

NOA. Networks Overcoming Antisemitism

Pluralism Seminar Papers

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The Pluralism Seminar Papers

Introduction

Welcome to the "Pluralism Seminar Papers," a collection of twenty insightful papers born from a series of four seminars dedicated to exploring the theme of Pluralism. These seminars, held in the vibrant cities of Prague, Sarajevo, Cordoba, and Florence, were part of the European Routes of Jewish Heritage initiative. This initiative, certified by the Council of Europe since 2004, spans across 17 countries, each actively engaged in research, heritage preservation, contemporary culture, art, and sustainable cultural tourism.

In each of these diverse nations, dedicated institutions collaborate with regional networks to lead the Cultural Route project, with rigorous evaluations carried out by the AEPJ and its esteemed scientific committee. Within this rich and collaborative framework, the seminars brought together participants from various backgrounds, creating a platform for transnational dialogue and exploration of an important theme: "pluralism."

Throughout these seminars, open to all audiences, we delved into the fundamental role of pluralism within the legacy and heritage of European Jewish communities. Our goal was to provoke reflection and lively debates on the significance of pluralism in shaping contemporary European societies. As we present these seminar papers, we invite you to join us on a journey of discovery and understanding, exploring the diverse facets of pluralism and its profound impact on our world today.

We hope that this collection will not only serve as a valuable resource for scholars and enthusiasts but also contribute to fostering an open, inclusive, and pluralistic dialogue within our societies. Thank you for joining us in this exploration of pluralism's vital role in European culture and heritage.



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Relazioni del popolo ebraico con gli altri

Raffaella Di Castro

Il pregiudizio secondo cui il popolo ebraico sarebbe particolaristico, egoista, chiuso, separato dagli altri popoli per senso di superiorità e timore quasi di contagio, è testimoniato dalla stessa Torà. Nasce simultaneamente allo stesso ebraismo ed è fortemente collegato con altri pregiudizi: con l'idea di un rigido legalismo privo di amore e misericordia, con il fraintendimento in senso razzista e superomistico dell'«elezione», con una interpretazione della scarsa tendenza al proselitismo come indifferenza e chiusura.

È la Torà stessa a dare testimonianza di questo pregiudizio che è quindi antichissimo:

“Sì dalla cima delle rupi lo vedo e dalle colline lo miro. Ecco un popolo che dimorerà da solo e fra i popoli non verrà annoverato” (Numeri 23, 9.)

Come «separati» sono descritti, dall'indovino pagano Balaam, gli ebrei appena usciti dall'Egitto, quindi agli albori della loro identità. E questa stessa «separazione» è, per Aman – consigliere speciale del re di Persia Assuero –, motivo sufficiente per sterminarli:

“C'è un popolo disseminato ma distinto tra i popoli di tutte le province del tuo regno, hanno leggi diverse da quelle di tutti i popoli e non osservano le leggi del re e al re non giova tollerarlo. Se al re piace, si scriva che lo distruggano [...]” (Ester 3, 8.)

Le parole di Aman, commenta la studiosa francese Delphine Horvilleur, offrono «un condensato perfetto, una descrizione senza tempo di quelle che sono le accuse rivolte contro gli ebrei lungo tutta la Storia». Accuse in se stesse contraddittorie: «un popolo percepito al tempo stesso come disperso e a parte», «che sta in mezzo a tutti, ma si rifiuta di mescolarsi, indistinguibile eppure irriducibile», il cui particolarismo è sentito come una minaccia per la propria integrità. (Delphine Horvilleur, Riflessioni sulla questione antisemita, 2019)

Facendo un salto, dal mondo antico pagano al cuore dell'Europa cristiana, nel sistema filosofico di Hegel l'idea di una presunta separazione particolaristica, nazionalistica ed egoistica del popolo ebraico – insieme a molti altri pregiudizi nei suoi confronti – assume un ruolo ben preciso: quello dell'antitesi assoluta, «infelice» e «cattiva», opposta alla sintesi dialettico-speculativa che raggiunge l'apoteosi nel cristianesimo.

L'anima della nazionalità ebraica sarebbe infatti, secondo Hegel, l'odium generis humani che si incarna alternativamente nelle «figure» del padrone e del servo.

L'esortazione del Signore ad Abramo ad allontanarsi dalla sua famiglia e dalla terra d'origine, verso un luogo che gli indicherà, (Genesi 12, 1.) appare a Hegel come un gesto di «separazione che rompe i legami della convivenza e dell'amore». Con chiunque fosse successivamente entrato in contatto, Abramo si sarebbe mantenuto «saldamente nel suo isolamento», «erigendo un muro di divisione» tra sé e gli altri. Questo stesso atteggiamento Hegel lo attribuisce al popolo ebraico in generale che avrebbe limitato le sue relazioni con gli stranieri al proprio egoistico interesse e, pur di ottenere i propri fini, non avrebbe esitato a ingannare i più forti e a colpire spietatamente i più deboli.

Irraffigurabile e innominabile, il Dio ebraico sarebbe un Dio lontano, anch'egli incapace di amare, prototipo di quello che Hegel chiama «cattivo infinito» che, rinunciando alla «fatica del farsi altro» – cioè della relazione, della mediazione e della sintesi –, condanna il finito a insolubili antitesi: «una inimizia universale», «il popolo ebreo da una parte e dall'altra il resto dell'umanità e il mondo». Infine, il Dio ebraico sarebbe, secondo Hegel, un «Dio geloso». Con «l'orribile pretesa»



di essere unico ed esclusivo per Israele, priverebbe gli altri popoli del loro diritto alla dimensione del sacro.

Torniamo ora alle fonti ebraiche, antiche e moderne. Nelle accuse di Hegel è evidente come il pregiudizio del presunto particolarismo nazionalista, separatista, esclusivista ed egoistico dell'ebraismo sia strettamente connesso a quello di una religione rigidamente legalistica, contrapposta al cristianesimo come religione dell'amore e della misericordia. A smentita di ciò basterebbe ricordare che il comandamento «Ama il prossimo tuo come te stesso», formulato in modo chiaro in Levitico 19,18, è considerato da Rabbi Aqivà – tra i più importanti maestri talmudici del I-II sec. e.v. – come «il più grande principio della Legge» (Nedarim, IX, 4) Ma già nel I sec. a.e.v., Hillel – uno dei più importanti studiosi di Torà dell'epoca, insieme all'avversario Shammai –, alla richiesta di un pagano di spiegargli tutta la Torà stando su un piede solo, rispondeva: «ciò che tu detesti, non farlo al tuo prossimo: questa è la Torà per intero, il resto è commento, vai e studia» (Shabbat, 31a.)

Per evitare un'interpretazione ristretta del «tuo prossimo», come riferito solo agli altri interni alla famiglia, al clan, al popolo, nei versetti successivi di Levitico, il comandamento viene immediatamente esteso agli stranieri:

“E quando un forestiero faccia dimora con voi nel vostro paese, non dovete fargli sopruso. [...] deve essere per voi uguale a un vostro indigeno, e amerai per lui quello che ami per te; poiché anche voi siete stati forestieri nella terra d'Egitto”. (Levitico 19, 33-34)

Il pregiudizio di cui ci stiamo occupando è talmente diffuso e radicato che Elia Benamozegh, rabbino, esegeta e cabalista italiano (1823-1900), ha dedicato alla sua confutazione un'intera opera: Israele e l'umanità. A più riprese Benamozegh nota come l'idea di una religione particolaristica e nazionale sia assurda e contraddittoria rispetto all'ideale stesso del monoteismo: un Dio che si lega esclusivamente a una nazione sarebbe infatti un dio particolare e non un Dio universale. All'unicità-unità di Dio, nell'ebraismo, corrisponde la concezione, pionieristica per l'epoca, di «un'umanità unica per origine, natura e destino» (Elia Benamozegh 1990), Tutti gli uomini e tutte le donne, nella Genesi, sono creati «a immagine di Dio» (Genesi 1, 27.) e derivano da un'unica creatura, affinché – come annunciano i profeti – vivano in pace, uguaglianza e fratellanza. E, come «fratelli», nella Torà, Israele appella spesso gli altri popoli.

Molteplici sono i brani della Torà e del Talmud che mostrano l'estensione agli stranieri del comandamento di amore, rispetto e premura verso il prossimo: sia verso gli individui che verso i popoli, sia da parte di Israele che di Dio.

“Non aborrire l'Idumeo perché è tuo fratello e ugualmente non aborrire l'Egiziano perché foste ospiti nel suo paese”. (Deuteronomio 23, 8; cfr. Esodo 22, 20.)

Il divieto di «aborrire lo straniero» è assoluto, non condizionato dalla beneficenza dell'altro nei propri confronti: gli idumei hanno infatti rifiutato agli ebrei il passaggio attraverso il loro paese e, ancor più gravemente, gli egiziani li hanno afflitti con la schiavitù. Eppure, nota Benamozegh, in questi versetti la schiavitù non è nemmeno menzionata, bensì solo l'iniziale accoglienza. «Sovrappiù di generosità» che si esprime anche nel divieto, durante la liturgia di Pesach in ricordo della liberazione dall'Egitto, di «rallegrarsi quando il tuo nemico cade» Il riferimento agli egiziani, secondo Benamozegh, ha inoltre e nuovamente la funzione di evitare un'interpretazione familistica del divieto, che potrebbe essere indotta dalla parentela tra ebrei e idumei, discendenti questi ultimi da Esaù, fratello di Giacobbe.

Eccezione fatta per il versetto sopra menzionato, in cui l'Egitto compare come «ospite» e non come tiranno, Rabbi Don Yitzhaq Abrabanel (rabbino portoghese del XV sec.) ha notato che ogni divieto di odiare gli stranieri e comandamento di fare loro del bene è accompagnato, nella Torà,



dall'esortazione a ricordare di essere stati in quella terra stranieri e schiavi David Gianfranco Di Segni 2005):

“Non angustiare lo straniero, voi ben conoscete l'animo dello straniero, poiché in tale qualità siete stati in terra d'Egitto”. (Esodo 23,9)

La portata di questa esortazione, a mio avviso, oltrepassa l'invito a una capacità empatica e allo sforzo di trarre insegnamenti morali universali dalle proprie esperienze, anche da quelle negative. Per spiegarlo è necessario fare una breve digressione sul divieto di idolatria. Ahad Ha-am (pensatore russo del XIX secolo), reinterpretando la risposta di Hillel al pagano che chiedeva la sintesi della Torà, colloca il divieto di idolatria al di sopra dello stesso precetto etico di amare il prossimo, in sintonia con molte simili interpretazioni talmudiche e midrashiche.

All'interno della tradizione ebraica, l'idolo non è semplicemente il dio degli altri popoli, una statua, un oggetto specifico o un concetto definito, ma una modalità di relazione con l'altro totalizzante, schiavizzante, sacrificale, antinomica, oppositiva, violenta. L'idolo è l'impossibilità, la distruzione della relazione stessa. Il rifiuto dell'idolatria può essere la chiave sintetica dell'ebraismo perché interpreta l'identità come relazione con l'altro. Secondo alcuni commentatori, infatti, con un gioco di affinità tra le radici delle parole, Abramo è chiamato «ebreo» [‘ivri] (Genesi 14, 13) perché straniero: proveniente da un luogo «al di là [‘èver] dell'Eufrate». (Giosuè 24, 3) «Ebreo» significa dunque «straniero»: «Io sono presso di voi un estraneo, un forestiero», dice lo stesso Abramo in Genesi 23, 4. L'identità è già in sé contaminata dall'alterità.

Se l'idolo non è una cosa, ma una modalità (negativa) di relazione, qualsiasi cosa, pensiero, azione, l'etica stessa, e persino il principio di amore per l'altro, in ogni momento e contesto, può diventare idolo. Non si può infatti, per esempio, decidere in astratto e in assoluto se l'altro ha più diritti di me, chi dei due, in caso di pericolo, debba salvarsi per primo, se l'accoglienza è l'atteggiamento opportuno in una situazione specifica o non piuttosto la difesa, se l'amore debba supportare la giustizia o viceversa; lo si può fare solo in singoli giudizi concreti che tengano conto di molteplici fattori.

Ahad Ha-am colloca il divieto di idolatria al di sopra dell'amore per il prossimo non, come vorrebbe Hegel, per un arido legalismo privo di misericordia, ma per evitare la degenerazione idolatrica di questo stesso principio. Il suo gesto non è in fondo così lontano da Hillel che metteva l'amore al primo posto, se pensiamo che l'antico maestro è lo stesso che ha anche pronunciato la famosa massima: «Se io non sono per me, chi è per me? Ma quando io sono solo per me stesso, che cosa sono?». (Pirké Avòt.)

Forse ora si capisce meglio perché il promemoria della schiavitù in Egitto – condizione e luogo per eccellenza dell'idolatria – accompagna, nella Torà, le regole verso lo straniero, diventando il «simbolo» di tutte le liberazioni, anche per gli altri popoli. Tale promemoria fa dell'anti-idolatria – sintesi dell'identità ebraica e, al tempo stesso, condizione della relazione con l'altro – il principio oggettivo e universale che deve orientare qualsiasi altro comportamento: un principio che è prima dell'etica stessa, una legge sopra le leggi, nel senso delle nostre moderne costituzioni.

Molteplici norme regolano, nella Torà e nel Talmud, i rapporti con lo straniero che vive all'interno della società di Israele: con lo straniero convertito (il ger tzèdeq), ma anche con lo straniero soltanto residente e quindi ancora pagano (il gher toshav).

Lo straniero non va né ingannato né derubato: «Non defraudare il salariato povero e misero, sia esso tuo fratello o forestiero che abita nel tuo paese, nella tua città». (Deuteronomio 24, 14) Anzi, per il Talmud, «è più grave rubare a un pagano che a un ebreo». (Tosefta, Baba Qamma 113 a-b. citato da Abraham Cohen, Il Talmud, Laterza, Bari 1935, p. 260, e da Hermann Cohen,



L'amore per il prossimo nel Talmud, in *La fede d'Israele è la speranza. Interventi sulle questioni ebraiche (1880-1916)*, a cura di Pierfrancesco Fiorato, Giuntina, Firenze 2000, p. 167.)

Non basta tollerare gli stranieri, bisogna prendersene attivamente e premurosamente cura:

“E se un tuo fratello impoverirà e le sue forze vacilleranno presso di te, tu dovrai sostenerlo, sia esso anche un forestiero o un avventizio, sicché possa vivere presso di te: non prendere da lui usura o interesse 38 [...]. Io sono il Signore vostro Dio che vi ha fatto uscire dalla terra d'Egitto per darvi la terra di Canaan, per esservi Dio”. (Levitico 25, 35-38)

“Bisogna sopportare i poveri dei pagani con i poveri di Israele, visitare i malati dei pagani con i malati di Israele, dare onorevole sepoltura ai morti dei pagani come ai morti di Israele, a causa delle vie della pace”. (Gittin, 61a)

La delicatezza nei loro confronti deve essere minuziosa – in questo consiste la pignoleria del legalismo ebraico stigmatizzata da Hegel – fin negli angoli del campo, nei «resti», nei chicchi di grano:

“Non sovvertire il diritto del forestiero [...] Ricordati che fosti schiavo in Egitto ed il Signore tuo Dio ti redense di là: perciò lo ti comando di fare queste cose. Quando mieterai il tuo campo e avrai dimenticato un covone, non tornare indietro per raccoglierglielo, rimarrà per il forestiero, l'orfano, la vedova affinché ti benedica il Signore tuo Dio in ogni tua azione”. (Deuteronomio 24, 17-22. Cfr. Levitico, 19, 9-10 e Gittin, V, 8.)

Lo stesso precetto è ripetuto per gli acini d'uva, le olive

Il sabato deve essere giorno di riposo per il forestiero come per l'ebreo:

“Osserva il giorno di Sabato per santificarlo come ti ha comandato il Signore tuo Dio [...]; non farai alcun lavoro né tu [...] né il forestiero che si trova nella tua città, in modo che possa riposare [...] come tu stesso. Ricorderai che fosti schiavo in terra d'Egitto ed il Signore ti fece uscire di là con mano potente e braccio disteso e che pertanto ti comandò il Signore tuo Dio di attuare il giorno del riposo”. (Deuteronomio 5, 14-15)

Una sola legge deve vigere per gli indigeni e i forestieri (Levitico 24, 22 e Numeri 15, 14-27) e questo deve essere «uno Statuto eterno per le generazioni» perché «al cospetto del Signore voi e il forestiero siete uguali» (Numeri 15, 15).

I profeti Isaia e Geremia piangono continuamente per le sventure anche delle altre nazioni. Isaia, con quello stesso «sovrappiù di generosità» notato da Benamozegh, consola con promesse di giorni migliori persino l'Egitto di cui Israele fu schiavo. (Isaia 19)

L'amore speciale di Dio per Israele non esclude il suo amore per gli altri popoli: «Il Signore vostro Dio ama lo straniero dando loro cibi e vestiti» (Deuteronomio 10, 18, cfr. Salmi 156 e 146). Con la sua doppia misura della giustizia e della misericordia, il suo intervento nella storia è rivolto a tutta l'umanità: il diluvio, la dispersione delle nazioni a causa della torre di Babele, la distruzione di Sodoma e Gomorra e di Ninive, l'aiuto agli egiziani durante la carestia, la vittoria di Ciro ecc.

L'alleanza dopo il diluvio è, attraverso Noè, con l'umanità intera e, ancor più universalmente con «tutte le creature esistenti sulla terra». (Genesi 9-17) Non a caso, prima di questa specifica alleanza, già nella benedizione a Noè e ai suoi figli (Shem, Cham e Yefet, progenitori di tutti i popoli della terra 46), il Signore ricorda di aver fatto ogni «uomo a immagine propria». (Genesi 9-6) Persino nella seconda alleanza, ancora più particolaristica, con Abramo, il pensiero ebraico «abbraccia tutto l'orizzonte dell'umanità» (Elia Benamozegh, *Israele e l'umanità*, cit., p. 191): «si benediranno in te tutte le famiglie della terra» (Genesi 12-3). «Non ti chiamerai più Avram, il tuo nome sarà Avraham perché tu faccio padre di numerose genti» (Genesi 17-5).



Secondo Benamozegh, la Torà contiene la formulazione dei primi principi di diritto internazionale. Come Israele, ogni popolo ha diritto che Dio lo liberi dalle dominazioni straniere:

“Non siete forse per Me, figli di Israele, come i figli degli Etiopi? Non è forse vero che ho fatto uscire i figli di Israele dall’Egitto, e i Filistei da Caftor e gli Aramei da Kir?” (Amos 9, 7. Cfr. Geremia 48, 47; 49, 6 e 39.)

È Dio stesso che assegna a ciascuna nazione il suo luogo (Geremia 12, 17) e stabilisce i confini:

“Quando l’Altissimo dette un possesso alle nazioni, quando egli separò i figli di Adamo, fissò i confini dei popoli secondo il numero dei figli di Israele”. (53 Deuteronomio 32, 7-8. Il numero dei figli di Israele è settanta, come quello dei popoli del mondo. Cfr. Deuteronomio 2 e Dante Lattes, Il concetto di nazione secondo la Bibbia, in *Nel solco della Bibbia*, cit., pp. 133-143.)

In quanto dono di Dio, la terra di ogni nazione è un intangibile possesso: è quindi un grave delitto voler spostare i confini ed «estendere il proprio territorio» (Amos 1, 13). Il possesso della terra è però condizionato, sia per Israele che per gli altri popoli, dal retto comportamento morale; in caso contrario, la punizione è l’esilio e la dispersione: per tutti i popoli, ma ben più duramente per Israele.

“Soltanto voi ho tenuto in conto tra tutte le famiglie della terra, perciò vi punirò per tutti i vostri peccati”. (Amos 3, 2.)

Nei Salmi le nazioni lodano il Signore per la bontà nei loro confronti e desiderano partecipare all’età messianica (Emmanuel Levinas, *Les nations et la presence d’Israel*, in *A l’heure des nations*, Les Éditions de Minuit, Paris 1988, pp. 107-124, p. 112.):

“[...] la Tua abitudine è di dar salvezza a tutti i popoli, [...] Tu giudichi rettamente i popoli e quanto alle nazioni, Tu le guidi sulla terra. (Salmi 67, 5. Cfr. Salmi 118, 1-2; 68, 32-33)”

“Verranno principi dall’Egitto, le mani dell’Etiopia porteranno di corsa doni a Dio. O regni della terra, cantate a Dio, cantate al Signor mio [...]: ecco Egli fa sentire la Sua voce, la Sua voce potente.” (Salmi 68, 32-33)

D’altronde, secondo il Talmud, «i giusti di tutte le nazioni avranno parte al mondo futuro». (58 Sanhedrin, XIII, 2). Dio stesso si gloria della sua fama tra le genti:

“[...] il Mio nome è grande fra le genti da oriente ad occidente, e in ogni luogo si arde incenso e si presentano offerte pure al Mio nome; perché grande è il Mio nome fra le genti”. (Malakhi, I, 11.)

Percorso paradossale

Arrivati a questo punto, il pregiudizio è però smentito solo in parte e avendo percorso soltanto la strada più semplice e lineare. Tutti i pregiudizi si innestano, infatti, su una base di verità per semplificarla, irrigidirla, alienarla dal suo contesto originario, fino a distorcerla.

È innegabile – come notano gli stessi commentatori intervenuti contro tale pregiudizio (Elia Benamozegh- Delphine Horvilleur,) – che il popolo ebraico si definisca esso stesso come distinto e separato dagli altri popoli:

“E non seguite le leggi della popolazione che scaccio davanti a voi, perché essi hanno fatto tutte queste cose ed io li ho avuti a schifo [...]. Io sono il Signore vostro Dio che vi ho distinto dagli altri popoli e voi distinguerete fra gli animali puri e quelli impuri [...]. E Mi sarete santi, perché santo sono io il Signore e vi ho distinti dagli altri popoli affinché apparteniate a Me”. (Levitico 20, 23-26).



Tale distinzione è effetto del rifiuto dell'idolatria e condizione dell'elezione: per essere scelto e conservare tale scelta, Israele deve astenersi dal fare tutte le cose che fanno gli altri popoli, cioè l'adorazione degli idoli e i comportamenti immorali che ne conseguono.

Da questo e altri brani, sembrerebbe derivare una contrapposizione rigida e invalicabile (l'«inimicizia universale» di cui parla Hegel) tra pagani idolatri, che il Signore ha a «schifo», ed ebrei monoteisti, Suo «possesso speciale»:

“Guardatevi parimente, alzando gli occhi e vedendo il sole, la luna e le stelle e tutte le schiere celesti, di non traviarvi prostrandovi a loro e servendoli, poiché il Signore tuo Dio li ha assegnati a tutti gli altri popoli che abitano sotto tutti i cieli, mentre prese voi e vi fece uscire dal crogiuolo del ferro, dall'Egitto perché foste per Lui un suo possesso speciale”. (Deuteronomio 4, 15-20)

Da una lettura più profonda della Torà scritta e orale scopriamo invece che, proprio a partire dal divieto di idolatria, le identità si mettono in relazione, addirittura si mescolano e si ribaltano.

Se secondo Maimonide, «un Israelita che pratica l'idolatria è assimilato sotto tutti gli aspetti a un non ebreo», viceversa, secondo R. Nissim e Rav Yochanan, chiunque ripudia l'idolatria, anche un pagano, merita di essere chiamato «ebreo».

Tra i diversi esempi che Rav Yochanan menziona, collegando tra loro i diversi versetti biblici, il più significativo è quello di Batya, figlia del faraone, chiamata «giudea», (I Cronache 4, 18.) in quanto «scese al fiume a lavarsi», cioè «a purificarsi dagli idoli della casa paterna». (69 Esodo 2, 5.) Rav Yochanan menziona poi il detto che Batya partorì Mosè, perché chiunque alleva un bambino è come se lo partorisce. Questo, oltre a chiarire meglio il contenuto della ribellione anti-idolatrice di Batya, svincola la definizione dell'identità da criteri di appartenenza etnica, facendola piuttosto dipendere da un comportamento etico. Ad avvalorare tali genealogie etiche, culturali e non biologiche, nel seguente brano, «figli» di Dio sono tutti coloro – anche «i figli dello straniero» e «chi non è atto a generare» – che «osservano il diritto e fanno giustizia»:

“Così dice il Signore: «Osservate il diritto e fate giustizia [...]». Felice l'uomo che fa questo, il figlio dell'uomo che in questo persevererà [...]. E non dica il figlio dello straniero che si è aggregato al Signore: «Il Signore mi ha tenuto separato dal Suo popolo». E non dica chi non è atto a generare: «Io sono un albero secco».

Perché così dice il Signore a proposito di coloro che non sono atti a generare, ma osservano i Miei sabati, scelgono quello che a Me piace e si mantengono fedeli al Mio patto: «Io darò a loro nella Mia casa ed entro le Mie mura forza e rinomanza, me- glio di figli e di figlie [...]».

E i figli dello straniero che si aggregeranno al Signore [...] e quelli che si mantengono fedeli al Mio patto, lo li farò venire al monte a Me consacrato, [...] i loro olocausti e i loro sacrifici saranno graditi sul Mio altare, perché la Mia casa sarà proclamata casa di preghiera per tutti i popoli”. (Isaia 56, 1-7.)

Nella stessa direzione vanno i diversi passi biblici e talmudici che impediscono di intendere l'elezione di Israele nel senso razzista di una superiorità, aggressiva e distruttiva nei confronti degli altri popoli:

“Non certo perché siete più numerosi di tutti gli altri popoli vi ha prediletto il Signore e vi ha scelto, perché voi siete i meno numerosi di tutti”. (Deuteronomio 7, 7.)

È quasi ossessivo il modo in cui Mosè, in Deuteronomio 9, ricorda al suo popolo che il Signore non l'ha scelto per suoi meriti e qualità, essendo anzi «un popolo dalla dura cervice», continuamente incline all'idolatria e al peccato, ma solo come male minore, per la superiore malvagità degli altri popoli:



“Ascolta, o Israele, tu passi oggi il Giordano per andare a conquistare nazioni più grandi e più potenti di te [...]. Non dire in cuor tuo [...]: È per la mia rettitudine che il Signore mi ha portato a possedere questa terra. Ma è invece per la malvagità di quelle nazioni che il Signore li scaccia davanti a te. Non dunque per la tua rettitudine e per l'onestà del tuo cuore tu pervieni a possedere la terra, ma per la malvagità di questi popoli [...]. Tu saprai dunque che non è per la tua rettitudine che il Signore tuo Dio ti concede questa buona terra in possesso, perché tu sei un popolo dalla dura cervice. Ricorda, non dimenticare quanto facesti adirare il Signore tuo Dio nel deserto dal giorno in cui uscisti dall'Egitto [...]; ribelli foste con il Signore. Anche in Chorev faceste adirare il Signore ed Egli si sdegnò contro di voi tanto da minacciare di distruggervi” (Deuteronomio 9, 1-8.)

Non a caso questo ammonimento avviene proprio nel momento in cui Israele sta per entrare nella terra promessa: con la conquista territoriale, il senso di superiorità comporterebbe infatti rischi etico-politici ancora più gravi per i popoli vicini.

In contraddizione con il passo biblico sopra citato, ma sulla stessa linea interpretativa, secondo il Talmud, Betzà, 25b, la Torà è stata data, non al meno peggio, ma al popolo più duro che ci sia, per arginarne la malvagità e le tendenze imperialiste.

A smentita dell'accusa di particolarismo ed esclusivismo, un midrash racconta che la Torà venne data nel deserto, in una terra di nessuno, perché essa fu offerta, non solo a Israele, ma a tutta l'umanità (Citato da Augusto Segre, Prefazione a Il Decalogo commentato in dieci discorsi, cit. e Dante Lattes, Nel solco della Bibbia, cit., p. 7). Ancor di più, il Signore avrebbe tradotto la Torà nella lingua di ogni nazione, accogliendone ogni specifica sfumatura di senso e di interpretazione. (Elia Benamozegh, Israele e l'umanità, cit., pp. 258-263)

Come nota Stefano Levi Della Torre, il differenziarsi, il separarsi, l'elezione non sono «un fatto», una condizione genetica o ereditaria, «ma un comportamento», «un compito». 76 Roberto Della Rocca ci fa notare, nel suo saggio in questo volume, che l'esortazione a essere santi (kedushim), «siate santi perché lo sono santo», condizione della stessa elezione, è espressa sempre all'imperativo (Levitico 19, 2) o al futuro (Levitico 20, 24), «come se la kedushah [la santità del popolo ebraico] dovesse costituire un processo sempre in fieri e mai un'entità statica acquisita una volta per sempre». L'elezione – spiega ancora Levi Della Torre – è nell'«ordine del fare» come Dio, non dell'«essere come Dio».

Come dunque fa Dio? E come deve fare il popolo ebraico?

Rashi mette in relazione di sinonimia – tipico strumento del metodo interpretativo talmudico – la radice del termine parùsh [«separato», «distinto»] con quella di kadòsh [«santo»]. Come spiega il filosofo Emmanuel Levinas, il «santo» si distingue dal «sacro» perché non ingloba e annulla in una totalità indistinta le individualità con cui entra in contatto, ma nella relazione con esse si ritrae rispettosamente. Il Dio unico, nel rivelarsi e donare la Torà al popolo ebraico, rimane trascendente e irraggiungibile per lasciare spazio al suo altro: l'uomo ha infatti la libertà e insieme la responsabilità di completare la creazione, definire, interpretare e applicare la Torà nella storia. Una volta donata all'uomo, avverte il Talmud, «la Torà parla il linguaggio degli uomini» (Yebamoth, 71a; Sanhedrin, 56a.) e per gli uomini. Solo una relazione paradossale tra l'Infinito e il finito, l'universale e il particolare, l'identità e l'alterità, capace di conservare la «separazione» e la differenza tra i due termini, in una reciproca «non-indifferenza», rende possibili, sostiene Levinas, la società e il pluralismo.

Come spiega Stefano Levi Della Torre, il senso dell'elezione – dello scegliersi tra Dio e il popolo ebraico – è proprio nella reciproca azione di «separare», «far nascere», «far uscire»: l'uomo fa uscire il Dio unico, universale, santo e invisibile, sia dalla dimensione del sacro che annienta il



finito, sia dagli idoli che lo divinizzano; viceversa il Signore fa uscire l'uomo da tutte le forme di schiavitù, superstizione, determinismo e lo fa nascere come soggetto adulto e responsabile.

Questo è il vero motivo per cui Abramo, il primo ebreo, il primo «scelto», è esortato dal Signore a uscire da Ur, il suo paese di origine, verso una terra indefinita («che lo ti indicherò») (Genesi 12, 1): non per un tradimento delle sue origini e una patologica misantropia, ma per «trasformare il destino in una destinazione», Stefano Levi Della Torre, L'idea di «popolo eletto»,) (la realtà data in un'apertura di possibilità, l'infanzia dell'Eden, ignara della conoscenza del bene e del male, in una responsabilità. Più avanti similmente il Signore lo fa «uscire all'aperto», dalla sua tenda, per osservare il cielo e provare a contare le stelle: i maestri talmudici interpretano questo versetto come un'incitazione a uscire dal cammino fissato dalle stelle e dalla sua dimensione privata verso un orizzonte intersoggettivo e universale.

Un'analoga «uscita» è alla base dell'elezione e della nascita del popolo ebraico nel suo complesso, come testimoniato dai versetti sopra citati di Deuteronomio 4, 20: il Signore «vi fece uscire dal crogiuolo del ferro, dall'Egitto perché foste per Lui un suo possesso speciale». E, tale uscita, ogni ebreo è chiamato simbolicamente a ripetere in prima persona, «come se egli stesso fosse uscito dall'Egitto» insieme ai «nostri padri».

Solo restando separato e limitando la sua autosufficienza e onnipotenza, il Padre Eterno può creare il mondo e rivelarsi all'uomo, lasciando al finito il suo proprio spazio vitale. Così il popolo ebraico deve restare «in disparte», «separato» e «santo», per potersi relazionare con gli altri nel rispetto della loro stessa alterità.

Con l'elezione, Israele assume rispetto agli altri popoli un compito sacerdotale: «E voi sarete per me un regno di sacerdoti, una nazione consacrata». (Esodo 19, 6.) Come abbiamo già visto precedentemente, l'elezione di Israele è infatti una benedizione per tutta l'umanità. (Genesi 12, 3; 28, 14) Israele è una sorta di «cardine», mediatore tra le nazioni in orizzontale e tra gli uomini e Dio in verticale, per la ricomposizione dell'unità monoteistica; un «terzo» lo definisce la Torà nella seguente visione messianica di un futuro di pace e amicizia universale:

“In quel giorno vi sarà una strada spianata dall'Egitto all'Assiria, gli Assiri andranno in Egitto, e l'Egitto servirà l'Assiria. In quel giorno Israele sarà terzo all'Egitto e all'Assiria, benedizione in mezzo alla terra”. (94 Isaia 19, 23–24. Scrive Yehudah Ha-Lewi: «Israele fra le nazioni è come il cuore tra le membra» (Il re dei Khàzari, tr. it. di Elio Piattelli, Bollati Boringhieri, Torino 1991, p. 95).

Come «terzo», tra Dio e Sodoma, Abramo interpreta e mette in atto la sua elezione: intercede per la salvezza della città peccatrice e non si limita a chiedere la grazia per il solo nipote Lot e la sua famiglia, ma per tutta la popolazione. Per il motivo opposto, secondo Levi Della Torre, Dio fa seccare il ricino di Giona: perché il profeta è restio ad assumersi la sua responsabilità e, anziché cercare una «via d'uscita» e di salvezza per la città di Ninive che rischia di essere distrutta per le colpe commesse, interpreta l'elezione come farsi i fatti propri, standosene tranquillo a riposarsi sotto l'ombra e la protezione del suo albero.

La storia ci insegna però quanto, spesso, aggressività, violenza e fondamentalismo si travestano sotto le mentite spoglie di missioni umanitarie universali. La tradizione ebraica ne è consapevole e per questo, nell'assumersi il compito sacerdotale nei confronti dell'umanità, per mezzo della Torà e in nome del Dio unico, rinuncia a coincidere con l'intero e corregge la propria elezione, autolimitandosi, facendosi da parte o, come afferma Rashi, «rimpicciolendosi»:

“Affinché voi non vi glorifichiate quando vi dono benefici, voi vi dovete rimpicciolire ai vostri occhi, come Abramo che ha detto (Genesi 18,27): «E io, io sono polvere e cenere». Come Mosè e Aronne che hanno detto (Esodo 16,7): «E noi, chi siamo noi?». Non come Nabuchodonosor che ha detto (Isaia 14,14): «Voglio essere come il Dio supremo». [...] O come Hiram che ha detto



(Ezechiele 98,2): «Io sono Dio, io mi siederò sulla sua sedia». (Rashi di Troyes su Deuteronomio 7,7, Commento al Deuteronomio, a cura di Luigi Cattani, Marietti, Casale Monferrato 2006).

Per autolimitarsi gli ebrei moltiplicano i propri doveri e le proprie responsabilità. Il patto con Dio, anziché attribuire meriti o favori, vincola infatti al rispetto di 613 comandamenti (di cui 365 negativi e 248 positivi), facendo di ogni piccolo gesto della propria vita una ricerca etica di santità. Il resto dell'umanità invece, dopo l'alleanza con Noè, è tenuta a rispettare solo sette precetti, le cosiddette leggi noachidi. «Non c'è nulla che sia permesso a un ebreo e vietato a un pagano», si legge nel Talmud, Sanhedrin, 59a.

La paradossale convivenza, all'interno dell'ebraismo, di questa doppia dimensione – legge mosaica particolare e legge noachide universale – è il concetto più difficile da comprendere per i non ebrei, ma forse per gli stessi ebrei. Pregiudizi, antisemitismo e derive idolatriche – anche quelle interne all'ebraismo – nascono quando il paradosso che tiene insieme gli opposti (e-e) viene trasformato in un'antinomia (o-o), quando cioè si cancella il particolare a favore dell'universalismo o il particolare pretende di coincidere con il tutto. Con questo si spiega anche il carattere contraddittorio delle accuse rivolte agli ebrei, a seconda che si assuma una prospettiva solo universale («gli ebrei stanno dappertutto», «dominano il mondo») o solo particolare («stanno in disparte, solo tra di loro»). Nell'ideale monoteistico ebraico «le due nozioni particolaristica e universalistica sono invece in perfetto accordo», «senza che l'una sia sacrificata all'altra». (Elia Benamozegh, Israele e l'umanità, cit., pp. 106, 110, 197, 98.)

Così leggiamo infatti nel Talmud:

“Il Santo, benedetto Egli sia, dice: «Questi sono mie creature e quelle sono opera delle mie mani. Come potrei dunque sacrificare gli uni agli altri?»» (Sanhedrin, f.98. Citato da Elia Benamozegh, Israele e l'umanità, cit., p. 95).

Non si deve annientare Israele nell'umanità né la Torà essere abolita, tanto quanto non deve essere imposta la sua specificità, di vita, pensiero, tradizione, riti e regole, a tutto il resto del mondo. Nella missione sacerdotale di realizzare la santità sulla terra, a cui l'elezione lo obbliga, il popolo ebraico non pretende quindi di convertire tutta l'umanità all'ebraismo.

Questa scarsa propensione al proselitismo viene spesso interpretata come un altro sintomo del particolarismo gretto, esclusivista, indifferente ed egoista dell'ebraismo e va ad alimentare l'antisemitismo. (Delphine Horvilleur, Riflessioni sulla questione antisemita) Non si capisce quanto, viceversa, sia segno di un profondo rispetto nei confronti degli altri: chiunque tra i gentili, con una decisione libera, sentita e responsabile, voglia affiliarsi all'ebraismo e farsi carico dei precetti della Torà potrà farlo, ma nessuno verrà obbligato, addirittura neanche le nazioni sconfitte in guerra, come spesso avveniva nell'antichità.

Nella prospettiva ebraica ogni individuo e ogni popolo «ha la sua ragion d'essere», «il suo diritto inviolabile» e il suo ruolo per contribuire a perfezionare la vita sulla terra. (Elia Benamozegh, Israele e l'umanità, cit., pp. 169, 172). Secondo i maestri talmudici, il messia arriverà quando tutte le anime destinate alla vita e contenute nel «deposito» celeste saranno scese sulla terra. (Yebamot, 63. Cit. da Elia Benamozegh, Israele e l'umanità, cit., p. 119 105)

La legge mosaica prescriveva addirittura di celebrare, durante la festa di Sukkot, dei sacrifici propiziatori per la sopravvivenza nel mondo degli altri popoli: settanta vitelli venivano dati in offerta ai settanta popoli che, secondo la tradizione, rappresenterebbero simbolicamente tutte le genti esistenti sulla terra. Le settanta vittime erano ripartite nei sette giorni di festa in modo decrescente: tredici il primo giorno, dodici il secondo ecc., fino al settimo giorno in cui restavano da immolare sette vitelli. La riduzione progressiva delle differenze, verso l'unità degli uomini e di Dio, non deve oltrepassare il numero sette: come se questo numero rappresentasse la garanzia minima di rispetto della pluralità. Persino nell'era messianica, l'umanità non dovrà diventare



interamente ebraica. I profeti immaginano che in quest'epoca la Torà sarà pienamente realizzata, la libertà, la pace e la giustizia regneranno sulla terra e il Dio unico sarà riconosciuto, invocato e lodato da tutti i popoli. Eppure anche allora, questi continueranno paradossalmente a «procedere ciascuno nel nome del rispettivo dio»:

“E avverrà in futuro che il monte della casa del Signore sarà saldo al di sopra di tutti gli altri monti [...] e a lui affluiranno tutti i popoli [...] dicendo: «Su, saliamo al monte del Signore [...], in modo che ci ammaestri intorno alle Sue strade e noi possiamo procedere sulle Sue vie. [...] nessuna nazione alzerà più la spada contro un'altra e non impareranno più l'arte della guerra. Ciascuno sederà sotto la propria vite e sotto il proprio fico senza timore alcuno. È la bocca del Signore Tsevaoth che ha parlato! Mentre tutti i popoli procedono ciascuno nel nome del rispettivo dio, noi procederemo per sempre nel nome del Signore, nostro Dio. (Michà 4, 1-5)

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Relations of the Jewish people with others

Raffaella Di Castro

The prejudice that the Jewish people are particularistic, selfish, closed, separated from other peoples out of a sense of superiority and fear almost of contagion, is evidenced in the Torah itself. It arises simultaneously with Judaism itself and is strongly connected with other prejudices: with the idea of a rigid legalism devoid of love and mercy, with the misunderstanding in a racist and superhomistic sense of "election," with an interpretation of the low tendency to proselytize as indifference and closure.

It is the Torah itself that bears witness to this virtue, which is thus very ancient:

"Yea from the top of the cliffs I see him, and from the hills I behold him. Here is a people who will dwell alone, and among the peoples he will not be numbered" (Numbers 23:9.)

As "separated" are described, by the pagan soothsayer Balaam, the Hebrews who had just emerged from Egypt, thus at the albories of their identity. And this very "separation" is, for Aman - special adviser to Persia's King Ahasuerus - sufficient reason to exterminate them:

"There is a scattered but distinct people among the people of all the provinces of your kingdom; they have different laws from all the people and do not observe the king's laws, and it does not profit the king to tolerate them. If it pleases the king, let it be written that they shall destroy it [...]" (Esther 3:8.)

Aman's words, comments French scholar Delphine Horvilleur, offer "a perfect condensation, a timeless description of what are the accusations made against the Jews throughout History." Accusations in themselves contradictory: "a people perceived at the same time as dispersed and apart," "standing among all but refusing to mix, indistinguishable yet irreducible," whose particularism is felt as a threat to its own integrity. (Delphine Horvilleur, Reflections on the Anti-Semitic Question, 2019)

Taking a leap, from the ancient pagan world to the heart of Christian Europe, in Hegel's philosophical system the idea of a supposed particularistic, nationalistic and selfish separation of the Jewish people - along with many other prejudices against them - takes on a very specific role: that of the absolute antithesis, "unhappy" and "bad," opposed to the dialectical-speculative synthesis that reaches its apotheosis in Christianity.

The soul of Jewish nationality would in fact be, according to Hegel, the odium generis humani that is alternately embodied in the "figures" of master and servant.

The Lord's exhortation to Abraham to depart from his family and land of origin, to a place he would indicate to him, (Genesis 12:1.) appears to Hegel as a gesture of "separation that breaks the bonds of coexistence and love." With whomever he subsequently came in contact with, Abraham would maintain himself "firmly in his isolation," "erecting a wall of division" between himself and others. This same attitude Hegel ascribes to the Jewish people in general who would limit their relations with foreigners to their own selfish self-interest and, in order to achieve their own ends, would not hesitate to deceive the strongest and mercilessly strike the weakest.

Irrefigurable and unnameable, the Jewish God would be a distant God, also incapable of love, a prototype of what Hegel calls the "evil infinite" who, by renouncing the "labor of becoming other"-that is, of relationship, mediation and synthesis- condemns the finite to insoluble



antitheses: "a universal inimity," "the Jewish people on one side and the rest of humanity and the world on the other." Finally, the Jewish God would be, according to Hegel, a "jealous God." With the "horrible claim" of being unique and exclusive to Israel, he would deprive other peoples of their right to the dimension of the sacred.

Let us now return to Jewish sources, ancient and modern. In Hegel's accusations, it is evident how the prejudice of Judaism's alleged nationalist, separatist, exclusivist and selfish particularism is closely related to that of a rigidly legalistic religion, opposed to Christianity as a religion of love and mercy. In refutation of this, it would suffice to recall that the commandment "Love your neighbor as yourself," clearly formulated in Leviticus 19:18, is considered by Rabbi Aqivá - among the most important Talmudic teachers of the 1st-2nd cent. e.v. - as "the greatest principle of the Law" (Nedarim, IX, 4) But as early as the 1st cent. e.v., Hillel - one of the most important Torah students of the time, along with his opponent Shammai -, when asked by a pagan to explain the whole Torah to him standing on one foot, replied, "what you detest, do not do to your neighbor: this is the whole Torah, the rest is commentary, go and study" (Shabbat, 31a.)

