Searching Out the Answers of Life:
Teaching the Shoah from a Theological Perspective

A Curriculum Guide
for Reform high school students
at supplementary schools.

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Rationale:

Throughout Jewish History, the Jewish people have been plagued by tragedy. In earlier times, Jews were slaves, strangers, and then persecuted. In the Middle Ages, Jews had no rights, and were at the mercy of the ruling governments. In the modern era, the Shoah was a tragic period in the history of the Jewish people. What began in 1933 with derogatory statements, grew to discriminating laws, and finally, to the Final Solution - the plan to annihilate all Jews from the earth, beginning in Europe. This last act was carried out between 1939-1945 under the leadership of Adolf Hitler. In the end, approximately six million Jews were murdered.

One can teach the Shoah, or the Holocaust, through a variety of perspectives. The Utilitarian approach emphasizes the "If we do not remember the past, we are condemned to repeat it" moral. The moral and ethical approach encourages the exploration of situations within the Shoah and juxtaposing them to one's own values in order to discuss what their reaction would be. The artistic approach presents various works of art (poetry, graphic arts, photography, etc) to the learner in order to capture the feeling of the Shoah from the eyes and ears of a persecuted Jew. The Geo-Political approach allows for people to discuss the facts regarding the war, and how the nations of the world reacted to it. This allows for the investigation of historical data through primary

documents. Lastly, the theological approach takes the tragic event of the Shoah in order to discern possible answers to the overriding questions regarding God, evil, and the nature of humanity.

The theological approach allows Jews to explore their own personal questions about God and evil through researching philosophers' views, through various avenues such as testimonies of Shoah survivors and primary documents from WWII. Jews today are constantly experiencing pain and suffering, not as a people, but as people. As people, we are confronted with tragedies, questions arise and the quest to search for answers commences. During and after the Shoah, Jews asked theological questions. For example: "Was God present in the Shoah?" "How does evil exist in the world if God also exists?" "How can people keep their faith in God and religion during a time of tragedy" and "(What is) *Yetzer HaTov* and *Yetzer HaRah* and how can these terms help to explain issues within the Shoah?"

In today's world, there are many places that offer quick and easy answers for tough and difficult questions. Unfortunately, Jews can be easily swayed towards these dangerous and spiritually unfulfilling institutions. By taking these "normal" questions that so many Jews have, and by creating safe environments for discussion and learning, more Jews would become learned Jews who would not easily fall prey to such dangerous institutions. These Jews would have the educational

foundation upon which to rely on when faced with intense questions. Moreover, these Jews would enhance our communities and strengthen our population.

Questioning of God and "evil verses good" are important components of each individual's search of and for Jewish identity. As adolescents look to discover who they are and what they believe, it is crucial for Jewish education to provide them with a safe environment in which they will learn about theology and philosophy. This can be done in the context of the most recent historical tragedy that affected the Jews as a people, the Shoah. Thus, a post-confirmation class would be well suited for this exploration. These students are just entering high schools, a new developmental phase, and are cognitively ready to engage in such an investigation.

Notes to the Teacher:

In today's world, one finds an extraordinary amount of people searching for their identity and spirituality. Many of these people are actually seeking out answers to intense questions about life and death, good and evil, and the individual and the community. These questions, while normal to ponder, are not easy to answer. Many people are offered quick and easy solutions to questions that do not have just one answer. Thus, people may find themselves becoming engaged by dangerous institutions that offer the quick and easy answer, or they may find themselves continuously seeking out the answers but getting frustrated along the way.

This curriculum is centered on the Shoah, but it is meant to provide a background and foundation for students to use in order to seek the answers to their intense questions. This curriculum aims to help young people address their concerns through the use of Jewish history, philosophy, and theology.

By focusing on the chosen questions that each unit is centered around, this curriculum allows you to teach the Shoah while talking to your students about how they think decisions should be made. By focusing on the Shoah, this curriculum allows you to enter into discussions with your students about larger issues like responsibility, good and evil inclinations, obligations, and respect.

This curriculum offers you a large resource bibliography, in addition to the textual excerpts attached to the units. If possible, a class library with a few of the following additional texts would benefit the class: Sachar's The Course of Modern Jewish History, Facing History and Ourselves: The Jews of Poland, Friedlander's Out of the Whirlwind, Weisel's Night, and Browning's Ordinary Men. I would also recommend that you place copies of books the students have studied in the past, since the students will be familiar with them and will be able to better locate information. Students should be encouraged to read these books, to reflect on these books, and to write about them in their personal journals.

In order to create the best lessons possible, I recommend that you read and utilize as many resources as possible. This will only serve to make you a more knowledgeable teacher and perhaps make your class more interesting. In addition to books, there are also several films and computer web sites dedicated to the study of the Shoah. Lastly, there are also your local resources. Check with synagogues and Federations to see if there are any survivors in the area willing to speak to your class. Perhaps there are retired military people who liberated the camps, or Jews who have some firsthand account of what happened in Eastern Europe during WWII. These speakers will prove to be invaluable to your

class; your students will learn more from their firsthand accounts than from a textbook. Moreover, if you are lucky enough to locate a speaker, please ask to record their presentation for future use. Unfortunately, these people are slowly getting older and will not be around to speak to many more future classes. Recording their history is important.

Recording any type of personal account is important. That is why I recommend students keep a journal. This journal should be utilized in the classroom as a way to synthesize the material learned in class with the reflections of the students. These entries can then be used (with the student's permission) to begin a lesson or to end one. They can also be used as a way to introduce a discussion on a specific issue or topic. In any case, these journals should be utilized throughout the lessons, and will serve to be an integral part of the educational process.

I hope that this curriculum will spark conversation and learning in your classroom. The lessons can draw on our people's history in addition to our students' experiences. The combination of the two can provide for a powerful learning experience. Good luck! You're going to do a great job.

Organization:

This curriculum consists of 5 units. Each unit focuses on a specific over-riding question pertaining to life and death, good and evil, or individual verses communal responsibility. Each unit begins with an Introductory Statement for the teacher, explaining what the purpose of the unit is. A listing of resources may then be given, in addition to the goals and objectives. Following the objectives, a listing of suggested activities are provided to the teacher. In cases of activities involving supplemental material, the material can be located at the end of each unit as well as a "Guide to Resources" for each unit. These activities are not by any means mandatory; they are simply provided to the teacher as a way to creatively teach a part of the unit. Please note that a combination of these activities is needed to fulfill the goals of that unit. Therefore, the teacher should use their expertise and knowledge in selecting the combination in order to most effectively teach the unit. I believe that by allowing this freedom to the teacher, the curriculum guide becomes just that: a guide to the teacher. It is not a set of lesson plans for the teacher to regurgitate to the class.

An excellent wrap up activity for each unit could be the use of the student's journals. This would provide students with a time for reflection, the teacher with a way to understand his/her students outside of class discussion and the class with another method of learning.

Time:

The length of each unit is left up to the discretion of the teacher. I suggest three meetings could be the average length of a unit. An actual unit could begin with an introductory activity or text excerpt, text or film study, and one-three smaller activities. Another unit may consist of a study of various philosophies, and then a class discussion based on comparing/contrasting students' personal views with that of the philosophers. Should there be a speaker or a visit to a Jewish museum, the presentation could take the place of one of the three meetings as a set induction or as the follow up to a text excerpt study.

Unit One: The Shoah

Key Concepts:
Holocaust/Shoah
Nazi Party
Adolph Hitler
Mein Kampf
Propaganda
Nuremberg Laws
Dates: 1933, 1939-1945
Kristalnacht
Warsaw Ghetto
Extermination Camps
Dehumanization
Auschwitz-Birkenau
Dr Joseph Mengele and Adolph Eichmann
Poland, Germany

Unit Two: Where is God in Tragedy?

Key Concepts:
Philosophical perspectives on God
God's absence in the Shoah
God's presence in the Shoah
Keeping faith in tragic times
Faith in a secular world (Fackenheim)
Our experiences with God in times of trouble

Unit Three: Free Will and Responsibility

Key Concepts:
The concept of human beings after the Shoah
Yetzer haTov
Yetzer haRah
Susceptibility: From "regular people" to Nazis
Memorable Moment: The Wave
Individual Responsibility
Collective Responsibility
Memorable Moment: Ordinary People, by Browning

Unit Four: Resistance

Key Concepts:
Ways of resistance: silence, passive, and active
Righteous Gentiles
Standing up for what you believe

Unit Five: Back at Home Today

A synthesis of what has been learned with what faces us today.

Resources

Unit One:
Books:

Browning, Christopher. Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland. HarperCollins Publishing: USA, 1992.

Sachar, Howard. The Course of Modern Jewish History.

Videos:

Heil Hitler: Confessions of a Hitler Youth, Ambrose Video publishing (approximately 30 minutes). An in depth interview with a high-ranking member of the Hitler Youth. He discusses the way peer pressure and propaganda encouraged him and millions of other German children to participate in the "war effort."

Schindler's List, MCA/Universal Home Video (approximately 187 minutes). Academy award winning film by Stephen Spielberg presents the story of Oskar Schindler, a war profiteer who saved the lives of over 1,100 Jews in Poland during the Holocaust.

Survivors of the Holocaust, The Survivors of the Shoah Visual History Foundation (approximately 60 minutes). Produced by Stephen Spielberg, the stories of survivors are placed in historical context through historical films, photographs, and artifacts.

The Wave. (approximately 2 hours) A video of a class "project" in California in the 1970s. This video gives a "real life" example of how one can become attracted to a violent and threatening group, and how others may or may not resist the group.

Witness to the Holocaust, Cinema Guild (7 parts approximately 20 minutes per segment). Holocaust survivors narrate documentary footage and photographs. The first segment details the rise of the Nazis and the beginnings of WWII.

Unit Two:
Books:

Berkovits, Eliezer. Faith After the Holocaust. Ktav Publishing House: New York, 1973.

Jonas, Hans. *The Journal of Religion.* "The Concept of God after Auschwitz: A Jewish Voice" University of Chicago Press: Volume 67:1, 1987.

Tanakh (recommended: Fox translation or JPS translation)

Weisel, Elie. Night. Bantam Books: USA, 1960.

Unit Three:
Books:

Bialik, H.N. and Ravnitzky, Y.H., ed The Book of Legends. Schocken Books: New York, 1992.

CCAR: Gates of Repentance. CCAR: New York, 1978.

Hoffman, Lawrence. Gates of Understanding 2. CCAR: New York, 1984.

Tanakh (recommended: Fox translation or JPS translation)

Videos:

The Hangman, CRM (approximately 12 minutes). A poem written by Maurice Ogden and narrated by Herschel Bernadi provides the script for this animated film. A parable about a town where all of the people are being hanged, one by one, by a mysterious stranger who erects a gallows in the center of the town. The remaining townspeople find a rationale for each hanging, until the hangman comes for the last survivor, who finds no one left to speak up for him.

Unit Four:
Books:

Fogelman, Eva. Conscience and Courage. Anchor Books: USA, 1994.

Rittner, Carol and Myers, Sondra, ed. The Courage to Care: Rescuers of Jews During the Holocaust. New York University Press: USA, 1986.

Rotem, Simha. Memoirs of a Warsaw Ghetto Fighter: The Past Within Me. Yale University Press: USA, 1994.

Schindler, Emilie. Where Light and Shadow Meet. W.W. Norton: New York, 1996.

Tec, Nechama. When Light Pierced the Darkness: Christian Rescue of Jews in Nazi Occupied Poland. Oxford University Press: England, 1986.

Videos:
Courage to Care, Anti-Defamation League of Bnai Brith (approximately 30 minutes). A profile of individuals who helped save the Jews in France, the Netherlands, and Poland.

Elements of Time: Portraits, Facing History and Ourselves (times vary). *Jan Karski*, who worked as a courier for the Polish underground during the war. *Helen K.* relates her experiences in the Warsaw Ghetto uprisings.

Unit Five:
Videos:

Billings, MT: Not in Our Town, We Do the Work (approximately 25 minutes). In 1993, the people of Billings responded to anti-Semitic hate crimes by placing menorahs in their windows to show support for the targeted Jewish population. As other groups were also singled out, the community put together a broad coalition to show neo-Nazi groups that hate would not be tolerated in their town.

Plays:

I Never Saw Another Butterfly
The Diary of Anne Frank

Art:

Samuel Bak Poster Set. Facing History, Facing Ourselves. Reproductions of six paintings by a survivor of the Vilna Ghetto.

Museums:

Yad V'Shem, Israel
The Washington DC Holocaust Museum, Washington DC
The Museum of Tolerance, Los Angeles

Unit One: The Shoah

Introductory Statement:

This unit is not meant to be the only Holocaust education for the students. Since the students are in their Junior and Senior years of High School, it should be assumed that they have already had some sort of class on the Holocaust. This unit is simply a review of that material in order to get into more depth about the over-riding questions about the Shoah. The resource provided should prove to be easy reading and quite informative to the teacher.

Resources:

Sachar, Howard. The Course of Modern Jewish History. Pages 504-556

International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences. Volume 3. The Macmillan Company and The Free Press Inc: USA, 1968.

Key Concepts:

Holocaust/Shoah: Also known as "the Catastrophe." The most tragic period of Jewish Diaspora history. It began on January 30, 1933 with the Nazi rise to power, and ended on May 8, 1945 with the unconditional surrender of Nazi Germany. The Hebrew word for the Holocaust, Shoah, is translated as a great consuming fire, which comes from the word "Churban" meaning sacrifice.

Nazi Party: Membership was largely from thousands of distraught German lower white-collar workers, all of whom were deeply affected by the economic crisis of the 1920s. They made appeals to German nationalism at the expense of Jews and Socialists.

Adolph Hitler: An Austrian who became the Dictator of the Third Reich, and the man responsible for organizing and executing the Holocaust against 6 million Jews and 5 million others.

Mein Kampf: "My Battle" a volume of work written by Adolf Hitler that became the bible of the Nazi faith.

Propaganda: A slanderous method used by the Nazis to encourage hatred and dislike for the Jews.

Nuremberg Laws: Laws established by the Nazis to take away civil rights and to de-humanize the Jews. (see attached sheet of the laws)

Dates: 1933: Adolf Hitler becomes Chancellor of Germany
1939-1945: WWII

Kristalnacht: November 9-10, 1938. The Night of the Broken Glass. A pogrom that occurred the night of November in Germany. Hundreds of Jewish homes, synagogues, and shops were desecrated and looted.

Warsaw Ghetto: The largest Jewish Ghetto in Europe with 500,000 Jews, located in Warsaw, Poland. The best known resistance from a Ghetto occurred here, led by commander Mordecai Anielewicz, Jews help up the Nazis for days. In the end, they were all killed or deported to camps, but their courage and defense against the Nazis will always be remembered.

Extermination Camps: Camps used by the Nazis to murder Jews. Jews would arrive from Ghettos or towns and would then be selected to work or to die. Those who were sent to death did so through the gas chambers. Those sent to work were given a translucent piece of cloth to wear (even during the harshest of winters), and were forced to do hard labor for 12-14 hours a day with only minimal "soup" (water) for food. These prisoners rarely lasted for more than a few months.

Dehumanization: A process used by the Nazis to effectively execute the Jews. This process assisted Aryans in blocking their perception of Jews as people who needed help; instead, Aryans viewed Jews as something less than human. By the time Jews reached the camps, they had already been stripped of their humanity and dignity. Thus, it was less likely for Jews to fight back and resist what was happening to them.

Auschwitz-Birkenau: Selected for its camouflaged appearance, this area was located in Southern Poland and extended into 40 square kilometers into northern Monrovia. The camp could hold 140,000 prisoners at a time and its five crematoria could burn 10,000 bodies a day.

Dr Joseph Mengele: A Doctor in the camps who performed unspeakable experiments on twins and other Jews. His experiments ranged from breaking a bone on one twin to see whether or not the other twin could feel anything, to seeing the effects of lack of oxygen on the brain.

Adolph Eichmann: An Austrian in charge of the over-all implementation of the Final Solution.

Goals:

1. To give students a historical understanding of the Shoah.
2. To provide students with the main concepts of the Shoah (key concepts).
3. To explore one of the largest tragedies of the world.

Objectives:

At the end of this unit, Students Should Be Able To (SSBAT):

- define key concepts
- identify key personalities from the Shoah
- compare and contrast the concepts of "Shoah" and "Holocaust"

Suggested Core Learning Activities:

- Locate some of the propaganda for Germans to join the NAZI party. Discuss the documents; what do they say, how are they misleading, and how does the class feel about them. Discuss what the party stands for, who leads it, and why might a German find the party attractive. What other issues in Germany at that time might play into the decision to join the NAZI party. (Economic struggles, political upheaval in the government, etc) (propaganda material is located at the end of this unit)
- Study the death statistics from a random day at Auschwitz-Birkenau. Try to locate a "schedule" from a day in the concentration camp. Discuss the hardships that people endured in these camps, and the possible lives that were taken, and the system for selection of life verses death at the camps. How does the class feel about the dehumanization process that took place at the camps? Was there any way to remain human in unbearable and inhumane conditions?

Additional Learning Activities:

- Use a map and decipher where the following countries are located: Germany, Poland, Hungary, Italy, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Greece, and Denmark.
- Pretend the class is a group of lawyers. Study the Nuremberg Laws and compare them with the USA Constitutional Law on Civil Rights. How are they different? Could there ever be American laws that are similar to the Nuremberg Laws? (information is attached to the back of this section)
- Watch *Schindler's List* and discuss the film based on information studied in the classroom. Study guides are available from the Shoah Foundation (see Resources section).

- Pretend that students are Jewish business people whose shops were destroyed during Kristallnacht. Have them write a letter to their Jewish relatives in America to describe what has happened to them. They should relate their emotions, what happened, and how they plan on handling this tragedy.

Guide to Resources for Unit One

Propaganda material is for the class to explore the pictures and slanderous phrases used by the Third Reich in order to obtain membership and support for the NAZI party.

