18.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1888, no. 15, p. 113.

<sup>40</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1889, no. 3, p. 17.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Jagodzińska 2008, p. 41.

<sup>43</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1885, no. 2, p. 7.

<sup>44</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1888, no. 15, p. 117.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1884, no. 2, p. 6.

<sup>47</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1886, no. 1, p. 2.

<sup>48</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1885, no. 5, p. 17.

<sup>49</sup> See also Jagodzińska 2008, p. 62.

To sum up, *Ojczyzna* proved to be ignorant, sluggish and passive. Despite noticing the growing strength of Zionism, *Ojczyzna* kept pointing out its utopian character. In an article from 1889, they claimed that “to discuss the Kingdom of Israel as if it were a matter of the near future is just completely ridiculous”.<sup>50</sup> The following years would prove them wrong.

## In the face of anti-Semitism. Disillusionment

More than anything else, what paralyzed the program of integration was anti-Semitism. Aversion and lack of acceptance undermined its very foundations. *Ojczyzna* and *Izraelita* shared a positivist belief in integration, and tried to “capitalize” on the trust that had been built in the 1860s. Therefore, the Polish side was idealized, while the Jewish side was the one to be reformed. However, Polish indifference and hostility forced *Ojczyzna* to take a stance.

Even in the first years of its existence, *Ojczyzna* had to deal with the unfavorable opinions of *Gazeta Narodowa*. Nevertheless, it was still convinced that “Polish people fully support our case.”<sup>51</sup> The so-called “Warsaw unrest” (also known as the Warsaw pogrom) of 25 December came as a serious warning. Quite characteristically, *Ojczyzna* reacted with an appeal to remove “the highly flammable material,” i.e. to change everything “that our Christian brothers consider to be inappropriate,” thus in a way justifying the perpetrators.<sup>52</sup>

*Rola*, a conservative weekly published in Galicia, was apparently less important for the *Ojczyzna* journalists. They focused on national newspapers like *Kurjer Lwowski*, which, as early as 1883, wrote that “there is not a single quality in the Jews that could be considered valuable in this melting pot of ethnicities.”<sup>53</sup> The editorial team answered with untypical harshness:

There is something that should never be touched – the patriotism of other people. Hands off! No one has the right to question our patriotism (...). We don’t believe that there is a religious monopoly for Polishness and we will not stand by idly when our Polishness is being questioned.<sup>54</sup>

Also at this time, in the Galician Sejm, Theophil Merunowicz began his activities; as Rachel Manekin noted, he was “one of the first Poles in Galicia to introduce contemporary anti-Semitic discourse into the public sphere.”<sup>55</sup>

Separate “language, appearance, habits and manners”<sup>56</sup> were still considered the main source of outside hostility. Even then, however, there were different opinions on the

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<sup>50</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1889, no. 3, p. 17.

<sup>51</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1881, no. 11, p. 2.

<sup>52</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1882, no. 2, p. 6.

<sup>53</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1883, no. 17, p. 68.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>55</sup> Manekin 2010, p. 127

<sup>56</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1885, no. 4, p. 13.

matter. The “embittered contemporaries”<sup>57</sup> claimed that the source of hostility lies somewhere else and “no Jewish concessions can make it go away.”<sup>58</sup> Insults and insinuations were dealt with in a matter-of-fact manner. For example, a claim that “Galician trade is Jewish and German to the bone” was answered by pointing out that it was a result of “economic intolerance” and Jews could not earn a living in any other way.<sup>59</sup> *Ojczyzna* noticed that even the fact Jews started to buy and cultivate land did not silence the critics. “Jews take our land! We shall not let them!”<sup>60</sup> – was a common response. *Ojczyzna* replied bitterly: “it is unacceptable when a Jew is a tradesman or a financier, it is bad when he is an industrialist or a manufacturer, it is not good when he is a doctor, a barrister or an engineer.”<sup>61</sup>

In the second half of the 1880s resistance was getting stronger and *Ojczyzna* changed its tone. Notably, certain members of the Polish intelligentsia took part in the debate. In 1886 Jan Lam wrote:

Reluctantly we have done what had to be done to make religions equal. Every once in a while we praise some of our *Mosaic brothers*. But in everyday reality, when we meet in social and family life, the equality of rights for some reason cannot become our second nature.<sup>62</sup>

Taking note of the fact that “Galician Jews access Polishness in their masses”, Lam wrote that “it does not matter in the end, since the parents of Christian maidens do not want such companionship for their daughters.”<sup>63</sup> In September 1888 *Ojczyzna* wrote without enthusiasm: “Our situation is difficult: so much to do and so many obstacles, difficulties, so much hostility...”<sup>64</sup> And with regret: “All our efforts, all our honest services are worth nothing. No one appreciates our work, because it is Jewish work.”<sup>65</sup>

In this bitter summary a new popular slogan was mentioned – “Don’t buy at Jewish shops.” *Ojczyzna* quoted *Kurjer Lwowski*, which criticized craftsmen for grumbling about Jews “even though they also buy at Jewish shops, making their own trade weak and dependent.”<sup>66</sup> *Kurier Rzeszowski* lamented “that even local clerks are Jewish” (“Żydki” – a derogatory term).<sup>67</sup> At the same time, *Przegląd Lwowski* opposed the reorganization of the local health service and suggested that “many Jews will now take up the jobs of district physicians.” “Do we want our doctors, pharmacists and publicans to be Jewish?” they asked.<sup>68</sup> Until the very end of its history, *Ojczyzna* would gladly quote occasional polemics in the Polish press. For example, in 1891 the newspaper published a resolution of the congress of Polish students which condemned “the emerging anti-Semitic movement as unpatriotic, inhumane and reactionary.”<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> The author was probably referring to the Zionists.

<sup>58</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1884, no. 4, p. 13.

<sup>59</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1890, no. 1, pp. 2-3.

<sup>60</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1884, no. 5, p. 20.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>62</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1886, no. 6, p. 22.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>64</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1888, no. 17.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>69</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1891, no. 5, p. 38.

With time, the responses to such insinuations filled more and more pages. *Ojczyzna* bitterly observed the hostility coming from the national press and pointed to its possible consequences:

The fact that Jews are constantly being mocked and discredited in the eyes of public opinion, that they are being pictured as a threat to national interests, can be fraught with consequences for society.<sup>70</sup>

At the end of the 1880s the newspaper had to deal with financial problems. The debt of the association would rise, and out of 80 reading rooms established since 1885 only 19 were still operating.<sup>71</sup> In January 1890 *Ojczyzna* made a grim summary of its achievements and listed the obstacles it was facing: unfriendliness, indifference and lack of acceptance. The journalists who had previously idealized the Polish side were now clearly frustrated. They wrote about “the fight against Jews” that was supposed to “save Christian society from imaginary Jewish exploiters”<sup>72</sup> Hostility and resistance could be noticed “not only in the economy, but in almost every sphere of social life (...).”<sup>73</sup> The integrationists reached a dead end, facing “hostility and open unkindness or indifference from the outside (...) and dislike and indifference in their own circles.”<sup>74</sup>

The disillusionment and frustration were only made deeper by various forms of exclusion. In 1883 *Ojczyzna* wrote about the statute of the agricultural association that allowed only Christian membership.<sup>75</sup> In 1890 a competition for a public job of director of the local archives listed a Christian birth certificate as one of the requirements.<sup>76</sup> *Ojczyzna* noted that “academic foundations and charities only very rarely do not exclude Jews from applying for a scholarship.”<sup>77</sup>

What was happening in education – a key issue for *Ojczyzna* – was equally alarming. In February 1889 Christian and Jewish children were separated in two of the public schools in Kraków. As a result, “children attending parallel forms could not be let out of school at the same time.”<sup>78</sup> Such symptoms of dislike were so unsettling that the correspondent in Krakow asked the editorial staff to make a list of similar cases and “influence the relevant officials by publishing it in your newspaper.”<sup>79</sup> *Ojczyzna*, a fierce enthusiast of the public school system, replied:

We hear so many complaints about tactless and offensive remarks of the secondary school teachers, in Lvov and elsewhere, that we would have to deal with this problem in every issue of our newspaper.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>70</sup> H.G., *Możliwe następstwa*, *Ojczyzna* 1889, no. 4, p. 25.

<sup>71</sup> Soboń 2011, p. 115.

<sup>72</sup> F., *Słowo wstępne*, *Ojczyzna* 1890, no. 1, p. 1.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>75</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1884, no. 8, p. 29.

<sup>76</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1890, no. 20, p. 162.

<sup>77</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1888, no. 20, p. 172.

<sup>78</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1889, no. 3, p. 19.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*

Whether this hostility was really that common is hard to establish, and we need to tread carefully here, but the reactions exemplify a clear shift of mood. The article “*Nasza pozycja*” (“Our stance”) published in 1891 is full of apathy and bitterness. Despite the high attendance at the general assembly of the association, it speaks of “a short-lived enthusiasm” and “a brief excitement”.<sup>81</sup>

We are condemned by those who stick to the outdated ideals (...) for we are not only Jews but we divide our loyalty and love between Jewish people and the nation we feel part of. We are condemned by citizens who have locked themselves in shallow and unproductive dogmatism (...) and accuse as of being Jewish separatists because (...) we do not abandon our Jewish faith.<sup>82</sup>

In January 1892, shortly before the downfall of *Ojczyzna* and after the chief editor H. Feldstein had left the team, the assessment of achievements looked devastating. All pillars of the integration program had been undermined. For the first time, *Ojczyzna* was fair in its opinion on Zionism. “A more powerful pan-Jewish movement had neutralized our efforts,”<sup>83</sup> “it attracted the masses and moved their hearts with its ideals,”<sup>84</sup> “as far as popularity was concerned we could not compete with our opponents.”<sup>85</sup> Their means proved insufficient to “move the masses” and their idealism turned out to be naive:

Those who spoke of citizenship and unity wanted to shatter ancient prejudice and superstition with a single blow. They wanted to be Messiahs who lead their folk to the promised land of freedom and brotherhood but they gave up too soon, withdrew, became indifferent or even joined the ranks of our opponents.<sup>86</sup>

The intelligentsia turned out to be quarrelsome, passive, egoistic and apathetic. There was no hope for any kind of Christian support. Hostility to the Polish press and the “indifference” of the authorities led *Ojczyzna* to the following conclusion: “Tolerance and equality remained slogans and only rarely became reality.”<sup>87</sup>

To quote their own assessment, the idea of assimilation received a “vote of no confidence”.<sup>88</sup> The best intentions brought only “dislike and prejudice.”<sup>89</sup> The gap they had tried to close remained wide, perhaps even wider than ever:

(...) social life is even worse. Assimilation, however deep, in language, habits and education, did not make it possible for Jews to share social life with Christian citizens. The gates remain closed. Jewish families live in seclusion and are avoided by Christian families. The separation in social life is perhaps even starker than in other fields.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> F., *Nasza pozycja*, *Ojczyzna* 1891, no. 11, p. 81.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 82.

<sup>83</sup> Sz. Wr, *Nasza pozycja*, *Ojczyzna* 1892, no. 1, p. 1.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*

## Summary

This crisis brought an end to the newspaper and the association. *Ojczyzna* disappeared from the newsstands in May 1892. The idea of integration was finally abandoned at the turn of the century. It was in fact a wider phenomenon. As Professor Wodziński has aptly noted, the fundamental belief of Haskalah and its heirs was that of “objective value of progress of science and civilization, which has to lead to a general progress of mankind (...).”<sup>91</sup> Progress, it was believed, would make all conflicts (e.g. religious intolerance) and divisions null and void and would bring about a new era of coexistence between Jews and the rest of society. The end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century shook this belief. The new emerging ethnic consciousness (Zionism on the one hand and modern anti-Semitism on the other) and the politicization brought an end to this ideology. Integrationism was not compatible with the European reality of the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

It has run out of its ideological potential (...). Moreover, neither Jews nor Poles saw integration and assimilation as a way to solve “the Jewish question.” As a phase in history, Jewish programs and reforms, it ended at the turn of the century.<sup>92</sup>

In Galicia the spot left by *Ojczyzna* was taken by *Przyszłość* (run by the Syjon association). Other ideologies were also growing in popularity. This was when the Jewish Workers’ Party first appeared in Galicia.<sup>93</sup>

Let us stress, however, that it did not mean that the process of Polonization came to a halt. Quite the opposite, it proceeded up until the outbreak of war. However, despite the diminishing cultural gap, social distance remained the same – or even grew (the phenomenon was captured well by Zygmunt Bauman, who described the particular case of German Jews<sup>94</sup>). Despite their weakness, the epigones of integration ideology managed to found the new journal *Jedność* (1907-1912), but in fact they were already members of a new formation – Polish Jews (the subtitle “Journal of the Polish Jews”). This shift was aptly described by Agnieszka Jagodzińska:

There were many various positions and attitudes among the Poles of Jewish descent in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and among the Poles of Mosaic faith in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The latter believed they would get to a point the former knew they could never reach.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> Wodziński 2003, p. 237.

<sup>92</sup> Jagodzińska 2008, p. 260.

<sup>93</sup> Soboń 2011, p. 287.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. Bauman 1991; see also Prokop-Janiec 2013, p. 72.

<sup>95</sup> Jagodzińska 2008, p. 261.



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**FROM BOBOWA TO MAGENZA TO JERUSALEM.  
THE BIOGRAPHY OF AVRAHAM SHLOMO STUB  
– BETWEEN HASIDISM AND ZIONISM**

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**Key words:** Aliyah, Bobowa, Holocaust, Jerusalem's modern history, the Halberstam family, Hasidism, Germany, the State of Israel, Mainz, Mahzike ha-das, migration, Mizrahi, orthodoxy, Abraham Stub, Zionism

**Abstract:** The article summarizes and highlights some sections of the autobiography of Abraham Stub, a Jew born in Bobowa into a family of adherents of the Bobower Rebbe. In his early childhood Stub migrated with his parents to Mainz in Germany, later escaping the Shoah to Palestine, where he managed to establish a store in the center of West Jerusalem (*Ma'ayan Stub*). The autobiography, written in Hebrew, was until recently unknown, although it contains interesting information about the relationship of Jews from Bobowa with their home town after migration, as well as transmitting remarkable biographical details about Rebbe Ben Zion Halberstam's life in Bobowa. Stub depicts himself as a traditional Jew who during and after World War I and his service in the Austrian army became more and more a religious Zionist. His book thus also provides many insights into the early development of the Mizrahi movement in Germany, where Jews from Eastern Europe, especially from Galicia, were often discriminated against by German Jews and therefore established their own small prayer circles (*Mahzike ha-das*). Stub's life story developed from this traditional Hasidic Diaspora background into a typical religious Zionist, so to speak Israeli orthodox biography. It might serve as an example for further studies about migration from the East to the West and further on to Israel, where Jews from Poland or a Polish background still play a dominant role in the political and religious public sphere.

## Introduction

Recent years have seen a growing interest in Jewish migration from eastern parts of Europe to the West at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, until World War II and the Holocaust. Although quite a number of studies on Jewish migration to Western Europe already exist, the sources available for the reconstruction of the social and religious history of specific Jewish groups of migrants in Europe before the wars are still rather limited.<sup>1</sup> While research has concentrated on the Jewish migration to larger cities, like Vienna and Berlin,<sup>2</sup> there is scant evidence of the living conditions of Jewish families

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. on the vast literature on Jewish migration in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and until 1914, e.g. Berger 1983; Gartner 1996; 1999; Brinkman 2013. On the Jewish migration to Germany see, for example, Richarz 1997; Maurer 2011. On the migration from Galicia, see e.g. Kuzmany 2011, esp. pp. 72-78.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. e.g. on Vienna: Hödl 1999; Staudinger 2015. For Berlin see, for example, Geisel 1981; Maurer 2011. On the migration to larger cities in Germany, see Wertheimer 1986 (Appendix IIIb). For other larger or

from smaller villages and towns in Galicia who migrated to Germany. In addition, for certain groups of Jewish migrants, like the followers of certain Hasidic courts, there are only very few sources available – be it because many of these migrants did not publish their memoirs, mostly due to their low social status, or because they could not transmit any of their private letters or autobiographical documents to public archives owing to the fact that they or their families had perished during the Holocaust. On the other hand, the lack of interest in the topic might still be a late reflection of the pre-Holocaust attitude towards Jews from the eastern parts of Europe (in German “Ostjuden”) within the German-speaking Jewish communities themselves.<sup>3</sup> A number of testimonies and documents support the assumption that besides anti-Semitic circles and nationalist parties also well-educated and enlightened Jews in the West in some way discriminated against these mainly Yiddish-speaking Jews, sometimes to the extent that these migrants were made responsible for the growing anti-Semitism or other problems within particular communities themselves.<sup>4</sup>

With these preconditions in mind, it might be of some interest to give a short summary and description of one interesting example of an autobiography of a former Hasidic Jew from Bobowa (Yiddish: Bobov) who migrated with his parents to Mainz (Magenza in Hebrew) in Germany at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, escaped Nazi persecution in that country and managed to resettle in Palestine, where he successfully built up his still existing company, *Ma'ayan Stub* (Stubs Quelle), on King George-Yaffa crossing in the center of the modern part of Jerusalem.

The report of Avraham Stub (1898-1987), the founder of *Ma'ayan Stub*, a well-known textile store in Jerusalem, is a remarkable ego document. It was written down by a relative in rather simple language and privately published in 1986 in Jerusalem. More than thirty years after its publication in Hebrew, an annotated German translation makes this book of 378 pages known to a wider readership and shares interesting insights into the inner development of Jewish migrants to the West and their survival in the newly established state of Israel after the Holocaust.

Stub's autobiography first of all gives insights into the small and almost unknown Hasidic community of Mainz. This community was established under the German name *Israelitischer Humanitätsverein* (Israelite humanities society), in Hebrew *Mahzike hadas* (Preserver of religion). It was built according to the model of similar societies for the preservation of Orthodoxy in Galicia, which at their beginnings were the most active anti-Zionist element among ultra-Orthodox Jewry.<sup>5</sup> The members of the Mainz branch called their minyan simply the *Bet ha-Midrash* or “Lehrhaus” – in fact it was a kind of

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middle-sized or larger cities in the western parts of Germany with Jewish communities including members from eastern Europe, see, for example, on Chemnitz: Diamant 2002; on Cologne: Carlebach 1984, p. 351; on Hamburg: Goldberg 2006; on Duisburg: van Rhoden 1986; Heid 2010; on Frankfurt: Heuberger, Krohn 1988, pp. 133-141; on Munich: Angermaier 2006, pp. 117-118; on Offenbach, see Werner 1988, pp. 13-16; on Wiesbaden: Bembeneck 1991; on Zurich in Switzerland, cf. Bugmann 1998.

<sup>3</sup> For the time prior to and during World War I, see Locker 1916; Friedemann 1916; Horst 1917; Lewicky 1917; and cf. also Maurer 1986. Concerning the time after World War I, see e.g. Pinner, Hammerschlag 1920; Goldmann 1922.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Weiss 2000, pp. 24-27. See also below.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. on this society, which was directed against the Maskilim in Galicia, see Salmon 2002, p. 258; Manekin 2006, pp. 457-460.

Eastern European shtetle. The rooms where the community gathered were located at 13 Margarethengasse, in a building adjacent to the Orthodox synagogue. While the Orthodox synagogue on Flachmarktstrasse at the corner of Margarethengasse was partly damaged and looted during the Pogrom Night of 1938, this shtetle was not touched by the Nazis. It remained intact until the outbreak of the war, and during this period it was also used by the Orthodox community. However, no photos or images of this prayer room have survived, and therefore we do not know what the room looked like. Attached to this synagogue there was also a cheder and a teaching room for adults.<sup>6</sup>

The scarceness of information about this Eastern European minyan makes Stub's *zikhronot*, who served as a gabbai (warden) in that small Yiddish and Polish speaking minyan, so important. His report not only gives detailed insights into the history of this particular community, but he also describes some of its leading characters, and depicts their relationship with the larger Orthodox community,<sup>7</sup> which, as in many other German cities, had been founded in 1853-1854 and was called the *Israelitische Religionsgesellschaft* (Israelite society of religion) of Mainz.<sup>8</sup> In addition, this remarkable autobiography provides further insights into the development of religious Zionism in Germany and in the newly established state of Israel.

## Childhood in Bobowa – migration to Germany

Stub's autobiography has six chapters: the first four of them deal with his life in Galicia and Germany, and the last two are a summary of his life in Israel after his *Aliyah*. Following some genealogical preliminaries, Stub starts with a description of his childhood in a traditional Jewish environment in Bobowa. He was born into

a warmhearted, vibrant Jewish world of a Galician *shtetl*, crowded with pious and God-fearing though poor Jews, who arduously tried to nourish themselves, but for whom the Torah always remained the center of their lives.<sup>9</sup>

In fact, he himself was educated in this traditional way in a cheder under very poor conditions, but, as he emphasizes, these were the happiest days of his life. Since his father died rather early, he was never able to attend an institution of higher Jewish education, such as a yeshiva. And so this cheder experience was very crucial to him, but he was also educated by his grandfather, who came from Brzeskow (Briegel), and was a well-known merchant.

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<sup>6</sup> I am grateful for this information to Zvi Cahn, Kefar Pines, one of the last eyewitnesses and as a young man a member of the Orthodox community, *Adas Yeshurun*, of Mainz (in a letter via email, 14.02.2008).

<sup>7</sup> A list of some community members from 1928 seems to have been preserved in a document from a "Hevra qinyan sefarim Mainz" (CAHJP D Ma 8/8). This "Kassobuch" lists all books donated to the cheder of this particular community. The first name on this list is "A. Stub." The list was published in Lehnardt 2009, p. 241.

<sup>8</sup> On the history of this larger community, founded by Rabbi Samuel Bondi (1794-1877) and Rabbi Marcus Lehmann (1831-1890), among others, see e.g. Keim 1978, p. 72; Dörlamm 1995, p. 35; Schütz 1999, p. 695, and in more detail Drobner 2000, p. 164-167.

<sup>9</sup> Stub 1986, 25; 2012, p. 29 (German).



III. 1: Family of Abraham Stub (together with his father from Yehuda Alexander Stub from Bobowa)

In 1903 Stub's parents moved for medical and economic reasons from Bobowa to Mainz in Germany, while he remained for some time with his uncles and aunts in Galicia. Only after quite some time did the parents manage to bring their son to the booming and growing city in the Rhineland, then part of the state of Hesse. Yet the migration to Mainz caused a deep disruption in his life. The little boy did adapt well, and found himself isolated in contrast to Bobowa. Since his family only spoke Yiddish and Polish, his parents were also dropped from the Jewish society.

Characteristic of this situation and these social relations within the community is a short passage about the religious life in the Orthodox community in the synagogue on Flachsmarktstrasse:

The Orthodox community mainly gathered German-speaking Jews. Only a minority came from the eastern lands of Europe. I can assert with clear conscience that most of the German Jews – with a few exceptions –, religious or not, did not like the Jews from the East. They were not accepted as equal and their status changed only after they could manage to stay for several years in town. Jews from Galicia therefore were seated always in the last benches of the synagogue, and it took them great pains to grab a more prestigious seat.<sup>10</sup>

In light of these circumstances and with the growing number of immigrants from the East, the need for an additional separate community was felt more strongly. The exact incident that led to this small shtetle-community being established are not transmitted, but Stub's biography provides at least some insights that are not to be found in any other sources:

<sup>10</sup> Stub 1986, p. 11; 2012, p. 16 (German).

In the year 1908 a Jew from the East called Biner founded the “humanitarian” *Bet ha-Mid-rash* (Israelitischer Humanitätsverein), which was opened especially for members from the East. This house of study was located in Margarethengasse, but the entrance was located in the backyard. In this building complex, on the third floor, two rooms served as a house of study. The larger room was used for prayers by men, while the smaller room was used as the women’s section. The building adjoined in the yard to the Orthodox Bondi-synagogue, but there was no visual contact between the two synagogues. The interior fittings were donated by community members.<sup>11</sup>

Amazingly, Stub then also informs his readers about the later “career” of this Mr. Biner, a character who until now has remained totally unknown to the annals of the Jewish community of Mainz:

Biner was a pious Jew who at the same time also joined a goyish carnival club. At the annual carnivals parade (in Mainz) he even used to ride on a horse. After the number of supplicants at this house of prayer had grown and more Jews joined the shtible, a different, more Orthodox person was elected head of this institution. Biner left the community also because the community had split due to his public appearance.<sup>12</sup>

The discipline in this minyan must have been rather strict. A short episode depicting an incident during the high holiday service seems to have been most typical. At that time Stub served as a shamash in the small community:

I remember an incident when I was a young man: A certain David M.<sup>13</sup> began to read the newspapers during the Yom Kippur service. In my function as a gabbai I immediately gave him the order to stop or to leave the synagogue. When he refused to follow my order, I gave him two slaps in the face and threw him out. The guy then complained about my behavior before the head of the main synagogue. To my great surprise, though, I received a letter of appreciation from the president of the main community.<sup>14</sup>

Stub’s rigor and dedication to religious matters as well as his eastern Jewish identify are also noticeable in another affair. In a number of German Jewish newspapers at the time, marriage advertisements were published. Many advertisements, however, included the remark that Jews from Eastern Europe were not welcome. Also in the most popular newspaper of the German Orthodoxy, *Der Israelit*, published in Mainz,<sup>15</sup> marriage advertisements with these discriminatory comments were published. Evidently, members of the old Jewish establishment were using these notes to try to prevent Eastern Jews from marrying into their community. Stub himself wrote several letters of protest against these advertisements, and according to him these letters were a success, at least in Mainz.

Interesting in this regard is the fact that his parents used to support Jewish transients from the East. On almost every Shabbat evening, he writes, his parents invited poor and needy Jews from Poland and Galicia to their home. This widespread means of

<sup>11</sup> Stub 1986, p. 25; 2012, p. 30 (German).

<sup>12</sup> Stub 1986, p. 25; 2012, p. 30 (German).

<sup>13</sup> The identity of this person is unknown.

<sup>14</sup> This letter was sent by Bernhard Albert Mayer, who functioned from 1908 until 1941 as president of the main Jewish community of Mainz, often designated as the Reform or Liberal Jewish Community. He has also been elected as city council member (“Stadtverordneter”). See on his life Mayer 2007, p. 7.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. [Editorial Staff], Art. Israelit, der, in *Encyclopedia Judaica* 9 (1971), pp. 1066-67.

poor relief (*tzedaka*) strengthened his Eastern Jewish identity. And even during World War I, Russian Jewish prisoners of war imprisoned in Mainz occasionally had the chance to get a kosher meal at his parents' home. From these Shabbat guests he learned of what he had missed in his assimilated German Jewish environment.

Stub's childhood and youth proceeded under difficult circumstances. Due to the difficult economic situation, he could not study, but started to support his father's haberdashery business. During World War I, he had to serve in the Austrian army. Although he tried to avoid military service with every swindle, only bribery saved him from fighting on the frontline, with the result that in the end he managed to survive under difficult circumstances at a far-off military base in Bochnia, close to the town of his birth.<sup>16</sup>



III. 2: Abraham Stub sitting, Soldier in the Austrian Army, 1916

All the more difficult must have been the inter-war time for Stub and his family. The growing anti-Semitism and economic difficulties stiffened his thoughts about emigration. The religious Zionist movements, however, at that time did not intend to build up

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Stub 2012, pp. 50-55.



an independent Jewish state. They supported the idea of a Jewish settlement (*Yishuv*) in Palestine. Many Jews who survived World War I therefore remained hesitant in making any plans for *Aliyah*, the immigration to Israel.

## Hasidism

Like his forefathers, Abraham Stub was deeply influenced by Hassidic belief and religious practice. When the first Bobover Rebbe, Rabbi Shlomo Halberstam (1847-1905), suddenly died while being treated in Bad Nauheim (a spa town 28 km north of Frankfurt), his father took him from Mainz to this small town in the foothills of the Taunus to grieve. They stayed there until the corpse had been transported back to Bobowa by train.<sup>17</sup>

In particular the Second Rebbe from Bobowa, Ben Zion Halberstam (1874-1941),<sup>18</sup> later had a great impact on Stub's life. Like his father, he was not afraid of travelling long distances to meet and counsel with the Rebbe. On these occasions, he used to donate great sums to receive his blessing and spiritual guidance. Many times, Stub therefore praises his spiritual leader and emphasizes that only this Rebbe made his small hometown known in the Jewish world and a place of joyous occasions:

The grandson of the Rebbe from Sącz (Sanz), Rabbi Shlomo Halberstam, the author of the book *Divre Hayyim*, had chosen Bobowa as his residence. With his arrival, the name of the town scattered in all cardinal directions. If he had not settled there, the Jewish people would never have learned anything about the existence of this town. Only upon the Rebbe's arrival did the place become awake – now many visitors arrived for a meeting with the Rebbe. On Shabbat and on the holidays a vast number of Jews populated the streets, and the people of Bobowa were happy about it.<sup>19</sup>

Also interesting in this regard is a short note on the wedding celebrations at Bobowa on the occasion of the marriage of Ben Zion's daughter Nehama (Nehumza). He even remembers certain students who came to Bobowa for study and prayer at the Rebbe's *Bet ha-Midrash*. For example, the son of a certain Mr. Stampfer from Krakow who was the owner of Hotel Royal, an inn which still exists today.<sup>20</sup>

Stub's close connection to the Hassidic leadership of the Halberstam clan becomes more evident in another episode depicting the Rebbe's visit to Wiesbaden (Hesse) for spa treatment. His father took him from Mainz to the other side of the River Rhine and they both met Ben Zion at one of the hotels for Jewish spa guests. He writes about this remarkable get-together in one of the most eminent health spas at that time – with Jewish spa guests even from far eastern parts of Europe:<sup>21</sup>

In 1928 Rabbi Ben Zion from Bobowa arrived in Wiesbaden for spa treatment. He wanted to spend a few weeks recovering there. My father and I traveled there, and he received us with

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<sup>17</sup> Cf. Stub 2012, p. 37. For the *Ohel* of Rebbe Shlomo in Bobowa, which is frequently visited even today, cf. Majcher 2008, p. 189.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Galas, Żebrowski 2003, p. 547; Skotnicki, Klimaczak 2009, pp. 43-50.

<sup>19</sup> Stub 1986, p. 11; 2012, p. 16 (German).

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Stub 1986, p. 11; 2012, p. 17 (German).

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Fritzsche 2014.

great sympathy. Later he used to make my father an example of economic success and held him in high esteem, serving as a positive model for all of his Hasdim. He assumed that my father's success was evoked by his blessing only, and everyone can see that it was only his blessing which evolved. As a matter of fact, after the meeting my father provided him – as was the custom – with a great amount of money.<sup>22</sup>

This short last remark noticeably reflects a greater distance to his master and to his father's traditional behavior, so typical of Hassidic life. The way of religious practice at the Rebbe's places became more and more questionable, and Stub did not hesitate to express his skepticism towards these forms of payable piousness.

Noteworthy in this regard is one more passage reflecting on Ben Zion's attitude towards the question of escape from Poland shortly before the Nazi invasion, in 1935. Despite the clear evidence of the great danger for the Jewish community in Bobowa, the Admor refused to give any orders to his followers and adherents. A short passage depicts a meeting with the Rebbe in Trezbinia, after Stub's visit to Leżajsk, where he prayed at the *Ohel* of Rebbe Elimeleh (1717-1787). This episode also stands for Stub's growing Zionist commitment after his first visit to Palestine. On the other hand, it bears witness to his greater identification with a more Westernized Judaism. At that time he had already become a representative of a small group of successful "Ostjuden" who were starting to leave tradition and to change their attitude towards their religious roots.<sup>23</sup>

The Rebbe, he reports, received him like many others, only in the middle of the night. At this meeting, Stub tried to inform him of his positive impressions from the Holy Land – about the building projects in Jerusalem and the growing Jewish community he had become aware of. The Rebbe, however, only wanted to know:

What about the "Yiddishkeit" there? And I answered him that someone who wants to live according to the Halakha can do this. The Rebbe, though, replied that it is easier for a Jew to live amongst the goyim. He was therefore not pleased about me and my account from the Holy Land.<sup>24</sup>

Another passage in this part elucidates his changing opinion about his fellow Jews from Eastern Europe before World War II. A poor Jew, who is introduced as a "Schlumpfer," a poor peddler from Wiesbaden, a simple Hassid Belz,<sup>25</sup> with the Yiddish name Avromle, serves as an astonishing example. This certain Avromle, whose identity is not revealed, is depicted as a nervous figure, always asking about his future in Germany:

What will happen? What will happen? And I told him that he should go to Eretz Israel. Also I by myself would find this way one day. But he then went to his Rebbe and asked him for advice over whether he should leave (Germany). The Rebbe, though, asked only if he had an income. When he replied in the affirmative, the Rebbe counselled him not to worry and to stay in his country where he has his income.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Stub 1986, p. 77; 2012, p. 74 (German).

<sup>23</sup> Stub visited Bobowa several times between 1916 and 1918 from Bochnia, where he was stationed as a soldier. For the last visit he came in 1935 to Bobowa, on his way back from his first visit to Palestine.

<sup>24</sup> Stub 1986, pp. 110-111; 2012, pp. 98-99.

<sup>25</sup> This Hassidic group was founded by Rabbi Shalom Rokeach (died 1855) from Belz. The Belzer Rebbe at that time was Rabbi Aharon Rokeach (1877-1957). A great number of the Belzer Hasidim were murdered by the Nazis during the Holocaust.

<sup>26</sup> Stub 1986, p. 87; 2012 (German), pp. 83-84.

With these experiences, more and more Stub became a strong supporter of the Mizrahi movement. And in retrospect, after the Holocaust he must have seen that counsels like these caused many difficulties. The Mizrahi (acronym for *Merkaz ruhani*) had been founded in 1902 in Vilnius, and Stub was among its first representatives in Germany.<sup>27</sup> This political involvement changed his life, and later became so important for him that in retrospect he confessed:

At this point I need to remark that my whole family and I are aware of the fact that it was only because of my support for the Mizrahi that I succeeded in convincing my father to immigrate to Eretz Yisrael. This has saved my whole family.<sup>28</sup>

The Orthodox Mizrahi movement, founded in 1902, enabled Stub to undertake the first steps for his immigration to Palestine. The Mizrahi was the only organization that managed to bridge the gap between the anti-Zionistic Agudat Yisrael and other Orthodox organizations. Later, therefore, when the Aguda became *non-Zionistic* (in the 1930s), members of the Mizrahi movement received more influence and took over significant political functions within the newly established Orthodox political spectrum.

As mentioned earlier, Stub visited Palestine as soon as 1935, also because he wanted to prepare his immigration. Typical of the situation in Germany in those days is Stub's report on a conversation with the president of the main community of Mainz, councilor of commerce Albert Mayer. After his return to Mainz, Stub met Mayer and described to him his views on Palestine and the great opportunities for Jewish life there. Mayer is said to have answered him:

What's all this (the dispute over Israel) good for? I don't mind if after my death goyim play football on my bones. I will stay here, no matter what!

Even the Orthodox rabbi, Rabbi Yona Bondi, is cited by Stub. He is said to have uttered the statement: "Abraham Stub is a nice man, but concerning *Eretz Israel* someone put a bee in his bonnet."<sup>29</sup>

The attitude of the Jewish middle class in Mainz was, as in many other cities in Germany, often anti-Zionistic, or at least indifferent. Most members of the Jewish main community, however, were very skeptical towards any plans of emigration or building a new Jewish homeland. This is testified to not only by several biographical reports published in the same series as Stub's autobiography.<sup>30</sup> It can also be confirmed by the observation that more than half of the Jewish emigrants from Mainz escaped to the Americas, not to British-mandate Palestine. However, those who managed to make *Aliyah* before the war had mostly been active Zionists previously. Or they were at least religiously involved or attracted by the ideas of the different Zionist movements.

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<sup>27</sup> Later he became a friend of Hermann Pick (1879-1952), the founder of the Mizrahi movement in Germany, who from 1921 until 1927 was also president of the *Mizrachi World Executive*, see Stub 2012 (German), p. 22, note 34. On the early history of the Mizrahi see e.g. Morgenstern 2002, pp. 82-84; Salmon 2002, pp. 163-168.

<sup>28</sup> Stub 1986, p. 67; 2012, p. 67.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Stub 1986, p. 67; 2012, p. 67.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Ronell 1995; Simon 2003; Schwarz 2007; Meyer-Jorgensen 2010.

## Palestine – Medinat Israel

Another interesting chapter of the book deals with the life of German immigrants into Palestine. After his dramatic escape from Nazi Germany in 1938, Stub and his family reached Palestine and managed to reopen his shop, even with the same name as in Mainz, but now in Hebrew.<sup>31</sup> Stubs Quelle became Maayan Stub. This store quickly developed into a meeting place for many Jewish immigrants from Germany and Galicia. Even today, therefore, Stubs Quelle is well known among the older citizens of West Jerusalem.

At this time Stub began to become a religious activist, for example with regard to the debates on the Sabbath laws in the future Jewish state. Even years before the acclamation of the State, a serious debate between secular and socialist Zionists and the religious observant population of Jerusalem had escalated.

Concerning Sabbath observance, Stub's practice served as an example. Since he had already been one of the few Jewish shop keepers in Mainz who strictly followed the *Halakha*, not allowing even his non-Jewish employees to keep his shop open, also in Jerusalem he kept his business strictly closed on the Sabbath and holidays. This remarkable example was later also credited with appreciation by the Rebbe, Shlomo Halberstam (1907-2000), the only descendent of the Bobover dynasty to escape Nazi persecution. When he had to fight for similar strictness in Crown Heights (Brooklyn), according to Stub the Admor would point to his exemplary observance of the Sabbath Halakha.



Ill. 3: Maayan Stub Jaffa Rd. – King George Av. crossing, Jerusalem

<sup>31</sup> Cf. [https://he.wikipedia.org/wiki/מעין\\_שטוב](https://he.wikipedia.org/wiki/מעין_שטוב). On the confiscation of the store in Mainz see Keim 1983, p. 258.

Observance of the Sabbath, however, caused many serious debates, and the issue continues to be a controversial one when it comes to cinemas and cafés in certain quarters of Jerusalem. Since the Jews who had escaped Europe often had no experience with public Sabbath observance, the controversies also afflicted Jewish identity. Stub tried to bring in his view, but failed. And this also changed his religious point of view. For Stub, as for similar religious laymen, Sabbath observance was regarded as a test case for the growing state. After his fellowmen and he, trying to impose strictness, had failed, he quickly began to change his point of view. He identified less with his Hassidic milieu from Bobowa, which was then beginning to develop in the Ultra-Orthodox quarters of Jerusalem, like Mea She'arim. Furthermore, as in Germany, he became more attracted by Religious Zionism, mainly influenced by the then widespread teachings of Rav Avraham Isaac Kook (1865-1935). According to an oral communication with his relatives in today's Jerusalem, he never attended the *Shul* of the Bobover Hasidim in Jerusalem, but found his way into a national Zionistic Orthodox community.

## Summary

The Hebrew autobiography of Abraham Stub is a remarkable document of a dual assimilation. First the assimilation into a hostile, mainly anti-Semitic society, in Germany, and second into a Jewish milieu and political environment in the developing state of Israel. It thus reflects major changes in the religious biographies of many Israelis, so typical of many other middle-class immigrants who in retrospect tried to explain to their children and grandchildren how they had succeeded in surviving and in what way they had tried to preserve and develop their formerly Eastern Jewish identity.

With regard to the Jewish history of Mainz, this biography is a unique record of the disintegration and marginalization of the Eastern Jewish tradition into the German Jewish bourgeoisie before the Shoah. The social pressure on Jews like the successful merchant Stub to assimilate into the main German Jewish society must have been immense. In Israel this pressure was lifted, but also continued under totally different circumstances. Stub's Jewish identity was therefore steadily changing. And this might have been the reason for which in the end he felt the need to report to his children why and how his life had shifted so dramatically within the space of a few decades.

At the close of his book, Stub resumes his life with the following words:

After I received my religious identity in Bobowa, my journey brought me to a hopeless place with regard to religion, to Mainz. This town had once been the place of an ancient tradition of Jewish learning, but Jewish religious life, even a cheder, that might be addressed as such, nowadays is absent. Even if Magenza is still considered as a place with a great Jewish tradition, a town which was once the home of a great Yeshiva with famous teachers and Torah scholars, nowadays it is a place without any Jewish presence and certainly without any Jewish future.

This very pessimistic view of future Jewish life in Germany after the Shoah, written in the 1980s, cannot be substantiated in 2015. After many ups and downs the situation of the Mainz community changed considerably in the 1990s, and in the last decade even a new synagogue has been built and is once again in use for regular services. Today again there

is Jewish presence in town, again mainly recruited from the Eastern parts of Europe. Most of the members of the Jewish community, however, are coming from the former Soviet Union, and not from Galicia. These modern “Eastern Jews,” however, are struggling with some of the same problems with which their predecessors had to deal. Yet in most of the cases, they are not even aware of their successful forerunners from Galicia.

The translation and analyses of similar autobiographies and biographic accounts from Jewish migrants (written in Polish, Yiddish or Hebrew) will surely help to understand better why some of these seemingly poor and less educated Jews were so successful and even managed to survive the Holocaust.

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## THE IMAGE OF A WEALTHY JEWISH FAMILY IN THE ANTI-SEMITIC POLISH WEEKLY *ROLA*

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**Key words:** Jewish family, anti-Semitism, the image of the Jew

**Abstract:** For more than six years, *Rola* – a Warsaw periodical that appeared weekly from 1883 to 1912 with a circulation of two thousand copies – published a series of articles about the position of wealthy Jewish families in Polish society. This series was commissioned by editor-in-chief Jan Jeleński and was of a quasi-documentary character (fictional but based on facts from real Jewish families with changed names). The title of the series was “Podskarbiowie Narodu” [The Treasurers of the Nation].

The vocabulary used in this series expressed the phobias and anxieties of *Rola*’s staff, among which the biggest was the fear that Jewish families would take over Polish society and infect it with cynical philosophy, ruled by money. This would confirm the negative stereotype of the Jew always preoccupied with money and chasing after a “golden calf.”

Jeleński and his colleagues believed that the Jewish nature was different than the Polish one, being based on lower-level values and therefore very dangerous. Once infected, Polish families could later imitate that cynical approach. They were also afraid of the way Jewish families supported each other strongly. Jeleński perceived this support – though of great value for the Jews themselves – as a great threat. He worried that Jewish families grew stronger and united, building a new kind of clan of a nouveau-riche character based on fictitious splendor and dominant influence.

In the history of the Polish press in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, *Rola* – a weekly and the first openly anti-Semitic title – had a special place. The magazine was established by Jan Jeleński in 1883 in Warsaw, from where he published it for the next 25 years until his death in 1909.<sup>1</sup> From its beginning, *Rola* took as its goal the struggle against the dominant role of “foreign elements” over the Polish economic sphere. Among the most serious threats for the existence of Polish society, Jeleński and his colleagues pointed to the buy-out of land from Polish owners and its being taken over by representatives of foreign communities, above all by Germans and Jews. In the context of Poland’s lack of nationhood at that time, the issue of sale or care of the land was not exclusively an economic or socio-economic matter, but became a question of the national “to be or not to be.” The land being owned by Poles was a kind of patriotic obligation. Actually, the very title of this magazine referred to this issue.

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<sup>1</sup> The magazine was finally closed in 1912; see Jaszczuk 1986, pp. 210-220; Pąckiński 1994, pp. 129-147; Cała 2012, pp. 264-272.

As far as the above aspects are concerned, *Rola* was no different from most of the Polish liberal press at the time, in which (as far as was possible given the strict censorship of the press) the necessity to defend Polish land ownership was almost a stronghold of the Polish national identity. The major difference lay in the fact that *Rola* consciously used these issues (understandable given the situation of the time), tinged additionally with anti-Semitic themes; however, apart from the traditional anti-Judaism, the publisher and his colleagues consciously made use of the modern anti-Semitic program borrowed from Western Europe, especially from France and Germany,<sup>2</sup> and openly marked their magazine as “anti-Semitic.” It is no wonder that a vast number of the texts published in the periodical concerned Jews and presented them in an unfavorable light.

