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S U M M A R I E S

THE MANUAL OF DISCIPLINE A JEWISH-CHRISTIAN DOCUMENT FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE SECOND CENTURY C.E. (INCLUDING A DISCUSSION OF THE DAMASCUS DOCUMENT).

by YITZHAK BAER (pp. 1-60)

These studies are chiefly concerned with the "Manual of Discipline" but whenever necessary, the discussion has been expanded to include important sections of the Damascus Document as well as the rest of the Dead Sea Scrolls, most of which, in the author's opinion, were written at the beginning of the Second Century C.E. In this summary only the most important conclusions of the analysis can be noted.

After a small chapter of inauguration the "Manual" describes a great act which can be interpreted as the foundation of the community (קהל, ἐνώτης, ἐνωσις) or the initiation ceremony for novices. The blessings and words of thanksgiving recited on this occasion by the "Priests" and "Levites" appear to allude to more complete formulas of the Christian liturgy, to be found in the *Constitutiones Apostolorum* (lib. VII—VIII). After the words of blessing and thanksgiving, the "Levites" recount the transgressions of the Children of Israel through the domination of Belial. According to the author, these words refer to a detailed text of an "historical" review in the first pages of the Damascus Document. Vigorously attacking the Jewish sages in the spirit of Christian apologists, this text relates the history of Israel under the "domination of Belial", viz. a history of the Jews' apostasy from the "natural religion" of the fathers. At the end of this narration all who enter the Covenant confess their sins and the sins of their ancestors. A confession of this sort is also made in the Damascus Document by those who have become guilty of the sin of idolatry during the persecutions (which were inflicted on them — as the author assumes — by the Roman emperors). The author compares this confession to the well-known *Exhomologesis* of the Christian Church. The curse which the Levites of the "Manual" utter against Belial and those who share his lot recalls the formula of *abrenuntiatio Satanae* which the Christian *katechumeni* declare before baptism. According to the author's view, it is impossible to attribute exorcistic ceremonies of this kind to a Jewish sect at the time of the Second Temple. There are also obvious signs of a Christian influence in the chapters of the "Manual" which deal with the discipline of repentance and penitence, the "pneumatic" structure of the community, the doctrine (recited by the "maskil" [*didascalos*]) of the "two spirits" and the progress of man's history as a struggle between the "prince of Light" and the "Angel of Darkness", and the salvation of God's elect.

After these preparatory acts, the "Manual" enumerates the various degrees through which the new volunteer wishing to join the sect must pass. First of all, he must commit himself by a binding oath to return to the "Torah of Moses" according to the spiritual interpretation given to it by the "sons of Zadok" (the priests) and the majority of the sect and to keep apart from the "men of wrong" who interpret and practise the laws of the Torah in conformity with their plain textual meaning. The author supposes that these words are directed against persons observing the Torah in accordance with Jewish

practices (cf. Didascalia!). Then follow several stages of admittance: a) a first chapter on examining the "spirit" (*pneuma*) of the new brother and inscribing his name in the sect's register; b) a short paragraph imposing fraternal discipline on the novices as well as mutual reproof (in accordance with the evangelical tradition); c) an isolated paragraph (the details of which are obscure) which deals with common meals and joint studies; d) a final chapter on examining the "spirit" of the new brother and his acceptance as a full-fledged member with all rights and obligations. The author compares these two degrees (*a* and *d*) to the entrance requirements of the *katechumeni* established in the Church Order of Hippolytus, Bishop of Rome. At the close of these chapters, the author discusses the nature of the laws pertaining to ritual purity and uncleanness cited in the "Manual of Discipline" and comes to the conclusion that they are not to be compared to the Halakhot of the Jewish sages or the customs of the Essenes (as described by Josephus), but that the concepts of ritual purity and uncleanness referred to in the "Manual" are identical with the traditional concepts current in the Christian Church in the second and third centuries.

The writer of the "Manual" then cites disciplinary laws and penalties imposed on recalcitrant members of the sect. These laws reflect the sociological character of the sect which seems to be a group cut off from national elements, like the Christian Church and unlike the Essenes. This impression is strengthened by the last words of the "Maskil" cited later on in the "Manual" which enjoin the believers to submit (like slaves) to the yoke of their masters and wait for the day of reckoning.