The *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* provides excellent material on the USA Constitutional laws on civil rights. Included in this excerpt is information on civil rights as well as a small comparison of American laws and the Third Reich laws. (focus on pages 312-313)

1924

Adolf Hitler freed after eight months

Dec 20. Adolf Hitler, the German Nazi leader who tried to topple the government in a beer hall coup, was paroled today after serving just eight months in prison. The original sentence was five years, and even that was considered lenient.

Hitler was convicted last April of high treason, but he was treated royally by the guards at the fortress in Landsberg. He was given his own room with a magnificent view over the River Lech, and vistors were allowed to come with gifts. Hitler spent much of his time dictating a book to an old friend and colleague named Rudolf Hess (→ 7/18/25).

Mein Kampf tells Hitler's policies

July 18. Adolf Hitler has published a book that he dictated to Rudolf Hess during his imprisonment last year in the jail at Landsberg. The book appears to have many objectives. It is a demagogic appeal to the German people, a manual for Hitler's growing National Socialist Party, and a personal testament. The title is "Mein Kampf," or "My Struggle." Hitler calls for a national revival and a battle against communism and Jews. And he expresses his faith in German solidarity. Hitler dedicates the book to his followers who died in the streets of Munich after his abortive putsch (→ 11/9).

First edition of "Mein Kampf."

1925

Hitler reorganizes his banned party

Feb 27. In Germany, Adolf Hitler has been out of prison for only two months. But he wasted little time in reorganizing the political party which was banned after the failed putsch at the Burgerbrau Keller, a beer hall in Munich.

Hitler chose another beer hall today, the Hofbrau, to announce the resurgence of his German National Socialist Workers Party. His military ally, General Ludendorff, was noticeably absent. But Hitler was surrounded by other colleagues who believe in the Nazi cause, including Julius Schaub, Julius Streicher, Gottfried Feder and Herman Esser.

In his party newspaper, Hitler is promising "a new beginning." He renounces the use of force, and he pledges to gain power only through legal means.

It is not clear yet how the German people will react to Hitler's party. Right-wing parties have declined in favor since the abortive putsch in 1923. Hitler impressed many people with his impassioned, nationalistic statements at his trial. But most of the country forgot him while he was in prison.

Fervent followers, however, expect Hitler to make good on the promises he made at the trial. "The army we have formed is growing from day to day," Hitler said. "I nourish the proud hope that one day the hour will come when these rough companies will grow to battalions, the battalions to regiments, the regiments to divisions, and that the old flags will fly again" (→ 4/25).

1933

FEBRUARY

Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
			1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8	9	10	11
12	13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24	25
26	27	28				

1. Berlin: Hitler wins dissolution of Reichstag (→ 2).

1. Bucharest: Rumanians destroy Standard Oil office.

2. Augusto Sandino, rebel leader for six years, meets with Nicaraguan pres. in Managua (→ 8/2).

2. Berlin: Hitler places curbs on leftist opposition (— 6).

4. U.S.S.R.: Thousands forced out of Leningrad under new passport system (→ 12/29/34).

5. Java: Native mutineers seize Dutch battleship.

5. Istanbul: Moslem Turks rebel at Arabic prayer ban (→ 1/9/34).

6. Berlin: Reich begins press censorship (→ 27).

6. U.S. adopts 20th Amendment, shortening "lame duck" period.

11. Hoover reserves 1.6 million acres in Ingo County, Calif., for Death Valley Natl. Monument.

14. Detroit defaults on $400 million debt (→ 3/5).

14. Boxer Ernie Schaff, KO'd by Primo Carnera, dies in N.Y.

16. Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Yugoslavia extend Little Entente.

17. League censures Japan in worldwide broadcast (→ 25).

20. Washington: House passes dry law repeal, sends to states for ratification (→ 3/22).

21. Cordell Hull named to FDR Cabinet (→ 3/4).

25. Sir Arthur Wauchope, British high comm. in Palestine, rejects Arab demand for outlawing sale of Arab lands (→ 10/27).

25. The Ranger, first U.S. aircraft carrier, launched at Newport News, Virginia.

26. California: Ground broken for Golden Gate Bridge (→ 4/1937).

28. Playwright Bertolt Brecht leaves Germany (→ 3/1).

BIRTH

5. Henri Costa Gavras, Greek-born film director.

DEATH

5. Pat O'Sullivan, American cartoonist, "Felix the Cat."

Mysterious fire destroys Reichstag

Feb 27-28. A quickly moving fire gutted the German Reichstag in Berlin last night. The chamber where the legislature meets has been reduced to rubble and ashes. Police arrested a young man near the scene of the fire and charged him with setting it. The suspect is identified as a Communist, and the government of Adolf Hitler wasted no time in linking the fire to a Communist conspiracy. "Now you can see what Germany and Europe have to look for from Communism," Hitler is quoted as saying today.

The Associated Press reported early this morning that Minister Hermann Goering used the fire as a pretext to place all 100 Communist members of the Reichstag under arrest. Politicians under arrest will not be able to campaign in the legislative elections, which are less than one week away.

Smoke was first noticed by a police officer on patrol in the Reichstag at 9:00 last night. Before sending an alarm, the officer fired several shots at men seen running from the scene. The officer says he seized one of them, the young suspect said to be a Communist and identified as Marinus Van der Lubbe.

By the time the firefighters arrived, the blaze had already spread in many directions. Whoever started the fire apparently set a match to furniture piled on rugs. The wood paneling, chairs and desks in the Reichstag chamber were all very dry, and they burned easily. The flames crawled to the very top of the elegant, Italian Renaissance chamber and caused the ornate glass ceiling to crash to the floor.

Ten thousand Berliners heard the fire alarm and rushed to police barricades around the burning Reichstag. In the crowd were Hitler, Goering and Vice Chancellor Franz von Papen. The brave firefighters stopped the fire before it burned through the cupola in the Reichstag. They also saved the library and reading room, where countless, priceless documents are stored.

Chancellor Hitler placed Goering in charge of the investigation into the fire. Before dawn, police were rounding up Communists and locking them up until the investiga-

The Reichstag in flames: Communist terror or simply a pretext for rep

an emergency decree which suspended constitutional guarantees of individual freedom, freedom of the press, private property and the secrecy of postal communications. Communist newspapers were shut down until the election, and suspected Communist meeting places were closed. Parts of Berlin have begun to look more and more like a police state. The regular police, backed up by Nazi auxiliaries armed with rifles, patrolled through many neighborhoods in armored cars.

Hitler's opponents are questioning his accusation that Communists are responsible for the Reichstag fire. They wonder what the Communists could have hoped to gain. They also ask why the 24-year-old Dutchman accused of the arson would have allowed himself to be captured with all his identification

munists is an outgrowth of t ernment repression which h on the rise since Hitler becam cellor one month ago. Thre after he took power, he o homes of Communists se without warrants. All their ings have been either ban strictly controlled. Before t last night, scores of Comm disappeared underground b of the increasing harassment.

Communists were not th targets. Catholics have be tacked by Nazis. And two provincial governors and chiefs were dismissed by G and replaced by National Soc Much of the German popula in a state of panic as the ele approach. Hitler apparently they will turn to his Nazi Par the program of National Soc

Nazis sending Jews to prison camps

Aug 29. From Germany this month came official confirmation that Nazis are arresting large numbers of Jews and sending them to concentration camps. Some have been imprisoned for fighting storm troops, others for insulting the state, some for merely "consorting with German girls" and one for imitating the Nazi salute. The outlawed Socialist Party has reported that 45,000 prisoners are being held in 65 camps, the largest at Dachau. The London Times reports that many prisoners are being held for their political views, are poorly fed and are beaten by Nazi guards (→ 9/1).

Nazis enforce ban on Jewish merchants

Boycott posters and an SA guard, a forbidding barrier outside a Jewish

April 1. The billboards have been up in Germany for 24 hours, and the boycott is in effect today. "Jews the world over are trying to crush the new Germany," the signs read. "German people, defend yourselves! Do not buy from Jews!"

Until yesterday, Adolf Hitler's government tried to distance itself from this boycott of Jewish businesses. The official explanation was that the action was the idea of Nazi citizens. That deception vanished last night when one of Hitler's m ters, Dr. Paul Joseph Goeb gave a fiercely anti-Semitic sp and explained to an excited a ence how the boycott would w

Goebbels claimed that the cott is temporary. But the Min of Popular Enlightenment Propaganda also threatened to tinue it unless Jews around world stop their boycott of Ger goods and stop accusing the man government of atrocities (–

Nazis pass law to purify German race

July 26. For months now, Germans have been hearing from the Nazis about the "perfection of the Aryan race." Today, Adolf Hitler's government announced a new program to weed out Germans who are less than perfect. Doctors will sterilize them for the glory of the Reich.

Under the new law, men and women will be sterilized if they are idiots or schizophrenics, if they suffer from depression, epilepsy or chorea, or if they have physical weaknesses, like deafness or blindness, that are serious or hereditary.

The law does not specify whether certain races will be sterilized.

It says Germans should consent to sterilization voluntarily. But it also says that minors can be sterilized involuntarily with the consent of their guardians.

"Aryan" Hitler at Nuremburg.

The new law shows that Hitler's government is committed to its racial ideology and is willing to interfere with nature if necessary (— 31).

1938:

Crystal Night horror

Victimized Jewish merchants sweep up broken glass in the aftermath.

Nov 9. Throughout Berlin tonight, anti-Semitism exploded. Young Nazis went on a rampage, killing Jews at random, destroying stores owned by Jews and setting fire to the largest synagogue.

More than 90 people were killed, most of them Jewish merchants. Thousands of store windows were smashed in what is being called "Crystal Night." Hundreds of homes and Jewish places of worship were set on fire or ransacked.

The violence was unleashed after the assassination of Ernst von Rath, Third Secretary of the German Embassy in Paris. The killer was a teenaged Polish Jew, Herschel Grynspan. He said that he was avenging the treatment of his parents in Germany.

"Being a Jew is not a crime," Grynspan told police in Paris. "I am not a dog. I have a right to live and the Jewish people have a right to exist on this earth. Wherever I have been, I have been chased like an animal."

The men who looted and killed in Berlin were all dressed in civilian clothes. But many of them wore boots normally worn with Nazi uniforms; and they drove party cars.

Before the night of horror, Jewish leaders in Berlin tried in vain to publicize their opposition to the assassination in Paris. They were stymied. The Propaganda Ministry had already issued a decree banning all Jewish publications (→ 1/17/39).

Germans gaze upon a Jewish-owned shop destroyed in Berlin during Kristallnacht. *The broken glass symbolized the anti-Semitism Hitler had fostered in Germany during the 1920s and 1930s.*

Jewish store owners inspect the damage done by Nazi thugs on *Kristallnacht*. Systematic persecution of Jews would follow.

Reichsbürgergesetz.

Vom 15. September 1935.

Der Reichstag hat einstimmig das folgende Gesetz beschlossen, das hiermit verkündet wird:

§ 1

(1) Staatsangehöriger ist, wer dem Schutzverband des Deutschen Reiches angehört und ihm dafür besonders verpflichtet ist.

(2) Die Staatsangehörigkeit wird nach den Vorschriften des Reichs- und Staatsangehörigkeitsgesetzes erworben.

§ 2

(1) Reichsbürger ist nur der Staatsangehörige deutschen oder artverwandten Blutes, der durch sein Verhalten beweist, daß er gewillt und geeignet ist, in Treue dem Deutschen Volk und Reich zu dienen.

(2) Das Reichsbürgerrecht wird durch Verleihung des Reichsbürgerbriefes erworben.

(3) Der Reichsbürger ist der alleinige Träger der vollen politischen Rechte nach Maßgabe der Gesetze.

§ 3

Der Reichsminister des Innern erläßt im Einvernehmen mit dem Stellvertreter des Führers die zur Durchführung und Ergänzung des Gesetzes erforderlichen Rechts- und Verwaltungsvorschriften.

Nürnberg, den 15. September 1935,
am Reichsparteitag der Freiheit.

Der Führer und Reichskanzler
Adolf Hitler

Der Reichsminister des Innern
Frick

The Reich Citizenship Law of September 15, 1935

Exhibit 5 *The Holocaust*

NUREMBERG LAWS ON REICH CITIZENSHIP, SEPTEMBER 15, 1935

Reich Citizenship Law
September 15, 1935

The Reichstag has unanimously enacted the following law, which is promulgated herewith:

§ 1

1) A subject of the State is a person who enjoys the protection of the German Reich and who in consequence has specific obligations towards it.
2) The status of subject of the State is acquired in accordance with the provisions of the Reich and State Citizenship Law.

§ 2

1) A Reich citizen is a subject of the State who is of German or related blood, who proves by his conduct that he is willing and fit faithfully to serve the German people and Reich.
2) Reich citizenship is acquired through the granting of a Reich Citizenship Certificate.
3) The Reich citizen is the sole bearer of full political rights in accordance with the Law.

§ 3

The Reich Minister of the Interior, in coordination with the Deputy of the Führer, will issue the Legal and Administrative orders required to implement and complete this Law.

Nuremberg, September 15, 1935
at the Reich Party Congress of Freedom

The Führer and Reich Chancellor
Adolf Hitler
The Reich Minister of the Interior
Frick

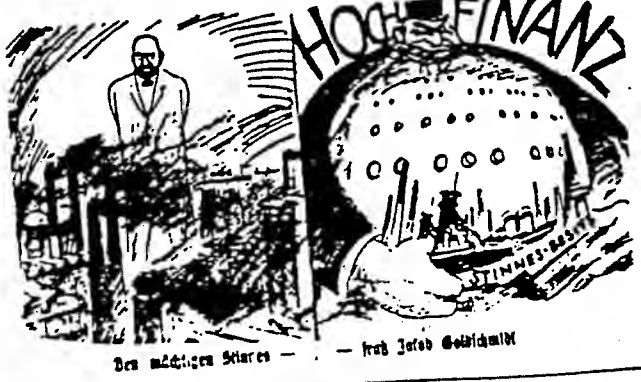
Reichsgesetzblatt, I, 1935, p. 1146.

Ja Kommunistin 1922

Stinnes repariert — — seine Finanzen.

Der Angriff 19. III. 28

Arbeiter, hört!



Stinnes as seen by the left wing press in 1922:

Only the ten-hour day can solve this mess.
Of course we'll pay the worker less.

Pay reparations – quickly, without pain
And then – fill our pockets once again

The unemployed out on the streets
Have nothing now at all to eat.

For the fatherland (and our profits) to bloom
All, all must meet their doom!

And as portrayed by the Nazis in 1928 as a victim of the Jews (*Der Angriff*, 19 March 1928):

The mighty Stinnes – eaten up by Jacob Goldsmith.

PERSECUTION OF CHRISTIANS AND MURDER OF PRIESTS IN THE RUSSIAN PARADISE!

Up to 1928, 28 Bishops and 1200 priests murdered. Between 1928 and 1929 another 30 bishops and 1348 priests disappeared. Nothing more has been heard from them. Additionally thousands of other clergymen have died a martyr's death and thousands of nuns have been raped and murdered. At present 37,000 priests and over 8000 monks are languishing in the dungeons of the Tscheka or in the hell of Siberia. This report and a list of other repulsive atrocities, carried out by Bolshevik animals, was made public by the St. Elisabeth envoy in Nuremberg. The war is entirely directed against priests, nuns, the churches and schools. *Why this spiritual persecution*?

There are men who want to rule without God. Of them, Christ once said, 'The devil is their father. They are murderers from the outset. Hypocrites. Adders. These men are not like other men. In their secret texts they have set out how they will come to power, how they will come to rule the earth, how they will oppress the non-Jews. Their strategy is as follows:

The natural enemy of Israel is the christian church. Therefore it is necessary to destroy it. Its own divisions make the task easier. Support freethinking, doubt, disbelief and conflict. *Therefore constant war in the press against christian priests;* – promote suspicion, mock them. A major pillar of the church is the school. Gain influence over the christian upbringing of youth. *Split the churches from the schools*. Under the slogan of progress and equal treatment for all religions, change christian schools into confessionless (i.e. state) schools. Then Jewish teachers can work in all schools. Press for the abolition of all church and school property, its transfer to the state, therefore sooner or later into the hands of Israel.

BOLSHEVISM IS PERSECUTION OF CHRISTIANS BY THE JEWS!

Hundreds of thousands of examples could be given. So go to meetings of the National Socialists and hear the explanation. A leaflet is too small to set out all the various interconnections. Read anti-semitic newspapers and books, then check the facts by comparison with daily happenings! You can't change the Jew, any more than you can stop rust destroying iron. You can only keep it at bay. The Jew has to destroy. But you don't have to put up with his destruction.

First the monarchy must be abolished, then the military. After that the spiritual leaders and intelligentsia. Then the Jew is master and we the slaves – circus animals, beasts of burden for the Jews.

If you want that to happen, then stay with the present-day parties, who don't want to suppress this Jewish mania; then carry on reading those newspapers which remain silent about all this. If you want things to change though, then fight with our leaders for a Germany under German leadership, join the

NATIONAL SOCIALIST GERMAN WORKERS PARTY – Vote for List 9.

Reichstag Election
14.9.1930

GERMAN FARMERS!

Farmers, it is a matter of your house and home!

We told you years ago but you didn't listen, just like the rest of the German people. The middle classes should have listened during the years of the insane inflation. Now they have been annihilated: their possessions and savings have been stolen – expropriated!

The German worker expected the revolution to bring honour and beauty into his life. Now he is (to the extent that he can find work) the starving wage-slave of the Bank-Jews.

AND NOW IT'S YOUR TURN GERMAN FARMERS!

Factories, forests, railways, taxes and the state's finances have all been robbed by the Jew. Now he's stretching his greedy fingers towards the last German possession – the German countryside.

You farmer, will be chased from your plot of earth, which you have inherited from your forefathers since time immemorial.