To avoid a narrow interpretation of "your neighbor" as referring only to others within the family, clan, and people, in later verses of Leviticus, the commandment is immediately extended to strangers:

"And when a stranger makes his abode with you in your country, you must not abuse him. [...] he shall be to you equal to one of your own natives, and you shall love for him what you love for yourself; for you also were strangers in the land of Egypt." (Leviticus 19:33-34)

The prejudice we are dealing with is so widespread and ingrained that Elijah Benamozegh, an Italian rabbi, exegete and kabbalist (1823-1900), devoted an entire work to its refutation: *Israel and Humanity*. On several occasions, Benamozegh notes how the idea of a particularistic and national religion is absurd and contradictory to the very ideal of monotheism: a God who binds himself exclusively to a nation would in fact be a particular god and not a universal God. To the oneness-unity of God, in Judaism, corresponds the conception, pioneering for the time, of "a humanity unique in origin, nature and destiny" (Elijah Benamozegh 1990), All men and women, in Genesis, are created "in the image of God" (Genesis 1:27.) and are derived from one creature, so that-as the prophets announce-they may live in peace, equality and brotherhood. And, as "brothers," in the Torah, Israel often appoints other peoples.

There are many passages in the Torah and Talmud that show the extension to foreigners of the commandment of love, respect and care for one's neighbor: both to individuals and to peoples, both from Israel and from God.

"Do not abhor the Idumean because he is your brother, and likewise do not abhor the Egyptian because you were guests in his land." (Deuteronomy 23:8; cf. Exodus 22:20.)

The prohibition against "abhorring the foreigner" is absolute, unconditioned by the other's beneficence toward one's own: the Idumeans did indeed refuse the Hebrews passage at-traverse their country and, even more seriously, the Egyptians afflicted them with slavery. Yet, Benamozegh notes, slavery is not even mentioned in these verses, only the initial welcome. "Surplus of generosity" that is also expressed in the prohibition, during the Pesach liturgy in remembrance of the liberation from Egypt, to "rejoice when your enemy falls" The reference to the Egyptians, according to Benamozegh, also and again has the function of avoiding a familistic interpretation of the prohibition, which could be induced by the kinship between Jews and Idumeans, the latter being descended from Esau, Jacob's brother.

With the exception of the above verse, where Egypt appears as a "guest" and not as a tyrant, Rabbi Don Yitzhaq Abrabanel (15th-century Portuguese rabbi) noted that every prohibition against hating foreigners and comandation to do good to them is accompanied in the Torah by



the exhortation to remember that you were in that land foreigners and slaves (David Gianfranco Di Segni 2005):

"Do not distress the stranger, you well know the mind of the stranger, for in such a quality you have been in the land of Egypt." (Exodus 23:9)

The scope of this exhortation, in my view, goes beyond calling for empathetic capacity and effort to draw universal moral lessons from one's experiences, even negative ones. To explain this, it is necessary to digress briefly into the prohibition of idolatry. Ahad Ha-am (19th-century Russian thinker), reinterpreting Hillel's response to the pagan who asked for the synthesis of the Torah, places the prohibition of idolatry above the same ethical precept of loving one's neighbor, in keeping with many similar Talmudic and midrashic interpretations.

Within the Jewish tradition, the idol is not simply the god of other peoples, a statue, a specific object or a defined concept, but a totalizing, enslaving, sacrificial, antinomian, oppositional, violent mode of relationship with the other. The idol is the impossibility, the destruction of the relationship itself. The rejection of idolatry may be the synthetic key to Judaism because it interprets identity as relationship with the other. In fact, according to some commentators, with a play on the radical affinity of words, Abraham is called "Hebrew" [*ivri*] (Genesis 14:13) because he is a foreigner: coming from a place "beyond [*èver*] the Euphrates." (Joshua 24:3) "Jew" therefore means "stranger": "I am with you a stranger, an outsider," says Abraham himself in Genesis 23:4. Identity is already in itself contaminated by otherness.

If the idol is not a thing, but a (negative) mode of relationship, then anything, thought, action, ethics itself, and even the principle of love for the other, at any time and in any context, can become an idol. Indeed, one cannot, for example, decide in the abstract and in absolute terms whether the other has more rights than me, which of the two, in case of danger, should save oneself first, whether welcome is the appropriate attitude in a specific situation or not rather defense, whether love should support justice or vice versa; one can only do so in individual concrete judgments that take into account multiple factors.

Ahad Ha-am places the prohibition of idolatry above love of neighbor not, as Hegel would have it, out of an arid legalism devoid of mercy, but to avoid the idolatrous degeneration of this very principle. His gesture is after all not so far removed from Hillel who put love first, if we consider that the ancient teacher is the same one who also uttered the famous maxim, "If I am not for myself, who is for me? But when I am only for myself, what am I?" (*Pirké Avot*.)

Perhaps now it is better understood why the reminder of slavery in Egypt - the condition and place par excellence of idolatry - accompanies, in the Torah, the rules toward the stranger, becoming the "symbol" of all liberation, even for other peoples. Such a reminder makes anti-idolatry - the synthesis of Jewish identity and, at the same time, the condition of relationship with the other - the objective and universal principle that must guide all other behavior: a principle that is before ethics itself, a law above laws, in the sense of our modern constitutions.

Multiple norms regulate, in the Torah and Talmud, relations with the foreigner living within Israel's society: with the converted foreigner (the *ger tzèdeq*), but also with the foreigner only resident and therefore still pagan (the *gher toshav*).

The foreigner is neither to be deceived nor robbed: "Do not defraud the poor and miserable wage earner, whether he be your brother or a stranger who dwells in your country, in your city." (Deuteronomy 24:14) Indeed, per the Talmud, "it is worse to steal from a pagan than from a Jew." (Tosefta, Baba Qamma 113 a-b. quoted by Abraham Cohen, *The Talmud*, Laterza, Bari 1935, p. 260, and by Hermann Cohen, *Love of Neighbor in the Talmud*, in *Israel's Faith is Hope. Interventions on Jewish Issues (1880-1916)*, edited by Pierfrancesco Fiorato, Giuntina, Florence 2000, p. 167).



It is not enough to tolerate strangers; you must actively and thoughtfully care for them:

"And if a brother of thine shall be impoverished, and his strength shall falter with thee, thou shalt support him, whether he be also a stranger or a hireling, that he may live with thee: take not usury or interest 38 from him [...]. I am the Lord your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt to give you the land of Canaan, to be God to you." (Leviticus 25:35-38)

"You must bear the poor of the Gentiles with the poor of Israel, visit the sick of the Gentiles with the sick of Israel, give honorable burial to the dead of the Gentiles as to the dead of Israel, because of the ways of peace." (Gittin, 61a)

Delicacy toward them must be meticulous-in this consists the fussiness of Jewish legalism stigmatized by Hegel-even to the corners of the field, to the "remains," to the grains of grain:

"Do not subvert the right of the stranger [...] Remember that you were a slave in Egypt and the Lord your God redeemed you from there: therefore I command you to do these things. When thou reapest thy field and hast forgotten a sheaf, go not back to gather it; it shall remain for the stranger, the orphan, the widow that the Lord thy God may bless thee in all thy doings." (Deuteronomy 24:17-22. Cf. Leviticus, 19:9-10 and Ghittin, V:8.)

The same precept is repeated for grapes, olives, etc.

The Sabbath is to be a day of rest for the stranger as for the Jew:

"Observe the Sabbath day to keep it holy as the Lord your God has co-sent you [...]; you shall not do any work either you [...] or the stranger who is in your city, so that he may rest [...] as yourself. You shall remember that you were a slave in the land of Egypt and the Lord brought you out from there with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm, and that therefore the Lord your God commanded you to implement the day of rest." (Deuteronomy 5:14-15)

One law is to apply to the native and the stranger (Leviticus 24:22 and Numbers 15:14-27) and this is to be "an everlasting statute for generations" because "in the sight of the Lord you and the stranger are equal" (Numbers 15:15).

The prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah continually weep for the misfortunes of other nations as well. Isaiah, with that same "overabundance of generosity" noted by Benamozegh, consoles with promises of better days even Egypt of which Israel was a slave. (Isaiah 19)

God's special love for Israel does not exclude his love for other peoples: "The Lord your God loves the stranger by giving them food and clothing" (Deuteronomy 10:18, cf. Psalms 156 and 146). With his double measure of justice and mercy, his intervention in history is for all mankind: the Flood, the dispersion of the nations because of the tower of Babel, the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah and Nineveh, the help to the Egyptians during the famine, the victory of Cyrus, etc.

The covenant after the Flood is, through Noah, with all mankind and, even more universally with "all creatures existing on the earth." (Genesis 9-17) It is no coincidence that, prior to this specific covenant, already in the blessing to Noah and his sons (Shem, Cham and Yefet, progenitors of all the peoples of the earth 46), the Lord remembers that he made every "man in his own image." (Genesis 9-6) Even in the even more particularistic second covenant with Abraham, Hebrew thought "embraces the whole horizon of humanity" (Elijah Benamozegh, *Israel and Humanity*, cit., p. 191): "all the families of the earth will be blessed in you" (Genesis 12-3). "You shall no longer be called Avram; your name shall be Avraham, for I make you a father of many nations" (Genesis 17-5).



According to Benamozegh, the Torah contains the formulation of the first principles of international law. Like Israel, every people has the right for God to deliver them from foreign domination:

"Are you not to Me, children of Israel, like the children of the Ethiopians? Have I not brought the children of Israel out of Egypt, and the Philistines out of Caftor, and the Arameans out of Kir?" (Amos 9:7. Cf. Jeremiah 48:47; 49:6, 39.)

It is God Himself who assigns each nation its place (Jeremiah 12:17) and sets the boundaries:

"When the Most High gave a possession to the nations, when he separated the sons of Adam, he fixed the boundaries of the peoples according to the number of the sons of Israel." (Deuteronomy 32:7-8. The number of the children of Israel is seventy, as is the number of the peoples of the world. See Deuteronomy 2 and Dante Lattes, *The Concept of Nation According to the Bible*, in *In the Furrow of the Bible*, cit., pp. 133-143.)

As a gift from God, the land of every nation is an in- tangible possession: it is therefore a grave crime to want to move borders and "extend one's territory" (Amos 1:13). However, possession of the land is conditional, both for Israel and for other peoples, on righteous moral behavior; otherwise, the punishment is exile and dispersion: for all peoples, but far more harshly for Israel.

"Only you have I held in account among all the families of the earth, therefore I will punish you for all your sins." (Amos 3:2.)

In the Psalms, the nations praise the Lord for His goodness to them and desire to participate in the Messianic age (Emmanuel Levinas, *Les nations et la presence d'Israel*, in *A l'heure des nations*, Les Éditions de Minuit, Paris 1988, pp. 107-124, p. 112.):

"[...] Thy habit is to give salvation to all peoples, [...] Thou judgest righteously of the peoples, and as for the nations, Thou ledest them in the earth". (Psalm 67:5. Cf. Psalm 118:1-2; 68:32-33)

"Princes from Egypt shall come, the hands of Ethiopia shall bring running gifts to God. O kingdoms of the earth, sing to God, sing to my Lord [...]: behold He makes His voice heard, His mighty voice." (Psalms 68:32-33)

Moreover, according to the Talmud, "the righteous of all na- tions will have part in the future world." (58 Sanhedrin, XIII, 2). God Himself glories in His fame among the nations:

"[...] My name is great among the nations from east to west, and in every place incense is burned and pure offerings are presented to My name; for great is My name among the nations." (Malakhi, I, 11.)

Paradoxical path

Having reached this point, however, the prejudice is only partially disproved and having taken only the simplest and most straightforward path. In fact, all prejudices graft themselves onto a basis of truth in order to simplify it, stiffen it, alienate it from its original context, to the point of distorting it.

It is undeniable - as the same commentators speaking against such prejudice note (Elia Benamozegh- Delphine Horveilleur,) - that the Jewish people define themselves as distinct and separate from other peoples:

"And do not follow the laws of the people whom I cast out before you, for they have done all these things and I have had them in disgust [...]. I am the Lord your God who set you apart from the other peoples, and you shall distinguish between the pure and the unclean animals [...]. And



you shall be holy to Me, for holy am I the Lord, and I have set you apart from the other peoples that you may belong to Me." (Leviticus 20:23-26).

This distinction is the effect of the rejection of idolatry and a condition of election: in order to be chosen and to retain that choice, Israel must refrain from doing all the things that other peoples do, that is, idol worship and the immoral behavior that goes with it.

From this and other passages, there would seem to derive a rigid and insurmountable opposition (the "universal enmity" of which Hegel speaks) between idolatrous pagans, whom the Lord has at "disgust," and monotheistic Jews, His "special possession."

"Beware likewise, when you lift up your eyes and see the sun and the moon and the stars and all the heavenly hosts, that you do not lead yourselves astray by prostrating yourselves to them and serving them, for the Lord your God has assigned them to all other peoples who dwell under all the heavens, while He took you and brought you out of the crucible of iron, out of Egypt that you might be His special possession to Him." (Deuteronomy 4:15-20)

Instead, from a deeper reading of the written and oral Torah we discover that, precisely from the prohibition of idolatry, identities are related, even intermingled and reversed.

If according to Maimonides, "an Israelite who practices idolatry is assimilated in all respects to a non-Jew," vice versa, according to R. Nissim and Rav Yochanan, anyone who repudiates idolatry, even a pagan, deserves to be called a "Jew."

Among the various examples that Rav Yochanan mentions, linking together different biblical verses, the most significant is that of Batya, Pharaoh's daughter, called a "Jewess," (I Chronicles 4:18.) in that she "went down to the river to wash," that is, "to cleanse herself from the idols of her father's house." (69 Exodus 2:5.) Rav Yochanan then mentions the saying that Batya gave birth to Moses, because anyone who raises a child is as if he gave birth to him. This, in addition to better clarifying the content of Batya's anti-idolatrous rebellion, unties the definition of identity from criteria of ethnicity, making it rather dependent on ethical behavior. To corroborate such ethical, cultural and non-biological genealogies, in the following passage, "children" of God are all those-even "the children of the stranger" and "those who are not fit to beget"-who "observe law and do justice."

"Thus says the Lord, 'Observe law and do justice [...].'" Happy the man who does this, the son of man who perseveres in this [...]. And let not the son of the stranger who has joined the Lord say, "The Lord has kept me separated from His people." And say not he who is not fit to beget, "I am a dry tree."

For thus saith the Lord concerning those who are not fit to beget, but observe My Sabbaths, choose what pleases Me, and hold fast to My covenant: "I will give them in My house and within My walls strength and renown, me- sons and daughters [...]."

And the children of the stranger who will cling to the Lord [...] and those who hold fast to My covenant, I will cause them to come to the mountain consecrated to Me, [...] their burnt offerings and their sacrifices will be acceptable on My altar, for My house will be proclaimed a house of prayer for all peoples." (Isaiah 56:1-7.)

In the same direction go the various biblical and Talmudic passages that prevent understanding Israel's election in the racist sense of a superior, aggressive and destructive superiority over other peoples:

"Certainly not because you are more numerous than all the other peoples has the Lord preferred you and chosen you, because you are the least numerous of all." (Deuteronomy 7:7.)



It is almost obsessive how Moses, in Deuteronomy 9, reminds his people that the Lord did not choose them for their merits and qualities, being indeed "a hard-necked people," continually prone to idolatry and sin, but only as a lesser evil, because of the superior wickedness of other peoples:

"Hear, O Israel, thou passest over Jordan today to go and conquer nations greater and mightier than thyself [...]. Do not say in your heart [...]: It is because of my righteousness that the Lord has brought me to possess this land. But it is instead because of the wickedness of those nations that the Lord casts them out before you. Therefore, it is not because of your righteousness and the honesty of your heart that you come to possess the land, but because of the wickedness of those nations [...]. You shall know therefore that it is not because of your righteousness that the Lord your God grants you this good land in possession, for you are a hard-necked people. Remember, do not forget how much you made the Lord your God angry in the desert from the day you came out of Egypt [...]; rebels you were with the Lord. Even in Chorev you made the Lord angry, and He became so indignant against you that He threatened to destroy you" (Deuteronomy 9:1-8.)

It is no coincidence that this warning comes at the very moment when Israel is about to enter the promised land: with territorial conquest, the sense of superiority would in fact com- pose even greater ethical-political risks to neighboring peoples.

In contradiction to the biblical passage quoted above, but along the same line of interpretation, according to the Talmud, Betzah, 25b, the Torah was given, not to the least worst, but to the toughest people there is, to curb their wickedness and imperialist tendencies.

In rebuttal to the charge of particularism and exclusivism, a midrash relates that the Torah was given in the desert, in a no man's land, because it was offered, not only to Israel, but to all mankind (Quoted by Augusto Segre, Preface to *The Decalogue Commented on in Ten Discourses*, cit. and Dante Lattes, *In the Furrow of the Bible*, cit., p. 7). Even more, the Lord would translate the Torah into the language of each nation, accommodating every specific nuance of meaning and interpretation. (Elijah Benamozegh, *Israel and Humanity*, cit., pp. 258-263)

As Stefano Levi Della Torre notes, differentiation, separateness, election are "not a fact," a genetic or hereditary condition, "but a behavior," "a task." 76 Roberto Della Rocca points out to us, in his sag- gio in this volume, that the exhortation to be holy (kedo- shim), "be holy because I am holy," a condition of election itself, is always expressed in the imperative (Leviticus 19:2) or the future tense (Leviticus 20:24), "as if kedushah [the holiness of the Jewish people] were to constitute an ever-in-the-making process and never a static entity acquired once and for all." Election," Levi Della Torre further explains, "is in the 'order of doing' like God, not of 'being like God.'"

How then does God do it? And how should the Jewish people do it?

Rashi relates by synonymy a typical tool of the Talmudic interpretive method the root of the term parùsh ["separate," "distinct"] with that of kadòsh ["holy"]. As the philosopher Emmanuel Levinas explains, the "holy" is distinguished from the "sacred" because it does not encompass and annate into an indistinct totality the individualities with which it comes into contact, but in its relationship with them respectfully withdraws. The one God, in revealing himself and giving the Torah to the Jewish people, remains transcendent and unrepresentable in order to leave room for his other: indeed, man has the freedom and at the same time the responsibility to complete creation, define, interpret and apply the Torah in history. Once given to man, the Talmud warns, "the Torah speaks the language of men" (Yebamoth, 71a; Sanhedrin, 56a.) and for men. Only a paradoxical relationship between the Infinite and the finite, the universal and the



particular, identity and otherness, capable of preserving the "separation" and difference between the two terms, in a mutual "non-indifference," makes possible, Levinas argues, society and pluralism.

As Stefano Levi Della Torre explains, the meaning of election - of the choosing between God and the Jewish people - is precisely in the reciprocal action of "separating," "bringing forth," and "bringing forth": man brings forth the unique, universal, holy and invisible God, both from the dimension of the sacred that annihilates the finite and from the idols that deify him; conversely, the Lord brings man forth from all forms of slavery, superstition, and determinism and brings him forth as an adult and responsible subject.

This is the real reason why Abraham, the first Jew, the first "chosen one," is urged by the Lord to leave Ur, his country of origin, to an undefined land ("which I will point out to you") (Genesis 12:1): not out of a betrayal of his origins and pathological misanthropy, but to "transform destiny into a destination," Stefano Levi Della Torre, *The Idea of the "Chosen People,"* (the given reality into an opening of possibility, the childhood of Eden, oblivious to the knowledge of good and evil, into a responsibility. Later similarly, the Lord has him "go out into the open air," from his tent, to observe the sky and try to count the stars: the Talmudic teachers interpret this verse as an incitement to step out of the path set by the stars and its private dimension toward an intersubjective and universal horizon.

A similar "coming out" underlies the election and birth of the Jewish people as a whole, as testified by the above verses from Deuteronomy 4:20: the Lord "brought you out of the crucible of iron, out of Egypt that you might be His special possession to Him." And, such exit, every Jew is symbolically called upon to repeat in the first person, "as if he himself had come out of Egypt" along with "our fathers."

Only by remaining separate and limiting his self-sufficiency and omnipotence can the Eternal Father create the world and reveal himself to man, leaving the finite his own living space. Thus the Jewish people must remain "apart," "separate" and "holy," in order to relate to others with respect for their own otherness.

By election, Israel assumes with respect to other peoples a priestly task: "And you shall be to me a kingdom of priests, an anointed nation." (Exodus 19:6.) As we saw earlier, Israel's election is in fact a blessing for all mankind. (Genesis 12:3; 28:14) Israel is a kind of "hinge," a mediator between the nations horizontally and between humans and God vertically, for the recomposition of monotheistic unity; a "third party" the Torah defines him in the following messianic vision of a future of universal peace and friendship:

"In that day there will be a road paved from Egypt to Assyria, the Assyrians will go to Egypt, and Egypt will serve Assyria. In that day Israel shall be third to Egypt and Assyria, blessing in the midst of the earth." (94 Isaiah 19:23-24. Yehudah Ha-Lewi writes, "Israel among the nations is like the heart among the members" (The King of the Khàzari, tr. it. by Elio Piattelli, Bollati Boringhieri, Turin 1991, p. 95).

As the "third," between God and Sodom, Abraham interprets and enacts his election: he intercedes for the salvation of the sinful city and does not merely ask for grace for his nephew Lot and his family alone, but for the entire population. For the opposite reason, according to Levi Della Torre, God dries up Jonah's castor-oil plant: because the prophet is reluctant to assume his responsibility and, instead of seeking a "way out" and salvation for the city of Nineveh, which is in danger of being destroyed for its sins, he interprets his election as minding his own business, sitting quietly resting under the shade and protection of his tree.

However, history teaches us how often aggression, violence and fundamentalism disguise themselves under the guise of universal humanitarian missions. The Jewish tradition is aware of



this and therefore, in taking on the priestly task towards humanity, through the Torah and in the name of the one God, it renounces coinciding with the whole and corrects its own election, self-limiting, stepping aside or, as Rashi puts it, "shrinking."

"So that you may not glorify yourselves when I give you benefits, you must shrink back in your own eyes, like Abraham who said (Genesis 18:27), "And I, I am dust and ashes." Like Moses and Aaron who said (Exodus 16:7), "And we, who are we?" Not like Nebuchadnezzar who said (Isaiah 14:14), "I want to be like the supreme God." [...] Or like Hiram who said (Ezekiel 98:2), 'I am God, I will sit in his chair.'" (Rashi of Troyes on Deuteronomy 7:7, Commentary on Deuteronomy, edited by Luigi Cattani, Marietti, Casale Monferrato 2006).

To self-limit the Jews multiply their duties and responsibilities. In fact, the covenant with God, instead of attributing merits or favors, binds them to the observance of 613 commandments (of which 365 are negative and 248 positive), making every small act of their lives an ethical quest for holiness. The rest of mankind, on the other hand, after the covenant with Noah, is bound to keep only seven precepts, the so-called Noachid laws. "There is nothing that is permitted to a Jew and forbidden to a pagan," reads the Talmud, Sanhedrin, 59a.

The paradoxical coexistence within Judaism of this dual dimension-particular Mosaic law and universal Noachid law-is the most difficult concept for non-Jews to understand, but perhaps for Jews themselves. Prejudice, anti-Semitism and idolatrous drifts - even those internal to Judaism - arise when the paradox that holds opposites together (e-e) is transformed into an antinomy (o-o), that is, when the particular is erased in favor of universalism or the particular claims to coincide with the whole. With this is also explained the contradictory character of the accusations levelled against the Jews, depending on whether one assumes a perspective that is only universal ("the Jews stand everywhere," "they dominate the world") or only particular ("they stand apart, only among themselves"). In the Jewish monotheistic ideal, "on the other hand, the two particularistic and universalistic notions are in perfect agreement," "without one being sacrificed to the other." (Elijah Benamozegh, *Israel and Humanity*, cit., pp. 106, 110, 197, 98.)

Thus we read in fact in the Talmud:

"The Holy One, blessed be He, says, "These are My creatures and those are the work of My hands. How then could I sacrifice them to one another?" (Sanhedrin, f.98. Quoted by Elijah Benamozegh, *Israel and Humanity*, cit., p. 95).

Israel is not to be annihilated in humanity nor is the Torah to be abolished, any more than its specificity, of life, thought, tradition, rites and rules, is to be imposed on all the rest of the world. In the priestly mission of realizing holiness on earth, to which election obligates them, the Jewish people therefore do not claim to convert all humanity to Judaism.

This unwillingness to proselytize is often interpreted as another symptom of Judaism's narrow, exclusivist, indifferent and selfish particularism and goes to fuel anti-Semitism. (Delphine Horvilleur, *Reflections on the Anti-Semitic Question*) It is unclear how much, conversely, it is a sign of a deep respect for others: anyone among the Gentiles, with a free, heartfelt and responsible decision, who wants to affiliate with Judaism and take on the precepts of the Torah may do so, but no one will be forced, not even nations defeated in war, as was often the case in antiquity.

In the Jewish perspective each individual and each people "has its own *raison d'être*," "its inviolable right," and its role to help perfect life on earth. (Elijah Benamozegh, *Israel and Humanity*, cit., pp. 169, 172). According to the Talmudic masters, the messiah will come when all the souls destined for life and contained in the heavenly "storehouse" have descended to earth. (Yebamot, 63. Quoted from Elijah Benamozegh, *Israel and Humanity*, cit., p. 119 105)



The Mosaic law even prescribed that propitiatory sacrifices for the survival in the world of other peoples be celebrated during the festival of Sukkot: seventy calves were given as offerings to the seventy peoples who, according to tradition, would symbolically represent all the peoples existing on earth. The seventy victims were distributed over the seven feast days in a decreasing manner: thirteen on the first day, twelve on the second, etc., until the seventh day when seven calves remained to be immolated. The progressive reduction of differences, toward the unity of men and God, must not go beyond the number seven: as if this number represented the minimum guarantee of respect for plurality. Even in the messianic age, humanity is not to diverge entirely Jewish. The prophets imagine that in this age the Torah will be fully realized, freedom, peace and justice will reign on earth, and the one God will be recognized, invoked and praised by all peoples. Yet even then, these will paradoxically continue to "proceed each in the name of their respective god."

"And it shall come to pass in the future that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be firm above all other mountains [...] and to him shall flow all peoples [...] saying, 'Up, let us go up to the mountain of the Lord [...], so that He may teach us around His ways and we may proceed in His ways. [...] no nation shall lift up the sword against another, and they shall learn no more the art of war. Each one will sit under his own vine and under his own fig tree without any fear. It is the mouth of the Lord Tsevaoth that has spoken! While all peoples each proceed in the name of their respective god, we shall forever proceed in the name of the Lord our God. (Michá 4:1-5)

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I-Tal-Yah: An Island of Divine Dew. Italian Crossroads In Jewish Culture

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Introduction

Never before the creation of the State of Israel did Jews of so many origins live together, and in such a stimulating environment, as they did in the land they soon started calling in Hebrew *i-tal-yah*, an “Island of Divine Dew.”

A crossroad of world cultures, Italy has been for over two millennia a haven for Italian, Sephardic, and Ashkenazi Jews, in the heartland of Christianity. The Italian-Jewish symbiosis flourished with the Modern Era, in the Renaissance ghettos, continuing through the 19th century Emancipation, and up to the present.

Thus, Jewish Italy appears before our eyes both as a time capsule, where ancient cultural traits have been safely preserved, and as a laboratory, in which such traits were adapted to constantly changing living conditions. While maintaining centuries-old traditions, Italian Jews also tested out new cultural formats that came to define Jewish modernity. Featured prominently among these are the emergence of women as a foundational constituency of the Jewish social fabric, the printing of the Hebrew Bible and the Talmud as hypertexts, the illustration of Hebrew manuscripts as forms of public Jewish art, the public performance of Jewish culture as entertainment for society at large, and the cultivation of the synagogue as a porous space fostering multicultural encounters.

Italian Jews successfully negotiated their way across tradition, diversity, religious conflicts, emancipation, cosmopolitanism, and multiculturalism, all at the very heart of Christianity. Their vicissitudes mirror the history of the Jewish people at large, both because of Italy’s strong cultural influence upon many European countries, and because of its central place in the Mediterranean. Their cultural wealth progressively lost traction at the turn of the 20th century, and effectively came to a halt with the rise of Fascism and the anti-Semitic laws proclaimed in 1938.

All major Jewish museum collections include important artifacts from Italy, and *The Magnes* is no exception. This exhibition presents a selection of manuscripts, books, ritual objects, textiles,



photographs, and postcards collected by The Magnes over five decades to investigate the global significance of Jewish history in Italy.

CASE A: A Linguistic Symbiosis: Hebrew and Italian

Hebrew and Italian fully coexisted in the lives of the Jews of Italy since the early modern period. Prayers, poetic works, and communal records featured the multilingual character of Jewish life in the language as well as in the layout of printed sources, which was often governed by the aesthetics of the Italian printing press. These features soon became popular among the network of Italian Jewish trade across Europe and the Mediterranean, where Hebrew books and poems were printed in “Italian” style.

CASE B: A Unique Melting Pot: Italian Synagogue Life

Italian synagogues were the sites of complex multicultural encounters. Jewish individuals, families, and groups originating from various parts of the diaspora (including from within Italy itself) met there on a daily basis, taking stock of

mutual affinities and differences. Each ghetto often included more than one synagogue. This allowed its inhabitants

to express their cultural diversity—broadly characterized according to distinct Italian, Ashkenazi, and Sephardic ritual traditions, and in reality fragmented in a myriad of local customs—through the various components of the ritual, including texts, sounds, architecture and ritual objects.

Ritual negotiations, which opened a narrow Jewish political space within the ghetto, were often very “private,” and for the most part unintelligible to the outside world. At the same time, however, synagogues were also public spaces, and the site of visits from a variety of non-jewish synagogue goers, for reasons ranging from personal connections with Jewish individuals and families to simple curiosity, intellectual pursuit, and political agendas. Beginning in the 19th century, some home rituals, like the havdalah ceremony concluding the Sabbath and the holidays, began to be more prominently celebrated in the synagogue. Since the decrease in Jewish demographics that characterized the 20th century, the historic synagogues of Italy have become tourist sites.

Postcards from the Venice Ghetto

Postcard set depicting the interiors and the ritual objects of five synagogues (or *scole*) built in the Venice Ghetto in the decades following its establishment (1516): the Ashkenazi Scola Grande Tedesca and Scola Canton, the Scola Italiana, the Eastern Sephardic Scola Levantina, and the Western Sephardic Scola Ponentina or Spagnola. The postcards were created for the tourist market by Fotostampa Zago in Venice around 1960, and featured (somewhat inaccurate) translations of the original Italian captions in English, French, and German.

CASE C: Home Rituals: Hanukkah Lamps

Lamps used to mark the eight days of Hanukkah were created in Italy according to a variety of aesthetic canons. They incorporated references to the menorah, the seven-branched candelabrum lit in the Temple of Jerusalem, as well as to biblical scenes (among them, the story of Judith), but they also included visual motifs drawn from Greek and Roman mythology, and from the conventions of the Italian Renaissance. The most significant Italian Hanukkah lamps in The Magnes Collection are part of the Siegfried S. Strauss collection, acquired in 1967. All lamps in this selection date back to the 16th–18th centuries and were designed in bench-form for domestic use, as opposed to the ubiquitous nine-branched candelabra common in Central and Eastern Europe (and the United States) since the 19th century.



CASE D: Rabbinic Authorities

Italian rabbis were educated in traditional schools, or yeshivot. Beginning in the Renaissance, these schools found a source of inspiration, and legitimacy, in the institutions of the University. University graduates, or doctores, became a model for Jewish religious leadership. Rabbis thus presented themselves in society not only as religious authorities, but also as scholars, translating the word, “rabbi,” into Latin as *doctor legis hebraicae*. The combination of deep knowledge in Jewish rituals and in secular culture that characterized their lore made them sought after abroad. Many Italian rabbis were hired by Jewish communities in North Africa, the Eastern Mediterranean (Greece and Turkey), the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom. Several of them took important leadership roles with the establishment of the Napoleonic Sanhedrin, a Jewish assembly convened in Paris in 1807 with the intent of creating binding ritual rules to be followed by Jewish communities across Europe.

CASE E: Global Book Networks

Hebrew texts were printed in Italy since the 15th century. Book production was the outcome of the collaboration among Jewish authors—rabbis and scholars who travelled to Italy from various parts of Europe and the Mediterranean to work in the printing houses of Venice, Mantua, and Livorno—Hebrew typesetters, and Christian printers. The Soncino family (named after a town near Cremona) established presses in Italy, Egypt, and Turkey since 1484. Daniel Bomberg (d. 1549 or 1553), active in Venice, was among the first Christian printers of Hebrew books. His work resulted in the canonical versions of the Hebrew Bible and the Talmud with commentaries which are still read, and printed, today. Books continued to be printed in Italy and circulated across the Jewish world until the 20th century.

The Hebrew books from Italy found in The Magnes Collection were acquired from communities, families, and individuals worldwide. Among them, communities in Kochi and Kolkata (India), families who immigrated to the United States from the Middle East, and even a veteran of the Jewish Brigade (or Jewish Infantry Brigade Group), a unit of the British Army composed of Jewish soldiers enlisted in Mandatory Palestine, who fought in Southern Italy during the Second World War.

Exporting the Italian Aesthetic Canon: Illustrated Scrolls of Esther

The book of Esther is read in the synagogue during the festival of Purim, customarily from manuscripts on parchment scrolls (referred to in Hebrew as *megilat ester*, or scroll of Esther). The earliest known illustrated manuscripts, which depict the biblical narrative of Queen Esther in detail along with architectural motifs, scenes of daily life and natural and urban landscapes, were created in Italy since the 16th century. In the 17th and 18th centuries, Jewish and non-jewish engravers printed the illustrations from copper plates, while the text continued to be inserted in manuscript form. The custom spread across Europe, especially in Holland, where an Italian Jewish engraver, known as *Shalom Italia*, lived and worked during the 17th century, and to Germany and central Europe. The emergence of these illustrations may point to the influx of non-Jewish synagogue goers in the Italian ghettos, which was particularly prevalent on the occasion of Purim.

Gender and Jewish Modernity. The Emergence of Women in Italian Jewish Life.

Ritual objects and documents often underscore the emerging role of women within Italian Jewish society since the early modern period. Illustrated marriage contracts (*ketubbot*) and Torah “binders,” (textiles created to wrap the scrolls of the Hebrew Bible used in synagogues) are important documents that bear women’s names. Binders and prayer shawls (*tallitot*) are the work of women, and they often mark their social status by allowing to publicly display precious textiles



and ornamented patterns in the context of synagogue life. Since the early modern period, Italian Prayer Books included an additional prayer recited to publicly praise women who sew textiles “for the glory of the Torah” (i.e., for synagogue use).

Marriage Contracts (ketubbot)

The ketubbah (Heb. “written thing”; pl. ketubbot) is a Jewish marriage contract which confirms the covenant of wedlock, stipulates the duties of a husband towards his wife, and guarantees a wife’s financial rights in case of divorce or her husband’s death. It lists the place and date of the wedding, the names of the bride and groom, and is signed by the groom and by those witnessing the covenant. Ketubbot may also be decorated with written, painted, or printed visual motifs that vary in each community of the diaspora, and evolve through time, reflecting a number of different aesthetic sensibilities, societal rules, as well as the status of the couples getting married.

Since the Renaissance, Italian ketubbot have reflected a predilection for elegant artistry. These documents are drawn and decorated in parchment, and their texts are usually found within ornamental frameworks that combine Italian and Jewish cultural traits, making the meaning of the documents themselves accessible to those unable to read Hebrew. Ornaments may include images of gateways, and illustrations of biblical scenes, as well as allegorical images representing married life and fertility, such as the depictions of clasped hands, hearts, birds, and fish, but also of figures drawn from Greek and Roman mythology.

Torah Binders

“Torah binders” are ritual textiles used to wrap the scrolls of the Hebrew bible stored in a synagogue. In Italy, since the early modern period, they were often created, and inscribed by women. The inscriptions of the binders in The Magnes Collection can be categorized according to three different typologies, each revealing a different gender dynamic. Young girls would create binders to celebrate family rituals; brides would inscribe them to honor their future husbands; and married women, who signed themselves with their maiden names, would donate Torah binders to their community, thus revealing their participation (and social standing) in communal affairs.

Prayer Shawls from the Cassuto Family

The Cassuto family of Florence and Livorno, of Sephardic origins, included influential rabbis and scholars. Among them were Umberto (Mosheh David; 1883–1951), a literary historian and biblical commentator educated at the University of Florence. Notably, he was a Professor of Hebrew Literature in Florence and Rome before being dismissed following the anti-Semitic laws of 1938, and subsequently taught at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. His son, Nathan (1909–1945), a medical doctor and the Rabbi of Florence during the Holocaust, died following his deportation to Auschwitz. Nathan’s son, David (b. 1938), an architect, was a deputy Mayor of Jerusalem. Members of the Livorno branch of the Cassuto family immigrated to the United States and settled in the San Francisco Bay Area. They donated some of their family heirlooms to The Magnes.



Musica in dialogo

Enrico Fink, musicista e Presidente Comunità Ebraica di Firenze

Fare musica è un dialogo, per definizione. Un dialogo fra chi esegue e chi sta a sentire, prima di tutto; e un dialogo fra musicisti, quando si suona in un insieme. Più in generale la musica è basata su un elemento che del dialogo è alla base: l'*ascolto*. Non solo la musica si apprezza ascoltandola: ma la si crea, ascoltando – non solo ciò che esce dal proprio strumento, ma prima di tutto ciò che sta intorno, ciò che altri musicisti stanno suonando insieme a te, e anche quando si suona da soli, avvertendo il declinare del tempo, ascoltando il dialogo fra strumento e ambiente. Non a caso suonare in un ensemble è un fantastico metodo per insegnare ad ascoltare e ascoltarsi, per insegnare l'attenzione per l'altro, per il dialogo a volte complicato fra ciò che sta dentro e ciò che sta fuori di noi. Non a caso la musica è spesso usata come veicolo di incontro fra mondi lontani, superamento della distanza e a volte delle barriere fra culture. Fare musica è un mettersi in gioco, ascoltando ed esprimendosi: un dialogo senza linguaggio verbale. E la parola è di una potenza straordinaria ma a volte può costituire un impedimento, un ostacolo. L'emozione che scaturisce dalla musica, dal comunicare con la musica, è invece libera da preconcetti, convenzioni, steccati.

Di questa fluidità della musica, l'esperienza ebraica è stata spesso testimone. Le mille e più espressioni diverse della musica ebraica sono spesso espressioni di incontro musicale: di dialogo fra comunità e società, fra fuori e dentro dalle mura del ghetto, fuori e dentro dallo spazio dedicato della sinagoga. Non è un caso che in tanti momenti della storia della musica ebraica si siano introiettati elementi che venivano da fuori, dando loro un senso nuovo. Basti pensare a "Chad Gadya" che è probabilmente una filastrocca nata in contesto non ebraico e che fu inserita nella nostra celebrazione più familiare e musicale, il seder, aggiungendo alla fine della storia cumulativa Kadosh Barukh Hu, il motore ultimo di ogni cosa, la strofa che dà un significato diverso a tutta la canzone. O a quella grande fase della storia della poesia ebraica, a partire dal decimo secolo, quando *paytanim* che parlavano l'arabo cominciarono a scrivere poesie cantate in ebraico ma con i metri quantitativi della grande tradizione araba, importando così nel canto sacro anche melodie ritmiche, qualcosa che fino ad allora probabilmente era rimasto fuori dal mondo sinagogale. O a quella celebre storia chassidica il cui protagonista è il Baal Shem Tov stesso, che ascoltando un pastore suonare una melodia sul suo flauto in un bosco, gli chiede di suonarla ancora ricompensandolo con un copeco; ascolta con gli occhi chiusi e muovendosi al suono dello strumento, e quando il pastore ha finito, il Besht trae un nuovo copeco fuori dalla tasca e paga di nuovo per un'altra esecuzione. La cosa si ripete alcune volte, finché il pastore, incassato un ultimo copeco, prova a risuonare la melodia ma scopre di non riuscire più a ricordarla. Alle domande dei suoi seguaci, il Besht spiegherà che aveva riconosciuto in quelle note uno dei canti dei Leviti nel Tempio di Gerusalemme, canti esiliati da secoli insieme con gli ebrei. E con quei pochi copechi aveva pagato il riscatto e riportato il canto ad Israele. La storia, come ogni racconto chassidico che si rispetti, ha tanti significati e tante possibili letture, ma è anche il racconto della pratica comune sin da tempi antichi di portare nel canto della sinagoga anche melodie del mondo esterno, permettendo alla purezza della musica di assumere con il testo della *tefillà* anche un senso, una sacralità nuova.

È questa una pratica di cui troviamo grande testimonianza nel variegato e affascinante mondo del canto sinagogale italiano, gemma spesso non apprezzata a sufficienza. In ogni comunità – e sono tante – che abbia portato fino ai giorni nostri un repertorio musicale proprio, siamo di fronte a un repository di suoni dove, nelle diverse epoche, si sono stratificate tracce evidenti e riconoscibili, e che oggi possono essere rivelate da un ascolto attento. Ma le tracce che si possono ascoltare sono in particolare tracce dell'incontro, dell'*interazione*: la storia della musica degli ebrei d'Italia è prima di tutto una storia di mescolanze, dove la mescolanza, l'interazione



fondamentale è quella con il mondo circostante, con la musica italiana del tempo – che fosse una danza rinascimentale o un'aria barocca o lo stile belcantistico di cui si riempiono le nostre scuole all'epoca dell'Emancipazione. Gli stessi compositori dell'Ottocento, chiamati a rinnovare il patrimonio musicale liturgico, non vollero dimenticare del tutto la grande storia passata di questa musica composita: è facile rendersene conto, ascoltando canti che in una chiave moderna mantengono evidentissimi echi di musica del settecento, del seicento e cinquecento – epoche in cui la musica rispecchia le alterne fortune delle comunità ebraiche, ora blandite e ricercate ora scacciate dai regnanti delle corti italiane; e forse anche precedente, se vero che è di strettissima attualità per gli etnomusicologi lo studio delle relazioni fra nascita del canto gregoriano e la quasi contemporanea opera di scrittura masoretica dei “te'amim” – le note per la cantillazione del testo biblico.

Insomma, se ascoltiamo i canti che ogni Sabato e in ogni festa ebraica riecheggiano oggi – o riecheggiavano fino a qualche decennio fa – nelle sinagoghe italiane; se ascoltiamo questa musica che, miracolosamente, è ancora in molti casi viva e cantata, e non come per tante altre tradizioni antiche, appannaggio solo degli studiosi; è come se ascoltassimo un concentrato della storia degli ebrei d'Italia, e degli italiani. La storia bimillenaria di rapporto e scambio fra ebraismo e mondo circostante in Italia.

Anche in questo particolarissimo nostro caso, dunque, la musica si rivela essere di per se stessa dialogo, conversazione. E avremo molta musica e molti dialoghi da raccontare in questa prossima Giornata Europea.



Music in dialogue

Enrico Fink, musician and President Jewish Community of Florence

Making music is a dialogue, by definition. A dialogue between the performer and the listener, first of all; and a dialogue between musicians, when playing in an ensemble. More generally, music is based on an element that is at the heart of dialogue: listening. Not only do you appreciate music by listening to it: you create it, by listening - not only to what comes out of your instrument, but first of all to what is around it, to what other musicians are playing together with you, and also when you play alone, feeling the declining tempo, listening to the dialogue between instrument and environment. It is no coincidence that playing in an ensemble is a fantastic way to teach listening and hearing oneself, to teach attention to the other, to the sometimes complicated dialogue between what is inside and what is outside of us. It is no coincidence that music is often used as a vehicle for meeting distant worlds, overcoming distance and sometimes barriers between cultures. Making music is a putting oneself into play, listening and expressing oneself: a dialogue without verbal language. And the word is of extraordinary power but can sometimes be an impediment, an obstacle. The emotion that flows from music, from communicating with music, on the other hand, is free of preconceptions, conventions, fences.