The community of Yahad, perfect in its structure and organization, is described by attributes which prove the Christian character of the Qumran people, as the author endeavours to demonstrate by a number of details. It may be assumed that the community prepared to go to the desert at the same time at which the sect of the Damascus Document had decided to transfer its center to the city of Damascus. The "Manual" ends with words of prayer and thanksgiving. The author once more attempts to prove the similarity of these hymns to formulas from the Christian liturgy.

THEATER AND MUSIC IN THE ITALIAN GHETTI BETWEEN THE SIXTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

by J. SCHIRMANN (pp. 61-111)

Students of the cultural life of the Jews of Italy became aware of the fact that they fostered the dramatic and musical arts more than any other Jewish community. However, to the degree that this phenomenon served as a subject for research, only details were discussed and no attention was paid to the question whether or not these performances were a temporary development or a permanent institution. An examination of the literary material extant proves that all those plays and oratorios were not intended only for readers and thus did not resemble the dramatic works of the Jews of central and eastern Europe beginning with the end of the eighteenth century. Performances for a Jewish audience were part of an ancient tradition in Italy.

In the study devoted to our subject we shall have to deal both with Hebrew and Italian texts; both were intended for the same audience and it would be difficult to separate them. Moreover, clear distinctions cannot be made between texts which were recited, declaimed and sung, or sung alone. Like their Christian neighbors, the Jews of

Italy admired and cherished the musical aspects of performances, and at this point, it is noteworthy that most of the texts which were composed for singing alone were written in the Hebrew language. From the sources, we also learn, either directly or otherwise, about the participation of musical instruments in the performances; however, it appears that they only accompanied the vocalists and played no independent role.

Among the works intended to be performed before an audience we find a number of literary genres ranging from texts for modest, short songs for a single voice to oratorios, for soloists, a choir, and instruments and to plays with a number of acts and many parts which also required a change of scenery. Sometimes, the performances were presented to quite a limited audience, e.g., during a family celebration or to the members of a certain society. On the other hand, some were open to everybody. Our sources do not tell us whether or not special halls were prepared for presenting the plays or playing the music. Whenever halls are actually mentioned, they happened to be in synagogues, schools, and in the homes of leading members of the community. The "artists" who participated in these events were for the most part amateurs who were ready to devote themselves several days a year to an unusual occupation which they probably found attractive.

From an examination of the sources, we discover an important fact, viz., the performances were presented in the Jewish quarters regularly, every year. We still do not have definite information about this from several cities and communities. However, the profusion of literary works prepared for presentation before a public itself demonstrates the frequency of such performances. They were presented in every Jewish center from Gorizia in the north to Rome in the south. Many of them took place on the holiday of Purim, but in the Jewish calendar, there were also other days celebrated with dramatic performances and music, such as *Hoshana Rabba* and *Simhat Torah*, *Shavuot*, and the seventh day of *Passover*. Similarly, performances and concerts were held at weddings of prominent members of the community, to commemorate the death of outstanding individuals, and as part of the ceremony and prayer service to mark the salvation of a community which had been threatened by disaster (war, plague, earthquake). Special concerts were also held when a synagogue or religious school was dedicated or a new Torah scroll presented to the ark with much festivity. On rare occasions, there were also performances for weekdays.

It should be stressed that Italian Jewry also had individuals who fought against the theater in general and quoted the sages of the Talmud and Midrash and their opposition to "theaters and circuses" of non-Jews. Even the new polyphonic music displeased the conservatives and they made an effort to keep it away from the Jewish communities. Nevertheless, they were unable to stem the natural development, and the new art penetrated and took over the Jewish quarters.

We do not pretend to present an exhaustive study of the subject at this point. For such a purpose, it is still necessary to review and examine all the material which may come to light in the archives of the various Italian cities and their Jewish communities as well as in letters, responsa, memoirs, etc. mostly extant in manuscript. Our description here is to a large degree based on literary texts designed to be presented in public. Our sources included rare printed books and manuscripts which have not yet been registered in catalogues and consequently remained unknown even to experts.