Insatiable Jewish race-lust and fanaticism are the driving forces behind this devilish attempt to break Germany's backbone through the annihilation of the German farming community.

Wake up! Listen to something other than the daily twaddle printed in your local rags, which have hidden the truth from you for years.

Doesn't it open your eyes when you see the economy of the countryside being crippled by unnaturally high taxes, while you have no commensurate income to set off against this because of low prices for livestock and grain?

Don't you see the vile plan?! The same Jews who control **the monopoly on sales of nitrogen, calcium and phosphorus**, thereby dictating to you the high price of essential fertilizers, never give you a just price for your produce on the *Stock Exchange*.

Huge imports of frozen meat and foreign grain, at lowest prices, undercut you and push down your earnings.

The protective tariffs which the state has imposed are insufficient – not to say worthless. That same state is totally Jew-ridden in all its organs, and today can be called Germany in name only.

Nevertheless the prices of groceries are rising sharply in the towns day by day, driving your hungry German brothers to despair. Under the eyes of the so-called authorities the Jew is running a lucrative **middle-man Stock Exchange**.

GERMAN FARMER
YOU BELONG TO HITLER!
WHY?

The German farmer stands in between two great dangers today:

The one danger is the American economic system – Big capitalism!

it means 'world economic crisis'
it means 'eternal interest slavery'...
it means that the world is nothing more than a bag of booty for Jewish finance in Wall Street, New York and Paris
it enslaves man under the slogans of progress, technology, rationalisation, standardisation, etc.
it knows only profit and dividends
it wants to make the world into a giant trust
it puts the machine over man
it annihilates the independent earth-rooted farmer, and its final aim is the world dictatorship of Jewry...

it achieves this in the political sphere, through parliament and the swindle of democracy. In the economic sphere, through the control of credit, the mortgaging of land, the Stock Exchange and the Market principle...
The Farmer's Leagues, the Landvolk and the Bavarian Farmers' League all pay homage to this system.

The other danger is the Marxist economic system of BOLSHEVISM:

it knows only the State economy
it knows only one class, the proletariat
it brings in the controlled economy
it doesn't just annihilate the self-sufficient farmer economically – it roots him out...
it brings the rule of the tractor
it nationalises the land and creates mammoth factory-farms
it uproots and destroys man's soul, making him the powerless tool of the communist idea – or kills him
it destroys the family, belief and customs...
it is anti-Christ, it desecrates the churches...

its final aim is the world-dictatorship of the proletariat, that means ultimately the world dictatorship of Jewry, for the Jew controls this powerless proletariat and uses it for his dark plans

Big Capitalism and Bolshevism work hand in hand; they are born of Jewish thought and serve the master plan of world Jewry.

Who alone can rescue the farmer from these dangers?

NATIONAL SOCIALISM!

International Encyclopedia of the SOCIAL SCIENCES

DAVID L. SILLS EDITOR

USA
1968

VOLUME 3

The Macmillan Company & The Free Press

ing one, for other countries (e.g., the German Federal Republic, Italy, India) to adopt judicial review in some form, and as history proceeds there will be a growing body of evidence on the relation between civil liberties and this once uniquely American institution.

ROBERT G. MCCLOSKEY

[*See also* CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE; DEMOCRACY; EQUALITY; FREEDOM; HUMAN RIGHTS.]

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IV
CIVIL RIGHTS

Although the terms "civil rights" and "civil liberties" are often used interchangeably, when they are differentiated the latter generally denotes the rights of *individuals,* while the former refers to the constitutional and legal status and treatment of *minority groups* that are marked off from the majority by race, religion, or national origin. The following illustration will show the difference. In the United States since the end of slavery, there has never been any question about the Negro's equal rights to freedom of religion or freedom of the press—basic *civil liberties*; at the same time, he could be treated as a member of his race, and not as an individual, with respect to the schools he could attend and the public facilities he could enjoy—basic *civil rights.* The distinction between the person as an individual and the person as a member of a group has its roots in history, morality, and social psychology. Reinhold Niebuhr noted that

> It may be possible, though it is never easy, to establish just relations between individuals within a group purely by moral and rational suasion and accommodation. In inter-group relations this is practically an impossibility. The relations between groups must therefore always be predominantly political rather than ethical, that is, they will be determined by the proportion of power which each group possesses at least as much as by any rational and moral appraisal of the comparative needs and claims of each group. (1932, pp. xxii–xxiii)

While individual and group rights are to be differentiated, it is probably true that there is no chance for the emergence of the latter if the former are denied, so that the struggle for civil liberties must first be won and the fundamental human rights vindicated and secured before minority rights will be recognized. The struggle for civil rights cannot be conducted for those who are yet denied basic human rights.

In the broad sweep of history—though no doubt there have been numerous exceptions—the relations of a dominant majority toward a weak minority group, or of the conqueror toward the defeated enemy, first took the form of total annihilation or of cannibalism; then the form of slavery or total subjection; then the milder yet still severe form of assignment to an inferior caste; then cooperation and equality. Yet in modern times all forms have coexisted: in Nazi Germany the Jewish people were exterminated, in India the Untouchables still suffer because of the caste system, and in the United States the Negroes are moving into full equality. Even in the ancient world, while Aristotle was teaching that non-Hellenic peoples were fit only for slavery, his former pupil, Alexander of Macedon, acted on the principle that Greeks and Persians, victors and vanquished, could associate on the basis of equality and fraternity.

On one hand, one finds everywhere and at all times fear and hatred of the foreigner, the stranger, the man of different color or tongue or beliefs; on the other hand, there is evidence of an effort of the human consciousness to be aware of the universal in all men, of a common bond and a common destiny. "The universal in its true and inclusive sense is a thought," Hegel said, "that it has

cost thousands of years to bring to human consciousness, and that received its full recognition only through the aid of Christianity. The Greeks knew neither God nor man in their true universality" ([1817] 1841, p. 321). This is too sweeping a judgment, for Stoicism of the Hellenistic age taught the ideal of the cosmopolis, or world state, in which all men, Greek and barbarian, urban and rural, would enjoy equality; but it is true that the ideals of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of men found their clearest expression in the Hebrew prophets and Christian teachings. In time, Stoic and Biblical ideals became fused in various schools of natural law that dominated political thought in the West down to the nineteenth century. Thus, denial of equality to minority groups could and was challenged in the name of religion or political theory or philosophy. In modern times the denial of equality to religious, racial, and ethnic minorities also assumed ideological and even religious formulations in theories of racial inferiority and in various political ideologies; but with respect to all such formulations, Arnold Toynbee's judgment seems appropriate: "The present vogue of racialism in the West," he wrote, "however, has really little to do with current scientific hypotheses. A prejudice so strong as this cannot be accounted for by a cause so rational" (1934).

Until World War I one could hardly speak of a struggle for civil rights; one could see only a record of oppressions and persecutions of minority groups. But then came an awakening of nationalism, and, at least in Europe, oppressed nations became independent, and minority religious and ethnic groups within nations were guaranteed their collective rights by constitutions and international treaties. Although these guarantees generally proved ineffective, they were significant for recognizing the moral claims of minorities.

The claims became universal and reached a climax at the end of World War II. First the Indian subcontinent won freedom in 1947, then Indonesia, then in 1957 the Gold Coast (Ghana), in Africa. In 1945, when the United Nations was organized, the white race of Europe and North America dominated the world. The UN Charter was signed by fifty nations. By the 1960s the UN had over 100 members, more than thirty of them new African nations; and the white race had begun to recognize its own minority status. Almost throughout the world there was violence. However, whereas in former centuries what was obvious was the oppressive measures imposed upon minorities by the dominant group, now one saw minority groups resort to violence against what they considered to be oppressive majorities: for example, Turks against Greeks in Cyprus; Kurds against Arabs in Iraq; Negroes against East Indians in British Guiana; Muslims against Hindus in India; and Hindus against Muslims in Pakistan. In some countries, as in Belgium and India, there were struggles over language rights. No minority group was willing to remain in a position of relative inferiority and subjection. In some instances the struggle for civil rights was against a dominant minority, as by Buddhists against Roman Catholics in South Vietnam or by the nine million African Negroes against the three million whites in the Republic of South Africa. Sometimes the struggle for civil rights, as on behalf of the three million Jews in the Soviet Union, was conducted by concerned persons living outside the area (the Jews of Israel and of the West). The pattern, when viewed ecumenically, is extremely complex.

Apart from national emancipation after World War I and the winning of independence by the peoples of Asia and Africa after World War II, the most dramatic developments in the struggle for civil rights have been in India, the United States, and in international organizations. These will be reviewed briefly.

India. More than fifty million Indians were deemed to be Untouchables by birth and were prevented by custom and law from social and religious contact with other Hindus. For decades Mohandas K. Gandhi had led a nonviolent struggle for their equality. When India became a member of the (British) Commonwealth of Nations and adopted a constitution in 1949, the Untouchables won official political, economic, and social equality. This equality affected their status as well as their competitive opportunity, thus striking at the roots of the caste idea of "outcastes." In guaranteeing the right of equality, the constitution states that the state shall not discriminate against any citizen on account of caste; that no citizen shall, on the ground of caste, be subject to restriction in access to or use of shops, restaurants, public wells, and tanks; and that the practice of untouchability is forbidden. The constitution also guarantees the practice of any calling without restriction and provides that the state shall promote "with special care" the educational and economic interests of "the weaker sections of the people" and shall protect them "from social injustice and all forms of exploitation." The law grants former Untouchables preferential treatment by the government in jobs and offices and reserves for them educational and professional opportunities.

The struggle for equality has been helped not

only by law but also by certain material forces, notably expanding urbanism and industrialism and the growth of transport and communications.

However, factors have developed that tend to perpetuate, and even to strengthen, the caste organization of Indian society: all castes, high and low, have become corporate political bodies that court favor and power, so that elections are fought on caste lines, party tickets tend to be formed on the same bases, and recruitment and promotions reflect caste consciousness. Caste associations have grown in number and strength. At the National Integration Conference in 1961, President Radhakrishnan stated that although caste is ceasing to be a social evil, it has become a political and administrative evil. Caste loyalties are utilized for the purpose of winning elections or getting people into jobs, for exercising some kind of favoritism or nepotism. It is doubtful, however, that untouchability is no longer a "social evil," for the vast majority of the caste, illiterate and economically weak, submit silently to continued discriminations; and in a country where there is substantial unemployment, it is natural that members of the most depressed classes should suffer continued discrimination rather than run the risk of losing their jobs through retaliation and intensified prejudice. In any case, India demonstrates the difficulties involved in establishing civil rights in traditional societies.

United States. The first civil rights challenge in the United States was presented by the Indians. As the white man pushed westward, he demanded more and more of the Indians' land. Congress in 1830 enacted the Indian Removal Act, which was based on the assumption that segregation would end the conflict between the races, as land would be provided for the Indians in western territory and the whites would occupy all of the eastern lands. Coupled with land hunger was the policy of putting Indian cultures and tribal organizations into the "melting pot," where they would be destroyed, and of converting Indians from hunters and fishermen into farmers and cattlemen. Cultural, social, and economic assimilation would, at the same time, make available much of the "surplus" Indian lands, which consisted of 150 million acres in 1873. The policy was expressed in the General Allotment Act of 1887, called the Dawes Act, under which it was possible to individualize the Indian landholdings and to permit Indians to dispose of the land as they wished. Citizenship could be acquired by Indians as they left their tribes and chose to live among the civilized people. By 1933, two-thirds of the lands held by the Indians in 1887 had been lost.

An act of 1924 gave citizenship to all Indians, but as late as 1956 there were states that denied them the franchise. Other discriminatory practices, some of them required by law or regulation, were prohibited by a 1934 statute. In the same year Congress enacted the Indian Reorganization Act, the most comprehensive law since 1887. Under its terms, Indian landholdings were increased and land conservation measures were introduced; the organization of Indian tribes was reinvigorated, and tribal customs and laws were given dignity and power; liberal credit policies were established to aid the tribes and individual Indians. The law encouraged respect for Indian cultural life and institutions, especially Indian arts and crafts (under an act of 1935).

Government policy in the 1950s reversed the trends and reverted to pre-1934 positions; in 1961, however, there was again a fundamental change in course when the federal government apparently returned to the Indian policies of the Franklin D. Roosevelt and Truman administrations. Federal policy thus fluctuates between a desire not to recognize the Indians as in any way differentiated from the rest of the population, and thus not entitled to any special claims or rights, and a desire to afford them an opportunity to develop their own styles of life and to protect them against greed and prejudice. Thus, there is a conflict between total assimilation and cultural pluralism. While the Indian encounters varying degrees of prejudice and discrimination in many parts of the country, his friends continue to debate his future between the poles of integration and disintegration of Indian life and culture.

The Negro presented problems of a different complexity and order, for after emancipation he had to bear the memory, habits, and history of slavery; he had no indigenous culture and tribal life that he wanted to preserve; he could never claim that he once owned all the land. His skin was darker, he originally came from another continent, and he could be counted in the millions; and there were no large reservations where he could make his home—he had to live in close proximity to those who had been his masters.

At the end of the Civil War and after adoption of the thirteenth amendment, which outlawed slavery and peonage, Congress proceeded to ensure equality for the four million freedmen by providing for their "personal liberty, personal security," and their "free enjoyment" of "immunities and rights." "Civil rights" began with passage on April 9, 1866, of "An Act to Protect All Persons in the United States in Their Civil Rights, and Furnish the Means of Their Vindication." Since the act's constitution-

ality was doubted, two months later Congress passed the fourteenth amendment, which was ratified in 1868. Under its terms, Negroes became citizens of the United States and of the states wherein they resided; the amendment provided, too, that no state shall deprive any person of his life, liberty, or property without due process of law nor deny to any person the equal protection of the laws. The fifteenth amendment, ratified in 1870, provided that the right to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

To implement these constitutional provisions, Congress, until the end of Reconstruction in 1877, enacted a series of civil rights acts. The most important of them was the Civil Rights Act of 1875, which prohibited racial discrimination in inns, public conveyances, theaters, and other places of public amusement. From the debates on this act in Congress, it is clear that its purpose was to wipe out all the incidents and badges of slavery. In 1883 the Supreme Court held the act unconstitutional on the ground that the statute prohibited racial discrimination by *private individuals*, while the fourteenth amendment authorized congressional action only to enforce prohibitions on *state action*. Then in 1896 the Supreme Court, in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, upheld as constitutional state laws that required racial segregation in public conveyances, on the theory that "separate but equal" facilities were not a denial of equality. This decision was interpreted as extending the cloak of constitutionality to racial segregation in schools, all public buildings and institutions, restaurants, theaters, and all other public accommodations, publicly or privately operated. Racial segregation was the pattern in 17 southern and border states and in the District of Columbia.

The "separate but equal" rule was flagrantly flouted—separation was enforced, but equality was not provided. The schools and other facilities afforded Negroes were patently, and often grossly, inferior; for example, for 1951 the expenditure per pupil in average daily attendance for nine segregated states was $136.73 for white and $74.67 for Negro; and the average salary per member of staff was similarly disproportionate. In 1938, in a case brought by a Negro who sought admission to the law school of the state University of Missouri, and in 1950, in cases involving a Negro student of law at the University of Texas and a Negro graduate student in education at the University of Oklahoma, the Supreme Court questioned the way the "separate but equal" rule was operating and raised serious doubt whether this rule could be used at all in graduate and professional studies without denying the Negroes' constitutional right to equal protection under the fourteenth amendment. In the field of interstate transportation, also, in cases decided in 1946 and 1950, the Supreme Court considerably weakened the constitutional underpinnings of racial segregation. The deathblow to *de jure* racial segregation came in 1954, in *Brown* v. *Board of Education of Topeka* (347 U.S. 483), in which the Court unanimously upheld the contention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) that segregated public schools are not "equal" and cannot be made "equal." In subsequent cases the Court outlawed segregation in state colleges and universities, transportation, parks, municipal golf courses, public beaches, and wherever the state participated in a property's maintenance.

Compliance with the mandate to desegregate public facilities was resisted in the 17 affected states, especially with respect to public schools, and particularly in Mississippi and Alabama. Under the banner of "states' rights," all sorts of devices were resorted to by segregationists to nullify the orders of the federal courts; and the segregation forces attempted to paralyze the NAACP so that it might not continue its legal defense operations in the south.

In 1955 and 1956, under the leadership of Martin Luther King, Jr., a Negro minister, the Negroes of Montgomery, Alabama, engaged in a boycott of the segregated buses in that city. King was a follower of Gandhi and Thoreau in his philosophy of nonviolent resistance to immoral or unconstitutional laws and customs. Three years later, under NAACP leadership, Negro high-school students in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, launched a sit-in demonstration at lunch counters in chain stores to win nonsegregated service. At Greensboro, North Carolina, in 1960 several Negro college students staged a sit-in at a lunch counter, spontaneously and without organizational support. These instances served as a pattern for what soon became a widespread movement throughout the southern and the border states against segregation in privately owned places of public accommodation. In many cities the sit-in demonstrations were successful; but everywhere in the affected states and cities there was massive resistance, and white extremists often resorted to violence and even murder. The situation was aggravated by attempts made by Negro organizations to induce Negroes to register as voters in places where they were systematically kept off the suffrage rolls.

When it became apparent that the situation had become intolerable, President John F. Kennedy submitted to Congress a comprehensive civil rights

bill to outlaw racial segregation in places of public accommodation, to eliminate discrimination in employment, to assure free suffrage to the Negro, and to end discriminatory practices in housing. The bill was based on the assumption that the Supreme Court would overrule or circumvent its decision in the so-called Civil Rights Cases of 1883, just as it had overruled *Plessy* v. *Ferguson* (1896) in 1954. Congress (following a filibuster in the Senate) passed the bill on July 2, 1964, and it was immediately signed by President Lyndon B. Johnson. Although Congress had passed civil rights acts in 1957 and 1960, the act of 1964 was the first really significant civil rights breakthrough in Congress since the end of Reconstruction in 1877.