Originally, however, the brunt of Jeleński’s criticism and his magazine focused not only on Jewish elements, but on German ones too. This attitude was presented in the early platform articles in *Rola*, but the interest in the German question which Jeleński presented before the weekly came into being, quickly weakened, giving way almost entirely to Jewish themes.<sup>3</sup> It seems impossible to describe the entire picture of anti-Semitic ideology and rhetoric manifested on the pages of *Rola* here; one can generally see that for Jeleński and his circle the most serious problem and the major ideological enemy were Jews who were assimilating or integrating with the Christian majority. While traditional Jews were recognized as elements who were sometimes annoying, but did not considerably influence the entire picture of social life in Poland, modern Jews were perceived as a serious threat not only to the economic existence of Polish society, but to its moral or even spiritual existence too. In short, this conviction can be summarized by the words of Teodor Jeske-Choiński: “Since you are a Jew, be one! An uncivilized Jewish orthodox is more likeable to us than a civilized zero because the former one believes in something, whereas the latter does not give any guarantee.”<sup>4</sup>

This opinion resulted in particularly severe criticism of wealthy modern Jews on the pages of *Rola* – not only of individuals, but also very often of the whole families of Jewish plutocracy who were forming at that time. This criticism was undertaken in texts of various types, not only in regular journalistic articles but also in the pieces of fiction that were published systematically by *Rola*. In general, both of them expressed the same content. It is worth pointing out that the fiction published in *Rola* was not of a high literary quality.<sup>5</sup>

There were also such publications that do not explicitly fit into the categories of fictional or journalistic pieces. The series entitled “Podskarbiowie narodu” (“Treasurers of the Nation”) published in 1890-1896 is recognized as one of them. Its form resembles one between fiction and journalism, but definitely closer to journalism. In fact, readers were presented with the same content that was in journalistic texts, yet presented in a slightly fictional form, depicting fictional characters. The *Rola* circle itself described these publications as satires or pamphlets.<sup>6</sup> The editorial staff gave them the common name of

<sup>2</sup> On the reception of German anti-Semitism in *Rola*, see Friedrich 2013, pp. 273-282.

<sup>3</sup> The most complete picture of Jeleński’s early views is included in the publication *Żydzi, Niemcy i my*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed., Warszawa 1880. See Friedrich 2003, pp. 199-213.

<sup>4</sup> Pancerny [Teodor Jeske-Choiński], “Na posterunku”, *Rola* 1883, no. 19, p. 9.

<sup>5</sup> See Domagalska 2008, pp. 377-390.

<sup>6</sup> *Ćwierćwiecze walki. Księga pamiątkowa “Roli”* 1910, pp. 35-36.

“pictures from nature,” which aimed to assure readers that the phenomena and processes or even real people were hidden behind fictional surnames and situations. Some perfect examples of the almost direct incorporation of phenomena known from the realities of the time into this semi-fiction include references to the Panama Affair and the Dreyfus<sup>7</sup> case, or words informing readers about the fact that one of the characters was the author of “a famous report about the situation of Jews in the country of ‘losers’,”<sup>8</sup> which in an obvious way refers to the controversial Memorandum of the Stock Exchange Committee announced a few years before.<sup>9</sup>

It is crucial that thanks to these semi-short stories *Rola* was able to express its opinions in a more open way than in cases of publications of a strictly journalistic character. Publishing fictional stories concerning characters with fictional names, the editor and writers in *Rola* did not have to feel restricted by the potential legal reactions of people they had attacked, which consequently gave them freedom to express their convictions and conceptions very openly. For this reason, when considering the attitude of *Rola* towards various phenomena of social life at the time, it is worth taking into account these fictional stories. In total, there were six works of this kind published, each with between five and ten parts.<sup>10</sup> The fact that these “pictures” were given great importance is supported by the fact that each episode of the cycle was published, by principle, on the first page of the weekly.<sup>11</sup> Both the individual careers of rich Jews and the stories of whole families, even Jewish clans, were described there. Let us therefore take a closer look at the way the anti-Semitic circle of *Rola* viewed rich Jewish families and relations within them.

One should start with the very title of the series, “Treasurers of the Nation” (“Podskarbiowie narodu”), which is an ironic title. The term “treasurer” in old Polish was a positive one, and was linked to a high-ranking function held in the past by members of Polish noble families. Obviously, the function of “treasurer” was linked to financial matters, which in the new capitalist times were taken over by representatives of other social groups, including Jews. These “new” people were becoming a new aristocracy, one of money, plutocracy, which gradually superseded the traditional aristocracy of blood, very often taking over old aristocratic titles. Jeleński and his co-workers looked at these processes disapprovingly, which undoubtedly resulted in this ironic title of the cycle.

It must be pointed out that it was not *Rola* that used this name to refer to Polish Jews, or to be more precise members of the assimilating Jewish plutocracy; “treasurers of the Nation” had earlier been used by the leading Polish writer and publicist of the time – Bolesław Prus.<sup>12</sup> However, when spoken by Prus, this expression had a positive meaning. Prus noticed a chance for Polish Jews to become a middle class of Polish so-

<sup>7</sup> “Podskarbiowie narodu” (Obrazki z natury) V: Kanaliensohny, *Rola* 1896, no. 6, p. 84.

<sup>8</sup> “Podskarbiowie narodu” (Obrazki z natury) III: Pantersohny, *Rola* 1891, no. 32, title page.

<sup>9</sup> On the Memorial see Eisenbach 1983.

<sup>10</sup> “Podskarbiowie narodu” (Obrazki z natury) I: Pan Baron u siebie, *Rola* 1890, nos 31-35; “Podskarbiowie narodu” (Obrazki z natury) II: Pan Prezes, *Rola* 1891, nos 13-17; “Podskarbiowie narodu” (Obrazki z natury) III: Pantersohny, *Rola* 1891, nos 25-32; “Podskarbiowie narodu” (Obrazki z natury) IV: Ten najlepszy, *Rola* 1891, nos 51-52 as well as 1892, nos 1-8; “Podskarbiowie narodu” (Obrazki z natury) V: Szteinpelesy, *Rola* 1893, nos 1-8; “Podskarbiowie narodu” (Obrazki z natury) V: Kanaliensohny, *Rola* 1896, nos 1-9.

<sup>11</sup> The exception is the last part of the cycle “Kanaliensohny”, *Rola* 1896, nos 1-9.

<sup>12</sup> Jan Jeleński in *Rola* refers to this term used by Prus, see Kamienny, “Na posterunku”, *Rola* 1889, no. 44. According to Jeleński, Prus used the term “treasurers of the nation” in *Gazeta Polska*, when he proved that both the owner of the magazine as well as “other financial potentates of the old convent class are benefactors.”

ciety, which lacked a strong bourgeois class. In consequence, he thought that the richest of Polish Jews could become a Polish economic elite – Polish financial circles. Obviously, a necessary condition for the demanded process was their assimilation with Polish national identity. Jeleński and his colleagues definitely rejected this point of view, reproaching Prus for naming Polish Jews “treasurers of the Nation,” which they considered to be preposterous.<sup>13</sup> First of all, this resulted from the fact that authors connected with *Rola* questioned the very idea of assimilation, treating it as a pipe dream; secondly, in the activities of Jews they could not see any productive values, but only sponging off the Polish social organism.

With such a point of view, *Rola* could only use the expression proposed by Prus ironically. Essentially, five years before publishing the cycle in question, a publication with the same title appeared: “Podskarbiowie narodu” (“Treasurers of the Nation”), which, after recollecting various kinds of economic activities of Polish Jews and considering them harmful, stated bluntly: “The name of treasurers of the nation, if they were entitled to it, would be only as a huge joke. This is how we also understand this name.” And further on: “God save us from such ‘treasurers of the nation’!”<sup>14</sup> From this time *Rola* consistently used the term in such a way.<sup>15</sup> So when in 1890 the publication of interesting “pictures from life” under the common title “Treasurers of the Nation” started, regular readers of Jeleński’s weekly must have had no problem in recognizing its ironic overtones.<sup>16</sup>

The author of these stories<sup>17</sup> presented their characters as members of a larger community, mostly of “families” of various sizes. The importance of the family aspect in these “pictures” is strengthened by the fact that a half of them simply had the surnames of the described fictitious families in their titles.

The dozens of references spread over the pages of these short stories allow us to sketch a certain synthetic picture of an assimilated or assimilating rich Jewish family (because only such families were interesting to the author), obviously seen through the eyes of an anti-Semite.

Thus, the roots of the families are usually at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when some ancestor of a family, making use of favorable circumstances, made his first bigger money. Usually, these are some unclear and questionable transactions, sometimes based on cheating Christians who were willing to help. Frequently, these transactions are of a legal but grotesque character. An example is the career of Aron Szteinpeles, who made

<sup>13</sup> Jeleński often had a dispute with Prus. See Friedrich 2015 (forthcoming).

<sup>14</sup> Spokojny, “Podskarbiowie narodu” (Z notatek wieśniaka), *Rola* 1885, no. 16, p. 185.

<sup>15</sup> See Kamienny, “Na posterunku,” *Rola* 1887, no. 5, p. 54; Kamienny, “Na posterunku,” *Rola* 1887, no. 27, p. 319; “Gospodarka finansistów warszawskich,” *Rola* 1887, no. 43, p. 506; “Nie do uwierzenia... (Z gospodarki krajowej),” *Rola* 1888, no. 25, title page.

<sup>16</sup> See also *Ćwierćwiecze walki. Księga pamiątkowa “Roli”* 1910, p. 35.

<sup>17</sup> The question of the authorship remains unclear, though there are certain clues that point to Antoni Skrzynecki being the Stranger (“Nieznajomy”). First, Antoni Skrzynecki in *Wędrowiec* weekly magazine used the pseudonym “Ignotus,” which in Latin means “Nieznajomy” (a stranger) – the signature appearing under the first four parts of “Podskarbiowie narodu”: “Pan Baron u siebie,” “Pan Prezes,” “Pantersohny” and “Ten najlepszy.” We know that “Ignotus” was Antoni Skrzynecki’s pseudonym from his bio, cf. Gajkowska 1997/98, pp. 440-441. Second, in another work written by Antoni Skrzynecki – the novel “Warszawa 2000” (written under a different pseudonym, “Werytus”) – he uses the name “Steinpeles” which is a title of one of the series pieces and is a unique (if at all existing) name in itself; third: the zest and verbiage resemble that of Antoni Skrzynecki. To learn more about his style and vocabulary, see Domagalska 2004, pp. 307-318.

money on running “the flea circus.”<sup>18</sup> These kinds of pictures aim to devalue the origin of these fortunes.

Despite the financial success, at the beginning these families follow their traditional way of life. They preserve their faith, and live a relatively modest<sup>19</sup> life. With time, however, new elements appear. Enriched Jews unwillingly return to the beginning of their family’s fortunes and generally willingly deny their Jewish roots, which would remind them of their origins – from poor villages or small towns as well as, generally, from lower social groups. A Jew making a career in the world does not want to identify himself with his old grandfather from Pinczów,<sup>20</sup> while another enriched Jewish magnate orders that his poor aunt be thrown out when she starts to ask for an allowance in front of witnesses, making use of her close relations with her nephew, whose name was once Srul Kwiczała and is now Baron Achilles de Preval.<sup>21</sup>

This satirically presented name change directs attention to the next problem identified by *Rola*, namely the false identities produced by enriched Jewish families. They change their surnames from traditional Jewish ones (sometimes grotesque ones) to more distinguished ones. In this way, the Kwiczała known to us becomes De Preval and Kitzelwurst changes to Kolb.<sup>22</sup> It is not only surnames, but forenames too are changed in a similar way. The Jewish “Hereszek” can serve as an example, becoming a Europeanized “Hugo.”<sup>23</sup> Frequently, these changes are of a group character, performed by parents for all of their offspring; consequently, Srul, Mosze and Lejzer gain new names which sound much more familiar to Polish ears, for example Waclaw, Witold and Justyn.<sup>24</sup> The custom of giving Polish names to children, which constitutes an obvious sign of the assimilation of Jews from the point of view of *Rola* (which was reluctant towards assimilation), also deserves criticism. To justify the above, one can look at the fictional and grotesque name Mnożysław, which was given to a son of one of characters of the “Sztejnpelesy” series.<sup>25</sup>

However, it was not only changing of names that served the purpose of building a new identity for Jewish families, but also buying noble titles (for example the above-mentioned Baron de Preval), producing false genealogies as well as buying old mansions of noblemen whose secular histories were supposed to add splendor to newly rich families.<sup>26</sup>

An example of the first process is Kwiczała, which changed into Baron Sachs-Goth,<sup>27</sup> or the aforementioned Baron Achilles de Preval, who pretended not to pay attention to his aristocratic title but at the same time took pride in it, informing his interlocutor that his family acquired the title for its achievements for the Eselburg Principality. Obviously,

<sup>18</sup> “Podskarbiowie narodu” (Obrazki z natury) V: Sztejnpelesy, *Rola* 1893, no. 2, title page.

<sup>19</sup> For example, the Pantersohn family are a traditional family at the beginning. See “Podskarbiowie narodu” (Obrazki z natury) III: Pantersohny, *Rola* 1891, no. 26, pp. 437-438.

<sup>20</sup> “Podskarbiowie narodu” (Obrazki z natury) V: Kanaliensohny, *Rola* 1896, no. 3, p. 35.

<sup>21</sup> “Podskarbiowie narodu” (Obrazki z natury) I: Pan Baron u siebie, *Rola* 1890, no. 33, pp. 553-554.

<sup>22</sup> “Podskarbiowie narodu” (Obrazki z natury) II: Pan Prezes, *Rola* 1891, no. 13, p. 207. About the names see Jagodzińska 2008, pp. 201-253.

<sup>23</sup> “Podskarbiowie narodu” (Obrazki z natury) V: Sztejnpelesy, *Rola* 1893, no. 4, title page.

<sup>24</sup> “Podskarbiowie narodu” (Obrazki z natury) IV: Ten najlepszy, *Rola* 1891, no. 52, title page.

<sup>25</sup> This name came from linking two morphemes: “mnożyć” (to multiply) and the typical ending for Slavic languages “-sław”: “Podskarbiowie narodu” (Obrazki z natury) V: Sztejnpelesy, *Rola* 1893, no. 6, title page.

<sup>26</sup> For more on the process of adaptation of Polish names and surnames, see Jagodzińska 2008, pp. 201-253.

<sup>27</sup> “Podskarbiowie narodu” (Obrazki z natury) III: Pantersohny, *Rola* 1891, no. 31, title page.

the principality is fictitious, and its name – mocking – means nothing more than “the donkey’s castle.” However, if a reader had any doubts concerning the Jewish roots of a false aristocrat, the author points to the fact that in his study one could see many photos in “lavishly decorated frames” presenting “only Jewish men and women.”<sup>28</sup>

The other phenomenon was described by the author of the cycle using the example of the life of Hugon Szejnpeles, who after making a fortune “lacked [...] only an estate and ruins of the castle from which he could dig out the ashes of his ancestors and call forth their spirits.”<sup>29</sup> Taking advantage of this desire, the architect who was commissioned to rebuild the old castle bought by Szejnpeles convinced him of the fact that the aristocratic title accompanied the castle, which the newly enriched entrepreneur took at face value. The nouveau-riche zeal of Szejnpeles was mocked in the scene in which he orders one hundred dozen buttons with his monogram and the prince’s crown. Criticizing these phenomena, the author of the short story “Pantsohny” wrote with biting irony that the Jews’ financial and social success was leading them to believe “firmly that [...] in a direct line they are descendants of Gottfried de Boullion or Richard the Lion Heart.”<sup>30</sup>

Also, marriages with representatives of noble or aristocratic families served to build the new social prestige of newly enriched families. Marrying daughters to sons of historic families that were becoming bankrupt was for the richest Jews the major method of “mixing of their race with the national one.”<sup>31</sup> The following scathing quotation from the story entitled “Pan Prezes” (“Mr President”) is evidence that this was a kind of deal in which financial issues played a crucial role: “Jakub Gottfried started to look for ‘sons in law,’ asked here and there, undecided if *he would buy* himself [my emphasis] princes, counts or only noblemen.”<sup>32</sup> The proper selection of sons-in-law was to strengthen the high position of Jewish families in a traditional hierarchical society. However, if one is to believe the vision of *Rola*, this was not an easy task at all since well-born sons-in-law were “expensive goods to purchase, yet even more expensive to keep.”<sup>33</sup> However, “the craving for affinity”<sup>34</sup> was so strong that the attempts described above were made relatively often.

The phenomena of this kind, satirized by *Rola*, obviously constituted the reflection of the real processes connected with the assimilation. Thus, it is no wonder that *Rola*, which was reluctant to the assimilation, did not have a positive attitude towards it.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>28</sup> “Podskarbiowie narodu” (Obrazki z natury) I: Pan Baron u siebie, *Rola* 1890, no. 33, title page.

<sup>29</sup> “Podskarbiowie narodu” (Obrazki z natury) V: Szejnpelesy, *Rola* 1893, no. 7, p. 98.

<sup>30</sup> “Podskarbiowie narodu” (Obrazki z natury) III: Pantersohny, *Rola* 1891, no. 31, title page.

<sup>31</sup> “Podskarbiowie narodu” (Obrazki z natury) V: Szejnpelesy, *Rola* 1893, no. 1, pp. 1-2.

<sup>32</sup> “Podskarbiowie narodu” (Obrazki z natury) II: Pan Prezes, *Rola* 1891, no. 15, p. 245. See also: “Podskarbiowie narodu” (Obrazki z natury) I: Pan Baron u siebie, *Rola* 1890, no. 32, p. 537, or “Podskarbiowie narodu” (Obrazki z natury) III: Pantersohny, *Rola* 1891, no. 25, p. 422.

<sup>33</sup> “Podskarbiowie narodu” (Obrazki z natury) V: Szejnpelesy, *Rola* 1893, no. 1, p. 1. On the problems caused by the “coat-of-arms sons-in-law,” see also e.g. “Podskarbiowie narodu” (Obrazki z natury) I: Pan Baron u siebie, *Rola* 1890, no. 32, p. 5. The term “coat-of-arms sons-in-law” also comes from *Rola*, see “Podskarbiowie narodu” (Obrazki z natury) IV: Ten najlepszy, *Rola* 1891, no. 52, p. 896.

<sup>34</sup> “Podskarbiowie narodu” (Obrazki z natury) V: Szejnpelesy, *Rola* 1893, no. 1, title page.

<sup>35</sup> For more about mixed marriages in the novels printed in *Rola*, see Domagalska 2006, pp. 167-174, esp. 170. It is worth pointing out that the works of Skrzynecki described by Domagalska show a lot of similarities with the series “Podskarbiowie narodu.” See note 17. We should also add that the theme of mixed marriages in *Rola* bore a certain significance, as (according to Kołodziejska) it could have influenced the

A different way of establishing a social position was marriage within the Jewish plutocracy. An example of this situation is the marriage of Jonasz Pantersohn to a daughter of one of the country's biggest financial potentates – Leopolder. As a result, as the author of the story writes, the Pantersohn family was linked to a “great ‘mansion’ of Leopolder.”<sup>36</sup> Again, it does not seem difficult to see, on the one hand, an irony – the term “house” was reserved for great monarchical or duke families; on the other hand, this term points to the fact that in the reality of the time money made the new dynasties which the great bourgeoisie turned into.

It is obvious that since the institution of marriage was treated as an element of this kind of social transaction, the problem of misalliance appeared. However, the hitherto aristocratic criterion of birth was replaced by a bourgeois criterion of wealth. This misalliance was described in the short story entitled “Kanaliensohny,” in which an exceptionally ugly daughter of a Jewish rich man marries a considerably poorer but promising Jew.<sup>37</sup> On this occasion the mechanism of domination in marriage of this part that provided finance was described. A poor husband satisfies his rich wife's most foolish whims in order not to lose the possibility of using his father-in-law's wealth.

However, even in the world in which marriage is de facto a transaction, sometimes love matches also happen.<sup>38</sup> The authors of *Rola* write about them with sympathy, but they can point to only a few, just two to be precise. One of them was between the daughter of a rich Jew and, as it seems, another Jew, about whom *Rola* writes characteristically that he was “an exceptionally decent man for the son-in-law of a famous financier.”<sup>39</sup> The next example is more interesting, since it refers to the assimilation processes, as well being linked to religious questions. In this case, the son of a rich Jew is baptized and marries a non-Jew, presumably a Catholic. But the reader finds out that this love match was established against the will of the groom's family; what is more, the groom was disowned by his father. However, on his death bed the father forgives the couple in love. This story does show, though, how much significance was given at that time to the question of obedience to the parents' will, or even, in a broader sense, to the family's will, since the author wrote about “the father's will and the relatives' will.”<sup>40</sup>

The story focuses our attention on one more problem, namely on religious questions. These were very significant at that time as well. Keeping the ancestors' faith or coming to any Christian religion was not only a spiritual choice but also a social one. This conscious act of conversion was a platform of the economic career that was described in the short story entitled “The Best One” (“Ten najlepszy”), in which the main character, Justyn Diebmann, undergoes the conversion to Lutheranism for mercenary reasons. Yet it is interesting that his brothers make different choices – Witold sticks to Judaism and Waław enters the Roman Catholic faith.<sup>41</sup> The anti-Semitic *Rola* did not believe in the honest intentions of Jews undergoing religious conversion, proof of which can be found

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development of the Polish-Jewish reformative romances in fiction printed in *Izraelita* being a response to the topics from the anti-Semitic works, see Kołodziejska 2014, p. 259.

<sup>36</sup> “Podskarbiowie narodu” (Obrazki z natury) III: Pantersohny, *Rola* 1891, no. 29, p. 490.

<sup>37</sup> “Podskarbiowie narodu” (Obrazki z natury) V: Kanaliensohny, *Rola* 1896, no. 6, pp. 84-85.

<sup>38</sup> Domagalska (2012, p. 194) mentions a rare case of a marriage out of love in Bałucki's novel.

<sup>39</sup> “Podskarbiowie narodu” (Obrazki z natury) II: Pan Prezes, *Rola* 1891, no. 15, p. 246.

<sup>40</sup> “Podskarbiowie narodu” (Obrazki z natury) V: Szteinpelesy, *Rola* 1893, no. 7, p. 99.

<sup>41</sup> “Podskarbiowie narodu” (Obrazki z natury) IV: Ten najlepszy, *Rola* 1892, no. 2, title page.

in the short story entitled “Pan Prezes” (“Mr. President”).<sup>42</sup> The situation described there concerned the alleged conversion to Lutheranism of a young Jew, who, following the instructions of Jewish religious leaders, was supposed to practice his ancestors’ faith in secret.<sup>43</sup> One way or another, according to the authors of *Rola* all religious questions served only the purpose of increasing wealth, and it was gold that functioned as the only Jewish religion.<sup>44</sup> With this point of view presented by *Rola*, it is no wonder that it perceives a Jewish family as a “company” or “a business cooperation,” in which all members of the family take part in making common but not always legal business, sometimes even ordinary swindles.<sup>45</sup> Worse still, these questionable models are passed on to the younger generations, and in many episodes one can see the motif of taking bad habits by children right within the framework of the family business.<sup>46</sup>

Simultaneously, this family character of running a business is a symptom of supporting “our people,” which according to *Rola* and in accordance with anti-Semitic stereotypes is a typical feature of Jews.<sup>47</sup> An exceptionally vivid example of this kind of behavior is the Pantersohn family, which the author of the cycle calls “the company,”<sup>48</sup> pointing to the fact that “all of them always act together.”<sup>49</sup>

In the name of the family business, they obviously aim at total control of enterprises, which is done, for example, by making their sons members of the boards of directors. At the same time, these high functions are to ensure high apanage to them, which they can spend light-heartedly on revels and needless luxury. Yet the authors of *Rola* apparently make the distinction between the older generation of rich Jews and the younger one. No matter how often the older Jews made some equivocal business against their conscience and used dishonest methods in building the power of their families, still they were at the same time – even if done in a coldly calculated manner – polite, reserved, foreseeing and in a way hard-working. None of the above features can be ascribed to the young ones.

Here it is worth quoting a longer paragraph that clearly shows this discrepancy between generations:

Fathers (...) were or still are the Jews of the old school (...) taught to bend their neck and to crawl where they could not jump despite their ‘flair for business,’ they remained meek and polite – even when they came to the forefront, they did it as if they were under pressure

<sup>42</sup> Though *Rola* was very suspicious towards neophytes, it was nevertheless ready to accept them if the motivation behind the conversion was sincere and bereft of financial benefits, see Kamienny, “Na posterunku” (“List neofity”), *Rola* 1886, no. 21 and Kamienny, “Na posterunku (przypomnienie ‘Listu neofity”),” *Rola* 1888, no. 2. Additionally on *Rola*’s attitude towards neophytes see Lewalski 2002, pp. 204-205.

<sup>43</sup> “Podskarbiowie narodu” (Obrazki z natury) II: Pan Prezes, *Rola* 1891, no. 13, p. 206.

<sup>44</sup> “Podskarbiowie narodu” (Obrazki z natury) IV: Ten najlepszy, *Rola* 1892, no. 2, title page.

<sup>45</sup> An example of dishonest practices can be brothers who run rather suspicious business (cf. “Podskarbiowie narodu” (Obrazki z natury) V: Kanaliensohny, *Rola* 1896, no. 2), or the collaboration of a mother and a son in cheating (cf. “Podskarbiowie narodu” (Obrazki z natury) IV: Ten najlepszy, *Rola* 1891, no. 52).

<sup>46</sup> “Podskarbiowie narodu” (Obrazki z natury) IV: Ten najlepszy, *Rola* 1892, no. 1, title page; “Podskarbiowie narodu” (Obrazki z natury) IV: Ten najlepszy, *Rola* 1892, no. 5, title page; “Podskarbiowie narodu” (Obrazki z natury) V: Szteipelesy, *Rola* 1893, no. 7, title page.

<sup>47</sup> “Podskarbiowie narodu” (Obrazki z natury) V: Szteipelesy, *Rola* 1893, no. 6, title page.

<sup>48</sup> “Podskarbiowie narodu” (Obrazki z natury) III: Pantersohny, *Rola* 1891, no. 25, p. 422.

<sup>49</sup> “Podskarbiowie narodu” (Obrazki z natury) III: Pantersohny, *Rola* 1891, no. 29, title page. It should be added that the surname *Pantersohn* is of some significance. For a description of this surname see “Podskarbiowie narodu” (Obrazki z natury) III: Pantersohny, *Rola* 1891, no. 27, p. 454.



from the majority of local inhabitants that respect them and love them. (...) It is a different matter with the youth that were in a prominent school, although all the time they came across abundant examples of how to crawl when they could not jump, they became arrogant and impudent without any inhibitions (...). The old ones collected money by adopting subservient positions, kissing the arms and knees of those who they planned to bring to ruin; the young ones, with the millions earned by the old ones at their disposal, asked for themselves from the gods of Olympus... horns and they gore everything they come across.<sup>50</sup>

The representatives of the younger generation sin not only with their arrogance. They despise work<sup>51</sup> and the money hard-earned by their fathers is wasted on debauchery and pleasures<sup>52</sup> or balls in Paris.<sup>53</sup>

This total unrestraint of the younger generation is seen by the author as a kind of punishment meted out for the elders. He writes: "Looking at such persons, one could assume that fate takes revenge on their fathers for abusing human rights by giving them such offspring".<sup>54</sup> This degeneracy happens despite all the attempts of the fathers, who provide their children with a good education as well as allowing them to take over their business.<sup>55</sup>

It is interesting, however, that in *Rola's* opinion this care for the future of the family business serves the conscious aim of building the power of a family. In one of the stories it is mentioned, for example, that the father leaves four sons and is sure that "the famous family will not vanish."<sup>56</sup> Apparently, the prosperity of the family is one of the most important goals in the activity of the Jewish plutocracy, which is also supported by caring for building up a good reputation, among other things through a calculated and very often just false philanthropy.<sup>57</sup> The term "family" should be understood, however, in a broader sense, since even distant relatives take part in the family business.<sup>58</sup> What is more – and here we touch upon the major problem – according to *Rola*, all Jews are actually one big family which should be supported at the expense of "others" and which is characterized by the same stereotypical vices mentioned above. Samuel Pantersohn's speech directed to his sons is extremely significant in this respect: "Above all, remember that the whole profit does not necessarily have to go into your pocket; it is enough that part of it goes to you and the rest of it goes to other entities of our tribe."<sup>59</sup>

In the last short story of the cycle, entitled "Kanaliensohny," this way of thinking plays a crucial role, in which the author directly claims that all Jews are actually one big family characterized by specific and common "family traits," indelible for generations. Even the very title is meant to convince the reader about this idea. It is a made-up surname given to all Jews by the author independently of the real surnames of individual

<sup>50</sup> "Podskarbiowie narodu" (Obrazki z natury) III: Pantersohny, *Rola* 1891, no. 31, title page.

<sup>51</sup> "Podskarbiowie narodu" (Obrazki z natury) V: Szteipelesy, *Rola* 1893, no. 7, 99.

<sup>52</sup> "Podskarbiowie narodu" (Obrazki z natury) V: Szteipelesy, *Rola* 1893, no. 9, 131.

<sup>53</sup> "Podskarbiowie narodu" (Obrazki z natury) V: Kanaliensohny, *Rola* 1896, no. 6, 85.

<sup>54</sup> "Podskarbiowie narodu" (Obrazki z natury) II: Pan Prezes, *Rola* 1891, no. 13.

<sup>55</sup> "Podskarbiowie narodu" (Obrazki z natury) IV: Ten najlepszy, *Rola* 1892, no. 5, title page; "Podskarbiowie narodu" (Obrazki z natury) V: Szteipelesy, *Rola* 1893, no. 8, title page.

<sup>56</sup> "Podskarbiowie narodu" (Obrazki z natury) V: Szteipelesy, *Rola* 1893, no. 4, title page.

<sup>57</sup> "Podskarbiowie narodu" (Obrazki z natury) III: Pantersohny, *Rola* 1891, no. 30.

<sup>58</sup> "Podskarbiowie narodu" (Obrazki z natury) V: Szteipelesy, *Rola* 1893, no. 7, title page.

<sup>59</sup> "Podskarbiowie narodu" (Obrazki z natury) III: Pantersohny, *Rola* 1891, no. 27, title page.

families. Additionally, it is an exceptionally offensive surname since it is rooted in the noun “kanalia” (a rascal/scoundrel), which means a mean and dishonorable man. Thus, by presenting these ideas *Rola* says to its readers that not only are Jews one big family against us, but also they are all rascals.

The series in question aroused divergent emotions. On the one hand, it was supposed to make *Rola*<sup>60</sup> popular among readers, yet on the other it provoked huge criticism of the magazine on the part not only of the Jewish and liberal press but also even *Przegląd Katolicki* (“The Catholic Review”). Because of certain ideological convergences between *Przegląd* and *Rola*, accusations made in the Catholic weekly deserve special attention. *Przegląd* pointed out that it was not done “to fight with ‘individuals’ and ‘send out journalistic probes’ to salons, studies and bankers’ halls”; it was not done “to interfere with bankers’ household matters and reveal to the world who this or that banker’s daughter ‘is marrying’ as well as what the intention of taking someone for one’s son or in-law is or marries his son to,” and generally it was not done “to occupy the public attention with this kind of questions and satisfy ‘reader’s spoiled taste’.”<sup>61</sup>

Disregarding here the essential difference of attitude between these titles in this regard, I would like to focus on a fundamental fact that is crucial for understanding the whole cycle of publications discussed here. *Przegląd Katolicki* treated the publication of *Rola* as a story of really existing individuals and families, weakly camouflaged by the fictitious names of the characters. And even though Jeleński himself without great conviction pointed out their fictional character,<sup>62</sup> still for his reading audience it must have been clear that real characters were being described under false names. After years, in 1910, Skrzynecki himself admitted to having been – as I mentioned before – the author of “Podskarbiowie narodu.”<sup>63</sup> This is what he wrote about the origins of the series:

This artificial aura which Jewish bankers were draped with should be (...) dispelled, and *Rola* undertook this challenge having collected meticulously rich material for *authentic biographies* [my emphasis] of the whole cycle of “Podskarbiowie narodu.” The satirical storytelling was used not so much for the sake of sensation, but for the readability of biographical profiles in order to successfully disperse legendary odes and dithyrambs.

Under the *deliberately clear false names* [my emphasis] (...) the whole gallery of “Podskarbiowie narodu” was presented. From the rich biographical material of these persons only the most characteristic details were chosen, seasoned only with slight satire.<sup>64</sup>

Taking this into consideration, we can make an attempt to identify particular families in the series. The fewest doubts are raised as far as the identification of the fictional Pantersohn family with the quite real Natanson family is concerned. This identification is possible not only because of the information and allusions spread in many places of this fictional story as well as the remarks made by Skrzynecki, who in 1910 pointed to

<sup>60</sup> *Ćwierćwiecze walki. Księga pamiątkowa “Roli”*, 1910, pp. 35 and 117.

<sup>61</sup> Quoted in J. Jeleński, “Na posterunku,” *Rola* 1891, no. 39, p. 661. Obviously, the publisher of *Rola* rejected the criticism of *Przegląd Katolicki* by attempting to prove that in the cycle mentioned above the focus was not on the domestic life of financiers of Jewish origin but on their functioning in the socio-economic life of the country: *ibid.*, pp. 661-662.

<sup>62</sup> Jeleński wrote about the “data of ‘individuals,’ about which we did not even think,” J. Jeleński, “Na posterunku,” *Rola* 1891, no. 39, p. 661.

<sup>63</sup> See note 17.

<sup>64</sup> *Ćwierćwiecze walki. Księga pamiątkowa “Roli”*, 1910, p. 72.

the fact that the family who were the models for the Pantersohn family centered their business in one department store; to represent a significant financial power they started to influence the course of social life in Poland; to remain ardent Jews, simultaneously they worked on forming an opinion about their deep Polish patriotism; to spread their influence over numerous Polish environments simultaneously they were active in building the superpower of Alliance Israelite, and, what's more, they became "hidden leaders of the whole nationalistic Jewish movement in Poland."<sup>65</sup>

The remarks quoted above correspond quite precisely to what *Rola* wrote about the Natansons in its other texts.<sup>66</sup> However, it should be noted that many of them could correspond to the description of other rich assimilated families. Nevertheless, in the quotation above there is a fragment which dissipates all doubts. This is the remark concerning the fact that the Pantersohns were editors of the so-called "Stock exchange memorandum," which in fact was prepared by Henryk Natanson.<sup>67</sup>

As has been mentioned before, the group portrait of a Jewish family presented in *Rola* is clearly unfavorable. Without any doubt, this lack of a friendly attitude has its roots in *Rola*'s anti-Semitic obsessions; simultaneously, however, this harsh criticism reflects fear of more general processes, namely forming a new type of society in which the economic status becomes more important than a traditional social hierarchy based on birth and heirdom. Many of the stereotypes presented by *Rola* concern in general a newly rich social group: the *nouveaux riches*. Both these elements interweave, and sometimes it would be difficult to separate the anti-Semitic component – let us say a racial or ethnic one – from the more general one which was commonly encountered in 19<sup>th</sup>-century Europe and did not concern Jews alone.

Making up false genealogies, affinity with traditional aristocracy of blood, buying titles, creating fictional splendor of a family by building or renovating pseudo-historic mansions, demonstrative consumption, philanthropy for show – these are all objections that were presented at that time, and that have been presented till now against the representatives of the newly rich. Thus, in this criticism, the irony and rancorous remarks made by *Rola* about Jewish families one can see the defensive mechanism thanks to which an old dominating sphere (at that time in Polish reality it was mainly nobility and landowners as well as old aristocracy) tried to devalue the new energetic powers arising from the bottom of the social hierarchy (which often meant Jews in Poland at the time).

Besides that general aspect, obviously there are elements which are unambiguously of an anti-Semitic character. This is, for example, the conviction that Jews in a certain natural way stick to illegal business, or at least to questionable activity. First of all, it is the strong belief that in fact all Jews form something like a big, supporting family whose aims stand in opposition to the non-Jewish majority. In this point *Rola* completely reveals its anti-Semitic worldview, which means that its authors present the question of a Jewish family in a distorting mirror.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 73.

<sup>66</sup> E.g. Kamienny, "Na posterunku," *Rola* 1885, no. 20; Kamienny, "Na posterunku," *Rola* 1885, no. 44; Kamienny, "Na posterunku," *Rola* 1886, no. 30; Substitute for Kamienny, "Na posterunku," *Rola* 1890, no. 15; Kamienny, "Na posterunku," *Rola* 1892, no. 35; Kamienny, "Na posterunku," *Rola* 1893, no. 26; "Z prasy russkiej. Pan Bloch i jego dzieła I," *Rola* 1893, no. 28.

<sup>67</sup> *Ćwierćwiecze walki. Księga pamiątkowa "Roli"*, 1910, p. 74. On the so-called stock-exchange memorandum, see Eisenbach 1983. See also Kamienny, "Na posterunku," *Rola* 1886, no. 30.

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## DEMONOLOGY AT THE CROSSROADS. THE PRESENCE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF NON-JEWISH BELIEFS WITHIN ASHKENAZI FOLKLORE<sup>1</sup>

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**Key words:** folklore, demonology, medicine, Jewish-Slavic relations

**Abstract:** The article deals with the subject of popular demonology as a space of symbolic contact between Jewish culture and the largely Slavic surrounding culture(s) in the Eastern Europe. It brings together two main themes – the presence of Christian beliefs about witchcraft, and demonic representations of diseases (e.g. *kolten*, *hartsvore*, etc.) – as seen and evaluated within the Ashkenazi milieu at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Based on print and handwritten sources of various origins, the article presents examples of extensive intercultural contact, emphasizing their scope and meaning, as well as their limitations, in historical/cultural context.

The problem of Jewish-Slavic cultural contacts attracted much attention in the final decades of the last century, and inspired a visible turn in scholarship beginning with the “polysystem theory” created originally for literature studies, and ending with recent concepts of “cultural frontier.”<sup>2</sup> In Chone Shmeruk’s case study of the *Esterke* story, a pioneering work at the time of its publication in the 1980s, the author discusses two neighboring traditions, focusing mainly on their literary dimensions. As Shmeruk points out, contact between Jewish and Christian populations was almost entirely limited to the economic sphere, with an otherwise virtual cultural wall existing between Polish Jews and non-Jews, preventing open cultural exchange in other domains. But folklore could mutually affect both groups due to its oral transmission. Yet Shmeruk saw such influences as having limited culture-building impact, and therefore did not occupy himself with it in his own analysis.<sup>3</sup> Ever since Adam Teller expanded the conception of the *shtetl* from the insular, exclusively Jewish space it had long been treated as, viewing it instead as an integral part of social landscape of the Polish-Lithuanian state,<sup>4</sup> the need for an intercultural approach to Jewish history in the Eastern Europe became clear. Mary Louise Pratt’s notion of a *contact zone* is useful here, as it offers a framework for understanding

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<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank Professor Erica Lehrer of Concordia University for comments and suggestions regarding the article.

<sup>2</sup> This changes affected both historic and cultural studies, cf. Rosman 2007; Prokop-Janiec 2013, pp. 15-43.

<sup>3</sup> Shmeruk 1895, pp. 46-47. I use the term ‘Ashkenazi folklore’ to denote the sphere of popular culture expressed in its variety by the traditionally oriented Yiddish-speaking Jewry. Alan Dundes (1999, pp. 5-8) indicated that “oral transmission is a common but not absolutely essential factor in defining folklore.” This opinion seems true regarding Jewish, as well as non-Jewish culture in Eastern Europe.

<sup>4</sup> Teller 2004, pp. 25-40.

intercultural encounter in social as well as symbolic terms.<sup>5</sup> Even if Jewish-Slavic meetings centered around economic activities, their substance was generally much broader and involved also other spheres of culture. This article focuses on intercultural contacts and exchange with regard to popular demonology, using representations of demons and witches as expressed by the traditional Ashkenazi community living among (largely) Slavic population of Christian (Catholic and Orthodox) faith as an entryway to the broader question of Jewish-Slavic mutual influence.

It is important to stress that beliefs about demonic intervention in the world order have been discussed in relation to folklore only since the 19<sup>th</sup> century. However, their presence in European culture dates back at least as far as the middle ages, when demons and witches played a prominent role in popular worldviews. As Jane P. Davidson notes in the introduction to her book *Early Modern Supernatural*: “Beliefs in evil or demonic supernatural entities and events were a large component of European art and literature. Many books were written on the dark side subjects of devils, witches, ghosts, possession, exorcism and black magic.”<sup>6</sup> Unlike today, such literature did not occupy a separate shelf – neither of “fiction” nor “folklore” – it was not categorized in such way. Rather, it reflected the general popular contexts of the world of its creators – ideas and practices that intertwined with all other human activities. The Hippocratic and Galenic medical traditions that had been predominant in the European thought before the 18<sup>th</sup> century had been merged with supernatural ones. Natural and magical remedies were used simultaneously, sometimes depending on each other. Even after the development of modern medicine based on biological sciences, magic continued to influence healing practices, and the “dark side” occupied an important place in European culture. Thus, the study of concepts seemingly existing only on the margin of the modern perception should not be obscured by the traditional guise of the gathered data.

The topic of non-Jewish roots of certain aspects of Ashkenazi folklore cannot be regarded as a new one. Even within the geographic framework of Central and Eastern Europe, this subject has attracted the attention of numerous scholars including Max Grunwald, Max Weinreich, Yehuda Leyb Cahan and much later Haya Bar-Itzhak and Olga Belova among others. Rather than reiterating the earlier debates, then, this article will focus on two aspects of intercultural contact rarely mentioned in current Jewish Studies literature, and only in a limited way in modern discourse on Jewish-Slavic relations before the Holocaust. These points of interest include the presence of Christian beliefs on witchcraft and of demonic representations of diseases in Ashkenazi folklore, particularly in its medical sphere. The former aspect will elucidate a number of important aspects of Slavic and generally Christian influences on the ways that witches and sorcerers were presented in Jewish narratives. The latter aspect examines less prominent diseases treated by folk medicine, beyond cholera or “the evil eye,” both of which have been thoroughly treated by scholars. Based on these analyses, the article argues for rec-

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<sup>5</sup> Mary Louise Pratt (1992, p. 7) defined *contact zone* as “the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict.” Although the term was coined within modern post-colonial studies, it can be also adapted to social and cultural circumstances discussed in this article.

<sup>6</sup> Davidson 2012, p. 2.

ognizing the profound significance of non-Jewish, mainly Central and Eastern European, beliefs about the “dark side” in the popular culture of Eastern Ashkenaz, as well as the reach and restriction of this exogenous cultural influence.

## Witchcraft at the Jewish-Christian frontier

The concept of witchcraft, as well as the belief in the existence of individuals with special powers in this domain (“black magic” or *maleficium*, magical acts intended to hurt people or ruin their property), has been present in many cultures in different geographic, religious, and social environments. Similar supernatural representations have been visible in Jewish and Christian mythologies that for hundreds of years coexisted on a confined territory, though each group constructed these ideas in its own way. Both cultures that dominated Eastern Europe before the Holocaust explained the meaning of witchcraft in close connection to other components of their idiosyncratic worldview, notably with religious values and symbols. The Hebrew term *machshefa* (Yiddish *a makhsheyfe*, a witch) appeared already in the bible, in a verse from Shemot: “Do not allow the sorceress to live” (22, 17). The same passage entered Jewish magical practices and was quoted extensively on protective amulets as well as in magical incantations intended to neutralize *kishufim* (sorcery). Witches mentioned in the Scripture, and to some extent also those portrayed by the Talmudic sages, appeared to be engaged in maleficent acts against the people of Israel or individuals. Although occupied with forbidden lore, they were devoid of demonic features. Instead, witchcraft was associated with idolatry, a counterweight to the miracles worked by prophets, with the blessing of the Only God. Various holders of impure magical powers were portrayed as royal courtiers or members of royal families, but their acts against God’s order did not go without punishment.