To this fluidity of music, the Jewish experience has often witnessed. The thousand and one different expressions of Jewish music are often expressions of musical encounter: of dialogue between community and society, between outside and inside the ghetto walls, outside and inside the dedicated space of the synagogue. It is no coincidence that at so many moments in the history of Jewish music, elements from outside have been introjected, giving them new meaning. Just think of "Chad Gadya" which is probably a nursery rhyme that originated in a non-Jewish context and was inserted into our most familiar and musical celebration, the seder, adding at the end of the cumulative story Kadosh Barukh Hu, the ultimate engine of everything, the verse that gives a different meaning to the whole song. Or to that great phase in the history of Hebrew poetry, beginning in the tenth century, when paytanim who spoke Arabic began to write poems sung in Hebrew but with the quantitative metres of the great Arabic tradition, thus importing rhythmic melodies into the sacred song, something that until then had probably remained outside the synagogal world. Or to that famous Chassidic story whose protagonist is the Baal Shem Tov himself, who, listening to a shepherd playing a melody on his flute in a wood, asks him to play it again, rewarding him with a kopeck; he listens with his eyes closed and moving to the sound of the instrument, and when the shepherd has finished, the Besht pulls a new kopeck out of his pocket and pays again for another performance. This is repeated a few times, until the shepherd, having cashed in one last kopeck, tries to play the tune again but finds he can no longer remember it. When asked by his followers, the Besht explains that he had recognised in those notes one of the songs of the Levites in the Temple of Jerusalem, songs that had been exiled for centuries along with the Jews. And with those few kopecks he had paid the ransom and brought the song back to Israel. The story, like any self-respecting Chassidic tale, has many meanings and many possible readings, but it is also the story of the common practice since ancient times of bringing melodies from the outside world into the synagogue chant, allowing the purity of the music to take on a new meaning, a new sacredness, with the text of the tefila.

This is a practice to which we find great testimony in the varied and fascinating world of Italian synagogue chant, a gem that is often under-appreciated. In every community - and there are many of them - that has brought its own musical repertoire up to the present day, we are faced with a repository of sounds where, over the different eras, evident and recognisable traces have stratified, and which today can be revealed by careful listening. But the traces that can be



listened to are in particular traces of encounter, of interaction: the history of the music of the Jews of Italy is first and foremost a history of intermingling, where the intermingling, the fundamental interaction is that with the surrounding world, with the Italian music of the time - whether it was a Renaissance dance or a Baroque aria or the bel canto style that filled our schools at the time of Emancipation. Nineteenth-century composers themselves, who were called upon to renew the liturgical musical heritage, did not want to completely forget the great past history of this composed music: it is easy to realise this, listening to hymns that in a modern key retain very clear echoes of the music of the 18th, 17th and 16th centuries - epochs in which the music reflected the alternating fortunes of the Jewish communities, now blandished and sought after, now driven out by the rulers of the Italian courts; and perhaps even earlier, if it is true that the study of the relationship between the birth of Gregorian chant and the almost contemporaneous Masoretic writing of the 'te'amim' - the notes for the cantillation of the biblical text - is of great interest to ethnomusicologists.

In short, if we listen to the chants that echo today - or echoed until a few decades ago - in Italian synagogues every Sabbath and on every Jewish holiday; if we listen to this music that, miraculously, is still alive and sung in many cases, and not, as with so many other ancient traditions, the prerogative only of scholars; it is as if we were listening to a concentrate of the history of the Jews of Italy, and of Italians. The two thousand year history of the relationship and exchange between Judaism and the surrounding world in Italy.

Even in this very special case of ours, then, music proves to be dialogue, conversation in itself. And we will have much music and much dialogue to tell on this coming European Day.



Identity, redesigned. A New Minhag for a New Temple

Enrico Fink

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With its roughly nine hundred members, the Jewish community of Florence vies today with Turin for the third place, in size, among Italian Jewish communities. The third in size or, as is often said, the 'Largest among the little', considering the various small communities scattered throughout central and northern Italy, and taking for granted Rome and Milan's superior numbers. Florence is a small community, for sure, yet rather forcefully alive, proud and jealous of its musical traditions. I can personally attest to having felt the effects of such a pride, for example when, acting as a shaliach tzibbur, I have had the opportunity to stand in the majestic Tempio Maggiore (Great Synagogue), giving my personal rendition of Florentine traditional melodies. Coming from 'outside' (the Ferrara community!) And carrying an Ashkenazi surname, I have often found myself subject to a very close scrutiny, aimed at censoring any corruption or maybe 'yiddishization' of the Florentine sound: and I have discovered before Long that the precious recordings made by the late Rabbi Fernando Belgrade from the fifties onwards, still stand as a stout bulwark, defending the traditional melodies (or what was, or what is, perceived as traditional; but more on this later). Such a protective stance did not come to me as a surprise; to the contrary, it confirms the image of Italy's small qehillot as deeply attached to their own local traditions. Yet the Florence Jewish world has shown in its past a flexibility, indeed an impulse to redefine its own forms, that would speak against such a conservative stance. Such a redefinition, as took place during and around the decades of the Emancipation, is the scope of this talk: and we shall try to catch a few glimpses of the transformations entailed. If the result of such glimpses will be enough to paint a coherent picture, is a question that I will return to at the very end.

Regarding the small communities' attachment to their tradition, there's a story about my great-grandfather, Benzion Fink, who was employed as a chazzan in Gorizia in the early years of the twentieth century, shortly after his arrival from Russia. It is said he was employed and paid for one full year not to sing: but to sit reverently and learn the local music – before he was allowed to officiate.

The contract signed in 1682 by Rabbi Graziadio Ghiron as he prepared to take office in Florence, coming from his native Casale Monferrato, includes a clause much similar to, if not as long as, the one accepted by my great-grandfather:

[...] Che devi esso il sig. N. חכם [chakham, Lit. "wise", but also the technical title obtained as final confirmation in rabbinical studies] esercitar il חזנות [chazzanut] all'uso italiano con Leggere i דינים [dinim] ne i tempi soliti, et essendo il sig. חכם di קהילה [qehillah] tedesca e p.[er] tanto non avvezzo al חזנות italiano, havrà tempo per far pratica a tal carica due mesi ritorno qui in Firenze [...].

[...] That the sir chakham should exercise the chazzanut to the italian practice, reading the dinim (statutes) in the usual times, and being the sir chakham of Tedesca Qehillà [...], and consequently not used to the Italian chazzanut [...], he will have time to practice for such an employment, two months after his return to Florence [...].

Yet documents and Letters from the nineteenth century, after the construction of the Great Synagogue in via Farini, show that the consiglio, when looking for a potential new chazzan, was at this time more concerned on his vocal qualities and the health of his respiratory system than in his heritage or knowledge of the local minhag [Viterbo 1997, 125-130]. The situation was



obviously very different by now: not only the imposing size and acoustics of the Great Synagogue called for the talents of a professional singer, but much of the old Florentine tradition had been left behind, as it were, in the old and now demolished ghetto; the Italian liturgical minhag with its complex musical heritage had been abandoned in favor of the more fashionable 'Spanish' ritual.

As is well known, the Western Sephardic ritual in use today was adopted since the dedication of the Tempio Maggiore itself in 1882; and is a direct continuation of the minhag in use in the Tempio Levantino (Levantine synagogue) that had existed since the beginning of the seventeenth century in the Ghetto alongside the older Tempio Italiano (Italian synagogue). Yet the question of the predominance of one rite over the other, indeed of the possible unification of the entire Community under the minhag Spagnolo, had been on the table for many years. It had intersected with the general tendency to overcome local differences and find a unity more suited to the new aspirations of Italian Jews [Spagnolo 2013]. In 1842, well before the construction of the Tempio Maggiore, indeed before the abrogation of the Ghetto Laws, the Maggior consiglio of the Community set in motion a process that was supposed to unify the Florentines in a single synagogue with a single, Sephardic rite. The story is told in lively detail by Lionella Viterbo in her essays on documents from the Florentine Community archives [Viterbo 1997, 103-109]. At the time no chief rabbi was in office – the celebrated Rabbi Anania Coen had died in 1834 and the seat had been vacant for many years. So the community needed to be backed up by some external authority on matters that were not only of political, but also halakhical character. A Letter was sent out to five Italian rabbinical authorities (Rabbi Reggio in Gorizia; Rabbi della Torre in Padua; Rabbi Piperno in Leghorn; Rabbi Cantoni in Turin and Rabbi Lattes in Venice), posing a series of questions of which the first one was paramount cited in [Viterbo 1997, 103]:

Se sia lecito la riunione in un solo Tempio con מנהג [minhag] spagnolo dei due aventi ora diverso מנהג senza obbligo di continuare in alcun modo il מנהג italiano e destinando l'altro Tempio, come è naturale, ad uso sacro.

If it is permissible to unite in a single Temple with minhag Spagnolo the two now having different minhag, without obligation to continue the Italian minhag in any way; and reserving the other Temple to sacred use, as is natural.

Such a question found almost unanimous positive answer, with the notable exception of the rabbinate of the neighboring Leghorn. Did the Livornese community fear being stripped of its role of authentic depository of the Spagnolo tradition? Difficult to say now, but the fact remains that, even with the consensus of a majority of four rabbinical seats to one, the Florentine consiglio, faced with the firm denial of Rabbi Piperno backed by other Leghorn rabbis, chose not to go ahead with the project. A project which maybe had been motivated by economical concerns – as Viterbo points out, there was a real issue with the physical state of the two Templi, in particular of the Levantino, whose patrons justly demanded renovations; and maybe the consiglio had simply deemed it more thrifty to renovate and aggrandize one synagogue and leave the other in its state. In any case, the whole issue was to be solved for good in a few years with the demolition of the Ghetto and the construction of the new Tempio Maggiore. As Spagnolo has aptly pointed out, such a project fits perfectly the mainstream direction of Italian Jewry in the decades immediately preceding and following the Emancipation; and as we will have occasion to note again, the preference accorded to the minhag Spagnolo can be viewed not only in terms of a possible higher social status of those Jews connected with the Mediterranean mercantile enterprises, but also and probably most of all in terms of a peculiar form of 'orientalism' adapted to the Jewish Italian cultures of the time; recognizing Sephardic traditions as carrying more antiquity than the Italian ones, even if today we might think that the exact opposite was true. But as noted before, Florence had shown even before the mid 1800s some disposition to overcome traditional barriers between minhagim. Of particular interest in this



regard is a document from the summer of 1822, found in the Community archives. Here the consiglio hires Michele Bolaffi, whose name is tied to the great renovation of Livornese synagogue music [Seroussi 2002], to come to Florence and take care of reorganizing the choirs and the music to be sung in both the Tempio Levantino and Tempio Italiano, making headway towards a diminishing of the ritual differences. I give a full translation of the text.

Florence, August 11th 1822

In reference to the deliberations of the הועד מעלת [Ma'alat ha-wa'ad, the Great council], and of the illustrious Components of the council and this City's Charity in the meeting of the past July 17th; and in consequence of their message delivered on August 1st to Sirs samuel Finzi and David Soschino, and to the Sirs, Parnassim in their respective scuole; the same have met to adopt a plan for the Music, to be introduced in the holy scuole, Italian and Levantine; and they decreed the following, that is:

First

To the effect that Sir, Maestro Michele Bolaffi, is to be held, for the duration of the signatures, and as the circumstances of our ק"ק [Qehillah Qedoshah, holy Congregation] are to him related, to regulate what specified in the following; and to teach to a number of boys of the תורה תלמוד [Talmud Torah] in order to form choirs, and more; and also to instruct Sirs David Servi and manovel Ariè Bolaffi e raffael Leon Ghirone e Abram Finzi as his assistants, so that at the end of his activity they might themselves continue such teachings, and Lead the choirs in singing such music as shall be elected to introduce, and that without any request of further stipend; with full recognition from our ק"ק that everything has been so proposed, in the request addressed to the aforementioned Sirs.

Second

ALL the daily melodies such as the שירה [shirah] for the scuola italiana, ברואי כול [Kol Berue] and the מזמורים [mizmorim] of regular evenings, and also the סליחות [selichot] for the month of אלול [Elul], must remain unchanged, with the usual נועמים [no'amim], and only the choirs must be regulated, so that the קהל [qahal] can join in.

Third

That for the regular שבתות [Shabbatot] He should regulate in the usual melodies the לכה דודי [Leklah Dodi] and the מזמורים [mizmorim] that follow; the answers to מעריב ברכת [Birkat Ma'ariv] and עולם אהבת [Ahavat Olam]; and the זאת כל ואמונה [We-Emunah Kol Zot] and השכיבנו [Hashkivenu] should be read more slowly by the חזן [chazzan]; and for the morning, the זמירות [zemiroth], the שירה [shirah], the answers to the יוצר [Yotzer], and for the scuola italiana בשנותו לדוד [Le-David be-shanoto], נשמת [Nishmat] and כאלוהינו אין [Ein ke-Elohenu] remain firm in their usual נועמים [no'amim].

Fourth

It is in the faculty of Sir, Maestro Bolaffi, on Saturday evening, to have two or three of the usual מזמורים [mizmorim] sung, in all the scuole, for the practice of the choirs, always in a fixed verse; such practice should not extend after 24 hours and a half [...] And should be executed one Saturday evening for each scuola, until that moment when two choirs shall be capable of singing one psalm for each scuola.

Fifth

For the חדש וראש שבת [Shabbat we-Rosh Chodesh, a Shabbat which is also the beginning of the month], put in order the הלל [Hallel] in the usual נועמים [no'amim].

Sixth

The first evening of מועדים [mo'adim] put in order the usual נועמים [no'amim]. Let עולם אדון [Adon Olam] for the scuola italiana and יגדל [Yigdal] for the scuola Levantina be sung



in music for Choir, with two melodies that may vary and not more for the second night of מועד [mo'ed]; and in the Friday night המועד וחול שבת [Shabbat we-chol ha-Mo'ed, Shabbat that is also day of half-festival] the choir should sing דודי לכה [Lekhah Dodi] while the קדיש וברכו [Qaddish u-varechu] shall be sung by the חזן [chazzan] solo. With the Choir, זאת כל ואמונה, בנין ראו, זמירות, שירה, נשמת and יוצר [we-Emunah Kol Zot: Rau Vanim: Hashkivenu and Yigdal] and for the scuola italiana עולם אדון [Adon Olam]. ALL this must be done with only two melodies, or they should be set music pieces to be sung alternatively. For the morning of מו'ed, זמירות, שירה, נשמת and יוצר [zemirot, shirah, Nishmat and Yotzer] must be regulated in their usual נועמים [no'amim]; and the Great Choir should perform the הלל [Hallel] that must be set in two melodies or music pieces, and not otherwise. And Likewise the תורה ספר הוצאת [Hotzat Sefer Torah, the extraction of the Torah scroll from the Ark] אקרא 'ה שם כי טו [Ki Shem Adonai eqra] in the scuola italiana, and המקום ברוך [Barukh ha-maqom] until התורה וזאת [we-zot ha-Torah] in the scuola Levantina; and teach to the small choir the two פיצמונים [pizmonim] that are usually sung in the scuola Levantina for שבועות [Shavu'ot], with the usual melody, but in good order. In the תורה ספר הכנסת [Haknisat Sefer Torah] the ימלוך [Imlokh] is to be sung to two fixed melodies only, and the Choir shall sing לדוד מזמור [Mizmor le-David] for the scuola Levantina and ה תהילת'ה and השיבנו אלהים [Elohim hashivenu and Tehillat ha-Shem] for the scuola italiana. For תורה שמחת [Simchat Torah] at מנחה [minchah], only in the scuola Levantina the usual פיצמונים [pizmonim] are to be regulated in the usual נועמים [no'amim]. And if the חתנים [chatanim] should prefer them in some new music, it can be done with the approval of the said Deputation. In that same service, לדוד מזמור [Mizmor le-David] and ימלוך [Imlokh] shall be sung as in the morning of מועד [mo'ed], but it is deferred to the wishes of the aforementioned Deputation, if all these pieces or a portion of them should be sung.

Seventh

For באב תשעה [Tish'ah be-Av] and נוראים ימים [Yamim Noraim] no innovation should be made regarding the poems, and only they should be better regulated by the said Sir; and so the so called imposte [probably the individual parts of the choir setting] should be sung by the individual components of the great and small choir in no different manner.

Eighth

To keep a good order in each scuola, the הכרזה [Hakhrazah, announcement] shall be made to ask the public to keep silent during the performance of the music, and that they well unite with the sound small choir in the usual parts.

Ninth

That Sir Maestro Bolaffi shall instruct two choirs, one for each scuola, so that the music can be performed at the same time in both scuole, without the inconvenience for the חזנים [hazanim] to go from one scuola to the other, and so that what has been written above can be performed.

Tenth

That Sir Maestro Bolaffi shall personally be in attendance partly in one scuola partly in the other, without a specific rule, only where he will deem it more appropriate.

And for the observance of what is above, accordance is expressed by the aforementioned Sirs and to that effect two original copies have been made.

Eleventh [in a different hand, probably added in a later moment]

Sir Maestro Bolaffi will have the faculty of selecting his substitute, a person he shall deem capable of regulating the great choir, in the scuola where he is not personally present. [the signatures follow]



Such a contract offers many interesting insights into the minhagim of the times. But generally speaking, one can read in it both a consideration for the differences of the two scuole, and a desire to reform the traditional material as it was performed in the Templo, to bring new order and a musical form compatible with contemporary sensibilities. Maybe in the fact that a single Maestro was chosen to instruct both synagogues, we can read that this inclination for reform might surpass any fear of assimilation between the two minhagim, already by the first part of the nineteenth century: but the idea of abolishing one rite in favor of the other, explicit twenty years Later, seems still far away.

In considering the musical material that comprises today the repertoire of the Tempio Maggiore in Florence we are confronted with the net result of many such conflicting stances. As Spagnolo [2015] pointed out, there is no simple way of studying such material; a local, peculiar history is reflected in it, and in order to understand how it came to be constructed, one must take into consideration far reaching ideologies and small, very specific and local issues; Large and small interactions inside and outside the community itself. This repertoire is the result of a complex interweaving of the Livornese tradition with other sources, in some cases specific compositions – in particular for festival psalms; an accurate description can be found in Beit Hatefutzot's cd, *Singing Dew* [2002] and Edwin Seroussi's Liner notes therein. Among these many other sources, it is not impossible to see some surviving trace of the Italian rite, as the following example aims to show.

In Leo Levi's celebrated recordings [Spagnolo 2001] a small wealth of music from the Florentine Italian ritual (albeit sung in Genova, by the cantor Procaccia) can be still heard today, when nobody in the community (to my knowledge) has any more recollection of it. Among other things of interest, there is a striking correspondence between the melody used to chant the haphtarah (liturgical reading from the biblical book of prophets) for the morning of Tish'ah be-Av, and the melody still in use today to sing the book of Ruth for the festival of Shavuot, it too recorded by Levi from the voice of Rabbi Belgrado. I present here a transcription I made of the melodies for the principal te'amim (cantillation marks), as I reconstructed them from the four verses present in Levi's recording of Belgrado, and from a more recent recording made by Rabbi Umberto Sciunnach, z.L.,⁵ now available online. The tunes correspond perfectly to what we can hear in Procaccia's rendition of the Tish'ah be-Av haphtarah; as can be seen, I have indicated with the name *lifnei acharon*, «before the Last», the melody for the Last disjunctive ta'am in the verse.

Without going into too much detail on the question of cantillation, suffice it to say that cantillation marks are given different musical reading in different traditions [Fink 2020; Bernstein 2003]; the Italian rite, in addition to its own musical peculiarity, is different in the technique used for the cantillation, in that it ascribes a particular melodic line to the next to Last disjunctive ta'am in every verse, irrespective of which ta'am it actually is. It is quite notable that Belgrado's recordings of the reading of the book of Ruth (and other texts such as Shir ha-shirim, the Song of Songs) show an Italian technique instead of the Sephardic one he uses for the generality of readings; his cantillation seems to stem directly from what we can hear of Procaccia reading the Tish'ah be-Av haphtarah in the Levi recordings. But this unusual fact is even more peculiar when one notes that the melodies for the te'amim correspond almost perfectly to the ones used in Livorno for Ruth, as we can see from the transcriptions present in Consolo's collection of Livornese synagogue music [Consolo 1892-1900; Seroussi 2002].

Almost perfectly, that is, with the exception of the technique of the 'next to Last' ta'am, which is here naturally absent as it is not present in the Sephardic tradition. Not only this; but such a melody is not much dissimilar to other Western Sephardic instances of the Ruth reading; see for example the recordings of Gavriel Shrem available online.⁶ So we have here two well-marked paths for the same melodies; one in the Western Sephardic tradition, one in the Italian minhag. It is totally beyond my abilities to formulate even a guess to where the 'original' melody comes



from, and who learned it from who, it is but one of the many examples in which we can probably see Livorno's role as a crossroads between Italian and Sephardic cultures, to follow Seroussi's Lesson; without knowing in which direction the crossroad functioned, in this case.

Another interesting case study is the peculiar and in some cases extremely beautiful melodies used to sing the pizmonim for Simchat Torah. I have discussed elsewhere more fully this issue [Fink 2020]; I would like here to point out the interesting reference made to these pieces in the Bolaffi contract, towards the end of the sixth paragraph. If the chatanim so wished, the pizmonim could be sung to different melodies of their choosing (the chatanim are two members of the community to whom is bestowed the honor of reading, for that year, the ending and the beginning portion of the Torah during the festival). Such a statement is of particular interest because the exact origin and composition of the set of pizmonim together with their melodies is not easy to determine. They had entered the Florentine ritual not much earlier – an early eighteenth century Florentine prayer book for the rito Spagnolo shows no trace of their insertion. By a century after the Bolaffi contract, the poems and the tunes seem to have been firmly in place, as a manuscript by Rabbi Elia Artom [2013] detailing the Florence minhag refers to the performing of their 'usual melodies'. The Bolaffi contract offers us a glimpse into an intermediate period, when the pizmonim had entered the ritual but were still susceptible to some degree of flexibility.

The pizmonim themselves, and their music, occupy a very particular place in the Florence repertoire. Rabbi Belgrado surely treasured them, and included them in the sparse number of those melodies he recorded as concert pieces together with an instrumental accompaniment, endowing them with a title that reveals much: *Antiche Danze Spagnole* (Ancient Spanish Dances). They certainly are an interesting collection of music, and as I said some melodies are indeed stunning. But their origin seems to be extremely diverse, and in a few cases the melody shows some trace of antiquity, at least stylistically, some of the tunes are quite evidently not 'ancient' at all. Seroussi has suggested that two of the melodies, namely the ones for *Teromem* and *Se'u She'arim* might even be adaptations from a 1927 popular recording by the celebrated Turkish chazzan Isaac Algazi; something which is quite plausible, and seems not at all out of place in the quest for 'oriental antiquity' we already discussed being one of the determinant factors in the creation of the Florence Liturgy. The *Antiche Danze Spagnole* could be written off as a beautiful yet totally modern set of tunes, their solemn name notwithstanding; yet even a tune that Seroussi [2002] well describes as «belonging to the art repertoire of eighteenth century Italy» as the one for the poem *Shalom Leven Dodi*, present in the Florence rite with its textual variant *Shalom Lekha Dodi*, can reserve some surprises. If we compare it with a tune for the famous *Shlomo Alkabetz* poem for the welcoming of the Shabbat, *Lekha Dodi*, as was sung in the beginning of the twentieth century in Ferrara [Fink, forthcoming], we immediately recognize striking resemblances, even though the overall style of the tunes couldn't be more different. The Ferrara melody is quite probably an older tune, the model that the (unnamed) composer of the much more ornate Florentine *Shalom Lecha Dodi* had in mind. It becomes apparent, at least in this case, how modern composers and chazzanim might strive to incorporate that "reform" we have been speaking of, while at the same time maintaining some fundamental core of melodies that spoke to the more traditionalist heart.

Once again it is evident that any generalization is dangerous in matters as intricately woven such as these; and one is best left to analyze specific examples than try to find broad perspectives. The answer to the question I posed at the beginning, is there some 'coherent picture' that can be inferred from the analysis of a repertoire apparently so simply and precisely defined such as the music of a small Jewish community in central Italy, that answer is, unsurprisingly, no. Different and sometimes conflicting intentions such as tradition and reform, continuity and innovation, East and West, rito Italiano and rito Spagnolo, a form of 'Jewish orientalism' and the need to



bring all into the realm of a very European sensibility, all have contributed to shape that complex treasure trove of music that is the repertoire of an Italian synagogue such as Florence.

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Travelling Exhibition: I Have Not Seen Another Butterfly Around Here: Children's Drawings from Terezín Ghetto

Zuzana Pavlovská

In October 2021 the South African Holocaust & Genocide received the pop-up travelling exhibition entitled *I Have Not Seen Another Butterfly Around Here: Children's Drawings from Terezín Ghetto*. The exhibition, in collaboration with the Embassy of the Czech Republic and the Jewish Museum in Prague, focuses the art and poetry of Jewish children incarcerated in the Terezín Ghetto in Czechoslovakia during World War II.

The exhibition was opened at a small event at the Cape Town Holocaust & Genocide Centre (CTHGC). We were honoured to have in attendance Ambassador of the Czech Republic H.E. Dr Pavel Řezáč, and Counsellor-Minister Ms Alice Mžýková, who travelled from Pretoria and delivered the opening address and words of welcome, respectively. Dr Zuzana Pavlovská, head of the Department for Education & Culture at the Jewish Museum in Prague travelled to Cape Town for the week of the exhibition opening, and delivered a keynote address.

The following night, Dr Zuzana Pavlovská gave a fascinating lecture about the history and collections of the Jewish Museum in Prague. She also conducted an in-depth workshop with our volunteer guides on the pop-up exhibition, sharing valuable knowledge and insights that we have been able to incorporate into our educational programming. Zuzana also ran on-campus workshops with learners from Herzlia High School on the children's art and poetry and did a presentation to over 300 learners at Westerford High School.

The exhibition has been a wonderful educational tool with which to teach about the Holocaust, specifically through the eyes of the child victims of the Nazis. In the space of 2 months, approximately 300 high school learners (along with their teachers) interacted with the exhibition during their respective visits to the CTHGC, with many reporting it to be moving, enlightening, and a highlight of their experience at the Centre. In November, the education team ran a training workshop for new volunteer educators, who used the exhibition to practice their guiding. The exhibition will travel to CTHGC sister museums in Johannesburg and Durban in 2022.

Workshop with Zuzana and CTHGC Volunteer Guides

(22 October 2021)

"Thank you for making this happen for us right here at the southern tip of Africa. The past three days were a tour de force. I am overwhelmed and so grateful."

"Thank you, Zuzana, for an outstanding and emotional presentation on the children in Terezin through their artwork. We look forward to one day receiving the children's magazine [Vedem] in English."

"I could have listened to Zuzana all day. The stories and relevance to us – sad and awesome at the same time. I felt like I was in Prague for the morning."



Visit to Westerford High School

(21 October 2021, approx. 300learners)

Teacher comments:

“Insightful and moving talk, clearly capturing the students’ attention from beginning to end.”

“Thank you, your contribution to their learning is valued by us all.”

Herzlia High School

(21 & 27 October 2021, Grade 8-10, 150learners)

Teacher comments:

“Informative, inspiring and life-affirming.”

“An interesting and moving exhibition, which provides insight and meaning. It supported our study of Holocaust poetry perfectly.”

“We were touched at how pupils of different ages worked together, discussing a subject that was universally relevant to them, irrespective of age – very powerful.”

“Thank you for a powerful learning opportunity, everyone who attended benefited tremendously from Zuzana’s expertise.”

Learner comments:

“A very powerful, moving, heart-wrenching programme.”

“I thought it was very moving to see how young children (some our age) lived their lives. Seeing their artwork showed life from their perspective.”

“I liked that we got time to analyse the poems and really pay attention to what both the artwork and the poems were saying.”

“Incredibly moving and touching. It makes me grateful to be able to attend a Jewish school and say I am Jewish proudly.”

“Very beneficial. The topic of cultural and recreational activities of the children in the ghettos/camps is not often covered at school.”

“Great experience, really nicely thought out and presented. The more we learn, the better we can share.”

“To see the poems and artwork was such an honour and really created perspective for me. I feel very grateful to be able to visit this exhibition, as it shows what a difference one person can do.”

“I love poetry, and to read poems of such significance is very inspiring.”



Combating Hate Speech and Promoting Tolerance in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Vladimir Andrlje, President of La Benevolencia Sarajevo

Bosnia and Herzegovina, a nation rich in diversity and history, has witnessed the presence of Jewish communities for over four centuries. This article sheds light on the pivotal efforts undertaken by the Jewish Cultural, Educational and Humanitarian Society "La Benevolencia" in collaboration with the European Union and the Council of Europe to tackle hate speech, anti-Semitism, Islamophobia, Xenophobia, and promote tolerance among students in the Stari Grad and Centar municipalities.

Bosnia and Herzegovina's rich tapestry of history is interwoven with the presence of Jewish communities dating back over four centuries. In the 16th century, a pivotal moment unfolded when Jews, fleeing persecution in Spain and Portugal, sought refuge in this welcoming region. Remarkably, the Ottoman authorities and the local population extended open arms to these displaced communities. This marked the inception of a vibrant Jewish community in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Jewish presence in Sarajevo, the capital city, is particularly noteworthy. In 1565, the first Jewish community was established here, laying the foundation for a thriving cultural, economic, scientific, and artistic exchange that enriched the entire nation. By 1582, the first synagogue in the region was constructed, solidifying the Jewish community's roots in the heart of Bosnia and Herzegovina within the Municipality of Stari Grad.

However, the shadows of World War II cast a dark pall over this vibrant history. During the Holocaust, a staggering 75% of Sarajevo's Jewish population and 70% of the total Jewish population in Bosnia and Herzegovina were detained and met their tragic fate in various concentration camps. These camps were established not only within Bosnia and Herzegovina but also in other European countries under Nazi rule, all adhering to the heinous ideologies of the time. Post-World War II, approximately 1,500 Holocaust survivors from the Jewish community actively contributed to the reconstruction and development of the nation, leaving an indelible mark on the country's progress.

Today, the Jewish community in Bosnia and Herzegovina comprises around 880 members, with approximately 550 residing in Sarajevo. Regrettably, contemporary youth carry the burden of prejudices, primarily stemming from ignorance and a toxic narrative perpetuated by media and social platforms. Awareness about the Jewish community in Bosnia and Herzegovina, particularly among individuals under the age of 25, is alarmingly scarce. An even more distressing gap exists in knowledge about the Holocaust, a profoundly tragic chapter in the history of genocide that saw the destruction of 70% of European Jews. It's crucial to remember that just 25 years ago, Bosnia and Herzegovina endured a harrowing war marked by religious and national animosity, resulting in atrocities such as the genocide in Srebrenica and war crimes throughout the country, leading to a loss of nearly 200,000 lives.

This historical context underscores the significance of initiatives like the project "Fight against Antisemitism, Islamophobia, and Xenophobia in the Public School System," which aim to promote understanding, tolerance, and the eradication of hate speech among the youth of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The "Fight against Antisemitism, Islamophobia, and Xenophobia in the Public School System" project by "La Benevolencia" aimed to combat hate speech and discrimination among school



students. The project involved lectures and workshops focusing on topics such as hate speech, anti-Semitism, Islamophobia, Xenophobia, and the Holocaust. These educational sessions targeted students in primary and secondary schools in the Municipality of Stari Grad and the Municipality of Centar. The project was structured to address not only students but also teachers, school principals, and parents, emphasizing the importance of holistic community involvement.

The project's activities were multifaceted. It encompassed lectures and workshops held in six classes across five schools, involving 137 students and 10 school staff members. A round table discussion with around 30 participants and an exhibition at the Jewish Community of Sarajevo gallery were instrumental in raising awareness about hate speech issues. To amplify the project's visibility, a social media company and a journalist were engaged to document and report on its activities. The project spanned from October to February 2022.

The "Fight against Antisemitism, Islamophobia, and Xenophobia in the Public School System" project has left an indelible mark on Bosnia and Herzegovina, not only in terms of immediate impacts but also by illuminating important insights into the battle against hate speech and the promotion of tolerance.

One of the most notable impacts of the project is its role in raising awareness among students and educators about the gravity of hate speech and its consequences. The project's multifaceted approach, including lectures, workshops, and roundtable discussions, engaged students actively. They were given a platform to share their experiences and insights, allowing them to explore the various facets of hate speech, from intolerance and discrimination against minorities to divisions based on recent events, such as the vaccination divide during the COVID-19 pandemic.

By actualizing these issues through interactive workshops, the project fostered empathy among students, helping them better understand the problems stemming from hate speech in both public and private discourse. The workshops encouraged critical thinking and prompted students to reflect on the boundaries of freedom of expression. Through this educational approach, the project succeeded in sowing the seeds of empathy, understanding, and a commitment to fighting hatred among the younger generation.

The exhibition of students' works on the theme of hate speech, held at the Sarajevo gallery "Novi Hram," provided a tangible example of the project's positive effect. It demonstrated how students could comprehend and address a complex issue like hate speech through creative expression. This exhibition served as a powerful indicator of the project's success, despite the inherent challenges it faced.

Perhaps one of the most crucial insights gleaned from the project is the pressing need for continued efforts to combat hate speech in schools. The project revealed that maintaining silence on existing problems, both by teachers and students, can be a significant issue requiring attention in the future. This insight underscores the importance of persistence and vigilance in addressing hate speech within the educational system.

Moreover, the project underscored the role of education in combating hate speech. The complexities of the education system in Bosnia and Herzegovina call for additional efforts to provide guidance to both educators and students. Awareness of the dangers and consequences of hate speech remains insufficiently developed, leaving room for immediate action.

The project's success also highlighted the necessity of expanding similar workshops and educational programs to schools in smaller cities and communities. Often, students in these areas are deprived of knowledge on critical topics like the Holocaust and discrimination. By extending such initiatives to these schools, Bosnia and Herzegovina can work toward fostering a more inclusive society where basic human values are cherished.



This initiative, undertaken by the Jewish Cultural, Educational and Humanitarian Society "La Benevolencija," in collaboration with the European Union and the Council of Europe, represents a significant milestone in combatting discrimination and division.

Education has always been a powerful catalyst for change, and this project demonstrates the profound impact it can have in shaping future generations. By targeting students, teachers, and parents, the project recognizes that true transformation requires a comprehensive approach that engages the entire community. The need for such initiatives becomes even more evident in a nation like Bosnia and Herzegovina, where the complexities of the education system present unique challenges.

While the project has achieved notable success in engaging students from various schools, it's important to remember that the journey towards combating hate speech and promoting tolerance is an ongoing one. The project has illuminated the pressing need for immediate action in raising awareness within educational institutions about hate speech and its far-reaching consequences. This is especially crucial in a society where awareness about the dangers of hate speech remains underdeveloped.

One key lesson from this project is the importance of extending similar workshops and educational programs to smaller cities and communities. The impact of such initiatives can be transformative, allowing young people to engage in critical thinking and challenging prejudices from an early age. The project's success serves as a testament to the potential for positive change when youth are provided with the tools to understand, empathize, and appreciate differences.

In conclusion, the project "Fight against Antisemitism, Islamophobia, and Xenophobia in the Public Education System" is not just a project; it's a catalyst for social change and a symbol of commitment to a more inclusive and harmonious Bosnia and Herzegovina. Education remains at the forefront of the battle against hate speech, and it is through initiatives like these that we can envision a future where discrimination is actively countered, and fundamental human values are cherished.



Exploring the Enduring Forces of Anti-Semitism: From Sartre's Insight to Contemporary Realities

Dino Abazović, PhD, Sociologist, University of Sarajevo.

In the aftermath of the liberation of Paris from the oppressive grip of the Nazis, the eminent French philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre expounded a profound insight. He posited that the quintessential anti-Semite was, at its core, "a man who fears."

Sartre, in his contemplative prose, elucidated that this fear was not directed towards the Jewish people themselves, but rather an introspective dread. It was a fear that encompassed an intricate tapestry of self-doubt, apprehension toward one's own consciousness, and the weighty burden of individual freedom. This anxiety extended to one's most primal instincts, personal responsibilities, the haunting specter of solitude, the relentless churn of societal change, and the daunting expanse of the world at large. Sartre acutely noted that the antipathy of the anti-Semite was focused on everything but the Jewish populace.

He cogently added that in a world without the Jewish people, the anti-Semite would be compelled to craft their existence anew, for the Jew, in Sartre's estimation, was the fulcrum upon which their irrational animosity pivoted.

In contemporary scholarship, there is a resounding divergence from the notion of "eternal anti-Semitism," which presupposes anti-Semitic sentiments as an enduring and intrinsic facet of the Jewish-non-Jewish dynamic (Arendt, 2004: 7). However, the antidote to this ahistorical framework, which perpetuates the scourge of anti-Semitism, does not lie in its relegation solely to the annals of history. Rather, it necessitates a discerning exploration of the persistent forces that once engendered anti-Semitism and continue to exert their influence in our present time.

Historically, anti-Semitism functioned as an epistemic scaffold, offering explanations for a multitude of societal afflictions, ranging from military defeats to financial crises. This epistemic function, as per Julius (2010), Nirenberg (2013), and Jacobs (2011), still exerts its influence today. Naomi Klein's observation encapsulates this phenomenon succinctly as she notes the persistence of anti-Semitic conspiracy theories within contemporary activist discourse, such as insinuations regarding Jewish involvement in 9/11 and references to the notorious 'Protocols of the Elders of Zion.'

The age-old stereotypes that have plagued Jewish identity, including the portrayal of Jews as indifferent to the suffering of others, treacherous to their host nations, insular in their interests, and bereft of universality, echo the racist myths imposed upon other marginalized groups, like the portrayal of black individuals as morally or intellectually stunted or the mischaracterization of Muslim men as inherently incapable of embracing gender equality and human rights (Finkelkraut, 2001).

A pivotal characteristic of anti-Semitism lies in its intrinsic irrationality; it harbors an emotional and irrational core that defies conventional reason. Consequently, combating anti-Semitism necessitates more than a rational approach. By directing their vitriol towards "Jews," anti-Semites not only cast Judaism in a negative light but also forge a positive collective identity predicated on their non-Jewish status. Professing anti-Semitism thus becomes emblematic of cultural or religious belonging. In this process, individual anti-Semitic stereotypes transcend national, cultural, and religious boundaries to form a transnational, transcultural, and transreligious identity.



In contemporary discourse, proponents of the 'new theory of anti-Semitism' are alarmed by the intrusion of anti-Semitic sentiments into the portrayal of Israel as an inherently illegitimate state, Zionism as an intrinsically malevolent ideology, supporters of Israel as an inordinately influential lobby, and Holocaust memory as a self-serving historical reference (MacShane, 2008; Harrison, 2006; Hirsh, 2007).

It is crucial to delineate that asserting not all criticism of the state of Israel is inherently anti-Semitic is not a contentious claim. However, it is imperative to acknowledge that criticisms of Israel can transmute into anti-Semitism when infused with prejudicial arguments. Such arguments include the odious act of likening Israel to Nazi Germany, the unjust pathologizing of Israel and its people by asserting an indifference to the suffering of others, the employment of archaic anti-Semitic tropes, such as the canard of Zionist conspiracies or organ theft by Israeli forces, the conflating of the Israeli government with the entirety of its citizenry, and the systematic imposition of double standards upon Israel, a scrutiny not applied uniformly to other nations.

Jelena Subotić astutely observes a noteworthy evolution in contemporary far-right anti-Semitism. It delineates a growing separation between attitudes toward Israel and anti-Semitism directed at Jews in the diaspora. Populist parties with a penchant for anti-Semitism paradoxically embrace pro-Israel policies as a strategic shield against accusations of anti-Jewish bias. This transactional engagement allows these groups to deflect allegations of anti-Semitism by aligning themselves with Israel's interests, a politically expedient maneuver. Subotić further elucidates that such right-wing entities often find common cause with Israel due to shared concerns rooted in Islamophobia. The militaristic posture of Israel against what they perceive as a 'Muslim threat' garners admiration from these groups, inspiring them to replicate such strategies within their own borders.

In the context of Bosnia and Herzegovina, preconceived notions and stereotyping against Jews parallel those found across Europe, regrettably perpetuating antiquated stereotypes of cunning, avarice, and clandestine influence. Nonetheless, it is noteworthy that anti-Semitism is less pronounced in this region relative to many others.

Ultimately, despite the relatively lower prevalence of anti-Semitic sentiments in certain locales, any degree of such prejudice is indefensible. This assertion gains added gravity considering the enduring presence of Jews in Bosnia and Herzegovina, dating back to the late 15th century. Historically, this coexistence has been marked by largely harmonious inter-ethnic and inter-religious relations with the indigenous population. In fact, the region is celebrated globally for its positive contributions and examples of multicultural harmony. It is our fervent hope that these exemplary facets of our shared history endure unblemished into the future.



It seems that antisemitism is a subjective taste

Dr Eli Tauber, Archive of Jewish communities of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Director. Association Haggadah Sarajevo, President

Anti-Semitism is a regressive social structure and a pre-logical understanding of the world, Manichean and primitive, where hatred of Jews replaces a great explanatory myth. If a person attributes all the troubles in the country or a part of them, as well as a certain number of their own misfortunes, to the presence of Jewish elements in the community, if they propose that this state of affairs be improved by depriving Jews of some of their rights, or by removing them from certain economic and social services, banishing them from the country, or by exterminating them all, it is said that their views are anti-Semitic. In the same place, Sartre continues: "In this way, it seems that anti-Semitism is both a subjective taste, which combines with other tastes to form a personality, and an impersonal and social phenomenon that can be expressed in numbers and averages, which is conditioned by economic, historical, and political parameters."

Anti-Semitism is a measure of the undemocratic nature of a country and/or a person. Proof of intolerance and bigotry, behind which lies the desire and will to deny every right of the Other. Today, anti-Semitism is for some the fateful issue of humanity, while others consider it a mere excuse. In "The Sources of Totalitarianism," Hannah Arendt states that the obvious rule "... is that anti-Jewish sentiments acquire political importance only when they can be combined with major political problems..."

"For fascists, Jews are not a minority, but a counter-race, a negative principle as such; according to them, the happiness of the world depends on their extermination... Anti-Semitism as a people's movement was always what its supporters accused social democrats of: equalization. May it be as bad for those who do not have the power to command as it is for the people... That is why they shout: 'Hold the thief!' and point to the Jew. He is really everyone's fault, not only for individual maneuvers and mechanization, but also in a comprehensive sense, so that the economic injustice of the entire class is attributed to him..."

In general, when talking about anti-Semitism, we fall into the trap of identifying, singling out, and classifying the phenomenon of attitudes towards Jews in the course of their several-thousand-year history. Because the fact is that anti-Semitism is not recent, nor a product of fascist ideology, but we simply have to see it as a specific attitude against Jews as members of some unknown religion since the beginning and formation of the Jewish people. In this sense, without a doubt, it can be stated that it has existed since the Old Testament and that it never stopped, but only periodically in certain parts of Europe took on broader and more drastic forms that eventually ended with an attempt at a "final solution to the Jewish question" - The Holocaust.

Even before the collapse of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, there were anti-Semitic outbursts and incidents, both individual and organized, in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Certainly, these phenomena were also inspired by right-wing elements, but to a good extent also encouraged by certain economic circles of the domestic bourgeoisie, which saw the Jews as serious competitors.