The new federal law was not as necessary in the north as in the south. In 1865 Massachusetts enacted the first state law in the country banning racial discrimination in places of public accommodation. By 1900 there were similar statutes in 18 states; by 1960 there were 24. In 1945 New York became the first state to enact a fair employment practice act; by 1960 there were similar laws in 17 states. There was a network of related laws dealing with discrimination in housing and in education. The statutes barred discrimination on account of religion or national origin as well as on account of race or color. Yet the combination of criminal, civil, and administrative remedies provided by this complex of laws did not prevent the rise and spread of *de facto* racial segregation, especially in the northern urban centers, where Negro ghettos came into being and were enlarged by the Negro migrations from the south. In these ghettos the schools were almost exclusively Negro; the rate of unemployment was substantially higher than it was for white workers; the housing was substandard or constituted a slum area that was a breeding place for crime, delinquency, drug addiction—evils that in turn fostered unemployment, apathy, frustration. Under these circumstances, enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 did not bring to the Negroes of Harlem and other slum centers in the north promise of a new day, and in the summer of that year there were outbursts of violence in the Negro ghettos in Manhattan, Brooklyn, and Rochester, New York; Jersey City, New Jersey; and elsewhere.

These outbreaks of anger against the evils of *de facto* segregation precipitated two reactions: on the one hand, a white "backlash" against civil rights; on the other hand, a more widespread recognition of the fact that the movement for civil rights must be intimately linked with policies of full employment, greatly improved educational facilities and techniques for all economically underprivileged children, urban redevelopment that would provide better housing and neighborhoods for lower-income groups, and, in general, policies that would cope with the social, economic, and cultural aspects of the modern megalopolis. The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 and the creation, in 1965, of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, headed by the first Negro in the cabinet, were in part responses to civil rights challenges. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 was a major step toward implementing the fifteenth amendment and promised greater political power for the large masses of Negroes in the southern states.

International arena. The ideas of human dignity, equality, and fundamental human rights are deeply rooted. Numerous passages in the Old Testament command nations not to oppress the alien and the stranger and to protect the poor, the orphan, and the widow. At the same time, the pages of history record "man's inhumanity to man" that has made "countless thousands mourn." The struggle for equality has been aided by the revolution in travel and communication, and in technology generally, so that men see themselves as being interdependent more than they had ever been before. For example, Negroes in the United States know that the African peoples have won their independence and that their representatives have places of equal dignity and rights in international organizations and meetings; and this phenomenon has brought moral strength to U.S. Negroes, so that they demand, and struggle for, their rights as Americans and as members of the human family.

Lord Acton, in an address in 1877, stated that the "most certain test by which we judge whether a country is really free is the amount of security enjoyed by minorities" ([1861–1910] 1948, p. 33). It was not until the twentieth century that official agencies for judgment came into being. Following World War I, as we have noted, there was an attempt to protect some national minorities by treaties; the mandates system under the League of Nations should also be noted in this connection. But the international, programmatic promotion of minority protection and human rights in general was undertaken only after World War II. Articles 1 and 55 of the Charter of the United Nations were designed to promote and encourage respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction as to race, sex, or religion. UN bodies that work toward this end are the Third Committee of the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, the Human Rights Commission, the Commission on the Status of Women,

and the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities.

In 1948 the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a statement of principles to be implemented by subsequent conventions that would be binding on ratifying member states. In December 1965 the Assembly approved the convention on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination. An important feature of the convention was the provision that allowed ratifying nations to bind themselves to permit individuals or groups to charge their governments with violations.

Other international organizations that are concerned with these matters are UNESCO, the International Labour Organisation, the European Commission on Human Rights and the European Court of Human Rights, and the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights. Mention may also be made of the International Commission of Jurists and the International League for the Rights of Man.

While the European Convention on Human Rights has established compulsory machinery, the Commission and the Court, for dealing with cases involving violations of human rights, and the International Labour Organisation has established effective machinery for investigation and reports respecting certain areas of human rights, other agencies normally rely on implementation through reporting systems.

The chief utility of the agencies has been to expose to general view the facts of human rights violations and to win support for the claim that there is a universal law of humanity, under which individuals and groups (religious, racial, cultural, and national) should somehow be protected against attempts to destroy (genocide), discriminate against, or humiliate them. What Walter Bagehot called "government by discussion" (1872, chapter 5) has not come into existence in the international field; yet the open and vigorous discussion of human rights in governmental and nongovernmental agencies has done much to make meaningful the preamble to the UN Charter, which proclaims the determination of the nations "to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small. . . ."

Thus, a denial of civil rights—whether it takes place in Birmingham, Alabama, or in Birmingham, England, or in the U.S.S.R., or in South Africa, or in Bechuanaland, or in Algeria—is no longer a colonial domestic question, but has become a matter of universal concern, a concern that implies the belief (as stated by Pope John XXIII in *Pacem in terris* 1963) that human society is founded on the principle that every human being is a person, that his nature is endowed with intelligence and free will, that he has rights that flow directly from his very nature, and that these rights are universal, inviolable, and are such that they cannot in any way be surrendered.

MILTON R. KONVITZ

[*See also* ASSIMILATION; HUMAN RIGHTS; MINORITIES; RACE; RACE RELATIONS; SEGREGATION.]

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Unit Two: Ideologies on "Where is God in the Shoah?"

Introductory Statement:

This unit will focus on a few diverse ideologies that Philosophers have created regarding God's presence/absence in the Shoah. This will probably serve to be the most intense part of the curriculum, as studying these philosophers can be quite intellectually challenging. The teacher should have reviewed these ideologies in advance, and should perhaps read entire books rather than just the excerpts offered by this curriculum guide. Rubenstein stated "After Auschwitz we are thrust into the 'trial of darkness,' agnostic and believer (of any kind alike). The agnostic/humanist is there because human beings are proving to be self-destructive, not self-improving, simply because they come from aristocratic cultures. For believers, God is absent again and, for a time whose duration we do not know. In such a situation definitive answers of any kind become impossible. Every mystic, every skeptic, knows that. And the mystic is the skeptic's identical twin, because both believe firmly that final answers are not possible, one because human knowledge is not sufficient, the other because God always remains partially hidden." (PP 397) This quote exhibits a few of the possible attitudes towards God in the Shoah. There are agnostics, humanists, mystics and skeptics, people who believe that God was absent and people who believe that God was hidden. This unit is dedicated to the study of these beliefs about God in the Shoah, and therefore God in tragedy.

Resources:

Jonas, Hans. "The Concept of God after Auschwitz: A Jewish Voice"
Berkovits, Eliezer. "Faith After the Holocaust" PP 94-107
Deuteronomy 31:17-18
Psalm 44

Key Concepts:

God's presence in the Shoah:
"A Suffering God": a God who suffers along with God's creations/creatures.
"A becoming God": a God who emerges in time and experiences things with the world.
"A caring God": a God who is not remote or detached from God's creatures, but is instead connected and concerned about them.

God's absence in the Shoah:
"Hester Panim" or Hiding of the Face: a God who is hidden from those seeking God because of suffering. In Deuteronomy 31, the Hiding of the

Face refers to the anger and judging over the wicked. In Psalm 44 it refers to God simply being unaware and ignorant of the suffering of people.

Goals:

1. To expose students to various perspectives of God.
2. To explore differing views of God's role during the Shoah.
3. To provide a foundation of the following ideologies of God.
4. To allow students to use the knowledge from the class to support their own views of God.

Objectives:

At the end of this unit, Students Should Be Able To (SSBAT):

- Identify Elie Weisel, Hans Jonas, Eliezer Berkovits, Emil Fackenheim, and their ideologies.
- State their own God Ideology.
- Compare/contrast their own ideology with that of a philosopher.

Suggested Core Learning Activities:

- In order to effectively synthesize the various Philosophers and their ideologies, students should create their charts with the Philosophers' names and ideologies. As the class studies each ideology, the students should fill in the chart. When the chart is finished, the students should then write their own ideology of God in the Shoah, drawing on the Philosophies studied in class.
- Students can keep a journal of their thoughts as they study various perspectives of God. They should then use this journal as a way to reflect on their own personal view of God. At the conclusion of the unit, students could then write a piece, which compiles their various entries on their personal God ideology.

Additional Learning Activities:

- Students can "interview" people on their perspectives of God, and then match those views with the philosophers that they have studied in class.
- Students can read an excerpt from Weisel's Night and hold a discussion based on the reading.
- As a synthesis exercise, students can reflect on the topic: God in tragedy. Where is God? What control does God have over events in our lives? This could be an excellent topic for students to reflect and write about in their journals.

Guide to Readings for Unit Two

The Hans Jonas article discusses the concepts of the Suffering God, the Becoming God, and the Caring God. (Focus on pages 1-9)

The Eliezer Berkovits article discusses the concept of the Hidden God, where God hides itself from the sufferer. (Focus on pages 94-107)

The Tanakh excerpts suggest biblical references about God hiding Godself from future sufferers.

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THE JOURNAL OF RELIGION

Thébaud, *Just Gaming*

ROWLAND A. SHERRILL

Co...ion Life

...ower, *Modern Work and*

The Concept of God after Auschwitz: A Jewish Voice*

Hans Jonas / *New School for Social Research, New York*

When, with the honor of this award, I also accepted the burden of delivering the oration that goes with it, and when I read in the biography of Rabbi Leopold Lucas, in whose memory the prize is named, that he died in Theresienstadt, but that his wife Dorothea, mother of the donor, was then shipped on to Auschwitz, there to suffer the fate that my mother suffered there, too, there was no resisting the force with which the theme of this lecture urged itself on my choice. I chose it with fear and trembling. But I believed I owed it to those shadows that something like an answer to their long-gone cry to a silent God be not denied to them.

What I have to offer is a piece of frankly speculative theology. Whether this behooves a philosopher is a question I leave open. Immanuel Kant has banished everything of the kind from the territory of theoretical reason and hence from the business of philosophy; and the logical positivism of our century, the entire dominant analytical creed, even denies to the linguistic expressions such reasonings employ for their purported subject matters this very object-significance itself, that is, any conceptual meaning at all, declaring already—prior to questions of truth and verification—the mere speech about them to be nonsensical. At this, to be sure, old Kant himself would have been utterly astounded. For he, to the contrary, held these alleged non-objects to be the highest objects of all, about which reason can never cease to be concerned, although it cannot hope ever to obtain a knowledge of them and in their pursuit is necessarily doomed to failure by the

* This is my translation of a lecture I delivered in German on the occasion of receiving the Dr. Leopold Lucas Prize for 1984 at Tübingen University. It was published in Fritz Stern and Hans Jonas, *Reflexionen finsterer Zeit* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1984). The lecture expanded and recast an earlier paper with the same title ("The Concept of God after Auschwitz," in *Out of the Whirlwind*, ed. A. H. Friedlander [New York: Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1968], pp. 465–76), which in turn incorporated portions of my 1961 Ingersoll Lecture, "Immortality and the Modern Temper" (see n. 1). The partly verbatim use of this previously published material is by permission.

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impassable limits of human cognition. But this cognitive veto, given the yet justified concern, leaves another way open besides that of complete abstention: bowing to the decree that "knowledge" eludes us here, nay, even waiving this very goal from the outset, one may yet meditate on things of this nature in terms of sense and meaning. For the contention—this fashionable contention—that not even sense and meaning pertain to them is easily disposed of as a circular, tautological inference from first having defined "sense" as that which in the end is verifiable by sense data or from generally equating "meaningful" with "knowable." To this axiomatic fiat by definition only he is bound who has first consented to it. He who has not is free, therefore, to work at the *concept* of God, even knowing that there is no *proof* of God, as a task of understanding, not of knowledge; and such working is philosophical when it keeps to the rigor of concept and its connection with the universe of concepts.

But of course, this epistemological laissez-passer is much too general and impersonal for the matter at hand. As Kant granted to the practical reason what he denied to the theoretical, so may *we* allow the force of a unique and shattering experience a voice in the question of what "is the matter" with God. And there, right away, arises the question, What did Auschwitz add to that which one could always have known about the extent of the terrible and horrendous things that humans can do to humans and from times immemorial have done? And what has it added in particular to what is familiar to us Jews from a millennial history of suffering and forms so essential a part of our collective memory? The *question of Job* has always been the main question of theodicy—of general theodicy because of the existence of evil as such in the world, and of particular theodicy in its sharpening by the riddle of election, of the purported covenant between Israel and its God. As to this sharpening, under which our present question also falls, one could at first invoke—as the prophets did—the covenant itself for an explanation of what befell the human party to it: the "people of the covenant" had been unfaithful to it. In the long ages of faithfulness thereafter, guilt and retribution no longer furnished the explanation but the idea of "witness" did instead—this creation of the Maccabean age, which bequeathed to posterity the concept of the martyr. It is of its very meaning that precisely the innocent and the just suffer the worst. In deference to the idea of witness, whole communities in the Middle Ages met their death by sword and fire with the *Sh'ma Jisrael,* the avowal of God's Oneness, on their lips. The Hebrew name for this is *Kiddush-hashem,* "sanctification of the Name," and the slaughtered were called "saints." Through their sacrifice shone the light of promise, of the final redemption by the Messiah to come.

Nothing of this is still of use in dealing with the event for whic "Auschwitz" has become the symbol. Not fidelity or infidelity, belief unbelief, not guilt and punishment, not trial, witness and messian hope, nay, not even strength or weakness, heroism or cowardice, del ance or submission had a place there. Of all this, Auschwitz, which als devoured the infants and babes, knew nothing; to none of it (wit rarest exceptions) did the factory-like working of its machine giv room. Not for the *sake* of faith did the victims die (as did, after al "Jehovah's Witnesses"), nor *because* of their faith or any self-affirme bend of their being as persons were they murdered. Dehumanizatio by utter degradation and deprivation preceded their dying, no glimme of dignity was left to the freights bound for the final solution, hardly trace of it was found in the surviving skeleton specters of the liberate camps. And yet, paradox of paradoxes: it *was* the ancient people of th "covenant," no longer believed in by those involved, killers and victim alike, but nevertheless just this and no other people, which under th fiction of race had been chosen for this wholesale annihilation—th most monstrous inversion of election into curse, which defied all pos sible endowment with meaning. There does, then, in spite of all, exist connection—of a wholly perverse kind—with the god seekers an prophets of yore, whose descendants were thus collected out of the dis persion and gathered into the unity of joint death. And God let i happen. What God could let it happen?

Here we must note that on this question the Jew is in greater theo retical difficulty than the Christian. To the Christian (of the sterr variety) the world is anyway largely of the devil and always an object o suspicion—the human world in particular because of original sin. Bu to the Jew, who sees in "this" world the locus of divine creation, justice and redemption, God is eminently the Lord of *History,* and in thi respect "Auschwitz" calls, even for the believer, the whole traditiona concept of God into question. It has, indeed, as I have just tried t show, added to the Jewish historical experience something unpre cedented and of a nature no longer assimilable by the old theologica categories. Accordingly, one who will not thereupon just give up th concept of God altogether—and even the philosopher has a right t such an unwillingness—must rethink it so that it still remains think able; and that means seeking a new answer to the old question of (anc about) Job. The Lord of History, we suspect, will have to go by the board in this quest. To repeat then, What God could let it happen?

For a possible, if groping, answer, I fall back on a speculative attempt with which I once ventured to meet the different question of immortality but in which also the specter of Auschwitz already played its part. On that occasion, I resorted to a *myth* of my own invention—

that vehicle of imaginative but credible conjecture that Plato allowed for the sphere beyond the knowable. Allow me to repeat it here:

In the beginning, for unknowable reasons, the ground of being, or the Divine, chose to give itself over to the chance and risk and endless variety of becoming. And wholly so: entering into the adventure of space and time, the deity held back nothing of itself: no uncommitted or unimpaired part remained to direct, correct, and ultimately guarantee the devious working-out of its destiny in creation. On this unconditional immanence the modern temper insists. It is its courage or despair, in any case its bitter honesty, to take our being-in-the-world seriously: to view the world as left to itself, its laws as brooking no interference, and the rigor of our belonging to it as not softened by extramundane providence. The same our myth postulates for God's being in the world. Not, however, in the sense of pantheistic immanence: if world and God are simply the same, the world at each moment and in each state represents his fullness, and God can neither lose nor gain. Rather, in order that the world might be, and be for itself, God renounced his being, divesting himself of his deity—to receive it back from the Odyssey of time weighted with the chance harvest of unforeseeable temporal experience: transfigured or possibly even disfigured by it. In such self-forfeiture of divine integrity for the sake of unprejudiced becoming, no other foreknowledge can be admitted than that of *possibilities* which cosmic being offers in its own terms: to these, God committed his cause in effacing himself for the world.

And for aeons his cause is safe in the slow hands of cosmic chance and probability—while all the time we may surmise a patient memory of the gyrations of matter to accumulate into an ever more expectant accompaniment of eternity to the labors of time—a hesitant emergence of transcendence from the opaqueness of immanence.

And then the first stirring of life—a new language of the world: and with it a tremendous quickening of concern in the eternal realm and a sudden leap in its growth toward recovery of its plenitude. It is the world-accident for which becoming deity had waited and with which its prodigal stake begins to show signs of being redeemed. From the infinite swell of feeling, sensing, striving, and acting, which ever more varied and intense rises above the mute eddyings of matter, eternity gains strength, filling with content after content of self-affirmation, and the awakening God can first pronounce creation to be good.

But note that with life together came death, and that mortality is the price which the new possibility of being called "life" had to pay for itself. If permanence were the point, life should not have started out in the first place, for in no possible form can it match the durability of inorganic bodies. It is essentially precarious and corruptible being, an adventure in mortality, obtaining from long-lasting matter on its terms—the short terms of metabolizing organism—the borrowed, finite careers of individual selves. Yet it is precisely through the briefly snatched self-feeling, doing, and suffering of *finite* individuals, with the pitch of awareness heightened by the very press of finitiude, that the divine landscape bursts into color and the deity comes to experience itself. . .