TO WHOM WAS MENDELSSOHN REPLYING IN "JERUSALEM?"

by J. KATZ (pp. 112-132)

Mendelssohn's "Jerusalem" was written in answer to a booklet "Das Licht und Recht" which appeared in Berlin in 1782 but was signed "Vienna" with the initial "S. . . "The booklet referred to the view expressed by Mendelssohn on an earlier occasion that religion in general, and the Jewish religion in particular, ought to rely upon its adherents' convictions and not make use of any means of coercion at all. Accordingly, the Jewish community should be divested of the right to compel its members to Jewish observance.

The anonymous author of the booklet asserted that Mendelssohn deviated in this statement from a basic principle of Judaism, since according to Mosaic law transgressors of religious prescription are liable to capital punishment. The author interpreted this alleged deviation from Judaism as a step in the direction of Christianity, and he appealed to Mendelssohn to draw the logical conclusion and accept Christianity in its totality. Mendelssohn's "Jerusalem" was designed to prove the obligatory character of Jewish religious law for the individual, although denying the right of coercion.

The identity of Mendelssohn's opponent remained a mystery until now, although two suggestions were made (Kranz, Moerschel) both unconvincing for many reasons, chiefly because the signature (Wien, S. . .) did not conform to either of the names. The real author can now be established on the basis of a contemporary source — a letter by Friedrich Muentzer to Herder published in 1944.

Muentzer passed through Berlin in August-September 1782 and reported to Herder about his contacts with certain celebrities in Berlin. He mentioned that he could not meet with Mendelssohn more frequently since the latter was occupied with "Sonnenfels auf seine Anfrage warum er noch nicht Christ wuerde zu antworten."

This identification comes as a surprise since Josef von Sonnenfels, of Jewish origin but baptized as a child by his father, was recognized as a representative of Western Enlightenment and social reform in Vienna. He was not a person who would be suspected of seeking converts to Christianity. Closer analysis of the booklet's contents on the one hand and Sonnenfels' attitude towards religion on the other reveals that what he advocated was the omission of the dogmatic and mystical elements of Christianity and the abandonment of ritual and religious observance by Jews. Thus they could meet on the common ground of the "religion of reason." In this way the Jews' release from social isolation and their integration into the state could be accomplished.

There is no direct evidence that Mendelssohn recognized Sonnenfels as the author of *Das Forschen* but there are strong indications that he did so. The most obvious is the hitherto unexplained change of his evaluation of the *Patent of Tolerance* promulgated by Emperor Joseph II in 1781-82. First he greeted it as a great redeeming act, then he rejected it as a mere stratagem to lure Jews to Christianity. Between these two evaluations Sonnenfels' booklet appeared. Since Sonnenfels was regarded as one of the initiators of the *Patent of Tolerance* (although actually his part in it was slight) Mendelssohn was deeply disappointed. He accused the Vienna legislators of hypocrisy who, while speaking of toleration, had Christian missionary objectives in mind. At a later date, in 1784, Mendelssohn made a conciliating gesture towards Sonnenfels which was eagerly acknowledged by the latter. This reconciliation is reflected in an exchange of letters between the two.

THE JEWISH POLICY OF THE MONARCHIST DICTATORSHIP IN RUMANIA
1938-1940

by B. VAGO (pp. 133-151)

The period between the fall of the anti-Semitic Goga-Cuza Government and the collapse of Greater Rumania (10.2.1938-30.8.1940), wedged in between parliamentary rule and fascist dictatorship, constitutes the short era of King Carol's control. From the Jewish angle particular significance is attached to this period: it reveals the fact that Carol's regime not only preceded the ruination of Rumanian Jewry but paved the way for it as well.

King Carol's dictatorship brought a measure of relief to the life of Rumania's 800,000 Jews by putting an end to the terror spread by the fascist storm-troopers and by holding the Iron Guard in check. However, the new regime followed the policy of "moderate", "humane" anti-Semitism and applied a discriminatory policy against the Jews in every sphere of their economic, social, and cultural life.

The severity of the regime's anti-Jewish line remained to the last dependent upon international developments on the one hand, and upon the impact of diverse domestic forces on the other. As German pressure mounted and Carol and his entourage became more convinced that continuing Rumania's Western orientation would be impracticable, official anti-Semitism assumed a sharper and fiercer aspect.