In the era of incitement against the Jews, the Jews of Bosnia and Herzegovina were not spared, of course. In the newspaper "Balkan," for example, you can read articles with the following titles: "Jew Almasa fear and trepidation of the financial directorate of Drina," "Civuta crow Juda Altarac terrorizes Serbs in Sarajevo," "District office in Sarajevo - out of 20 doctors, 10 are Chivut," "Will they ever invent some kind of flit and tame Civut's bedbugs," "Who favors Mostar's chifuts," and "Jewish subject and the source of Sarajevo's torment and trouble." Furthermore, in an article



inspired by a brawl in Sarajevo, the names of 13 Jews are listed, including Mavro Štejnjer, an old professor from Sarajevo.

After the declaration of the Independent State of Croatia and the establishment of the Ustasha regime - on April 10, 1941 - the press and journalism as a whole faced a radical turn. The total break with the previous journalism in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and the journalistic traditions previously inaugurated in different ways was thorough and unquestionable.

The papers changed their names, so "Yugoslavianski list" became "Sarajevo List," and later "Sarajevo Novi List," and then just "Novi List," and "Yugoslavian Post" became just "Pošta." From April 1941, the Official Gazette for Bosnia and Herzegovina of the Independent State of Croatia began to be published. The bearers of public propaganda in Sarajevo are, therefore, the daily newspapers: "Pošta," "Sarajevo novi list," "Novi List"...

Sarajevo - a special feature within the Independent State of Croatia In order to solve the issue of the deportation of Jews and their disenfranchisement more quickly, the propaganda machinery of the Independent State of Croatia influenced the population, destroying hundreds of years of good neighborly coexistence, friendship, business, and cooperation. It was definitely the most difficult thing to do in Sarajevo, where the relations between all nations were within the limits of high tolerance and common coexistence, in which the Jews had a truly extremely favorable status thanks to their enormous participation in the development of the city and its economy, education, culture, and sciences. That is probably why Sarajevo was a special target of Nazi propaganda through the institutions of the Independent State of Croatia.

And, in the issue of June 30, 1941, the Sarajevo New List published: "Such a situation in Sarajevo made the most ideal life for the Jews, and Sarajevo was Jewish Eldorado... Now let the Jewish 'gentlemen' suffer what they deserve; we wish them nothing else."

Legal discrimination in the Independent State of Croatia, the administrative apparatus for the implementation of persecution, publicity offices, personnel files... The Ustaše very quickly, already in the first week after the declaration of the Independent State of Croatia on April 10, 1941, established their power in almost the entire country, but they did not have a prepared clear plan for the organization of state administration.

Jure Francetić was appointed commissioner of the whole of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and besides him, several others were appointed for certain parts and places: Božidar Brale for Sarajevo, Nikola Jurišić for Travnik, Dragan Urumović for Livno, Viktor Gutić for the area of Vrbaska banovina (based in Banja Luka).

According to its methods and forms, racial politics in the Independent State of Croatia was built into a legal system from the very beginning. In order to realize the basic tendency of that policy: that a "pure Croatian living space" should be created from the Independent State of Croatia, which will enable the existence of a "pure Croatian nation", for which the "extermination" of Serbs and Jews, who have been declared "the greatest enemy of the Croatian people".

With texts about Jews, Ustasha propaganda tried to raise the level of ill-feeling towards them, thus creating space for their wanton destruction in the spirit of the fascist "new order". Not limited to the physical and biological destruction of the Jews, the genocidal procedure included prior subjection to severe humiliation, mental suffering, and physical abuse, and, in addition to the looting of their property, the destruction of cultural assets. An old and rich culture, which lived for several centuries on the soil of Bosnia and Herzegovina, was thus destroyed, and a large part of the Jews were also killed.



The role of literature in the fight against anti-Semitism

Dr. Gordana Todorić, Research Associate, Moshe David Gaon Center, Ben Gurion University of the Negev

The presentation on the role of literature in the fight against anti-Semitism aims to indicate the basic coordinates that are necessary to approach the literary text from the perspective of the fight against anti-Semitism. Since the target group (NOA seminar) is primarily of high school age, the lecture is designed to be interactive to some extent. The attention is focused on the specifics of the literary text as a product of artistic work and on the necessary prerequisites for accessing the work of art.

An overview of the history of the development of this literary genre is given on representative examples, but the problem of the aesthetic canon is also pointed out. To consider the topic of anti-Semitism in the context of literary production, we use a motif from the corpus of conspiracy theories, first embodied in literature in „The Protocols of the Elders of Zion“, then elaborated in the historical study „Call to Genocide“ by Norman Cohn, the comic strip „Conspiracy“ by Will Eisner, the novel „Prague Cemetery“ by Umberto Eco and the short stories The Book of Kings and Danilo Kiš.

The problems of memorialization and representation, memory and representation, today it is completely clear, are conditioned primarily by the media. The spectrum of genres includes oral testimonies (as well as their audio and video recordings), written memoirs, various fictional reconstructions in visual media, music, and last but not least, literature. It is completely clear that a unique reception paradigm cannot be established without radical stylization (it could rather be called Baumanian fluid). That is why we will try to present one of the possible approaches. The literary thematization and representation of the Holocaust in Yugoslav literature from the 1950s until the collapse of the common state (and thus the common literary space), seen from the perspective of the Utorian focus, is such that it could be described by dramaturgical means. The moment of decomposition of that common space was, for the writers we will talk about, a moment of crisis, the kind that Aristotelian drama implies as a condition of dramatic action. In this sense, without intending to play with the drama of reality, we will use the dramaturgical apparatus to more clearly point out the me that is now, post festum, easily noticeable. The designation ME will include those exemplary works that thematize the Holocaust, without losing sight of the entirety of their literary reach. In this sense, the first mode of appearance of a literary text related to the topic of the Holocaust is the dramatic tetralogy by Đorđe Lebović. It is about the dramas *Nebeski odred* (1956) co-authored with Aleksandar Obrenović, *Hallelujah* (1964), *Victoria* (1968) and *Soldier and Doll* (no data).

The first drama, located in time exactly twelve years after the liberation of Auschwitz, brought about a revolution in the poetic sense, because for the first time the programmatic optimism of post-war Yugoslavia is problematized. That drama is also the beginning, and a very shocking one, of writing about the Holocaust. The degree of misunderstanding of this thematic newspaper is shown by the negative criticism that Bora Glišić published in NIN in 1957.

In other words, the status of a man in the world, a man who is identified as a Jew, is considered, although this is no longer his immanent mark but a transcended attribution. A man who did not want to be a Jew in the way he was shaped by life in the diaspora and did not want to be a victim. We also find that dilemma of subject identification, which is produced by the Holocaust, in Kiš's early novel *Psalm 44*:



You should already learn that the fact that you have Jewish blood in you is not something you can forget; I know, you want to say that you don't see any difference between you and Ilonka Kutaj (let's say her), but the fact is that she sees the difference, and that is enough to make you suffer. (Kiš's 1983: 99)

Only these circumstances of the reconstructed identity created a poetic context in which Kiš's will be able to declare:

I approached the problem of Jewishness as a metaphor, which means that every time I was forced to talk about Jewishness through a metaphor, and not always exclusively for literary-aesthetic reasons, but in order to cover up the topic in some way in a literary sense, to alleviate the immanent tragedy and the patheticness of the subject. (Kiš's 1990: 107)

In other words, being a Jew was always a matter of getting along with disturbing diversity. That literary game, to paraphrase Weinrich who writes about Pirandello, "was overwhelmed by irony" (Weinrich 2008: 279).

On the subject of the Holocaust from the victim's perspective. We assigned him the mode of the tragic denouement, not without regret, because it turned out that the question of memory and post-memory, for the victims and their descendants, is a question that cannot be pursued in an indifferent world deprived of the ability to imagine, even that which belongs to the common memory. It can be read as a tragic confirmation of the uniqueness of the Holocaust, but from the point of view of old-fashioned humanism, locking the narrator (Philip David) into an internal dialogue with fellow travelers to whom he does not have to explain anything, does not say anything good about the world.

This condensed overview of tendencies is a kind of prolegomena for constructing the discourse of the margin in the context of literary history, but precisely the insight into the status of that marginal/other/victim is, in many ways, a paradigm for understanding the transitional tendencies of our time.



Three unique sites of Sarajevo's Jewish heritage

Victor Sorensen, AEPJ Director

In the heart of Sarajevo, a trio of treasures lies hidden, each a testament to the enduring legacy of the city's rich Jewish heritage. These treasures, the Sephardic Cemetery, the Sarajevo Synagogue, and the Sarajevo Haggadah, are integral parts of Sarajevo's vibrant multicultural tapestry. They tell stories of faith, resilience, and the harmonious coexistence of diverse communities in this city, often referred to as the "Jerusalem of Europe."

As we embark on this journey of discovery, we will delve into the history and significance of these three landmarks, each contributing to the unique cultural mosaic that defines Sarajevo. The Sephardic Cemetery stands as a testament to centuries of Jewish presence in the city, the Sarajevo Synagogue is an architectural marvel reflecting the city's tradition of tolerance, and the Sarajevo Haggadah is a priceless treasure, a manuscript that bridges the past and present, connecting generations with its illuminated pages and storied history.

Join us as we explore the stories, the significance, and the enduring impact of the Sephardic Cemetery, the Sarajevo Synagogue, and the Sarajevo Haggadah, all integral elements in preserving Sarajevo's rich Jewish heritage.

I. Preserving History: The Sephardic Jewish Cemetery of Sarajevo

In the heart of Sarajevo, lies a hidden gem that bears witness to centuries of Jewish heritage and history. The Sephardic Jewish Cemetery of Sarajevo, often referred to as the "Old Jewish Cemetery," is a sacred ground that encapsulates the rich cultural and historical tapestry of the Sephardic Jewish community in the region. This cemetery, dating back to the 16th century, is a testament to resilience, identity, and the enduring legacy of the Sephardic Jews in Sarajevo.

The Sephardic Jews are descendants of the Jewish communities expelled from the Iberian Peninsula during the Spanish Inquisition of the late 15th century. Many of them found refuge in the Ottoman Empire, including present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina. With them, they brought a unique blend of Spanish, Portuguese, and Ottoman cultures, which is reflected in their customs, language (Ladino), and, of course, their cemeteries.

The Sephardic Jewish Cemetery of Sarajevo holds immense historical significance. It was established in the 16th century, making it one of the oldest Jewish cemeteries in Europe. The cemetery is a testament to the enduring presence of the Sephardic community in Sarajevo and the city's tradition of tolerance and multiculturalism.

Walking through the Sephardic Jewish Cemetery, visitors are greeted by a collection of weathered tombstones. These tombstones, known as matzevot, are intricately decorated with Hebrew inscriptions, epitaphs, and symbols. They provide a glimpse into the lives of the individuals buried there and the religious and cultural practices of the Sephardic community.

Among the tombstones, one can find symbols such as the menorah (a seven-branched candelabrum), a sign of Jewish identity, and floral motifs, reflecting the influence of Ottoman aesthetics on the tombstone design. Each matzevah has a story to tell, and together, they create a mosaic of Sephardic history in Sarajevo.

The Sephardic Jewish Cemetery of Sarajevo, like the city itself, bore witness to the tragic events of the Bosnian Civil War in the 1990s. During the war, Sarajevo was under siege for nearly four years, and the city suffered extensive damage. The cemetery did not escape unscathed.



The cemetery was shelled and damaged during the conflict, leading to the destruction of some tombstones and structures within the cemetery. The war took a toll on this historical site, leaving scars that served as a painful reminder of the challenges faced by Sarajevo and its diverse communities during those tumultuous years.

In recent years, efforts have been made to preserve and restore the Sephardic Jewish Cemetery of Sarajevo, including repairing damaged tombstones and structures. These efforts aim to ensure that the cemetery continues to serve as a vital link to the city's history and the Sephardic Jewish community's enduring legacy.

Among those laid to rest in this historic cemetery is Zeki Effendi, a prominent member of the Sephardic Jewish community in Sarajevo. His tombstone stands as a testament to his contributions and serves as a reminder of the rich tapestry of individuals who found their final resting place in this sacred ground.

The Sephardic Jewish Cemetery is open to visitors who wish to pay their respects, learn about Sephardic history, or simply appreciate the cultural and historical significance of this sacred place. It serves as a reminder of Sarajevo's diverse heritage and the contributions of the Sephardic Jewish community to the city's vibrant tapestry, even in the face of adversity.

The Sephardic Jewish Cemetery of Sarajevo is not merely a burial ground; it is a living testament to the enduring legacy of the Sephardic Jewish community in the heart of Europe. Its historical significance, unique tombstones, and the impact of the Bosnian Civil War make it a must-visit site for anyone interested in the rich history and cultural heritage of Sarajevo and its Sephardic Jewish community. This sacred place is a reminder that, despite the challenges of history, the memory of a community can live on through its cultural heritage and the preservation of its sacred spaces.

II. The Sarajevo Haggadah: a symbol of hope, resilience and unity

The Sarajevo Haggadah, an exquisite medieval Jewish manuscript, is a testament to the enduring power of human creativity and collaboration. Its journey from medieval Spain to Sarajevo, spanning centuries and transcending religious boundaries, tells a story of survival and resilience. We'll explore the fascinating history of the Sarajevo Haggadah, shedding light on the interfaith efforts that safeguarded it for future generations.

The origins of the Sarajevo Haggadah can be traced back to the vibrant Jewish culture of 14th-century Spain. This period, often referred to as the Golden Age of Jewish culture on the Iberian Peninsula, was marked by a flourishing of intellectual, artistic, and religious activities. The haggadah was created in Barcelona, a city known for its rich interplay of Jewish, Christian, and Islamic influences.

The Sarajevo Haggadah is not merely a religious text but a work of art that showcases the creative spirit of its time. Its pages are adorned with intricate illuminations and illustrations, making it a masterpiece of medieval manuscript art. The artistic characteristics of the haggadah offer a glimpse into the cultural vibrancy of 14th-century Spain.

The illuminations in the haggadah are particularly noteworthy. They feature vibrant colors, delicate details, and a rich palette that reflects the artistic sensibilities of the era. These illustrations often accompany the text of the haggadah, providing visual representations of the Passover story and rituals.



The journey of the Sarajevo Haggadah is a story of migration and survival, mirroring the tumultuous history of the Jewish people in Europe. In 1492, the same year Christopher Columbus set sail for the New World, the Jews of Spain faced expulsion as a result of the Alhambra Decree. The haggadah, like many Jewish families, was forced to leave its homeland.

Over the following centuries, the manuscript changed hands and locations multiple times. It resurfaced in Italy during the 16th century, a time of cultural upheaval and intellectual fervor. While the haggadah's journey was marked by uncertainty, it was never lost to history.

The Sarajevo Haggadah found its way to Bosnia in the 17th century, during the Ottoman Empire's rule over the region. At that time, Sarajevo was a multicultural and multi-religious city, with a thriving Jewish community. The manuscript became part of this diverse cultural tapestry, residing in the homes of various Jewish families.

It was during this period that the haggadah came to be known as the "Sarajevo Haggadah," a testament to its deep connection with the city. While it changed hands over the centuries, its presence in Sarajevo remained consistent, and it became a treasured heirloom within the local Jewish community.

The most compelling chapter in the Sarajevo Haggadah's history unfolds during World War II, when Nazi forces occupied Sarajevo. The manuscript faced imminent danger, as the Nazis sought to destroy Jewish heritage and cultural artifacts. In this perilous time, the extraordinary efforts of individuals from different faiths converged to save the haggadah.

Derviš Korkut, the Chief Librarian of the National Museum of Bosnia, was a Muslim who recognized the cultural significance of the haggadah. He risked his life by concealing it within the museum's collections, away from the prying eyes of Nazi occupiers. Korkut, along with Hafiz Muhamed efendi Spahe, a Muslim cleric, entrusted with the manuscript's safekeeping, defied the prevailing hatred and intolerance of the time. Their actions exemplified the power of interfaith collaboration in preserving cultural heritage and resisting oppression.

The Sarajevo Haggadah's remarkable journey from medieval Spain to its eventual safekeeping in Bosnia reveals several profound conclusions that resonate deeply with our shared human experience.

This manuscript, far more than a mere religious text, is a testament to the enduring power of human creativity and collaboration. Its survival through centuries of migration, conflict, and persecution speaks to the remarkable resilience of cultural heritage. It serves as a living reminder that the treasures of our past continue to enrich our understanding of the present.

In the darkest hours of World War II, the Sarajevo Haggadah found itself in peril. Yet, its story took an unexpected turn as individuals from different faiths joined hands to protect it. In these trying times, interfaith collaboration emerged as a beacon of hope, demonstrating that even in the face of hatred and intolerance, the bonds of humanity can transcend religious differences and ideologies.

Moreover, the Sarajevo Haggadah underscores the shared responsibility we hold as custodians of our collective cultural heritage. It reminds us that our duty extends beyond preserving the artifacts of our own culture; we must also protect and cherish the treasures of others. In doing so, we enrich our understanding of our shared history and humanity.

Today, the Sarajevo Haggadah stands as a symbol of hope, resilience, and unity. It inspires us to protect and celebrate the diverse cultural heritage that enriches our global tapestry. In a world often divided by differences, this manuscript reminds us of the common threads that bind us



together and the profound impact of interfaith collaboration in preserving our shared legacy. It beckons us to continue this legacy, ensuring that the lessons it teaches are never forgotten.

III. The Heart of Sarajevo's Jewish Community: The Sarajevo Synagogue

This magnificent synagogue, officially known as the "Il Kal Grande," is a beacon of both architectural splendor and cultural significance, reflecting centuries of history, struggle, and vibrant multiculturalism.

The Sarajevo Synagogue's historical significance stretches back to the 16th century when Sephardic Jews found refuge in Sarajevo during the Ottoman Empire. This period marked the beginning of a rich and diverse Jewish presence in the city, which continues to flourish to this day. The synagogue itself became a testament to the enduring Jewish heritage in Sarajevo.

The synagogue's architectural design is nothing short of captivating, embodying a harmonious blend of Moorish, Ottoman, and Sephardic influences. Its façade, adorned with intricate details and decorative motifs, is a testament to the city's tradition of tolerance and coexistence. The building itself is a living testament to the architectural prowess of the time, a reflection of the artistic and cultural fusion that defined Sarajevo throughout its history.

Stepping inside the Sarajevo Synagogue is an experience in itself. The interior boasts a soaring dome, resplendent chandeliers, and meticulously crafted religious artifacts. It serves as a tranquil oasis in the heart of the city, offering both spiritual reflection and an opportunity to appreciate the beauty of the space.

The synagogue has faced numerous challenges over the centuries, including periods of conflict and turmoil. During the Bosnian Civil War in the 1990s, it endured damage, but its resilience shone through. Restoration efforts, funded by local determination and international support, meticulously returned the synagogue to its former glory, underscoring the unwavering commitment of Sarajevo's Jewish community to preserving its cultural heritage.

Today, the Sarajevo Synagogue continues to serve as a place of worship for Sarajevo's Jewish community. Regular religious services, festivals, and cultural events are held here, providing a sense of community and spiritual connection for its members. It remains a hub for the local Jewish community, a place where traditions are kept alive, and bonds are strengthened.

Beyond its religious functions, the synagogue is a vibrant center for education and cultural exchange. It hosts a wide array of programs, including educational initiatives, cultural events, and interfaith dialogues, fostering understanding and cooperation among Sarajevo's diverse population. It serves as a bridge, connecting different communities and promoting the values of tolerance and coexistence.

In recent years, concerted efforts have been made to preserve and maintain the Sarajevo Synagogue. Restoration projects have breathed new life into the synagogue, ensuring that its historical and cultural significance endures for future generations. These preservation endeavors reflect a commitment to safeguarding a vital part of Sarajevo's identity.

The Sarajevo Synagogue is a living testament to the enduring legacy of Sarajevo's Jewish community and the city's tradition of tolerance and multiculturalism. Its rich history, stunning architecture, and role as a center of faith and community make it a place of deep cultural significance within the heart of the city.

Visitors to Sarajevo are not only welcomed to explore the architectural beauty of the synagogue but are also encouraged to engage in the vibrant cultural and religious life that flourishes within its walls. The Sarajevo Synagogue stands as a beacon of hope and a symbol of unity, reminding



us that diverse communities can come together and thrive in the pursuit of a shared heritage and a brighter future.



Barokní synagogy v českých zemích, Architektura synagog

Arno Pařík

Synagogy byly vždy nejvýznamnějšími stavbami židovských obcí. V minulosti nesloužily pouze ohoslužebným shromážděním, ale soustředil se v nich i veřejný život obce. Byly místem rozhodování o společných záležitostech a také středisky vzdělávání – proto byly často nazývány školou. Při stavbě synagog se musely respektovat - zejména pokud jde o velikost, výšku i vnější vzhled - omezující předpisy a požadavky příslušné církevní i světské vrchnosti, která schvalovala i jejich konečné umístění. Určující pro jejich dispozici a uspořádání vnitřního prostoru však byly vždy potřeby synagogální bohoslužby a náboženské předpisy, vycházející z textů Talmudu, výroků rabínských autorit a tradice.

Jako hlavní veřejná a náboženská instituce židovské komunity byla synagoga obvykle stavěna uprostřed židovské čtvrti, často jako jediná samostatně stojící budova na malém náměstí, kde se odehrával veřejný život obce a konaly oslavy v době svátků. Synagoga měla být budována nejlépe ve vyvýšené poloze, neboť podle tradice měla převyšovat okolní zástavbu a zaujímat alespoň uvnitř židovského sídliště výsadní postavení. Podle Talmudu měla synagoga být pokud možno situována poblíž řeky nebo potoka, umožňujících zřízení rituální lázně v její blízkosti a zřejmě také kvůli obřadu tašlich, který je součástí novoročních bohoslužeb. Často najdeme před budovou synagogy nebo poblíž alespoň kašnu nebo pumpu, sloužící k omytí rukou před bohoslužbou.

Synagogy byly již od starověku orientovány směrem k Jeruzalému - v českých zemích tedy převážně východním směrem, podobně jako křesťanské kostely. Jediným vnějším označením synagogy bývala ve starších dobách ve štítu nebo uprostřed střechy šesticípá Davidova hvězda (magen David), vymežující synagogu jako veřejnou budovu a majetek židovské obce. Zvenčí měla mít synagoga podle církevních nařízení pouze prosté, nezdobené stěny, aby neupoutávala přílišnou pozornost. Výjimkou byla tradiční vyšší půlkruhově ukončená okna, protože prostor modlitebny měl být dobře prosvětlený a pohled na nebesa vzbuzovat intenzivnější pocit zbožnosti (Daniel 6:10). Průčelí nebo portály byly často zdobeny pouze hebrejským nápisem, obvykle citátem některého žalmu, vztahujícího se k domu modlitby (nejčastěji Žalmy 100:4, 84:2, 68:5). O tom, že synagogy mají mít předsíň, v níž by člověk „odkládal světské myšlenky“, se zmiňuje pražský rabín Jehuda ben Becalel (kol. 1525-1609). Vedlejší prostory pro ženy existovaly již při starých synagogách ve Špýru a Wormsu z 12. a 13. století, první galerie jsou doloženy ze Španělska (14. století), ve střední Evropě se znovu objevují až od počátku 17. století.

Nejvýznamnějším místem v synagoze byl vždy svatostánek se schránkou na svitky Tóry (aron ha-kodeš), který našel své pevné místo v nice uprostřed východní stěny synagogy. Bohoslužby vede kantor neboli chazan, který podle starých nápěvů recituje modlitby od svého pultu (omud), umístěného vpravo před svatostánkem. Vyvrcholením bohoslužby je předčítání příslušného týdenního oddílu Tóry (sidra) při ranní bohoslužbě v sobotu, o svátcích a při ranní bohoslužbě v pondělí a ve čtvrtek. Místem vyhrazeným pro předčítání svitku Tóry, některé obřady a rabínské promluvy vyvýšené pódium (bima, almemor) uprostřed hlavního sálu, aby přednášený text byl co nejlépe slyšitelný pro celé shromáždění.

Užívání bimy jako pultu pro čtení Tóry bylo známo již v dobách druhého Chrámu a v antických synagogách. Právě tato základní součást vybavení synagog měla hlavní vliv na to, že se v jejich architektuře vždy prosazovala centrální nebo centrále blízká dispozice hlavního sálu. Středové umístění bimy bylo v aškenázských obcích obvyklé již ve středověku, v polovině 16. století



požadoval důsledné umístění bimy uprostřed prostoru synagogy rabín Moses Isserles (kol. 1525-1572) z Krakova a jeho rozhodnutí bylo plně respektováno až do poloviny 19. století. Zhruba ve středu synagogy byla bima situována i v případě podélné dispozice stavby, která měla výhodu většího prostoru a kapacity. Z těchto praktických důvodů většinou také v synagogální architektuře převažovala.

Synagogy 17. století

Praha byla od konce 16. až do poloviny 18. století jednou z nejpočetnějších a kulturně nejpokročilejších evropských židovských obcí. O vyspělosti pražské židovské komunity na konci 16. a počátku 17. století svědčí i řada nových synagogálních staveb, většinou spojených se jménem primase Mordechaje Maisela (1528-1601). V roce 1568 dokončil podle zprávy Davida Ganse (1541-1613) stavbu Vysoké synagogy, kterou navrhl stavitel italského původu Pankratius Roder jako centrální prostor, zaklenutý vysokou klášterní klenbou s koutovými lunetami a bohatou štukovou výzdobou. Tato synagoga je jedním z nejstarších dochovaných příkladů novodobé centrální dispozice, která se stala určující pro další vývoj synagogální architektury ve střední a východní Evropě.

V letech 1590-1592 zbudoval Mordechaj Maisel na jižním okraji ghetta vlastní soukromou synagogu, kterou navrhl židovský architekt Juda Coref jako rozlehlou stavbu mírně podélné dispozice, sklenutou valenou klenbou s lunetami a bočními loděmi po obou stranách. Posledním dílem Judy Corefa byla mezi lety 1607-1622 i pozdně renesanční jižní přístavba Pinkasovy synagogy (1535), která představuje jeden z prvních příkladů velkoryse pojaté galerie pro ženy, později obvyklé součásti synagogální architektury. V Čechách máme z druhé poloviny 16. století zprávy o budování nových synagog např. v Novém Bydžově (1568), Březnici (1570), Náchodě (1577), Kolíně (1587), Mladé Boleslavi (1590), České Lípě (1598), Roudnici (zbořena 1616), Teplicích a Praze-Libni (1592), nejspíše se však jednalo o modlitebny v židovských domech nebo dřevěné stavby.

Na počátku 17. století vznikly v Praze ještě Cikánova (kol. 1613) a Velkodvorská synagoga (1626) patrně jako podélné jednodílné stavby. Tyto synagogy však dnes známe pouze z raně barokních přestaveb, kterými byly nahrazeny po velkém požáru pražského ghetta v červnu 1689. Patrně ve spolupráci s dalšími pražskými italskými staviteli byly tehdy obnoveny Klausová (1694), Cikánova (1701), Nová (1703) a Velkodvorská

synagoga (1708) vesměs jako mohutné podélné čtyřosé stavby s hlavním sálem sklenutým valenou klenbou s lunetami a štukovou výzdobou. Klausová synagoga se stala na dalších 250 let druhou hlavní modlitebnou pražské židovské obce a nepochybně působila jako vzor moderní synagogální stavby pro mnohé židovské obce v Čechách. Velkoryse podobě těchto pražských synagog odpovídala také rozměrná synagoga, budovaná v letech 1642-1696 v nedalekém Kolíně. Na Moravě by s těmito stavbami bylo snad možné srovnat novou synagogu v Uherském Brodě (1712-1717).

O stavbě nových synagog v Čechách máme zprávy také po skončení třicetileté války, kdy byly budovány synagogy např. v Turnově (1647), Heřmanově Městci (kolem 1650), Brandýse nad Labem (po 1657), Golčově Jeníkově (1659), Sušici (1659), Stráži (1664), Novém Bydžově (1568), Neveklově (1657), Horažďovicích (1670), Roudnici (1675), Polné (1684), Voticích (1693) nebo Údicích (1694). Ačkoli jejich původní podobu většinou neznáme, většina z nich měla zřejmě podélnou dispozici, i když se mezi nimi vyskytovaly patrně i stavby centrální (Bečov 1688, Pobežovice 1682) a některé vznikaly i v patře soukromých či obecních domů.



Staré synagogy na Moravě

Moravu zasáhla nová stavební vlna 16. století ještě silněji než Čechy. Po vypovězení Židů z moravských královských měst v polovině 15. století zde došlo ke vzniku nových židovských obcí ve vrchnostenských městech, která jim umožňovala poměrně stabilní existenci. Tyto obce nebyly postiženy vypovězením Židů v polovině 16. století tak jako v Čechách, naopak se zde již v této době setkáváme se zprávami budování řady zděných synagog nového typu.

Byly to většinou mírně podélné jednolodní haly sklenuté klášterní nebo neckovou klenbou, dobře vyhovující potřebám synagogální liturgie. Jejich řešení naznačuje vliv italských stavitelů a snad i nových aškenázských center na jihovýchodě Polska. Ještě v 16. století si nové synagogy na Moravě zbudovaly židovské obce v Lipníku nad Bečvou (kol. 1530), Moravském Krumlově (1547), Mikulově (1550), Holešově (1560), Tovačově (1561), Úsově (1564), Osoblaze (1569), Rousínově (1591), Uherském Ostrohu (1592), Strážnici (1595) a patrně i jinde. Do dnešní doby se však dochovaly pouze synagogy v Lipníku nad Bečvou a Rousínově (v obvodovém zdivu snad také synagogy v Mikulově a Holešově).

Intenzivní stavební aktivita pokračovala na Moravě i v průběhu 17. století, kdy je zde doložen vznik více než třiceti nových zděných synagog podobné dispozice, obvykle již s paralelní boční lodí s předsíní a ženskou galerií v patře a se dvěma nebo třemi vysokými okny v průčelí. Tehdy vznikaly např. synagogy v Osoblaze (druhá 1625), Třebíči (Přední 1639-1642), Boskovicích (1639), Jemnici (1649), Dolních Kounicích (1656), Brtnici (1654), Kroměříži (1657), Podivíně (1661), Ivanovicích (1662), Jevíčku (1666), Šafově (kolem 1670), Mikulově (Nová, kol. 1650), Prostějově (1676), Tovačově (kol. 1680), Uherském Brodě (po 1683) a jinde. V případě neobyčejně početných moravských synagog 17. století se však již můžeme opřít o několik dobře dochovaných příkladů, vyobrazení některých synagog ze separačních plánů z roku 1727 nebo jejich zakreslení při pozdějších přestavbách. Z těchto materiálů je zřejmé, že se na Moravě uplatňoval především typ halového jednolodí na mírně podélném půdorysu se dvěma nebo třemi okny v bočních stěnách, s předsíní a patrně i galerií pro ženy na západní nebo boční straně. Současně Moravu ovlivnil také nový styl malířské výzdoby synagog.

Malované a čtyřsloupové synagogy

Synagogy bývaly zdobeny mozaikami nebo malbami již od nejstarších dob. Důkazy o tom přinesly archeologické nálezy antických synagog z 1. až 7. století v Izraeli a celém východním Středomoří. Také ze středověké aškenázské Evropy se dochovala v rabínské literatuře četná svědectví o výzdobě synagog nebo svatostánků. Nejstarší zprávy o raně novověkých malovaných synagogách však pocházejí z Polska ze 16. století, kde židovští malíři rozvíjeli italské renesanční vzory, přizpůsobovali je místní tradici a obohacovali židovskými motivy. Již v polovině 17. století byl systém synagogální výzdoby rozvinut do své klasické podoby, o čemž svědčily malované synagogy v Chodorově (1642) nebo Gwoździeci (1652). Tento způsob výzdoby se rozšířil po celém východním Polsku (Lancut, Tykocin, Pinczów) a západní Ukrajině a později v dílech malířské rodiny Sussmannů zasahoval zpět na západ až do Slezska, Saska a horního Bavorska.

Nový systém výzdoby synagog zasáhl bezprostředně také Moravu, kde se ve své nejdokonalejší podobě uplatnil v Boskovicích (1657-1667, 1704-1705), Dolních Kounicích, Třebíči (1705-1707), Holešově (1737) nebo Úsově (1784-1785) a Puklici. Jeho stopy najdeme i v synagogách ve Velkém Meziříčí či Polici, malované byly údajně také zaniklé synagogy v Kroměříži, Moravském Krumlově a Uherském Brodě. Zdá se, že do Čech nový výzdobný styl zasáhl výhradně z oblasti střední Moravy do Polné (1683), Kolína (1696), Ledče nad Sázavou (1739), Humpolce (1762) a patrně i dalších míst. Výzdoba malovaných synagog u nás padla za oběť většinou přestavbám a



modernizacím již v 19. století (Polná, Heřmanův Městec), v Polsku a na Ukrajině byla většina malovaných synagog zničena za první a druhé světové války.

Na konci 16. nebo počátku 17. století se v oblasti Malopolska a Lublinu zrodila také neobyčejně originální dispozice se čtyřsloupovým baldachýnem bimy jako podporou zaklenutí nad obvykle centrálním půdorysem hlavního sálu. Poprvé k tomu údajně došlo v proslulé Maharšalšul v Lublinu (spojené s působením rabína Solomona Lurii, kol. 1510-1574), kde se scházel v 16. a 17. století židovský Sejm čtyř zemí (z dalších staveb tohoto typu uveďme Luck 1638, Pinsk 1640, Slonym 1642, Tykocyn 1648). Ať už se dispozice „podpůrné bimy“ zrodila kdekoli, neobyčejně rychle se rozšířila po celém Polsku, protože velmi dobře naplňovala liturgické požadavky judaizmu zdůrazněním centrálního postavení bimy. Současně vyhovovala potřebám početných židovských obcí, protože umožňovala zaklenutí značně rozlehlého prostoru. Jako varianta tohoto řešení vznikl současně typ synagogy s devítidílnou klenbou, v níž čtyři centrální pilíře rozdělují klenbu hlavního sálu na devět stejných čtvercových polí, sklenutých obvykle křížovou klenbou. Tato dispozice byla poprvé použita v roce 1632 při stavbě Předměstské synagogy ve Lvově, a proto se nazývá Lvovský typ. Také tento typ čtyřsloupové synagogy dosáhl značného rozšíření a hojně se užíval při stavbě velkých synagog až do počátku 20. století.

Nová synagogální dispozice se čtyřsloupovou podporou resp. devítidílnou klenbou zasáhla po polovině 17. století spolu se silným přílivem uprchlíků za masakrů Bohdana Chmelnického (1648-1649) po polovině 17. století také české země. Na Moravě se uplatnila zejména při stavbách nových synagog v Podivíně (1661), Kroměříži (1689-1694), Mikulově (Stará synagoga 1719-1723, synagoga Bet ha-midraš, počátek 18. století), kolem poloviny 18. století také v Čechách v Sobědruhách u Teplic. Její doznívání na počátku 19. století představuje klasicistní synagoga v Osoblaze (1807-1808). Intenzivní stavební činnost moravských židovských obcí během druhé poloviny 17. století pokračovala na počátku 18. století ještě stavbou nových synagog v Ivančicích (kolem 1710), Uherském Brodě (1712-1717), Kojetíně (1726), Koryčanech (1722) a Uherském Ostrohu (1722). Poté však, patrně v důsledku vydání tzv. Familiantského zákona a translokačního reskriptu císařem Karlem VI. v roce 1726, téměř zcela ustala, s výjimkou stavby synagog v Polici (1759) a Písečném nad Dyjí (1768-1782).

Synagogy 18. století

U českých synagog 18. století převládala v tomto období již téměř všeobecně jednodílná dispozice sklenutá nejčastěji valenou klenbou se třemi páry nadokenních lunet, kterým odpovídala vysoká půlkruhově zaklenutá okna v podélných stěnách a dvě ve východním průčelí. Tři klenební pole někdy oddělovaly klenební pasy, svedené na dvojice pilastrů, které členily stavbu na tři pravidelné části. Toto trojdílné členění dobře odpovídalo tradičnímu využití synagogálního prostoru – vstupní západní část sloužila jako předsíň (často s ženskou galerií

v patře), v prostřední části byla bima s pultem pro předčítání Tóry a sedadla okolo stěn a východní část byla určena pro aron ha-kodeš se schodištěm a pultem pro kantora. Tuto koncepci dobře ilustruje projekt pražského architekta Pavla Ignáce Bayera z roku 1722 na synagogu v Postoloprtech, který nám ukazuje typickou maloměstskou synagogu s valeně klenutým hlavním sálem a třemi vysokými okny v bočních i štítových stěnách (výjimečně tak dosahuje ideálního počtu dvanácti oken), s malou předsíní na severní a vedlejší ženskou lodí na jižní straně. Tato půvabná synagoga byla podle Bayerova projektu skutečně postavena, ale po roce 1980 byla bořena. Třídílné členění prostoru se v 18. stol. uplatnilo u menších synagog patrně v Dobrušce (1722), Postoloprtech (1722), Voticích (1724), Březnici (1725), Heřmanově Městci (1760), Luži (1760), Libochovicích (1761), Lovosicích (1762), Strakonících (po 1741), Neznašově (1. pol. 18. stol.), Kasejovicích (1762), Hořicích (1767), Jičíně (1773), Budyni nad Ohří (kol. 1780), Mladé Boleslavi (1785) a jinde.



V druhé polovině 18. století se v západních Čechách setkáváme se zvláštní skupinou synagog, která se vyskytuje ve značně široké oblasti od Chodové Plané a Kynžvartu až po Rakovník a Radnici. Spojuje je řada společných rysů: všechny měly převážně centrální dispozici, hlavní modlitební sál pro muže byl zaklenutý vysokou klášterní klenbou se čtvercovou nebo osmibokou centrální bímou uprostřed sálu. S podobnou konstrukcí klášterní klenby se setkáváme postupně v Chodové Plané (1759), Rakovníku a Kynšperku (1764), Novém Sedlišti (1788) a Drmouli (1803), s dřevěnými klenbami pak v Radnici (1791), Malé Šitboři (1808), Bezručovicích (1812) a Pobežovicích (1816). Charakteristické je také dvoupatrové ženské oddělení na jižní, severní či západní straně, propojené s hlavním sálem širokými arkádovými průhledy. Nejvýraznějším společným znakem je však bohatá pozdně barokní nebo rokokově klasicistní štuková a malířská výzdoba jejich svatostánků, zřejmě inspirovaná výzdobou soudobých kostelů a využívající rovněž místní stavitele a řezbáře. O uchování jejich podoby se zasloužil pražský rodák ing. arch. Alfred Grotte (1872-1943 Terezín), který se jako jeden z prvních profesionálně zabýval průzkumem starých synagog a jehož práce jsou edocenitelným zdrojem informací o dnes již neexistujících památkách. Zvláštním případem této centrální dispozicjee synagoga v Janovicích nad Úhovou (1723), jejíž hlavní sál je sklenutý kopulí na pendentivech.

Josefinské synagogy

Teprve josefinské období po roce 1780 přineslo výraznější uvolnění života v ghettech, nová právní ustanovení dovolovala Židům zabývat se ve větší míře podnikatelskou a obchodní inností, otevřela cestu k vyššímu vzdělání a povolovala zakládání vlastních židovských škol. Systemální patent z roku 1797 dovoloval také se souhlasem vrchnosti zřizování nových modliteben a synagog. Jako příklady staveb vyrůstajících ještě z barokní tradice můžeme v Čechách po roce 1780 uvést synagogy v Luži (1780), Švihově (kolem 1783), Mladé Boleslavi (1785), Kovanicích (1786), Nýrsku (1787) či Brandýse (1787). Některé ze synagog byly po roce 1780 více ovlivněny klasicismem a přijímaly podobu evangelických tolerančních kostelů. Nejlepšími příklady tohoto typu jsou synagogy v Rychnově nad Kněžnou (1784) nebo Doudlebech (1821). Na Moravě na barokní tradici navazovaly synagogy v Šafově (1785), Uherském Ostrohu (1788), Batelově (1794), Lednici (1794), Strážnici (1804), Lošticích (1806), Třešti (1825) nebo Starém Městě pod Landštejnem (po 1830). Mezi nimi se nově uplatnily zejména široké jednododní dispozice sklenuté dvěma poli pruské klenby v Úsově (1784), Lomnici u Tišnova (1785), Markvarci (1786) a Jevíčku (1794), které pouze jinými prostředky aplňují dosud převládající dispozici synagog na Moravě.

Oblibě se v tomto období těšil zvláště typ synagogy spojený se školou. Podporovat náboženské vzdělávání se stalo již od talmudských dob důležitou povinností každé židovské obce, a školy se proto obvykle zřizovaly dříve, než si obec postavila svoji synagogu. V Čechách i na Moravě bývala od 17. století synagoga někdy spojena se školou a příbytkem kantora nebo rabína v jedné budově. Starší typ představuje spojení synagogy a školy paralelně vedle sebe ve stavbě téměř čtvercového půdorysu (Holešov 1615, Břežnice 1725, Chodová Planá 1750, Loštice 1805). Mladším a podstatně rozšířenějším typem je spojení synagogy se školou podélně za sebou (Humpolec 1762, Brandýs nad Labem 1787, Podbřezí 1810, Uhřetěves 1848). Ten se v 18. století značně rozšířil zejména v jižních a jihozápadních Čechách (Janovice nad Úhlavou 1723, Rožmberk kol. 1750, Rakovník 1763, Nýrsko kol. 1780, Malá Šitboř 1803, Strážov 1808, Čkyně 1828, Stádlce kol. 1840, Slatina 1850) a v menších obcích se užíval až do počátku 20. století. Ve víceméně původním stavu se však dochovaly synagogy se školami pouze v Rakovníku, Brandýse nad Labem, Čkyni nebo Kdyni. Jiné židovské školy bývaly umístěny v samostatných objektech v blízkosti synagogy.



Venkovské synagogy

Venkovské či maloměstské synagogy v severozápadních Čechách často zastávaly ještě další funkce. Zatímco modlitební sál byl umístěn v patře, v přízemí budovy se setkáváme nejčastěji se školní třídou, resp. studovnou (bet ha-midraš) a příbytkem rabína nebo kantora (Chodová Planá 1750, Kynšperk 1754, Poutnov, Úštěk 1794, Kořen kolem 1810, Poběžovice 1816, Chyška kol. 1830, Pořejov 1850, Lesná kol. 1850 aj.), která často sloužila jako zimní modlitebna. V přízemí synagogy bývala také pekárna macesů (Bezručice, Poběžovice, Poutnov, Luka, Slatina, Kosova Hora, Březnice ad.), někdy rituální lázeň mikve (Poběžovice, Malá Šitboř, Poutnov, Malín). Zejména v rabínském či obecním domě bylo kolem synagogy soustředěno více takových zařízení.

Nejintenzivnější stavební činnost v malých židovských obcích lze v Čechách sledovat v první polovině 19. století, kdy bylo již daleko snazší získat povolení ke stavbě synagogy i finanční prostředky na její realizaci. Protože se obvykle jednalo o skromné stavby, prováděné místními řemeslníky, byly i tyto synagogy ještě dlouho budovány převážně v tradičních formách venkovského baroka a teprve koncem 1. třetiny 19. stol. nabývají současných forem novoklasicismu a empíru. Nepočtené a chudé židovské obce na venkově si i v této době stavěly většinou pouze dřevěné synagogy jako součást přízemních stavení nebo v patrech větších obytných budov. Ty pak sloužily jako modlitebny souvěrcům z celého širokého okolí. Byly to nevelké místnosti se zdůrazněnou východní stěnou, zaklenuté alespoň dřevěnou valenou klenbou symbolizující nebesa. Tradice těchto dřevěných synagog se ve venkovských obcích udržela velmi dlouho, do dnešních dnů se však dochovala pouze jediná, upravená na obytný domek (Vlachovo Březí 1787).