In the Talmudic era accusations of magical practices, not necessarily the harmful kind, arose frequently in relation to various activities of Jewish women. The Sages referred to witchcraft as their wives’ natural, though inappropriate, attribute, a sort of inherent feminine proficiency. Although practicing black magic was not exclusively the prerogative of women – according to Rashi the biblical quotation from Shemot concerned both sexes – Jewish tradition still pointed out various reasons for the use of feminine gender in this specific passage and its hidden meanings.<sup>7</sup> Rabbis of previous generations, including Rashi, argued, that women “are most commonly witches,” also pointing at menstruation as a supposedly visible sign of predisposition toward witchcraft. According to *Kav ha-Yashar*, a moral instruction manual published at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, in periods of ritual impurity demons gathered on woman’s nails. The author Zevi Hirsh Koidanover counted exactly one thousand four hundred and fifty kinds of such evil creatures and warned that some witches willingly postponed planned actions for that particular time.<sup>8</sup> However, there were also other explanations, much more deeply

<sup>7</sup> Bar-Ilan 1993, pp. 7-32.

<sup>8</sup> Koidanover 1864/65, pp. 49-50. The period of pregnancy and birth, as well as of serious sickness, generated similar beliefs in special magical power, possessed by a pregnant/sick (ritually impure) woman. Curses thrown by such person were expected to cause harm and bring various misfortunes.

rooted in written tradition. The apocrypha (1 Henoch), midrashic literature, and – later on – many popular publications (for instance, *Tsene-Urene*, written in the Yiddish vernacular), interpreted the origins of women's attraction to black magic in accordance with the passage of Bereshit (6, 2), the story of the fallen angels. Two of those angels, Aza (also Shemhazai) and Azael, not only opposed God and took human women as wives, but also taught them the secret manipulations of the Holy Name.<sup>9</sup> Such manipulations constituted an emblematic feature of Jewish magical traditions, though they were associated with kabbalists rather than female witches.

The attitude toward witchcraft changed significantly in medieval Ashkenaz among Jewish communities scattered across southern and western German speaking provinces. Although the Talmudic speculations on women's magical dispositions lived on, finding their equivalent in the pagan idea of a "wise woman" (German *Hexe*, Polish *wiedźma*), they were usually accompanied by beliefs of origins different than biblical or rabbinic. In late Middle Ages the predominant view on witches within the Christian milieu presented them as representatives of both sexes (also referred to as sorcerers), people of every social strata and age – from young landlords to old midwives. Witches were thought to draw their powers from Satan, whom they worshipped after renouncing Christianity, and therefore their conduct resembled a clear opposition to the values shared by the society. The acts of *maleficia* included harming people and destroying property, along with blasphemy and sexual debauchery, generally viewed as acts of hostility, that posed a danger not only to an individual, but also to the social order in general. Moreover, witches and sorcerers obtained clearly demonic qualities: being able to transform into other entities, to fly or relocate rapidly in long distances, to feed on human blood etc. Such portrait of a witch entered *Sefer Hasidim*, an essential source of knowledge about medieval Ashkenaz, attributed to Judah he-Hasid of Regensburg (c. 1150-1217). The book devoted a significant number of passages to the matter of demonic activity and nature of witches. It did so not always refer directly to *machshefot*, but also characterized other supernatural events and peculiarities. The use of non-Jewish terms describing female witches *estrie* (from Latin *strix*, a night owl), as well as presenting those creatures in circumstances strikingly similar to situations depicted in books published within the Christian surrounding, suggest that already in the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> century the popular demonology was a space of significant cultural exchange. In the following centuries much evidence supporting this notion appeared in print, some written by prominent figures of European Jewry. The most notable publication was Menasseh ben Israel's *Nishmat Chayyim*, a book in which the Dutch rabbi revealed his views on witchcraft, which were almost indistinguishable from beliefs expressed by Christian authors.<sup>10</sup>

Although Christians ascribed witchcraft mainly to heretics or, simply put, those who abandoned Christ and submitted to His eternal enemy, popular culture at the time presented this belief from other angles as well. Jews were perceived similarly to witches and sorcerers, particularly as outsiders to traditional social and religious hierarchy and as strangers who possessed a catalog of potentially magical utensils (books, a foreign alphabet and language, Tefillin, etc.). Modern scholarship proves how enduring this stereotypical profile remained among Christian population of the Eastern Europe even af-

<sup>9</sup> Ashkenazi 1889, p. 25; Lew 1896, p. 306. Cf. Graves, Patai 2005, pp. 100-107.

<sup>10</sup> Trachtenberg 1939, pp. 13-14.



ter the Holocaust.<sup>11</sup> At the same time, Jewish culture constructed its own image of the stranger that took the final shape in the feudal reality of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and persisted among the most traditionally oriented spheres of Ashkenazi Jewry until the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This image was further reinforced by religious differences. “Otherness”, a trait implying associations with demons and witches for Jews as well, was similarly demonstrated most clearly through unknown rituals and strange symbols, in this case the Latin alphabet, the cross, portraits and figures of Christian saints, etc. Jewish folklore and memoirs preserved a multitude of testimonies recounting tensions between Jews and the “other” in the common space of the provincial town. Depictions of such tensions, “translated” into struggles between two supernatural powers, reveal substantial intercultural contacts that exceed the economic sphere. A story told in Maków Mazowiecki focuses around a parcel of land occupied by a cross, “a memorial and a *segulah* [mystical remedy] after a plague from the old times.” When the Hasidic Rebbe Levi Itzhak of Berdichev, during his visit to the shtetl, marked this very square as suitable for a “Holy Place,” unnatural winds and storms blew the cross away, thus the local Jewish community was able to negotiate moving the memorial and building a new synagogue.<sup>12</sup> According to another record, a woman from village Serafińce near Horodenka in (today’s) Ukraine instructed her daughter: “Az me geyt farbay a yoyzl, darf men dray mol oysshpayen un zogn: *shakets teshaktseynu*... Nor men darf zikh hitn, di goyim zoln dos nisht zen...” (If one passes by a crucifix, they need to spit three times and say: *shakets teshaktseynu* – loathe it totally [Devarim 7, 26] – but one must be careful, the gentiles shall not notice). The act of spitting emphasizes the apotropaic character of the custom, as it was intended not only to outline intercultural delimitation, but also to work as a protection from strangeness, understood as a manifestation of the “dark side.”<sup>13</sup>

In Jewish folk imagination the most dangerous sorcerers and witches were the representatives of Christian clergy, catholic and orthodox priests, as well as members of Polish elites – aristocrats of both sexes. Therefore, it was common to undertake a number of preventive measures at their sight: by showing the fig sign (mostly behind the back or in a pocket), throwing a metal pin (possibly to “stab” the evil), uttering an exorcism etc.<sup>14</sup> According to *Shivchei ha-Besht*, an original collection of stories about the alleged founder of Hasidism, Baal Shem Tov (Besht) was once asked to help a local Jewish community that happened to be in conflict with a priest. Although in the end he proved victorious, initially he did not want to engage against a “great sorcerer.”<sup>15</sup> A significant category of witches comprised famous individuals including magnates, emperors and popes. According to Hasidic stories about Leybl ben Sarah, one of the first Tsaddikim from Hungary, he waged a sort of magical challenge against the Holy Roman Emperor Joseph II, supposedly a holder of great powers.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>11</sup> It is worth mentioning such studies, as Cała 1995 and Michlic 2006, to mention only those published in English.

<sup>12</sup> Hilert 1969, pp. 182-183.

<sup>13</sup> Hofman-Shen 1963, p. 266.

<sup>14</sup> Lilientalowa 1898, p. 279; Lilientalowa 1900, p. 640; Fayvushinski 1958, p. 200; cf. Moszyński 1934, p. 290.

<sup>15</sup> *Sefer shivchei haBesht. Księga ku chwale Baal Szem Towa*, 2011, pp. 186-187; Meisels 1993, pp. 5-14.

<sup>16</sup> Even 1917, p. 77.

Despite the fact that, as mentioned earlier, in Jewish imagination symbols of Christianity were primarily associated with otherness or strangeness and consequently also with witchcraft, some sources verify this image in a manner typical for popular notions of “the other.” Although it was rather rare, in Ashkenazi folklore one can find descriptions of Christianity as a beneficent power in the face of “black magic.” The belief was based generally on a conviction, that the “other” is likewise subjected to God’s will, or “carries God in his heart,” and it found its expression in a popular Yiddish saying, that “Mit a goy, vos tseylemt zikh nit, darf men banakht in a boyd nit forn” (it is not wise to ride at night with a cart with a gentile who does not make a sign of cross [before a trip]). Presumably, the rare documented cases of Jews wearing crosses and Mother of God medallions within the Jewish folklore, or burning candles in a church may also be interpreted as taking advantage of the magical power of the “other.” Despite the fact that most Hebrew or Yiddish written testimonies describe acts of *maleficia* turned against Jews, it is also possible to trace stories focused, at least in some measure, on gentile victims of witchcraft. Such examples are not numerous, since the purpose of their recounting emphasized the needs of the in-group. Yehuda Yudel Rosenberg, a rabbi, writer and collector of traditions, published in a booklet dedicated to the Hasidic Rebbe Eliyahu Gutmacher of Greyditz (Grodzisk Wielkopolski) a story about a Jewish boy possessed by souls of four witches. The author based the narrative on a testimony recorded by Rebbe Eliyahu himself in a book *Tsafnat-Paaneach*,<sup>17</sup> but broadened it and enriched significantly with interesting details. The story starts with a conflict between a witch living on the outskirts of a village, a mother of three daughters, and non-Jewish peasants. After suffering from their evil deeds, the local population is determined to treat the problem with a radical solution. The women accused of witchcraft die in a fire and their bodies are prohibited from burial on a *smenazh* (gentile cemetery), so the sinful souls wander around and later become *dibbukim*.<sup>18</sup> In the variant of the story published by Rosenberg, the non-Jewish witches turn at the end against Jews.

## Witches, werewolves, vampires

There is significant evidence that Ashkenazi culture shared popular beliefs on the nature of witchcraft that were prominent among Slavic Eastern Europeans, despite the distance it expressed toward Christianity. For example, the traditional Jewish population demonstrated familiarity with witches, gathering at night on a top of a bald mountain, being intimate with devils and harming people and property on their demand.<sup>19</sup> As a resident of Felsztyn in Eastern Galicia recalled: “We believed in witchcraft, witches, old lame *goyes*, who are able to take away milk from a cow, or even from a nursing mother. *Goyes*, who can tap milk from a wall, exorcise the evil eye, remove a disease. People believed that they possess many secret remedies, and nobody was ashamed to use those

<sup>17</sup> Gutmacher 1875, pp. 16b-17a.

<sup>18</sup> Rosenberg 1913, pp. 3-16.

<sup>19</sup> Piątkowska 1897, p. 809.

bizarre advises and remedies, even if sorcery was directly forbidden by the Torah.<sup>20</sup> The acts of *maleficia* ascribed to the witches also resembled notions deeply rooted in the Germanic-Slavic borderland. One of the most often expressed reasons for hiding clipped nails and hair, objects supposedly used in black magic rituals, was a fear of being bewitched. According to Regina Lilientalowa's informants, to turn a man blind, a witch would pass her victim's hair through the eye of a frog, and release the animal soon after the ritual. Neutralization of such menaces was quite simple; the same informants stated that it was enough to bring a drop of blood from a person suspected of practicing witchcraft (with a pin-prick, for instance) for the curse to be lifted.<sup>21</sup>

In a Hebrew manuscript dated from the 19th century one can find three incantations aimed at bringing relief to a patient suffering from a strong migraine called a *heyptgeshpār* or *heybtshayn*. All those texts were written in old Yiddish with a strong German influence, however their presence in sources originating from the Eastern Europe suggests at least some knowledge of this medical condition among Jews in the Slavic lands. The *heybtshayn*, which can probably be regarded as identical with German *Hauptschein*, was treated mainly by means of magic. One of the incantations noted in the manuscript recalls the popular exorcism focused on Lilith – a female demon or a witch. The incantation takes the form of a dialogue between the demon (in other variants also referred to as: *Malke Shvo*, *Astaribo*, *Astarihu*, etc.) and the prophet Elijah, while the formula was meant to be reinforced by binding the patient's head with his own belt.<sup>22</sup> Indeed, German folklore explained the etiology of sudden strong headaches in connection with witches, namely as a result of a spell being cast (*Geschoss*).<sup>23</sup> The concept of a spell causing pain in various parts of the human body was widespread since the late Middle Ages, mirrored in the literature (e.g. Ulrich Molitor) through representations of witches shooting arrows. Such names as *Hexenschuss*<sup>24</sup> or Polish *postrzał* did, in fact, survive in modern biomedical terminology, though their origins faded from the memory of present generations. A very similar incantation, including the act of binding the head, can also be found in a booklet published by Israel Yudel Goldberg and Avraham Aba Eisenberg in Jerusalem. The disease is not mentioned there by its German name, but the text is written in modern Eastern European Yiddish.<sup>25</sup>

The traditional Jewish population did not always directly express a belief in witches' spells sent with the wind to cause *Geschoss*. Nevertheless, a careful examination of Hebrew and Yiddish sources in comparison with other non-Jewish traditions brings a more complex picture of the phenomenon. In a story of one of Baal Shem Tov's numerous duels against sorcerers, a wicked *kishuf-makher* (in *Shivchei ha-Besht* a gentile woman) is presented as using the devil to steal money from a local Jewish *arendar*. Furious at the sorcerer for sending him into a trap, he eventually turns against his master and kills two of man's children. This devil is called by different names, including a *ruekh*, a Hebrew

<sup>20</sup> Kling 1937, p. 561.

<sup>21</sup> Lipietz 1890, p. 105; Lilientalowa 1905, p. 151.

<sup>22</sup> HS. ROS. 444, 9b.

<sup>23</sup> *Geschoss* in Hoffmann-Krayer, Bächtold-Stäubli 1974, p. 756.

<sup>24</sup> *Hexenschuss* in Deutsches Wörterbuch von Jacob Grimm und Wilhelm Grimm, <http://www.woerterbuchnetz.de/DWB?lemma=hexenschuss> (access: July 25, 2015).

<sup>25</sup> Goldberg, Eisenberg 1880/81, 7b.

word (*ruach*) meaning both (evil) soul and wind.<sup>26</sup> It seems reasonable to assume that the story combines two popular notions about spell-casting: first, that the spell is usually sent with the wind, and second, that witchcraft is possible only as a result of demonic assistance.

According to notions found in Slavic folklore, shared in many aspects by the Jewish population, demons of land, fields and forests, but also sorcerers and witches, were responsible for sudden “wind diseases.” Folk culture ascribed various demonic attributes to the wind. The phenomenon of a whirlwind, for instance, was interpreted as a play of impure forces, a *sheydim-tants* (demons’ dance) or a *sheydim-khasene* (demons’ wedding, in Polish: *czarcie wesele*). As was noted by early ethnographers, if someone stuck a knife into the whirlwind, they could expect to see blood dripping from the vortex and the act itself significantly raised the risk of supernatural revenge. Jewish parents used to warn their children not to mention the word *khasene* after sunset, probably referring to the same belief.<sup>27</sup> It is essential to add that among Eastern Slavs the term *postrel* or *prostel* (again: *Geschoss*) applied also to paralysis and apoplexy.<sup>28</sup> Certainly, wind was the element associated with similar medical conditions also in traditional Ashkenazi culture, and that very fact reverberated in such Yiddish terms as: *vind*, *luft*, *a guter luft*, *tsug* etc. The same can be said about thunder. The word *shlak* or *shlag*, present in Yiddish and other Eastern European languages, was generally explained as a symptom of epilepsy, apoplexy or paralysis, caused by a sudden and strong air blast or thunder.<sup>29</sup> In the popular imagination apoplexy and sudden death (Yiddish *mise-meshune*, Hebrew *mitah meshunah*) merged into one idea of “capturing disease” (*farkhopenish*, *oyskhopenish*). In Tomaszów Lubelski it was believed that a young man has been “captured” (*gekapt gevorn*) because he provoked demons. Working at a cemetery, he did not fulfill his part of mutual agreement, and consequently became partially paralyzed.<sup>30</sup> The Yiddish language preserved some picturesque curses applying to this belief, for example: *A farkhopenish zolstu krign* (you should get captured)<sup>31</sup>, *Khapt zey a duner* (a thunder should capture them)<sup>32</sup> or *Zol im khapn a mise-meshune* (apoplexy should capture him).

One of the main characteristics of witches and sorcerers was the ability to alter shape. Under the new form, notably of an animal, they were said to sneak after dark into Jewish houses, to hurt or kidnap small children. In a legend recorded in Eastern Galicia – in other variants associated also with the Baal Shem Tov – a local Polish landlord (or priest) kidnapped children while under the guise of a black tomcat.<sup>33</sup> In a story recorded by Leo Wiener, the son of an impoverished Jewish entrepreneur finds himself in Odessa in service of the pope (*poypst* in Yiddish). In the story, the pope is characterized by unusual features: not only the fact of his living in a Russian port city instead of Rome, but above all by his ability of shapeshifting: “Der poyps ot ongioybm fortsushteln fin zikh

<sup>26</sup> *Shivchei Baal Shem Tov im Sipurei Anshei Shem*, 1930, pp. 24-25; *Sefer szivchej haBeszt*, p. 74.

<sup>27</sup> Ch. 1898, p. 437; Buchbinder 1909, p. 252; cf. Moszyński 1934, pp. 179-180, 476.

<sup>28</sup> Moszyński 1934, p. 288.

<sup>29</sup> Linde 1859, p. 594.

<sup>30</sup> Farber 1949, p. 181; Lejbowicz 1965, pp. 450-451. For an interesting incantation against *luft*, cf. Goldberg, Eisenberg 1880/81.

<sup>31</sup> Ch. 1898, p. 437.

<sup>32</sup> Czerniak 1965, p. 101; Stuchkow 1991, p. 410; Harkavy 2006, p. 504.

<sup>33</sup> Benczer 1893, pp. 120-121.

farsheydene zakhn: si givorn fin im a ferd, a helfant, a leyb, a kats, ales in der velt” (The pope started to display various aspects: he became a horse, an elephant, a lion, a cat, everything).<sup>34</sup> In fact, some ethnographical sources stated that for this reason, (black) cats and dogs were kept outside and were not welcome to cross the threshold after dark.<sup>35</sup>

In European folklore shapeshifting was commonly attributed to werewolves. The famous story about Baal Shem Tov’s encounter with a werewolf (*valkilak*) do not reveal almost any feature of this beast aside from how horrified the children left under Besht’s care were, and the fact that the creature died after receiving a blow in the head. Still the author described clearly that the werewolf was in fact a non-Jewish sorcerer whose body appeared on the same spot soon after the fight. Moreover, this sorcerer obtained his wicked power through the intervention of Satan.<sup>36</sup> Witches depicted in most Christian sources were able to change into beasts, or merely use their help in various situations. According to another short narrative about the founder of Hasidism published in Yiddish in the booklet *Kohol hasidim* (Lemberg 1875), an encounter with a sorcerer turned into a public battle in which both sides invoked supernatural animals to hurt the opponent. This time the Baal Shem Tov’s rival was a Polish landlord, who “used to kill at least one baby a week,” and the fight engaged also their followers and disciples. The landlord sent various beasts to attack the Besht, including fire spitting wild boars (*vilde khazeyrim un fun zeyere piskes hobn zey gevorn fayer*), but he could not breach the magic circle that protected the group of Hasidim. By the end of the story it is instead the Baal Shem Tov who uses animals: two roes appear and pick out the landlord’s eyes, leaving him alive but defenseless, to witness the greatness of Jewish God.<sup>37</sup>

Sorcerers and witches were seen as dangerous also after death, as they could turn into vampires. The idea that *estries* suck human blood appeared already in *Sefer Hasidim* (464), later to become the main motive of the aforementioned exorcism, the dialog between Lilith and the prophet Elijah. Children born with teeth, according to various sources, were destined to turn into murderers<sup>38</sup> or witches,<sup>39</sup> and after death buried face down,<sup>40</sup> in a manner recalling a “vampire” burial. The same belief found its expression through eastern European social context, recorded in brief but meaningful descriptions. During a landlord’s funeral in Berezyna a Jewish woman performed a special protective ritual on her child by lifting it above her head and saying “Du in der heykh, er in der nider, morgn a pgire vider” (You up, he down, tomorrow dies again).<sup>41</sup> In Mława, if a non-Jewish neighbor died, a special formula was used, very similar to popular exorcisms intended to drive demons away from the *orbis interior*: “Zol er dort arumfliyen iber felder un velder, iber viste midbories on yidishn shodn” (Let him fly out there, in fields and woods, in hollow deserts, without Jewish harm).<sup>42</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Wiener 1902, p. 104.

<sup>35</sup> Benczer 1893, pp. 120-121; Cahan 1927/28, pp. 229-230; 1938, p. 291; Silverman-Weinreich 1997, p. 73.

<sup>36</sup> *Sefer szivchej haBeszt*, p. 48.

<sup>37</sup> *Kohol Hasidim*: 18b-19a.

<sup>38</sup> Lilientalowa 2007, pp. 30.

<sup>39</sup> Lew 1897, p. 363.

<sup>40</sup> Lilientalowa 1904, p. 109; cf. Judah he-Hasid 1934/35, p. 136.

<sup>41</sup> Silverman-Weinreich 1955, p. 33.

<sup>42</sup> Junis 1950, p. 69.

Yet folk demonology was never a science. Differences between charms, demons, and other residents of the underworld (the angel of death, the devil) were largely blurred, leaving us with reports of ambiguous character. The same magical text could be used against the evil eye, a demon (*nisht-guter*), and a witch. Such abilities were ascribed by sources to a well-known Yiddish formula, *Orene borene dembene korene veytsene klay-en*.<sup>43</sup> It is interesting to note that the formula itself might have been derived from Slavic acts of exorcism (“na góry, na bory, na suche korzenie”), where it was used to drive the “dark side” out from the human environment.

Folk beliefs of non-Jewish origin, although generally associated with *goyim*, nevertheless came into dialog with Jewish ethics. This dialog was not limited to a general condemnation of “black magic.” It also presented the circumstances of bewitching and acts of sorcery in a didactic way, leaving aside the sinful and impure nature of witchcraft to focus on the potential moral advantages that such encounters trigger. This happened particularly often in Hasidism. A story devoted to the Rebbe of Velednik (Weledniki) in Ukraine recounts an incident involving a Hasid who suffered from strong headache but finally found the cure thanks to his master’s reprimand. Meeting the poor soul the Tsaddik soon recognized the real explanation of the disease – the man had actually been bewitched – as well as the reason for his susceptibility to the witch’s spell. The Hasid had been the victim of a *kishuf* because he lived together in one house with a gentile, and had a sexual relationship with the gentile’s wife. After revealing the whole truth about his sin, the Hasid changed his conduct and “recovered after a few days.”<sup>44</sup> Stories about witches and sorcerers might have been additionally used to ground innovations in customs of Ashkenaz, that is, in the sphere closely related with religious observance. According to another Hasidic legend, the Baal Shem Tov introduced changes to legitimate ablution practices – especially the frequency of the *tevilah* – not only to bring his followers closer to God, but also to protect them from sorcery. A non-Jewish shepherd once revealed that his own grandfather, also a shepherd (*owczarz*) and a sorcerer, lost all his powers on the very day of the Besht’s fundamental invention.<sup>45</sup>

## Demonic diseases

Up until the 20<sup>th</sup> century traditional Jewish culture preserved mythical concepts of how diseases appeared in the world. According to the Talmud, before the time of Abraham there was no old age, and until the time of Jacob nobody died after being sick. Diseases came into being only due to the prayers of the latter, who begged God to warn him of impending death. Because Jacob wanted to deliver dying words to his children (Bereshit 47, 29-49, 32), the Lord sent a disease on him as a visible sign of what is coming (Baba Metzia 87a). But Hebrew and Yiddish sources, seeking ways to understand the existence of sickness, also reproduced legends common in European and Slavic milieus. A vision of the dawn of mankind, based on the Biblical story of the first couple, presented the

<sup>43</sup> Linetski 1897, p. 30; Ehrlich 1919, p. 59; Lilientalowa 1924, p. 268; 2007, p. 56.

<sup>44</sup> Rotner 1901, p. 54.

<sup>45</sup> Meisels 2009, p. 139.

bodies of Adam and Eve covered with skin “smooth as a fingernail” (Genesis Rabba 20, p. 12).<sup>46</sup> This skin, a universal protection from the elements as well as diseases, was lost in a result of their sin. The notion of a fingernail skin circulated systematically in medical contexts, expressed in printed and handwritten collections. Eve’s mischievous act was invoked to justify warnings that stepping on scattered nails may cause a miscarriage.<sup>47</sup> If a sick person glanced at his own nails, this gesture was perceived by family members as a symptom of impending death.<sup>48</sup> Finally, a Yiddish saying stated, “Look at your nails, and you will stop laughing,” communicating this anxiety in the most literal way.<sup>49</sup>

In many other legends and tales maladies took human form and roamed the world in a manner typical for demons. They also settled down in inhabited areas, suffering cold and hunger together with their human hosts. Such narratives were well known in Christian Europe at least since the early Middle Ages, and were still present in Slavic folklore at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. According to a folk tale noted by a Jewish resident from Siemiatycze, a louse and a fever once sought a new place to live. Encountering a peasant working on a field they decided to attach to him. However, while for the louse peasant’s clothes turned out to be a paradise, the fever did not feel well in his weary body. Therefore she ran away and found a new home in a body of a *poretz*. Since then, peasants suffer from lice and landlords from fever.<sup>50</sup>

The model of disease formed within premodern cultures and still present in Eastern European folklore at the beginning of the last century involved an image of separate entities whose existence remained closely intertwined with human life. Creatures that manifested their presence in one’s body with certain symptoms (pain, swelling, redness etc.) reflected natural phenomena known to humans from the environment affecting animals, trees, and plants, as well as inanimate objects (rocks, rivers, etc.). Virtually everything that happened before human eyes could be reinterpreted through the prism of relations between macrocosm and microcosm, the world and the body; eventually the outer world became a synonym of events experienced within the body itself. But diseases, due to their demonic condition, were also depicted as strangers, and consequently could be chased out from their victims by anti-demonic means. One Yiddish incantation printed in *Sefer lachashim u-segulot* illustrates the magical scheme of the dialogue between the prophet Elijah and Lilith. In this case, however, it is focused on eradicating from the patient’s body a *shtekh*, the feeling of an acute pain similar to “stinging.”<sup>51</sup> Other ethnographic sources preserved, for instance, an incantation used by the local Jewish population (in Ruthenian language), that addressed *zvikh* (a demon of limb dislocation) not to be mean, break bones, etc.<sup>52</sup> Those are just two of many examples, where diseases took the form of demonic creatures in Jewish magical texts.

The anthropomorphization of misfortunes affecting the body initiated simultaneously a variety of consequences for healing practices. The traditional population believed that, as in the case of a physical assault, the most powerless against diseases were small chil-

<sup>46</sup> In other traditions also with corneous skin or fur: Zowczak 2013, pp. 97-98.

<sup>47</sup> Lipietz 1890, p. 83; Wilff 1906, p. 100; Buchbinder 1909, p. 250.

<sup>48</sup> Lilientalowa 1904, p. 106.

<sup>49</sup> Chajes 1928, p. 308.

<sup>50</sup> Czerniak 1964, p. 31; cf. Brückner 1902, p. 104.

<sup>51</sup> Goldberg, Eisenberg 1880/81, 9a; Heller 1906/07, p. 64.

<sup>52</sup> Maggid 1910, pp. 588-589; cf. Werenko 1896, p. 200.

dren, especially those yet to develop teeth, a natural tool of defense. In contrast, many ailments could not affect a man who had reached adulthood or at least who had crossed a symbolic barrier between infancy and a childhood (the barrier marked by *rites de passage*). Thus, older children were usually not separated from their younger siblings infected with *krup* (croup), in the belief that nothing threatened them.<sup>53</sup> The demonic character of diseases ravaging the human body led to creation of a rich catalogue of methods intended to mislead, intimidate, bribe, or starve the unwanted guest. The first treatment applied to a sick Jew by his entourage in the Belarusian shtetl of Davidgorodok was a strict diet.<sup>54</sup> In case a patient was suffering from fever (Yiddish *kadokhes*), one was supposed to drench him with cold water at a time he did not expect it – not only to lower the temperature of the heated body, but also to scare off the disease.<sup>55</sup> Before many types of ailments that “hung around people” the traditional population protected itself – successfully or not – by displaying on doorposts a dedicated information, e.g. “The fever, whooping cough, measles where already here.”<sup>56</sup>

Quite commonly – although not against all diseases – the methods aimed to scare off the intruder included shaking, beating and “chopping” (Polish *raqbać*). Among actions undertaken in the face of childhood convulsions, as stated in ethnographic documents, at least one source recommends holding the child by its head and hitting its lame legs several times against the entry doorpost (a place of powerful symbolic meaning in the house, reinforced by the presence of a *mezuzah*).<sup>57</sup> “Chopping” was used primarily in the event of disease called *ripkukhn* or *ripkikh* in the vernacular. Jewish sources explained this term as a synonym of a bloated or swelled spleen or liver, a pathological state associated sometimes with *englische krenk* (rickets).<sup>58</sup> Its name, however, came into Yiddish from German culture, where *Rieb-Kuchen* meant, among other symptoms, the feeling of “hardness in the side.”<sup>59</sup> The act of “chopping” itself was described in Yiddish as *hakn a ripkuchn* and resembled therapeutic measures undertaken in Slavic lands (e.g. Belarus) against a malady known as *hryż*, interpreted as a kind of hernia caused by a demonic creature that “bites” into the human flesh.<sup>60</sup> The method consisted of beating with a cleaver (or a batting-staff, *kijanka*) a sick child lying on the doorstep and covered with a kneading board or similar item. The whole operation, repeated three days in the row, was accompanied by a dialogue across the doorstep: “What are you chopping?” “*Ripkuchn.*” “With what are you chopping?” “With a cleaver” “Then chop better”. Or, in a different version: “What are you chopping?” “Kra!” “Then chop into smithereens.”<sup>61</sup>

The idea of scaring off a disease with an act of violence was also demonstrated in the ritual of *paslen* (‘to prohibit’ or ‘to disqualify’, from Hebrew *pasal*), undertaken mainly

<sup>53</sup> Lilientalowa 2007, p. 69.

<sup>54</sup> Neumann 1957, p. 423.

<sup>55</sup> Segel 1894, p. 325; Lilientalowa 1930, p. 12; cf. Haur 1793, p. 12.

<sup>56</sup> Segel 1894, p. 321; Lew 1898a, p. 530.

<sup>57</sup> Segel 1897, p. 56.

<sup>58</sup> Chotsh 1703, p. 9; Halpern 1858, p. 44a; Rosenberg c. 1920, p. 23; Alfabet 1924, p. 70; Opatoszu 1941, p. 119; Lilientalowa 2007, p. 65.

<sup>59</sup> Crato 1690, p. 199; cf. *Kuchen, Kuche*, in *Deutsches Wörterbuch von Jacob Grimm und Wilhelm Grimm*, <http://www.woerterbuchnetz.de/DWB?lemma=kuchen> (access: July 25, 2015).

<sup>60</sup> Wereńko 1896, p. 151; Moszyński 1934, p. 201.

<sup>61</sup> Lew 1897b, p. 407; Alfabet 1924, p. 63; Lilientalowa 2007, p. 65.



over a suffering child. The mother was supposed to break a clay jug, pot, or plate above a patient stretched on a floor (or lying in a cradle) and covered with a kneading board. The use of kneading board in both practices seems very symbolic. The tool known in Yiddish by its Slavic name (*diezhe, deyzhe*), used in the processes of baking bread, emanated magical potential. Remains of dough scraped directly from the board could have been used as a remedy against *suchote* (consumption).<sup>62</sup> One can also trace a notable dispute within Jewish sources of whether such remains, or water left after kneading, should be used as a *segulah* to fasten a child's memory.<sup>63</sup>

The term *paslen* itself appeared in the Ashkenzi folklore also in two other rituals. Traditional community believed that certain diseases, primarily those related with "the evil eye," can be "convinced" to leave the sick body if it is washed in urine. In the less intrusive variant the patient's mother was supposed to pour water into a chamber pot and then smear it into child's face, repeating this action, just in case, with every other young member of the family.<sup>64</sup> Another popular version of this ritual advised a woman simply to urinate on the child laid on the ground – the act called *paslen a krankn*.<sup>65</sup> A slightly different, but nevertheless important protective measure used in many homes was *paslen di kats*, that consisted in cutting tips of cat's ears and tail. Cats, as already mentioned, were very often identified as creatures of the night, transformed figures of witches and sorcerers. A widespread belief of the rural Slavic population also suggested that black-furred animals may prevent a witch from entering the house in which they are kept. In order to be suitable for the role of a guardian, the cat had to be deprived of the potentially dangerous parts of its body, namely its ears and particularly the tail – which was compared to a symbolic sting and a reservoir of venom and "evil" – as they were supposed to gather impure elements.<sup>66</sup> The blood from the black cat's tail (male or female accordingly to patient's sex) became one of the most prominent *segulot*, visible not only in ethnographic surveys, but also on the pages of printed and handwritten medical collections. It functioned as a remedy against rose (various kinds of redness on skin, Yiddish *royz*, Polish *róża*), as well as means to lessen and shorten a child's suffering during teething. In some areas (e.g. Pińczów) cat's blood was believed to be so powerful, and at the same time so demonic, that only men were allowed to benefit from its effectiveness.<sup>67</sup>

Some diseases, however, were actually perceived as important for human wellbeing, or even able to act as a sort of special protection. A patient was keen to accept their presence in his or her body, to avoid more onerous misfortunes. One of the most prevalent diseases of such nature among the Jewish population in the Eastern Europe was *kolten* (Polish *kołtun*), known in the early modern medicine as *Plica polonica*. In case of this malady, Jews shared the vast majority of beliefs of their Slavic neighbors and, to some extent, the contemporary medical literature. Among Slavs *kołtun* was interpreted as internal rather than external disease, also called by its other name – *gościec* – "a guest in bones." It was seen as a creature capable of causing rheumatic pains, but rather mild and

<sup>62</sup> Rosenberg 1911, p. 43.

<sup>63</sup> Grunwald 1923, p. 205; Sosnovik 1924, p. 165; Landau 1924, p. 332; Rechtman 1962, p. 263.

<sup>64</sup> Landau 1924, pp. 330-331.

<sup>65</sup> Segel 1897, p. 60; Lilientalowa 2007, p. 58.

<sup>66</sup> Segel 1894, p. 324; Robinsohn 1897, p. 48; Sosnovik 1924, p. 164; Ben-Ezra 1949, p. 175. Cf. Gustawicz 1881, p. 130; Libera 1995, p. 133.

<sup>67</sup> MS 10082, 6b; Himmelblau 1970, p. 218; Lilientalowa 2007, pp. 46, 68; cf. Haur 1793, p. 127.

harmless if brought out in a form of matted, sticky hair. Contemporary medics and first representatives of biomedicine divided this phenomenon into two separate cases. *Koltun*, “a terrible suffering of hair” was something different than *gościec*, which manifested itself by “shooting pain in the limbs.”<sup>68</sup> Such an interpretation was also present in Hebrew medical literature created in the enlightened circles of Ashkenazi Jewry.<sup>69</sup> Nevertheless, Jewish folk medicine explained the malady’s nature in accordance with popular beliefs of Slavic folklore, where *koltun* or *gościec* was not only a medical concept, but also the name of a demon. In some nineteenth-century Hebrew manuscripts it is possible to trace magical exorcisms depicting “impure forces called *koltens*, that is plait, and all nine kinds of impurity, that is *gostits*.”<sup>70</sup> Other sources also suggest the possibility that the disease originated from a spell cast by a witch.<sup>71</sup>

At the same time the growing of matted hair could have been a fully conscious attempt to secure aid of “the guest.” In rabbinic responses there are references proving that some Jewish practitioners of healing advocated cultivating *koltens* as a therapeutic agent, for example, through sprinkling one’s hair with ash.<sup>72</sup> This was supposed to eliminate rheumatic pains caused by the creature itself, but also to “rid of” such nuisances as headache<sup>73</sup> or rose.<sup>74</sup> However, the new ally was capricious, as was the case with demonic creatures. From its host’s mouth it demanded fulfillment of specific desires. Therefore mother of a child with *Plica* was obliged to submit to her offspring’s wishes, not to provoke the demon to twist patient’s limbs in case of a refusal. Also removal of the matted hair, that is the external manifestation of *koltens*’s presence, was generally out of the question, due to the negative consequences it was supposed to bring, including blindness and other types of permanent damage to health.<sup>75</sup> Rabbi Akiva Eiger described the case of a married woman who cut off her hair and went mad soon after.<sup>76</sup> A method of removing *koltens* from one’s head that nevertheless appeared in ethnographic surveys was usually accompanied by means of additional restrictions. It was possible to heal the disease at a specific time of day, preferably before sunrise, by burning *Plica* near the skin and letting it fall off.<sup>77</sup> In the case of child’s head it was also possible for the mother to bite off the plait.<sup>78</sup> Other sources recommended that during this precarious treatment the patient should be immersed up to his neck in water, forming a symbolic barrier against evil.<sup>79</sup>

Similar to those of *koltens* were the symptoms of a disease called by Hebrew and Yiddish sources *ciemienik*, in Polish folklore described as *ciemieniucha* or *ognipiór*, and usually identified with “milk crust” (a crusty skin rash on baby’s scalp)<sup>80</sup> or *Milchschorf*

<sup>68</sup> Majer, Skobel 1835, p. 13.

<sup>69</sup> E.g. Lefin 1851, p. 84a.

<sup>70</sup> HS. ROS. 444, 6b.

<sup>71</sup> MS 10082, 2b.

<sup>72</sup> Zimmels 1952, p. 99. Children were not allowed to put sieve on one’s head because it was supposed to cause *parch* (scab): Buchbinder 1909, p. 258.

<sup>73</sup> Lilientalowa 2007, p. 62.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 68.

<sup>75</sup> Lew 1897a, p. 382; Lilientalowa 2007, pp. 62, 68.

<sup>76</sup> Zimmels 1952, p. 99.

<sup>77</sup> Lilientalowa 1921, p. 12.

<sup>78</sup> Weissenberg 1903, p. 316.

<sup>79</sup> Lilientalowa 1905, p. 173; Rosenberg 1911, p. 96.

<sup>80</sup> Or “cradle cap.”

in German.<sup>81</sup> *Ciemienik*, just as its better known counterpart, was also seen as in some way beneficial for child's health. If irritated, it could end with "fire", and finally affect the sufferer's eyes, causing blindness. The Jewish folklore situated this malady among misfortunes caused by Lilith or demons (*mazikim*). As an unwanted guest in child's body, it could be eradicated with magical incantations. The text of a Yiddish exorcism against *ciemienik* published in *Sefer lachashim u-segulot* contains typical elements used to deprive the demon of its power and force him to "dry out like knot in a wood" (*azoy a suk in a holts*). The exorcism was also reinforced by a characteristic phrase that had been present in Ashkenazi magical practices at least since the Middle Ages: "with the name of the Holy God, His Ten Commandments, Ten Generations and Ten Torah Scrolls."<sup>82</sup> This fact clearly demonstrates how advanced the process of adaptation of Slavic ideas into a long-lasting tradition of Jewish demonology and magic could become.

Another example of a creature existing in human body, was a *hartsvore*m (a heart worm). Vermin in general constituted a very specific category of parasites that affected men, women, and especially children. In popular imagination they were associated with snakes, particularly with the one from Gan Eden, and thus seen as creatures of the "other side." It is also not without significance that vermin occupied spaces generally described as demonic: dark, uninhabited and foul smelling. Remedy actions undertaken against variously described worms very often took the form of a magical ritual. Yiddish manuscripts and printed materials provide numerous examples of incantations intended to eradicate parasites from a patient's body, and some of these texts have an obvious Germanic, Slavic, or Latin character. The idea of a worm-like creature living in the human heart and necessary for life, known in German folklore as *Herzwurm*, was widespread in Central and Eastern Europe. Provoked by human actions it could cause a general feeling of nausea, stomach problems etc. Specific incantations aimed to expel parasites – sometimes attributed to the Hassidic Rabbi Moses Teitelbaum (1759-1841) of Sieniawa (Galicia) and Sátoraljaújhely (Hungary) – involved a unique condition that they do not directly address this particular worm.<sup>83</sup> Jewish sources generally do not broaden the knowledge on its nature, though Yiddish everyday expression *es grizhet/nogt vi a vorem in hartsn* ("it bites/tires like a worm in the heart") – metaphorically describing psychological discomfort – shows that the belief widespread in Eastern Ashkenaz. In modern culture the same idea still echoes in expressions like "drowning the worm," used in both Polish and Yiddish literature and meaning: to seek solace in alcohol.<sup>84</sup>

<sup>81</sup> *Milchgrind, Milchschorf*, in *Deutsches Wörterbuch von Jacob Grimm und Wilhelm Grimm*, <http://www.woerterbuchnetz.de/DWB?lemma=milchgrind> (access: July 25, 2015).

<sup>82</sup> Goldberg, Eisenberg 1880/81, 5b-6a.

<sup>83</sup> HS. ROS. 444, 7a; MS 10082, 9b; Goldberg, Eisenberg 1880/81, 9b (Hebrew *tolaa[t] ha-lev*); Rubinstein c. 1930, 69a; Meir Benet 1958/59, 75a.

<sup>84</sup> E.g. "Hot men zich cezect un genumen cijen fun fleszl, fartrinken dem worem, was hot ejbik genogt" (They sat down and began to drink from bottles, to drown the worm, that had always tormented): Berlinski 1947, p. 27; "Er hot noch opgetret in a szenk, fartrunken dem worem was toczet in im biz wejtik" (Yet he entered the tavern, drowned the worm that tortured him to pain): Knapheis 1960, p. 89.

## Conclusions

The article covers merely an extract of the wide range of problems related to the topic of Jewish-Slavic intercultural contacts. Still, it allows us to trace an important, although rather neglected dimension. Popular notions of demons and witchcraft may not be an obvious choice for such studies given the folkloristic character of the material presented. Further, most of the sources used in this paper originated in the 19<sup>th</sup> or even 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, whereas the genealogy of beliefs in witches and demonic forms of disease stretches back at least to the Middle Ages. Nevertheless, as previously mentioned, for hundreds of years demons and witches played a prominent role in the worldview of most Europeans. Even the dawn of the Enlightenment did not drastically change this situation, and it took a few generations – and at least another century – to shift the vector of human speculation. Traditional Jewish culture in Eastern Europe retained the memory of these deep-rooted concepts and expressed them in stories about Hasidic Rebbes in medical explanations and measures. It also adapted ideas popular among non-Jewish neighbors, nannies, farmhands, and other representatives of the traditional Slavic population who participated in the life of a shtetl. From scattered clues and a small number of definitive descriptions it is still possible to reconstruct a comprehensive picture of those beliefs, and, consequently to trace their Jewish and/or Slavic origins.

Popular demonology was an important sphere of pre-modern cosmology, and one that accommodated intensive mutual contacts. Within this contact zone, ideas prevalent in the Christian vernacular, although not always specifically Christian in content, shaped the worldview of the traditional Jewish community. It is why we find complex, shared ideas about the “dark side,” on both sides of the alleged “virtual wall” separating the two groups. This process of cultural osmosis started very early, probably as soon as the Jewish diaspora put down roots in western German lands, and continued generation after generation under various circumstances in the Polish and later Ukrainian and Belarusian provinces. Even if this lore indeed made the impact, according to Shmeruk’s words, “by oral transmission alone,”<sup>85</sup> its influence exceeded the limits of locality. Such subjects as witchcraft or demons created space for an intensive discourse, whether at home, in a tavern or in a bakery – everywhere the contact took place. Borrowings restricted to a specific area or even a single household, in the course of time made, however, an indelible imprint on the broader communal wisdom and custom. In fact, this lore did eventually find its way into Hebrew and Yiddish books, constituting an important component of *musar* literature, *sifrei segulot u-refuot*, and Hasidic hagiography, and flourishing in Jewish memories and *sifrei izkor*, although this time due to completely different motivations. The presence of non-Jewish beliefs in Ashkenazi culture should not be, therefore, the subject of exclusively literary studies, just as the sources of intercultural contact that gave rise to it should not be seen reductively in narrow terms.