Note also this that with life's innocence before the advent of knowlec God's cause cannot go wrong. Whatever variety evolution brings forth adds the possibilities of feeling and acting, and thus enriches the self-experienci of the ground of being. Every new dimension of world-response opened up its course means another modality for God's trying out his hidden essence a discovering himself through the surprises of the world-adventure. And all harvest of anxious toil, whether bright or dark, swells the transcendent tr sure of temporally lived eternity. If this is true for the broadening spectrum diversity as such, it is even truer for the heightening pitch and passion of l that go with the twin rise of perception and motility in animals. The ever m sharpened keenness of appetite and fear, pleasure and pain, triumph a anguish, love and even cruelty—their very edge is the deity's gain. Th countless, yet never blunted incidence—hence the necessity of death and n birth—supplies the tempered essence from which the Godhead reconstitu itself. All this, evolution provides in the mere lavishness of its play and t sternness of its spur. Its creatures, by merely fulfilling themselves in pursuit their lives, vindicate the divine venture. Even their suffering deepens the fu ness of the symphony. Thus, this side of good and evil, God cannot lose in t great evolutionary game.

Nor yet can he fully win in the shelter of its innocence, and a new expectan grows in him in answer to the direction which the unconscious drift of imn nence gradually takes.

And then he trembles as the thrust of evolution, carried by its own mome tum, passes the threshold where innocence ceases and an entirely new cri rion of success and failure takes hold of the divine stake. The advent of m means the advent of knowledge and freedom, and with this supremely doub edged gift the innocence of the mere subject of self-fulfilling life has given w to the charge of responsibility under the disjunction of good and evil. To t promise and risk of this agency the divine cause, revealed at last, hencefo finds itself committed; and its issue trembles in the balance. The image God, haltingly begun by the universe, for so long worked upon—and l undecided—in the wide and then narrowing spirals of prehuman life, pas with this last twist, and with a dramatic quickening of the movement, i man's precarious trust, to be completed, saved, or spoiled by what he will dc himself and the world. And in this awesome impact of his deeds on Gc destiny, on the very complexion of eternal being, lies the immortality of m

With the appearance of man, transcendence awakened to itself and hen forth accompanies his doings with the bated breath of suspense, hoping a beckoning, rejoicing and grieving, approving and frowning—and, I dares making itself felt to him even while not intervening in the dynamics of worldly scene: for can it not be that by the reflection of its own state as wavers with the record of man, the transcendent casts light and shadow ov the human landscape?[1]

[1] Hans Jonas, "Immortality and the Modern Temper," the 1961 Ingersoll Lecture at Harv University, first printed in *Harvard Theological Review* 55 (1962): 1–20; now in H. Jonas, *Phenomenon of Life* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1982), pp. 262–81.

Such is the tentative myth I once proposed for consideration in a different context. It has theological implications that only later unfolded to me. Of these I shall develop here some of the more obvious ones—hoping that this translation from image into concept will somehow connect what so far must seem a strange and rather willful private fantasy with the more responsible tradition of Jewish religious thought. In this manner I try to redeem the poetic liberties of my earlier, roving attempt.

First, and most obviously, I have been speaking of a *suffering God*—which immediately seems to clash with the biblical conception of divine majesty. There is, of course, a Christian connotation of the term "suffering God" with which my myth must not be comfounded; it does not speak, as does the former, of a special act by which the deity at one time, and for the special purpose of saving man, sends part of itself into a particular situation of suffering (the incarnation and crucifixion). If anything in what I said makes sense, then the sense is that the relation of God to the world *from the moment of creation,* and certainly from the creation of man on, involves suffering on the part of God. It involves, to be sure, suffering on the part of the creature too, but this truism has always been recognized in every theology. Not so the idea of God's suffering with creation, and of this I said that, prima facie, it clashes with the biblical conception of divine majesty. But does it really clash as extremely as it seems at first glance? Do not we also in the Bible encounter God as slighted and rejected by man and grieving over him? Do not we encounter him as ruing that he created man, and suffering from the disappointment he experiences with him—and with his chosen people in particular? We remember the prophet Hosea, and God's love lamenting over Israel, his unfaithful wife.

Then, second, the myth suggests the picture of a *becoming God.* It is a God emerging in time instead of possessing a completed being that remains identical with itself throughout eternity. Such an idea of divine becoming is surely at variance with the Greek, Platonic-Aristotelian tradition of philosophical theology that, since its incorporation into the Jewish and Christian theological tradition, has somehow usurped for itself an authority to which it is not at all entitled by authentic Jewish (and also Christian) standards. Transtemporality, impassibility, and immutability have been taken to be necessary attributes of God. And the ontological distinction that classical thought made between "being" and "becoming," with the latter characteristic of the lower, sensible world, excluded every shadow of becoming from the pure, absolute being of the Godhead. But this Hellenic concept has never accorded well with the spirit and language of the Bible, and the concept of divine becoming can actually be better reconciled with it.

For what does the becoming God mean? Even if we do not go so as our myth suggests, that much at least we must concede of "beco ing" in God as lies in the mere fact that he is affected by what happ in the world, and "affected" means altered, made different. Even ap from the fact that creation as such—the act itself and the lasting res thereof—was after all a decisive change in God's own state, insofar he is now no longer alone, his continual *relation* to the creation, or this exists and moves in the flux of becoming, means that he expe ences something with the world, that his own being is affected by wh goes on in it. This holds already for the mere relation of accompanyi knowledge, let alone that of caring interest. Thus if God is in any rel tion to the world—which is the cardinal assumption of religion—th by that token alone the Eternal has "temporalized" himself and pr gressively becomes different through the actualizations of the wor process.

One incidental consequence of the idea of the becoming God is th it destroys the idea of an eternal recurrence of the same. This w Nietzsche's alternative to Christian metaphysics, which in this case the same as Jewish metaphysics. It is indeed the extreme symbol of tl turn to unconditional temporality and of the complete negation of ar transcendence that could keep a memory of what happens in time, assume that, by the mere exhaustion of the possible combinations an recombinations of material elements, it must come to pass that a "initial" configuration recurs and the whole cycle starts over again, an if once, then innumerable times—Nietzsche's "ring of rings, the ring eternal recurrence." However, if we assume that eternity is not una fected by what happens in time, there can never be a recurrence of th same because God will not be the same after he has gone through th experience of a world process. Any new world coming after the end one will carry, as it were, in its own heritage the memory of what ha gone before; or, in other words, there will not be an indifferent an dead eternity but an eternity that grows with the accumulating harve of time.

Bound up with the concepts of a suffering and a becoming God that of a *caring God*—a God not remote and detached and self-containe but involved with what he cares for. Whatever the "primordial" condi tion of the Godhead, he ceased to be self-contained once he let himsel in for the existence of a world by creating such a world or letting i come to be. God's caring about his creatures is, of course, among th most familiar tenets of Jewish faith. But my myth stresses the les familiar aspect that this caring God is not a sorcerer who in the act o caring also provides the fulfillment of his concern: he has left something for other agents to do and thereby has made his care dependent on

them. He is therefore also an endangered God, a God who runs a risk. Clearly that must be so, or else the world would be in a condition of permanent perfection. The fact that it is not bespeaks one of two things: that either the One God does not exist (though more than one may), or that the One has given to an agency other than himself, though created by him, a power and a right to act on its own and therewith a scope for at least codetermining that which is a concern of his. This is why I said that the caring God is not a sorcerer. Somehow he has, by an act of either inscrutable wisdom or love or whatever else the divine motive may have been, forgone the guaranteeing of his self-satisfaction by his own power, after he has first, by the act of creation itself, forgone being "all in all."

And therewith we come to what is perhaps the most critical point in our speculative, theological venture: this is not an omnipotent God. We argue indeed that, for the sake of our image of God and our whole relation to the divine, for the sake of any viable theology, we cannot uphold the time-honored (medieval) doctrine of absolute, unlimited divine power. Let me argue this first, on a purely logical plane, by pointing out the paradox in the idea of absolute power. The logical situation indeed is by no means that divine omnipotence is the rationally plausible and somehow self-recommending doctrine, while that of its limitation is wayward and in need of defense. Quite the opposite. From the very concept of power, it follows that omnipotence is a self-contradictory, self-destructive, indeed, senseless concept. The situation is similar to that of freedom in the human realm: far from beginning where necessity ends, freedom consists of and lives in pitting itself against necessity. Separated from it, freedom loses its object and becomes as void as force without resistance. Absolute freedom would be empty freedom that cancels itself out. So, too, does empty power, and absolute, exclusive power would be just that. Absolute, total power means power not limited by anything, not even by the mere existence of something other than the possessor of that power; for the very existence of such another would already constitute a limitation, and the one would have to annihilate it so as to save its absoluteness. Absolute power then, in its solitude, has no object on which to act. But as objectless power it is a powerless power, canceling itself out: "all" equals "zero" here. In order for it to act, there must be something else, and as soon as there is, the one is not all powerful anymore, even though in any comparison its power may be superior by any degree you please to imagine. The existence of another object limits the power of the most powerful agent at the same time that it allows it to be an agent. In brief, power as such is a *relational* concept and requires relation.

Again, power meeting no *resistance* in its relatum is equal to no powe at all: power is exercised only in relation to something that itself ha power. Power, unless otiose, consists in the capacity to overcome some thing; and something's existence as such is enough to provide this con dition. For existence means resistance and thus opposing force. Just a in physics, force without resistance—that is, counterforce—remain empty, so in metaphysics does power without counterpower, unequa as the latter may be. That, therefore, on which power acts must have power of its own, even if that power derives from the first and wa initially granted to it, as one with its existence, by a self-renunciation limitless power—that is, in the act of creation.

In short, it cannot be that all power is on the side of one agent only Power must be divided so that there be any power at all.

But besides this logical and ontological objection, there is a mor theological, genuinely religious objection to the idea of absolute an unlimited divine omnipotence. We can have divine omnipotence to gether with divine goodness only at the price of complete divin inscrutability. Seeing the existence of evil in the world, we must sacr fice intelligibility in God to the combination of the other two attributes Only a completely unintelligible God can be said to be absolutely goo and absolutely powerful, yet tolerate the world as it is. Put more gene ally, the three attributes at stake—absolute goodness, absolute powe and intelligibility—stand in such a logical relation to one another tha the conjunction of any two of them excludes the third. The questio then is, Which are truly integral to our concept of God, and whic being of lesser force, must give way to their superior claim? Nov surely, goodness is inalienable from the concept of God and not open qualification. Intelligibility, conditional on both God's nature an man's capacity, is on the latter count indeed subject to qualification b on no account to complete elimination. The *Deus absconditus,* the hidde God (not to speak of an absurd God) is a profoundly un-Jewish conce tion. Our teaching, the Torah, rests on the premise and insists that can understand God, not completely, to be sure, but something of hi —of his will, intentions, and even nature—because he has told u There has been revelation, we have his commandments and his la and he has directly communicated with some—his prophets—as h mouth for all men in the language of men and their times: refracte thus in this limiting medium but not veiled in dark mystery. A com pletely hidden God is not an acceptable concept by Jewish norms.

But he would have to be precisely that if together with being good were conceived as all powerful. After Auschwitz, we can assert wi greater force than ever before that an omnipotent deity would have

be either not good or (in his world rule, in which alone we can "observe" him) totally unintelligible. But if God is to be intelligible in some manner and to some extent (and to this we must hold), then his goodness must be compatible with the existence of evil, and this it is only if he is not *all* powerful. Only then can we uphold that he is intelligible and good, and there is yet evil in the world. And since we have found the concept of omnipotence to be dubious anyway, it is this that has to give way.

So far, our argument about omnipotence has done no more than lay it down as a principle for any acceptable theology continuous with the Jewish heritage that God's power be seen as limited by something whose being in its own right and whose power to act on its own authority he himself acknowledges.[2] Admittedly, we have the choice to interpret this as a voluntary concession on God's part, which he is free to revoke at will—that is, as the restraint of a power that he still and always possesses in full but, for the sake of creation's own autonomous right, chooses not fully to employ. To devout believers, this is probably the most palatable choice. But it will not suffice. For in view of the enormity of what, among the bearers of his image in creation, some of them time and again, and wholly unilaterally, inflict on innocent others, one would expect the good God at times to break his own, however stringent, rule of restraint and intervene with a saving miracle.[3] But no saving miracle occurred. Through the years that "Auschwitz" raged God remained silent. The miracles that did occur came forth from man alone: the deeds of those solitary, mostly unknown "just of the nations" who did not shrink from utter sacrifice in order to help, to save, to mitigate—even, when nothing else was left, unto sharing Israel's lot. Of them I shall speak again. But God was silent. And there I say, or my myth says, Not because he chose not to, but because he *could* not intervene did he fail to intervene. For reasons decisively prompted by contemporary experience, I entertain the idea of a God who for a time—the time of the ongoing world process—has divested himself of any power to interfere with the physical course of things; and

[2] The same principle has been argued, with a slightly different reasoning, by Rabbi Jack Bemporad, "Toward a New Jewish Theology," *American Judaism* (Winter 1964–65), pp. 9 ff.

[3] An occasional miracle, i.e., extramundane intervention in the closed causality of the physical realm, is not incompatible with the general validity of the laws of nature (rare exceptions do not void empirical rules) and might even, by all appearances, perfectly conform to them—on this question, see H. Jonas, *Philosophical Essays* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), pp. 66–67, and, more extensively, my Rudolf Bultmann Memorial address of 1976 at Marburg University, "Is Faith Still Possible? Memories of Rudolf Bultmann and Reflections on the Philosophical Aspects of His Work" (*Harvard Theological Review* 75, no. 1 [January 1982]: 1–25, esp. 9–15); see also pp. 17–18 of this address for a statement of the religious objection against thinking of God as "Lord of History."

who responds to the impact on his being by worldly events, not "with mighty hand and outstretched arm," as we Jews on every Passover recite in remembering the exodus from Egypt, but with the mutely insistent appeal of his unfulfilled goal.

In this, assuredly, my speculation strays far from oldest Judaic teaching. Several of Maimonides' Thirteen Articles of Faith, which we solemnly chant in our services, fall away with the "mighty hand": the assertions about God ruling the universe, his rewarding the good and punishing the wicked, even about the coming of the promised Messiah. Not, however, those about his call to the souls,[4] his inspiration of the prophets and the Torah, thus also not the idea of election: for only to the physical realm does the impotence of God refer. Most of all, the *Oneness* of God stands unabated and with it the "Hear, O Israel!" No Manichaean dualism is enlisted to explain evil; from the hearts of men alone does it arise and gain power in the world. The mere permitting, indeed, of human freedom involved a renouncing of sole divine power henceforth. And our discussion of power as such has already led us to deny divine omnipotence, anyway.

The elimination of divine omnipotence leaves the theoretical choice between the alternatives of either some preexistent—theological or ontological—*dualism,* or of God's *self*-limitation through the creation from nothing. The dualistic alternative in turn might take the Manichaean form of an active force of evil forever opposing the divine purpose in the universal scheme of things: a two-god theology; or the Platonic form of a passive medium imposing, no less universally, imperfection on the embodiment of the ideal in the world: a form-matter dualism. The first is plainly unacceptable to Judaism. The second answers at best the problem of imperfection and natural necessity but not that of positive evil, which implies a freedom empowered by its own authority independent of that of God; and it is the fact and success of deliberate evil rather than the inflictions of blind, natural causality—the use of the latter in the hands of responsible agents (Auschwitz rather than the earthquake of Lisbon)—with which Jewish theology has to contend at this hour. Only with creation from nothing do we have the oneness of the divine principle combined with that self-limitation that then permits (gives "room" to) the existence and autonomy of a world. Creation was that act of absolute sovereignty with which it consented, for the sake of self-determined finitude, to be absolute no more—an act, therefore, of divine self-restriction.

[4] For more about this inalienable postulate of revealed religion—the possibility of revelation itself, i.e., of God's speaking to human *minds* even if debarred from intervening in physical *things*—see Jonas, "Is Faith Still Possible?" pp. 18–20.

And here let us remember that Jewish tradition itself is really not quite so monolithic in the matter of divine sovereignty as official doctrine makes it appear. The mighty undercurrent of the Kabbalah, which Gershom Scholem in our days has brought to light anew, knows about a divine fate bound up with the coming-to-be of a world. There we meet highly original, very unorthodox speculations in whose company mine would not appear so wayward after all. Thus, for example, my myth at bottom only pushes further the idea of the *tzimtzum*, that cosmogonic centerconcept of the Lurianic Kabbalah.[5] *Tzimtzum* means contraction, withdrawal, self-limitation. To make room for the world, the *En-Sof* (Infinite; literally, No-End) of the beginning had to contract himself so that, vacated by him, empty space could expand outside of him: the "Nothing" in which and from which God could then create the world. Without this retreat into himself, there could be no "other" outside God, and only his continued holding-himself-in preserves the finite things from losing their separate being again into the divine "all in all."

My myth goes farther still. The contraction is total as far as power is concerned; as a whole has the Infinite ceded his power to the finite and thereby wholly delivered his cause into its hands. Does that still leave anything for a relation to God?

Let me answer this question with a last quotation from the earlier writing. By forgoing its own inviolateness, the eternal ground allowed the world to be. To this self-denial all creation owes its existence and with it has received all there is to receive from beyond. Having given himself whole to the becoming world, God has no more to give: it is man's now to give to him. And he may give by seeing to it in the ways of his life that it does not happen or happen too often, and not on his account, that it "repented the Lord"[6] to have made the world. This may well be the secret of the "thirty-six righteous ones" whom, according to Jewish lore, the world shall never lack[7] and of whose number in our time were possibly some of those "just of the nations" I have mentioned before: their guessed-at secret being that, with the superior valency of good over evil, which (we hope) obtains in the noncausal logic of things there, their hidden holiness can outweigh countless guilt, redress the balance of a generation, and secure the peace of the invisible realm.[8]

[5] Originated by Isaac Luria (born 1534–died 1572).