Prudký požár pražského Židovského Města 21. června 1689 poškodil většinu jeho synagoga vynutil si jejich přestavbu. Nová Klausová synagoga byla zbudována do roku 1694 na místě dřívější synagogy a ješivy (talmudické školy) rabiho Lówa. Hlavní sál je sklenutý valenou klenbou se čtyřmi páry lunet a bohatou štukovou výzdobou rostlinných a ovocných girland, patrně díla pražských italských štukatérů. Stěny jsou členěny pilastry s profilovanými hlavicemi a zalamovanou římsou. Rozlehlý prostor dotváří třístupňový svatostánek, zbudovaný na náklady Samuela Oppenheimera roku 1696. Klausová synagoga dnes poskytuje představu o ostatních barokních synagogách pražského ghetta, jako byly Cikánova (1701), Velkodvorská (1708) nebo Nová synagoga (1703, 1754), zbořených za asanace v letech 1898 a 1906.



Kořeny Antisemitismu

Leo Pavlat

Odkud pocházejí pověsti o židovské výjimečnosti a jejich spiknutí? Jak a proč vznikaly legendy, které je cíleně ukazují ve špatném světle?

Historický původ nepřátelství vůči Židům je ideologický, náboženský, zřejmý již od starověku, kdy bylo běžné, že kdo má vládu, ten má víru. Kdo podmaňoval, ten přinášel i své náboženské představy. Židé tomu většinou nepodléhali, ale situace se pro ně zhoršila, když se z judaismu vydělilo křesťanství a propojilo se se světskou mocí. Určující se stal Nový zákon, židovství ve své autonomnosti a věrouce bylo odkázáno jako staré do minulosti. Tak se v Evropě na dlouhá staletí ustálily vztahy, v nichž Židům připadlo nerovnoprávné postavení. Po prohrané válce s Římem (1. století n. l., pozn. red.) a ztrátě státnosti v historické vlasti žili v rozptýlení, existenčně závislí na blahovůli panovníka. A náboženská nesnášenlivost a neznalost daly vyrůst i temným obviněním včetně těch z rituálních vražd.

Antisemitismus současnosti do značné míry souvisí s existencí Státu Izrael, jenž se stal jakýmsi kolektivním Židem. Židům byla dříve upírána rovnoprávnost a důstojnost jako jedincům, dnes jako národu.

Odborníci na antisemitismus uvádějí, že nedůvěra vůči Židům už od starověku pramenila z toho, že žili uzavřeně a měli jiné zvyky – stravovací zvyklosti, obřizku, šabaty... Jak jsem řekl, prvotní motiv byl náboženský. A i když se někteří Židé například helenizovali (přijali řeckou kulturu pozdního starověku, pozn. red.), přijali křesťanství či později islám, v zásadě byla židovská identita pevná – i v češtině se přece ještě nedávno říkalo, že něco „drží jako židovská víra“. Starověk nebyl dobou, kdy se racionálně uvažovalo o jinakosti, která neohrožuje. Ostatně dodnes není málo těch, kdo nemají k odsudku daleko. Židovští věřící například do synagogy – a nejen tam – chodí s pokrývkou hlavy. Křesťané mají nábožensky dané, že do kostela se s pokrytou hlavou nechodí. Pro vyznavače židovské víry je důležité mít při modlitbě nejen pokrývku hlavy, ale i boty a při modlitbě nepoklekávat, pro muslimy je součástí víry v botách do mešity nevstupovat a na kolena klesnout. Toto vše má pro ty i ony věřící dobré náboženské vysvětlení, ale co se Židů týče, to oddělení shora pokrývkou hlavy a botami od země jako symbolů vědomí si vlastní pozemskosti tváří tvář Božímu majestátu mohlo a dodnes snad někomu připadá jako neúcta: proč si ten zpupný Žid před Stvořitelem ten klobouk nesundá?

Pravidla upravující vyloučení Židů ze společnosti závisela na době, zemi, vládci. Například nejstarší královské privilegium u nás z roku 1254 Přemysla Otakara II. Židy jako by do jisté míry chránilo, ale nebyla to ochrana lidských bytostí, pouze zdroje příjmů královské komory. Tak tomu bylo s různými obměnami i u dalších panovníků.

Co z toho pro Židy plynulo, že byli považováni za panovníkův majetek? Zůstaneme-li u nás, museli odvádět zvláštní platby, byli v podstatě položkou v panovníkově rozpočtu. Dobře to ilustruje pogrom v Chebu roku 1350, při němž byla o Velikonocích zmasakrována místní židovská komunita a její majetek rozkraden. Cheb pak musel Karlu IV. zaplatit za tuto z jeho hlediska krádež odškodné. Hovoříme-li však třeba v tomto případě o násilí proti Židům, je potřeba zmínit podstatnou okolnost. Z hlediska křesťanství byli Židé těmi, kdo způsobili smrt Ježíše, kdo neuvěřili v pravého Mesiáše a kdo setrvali ve své pomýlené víře. Na druhou stranu z toho ovšem nehledě na diskriminaci i krvavé násilí nevyplývalo, že by měli být vyhlazeni. Výmluvná je legenda o Ahasverovi, tomto za trest věčně bloudícím Židovi, který se měl provinít na Ježíšovi. Židé měli



být ve stálém opovrzení, na očích těch, kdo uvěřili správně. Svou vinu mohli případně smazat pouze křtem.

Ve stejné době existovaly křesťanské sekty, jež byly bez pardonu vyvražděny, ale k takovému závěru křesťanské autority v případě Židů nesměřovaly. Zcela vyhladit Židy v době, kdy ponižování a vyhánění žili v rozptýlení (židovský stát rozmetali Římané v 2. polovině 1. století, od té doby Židé ve stále větší míře odcházeli do evropských měst, pozn. red.), vydání panovníkům na milost a nemilost, by přitom nebylo těžké. Ale zůstaneme-li v křesťanské Evropě, nehledě na krvavé excesy Židé nebyli z tohoto světa vyloučeni. S programem „konečného řešení židovské otázky“, rozsudkem nad nimi ještě dříve, než se narodili, přišel až Hitlerův nacionální socialismus.

Situace se u nás poněkud změnila po reformách Josefa II. z 80. let 19. století, ale zároveň byly omezeny pravomoci židovské samosprávy. Takto řečeno to působí negativně, ale obecně to bylo jedno z opatření, která souvisela s reformou postavení Židů. V čistě náboženské oblasti jim pravomoci zůstávaly, ale v civilně právní byli zahrnuti pod běžnou jurisdikci. Souviselo to i s užíváním němčiny jako zemského jazyka. V té musely být vedeny veškeré úřední knihy, Židům nově přístupné obecné školy byly německé. Ostatně i židovští snoubenci museli doložit znalost němčiny. Tady je počátek odmítání Židů v době českého národního obrození; Židé byli kvůli své spjatosti s němčinou považováni za nepřátele češtví. Přitom již v polovině 19. století se u nás ustavilo česko-židovské hnutí a asimilační židovský proud nebyl bez úspěchu: počínaje docházkou židovských dětí do českých škol po prosazování češtiny do reformované židovské bohoslužby.

Když se křesťané snažili vytlačit Židy z mezinárodního obchodu jako konkurenci, bylo prý ponecháno na obchodování pouze s medem, vínem nebo tabákem. Až do josefínských reforem nesměli Židé půdu nejen vlastnit, ale ani ji pronajímat. To už nově mohli. S produkty půdy však obchodovat směli. Co ještě ani josefínské reformy nezměnily, byla zvláštní daňová povinnost a především familiantský zákon: pevně stanovený počet Židů v Čechách a na Moravě. A přibyla vojenská povinnost.

Ohledně židovského úspěchu nebo bohatství si stačí vybavit Olbrachtovu knihu *Golet* v údolí z roku 1937 o Židech na Podkarpatské Rusi nebo knihy nositele Nobelovy ceny za literaturu Isaaca Bashevisa Singera z polského předválečného prostředí. Tam všude byla velká bída. Ale představte si, že jedno společenství žije v podstatě po generace za zdí, obklopeno předsudky, pověrami, zavrženíhodné se vším všudy. Vždyť i ten každotýdenní židovský sváteční den odpočinku, sobotní šabat, se nakonec jako něco temného připomněl v dějinách v takzvaném čarodějnickém sabatu. Takto to bylo po staletí. A najednou se dětem těch opovrhovaných, jejich vnukům, daří lépe než mnoha jiným. To byl šok. Koho přitom zajímalo, že ti neviditelní z generace na generaci dbali o vlastní vzdělanost, že se už po třetím roce učili ve škole náboženství, že byli zvyklí učit se, ale také tvrdě, v nejistotě, co přinese příští den, pracovat. Josef II. byl u nás první, kdo nahlédl, že v židovském společenství je skryt potenciál, který by mohl stát využít.

A co rozšířené výmysly o nadnárodním židovském komplotu, jehož cílem je jakási světovláda? Mohla je posílit právě odvěká židovská rozptýlenost do všech koutů Evropy a později i dále, především do Ameriky? Rozptýlenost souvisí s mobilitou a ta byla vedle ochoty vzdělávat se a hledat nová řešení historicky nesmírně důležitou charakteristikou židovského života. Židovští studenti vždy odcházeli za váženými učiteli, ať žili kdekoliv. Proslulý rabi Löw je považován za českého rabína (učenec Jehuda Löw ben Becalel žil v 16. století mj. v Praze, legendy ho označují za stvořitele umělého člověka Golema, pozn. red.). Ve skutečnosti v Praze prožil jen poslední léta svého života, napsal zde své významné knihy a byl pochován na Starém židovském hřbitově. Narodil se však v Poznani, většinu života působil v Polsku a Německu, nějakou dobu i na Moravě. I bez putování za učiteli však Židé nebyli vázáni na místo pobytu. Nevěděli, jak dlouho budou



moci zůstat, zda nebudou vypovězeni, o co přijdou. I to formovalo jejich osudy a životní strategii. Chalupu na zádech nepřenesete; co máte v hlavě, to ano.

Vnější tlak se samozřejmě promítal i do židovského prostředí. V předemancipačním období byly židovské obce nábožensky jednotné i sociálně nápomocné. To však neznamenalo, že by v nich nedocházelo ke střetům třeba ohledně daní na hlavu, když obec musela platbu ve stanovené výši odvést panovníkovi. Zaznamenána jsou i udání ke křesťanské vrchnosti ve snaze zbavit se konkurence. Židé – a to platí pro každou dobu – jsou lidé jako všichni jiní: lepší, horší, chytrí, hloupí, slušní i neslušní. Mívám pro školy přednášky o antisemitismu, a poukazuji tedy na historické i existující protizidovské předsudky, ale co jsem teď řekl, zmiňuji hned na úvod.

První republika platila právem za stát, v němž Židé nebyli vystaveni předsudkům v té míře jako například v Polsku, Maďarsku či Rumunsku. Nemluvě o Rusku, kde pro Židy ještě v roce 1917 existovaly uzavřené zóny osídlení. Prezident Masaryk, známý jako zastánce Leopolda Hilsnera, křivě obviněného na konci 19. století z rituální vraždy, byl navíc výrazným stoupencem sionismu (židovské hnutí, jež se zrodilo v 2. polovině 19. století a jehož cílem byl návrat do země izraelské, pozn. red.) a to v předválečném Československu nesporně ovlivnilo celkový vztah k Židům. Stačila však mnichovská dohoda a vše se změnilo. Židé byli ještě před německou okupací vyloučeni z advokátní a lékařské komory.

Jak si vysvětlit, že i myslitelé jako Voltaire, Hegel, Kant, které si spojujeme s humanismem, se projevovali jako antisemité? Vzdělanost v nejmenším nebrání před předsudky a případně ani před zločiny. Máme přece vlastní zkušenost ze dvou totalitních režimů – nacistického a komunistického. Tehdy se ukázalo, že vzdělanci se výrazně podíleli na tom, že se tyto režimy ustavily a mohly napáchat tolik zla. Tehdy se lidé, kteří nabyli vzdělání ještě v demokratické společnosti s jejími hodnotami – učitelé, soudci, vědci –, dali do služeb zločinné totality. Protizidovský postoj tak nemusí udivovat ani u vážených myslitelů předchozích staletí. Voltaire působil v období dějinného zvratu, byl protináboženský, přičemž židovství zvláště považoval za překážku v pozvednutí lidstva. Kant svým učením tolik vnímavý k mravnosti Židy bez rozpaků šmahem odsuzoval za jejich údajný materialismus a bezcharakternost. Snad jen vámi zmíněný Hegel byl v odsudku jemnější. Považoval Židy za zatracené, ale na druhé straně podporoval jejich požadavky na plnohodnotné postavení ve společnosti.

Podle průzkumů Eurobarometr, které si nechává vypracovat Evropská komise, se v Evropě opět začal zvyšovat počet antisemitských projevů a útoků. Na snímku vlevo je postupimský rabín Ariel Kirzon, jehož loni v září v Berlíně na ulici kdosi napadl s nadávkou „ty zasr... židáku“.

Spojení se zdívem t je jen další variantou myšlenky skryté židovské moci, snad i proto, že svobodní zednáři užívají některé židovské symboly (zednářská legenda považuje za původní zednáře stavitele Šalomounova chrámu moudrosti, pozn. red.). Takový údajný zhoubný, a přitom zastřený židovský vliv měl ostatně i svou starší variantu v inkvizičním pronásledování pokřtěných Židů ve Španělsku a Portugalsku zejména v 16. století, protože prý vskrytu zachovávali víru otců. Podle nacistů se zase zhoubný židovský vliv projevoval v křesťanství. Nebo z jiné strany: V souvislosti s onou jakoby zákeřnou židovskou skrytostí možno zmínit i nesčetné protizidovské pamflety a karikatury od 19. století ve Francii, Německu či rakouské monarchii. Ty jsou plné antisemitských vyobrazení Židů jako osob využívajících druhé, lidí parazitických a vypočítavých. V ilustracích se symbolem takových charakteristik stal Žid jako pavouk. Ten je již sám o sobě mnoha lidem odporný. A co dělá? Rozhazuje neviditelné sítě, do nichž se chytí nebohá oběť a vysáta zahyne.

K předsudkům o Židech patřil i ten, že se štítí fyzické práce, že si vybírají jen některá povolání. Co se fyzické práce týče, v období diskriminace směli řemesla vykonávat jen pro vlastní potřebu. Dlouhá staletí neměli přístup ani k půdě. Ale že se o ni umějí postarat, nepochybně vyvrátili třeba už jen průkopníci sionistického hnutí v Palestině (od 2. poloviny 19. století se postupně stále více



Židů z celého světa stěhovalo do Palestiny, zakládali osady a města a v roce 1948 pak vznikl Stát Izrael, pozn. red.).

Nové případy přibývají skoro denně. Takže předsudky a nepřátelství vůči Židům pokračují. Nejrůznější činy protižidovské nenávisti v různých částech světa jsou na denním pořádku: za použití starých náboženských klišé, oprašování nacistické zášti, ale i nové pseudoargumentace. Covidová pandemie ještě neskončila, ale je již statisticky doloženo, že Židé jsou z jejího vypuknutí významně obviňováni.

Systematickým nacistickým vyhlazováním židovského obyvatelstva ve 40. letech minulého století antisemitismus vyvrcholil. Ale z čeho vychází dnes? Hledat v antisemitských předsudcích logiku nelze. Už proto, že dva předsudky, jež jsou svou podstatou antisemitské, můžete klidně postavit proti sobě. Z hlediska antisemitů byli například Židé nejhorší kapitalisté. Současně to však byli i strůjci komunismu a socialismu. Čili jde jen o obecnější názorovou pozici, do níž protižidovský výpad zapadne. Historicky platí, že kdykoliv se vyskytne závažnější problém, hledá se viník: ten, kdo údajně může za všechno špatné ve společnosti i jednotlivém životě. A nejstarší, dodnes živé záštiplné obvinění směřuje proti Židům. Těch, kdo věří v pravost podvrhu carské policie Protokoly židovských mudrců, tohoto údajného manifestu spiknutí Židů proti světu z počátku 20. století, není málo. Stejně jako není málo těch, kdo brojí proti dnešní koordinované ekonomické a politické moci sloužící údajným židovským zájmům.

Antisemitismus rozhodně není skončená kauza. Pokud se dá dnes ještě vůbec mluvit o politické levici a pravici, je zajímavé, že co se týká Židů, jejich stoupenci na extrémnějších okrajích se v mnohém shodnou. Vyhraněná pravice je až neonacistická, máte mezi nimi popírače šoa, tedy holokaustu. Jejich přívrženci vyvozují, že na údajném holokaustu a neoprávněném soucitu vznikl Stát Izrael. Pro krajní levici je to zase bez ohledu na fakta stát koloniální a rasistický. A nutno připočíst i nenávistný islamistický protižidovský extremismus.

Antisemitismus současnosti do značné míry souvisí s existencí Státu Izrael, jenž se stal jakýmsi kolektivním Židem. Židům byla dříve upírána rovnoprávnost a důstojnost jako jedincům, dnes jako národu. Čímž netvrdím, že Izrael se nesmí kritizovat, jak tvrdí antisemité. Samozřejmě ano, ale podíváte-li se třeba jen na každoroční rezoluce OSN, je jasné, že Izraeli se setrvale měří jinak než těm nejhorším despociím. Antisemitismus má trojí zdroj: ideový, ať již náboženský, politický, nebo nacionální, dále ekonomický a psychologický. Dříve byly protižidovské projevy omezeny na státy, v nichž Židé žili. Dnes, v době sociálních sítí, je antisemitismus globální. Výpady proti Židům nejsou lokálně omezeny, staly se symbolem toho temného ve světě. Jestliže v současnosti, necelých 80 let po válce, stále více demokratických států jmenuje zmocněnce pro boj s domácím antisemitismem, je to známka, že jde o vážný problém.

Federace židovských obcí v České republice projevy antisemitismu v Česku monitoruje a vydává o nich zprávy. Celosvětově patrným trendem je šíření protižidovské nenávisti prostřednictvím sociálních sítí a internetových médií. To je zřejmé i u nás. Statisticky bylo v České republice v roce 2021 zaznamenáno více než 1 100 antisemitských incidentů, naštěstí jen jeden případ fyzického násilí. Je paradoxní, že v mezinárodním měřítku je to vlastně dobrá zpráva.



Synagogues, Schools and Rabbinic Houses. Revitalization of Jewish sites in the Czech Republic completed

Arno Pařík

In 2011 launch and first phase of the preparation of a project organized by the Federation of Jewish Communities of the Czech Republic, titled Revitalization of Jewish Sites in the Czech Republic.

The main details are as follows: as part of the 5.1 Integrated Operation Programme, launched by the Czech Ministry of Culture, the Federation of Jewish Communities received funding of almost CZK 280 million for the preservation of Jewish sites in the Czech Republic – 85% from the European Regional Development Fund, 15% from the Czech state budget. As a result of this funding, it was possible to undertake the restoration of 15 Jewish heritage sites in ten localities and seven regions of the Czech Republic. At first, a management team of the Federation of Jewish Communities, headed by its chairman Jiří Daniček, was put together for the project implementation. Jan Kindermann was given the post of project co-ordinator, architect Zdeněk Skála was responsible for technical supervision on behalf of the Federation, art historian and Jewish Museum curator Arno Pařík was responsible for the heritage oversight of the restoration of specific buildings, Federation employee Květa Svobodová was responsible for the co-ordination of preparations for permanent exhibitions and interior furnishings, and Gabriela Slezáková carried out checks on the project accounts. Heritage officials were also involved in the supervision of restoration works, according to their competences and specializations.

Before the commencement of the construction phase, a historical, archaeological and restoration survey was carried out on all the sites, where necessary supplemented with a structural appraisal.

It was of key importance to select the most suitable heritage sites owned by the Federation of Jewish Communities in the Czech Republic and to set out the themes for the permanent exhibitions that are to be housed in the individual buildings. Other important tasks involved calling for tenders for the preparation of project documents and preparing historical documents as a basis for work on the restoration of individual sites. As a subsidiary firm, LN-Design, Ltd. was selected in a tender to commission and prepare scenarios for the permanent exhibitions and to implement them. This firm hired the appropriate experts and commissioned them to work on the exhibition scenarios, the basic versions of which were finished by the end of June 2011. The Pilsen-based architectural studio Jan Soukup was then selected in a tender and prepared the exhibition designs for all of the heritage sites.

In October 2011, contractors were then invited to tender for the main contract – implementation of the entire project. The winning bid was put in by Gema Art Group. a.s. In October 2011, the latter firm began the process of construction procurement in all ten localities in accordance with the timetable, so that the restoration of all the heritage sites could be completed by June 2013. In the end, this deadline was extended by the Czech Ministry of Culture. Most of the construction work was completed by the end of 2013 and the restoration work, the fitting-out of interiors and the installation of permanent exhibitions were completed in the first half of 2014.



The construction and restoration work on Jewish sites that had been devastated by the Second World War and by many years of neglect under Communism was the most complicated and most expensive part of the entire project. The revitalization of selected sites involved dozens of restorers from various fields, in addition to architects, archaeologists, construction experts and heritage specialists. With their abilities and experience it was possible to restore as much as possible of these sites to their original form. As mentioned above, this journal included a report on the main architectural design studios for the project in 2011.* Aside from the main contractor Gema Art Group, a.s. (Ltd.), particular mention should be made of the following for their high-quality collaboration on the restoration project: the Brno-based firm Archatt, which specializes in heritage restoration (Mikulov and Krnov), the Kuřim-based restoration art workshop Attentus Qualitatis s.r.o., which specializes in the production of furnishings for heritage sites (Brandýs, Pilsen, Boskovice and Mikulov), the stone sculpture company Tomáš Franta (Nová Cerekev) and the stone-cutting firm Kamenictví Nedvěd s.r.o. (Březnice), as well as the teams of restorers of wall paintings and stucco under the supervision of Tomáš Rafl (Pilsen and Brandýs nad Labem), Jana Waisserová (Mikulov, Březnice and Krnov), Josef Červinka (Mikulov) and Zdeněk Kousek (Polná), which also proved their worth in the reconstruction of damaged holy arks and in the restoration of original paintings in rabbinic houses. In addition, the latter were equipped with period furniture and furnishings, including tiled stoves for Jewish dwellings and kitchens, prayer houses and school classrooms (Boskovice, Polná, Brandýs.

Jičín, Březnice and Ústěk), the selection and installation of which were overseen mainly by Květa Svobodová (particularly successful was the installation of period tiled stove and a matzah oven in Boskovice).

The Jewish Museum in Prague also significantly contributed to the Revitalization of Jewish Sites in the Czech Republic project. It provided expert advice and assistance for historical building surveys, for the restoration and renovation of the original interiors of synagogues, rabbinic houses, and schools. In addition, its specialist staff were involved in the preparation of exhibition scenarios and in the realization of exhibitions on historical and Jewish topics which provide a thematic extension of the Jewish Museum's current exhibitions in Prague and place them in authentic milieu of the former Jewish communities outside Prague. The Jewish museum's specialist staff Eva Kosáková and Alexandr Putík conceived and donated to the preparation of the exhibition Jewish Customs and Traditions in men's Old Synagogue, Arno Pařík conceived the exhibition Jewish Schools in Czech Lands for the synagogue and rabbinic house in Ústěk and the exhibition synagogue Architecture in the Czech Lands in Nová Cerekev, Daniel Polakovič led on the exhibition Jewish Learning in Bohemia in the synagogue in Znice, and Michal Frankl conceived the exhibition The Stage of Anti-Semitism ie Leopold Hilsner Case for the rabbinic house in Polná. Staff from the Jewish museum's collections department, photo archive and library also contributed to preparation of other necessary material for exhibitions.

After four years of hard work by all the participating teams and individuals, the Revitalization of Jewish Sites in the Czech Republic project was completed at the of May 2014 and the individual sites were officially opened to the public. These issues, however, were preceded by over three years of intensive work by the Federation's employees and associates, which primarily involved constant contacts on all work in progress and endless and often tense negotiations with construction firms and restoration teams to find the most suitable ways of implementing the project. In the last year, additional historic furniture and other components of period interior furnishings were selected and installed, and there was further refinement in the preparation and installation of permanent exhibitions. In the press report on the revitalization project, we briefed readers on the history of the individual monuments and on the plans for their reconstruction. This time – again briefly as possible – we aim to draw attention to the most important or particular successful results of the construction and restoration projects, the reconstruction of the original furnishings of



synagogues and rabbinic houses, the restoration original interior paintings and the installation of exhibitions.

The oldest and most precious synagogues

Interesting the monuments of greatest architectural and historical importance in the district is the Old Synagogue in Mikulov (Altschul, Horní / Upper Synagogue), the perimeter masonry walls probably date back to the 16th century.“ Due to the outstanding position of the local community, this synagogue also came to acquire a completely unique status. In connection with the synagogue's restoration it was ascertained that the original Baroque rafters on the west side of the building were considerably rotted and in need of a demanding and expensive replacement of the lower part of the beams. Another important part of the overall restoration of the building's original layout was the reconstruction of the demolished women's prayer hall with an unusual triangular floor plan from 1688/89 on the south side of the building, supported on a Tuscan column in the centre. Also important was the restoration of the staircase on the west side of the building, which was originally a characteristic feature of the synagogue's external appearance.

The most difficult task connected with the restoration of the damaged building, however, was the restoration of its damaged and unsuitably altered interior. The main task here was to ascertain the original level of the paving in the main hall, which was at least one step lower than the main entrance to the hall from the lobby, several parts of the original light grey marble tiles from the main hall (ca. 38 x 38 x 5 cm), placed diagonally, were found during an archaeological survey. The paving was restored with the use of the closest type of marble. Also importantly, a find was made of what was probably the building's original internal drainage system and the remains of the paving of the earlier longitudinal bimah in the centre of the hall.

The main focus, however, was on the restoration of the extremely high-quality stucco decoration of the vault in the main hall and the west foyer, dating from the period of the Baroque reconstruction of the synagogue in the early 18th century. Most attention was paid to the demanding restoration of twenty stucco cartouches on the pendentives supporting the dome in the main hall and above the arcades of the women's galleries, including their Hebrew inscriptions, which had been completely removed during an inappropriate reconstruction of the synagogue between 1977 and 1989.“ The remains of negative impressions of the original inscriptions, along with fragments of later repairs and reconstructions, were found on the majority of cartouches, however, which enabled the restorers, in co-operation with Hebraists at the Jewish Museum, to restore most of the oldest forms of inscriptions with a decorative form of Baroque Hebrew script. These are abbreviations of biblical and rabbinic quotations, some of which are familiar from the decoration of other synagogues in Bohemia and Moravia (Old-New in Prague, synagogues in Kolín, Boskovice, Třebíč, Holešov), although many appear for the first time. These inscriptions, however, are unique mainly because, in addition to the abbreviations, they also contain a full explanation of their meaning, inscribed in small letters in the lower part of the cartouche.

Other extraordinarily difficult tasks connected with restoring the synagogue interior to its original appearance were the restoration of the four-column bimah in the middle of the hall and, above all, the reconstruction of the forcibly removed High Baroque aron ha-kodesh, made by the famous Mikulov-based sculptor Ignaz Lengelacher. The holy ark in the centre of the eastern wall was the most distinctive feature of the entire decoration and the focal point of the entire space. Its reconstruction on the basis of pre-war photographs, an old floor plan and several reference points in the eastern wall was extremely challenging, but the results exceeded all expectations. Using the original technology of artificial marble, the restoration team under Josef Červinka undertook a very precise and impressive reconstruction of the large Baroque aron ha-kodesh



(nearly 7 metres in height) which, along with the restored marble columns and the gilt capitals of the four-column bimah in the middle of the hall, once again became the focal point of the entire space and a dominant part of its original architectural layout.

The interior was equipped with new benches which mark the layout of its original furnishings and with replicas of old chandeliers and candelabras, which add to its original character. Also of importance was the opening up of two bricked-in segmented windows in the south wall of the main hall, which re-established the original acoustic and visual connection with the restored women's prayer room.

Mention should also be made of the difficult production of new frames for many of the large, segmented windows throughout the building with the original Baroque articulation, replacing the completely unsuitable large glazing panes. Historical types of stained-glass windows from the 19th century were restored for the windows in the main hall on the basis of documentation in photographs and two paintings by Samuel Brunner. In addition to the afore-mentioned 20 cartouches with Hebrew inscriptions, the large inscription panel on the north facade above the entrance to the synagogue was also restored and a stone slab with an inscription above the alms box in the entrance hall was placed back in its original position.

The permanent exhibition that is mainly on view in the north and west women's galleries is entitled Rabbi Loew and Jewish Learning in Moravia. The famous Loew ben Bezael (ca. 1525–1609) served in Mikulov as chief rabbi of Moravia in 1553–1573 and this is where he wrote his first major work, *Gur Aryeh*. The exhibition also draws attention to a number of other important rabbinic figs, including the Hasidic rebbe Shmuel Shmelke ha-Levi Horowitz, who was chief rabbi of Moravia in 1773-1778, and Rabbi Mordecai Benet (chief rabbi in 1789–1829), as well as many other traditional and modern scholars who were active in Mikulov and other Moravian communities. The exhibition was conceived the architect Jaroslav Klenovský in collaboration with Daniel Polakovič. The Synagogue in Mikulov will be run in association with the Mikulov Regional Museum. The total cost of restoring the synagogue as part of the revitalization project was CZK 35,444,000.

The second, no-less important Moravian site in the revitalization project is skovice, an old centre of Jewish scholarship and Jewish life, and one of the large-Jewish settlements in the Czech Lands. The most important local monument is Great Synagogue (or Synagogue Maior), which was built in 1636 in the centre he large Jewish settlement. On account of its rich Baroque ornamental decoration with Hebrew inscriptions, this synagogue is one of the oldest and most important Jewish sites in the Czech Republic (most of its decoration was restored earlier (1989–2001). As part of the revitalization project, the north side of the site was roughly insulated so as to prevent further dampness entering the foundations, restoration of the holy ark was completed, reconstruction work was carried . on the damp-damaged decorative painting in the north-west section of the men's gallery, and the lower parts of the perimeter walls were given a new coat paint that matches the overall colour scheme. Four window frames in the main were provided with more suitable articulation, a replica of the halo around the lets of the Ten Commandments was completed and grill segments along the es of the Aron ha-kodesh were supplemented. On the ground floor of the synagogue, benches that resemble the original ones, and an exhibition was installed on the walls, focusing on Boskovice's Jewish town, the history of the Jewish community and its prominent figures. An exhibition of Judaica from the collections of the local Boskovice Museum was installed in two glass display cabinets in the women's gallery.

The main focus of the revitalization project in Boskovice for the Federation of Jewish Communities, however, was the restoration of the newly acquired large Empire-style rabbinat building, Jewish school and ghetto bakery at Bílkova Street 7. A two-floor building with a distinctive seven-axis facade with pilasters, it was built by the local Jewish community in 1826 in



accordance with a design by local builder Samuel Beck." It originally housed a bakery with several large ovens and a shop that supplied baked goods to most of the ghetto. In the ground-floor courtyard wing there used to be an apartment for the shamash from the adjoining Jewish hospital. On the top floor there used to be an office and the local rabbi's apartment. Later on, the large building also housed the Jewish town's local authority and, from the mid-19th century, the Boskovice Jewish school. Above all, it was necessary to clean the entire building so as to prevent further dampness entering the perimeter walls, to restore the damaged stucco decoration of the facade, including the window chambranle, pilasters, cornices and rustication. The limestone paving in the interior passageway was restored, as were the ceramic paving in the other ground-floor rooms, the spiral staircase to the upper floor and the wooden floors.

On the first floor, the simple but elegant painted decoration was restored on the basis of early 19th-century paintings that were discovered.

Of all the sites included in the revitalization project, this monumental two-stored building, which was among the largest in the Boskovice ghetto, provides the largest indoor exhibition space. A visitor centre was installed in the former bakery shop on the right-hand side of the ground floor. A Jewish dwelling from the second half of the 19th century was recreated in the adjacent room featuring a dining area, a kitchen with tiled stove and adjoining matzah ovens and highlighting the original furnishings and use of the building. A large lecture hall was installed on the left-hand side of the ground floor, which is also intended as a venue for temporary exhibitions and cultural events and as a facility for visitors to local Jewish festival in the summer.

A permanent exhibition, entitled Jewish Quarters in the Czech Lands, we stalled in the three large rooms of the front wing. Its focus is on Jewish historic settlements – ghettos, quarters and streets in towns and villages – settlement and the most prominent examples as documented in old photographs, maps models. It acquaints visitors with the diversity of settlement forms, the historical reasons for their establishment, the changes that took place over the centuries everyday life. The exhibition shows that there are a large number of the

lesser-known Jewish monuments in Bohemia and Moravia (Jemnice, Kasejo: Kosova Hora, etc.), which are also deserving of careful heritage protection. The exhibition was conceived by the Brno-based architect Jaroslav Klenovský. On upper floor of the courtyard wing there is also an apartment for the museum and a depository of the photography collection of the Boskovice Museum which is a partner of the Federation in the running of the new exhibition. The cost of the revitalization of the synagogue and rabbinic house is CZK 24,308,000.

Prominent baroque ghettos

Two other localities included in the revitalization project are remarkable for fact that they are relatively large and old Jewish quarters from the late 17th early 18th century that have been preserved almost intact to the present day. As constituting interesting examples of Baroque urbanism, they also primarily vide an authentic illustration of the environment in which traditional Jewish communities lived in this country. In Polná, in 1681, Prince Dietrichstein found a new Jewish settlement on the edge of the town as an enclosed quarter with houses, two squares and two gates. In 1683 a vaulted synagogue with a vestibule and gallery on the west side was erected in the centre of the ghetto. Considered damaged, the building was returned to the Federation of Jewish Communities 1994. After complete restoration, it opened to the public in September 1999. part of the revitalization project, missing synagogue benches were added, the ha-kodesh was reconstructed on the basis of photographs and preserved parts,



the women's gallery received a new coat of paint. Part of the exhibition focus on the history of the building was installed in the west section of the synagogues Two display cases with Jewish exhibits from the collections of the Municipal Museum of Polná, recalling the life of the local Jewish community, were installed the east section alongside the restored Aron ha-kodesh.

In Polná too, however, the main aim of the revitalization project was the re-creation of the rabbinic house, recently acquired by the Federation, which erected on the west side of the synagogue in [1713 and was later rebuilt several times. A visitor centre was installed in the front room, which is accessed from north square. An exhibition on the history of the Jewish town and community was installed in the large adjacent vaulted room featuring a tiled stove, were there used to be a Jewish shop in the 19th and 20th centuries. A wooden eel of the Jewish Town in its original Baroque form (prior to the fire of 1853 the rebuilding of the Baroque gable roofs in accordance with new fire-safety relations) is on display in the centre of the room. A well-preserved vaulted bread oven and two open fireplaces for preparing meat and milk es Was restored in the other ground-floor space in the central wing. In the adjacent corridor, the exhibition is supplemented with panels that highlight topic of Jewish traditional cuisine and kashrut regulations. In another connect room, the filled-in staircase leading to the mikveh (ritual bath), partially carved the rock, was cleaned and renovated. Considering its age and depth, the mikveh offers an impressive experience for visitors. In the upper room, the exhibition continues with a focus on ritual baths, highlighting their use and various types.

last ground-floor room is dedicated to the large Jewish cemetery of Polná and the local chevra kadisha (burial society). The exhibition on the ground-floor of synagogue and in the rabbinic house was conceived by Arno Pařík.

The apartment and office of the Polná rabbi used to be on the upper floor of the rabbinic house – in three rooms on the north wing (with windows facing the Jewish re). These rooms feature painted decoration from the mid-19th century, which was restored by Pavel Procházka. They now house a permanent exhibition, entitled The Stage of Anti-Semitism: The Leopold Hilsner Case, which focuses on the most famous modern-era antisemitic campaign in the Czech Lands that occurred in 1899-1900. Its aim is to point to the role played by prejudice in Czech national-oriented society in the Leopold Hilsner case, to show how prejudice emerges and effects the political life of society, and to demonstrate how it can also influence the enforcement of justice. The last room houses a study centre that provides visitors with access to period newspapers, publications and digital materials so that they can find additional information about this and other cases of political antisemitism in connection with the shaping of modern national society. The exhibition on antisemitism was conceived by Michal Frankl. Next to the exhibition space, the so-called rabbinic prayer room was also restored to its original form; this room houses the original holy ark (preserved in the Polná museum), a tiled stove and the original painted decoration that has been restored. The prayer room may also be used as a venue for lectures, workshops and other cultural and educational programmes. The Polná rabbinic house – with its underground ritual bath, shop and black kitchen on the ground floor, rabbi's apartment, rabbinic office and upper-floor prayer room – clearly shows all the different purposes that were formerly integrated into a single building by such an institution, and also demonstrates the close connection between the religious and economic aspects of life in the ghetto. The total cost of this part of the revitalization project was CZK 26,014,000.

In Březnice, too, there is also an almost completely preserved Baroque Jewish settlement, which has two squares, a synagogue, a local and regional rabbinate building, an inn house, an originally Renaissance palace (belonging to Joachim Popper) and 22 Jewish houses. The synagogue and connected Jewish school were built in the middle of the ghetto square in 1725 and rebuilt in their present-day form after a fire in 1821."* The synagogue was returned in a devastated condition to the Prague Jewish Community in 1994 and has been undergoing restoration since



1996. Due to the continuing problem of groundwater from the bed of a former stream under the synagogue, however, it has not yet been possible to complete the reconstruction.

The most important and complicated task involved in the restoration Březnice Synagogue was to prevent groundwater from penetrating the building's foundations and walls and to ensure its drainage into the renovated sewerage system. After long discussions with invited experts and specialists, it was decided to make use of a chemical injection damp-proof course, which soon later proved to be effective with sufficient warranty coverage provided by the Remmers company. The main focus was then devoted to the restoration of the decorative paintwork of the vault in the synagogue's main hall with an Empire-style sculpted frame in the centre. Restoring the holy ark to its original form, however, proved to be an even more challenging task; apart from an outline in the paving, the only preserved record of the original ark is in a single old photograph. Primarily on the basis of imprints in the plaster and of the remains of the original masonry cornice, it was then possible to restore the decorative segmental tympanum, which is supported on the two granite columns and side pediments of the holy ark. Part of the original benches around the central bimah and the brass seven-branched chandeliers on hooks in the vault were also reconstructed in the main hall, adding to the atmosphere of the synagogue.

In the adjacent part of the building there used to be a ground-floor apartment for the shamash and a small kitchen with an oven (which, however, has not been preserved). A stone staircase leads to the upper floor: next to the entrance to the synagogue gallery on the south side there is a larger separate room that once served as a Jewish school and perhaps also as a daily prayer hall. An exhibition entitled Jewish Learning in Bohemia, focusing on rabbinic figures and Jewish sites (including synagogues, cemeteries and Jewish quarters in the region) was installed in the ground-floor room where the shamash's apartment used to be. The upper room of the former Jewish school now houses an exhibition on the history of the Březnice ghetto and its inhabitants, their occupations, local rabbis and written records, as well as the history of the family of the local entrepreneur Joachim Popper. This hall will also be used as a venue for cultural events and lectures; in the south gallery of the synagogue there is also a place for temporary exhibitions. The exhibition was conceived by Daniel Polakovič, and the total cost of the restoration of the synagogue and school was CZK 19,221,999, The Heritage Authority of Central Bohemia, which owns and runs the Březnice Renaissance chateau, will be contributing the running of the synagogue in association with the Federation of Jewish Communities.

Three baroque and neo-classical synagogues

One of the most interesting sites in terms of Jewish heritage and history is undoubtedly Jičín in north-eastern Bohemia – the former residence of Duke Albrecht of Wallenstein and his associate Jacob Bassevi, later the home town of Karl Kraus whose grandfather was chairman of the local Jewish community. The local Late-Baroque synagogue, dating from 1773, was already restored in 2003-2008 under the supervision of the Prague Jewish community. Only a few partial modifications were made as part of the revitalization project. The main focus of the revitalization in Jičín was the nearby school building in Jewish Street (No. 100), which was recently acquired by the Federation. This remarkable Late Empire-style building was erected by the Jičín-based builder Josef Opolzer on the site of several older Jewish houses after a major fire in 1840. It is a two-stored high building with a seven-axis facade and a semicircular Empire-style staircase, highlighted by monumental Doric columns. The building later became the property of the Jičín Jewish community, which established there a school, prayer hall and meeting room for its board of representatives. The Federation's aim was to preserve this dominant but dilapidated building, to restore the interior to its original form and to use it for a permanent thematic



exhibition, as well as for lectures, temporary shows and as an information centre, so that it can provide a base for the nearby synagogue.

After structural reinforcement of the building and insulation against penetrating dampness, the street frontage and the two entrances from Jewish Street were restored. Four rooms now used as a visitor centre, a large lecture and an exhibition hall were restored on the ground floor of the former school, while a separate space in the court wing was adapted as a café. The main focus of attention in the ground floor and in the four first-floor rooms with restored painted decoration, however, is a large exhibition, entitled *Jewish Writers in the Czech Lands*, which is dedicated to the Jewish literature of the 19th and 20th centuries, its major figures and genres in Czech and German. The work of these writers clearly highlights the mutual influences and encounters of Czech, German and Jewish culture, which produced a fruitful climate for the development of literature. Special attention is paid to the life and work of the Jičín-born writer Karl Kraus (1874-1936), to whom is dedicated a ground-floor room with restored painting, which has been set out as his study room. The two larger upstairs rooms with tiled stoves and period furniture feature an exhibition on the main Jewish writers, journalists and playwrights of the 20th century. The next room focuses on Czech writers of the post-war generation who mainly dealt with the topic of the Shoah. The last room in the first-floor courtyard wing is furnished as an editorial office of the popular Prague newspaper *Prager Tagblatt*; the exhibition here recalls the most famous Jewish journalists and critics, particularly those who wrote for Jewish newspapers in Prague. The exhibition was conceived by the literary historian and journalist Tomáš Pěkný, after whose death the show was implemented by Barbara Kópplová, Alexandra Blodigová and Jan Jirák. The total cost of the restoration of the Jewish school and the exhibition in Jičín was CZK 40,635,000.

Also worthy of attention is the synagogue in Ústě, a tower-like Neo-Classical sandstone building that was erected on a rocky outcrop in 1794. It is unusual for having a Jewish classroom and cantor's room, which is located in the basement. Closed after the Second World War, the synagogue soon fell into disrepair, the roof collapsed and the building was earmarked for demolition. In 1993 it was acquired by the Federation of Jewish Communities, which carried out a successful reconstruction in 1994-2003. A serious problem, however, remained – the penetration of groundwater into the synagogue walls and the imperfect regulation of the surroundings. The revitalization project made it possible to fully insulate the foundations walls of this unique monument and to improve the regulation of the surroundings. The collapsed stone terraces under the synagogue were also restored, which now makes it easier to climb down steps to get to the Ústě stream valley.

The main focus of the revitalization project in Ústě, however, was the adjacent rabbinic house in Jewish Street (No. 96), a Late Neo-Classical building from the mid-19th century where there used to be a Jewish butcher shop on the ground floor, the rabbi's apartment on the first floor and, after 1850, a Jewish school that relocated from the synagogue. The rabbinic house has been rebuilt several times. It was necessary to carry out a thorough reconstruction of this heritage site, including the sewerage, all the ceilings and partitions, heating, electricity and water mains. On the ground floor, next to the visitor centre, there is now an exhibition on the history of the Ústě Jewish community and local Jewish figures, in particular the large Schwarz family (local hops growers and dealers) and the painter Emil Orlik, who often came here to paint. In the three upper-floor rooms there is now an extended section of the synagogue's exhibition, entitled *Jewish Schools in the Czech Lands*, which covers the tradition of Jewish education from biblical times through to the 19th and 20th centuries, including the present-day Ronald S. Lauder schools in Prague. Both sections of the exhibition were conceived by Arno Pařík. The total cost of this part of the revitalization project was CZK 21,679,000.