But despite the fact that non-Jewish beliefs penetrated the Jewish diaspora so extensively, becoming symbols of Ashkenazi identity that were simultaneously both very much local but distinctly Jewish, they also underwent considerable change. The process of adaptation of foreign content took various forms, not always requiring any visible

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<sup>85</sup> Shmeruk 1985, p. 47.

transformations. The most evident aspect of this phenomenon was the partial or complex translation of a magical text, an adaptation that could nevertheless entirely omit the level of language, as oral transmission obviated popular illiteracy in Latin or Cyrillic alphabets (in case of Ashkenazi Jewry). Motives and symbols present in the Christian milieu, repeated in different religious and social contexts, acquired new threads, new figures, and new purposes in the Jewish context. Some stories about Jewish struggles against witches, sorcerers, or demonic diseases may have sounded familiar to a gentile ear (and did, as we can discern from many examples). But others might not, whether because of their complex dialog with Jewish tradition, their location in a hermetic new language (for Slavic Christians), or even their stereotypic tone.

The traditional Ashkenazi community also had its own diversity of types who talked about demons and witches, and who listened or turned the stories into a written text. In fact, what we know about the popular cosmology of Eastern European Jewry depends greatly on what we can glean from written testimonies. To understand its complexity we would do well to take a fresh look, to retrieve symbols and cross-cultural ties not fully expressed in Hebrew and Yiddish literature, but nevertheless popular in the common imagination. Such an understanding is possible only if we notice the fundamental meanings of ideas and beliefs that originated centuries earlier in European culture to become an emblematic idiom of non-Jewish and Jewish folklore alike.

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## BRIDER UN SHVESTER? WOMEN IN THE TSUKUNFT YOUTH MOVEMENT IN INTERWAR POLAND<sup>1</sup>

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**Key words:** Bund, Tsukunft, women, gender, interwar Poland

**Abstract:** This article discusses the Bund's gender politics present in Tsukunft, the youth organization of the party. In the interwar period Tsukunft grew into one of the most active and dynamic organizations within the Bundist movement in Poland. The author analyzes Tsukunft's discourse to find out the actual position of the women in the organization. By confronting the organization's material with the sources produced by the movement's women activists, the author tries to find out more about women's experience in Tsukunft. The article therefore incorporates the marginalized narrative of and on Jewish women into modern historiography.

We, today's youth, celebrate Women's Day as a time for the struggle of the proletariat in general and as our holiday. On this day of struggle and awareness we should demonstrate our ideals and do wide-scale canvassing to attract the educated youth to [our] socialist youth organization.<sup>2</sup>

It was with these words that an author identified only as Bronka concluded her introduction to an issue of Tsukunft's magazine, released on Women's Day in 1920. Did the women really walk arm in arm with their comrades in the organization, however? Who were the young activists? What role for women did the movement promote?

The birth of the Second Polish Republic meant that the Jews found themselves in a new political reality. The process of its formation could not ignore the transformations that were underway in Europe. These included general democratization, but also, undoubtedly, women's emancipation. Both active and passive voting rights to the Legislative Sejm were awarded to women by a decree of the Chief of State on 28 November 1918,<sup>3</sup> while independent legal acts regulated this issue for the local governments.<sup>4</sup> Equal voting rights became an established fact, later confirmed by the March Constitution, giv-

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<sup>1</sup> This work was supported by the Polish National Science Centre (Narodowe Centrum Nauki) [DEC-2012/05/N/HS3/01181].

<sup>2</sup> Bronka, Der internats. froyen-tog, *Sotsyalistishe Yugnt Shtime* 15.03.1920, no. 5 (27), p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Art. 1 of the Representation of the People Act says: "The voter for the Sejm is every citizen of the state, regardless of sex, who has reached the age of 21 years by the date of election." Art. 7, in turn: "Electees to the Sejm can be all citizens of the state with active voting rights (...)." Quoted from: "Dekret o ordynacji wyborczej do Sejmu Ustawodawczego z dnia 28 XI 1918," *Dziennik praw państwa polskiego* 1918, no. 18, #46.

<sup>4</sup> Women received the right to vote for the regional and city council in the territory of the former Kingdom of Poland. See "Dekret o utworzeniu Rad Gminnych na obszarze b. Królestwa Kongresowego z dn. 27 XI 1918," *Dziennik praw państwa polskiego* 1918, no. 18, #48, Art. 12; "Dekret o wyborach do Rad

ing equal rights to all citizens. Female social activists regarded this as a breakthrough. The publications of Polish women's rights activists are brimming with reflections on the new opportunities that were open to women. They often included observations on the generation that was entering adulthood in a state with equal rights. It was particularly stressed that girls then coming of age in the Second Polish Republic had a clear path to new opportunities of which their mothers were deprived. The female citizens of independent Poland had easier access to education, and above all, to public law. It was pointed out that this also altered relations between the sexes. Young people would now grow up together, often going to school or spending social time together. Friendly relations between boys and girls were, for the "mothers' generation," a sign of the coming times. We should emphasize here that the enthusiasm that activists expressed in the early years of the Second Polish Republic for the prospects of young women did not always correspond to the reality of the situation. The clash between theory and reality was jarring at times, and some of the much-lauded laws were inconsistent with the constitution: for instance, women were barred from serving as judges.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, although half of the voters in the parliamentary and local elections in the Second Polish Republic were women, only a small group of female activists were part of the representative bodies.<sup>6</sup> At the same time, women's material status again declined. The end of the war meant that the men returning from the front regained their jobs in factories, offices, and the transportation industry. The women who managed to keep their jobs were forced to content themselves with lesser-paid occupations and lower positions. According to the data from the first general census of 1921, the percentage of working women amounted to 23.5%, less than the European average (25-30%). Moreover, among those working there was an alarmingly high percentage (compared to Western Europe) of women employed as servants.<sup>7</sup>

Women's issues also occupied the minds of Poland's Jewish society. The transformations of the turn of the century and the new modernist trends kindled hopes for a better future. These expectations were stimulated by increasingly popular, though often mutually exclusive ideologies and schools of thought: nationalism, socialism, pacifism, and liberalism. Visions of the new world now had to reckon with the promises made to its female inhabitants. Of course, depending on what views were declared, this world was imagined differently. It is important to note that Jewish activists and canvassers from both the right and the left used the tools of propaganda with increasing skill to begin casting people from the younger generation as constructors of a dream world.

As Jolanta Mickutė has noted, Zionism promoted a new type of Jewish woman. She was healthy in both body and spirit, and her basic role was to bear children and to raise them in accordance with the Zionist national tradition. She was also ready to sacrifice herself for her nation. Polish female Zionist activists in the 1920s were thus chiefly active in areas which their men did not usurp for themselves, above all in social aid and education, domains which were perceived as extensions of women's traditional roles. In-

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Miejskich na terenie byłego Królestwa Kongresowego wydany w dn. 13 XII 1918," *Dziennik praw państwa polskiego* 1918, no. 20, #58, Arts. 2, 4.

<sup>5</sup> Kałwa 2001, pp. 29-34.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 34.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37.

teresting enough, they acknowledged the fact that they were victims of “double exclusion” – as Jews and as women – and they expressed this in Zionist magazines targeted at women, such as *Di Froy* and *Ewa*.<sup>8</sup>

How did revolutionary socialism in its Jewish incarnation perceive women? The response to this question is not a total negation of the Zionist vision, as one might suppose. Naturally, it is hard to find depictions of human physicality in the Marxist image of the world, while people themselves are defined only through their social existence. It is a fact that there were plenty of women among the Bund activists in Tsarist Russia.<sup>9</sup> It was also far easier to name the female thinkers involved with socialism (such as Rosa Luxemburg or Esther Frumkin, to mention only two) than those associated with the national movement.<sup>10</sup> And the Bund anthem itself, written by S. An-ski, begins with a phrase suggesting equal rights: *Briders un shvester!* [“Brothers and sisters!”]. It would seem, however, that despite the declarations of equality, in the Second Polish Republic Bund, as well as its offshoots (including the Tsukunft youth organization), the positions above a certain level remained occupied by thoroughly “male” bodies.

The 1930 calendar prepared for young Jewish workers clearly stated that 45% of Tsukunft activists were young women.<sup>11</sup> The major participation of female activists is also shown through the numerous photographs from the movement’s camps, rallies, and trips, in each of which we find that half the faces belong to girls. However, looking at the personnel of the organization’s Central Committee in the interwar period, we search in vain for women.<sup>12</sup> With only a few exceptions, the authors of articles on the movement (whether ideological or methodological) were men. At any rate, even the debates that ran in the movement’s periodicals seldom strictly concerned women’s issues.

The exception to this rule was a series of articles by Sophia Dubnov-Erlich, which made their appearance in 1934 in *Yugnt Veker* magazine.<sup>13</sup> In her private life, the author was married to party leader Henryk Erlich, and was the daughter of a historian, Shimon Dubnov, which was sure to have guaranteed her relative freedom in expressing her opinions. Stressing that she was living in a breakthrough era, which would lead to creating new and better forms of social coexistence, the author turned the reader’s attention to the process of creating the “new person.” Co-education was meant to be key here: shared learning, play, and the social intermingling of boys and girls.<sup>14</sup> Interestingly enough, the writer also pointed out the double marginalization of women, though the other half of this was not related to Jewishness, but to social class. Thus, women suffered the same exploitation by the privileged class as men, and were, in addition, dependent on men (financially, in particular). According to Dubnov-Erlich, this sort of dependency had to be eliminated. Women had to fight for equal economic status; by earning for themselves, they would cease to apprehend marriage as a road to financial improvement. For Dubnov-Erlich, religion was something that obstructed women’s self-establishment, as it tied them conclusively to men. The latter were often alcoholics or inclined to brutal

<sup>8</sup> Mickutė 2014, pp. 137-162.

<sup>9</sup> Davis-Kram 1980, pp. 27-43.

<sup>10</sup> For more on the turn-of-the-century revolutionaries, see Shepherd 1993.

<sup>11</sup> *Arbeter tashn-kalendar*, Varshe 1930, p. 34.

<sup>12</sup> With the exception of Rena Hister Hertz; see Sholem Hertz 1946, pp. 354-355.

<sup>13</sup> The issue of these essentially unique statements is taken up by Jacobs 2009.

<sup>14</sup> S. Dubnov-Erlich, *Di naye seksuele etik*, *Yugnt Veker* 1934, no. 2, p. 5.

behavior. The author noted that the old ways were difficult to uproot even in enlightened, strong, and well-earning women. They also very frequently remained in marriage bonds with men whom the women no longer loved. As an example of the “new woman” of the future Dubnov-Erlich recalled the protagonist of Feodor Gladkov’s novel *Cement* – Dasha Chumalova, liberated from the “yoke” of men and devoted to the socialist cause.<sup>15</sup> In the socialist world all forms of exploitation were to be eliminated. Not only legal changes were needed to reach this goal (civil marriages, the right to abortion, state support in raising children<sup>16</sup>), but mindsets also needed to evolve. Dubnov-Erlich regarded this aspect of the metamorphosis to be the most difficult, though it did remain possible.<sup>17</sup> If the author’s postulates were translated from Yiddish into Polish, they would scarcely differ from the catchphrases used by such Leftist journalists as Irena Krzywicka or Maria Morozowicz-Szczepkowska; all the more so in that one hunts in vain in Sophia Dubnov-Erlich’s articles for clear references to “Jewish Street.”

How far, however, did this task declared by the prominent activist translate into the reality within the movement itself? It is hard to say – all the more so as the young activists often came from very traditional households. In 1925 the organization used the survey printed in their magazine, *Yugnt Veker*, to conduct research to create a portrait of the movement’s typical activist.<sup>18</sup> The study, to which 3,889 young people contributed, showed that the respondents were far more religious than the movement’s leaders had hoped. Over 50% of the boys responded that they prayed. If we take into account the fact that the respondents knew who was conducting the survey and might well have wanted to adjust their answers to their expectations, we ought to assume that this percentage could have been even higher.<sup>19</sup>

Women were otherwise seldom addressed in articles per se. The exceptions to this rule were the above-mentioned occasional notes for Women’s Day<sup>20</sup> or a reportage piece on the fate of women during the Spanish Civil War. This piece mentioned heroic female activists from La Coruña who were courageous in the war efforts, while noting that many women who were utterly apolitical were raped and murdered in the warpath (“their cries and pleas for mercies still ring in my ears”).<sup>21</sup>

Apart from this handful of articles for special occasions or those written by Sophia Dubnov-Erlich, the iconography of Tsukunft can tell us a great deal about the image of

<sup>15</sup> S. Dubnov-Erlich, Di seksuele oyslezung fun di froy, *Yugnt Veker* 1934, no. 7, p. 5.

<sup>16</sup> S. Dubnov-Erlich cited the USSR as a model for the correct approach to legal issues. And indeed, immediately following the October Revolution the Bolsheviks introduced a new regulation which changed women’s social status in a radical fashion, e.g. through giving women equal rights, legalizing abortion, simplifying divorces, and improving social aid. Discussions on gender roles, sexuality, and the division of labor were raging at the time. This period of inquiry ended, however, when Stalin came to power. The state strove to take full control of its citizens’ sexuality, and began to support “pro-life” strategies and a return to traditional family values. In 1930 Stalin dissolved the Department for Women’s Affairs (*Zhenotdel*), and in 1936 abortion was delegatized. See, among others, Warshofsky Lapidus 1978, pp. 95-122; Buckley 1989, pp. 128-138; Hoffman 2000, pp. 35-54.

<sup>17</sup> S. Dubnov-Erlich, Egoizm un altruizm in seksueln lebn, *Yugnt Veker* 1934, no. 8, p. 4.

<sup>18</sup> Frage boygn, *Yugnt Veker* 1.05.1925, no. 4, pp. 8-9.

<sup>19</sup> P. Shvarts, Vos dertseyt undz di anquete fun yugnt-bund ‘Tsukunft’, *Yugnt Veker* 1.05.1930, no. 10, p. 9.

<sup>20</sup> See also: Be-li, Aruf tsu dem proletarishn meyd, *Yugnt Veker* 1.03.1926, no. 5, pp. 7-8; Be-li, Di froy muz zayn sotsyalistisher kemferin, *Yugnt Veker* 1.03.1929, no. 5, p. 3; A glykher, Der tog fun arbeter froy, *Yugnt Veker* 1.03.1930, no. 6, p. 2.

<sup>21</sup> M. Rouse, Di froyen in di shpanishe tragedie, *Yugnt Veker* 1.07.1938, no. 13, p. 4.

women it created. The covers of the periodicals feature women marching arm-in-arm with their male friends,<sup>22</sup> hiking in the mountains in sports apparel (pants, T-shirts),<sup>23</sup> and canvassing for new Tsukunft members,<sup>24</sup> or dressed in uniforms, hoisting the movement's flag with the men.<sup>25</sup> The magazines often also featured photographs of life in the organization, and if they featured girls, it was usually in the context of sporting events,<sup>26</sup> evening classes,<sup>27</sup> or performances in drama clubs.<sup>28</sup> Dressed in sports gear or in a modern fashion (knee-length skirts, short hairdos, swimsuits), they promoted healthy lifestyles, organized tourism and the cult of the athletic body. Female politicians, such as Rosa Luxemburg,<sup>29</sup> Nadejda Grinfeld (a Bund activist and later a member of the parliament of the Moldavian Republic),<sup>30</sup> and Sophia Perovskaya (an organizer of the coup against Tsar Alexander II) were also mentioned, though not too often.<sup>31</sup> What emerges is a picture of independent, politically minded women keeping in step with the spirit of the times.

The *Zeitgeist* was also thought to be expressed in the Tsukunft female members' approach to fashion and beauty. These facets of life were highly politicized in the 1920s and 1930s. We can see this in a letter written by a female Tsukunft member in 1927:

A wall often grows between my acquaintances and me. When I meet a girl I've known since childhood – we lived in the same neighborhood or went to the same school, or worked in the same place – I often wish I could slip away. I am repelled by the powder and the lipstick.

I don't know if others feel the same way. But I have an irrepressible feeling when I see someone's face made up: all at once it seems to me that her words are powdered too, they are buffed and polished, and do not come from a pure heart. Of course there's nothing wrong with a woman trying to look beautiful, but I think this can be achieved without making your face white or pink. Instead of powder – the sun's rays! Natural color is prettier. A sun-painted face is the only solution. And if you happen to be ugly, no art or cleverness will come to your aid. A person is also made different on the inside. Words that come from painted lips are tainted from the outset.<sup>32</sup> They bear no resemblance to the voices I heard in childhood, just as I find no likeness to the faces I saw ten years ago. All the innocence of childhood vanishes from such a [painted] girl's face.

Unfortunately, many girl workers don't understand this. They blindly emulate what they see in wealthy women. This is a path to falseness. Working women should also keep their skin fresh-looking and their figure in shape. But this could be achieved through regular physical exercise, muscle development, spending time outdoors, and good clean living.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>22</sup> *Yugnt Veker* 1.10.1928, no. 19, p. 1.

<sup>23</sup> *Yugnt Veker* 15.06.1931, no. 13, p. 1.

<sup>24</sup> *Yugnt Veker* 1.01.1936, no. 1, p. 1.

<sup>25</sup> *Yugnt Veker* 1.11.1937, no. 24, p. 1.

<sup>26</sup> E.g. *Yugnt Veker* 1.10.1927, no. 19, p. 13.

<sup>27</sup> The pamphlet *Kum mit undz!*, YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, RG 1400, MG 9, #258.

<sup>28</sup> E.g. *Yugnt Veker* 1.03.1928, no. 5, p. 7.

<sup>29</sup> E.g. *Yugnt Veker* 1.01.1927, no. 1, p. 3.

<sup>30</sup> E.g. *Yugnt Veker* 15.10.1927, no. 20, p. 27.

<sup>31</sup> *Yugnt Veker* 1.03.1927, no. 5, p. 4.

<sup>32</sup> Interestingly enough, they used the Hebrew word *tome*, which pertains to the purification ritual in Judaism.

<sup>33</sup> Mirl Ufsheyn, Vegn a shendlekhe mode, *Yugnt Veker* 1.04.1927, no. 7, p. 13.

As we can see from the above testimony alone, the socialist model for appearance promoted by the organization did not necessarily appeal to the young women of the Second Polish Republic.

As we know, there was no shortage of girls in Tsukunft. How did they arrive in the organization? Responses to this question are suggested by the autobiographies submitted to the YIVO Institute competitions. The Tsukunft girls who sent in pieces were those studying at Jewish general studies secondary schools who were experiencing financial hardships and had taken up work in workshops or factories.<sup>34</sup> As such, they were often second-generation Bund members, or at least had parents who sympathized with the labor movement. Such a small sample cannot, of course, be representative for the movement as a whole, but it does indicate a certain trend, and that is distinct from the male members of the organization, who frequently opposed their parents to become activists. The reason for this might be found in the trivial observation that, in this traditionally rooted society, it was more difficult for women to tear free, given that they were often mothers in their teens or early twenties. Another path to researching the biographies of the female Tsukunft activists is the epitaphs in the *Doyres bundistn* collection.<sup>35</sup> True, only 51 notes out of 600 concern female activists of the Polish Bund in the broadest sense,<sup>36</sup> and among them, only a few are Tsukunft girls; they do show similar tendencies, however (e.g. Miriam Shifman-Fayner, Tsipora and Brukha Ainshtayn, Asie Big). An exception would appear to be the fate of Włocławek activist Gitl Wiszniewski-Słucka, who apparently came from a very religious family.

Interestingly enough, it would also seem that the girls active in Tsukunft were not indifferent to the thoughts expressed by Sophia Dubnov-Erlich, as indicated by the biography of a female activist submitted in 1934. The 22-year-old Międzyrzec resident concludes her life story by pondering the idea of traveling to the big city, where she could be independent, work in a factory, and possibly avoid a hasty marriage.<sup>37</sup>

Contributing to the movement was surely a crucial part of life for the young female activists, and one that often defined their identities. “Tsukunft is the only place for me!” one of the authors of the autobiographies wrote for the competition. This girl (who, nota bene, signed her whole contribution pack as “Tsukunftistke,” i.e. Tsukunft Activist) enclosed her diary from 1938-1939, in which she dutifully noted the fact that she had read the latest issue of *Yugnt Veker*, reported Bund’s success in the local elections, and shared her thoughts on the plans for the organization’s local unit, which she led.<sup>38</sup>

“Women have always played a vital role in the Bund’s struggle to bring about such demands as a shorter work day, higher wages, better living conditions, education for children and youth, (...) the fight against anti-Semitism, Fascism, and war.”<sup>39</sup> This would seem hard to oppose, yet we ought to stress that these were generally rank-and-file activists (at least in the Second Polish Republic), who carried out everyday work in the move-

<sup>34</sup> Yiddish-language autobiographies #3759 (1934); #3541 (1939); #3666 (1934); #3749 (1939), YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, RG 4.

<sup>35</sup> Sholem Hertz 1956.

<sup>36</sup> Altogether, 65 notes out of 600 concern female Bund activists (including the Bund in Russian territories).

<sup>37</sup> Autobiography #3759, Yiddish, 1934, YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, RG 4.

<sup>38</sup> Autobiography #3749, Yiddish, 1939, YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, RG 4.

<sup>39</sup> Tsirl Shtayngart, Di froyen in ‘Bund’, *Unzer Tsayt* 1975, nos 3-4, p. 22.

ment. It would seem that, despite the declarations on the banners, there was a “glass ceiling” of sorts in the Bund youth organization, which meant that men remained the main ideologues and prominent activists of Tsukunft. The struggle for women’s rights was not the main task of the organization per se, because it was chiefly concerned with fighting for socialism, which presupposed equal rights. This is also why it was rare that the gravity of women’s affairs was stressed in Tsukunft discourse, and thus the youth movement as such, which was a testing ground for change. As Marx taught, gender issues were not meant to create any limitations, and freedom and liberation were to be achieved through conquering nature and oneself. The reality, unfortunately, was often a far cry from these ideals, though the head activists of the organization appeared not to notice.

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## REBUILDING A DESTROYED WORLD: RUDOLF BERES – A JEWISH ART COLLECTOR IN INTERWAR KRAKÓW<sup>1</sup>

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**Key words:** Jewish art collectors, Jewish collectors; provenance research, B'nai B'rith, Kraków, Lvov, Milanówek, Holocaust, National Museum in Kraków, Association of Friends of Fine Arts, *Nowy Dziennik*, Polish artists of Jewish origin, Polish art collectors of Jewish origin, Jewish heritage in Kraków, Emil Beres, Rudolf Beres, Chaim Nachman Bialik, Maurycy Gottlieb, Jacek Malczewski, Jozef Stieglitz

**Abstract:** Interwar Kraków was a vibrant cultural center in newly independent Poland. Jewish intelligentsia played a significant part in preservation of Krakowian culture, but also endowed artist and cultural institutions. In a shadow of renowned Maurycy Gottlieb, there is his great collector and promoter of his artistic oeuvre, Rudolf Beres (1884-1964). The core of the collection was inherited from his father Emil. Rudolf, who arrived to Kraków to study law, brought these pictures with him, and with time extended the collection, not only with Maurycy Gottlieb's artworks, but also other distinguished Polish artists. As a director of the Kraków Chamber of Commerce and Industry he played an influential role in the city and country scene. As a member of *Solidarność* – Kraków B'nai Brith chapter, he was active in the cultural events and ventures in the city. He was the main force behind the famous exhibition of Maurycy Gottlieb's of 1932 in the National Museum in Kraków. Rudolf collected extensive information on Maurycy in order to commemorate his life and promote artistic oeuvre of the first Jewish artist of such significance. His home art gallery, mostly because of Gottlieb's collection was visited by various Jewish activists; for example Hayim Nahman Bialik. Moreover, Rudolf planned to exhibit Maurycy's work in Tel Aviv. With a group of B'nai B'rith members he traveled with his wife to visit Palestine. He was a close friend of Feliks Kopera, the director of the National Museum in Kraków, for which he extensively organized money collection for erecting a new galleries' building.

The paper presents forgotten and unpublished facts about a Jewish art collector of Kraków, a person whose art works he once possessed and cherished, are now in various museums and private collections as a result of WWII and communist regime. I bring the man back from obscurity of history's selectiveness. The historical documents, family heirlooms and discovered war memoirs of Rudolf construct the past of the great Jewish citizen of Kraków without whom Maurycy Gottlieb could have been unknown as much as he is known now.

The Jewish intellectual life of interwar Kraków was destroyed first by the six years of World War II and then during the ensuing decades of communist power in Poland.

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Rudolf Beres (1883-1964)

The flamboyant life of the twenties and thirties of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, extinguished, never to be revived. Kraków Jewish art collectors vanish into oblivion. While their paintings disperse all over the world, many disappear from sight entirely with precious few works of art restored to the surviving families.

Rudolf Beres, an art collector of Jewish origin, a citizen of Kraków, once devoted his life to this city's cultural endeavors. Once known for his exquisite collection of works by the artist Maurycy Gottlieb, the Beres family holds not even one Gottlieb painting in their possession.

This research undertakes to present Dr. Rudolf Beres and his once remarkable collection. Unfortunately, his figure is now forgotten in the city he loved so deeply. This article is the first endeavor to restore to memory a private Jewish collector while highlighting his beloved collection he assembled in Kraków. Specifics of historical research are based on new methodology, constantly on trial, of provenance research of artworks of the Nazi era and its aftermath, and are also based on traditional gathering of the material for building a biography.

Rudolf Beres was born in Podwołoczyska district of Skala<sup>2</sup> on 4<sup>th</sup> of September 1883, as a second of four sons of Róża née Blumenfeld<sup>3</sup> and Emil Beres,<sup>4</sup> a merchant in Podwołoczyska. Emil and Rosa married on February 19<sup>th</sup>, 1881 in Maków (Myślenice district).<sup>5</sup> It was a year and a half after the sudden death of Maurycy Gottlieb (1856-1879), of an eastern Galicia town of Drohobycz, who during his short life became one of the most renowned Jewish artists of Eastern Europe. Older by about ten years, Emil became a friend, great patron and a collector of Maurycy's artworks. He owned more than ten paintings, in addition to several drawings, including a very early work from the period of Gottlieb's secondary school. Emil preserved Gottlieb's letters and postcards, as well as his visiting card and photographs. Gottlieb preserved Emil, in portraiture. These two portraits of Emil, show a distinguished man of sharp but pensive eyes with a significantly high forehead. His hair is combed to the back, beard cut short but his mustache is kept long. He wears a black frock coat with white shirt underneath. A tall collar is put up and fastened with a neat, black bowtie. This is a man of power and wealth, but there is a notion of nostalgia and contemplation. Gottlieb portrayed a romanticized vision of conflicting spirituality and reality of a wealthy man in an age of his strength.

Emil Beres, as a member of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Brody worked as a forwarding agent for the Galician Railway of Archduke Charles Louis and also became a cattle merchant. In 1893, as a co-owner of a consignment house "Emil Beres & Sikora," he established in Kraków a clearing house for transported cattle. He continued to deal with the logistics of the entrusted animals as well as offering loans.<sup>6</sup> Most likely, the initiation of this business in Kraków was driven by a need of providing his older sons Arthur and Rudolf with a quality education. Both boys were admitted to the III<sup>rd</sup> *Gimnazjum* in Kraków for the school year 1893-1894.<sup>7</sup> At that time they lived in the apartment on Zielona Street no. 8.<sup>8</sup>

In the family photo-archive there is a beautiful picture of Róża Beres dressed in a distinguished and very stylish dress of ecru color. She is surrounded by her sons. The picture was taken in Kraków in 1899. In the photograph Arthur, Rudolf and Oswald are dressed in the school uniforms. Róża looks as if she is very proud of her sons. Indeed, Rudolf was an excellent student, a high achiever. He passed the school final exams with honors in 1901. He was admitted as a freshman to the Jagiellonian University, department of law, for the academic year 1901-1902. Rudolf graduated on October 12, 1905 and in 1906

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<sup>2</sup> Skala, Ternopil province, presently west Ukraine; in Podwołoczyska there was railway border crossing between the Austria-Hungarian Empire and Russian Empire.

<sup>3</sup> Rosa Blumenfeld was a daughter of Anna and Jacob, a merchant in Maków, Myślenice district, c. 50 km south from Kraków, born on 11<sup>th</sup> August 1861.

<sup>4</sup> In the record (Birth record of Arthur Beres from *Księgi Metrykalne Gmin Wyznania Mojżeszowego z Terenów Zaburzańskich*, the oldest son, indicates that Samuel called Emil Beres was a forwarding agent of the Galician Railway of Archduke Charles Louis, stationed in Podwołoczyska, a Galician town bordering with Russian Empire).

<sup>5</sup> Rosa (also called Róża or Rozalia) and Emil besides Rudolf had three other sons, Arthur (b. July 8<sup>th</sup>, 1882), Oswald (b. May 12<sup>th</sup>, 1886) and Zenon (b. May 24<sup>th</sup>, 1892).

<sup>6</sup> An announcement in *Gazeta Narodowa we Lwowie* 1893, no. 126 (4<sup>th</sup> of June), 3 – for this information my thanks to Jolanta Kruszniewska.

<sup>7</sup> Siedlecki 1894, pp. 95-96.

<sup>8</sup> Census of the citizens of Kraków 1900, vol. 12, no. 2058.

he earned the title of Doctor of Law.<sup>9</sup> Around this time Emil, the father, died leaving the entirety Gottlieb's fine art collection to Rudolf.<sup>10</sup> The Beres family stayed living together. Even though they occupied separate apartments, they rented in the same building. Census of the year 1910 indicates that the Beres family moved to Rynek Kleparski no. 10.<sup>11</sup> In 1921 they lived on Filipa Street no 7.<sup>12</sup>



Maurycy Gottlieb, *Emil Beres*,  
oil on canvas, Munich, 1878<sup>13</sup>

Talented and acclaimed, Rudolf was nominated a vice-director of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Kraków for the years 1909 to 1930.<sup>14</sup> He also took place of a chief editor of *Wiadomości Gospodarcze*, a magazine of the Chamber.<sup>15</sup> He continued in his father's path, but was more sophisticated intellectually. He wrote two books

<sup>9</sup> Michalewicz 1999.

<sup>10</sup> Zenon, the youngest of the four brothers was in the possession of the father's portrait, which location is presently unknown (Emil is presented from the profile, he is turned to the left; oil on canvas 56 x 45 cm; signed "M. Gottlieb 1878" – reproduction in the author's documentation).

<sup>11</sup> Census of the citizens of Kraków 1910, vol. 9, nos 1756-1757.

<sup>12</sup> Census of the citizens of Kraków 1921, vol. 7, nos 1946-1950.

<sup>13</sup> 69 x 56 cm; sig. "M. Gottlieb 1878" (location unknown). Illustration from: Waldman 1932, 45 (Dr Rudolf Beres ownership, Kraków). There was also one more portrait of Emil Beres (signed by Maurycy Gottlieb and dated 1878), the figure is captured in a profile. It was exhibited during the 1932 in the National Museum of Kraków. Prior to WWII, this portrait belonged to Zenon Beres, presently, its location is unknown.

<sup>14</sup> Kargol 2003, p. 61.

<sup>15</sup> *Wiadomości Gospodarcze*, monthly magazine of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, published since 1916. T. Kragol (2003, p. 350) indicated that Rudolf Beres was its chief editor since 1928.

*Polski Instytut Exportowy*, published in 1925, and *Braki naszej organizacji gospodarczej*, Kraków 1926. Moreover, director Rudolf Beres was a member of the Polish Export Institute (*Polski Instytut Eksportowy*) and in 1928 he was nominated to be a member of the Council of Polish Export Institute.<sup>16</sup> He also established a magazine *Przegląd mięsny*. Rudolf's political activity in his business of meat export put him in danger as he was a chief supporter of boycotting meat export to Nazi Germany.<sup>17</sup>

One of the intriguing assignments undertaken by a group of Kraków individuals led by Dr. Rudolf Beres was to take care of the city aesthetic regarding an issue of displays for store windows. In 1927, several members of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Kraków took on the responsibility to keep European standards of the windowstore displays in the historical city of Kraków. This was designed in order to prevent any disturbance of coherence with the antique architecture of the surroundings. Professor Henryk Uziembło was sent to Paris to gather the latest trends in window displays. Based upon his observations, a special educational course was prepared in the Muzeum Techniczno-Przemysłowe in Kraków with the following instructors: prof. Henryk Uziembło, engineer Bronisław Biegeleisen, Paweł Dygat, architects: Jerzy Struszkiewicz, Zdzisław Strojek and dr. Rudolf Beres, whose lecture was on *Profession in Commerce and Industry*.<sup>18</sup> Twenty-one businesses took part in this course, where instruction was given regarding the structure, lighting and artistic values of the window shop exposition.<sup>19</sup> Beres published an article on the competition for the best and most suitable window store display.<sup>20</sup>

Rudolf's exemplary civic attitude was also shown in his generous response to Szyszko-Bohusz's call for financial support for renovation of Wawel, the royal castle in Kraków. Fragility of newly independent Poland and lack of financial stability required civic monetary support in continuation of the castle restoration that had begun in 1905. Efforts continued even through War World I. The chief architect and restorer professor Adolf Szyszko-Bohusz announced so called "akcja cegiełkowa" – a competition fundraiser: *Whoever makes a payment of 30.000 marks or multiplicity of the amount will be honored with a stone plaque bearing an inscription or a name of a donor on the castle's defensive wall from the side of Kanoniczna Street*. Responding to Szyszko-Bohusz's announcement, Rudolf Beres issued his donation as the fourth leading individual, and his payment of 30 000 marks was made in the early days of April 1921.<sup>21</sup>

In 1922, Rudolf was married to Jadwiga Horowitz,<sup>22</sup> a daughter of an engineer Zygmunt Horowitz of Kraków and Aurelia née Sokal from Vienna. With his very young wife,<sup>23</sup> called by the family Heda, they lived in a modern apartment on Słowackiego

<sup>16</sup> Rada Państwowego Instytutu Exportowego, *Ajencja Wschodnia. Gazeta Handlowa* 1929, no. 58 (March), Warszawa.

<sup>17</sup> Wartime Memoire by Rudolf Beres, 1 and 10.

<sup>18</sup> Odczyty i Wykłady, *Rzeczy Piękne* 1927, no. 9, p. 157.

<sup>19</sup> Kargol 2003, pp. 139-140.

<sup>20</sup> Konkurs Wystaw Sklepowych, *Rzeczy Piękne* 1927, no. 9, pp. 150-154.

<sup>21</sup> Information based on the correspondence with Zdzisława Chojnacka, the chief supervisor of Wawel, the Royal Castle Archive in Kraków (January 19, 2015) and Fuchs, Łaszczczyńska, Prus 1972.

<sup>22</sup> Jadwiga was born on September 24, 1902.

<sup>23</sup> Jadwiga was twenty years younger than her husband Rudolf.

Avenue 1,<sup>24</sup> where his children Jerzy (November 11, 1923) and Anita Beres (November 18, 1927) were born. Later in the early 1930's they moved to a newly built house on Sienkiewicza Street 18.

Rudolf's father-in-law, long-serving and meritorious member of the Kraków chapter of B'nai B'rith, introduced him to the prominent intellectual Jewish organization, which he joined in 1924.

Rudolf understood that as legate of the greatest collection in Poland of the artworks of Maurycy Gottlieb, he was responsible for paintings' promotion, but also for advocacy of Maurycy's artistic genius as a first renowned Jewish artist from Eastern Europe. Rudolf purchased illustrations to famous drama *Nathan der Weise* by Gotthold Ephraim Lessing ordered by Bruckmann publishing house in Munich in June 1877.<sup>25</sup> Twelve paintings were executed in the technique called grisaille that near – monochrome in the shades of gray easily to be reproduced as book illustration. The canvases showed mastery of Maurycy's talent as a painter. Mojżes Waldman, in a biographical book on Maurycy Gottlieb, stated that Dr. Beres saved these artworks from oblivion by purchasing two of three<sup>26</sup> big paintings and the set of 12 smaller grisaille artworks.<sup>27</sup> Nehama Guralnik wrote without recalling the source of information that these illustrations were in the publisher warehouse until the World War I when they were recovered by Rudolf Beres.<sup>28</sup> These are:

1. *Powitanie Natana przez Rechę / Reha Welcoming Her Father*, 1877

Oil (grisaille) on canvas; 110 x 80 cm; signed "M. Gottlieb 1877"

Provenance:

Rudolf Beres, Kraków

Władysław Kühn (1939-1978)

Alicja and Jacek Molenda, Poland

Agra Art., Auction House, Poland, 24 October, 1999

Since 1999 the painting is on a private loan in the National Museum in Warsaw, no. inv. Dep. 3117 MNW

2. *Ocalenie Rechy z płomieni / The Rescue of Reha from the Fire*, 1877

Oil (grisaille) on canvas; 110 x 80 cm; signed "M. Gottlieb 1877"

Provenance:

Rudolf Beres, Kraków – Katowice / sold after January 1945<sup>29</sup>

Karol Bernhaut, Warsaw – Israel – Germany

Anne & Adam Bernhaut, Lower Templestowe, Australia

<sup>24</sup> *Spis Abonamentów, Państwowej Sieci Telefonicznej Okręgu Krakowskiej Dyrekcji Poczty i Telegrafów według stanu z dnia 31 grudnia 1924*, Kraków, p. 6.

<sup>25</sup> Waldman 1932. The illustrations were never published.

<sup>26</sup> The third one, final scene of *Nathan the Wise*, was in the Rothschild's collection in London, presently the painting location is unknown.

<sup>27</sup> Waldman 1932, p. 57.

<sup>28</sup> Guralnik 1991, p. 56.

<sup>29</sup> The Beres family arrived in Kraków shortly after the liberation of Warsaw and Kraków, they could have arrived at the end of January 1945 or early February; their registration numbers with the Jewish Historical Commission are: 677, 679.

3. *Powitanie Natana przez Rechę / Reha Welcoming her Father*, 1877  
Oil on canvas, glued on cardboard; 32 x 27 cm  
Provenance:  
Rudolf Beres, Kraków – Katowice / sold after January 1945  
Józef Stieglitz, Kraków – Tel Aviv  
Asher Frenkel, Tel Aviv  
Schneibalk, Jerusalem  
David Dunitz, Tel Aviv / sold through Sotheby's New York (June 27, 1984)  
Private collection, New York
4. *Natan Mędzrzec i Rycerz Zakonny / Nathan the Wise and the Templar*, 1877  
Oil (grisaille) on canvas; 30 x 21 cm  
Provenance:  
Rudolf Beres, Kraków  
Since 1939/45 – location unknown
5. *Scena w Klasztorze / Scene in a Monastery*, 1877  
Oil (grisaille) on canvas; 30.9 x 23 cm  
Provenance:  
Rudolf Beres, Kraków – Katowice  
Lidia (Anita) Kanarek nee Beres, Kraków – Katowice – Holon / the artwork was brought to Israel in 1969 and sold through Sotheby's Tel Aviv (October, 1993)  
Private collection
6. *Rycerz Zakonny i Dajah / Templar and Dajah*, 1877  
Oil (grisaille) on canvas; 30 x 23 cm  
Provenance:  
Rudolf Beres, Kraków  
Since 1939/45 – location unknown
7. *Sitta i Dajah / Sitta and Dajah*, 1877  
Oil (grisaille) on canvas; 30 x 23 cm  
Provenance:  
Rudolf Beres, Kraków  
Since 1939/45 – location unknown
8. *Saladyn i Braciszek Klasztorny / Saladin and Friar*, 1877  
Oil (grisaille) on canvas; 30 x 20 cm  
Provenance:  
Rudolf Beres, Kraków  
Since 1939/45 – location unknown
9. *Saladyn i Sittah przy Szachach / Saladin and Sittah Playing Chess*, 1877  
Oil (grisaille) on canvas; 30 x 23 cm  
Provenance:  
Rudolf Beres, Kraków – Katowice / sold after January 1945  
Józef Stieglitz, Kraków – Tel Aviv

- Shoshana Levinson, Tel Aviv  
Private collection, New York
10. *Rycerz Zakonny / Templar*, 1877  
Oil (grisaille) on canvas; 28 x 24 cm  
Provenance:  
Rudolf Beres; Kraków  
Since 1939/45 – location unknown
11. *Sittah*, 1877  
Oil (grisaille) on canvas; 28 x 24 cm  
Provenance:  
Rudolf Beres, Kraków  
Since 1939/45 – location unknown
12. *Sittah, Sultan i Natan / Sittah, Sultan and Nathan*, 1877  
Oil (grisaille) on canvas; 39 x 32 cm  
Provenance:  
Rudolf Beres, Kraków – Katowice / sold after January 1945  
Private collection, Poland / until the 1950's  
Józef Stieglitz, Kraków – Tel Aviv  
A.G. Bineth, Jerusalem / from Stieglitz 1957  
Olga Bineth, Bnei Brak
13. *Braciszek Klasztorny i Rycerz Zakonny / Friar and Templar*, 1877  
Oil (grisaille) on canvas; 34 x 28 cm  
Provenance:  
Rudolf Beres, Kraków  
Since 1939/45 – location unknown
14. *Scena końcowa / Final Scene*, 1877  
Oil (grisaille) on canvas; 30 x 22 cm  
Provenance:  
Rudolf Beres, Kraków – Katowice  
Since 1939/45 – location unknown

In 1923, at the Association of Friends of Fine Arts, Rudolf exhibited at least fifteen of his owned artworks including six freshly purchased grisaille illustrations.<sup>30</sup> The profit from the exhibit supported building of a new gallery in the National Museum in Kraków. The importance of this event must be underlined with understanding that it was one of the first public collection of funds for financing growth of the city museum, and organized by Jewish citizens of Kraków who exhibited from their collections of Jewish artists. Significantly, this occurred almost ten years before the official appeal was made to the Polish and

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<sup>30</sup> *Maurycy Gottlieb 1856-1879. Katalog wystawy pamiątkowej urządzanej przez TPSP w Krakowie na dochód budowy gmachu Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie, 24 czerwca – 31 lipiec, 1923*; nos 18-23. According to the information of the current archivist of the TPSP in Kraków, there is no surviving documentation of this exhibit. The catalog does not identify owners of the paintings.



Jewish citizens of Kraków to support building the new galleries.<sup>31</sup> The newspapers *Ilustrowany Kuryer Codzienny* and *Głos Narodu* reported on the event.<sup>32</sup> On Wednesday, June 23<sup>rd</sup> *Kuryer* described on the opening of the exhibit in the Palace of Art by the Szczepański Plaza. The exhibit elicited a particular interest from the viewers. Twenty three of Gottlieb's artworks were loaned from Kraków Jewish collectors. Besides Rudolf Beres, paintings came from the collections of Adolf Szwarc, Leon Holzer, and two canvases from National Museum in Kraków (*Ahaswer* and *Portrait of Maurycy Kuranda*).