[6] Genesis 6:6–7.

[7] Sanhedrin 97 b; Sukkah 45 b.

[8] The idea that it is we who can help God rather than God helping us I have since found movingly expressed by one of the Auschwitz victims themselves, a young Dutch Jewess, who validated it by acting on it unto death. It is found in *An Interrupted Life: The Diaries of Etty Hillesum, 1941–43* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984). When the deportations in Holland began, in 1942, she came forward and volunteered for the Westerbork concentration camp, there to help in the hospital and to share in the fate of her people. In September 1943 she was shipped, in one of the usual mass transports, to Auschwitz and "died" there on November 30, 1943. Her diaries have survived but were only recently published. I quote from Neal Ascherson ("In Hell," *New York Review of Books* 31, no. 13 [July 19, 1984]: 8–12, esp. 9): "She does not exactly 'find God,' but rather constructs one for herself. The theme of the diaries becomes increasingly religious, and many of the entries are prayers. Her God is someone to whom she makes promises, but of whom she expects and asks nothing. 'I shall try to help you, God, to stop my strength ebbing away, though I cannot vouch for it in advance. But one thing is becoming increasingly clear to me: that You cannot help us, that we must help You to help ourselves. . . . Alas, there does not seem to be much You Yourself can do about our circumstances, about our lives. Neither do I hold You responsible. You cannot help us, but we must help You and defend Your dwelling place in us to the last.'" Reading this was to me a shattering confirmation, by a true witness, of my so much later and sheltered musings—and a consoling correction of my sweeping statement that we had no martyrs there.

All this, let it be said at the end, is but stammering. Even the words of the great seers and adorers—the prophets and the psalmists—which stand beyond comparison, were stammers before the eternal mystery. Every mortal answer to Job's question, too, cannot be more than that. Mine is the opposite to the one given by the Book of Job: this, for an answer, invoked the plenitude of God's power; mine, his chosen voidance of it. And yet, strange to say, both are in praise. For the divine renunciation was made so that we, the mortals, could be. This, too, so it seems to me, is an answer to Job: that in him God himself suffers. Which is true, if any, we can know of none of the answers ever tried. Of my poor word thereto I can only hope that it be not wholly excluded from what Goethe, in "Testament of Old-Persian Faith," thus put into Zarathustra's mouth:

> All that ever stammers praising the Most High
> Is in circles there assembled far and nigh.[9]

[9] "Und was nur am Lob des Höchsten stammelt, / Ist in Kreis' um Kreise dort versammelt" (Goethe, "Vermächtnis altpersischen Glaubens").

ner: "Who is so mighty and strong (i.e., in self-control) as Thou, able to listen to the tormentings and insults of the evil man (Titus) and remain silent." There was the study house of Rabbi Yishmael, where they quoted another verse of the Bible:[11] "Who is like Thee! O Eternal, among the mighty" but replaced the Hebrew *Elim* by *Ilmim*, in order to make it read: Who is like Thee, O Eternal, among the silent ones![12] This is no longer a question, as the questions of Jeremiah, Habakkuk, and Job. It is not formulated as a problem; it is an exclamation: God, you are silent; you are not seen in history!

The Hiding of the Face

The problem thus raised by the prophets and the teachers of the Talmud is of course the age-old problem of the theodicy. The manner of its formulation testifies to the fact that there was a full realization in biblical and Talmudic times that there is indeed undeserved suffering in history.[13] This, of course, requires a modification of the concept of *Mipnei Hataeinu*, "Because of our sins." No doubt it does demand great strength of character of an individual—and how much more of an entire people—to acknowledge that one's misfortunes are due to one's own failings and to accept responsibility for them.[14] At the same time, looking at the entire course of Jewish history, the idea that all this has befallen us because of our sins is an utterly unwarranted exaggeration. There is suffering because of sins; but that all suffering is due to it is simply not true. The idea that the Jewish martyrology through the ages can be explained as divine judgment is obscene. Nor do we for a single moment entertain the thought that what happened to European Jewry in our generation was divine punishment for sins committed by them. It was injustice absolute; injustice countenanced by God.

In biblical terminology, we speak of *Hester Panim*, the Hiding of the Face, God's hiding of his countenance from the sufferer. Man seeks God in his tribulation but cannot find him. It is, however, seldom realized that "The Hiding of the Face" has two meanings in the Bible, which are in no way related to each other. It is generally assumed that the expression signifies divine judgment and

punishment. We find it indicated, for instance, in Deuteronomy, 31: 17-18, in the words:

> Then My anger shall be kindled against them in that day, and I will forsake them, and I will hide My face from them, and they shall be devoured, and many evils and troubles shall come upon them; . . ., And I will surely hide My face in that day for all the evil which they shall have wrought, in that they are turned unto other gods.

But the Bible also speaks of the Hiding of the Face when human suffering results, not from divine judgment, but from the evil perpetrated by man. Even the innocent may feel himself forsaken because of the Hiding of the Face. A moving example of this form of *Hester Panim* is the Forty-Fourth Psalm, from which we have already quoted a short passage. One should study the entire psalm: we shall recall here only its closing verses:

> All this is come upon us; yet have we not forgotten Thee,
> Neither have we been false to Thy covenant.
> Our heart is not turned back,
> Neither have our steps declined from Thy path;
> Though Thou hast crushed us into a place of jackals,
> And covered us with the shadow of death.
> If we had forgotten the name of our God,
> Or spread forth our hands to a strange god;
> Would not God search this out?
> For he knoweth the secrets of the heart.
> Nay, but for Thy sake are we killed all the day;
> We are accounted as sheep for the slaughter.
>
> Awake, why sleepest Thou, O Lord?
> Arouse Thyself, cast not off for ever.
> Wherefore hidest Thou Thy face,
> And forgettest our affliction and our oppression?
> For our soul is bowed down to the dust;
> Our belly cleaveth to the earth.
> Arise for our help,
> And redeem us for Thy mercy's sake.

The Hiding of the Face about which the psalmist complains is altogether different from its meaning in Deuteronomy. There it is a manifestation of divine anger and judgment over the wicked; here it is indifference—God seems to be unconcernedly asleep during the tribulations inflicted by man on his fellow. Of the first kind of

Hester Panim one might say that it is due to *Mipnei Hataeinu*, that it is judgment because of sins committed, but not of the second kind. It is God hiding himself mysteriously from the cry of the innocent. It is the divine silence of which the rabbis spoke in the Talmud.

The Affirmation

Not only had the problem already been raised in all seriousness and full intellectual honesty in biblical and Talmudic times, it was also fully realized that at stake was God's presence in history. There was full awareness that the seriousness of the problem was apt to lead many a Jew to what is today called radical theology or the rejection of divine concern with human destiny. Ezekiel reported about the reaction of some people to the catastrophe of the destruction of the Temple and the loss of independence. He quotes their words: ". . . The Lord seeth us not, the Lord hath forsaken the land."[15] Like Ivan Karamazov, they too maintained that since God has absented himself, all was permissible. These were the early radical theologians in ancient Israel. The prophet Malachi, too, knew them. It is to them that he lets the words of God be addressed:

> Your words have been all too strong against Me,
> Saith the Lord.
> Yet ye say: "Wherein have we spoken against Thee?"
> Ye have said: "It is vain to serve God;
> And what profit is it that we have kept His charge,
> And that we have walked mournfully
> Because of the Lord of hosts?
> And now we call the proud happy;
> Yea, they that work wickedness are built up;
> Yea, they try God, and are delivered.[16]

"To walk mournfully because of the Lord" is not to walk like Ivan Karamazov, not to consider everything permissible, but to live obeying the laws of God. It is, however, useless to do so. God is not really concerned or, perhaps, he cannot do much about it anyway. For do not the wicked prosper and are not the proud happy? Is not evil successful? How may it be reconciled with God's providential presence?

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Such were the radical theologians of old Israel. There is at least one outstanding figure known to us in talmudic times who belongs in the same category. He was Elisha ben Abuyah, at one time the teacher of the great Rabbi Meir. He lost his faith because he could find no solution to the problem of the theodicy. In view of the suffering of the innocent, he questioned God's justice and providence. He found no answer and became *Aher*, a changed person. According to one opinion he witnessed the accidental death of a young boy who was engaged in a work by which he was fulfilling a biblical commandment and also obeying the will of his father, thus honoring him as also required by the Bible. According to another version, he saw how the tongue of the martyred Hutspith, the Interpreter, was dragged along by a pig. He exclaimed at the sight: "The mouth from which issued wisdom like pearls should lick the dirt!" At that, "he went out and sinned." [17] There were others like him, less distinguished. Inevitably, in the course of Jewish history, the quest and the questioning continued. We even have a prayer for the radical theologian on record. According to one interpretation, in the abridged form of the *Amidah* we pray "For those who in this long exile are critical of God, believing that He has forsaken them. May they experience God's providential care, His mercy and grace." [18]

If Judaism rejected its radical theologians through the ages, it was not because of lack of sensitivity to the seriousness of the problem that they raised. The men of faith in Israel knew very well of the problem. They experienced it in their own lives on their own bodies. How often did they cry out in their agony over the terrible experience of God's absence! The Psalms, for example, are replete with the experience and the cry. Who could have felt the absence of God more crushingly than the man who exclaimed:

> Awake, why sleepest Thou, O Lord?
> Arouse Thyself, cast not off forever.
> Wherefore hidest Thou Thy face,
> And forgettest our affliction and our oppression?
> For our soul is bowed down to the dust;
> Our belly cleaveth unto the earth.
> Arise for our help,
> And redeem us for Thy mercy's sake! [19]

It was the excruciating experience of divine indifference that caused the psalmist to plead:

> How long, O Lord, wilt Thou forget me for ever?
> How long wilt Thou hide Thy face from me? [20]

The intensity of the experience comes to most moving expression in the phrase: "wilt Thou forget me for ever?" No one ever has an everlasting experience. The phrase tells of the long wait for divine help that was all in vain; it conveys the idea of utter hopelessness, of radical abandonment by God. The words would not have been inadequate for the agony of the death camps.

It is because of the apparent divine unconcern that the psalmist has to cry out:

> Arise, O Lord: O God, life up Thy hand;
> Forget not the humble.
> Wherefore doth the wicked contemn God,
> And say in his heart: "Thou wilt not require?" [21]

Such passages, and numerous others of the same kind, give expression to the struggles of men of faith against the demonic in history. They are the questioning, searching, yes! even the accusing cry of faith induced by God's silence in the face of evil. It is also the lament of Isaiah, when he declares:

> But Zion said: "The Lord hath forsaken me,
> And the Lord hath forgotten me." [22]

Obviously, to feel that one is forgotten by God is not a realization that one is being punished for one's sins. Whom God punishes is not forgotten by God. Zion's plight of being abandoned and forgotten is the experience of divine unconcern, of God's indifference toward human destiny. Through the ages, men of faith knew that human suffering was not to be explained by divine punishment alone, as expiation for guilt and divine justice done. They knew well that the poor and the weak were the victims, that wickedness and evil often held the upper hand, that God was often silent in history.

The experience of God's "absence" is not new: each generation had its Auschwitz problem. Neither is the negative response of resulting disbelief new in the history of Jewish spiritual struggle: each

generation had its radical theology. Yet, the men of faith in Israel, each facing his own Auschwitz, in the midst of their radical abandonment by God, did not hesitate to reject the negative resolution of the problem. Notwithstanding the fact that so much in their experience tended to lead to the conclusion that there is "neither judgment nor a Judge," they insisted: "Still there is judgment and there is a Judge." Significantly, the formulation is Rabbi Akiba's, himself—as we saw—the saintly giant of Jewish martyrdom.[23]

However, if the problem was seen so clearly, how was it met? Needless to say, what we have called the simplistic theory of history that wishes to explain it all by the principle of "Because of our sins," the idea that if a man does the will of God and lives uprightly all will be well with him and that if he suffers his very suffering testifies against him, was indeed rejected. But the rabbis spoke of the silence of God as a historical fact, not of his absence. The one who is silent may be so called only because he is present. Somehow they are able to hold on to both ends of the dilemma. It is not an either-or proposition for them. Indeed the same may be said of the nature of the problem as it is originally raised in the Bible. The same Jeremiah who contends with God because the way of the wicked prosper, also refers to God as "the righteous judge who examines the reins and the heart."[24] He predicts the destruction of Jerusalem because of the sins of her people. Habakkuk, too, in the very same context in which he complains about God's standing by as the wicked swallows up the righteous also speaks of the scourge of the Chaldeans, "that bitter and impetuous nation" that is sent out by God "for a judgment and established for a correction."[25] In the same breath, he holds on to the theory of God's worldwide historic providence of justice as well as to the facts of history which seem to contradict it. This dramatic grasping at once both horns of the dilemma finds its most moving expression in Job, when he exclaims:

> Though he slay me, yet will I trust in Him;
> But I will argue my ways before Him.[26]

There is trust in God to the end; yet there is contest with him, because the facts of human experience seem to assail that trust. How was it possible for these men to retain their faith in the God of

history, in his justice and providence, notwithstanding the fact that their own historical experience seemed to contradict the faith and the trust?

Much more astounding, however, is the fact that even though the Jewish people were fully aware of the conflict between history and teaching, yet they staked their very existence on the original biblical proposition that life and the moral good were identical, as were death and evil; on the view that all history was ultimately under divine control, that all depended on doing the will of God, on living in accordance with his Torah. Flying in the face of all historical experience, they organized their own existence in history on the proposition that "the Eternal is nigh unto all of them that call upon Him, to all that call upon Him in truth."[27] Nor did they do it naively, childishly, not realizing the full implication of their undertaking. After Jeremiah, Habakkuk, Jcb, and the divine silence actually experienced in their history, how could they affirm three times daily in their prayers that "the Eternal is good to all and His tender mercies are over all His works"[28] without a great deal of sophistication! A quality of this sophistication I find in a midrash that deals with our subject. It is a comment on the words of the psalmist, "The Eternal preserveth the faithful."[29] Playing on the Hebrew *emumin* (faithful) and its association *amen* (an exclamatory affirmation) and *emunah* (faith, trust), it is maintained in the typical midrashic style: "The faithful," these are those who answer with *Amen* in complete trust (*emunah*). What does this mean? They say: "Blessed be the One who quickens the dead." It has not yet come about, nevertheless they believe in God, that he does quicken the dead. They say: "Blessed be the Redeemer of Israel." But he has not redeemed them, except for a very short period, after which they became once more oppressed; yet, they believe that I shall redeem them. . . . O for the faithful whom God preserves.[30] One can almost see the sad smile on the faces of the rabbis who left us with this comment. "God preserves the faithful?" God the Redeemer, the Resurrector? Indeed? Yes, indeed. Nevertheless, and in spite of it all, it is so. We adorn God with a great many attributes which mean to describe his actions in history even though they are contradicted by the facts of history. Fully aware of the facts, with open eyes, we contradict our experience with our affirma-

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The Explanation

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It would seem to us that what the just-quoted midrash wishes to convey is the idea that God is what Judaism believes him to be. True enough, many of His attributes are not manifest in history, but they will yet be revealed. On what grounds could such a statement have been made?

We have discussed earlier the two different forms of *Hester Pamin*, of the "Hiding of the Face": one as judgment, the other as apparent divine indifference toward the plight of man. We may glean a hint of the theological significance of such apparent divine indifference from a passage in Isaiah. The prophet says of God:

> Verily Thou art a God that hidest Thyself,
> O God of Israel, the Saviour.[31]

In this passage God's self-hiding is not a reaction to human behavior, when the Hiding of the Face represents God's turning away from man as a punishment. For Isaiah, God's self-hiding is an attribute of divine nature. Such is God. He is a God, who hides himself. Man may seek him and he will not be found; man may call to him and he may not answer. God's hiding his face in this case is not a response to man, but a quality of being assumed by God on his own initiative. But neither is it due to divine indifference toward the destiny of man. God's hiding himself is an attribute of the God of Israel, who is the Savior. In some mysterious way, the God who hides himself is the God who saves. Thus, Isaiah could also say:

> And I will wait for the Lord that hideth His face from the house of Jacob and I will hope for Him.[32]

One may well wait and hope for the God who hides his face, if the God who hides himself is the Savior. But how may the Hiding of the Face assume this second meaning and become a divine attribute in such close association with God's self-revelation as the Savior? An analysis of a talmudic passage may lead us to an

appreciation of this second—and more fundamental—meaning of the concept of the Hiding of the Face. It is no mere coincidence that it happens to be a discussion between Rabbi Meir and his quondam teacher Elisha ben Abuyah, who—as we have seen—became Aher, "another," because of the problem of evil on earth. It is said that after Aher had turned into the "path of licentiousness," he asked Rabbi Meir: "What is the meaning of the saying that 'God hath also made the one over against the other?' "[33] Answered the former disciple: "Whatever the Holy one, blessed be He, created in his world, he also created its opposite. He created mountains and he created hills; he created oceans and he created rivers." To which Aher countered: "Not like this spoke your master Rabbi Akiba. But said he: God created the righteous and he created the wicked; he created Gan Eden (Paradise) and he created Gehenna. . . ."[34]