One of the most remarkable sites in the entire revitalization project is undoubtedly the synagogue in Brandýs nad Labem. This synagogue has a central square plan and contains, under a single roof, a large hall in the southern and winter prayer rooms and a school in the northern section of the building. The present-day synagogue was restored after a fire in 1828–1829 as a simple Neo-Classical building the site of at least three earlier synagogues, the layout of which is shared by the current building in Na Potoce Street (No. 140). After the Second World War, the devastated synagogue was deprived of all its furnishings and used as a warehouse for many years. No longer in use, the synagogue was restituted to the Prague Jewish community in 1994 and was used as a depository by the Jewish Museum Prague for several years. Nonetheless, many traces of the original furnishings and decorations were preserved. The revitalization project made it possible now to restore the dilapidated main hall of the synagogue, as well as the two-storey wood gallery and the Neo-Classical holy ark. The latter was renovated on the basis of eminent remains under the paving, imprints in the plaster and in the wall paintings, and of two pre-war photographs of the interior in an almost unambiguous form.

Also successful were the removal of many of the repainted layers and the restoration of the original Neo-Classical painting in the main hall (in white, sky blue and pinkish tones). In addition, the later Biedermeier and Art Nouveau stencilled painted decorations, which were the most interesting and best preserved of the earlier layers, were partly restored in the rooms of the daily prayer hall, Jewish school and cantor's apartment on the ground floor and in the living rooms on the first floor of the north wing.

A permanent exhibition, entitled *The Roots of Judaism: Rabbinic Literature and Scholarship*, was installed in the synagogue. Prepared by Pavel Sládek, this show provides visitors with basic information about literary sources of rabbinic Judaism and traditional Hebrew literature. Based on material gathered by Jiří Fiedler, a smaller section of the ground-floor exhibition focuses on the history of the local Jewish community in Brandýs nad Labem. The larger rooms on the first floor now house a lecture and exhibition hall, as well as facilities for the custodians and lecturers. The synagogue in Brandýs nad Labem is a fascinating building that has an unusually light and airy feel and will definitely soon be put to more suitable use. It has a large azure cloister vault with stars above a wide cornice and an almost square layout. There is also a Neo-Classical two-level wooden gallery on three sides with four large windows in the east, south and west and limestone paving slabs. The total cost of restoring the synagogue as part of the revitalization project was CZK 25,307,000.

The results of the revitalization project

All of the restored buildings with their furnished interiors and thematic exhibitions opened to the public in June 2014 and remained open in the first tourist season until the end of October of this year. The project resulted in a network of regional centres of Jewish culture and history in ten locations and seven regions, which presents these sites as unique monuments of the Jewish cultural heritage in the Czech Republic. Over the next five years, the Federation of Jewish Communities, together with partner institutions and organizations, will be organizing a thematic range of cultural events for the individual buildings — including concerts of Jewish music, lectures on current topics, short travelling exhibitions, screenings of films with Jewish themes, and theatrical performances and workshops from various areas of Jewish culture. During the next five years, visitor numbers will be the sole measure of success of these programmes; no commercial activities may be held at these venues for this period. The federation must see that the sites remain open to the public and to ensure that capable tour guides are available there. The running of the new regional centres of Jewish culture in each community will be overseen by partner cultural institutions, municipalities, museums and civic associations.



Most of these revitalized buildings now house new permanent thematic exhibitions, which — together with other planned short-term programmes — for the first time provide visitors with the opportunity to familiarize themselves more closely with Judaism and the Jewish history of the Czech Lands in a broader context and in the authentic milieu of earlier Jewish communities, with the interiors of old Baroque or Neo-Classical synagogues, rabbinic and communal houses, schools and entire Jewish quarter, which today constitute an unusually diverse set of Jewish historical buildings from the 16th century to the end of the 19th century. These revived and newly opened monuments, along with other Jewish sites in the Czech Republic, now form a large collection of more than sixty synagogues, rabbinic and community houses, schools and Jewish ritual baths, including 350 old Jewish cemeteries. They are unique treasures of historical memory and are probably without parallel in Central Europe in terms of number, conditions and age.



Antisemitismus se stal z lokálního globálním. Kvůli sociálním sítím

Leo Pavlát

„Antisemitismus je v posledních letech na vzestupu. Je to patrné ze statistik v Evropě, ale nověji také v USA, kde to dříve nebylo běžné,“ otevírá náš rozhovor Leo Pavlát, ředitel Židovského uzea v Praze. „Americký židovský výbor publikoval koncem října výsledky reprezentativního průzkumu. Plných 89 procent židovských respondentů v něm uvedlo, že antisemitismus je pro americkou společnost problém. Hrozbu cítí zejména z extrémní politické pravice, ale i z extrémní levice. Podobně varovné jsou údaje zejména z Velké Británie, Německa, Francie či Švédska. Nárůst antisemitských incidentů přitom nepochybně souvisí se současnými celospolečenskými problémy,“ upozorňuje v našem převážně pochmurném povídání tento publicista a dřívější diplomat. Na vysvětlenou však dodává: „Když v českém prostředí mluvíme o židech, hovoříme o občanech této země, kteří své židovství projevují nábožensky, kulturně, případně je pro ně osudovým rodinným traumatem z období šoa (hebrejský výraz pro holokaust – pozn. red.). Příklon k židovské národnosti je minimální.“

Přibližně od počátku tohoto tisíciletí má v zásadě tři zdroje. Tehdy se k pravicovým extremistům výrazněji připojili ti zleva a současně islamističtí fundamentalisté. Pravicový extremismus se prolíná s neonacismem. Jeho přitažlivost má ale své meze – zkušenost se šoa ho přece jen diskvalifikuje a na popírání a zpochybňování šoa se navíc hodně soustřeďuje. K tomu obviňuje židy z nelояality k domovským státům, je vyhroceně nacionální, jako židovské zlo zavrhuje demokracii, multikulturalismus a globalismus. S extrémní levicí pak pravice sdílí odpor k existenci Státu Izrael. Jeho levicoví odpůrci jej v rozporu s dějinnými fakty i každodenní skutečností označují za umělý, koloniální útvar, ostrov rasismu a apartheidu. To už ale mluvíme o antisionismu. Šíření nenávisti k židům nebývale usnadňují sociální sítě. Dříve byl antisemitismus lokální, týkal se míst, kde židé žili. Dnes je globální, živý i tam, kde nikdy žádné židovské společenství nebylo.

To je třeba se vrátit do historie. Co židy po staletí stavělo do pozice pronásledované menšiny, byla původně víra, tedy náboženství. Ve většinovém křesťanském společenství, v němž žili po ztrátě národní samostatnosti v historické vlasti v prvním století, byli vždy těmi opovrhovanými a totéž do značné míry platilo i pro země s islámskou nadvládou. Tak tomu bylo po staletí a antijudaismus a na něj navazující předsudečné vnímání židů se historicky pevně vtiskly do kulturního povědomí světa. Tento první, ideový důvod se současně promítl i do sociálně-ekonomické roviny. Židé nesměli vlastnit půdu, museli platit zvláštní daně, žít odděleně od ostatních obyvatel. A takový staletí trvajícím přístup k nim měl i psychologické důsledky v podobě nenávistných fám a pomluv – vzpomeňme jen na údajné rituální vraždy. Když se pak židé od konce 18. století dočkali postupného zrovnoprávnění, v našich zemích se tak plně stalo ústavou z roku 1867, a mohli se podílet na politickém, hospodářském a kulturním životě, někteří vynikli. To vyvolalo nové antipatie, dohady, „co za tím je“. Výrazem toho se stala představa antisemitů o jakémisi židovském spiknutí, tajném společenství usilujícím o světovou nadvládu. Jako na spolčení škůdců se na židy nahlíželo již ve středověku, ale teprve v novověku se toto přesvědčení plně rozvinulo. Devatenácté a 20. století je tak dobou nesčetných antisemitských publikací, které mají i dnes své čtenáře a následovníky. To vše se mimochodem promítl i do jazyka – stačí se podívat na některé lidové písně, různá rčení – a jsou to často obraty dodnes živé.



V podstatě jde o odpor a podezíravost vůči jinakosti. Židé jsou přitom historicky jen jedním z konkrétních příkladů. Ano, někteří od 19. století vynikli, ale zároveň další žili ve velké bídě. Stačí připomenout Ivana Olbrachta a jeho Golet v údolí. Židovské společenství však nehledě na chudobu vždy mělo své hodnoty – víru a s ní související náboženské vzdělání. Židé byli zvyklí se učit, a když dostali šanci studovat jako ostatní, chtěli dokázat své schopnosti. Do Ameriky ve druhé polovině 19. století, kdy tam začínala židovská imigrace, nepřijížděli žádní boháčové, ale krejčí, ševci a nosiči vody. Během několika generací se ale mnozí, nejen v Americe, vlastní pílí a umem vypracovali – a to mnoha méně úspěšným vadilo.

Třeba Kišiněvský pogrom v roce 1903, o němž se v liberálním tisku psalo s odporem. Ale obecně ve světě nové hrůzy zastírají ty staré. Právem mluvíme o šoa jako o zvlášť děsivém mementu, ale od té doby došlo k dalším genocidám, i když ne za stejných okolností. Stránky, které evidují násilí, se stále plní, a ty spodní se už tolik nečtou.

Termín genocida formuloval právník Raphael Lemkin, za druhé světové války židovský uprchlík z Polska do Švédska a po ní autor návrhu „Úmluvy o zabránění a trestání zločinu genocidia“ přijatého OSN. Genocida znamená „vraždu rodu“ – v původním pojetí vyvražďování určité skupiny lidí definované na základě etnika či rasy. To je v historii třeba odlišit od válek a všemožného násilí včetně toho protizidovského, jejichž cílem přes nespornou krutost a nesčetné oběti ještě nebylo vykořenění celého společenství. Už před druhou světovou válkou se genocidy dopustilo Turecko na Arménech. Genocida označovaná jako šoa je však specifická, protože šlo o celospolečenský, předem definovaný program s jasnými etapami. Nacisté nejprve definicí v norimberských zákonech stanovili, kdo je Žid – až do třetí generace. Následovalo zbavení obživy, vyvlastnění a spolu s ekonomickým ožebračením sociální vyloučení. Dalším stupněm bylo shromáždění na jednom místě a nakonec likvidace; hromadné vyvražďování pojaté z velké části průmyslově. Některé z těchto rysů provázejí i jiné genocidy, ale v případě šoa byl člověk odsouzen k smrti ještě předtím, než se narodil. Šlo současně o proces globálního rozsahu s jediným cílem: vyhladit Židy do posledního. V tom, nikoliv počtem obětí, je šoa genocidou tragicky ojedinělou.

V demokratické části světa existují zákony, které většinou postihují popírání holokaustu, schvalování genocid nebo znevažování jejich obětí. Děti se o tom učí ve školách. Horší je to s aplikací takových zákonů. U nás letos například vyšla kniha Jedovatá houba, překlad antisemitského spisku pro děti z hitlerovského Německa nejhruššího typu. Vyvolalo to velké pobouření – a u toho vše skončilo. A kromě takového řekl bych historizujícího antisemitismu je zde antisemitismus označovaný jako „nový“, který souvisí s konfliktem na Blízkém východě. V tomto případě se antisemitismus schovává za antisionismus. Kdy se kritika Izraele stává antisemitskou, se ví: pokud zastírá snahu o likvidaci Státu Izrael, pokud Izrael demonizuje nebo pokud se mu měří jinak než ostatním zemím. OSN každoročně přijímá proti Izraeli desítky rezolucí – v příkrém rozporu s tu a tam přijatým odsudkem Severní Koreje, Číny, Íránu nebo Sýrie. Na takové hlasovací mašinerii se často podílí i demokratické státy, i když Česká republika takto většinou nejedná. To je otázka pro psychology. Ale existuje sarkastické rčení, že někteří lidé židům holokaust nikdy neodpustí.

Odpověď je všeobecně známá. Ano, vzdělávání, osvěta jsou důležité. Základ je však v rodině, protože ani sebelepší škola nemůže napravit, co rodina nedá. V politice zoufale chybějí respektuhodné osobnosti, příklady, které inspirují. Podstatný je funkční právní systém s rychlou vymahatelností práva. A ovšem žijeme v takzvané postmoderní, postfaktické době, kdy jako by platilo všechno a nic. Etické normy, historická fakta – vše je zpochybněno. Vpád sociálních sítí do životů, spojený s cíleným šířením nesmyslů takovému znásilňování vědomí a skutečnosti napomáhá. Ve všeobecně adorovaném prostředí konzumu a zábavy je pak výsledkem stále větší povrchnost, oslnění vnějškem, efektem, ideálem je okamžitý úspěch. To všechno lidi zploštuje, snižuje šanci, že budou jednat poučeně a empaticky. Už na jaře se z řady zdrojů šířily zprávy, že



za covid-19 mohou židé. A netřeba chodit daleko do světa. Ve stejné době u nás občas mimo Prahu ukazovali na návštěvníky s pražskou značkou na autě coby šířitele nákazy. Pokud se lidé neodvrátí od deformujícího vlivu sociálních médií a nepřijmou za své kritické myšlení, situace – a zdaleka nejen pro židy – se bude zhoršovat.

Především Šoa od Clauda Lanzmanna, devítihodinový dokument s osobními výpověďmi pamětníků. Tím neříkám, že působivé nejsou i některé hrané filmy či knížky s tematikou šoa, ale za nejsilnější považuji, co je autentické, třeba také Sedm světél od Olgy Sommerové. Ano, Spielbergův Schindlerův seznam asi už navždy nejvíc utkví v paměti. Co se ale skutečného chindlera týče, je dost zavádějící. A byly natočeny i jiné divácky ceněné filmy, například italský Život je krásný, který však zase nesmírně zkresluje, jak vypadal nacistický koncentrák. Uměleckost by prostě neměla popírat fakta.

Do našich expozic je možno nahlédnout online, živě takto nabízíme i večerní pořady a obdobně se věnujeme vzdělávacím projektům. Finančně jsme však na tom zle. Jako nestátní instituce nedostáváme do rozpočtu žádné příspěvky na provoz a rozhodující je pro nás návštěvnost. Od začátku roku do konce října k nám ale přišlo jen 125 541 návštěvníků, o 461 869 méně než za stejné období loni. Meziročně to představuje pokles téměř 79 procent a v příjmech propad o více než 136 milionů korun – více než 81 procent. Pokud se ani v druhé polovině příštího roku alespoň z poloviny neobnoví turistický ruch z doby před epidemií, naše muzeum bude bojovat o existenci.

Postoj české veřejnosti k židovskému společenství je vstřícný. Je však stále co řešit. Například se dlouhodobě nedaří, aby městská část Praha 1 instalovala přislíbené bezpečnostní zábrany u Španělské synagogy.



Židovské památky Čech. Historie a památky židovského osídlení Čech

Blanca Rozkošna

Do střední Evropy Židé přicházeli jako potomci římských válečných zajatců v prvních stolecích našeho letopočtu, trvale se na českém území začali usazovat od 10. století. Nejstarším z semným dokladem o jejich pobytu v Čechách je zpráva židovského kupce a člena diplomazického poselstva Abrahama ben Jakoba, řečeného al-Israili, který v letech 965-966 navštívil Prahu a zanechal svědectví o přítomnosti židovských obchodníků v tomto městě. Do konce .1. století žili na českém území Židé jako svobodní lidé a živili se dálkovým obchodem. Jejich zstavení se zhoršilo v souvislosti s křížáckými válkami na konci |1. století a zejména se zákazv. kodifikovanými IV. lateránským koncilem, který se konal roku 1215: Židé museli bydlet zdděleně od křesťanů, museli nosit zvláštní označení k okamžitému rozlišení, nesměli se živit zemědělstvím a většinou řemesel, styky mezi křesťany a Židy byly zakazovány. K obživě jim zak zůstal obchod, a to nejen věcmi, ale i obchod finanční, neboť křesťanská církev zakazovala svým věřícím půjčování peněz na úrok. Od 13. století nejprve v královských městech, později i v poddanských městech vznikaly oddělené židovské ulice nebo čtvrtě, v nichž byly z dovské domy soustředěny.

V důsledku těchto omezení se postavení Židů v křesťanské společnosti ve 13. století zcela změnilo, stali se zvláštní skupinou obyvatel zatlačenou na okraj společnosti, byli přímo podzeni panovníkovi jako služebníci královské komory – servi camerae regiae. Panovník jim zajišťoval pobyt a ochranu. Vybírání poplatků, které za tuto ochranu Židé museli platit, bylo výhradním právem, tzv. regálem krále. Statuta Judaeorum vydaná Přemyslem Otakarem II. v polovině 13. století, definovala uvedené právní postavení Židů od středověku v podstatě až zo 19. století a byla potvrzována českými panovníky po celá staletí.

Do dějin českých Židů se neblaze zapsaly události z doby Václava IV. – v Praze roku 1389 došlo k pogromu, v jehož průběhu bylo vyraženo údajně více než 3 000 Židů; jednalo se o největší pogrom v dějinách českých Židů až do nástupu nacistické okupace.

Zásadním zlomem v 15. století a na počátku 16. století bylo vypovězení Židů z královských měst s výjimkou Prahy a Kolína a v důsledku toho došlo ke stěhování Židů do menších poddanských měst a na šlechtická panství. Stavovský spor šlechty a měst vedl v 16. století ke dvojímu pokusu o vypovězení Židů z českého království (1541 a 1557). Období druhé poloviny 16. století a počátku 17. století je chápáno jako „zlatý věk“ dějin českých Židů. Hlavním centrem vzdělanosti byla Praha, v níž působili např. věhlasný rabín Jehuda Liva ben Becalel, historik, matematik a astronom David Gans, lékař, astronom a polyglot Josef Šelomo del Medigo, jejichž díla se tiskla ve známé hebrejské tiskárně, dvorní Židé Mordechaj Maisel nebo Jakob Baševi z Treuenburgu a řada dalších významných osobností z celé Evropy.

Konec rozkvětu světského i náboženského vzdělávání přinesla třicetiletá válka, v jejímž průběhu došlo k migraci Židů – začali se usazovat v nových městech a obcích. Kolem poloviny 17. století se na české území začali stěhovat Židé prchající z Polska, Litvy, Běloruska a Ukrajiny před hordami Bohdana Chmelnického, z Uher před Turky a též Židé vypovězení Vídně a Dolních Rakous. Posílené venkovské židovské náboženské obce usilovaly o získání samostatného zastoupení a konkrétního výsledku dosáhly roku 1654. Tehdy Zemské židovstvo (Landesjudenschaft) získalo uznání jako samostatná správní jednotka s celou řadou pravomocí; mimopražští Židé měli i svůj zemský rabinát. Do té doby totiž za všechny židovské náboženské obce v Čechách vyjednávala pouze židovská náboženská obec pražská. Úřad zemského rabína byl



oficiálně zrušen roku 1749 a následně byly židovské obce v regionech zastupovány krajskými rabíny.

V důsledku zvýšení počtu Židů v Čechách byla vydávána různá omezující nařízení, kvůli kretým je následující období označováno jako období úředního antisemitismu. Je spojeno zejména se jmenováním tzv. redukční komise, která měla na základě soupisu Židů v Praze a poté v dalších městech navrhnout opatření ke snížení počtu Židů v Čechách. Roku 1724 bylo provedeno plošné sčítání Židů na celém území Čech – mimo Prahu žilo v Čechách ve 168 městech a 672 vsích kolem 30 000 Židů. Na jeho základě byl roku 1726 vydán tzv. Familiantský zákon, který omezoval počet židovských rodin v Čechách na maximálně 8 541, nadás se směl oženit jen nejstarší syn v rodině. V témže roce byl vydán ještě tzv. Translokační zeskript, který zakazoval Židům bydlet rozptýleně mezi křesťany – židovské domy musely být soustředěny v jedné ulici nebo čtvrti, která byla dostatečně vzdálena od kostelů a míst, kudy procházela křesťanská procesí.

Největší pohromu pak představovalo rrpovězení Židů z českého království roku .744; jejich návrat zpět roku 1748 podmíniz Marie Terezie placením pravidelné roční rv. toleranční daně.

Prvním krokem k emancipaci Židů byly zeformy Josefa II.: zrušil povinnost nosit «žější označení na oděvu, umožnil Židům studium na všech školách včetně Univerzity «arlov, s výjimkou teologické fakulty, nařiz zakládat tzv. normální židovské školy, nichž byly děti vyučovány také světským zčedmětům včetně německého jazyka, nařiz vedení matrik (sestávajících z knih narozených, sňatků a zemřelých). Na druhou ztcanu závažný zásah do autonomie židovzevch obcí přineslo omezení jejich soudní zeavomoci a v rámci germanizačních snah zwo Židům nařízeno přijetí německých přísní. Roku 1797 byl vydán Židovský systemani patent shrnující josefinské reformy, který byl základem právního postavení Židů až zo poloviny 19. století.

Revoluční události roku 1848 přispěly « zepšení postavení českých Židů: byl zrušen Familiantský zákon, Translokační reskript a toleranční daň; úplná rovnoprávnost včetně volebního práva byla Židům přiznána roku 1867. Židé se mohli svobodně stěhovat do větších obchodních center i do měst, ktera jim do té doby pobyt na svém území zaazovala. V důsledku takového stěhování zošo ke vzniku nových židovských nábozercských obcí ve městech a k zániku menších zecvských náboženských obcí na venkově. Zadní jednotkou židovské pospolitosti azci vyly židovské náboženské obce, jejichž čet se v průběhu staletí měnil. Nejsilnější Zdovská komunita v Čechách na konci 5 století: roku 1880 tu bylo hlášeno 94 522 Zee. a roku 1890 pak 94 479 Židů.

Bordu té doby patřil Adolf Stránský, zakladatel Lidových novin. Praha a Karlovy Vary byly – stem konání mezinárodních sionistických kongresů (1921, 1923 a 1933).

Prvím krokem k vyhubení většiny českých Židů bylo připojení pohraničních území zěmecké říši po Mnichovské dohodě – vzhledem k tomu, že tam ihned začaly platit Norimzs- berské zákony, tamních asi 25 000 Židů ztratilo občanská práva a postupně se stěhovali do prozemí, případně do zahraničí. V průběhu Křišťálové noci z 9. na 10. listopadu 1938 byla pkupovaném pohraničí vypálena řada synagog a obchodů, mnoho židovských hřbitovů bylo pevastováno. Krátce po vyhlášení Protektorátu Čechy a Morava byla vydávána nejrůznější ražení omezující Židy. Zprvu se týkala možnosti výkonu povolání a židovského majetku: 25. března 1939 okupační úřady zakázaly jakékoli změny v hospodářských podnicích z ajetkem pokládáným byt jen zčásti za židovský, následné nařízení říšského protektora kon Neuratha o židovském majetku z 2|. června 1939 tuto skutečnost potvrdilo a kromě 1270 znamenalo skutečný začátek uvádění norimberských protižidovských zákonů do praxe. Pos edním stupněm hospodářské protižidovské politiky bylo nařízení říšského protektora v vyřazení Židů z hospodářského života z 26. ledna 1940. Následovaly snahy o izolaci Židů ze ostatního obyvatelstva: Židé měli např. zakázán vstup na některá náměstí nebo do něktezo ulic, dále do většiny kaváren a restaurací, do veřejných parků, plováren a lázní, do divadel, Řada Židů se po plném zrovnoprávnění začala zapojovat do



hospodářského, průmyslového i kulturního života společnosti – podíleli se na zakládání továren (např. členové rodiny Kolbenů založili pozdější ČKD v Praze, papírny ve Větrní byly založeny rodinou Spirů, sírkárny v Sušici rodinou Fiirthů, sklárna v Karlových Varech rodinou Moserů), ze spisovatelů a básníků jsou proslaveni např. česky píšící Vojtěch Rakous, František Gelinek, Karel Poláček, František Langer, Jiří Langer, Richard Weiner, Egon Hostovský, Jiří Orten a další, z německy píšících Franz Kafka, Max Brod, Oskar Baum, Hugo Salus nebo Leo Perutz, jako malíři se prosadili Leopold Pollak, Adolf Kohn, Robert Guttmann, Jiří Kars, Max Horb, Bedřich Feigl a Alfred Justitz, známí jsou sochař Otto Gutfreund, hudební skladatelé Gustav Mahler, Ervin Schulhof a Hans Krása nebo sólista opery Národního divadla Hanuš Thein.

Na konci 19. století se objevují na celém území Čech antisemitské bouře, současně se formuje sionistické hnutí, jehož členové v Čechách souběžně vyvíjeli aktivity vedle zástupců německo-židovského i česko-židovského asimilačního hnutí.

Nejlepší podmínky k všestrannému rozvoji nejrůznějších aktivit měli Židé v Čechách v období první Československé republiky, která uznávala židovskou národnost. Tehdy se Židé prosazovali i v politickém životě, Židovská strana ve volbách roku 1929 a 1935 získala po dvou parlamentních křeslech v Národním shromáždění. K neznámějším politikům židovského km a na sportovní utkání, Židům byla omezena nákupní doba i úřední doba na úřadech, poštách a v bankách, Židé museli odevzdat radiopřijímače, telefonní přístroje, jízdní kola, šicí stroje, gramofony, lyže i domácí zvířata. Židé se nesměli svobodně stěhovat ani cestovat, vzdělávat, od září roku 1941 museli být všichni Židé starší šesti let označeni Davidovou hvězdou s nápisem Jude.

Konečným cílem nacistů bylo Židy vyvraždit. Poprvé byli čeští Židé posíláni do transportů v říjnu a listopadu roku 1941. Tehdy bylo 5 000 pražských Židů odvezeno do Lodže a zde nebo v dalších vyhlazovacích táborech většina z nich zemřela – do svých domovů se z těchto prvních transportů po válce vrátilo jen 272 lidí.

V listopadu 1941 byl zřízen koncentrační tábor v Terezíně a od této doby byli čeští Židé odvázeni nejprve do Terezína a následně do dalších pracovních, koncentračních a vyhlazovacích táborů na východě, kde většina z nich zahynula. Jen menší část z předválečných židovských náboženských obcí v Čechách byla v roce 1945 znovu obnovena, ale zahrnovala větší území než před válkou. Část z nich pak zanikla sloučením s jinou, početnější obcí v 50.–70. letech pro úbytek členů v důsledku jejich emigrace či úmrtí. Po roce 1945 zcela zaniklo 153 českých a moravských židovských obcí. Mnozí z emigrantů se proslavili v zahraničí: např. spisovatel Viktor Fischl, publikující pod jménem Avigdor Dagan, Arnošt Lustig, režiséři Alfred Radok nebo Miloš Forman.



La Cultura Judía: Un Puente hacia la Pluralidad Social

Dani Rotstein

Introducción

La diversidad cultural es un tesoro que enriquece nuestra sociedad y nos conecta con un mundo de experiencias y perspectivas únicas. En este contexto, la cultura judía se presenta como un faro de riqueza histórica, valores compartidos y una historia que ha influido profundamente en la conformación de la sociedad europea y global. Desde mi perspectiva, como alguien nacido en los Estados Unidos, con raíces israelíes y judías alemanas, y que ha encontrado su camino en la hermosa isla de Mallorca, España, la cultura judía ha sido un faro que ha guiado mi trayectoria y mi compromiso con la promoción de una sociedad plural y tolerante.

A través de este artículo, exploraremos la esencia de la cultura judía y cómo sus enseñanzas, valores y la educación pueden actuar como catalizadores para una sociedad más inclusiva y diversa. Analizaremos las creencias fundamentales que han impulsado mi labor y cómo la educación en las calles, en las escuelas y el enfoque en la juventud son elementos clave para construir un mundo donde el respeto mutuo y la diversidad cultural sean la norma. La cultura judía, con su historia rica y sus valores, se revela como un puente hacia un futuro más comprensivo y tolerante.

Acompañenme en este viaje a través de la cultura judía y descubramos cómo puede desempeñar un papel fundamental en la construcción de una sociedad plural en la que todas las voces y tradiciones sean respetadas y valoradas.

Contar Historias para Cambiar Actitudes

La narración de historias ha sido una forma poderosa de transmitir conocimientos y valores a lo largo de la historia de la humanidad. Desde las antiguas epopeyas hasta las películas contemporáneas, las historias tienen el poder de tocar nuestras emociones, desafiar nuestras percepciones y, lo más importante, cambiar nuestras actitudes y opiniones. Este principio fundamental de la narración de historias ha sido un pilar en mi camino hacia la promoción de la cultura judía como catalizador de una sociedad plural y tolerante.

Las historias son la esencia de la cultura humana. A través de ellas, transmitimos nuestros valores, tradiciones y experiencias a las generaciones futuras. Las historias nos conectan con nuestras raíces y nos ayudan a comprender el mundo que nos rodea de una manera única. Pero, ¿qué hace que las historias sean tan efectivas para cambiar actitudes?

En el corazón de toda buena historia, encontramos personajes con los que podemos identificarnos, conflictos que reflejan desafíos reales y resoluciones que ofrecen lecciones valiosas. La narración de historias nos permite entrar en las vidas de los demás, ver el mundo desde sus perspectivas y empatizar con sus luchas y triunfos. Esto, a su vez, nos hace más abiertos a comprender y aceptar puntos de vista diferentes a los nuestros.

Desde mi perspectiva como alguien que ha experimentado la diáspora judía y ha vivido en diferentes partes del mundo, sé que la cultura judía tiene una historia rica y variada que merece ser contada. Esta historia abarca siglos e incluye momentos de triunfo y tragedia, logros notables y desafíos desgarradores. Pero, lo más importante, es una historia que ha contribuido significativamente a la sociedad europea y global.



Mi creencia fundamental es que contar la historia judía no debe limitarse a los miembros de la comunidad judía. Si bien es esencial que los miembros de la comunidad conozcan y aprecien su herencia, creo firmemente que para luchar contra el odio y la intolerancia, debemos llevar estas historias más allá de nuestros círculos familiares y comunidades. Tenemos la responsabilidad de compartirlas con el mundo en su conjunto.

Es fácil compartir historias con quienes comparten nuestras creencias y valores, pero el desafío real radica en llegar a aquellos que pueden estar menos familiarizados con la cultura judía o que pueden tener prejuicios infundados. Aquí es donde entra en juego el poder transformador de la narración de historias.

Al contar historias auténticas y emocionantes sobre la cultura judía, podemos derribar estereotipos y desafiar prejuicios arraigados. Al presentar personajes judíos con los que el público pueda identificarse, humanizamos una cultura que a menudo se ha visto reducida a estereotipos simplistas. La narración de historias nos permite mostrar la diversidad de la cultura judía y su contribución a la sociedad en su conjunto.

En resumen, el primer paso en la promoción de la cultura judía como catalizadora de una sociedad plural y tolerante es contar historias que cambien actitudes. La narración de historias nos permite abrir puertas y construir puentes hacia la comprensión mutua. Pero este es solo el comienzo de nuestro viaje.

En los capítulos siguientes, exploraremos cómo la educación en las calles, en las escuelas y el enfoque en la juventud son elementos esenciales para construir un mundo donde el respeto mutuo y la diversidad cultural sean la norma. La cultura judía, con su historia rica y sus valores, se revela como un recurso valioso para alcanzar este objetivo.

Continuemos nuestro viaje hacia una sociedad más inclusiva y diversa, donde las historias de todas las culturas se escuchan y se valoran.

El Valor de Conocer Nuestras Raíces

En la búsqueda de una sociedad más plural y tolerante, no podemos subestimar la importancia de conocer nuestras raíces culturales y comprender nuestra historia. Para mí, como defensor de la cultura judía y su promoción como catalizadora de la diversidad, esta idea es fundamental.

Las raíces culturales son la base sobre la cual construimos nuestra identidad y entendimiento del mundo que nos rodea. Representan el legado de generaciones pasadas, que han influenciado nuestras tradiciones, valores y formas de pensar. En el caso de la cultura judía, estas raíces tienen profundas conexiones históricas, abarcando siglos de experiencias que van desde los tiempos bíblicos hasta la diáspora global contemporánea.

Cuando comprendemos nuestras raíces culturales, estamos conectando con una fuente de conocimiento y sabiduría acumulada a lo largo del tiempo. Esta conexión puede proporcionarnos orientación en la vida, ayudándonos a tomar decisiones informadas y a comprender el contexto en el que vivimos. Además, las raíces culturales nos brindan un sentido de pertenencia y comunidad, lo que puede ser especialmente valioso en un mundo cada vez más diverso y globalizado.

Por otro lado, la ignorancia sobre nuestras raíces culturales puede dar lugar a prejuicios y estereotipos dañinos. Cuando desconocemos la historia y la cultura de otros grupos, estamos más inclinados a aceptar estereotipos simplistas o incluso prejuicios infundados. Esto puede alimentar la intolerancia y el odio, ya que la falta de conocimiento puede dar lugar a la desconfianza y al miedo hacia lo desconocido.



En el contexto de la cultura judía, la ignorancia puede llevar a la perpetuación de estereotipos perjudiciales y a la falta de comprensión de la rica herencia y contribuciones judías a la sociedad. Por lo tanto, es esencial que trabajemos para educar a las personas sobre la cultura judía y su historia, de manera que se pueda promover un respeto más amplio y una comprensión más profunda.

Una de las formas más efectivas de avanzar hacia un futuro más tolerante y plural es conectando con nuestras raíces. Esto implica explorar nuestra herencia cultural, aprender sobre las experiencias y las contribuciones de nuestra comunidad y reconocer cómo estas influencias moldean nuestras vidas en la actualidad.

Para la comunidad judía, esto significa compartir historias de éxito y resiliencia, pero también reconocer las adversidades que han enfrentado a lo largo de la historia. Al hacerlo, no solo honramos a nuestros antepasados, sino que también establecemos una base sólida para construir puentes de comprensión con otras culturas y comunidades.

Mi compromiso personal y mi labor se centran en la educación sobre la cultura judía y su historia. Creo que al proporcionar a las personas acceso a esta información, estamos construyendo un camino hacia una sociedad más plural y tolerante. La educación nos permite reconocer la diversidad cultural y valorarla como un activo enriquecedor para nuestra sociedad.

Educación en las Calles

La educación es un vehículo fundamental para la promoción de la cultura judía como catalizador de una sociedad plural y tolerante. Sin embargo, llevar a cabo esta educación va más allá de las aulas y las conferencias académicas.

Las calles de nuestras ciudades y comunidades son testigos silenciosos de la historia y la cultura que nos rodea. Cada calle, edificio y lugar tiene historias que contar y conexiones con el pasado. En el caso de la cultura judía, estas conexiones pueden ser particularmente profundas, ya que la historia judía abarca innumerables lugares en todo el mundo.

La educación en las calles implica llevar a las personas a un viaje físico y emocional a través de estos lugares de importancia cultural y histórica. Al caminar por las mismas calles que fueron testigos de eventos significativos o visitar sitios que desempeñaron un papel clave en la historia judía, las personas pueden conectarse de manera más profunda con la herencia y la cultura judía.

Una de las formas más efectivas de llevar a cabo la educación en las calles es a través de rutas turísticas temáticas. En el caso de la cultura judía, estas rutas ofrecen la oportunidad de explorar lugares históricos, sinagogas, museos y otros sitios de relevancia cultural. Estas experiencias no solo son informativas, sino también emocionales, ya que permiten a las personas conectarse con la historia de una manera más tangible.

En Mallorca, hemos implementado rutas turísticas que destacan la rica historia judía de la isla. Ofrecemos estas rutas tanto a residentes locales como a visitantes, lo que amplía el alcance de nuestra labor educativa. Además, ofrecer estas rutas de forma gratuita durante el mes de la cultura judía en septiembre es un gesto de generosidad que permite que más personas tengan acceso a esta experiencia enriquecedora.

La educación en las calles también involucra la capacitación de guías y educadores. Estas personas desempeñan un papel fundamental en la transmisión de información precisa y en la creación de experiencias educativas significativas. En mi experiencia, hemos capacitado a guías turísticos para que compartan la historia judía desde una perspectiva judía, lo que enriquece la experiencia de los visitantes y garantiza que la información se presente de manera equilibrada y respetuosa.



Además de las rutas físicas, la tecnología también ha desempeñado un papel crucial en la educación en las calles. Las rutas virtuales por Zoom y las experiencias de realidad virtual han permitido que las personas exploren la historia judía desde cualquier lugar del mundo. Estas innovaciones tecnológicas han abierto nuevas oportunidades para la educación y han ampliado nuestro alcance global.

La educación en las calles es una herramienta poderosa para compartir la cultura judía y promover la comprensión y el respeto hacia esta rica herencia. Al llevar a las personas a un viaje a través de lugares históricos y culturales, creamos conexiones más profundas con nuestra historia y contribuimos a la construcción de una sociedad más plural y tolerante. En los siguientes capítulos, exploraremos cómo la educación en las escuelas y el enfoque en la juventud pueden complementar esta labor y fortalecer aún más nuestro objetivo de promover la diversidad cultural y el entendimiento mutuo.

Educación en las Escuelas y en la Juventud

La educación desempeña un papel fundamental en la construcción de una sociedad plural y tolerante. Una de las vías más efectivas para promover la cultura judía como catalizadora de esta diversidad es a través de la educación en las escuelas y el enfoque en la juventud.

La educación en las escuelas es una oportunidad para sembrar las semillas de la comprensión y el respeto mutuo desde una edad temprana. Los programas educativos pueden ofrecer a los estudiantes la oportunidad de aprender sobre la cultura judía de una manera estructurada y significativa. Esto incluye la historia, las tradiciones, las contribuciones y las experiencias del pueblo judío.

Uno de los enfoques esenciales en la educación escolar es la enseñanza del Holocausto. Esta tragedia histórica, que tuvo un impacto profundo en la comunidad judía y en la humanidad en su conjunto, debe ser recordada y comprendida para evitar que se repita en el futuro. Al poner un rostro humano en la historia, ayudamos a los estudiantes a comprender el alcance de la tragedia y la importancia de luchar contra el odio y la intolerancia en todas sus formas.

El enfoque en la juventud es una estrategia clave para promover la cultura judía y fomentar la tolerancia y el respeto mutuo. Los jóvenes son el futuro de nuestra sociedad, y educarlos sobre la diversidad cultural y la importancia de la inclusión es fundamental. Para lograr esto, se pueden implementar diversas iniciativas.

- **Programas Educativos Especiales:** Organizar programas educativos específicamente diseñados para jóvenes que destaquen la cultura judía puede ser una manera efectiva de conectarlos con esta herencia. Estos programas pueden incluir actividades interactivas, talleres culturales y experiencias prácticas que les permitan explorar y comprender la cultura judía de una manera significativa.
- **Conferencias y Charlas Inspiradoras:** Invitar a oradores judíos que compartan sus historias y experiencias puede ser inspirador para los jóvenes. Escuchar las voces de aquellos que han vivido la cultura judía de primera mano puede crear un impacto duradero y fomentar la empatía y la comprensión.
- **Colaboraciones Interescolares:** Fomentar la colaboración entre escuelas de diferentes comunidades culturales puede ser una forma efectiva de exponer a los jóvenes a una diversidad de perspectivas y experiencias. La cultura judía puede formar parte de un intercambio cultural más amplio que promueva la inclusión y el entendimiento mutuo.

La educación en las escuelas y el enfoque en la juventud son inversiones en un futuro más inclusivo y respetuoso. Al empoderar a las generaciones jóvenes con el conocimiento y la



apreciación de la cultura judía, estamos creando cimientos sólidos para una sociedad plural y tolerante.

Educación a Nivel Internacional

El poder de la cultura judía trasciende las fronteras nacionales y tiene el potencial de unir a comunidades en todo el mundo. En este capítulo, exploraremos cómo mi documental "Xueta Island" ha contribuido a la educación a nivel internacional y cómo hemos trabajado para fortalecer la conexión con comunidades judías más grandes e internacionales.

Mi documental "Xueta Island" ha sido un testimonio del poder de la narración de historias para cambiar actitudes y conectar con audiencias de todo el mundo. Su reconocimiento en festivales de cine judío en todo el mundo ha sido un logro significativo, ya que ha llevado la historia y la cultura judía a un público global. Este impacto no se limita a las proyecciones en festivales, sino que también ha contribuido a colocar a Mallorca en la ruta del turismo judío en Sefarad (la península ibérica), lo que a su vez ha fortalecido nuestra comunidad judía local.

Además del reconocimiento en festivales, hemos trabajado activamente para establecer conexiones con comunidades judías más grandes e internacionales. Esto ha sido esencial para la promoción de la cultura judía y la construcción de puentes de comprensión y colaboración.

Colaborar con comunidades judías en otros países nos ha permitido compartir experiencias, perspectivas y recursos. Hemos aprendido de sus enfoques en la promoción de la cultura judía y hemos compartido nuestras propias experiencias y éxitos. Esta colaboración ha enriquecido nuestro entendimiento de la cultura judía y ha fortalecido nuestros esfuerzos para promoverla a nivel internacional.

Uno de los aspectos más gratificantes de esta colaboración internacional es la creación de puentes de comprensión entre comunidades de diferentes partes del mundo. Al trabajar juntos en proyectos culturales, hemos fomentado la comprensión mutua y el respeto por las diversas expresiones de la cultura judía en todo el mundo.

Estos puentes de comprensión son fundamentales para la construcción de un mundo más plural y tolerante. La cultura judía, con su rica historia y valores compartidos, sirve como un punto de conexión que trasciende las diferencias culturales y religiosas. Esta conexión nos recuerda la importancia de celebrar y aprender de la diversidad cultural en lugar de temerla.

La educación a nivel internacional es una herramienta poderosa para promover la cultura judía y fortalecer la comprensión mutua entre comunidades de todo el mundo. A través de mi documental, "Xueta Island," y nuestra colaboración con comunidades judías internacionales, hemos contribuido a construir un futuro global más tolerante y plural.

Conclusión y Recomendaciones Finales

A lo largo de este artículo, hemos explorado el poder de la cultura judía como catalizadora de una sociedad plural y tolerante. Desde mi perspectiva como defensor de la cultura judía y como alguien comprometido en la promoción de la diversidad cultural, es claro que la educación y la narración de historias son herramientas poderosas para lograr este objetivo.

Hemos aprendido que contar historias puede cambiar actitudes y opiniones, y que este poder puede utilizarse para combatir el odio y la intolerancia. Compartir la historia y la cultura judía no solo es importante dentro de la comunidad judía, sino que también tiene un impacto significativo en aquellos que están fuera de ella.

El valor de conocer nuestras raíces culturales ha sido un tema recurrente en este artículo. Cuando comprendemos de dónde venimos, estamos mejor preparados para avanzar hacia un



futuro más inclusivo y respetuoso. La ignorancia sobre nuestras raíces culturales puede llevar a prejuicios y estereotipos dañinos, mientras que la educación puede abrir la puerta a la empatía y al respeto mutuo.

La educación en las calles, en las escuelas y el enfoque en la juventud han demostrado ser estrategias efectivas para promover la cultura judía y la diversidad cultural en general. Las rutas turísticas, los programas educativos y la capacitación de guías son herramientas valiosas para llevar la cultura judía a un público diverso. La educación en las escuelas, con un enfoque en la enseñanza del Holocausto, puede sembrar las semillas de la comprensión desde una edad temprana. El enfoque en la juventud es esencial para empoderar a las generaciones futuras con conocimiento y aprecio por la diversidad cultural.

La educación a nivel internacional amplía nuestro alcance y nos permite conectar con comunidades judías de todo el mundo. Mi documental "Xueta Island" ha sido un ejemplo de cómo la narración de historias puede tener un impacto global y fortalecer nuestra comunidad local. La colaboración con comunidades judías internacionales crea puentes de comprensión y colaboración que son fundamentales para un mundo más tolerante.

En última instancia, nuestra labor no debe detenerse aquí. Para promover la cultura judía y la diversidad cultural de manera continua, recomiendo las siguientes acciones:

- **Continuar la Educación:** Mantener y expandir programas educativos que destaquen la cultura judía y la diversidad cultural en general.
- **Fomentar la Colaboración:** Seguir trabajando en colaboración con comunidades judías e interculturales para compartir conocimientos y experiencias.
- **Narrar Historias:** Continuar contando historias que cambien actitudes y promuevan la comprensión mutua.
- **Empoderar a la Juventud:** Involucrar activamente a la juventud en programas educativos y culturales que promuevan la tolerancia y el respeto mutuo.
- **Promover Eventos y Festivales:** Organizar eventos y festivales culturales que celebren la diversidad cultural y fomenten la interacción entre comunidades.