Rudolf Beres's daughter, Anita Kanarek, née Beres, recalls her father as "possessed by Gottlieb's legacy."<sup>33</sup> After the monthly exhibit in the Association of Friends of Fine Arts, Rudolf undertook a challenge to collect biographical information in order to write Maurycy Gottlieb's monograph as the first, great Polish artist of Jewish origin. During the years of 1924-1925, he conversed with Jacek Malczewski on the subject of the prematurely deceased painters' genius. They also deliberated about religious subjects, relations and examined the closeness between Judaism and Christianity. Jacek Malczewski described Maurycy to Rudolf Beres as an *inspired great thinker, an epigone of prophets thrown by God's order into the whirlpool of a short but tragic artistic life struggle*.<sup>34</sup> The painter believed that Gottlieb's talent and creativeness were not prized highly enough by the Jewish society. Collected material gathered from the conversations was included in the biographical book about Maurycy Gottlieb written by Mojżesz Waldman, which accompanied the famous Gottlieb's exhibit of 1932. At the request of Michalina Janoszanka, a cousin of the painter Rudolf submitted to her the recollection of those conversations.<sup>35</sup>

Chaim Nachman Bialik's visit illustrates how magnificent and celebrated was the Beres's art collection. The revered Hebrew poet visited Kraków in the fall of 1931. It was Bialik's wish to admire paintings by Maurycy Gottlieb assembled in Rudolf's house. *Nowy Dziennik* reported on the visit:

Yesterday afternoon Bialik visited the distinguished gallery of paintings by Maurycy Gottlieb that they are owned by Dr. Rudolf Beres. Dr. Rudolf Beres provided comprehensive explanation to the poet. Bialik who is also an acclaimed fine art expert, was not able to find fitting words of admiration for the masterpieces of prematurely deceased Jewish artist and wish for this wonderful gallery to find its way to become a permanent asset of the newly established Tel Aviv Museum.<sup>36</sup>

The artworks did not reach Palestine even though certain steps were taken to exhibit Rudolf's collection in the Levant Fair of 1934 in Tel Aviv. In spring 1934, Rudolf and Jadwiga visited Palestine with an excursion organized by the Kraków travel agency Escopol for all Polish B'nai B'rith chapters and Zionist organizations.<sup>37</sup> Although a great number

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<sup>31</sup> The appeals we issued in 1933; examples of these appeals are in the Bnei Brith Collection of the State Archive in Kraków; BB 182, pp. 20-25. In the 1935 publication *Kraków Budoje Muzeum Narodowe* three brothers are mentioned as supporters of NMK: Oswald, Rudolf and Zenon, p. 24.

<sup>32</sup> *Ilustrowany Kuryer Codzienny* 1924, no. 149, p. 7 and no. 152, p. 8; *Głos Narodu* 1924, no. 121-123, p. 6.

<sup>33</sup> Conversation with Anita Kanarek, November 2014, Holon Israel.

<sup>34</sup> Janoszanka 1935, pp. 224-230. Art School's workshops of Jacek Malczewski and Maurycy Gottlieb were neighboring on the Gołębia Street in Kraków.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 224.

<sup>36</sup> Ostatnie chwile pobytu Ch.N. Bialika w Krakowie, *Nowy Dziennik* 1931, no. 283, p. 9.

<sup>37</sup> State Archive in Kraków, B'nai Brith Collection BB 166, pp. 81-84.

of paintings from Rudolf's collections of Gottlieb's artworks hang in various private collections in Israel today, only three are found in the country's public collections.<sup>38</sup>

In the midst of anti-Semitic events at the Jagiellonian University and the Academy of Fine Art where Polish nationalist parties called for boycotting of Jewish businesses, Jewish artist and intellectuals within the new Association of Jewish Painters and Sculptors in Kraków, decided to exhibit and elevate the memory of acclaimed Jewish painters, Maurycy Gottlieb and Samuel Hirszenberg. In November of 1931, Leo Schönker expressed his expectations on the page of *Nowy Dziennik* regarding the upcoming exhibit driven by Beres's leadership:

...on the streets of Kraków, where Gottlieb lived and worked, in front of the Jewish Dormitory House, where the commemorative exhibit is going to be prepared, the academic youth of National Democratic Party demonstrates. Jewish art students with difficulties are admitted to the Fine Art Academy, and artists are barely permitted to exhibit. Factual "numerus clausus" rules universities.

This is indeed a very sad circumstance, but in spite of that, we believe that the exhibit and Gottlieb's spirit will lead into a brotherly coexistence and bright future.<sup>39</sup>

Led by the painter Leo Schönker, this new association saw Rudolf Beres appointed as honorary member on behalf of the B'nai Brith.<sup>40</sup> Since the beginning of the establishment of the Association of Jewish Painters and Sculptors in Kraków, Rudolf Beres represented Jewish intelligentsia within the Association's board providing intellectual support, and sharing the audience's expectations with the artists.<sup>41</sup> The newly selected board of members included important Jewish individuals of the city of Kraków. Besides Beres there were: Wilhelm Berkelhammer, the chief editor of *Nowy Dziennik*, a leading Kraków Jewish newspaper published in Polish, Mojżesz Kanfer, the editor of *Nowy Dziennik*, Rafał Landau, the president of the Jewish Community, and also Jewish painters such as Leon Lewkowicz, Ezriel Regenbogen and Leo Schönker.<sup>42</sup> The president of the Fine Art Academy Frideryk Pautsch, the president of the Association of Friends of Fine Arts Władysław Jarocki and Feliks Kopera, the director of the National Museum in Kraków also participated in the meetings leading to organizing the first monographic exhibit of the artworks of Maurycy Gottlieb.<sup>43</sup> Preserved documents of the exhibit present the enormous engagement of Rudolf. He proposed a very innovative approach to the didactic side of the exhibit by providing a well researched biography of the artist, and a catalog of the exhibited artworks that included title, size, medium and the name of the owner of

<sup>38</sup> Public collections include: the Israel Museum (*Jewish Wedding*), the Ein Harod Museum (*Joseph and Potiphar's Wife, Portrait of Maurycy Wahrmann Deputy to the Hungarian Parliament*), and the Weizmann Institute of Science, Rehovot (*Portrait of the Old Man*).

<sup>39</sup> Maurycy Gottlieb jako Żyd i Polak. Na marginesie projektowanej wystawy pamiątkowej, *Nowy Dziennik* 1931, no. 295, p. 3.

<sup>40</sup> Z Zrzeszenia Żyd. Art. Malarzy i Rzeźbiarzy, *Nowy Dziennik* 1931, no. 324, p. 9. Leo Schönker (...) The others honorary members of the Association: Dr Leon Ader – the president of the B'nai Brith, Dr Henryk Apte, editor Dr Berkelhammer, Dr Rafał Landau – the president of the *Kehila* and Dr Fischlowitz – the president of the council of the Jewish community, eng. Goldwasser – the president of the Association for the Encouragement of Fine Arts and other renowned members of the Kraków Jewish intelligentsia.

<sup>41</sup> *Nowy Dziennik* 1931, no. 317, p. 11.

<sup>42</sup> O wystawie obrazów Maurycego Gottlieba, *Nowy Dziennik* 1931, no. 293, p. 13.

<sup>43</sup> *Sztuki Piękne* 1932, no 1, pp. 13-14;

the exhibited picture. Beres's suggestions included a commemorative medal, restoration of Maurycy's gravestone, and a ceremony at the Jewish cemetery before opening of the exhibit.<sup>44</sup> Rudolf was responsible for enlisting loans from owners of Maurycy Gottlieb's artworks. He orchestrated the entire process of loaning and transporting the objects. 92 artworks were amassed from private collectors of Kraków, Warsaw, Lvov, Jasło, Łódź, and Paris<sup>45</sup> and from national museums of Kraków, Warsaw, Lvov and Silesia.

Rudolf lent thirty two pictures, the set of illustrations to the *Nathan the Wise* and the following:

1. *Targ Niewolnic w Kairze / Slave Market in Cairo, 1877*  
Oil on canvas; 28 x 22 (25 x 20 cm)  
Signed: "M. Gottlieb"  
Provenance:  
Emil Beres, Podwołoczyska – Kraków  
Rudolf Beres, Kraków – Katowice / offered for sale to NMK (Nov. 1948)  
Józef Stieglitz, Tel Aviv  
I. Kiwkowitz-Haramati, Petah-Tikva, Israel  
Private collection, New York
2. *Józef i Putyfara / Joseph and Potiphar's Wife, c. 1877*  
Oil (grisaille) on canvas; 20 x 24 cm (20.5 x 26 cm)  
Provenance:  
Emil Beres, Podwołoczyska – Kraków  
Rudolf Beres, Kraków – Katowice / change of ownership after January 1945  
Museum of Art, Ein Harod, Israel
3. *Ślub żydowski / Jewish Wedding, 1876*  
Oil (grisaille) on canvas; 32 x 24 cm  
Provenance:  
Emil Beres, Podwołoczyska – Kraków  
Rudolf Beres, Kraków – Katowice / sold after January 1945 to Abraham Stieglitz  
Józef Stieglitz, Tel Aviv (until 1949)  
The Israel Museum, Jerusalem
4. *Gottlieb, Kryciński i Papiński*  
Signed: "M. G." and at the bottom: "Wiedeń 8/5 75"  
Ink on paper; 15 x 10 cm
5. *Rysunek Stóp / Drawing of feet*  
Signed: "Gottlieb Moses, Schüler der II-ten cl. des II-en Obergymnasiums 1869"  
and above this a signature of the artist's teacher: "vivi Godlevski"  
Pencil on paper; 30 x 40 cm  
Provenance:  
Emil Beres, Podwołoczyska – Kraków

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<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>45</sup> Paintings from Austrian and German collections were not exhibited.

- Rudolf Beres, Kraków – Katowice  
Since 1939/1945 – location unknown
6. *Szkic ołówkowy / Pencil Drawing*  
Pencil on paper; 30 x 40 cm  
*Young composition on a historical subject.*  
Provenance:  
Emil Beres, Podwołoczyska – Katowice  
Rudolf Beres, Kraków – Katowice  
Since 1939/1945 – location unknown
7. *Japonka, 1879*  
Oil on wood, 18 x 14 cm  
Signed and dated upper left: “M. Gottlieb/ 1879”  
Provenance:  
Emil Beres, Podwołoczyska – Kraków  
Rudolf Beres, Kraków – Katowice / change of the ownership after January 1945  
Private collection, Israel
8. *Żydówka ze Wschodu (Arabka?) / Jewish Woman from the East, c. 1878*  
Oil on wood; 20 x 15 cm (20.7 x 15.6)  
Signed upper left: “M. Gottlieb”  
Provenance:  
Emil Beres, Podwołoczyska – Kraków  
Rudolf Beres, Kraków – Katowice / change of ownership after January 1945  
Private collection, Israel
9. *Żydzi przy modlitwie / Cierpiący na zęby / Jews Praying / Figure of a Man*<sup>46</sup>  
Pencil on paper; 22 x 19 cm (27 x 22)  
Provenance:  
Emil Beres, Podwołoczyska – Kraków  
Rudolf Beres, Kraków – Katowice  
Anita Beres Kanarek, Katowice – Holon, Israel (sold after 1991)  
Private collection, Israel
10. *Studium Blondynki / Portrait of a Blond Woman, 1878*  
Oil on canvas; 50 x 40 cm  
Signed “M. Gottlieb”  
*Represents a young model from Munich; the head turned to the left*  
Provenance:  
Emil Beres, Podwołoczyska – Kraków  
Rudolf Beres, Kraków  
Since 1939/1945 – location unknown

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<sup>46</sup> No. 9 is a double-sided drawing, but the catalogue of 1932 indicates two separate art works: no. 76 and no. 77, p. 10.

11. *Pijak. Studium brodatego mężczyzny strona prawa silnie zaciemniona / The Drunkard*, 1876  
Oil on canvas; 46 x 36 (44 x 32 cm)  
Provenance:  
Emil Beres, Podwołoczyska – Kraków  
Rudolf Beres, Kraków – Katowice / sold after January 1945  
K. Bernhaut, Warsaw – Israel  
Jacob Braunstein, Tel Aviv
12. *Starzec. Studium głowy starca, tło czerwone / Portrait of an Old Man*, 1878  
Oil on canvas; 46 x 36 cm (50.3 x 41 cm)  
Signed lower right: “M. Gottlieb”  
Provenance:  
Emil Beres, Podwołoczyska – Kraków  
Rudolf Beres, Kraków – Katowice / sold after January 1945  
Michael Zagayski, New York  
Weizmann Institute of Science, Rehovot as a gift of the Michael and Dora Zagay-ski Foundation, 1978
13. *Portret Emila Beresa. Głowa zwrócona nieco w lewo, tło ciemne / Portrait of Emil Beres*, 1878  
Oil on canvas; 68 x 56 cm  
Signed: “M. Gottlieb”  
Since 1939/1945 – location unknown
14. *Zygmunt August i Gizanka / Zygmunt August and Gizanka*, c. 1874  
Composition from Matejko’s school  
Oil on canvas; 36 x 56 cm (37.5 x 62.5 cm)  
Inscribed lower right: “A/5”  
Provenance:  
Emil Beres, Podwołoczyska – Kraków / offered for sale to MNK (Nov. 1948)  
Rudolf Beres, Kraków – Katowice  
Pinhas and Helena Schoenberg, Poland – Tel Aviv (1949-1987)  
Eliezer Levin, Savyon, Israel
15. *Druciarz. Studium młodego Hucula na jasnym tle / Portrait of a Man (Ininerant Tinker)*, 1876  
Oil on canvas; 60 x 54 cm  
Signed lower right: “M. Gottlieb”  
Provenance:  
Emil Beres, Podwołoczyska – Kraków  
Rudolf Beres, Kraków – Katowice  
Jerzy Beres, Katowice – Montreal – Ottawa  
Józef Stieglitz, Tel Aviv  
Private collection, Chicago, IL

16. *Staruszka w Czepcu. Studium staruszki w zlotolitym czepku suknia jasno niebieska / Old Woman in Cap*, 1877  
 Oil on canvas; 59 x 51 cm  
 Signed: "Maurycy Gottlieb"  
 Provenance:  
 Emil Beres, Podwołoczyska – Kraków  
 Rudolf Beres, Kraków – Katowice  
 Anita Beres Kanarek, Katowice – Holon, Israel  
 Józef Stieglitz, Tel Aviv (after 1970-1988)  
 Michael and Judy Steinhardt Collection, New York  
 Sold by the Sotheby's New York, 29 April, 2013, lot 222
17. *Chrystus w świątyni / Christ in the Temple*  
 Oil on canvas; 50 x 42 cm  
 Since 1939/45 – location unknown<sup>47</sup>

Besides these artworks Dr. Rudolf Beres enriched the exhibition with following items. It may be assumed that these souvenirs were passed by Emil to Rudolf:

1. Lithography of Maurycy Gottlieb (framed);
2. Photograph of Maurycy Gottlieb;
3. Catalog of the Commemorative Exhibit of Maurycy Gottlieb;
4. Photography presenting Gottlieb, Kryciński and Papiieski;
5. Maurycy Gottlieb's business card;
6. Three letters;
7. Two postcards.<sup>48</sup>

Unfortunately, the vernissage did not bring the expected reconciliation between Jewish and Polish citizens of Kraków.<sup>49</sup> The exhibit was opened by Professor Feliks Kopera who did not dare, in that anti-Semitic atmosphere of turmoil, mention that Maurycy Gottlieb was a Jew and a Jewish artist. No Polish officials spoke. Dr. Rudolf Beres thanked everyone for support and goodwill with the show. Expressed admiration for the artworks in the Kraków press did not undertake any subject of the Polish-Jewish relationship. A summary of the exhibit in the museum's report stated that the exhibit was

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<sup>47</sup> List of artworks owned by Rudolf is based on *Katalog Wystawy Pamiątkowej Dzieł Maurycego Gottlieba*, National Museum in Kraków 1932, pp. 8-11. I decided to provide a Polish title as was written by Rudolf Beres in the catalog, the English translation is based on commonly accepted titles from Nehama Guralnik's catalog of 1919, and on the exhibit documentation from the Archive in the National Museum in Kraków. The known artwork which was not exhibited in this show was the *Portrait of Maurycy Wahrmann, Deputy to the Hungarian Parliament* presently in Ein Harod Museum, Israel (offered for sale to NMK, Nov. 1948), and *Portrait of Laura, the Artist's Fiancée*, 1877 (sold by Jerzy Bere to Gideon Rosenstein, Tel Aviv). Additional provenance information is based on the catalog of 1991 exhibition: Nahama Guralnik (1991, pp. 199-213) and my own research. Sizes of the paintings in the parenthesis, in different from original provided by Rudolf Beres, are based on measurements provided in the 1991 catalog.

<sup>48</sup> Archive of National Museum in Kraków; documents of Maurycy Gottlieb's exhibition in 1932.

<sup>49</sup> Such disappointment expressed chief editor of *Nowy Dziennik* Wilhelm Berkelhammer, "Manifestacja której nie było" in *Miesięcznik Żydowski* 1931, no. 3, pp. 280-283.

a great ideological success *only because the Museum was visited by the numerous residents of the Ghetto, who for the first time were in the museum.*<sup>50</sup> Recapitulating Rudolf's intention: he had indeed achieved his goal as he reached out to a broader audience, but he was not able to bring about a coming together and mutual understanding between Jews and Poles.

Rudolf Beres continued to work for the enrichment of Jewish culture and tradition. Not only to propagate the genius of Maurycy Gottlieb, but also to promote exhibitions and oeuvre of Jewish painters primarily within the Association of Jewish Painters and Sculptors in Kraków. He called for "Jewish cultural audience to support efforts of artists."<sup>51</sup>

In 1938, Beres, now the retired director of the Kraków Chamber of Commerce and Industry undertook the challenge of creating a Jewish educational system for acculturated Jewish families. This was accomplished by corresponding with the Bulgarian chapter of B'nai Brith in Sofia, which created an American styled youth organization "Carmel" (so called Aleph Zadik Aleph) by the B'nai Brith Chapters.<sup>52</sup> Organizers were provided educational material from the Aleph Zadik Aleph Headquarters in the United States. Rudolf created an educational program first aiming at children 6 to 12 year old, who were the children and grandchildren of B'nai Brith members in order to embody the foundation and postulates of the organization. Beres discussed his program with Jewish progressive educators: Dr. Juliusz Feldhorn and Mowsza Szmulewicz, teachers in the Hebrew school in Kraków as well as Częstochowa Rabbi, Dr. Joachim Hirschberg. They established common observance of Jewish holidays accompanied by an educational program about each holiday. In the report Rudolf wrote: *a great emphasis should be stressed on the outer side of such celebrations and they should be organized within the esthetic forms attractive for children of assimilated families that very often are fascinated with beautiful forms of visual Christian cults while deprived of their own decorativeness of cult.*<sup>53</sup> Further he suggested that Jewish holidays should be organized *impeccably, with good taste, and with an esthetical approach to the subject.*<sup>54</sup>

When in 1934 Leopold Gottlieb, the younger brother of Maurycy died, Kraków B'nai Brith chapter received information from professors dr. Maz Eisler and dr. Frankfurt about the difficult financial situation of the artist's widow, Aurelie Gottlieb, author of several articles on Maurycy Gottlieb and contemporary Jewish artists. Members of B'nai Brith including Rudolf, who at that time was a marshal of this elite Jewish organization undertook Jewish responsibility of helping the needy. He was made responsible to collect money to support Mrs. Gottlieb and her children, who lived in Paris. The letter requesting the *zedaka* was also issued to the Lvov chapter.<sup>55</sup>

Still in the winter of 1931 the Association of Jewish Painters and Sculptors in Kraków initiated within its structures a division of monuments led by Dr. Majer Balaban and Józef Stieglitz.<sup>56</sup> Most likely their implementation did not work well, Professor Balaban being

<sup>50</sup> Archive of National Museum in Kraków; documents of Maurycy Gottlieb's exhibition in 1932.

<sup>51</sup> Otwarcie wystawy Jakóba Pfefferberga, *Nowy Dziennik* 1936, no. 12, p. 9.

<sup>52</sup> State Archive in Kraków, Collection BB 177, p. 3.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42.

<sup>55</sup> State Archive in Kraków, collection BB 195, pages not numbered.

<sup>56</sup> Z Zrzeszenia Żyd. Art. Malarzy i Rzeźbiarzy, *Nowy Dziennik* 1931, no. 324, p. 9.

a lecturer at the University of Warsaw and Józef Stieglitz a very busy antiquities dealer. By the spring 1934 a meeting took place in the *Solidarność*'s lodge – the Kraków chamber of the B'nai B'rith, where preservation and restoration of Jewish historical monuments in Kraków was discussed. The other very crucial and innovative issue discussed there was the opening of Jewish monuments to tourists. Dr. Rudolf Beres drafted goals of the new society which were discussed by engaged Jewish activists: Holländer, Abraham Neuman, Dr. Hilfstein, Dr. Seweryn Gottlieb, engineer Tobjasz Wexner and others.<sup>57</sup> The Society for Preservation of Jewish Monuments in Kraków was thus established. Organizing committee members emerged including: Dr. Rudolf Beres, Dr. Berkelhammer, Dr. Chaim Freilich, Leon Schönker, and engineer Tobjasz Wexner.<sup>58</sup> Until 1939 there were several initiatives within the Jewish community toward preservation, restoration and description of Jewish heritage in Kraków. Unfortunately destroyed and irretrievable documentation does not allow for an assessment of Rudolfs' involvement in protection of Jewish historical sites in Kraków. Nonetheless, there exist a few surviving pages of correspondence between Dr. Beres, Professor Balaban, and an architect engineer Edward Kreisler. All these individuals were involved in the reconstruction of the legendary cemetery by Szeroka Street in Kraków-Kazimierz, a task undertaken in accordance with the *Kehila*. Rudolf Beres exhibited a very scholarly approach to the process by collecting deposited documentation of the little cemetery prepared by engineer Weinberger. Interviewing Balaban, who wrote *Przewodnik po żydowskich zabytkach Krakowa* (1935) and *Historia Żydów w Krakowie i na Kazimierzu 1304-1655* (first edition 1913, and second revised and extended edition 1931 vol. I and vol. II 1936) Beres researched whether there were any preserved prints which would show original view of the place in order to reconstruct deteriorated walls of the cemetery.<sup>59</sup> Rudolf's approach to this restoration of the place of numerous legends was very professional, accurate, and detailed for his time.

Rudolf Beres left Kraków together with his family a few days before the German aggression on Poland in 1939. His brother Oswald, provided him with a car from his Chevrolet dealership in Kraków. Rudolf suspected that he was listed on *the black list of the Gestapo*, as he wrote in his memoir.<sup>60</sup> Rudolf left with his family: wife Jadwiga, and two children Jerzy and Anita, and his mother-in-law Aurelia Horowitz, toward Równo, where he was hosted by Józef Klein. There he experienced the initial Soviet occupation. In October, they moved to Lvov. He observed and analyzed the situation being very careful in his description of these days. He noticed the unfair treatment that the Jewish bourgeoisie received from proponents of Soviet communism.<sup>61</sup> His description of Soviet occupied Polish territories is very affected by after the war communist reality in that he specifically emphasized certain superlatives as education and peaceful coexistence between the local minorities: Russians, Jews, Ukrainians and Poles. During that time he underwent serious surgery – partial removal of the duodenum. In his memoirs, the German invasion presents great shock to everyone in Lvov and it perturbed the order set by the Soviets. This was a time when teachings by nationalists, fascists, and anti-Semites

<sup>57</sup> Ochrona zabytków żydowskich Krakowa, *Nowy Dziennik* 1932, no. 109, p. 9.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>59</sup> State Archive in Kraków, BB 183, pages not numbered.

<sup>60</sup> Wartime Memoire of Rudolf Beres, p. 1.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.



took over common sense and respect. Because of his previous relations with the Lvov Jewish *Kehila*, he worked there until the beginning of German occupation there, but soon he realized that he must seek “Aryan papers” – identification documents for him and his family stating his non-Jewish descent. Anita remembered that one day, when the family sat together at the dining table, Rudolf decided that they would add a diacritic mark over the “s” – last letter in their surname changing it to “Bereś.” This brilliant idea, allowed preservation of the original pre-war documents but they were able to change their identity. He noticed that some of his friends with wealth and properties planned with the Poles: *Today, from much distant perspective, it seems that in Lvov, Jews were not met with such a disgraceful practice of people, whom they entrusted their real-estates and valuables as was in Kraków, where only honorable exceptions support the negative general thesis.*<sup>62</sup> Animosity towards Jews was overwhelming as Rudolf changed apartments and registered as Polish in a different part of Lvov, destroying all previous administrative documents even in the *Kehila*. Ability to “pass” was due to the fact that he and his family were unknown to Lvov citizens and therefore difficult to recognize as Jews. But as Nazi terror spread the deletions and blackmail became more often practiced by the Poles. Beres recognized the motivation as enormous greed: *it was regarding real-estate, house furnishings, valuables, gold, foreign currency that were owned by Jewish bourgeoisie.*<sup>63</sup> Until February 1942, the Beres resided on Józefa Street 8, in an apartment with an outside toilet and no water. Compared with his previous living environment, the situation felt strange, far away from normal circumstances. Rudolf and his son Jurek worked for a local disinfecting company. Unexpectedly, Jurek’s friend from work visited him at their address and soon after that incident, Rudolf received a blackmail letter with information revealing his true name, his Jewish origin, former employment, address and a threat: *If you, Mr. Director, are not going to submit the amount of 500 here.*<sup>64</sup> Although the threat was thwarted, the Nazi terror toward Jews progressed and Beres decided to move to Warsaw as did most of the Jews at that time. *We liquidated the rest of the assets, sold part of the furniture, and we left without obstacles.*<sup>65</sup> In Warsaw, they stopped in Hotel Narodowy on Chmielna Street. Through old connections they were located in a small apartment in Milanówek that was *furnished poorly and we started a new life.*<sup>66</sup> Jurek was employed in one of the central German offices in Warsaw. Jurek and Jadwiga supported the family through this time. Rudolf was not able to leave the apartment as he had been a public figure before the German assault on Poland. Additionally, he was sick as he suffered from depression as a result of his previous neurasthenia and deep negative psychological experiences intensified by unsatisfactory nutrition.<sup>67</sup>

The atmosphere in Milanówek was very specific, *there were a lot of conspired Jewish families, for instance entire group of distant relatives... who supported us generously.*<sup>68</sup> After a year of living in the town, a journalist from Warsaw, who was once employed by Rudolf in *Przegląd mięsny*, supposedly said to somebody that he had known Rudolf

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<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

*before the war as a big figure, and very rich man of Jewish origin.*<sup>69</sup> A German, who as a milk delivery woman chased hiding Jews, received this information and a search in the Beres' house in Mianówek was conducted by two gendarmes and a Nazi informer, volksdeutsch Walcher. *They examined the documents very precisely, they looked at our faces; however they left without any results. We were saved by my original prewar documents, and particularly the Krakovian identification card with information of my employment.*<sup>70</sup> Shortly after they experienced chastising by the apartment owner yet the Beres were strong, refusing to be frightened.

In 1944 as the eastern front was approaching people left Warsaw for neighboring towns. Rudolf wrote: *We lived in constant fear listening to approaching police cars, we fished for gossip on arrests and executions, of which there were plenty. Each Sunday worried us, when the landlady was coming because we feared that she again would press and threaten. The son was leaving for Warsaw, we counted hours until his return, knowing stories about raids in the city and on the electric train.*<sup>71</sup> In order not to be recognized, Rudolf tended to stay more indoors, but he was aware that *some of the Aryans... were informed about our secret.*<sup>72</sup> Furthermore, in order to sell the merchandise brought by his son, Rudolf went to various shops. Life included visiting a library, conducting business at city hall, as well as infrequently seeing relatives and friends, who lived in Milanówek and Podkowa Leśna, in addition to a rare trip to Warsaw.

The family went to a friends' wedding in Warsaw, and were not able to come back to Milanówek as the Warsaw Uprising broke out.

The Bereses were separated in mid-September, 1944. Jadwiga and Anita stayed in Bielany, Warsaw district,<sup>73</sup> and Rudolf evacuated with some of Warsaw residents to Włoszczowa and from there to a village of Krasów by Jędrzejów where he stayed until liberation and then returned to Kraków.<sup>74</sup> Upon their arrival they registered with the Jewish Central Historical Commission in Kraków.<sup>75</sup>

Unfortunately, it was not possible for the Beres family to return to their house on Sienkiewicza Street 18. After being a residence to Nazi officers, the villa, in February 1945 was taken over by a Soviet general. Some fine furniture was removed outdoors, however it was impossible to ascertain whether his high class art deco pieces were to be transported with Germans or were thrown away by Soviets. Wojciech was still in his post as a custodian of the property. He settled with Rudolf on a date and time when he could deliver surviving pieces of family treasure. After eighty years and deteriorated memories, and conflicting recollections of witnesses, it may be assumed that Wojciech preserved the family album, some paintings and drawings. There were also paintings on the walls in the villa. While the Soviets were preoccupied with drinking, Jurek and his best friend Julian Godlewski, who befriended one of the influential officers living there came to the house with cheap reproductions, which they exchanged taking away original

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>70</sup> Beres further noted that Walcher was killed by the Polish underground.

<sup>71</sup> Wartime Memoire of Rudolf Beres, p. 12.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>73</sup> Information based on interview with Anita Beres-Kanarek, November 2014, Holon.

<sup>74</sup> Rudolf Beres' Diary, pp. 1-2.

<sup>75</sup> Preserved registration cards for Anita, Jadwiga, Oswald, copies in Yad Vashem archive, Jerusalem; Zenon perished in the Shoah.

paintings from the walls.<sup>76</sup> The identified paintings taken from the house on Sienkiewicza Street 18 in the early 1945 were: *Portrait of a Man (Itinerant Tinker)*, *Portrait of Laura, the Artist's Fiancée*, *Old Woman in Cap*, *Scene in a Monastery* (a grisaille to *Nathan the Wise*) and *Drunkard*.

Following the tangled story of *Jewish Wedding* (also known as *Huppah*), and according to the documents from the NMK's archive (Kancelaria Dyrektora Kopery, LXXVIII/299, L. Dz. M. N. 672/48) for *Slave Market in Cairo*, *Portrait of Maurycy Wahrmann, Deputy to the Hungary Parliament*, *Zygmunt August and Giżanka* it may be concluded that other pictures, indicated previously, survived in Kraków and were sold after 1945.<sup>77</sup> In support of the idea of such a course of events is an imprecise note by late b. m. Ezra Mendelsohn that *after 1939 Rudolf Beres was obliged for financial reasons to sell it, mostly to Joseph Stieglitz, an art dealer in Tel Aviv, and to Mieczysław Zagayski*.<sup>78</sup>

Moreover, after the WWII two other paintings that belonged to Rudolf Beres were disbursed; one of them *Przebudzenie Wiosny* by Jacek Malczewski, which was loaned to the commemorative exhibit of Jacek Malczewski in the summer of 1939.<sup>79</sup> Some of the paintings loaned to the Association of Friends of Fine Arts were not retrieved by their owners and were until February of 1940, in the gallery storage, when they were moved and given to the custody of the National Museum in Kraków. After the occupation, surviving owners were presented with the option to reclaim their assets, or donate to the museum. The National Museum in Kraków's documentation shows that *Przebudzenie Wiosny*, was not returned to Rudolf, even though he is marked as the owner of the picture. The painting circulates until today within Polish art auctions.<sup>80</sup> The only documented painting that was sold in this period is *Sielanka* by Aleksander Kotsis. Living already in Katowice on St. Andrzeja Street 6, Rudolf offered the painting first to the National Museum in Warsaw and then it was purchased by the National Museum in Kraków, for 60,000 zł (MNK II-a – 506).<sup>81</sup>

Beres's house was not recovered from the city of Kraków. Rudolf's former achievements for the city were also not recognized, and there was not a single place allotted for the family of five. As Jurek found employment in Katowice, the Beres family went to

<sup>76</sup> The story is known by Jerzy's daughter. Alex Lauterbach, a friend of Jerzy, provided me with a similar story including the role of Julian Godlewski (nickname Gintel).

<sup>77</sup> Anita Beres-Kanarek remember *Huppah*, being taken from the house on Sienkiewicz street by Wojciech, and later sold to Józef Stieglitz by Jerzy Beres after the war, as Rudolf deeply disliked any contact and transactions with the antiquarian. The painting was offered for sale in 1946 by Józef Stieglitz to Mordechai Narkiss in Palestine as an object to the Bazalel Museum. And yet again the story written by Ron Maiberg conflicts with the Israel Museum documentation. <http://www.imj.org.il/Stieglitz/about.asp> access 5/2015. All of the paintings but *Recha Welcoming her Father* (110 x 80 cm, presently a long term loan in the NMW) were removed from Poland without proper transport documentations.

<sup>78</sup> Mendelsohn 2002, p. 187. Inexact, because there is no documentation if there was any contacts between Rudolf and Stieglitz while both of them were in Lvov in 1939-1941. Michał Zagayski left Poland in spring of 1939; any transaction with him was only possible after 1945. Accepting that most of the paintings were left on the walls and the artworks of Jewish subjects were hidden, it may be assumed that paintings whose location is unknown were appropriated or destroyed by the Germans.

<sup>79</sup> *Przebudzenie Wiosny*, 1919, oil on canvas, 118 x 144 cm. The painting was presented in the exhibit *Jacek Malczewski 1855-1929*, July-September, 1939 in the Association of Friends of Fine Arts in Kraków, p. 10.

<sup>80</sup> Polswiss Art, Warsaw October 17, 1999, lot 13.

<sup>81</sup> MNK Archive, Subwencje 1946: 351/46 – 442/46, p. LXVII/159.

live in the mining city. Dr. Rudolf Beres's farewell to Kraków was to polish the plaque for Wawel restoration.

In Katowice, Rudolf worked on the City Council and also published his last book, *Ural in Soviet Economy* in 1945. He and Jadwiga lived together with Anita and her husband Dolek. On the walls were four paintings, including *Babcia* and *Hucul*.<sup>82</sup> Pleasingly aesthetic items, mostly left by escaping Germans permitted them to furnish with some comfort. Kraków, however, was home, the city for which he longed. In the inner pocket of his blazer he carried a photo of the plaque from the Wawel defense wall.

Dr. Rudolf Beres died on January 26, 1964 in Katowice. There, he is buried in the Jewish cemetery.

Five years later, in 1968 and early 1969, because of a wave of anti-Semitic events in Poland, the children left for Israel and Canada. Anita with her husband and two children Adam and Ewa went to Israel. Heda, Rudolf's widow traveled with Anita. Jurek with his wife Wanda and little Małgorzata emigrated to Canada. Anita and Jurek divided the remaining artworks of Maurycy Gottlieb between themselves. At present none of the paintings is in the family possession. There are still several, as this paper's research shows with their whereabouts unknown.

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<sup>82</sup> Meaning *Old Woman in Cap*, *Itinerant Tinker*, *Portrait of Laura*, and *Scene in a Monastery*.

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## BETWEEN CHORTKIV AND PARIS. SASZA BLONDER / ANDRÉ BLONDEL 1909-1949

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**Key words:** Sasza Blonder, André Blondel, art, avant-garde, Jews, Grupa Krakowska, Kraków

**Abstract:** The painter Sasza Blonder (1909-1949) was born into a tradition-observing Jewish family in Chortkiv in Podolia. In the 1930s he belonged to the avant-garde Grupa Krakowska, whose members were Poles and Jews of radical left views. His works of that period included both abstract and figurative compositions. He was the only artist in the group interested in subjects taken from Jewish life, examples of which can be found in his sketchbooks. In 1937 Blonder moved to Paris. During the war he hid in the south of France under the false name André Blondel. His memoirs written at this time testify to Blonder's strong links with the Jewish milieu. His death at the early age of 40 interrupted the career of this interesting and talented artist.

Born in Chortkiv, in faraway Podolia, in the 1930s, Sasza Blonder was a member of Grupa Krakowska (the Krakow Group) – one of the most important Polish artistic movements of the interwar period, the last avant-garde one before the Second World War. Paradoxical as it seems, the city that saw the birth of the first 20<sup>th</sup>-century Polish avant-garde group – the Formists, established in 1917 – and later on attracted members of Grupa Krakowska, was at the same time a stronghold of traditional, practically academic, art, continuously appreciating – throughout 1920s and 1930s – the same group of painters whose artistic attitudes had been shaped already at the turn of the century. Perhaps this is the reason why the divisions in the artistic milieu was so distinctive here.

When Sasza Blonder came to Krakow in 1931, the Formists were no longer active and a new movement was just beginning to emerge. His way to Krakow was all but straightforward and direct. As a 17-year-old, he first went to Paris. He had been born into a poor Orthodox Jewish family, with one brother, Fishel, who also had a talent for fine arts. The family of four, with the parents Markus and Esthera, earned their living by selling cheap footwear to local peasants. Yet poverty did not suppress Blonder's artistic passion. Leopold Lewicki, later a member of Grupa Krakowska, who met him in 1926, mentioned the books on Van Gogh, Cézanne, Chagall, Soutine, and Vlaminck that Blonder already owned in his library at this time.<sup>1</sup> Blonder's dream of a journey to Paris came true the same year with help from the parents of his fiancée, Sabina Adler. There is no information about what he did there. After he returned to Chortkiv, he gave art courses for young people and collaborated with amateur theatres as a stage designer. Yet he was

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<sup>1</sup> Tehórzewski 2007, p. 86.

haunted by Paris. He returned in 1929, and began studying at École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts. Two years later, he decided to switch Paris University for Krakow Academy of Fine Arts. This decision must have been influenced, at least to some degree, by Leopold Lewicki, with whom he was staying in Paris and who had studied in Krakow.

Upon his arrival in Krakow, Blonder met other artists with whom he would form Grupa Krakowska in the following months, including Stanisław Osostowicz, Jonasz Stern, Maria Jarema, Henryk Wiciński, and Mojżesz Schannefeld. One of the painters from the group, Berta (Blima) Grünberg, would become his wife. Out of the 15 members of the group called Grupa Krakowska, only one was born in the city. The majority of them, like Blonder, came from the Eastern borderlands. Many were Jewish. All were poor. The best of them all, Leopold Lewicki, was the son of a railwayman. Thanks to free tickets, once in a while his mother was able to bring him food from Chortkiv to Krakow and feed the whole group.<sup>2</sup>

Blonder's decision to continue his studies in Krakow may have been prompted by financial reasons, or perhaps he wanted to be closer to his family and home. It is rather difficult to imagine that – having spent some time in Paris – he could pin his faith upon education at Krakow Academy of Fine Arts or upon contacts with Krakow artistic circles. However, this was quite a common motivation among members of Grupa Krakowska coming from the provinces. A vivid description of the situation is given by Jonasz Stern, who years later spoke of Krakow's Mount Olympus and the "savages" who came to the "Polish Athens" to become somebody.<sup>3</sup>

Regardless of Blonder's motivation, they all experienced disappointment. As Stern put it, it soon turned out that all it took to become a member of Krakow's bohemia was to "party, play jokes, and take advantage of the leniency of Krakow's patrons of art with a capital "A." This was the way of living of the artists – very distant successors of the Młoda Polska (Young Poland) movement. All one needed was to get a cloak, a black tie, and a Rembrandt-style hat, grow a beard, and go in for cheap art, namely painting sentimental landscapes, amused Krakow folks, a highlander with bagpipes or a violin, sheep grazing on mountain meadows..."<sup>4</sup>

What was perfectly satisfying for the Krakow artistic milieu seemed superficial and boring to newcomers from the provinces – not only the city's exhibitions, but also the approaches to education at the Academy of Fine Arts, where names such as Picasso and Cézanne provoked but a sneer or pity. "Uncouth, starving, passionate" – this was how Jonasz Stern described the members of Grupa Krakowska. These words described both their lives and their art. And they were very serious about their art. The writer Kornel Filipowicz recalls the Blonder of that time: "Like all poor students at that time, he lived in a dreadful, dark room; he didn't have much to eat and didn't care much for it, but he was always working. Nowadays, one cannot see young painters working hard like he did."<sup>5</sup>

He painted, and made hundreds of drawings, but he also found time to engage in politics, which formed an important element of Grupa Krakowska's activity. Many members came to Krakow with social radicalism in their minds, instilled in them already at home.

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<sup>2</sup> Potocka 1988, p. 30.

<sup>3</sup> Stern 1964, p. 227.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Filipowicz 1958, p. 8.



Some had previously been sentenced for involvement with communist organizations. Yet they did not abandon these activities, such as distributing subversive leaflets, painting slogans on walls, and encouraging workers to fight for a better political system and social justice.

Consequently, they soon got into trouble, also in the Academy of Fine Arts. The events that took place soon after Blonder had embarked upon his studies, on 17 November 1931, were overtly anti-Semitic and formed an element of the wider campaign against Jews that was sweeping through Polish universities at the time. Young people supporting National Democracy demanded that Jewish students leave the studios; force was also used against non-Jewish students who tried to defend their colleagues. This was the first occasion when the names of Grupa Krakowska members appeared together in the official documents of the Academy of Fine Arts. Lewicki, who stood up for his Jewish friends, found himself on the list of students suspended in the wake of these events, while Blonder, Grünberg and Stern were among the signatories of the letter in defense of Lewicki and others. The attackers tried to shift the blame on the victims, pointing to their leftist, anti-state views. Eventually, all participants of the events were reprimanded.<sup>6</sup>

The political views of the Group's members were to a considerable degree shaped by their social origin and economic situation. In Krakow, they had to earn their living, pay the tuition fee, and buy paints. They could not afford this, and Krakow did not have any interesting prospects to offer to talented newcomers from the provinces without a penny in their pockets. The world of art fell into comfortable stagnation, controlled by people who in their opinion did not have much to say and could not care less for people like them. They had become aware of this injustice long before they started studying. But here, in Krakow, where they had to struggle to keep their head above water, the problem appeared even more evident.

The Group's key ideologist was Jonasz Stern, whose views were the most radical of them all. Blonder, like the majority of the members, shared his views. He was a member of the Communist Youth Union, engaged in political activity; he participated in meetings with workers, and supported peasants fighting for their rights. In 1933, he donated his drawing to a committee defending the peasants, which was printed on leaflets handed out in return for donations given to support the cause. Once, in his early youth, allegedly a Zionist,<sup>7</sup> he now became a fervent supporter of communist ideas – yet with one objection: there was one thing more important to him: painting, art, self-development in this area, perfecting his ways of artistic expression. He took part in lively all-night debates; yet at the same time he was annoyed that they took him so much time and drew him away from what was really important. One can hardly find any political opinions in his memoirs (which he began to write in the 1930s), but they give a detailed picture of his struggle with painting, color, and form; they reveal what was most important for him, more important than politics or even the family, which, when things were getting harder, he saw as an obstacle on his way to fulfilling himself as an artist.<sup>8</sup> This last comment relates to the second marriage of Blonder, solemnized in France, after he had left Poland. His first marriage broke up for other, most likely ideological, reasons. His first wife,

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<sup>6</sup> Ślesiański 1969, p. 224. See also Styra 2005, p. 141.

<sup>7</sup> Warner 1998, p. 2.

<sup>8</sup> Blonder's memoirs 1943, p. 72.

the painter Blima Grünberg, came from a very traditional Jewish milieu, saturated with mysticism, and turned out to have a rather ambivalent attitude towards communism. She cherished the idea of social justice, but rejected the materialistic principles of the movement. With time, she more and more overtly voiced her “mystic” needs. Their break-up, envisaged by a friend of both, Erna Rosenstein, was inevitable.<sup>9</sup>

Blima Grünberg’s attitude became evident later on, at the beginning of the 1930s in Krakow she succumbed to the persuasion of her husband and strongly leftist friends. Their radicalism in political matters was accompanied by ideological commitment and radicalism in art. They did not have ready-made recipes for art. Nor did they have any specific artistic program. All they knew was that they did not consent to mediocrity in art, milking the same stale formulas over and over again. For this reason they kept mercilessly attacking their Academy teachers and, consequently, some of them were expelled. They were bored with and sickened by the clichés pouring out from the paintings admired by Krakow’s high society. They disagreed, but did not lose faith in the power and importance of art in which they saw enormous potential, which – by breaking away from worn-out conventions and tried clichés – was capable of depicting the epoch they lived in and its problems – their problems. Their art was to be inextricably linked with life, with what they saw around them, and what absorbed their attention. It was to be art capable of bearing the burden of growing problems, yet without slipping into cheap propaganda. Art that was as true as the dilemmas and problems they were facing.

They had a wide range of inspirations. Far from any dogmatism, they felt equally comfortable drawing on the work of Mondrian, Russian Constructivists, Picasso, or Léger. They were attracted by the scathing political satire of Grosz and poetic paintings of Chagall. As for Polish artists, they admired the most constructivist avant-garde movement. They also enjoyed incorporating into their works the proposals of Leon Chwistek, a distinguished Polish scholar and artist and author of the theory of zonism (*strefizm*),<sup>10</sup> who supported their activities from Lvov.