The dating of the discussion as having taken place "after Aher had turned into the path of licentiousness" is an indication that the subject of the discussion has some bearing on Aher's problem and heresy. What is it they are discussing? It would seem to us that the subject of their discussion is the dialectical principle, which is seen as a principle of creation, incorporated in the functioning of the universe. Rabbi Meir expresses it in general terms. Whatever God created, he also created its opposite. It could not be otherwise. There could be no mountains without valleys. A thing is defined by its limits. It is recognizable for what it is by the contrast to its opposite. A is A because it is limited by non-A; it has selfhood because it is encumbered, because it is denied by non-A. Rabbi Akiba seems to express the same dialectical principle, but he gives it a limited ethical application. The dialectics of creation is responsible for the opposites: the righteous and the wicked, good and evil. Without good, no evil; without evil, no good! Why then did Aher oppose the general formula of the dialectical principle, holding on to the manner of its specifically ethical application by Rabbi Akiba? There is a vast distinction between Rabbi Meir's grasp of the dialectics of creation and the way Aher wants it to be understood. The example in the case, on which Aher insists, is adequate to illustrate the dialectics. However, it must have been noted that Rabbi Meir's example is somewhat gauche. The dialectical con-

trast would have to be between mountains and valleys, oceans and continents, not between mountains and hills nor between oceans and rivers. Yet, in his opening comment, Rabbi Meir invokes the dialectics of creation. It would seem to us that in Rabbi Meir's opinion the dialectics in creation does not represent pure opposites. The contrast is not absolute but relative. There is no absolute valley as there is no absolute mountain; the highest mountain is only a high hill and the lowest valley is really a bit of a hill. So too with the opposites of water and land. Neither the oceans nor the continents are absolutely alien to each other. The difference is only a relative one, like the one between oceans and rivers, like that between more and less. There is neither absolute depth to which to sink, nor absolute heights to which to rise. Aher cannot accept it, for the former disciple really discusses the problem and case of his sometime master. If the opposites of creation are absolutes, then good and evil too are absolutes; the creator is then directly responsible for both. He is then really beyond good and evil, for he is equally involved in both or, as one might also say, he is indifferent to ethical considerations. If so, Aher is right; there is neither judgment nor a Judge. It is for this reason that he insists on citing Rabbi Akiba whose formulation seems to suggest this kind of divine irresponsibility or indifference. The opposites, according to this version are the *Sadiq* (Righteous) and the *Rasha* (Wicked). God himself created both, is Aher's interpretation of Rabbi Akiba's statement. The *Sadiq* is what he is and the *Rasha* is what he is; the one is not to be praised, the other, not to be condemned. God himself created them that way. They are part of a universe that has no partiality for either of them. And once again, Aher himself is vindicated. It is exactly this kind of interpretation that Rabbi Meir wishes to obviate by his "bad" example of the dialectics. The opposites are not absolutes, which means they are not categories of creation. Rabbi Meir is not in disagreement with Rabbi Akiba. It is Aher who insists on an interpretation of Rabbi Akiba's statement that was never intended by its author. Rabbi Akiba never meant to say that God actually creates the *Sadiq* and the *Rasha*, that good and evil are indifferently incorporated in the universe. His whole life contradicts this kind of a teaching. Nor is it likely that Aher was unaware of it. It is with tongue in cheek

that he reminds his former disciple: "Not like this did your master Rabbi Akiba explain it. . . ." Rabbi Meir spoke in general terms; he did not expatiate on the dialectics of good and evil, of the righteous and the wicked. Out of tact and consideration for the feelings of his former teacher, he did not pursue the implications for ethics and morality of a dialetics that does not recognize absolutes as ontological categories of creation. Aher understood him well. One imagines the impishly appreciative smile in his face as he was saying: "Not like this did your master explain it. . . ." Indeed, not like this; yet, exactly like this.

Rabbi Akiba expresses in ethical terms the significance of the dialectics of Rabbi Meir. God does not determine in advance that one person be a *Sadiq*, and another a *Rasha*. But unless the possibility existed for a man to be a *Rasha*, if he so desires, one could not only be a *Rasha*, one could not be a *Sadiq* either. For one can only be a *Sadiq* as a result of responsible choices made in the freedom of available alternatives. Where the choice is nonexistent, where the possibility of becoming a *Rasha* is not open to man, the possibility of becoming a *Sadiq* too has been excluded. The ethical significance of Rabbi Meir's "bad" dialectics is that being a *Sadiq* is conditioned by man's freedom to choose the way of wickedness, just as being a *Rasha* presupposes his freedom to turn into the path of righteousness. The *Sadiq* is defined by the *Rasha* as the *Rasha* is defined by the *Sadiq*. That which is good is so because of the possibility of evil and vice versa. If, now, the dialectical principle is at work in the universe yet the opposites are not to be understood as absolute categories of creation and being, then God's creating the *Sadiq* and the *Rasha* means that God created both possibilities for man, to be a *Sadiq* or to be a *Rasha*. We have quoted Isaiah's statement earlier that God forms the light and creates darkness, makes peace and creates evil. Isaiah of course did not mean to say that God actually does evil. Rejecting Manichean dualism, the prophet maintains that God alone is the Creator. He created evil by creating the possibility for evil; He made peace by creating the possibility for it.[35] He had to create the possibility for evil, if He was to create the possibility for its opposite, peace, goodness, love.

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own nature He is incapable of evil. He is the only one who *is* goodness. But since, because of his very essence, he can do no evil, he can do no good either. God, being incapable of the unethical is not an ethical being. Goodness for him is neither an ideal, nor a value; it is existence, it is absolutely realized being. Justice, love, peace, mercy, are ideals for man only. They are values that may be realized by man alone. God is perfection. Yet because of his very perfection, he is lacking—as it were—one type of value; the one which is the result of striving for value. He is all light; on just that account, he is lacking the light that comes out of the darkness. One might also say that with man the good is axiology; with God, ontology. Man alone can strive and struggle for the good; God is Good. Man alone can create value; God is Value. But if man alone is the creator of values, one who strives for the realization of ideals, then he must have freedom of choice and freedom of decision. And his freedom must be respected by God himself. God cannot as a rule intervene whenever man's use of freedom displeases him. It is true, if he did so the perpetration of evil would be rendered impossible, but so would the possibility for good also disappear. Man can be frightened; but he cannot be bludgeoned into goodness. If God did not respect man's freedom to choose his course in personal responsibility, not only would the moral good and evil be abolished from the earth, but man himself would go with them. For freedom and responsibility are of the very essence of man. Without them man is not human. If there is to be man, he must be allowed to make his choices in freedom. If he has such freedom, he will use it. Using it, he will often use it wrongly; he will decide for the wrong alternative. As he does so, there will be suffering for the innocent.

The question therefore is not: Why is there undeserved suffering? But, why is there man? He who asks the question about injustice in history really asks: Why a world? Why creation? To understand this is of course far from being an answer to our problem. But to see a problem in its true dimension makes it easier for us to make peace with the circumstances from which it arises. It is not very profitable to argue with God as to why He created this world. He obviously decided to take his chance with man; he decided for this world. Given man, God himself could eliminate

moral evil and the suffering caused by it only by eliminating man, by recalling the world of man into nothingness.

These theological concepts have found their more intimate expression in the language of religious affirmation. We are familiar with biblical passages that speak of God's mercy with the sinner. We readily appreciate pronouncements like the one in Ezekiel that declares:

> As I live, saith the Lord God, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way and live. . . .[36]

In keeping with deep-rooted biblical tradition, the rabbis in a homily interpreted the plural form of the Hebrew expression that describes God as "long-suffering" as meaning that God is long-suffering in numerous ways. He is long-suffering with the wicked as well as with the righteous. We have great understanding for the fact that God is merciful and forgiving, that he does not judge man harshly and is willing to have patience with him. God is waiting for the sinner to find his way to him. This is how we like to see God. This is how we are only too glad to acknowledge him. But we never seem to realize that while God is long-suffering, the wicked are going about their dark business on earth and the result is ample suffering for the innocent. While God waits for the sinner to turn to him, there is oppression and persecution and violence among men. Yet, there seems to be no alternative. If man is to be, God must be long-suffering with him; he must suffer man. This is the inescapable paradox of divine providence. While God tolerates the sinner, he must abandon the victim; while he shows forebearance with the wicked, he must turn a deaf ear to the anguished cries of the violated. This is the ultimate tragedy of existence: God's very mercy and forebearance, his very love for man, necessitates the abandonment of some men to a fate that they may well experience as divine indifference to justice and human suffering. It is the tragic paradox of faith that God's direct concern for the wrongdoer should be directly responsible for so much pain and sorrow on earth.

We conclude then: he who demands justice of God must give up man; he who asks for God's love and mercy beyond justice must accept suffering.

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One may call it the divine dilemma that God's *Erek Apayim,* his patiently waiting countenance to some is, of necessity, identical with his *Hester Panim,* his hiding of the countenace, to others. However, the dilemma does find a resolution in history. If man is to be, God himself must respect his freedom of decision. If, man is to act on his own responsibility, without being continually overawed by divine supremacy, God must absent himself from history. But man left to his freedom is capable of greatness in both—in creative goodness and destructive evil. Though man cannot be man without freedom, his performance in history gives little reassurance that he can survive in freedom. God took a risk with man and he cannot divest himself of responsibility for man. If man is not to perish at the hand of man, if the ultimate destiny of man is not to be left to the chance that man will never make the fatal decision, God must not withdraw his providence from his creation. He must be present in history. That man may be, God must absent himself; that man may not perish in the tragic absurdity of his own making, God must remain present. The God of history must be absent and present concurrently. He hides his presence. He is present without being indubitably manifest; he is absent without being hopelessly inaccessible. Thus, many find him even in his "absence"; many miss him even in his presence. Because of the necessity of his absence, there is the "Hiding of the Face" and suffering of the innocent; because of the necessity of his presence, evil will not ultimately triumph; because of it, there is hope for man.

MIGHTY AND AWESOME

In other words, God's presence in history must remain—mostly—unconvincing. But, perhaps, this is a mere theory, unsupported by experience? After all, how can one prove an unconvincing presence convincingly? There is another passage in the Talmud that leads us to a deeper grasp of our problem and its possible solution. Ezra, the great rejuvenator of Judaism at the time of the return from Babylon, and his associates in his endeavors were known as the "Men of the Great Assembly." The Talmud discusses the question of this honorific title. How did they deserve it? The answer is

for the LORD your God Himself marches with you: He will not fail you or forsake you.

7Then Moses called Joshua and said to him in the sight of all Israel: "Be strong and resolute, for it is you who shall go with this people into the land that the LORD swore to their fathers to give them, and it is you who shall apportion it to them. 8And the LORD Himself will go before you. He will be with you; He will not fail you or forsake you. Fear not and be not dismayed!"

9Moses wrote down this Teaching and gave it to the priests, sons of Levi, who carried the Ark of the LORD's Covenant, and to all the elders of Israel.

10And Moses instructed them as follows: Every seventh year,[c] the year set for remission, at the Feast of Booths, 11when all Israel comes to appear before the LORD your God in the place that He will choose, you shall read this Teaching aloud in the presence of all Israel. 12Gather the people—men, women, children, and the strangers in your communities—that they may hear and so learn to revere the LORD your God and to observe faithfully every word of this Teaching. 13Their children, too, who have not had the experience, shall hear and learn to revere the LORD your God as long as they live in the land that you are about to cross the Jordan to possess.

14The LORD said to Moses: The time is drawing near for you to die. Call Joshua and present yourselves in the Tent of Meeting, that I may instruct him. Moses and Joshua went and presented themselves in the Tent of Meeting. 15The LORD appeared in the Tent, in a pillar of cloud, the pillar of cloud having come to rest at the entrance of the tent.

16The LORD said to Moses: You are soon to lie with your fathers. This people will thereupon go astray after the alien gods in their midst, in the land that they are about to enter; they will forsake Me and break My covenant that I made with them. 17Then My anger will flare up against them, and I will abandon them and hide My countenance from them. They shall be ready prey; and many evils and troubles shall befall them. And they shall say on that day, "Surely it is because our God is not in our midst that these evils have befallen us." 18Yet I will keep My countenance hidden on that day, because of all the evil they have done in turning to other gods. 19Therefore, write down this poem and teach it to the people of Israel; put it in their mouths, in order that this poem

[c] *See note at 15.1.*

may be My witness agains
the land flowing with mi
fathers, and they eat thei
serve them, spurning Me
and troubles befall them—
since it will never be lost
what plans they are devis
that I promised on oath.

22That day, Moses wro

23And He charged Jos
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and I will be with you."

24When Moses had pu
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you are: even now, whi
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to me all the elders of y
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30Then Moses recitec
hearing of the whole c

32 Give ear, O hea
Let the earth he
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Like showers o
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Give glory to c

[a] *I.e., may my words be recei*

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v. 7 with the end of 6, reading in vv. 12 and Ps. 43.5.

2For You are my God, my stronghold;
why have You rejected me?
Why must I walk in gloom,
oppressed by the enemy?
3Send forth Your light and Your truth;
they will lead me;
they will bring me to Your holy mountain,
to Your dwelling-place,
4that I may come to the altar of God,
God, my delight, my joy;
that I may praise You with the lyre,
O God, my God.
5Why so downcast, my soul,
why disquieted within me?
Have hope in God;
I will yet praise Him,
my ever-present help, my God.

44 For the leader. Of the Korahites. A *maskil.*

2We have heard, O God,
our fathers have told us
the deeds You performed in their time,
in days of old.
3With Your hand You planted them,
displacing nations;
You brought misfortune on peoples,
and drove them out.
4It was not by their sword that they took the land,
their arm did not give them victory,
but Your right hand, Your arm, and Your goodwill,
for You favored them.
5You are my king, O God;
decree victories for Jacob!
6Through You we gore our foes;
by Your name we trample our adversaries;

7I do not trust in my bow;
it is not my sword that gives me victory;
8You give us victory over our foes;
You thwart those who hate us.
9In God we glory at all times,
and praise Your name unceasingly. *Selah.*

10Yet You have rejected and disgraced us;
You do not go with our armies.
11You make us retreat before our foe;
our enemies plunder us at will.
12You let them devour us like sheep;
You disperse us among the nations.
13You sell Your people for no fortune,
You set no high price on them.
14You make us the butt of our neighbors,
the scorn and derision of those around us.
15You make us a byword among the nations,
a laughingstock[a] among the peoples.
16I am always aware of my disgrace;
I am wholly covered with shame
17at the sound of taunting revilers,
in the presence of the vengeful foe.

18All this has come upon us,
yet we have not forgotten You,
or been false to Your covenant.
19Our hearts have not gone astray,
nor have our feet swerved from Your path,
20though You cast us, crushed, to where the [b-b]sea monster[b-b] is,
and covered us over with deepest darkness.
21If we forgot the name of our God
and spread forth our hands to a foreign god,
22God would surely search it out,
for He knows the secrets of the heart.
23It is for Your sake that we are slain all day long,
that we are regarded as sheep to be slaughtered.

[a] *Lit. "a wagging of the head."*
[b-b] *Heb.* tannim = tannin, *as in Ezek. 29.3 and 32.2.*

24Rouse Yourself; why do You sleep, O Lord?
Awaken, do not reject us forever!
25Why do You hide Your face,
ignoring our affliction and distress?
26We lie prostrate in the dust;
our body clings to the ground.
27Arise and help us,
redeem us, as befits Your faithfulness.

45 For the leader; [a-a]on *shoshannim.*[a-a] Of the Korahites. A *maskil.* A love song.

2My heart is astir with gracious words;
I speak my poem to a king;
my tongue is the pen of an expert scribe.

3You are fairer than all men;
your speech is endowed with grace;
rightly has God given you an eternal blessing.
4Gird your sword upon your thigh, O hero,
in your splendor and glory;
5[a-a]in your glory, win success;
ride on in the cause of truth and meekness and right;
and let your right hand lead you to awesome deeds.[a-a]
6Your arrows, sharpened,
[b-b][pierce] the breast of the king's enemies;
peoples fall at your feet.[b-b]
7Your [c-c]divine throne[c-c] is everlasting;
your royal scepter is a scepter of equity.
8You love righteousness and hate wickedness;
rightly has God, your God, chosen to anoint you
with oil of gladness over all your peers.
9All your robes [are fragrant] with
myrrh and aloes and cassia;
from ivoried palaces
lutes entertain you.
10Royal princesses are your favorites;

[a-a] *Meaning of Heb. uncertain.*
[b-b] *Order of Heb. clauses inverted for clarity.*
[c-c] *Cf. 1 Chron. 29.23.*

Unit Three: Free Will and Responsibility

Introductory Statement:

In order to humanize evil, students need to realize that ordinary people can do inhumane actions. It is very important that students understand that the Nazis were regular people; they had families and friends just like other people. However, the "jobs" that they chose to do were not like other jobs. In order to attempt to understand the human aspect of the Nazis, one needs to explore the Jewish concepts of *Yetzer haTov* and *Yetzer haRah.*

Resources:

Bereshit/Genesis
CCAR: Gates of Repentance
CCAR: Gates of Understanding
The Book of Legends
Browning, Christopher. Ordinary Men. HarperCollins: USA 1992.

Key Concepts:

Free Will: The Jewish view that all human beings are free to act as they desire. The creation stories in Genesis are connected to this theme of Free Will. Adam and Eve were created in God's image and were thus able to do either good or bad in the Garden of Eden. Several midrashim have been written on this subject. The following terms are the Judaic perspectives on Free Will:

Yetzer haTov: The evil inclination.
Yetzer haRah: The inclination to do good.

Individual Responsibility: One is responsible for themselves and is only interested in what effects them. This person seeks to control only what resides in their internal locus of control. One is concerned with merely what effects them and has no interest on how things effect others around them in their community or world.

Collective Responsibility: One is concerned with the welfare of themselves and those around them. They seek to find the betterment for the greater majority. Things that effect one's community is viewed as important as things that effect only themselves.

Memorable Moment: The Wave

(approximately 2 hours) A video of a class "project" in California in the 1970s. This video gives a "real life" example of how one can become attracted to a violent and threatening group, and how others may or may not resist the group. Since this takes place in a High School, the students may make a connection to those in the video. Thus, the idea that regular people, similar to themselves, could become caught up in a hateful group is possible anywhere and at anytime.

Goals:

1. To expose students to the concept of Free Will; what it means, how it affects people, and how it relates to the Shoah.
2. To provide an understanding that the Nazis were human beings; they were not monsters.
3. To provide learning opportunities for students to study how regular people can become evil.