En resumen, la cultura judía tiene un papel esencial que desempeñar en la construcción de una sociedad más plural y tolerante. A través de la educación, la colaboración internacional y la narración de historias, podemos seguir avanzando hacia un futuro en el que todas las culturas y tradiciones se valoren y respeten. La diversidad es un activo valioso, y nuestro compromiso con la promoción de la cultura judía es un paso importante en la creación de un mundo más inclusivo y comprensivo. Sigamos adelante juntos en este viaje.



Jewish Culture: A Bridge to Social Plurality

Dani Rotstein

Introduction

Cultural diversity is a treasure that enriches our society and connects us to a world of unique experiences and perspectives. In this context, Jewish culture stands as a beacon of historical richness, shared values and a history that has profoundly influenced the shaping of European and global society. From my perspective, as someone born in the United States, with Israeli and German Jewish roots, and who has found his way to the beautiful island of Mallorca, Spain, Jewish culture has been a beacon that has guided my trajectory and my commitment to promoting a pluralistic and tolerant society.

Through this article, we will explore the essence of Jewish culture and how its teachings, values and education can act as catalysts for a more inclusive and diverse society. We will look at the core beliefs that have driven my work and how education on the streets, in schools and a focus on youth are key elements in building a world where mutual respect and cultural diversity are the norm. Jewish culture, with its rich history and values, stands as a bridge to a more understanding and tolerant future.

Join me on this journey through Jewish culture and let us discover how it can play a key role in building a pluralistic society in which all voices and traditions are respected and valued.

Telling Stories to Change Attitudes

Storytelling has been a powerful way of transmitting knowledge and values throughout human history. From ancient epics to contemporary films, stories have the power to touch our emotions, challenge our perceptions and, most importantly, change our attitudes and opinions. This fundamental principle of storytelling has been a pillar in my journey to promote Jewish culture as a catalyst for a pluralistic and tolerant society.

Stories are the essence of human culture. Through them, we pass on our values, traditions and experiences to future generations. Stories connect us to our roots and help us understand the world around us in a unique way. But what makes stories so effective in changing attitudes?

At the heart of every good story, we find characters we can identify with, conflicts that reflect real challenges and resolutions that offer valuable lessons. Storytelling allows us to enter into the lives of others, to see the world from their perspectives and to empathise with their struggles and triumphs. This, in turn, makes us more open to understanding and accepting points of view different from our own.

From my perspective as someone who has experienced the Jewish diaspora and lived in different parts of the world, I know that Jewish culture has a rich and varied history that deserves to be told. This story spans centuries and includes moments of triumph and tragedy, remarkable achievements and heartbreaking challenges. But, most importantly, it is a story that has contributed significantly to European and global society.

My fundamental belief is that the telling of Jewish history should not be limited to members of the Jewish community. While it is essential that members of the community know and appreciate their heritage, I firmly believe that in order to fight hatred and intolerance, we must take these stories beyond our family circles and communities. We have a responsibility to share them with the world at large.



It is easy to share stories with those who share our beliefs and values, but the real challenge lies in reaching out to those who may be less familiar with Jewish culture or who may have unfounded prejudices. This is where the transformative power of storytelling comes in.

By telling authentic and exciting stories about Jewish culture, we can break down stereotypes and challenge ingrained prejudices. By presenting Jewish characters that audiences can identify with, we humanise a culture that has often been reduced to simplistic stereotypes. Storytelling allows us to show the diversity of Jewish culture and its contribution to society as a whole.

In short, the first step in promoting Jewish culture as a catalyst for a pluralistic and tolerant society is to tell stories that change attitudes. Storytelling enables us to open doors and build bridges to mutual understanding. But this is only the beginning of our journey.

In the following chapters, we will explore how education on the streets, in schools and a focus on youth are essential elements in building a world where mutual respect and cultural diversity are the norm. Jewish culture, with its rich history and values, proves to be a valuable resource for achieving this goal.

Let us continue our journey towards a more inclusive and diverse society, where the stories of all cultures are heard and valued.

The Value of Knowing Our Roots

In the quest for a more pluralistic and tolerant society, we cannot underestimate the importance of knowing our cultural roots and understanding our history. For me, as an advocate of Jewish culture and its promotion as a catalyst for diversity, this idea is fundamental.

Cultural roots are the foundation on which we build our identity and understanding of the world around us. They represent the legacy of past generations, which have influenced our traditions, values and ways of thinking. In the case of Jewish culture, these roots have deep historical connections, spanning centuries of experience from biblical times to the contemporary global diaspora.

When we understand our cultural roots, we are connecting to a wellspring of knowledge and wisdom accumulated over time. This connection can provide us with guidance in life, helping us to make informed decisions and to understand the context in which we live. In addition, cultural roots provide us with a sense of belonging and community, which can be especially valuable in an increasingly diverse and globalised world.

On the other hand, ignorance about our cultural roots can lead to harmful prejudices and stereotypes. When we do not know the history and culture of other groups, we are more inclined to accept simplistic stereotypes or even unfounded prejudices. This can fuel intolerance and hatred, as lack of knowledge can lead to mistrust and fear of the unknown.

In the context of Jewish culture, ignorance can lead to the perpetuation of harmful stereotypes and a lack of understanding of the rich Jewish heritage and contributions to society. It is therefore essential that we work to educate people about Jewish culture and its history, so that a broader respect and deeper understanding can be promoted.

One of the most effective ways to move towards a more tolerant and pluralistic future is to connect with our roots. This involves exploring our cultural heritage, learning about the experiences and contributions of our community and recognising how these influences shape our lives today.

For the Jewish community, this means sharing stories of success and resilience, but also acknowledging the adversities they have faced throughout history. In doing so, we not only



honour our ancestors, but also establish a solid foundation for building bridges of understanding with other cultures and communities.

My personal commitment and work focuses on education about Jewish culture and history. I believe that by providing people with access to this information, we are building a path towards a more pluralistic and tolerant society. Education enables us to recognise cultural diversity and to value it as an enriching asset for our society.

Education in the Streets

Education is a fundamental vehicle for the promotion of Jewish culture as a catalyst for a pluralistic and tolerant society. However, carrying out this education goes beyond the classroom and academic lectures.

The streets of our cities and communities are silent witnesses to the history and culture that surrounds us. Every street, building and place has stories to tell and connections to the past. In the case of Jewish culture, these connections can be particularly deep, as Jewish history spans countless places around the world.

Street education involves taking people on a physical and emotional journey through these places of cultural and historical significance. By walking the same streets that witnessed significant events or visiting sites that played a key role in Jewish history, people can connect more deeply with Jewish heritage and culture.

One of the most effective ways of conducting street education is through themed tourist routes. In the case of Jewish culture, these tours offer the opportunity to explore historical sites, synagogues, museums and other culturally relevant places. These experiences are not only informative, but also emotional, as they allow people to connect with history in a more tangible way.

In Mallorca, we have implemented tour routes that highlight the island's rich Jewish history. We offer these routes to both local residents and visitors, which broadens the scope of our educational work. Moreover, offering these tours free of charge during the month of Jewish culture in September is a gesture of generosity that allows more people to have access to this enriching experience.

Street education also involves the training of guides and educators. These individuals play a critical role in conveying accurate information and creating meaningful educational experiences. In my experience, we have trained tour guides to share Jewish history from a Jewish perspective, which enriches the visitor experience and ensures that information is presented in a balanced and respectful manner.

In addition to physical tours, technology has also played a crucial role in street education. Zoom virtual tours and virtual reality experiences have enabled people to explore Jewish history from anywhere in the world. These technological innovations have opened up new opportunities for education and expanded our global reach.

Street education is a powerful tool for sharing Jewish culture and promoting understanding and respect for this rich heritage. By taking people on a journey through historical and cultural sites, we create deeper connections to our history and contribute to building a more pluralistic and tolerant society. In the following chapters, we will explore how education in schools and a focus on youth can complement this work and further strengthen our goal of promoting cultural diversity and mutual understanding.

Education in Schools and Youth



Education plays a fundamental role in building a pluralistic and tolerant society. One of the most effective ways to promote Jewish culture as a catalyst for this diversity is through education in schools and a focus on youth.

Education in schools is an opportunity to sow the seeds of mutual understanding and respect from an early age. Educational programmes can offer students the opportunity to learn about Jewish culture in a structured and meaningful way. This includes the history, traditions, contributions and experiences of the Jewish people.

One of the essential approaches in school education is the teaching of the Holocaust. This historical tragedy, which had a profound impact on the Jewish community and humanity as a whole, must be remembered and understood in order to prevent its repetition in the future. By putting a human face on history, we help students understand the scope of the tragedy and the importance of fighting hatred and intolerance in all its forms.

Focusing on youth is a key strategy to promote Jewish culture and foster tolerance and mutual respect. Young people are the future of our society, and educating them about cultural diversity and the importance of inclusion is crucial. To achieve this, a variety of initiatives can be implemented.

- **Special Educational Programmes:** Organising educational programmes specifically designed for young people that highlight Jewish culture can be an effective way to connect them to this heritage. These programmes can include interactive activities, cultural workshops and hands-on experiences that allow them to explore and understand Jewish culture in a meaningful way.
- **Lectures and Inspirational Talks:** Inviting Jewish speakers to share their stories and experiences can be inspiring for young people. Hearing the voices of those who have experienced Jewish culture first-hand can create a lasting impact and foster empathy and understanding.
- **Interschool collaborations:** Encouraging collaboration between schools from different cultural communities can be an effective way to expose young people to a diversity of perspectives and experiences. Jewish culture can be part of a broader cultural exchange that promotes inclusion and mutual understanding.

Education in schools and a focus on youth are investments in a more inclusive and respectful future. By empowering the younger generation with knowledge and appreciation of Jewish culture, we are creating a solid foundation for a pluralistic and tolerant society.

International Education

The power of Jewish culture transcends national borders and has the potential to unite communities around the world. In this chapter, we will explore how my documentary "Xueta Island" has contributed to education internationally and how we have worked to strengthen the connection with larger, international Jewish communities.

My documentary "Xueta Island" has been a testament to the power of storytelling to change attitudes and connect with audiences around the world. Its recognition at Jewish film festivals around the world has been a significant achievement, bringing Jewish history and culture to a global audience. This impact is not limited to festival screenings, but has also contributed to placing Mallorca on the Jewish tourism route in Sepharad (the Iberian Peninsula), which in turn has strengthened our local Jewish community.



In addition to recognition at festivals, we have actively worked to establish connections with larger, international Jewish communities. This has been essential in promoting Jewish culture and building bridges of understanding and collaboration.

Collaborating with Jewish communities in other countries has allowed us to share experiences, perspectives and resources. We have learned from their approaches to promoting Jewish culture and shared our own experiences and successes. This collaboration has enriched our understanding of Jewish culture and strengthened our efforts to promote it internationally.

One of the most rewarding aspects of this international collaboration is the building of bridges of understanding between communities in different parts of the world. By working together on cultural projects, we have fostered mutual understanding and respect for the diverse expressions of Jewish culture around the world.

These bridges of understanding are fundamental to building a more pluralistic and tolerant world. Jewish culture, with its rich history and shared values, serves as a point of connection that transcends cultural and religious differences. This connection reminds us of the importance of celebrating and learning from cultural diversity rather than fearing it.

Education on an international level is a powerful tool to promote Jewish culture and strengthen mutual understanding between communities around the world. Through my documentary, "Xueta Island," and our collaboration with international Jewish communities, we have contributed to building a more tolerant and pluralistic global future.

Conclusion and Final Recommendations

Throughout this article, we have explored the power of Jewish culture as a catalyst for a pluralistic and tolerant society. From my perspective as an advocate for Jewish culture and as someone committed to promoting cultural diversity, it is clear that education and storytelling are powerful tools to achieve this goal.

We have learned that storytelling can change attitudes and opinions, and that this power can be used to combat hatred and intolerance. Sharing Jewish history and culture is not only important within the Jewish community, but also has a significant impact on those outside it.

The value of knowing our cultural roots has been a recurring theme in this article. When we understand where we come from, we are better equipped to move towards a more inclusive and respectful future. Ignorance about our cultural roots can lead to harmful prejudices and stereotypes, while education can open the door to empathy and mutual respect.

Education on the streets, in schools and a focus on youth have proven to be effective strategies to promote Jewish culture and cultural diversity in general. Tourist routes, educational programmes and guide training are valuable tools for bringing Jewish culture to a diverse audience. Education in schools, with a focus on teaching about the Holocaust, can sow the seeds of understanding from an early age. A focus on youth is essential to empower future generations with knowledge and appreciation for cultural diversity.

Education on an international level broadens our reach and allows us to connect with Jewish communities around the world. My documentary "Xueta Island" has been an example of how storytelling can have a global impact and strengthen our local community. Engaging with international Jewish communities builds bridges of understanding and collaboration that are critical to a more tolerant world.

Ultimately, our work must not stop here. To promote Jewish culture and cultural diversity on an ongoing basis, I recommend the following actions:



- **Continue Education:** Maintain and expand educational programs that highlight Jewish culture and cultural diversity in general.
- **Foster Collaboration:** Continue to work collaboratively with Jewish and cross-cultural communities to share knowledge and experiences.
- **Storytelling:** Continue to tell stories that change attitudes and promote mutual understanding.
- **Empower Youth:** Actively engage youth in educational and cultural programmes that promote tolerance and mutual respect.
- **Promote Events and Festivals:** Organise cultural events and festivals that celebrate cultural diversity and encourage cross-community interaction.

In short, Jewish culture has an essential role to play in building a more pluralistic and tolerant society. Through education, international collaboration and storytelling, we can continue to move towards a future in which all cultures and traditions are valued and respected. Diversity is a valuable asset, and our commitment to promoting Jewish culture is an important step in creating a more inclusive and understanding world. Let us move forward together on this journey.



Una puerta abierta al pluralismo

Miquel Zuzama, Director 48h Open House Barcelona

La arquitectura es la realidad física que envuelve nuestra rutina, una delimitación espacial de nuestras acciones e inevitablemente un contenedor de todo aquello que necesitamos para llevarlas a cabo. Es el arte que más presencia tiene a lo largo de nuestras vidas, y al que por norma general se presta menos atención. Y es que la arquitectura es un espejo de la vida de las personas y sus valores, y con las debidas oportunidades puede ser un puente, una puerta abierta a la diversidad y pluralismo.

El principal obstáculo para descubrir este potencial en la arquitectura es que como arte útil, no se encuentra 100% abierto a todo el mundo. Podremos visitar una biblioteca, una sinagoga, pero en muchos casos no sabremos que se esconde en la casa del vecino, o no podremos contar con alguien que nos acompañe para descubrir la verdadera historia y patrimonio que esconden.

La ciudad de Barcelona encontró en 2010 una forma de hacer realidad este objetivo, con la creación del Festival de arquitectura 48h Open House Barcelona. Se trata de una iniciativa que surgió en Londres en 1992, y se ha ido expandiendo en diversas ciudades del mundo. La misión de este festival es abrir las puertas de edificios y espacios relevantes de la ciudad durante un fin de semana, de forma totalmente gratuita. Se trata de una oportunidad de entrar en espacios que normalmente no son visitables, como vivienda privada, sedes corporativas de empresas, espacios restringidos de museos, etc. También se trata de un escaparate para descubrir otras culturas que pueden quedar escondidas a nuestros ojos.

El festival se convierte así en una puerta abierta al pluralismo y la diversidad, ya que pone en contacto a ciudadanos con arquitectos, habitantes y profesionales de la construcción y el diseño. Una actividad totalmente excepcional que reúne personas que de otra forma no tendrían un espacio de encuentro, una oportunidad orgánica y relajada de descubrir la propia ciudad. Una vez al año las puertas quedan abiertas y todo el mundo está invitado a conocer nuevas formas de pensar y vivir. Es esta periodicidad anual la que lo convierte en un evento desvinculado de la oferta cultural habitual, y genera un sentimiento de "oportunidad" que supone una motivación añadida para los ciudadanos. Se trata de un motor de difusión muy potente que pone en el centro de la agenda local la arquitectura, y anima a todo el mundo a aprovechar el fin de semana, ya que no se volverá a repetir hasta el año siguiente.

Otro elemento singular es la personalización de la experiencia del visitante. Con más de 200 visitas posibles en un fin de semana, hace falta seleccionar que espacios descubrir, e inevitablemente dejar pendientes para otra ocasión el resto. Esta libertad permite al visitante encontrar su propia forma de descubrir la arquitectura de la ciudad, independientemente de sus intereses, inquietudes, o incluso tiempo o energías de que disponga. Se trata de una oportunidad anual para disfrutar de la ciudad, por ello la atención a la diversidad de sus habitantes es fundamental.

Para poder entender el potencial del festival imaginemos la situación de uno de sus espacios más singulares y valorados, Casa Adret. Allí encontramos cinco personas hablando sobre como la mezuzá ha podido conservarse en un edificio que ha pasado de vivienda a espacios para oficinas. Se trata de:

Marc, 33 años

Miembro de Mozaika, una asociación la intención de popularizar la cultura judía y acercarla al gran público, tienen la sede en Casa Adret.



Marta, 51 años

Arquitecta experta en patrimonio, realizó la rehabilitación de la Casa Adret hace 30 años, cuando aún era vivienda.

Juan, 22 años

Estudiante de arquitectura y voluntario del festival Open House, con la formación de Marta ayuda a explicar la historia de Casa Adret a los visitantes.

Ada, 75 años

Vecina del barrio, cuando era pequeña jugaba en la calle de Casa Adret, siempre se ha preguntado como debe ser por dentro. Ha podido visitar la casa gracias al festival.

Marina, 41 años

Aficionada a la arquitectura i la historia, esta fascinada por la cultura y arquitectura judías, pero nunca ha sabido como acercarse.

Son cinco personas que no se habían encontrado antes, y que pueden compartir sus opiniones sobre este edificio. Seguramente sus caminos no volverán a cruzarse, pero durante un día, se genera un espacio seguro donde hablar y conocer nuevas culturas o formas de ver el mundo. Se crea la oportunidad de hacer explícito el pluralismo cultural de la sociedad, y en casos como Casa Adret, compartir la riqueza de la cultura judía.

El festival busca generar estos puntos de encuentro gracias a visitas guiadas a los espacios que forman parte de su programación. Para hacer esto posible se crea un gran equipo de voluntarios, alrededor de 1.000, que se encarga de todas las tareas necesarias: atención al visitante, gestión de acceso, información general, realización de las visitas y acompañamiento de los grupos por el interior de los espacios. Los voluntarios son la cara visible del festival, junto a los arquitectos o usuarios de los mismos, que también colaboran en las explicaciones.

Es esta combinación de perfiles en la elaboración de los contenidos lo que aporta nuevas perspectivas y miradas a la arquitectura. Una visión fresca que explota el discurso único y hace ver la arquitectura como un contenedor de ideas. El visitante conocerá un espacio desde diversas perspectivas, y podrá construir su propio discurso, generando así un campo de cultivo para el pensamiento crítico colectivo.

La explicación de los espacios desde sus usuarios permite escuchar voces críticas con la usabilidad de los mismos, y conocer el proceso de cocreación de haberse realizado. Por otra parte, el relato de los voluntarios, como personas totalmente externas al espacio, aporta una visión libre y nueva, que puede profundizar en aspectos totalmente diferentes.

En muchas ocasiones la arquitectura se convierte en la excusa para poner en común ideas, visiones, pensamientos y toda clase de discursos sobre la ciudad y la cultura. Se trata por ejemplo en visitas a edificios con una función muy específica, como centros de investigación científica, grandes infraestructuras de ciudad o sedes de organismos o asociaciones culturales. En estos espacios la arquitectura es el contenedor de actividades muy diversas que se pueden acercar al público en general por primera vez en algunos casos. El festival se convierte en una oportunidad de conocer realidades nuevas que se escapan del día a día de los ciudadanos.

Como se ha expuesto en el inicio, la arquitectura es la realidad física que envuelve nuestra rutina, una delimitación espacial de nuestras acciones e inevitablemente un contenedor de todo aquello que necesitamos para llevarlas a cabo. En un contexto global de pluralidad y diversidad en sí mismo, es inevitable que las ciudades se conviertan en un gran aparador de estas cualidades.



Dicho en otras palabras, la propia arquitectura es el indicador más claro de pluralidad que podemos encontrar, y será esencial garantizar el acceso a esta forma cultural y artística para que los ciudadanos puedan conocerla. Cada casa, cada equipamiento público o bloque de oficinas mediante su apariencia física y funcionalidad es un reflejo de la sociedad. En nuestro día a día existen pocas oportunidades para poder descubrir en profundidad estos espacios, pero con iniciativas como el Festival Open House Barcelona, cada vez más ciudadanos pueden descubrir la arquitectura de forma cercana, diversa y transversal.

Una oportunidad de reunir personas con trayectorias vitales muy distintas que encuentran en el patrimonio de su ciudad puntos de conexión. Una excusa para empoderar a los habitantes y aportar un sustrato fértil para el pensamiento crítico.



An open door to pluralism

Miquel Zuzama, 48h Open House Barcelona Director

Architecture is the physical reality that surrounds our routine, a spatial delimitation of our actions and inevitably a container for everything we need to carry them out. It is the art that is most present throughout our lives, and to which, as a rule, less attention is paid. Architecture is a mirror of people's lives and values, and with the right opportunities it can be a bridge, an open door to diversity and pluralism.

The main obstacle to discovering this potential in architecture is that as a useful art, it is not 100% open to everyone. We can visit a library, a synagogue, but in many cases we will not know what is hidden in the neighbour's house, or we will not be able to count on someone to accompany us to discover the real history and heritage they hide.

In 2010, the city of Barcelona found a way to make this objective a reality with the creation of the 48h Open House Barcelona architecture festival. It is an initiative that began in London in 1992, and has been expanding in various cities around the world. The mission of this festival is to open the doors of important buildings and spaces in the city for a weekend, completely free of charge. It is an opportunity to enter spaces that are not normally open to visitors, such as private homes, corporate headquarters of companies, restricted spaces in museums, etc. It is also a showcase to discover other cultures that may be hidden from our eyes.

The festival thus becomes an open door to pluralism and diversity, as it brings citizens into contact with architects, inhabitants and construction and design professionals. A totally exceptional activity that brings together people who otherwise would not have a meeting place, an organic and relaxed opportunity to discover the city itself. Once a year the doors are open and everyone is invited to get to know new ways of thinking and living. It is this annual periodicity that makes it an event detached from the usual cultural offer, and generates a feeling of "opportunity" that is an added motivation for citizens. It is a very powerful dissemination engine that puts architecture at the centre of the local agenda, and encourages everyone to make the most of the weekend, as it will not be repeated until the following year.

Another unique element is the personalisation of the visitor experience. With more than 200 possible visits in a weekend, it is necessary to choose which spaces to discover, and inevitably leave the rest for another occasion. This freedom allows visitors to find their own way of discovering the city's architecture, regardless of their interests, concerns, or even the time or energy they have available. It is an annual opportunity to enjoy the city, which is why attention to the diversity of its inhabitants is fundamental.

In order to understand the potential of the festival, let's imagine the situation of one of its most unique and valued spaces, Casa Adret. There we find five people talking about how the mezuzah has been preserved in a building that has gone from housing to office space. They are:

Marc, 33 years old

Member of Mozaika, an association that aims to popularise Jewish culture and bring it closer to the general public, they are based at Casa Adret.

Marta, 51 years old

An architect and heritage expert, she renovated the Casa Adret 30 years ago, when it was still a house.



Juan, 22 years old

A student of architecture and volunteer at the Open House festival, Marta's training helps to explain the history of Casa Adret to visitors.

Ada, 75 years old

A neighbour of the quarter, when she was a child she used to play in the street of Casa Adret, she has always wondered what it must be like inside. She was able to visit the house thanks to the festival.

Marina, 41 years old

An architecture and history enthusiast, she is fascinated by Jewish culture and architecture, but has never known how to approach it.

They are five people who have never met before, and who can share their opinions about this building. Their paths will probably never cross again, but for one day, a safe space is created where they can talk and get to know new cultures or ways of seeing the world. It creates the opportunity to make explicit the cultural pluralism of society, and in cases like Casa Adret, to share the richness of Jewish culture.

The festival seeks to generate these meeting points thanks to guided visits to the spaces that form part of its programme. To make this possible, a large team of volunteers, around 1,000, is created to take charge of all the necessary tasks: visitor services, access management, general information, conducting the visits and accompanying the groups inside the spaces. The volunteers are the visible face of the festival, together with the architects or users, who also collaborate in the explanations.

It is this combination of profiles in the elaboration of the contents that brings new perspectives and looks at architecture. A fresh vision that exploits the unique discourse and makes us see architecture as a container of ideas. The visitor will get to know a space from different perspectives, and will be able to construct their own discourse, thus generating a breeding ground for collective critical thinking.

The explanation of the spaces from their users allows us to hear voices critical of their usability, and to learn about the co-creation process if it has been carried out. On the other hand, the story of the volunteers, as people totally external to the space, provides a free and new vision, which can delve into totally different aspects.

On many occasions, architecture becomes an excuse to share ideas, visions, thoughts and all kinds of discourses about the city and culture. This is the case, for example, in visits to buildings with a very specific function, such as scientific research centres, large city infrastructures or the headquarters of cultural organisations or associations. In these spaces, architecture is the container for a wide range of activities that can be brought to the general public for the first time in some cases. The festival becomes an opportunity to get to know new activities that escape from the everyday life of the citizens.

As stated at the beginning, architecture is the physical reality that surrounds our routine, a spatial delimitation of our actions and inevitably a container of everything we need to carry them out. In a global context of plurality and diversity itself, it is inevitable that cities become a great showcase for these qualities.

In other words, architecture itself is the clearest indicator of plurality that we can find, and it will be essential to guarantee access to this cultural and artistic form so that citizens can get to know it. Every house, every public facility or office block through its physical appearance and



functionality is a reflection of society. In our day-to-day life there are few opportunities to discover these spaces in depth, but with initiatives such as the Open House Barcelona Festival, more and more citizens can discover architecture in a close, diverse and transversal way.

An opportunity to bring together people from very different walks of life who find points of connection in the heritage of their city. An excuse to empower the inhabitants and provide a fertile ground for critical thinking.



Entre la Celebración y la Discriminación: Interpretando la Figura del Judío en la Tradición Popular Española

Federico Szarfer Barenblit, AEPJ Project Manager

Introducción

La representación de grupos étnicos y religiosos en la cultura popular es un tema de análisis profundo y complejo en cualquier sociedad. En el caso de España, la comunidad judía ha dejado una huella duradera en la historia, marcada tanto por su contribución cultural como por episodios de discriminación y persecución. Este *paper* se adentra en la representación de la persona judía en la cultura tradicional popular española, examinando si estas representaciones son expresiones de pluralismo cultural o si encierran trazos de antisemitismo y xenofobia.

Citando a autores como I. M. Hassán y R. I. Benito, quienes profundizan en "Los judíos en la literatura tradicional española" en el IX Curso Cultural Hispanojudío y Sefardí de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha (2001), se busca proporcionar un enfoque informado y riguroso para abordar la complejidad de la representación del judío en la cultura tradicional popular española. Además, los trabajos de Nathan Hurvitz y Alan Dundes, como "Blacks and Jews in American Folklore" (1974) y "A Study of Ethnic Folklore: The Jew and Polack in the United States" (1971), respectivamente, ofrecen perspectivas que permiten contextualizar estas representaciones en un marco más amplio.

A través de un análisis crítico y contextual de ejemplos concretos, se busca arrojar luz sobre esta cuestión delicada y matizada. Este estudio se adentrará en ejemplos específicos como los "gegants jueus" de Tortosa, la costumbre de la "limonada de vino" en León relacionada con "matar judíos", la procesión de las Turbas en Cuenca, el "Santo Niño de la Guardia", la inclusión de estatuillas de judíos en belenes navideños y su representación en el "Teatro de Cachiporra" y la "Fiesta de Moros y Cristianos".

En última instancia, este análisis pretende ofrecer una visión más profunda y completa de la representación del judío en la cultura tradicional popular española, considerando tanto sus matices culturales como las posibles implicaciones de perpetuar estereotipos negativos. Es fundamental comprender el contexto histórico y cultural en el que estas representaciones han evolucionado para lograr una interpretación equilibrada y una apertura al diálogo constructivo sobre este tema sensible.

Representaciones y Ejemplos Concretos

Para comprender mejor la representación del judío en la cultura tradicional popular española, es esencial explorar ejemplos concretos que han perdurado a lo largo del tiempo. Estas representaciones, aunque variadas en su naturaleza y contexto, ofrecen un vistazo a la complejidad de cómo los judíos han sido presentados en la cultura popular. A continuación, se describen algunos de estos ejemplos:

- **La procesión de las turbas en Cuenca:** Durante la Semana Santa en Cuenca, se lleva a cabo la procesión de las turbas, en la cual se representan personajes bíblicos, incluidos los judíos. Estas representaciones a menudo refuerzan la imagen de los judíos como responsables de la muerte de Jesús, perpetuando el estereotipo de "pueblo deicida". Aunque parte de una tradición religiosa, la representación puede ser interpretada de manera negativa.



- **El Santo Niño de la Guardia:** Esta figura representa a un niño que se dice fue asesinado por judíos en la Edad Media. La leyenda del "Santo Niño de la Guardia" ha sido parte de la tradición popular en diversas regiones de España y ha sido interpretada como un reflejo de la acusación de crímenes rituales que a menudo se hacía a los judíos.
- **Estatuillas de Judíos en Belenes Navideños:** En algunos belenes navideños, se incluyen estatuillas de judíos, que a menudo son presentados como comerciantes o figuras secundarias. Aunque esto puede interpretarse como un intento de representar la diversidad cultural en la narrativa bíblica, estas representaciones también pueden reforzar estereotipos negativos.
- **Teatro de Cachiporra y Fiesta de Moros y Cristianos:** Estas formas tradicionales de teatro y festividades a menudo incluyen personajes judíos. Aunque algunas interpretaciones argumentan que estas manifestaciones reconocen la historia y la diversidad cultural, otras destacan cómo estas representaciones pueden simplificar y distorsionar la relación entre diferentes comunidades.
- **Los gegants jueus de Tortosa:** En Cataluña, la tradición de los *gegants jueus* ha sido un elemento destacado en festividades locales. Estas figuras gigantes representan a judíos y judías, caracterizados por sus atuendos tradicionales. Aunque algunos argumentan que esta inclusión es un homenaje a la presencia histórica de la comunidad judía en la región, es importante reconocer que estas representaciones a menudo simplifican y estereotipan la cultura judía.
- **La limonada de León:** La tradición de "Matar judíos" en León durante la Semana Santa se ha convertido en un tema de interés debido a sus orígenes y connotaciones históricas. Esta práctica culinaria única, que involucra una mezcla de vino, limonada, agua, especias y azúcar, ha sido objeto de atención por su nombre políticamente incorrecto. En la provincia de León, durante estos días festivos, la comunidad revive una tradición que lleva el nombre de "Matar judíos", aunque en la actualidad se interpreta como un acto de procesionar de bar en bar para disfrutar de la limonada.

Cada uno de estos ejemplos ilustra cómo los judíos han sido representados en la cultura tradicional popular española, generando debates sobre si estas manifestaciones reflejan pluralismo cultural o perpetúan estereotipos negativos. El análisis crítico de estos ejemplos es esencial para comprender su significado en el contexto de la historia y la cultura española.

Pluralismo Cultural: Reconociendo la Diversidad

La interpretación de la representación del judío en la cultura tradicional popular española como un reflejo de pluralismo cultural se basa en la premisa de que estas manifestaciones reconocen la diversidad y la presencia histórica de la comunidad judía en España. Autores como I. M. Hassán y R. I. Benito argumentan que estas representaciones pueden considerarse un intento de mantener viva la memoria histórica de la comunidad judía ("Los judíos en la literatura tradicional española", 2001).

Un ejemplo destacado es la tradición de los *gegants jueus* en Tortosa y otras regiones de Cataluña. Estas figuras gigantes representan a judíos y judías en atuendos tradicionales, y aunque algunos pueden interpretarlo como un reconocimiento cultural y un esfuerzo por honrar la diversidad, es importante notar que estas representaciones a menudo simplifican la compleja historia y cultura judía.

José Manuel Pedrosa, en su estudio sobre la visión del judío en la cultura popular extremeña ("Visión de lo judío en la cultura popular extremeña", 1996), también ofrece perspectivas en línea con el pluralismo cultural. Pedrosa argumenta que ciertas representaciones pueden ser



interpretadas desde una perspectiva de diversidad, ya que podrían reflejar la presencia histórica y la contribución cultural de los judíos en regiones específicas.

La inclusión de estatuillas de judíos en belenes navideños y su representación en eventos festivos como el Teatro de Cachiporra y la Fiesta de Moros y Cristianos también puede ser analizada desde este enfoque. Algunos defensores de esta interpretación señalan que estas manifestaciones reflejan la convivencia de diferentes culturas en la historia de España, aunque es crucial tener en cuenta que estas representaciones pueden caer en la simplificación y la generalización.

En última instancia, el enfoque del pluralismo cultural destaca la importancia de reconocer y celebrar la diversidad cultural y religiosa en la sociedad española. Sin embargo, es fundamental abordar estas representaciones con un análisis crítico y contextual para evitar caer en el riesgo de minimizar o tergiversar la historia y la complejidad de la comunidad judía en España.

Desafíos del Antisemitismo Arraigado

Mientras que algunos argumentan que las representaciones del judío en la cultura tradicional popular española pueden ser interpretadas desde una perspectiva de pluralismo cultural, existen perspectivas críticas que destacan el papel del antisemitismo arraigado en estas manifestaciones. Autores como Nathan Hurvitz y Alan Dundes han explorado cómo en otras culturas estas representaciones han sido utilizadas para perpetuar prejuicios étnicos y religiosos ("Blacks and Jews in American Folklore", 1974; "A Study of Ethnic Folklore: The Jew and Polack in the United States", 1971).

La tradición de la Limonada de León es un ejemplo paradigmático. A pesar de su aparente inocencia, la frase "¡A matar judíos!" utilizada en esta tradición plantea serias preocupaciones. La conexión con la conmemoración del asesinato histórico de judíos lleva a una reflexión sobre cómo estas manifestaciones pueden perpetuar la violencia y la discriminación histórica.

La procesión de las turbas en Cuenca también suscita interrogantes sobre la relación entre estas representaciones y el antisemitismo. Aunque parte de la Semana Santa y la narrativa bíblica, estas representaciones pueden reforzar el estereotipo de los judíos como responsables de la muerte de Jesús, un concepto que ha sido empleado históricamente para justificar persecuciones y discriminación.

La figura del Santo Niño de la Guardia y la leyenda que lo rodea también está sujeta a críticas desde la perspectiva del antisemitismo arraigado. Esta representación ha sido interpretada como parte de una acusación histórica de crímenes rituales, una acusación que ha sido usada para justificar persecuciones y atrocidades en contra de la comunidad judía.

Si bien estas representaciones pueden ser interpretadas de diversas maneras, es esencial reconocer la historia del antisemitismo y la discriminación que han enfrentado los judíos en España y en todo el mundo. Interpretar estas manifestaciones sin considerar su contexto histórico puede llevar a minimizar el impacto que pueden tener en la perpetuación de estereotipos negativos.

Conclusiones y Recomendaciones: Implicando a la Ciudadanía en la Gestión del Patrimonio Cultural

La representación del judío en la cultura tradicional popular española es un tema que nos invita a reflexionar sobre la intersección entre la diversidad cultural y la posibilidad de perpetuar estereotipos negativos. A lo largo de este estudio, hemos explorado ejemplos concretos que han arrojado luz sobre esta compleja cuestión. A partir de estas reflexiones, surgen conclusiones y



recomendaciones que pueden guiar futuros enfoques hacia una representación cultural más inclusiva y respetuosa.

Es evidente que las representaciones de la persona judía en la tradición popular española son un testimonio de la historia compartida entre diversas comunidades. Sin embargo, también es crucial reconocer que estas manifestaciones pueden contener elementos que refuerzan estereotipos negativos y perpetúan el antisemitismo. La dualidad entre la celebración cultural y la perpetuación de prejuicios requiere una evaluación cuidadosa y una comprensión informada.

En este sentido, es valioso aplicar los principios de la Convención de Faro, que aboga por la participación activa de la ciudadanía en la gestión del patrimonio cultural inmaterial. La involucración de las comunidades locales y las partes interesadas puede enriquecer la comprensión y el diálogo en torno a estas manifestaciones. Siguiendo esta directriz, se recomienda organizar talleres que reúnan a asociaciones locales, expertos, representantes de la comunidad judía y otros *stakeholders* para discutir y analizar estas tradiciones desde perspectivas diversas.

La experiencia del proyecto NOA proporciona un marco valioso para abordar este desafío. La implementación de talleres de concienciación, capacitación para formadores y enfoques colaborativos puede ser una vía eficaz para explorar las representaciones del judío en la cultura tradicional popular española. Estos talleres podrían permitir un espacio de diálogo constructivo y educación que promueva la comprensión mutua y el respeto por la diversidad cultural. A continuación se facilitan algunas recomendaciones e ideas de dinámicas para desarrollar estos talleres:

1. **Talleres de Concienciación y Educación:** Los talleres podrían comenzar con sesiones de concienciación que brinden a los participantes un contexto histórico y cultural completo sobre la representación del judío en la tradición popular española. Expertos en historia, cultura judía y antropología podrían ofrecer presentaciones informativas que desentrañen las raíces de estas representaciones y su impacto histórico.
2. **Mesa Redonda de Expertos:** Una mesa redonda reuniendo a expertos en historia, cultura judía, antropología, y representantes de la comunidad judía podría proporcionar una plataforma para el intercambio de opiniones y perspectivas diversas. Los participantes podrían compartir sus conocimientos y análisis, lo que contribuiría a una comprensión más completa del tema.
3. **Análisis de Casos:** Se podrían presentar casos específicos de representaciones del judío en la cultura popular española y llevar a cabo análisis en grupo. Los participantes podrían discutir cómo estas manifestaciones pueden ser interpretadas desde diferentes puntos de vista y cómo impactan la percepción cultural.
4. **Talleres de Creación y Adaptación Cultural:** Para explorar vías de adaptación cultural y reinterpretación de estas tradiciones, los participantes podrían colaborar en talleres creativos. Esto podría incluir la reescritura de narrativas, la creación de representaciones artísticas contemporáneas y la planificación de eventos culturales que aborden los aspectos problemáticos de las representaciones tradicionales.
5. **Sesiones de Diálogo y Reflexión:** Las sesiones de diálogo dirigido podrían fomentar el intercambio respetuoso de opiniones y perspectivas entre los participantes. Se podrían abordar preguntas difíciles, como si algunas tradiciones deben ser modificadas o eliminadas, y cómo podrían abordarse estos cambios de manera sensible.



6. **Proyecto de Colaboración:** Siguiendo el enfoque del proyecto NOA, se podrían organizar proyectos colaborativos que involucren a diversas comunidades, incluidas las escuelas, las comunidades judías y las organizaciones culturales locales. Estos proyectos podrían crear un espacio seguro para el diálogo intergeneracional y la educación sobre la importancia de la representación cultural precisa.
7. **Campañas de Sensibilización:** Los talleres también podrían inspirar campañas de sensibilización pública que aborden la cuestión y promuevan una representación más inclusiva en la cultura popular. Estas campañas podrían incluir eventos, exposiciones, presentaciones en línea y otras actividades que involucren a la comunidad en un diálogo continuo.

En última instancia, las recomendaciones giran en torno a la necesidad de abordar estas representaciones de manera informada y colaborativa. Adaptar, modificar e incluso eliminar algunas tradiciones podría ser un paso hacia una representación cultural más inclusiva y respetuosa. Al aplicar las enseñanzas de la Convención de Faro y las buenas prácticas del proyecto NOA, se puede forjar un camino hacia una sociedad que celebre la diversidad cultural mientras se esfuerza por erradicar prejuicios y estereotipos perjudiciales.

En conclusión, el análisis crítico de la representación de los judíos en la cultura tradicional popular española nos insta a considerar cuidadosamente cómo abordamos estas manifestaciones. A través de la participación activa de la ciudadanía y la implementación de enfoques colaborativos, podemos trabajar hacia una sociedad que valora y respeta la diversidad cultural en todas sus formas.

En última instancia, el análisis crítico de estas representaciones debe tomar en cuenta cómo estas manifestaciones pueden estar arraigadas en prejuicios históricos y cómo pueden contribuir a la perpetuación del antisemitismo y la xenofobia. Reconocer estas preocupaciones es crucial para abordar el tema de manera honesta y reflexiva.



Between Celebration and Discrimination: Interpreting the Figure of the Jews in the Spanish Popular Tradition.

Federico Szarfer Barenblit, August 2023

Introduction

The representation of ethnic and religious groups in popular culture is a subject of deep and complex analysis in any society. In the case of Spain, the Jewish community has left a lasting mark in history, marked both by its cultural contribution and by episodes of discrimination and persecution. This paper delves into the representation of the Jewish person in Spanish popular traditional culture, examining whether these representations are expressions of cultural pluralism or whether they contain traces of antisemitism and xenophobia.

Citing authors such as I. M. Hassán and R. I. Benito, who delve into "Los judíos en la literatura tradicional española" in the IX Curso Cultural Hispanojudío y Sefardí of the Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha (2001), we seek to provide an informed and rigorous approach to address the complexity of the representation of the Jew in Spanish popular traditional culture. In addition, the works of Nathan Hurvitz and Alan Dundes, such as "Blacks and Jews in American Folklore" (1974) and "A Study of Ethnic Folklore: The Jew and Polack in the United States" (1971), respectively, offer perspectives that allow contextualizing these representations in a broader framework.

Through a critical and contextual analysis of specific examples, we seek to shed light on this sensitive and nuanced issue. This study will delve into specific examples such as the *gegants jueus* of Tortosa, the custom of lemonade of León related to "killing Jews", The procession of the Mobs in Cuenca, the The Holy Child of La Guardia, the inclusion of Jewish statuettes in Christmas Nativity Scenes and their representation in the Cachiporra Theater and Moors and Christians Feast.

Ultimately, this analysis aims to provide a deeper and more comprehensive view of the representation of the Jew in Spanish popular traditional culture, considering both its cultural nuances and the possible implications of perpetuating negative stereotypes. An understanding of the historical and cultural context in which these representations have evolved is essential for a balanced interpretation and an openness to constructive dialogue on this sensitive topic.

Representations and Concrete Examples

To better understand the representation of the Jews in traditional Spanish popular culture, it is essential to explore specific examples that have endured over time. These representations, although varied in nature and context, offer a glimpse into the complexity of how Jews have been presented in popular culture. Some of these examples are described below:

- **The procession of the Mobs in Cuenca:** During Holy Week in Cuenca, the procession of the Mobs takes place, in which biblical characters, including Jews, are depicted. These representations often reinforce the image of Jews as responsible for the death of Jesus, perpetuating the stereotype of "deicidal people". Although part of a religious tradition, the depiction can be interpreted negatively.
- **The Holy Child of La Guardia:** This figure represents a child who is said to have been killed by Jews in the Middle Ages. The legend of the "Santo Niño de la Guardia" has been part of the popular tradition in various regions of Spain and has been interpreted as a reflection of the accusation of ritual crimes often made against Jews.