Blonder’s works demonstrate an equally broad scope of interests. In 1933, in Warsaw, at Wystawa Plastyków Nowoczesnych (Exhibition of Modern Visual Artists), and subsequently in Lvov at the first exhibition of Grupa Krakowska, Blonder showed both abstract and figurative paintings. The works presented at that time – *Vertical, Horizontal, and Diagonal in Spatial Arrangement* [*Pion, poziom i ukos w układzie płaszczyznowym*] and *Triangle (Yellow Triangle)* [*Trójkąt (Żółty trójkąt)*] – clearly demonstrate the influence of key geometric abstraction painters; yet, at the same time, they deviate from abstractionist principles in an obviously intentional way. Concurrently, he makes figurative compositions: genre views, portraits, still-lives, landscapes. Their forms, often reduced to the simplest signs, reveal his experience in abstract painting. He does not care about obvious resemblance. A painting should have its own ways, follow the logic of a painterly composition; it should have a meaning of its own. Painting, he explains, is not about imitating the forms you can see in nature, even the most beautiful ones. Painting is about creating the world anew, giving life to a new, separate being unlike anything that already exists.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Guzek 1992, p. 11.

<sup>10</sup> Zonism – a theory developed by Leon Chwistek in the 1920s, postulating that a composition should be divided into zones, each dominated by one color pattern and the same multiplied shape.

<sup>11</sup> Sasza Blonder’s Archives 1929-1937, ref. no. 773-II-16, 91.

From the very beginning, critics admired the outstanding expressionist value of his figurative compositions. This type of art had been his favorite throughout his life, since the earliest days already in Chortkiv, and later on, in Paris, where he was influenced by École de Paris. After the period of his deep involvement in abstractionism in Krakow, in the first half of the 1930s, his expressionist interests would again come to the fore, dominating his work completely in 1940s.

His compositions often have autobiographical traits and reflect his personal opinions on the surrounding world. *At the Sewing Machine* [*Przy maszynie*] – a painting which drew critics' attention to his work, with its thick, grooved texture, depicts Ms. Posner or her daughter, from whom he rented a cheap room with some other students. *Prison* [*Więzienie*] (1934), painted in dark colors, featuring – simplified in form – figures of prisoners, refers to events that had taken place two years earlier – when several members of his Group were arrested after the dean had called police to the Academy due to the dissident contents of the works they presented at the year-ending exhibition. *Quarries* [*Kamieniołomy*] (ca. 1935), with its nearly abstractionist, claustrophobically crowded forms, expresses the painter's general reflection on human life and fatigue caused by constant repetition of the same efforts.

More personal and intimate traits are found in his sketchbooks. He was said never to have gone anywhere without his sketchbooks, filling them with an enormous number of drawings, watercolors, gouache, and collages. Filipowicz recollected that “walking around with a thick sketchbook was in fashion in the Academy at that time, but filling them up with drawings, as Sasza did, was a peculiar form of protest; it was an urgent need stemming from attitude towards the world,” the world he wanted to present in contravention of all painterly conventions, in his own way.<sup>12</sup>

There is everything here: a family chronicle, a chronicle of events connected with Grupa Krakowska; an image of his dying mother and portraits of Group colleagues in various situations; small-town landscapes, marketplaces and fairs; Orthodox churches, synagogues, and Catholic churches; Blima resting on a couch or at the easel in the Academy; bold erotic drawings; mothers with children in Krakow's Planty park; people queuing for a doctor; dozens of self-portraits – sulky, gloomy, concerned, pompous, groomed, teasing.

The artistic conventions deployed change from one sketch to another. Sometimes they are expressive, drawn in a changing nervous stroke. A moment later, random shapes are captured in a concise lapidary outline drawn with a single hand movement. He always gets to the heart of the matter; he is very expressive, and now and then wry and ironic. He is an acute observer of the world that surrounds him, and comments on the reality with his characteristic blunt sarcasm. But he can also be poetic, recalling with nostalgia the countryside, landscapes of Chortkiv, old ladies wrapped up in scarves, and poor carts drawn by gaunt horses.

At the same time, he keeps returning to abstractionism: geometrical compositions, merging rectangles, crossing sections, simple signs inspired by nature. This is his favorite game – eliminating details. He does it in a number of different ways, reducing shapes to their simplest, often geometrical outlines or to organic flowing borders, resembling solutions known from the paintings of the most prominent Polish avant-garde

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<sup>12</sup> Filipowicz 1958, p. 8.

artist of that time – Władysław Strzemiński, author of the theory of unism (*unizm*),<sup>13</sup> with whom Bolder kept in touch.

Another interesting motif in this inexhaustible treasury of forms and themes recurs in the sketchbooks – this is figures of tradition-following Jews, usually portrayed when praying or working. No other Jewish member of Grupa Krakowska left so many works relating to their cultural roots. Jonasz Stern, the most declared communist among them all, openly fought against manifestations of traditional religiousness. Born in Kalush and from deeply traditional circles, in his youth he would tease religious Jews by eating (pork?) sausages on Saturdays in front of a synagogue.<sup>14</sup> There is no trace of fascination with orthodox Jewish culture in his works. He also avoided contacts with the Jewish artistic milieu in Krakow, which formed their own Association in the 1930s. “I kept away from them,” Stern recalled. He rejected cooperating with the organization’s members because of ideological differences; however, it is difficult to say what he found the most disturbing, as he accused them of Zionism and a mercantile attitude towards art all at once. “They rummaged about in the circles of the Jewish bourgeois,” he recollected with distaste even fifty years later.<sup>15</sup>

Yet this attitude was not shared by the whole milieu. Another member of Grupa Krakowska, the sculptor Mojżesz (Moses) Schwanenfeld, did not have any of the same objections as Stern, and participated both in exhibitions of Grupa Krakowska and in those organized by the Association of Jewish Artists. He was the only Jewish member of Grupa Krakowska to get involved in such collaboration. Regrettably, it is difficult to form any opinions on his art. He was murdered during the Second World War, like Szymon Piasecki, another Jewish member of the Group. Most of their works perished with them. Not many pre-war works by Berta Grünberg survived, either. Therefore, it is difficult to assess Blonder’s originality in his interest in the Jewish world, compared to his colleagues from the Group. He surely found understanding in his non-Jewish friend from Chortkiv, Leopold Lewicki, who also used Jewish motifs.

The figures of Jews reappearing in Blonder’s sketchbooks apparently prove how deeply rooted he was in the traditional environment from which he came. The family relations in his home were remembered and described at the end of the 1990s, by the artist’s relative Tanya Warner. As she recalled, the Blonders were religious people who “lived by the rules of holy books” and brought up their two sons in this way. Sasza received substantial education in religion and in religious matters, as well as in other subjects, and never had any conflicts with his father. The father must have been tolerant, since – according to Tanya Warner – young Blonder was not really a practicing Jew as an adult, although in his youth he seemed rather attached to the tradition and respected the ways of the family. Since tradition prohibited depicting living persons, he portrayed his grandfather only after his death, before the funeral, despite the pain felt at that moment. In her accounts, Tanya Warner also mentioned an interesting self-portrait made by

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<sup>13</sup> Unism – theory formulated by Władysław Strzemiński in the second half of 1920s and published in 1928. It was one of the most interesting and original theories of the European interwar avant-garde. The artist called for unity of art and the place where it is created, abandonment of representation, and elimination of any tensions and contracts winning a painting perceived as a totally autonomous creation, a flat square separated by frames from the surrounding world, fully homogenous.

<sup>14</sup> Niezabitowska, Tomaszewski 1993, p. 116.

<sup>15</sup> Potocka 1988, p. 31.

the artist in his youth, proving his sense of identity, signed with his Jewish name, Yesh-ayahu.<sup>16</sup> One could say that, in this case, the signature also serves as a title.

The Jews in his sketchbooks wear prayer shawls, tefillins, and sometimes we might see a leather strap wrapped around an arm; religious ecstasy is in the air. He draws face to face or hidden in the women's gallery in the synagogue during prayers. There is some nostalgia noticeable in his approach to the theme, and sometimes also a glimpse of irony. While rooted in the tradition, he must also have been aware of the picturesqueness of the theme. But he was at the same time free of the overexcitement characteristic of outsiders. He simply records an element of the world close to him. He is interested in Jews as in any other subject. Blonder's Jews wearing traditional clothes did not look different from farmers or his university colleagues, although in the case of his colleagues it could be said that he knew them well and liked them a lot.

He treated the figures of Jews like any other figure; therefore, the words found in one of his notebooks – concerning the essence, the nature of painting – should not be perceived as evidence that he distanced himself from such themes.<sup>17</sup> The artist used the Jewish motifs present in his works as an example. He explained that his intention was not to record their lives or appearance, but to use them as a pretext to study and solve formal problems. Quote: "Sensing the beauty of nature is a different experience than painting. Painting is about composing a piece of work out of defined components to produce a plastic phenomenon unlike anything else. Similarly, I am not excited by the world of Jews in a way that would make me eager to paint it; their lives, their appearance is interesting to me, but in a different way – I'd rather paint a colorful surface."<sup>18</sup> Yet another time the artist, in his own words, proves that what he cares about the most is art, the means of expression it offers, the language used to communicate with the world, which is the closest to him. Yet, interestingly enough, he chose a Jewish motif to illustrate this opinion. Perhaps this proves that the theme was actually important to him; perhaps it is an excuse justifying the frequency with which he used it in his work. Looking at his sketches one may get the impression that he was fascinated with this theme. Yet the same could be said about other motifs painted by the artist, recorded in detail and with humorous street scenes, people in a café, and the faces of his friends.

Jewish themes did not stand out from his other works, but they were present and constituted an important element of his artistic output. Despite the reserve with which he talked about it, it proved his strong attachment to his family and tradition that shaped him, where he felt at ease, and which he missed when he was separated from it. Tanya Warner described him as "a Jew involved with a plight of his heritage."<sup>19</sup> Her opinion matches the words of the artist himself, who in 1943, when hiding out in the south of France, in a very moving way expressed his sense of ethnic or cultural identity. He wrote, "When I think that I could suddenly die here, when I am believed to be something else than I actually am, I would never want to be buried in some other cemetery and among some other people:

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<sup>16</sup> Friends called Blonder by the name Sasza [Sasha]. The name in official documents is Szaje [Shaie] or Szaja [Shaia]. Tanya Warner Blonder's relative mentions his Hebrew name in her letter of 1990s, spelling it with some uncertainty as "Yeshihu" (Warner 1998, p. 2).

<sup>17</sup> See Suchan 2010, pp. 20-21.

<sup>18</sup> Sasza Blonder's Archives 1929-1937, ref. no. 773-II-16, 91.

<sup>19</sup> Warner's letter 1998, p. 4.

[but] only among those I came from. I don't know if there are any Jews somewhere here, dead or alive. I would like to manifest that I am with them and from them. (...) My whole self, with good and bad sides, can be ultimately explained from the perspective of my true origin. I have been and I am experiencing atrocities suffered by my fellow men and I don't want to hide under shame or oblivion that what should be revealed."<sup>20</sup>

In 1934, Sasza Blonder finished his education in Krakow. He spent some time in Warsaw, now and then returning to Krakow; he worked at the Jewish primary school (*Żydowska Szkoła Powszechna*) in Bielsko as a director and stage designer, and he also collaborated with the Cricot theatre in Krakow. He was failing in health, but kept working a lot. He started to be appreciated, exhibiting his works in the most prominent art establishments. In 1937, he was the first member of *Grupa Krakowska* to have an individual exhibition in Warsaw's Salon Koterby. Landscape paintings started to grow in importance in his art, featuring solutions closely resembling the colorist movement – very popular at that time in Poland. This was accompanied by growing awareness of the importance of color in art. In 1936, he wrote: “The color pattern of a painting in the broadest possible sense seems to me to be a key issue and objective. I can see in my paintings that the theme, composition, and other components of a painting are subordinate to the concept of color pattern. I start with a theme, but I get carried away by color. Color is scale. Principles governing color allow me to work. Color is the relation between spots, arrangement of spots, their size and type. Color is a game played by spots; color is a secret meaning of the painting.”<sup>21</sup> In 1937, he was awarded a grant from the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Education. Concurrently, he was excluded from the Association of Polish Visual Artists (*Związek Polskich Artystów Plastyków*) under the pretext of not paying the member's fee, but the true reasons were of a political nature. A few months later, the decision was revoked. He was even supported in his attempts to get a passport at a reduced fee. In the second half of 1937, he left for Paris. He absorbed the artistic life and did not return to Poland. When the Second World War broke out, he was in France, hiding under the false name of André Blondel. He kept this name after the war.

Jonasz Stern also survived the war and was the only Jewish member of *Grupa Krakowska* to stay in Poland. He survived, having experienced the greatest atrocities a human being can experience. The trauma of war found its expression at various stages of his later art. Also present in his art were motifs related to his Jewish childhood – Jewish symbols, outlines of matzevahs, and Hebrew fonts. Unlike before the war, when he had departed from the rules, tradition and rites of his home, now he reached for them, as if it were something obvious, necessary – a piece of the self that had never been erased, a tragic experience forming an element of his human identity. Because, until his death, he spoke as a human being, free of any ethnic or religious divisions. He retained this perspective until the end of his life, although it seems that the older he was the more vivid were the pictures, memories and experiences of the youth, family and of the world he had grown up in. Shortly before his death, he admitted in an interview: “If we are talking about painting, I must admit I have a dream. Some time ago I found a photograph of Kalush and I would like to paint one more painting. And you know what – this will be the

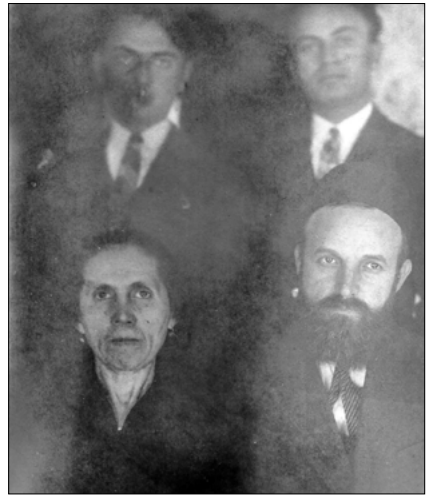
<sup>20</sup> Blonder's memoirs 1943, pp. 71-72.

<sup>21</sup> Blonder's memoirs 1936, p. 4.

only realistic painting in my life. And it will look like that ...” – he painted with his hands in the air. “At the bottom, among the hills, there will be Kalush, and above it, hanging in the air, waving, there will be a huge tallit...”<sup>22</sup>

Sasza Blonder never returned to Poland; he never saw Krakow or Chortkiv again. He stayed in France, remarried, and filled his paintings with images of his wife Louise and children Héléne and Marc. Traditional Jews disappeared from his sight and sketch-books. He did not have the opportunity to look at life from such distant perspective as Jonasz Stern did. He died tragically in 1949, at the age of 40.

Esthera Dvora, Markus (Mordechai), Sasza and Fishel Blonder, ca. 1930, photo. Collection of Héléne and Marc Blondel



Sasza Blonder, Krakow, 1930s, photo. Collection of Héléne and Marc Blondel



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<sup>22</sup> Niezabitowska, Tomaszewski 1993, p. 117.



Sasza Blonder, *Prison*, 1934, oil on plywood, 108 x 90 cm. National Museum, Warsaw



Sasza Blonder, *A Wistful Young Man* (Self-portrait), pencil. Page from Sasza Blonder's sketchbooks. *Archives of Sasza Blonder 1929-1937*, Special Collection of the Institute of Art of Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw

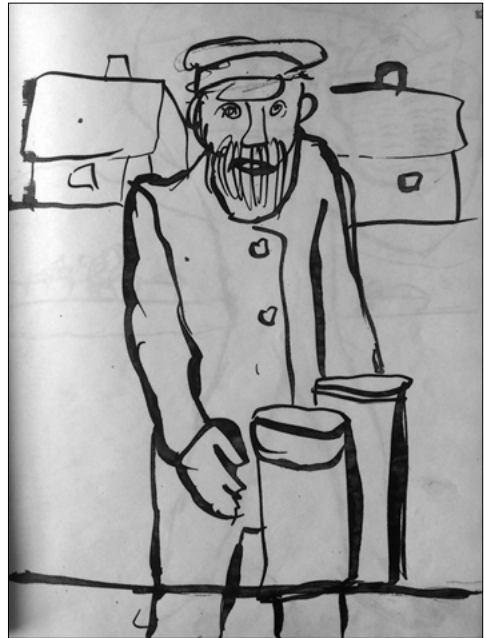


Sasza Blonder, *Portrait of Leopold Lewicki*, 1930, ink. Page from Sasza Blonder's sketchbooks. *Archives of Sasza Blonder 1929-1937*, Special Collection of the Institute of Art of Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw





Sasza Blonder, *A Praying Jew*, ink. Page from Sasza Blonder's sketchbooks. *Archives of Sasza Blonder 1929-1937*, Special Collection of the Institute of Art of Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw



Sasza Blonder, *In the Countryside*, ink. Page from Sasza Blonder's sketchbooks. *Archives of Sasza Blonder 1929-1937*, Special Collection of the Institute of Art of Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw



Sasza Blonder, *In the Synagogue*, 22 x 28.5 cm, ink. *Archives of Sasza Blonder 1929-1937*, Special Collection of the Institute of Art of Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw

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## „SO KOMMEN DIE JUDEN IN EUROPE ZURÜCK“. ANTWORTEN AUF DEN HOLOCAUST IN DER LYRIK POLNISCHER JUDEN 1941–1948<sup>1</sup>

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**Key words:** WWII, Yiddish literature on the Holocaust, Jewish survivors, the Soviet Union; occupied Poland, ghettoized Jews, resistance, passivity

**Abstract:** The article examines Yiddish-Polish writers' response to the Holocaust in their poetry written in the years 1941-1948 and published in Poland in the early postwar years, when the country enjoyed relative political freedom. Special attention is given to a highly interesting theme appearing in the wartime lyrics written by Jewish survivors in the East (like B. Heller, H. Rubin, R. Żhikhlin, A. Zak), i.e. their call to arms addressed to the Jews living in Nazi-occupied Poland. The refugees could not bear the thought that whole masses of Jews died without putting up a fight in the ghettos and camps in the West. It was probably this helplessness that evolved into their poetic appeal addressed to their ghettoized brethren, their call for resistance and punishment of the Nazi German murderers. Interestingly, the works of some writers who survived in the ghettos (such as Y. Shpigl, Y. Katsenelson and others), prove that ghettoized Jews who were tormented by the "docile death" complex also dreamed about being involved in an armed struggle against the Nazi Germans, but were aware of their weakness in the face of a much stronger enemy. Immediately after the war, this discrepancy of experience and knowledge led to a serious lack of understanding between those Jews who had survived in Poland and those who had survived in the East. The article examines these difference of experiences as it is reflected in the poetry.

...שטיין / זאל פאר די אויגן דיר / די פיין ביו זינפארליר...

(...shteyn / zol far di oygn dir / di payn biz zinfarlir...)

Moshe Knapheys, 1944–1945<sup>2</sup>

In der fast tausendjährige Geschichte der jiddischen Kultur bildet der Zweite Weltkrieg eine wichtige, wenn nicht die wichtigste Zäsur. Von den rund 11 Millionen Juden, deren Alltagssprache das Jiddische war, kamen mehr als die Hälfte ums Leben. Nach dem Krieg bemühten sich die Überlebenden in verschiedenen Teilen der Welt um die Wiedergeburt und das Weiterleben der jiddischen Kultur. Die Hauptzentren des literarischen Lebens verlagerten sich nach Westeuropa, in die USA und nach Israel. Allgemein verbreitet ist die Ansicht, dass die jüdische Kultur nach dem Krieg außerhalb der Sowjetunion in Osteuropa keine große Rolle mehr spielte. Daher konzentriert sich die For-

<sup>1</sup> Der Artikel basiert teilweise auf Fragmenten von dem ersten Kapitel von Ruta 2012a.

<sup>2</sup> בלוט פאר בלוט, in Knapheys 1948, S. 143.

schung bisher fast ausschließlich auf die jiddische Literatur in der Sowjetunion.<sup>3</sup> In Polen entwickelte sich jedoch bis 1968 ein nicht großes, aber doch dynamisches Zentrum jüdischen Lebens.<sup>4</sup> Die Autoren, die im Mittelpunkt der folgenden Betrachtung stehen, sind überlebende polnische Juden, die gegen Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts oder in den ersten beiden Dekaden des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts geboren wurden, deren literarisches Debüt zum größten Teil in die Zwischenkriegszeit fiel, und die sich nach Kriegsende in Polen befanden und dort ihre Werke publizierten. Unter ihnen gab es Zionisten, Bundisten, Sympathisanten linker Parteien (besonders der kommunistischen) sowie politisch Unengagierte. Die Mehrheit dieser Gruppe von Überlebenden entging dem Völkermord, weil sie nach Ausbruch des Zweiten Weltkriegs im September 1939 in die Sowjetunion gelangten.<sup>5</sup> Dagegen überlebten wenige, wie etwa Yeshaye Shpigl, Ghettos und Lager. Im vorliegenden Artikel befasse ich mich mit ausgewählten Aspekten der Antwort auf den Holocaust im lyrischen Kriegsschaffen und in den unmittelbar nach dem Krieg geschriebenen Werken der Vertreter dieser Generation.

Bei der Untersuchung der Holocaustliteratur kann man sich für verschiedene Kriterien ihrer Einteilung entscheiden, so das Kriterium des Alters (Kinder vs. Erwachsene), der Teilnahme am Ereignissen, die beschrieben werden (Zeuge vs. Opfer) oder der Generation (die Generation der Opfer vs. die Generation der Kinder und Enkel). Ich möchte ein anderes Kriterium berücksichtigen: das der Geografie. Mit ihm lassen sich im Kreis der Epochenzeugen drei Kategorien von Autoren unterscheiden: Personen, die als Opfer und zugleich unmittelbare Zeugen der Verfolgungsereignisse überlebten;<sup>6</sup> Autoren aus den Gebieten außerhalb Europas, die Augenzeugen weder der Kriegshandlungen noch der Schoah waren,<sup>7</sup> schließlich diejenigen, die im Osten der Sowjetunion über-

<sup>3</sup> Hier sind nur sehr wenige Bücher zu nennen, die der jiddischen Kultur in Mittel- und Osteuropa nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg gewidmet sind: Grözinger 2002 und Lewinsky 2008.

<sup>4</sup> Zum kulturellen Leben im Nachkriegspolen vgl. Ruta 2008, sowie Nalewajko-Kulikow und Ruta 2014, S. 327-352; zur allgemeinen Charakteristik der jiddischen Literatur im Nachkriegspolen vgl. Adamczyk-Garbowska und Ruta 2014, S. 353-394 sowie Ruta 2012a.

<sup>5</sup> In der Sowjetunion überlebten u.a.: Aron Ayzembakh (Artur Eisenbach), Yisroel Ashendorf, Rokhl Auerbach, Yitskhok Barnshteyn, Shloyme Berlinski, Mordkhe Bernshteyn, Peysekh Binetski, Nakhmen Blumental, Nokhem Bomze, Yuda Elberg, Khayim Grade, Moyshe Grosman, Yitskhok Turkov-Grudberg, Leo Finkelshteyn, Khaim Leyb Fuks, Gute Guterma, Yitskhok Guterma, Perl Halter, Binem Heller, Yekhiel Hofer, Dovid Hofnung, Volf Hersh Ivan, A. Wolf Jasny, Yitskhok Yanasovitch, Shmerke Katsherginski, Efroim Kaganovski, Yitskhok Kanter, Moyshe Knapheys, Rokhl Korn, Ber Kutsher, Leyb Kupershmit, Rivke Kwiatkowska, Shloyme Lastik (Salomon Lastik), Mendel Man, Ber (Bernard) Mark, Michał Mirski, Leyb Morgentoy, B. Mosenzhnik, Moyshe Nudelman, Yoysef Okrutny, Mordkhe Oley, Mates Olitski, Leyb Olitski, Wolf Pasmanik, Yitskhok Perlov, Elye Rayzman, Nakhmen Rapp, Leyb Rokhman, Hadase Rubin, Yoysef Rubinshteyn, Yoysef Sandel, Horatsi (Horacy) Safrin, Kalman Segal, Efroim Siedlecki, David Sfard, Hersh (Grzegorz) Smolar, Avrom Sutzkever, Moyshe Shklar, Yeshaye Shpigl, Moyshe Valdman, Elkhonen Vogler, Leyzer Wolf, Avrom Zak, Moyshe Zaltsman, Yankev Zonshayn, Reyzl Zhikhlini (Rejzl Żychlińska) und andere. Wahrscheinlich ist die Liste unvollständig, weil sie nur aufgrund der Zusammenstellung der Autorennamen entstand, die ihre Texte in: *Yidische shriftn. Literarish zambukh* 1946 und *Yidische shriftn. Literarish zambukh* 1948 veröffentlichten, sowie anhand der von Strauss-Marko 1987 vermittelten Informationen.

<sup>6</sup> Zu den bekanntesten Autoren gehören u.a. Yitskhok Katsenelson, Perets Opotshinski, Yehoshue (Yoshua) Perle aus dem Warschauer Ghetto, Yeshaye Shpigl, Simkhe B. Shayevitch aus dem Ghetto Litzmannstadt, Avrom Sutzkever, Hirsh Glik, Shmerke Katsherginski, Khayim Grade aus dem Wilnaer Ghetto und Mordkhe Gebirtig aus dem Krakauer Ghetto.

<sup>7</sup> An dieser Stelle müssen auch die Yankev Glatshsteyn (Jacob Glatstein), Arn Tseytlin (Aaron Zeitlin), Kadye Molodovski (Kadya Molodowsky), Yitskhok Bashevis Zinger (Isaac Bashevis Singer), H. Leyvik

lebten. Unter ihnen befanden sich sowohl sowjetisch-jiddische, als auch polnisch-jiddische Schriftsteller. Obwohl keine unmittelbaren Zeugen der Schoah, wurden sie als Flüchtlinge in den asiatischen Republiken der Sowjetunion in den Jahren 1941-1945 von den Folgen des Kriegs betroffen. Eine Besonderheit ist die Erfahrung der jiddischen Schriftsteller aus Polen, weil sie nach Beendigung der Kriegshandlungen relativ bald in ihre Heimat, in der die Spuren des ermordeten Volks noch frisch waren, als Repatrierte zurückkehrten.

Über die Werke der Schriftsteller, die Opfer oder Zeugen waren, ist relativ viel publiziert worden. Einige Namen, wie z.B. Katsenelson, Sutzkever oder Gebirtig, wurden fast zu Ikonen der jiddischen Schoahliteratur. Ungefähr eine gleiche Anzahl von Studien befasst sich mit den herausragenden Schriftstellern in Übersee sowie mit dem Schaffen der sowjetisch-jüdischen Autoren. Dagegen wurde den Werken jiddischer Schriftsteller aus Polen kaum Aufmerksamkeit entgegengebracht. Meiner Ansicht nach lohnt es sich jedoch, sich mit diesem Teil der jiddischen Literatur, der in den Untersuchungen zur Holocaustliteratur bisher ausgelassen wurde, eingehender zu beschäftigen.<sup>8</sup>

Das geografische Kriterium dürfte für die Charakteristik der jiddischen Literatur über den Holocaust aus zwei Gründen wichtig sein. Der erste, universelle Grund gilt für alle Autoren. Er steht im Zusammenhang mit den ausschlaggebenden Unterschieden im Erleben des Holocausts in jeder der drei genannten Gruppen. Während die Aufmerksamkeit der Historiker, Psychologen, Soziologen sowie der Literaturwissenschaftler bis jetzt den Erlebnissen der Überlebenden in den besetzten Gebieten Europas (vor allem in Polen) galt, der so genannten Opfer-Zeugen, die den Krieg in Ghettos und Lagern oder im Versteck bei Nicht-Juden überlebten, werden die Erfahrungen der im Osten der Sowjetunion Überlebenden sowie die weitreichenden Folgen dieser Erlebnisse erst seit kurzem erforscht.<sup>9</sup> Die jiddische Literatur berücksichtigt die Gemeinsamkeiten im Erleben des vom Untergang des ganzen Volkes ausgelösten Traumas, zum anderen bezeugt sie aber das jeweils unterschiedliche Erleben jeder dieser Gruppen und vor allem den Unterschied zwischen den Erfahrungen der Überlebenden unter deutscher Besatzung und derer in der Sowjetunion. Der zweite, nicht weniger wichtige Grund, ist ideologischer Natur – die Mehrheit der jiddischen Schriftsteller aus Polen, die im Osten der Sowjetunion überlebten, war nämlich in verschiedener Weise mit dem Kommunismus verbunden, was, zumindest in bestimmten Perioden, ihr Schreiben über die Schoah wesentlich beeinflusste.<sup>10</sup>

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(H. Leivick) genannt werden. Viele von ihnen schrieben über die Schoah, während sie in den Vereinigten Staaten lebten.

<sup>8</sup> Vgl. Ruta 2012a, S. 33-122 und 2012b, S. 7-91.

<sup>9</sup> Die Erfahrungen der im Osten der Sowjetunion Überlebenden wurden bislang hauptsächlich aus geschichtswissenschaftlicher Perspektive erforscht, vgl. u.a. Levin 1995, Boćkowski 2000 und 2004, Jockusch und Lewinsky 2010. Eine Analyse aus psychologischer Sicht (in Prot 1999) beschränkt sich auf einen kurz gehaltenen und oberflächlichen Vergleich der Lage der nichtjüdischen, während des Krieges nach Sibirien verbannten Kinder mit der Lage der jüdischen Kinder, die den Krieg in Ghettos und im Versteck erlebten. Vom soziologischen Standpunkt aus beschreibt Koźmińska-Frejłak diese Problematik in ihrer Dissertation (in Vorbereitung).

<sup>10</sup> Die Informationen zu Leben und Tätigkeit der einzelnen Schriftsteller sind so knapp dass sich in vielen Fällen kaum etwas zu ihrem Weltbild und ihren politischen Überzeugungen, darunter der Parteizugehörigkeit, sagen lässt. Sicher ist, dass Y. Ashendorf, B. Heller, H. Rubin und D. Sfard Mitglieder der Kommunistischen Partei Polens (KPP) waren, obwohl man auf der heute zugänglichen Mitgliederliste nur die Namen von Ash-

Die Autoren, die den Krieg im Osten verbrachten, waren in einer besonderen Lage: sie waren Opfer, ohne doch die Schoah unmittelbar erfahren zu haben. Obwohl sie vieles nicht selbst und nicht am eigenen Leibe erlitten hatten, spürten sie schmerzlich die Folgen, da sie sich dem Volk der Opfer zugehörig wussten und die Orte, an denen sich die jüdische Tragödie vor nicht allzu langer Zeit ereignet hatte, mit eigenen Augen sahen. Sie kamen in die Gebiete der Vernichtungsaktionen kurz nach deren Ende, zu einer Zeit also, in der die Spuren der Abwesenden noch sichtbar waren. Khayim Grade (1910-1982) schreibt unmittelbar nach der Rückkehr in die Ruinen des Wilnaer Ghettos „Un in der geto-pustkayt hengt nokh der geliarem / fun di, vos keyner hot zikh nisht oyf zey / derbaremt; / di koyles tsitern, vi oplantsn fun flamen, / vos zaynen shoyfn farloshn (...).“<sup>11</sup> Ihm pflichtet der mit dem Sozialismus sympathisierend Leyb Olitski (1895[1897]-1975) bei. Er beschreibt die Welt unmittelbar nach dem Krieg folgendermaßen: „Es tsindn vider mames shabes-likht in Poyln / un krayzn zey arum mit toybn – mide hent. / Di oyern farnemen nokhtsaplen fun groyln / durkh nokhduner fun krakhndike vent.“<sup>12</sup>

Obwohl die Überlebenden den Schmerz des Verlustes ihrer Brüder und Schwestern erfuhren und unter Schuldgefühlen litten, war es für sie einfacher, die Hoffnung auf eine Veränderung des Schicksals und eine Wiedergeburt zu beleben, weil sie keine Augenzeugen des Triumphes des Bösen in den Lagern und Ghettos auf polnischem Gebiet waren. Auf diesen Aspekt lenkte Yeshaye Shpigl seine Aufmerksamkeit schon 1947 im Gedicht געזעגענונג.<sup>13</sup> Davon wird im Verlauf des Artikels noch die Rede sein.

Die Prosa der Flüchtlinge, die während des Kriegs entstand, vermittelt vor allem realistische Bilder und Beschreibungen jener Periode, während die Dichtung eher die emotionale Reaktion des auf den Holocaust registriert. Sie hatte die gleichsam liturgische Funktion eines weltlichen Gebets, mit dem die in der UdSSR Überlebenden ihre Verstorbenen begleiten konnten. Die Flüchtlinge standen während ihres gesamten Aufenthalts in der Sowjetunion unter einem starken inneren Druck, ihre nächsten Angehörigen auf deren Leidensweg in Gedanken zu begleiten und ihren Tod in der Vorstellung kontemplativ mitzuleiden.<sup>14</sup> Der mit dem Kommunismus sympathisierende Dichter Moyshe Knapheys (1910-?) betrachtete gewissermaßen als seine moralische Verpflich-

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endorf und Heller finden kann. Vgl. Mitgliederliste der KPP in den Jahren 1918-1938 in Simoncini 1994. Zu Beziehungen zu der kommunistischen Jugendbewegung bekannten sich dagegen K. Segal und Sh. Strauss-Marko. Die kommunistischen Sympathien von N. Bomze, E. Kaganowski, M. Knapheys, M. Man, R. Korn und R. Zhikhliniski sind auch bekannt, wie auch Beziehungen zu der politisch nicht näher bestimmten „Arbeiterbewegung“ von P. Binetski, I. Guterman, W.H. Iwan, und I. Yanasovitsh. Von L. Olitski weiß man, dass er vor dem Krieg Beziehungen zu Bund hatte, ich konnte jedoch nirgends bestätigt finden ob und wann er sich mit dem Kommunismus verband. In der zionistischen linken Bewegung waren Kh.L. Fuks, D. Hofnung und A. Zak, tätig; Kh. Grade und A. Sutzkever waren dagegen antikommunistisch eingestellt, obwohl sie mit der linken Bewegung sympathisierten. Über die Überzeugungen von Y. Shpigl, G. Guterman, L. Morgentoy, E. Rayzman, N. Rapp, M. Shklar, M. Zaltsman, Y. Zonshayn, M. Templ und vielen anderen weiß man überhaupt nichts und man kann hier nur Vermutungen stellen, aufgrund ihrer mehr oder weniger politisch engagierten schriftstellerischen Tätigkeit aus der Zeit vor und nach dem Krieg. Vgl. Biogramme in *Leksikon fun der nayer yidisher literatur* 1956–1981 und Kagan 1986.

<sup>11</sup> Grade 1947, S. 6.

<sup>12</sup> שבת-ליכט אין פּוילן, Olitski 1964, S. 154.

<sup>13</sup> געזעגענונג, Shpigl 1949, S. 161-171.

<sup>14</sup> Darüber schreibt Finkelshteyn (1946, S. 20-30) bereits 1946, wobei er signalisiert, dass die aus dem Osten zurückkehrenden Juden die Verzweiflung sowie das Bedürfnis der mentalen Rekonstruktion des letzten Wegs ihrer nächsten Angehörigen spüren.

tung, was er folgen in dem in den Jahren 1944-1945 in Alma Ata geschriebenen Gedicht *בלוט פֿאַר בלוט* so zum Ausdruck brachte:

זאָל אויפֿלעבן אין דיין געביין  
אָט יענער פֿלאַם,  
מיט וועלכן ס'איז דיין שטאַם  
מיט אויגן אָפֿן, קלאַר  
געגאַנגען אויף דער וואַר  
צו דער עקידה־טויט  
אין שיין פֿון מאַרגנרויט  
צום תּלִיה-בוים, צום שטריק,  
צום שיספּלאַץ, צום דערשטיק,  
צום שייטער און צום טיך  
פֿון עמוד־האש באַלייכט.  
אָט דאָס געדעכעניש  
זאָל קיינמאָל, קיינמאָל נישט,  
ביז לעצטן אָטעם דיין,  
פֿאַרלאָשן ווערן, שטיין  
זאָל פֿאַר די אויגן דיר  
די פּיין ביז זינפֿאַרליר,  
די פּיין פֿון יעדן ייד  
צעשריגן און צעגלייט.<sup>15</sup>

Der biblischen Aufforderung zum Gedenken und zum erinnernden Nachvollzug des Todes der nächsten Angehörigen wurden alle im Osten der Sowjetunion überlebenden Autoren gerecht; jeder von ihnen war von der Schoah persönlich betroffen. Die Gedanken derer, die überlebten, kreisen um die teuren Toten, mehrmals wird danach gefragt, was sie damals erlebten, auf welche Weise sie umkamen. Immer wieder tauchen im Schaffen der Flüchtlinge wie der Überlebenden in Polen in der Jahre 1941-1948 die folgenden Themen auf: die Rückkehr im Geist in die Welt vor der Schoah und zur Wirklichkeit der Schoah selbst; die vergegenwärtigende Vorstellung der letzten Augenblicke des Lebens und des Todes der nächsten Angehörigen; die Ahnung der Endgültigkeit des Geschehenen und die schmerzhaft Erfahrung der Leere nach dem Kriegsende; das Schuldgefühl wegen des eigenen Überlebens; eine fatalistische Überzeugung von dem geschichtlichen Verhängnis des jüdischen Volkes (sie gilt vor allem für die nichtkommunistischen Schriftsteller oder für solche, die mit dem Kommunismus nur locker verbunden waren); der Bezug auf die Symbolik der jüdischen religiösen und kulturellen Tradition zur Veranschaulichung des apokalyptischen Ausmaßes der Tragödie (die kommunistischen Autoren kehren oftmals die Bedeutung der religiösen Symbolik um, mit dem Ziel, sie als Illusion zu entlarven); das Gespräch mit Gott (im Schaffen der Kommunisten führt es oft zur Schlussfolgerung, dass der Glaube falschen Trost biete weil Gott nicht existiere); die Aufforderung, Rache an den Tätern zu nehmen und Gerechtigkeit walten zu lassen; schließlich die Klage über die Gleichgültigkeit der nichtjüdischen Welt.<sup>16</sup>

Rudimentäre Nachrichten vom Völkermord an den Juden lösten bei den Flüchtlingen nicht nur Verzweiflung aus, sondern auch Gefühle wie Zorn, Vorwürfe gegen die gleich-

<sup>15</sup> *בלוט פֿאַר בלוט*, Knapheys 1948, S. 143.

<sup>16</sup> Mehr dazu vgl. Ruta 2008, S. 165-183 und Ruta 2012a, S. 33-122 und 2012b, S. 7-91.

gültige Welt oder den Wunsch nach Rache. Diese Emotionen, die für die Zeugen des Unglücks, welches ihre nächsten Angehörigen betraf, so natürlich sind, wurden vielfach durch die ideologischen Überzeugungen der im Osten der Sowjetunion überlebenden Autoren verstärkt. Die Mehrheit von ihnen sympathisierte nämlich mit dem Kommunismus, der eine aktive Einstellung zum Leben, Kompromisslosigkeit und Kampfbereitschaft, ja sogar den Tod für seine Ziele forderte.<sup>17</sup> Es verwundert daher nicht, dass die bei Nachrichten darüber, wie passiv die Juden dem Terror zum Opfer fielen, wie willenlos sie in den Tod gingen, schwer akzeptabel waren und den genannten Autoren dazu brachten, Fragen nach der Möglichkeit einer aktiven Abwehr des Feind zu stellen. So waren alle Indizien von Heldentum dessen Krönung der Tod im Kampf gegen den Feind war, für die Flüchtlinge von großer Bedeutung. Dabei ging es nicht um die romantische Vorstellung vom todesmutigen Kampf für eine Idee, sondern darum, der Welt zu beweisen, dass das jüdische Volk ein Volk wie andere Völker ist, dass es ebenso kämpfen und seine Ehre, die ihm jahrhundertlang abgesprochen wurde, verteidigen kann.

Das Postulat, nach der jahrhundertelangen Passivität den Kampf aufzunehmen, ist eines der wichtigsten Themen im Kriegsschaffen der Flüchtlinge. Sie fürchteten, dass die für die Juden in der europäischen Diaspora charakteristische Passivität ihre Gemeinschaft der Gefahr aussetzen würde, leichte Beute zu werden. Darauf lenkt etwa der Dichter Moyshe Knapheys in seinem Werk *אז געווען אַ מעשה* aus dem Jahre 1945, in dem er an die Vertreter seines Volks appelliert, die Aufmerksamkeit: „(...) m’darf nisht veynen. M’darf zikh lernen shlogn, / un zayn a folk mit felker glykh, vi ale. / Dos vort, dos nisht-gezogte, veln mir nokh zogn / un vern veln mir oyfsnay nisgale.“<sup>18</sup> Viele Juden, die sich während des Krieges auf dem Gebiet der Sowjetunion aufhielten, wollten in der sich in den Jahren 1941-1942 formierenden polnischen Armee unter Führung des Generals Władysław Anders dienen (obwohl das nur wenigen gelang).<sup>19</sup> Einige meldeten sich zu der in den folgenden Jahren aufgestellten Armee unter General Zygmunt Berling, andere wurden zum Militärdienst in der Roten Armee berufen. Wissenschaftler schätzen, dass allein in der Roten Armee während des Kriegs ungefähr 460-480 Tausend (meist sowjetische) Juden dienten, sodass die Verbindung Jude-Soldat konkret und geläufig zu werden begann.<sup>20</sup> Die damit verbundene mentale Metamorphose bildet gelegentlich den Kern gutmütige Witze, etwa in Knapheys Ballade unter dem Titel *באלאדע וועגן העלד וואָס האָט געזענגעט זיך פארן גיין אפן פראנט*, deren Held – ein einfacher Jude – in den Militärdienst zu treten beschließt. Seine Ehefrau macht sich Sorgen, ob er erfolgreich sein kann, denn sie weiß, dass „Me darf dokh leygn akht / baym oysfilm bafeln / un du – nisht dreyst, fartrakht. / Dikh shrekn fremde shveln (...)“.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Zur Problematik der Veränderung der Mentalität in der jüdischen Gesellschaft in Osteuropa zur Zeit der Modernität vgl. Slezkine 2006.

<sup>18</sup> *אז געווען אַ מעשה* V, in: Knapheys 1948, S. 56.

<sup>19</sup> Nach Stankowski und Weiser (2011, S. 30) verließen etwa 21 300 Juden die Sowjetrepublik mit der Anders-Armee in den Jahren 1941-1942.

<sup>20</sup> Vgl. Arad 2010, 4. Murav (2011, S. 150-195) weist auf den Unterschied zwischen der Betrachtung der Schoah durch die sowjetischen Juden und durch die westeuropäische jüdische Literatur hin. Sowjetische Juden – in Kontrast zu den westeuropäischen, die sich nur als Opfern verstanden – schauten auf den Holocaust aus der Perspektive eines Opfers und Siegers zugleich, der den Feind und den Folterer seines Volks bezwang.

<sup>21</sup> *באלאדע וועגן העלד וואָס האָט געזענגעט זיך פארן גיין אפן פראנט*, Knapheys 1948, S. 129.