Likewise, seeking to ingratiate himself with right-wing circles, and endeavoring since the spring of 1940 to win the favor of the Iron Guard, the King proceeded step by step to establish an anti-Jewish regime. The implementation of this policy came right after the Soviet ultimatum (June 1940) and just when Greater Rumania was being dismembered and the Gigurtu government was installing the country's second anti-Semitic regime by enforcing racial legislation similar to that of Nuremberg.

Nearly a quarter of a century has elapsed since the fall of King Carol's dictatorship; however, opinions are highly divided regarding the evaluation of its character and its Jewish policy. From the wide range of contradictory opinions, King Carol's image emerges in the epoch's historiography in numerous forms varying from the Westward orientated, anti-German, democratic, "Jewish-hireling" king, to the double-dealing, fascist-minded, anti-Semitic politician, devoid of any scruples.

Carol II was not an avowed anti-Semite, not even in the last months of his reign. Objectively, however, from the beginning of his regime, he followed an anti-Semitic policy. In political problems of a general character he only made concessions to Hitlerite Germany when he believed them inevitable. On the other hand, in matters pertaining to the Jewish question, he tended to yield to Germany or to the internal anti-Semitic front even if this was not justifiable by external or internal pressure. The facts bear out the allegation that it was precisely on this point that Carol sought to win the goodwill of Nazi Germany and to make his regime acceptable to the domestic right-wing.

In order to stabilize his rather precarious rule, he surrounded himself with extreme-rightist elements, did away with the country's democratic institutions, and refused to appeal for support to the democratic forces, eager to lend a helping hand against the fascist subversion, which was to sweep him away as well.

Thus, Carol greatly contributed to the collapse of democratic Rumania, and laid the ground work for the Iron-Guard-Antonescu dictatorship. The fascist regime took over its anti-Semitic legislation from Carol's last government without having to resort to

radical ideological or formal changes in order to plunge Rumanian Jewry into the abyss.

The heavy responsibility for all that was perpetrated in Rumanian politics in those years—including the fate of the country's Jewry—devolves upon King Carol, the actual ruler during this period.

IN THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF ISRAEL

The Ninth Annual Convention:

The Ninth Annual Convention of the Historical Society took place on the Campus of the Hebrew University on December 15th and 16th, 1963. The convention was held in honour of Prof. B. Dinur's 80th birthday and Prof. I. F. Baer's 75th birthday and its subject was "Religion and Society in the History of the Jews and other Nations". Prof. I. Halpern opened the convention by a tribute to the memory of the former President of the State, the late I. Ben-Zvi, as well as Prof. Y. Kaufmann, Y. Guttman and S. Foa, members of the Society who had passed away since the last convention.

Programme of the Convention:

Dec. 15: Opening session

Prof. H. H. Ben-Sasson: Religion and Society in the Teachings of Prof. B. Dinur and Prof. I. F. Baer.

Afternoon session

Prof. J. L. Seeligmann: Cult Traditions and Personal Creativeness in Scriptural Historiography.

Prof. D. Flusser: The Jewish Source of the Early Christian Church's Attitude Towards the State.

Prof. H. Z. Hirschberg: Jewish Society in the Diaspora (excluding Babylon) on the Eve of the Gaonic Period.

Evening session

Inauguration Ceremony of Mr. S. Z. Shazar, President of the State, as Honorary President of the Historical Society of Israel.

Dec. 16: Morning session

Prof. S. Simonsohn: The Jewish Community and the Christian Corporation in Italy.

Prof. J. Arieli: "The Kingdom of Heaven" in America: the Protestant Vision of the American People.

Dr. S. Ettinger: The Formation of Hassidic Leadership.

Afternoon session

Prof. J. Katz: The Reciprocal Influence of Religion and Society in the Period of Emancipation.

Prof. J. Talmon: Religion in the Ideological Struggles of Modern Times. Closing address.

The lectures held at the Convention, as well as the addresses by President Shazar and Prof. B. Dinur on the occasion of the inauguration will be published in the special volume to be issued before the 10th convention.