- **Statuettes of Jews in Christmas Nativity Scenes:** In some Christmas Nativity Scenes, statuettes of Jews are included, often presented as merchants or secondary figures. While this can be interpreted as an attempt to represent cultural diversity in the biblical narrative, these depictions can also reinforce negative stereotypes.
- **Cachiporra Theater and Moors and Christians Feast:** These traditional forms of theater and festivities often include Jewish characters. While some interpretations argue that these manifestations acknowledge history and cultural diversity, others highlight how these representations can simplify and distort the relationship between different communities.
- **The *gegants jueus* of Tortosa:** In Catalonia, the tradition of the *gegants jueus* has been a prominent element in local festivities. These giant figures represent Jewish men and women, characterized by their traditional attire. While some argue that this inclusion is a tribute to the historical presence of the Jewish community in the region, it is important to recognize that these depictions often simplify and stereotype Jewish culture.
- **Leon's Lemonade:** The tradition of "Killing Jews" in Leon during Holy Week has become a topic of interest due to its origins and historical connotations. This unique culinary practice, which involves a mixture of wine, lemonade, water, spices and sugar, has been the subject of attention because of its politically incorrect name. In the province of León, during these holidays, the community revives a tradition that goes by the name of "Matar judíos", although nowadays it is interpreted as an act of procession from bar to bar to enjoy the lemonade.

Each of these examples illustrates how Jews have been represented in traditional Spanish popular culture, generating debates about whether these manifestations reflect cultural pluralism or perpetuate negative stereotypes. Critical analysis of these examples is essential to understanding their significance in the context of Spanish history and culture.

Cultural Pluralism: Acknowledging Diversity

The interpretation of the representation of the Jews in Spanish popular traditional culture as a reflection of cultural pluralism is based on the premise that these manifestations recognize the diversity and historical presence of the Jewish community in Spain. Authors such as I. M. Hassán and R. I. Benito argue that these representations can be considered an attempt to keep alive the historical memory of the Jewish community ("Los judíos en la literatura tradicional española", 2001).

A prominent example is the tradition of the *gegants jueus* in Tortosa and other regions of Catalonia. These giant figures represent Jewish men and women in traditional attire, and while some may interpret this as cultural recognition and an effort to honor diversity, it is important to note that these representations often simplify the complex Jewish history and culture.

José Manuel Pedrosa, in his study on the vision of Jewishness in Extremaduran popular culture ("Visión de lo judío en la cultura popular extremeña", 1996), also offers perspectives in line with cultural pluralism. Pedrosa argues that certain representations can be interpreted from a diversity perspective, as they could reflect the historical presence and cultural contribution of Jews in specific regions.

The inclusion of Jewish figurines in Christmas nativity scenes and their representation in festive events such as the Cachiporra Theater and the Moors and Christians Festival can also be analyzed from this approach. Some advocates of this interpretation point out that these manifestations reflect the coexistence of different cultures in the history of Spain, although it is crucial to bear in mind that these representations can fall into simplification and generalization.



Ultimately, the cultural pluralism approach highlights the importance of recognizing and celebrating cultural and religious diversity in Spanish society. However, it is essential to approach these representations with a critical and contextual analysis to avoid falling into the risk of minimizing or misrepresenting the history and complexity of the Jewish community in Spain.

Challenges of Entrenched antisemitism

While some argue that representations of the Jews in traditional Spanish folk culture can be interpreted from a perspective of cultural pluralism, there are critical perspectives that highlight the role of entrenched antisemitism in these manifestations. Authors such as Nathan Hurvitz and Alan Dundes have explored how in other cultures these representations have been used to perpetuate ethnic and religious prejudice ("Blacks and Jews in American Folklore", 1974; "A Study of Ethnic Folklore: The Jew and Polack in the United States", 1971).

Leon's Lemonade tradition is a paradigmatic example. Despite its apparent innocence, the phrase "Let's kill Jews!" used in this tradition raises serious concerns. The connection to the commemoration of the historical murder of Jews leads to a reflection on how these manifestations can perpetuate historical violence and discrimination.

The procession of the Mobs in Cuenca also raises questions about the relationship between these representations and antisemitism. Although part of the Holy Week and biblical narrative, these representations may reinforce the stereotype of Jews as responsible for the death of Jesus, a concept that has been used historically to justify persecution and discrimination.

The figure of the Holy Child of La Guardia and the legend surrounding him is also subject to criticism from the perspective of Entrenched antisemitism. This representation has been interpreted as part of a historical accusation of ritual crimes, an accusation that has been used to justify persecutions and atrocities against the Jewish community.

While these depictions can be interpreted in a variety of ways, it is essential to recognize the history of antisemitism and discrimination that Jews have faced in Spain and around the world. Interpreting these manifestations without considering their historical context can lead to minimizing the impact they can have in perpetuating negative stereotypes.

Conclusions and Recommendations: Involving Citizens in Cultural Heritage Management

The representation of the Jews in traditional Spanish popular culture is a topic that invites us to reflect on the intersection between cultural diversity and the possibility of perpetuating negative stereotypes. Throughout this study, we have explored concrete examples that have shed light on this complex issue. From these reflections, conclusions and recommendations emerge that can guide future approaches toward more inclusive and respectful cultural representation.

It is clear that representations of the Jewish figure in the Spanish folk tradition are a testament to the shared history of diverse communities. However, it is also crucial to recognize that these manifestations may contain elements that reinforce negative stereotypes and perpetuate antisemitism. The duality between cultural celebration and the perpetuation of prejudice requires careful evaluation and informed understanding.

In this regard, it is valuable to apply the principles of the Faro Convention, which advocates active citizen participation in the management of intangible cultural heritage. The involvement of local communities and stakeholders can enrich understanding and dialogue around these manifestations. Following this guideline, it is recommended to organize workshops that bring together local associations, experts, representatives of the Jewish community and other stakeholders to discuss and analyze these traditions from diverse perspectives.



The experience of the NOA project provides a valuable framework to address this challenge. The implementation of awareness-raising workshops, training for trainers and collaborative approaches can be an effective avenue to explore representations of the Jewish figure in traditional Spanish folk culture. These workshops could allow a space for constructive dialogue and education that promotes mutual understanding and respect for cultural diversity. Some recommendations and ideas for dynamics to develop these workshops are provided below:

1. **Awareness and Education Workshops:** Workshops could begin with awareness sessions that provide participants with a thorough historical and cultural context about the depiction of the Jewish figure in the Spanish folk tradition. Experts in history, Jewish culture and anthropology could provide informative presentations that unravel the roots of these representations and their historical impact.
2. **Expert Roundtable:** A roundtable bringing together experts in history, Jewish culture, anthropology, and representatives of the Jewish community could provide a platform for the exchange of diverse opinions and perspectives. Participants could share their knowledge and analysis, which would contribute to a more complete understanding of the topic.
3. **Case Study Analysis:** Specific cases of representations of the Jew in Spanish popular culture could be presented and group analysis could be conducted. Participants could discuss how these manifestations can be interpreted from different points of view and how they impact cultural perception.
4. **Creative and Cultural Adaptation Workshops:** To explore avenues for cultural adaptation and reinterpretation of these traditions, participants could collaborate in creative workshops. This could include rewriting narratives, creating contemporary artistic representations, and planning cultural events that address problematic aspects of traditional representations.
5. **Dialogue and Reflection Sessions:** Directed dialogue sessions could encourage the respectful exchange of opinions and perspectives among participants. Difficult questions could be addressed, such as whether some traditions should be modified or eliminated, and how these changes could be sensitively addressed.
6. **Collaborative Project:** Following the approach of the NOA project, collaborative projects could be organized that involve diverse communities, including schools, Jewish communities, and local cultural organizations. These projects could create a safe space for intergenerational dialogue and education on the importance of accurate cultural representation.
7. **Awareness Campaigns:** The workshops could also inspire public awareness campaigns that address the issue and promote more inclusive representation in popular culture. These campaigns could include events, exhibitions, online presentations and other activities that engage the community in an ongoing dialogue.

Ultimately, the recommendations revolve around the need to address these representations in an informed and collaborative manner. Adapting, modifying and even eliminating some traditions could be a step toward more inclusive and respectful cultural representation. By applying the lessons of the Faro Convention and the good practices of the NOA project, a path can be forged towards a society that celebrates cultural diversity while striving to eradicate prejudices and harmful stereotypes.



In conclusion, the critical analysis of the representation of Jews in Spanish popular traditional culture urges us to carefully consider how we approach these manifestations. Through active citizen participation and the implementation of collaborative approaches, we can work towards a society that values and respects cultural diversity in all its forms.

Ultimately, critical analysis of these representations must take into account how these manifestations may be rooted in historical prejudice and how they may contribute to the perpetuation of antisemitism and xenophobia. Acknowledging these concerns is crucial to addressing the issue in an honest and thoughtful manner.



Perspectives on Religious Pluralism: Charlie Hebdo, Censorship, and Minority Group Rights in the Republic

Eva Fortes

On the first Wednesday of 2015, two gunmen entered the offices of French satirical magazine *Charlie Hebdo* and killed eleven employees, then killed a police officer as they exited. Over the course of the next two days, as they fled the French police, the gunmen shot at several more people and eventually barricaded themselves with hostages in the building of a signage production company outside Paris.¹ Meanwhile, that Friday while the gunmen tended their wounds in the building, a friend of theirs chose to kill and take hostages at a Jewish supermarket, calling for their safety and solidarity with Muslim victims throughout the world.² French police killed all three gunmen that same Friday, January 9.³

Almost immediately, the political leaders of France and much of the world called for solidarity with the slain cartoonists and support for freedom of expression, including a rally in Paris on January 11. The attacks were largely understood to be a response to the magazine's continuous publication of satirical images of the Prophet Mohammed, often in overtly sexual poses or making statements intended and interpreted to be offensive to the religion of Islam and Muslim terrorists. It is important to note here that the images are considered by French law to be offensive to the religion of Islam and to be criticizing Muslim terrorists, but not all followers of Islam, as decided in various court cases over the years of *Charlie Hebdo's* publication in France.⁴

Meanwhile, under a recently passed anti-terrorism law, in the weeks since the January 7 attack French police and courts have been arresting and convicting Muslims in France who have spoken or written phrases withholding their support for the slain cartoonists. For example, one man has been sentenced to six months in prison for shouting, as he passed a police station, "They killed Charlie and I had a good laugh. In the past they killed Bin Laden, Saddam Hussein, Mohammed Merah and many brothers. If I didn't have a father or mother, I would train in Syria."⁵

Perhaps the most internationally noted instance of French prosecution of expression in January 2015 was that of Dieudonné M'bala M'bala, a well-known comedian who has previously run

¹ Edouard de Mareschal, "«J'ai Vécu Un Moment Incroyable» : Le Face à Face Du Gérant De L'imprimerie Avec Les Frères Kouachi," *Le Figaro*, January 10, 2015, accessed January 16, 2015, <http://www.lefigaro.fr/actualite-france/2015/01/10/01016-20150110ARTFIG00123-dammartin-en-goele-le-gerant-raconte-son-face-a-face-avec-les-freres-kouachi.php>.

² Weaver, Matthew et al., "Charlie Hebdo: officials establish link between gunmen in both attacks – as it happened," *The Guardian*, January 10, 2015, accessed January 29, 2015, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/live/2015/jan/09/charlie-hebdo-manhunt-kouachi-terrorist-links-live-updates#block-54b04e67e4b0461a99f13aea>.

³ Lizzie Dearden, "Paris shootings: How the sieges with Charlie Hebdo killers at Dammartin-en-Goele print works and Jewish grocer ended," *The Independent*, January 9, 2015, accessed January 16, 2015, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/paris-shootings-how-sieges-at-dammartinengoele-print-works-and-jewish-grocer-ended-9968962.html>.

⁴ "French Satirical Newspaper 'Charlie Hebdo' Wins Second Trial Over Controversial Cartoon Ban Request," *NewsWire Today*, February 9, 2007, accessed January 29, 2015, <http://www.newswiretoday.com/news/13842/>.

⁵ As quoted in Doreen Carvajal and Alan Cowell, "French Rein in Speech Backing Acts of Terror," *The New York Times*, January 15, 2015, accessed January 16, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/01/16/world/europe/french-rein-in-speech-backing-acts-of-terror.html>.



afoul of French laws against anti-Semitic speech. He was arrested and tried⁶ for posting to his Facebook page on the evening of the French solidarity rally, “Tonight, as far as I’m concerned, I feel like Charlie Coulibaly.”⁷

In French and international media, these events and juxtapositions have sparked a debate about the right to freedom of expression and censorship versus minority group rights and discrimination. Some have called on the French government to censor images that are offensive to Islam and its followers—that is, more censorship—while others have called on the French government not only to stop prosecuting people for speaking out in support of the attacks or against the magazine, but also to strike other restrictions on speech from the books—that is, less censorship. Both sides have pointed to the status of Muslims as a minority in France to support their arguments. This debate goes to the root of the different democratic styles of multiculturalism⁸ and republicanism, and how each approaches the subject of rights. At its root, the question France is facing is: Should France censor expression that offends its minority Muslim population?

Those calling for censorship of expression, like the *Charlie Hebdo* cartoons, that offends the large minority of French Muslims fall into three general approaches. The first appeals to group defamation, the second to incitement of violence, and the third to the general multiculturalist approach championed by Charles Taylor.

Making its argument along the lines of Jeremy Waldron’s appeal to censor hate speech, the group defamation approach posits that individuals—and therefore their rights—are harmed when a group they belong to is defamed. Waldron argues that group defamation “assaults the *dignity* of the persons affected—*dignity*, in the sense of these persons’ basic social standing, of the basis of their recognition as social equals, and of their status as bearers of human rights and constitutional entitlements.”⁹ In his article “Dignity and Defamation: The Visibility of Hate,” Waldron defines group defamation as “set[ting] out to *make* [group membership] a liability by denigrating group-defining characteristics or associating them with bigoted factual claims that are fundamentally defamatory.”¹⁰ Thus, by allowing publications, groups, and individuals to distribute images and speech depicting Muslims and their Prophet as terrorists or fools, supporters of the idea of group defamation argue that France is allowing the general population seeing these images to identify Muslims as a group as terrorists or fools. It is then a small extension for members of the general French public to assume that any individual Muslim shares this defamed group characteristic, and to treat individual Muslims as terrorists or fools. The group defamation, then, harms the dignity of the individual Muslim in French society. Following this argument, Waldron lays out his support of censoring speech that defames groups by maintaining that such group defamation injures “the standing of persons and groups in society.”¹¹

Proponents of the group defamation argument will also point out that some such expression is already censored: France enforces laws against anti-Semitic expression and denial of the

⁶ Krishnadev Calamur, “French Comedian Diuedonné Goes On Trial For ‘Defending Terrorism,’” NPR International, February 4, 2015, accessed February 15, 2015, <http://www.npr.org/blogs/thetwo-way/2015/02/04/383767811/french-comedian-dieudonne-goes-on-trial-for-defending-terrorism>.

⁷ Ibid. The slogan of the solidarity rally was “Je suis Charlie” (“I am Charlie”) in honor of *Charlie Hebdo*, and Coulibaly was the surname of the gunman who attacked the Jewish kosher market on January 9.

⁸ Here I refer to “multiculturalism” as the theory; as discussed in class there is no current example of true multiculturalism in practice.

⁹ Jeremy Waldron, “Dignity and Defamation: The Visibility of Hate,” Lecture, Oliver Wendall Holmes Lectures from Harvard Law School, October 5, 2009, 1610.

¹⁰ Ibid., 1609.

¹¹ Ibid., 1610.



Holocaust. The comedian Dieudonné has been convicted in the past for inciting anti-Semitism in his speech and comedic performances, and has been legally banned from performing in several instances.¹² And, as noted above, he has been censured for not expressing solidarity with *Charlie Hebdo*. No specific laws protect anti-Muslim speech or expression, however, and many proponents of the group defamation argument insist that in the interest of fairness the French Muslim minority should be similarly protected.

However, relevant to this discussion, Waldron makes an important distinction between speech that defames groups, such as a “published allegation . . . that all Muslims are terrorists or are properly suspected of involvement with terrorism,” and speech that entails “a shocking attack on one’s views,” such as insult to Islam or its Prophet.¹³ Those petitioning the French government to censor publications like *Charlie Hebdo* have been focusing mainly on censoring images and satire that directly insult Islam and the Prophet Mohammed, rather than those depicting Muslim terrorists or fools. This type of censorship cannot be supported by the group defamation argument.

It can, however, be supported by the incitement of violence argument. These proponents of censorship of images or other expression that offends or insults Islam or its Prophet rely on a tautological argument that such expression incites violence because people have been violent in response to such expression. The incitement of violence argument tends to be most popular among laypeople and politicians; it fills numerous comment sections and Facebook posts. It also, however, has some legal proponents. In a recent deportation case in Spain, a Pakistani refugee who had been granted asylum in 2006 had his asylum revoked in 2012 after he released a film critical of Islam. In the Spanish Supreme Court ruling upholding the decision to revoke his asylum, the justices wrote, “the right [of free expression] is not unlimited and can be restricted in circumstances which endanger national security . . . we share the criterion that the exercise of said right is incompatible with gravely offensive demonstrations held out in contempt of religious convictions, which, lacking all rigor, incite violence or interreligious hate,”¹⁴ although two justices added a signed statement warning against such use of the concept of inciting violence.¹⁵ There are currently debates at the United Nations and the European Court of Human Rights regarding whether insulting a religion or its prophets could be considered outside the limits of freedom of speech, citing its propensity to incite violence.

A third approach in favor of censoring expression offensive to Muslims in France is the multiculturalist argument. According to Charles Taylor, multiculturalism recognizes “that our identity is partly shaped by recognition or its absence, often by the *mis*recognition of others, and so a person or group of people can suffer real damage, real distortion, if the people or society around them mirror back to them a confining or demeaning or contemptible picture of themselves.”¹⁶ Much like Waldron, Taylor insists that “this concept of dignity is the only one compatible with a democratic society,” and he adds that equal recognition is essential to

¹² “Paris Attacks: Dieudonne Held as France Tackles Hate Speech,” *BBC*, January 14, 2015, accessed January 15, 2015, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-30811401>.

¹³ Waldron, 1612-3.

¹⁴ English translation is mine. Original text: “dicho derecho [de la libertad de expresión] no es ilimitado y puede restringirse en circunstancias en que se ponga en peligro la seguridad nacional, . . . compartimos el criterio de que el ejercicio de dicho derecho resulta incompatible con manifestaciones gravemente ofensivas proferidas en menosprecio de convicciones religiosas, que, carentes de todo rigor, inciten a la violencia o al odio interreligioso”. STS 30 de mayo de 2014 (A. 3511/2013, ponente José Manuel Bandrés Sánchez-Cruzat), 25.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 46.

¹⁶ Charles Taylor, “The Politics of Recognition,” in *Multiculturalism and “The Politics of Recognition,”* eds. Charles Taylor and Amy Gutmann, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 25.



individual dignity and democratic culture.¹⁷ He further argues that “the withholding of recognition can be a form of oppression.”¹⁸ This argument posits that members of the Muslim minority in France are oppressed by laws that withhold recognition of their cultural prohibition of images of the Prophet Mohammed. It further holds that they suffer real damage from the people and society of France disseminating, laughing at, and otherwise mirroring back to them demeaning and contemptible pictures of themselves, members of their group, and their Prophet.

Essential to the multiculturalist approach is the idea that all cultures have equal worth, and thus that minority cultures should receive respect equal to that afforded majority cultures. Given that within the religion of Islam and the Muslim culture there is a prohibition of images of the Prophet Mohammed, then, multiculturalist proponents insist that France should respect this prohibition through censorship of such expression, particularly insulting images like the ones featured in *Charlie Hebdo*.

While each of these appeals supports the censorship of expression offensive to French Muslims, the other side of the debate calls for maintaining France’s current level of freedom of expression, or even expanding it further. These counterarguments similarly fall into three categories: the universalist approach, the anti-terror approach, and the critical-republican approach—specifically a redefinition of the French secularist principle known as *laïcité*.

The universalist approach counters the group defamation argument with the idea that censoring speech offensive to one group is unjust because it privileges that group over others. Many argue that this is already the case in France: the majority secular Christian group is privileged in that French national holidays include Christian holidays like Christmas, the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, and the Christian New Year, but not Muslim holidays like the Islamic New Year or Jewish holidays like the Jewish New Year. In addition, France censors anti-Semitic expression (including cartoons) and denial of the Holocaust, which many point to as privileging the Jewish minority group, as well as any expression insulting the President of the Republic, but does not censor satirical images of the Muslim Prophet Mohammed.

Rather than extending the privilege of one group to all groups, which in this matter would entail full censorship, the universalist approach aims to revoke the privilege-to-censor of any group. Another argument in support of this view says that the censorship of anti-Semitic expression fosters resentment between differently privileged minority groups, which may offer an explanation for Coulibaly’s deliberate choice to attack and take hostages in a Jewish supermarket when expressing his support for the attackers of *Charlie Hebdo*.

The universalist also counters the multiculturalist argument that since censorship of images of the Prophet Mohammed is a cultural value of a minority group, it should be given equal weight to the majority Western value of freedom of expression. “But,” as Michael Walzer argues, “individual liberty, democracy, gender equality, and religious pluralism aren’t really Western values; they are universal values that first appeared in strong, modern versions in Western Europe and the Americas.”¹⁹ According to the universalist argument, then, individual rights like freedom of expression should not be subsumed to minority group rights that call for censorship of religiously offensive images. This argument would also extend to removing existing restrictions on speech, like France’s laws against anti-Semitic expression and potentially even its laws against insulting the President of the Republic.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 27.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 36.

¹⁹ Michael Walzer, “Islamism and the Left,” *Dissent*, Winter, 2015, accessed January 30, 2015, <http://www.dissentmagazine.org/article/islamism-and-the-left>.



Both the group defamation and the incitement to violence arguments are also countered by Thomas Scanlon's theory of freedom of expression, a universalist value, which derives its main principle from John Stuart Mill. According to Scanlon, "There are certain harms which, although they would not occur but for certain acts of expression, nonetheless cannot be taken as part of a justification for legal restrictions on these acts. These harms [include] harmful consequences of acts performed as a result of those acts of expression, where the connection between the acts of expression and the subsequent harmful acts consists merely in the fact that the act of expression led the agents to believe (or increased their tendency to believe) these acts to be worth performing."²⁰ In presenting this principle, Scanlon illustrates it with examples of speech that suggests people commit harmful acts, but the principle also holds for speech that allegedly incites people to commit harmful acts by offending them. In Scanlon's view, those who commit violence are responsible for the harm they cause, not those who offend violent people through free expression.

The strongest argument against the incitement to violence approach is what I have called the anti-terror approach. This view reasons that if violence or the threat of violence against those expressing inimical or unsympathetic views is the criterion to define "incitement," any group (or individual member thereof) can cause the government to censor any expression by committing an act of violence in response to an expression, thereby redefining that expression as one which incites violence. Such a loop could be extended, then, to create essentially an extra-legal censorship tool: if you want something censored, commit violence while proclaiming that expression or type of expression led you to it, and the government will respond by censoring the expression you target. This would result in more violence and more censorship, both unwanted results in French society.

Finally, the multiculturalist argument is rebutted by the French concept of *laïcité*, often translated as a specifically French form of secularism. In practice, this concept has been applied in France to mean a near-complete separation of religion and the public sphere; religions and their expression are respected in the private sphere, but French citizens are expected to remove any outward display of religion or religious difference and operate as purely secular beings in the public sphere. As noted above, however, French society continues to favor and recognize the majority religious culture—Christianity—even in the public sphere, with state-mandated Christian holidays, weekly shop closings on the Christian sabbath (Sunday), state-funded maintenance of Christian churches but not other houses of worship, and so forth, even while insisting on its total public secularity.

In a speech given shortly after the attacks on *Charlie Hebdo* and the Jewish supermarket, French Prime Minister Manuel Valls gave a speech in which he proclaimed, "We have to defend *laïcité*, without compromises—there have been too many."²¹ This conception of *laïcité* as total public secularism is not the only version, however. In her critical republican approach, Cécile Laborde offers a more specific definition of *laïcité* as "a comprehensive theory of republican citizenship articulated around three ideals: equality (religious neutrality of the public sphere or secularism *stricto sensu*), liberty (individual autonomy and emancipation from religious oppression), and fraternity (civic loyalty to the community of citizens)."²² While Laborde supports the idea, in principle, of *laïcité* as secularism in the public sphere leading to a shared egalitarian citizenship amongst all French citizens, including members of the Muslim minority, she points out that until the institutions of the French Republic uphold these just republican ideals, saddling members of

²⁰ Thomas Scanlon, "A Theory of Freedom of Expression," *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 1, no. 2 (1972): 213.

²¹ As quoted in Shadi Hamid, "France's False Choice," *The Atlantic*, January 28, 2015, accessed January 28, 2015, <http://m.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2015/01/france-muslims-liberalism-crisis/384901/>.

²² Cécile Laborde, *Critical Republicanism: The Hijab Controversy and Political Philosophy*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 7.



the Muslim minority with the burden of upholding *laïcité* in the public sphere while their fellow Christian citizens face no such burden results in further disadvantaging and separating out French Muslims, an already disadvantaged minority group. Similarly, arresting French Muslims who express outrage at the *Charlie Hebdo* cartoons, or who refuse to express solidarity with the victims of the attack—people who, when living, mocked the ideals and the sacred figures of these French Muslims’ culture—again places the burden of *laïcité* only on French Muslims, separating them from the rest of the French citizenry.

Shadi Hamid, writing in response to Walzer’s essay on universalism, suggests, instead, that “a major political party . . . call for a rethinking of *laïcité*, and for broadening, rather than narrowing, French national identity.”²³ This rethinking echoes Laborde’s suggestion that “a secular state respects equal citizenship only if it does not dominate its religious citizens.”²⁴ This would require that the French government examine and change its laws that explicitly privilege the Christian majority over all other groups and the Jewish minority over other minority groups. While the proposed rethinking of *laïcité* does not explicitly call for either more or less censorship, it does rebut the multiculturalist position calling for individual special treatment for each minority group, which would lead to increased censorship as each group has its own specific limits on freedom of expression. This rethinking could potentially open the door for less censorship coupled with more individual and intergroup recognition and respect, as all citizens could eventually become equal citizens as the French Republic currently claims them to be.

My own answer to the question of whether France should censor expression that offends its minority Muslim population is no, but neither do I believe France should maintain its current laws and status quo. I agree with Shadi Hamid and Cécile Laborde that France must reexamine its current policies and ideal of *laïcité*. Furthermore, while I agree with Jeremy Waldron’s description of group defamation and I sympathize with victims of the practice, I do not think the solution is to limit offensive speech. Rather, I agree with the liberal and universalist view that free expression should be legally enshrined as one of the strongest values in French society, much stronger than it currently is.

In my view, more censorship will not engender less group defamation or more social cohesion. In fact, I believe it will have quite the opposite effects, as preventing overt speech does not remove the underlying messages so much as drive them further underground, where they are less likely to be rebutted and more likely to fester. For example, Dieudonné’s infamous hand gesture greeting is rumored to be an inverse Nazi salute, implying to its users a shared feeling of anti-Semitism. As gestures like this are not overt speech, their meanings are coded only for those who know what they mean, or those who have been told by someone who knows, until such time as someone who knows chooses to tell a broader population. Should this new anti-Semitic gesture be censored as a threat to Jewish people? Censorship would not prevent another similar sign from emerging with the same meaning. But overt anti-Semitic expression can be countered by argument and disagreement; it is difficult to debate a hand signal, especially when it is designed with plausible deniability in mind, should the censors ever learn what it symbolizes.

No, France should not censor more expression. It should lift the limits it already places on expression, including laws against anti-Semitic expression, Holocaust denial, and insulting the President of the Republic. Nor should it abandon its Muslim population as it is defamed by artists, politicians, and lay people. To address the republican crisis France currently faces, French politicians and public opinion-makers should engage in an open exploration of what it means to be *laïc* in France. It should explore the continued state sanction and funding of Christian

²³ Hamid.

²⁴ Laborde, 97.



institutions, traditions, and rituals, and either extend such sanction and funding to minority religious groups, thereby becoming less laïc and more multicultural, or withdraw it from Christian ones, thereby becoming more laïc and more liberal republican. In its current configuration, the French state marginalizes French religious minorities by insisting they be entirely secular in the public sphere, while maintaining Christian symbols and traditions in the same public sphere. France's current iteration of laïcité guarantees that non-Christian French people cannot participate in French society as full citizens. As long as its leaders vocally support free expression for publications like *Charlie Hebdo* that many Muslims feel exacerbate their exclusion while actively prosecuting the expression of disaffected French Muslims, France will continue to deny its citizens' dignity and deny its society cohesion.

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PromoJew research methodology

Prepared for Mozaika under the supervision of Eva Fortes²⁵

Introduction

The promotion of cultural understanding and diversity is essential for fostering social harmony and reducing prejudice and discrimination. One way to achieve this is through educational programs that provide opportunities for people to learn about different cultures and traditions. In Catalonia, a program has been developed to teach young people about Jewish culture, with the goal of promoting greater understanding and tolerance of Jews. To evaluate the effectiveness of this program in changing attitudes towards Jews, a research methodology and follow-up mechanism have been designed.

This research methodology involves a pre- and post-test design, where participants will be surveyed on their attitudes towards Jews before and after completing the program. A qualitative component will also be included to gain deeper insights into the participants' experiences and attitudes towards Jews. The data will be analyzed using descriptive and inferential statistics to determine the effectiveness of the program in changing attitudes towards Jews. Follow-up surveys and qualitative interviews will also be conducted to assess the long-term impact of the program on attitudes towards Jews.

The survey questions (see Annex 2) have been designed based on the rich literature of measurement of discrimination and prejudice, and particularly measures of anti-Semitism.

Prejudice and anti-Semitism are complex phenomena that have been studied by scholars using various measurement tools. Some of the commonly used scales to measure attitudes towards marginalized groups include the Katz-Francis Scale of Attitude Toward Judaism (Francis and Katz, 2007), the Levinson-Sanford Scale for the Measurement of Anti-Semitism (Levinson and Stanford, 1944), and the PR Scale (Dunbar, 1995). In a study by Francis and Katz (2007), the internal consistency reliability of the Katz-Francis Scale of Attitude Toward Judaism was tested, and the results showed that the scale is a reliable tool for measuring attitudes toward Judaism. Similarly, Levinson and Sanford (1944) developed a scale to measure anti-Semitism, which has been used in numerous studies to measure prejudice towards Jews.

Attitudes towards Muslims have also been studied using various measurement tools. In a study by Strabac et al. (2014), survey experiments were conducted across four countries to investigate attitudes towards Muslim immigrants. The study found that negative attitudes towards Muslims were prevalent in all countries, but the level of prejudice varied across the different contexts. Similarly, Gusciute et al. (2021) investigated attitudes towards Muslim migrants in Europe and found that anti-Muslim sentiment was particularly high in countries with a recent influx of Muslim migrants.

In addition to attitudes towards specific groups, scholars have also investigated attitudes towards religious pluralism. Smith (2007) examined attitudes towards religious pluralism and found that people who are more tolerant of religious diversity are more likely to support policies that promote equality and social justice. Similarly, Antonak and Livneh (2000) developed a scale

²⁵ Prepared for Mozaika in consultation with researchers from the Research and Expertise Centre for Survey Methodology of the Universitat Pompeu Fabra and from the Institut Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals

to measure attitudes towards persons with disabilities and found that negative attitudes towards disabled individuals are associated with less favorable social policies.

Meanwhile, Voigtländer and Voth (2015) investigated the persistence of anti-Semitic beliefs in Germany and found that individuals who were exposed to Nazi indoctrination during their formative years were more likely to hold anti-Semitic beliefs later in life. This study highlights the long-term effects of exposure to hateful propaganda and underscores the importance of understanding the mechanisms of prejudice and anti-Semitism.

The literature is rich with various scales and tools to measure prejudice and anti-Semitism. These tools have been instrumental in identifying patterns of discrimination and prejudice and in developing interventions to address these issues. For this project, we relied on this existing literature to develop a questionnaire to measure teens' attitudes toward Jews in Catalonia.

By providing a comprehensive understanding of the effectiveness of this program in changing attitudes towards Jews, this research will inform future programs aimed at promoting cultural understanding and diversity. It will also contribute to understanding the role of education and cultural exchange in promoting intergroup understanding and reducing prejudice and discrimination.

Research methodology

The following is a research methodology and follow-up mechanism for measuring attitudes towards Jews as part of a program teaching young people in Catalonia about Jewish culture:

1. **Research Design:** The study will be conducted as a pre- and post-test design, where participants will be surveyed on their attitudes towards Jews before, during, and after participating in the program. The participants will be a convenience sample of young people aged 12 to 18 who have completed the program. In addition to the pre- and post-test, a qualitative component will be included to gain deeper insights into the participants' experiences and attitudes towards Jews. This will be done through semi-structured interviews conducted with a sub-sample of participants.
2. **Data Collection:** The survey will be administered in a self-administered paper format using a survey created based on a literature review of validated scale to measure attitudes towards Jews (see Bibliography). The survey consists of a series of statements related to attitudes towards Jews, and participants will be asked to rate their agreement with each statement on a 5-point Likert scale, with options ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree. (See Annex 2 for the survey.) The semi-structured interviews will be conducted with a sub-sample of participants and will focus on the participants' experiences of the program and their attitudes towards Jews both before and after participating in the program.
3. **Sampling:** A convenience sample of young people aged 12 to 18 who have agreed to participate in the program will be recruited for the study. Participants will be recruited through the program organizers and will be invited to participate in the study. All participants will be given an informed consent form and only those who agree and sign it will be included. (See Annex 1 for the informed consent form.)
4. **Data Analysis:** The data will be analyzed using descriptive statistics and inferential statistics. Descriptive statistics will be used to summarize the responses to the attitudes towards Jews scale, and inferential statistics will be used to determine the effectiveness of the program in changing attitudes towards Jews. The semi-structured interviews will be analyzed using thematic analysis to identify common themes and patterns in the participants' experiences and attitudes towards Jews.



By measuring attitudes towards Jews, before, during, and after participating in the program, this research will provide a comprehensive understanding of the effectiveness of the program in changing attitudes towards Jews. The results of the study will inform future programs aimed at promoting cultural understanding and diversity, and will help to ensure that these programs are as effective as possible in promoting greater understanding, tolerance, and inclusiveness.

Furthermore, the results of the study will contribute to the broader literature on the role of education and cultural exchange in promoting intergroup understanding and reducing prejudice and discrimination. The study will provide insights into the specific mechanisms through which programs like this can have a positive impact on attitudes towards Jews and other minority groups, and will add to our knowledge of how best to design and implement effective interventions to promote intergroup harmony and reduce prejudice. The findings of this study may also have broader implications beyond Catalonia, serving as a model for other regions and communities seeking to promote greater understanding and tolerance among different groups.

The research methodology and follow-up mechanism outlined in this study provide a comprehensive approach to measuring attitudes towards Jews in the context of a cultural exchange program for young people. By combining quantitative and qualitative methods with both surveys and interviews, this research aims to provide a detailed understanding of the impact of the program on attitudes towards Jews and to inform future initiatives promoting greater understanding and inclusiveness.

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ANNEX 1 - Informed consent form

Nom del projecte: PROMOJEW

Nom de l'entitat responsable:

Associació plataforma Mozaika per la promoció de la cultura jueva de Catalunya

Carrer Salomó ben Adret, 6

08002 Barcelona

(+34) 623 192 663

info@promojew.com

Finançament: El Projecte PROMOJEW ha rebut finançament del programa Rights, Equality, and Citizenship de la Unió Europea

L'objectiu d'aquest projecte és reduir la barrera cultural amb la comunitat jueva catalana per a millorar la seva integració. La teva participació consisteix en formar part dels tallers i en omplir una enquesta d'uns 10-15 minuts. En aquesta enquesta et preguntarem principalment sobre les teves opinions en relació a uns certs grups.

Per a protegir la teva privacitat, participaràs en aquesta enquesta de manera anònima. Això significa que ningú, ni tan sols els investigadors, podrà relacionar les teves respostes amb la teva informació personal. Les teves respostes anonimitzades seran emmagatzemades en un lloc segur sota clau o de manera digital mitjançant mecanismes segurs de control d'accés, de manera que només podran ser consultades pels investigadors d'aquest projecte. En cas que les dades d'aquest estudi siguin publicades, es farà de manera anònima. Una vegada finalitzat aquest projecte de recerca, les dades anònimes de l'enquesta s'emmagatzemaran en un repositori públic de dades de manera que puguin ser usades per altres investigadors.

La teva participació en aquesta enquesta és completament voluntària. Pots no participar o abandonar la teva participació en qualsevol moment, sense necessitat de justificar la teva decisió.

CONFIRMO QUE:

- He llegit la informació relativa al projecte de recerca.
- He rebut suficient informació sobre el Projecte.

ENTENC que la meva participació és voluntària i que puc no participar o abandonar la meva participació en qualsevol moment, sense necessitat de justificar la meva decisió.

En fer una creu sobre la línia de baix, dono el meu consentiment a participar en aquest projecte.

_____ Dono el meu consentiment a participar

Nom:

Signatura:



ANNEX 2 - Survey

Enquesta Promojew

Moltes gràcies per participar a aquesta enquesta. Les teves respostes són anònimes. No hi ha respostes correctes o incorrectes, i no les compartirem amb ningú. No hi ha cap pregunta obligatòria, però et demanem que contestis quantes més preguntes millor. Si tens qualsevol dubte, no dubtis en preguntar a la persona responsable de l'enquesta.

1. Quina és la teva edat?

2. A quin curs estàs? *Escull només una opció.*

- a. 3r ESO
- b. 4t ESO
- c. 1r batxillerat
- d. Altre

3. Amb quin gènere t'identifiques? *Escull només una opció.*

- a. Femení
- b. Masculí
- c. No binari
- d. Altre, quin? -----

4. Et consideres part d'alguna religió? *Escull només una opció.*

- a. Sí, quina? -----
- b. No

5. Sense considerar ocasions especials com batejos, bodes i funerals, cada quant participes a serveis religiosos? *Escull només una opció.*

- a. Tots els dies
- b. Més d'un cop per setmana
- c. Un cop a la setmana
- d. Almenys un cop al mes
- e. Només en dates religioses especials
- f. Mai



6. Et consideres part d'un grup víctima de discriminació? *Escull només una opció.*

- a. Sí
- b. No

7. Només si et consideres part d'un grup víctima de discriminació, per quin motiu és discriminat el grup del qual formes part? *Si us plau, marca amb una X a la casella que correspongui. Si no et consideres part d'un grup víctima de discriminació, passa a la pregunta 8.*

Motiu	Sí	No
a. Color o raça		
b. Nacionalitat		
c. Religió		
d. Llengua		
e. Grup ètnic		
f. Edat		
g. Gènere		
h. Sexualitat		
i. Discapacitat física o mental		
j. Un altre motiu. Si us plau, especifica -----		

8. Coneixes algú que s'identifiqui com a part dels següents grups? *Si us plau, marca amb una X a la casella que correspongui.*

Grup	Sí	No
a. Part del catolicisme		
b. Part de l'Islam		
c. Part del judaisme		
d. Part d'alguna religió cristiana no catòlica (ex: protestants)		

9. En una escala de 1 a 5, on 1 és "Gens important" i 5 és "Molt important", com d'important creus que es... *Si us plau, marca amb una X a la casella que correspongui.*

	Gens important	Poc important	Una mica important	Important	Molt important
a. ... conèixer sobre les diferents cultures i comunitats que viuen a la teva ciutat?	1	2	3	4	5
b. ... que les diferents cultures i comunitats a la teva ciutat coneguin les tradicions i història de Catalunya?	1	2	3	4	5

10. En una escala de 1 a 5, on 1 és "No conec gens" i 5 és "En tinc un coneixement complet", quant coneixes sobre les següents comunitats? *Si us plau, marca amb una X a la casella que correspongui.*



	No conec gens	Conec poc	Conec alguna cosa	Conec bastant	En tinc un coneixement complet
a. Comunitat musulmana	1	2	3	4	5
b. Comunitat jueva	1	2	3	4	5
c. Comunitat hindú	1	2	3	4	5
d. Immigrants de Llatinoamerica	1	2	3	4	5
e. Immigrants d'Àsia	1	2	3	4	5
f. Immigrants d'Àfrica	1	2	3	4	5
g. Immigrants de Proper Orient	1	2	3	4	5

11. En una escala de 1 a 5, on 1 és "No m'interessa gens" i 5 és "Tinc molt interès", quant t'agradaria aprendre sobre les següents comunitats? *Si us plau, marca amb una X a la casella que correspongui.*

	No m'interessa gens	M'interessa poc	M'interessa	M'interessa bastant	Tinc molt interès
a. Comunitat musulmana	1	2	3	4	5
b. Comunitat jueva	1	2	3	4	5
c. Comunitat hindú	1	2	3	4	5
d. Immigrants de Llatinoamerica	1	2	3	4	5
e. Immigrants d'Àsia	1	2	3	4	5
f. Immigrants d'Àfrica	1	2	3	4	5



g. Immigrants de Proper Orient	1	2	3	4	5
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Ara et farem algunes preguntes específiques sobre la comunitat jueva.

12. Creus que es pot ser membre de la comunitat jueva sense professar la religió? *Escull només una opció.*

- a. Sí
- b. No

13. Creus que pots ser membre de la comunitat jueva si no tens pares o mares jueves? *Escull només una opció.*

- a. Sí
- b. No

14. Com d'acord estàs amb l'afirmació de que les persones jueves són com qualsevol altra persona? *Escull només una opció.*

- a. Totalment en desacord
- b. Una mica en desacord
- c. Ni d'acord ni en desacord
- d. Una mica d'acord
- e. Totalment d'acord

15. Si no t'identifiques com a persona jueva, en una escala del 1 al 5, on 1 és "Molt diferent" i 5 és "Molt semblant", com de semblant creus que ets a la comunitat jueva en els següents aspectes? *Si us plau, marca amb una X a la casella que correspongui. Si t'identifiques com a persona jueva, passa a la següent pregunta.*

	Molt diferent	Una mica diferent	Ni diferent ni semblant	Una mica semblant	Molt semblant
a. Alimentació	1	2	3	4	5
b. La manera en que es desenvolupen les seves relacions familiars	1	2	3	4	5



c. La manera en que es desenvolupen les seves relacions d'amistat	1	2	3	4	5
d. Posició política	1	2	3	4	5
e. Creences religioses	1	2	3	4	5

16. En una escala de 1 a 5, on 1 és "Completament fals" i 5 és "Completament vertader", com de vertaderes consideres les següents afirmacions? Si us plau, marca amb una X a la casella que correspongui.

	Completament fals	Una mica fals	Ni fals ni vertader	Quelcom vertader	Completament vertader
a. Totes les persones jueves parlen hebreu	1	2	3	4	5
b. Totes les persones jueves tenen una dieta especial	1	2	3	4	5
c. La majoria de les amistats d'una persona jueva son part de la seva mateixa comunitat	1	2	3	4	5
d. Les persones jueves només es relacionen entre elles	1	2	3	4	5
e. Les persones jueves només es preocupen del que li passa als seus semblants	1	2	3	4	5
f. Les persones jueves són més lleials a Israel que a Espanya	1	2	3	4	5
g. Les persones jueves són bones pels negocis	1	2	3	4	5



h. Les persones jueves encara parlen massa del que va passar a l'Holocaust	1	2	3	4	5
i. La comunitat jueva és masclista	1	2	3	4	5
j. La comunitat jueva és responsable de guerres	1	2	3	4	5
k. La comunitat jueva és responsable de la seva pròpia persecució	1	2	3	4	5

17. En una escala de 1 a 5, on 1 és "No em preocuparia gens" i 5 és "Seria una preocupació gran", quant et preocuparien les següents situacions? *Si us plau, marca amb una X a la casella que correspongui.*

	No em preocuparia gens	Em preocupari a una mica	Em preocuparia	Em preocuparia molt	Seria una preocupació gran
a. Que algú que s'identifica com a persona jueva visqui al meu barri	1	2	3	4	5
b. Que algú que s'identifica com a persona jueva estigui a la mateixa classe	1	2	3	4	5
c. Que algú de la teva família es relacioni amb una persona que s'identifica com a jueva	1	2	3	4	5
d. Les persones jueves només es relacionen entre elles	1	2	3	4	5

Hem arribat al final de l'enquesta, moltes gràcies per la teva participació!