Die erwähnte Thematik tritt am deutlichsten in den während des Krieges entstandenen Werken des Kommunisten Binem Heller (1908-1998) zutage. Seine zahlreichen, oft höchst persönlich wirkenden und hoch emotionalen Gedichte kreisen um Motive der Selbstverteidigung oder des aktiven Kampfs um legitime Rechte und der Rache für das erfahrene Leid. Das Bewusstsein, dass die Juden kämpfen können, war für den Dichter durchaus wichtig. Das lyrische Ich in seinen Werken ist davon überzeugt, dass es seine Rettung der sowjetischen Erde und der roten Fahne verdankt, dass es die Sowjetunion ist, der die Juden ihr Überleben verdanken. Die kommunistische Ideologie des Kampfs um eine neue Welt beförderte dieses neue Bewusstsein des jüdischen Kämpfers für sein Recht.<sup>22</sup> Zu den zahlreichen von Heller literarisch beschworenen tapferen kämpfenden Juden gehört auch eine die Gestalt in aus dem zuerst in Moskau 1948 publizierten Gedicht *דער וועג אויף וואַרשע*. Im Mittelpunkt des Gedichts steht ein Kämpfer, der aus dem besetzten Polen in die Sowjetunion gelangt und in die Roten Armee eingetreten ist, um gegen die Deutschen zu kämpfen und die geliebte Heimat und seine dort zurückgebliebene Familie zu befreien.<sup>23</sup> In einem anderen Gedicht aus der Endphase des Krieges mit dem Titel *אַ בריוו פֿון פֿרייסן*, schreibt ein jüdischer Soldat nach der Eroberung Berlins mit der Roten Armee an seine während des Krieges ermordete Familie einen Brief auf Jiddisch um der Welt zu zeigen, dass er ein Mitglied des Volkes ist, das trotz des Versuchs, es von der Erde zu tilgen, weiter existiert: „Dem briv shik ikh op mit der feld-post, der trayer, / lehakhes dem soyne, fun kiyem a tsaykhn. / Un ver s'vet im lezn, zol visn: durkh fayer / a Yid tsu der daytshisher hoyptshtot vet graykhn!“<sup>24</sup>

Wiederholt greift der Dichter die Kritik an der traditionellen jüdische Lebensweise auf, die vereinfacht gesagt, darin bestand das eigene Leben Gott unterzuordnen und das Leiden als Strafe für die begangene Sünden anzunehmen,<sup>25</sup> gleichzeitig aber registriert er den Beginn einer neuen Generation auf den Ruinen der alten Welt. Unmittelbar auf das Geschehen der Schoah bezogen wird dieses Thema in *אין וואַרשעווער געטאָ איז חודש ניסן*. In diesem Text der vom Aufstand im Warschauer Ghetto handelt, nutzt Binem Heller das Motiv des Pessachfestes um zu zeigen, dass unter der Herrschaft des Todes im Ghetto der Glaube an die Obhut Gottes als Illusion zerbricht, und passives Warten auf ein Wunder verhängnisvoll und „schädlich“ ist. Dagegen fordert er die Rebellion mit dem Ziel der Bestrafung der Folterer. Sarkastisch wird das Bild einer am Sedertisch versammelten Familie beschworen, deren Angehörigen ein Deutscher gnädig „zu sterben nicht verbot und sie schreien ließ.“<sup>26</sup> Der Dichter prophezeit jedoch zugleich, dass die Zeit kommt, da die Juden sich gegen die ihnen von ihren Peinigern aufgezwungene Ordnung erheben werden:

<sup>22</sup> Vgl. *דער לעצטער*, Heller 1948, S. 125.

<sup>23</sup> Vgl. Heller 1955.

<sup>24</sup> *אַ בריוו פֿון פֿרייסן*, Heller 1948, S. 165. Der Information unter dem Gedicht zufolge entstand es in Moskau im Jahre 1945.

<sup>25</sup> Zur literarischen Antwort des jüdischen Volkes auf die Katastrophe, die als Strafe für eine gegen Gott begangene Sünde betrachtet wird vgl. Roskies 1984 und 1989. Zur Gestaltung eines kommunistischen Vorbilds des neuen Typus der jüdischen Identität, die mutig, aktiv, physisch stark, mit der Erde verbunden, unterschieden und kämpferisch sei, vgl. Slezkine 2006, S. 105–372.

<sup>26</sup> *אין וואַרשעווער געטאָ איז חודש ניסן*, Heller 1948, S. 128.

– ווי שטענדיק – די דייטשישע שפראך פֿון מושטרירן  
 – ווי שטענדיק – די שפראך פֿון באַפֿעלן געניטע  
 ווי שטענדיק – זיי זענען געקומען איצט פֿירן  
 אַ טייל פֿונעם ייִדישן פֿאַלק צו דער שחיטה.  
 נאָר מער וויל דאָס געטאָ נישט הערן  
 דאָס זידלען פֿון נאַציס, וואָס פֿירן אַ פֿאַלק צו פֿאַרלענדונג,  
 מיט בלוט וועט מען איצטער באַשמירן די טירלעך,  
 מיט בלוט פֿון די דייטשן, מיט בלוט פֿון די שענדער.

– אין וואַרשעווער געטאָ איז איצט חודש ניסן  
 פֿון שכן צו שכן ווערט איבערגעגעבן.  
 דאָס דייטשישע בלוט זאָל אָן אויפֿהער זיך גיסן.  
 כל זמן ס'וועט אַ ייד אינעם געטאָ נאָך לעבן.  
 פֿאַר זיי זאָל אין אויגן נישט זיין קיין הכנעה,  
 פֿאַר זיי זאָל אין אויגן נישט זיין מער קיין טרערן.  
 נאָר שינאה, עקשנות, און ווילדע הנאה  
 פֿון שטיין זיי אַנטקעגן, פֿון קענען זיך ווערן!  
 אַט הער ווי אין האַלבנאַכט עס הילכן די שאַסן,  
 אַט הער, ווי דער טויט יאָגט אויף דייטשישע שפורן,  
 אַט הער:  
 די געשיכטע ווערט איצט אָפֿגעשלאָסן  
 מיט העלדישן אומקום אין ליל-השימורים.<sup>27</sup>

Für Heller signalisiert der Aufstand das Ende der Geschichte der Juden in der Diaspora als Zeit der passiven Annahme des Unglücks, Lange gehegte Grundannahmen jüdischen Lebens verändern sich: die Juden hören auf, Objekt der Geschichte zu sein, sie werden Subjekt, das diese Geschichte aktiv mitgestaltet. Das Feuer des Krieges verwandelt Blut der jüdischen Opfer in das Blut der Helden und „yeder umglik kon vern derhoybn / tsu heldishn tat un nisht bloyz – tsu geshikhte.“<sup>28</sup> Den gleichen Gedanken veranschaulicht ein Bild in einem anderen Gedicht des Dichters mit dem Titel *אָזוי גיין ייִדן צוריק אין איראַפֿע*. Wie im Gedicht ... געטאָ... knüpft Heller hier an die biblische Geschichte von der göttlichen Obhut über das jüdische Volk an, deren Zeichen die Herausführung der Juden aus Ägypten und die göttliche Begleitung während der Wanderung durch die Wüste ins gelobte Land waren. Ähnlich wie im zuvor besprochenen Gedicht, kehrt der Dichter die Bedeutung der biblischen Geschichte um. Es ist nicht Gott, der die im Ghetto Eingeschlossenen aus der Gefangenschaft „herausführte,“ die Verfolgten haben sich vielmehr im Zuge einer verzweifelten Rebellion selber befreit. Die Überzeugung von der Obhut Gottes, der die Juden mit Hilfe der Säule aus Rauch und der Säule aus Feuer (vgl. Ex 13, 21-22) durch die Wüste führte, hat sich als falsch erwiesen. Die Juden müssen den ungleichen Kampf für ihre Ehre aufnehmen und die sie begleitende Wolke ist der Rauch des brennenden Ghettos.

Unter den Autoren, die zum aktiven Widerstand gegen die deutschen Mörder auffordern, befindet sich auch die kommunistische Dichterin Hadase Rubin (1906/1912-2003). Mit Zorn sagt sie sich von der passiven Haltung vieler jüdischer Generationen los, die sich mit Märtyrertum und Demütigung abfanden. In dem Gedicht *צום ייִדישן זעלנער* aus dem Jahre 1942 wendet sie sich an alle Juden:

<sup>27</sup> Ebd., S. 128–129.

<sup>28</sup> נישט פֿון דער ווייטער נסיעה, Heller 1948, S. 176.

דרותוויזן שטרעקט זיך דאָס כאַמישע גלוסטן  
 צו אונדזערע שטיבער אָן שטראַף, אָן פֿאַרבאָט  
 מיט פיקעס אין בייַכעה, מיט אייַזנס אין ברוסטן,  
 מיט בלוט אויף די הענט אין נאָמען פֿון גאָט.  
 (...)

נאָר וואָס זענען טויטן, אַנטקעגן דער בושה  
 צו פֿאַלן אָן קאַמף, פֿאַרהאַסט און געשענדט?  
 ווער קען זיי, די פֿינצטערע פֿלעקן פֿאַרווישן,  
 ווען ס'קיקלען זיך קעפֿ און עס שווייגן די הענט?  
 (...)

פֿאַרשאַלטן זאָל זיין, ווער עס האַלט שלעכט דאָס וואָפֿן,  
 – וועמען ס'לעבן איז ליב אויך אין שפּאַט און אין שאַנד  
 אויב נאָר זיין געדאַנק איז פֿון שלאַכט־פֿעלד אַנטלאָפֿן,  
 אויב ס'האַט אויף שלאַכט־פֿעלד פֿאַרהאַקט זיך זיין האַנט.

סע שרייען נקמה די פֿינצטערע נעכטנס,  
 די קינפֿטיקע דורות באַקוקן אונדז בלינד.  
 איז הייליק דיין קאַמף, איז דיין קאַמף אַ גערעכטער.  
 אויף טויט – מיט צען טויטן, פֿאַר מאַמע און קינד.<sup>29</sup>

Neben der Aufforderung zur aktiven Abwehr berührt das Gedicht eine äußerst heikle Frage, den Vorwurf nämlich, der den in den Ghettos und Lagern untergebrachten Juden gemacht wurde, dass sie „wie Lämmer zur Schlachtbank“ in den Tod gegangen seien. Dieses Thema durchzieht das Schaffen vieler Schriftsteller, die den Krieg im Osten überlebten, es ist für die Flüchtlinge mit heftigen Emotionen verbunden. Sie konnten sich mit dem tragischen Schicksal ihres Volkes nicht abfinden, auf der anderen Seite waren sie aber, Tausende von Kilometern von ihren nächsten Angehörigen entfernt, auch nicht imstande, selbst aktiv zu werden.<sup>30</sup> Ich werde darauf im Laufe der Darstellung zurückkommen.

Mit der Aufforderung, den Deutschen aktiv Widerstand zu leisten, ist der Gedanke der Rache für das dem jüdischen Volk angetane Unrecht verbunden: „(...) s'leben derleb ikh, bikhdey nisht tsu shenken“ – stellt Binem Heller im Gedicht „אויך בין געבליבן“ aus dem Jahre 1945 fest – und jetzt kehre ich zurück „un ikh breng / (...) mayn sine, vos s'harts iz ir eng.“<sup>32</sup> Im Jahr des Aufstands im Warschauer Ghetto behauptet der Dichter, dass der Hass das einzige ist, das er als Erbe hinterlassen will:

נישט אַליץ, וואָס גענירשענט – כ'וועל לאָזן ירושה.  
 נאָר איין זאך: מיין שינאה, מיין פֿינפֿולע שינאה,  
 וואָס יאָגט אָן אין אויג מיט אַ בלוט־שטראַם פֿון האַרץ,  
 וואָס איינע בלוז זי איז איצט שולט אין זינען,  
 וואָס האַט אלע פֿאַרבן פֿאַרגאַסן מיט שוואַרץ;  
 מיין שינאה, וואָס דאַרף נישט קיין שפּראַך און קיין טייַטש  
 – און רייסט אויף ביים בלוזן דערמאַנען: אַ דייַטש

<sup>29</sup> גזום יידישן זעלנער, Rubin 1957, S. 9–10.

<sup>30</sup> Wie lebendig und peinlich die Diskussion war, zeigen kritische Ansichten über die jüdische Passivität, die auch heute deutlich zum Ausdruck gebracht werden – vgl. z.B. Katz 2007, S. 308-309.

<sup>31</sup> „אויך בין געבליבן“, Heller 1948, S. 188.

<sup>32</sup> „אנטרונען“, Heller 1948, S. 131.

דאָס וועל איך מיט ציטער פֿאַרהיטן און זאָגן:  
דאָס זאָלסטו, מיין קינד, צו דער אייביקייט טראָגן.<sup>33</sup>

Zur Rache fordern auch andere Dichter auf, z.B. der mit dem Kommunismus sympathisierende Peysakh Binetski (1912-1966) in seinem Gedicht *פֿאַלן קני וועסטו פֿאַלן*...<sup>34</sup> oder Reyzl Zhikhliniski (1910-2001), deren lyrisches Ich im Gedicht *ברענג מיר דאָס בלוט פֿון דעם שונא* seine Gier nach Blut wie eine blutdürstige Hexe zum Ausdruck bringt: „Brenge mir dos blut fun dem soyne oyf dayn meser. / S'meg zayn shoyne fartriknt, s'vet leshn mayn harts. / S'vet leshn di sine, vos brent in mayne oygn, / un mayne groye hor veln tsurik vern shvarts.“<sup>35</sup> Dieses Gedicht Zhikhliniskis wirkt umso eindrucksvoller im Kontrast zu herabgestimmten Nachdenklichkeit und Mehrdeutigkeit, die für ihre Vorkriegsdichtung charakteristisch sind.

Rache ist auch eins der wichtigsten Motive im Schaffen des Zionisten Avrom Zak (1891-1980), eines Dichters, dessen Empfindlichkeit sich deutlich von der leidenschaftlichen Rhetorik und dem revolutionären Eifer Binem Hellers unterscheidet. In der Einleitung des Bandes mit dem Titel *מיט אַש אויפֿן קאַפּ* aus dem Jahre 1947 deutet Zak dies bereits an. Im Gedicht *נקמה* aus dem Jahre 1943 bemerkt er, das Übermaß an Unglück, welches das jüdische Volk getroffen habe, sei zu groß ist, um es nur zu beweinen. Den Überlebenden bleibe nur:

נקמה! נקמה! –

(...)

נקמה פֿאַר געטאָ,  
פֿאַר לאַטע פֿאַר געלע,  
פֿאַר תּליות און שפּאַט.  
פֿאַר מאָרד פֿון מיליאָנען,  
פֿאַר יאָך און פֿאַר שענדונג  
פֿון מענטש און פֿון גאָט...<sup>36</sup>

Interessanterweise findet sich in den während des Kriegs in der UdSSR entstandenen Werken des Dichters keine deutliche Aufforderung an die polnischen Juden zum bewaffneten Aufstand. In Zaks Kriegsschaffen werden auch diejenigen nicht verurteilt, die sich stumm und mit Demut auf ihren letzten Weg machten.<sup>37</sup> Erst nach der Rückkehr des Autors nach Polen wird der Kult des heldenhaften Todes mit der Waffe in der Hand Thema seiner Gedichte, was sich an den jeweiligen Datenangaben nachweisen lässt. Vorher brachte der Dichter vor allem seinen Hass auf den Feind zum Ausdruck. So in den Gedichten aus dem Zyklus *יום הדין*, die in den letzten Kriegsmonaten entstanden und das Ausmaß des Widerwillens gegen die Deutschen sowie die große Freude bekunden, dass deren Herrschaft zu Ende ging. Hoffnungsvoll beobachtet das lyrische Ich den Sturmangriff der Roten Armee auf Berlin und die dort stattfindende Verwüstung und segnet die sowjetischen Soldaten und ihre Waffen, die den Deutschen den Untergang

<sup>33</sup> ירושה, Heller 1948, S. 133.

<sup>34</sup> ...אויף די קני וועסטו פֿאַלן... Binetski 1948, S. 9.

<sup>35</sup> ברענג מיר דאָס בלוט פֿון דעם שונא, Zhikhliniski 1948, S. 25.

<sup>36</sup> נקמה, Zak 1947, S. 63.

<sup>37</sup> Vgl. לעצטער גאַנג, Ebd., S. 10.

bringen.<sup>38</sup> Der Autor ist davon überzeugt, dass es keine angemessene Strafe gibt, um die Schuld der Hitler folgenden Verbrecher zu tilgen. Durch ihre Taten hätten die Deutschen auf viele Generationen „einen tiefen Abgrund“ zwischen sich und der übrigen Welt gegraben.<sup>39</sup> Den heutigen Leser mag dieser Ton verbissenen Hasses, mit dem Zak die sowjetische Siegerarmee zur Vernichtung und Vergeltung anstachelt, befremden, er lässt sich aber leichter verstehen, wenn man sich bewusst macht, dass der Dichter während der Schoah nicht nur seine Mutter und Schwester, sondern auch seine Ehefrau und seinen kleinen Sohn verlor.

Eine ganz andere Haltung vertritt gegen Ende des Kriegs Hadase Rubin. In ihrer Dichtung kommen Zorn, und Mitleid, Trauer und Verzweiflung lebendig zum Ausdruck, sie ruft aber weder zum Hass noch zur Rache auf. Vielmehr stellt sie nach ihrer Rückkehr in die Ruinen der jüdischen Welt in dem erschütternden Gedicht *א תפילה צו זיך* aus dem Jahre 1945 fest, dass die Juden jetzt eine große Geisteskraft benötigten, um nicht niedrigen Gefühlen zu erliegen:

זיין אַזוי שטאַרק צו באַטרעטן די ערד  
וואָס בלאַנקעט זיך מיין ברודערס געביין.  
און האַרץ זאָל זיין האַרץ,  
מיט קיין שינאה באַשווערט.  
געדאַנק זאָל געדאַנק זיין, נישט טעמפּ צו פאַרשטיין.

זיין אַזוי שטאַרק צו באַנעמען דעם רוים,  
וואָס ענג איז געווען פאַר געוואַלד און געקרעכץ,  
מיט מילדקייט אין אויג,  
מיט אַן אַפּשין פֿון טרוים,  
ס'זאָלן נישט רייסן זיך די הענט צו קיין שלעכטס.

זיין אַזוי שטאַרק צו פאַרצוימען אַ צוים,  
פֿון נעכטן ביז היינט, פֿון נישט ווערן ביז זיין.  
נישט צו מאַנען בײַ זיך,  
נישט בײַ יענעם קיין לויין.  
זיין ווי די זון איז, וואָס שיינט, ווייל זי שיינט.<sup>40</sup>

Diese besonnene Stimme, die im Einklang nur mit der Nachkriegsdichtung von Yes-haye Shpigl war,<sup>41</sup> findet keine Entsprechung in der jiddischen Dichtung in Polen nach 1945. Ihre Aussage ist die Liebe, die zwar schwierig und schmerzhaft ist, aber die Hoffnung auf Wiedergeburt mit sich bringt und zugleich nicht vergessen lässt. Die Liebe, die die Dichterin vor der Manipulation des Gedächtnisses bewahrte, der manche Autoren wenige Jahre nach dem Krieg zur Zeit des Stalinismus (1949-1955) bedauerlicherweise erlagen.

Nach dem Kriegsende und mit der Rückkehr der Überlebenden nach Polen begann eine neue Phase der Schoahliteratur, die sich mehr der Entwicklung des Gedenkens widmete als der unmittelbaren Reaktion auf die vorangegangenen Ereignisse. Eines ihrer Elemente war die Diskussion darüber, wie die Erinnerung an die jüdische Tragödie wach

<sup>38</sup> Vgl. ... זיין זיין, געבענטשט זאָל זיין..., Ebd., S. 65; בערלין און וואַרשע, Ebd., S. 67.

<sup>39</sup> Vgl. דייטשן, Ebd., S. 57.

<sup>40</sup> זיך תפילה צו זיך, Rubin 1953, S. 2.

<sup>41</sup> Vgl. צוואַה פֿון ליכט, Shpigl 1949, S. 131.

zu halten sei. Die offizielle Historiografie konzentrierte sich auf den bewaffneten Aufstand gegen die Deutschen und nötigte damit zu einer heroisierenden Vorstellung der neuesten Geschichte der polnischen Juden.<sup>42</sup> Auf dieses Problem komme ich noch zurück. An dieser Stelle sei lediglich eines der Werke Zaks erwähnt, das darauf hinzuweisen scheint, dass der Dichter der heroisierenden Vorstellung der jüdischen Geschichte während der Besetzung unterlag. Leitmotive seines Kriegsschaffens waren wie schon bemerkt, Verzweiflung, Zorn, Hass gegen die Deutschen und die Aufforderung zur Rache, aber er verurteilte in den uns bekannten Werken kein einziges Mal die Juden, die ohne Protest untergingen. Dagegen griff er nach seiner Rückkehr nach Polen den von der offiziellen Propaganda vorgegebenen Ton auf, als er 1947 das Gedicht *אין איינער אַ נאַכט* über den Ausbruch des Aufstands im Warschauer Ghetto schrieb. Es wäre darin nichts Überraschendes, war doch der Aufstand für alle Überlebenden zu einem wichtigen Symbol des jüdischen Heldentums geworden, in diesem Fall aber verwundert den Leser, der das frühere Schaffen des Dichters kennt, die Härte der Urteile seiner Helden. Aus den Gesprächen der Aufständischen geht hervor, dass der Tod ihnen von Anfang an bestimmt ist. Trotzdem fassen sie den Beschluss, nicht passiv zu sterben Ihr Untergang soll den Deutschen Schaden zufügen. Eine der Gestalten erläutert es so:

עס זײַנען שוין אַוועק אַהין מיליאָנען ברידער  
געגאַנגען שטום, ווי צו עקידה...

אַן שטורעם גאַר, אָן אויפֿברויז,  
ווי די לעמער...  
ניין, גענוג...

(...)

אויב פֿאַלן – לאָמיר פֿאַלן שוין מיט כּבֿוד,  
אויב שטאַרבן – לאָמיר שטאַרבן אין געראַנגל.  
(...)

איך שעם מיך פֿאַר די טויזנטער און די מיליאָנען,  
וואָס זײַנען שטום אַוועק צו דער עקידה...  
איך שעם זיך פֿאַר דער וועלט  
און פֿאַר די קומענדיקע דורות...<sup>43</sup>

In das Gebäude, in dem sich die Aufständischen befinden, stürzt immer wieder jemand von der Straße mit Nachrichten von der Entwicklung der Ereignisse. Aber hauptsächlich berichten die Ankömmlinge von ihrer Befriedigung darüber dass Deutsche getötet wurden:

דריי שטיק אַוועקגעלייגט כ'האַב אויפֿן אַרט...  
איינער האָט געקוויטשעט פֿאַר דער פּגירה  
ווי אַ דבר־אַחה, ווען מען שטעכט אים...  
איך האָב אַרײַנגעקנאַלען אים נאָך אַ קויל:  
«!...אַט האָסטו אַ מתנה פֿון אַ יודע»<sup>44</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Mehr zur Frage der Gestaltung der Vorstellungen vom Aufstand in den ersten Nachkriegsjahren vgl. Kobylarz 2009, S. 20-65.

<sup>43</sup> (דראַמאַטישע פּאַעמע אין פֿינף בילדער) *אין איינער אַ נאַכט* (Zak 1947, S. 75).

<sup>44</sup> Ebd., S. 79-80.

Alle bedauern, dass sie nicht früher rebelliert hatten, als es sie zahlreicher waren und sie den Deutschen größere Schaden hätten zufügen können. Aber auch jetzt hat der Aufstand seinen Sinn als Vergeltung und als Chance für die Aufständischen ihre Wut an den Tätern auszulassen. Einer der Kämpfer will, obwohl schwer verwundet, weiter kämpfen, weil er fühlt, dass „kh'muz oyslodn mayn has durkh blay / in dem retseyekh's sharbn...“<sup>45</sup> Die im Zimmer Versammelten überlegen, wie sie einen SS-Mann behandeln würden, wenn sie ihn auf der Straße gefangen nehmen würden. Eine anwesende Frau erklärt:

כ'ואַלט אים געדאַרפֿט דערווערן ווי אַ חיהרעה.  
 (דריקט צונויף די הענט צום דערווערן)  
 נאָר ס'עקלט מיך ווי פֿון נבלה...  
 (צום קאַפּראַל)  
 פֿאַר אַלע מיינע ברידער, שוועסטער,  
 פֿאַר אַלע טאַטע-מאַמעס,  
 פֿאַר אַלע קינדער ייִדישע...  
 (צילט און האַלט זיך אָפּ)  
 אַ שאַד אַ קויל, חברים.  
 (ווייזט צום פֿענצטער)  
 זאָל ער גיין דעם זעלבן גורל וועג  
 פֿון קינדער ייִדישע בעת „אַקציעס“...  
 (די קעמפֿער איינל צו צו אים, הייבן אים אויף און שמייסן  
 אים אַרויס דורך דאָס אָפֿענע פֿענצטער, קוקן אַרונטער און  
 רופֿן אויס):  
 פֿאַרטיק! ער איז שוין פֿאַרטיק!...<sup>46</sup>

In diesem Werk werden die Emotionen Hass und Zorn, die die Kriegsdichtung Zaks bestimmen, symbolisch dargestellt. Aus psychoanalytischer Sicht ließe sich sein Gedicht als die Verbalisierung der Rachewünsche eines verletzten Menschen deuten. Überraschend ist aber, dass Zak hier die offizielle Bewertung des stummen Todes als Schande übernimmt. Ein Wiederhall dieser Ansicht findet sich auch in Hadase Rubins bereits angeführtem Gedicht, *צום ייִדישן זעלנער*. Wie schmerzhaft diese Auffassung für die Überlebenden sein musste, zeigen einige Passagen des Gedichts *געזעגענונג*, das der nichtkommunistische Autor Yeshaye Shpigl (1906-1990) schrieb. In dem Dialog eines Repatriierten, der im Osten überlebte, mit einem Juden aus dem Ghetto stellt Heimgekehrte fest, dass:

ס'איז יעדע געטאָ-וואַנט אונדזער גרויסער בושה,  
 וואָס לעסטערט איבער קאַפּ די הימל-בלאָקייט.  
 ווי האָט אַ פֿאַלק געקענט זיך לאָזן צו צימען, פֿענטען,  
 און – זיי טויזנט מאָל מיר מוחל –  
 ווי אַ הונט אויף האַלדז די בושה-קייט נאָך טראָגן?  
 (...)  
 פֿאַר וואָס, אַ, זאָג, האָט נישט געברענט  
 צום גרעסטן שונא פֿונעם ייד די מרידה?  
 צי איז דער טויט נישט הייליקער, גערעכטער,  
 מיט אויסגעשטרעקטן מעסער צו דעם שונא גאַרגל,  
 איידער זינלאָזע, משונהדיקע טויט  
 דורך גאַזן, הונגער און מגפֿות?<sup>47</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Ebd., S. 85.

<sup>46</sup> Ebd., S. 89.

<sup>47</sup> *געזעגענונג*, Shpigl 1949, S. 166-167.

Der Überlebende des Ghettos mahnt seinen Gesprächspartner: „Du begeyst a zind, vos varfstu dem mindstn shotn oyf di, / vos hobn di late-shand getrogn.“<sup>48</sup> In einem anderen Gedicht aus dem Jahre 1945 wendet sich Shpigl an einen „fernen Bruder“ mit der Suggestion, die Bewertungen lieber zu unterlassen, denn er habe das Grauen des Krieges doch nicht an eigenem Leibe erlebt:

ס'איז דיר באַשערט געווען, מיין ווייטער ברודער,  
 נישט צו גיין דורך שוועלן, וואָס וועלן ווי תליות  
 – נקמה מאַנען –  
 אין טויט־ראַנג פֿון רויך און רויטן אַש,  
 אין נעכט מיט הענט געצונדענע –  
 באַשערט געווען איז דיר נישט צו גיין  
 דעם לעצטן וועג  
 מיט ייִדן די מיליאָנען –  
 הינטער הימלען אויסגעלאָשענע פֿון גאַט און ליכט.<sup>49</sup>

Für Shpigl ist klar, dass derjenige, der nicht unmittelbarer Zeuge der Schoah war, das Ausmaß des Schrecklichen und Bösen, das Leiden der Opfer nicht zu verstehen ist. Darum habe er auch kein Recht zur Anklage und zu einem Urteil, das die Überlebenden verunglimpft und verletzt. Um so mehr, als auch aus der Literatur aus den Ghettos und Lagern von nicht-kommunistischen Dichtern wie Władysław Szlengel (1914-1943), Avrom Sutzkever (1913-2010), Yitskhok Katsenelson (1886-1944) hervorgeht, dass auch für die in den Ghettos eingeschlossenen Juden das Bedürfnis nach einer aktiven Antwort des jüdischen Volkes auf die Gewalt ein großes Bedürfnis war. Die auf engstem Raum im besetzten Warschau, Lodz oder Vilnius eingeschränkten Schriftsteller, wollten dennoch nicht die Viktimisierung akzeptieren. Für sie war bereits der Prozess des Schreibens ein Widerstand gegen die Deutschen. Ihr Schaffen ist ein schmerzliches Zeugnis der Ratlosigkeit und zugleich eines starken Bedürfnisses, den Tätern mit der Waffe in der Hand Widerstand zu leisten. Im Gedicht פֿאַרוואָס aus dem Jahre 1942 schreibt Shpigl von diesem Gefühl der Ratlosigkeit, das seinen Grund in der physischen Überlegenheit des Feindes hat, das ihn aber nicht hindert, zum aktiven Widerstand gegen die Peiniger aufzurufen.<sup>50</sup> Irena Maciejewska deutet in der Einleitung des Bandes mit Gedichten von Władysław Szlengel an, wie der polnisch-sprachigen Dichter das „Minderwertigkeitsgefühl wegen des fügsamen Todes“ gequält wurde.<sup>51</sup> Ihm wurde deutlich bewusst, dass die Deutschen sogar dem jüdischen Sterben die Ehre raubten. Mit Bitterkeit erwähnt er das im Gedicht *Dwie śmierci* (Zwei Tode), in dem er die Situation der Polen, die im Kampf um hohe Ideale sterben konnten, mit dem Tod der Juden in Warschauer Ghetto vergleicht, die massenweise, unheldisch und banal und nicht im Namen einer Idee starben:

<sup>48</sup> Ebd., S. 167.

<sup>49</sup> צום ווייטן ברודער, Ebd., S. 152-153.

<sup>50</sup> פֿאַרוואָס, Ebd., S. 80.

<sup>51</sup> Maciejewska 1977, S. 28.



Wasza śmierć i nasza śmierć  
To dwie inne śmierci.  
Wasza śmierć – to mocna śmierć (...)  
Dla czegoś – ...dla Ojczyzny.

Nasza śmierć to głupia śmierć,  
Na strychu lub piwnicy,  
Nasza śmierć przychodzi psia  
Zza węgła ulicy.  
(...)  
Nasza śmierć – śmietnicza śmierć,  
Żydowska i paskudna.<sup>52</sup>

Euer Tod und unser Tod  
Sind zwei andere Todesarten  
Euer Tod – ist starker Tod (...)  
Für etwas – ...für die Heimat.

Unser Tod ist dummer Tod  
Am Dachboden oder im Keller,  
Unser hündischer Tod kommt  
Aus dem Hinterhalt.  
(...)  
Unser Tod – der Tod wertlos wie der Müll,  
Jüdisch und gemein.

Auch hier fällt die Ähnlichkeit mit Shpigl fest, der in seinem Gedicht „שענק מיר ווידער“, gegen den plötzlichen Tod rebelliert. Der gewaltsame und plötzliche Tod ist den Juden im Ghetto beschieden, im Kontrast dazu steht die Bitte des Gedichtsprachers an Gott um die Gnade des ruhigen Todes auf der freundlichen Erde.<sup>53</sup> Aus dem Werk *Kontratak* (Der Gegenangriff),<sup>54</sup> das Szlengel nach dem Waffenwiderstand schrieb, den die Juden gegen die Deutschen im Januar 1943 im Warschauer Ghetto leisteten, strahlt Stolz und Zufriedenheit, weil die Verurteilten imstande waren, sich aus Opfern in Soldaten zu verwandeln und so ihr Schicksal zu verändern. Auch Katsenelson und Sutzkever bezeugen, wie wichtig für sie die Überzeugung war, dass ihr Volk kämpfen kann. Der Waffenwiderstand ist für sie ein Ruhmesblatt der Juden, das sie vor aller Welt nobilitiert, er beweist, dass sie würdige Erben der israelitischen Aufständischen des Altertums sind – der Makkabäer und Simon Bar Kochbas.<sup>55</sup> Dagegen konnte der Dichter aus dem Ghetto Litzmannstadt, in dem es keinen Versuch des Aufstands gab, den Stolz auf den Waffenwiderstand gegen die Deutschen nicht mit den erwähnten Autoren teilen. 1946, als im befreiten Polen immer mehr Nachdruck auf die Tapferkeit der Kämpfer des jüdischen Warschaus gelegt wird und die verachtet wurden, die ohne Protest untergingen, schreibt Shpigl im Gedicht „איך קני פֿאַר דיר“ angesichts der Ruinen des Ghettos:<sup>56</sup>

ס'איז נישט באַשערט געוועזן דיר מיט דער ביקס און מעסער  
אויפֿשטיין קעגן שונא און אָנצוינדן מרידה;  
וויינסטו אין דער שטיל... און ס'איז דיין יאָמער גרעסער  
ווי ס'יידישע געוויין אין אַלע איכה-לידער.

נאָר איך – איך טו אַ נדר בני דין טויטער ערד,  
מין היים, מין הייליק באַלוט, מין געטאָ, מין פֿאַרשעמטע,  
כ'ועל אָפווישן פֿון פֿנים דיין אָולדיקע טרער  
און אויפֿבינדן די טרייסט פֿון הערצער די פֿאַרקלעמטע.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>52</sup> *Dwie śmierci*, Szlengel 1977, S. 105-106.

<sup>53</sup> „שענק מיר ווידער“, Shpigl 1949, S. 79.

<sup>54</sup> Szlengel, *Kontratak*, Borwicz 1947, S. 190–193.

<sup>55</sup> Vgl. באַנגלייטליד ביים אָוועקגיין אין וואַלד, Sutzkever 1968, S. 93. Nach: Aaron 1990, S. 159-171.

<sup>56</sup> „איך קני פֿאַר דיר“, Shpigl 1949, S. 22-23.

Der Kalte Krieg brachte eine Zuspitzung des Konflikts zwischen dem Ostblock und Westeuropa. Seitdem und vor allem seit der Verschärfung des politischen Kurses in Polen am Ende des Jahres 1948, ist in der jiddischen Literatur in Polen eine beunruhigende Tendenz zur Instrumentalisierung der besonderen Problematik der Schoah zu Propagandazwecken festzustellen.<sup>57</sup> Die Forderung nach Rache für das jüdische Leiden, die doch dem menschlichen Bedürfnis nach der Gerechtigkeit entspringt, wird zur Zeit des Kalten Krieges aufgenommen in den Parolen des Kampfes gegen den Feind mit dem man die Vertreter aller kapitalistischen Staaten identifizierte. Aus diesem Grunde ist es wichtig, bei der Literatur, die in den ersten Nachkriegsjahren veröffentlicht wurde, das Entstehungsdatum zu beachten. Die Gedächtnismanipulation und die Unterordnung des jüdischen Märtyrertums unter die aktuellen Zielen der Politik sind vor allem in der Epoche des sozialistischen Realismus deutlich feststellbar.

Schriftsteller, die wie Yeshaye Shpigl unmittelbare Zeugen und zugleich Opfer der Schoah waren, rebellierten schreibend gegen den Tod und brachten dabei ihre Verzweiflung, aber auch ihren Glauben an eine künftige, gerechte Welt zum Ausdruck. Sie wollten Zeugnis geben über das Böse und das Gedenken an die Ermordeten wach halten. Dagegen war für die Juden, die im Osten der Sowjetunion überlebten, das Schreiben über die Schoah eine natürliche Folge des moralischen Imperativs, zu gedenken und Zeugnis abzulegen, vor allem aber entsprang es einem fast religiösen Bedürfnis nach der inneren Begleitung der Ermordeten.

An dieser Stelle ist die liturgische Rolle der Literatur der Kriegsperiode und der Zeit unmittelbar nach dem Krieg zu erwähnen. Vor allem die Dichtung spricht über Erfahrungen, die das menschliche Fassungsvermögen übersteigen. Die Dichtung klagt, hält das Gedächtnis wach und heiligt die Abwesenden. Sie bekennt vor ihnen die Schuld, am Leben geblieben zu sein.

Zur Zeit des Stalinismus, die in Polen Ende der vierziger Jahre begann, wurden die Überlebenden durch Gedächtnismanipulation in ihrem authentischen Ausdruck des Schmerzes eingeschränkt. Aber trotz der Empfehlungen der Ideologen wurde Schoah als Thema nicht aufgegeben, sie wurde vielmehr zur Grundthematik im Schaffen dogmatischer Vertreter der Parteilinie in der jiddischen Literatur wie Binem Heller. Das Trauma, das mit Schoah das ganze Volk betraf, war so groß, dass die Überlebenden es nicht vergessen konnten.

*Übersetzt von Anna Barbara Dąbrowska*

## LITERATURVERZEICHNIS

### a) Primärliteratur

Binetski, P. (1948), *Fenster tsu der velt*, Varshe.

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<sup>57</sup> Vgl. Ruta 2012a, S. 104-120.

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**MISE EN HISTOIRE DU PASSÉ JUIF EN AFRIQUE DU NORD  
(AUTOUR DE *HISTORIES OF THE JEWS OF EGYPT. AN IMAGINED BOURGEOISIE, 1880S-1950S* DE DARIO MICCOLI, LONDON – NEW YORK: ROUTLEDGE, 2015)**

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**Key words:** Egypt, Maghreb, Mizrahi, Jews of Egypt, Maghrebi Jews, Sephardim, Sephari Jews

**Abstract:** After an overview of the historiography of North African Jews, the article presents Dario Miccoli's book *Histories of the Jews of Egypt: An Imagined Bourgeoisie, 1880s-1950s*, published in 2015. In this recent study, the author proposes an interesting thesis on the construction of the collective identity of Egyptian Jews in line with the "bourgeoisie" reference model, idealized regardless of the objective reality of their economic condition. Based on archival and literary sources of the time, individual trajectories and social practices, but also social, political and cultural broader contexts are analyzed to outline the construction of this unique collective imagination that has survived in the diaspora.

Lorsqu'elle émerge, la réflexion sur la construction d'un passé juif en Afrique du Nord<sup>1</sup> ne débouche pas immédiatement sur un courant historique structuré autour d'un projet scientifique. Tel n'est plus le cas aujourd'hui. En effet, des historiens d'après-guerre et de la période qui suit la décolonisation des pays du Maghreb jettent les bases d'une histoire critique des juifs dans cette région du monde.

## **Un aperçu de l'historiographie des juifs d'Afrique septentrionale**

Ce sont notamment les travaux de Robert Brunschvig,<sup>2</sup> de Georges Vajda<sup>3</sup> ainsi que la première synthèse d'histoire des juifs maghrébins d'André Chouraqui<sup>4</sup> qui s'imposent dans ce domaine historique à la sortie de la Seconde Guerre mondiale et dans les années 1950. Dans la période 1960-1970, des études sur les communautés juives maghrébines sont publiées tant en France et en Israël que dans le monde anglo-saxon : il s'agit des

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<sup>1</sup> Selon la composition des régions macro-géographiques de l'ONU, ce territoire comprend les pays du Maghreb, le Sahara occidental (revendiqué respectivement par le Maroc et le Front Polisario), la Libye, l'Égypte et le Soudan. Cf. : <http://unstats.un.org/unsd/methods/m49/m49regnf.htm#africa>.

<sup>2</sup> Brunschvig 1940-1947.

<sup>3</sup> Vajda 1951, p. 311-358 ; 1954.

<sup>4</sup> Chouraqui 1952.

travaux de Jean-Louis Miège,<sup>5</sup> de Haïm Zafrani et d'Ernst Gellner<sup>6</sup> sur le Maroc,<sup>7</sup> de Shelomo Dov Goitein<sup>8</sup> – qui réalise une recherche monumentale à partir des documents de la genizah du Caire –, de Haïm Hirschberg<sup>9</sup> qui propose une histoire globale des juifs en Afrique du Nord. En France, Doris Bensimon-Donath réalise une enquête sur les populations juives maghrébines installées dans l'hexagone depuis les mouvements d'indépendances de cette région d'Afrique du Nord.<sup>10</sup>

Plus récemment, il convient de rappeler les travaux de référence français centrés sur le Maghreb – du fait de l'évidente histoire partagée entre ceux deux régions – qui commencent dans les années 1980 : ceux des historiens Richard Ayoun et de Bernard Cohen sur les juifs d'Algérie,<sup>11</sup> ceux de Lucette Valensi<sup>12</sup> sur la communauté juive de Djerba au Maroc, ceux enfin de l'ethnologue Joëlle Balhoul<sup>13</sup> qui travaille sur la mémoire des juifs algériens dans le cadre de la transmission familiale. A partir des années 1990, d'autres chercheurs en sciences humaines et sociales investissent ce domaine d'investigation : Chantal Bordes-Benayoun se penche sur les recompositions identitaires en diaspora postcoloniale en France qu'elle inscrit dans le cadre d'une réflexion plus générale sur les diasporas et les migrations,<sup>14</sup> Paul Sebag propose une histoire des juifs de Tunisie,<sup>15</sup> l'historien Benjamin Stora s'intéresse à l'histoire des juifs algériens ce dont témoigne son ego-histoire *Les trois exil. Juifs d'Algérie* ou encore un ouvrage, codirigé avec Abdelwahab Meddeb sur les relations entre juifs et musulmans.<sup>16</sup> Aux États-Unis, ce sont surtout Karen B. Stern,<sup>17</sup> Michael Menachem Laskier<sup>18</sup> et Norman Stillman<sup>19</sup> qui proposent d'appréhender l'histoire des juifs nord-africains dans son ensemble, même si une place est réservée aux analyses des spécificités de chacun des pays de la région. Le travail de l'universitaire franco-israélien Michel Abitbol s'inscrit également dans cette même perspective.<sup>20</sup> Yaron Tsur, auteur des publications sur les juifs marocains,<sup>21</sup> est à l'origine du projet « Juifs des pays d'islam. Projet d'archive » qu'il dirige depuis sa création en 2000 à l'université de Tel-Aviv. En changeant la focale, dans le cadre des études sur les juifs marocains, Daniel Schroeter<sup>22</sup> se penche sur l'histoire des juifs à la cour des sultans, Emanuela Trevisan Semi de l'université Ca' Foscari de Venise explore

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<sup>5</sup> Miège 1961.

<sup>6</sup> Gellner 1969.

<sup>7</sup> Zafrani 1972 ; 1983.

<sup>8</sup> Dov Goitein 1967-1993.

<sup>9</sup> Hirschberg 1965.

<sup>10</sup> Bensimon-Donath 1967 ; 1970 ; 1971.

<sup>11</sup> Ayoun, Cohen 1982.

<sup>12</sup> Udovitch, Valensi 1984.

<sup>13</sup> Balhoul 1983 ; 1992.

<sup>14</sup> Auteure de très nombreux articles : Bordes-Benayoun 1992, p. 17-22 ; 2002, p. 99-112 ; 2012, p. 165-179.

<sup>15</sup> Sebag 1991.

<sup>16</sup> Stora 2006 ; Stora, Meddeb 2013.

<sup>17</sup> Stern 2008.

<sup>18</sup> Laskier 1983 ; 1994.

<sup>19</sup> Stillman 1979.

<sup>20</sup> Abitbol 1980 ; 2007.

<sup>21</sup> Tsur 2001.

<sup>22</sup> Schroeter 2002.

la mémoire juive marocaine en diaspora,<sup>23</sup> Claude Tapia<sup>24</sup> ou Yolande Cohen<sup>25</sup> s'intéressent à la diaspora de cette population au Canada. Mais des chercheurs maghrébins, comme Abdelkrim Allagu<sup>26</sup> et Mohammed Kenbib<sup>27</sup> se sont également intéressés aux populations juives du Maghreb.

Publiés récemment, deux ouvrages méritent une attention particulière : *Les Juifs du Maghreb. Naissance d'une historiographie coloniale* de Colette Zytnicki<sup>28</sup> qui propose une fine et érudite analyse de l'historiographie des juifs du Maghreb, de sa naissance jusqu'à la période d'après seconde Guerre Mondiale, et *Les Juifs algériens dans la lutte anticoloniale. Trajectoires dissidentes (1934-1965)* de Pierre-Jean Le Foll Luciani<sup>29</sup> qui dans son essai sur l'engagement des juifs dans le mouvement d'émancipation nationale en Algérie livre une réflexion sur une historiographie des juifs algériens souvent fataliste et anachronique de l'histoire ; il lui oppose une nouvelle conception historiographique – « par le bas » – qui permet de comprendre les conditions d'élaboration des engagements et des appartenances identitaires au plus près des réalités vécues.<sup>30</sup>

Les études sur les populations juives libyennes connaissent, elles aussi, un développement depuis la publication d'un ouvrage d'histoire des juifs libyens par l'Italien Renzo De Felice<sup>31</sup> et, surtout, depuis les travaux d'anthropologie historique d'Harvey E. Goldberg de l'université hébraïque de Jérusalem<sup>32</sup> qui s'étendent des années 1970 aux années 2000. Dans les années 2000, des études récentes réalisées en Israël par Maurice Roumani<sup>33</sup> ou par Haim Saadoun Haim<sup>34</sup> sont venues s'y ajouter. L'histoire et la socio-anthropologie des populations juives libyennes bénéficient également d'un regain d'intérêt chez les jeunes chercheurs, ce dont témoigne le projet *Mapping Living Memories: the Jewish Diaspora from Libya across Europe and the Mediterranean*,<sup>35</sup> soutenu par la Fondazione CDEC et dirigé par Piera Rossetto<sup>36</sup> et Barbara Spadaro.

En ce qui concerne l'Égypte, depuis les travaux pionnier de Shelomo Dov Goitein déjà cité, peu de chercheurs se sont penchés sur l'histoire des juifs d'Égypte jusqu'aux années 1980. Jacob Landau est le premier à publier, en 1969, une histoire critique des juifs d'Égypte au XIX<sup>ème</sup> siècle.<sup>37</sup> En 1971, paraît *Les Juifs en Égypte, aperçu sur 3000 ans d'histoire* de Yahudiya Masriya, premier ouvrage de vulgarisation qui couvre une

<sup>23</sup> Trevisan Semi, Sekkat Hatimi 2011.

<sup>24</sup> Tapia 1986; Tapia, Lasry 1989.

<sup>25</sup> Cohen, Lasry, Lévy 2007 ; Cohen 2010, p. 132-144.

<sup>26</sup> Allagui 1993.

<sup>27</sup> Kenbib 1994.

<sup>28</sup> Zytnicki 2011.

<sup>29</sup> Le Foll Luciani 2015.

<sup>30</sup> Sur des trajectoires politiques dissidentes, minoritaires quantitativement, au sein des populations juives au Maghreb, on mentionnera la récente recherche d'Alma Heckman (2015).

<sup>31</sup> De Felice 1978 (en italien) ; traduction anglais : De Felice 1985.

<sup>32</sup> Goldberg 1972 ; 1990. Il est également l'auteur de nombreux articles : Goldberg 1989, p. 431-443 ; 1997, p. 47-61 ; 2012, p. 121-134.

<sup>33</sup> Roumani 2008.

<sup>34</sup> Saadoun 2007.

<sup>35</sup> Pour une description du projet voir: Rossetto, Spadaro 2014, p. 37-52. Le projet, réalisé en 2012-2013, a été soutenu par la Fondazione CDEC.

<sup>36</sup> Rossetto 2013, p. 77-95 ; 2014, p. 87-99 ; 2015.

<sup>37</sup> Landau 1969.

période assez vaste, allant de l'Antiquité jusqu'à la période contemporaine.<sup>38</sup> L'ouvrage s'inscrit cependant dans la tradition « lacrymale » qui voit dans l'histoire des juifs en terres d'islam une fatalité qui les inscrit dans l'impossibilité de s'intégrer du fait de leur statut minoritaire. Cette approche a récemment été analysée par Mark Cohen, auteur de *Poverty and Charity in the Jewish community of Medieval Egypt*,<sup>39</sup> comme une nouvelle conception de l'histoire des juifs en terres d'islam.<sup>40</sup>

Cette conception « néo-lacrymale » sous-tend une vision de l'histoire – sensible dans des travaux de Shmuel Trigano<sup>41</sup> dont l'apport aux études de l'aire culturelle sépharade est toutefois considérable et mérite d'être souligné<sup>42</sup> – dans laquelle des conditions sociales et politiques des départs des juifs des pays d'islam sont amalgamée dans la construction d'un nouveau récit national, gommant à tout le moins le contexte de la décolonisation du Maghreb. La valorisation de cette narration donnera lieu, le 23 juin 2014, au vote de la loi instaurant, le 30 novembre, la Journée de souvenir des réfugiés juifs des pays arabes. Cette date de commémoration ne relève pas du hasard : il s'agit du début du conflit armé entre juifs et musulmans en Palestine avant la création de l'État d'Israël. D'autres historiens, comme Michel Abitbol,<sup>43</sup> Moïse Rahmani<sup>44</sup> ou récemment Georges Bensoussan,<sup>45</sup> s'intéressent également à l'histoire des juifs d'Égypte dans le cadre plus large des pays arabes, en présentant toutefois une conception moins téléologique.

L'ouvrage de Gudrun Krämer, *The Jews in modern Egypt, 1914-1952*<sup>46</sup> est le premier, depuis les travaux de Jacob Landau, à rompre avec le clivage entre cette vision « néo-lacrymale » et la conception nationaliste de l'historiographie égyptienne qui voit dans le sionisme l'unique cause de la disparition de la communauté juive d'Égypte. D'autres travaux, comme ceux de Michael M. Laskier<sup>47</sup> déjà cité et de Shimon Shamir,<sup>48</sup> corroborent cette vision dans laquelle l'antijudaïsme arabe n'occupe pas une place centrale dans l'histoire des communautés juives d'Égypte. La dispersion de ces populations est, quant à elle, largement traitée par Joel Beini,<sup>49</sup> auteur qui s'intéresse également aux mouvements marxistes dans le cadre du conflit israélo-arabe.<sup>50</sup> Hagar Hillel<sup>51</sup> et Ovadiah Yeroushalmy<sup>52</sup> ont contribué à la connaissance sur la presse juive en Égypte.

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<sup>38</sup> Masriya 1971.

<sup>39</sup> Cohen [M. R.] 2005.

<sup>40</sup> Cohen [M. R.] 1991, p. 55-64.

<sup>41</sup> Trigano 2004, p. 45-49 ; 2009.

<sup>42</sup> Trigano 2006.

<sup>43</sup> Abitbol 2003.

<sup>44</sup> Rahmani 2003.

<sup>45</sup> Bensoussan 2012.

<sup>46</sup> Krämer 1989. Il s'agit d'une version revue et augmentée de son édition allemande : Gudrun Krämer, *Minderheit, Millet, Nation ? Die Juden in Ägypten, 1914-1952*, Wiesbaden 1982.

<sup>47</sup> Laskier 1992.

<sup>48</sup> Shamir 1987.

<sup>49</sup> Beinin 1986.

<sup>50</sup> Beinin 1990.

<sup>51</sup> Hillel 2000, p. 19-29 ; 2001, p. 81-88 ; 2004.

<sup>52</sup> Yeroushalmy 2007 ; 2008, p. 111-123.



Récemment des travaux de l'intellectuel Ada Aharoni<sup>53</sup> en Israël, de l'ethnologue Michèle Baussant<sup>54</sup> en France, d'Emanuela Trevisan Semi déjà mentionnée,<sup>55</sup> se penchent sur la mémoire des juifs égyptiens en diaspora.

Il convient de souligner que c'est souvent sous l'impulsion des associations mémorielles des personnes originaires d'Égypte qu'ont lieu des colloques et des conférences à vocations scientifiques ou parascientifiques, événements parfois organisés en coopération avec des acteurs universitaires. En témoignent les actes du Congrès mondial des juifs d'Égypte, organisé par l'Union des Juifs d'Égypte et autres organisations du même type ainsi que l'université de Haïfa.<sup>56</sup> Dans une même démarche, Levana Zamir, présidente de l'Association d'amitié israélo-égyptienne, est auteure d'articles portant sur l'histoire des juifs d'Égypte et d'un ouvrage intitulé *The Golden Era of "The Jews of Egypt" and the Mediterranean Option for a United Middle East*.<sup>57</sup>

En France, il faut souligner les travaux du psychanalyste Jacques Hassoun<sup>58</sup>, né lui-même en Égypte, qu'il réalise dans le cadre de l'Association pour la sauvegarde du patrimoine culturel des Juifs d'Égypte (ASPCJE) qu'il dirige dès sa fondation en 1997. L'ASPCJE fut également associée au colloque « Les Juifs d'Égypte », organisé en 2007 à l'INALCO par le groupe de recherche « Langues et cultures des juifs du Maghreb et de la Méditerranée occidentale ». Récemment, l'histoire des juifs d'Égypte suscite un réel intérêt auprès des étudiants dans le cadre des mémoires de maîtrise.<sup>59</sup>

Parmi les jeunes chercheurs, Dario Miccoli, diplômé de l'université Ca' Foscari de Venise et auteur d'articles sur le sujet,<sup>60</sup> propose, dans son ouvrage tiré de sa recherche doctorale, une intéressante plongée historique dans la construction de l'identité collective des juifs d'Égypte.

## Nouvelles perspectives ouvertes par *Histories of the Jews in Egypt...* de Dario Miccoli

Les questions centrales que se pose l'auteur sont les suivantes : comment un groupe social imagine-t-il et construit-il son identité collective ? ; dans quelle mesure les contextes sociaux, politiques, culturels et familiaux participent-ils de cette construction ? Pour répondre à ces interrogations, Dario Miccoli varie l'échelle de son analyse et dresse un panorama global nourri de l'étude de quelques trajectoires individuelles exemplaires ainsi que des pratiques sociales de cette population. Il insiste avant toute chose, sur le caractère singulier de l'Égypte, dont l'espace culturel est alors l'objet d'une constante émulation entre influences ottomanes, européennes et méditerranéennes. C'est que, singulièrement à partir de l'ouverture du canal de Suez en 1869, l'Égypte devient

<sup>53</sup> Aharoni 1987, p. 192-197 ; 2004.

<sup>54</sup> Baussant 2001, p. 45-56 ; 2013, p. 671-678.

<sup>55</sup> Trevisan Semi 2003, p. 431-451.

<sup>56</sup> Aharoni, Israel-Pelletier, Zamir 2008.

<sup>57</sup> Zamir 2008.

<sup>58</sup> Hassoun 1990. Voir également son article : Hassoun 1978.

<sup>59</sup> Germain 1997 ; Saunut 2004 ; Maslowski 2013.

<sup>60</sup> Miccoli 2012, p. 165-180 ; 2014, p. 321-339.

une destination de prédilection pour des migrants, principalement en provenance de l'Empire ottoman, de l'Europe de l'Est et du Sud (Italie, Grèce) ainsi que du Maghreb. Cet évènement politico-économique attire en Égypte – surtout au Caire et en Alexandrie – également des populations juives : de 5 000 personnes à la moitié du XIX<sup>ème</sup> siècle, la communauté juive égyptienne passe à 25 200 en 1897, puis à 60 000 en 1917 pour atteindre environ 75 000-80 000 dans les années 1940. Dans ce contexte – caractérisé par de profonds bouleversements de politique intérieure et extérieure –, le modèle culturel d'identification de cette population juive en pleine croissance change radicalement.

En effet, depuis la moitié du XIX<sup>ème</sup> siècle, les centres urbains du Moyen Orient avec leurs classes moyennes et supérieures connaissent de profonds changements inspirés du système éducatif et des styles de vie venus de l'Occident. Ces nouveaux modèles, apportés surtout par le colonisateur et nourris notamment par la presse moderne émergente, s'imposent et remodelent la structure interne des sociétés ainsi que leurs identifications collectives. La notion de « bourgeoisie » émerge alors comme modèle de référence, notamment pour les juifs d'Égypte. Il convient de souligner qu'il s'agit davantage d'un modèle idéalisé que d'une réalité objective de leur condition économique : de fait, le modèle bourgeois fonctionne comme référence avec tout ce que cela implique de connotations imaginaires, ce que souligne Gudrun Krämer en rappelant que 10% seulement de la population juive en Égypte appartient à l'élite bourgeoise au sens strictement financier et 65% aux classes moyennes et aux classes moyennes inférieures. Cette projection identitaire répondrait, selon Dario Miccoli, à « une recherche pleine de promesses pour une identité (juive) dans un espace national et social *inachevé* de l'Égypte » (p. 7). Mais ce que l'auteur met en valeur – et en cela son livre présente un intérêt majeur – c'est l'absence d'une assimilation aveugle à un modèle dominant au bénéfice d'une hybridation des schèmes comportementaux et mentaux, anciens et nouveaux, propres à la culture juive et extérieurs à celle-ci, hybridation qui contribue *in fine* à forger une identité nouvelle.

## Conditions sociales d'un imaginaire collectif

Comment dans ces conditions se construit cet imaginaire social ou « communauté imaginée » pour reprendre l'expression de Benedict Anderson ?

L'école en est l'un des facteurs les plus décisifs ; et également l'un des lieux les plus propices à scruter des débats portant sur les modèles référents (chapitre I : « In a bizarre country : the Jews of Egypt and the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* »). Il convient de souligner que la « modernisation » du système éducatif « à l'occidentale » ne résulte pas de la seule influence coloniale : les premières réformes du système éducatif en Empire ottoman, dans le sillage duquel se trouve l'Égypte, débutent bien avant la présence coloniale même si elles concernent surtout de grands centres urbains de l'Empire, au premier chef Istanbul ; en Égypte, le système éducatif connaît ses premières réformes à partir des années 1860. A cela s'ajoute la présence des écoles françaises, italiennes et britanniques qu'elles soient confessionnelles ou pas, qui remodelent le paysage éducatif local et attirent certaines couches de la population juive. Toujours en Égypte, la « mission civilisatrice » de la France se traduit par la création d'un réseau d'école de la Mission

laïque française (MLF), fondée en 1902 par Pierre Deschamps, et de l'Alliance israélite universelle (AIU), créée en 1860 par des Israélites français pour « réformer » leurs coreligionnaires dans des pays du Sud de la Méditerranée et dans le Moyen-Orient.

L'AIU ouvre ses écoles en Égypte : au Caire en 1896, à Alexandrie en 1897 et à Tantah en 1905. Mais leur implantation – à l'exception des écoles de Tantah où l'élite locale est moins nombreuse et moins puissante – est relativement éphémère. Cela résulte de la réalité fragmentée des milieux juifs de l'époque et des divergences entre nouvelles et anciennes élites. Les luttes de pouvoir pour la gouvernance de la communauté juive se traduisent dans la sphère symbolique par des disputes autour des modèles dominants de comportement, dont l'un – occidental – est incarné et porté par l'AIU. Paradoxalement, certains instituteurs de l'Alliance, dont Rachel Danon alors directrice de l'école pour filles en Alexandrie, trouvent que la population juive d'Égypte est, contrairement à ce que l'on aurait pu croire, loin d'être traditionaliste mais cosmopolite et trop sécularisée. L'AIU essaie donc d'imposer un modèle certes renouvelé à l'aune des pratiques sociales occidentales mais inspiré du judaïsme traditionnel. De fait, les élites locales qui n'adhèrent ni à une vision intégralement « moderne » ni à une approche traditionnelle, vont dans le même sens et témoignent que l'idéal d'une femme traditionnelle aux allures d'une « Parisienne » peut parfaitement aller de pair. Par conséquent, même si son influence s'opère discrètement, l'AIU a participé sûrement et objectivement à la consolidation de l'identité collective des juifs égyptiens, identité traversée par les contradictions relevant du judaïsme, de leur identité urbaine, égyptienne, occidentale et de la conscience de classe, largement inspirée par le modèle bourgeois.

Les conceptions des relations transculturelles et du cosmopolitisme constituent un autre élément dans la construction des imaginaires sociaux des juifs d'Égypte (chapitre II : « Cosmopolitan imaginaries : Urban life, schools and feelings of belonging »). En suivant en cela Will Hanley, Dario Miccoli propose de comprendre le cosmopolitisme comme « un système mental sur lequel les juifs ont construit eux-mêmes un imaginaire culturel, social et politique multidimensionnel afin de naviguer dans la sphère sociale et à travers de nombreux clivages ethno-religieux et nationaux existant en Égypte » (p. 54). Ce caractère « cosmopolite » des juifs d'Égypte est également une des résultantes des différentes vagues migratoires, mentionnées préalablement, dont ils sont issus. Cette multi-appartenance n'est pas mobilisée uniquement dans la sphère privée ou intime ; elle s'avère utile lorsque, en Alexandrie en 1881 et en 1925, on voit surgir des accusations antisémites reprenant le vieux thème des meurtres rituels. Face à quoi les juifs demandent la protection non seulement des autorités locales, mais, à l'initiative de ceux, parmi les notables, qui possèdent la nationalité étrangère, auprès des consulats étrangers, des dirigeants de l'AIU et auprès des titres juifs de la presse européenne. Cette performativité du modèle cosmopolite participe de la diffusion du modèle de « bourgeoisie éclairée », également censé gommer les clivages économiques et sociaux entre juifs, musulmans et autres groupes ethno-religieux.

Les écoles de la MLF participent également de la constitution du sentiment transnational en diffusant les principes de la « société laïque » et en symbolisant, aux yeux des populations locales, l'identité et la civilisation françaises. La MLF contribue, en effet, à la structuration d'une nouvelle élite locale dont les comportements et références culturelles et politiques sont largement enracinés dans la culture française, tout au moins

occidentale. Elle œuvre activement dans cette voie : l'apprentissage est diffusé essentiellement en français ; la bibliothèque du lycée du Caire de la MLF est régulièrement alimentée par des ouvrages de référence et des journaux français ; des voyages sont organisés en France, comme en 1931 à l'occasion de l'Exposition coloniale internationale à Paris. Les liens politiques et économiques entre l'Égypte et l'Europe à l'époque ainsi que l'existence d'importants moyens de communication entre ces deux régions du monde renforcent encore ce sentiment transnational et cosmopolite.

## Diffusion des représentations d'un modèle bourgeois cosmopolite

Cette idée cosmopolite trouvera son versant littéraire sous la plume de Maurice Fargeon, rédacteur de *Kadima* (En avant, vers l'Est), mensuel publié au Caire et distribué avec le quotidien juif en arabe, *Al-Shams* (Soleil). Auteur de *Les Juifs en Égypte* (1938), de *Les relations entre Égyptiens et Juifs* (1939) et d'*Annuaire des juifs d'Égypte et du Proche Orient* (1943), Fargeon diffuse la vision d'une coexistence harmonieuse entre juifs et musulmans et de la participation active des juifs dans la construction de la nation égyptienne moderne. Dans ces années 1930 et 1940 quand le contexte politique se prête à rassurer la communauté juive en Égypte sur son avenir durable dans le pays, il insiste sur la fraternité des deux communautés et la nécessité de leur coopération pour l'avenir ; l'antisémitisme musulman serait le fruit d'une « propagande étrangère ». Cette mémoire partagée, véhiculée également par des intellectuels musulmans, « fut une des idées selon lesquelles l'identité égyptienne, moderne et laïque, avec sa bourgeoisie intercommunautaire, pouvait être envisagée » (p. 82).

La pénétration des modes de vie sécularisés de cette élite bourgeoise auprès de la communauté juive égyptienne provoque des débats sur le plan moral (chapitre III : « A moral laboratory : Religion, family and social responsibility »). Ainsi, Eliahou Hazan, grand rabbin d'Alexandrie, publie 1893, *Neveh Shalom* (Au-delà de la paix), ouvrage sur la *minhag* (rite), le mariage et le divorce. Sa publication sert avant tout de « rappel à l'ordre » à la communauté juive de la ville et à réaffirmer le rôle des autorités religieuses auprès de la population de plus en plus sécularisée. Une trentaine d'années plus tard, le processus de sécularisation semble davantage consolidé : ainsi, le projet de réactivation de la vie communautaire autour de la synagogue de David Prato, grand rabbin d'Alexandrie (1927-1936) originaire d'Italie, tourne à l'échec.

Car avec la sécularisation de la population juive et l'importation du modèle européen, les références se muent en une synthèse singulière : à l'idéal juif de *talmid kahham* – érudit pieux – et à celui d'*effendi* – maître ou titre de noblesse dans l'Empire ottoman, devenu synonyme d'un représentant de classes moyennes et supérieures, urbaines et éduquées – vient s'ajouter l'idéal occidental de *gentleman* bourgeois ou de « bourgeois gentilhomme ». Corrélativement, des changements s'opèrent au niveau familial : d'une famille élargie, on passe au modèle de la famille nucléaire, ce qui nourrit de nombreux débats sur les rôles respectifs de la mère, du père et de l'enfant.

Joseph Cattaoui incarne cette nouvelle identité hybride : député, sénateur, ministre des Finances et de la Communication, il est aussi l'un des promoteurs de la Société

d'études historiques juives d'Égypte et président de la communauté juive du Caire (1925-1942). Dans l'un de ses ouvrages, *Pour mes enfants* (1919), construit comme un recueil de conseils à caractère moral, il propose un guide de conduite pour devenir un homme respectable, un « honnête homme » : imprégné des écrits de Montaigne, de Fénelon ou de Madame de Staël, polyglotte, vivant entre l'Europe et l'Orient, cet homme à l'esprit critique devrait également être fortement impliqué dans la communauté. Abramino Menasce personifie ce nouvel idéal de bourgeois : fameux homme d'affaire, vice-président de la communauté juive du Caire, il fonde en 1916 et dirige la Société des œuvres israélites de bienfaisance. Il est également à l'origine de la création d'une clinique au Caire, projet qui s'inscrit dans la philosophie rationaliste de l'époque qui prône la guérison des maux moraux de la société par la guérison du corps.

## Rapport à Israël

Dans cette appartenance identitaire à multiples facettes, le rapport à Israël, appelé avant 1948 « Palestine », nécessite d'être souligné comme une composante importante (chapitre IV : « Extremely close and incredibly far. Egypt, *la Palestine*, Israel »). En effet, l'histoire du croisement entre l'Égypte et la Palestine remonte aux temps bibliques. Reste que les mouvements sionistes – qui datent de 1896, l'année de la création de la société *Bar-Kohba* au Caire – rencontrent un succès mitigé et ce, seulement à partir des années 1930. Un premier « rendez-vous » contemporain avec le sionisme et la Palestine a lieu en Alexandrie en 1915 quand 11 277 réfugiés juifs palestiniens s'y installent en fuyant le conflit russo-ottoman. Une aide caritative s'organise grâce à l'AIU et les notables locaux, confirmant la prégnance du nouveau modèle du bourgeois philanthrope. L'adhésion des juifs d'Égypte au mouvement sioniste s'opère essentiellement suite à la grande révolte arabe en Palestine qui débute en 1936 et qui radicalise l'antisémitisme musulman en Égypte. On voit alors apparaître de nouveaux titres de presse (*La Tribune juive*), se populariser – certes modestement – des mouvements de jeunesse sionistes comme *He-Halutz*, *Ha-Ivri Ha-Tzair* ou encore *Misr al-Fatat*. Bien évidemment, la création de l'État d'Israël et le conflit israélo-arabe qui suit modifient sensiblement la situation des juifs d'Égypte et la perspective de leur avenir dans le pays. En effet, même si les politiques ouvertement antisémites sont absentes dans les premières années qui suivent le coup d'État du Mouvement des officiers libres (1952) et ce malgré le fait que l'Égypte soit en conflit avec l'État d'Israël, l'arrestation en 1948 de centaines de sionistes et communistes, majoritairement juifs, une série d'attaques contre les propriétés des juifs du Caire et la consolidation de l'« identité nationale » autour des composantes exclusivement musulmanes provoquent le départ, entre 1948 et 1955, de 23 000 juifs dont environ 14 000 en direction d'*Eretz Israel*. Ce mouvement migratoire s'accélère après l'« affaire Lavon » dans laquelle sont impliqués les services secrets israéliens (1954) et surtout suite à l'expulsion, en octobre 1956, de milliers de juifs égyptiens et étrangers assortie de la confiscation d'environ 460 entreprises détenues par des juifs. Par conséquent, entre 1956 et 1966, environ 19 000 juifs quittent l'Égypte, puis entre 1960 et 1966 environ 4 500 autres. Au total, 90% de la population juive d'Égypte quitte ce pays pour Israël, l'Europe et les États-Unis comme destinations principales.

La spécificité de l'« identité juive égyptienne » se vit désormais en diaspora. L'Association pour la sauvegarde du patrimoine culturel des juifs d'Égypte, déjà mentionnée, ou l'Union des migrants égyptiens (*Hitahdut 'Olei Mitzrayim*) contribuent à la préservation de ce patrimoine. La littérature, comme c'est le cas avec la production littéraire des juifs du Maghreb vivant en diaspora, participe aussi de cette sauvegarde mémorielle. Cette « mémoire collective », pour reprendre l'expression de Maurice Halbwachs, se cristallise autour du modèle de la bourgeoisie éclairée et cosmopolite, européanisée et souvent francophone, modèle né d'un processus d'hybridation amorcé depuis le XIX<sup>ème</sup> en Égypte.

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## **REVIEWS**



**William den Hollander, *Josephus, the Emperors, and the City of Rome: From Hostage to Historian (Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity, vol. 86)*, Brill, Leiden – Boston 2014, pp. 410; ISBN 978-90-04-26433-5**

The oeuvre and persona of Josephus has in recent decades been the subject of increased interest. This is demonstrated by numerous conferences, whose participants analyse and interpret the historian's literary sources, the historical reliability of his works, his connection with various historical figures and evidence relating to his biography. The last two of these fields trigger a number of questions among scholars, as Josephus' biography is known to us mostly on the basis of the information which he provided himself. Its subjective nature rightly leads to suspicion over its credibility. Questions arise particularly in the debate on Josephus' role and fortunes at the time of the uprising and in the years he spent in Rome. A large number of scholars take Josephus' work as the basis for their belief that after freedom had been secured from Vespasian, he acquired a significant position in Titus' base during the Siege of Jerusalem, which he was also able to preserve in the royal court of Flavius in Rome. Many assign to him the function of court chronicler, who sycophantically extolled the war deeds of Vespasian and Titus in Judea in gratitude for the benefits he had received. But there is also no shortage of scholars who are more guarded in their assessment. The paucity of sources makes it difficult to determine which of these positions is closer to the truth. However, every attempt to do so is worthy of note. The results of one such endeavour, William den Hollander's book on Josephus' fortunes and position in Rome during the rule of the Flavians, were recently published.

The objective of Hollander's research is to depict Josephus against the wide background of the realities of social and political life in Rome at the time. To analyse the sources on Josephus' life in the capital of the Roman Empire from the point of view of his individual fortunes alone, he argues, would isolate him from the social context in which he operated, making it difficult to perceive the links between the historian and his environment. We can therefore better understand the life of Josephus himself, as well as his works, by paying attention to the realities of the era (pp. 18-19). The author's method essentially boils down to comparing Josephus' work with the social and political reality of the Flavians (p. 22).

Contrary to the indications of the book's subtitle, Hollander begins by looking at Josephus' mission to Rome under Nero's rule, devoting the first chapter to this stay (*Yosef Ben Mattaityah in Neronian Rome*, pp. 27-66). The author is particularly interested in the dates when Josephus was in Rome and the contacts he formed there (or is likely to have). The second chapter concerns Josephus' relations with Vespasian (*Josephus and Vespasian*, pp. 68-138). In it, the author discusses at length the status of Josephus in captivity, the question of his role as a prophet foretelling the rule of Vespasian, the role of historian of Roman activities in Judea attributed to him and the problem of the imperial patronage. Most of the next chapter, on Josephus' mutual relations with Titus (*Josephus and Titus*, pp. 139-199), concerns Josephus' role at Titus' side during the siege of Jeru-

salem and their relationship in Rome when Titus was emperor. In the fifth chapter, the author discusses the years of Josephus' life in Rome during the rule of Domitian, last of the Flavians (*Josephus and Domitian*, pp. 200-251). The book's final chapter examines Josephus' relations with the residents of the capital of the empire (*Josephus and the Inhabitants of Rome*, pp. 252-304). Although the Jewish historian's relations with his Roman environment have been analysed by numerous scholars, the conclusions they have drawn have differed greatly. Hollander's contribution to the discussion paints a picture that allowed Josephus to form contacts with the representatives of various groups of Roman society: the senatorial aristocracy, Herod's descendants living in Rome, and the representatives of literary circles. He also identifies a separate problem: Josephus' links with the Jewish community in Rome. Although there is no reference to this in the sources, according to Hollander their existence should not be ruled out entirely: "The possibility that Josephus could regularly be found among his fellow Judaeans, even those of lower social standing, should not, therefore, be dismissed too easily" (p. 303).

In his *Concluding Remarks* (pp. 304-310), the author admits that his analyses do not offer any particular new information on the life of Josephus himself, but expresses his hope that they provide a focus for the subjects that have not been adequately addressed in previous research on his biography (p. 305). Hollander is satisfied at the effects of his studies, as in various specific issues his conclusions essentially agree with the opinions of other scholars (p. 307).

This summary of an account taking up almost 300 pages might discourage a potential reader from Hollander's book. Yet such a reaction would be far wide of the mark. Indeed, the truth is that the analyses of various issues take up too much space in the book, and the investigation of sometimes excessive detailed analysis can be tedious, especially as the resulting conclusions are only hypotheses or speculations of various degrees of probability. However, the book also contains interesting and notable observations and conclusions concerning the position of Josephus at the side of Titus in Judea, in the imperial court, as well as in Rome. These include Hollander's discussion of the role of the Josephus at the walls of Jerusalem, clearly suggesting that he exaggerated the part he played. It was a similar case with his role alongside Titus, as there is no doubt that he did not figure among those advisers with an influence on the decisions taken by the Roman leader (pp. 139-164). The author offers convincing conclusions negating the function of Josephus as official historiographer of the war with the Jewish rebels (pp. 105-120; cf. 180-187, 222-231),<sup>1</sup> as well as questioning the opinion about his especially privileged position in the imperial court (pp. 120-138, 180-187, 203-222).

Although Hollander's book does not bring many new conclusions to what we know about the Roman chapter of Josephus' life, it should certainly be of interest to all scholars dealing with the Flavian era. Its particular strength is that the picture of the epoch it paints is based on a solid familiarity with the sources and the most recent subject literature.

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<sup>1</sup> See also p. 307: "The long entrenched view of Josephus as the official historian of the Flavian regime, despite the general absence of such figures in the imperial courts, a view that has now been firmly set aside in at least Josephan scholarship, appears an even less likely scenario in the light of the limited evidence for Josephus' contact with the imperial court."

**Iris Idelson-Shein, *Difference of a Different Kind. Jewish Constructions of Race during the Long Eighteenth Century*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia 2014, pp. 267; ISBN 978-0-8122-4609-4**

Iris Idelson-Shein's book is a great contribution to Jewish studies as well as to other disciplines where discourses of race and of the Other, or varied constructions of collective identities, are considered the main issues or, at least, those which should not be neglected. Thus far, except for only a few examples, scholars have focused on the canonical case in which the Jew is found as a great epitome of the Other. Depicting more or less ordinary exemplifications of non-Jewish fears or fantasies about "Jewishness," they have still thought through the same prism, or rather in the same *modus*, in which the Jew is seen as an object of attribution. By contrast, the reviewed book departs from this paradigm and reverses the perspective. The scholarship is based on the fundamental recognition: Jews, usually perceived as those being "between," were not only passive objects in a plethora of descriptions written by members of dominant societies, but indeed they also played an active role in the process of (re)production and transmission of images or visions concerning race. In their manner, they also discussed indicators of racial otherness. Apart from that, even if we take into account (as is undoubtedly necessary) that the Jewish collective imagery was somehow colonized, the field of research still remains worth exploring.

As the corpus of texts, Idelson-Shein has chosen examples of four literary genres which she claims could be considered significant due to the ample presence of race issues and other affinal threads therein. Hence, materials for interpretations are conveyed from folktales, philosophical literature, scientific writings, and children's books. The spectrum of interests is wide, indeed. Iris Idelson-Shein brings out a folktale incorporated into the memoirs of Glikl Bas Leib, analyses a utopia of a widely forgotten maskil Yehudah Horowitz, reveals the challenges of modern Hebrew taxonomy and depicts striking aspects of translation of Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*.

What should be emphasized is the fact Idelson-Shein focuses only on secular concepts created among Ashkenazi societies throughout the long eighteenth century. Aware of the implications of potential extension, she does not include Sephardi writings as well as religious ones created by Ashkenazi Jews. This choice seems to be reasonable, especially in the first case. Otherwise, we could have received a vague view with effaced distinctions between the Sephardi and the Ashkenazi which remain relevant in the case of attitudes towards slavery, for instance. Nonetheless, it is a matter of question, or even a conundrum, whether the other extension could be beneficial for the study, or in other words, whether a comparative perspective with the usage of religious texts as the secondary ones could reveal something else.

Above all, the reviewed study is nothing other than an example of great erudition. One of its assets is unquestionable fluency in navigating between close reading and the bird-eye's view. Each piece of analyzed literature is contextualized and shown in all its

complexities, and the balance between ample information and clarity of the discourse is kept. Any mentions such as the fact Jews used to find favor in the environmental theory as well as in albinism are reasonable and rooted in the wider contexts.

Idelson-Shein's work is a painstaking study which not only conveys various examples but also provides readers with profound reflection far from the repetition of previous scholarships.

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**Zuzanna Kołodziejska, “*Izraelita*” 1866–1915. Znaczenie kulturowe i literackie czasopisma (Studia polsko-żydowskie), Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Kraków 2014, pp. 352; ISBN 978-83-233-3829-1**

Zuzanna Kołodziejska’s study of *Izraelita* magazine appears in the book series “Studia polsko-żydowskie” (“Polish-Jewish Studies”), which was opened by an inspiring work by Eugenia Prokop-Janiec, *Pogranicze polsko-żydowskie* (“Polish-Jewish Borderlands”). When trying to envision the future research on Polish-Jewish literature, Prokop-Janiec recognized that it was necessary to go beyond its “horizon” in terms of sources, conceptualizations and descriptions. In order to do this, we must broaden the base of sources (i.e. texts), examine a greater variety of literary genres (not limiting ourselves to high literature) and include more distant history (i.e. the pre-1918 era).<sup>1</sup> The last suggestion involves study of the press, since the first texts of Polish-Jewish literature appeared in newspapers published in Polish. Unfortunately, to date the Polish-Jewish press of the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century has not been systematically researched. In particular, there has been no monograph devoted to the most important title, Warsaw’s *Izraelita*. Kołodziejska’s work, by providing an analysis of the newspaper (its history, journalism, ideology and milieu), responds to this need. For this reason, if not for any other, it deserves attention.

The study is divided into three parts: “Overall description,” “Journalism,” and “Literature.” The construction of individual chapters and the cause-effect relations formulated there are beyond reproach. Once the ideological background of *Izraelita* and the community surrounding it is described, it is easier to read about and understand the literature it produced. The first and second part can easily be read separately: they provide a detailed picture of modern Jewish culture, evolution of Jewish identity and the rise and fall of the ideology of integration and the central role of *Izraelita*. The author considers her study to be part of research on borderlands (symbolic and cultural, not territorial), which, as she suggests, would not be complete and reliable without the study of the press that played a key role in the Polish-Jewish culture. The press of the “borderlands,” due to its links to both the Polish and the Jewish side, built a bridge of communication between them, a kind of “third space.” Unfortunately, the author does not fully explain this metaphor which is borrowed from postcolonial criticism.<sup>2</sup> *Izraelita* first came out in 1866, an heir to the first, ephemeral Polish-language Jewish newspapers – *Dostrzegacz Nadwiślański* (“Vistulan Observer”) and *Jutrzenka* (“The Dawn”). The weekly was founded by a community of integrationists, who were a dominant faction of the group of “modernizers” of the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. For this generation, the most important experience was the period of the so-called “Polish-Jewish unity” (1861-1863). The newspaper was therefore

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<sup>1</sup> E. Prokop-Janiec, *Literatura polsko-żydowska: nowe perspektywy badawcze*, in: *eadem, Pogranicze polsko-żydowskie. Topografie i teksty*, Kraków 2013, pp. 287-302.

<sup>2</sup> For further details on “third space,” see e.g. *ibid.*, pp. 35-37.

a *signum temporis* – the first “address” of the Poles of the Mosaic faith. On the other hand, it aimed at reaching the masses, shaking them out of orthodoxy and turning Jews into citizens. The weekly advocated secular education and Polonization, which were supposed to turn Jews into productive citizens and Polish patriots. This was done, as the author explains, by a positivist “work at the grass roots.” Besides that, the newspaper fought against superstition and prejudice by aiming at non-Jewish readers as well – at least theoretically. Closing the gap between the two groups was limited to language, lifestyle and appearance, and did not include religion. Here we must stress that Kołodziejska does not use the term “assimilation” the way other scholars did – she finds it inadequate and controversial. Similarly to Jagodzińska, she consistently use the terms “acculturation” and “integration,” as she considers them to be more useful and appropriate in the particular case of *Izraelita*.<sup>3</sup>

In the first part of her book, Kołodziejska corrects some popular opinions and historical facts (e.g. *Izraelita* was in fact published between 1866 and 1915) and provides a basic description of the newspaper: its origins, program, editorial team and collaborators, visual side, circulation and finances. According to her, if we take into account the local and wider contexts, *Izraelita* should be placed right alongside *Jutrzenka* on the one hand, and the Jewish-European press on the other. By looking at the long timescale and including all stages of its history, Kołodziejska’s work provides a good account of the newspaper’s dynamics and all the interesting and relevant processes it involved. This approach leads to a large number of conclusions. What needs to be mentioned, however, is the occasional lack of consistency. For instance, the author quotes Marcin Wodziński’s opinion that “the newspaper, despite its universalist aspirations, was in fact very much set in a particular milieu and did not reach outside a specific class of Warsaw’s acculturated Jewish intelligentsia” (p. 102). Later on, she concludes that it was also read outside of Congress Poland, “which marks a partial success of S. Peltyn (chief editor), who was interested in reaching all Polish Jews, not only Jews from Warsaw” (p. 107).

## From integration to separation

The second part of the book (“Journalism”) opens with an analysis of the concept of progress and its evolution. The program of modernization included secular education, abandoning the strict attachment to tradition and getting rid of almost all signs of separation: in language, lifestyle and appearance. According to Kołodziejska, this program evolved in no particular direction and had no clear shape – and that made it weak. Many customs were rejected not out of a need for reform, but rather out of the alienation and hostility they produced. The program of progress and integration had changed over time. At first, it focused almost exclusively on “amending” the Jewish side (p. 113). The optimism and enthusiasm of the early days made *Izraelita* exaggerate the positive reaction of the Polish part of society and cover up the hostility. After the 1881-1883 period (the Warsaw pogrom and the establishment of the anti-Semitic *Rola*), the euphoria slowly started to disappear. The resistance of Jews, a major problem until then, became secondary, and the

<sup>3</sup> A. Jagodzińska, *Akulturacyja Żydów Warszawy w drugiej połowie XIX wieku*, Wrocław 2008, pp. 10-11.

newspaper took on a defensive rather than offensive stance (p. 116). Particularly interesting are the corrections of the program at the turn of the century – all are adeptly captured by Kołodziejska. The approach to tradition changed most dramatically, as was marked by the approach to language (Yiddish, which had been criticized and ridiculed, now became a useful language of persuasion) and traditional culture (some of its elements were now put on display and there was a growing interest in Jewish folklore) (p. 179). The return to tradition was to some extent a defensive move and a symptom of reforms reaching their limits.

Besides tradition, journalists mainly focused on anti-Semitism and Zionism. The former was particularly damaging to integrationists. While tracking the evolution of Journalism over the whole long period, Kołodziejska identifies various defensive strategies of the integrationist group – from mild persuasion, reasonable arguments, and self-criticism to a change of tone and resignation – and shows the painful process of becoming aware of the program's failure. The four-decades-long fight against anti-Semitism proved that the integrationists found themselves in a situation in which they were not given a choice – they could not decide which group they belonged to, because someone decided for them. The solutions they had proposed, like Polish-Jewish culture or the patchwork identity of a Pole of the Mosaic faith, were not possible (p. 136).

The second barrier that reinforced separation was Zionism. In a separate chapter, Kołodziejska tracks *Izraelita's* approach to new ideology, noticing that it turned more radical after Nahum Sokołów had left the editorial team in 1904. The popularity of Zionism weakened the project of integration and widened the gap, despite all the attempts that were made to close it. The integrationists, who had never defined Jews as a nation, were helpless (p. 161). They lost on all fronts: against Zionism, orthodoxy and anti-Semitism.

## Polish-Jewish integrationist literature

The topics raised by the newspaper (including education and emancipation of women) were also reflected in the literature discussed in Chapter 3. Against this backdrop, the origins of Polish-Jewish literature and its development become clear and easy to understand. This chapter can be read as an answer to the call for broader research on Polish-Jewish literature. Unlike other similar newspapers (*The Jewish Chronicle*, for example), *Izraelita* published a great deal of literature and played a key role in its development. Kołodziejska reconstructs the first debates on the definition and scope of literature, noticing that, despite varying opinions (on the issue of the author's descent, for instance), the main premise did not change – “Polish-Jewish Literature was understood as Polish-language literature written by Jews, for Jews and about Jews” (p. 236). The author compares it to other European-Jewish literatures, especially German- and Russian-Jewish. In this context, Polish-Jewish literature looks like an artificial transplant devoid of originality, based on Western models, but not without certain local elements (a clear influence of positivism). Its Haskalah origins determined the range of topics (emancipation, assimilation and its limits, preservation of Jewish identity) and its bias. Its main ambition, as Kołodziejska points out, was to show the point and meaning of integration on the one hand, and to present Jewish life to Polish readers on the other. It was a way to build a bridge between the two groups (p. 224).

Kołodziejska organizes the literature published in *Izraelita* into a number of categories. The first large group of texts comprises translations of European-Jewish novels, mainly love stories and historical fiction dealing with very modern issues (history was particularly important to German-Jewish writers). Against this backdrop, Polish-Jewish literature was surprisingly uninterested in historical themes (p. 251). The most interesting genre is the “reform” romance, a quite original form often used by Polish-Jewish writers. What made it different from traditional romance were the elements of Haskalah ideology and somewhat agitational character (p. 253). Again, Kołodziejska compares it to European-Jewish literature and tracks the similarities. Usually the plot revolved around the lives of young Jewish women who want to study and become independent from men. The most extolled value is a successful combination of tradition and modern education. Kołodziejska notices that what is common for Polish-Jewish and English-Jewish literature (as opposed to German- and Russian-Jewish) is the high number of female writers (p. 254). She manages to capture the evolution of the genre, which is parallel to the tone of journalism and the state of the reformist community. This evolution is quite clear: in the 1870s, novels encourage women to undertake secular education and learn Polish, in the 1880s and ’90s there was less and less enthusiasm and the tone changed (p. 259). Works published in the following years can be read as creative attempts to answer the failure of integration. Hostility and rejection (or, simply put, anti-Semitism) makes characters, alienated individuals, redefine themselves and their relationship to tradition they had rejected. Kołodziejska concludes that Jewish “reform” romance novels – most of which had never been officially published and had almost no artistic value – had all the traits of positivist moralist literature (p. 261).

Among other genres often published by *Izraelita* was a “scene,” a sketch or novella that, again, revealed the links between Polish-Jewish literature and positivism. A “scene” was a short story examining “private” culture from a first-person perspective. After Prokop-Janiec, the author calls this an auto-ethnographic novel.

When Kołodziejska analyzes the disillusionment with the program of integration she tracks the way in which literary texts reflected the ideological shifts of *Izraelita* and the community surrounding it. What changed was the type of character (from a man of progress to a man who makes peace with tradition), themes and number of novels.

Kołodziejska’s analysis – which also includes short “digests” published in the newspaper and less frequent pieces of drama and poetry – shows a full picture of *Izraelita*’s literary life or, in broader terms, a picture of “Polish-Jewish integrationist literature” that virtually ceased to exist after *Izraelita* was closed.

According to Kołodziejska, the eventual failure of the integrationist program was not only a result of anti-Semitism and the lack of support of Polish intelligentsia, but also a consequence of its elitism and anachronism. Unlike Zionists, Bundists and communists, integrationists were unable to attract mass readership (for they – among other things – rejected Yiddish as a means of communication). The disappearance of *Izraelita* was a symbolic end of a certain formation and the interwar period was to become its bitter epilogue. Kołodziejska’s book is a skillful reconstruction of its history. The conclusions she draws are important for studies on Polish-Jewish literature, as well as the history of Polish integrationist circles.

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