Objectives:

At the end of this unit, Students Should Be Able To (SSBAT):

- Define *Yetzer HaTov* and *Yetzer HaRah*, Individual Responsibility, and Communal Responsibility.
- Relate the above definitions to their own lives and choices.

Suggested Core Learning Activities:

- Students should watch the video The Wave and read excerpts from Ordinary Men. The class should then compare the themes of these two works, specifically the theme of Free Will. The class should then synthesize the themes of The Wave and Ordinary Men by relating them to actual situations in the students' own lives. (Excerpts are attached to the end of this unit)
- Study the Adam and Eve (eating from the Tree of Knowledge) story in Genesis. Bibliodrama may be a good way to include the students in the text study. The facilitator should ask the following questions: "How does this relate to the concept of Free Will? What was God's role in the story? Does the class think that the punishment fit the crime?" Midrashim could be used to expand students' knowledge and to flush out the concepts in class. (Midrashim are attached to the end of this unit)
- Synthesis Exercise: Students should prepare Case Studies that reflect behaviors that are positive and negative, *yetzer HaTov* and

Yetzer HaRah. The case studies should then be discussed in class. How do the students feel about these behaviors? Would they have done the same thing? Why or why not? These answers could be written into the students' journals.

Guide to Resources for Unit Three

Ordinary Men excerpts are to provide the reader with an understanding of how regular people can be transformed into evil murderers. Moreover, one of the excerpts allows the reader to understand how a killer views his/her victims. (focus on Preface and pages 55-77, and extra page of an interview from the book)

Bibliodrama is provided for the text study of Adam and Eve in the Gan Eden story.

Midrashim numbers 86 and 87 from the Book of Legends are provided for enhancement of the class text study.

A brief commentary to the Gan Eden story is provided by an excerpt from the CCAR's Commentary to Gates of Repentance.

A background on the concepts of *Yetzer HaTov* and *Yetzer HaRah* is provided from an excerpt from the CCAR's Commentary to Gates of Repentance (pages 130 and 370-1 in Gates of Repentance.

ORDINARY MEN

RESERVE POLICE BATTALION 101 AND THE FINAL SOLUTION IN POLAND

Christopher R. Browning

1992

Aaron Asher Books
HarperCollins*Publishers*

PREFACE

In mid-March 1942 some 75 to 80 percent of all victims of the Holocaust were still alive, while 20 to 25 percent had perished. A mere eleven months later, in mid-February 1943, the percentages were exactly the reverse. At the core of the Holocaust was a short, intense wave of mass murder. The center of gravity of this mass murder was Poland, where in March 1942, despite two and a half years of terrible hardship, deprivation, and persecution, every major Jewish community was still intact, and where eleven months later only the remnants of Polish Jewry survived in a few rump ghettos and labor camps. In short, the German attack on the Jews of Poland was not a gradual or incremental program stretched over a long period of time, but a veritable blitzkrieg, a massive offensive requiring the mobilization of large numbers of shock troops. This offensive, moreover, came just when the German war effort in Russia hung in the balance—a time period that opened with the renewed German thrust

toward the Crimea and the Caucasus and closed with the disastrous defeat at Stalingrad.

If the German military offensive of 1942 was ultimately a failure, the blitzkrieg against the Jews, especially in Poland, was not. We have long known how the Jews in the major ghettos, especially Warsaw and Łódź, were murdered. But most Polish Jews lived in smaller cities and towns whose populations were often more than 30 percent Jewish, and in some cases even 80 or 90 percent. How had the Germans organized and carried out the destruction of this widespread Jewish population? And where had they found the manpower during this pivotal year of the war for such an astounding logistical achievement in mass murder? The personnel of the death camps was quite minimal. But the manpower needed to clear the smaller ghettos—to round up and either deport or shoot the bulk of Polish Jewry—was not.[1]

My search for the answers to these questions led me to the town of Ludwigsburg near Stuttgart. Here is located the Central Agency for the State Administrations of Justice (Zentrale Stelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen), the Federal Republic of Germany's office for coordinating the investigation of Nazi crimes. I was working through their extensive collection of indictments and judgments for virtually every German trial of Nazi crimes committed against the Jews of Poland when I first encountered the indictment concerning Reserve Police Battalion 101, a unit of the German Order Police.

Though I had been studying archival documents and court records of the Holocaust for nearly twenty years, the impact this indictment had upon me was singularly powerful and disturbing. Never before had I encountered the issue of choice so dramatically framed by the course of events and so openly discussed by at least some of the perpetrators. Never before had I seen the monstrous deeds of the Holocaust so starkly juxtaposed with the human faces of the killers.

It was immediately clear from the indictment, which contained quite extensive verbatim quotations from pretrial interrogations of battalion members, that the case was based upon an unusually

rich collection of testimonies. Moreover, many of these testimonies had a "feel" of candor and frankness conspicuously absent from the exculpatory, alibi-laden, and mendacious testimony so often encountered in such court records. The investigation and legal prosecution of Reserve Police Battalion 101 had been a decade-long process (1962 to 1972) conducted by the Office of the State Prosecutor (Staatsanwaltschaft) in Hamburg. This office—surely one of the most diligent and committed prosecutors of Nazi crimes in all of the Federal Republic—still had custody of the court records relating to the case, and I successfully applied for permission to see them.

Unlike so many of the Nazi killing units, whose membership can only be partially reconstructed, Reserve Police Battalion 101's roster was available to the investigators. As most of the men came from Hamburg and many still lived there at the time of the investigation, I was able to study the interrogations of 210 men from a unit consisting of slightly less than 500 when it was sent at full strength to Poland in June 1942. This collection of interrogations provided a representative sample for statistical answers to questions about age, Party and SS membership, and social background. Moreover, about 125 of the testimonies were sufficiently substantive to permit both detailed narrative reconstruction and analysis of the internal dynamics of this killing unit.

Ultimately, the Holocaust took place because at the most basic level individual human beings killed other human beings in large numbers over an extended period of time. The grass-roots perpetrators became "professional killers." The historian encounters numerous difficulties in trying to write about a unit of such men, among them the problem of sources. In the case of Reserve Police Battalion 101, in contrast to many of the killing units operating in the Soviet Union, there are few contemporary documents and none that deal explicitly with its killing activities.[2] The accounts of a handful of Jewish survivors can establish the dates and magnitude of various actions in some of the towns where the battalion operated. But unlike survivor testimony about prominent perpetrators in the ghettos and camps, where

prolonged contact was possible, survivor testimony can tell us little about an itinerant unit like Reserve Police Battalion 101. Unknown men arrived, carried out their murderous task, and left. Seldom, in fact, can the survivors even remember the peculiar green uniforms of the Order Police to identify what kind of unit was involved.

In writing about Reserve Police Battalion 101, therefore, I have depended heavily upon the judicial interrogations of some 125 men conducted in the 1960s. To read about the same events experienced by a single unit as filtered through the memories of 125 different men more than twenty years after the fact is disconcerting to a historian looking for certainties. Each of these men played a different role. He saw and did different things. Each subsequently repressed or forgot certain aspects of the battalion's experiences, or reshaped his memory of them in a different way. Thus the interrogations inevitably present a confusing array of perspectives and memories. Paradoxically, I would have had the illusion of being more certain about what happened to the battalion with one detailed recollection instead of 125.

Beyond the differing perspectives and memories, there is also the interference caused by the circumstances in which the testimony was given. Quite simply, some men deliberately lied, for they feared the judicial consequences of telling the truth as they remembered it. Not only repression and distortion but conscious mendacity shaped the accounts of the witnesses. Furthermore, the interrogators asked questions pertinent to their task of collecting evidence for specific, indictable crimes committed by particular people, but did not systematically investigate the broader, often more impressionistic and subjective facets of the policemen's experience that are important to the historian, if not to the lawyer.

As with any use of multiple sources, the many accounts and perspectives had to be sifted and weighed. The reliability of each witness had to be assessed. Much of the testimony had to be

partially or totally dismissed in favor of conflicting testimony that was accepted. Many of these judgments were both straightforward and obvious, but others were quite difficult. And as self-conscious as I have tried to be, at times I undoubtedly made purely instinctive judgments without even being aware of it. Other historians looking at the same materials would retell these events in somewhat different ways.

In recent decades the historical profession in general has been increasingly concerned with writing history "from the bottom up," with reconstructing the experiences of the bulk of the population ignored in the history of high politics and high culture hitherto so dominant. In Germany in particular, this trend has culminated in the practice of *Alltagsgeschichte*—"the history of everyday life"—achieved through a "thick description" of the common experiences of ordinary people. When such an approach has been applied to the era of the Third Reich, however, some have criticized it as an evasion—a way to shift attention from the unparalleled horrors of the Nazi regime's genocidal policies to those mundane aspects of life that continued relatively undisturbed. Thus, the very attempt to write a case study or microhistory of a single battalion might seem undesirable to some.

As a methodology, however, "the history of everyday life" is neutral. It becomes an evasion, an attempt to "normalize" the Third Reich, only if it fails to confront the degree to which the criminal policies of the regime inescapably permeated everyday existence under the Nazis. Particularly for the German occupiers stationed in the conquered lands of eastern Europe—literally tens of thousands of men from all walks of life—the mass-murder policies of the regime were not aberrational or exceptional events that scarcely ruffled the surface of everyday life. As the story of Reserve Police Battalion 101 demonstrates, mass murder and routine had become one. Normality itself had become exceedingly abnormal.

Another possible objection to this kind of study concerns the

degree of empathy for the perpetrators that is inherent in trying to understand them. Clearly the writing of such a history requires the rejection of demonization. The policemen in the battalion who carried out the massacres and deportations, like the much smaller number who refused or evaded, were human beings. I must recognize that in the same situation, I could have been either a killer or an evader—both were human—if I want to understand and explain the behavior of both as best I can. This recognition does indeed mean an attempt to empathize. What I do not accept, however, are the old clichés that to explain is to excuse, to understand is to forgive. Explaining is not excusing; understanding is not forgiving. Not trying to understand the perpetrators in human terms would make impossible not only this study but any history of Holocaust perpetrators that sought to go beyond one-dimensional caricature. Shortly before his death at the hands of the Nazis, the French Jewish historian Marc Bloch wrote, "When all is said and done, a single word, 'understanding,' is the beacon light of our studies."[3] It is in that spirit that I have tried to write this book.

One condition placed upon my access to the judicial interrogations must be made clear. Regulations and laws for the protection of privacy have become increasingly restrictive in Germany, especially in the past decade. The state of Hamburg and its court records are no exception to this trend. Before receiving permission to see the court records of Reserve Police Battalion 101, therefore, I had to promise not to use the men's real names. The names of the battalion commander, Major Wilhelm Trapp, and the three company commanders, Captain Wolfgang Hoffmann, Captain Julius Wohlauf, and Lieutenant Hartwig Gnade, appear in other documentation in archives outside Germany. I have used their real names, for in their cases there is no confidentiality to breach. However, I have used pseudonyms (designated at first occurrence by an asterisk) for all other battalion members who appear in the text of this book. The notes refer to those giving testimony simply by first name and last initial. While this promise of confidentiality and use of pseudonyms is, in my opinion, an unfortunate limitation on strict historical accuracy, I do not believe it undermines the integrity or primary usefulness of this study.

A number of people and institutions provided indispensable support during the research and writing of this study. Oberstaatsanwalt (Senior Prosecutor) Alfred Streim made available to me the incomparable collection of German judicial records in Ludwigsburg. Oberstaatsanwältin Helge Grabitz encouraged me to work with the court records in Hamburg, supported my application for access, and generously helped in every way during my stay there. Pacific Lutheran University provided me with financial awards for the two trips to German archives that initiated and concluded my research on this project. The Alexander von Humboldt Foundation likewise aided one research visit in Germany. The bulk of the research and writing was completed during sabbatical leave from Pacific Lutheran University, and with the support of a Fulbright Research Grant to Israel. Daniel Krauskopf, executive secretary of the United States–Israel Educational Foundation, deserves special thanks for facilitating my research in both Israel and Germany.

Peter Hayes of Northwestern University and Saul Friedlander of UCLA offered opportunities to present initial research findings at conferences they organized at their respective institutions. Many friends and colleagues listened patiently, offered suggestions, and provided encouragement along the way. Philip Nordquist, Dennis Martin, Audrey Euyler, Robert Hoyer, Ian Kershaw, Robert Gellately, Yehuda Bauer, Dinah Porat, Michael Marrus, Bettina Birn, George Mosse, Elisabeth Domansky, Gitta Sereny, Carlo Ginzburg, and the late Uwe Adam deserve special mention. To Raul Hilberg I owe a special debt. In 1982 he called attention to the indispensability of the Order Police to the Final Solution, continuing as so often in the past to set the agenda for further Holocaust research.[4] He then personally interested himself in the publication of this study. For such

help, both now and on earlier occasions in my career, the dedication of this book is an inadequate expression of my esteem and gratitude. For the continued support and understanding of my family, who have patiently endured the gestation period of another book, I am particularly grateful.

Tacoma, November 1991

ORDINARY MEN

to the east the previous fall. It arrived in the Polish town of Zamość in the southern part of the Lublin district on June 25. Five days later the battalion headquarters was shifted to Biłgoraj, and various units of the battalion were quickly stationed in the nearby towns of Frampol, Tarnogród, Ulanów, Turobin, and Wysokie, as well as the more distant Zakrzów.[7]

Despite the temporary lull in the killing, SS and Police Leader Odilo Globocnik and his Operation Reinhard staff were not about to allow the newly arrived police battalion to remain entirely inactive in regard to the Lublin Jews. If the killing could not be resumed, the process of consolidating the victims in transit ghettos and camps could be. For most of the policemen of Reserve Police Battalion 101, the searing memory of the subsequent action in Józefów blotted out lesser events that had occurred during their four-week stay south of Lublin. However, a few did remember taking part in this consolidation process—collecting Jews in smaller settlements and moving them to larger ghettos and camps. In some cases only so-called work Jews were seized, put on trucks, and sent to camps around Lublin. In other cases, the entire Jewish population was rounded up and put on trucks or sent off on foot. Sometimes the Jews from the smaller surrounding villages were then collected and resettled in their place. None of these actions involved mass executions, though Jews who were too old, frail, or sick to be transported were shot in at least some instances. The men were uniformly uncertain about the towns from which they had deported Jews and the places to which the Jews had been relocated. No one recalled the names Izbica and Piaski, though these were the two major "transit" ghettos south of Lublin that were used for collecting Jews.[8]

Apparently, Globocnik lost patience with this consolidation process and decided to experiment with renewed killing. As deportation to the extermination camps was not possible at the time, mass execution through firing squad was the available alternative. Reserve Police Battalion 101 was the unit to be tested.

7

Initiation to Mass Murder: The Józefów Massacre

IT WAS PROBABLY ON JULY 11 THAT GLOBOCNIK OR SOMEONE ON his staff contacted Major Trapp and informed him that Reserve Police Battalion 101 had the task of rounding up the 1,800 Jews in Józefów, a village about thirty kilometers slightly south and east of Biłgoraj. This time, however, most of the Jews were not to be relocated. Only the male Jews of working age were to be sent to one of Globocnik's camps in Lublin. The women, children, and elderly were simply to be shot on the spot.

Trapp recalled the units that were stationed in nearby towns. The battalion reassembled in Biłgoraj on July 12, with two exceptions: the Third Platoon of Third Company, including Captain Hoffmann, stationed in Zakrzów, as well as a few men of First Company already stationed in Józefów. Trapp met with

First and Second Company commanders, Captain Wohlauf and Lieutenant Gnade, and informed them of the next day's task.[1] Trapp's adjutant, First Lieutenant Hagen, must have informed other officers of the battalion, for Lieutenant Heinz Buchmann learned from him the precise details of the pending action that evening.

Buchmann, then thirty-eight years old, was the head of a family lumber business in Hamburg. He had joined the Nazi Party in May 1937. Drafted into the Order Police in 1939, he had served as a driver in Poland. In the summer of 1940 he applied for a discharge. Instead he was sent to officer training and commissioned as a reserve lieutenant in November 1941. He was given command of the First Platoon of First Company in 1942.

Upon learning of the imminent massacre, Buchmann made clear to Hagen that as a Hamburg businessman and reserve lieutenant, he "would in no case participate in such an action, in which defenseless women and children are shot." He asked for another assignment. Hagen arranged for Buchmann to be in charge of the escort for the male "work Jews" who were to be selected out and taken to Lublin.[2] His company captain, Wohlauf, was informed of Buchmann's assignment but not the reason for it.[3]

The men were not officially informed, other than that they would be awakened early in the morning for a major action involving the entire battalion. But some had at least a hint of what was to come. Captain Wohlauf told a group of his men that an "extremely interesting task" awaited them the next day.[4] Another man, who complained that he was being left behind to guard the barracks, was told by his company adjutant, "Be happy that you don't have to come. You'll see what happens."[5] Sergeant Heinrich Steinmetz* warned his men of Third Platoon, Second Company, that "he didn't want to see any cowards."[6] Additional ammunition was given out.[7] One policeman reported that his unit was given whips, which led to rumors of a *Judenaktion*.[8] No one else, however, remembered whips.

Departing from Biłgoraj around 2:00 a.m., the truck convoy

arrived in Józefów just as the sky was beginning to lighten. Trapp assembled the men in a half-circle and addressed them. After explaining the battalion's murderous assignment, he made his extraordinary offer: any of the older men who did not feel up to the task that lay before them could step out. Trapp paused, and after some moments one man from Third Company, Otto-Julius Schimke,* stepped forward. Captain Hoffmann, who had arrived in Józefów directly from Zakrzów with the Third Platoon of Third Company and had not been part of the officers' meetings in Biłgoraj the day before, was furious that one of his men had been the first to break ranks. Hoffmann began to berate Schimke, but Trapp cut him off. After he had taken Schimke under his protection, some ten or twelve other men stepped forward as well. They turned in their rifles and were told to await a further assignment from the major.[9]

Trapp then summoned the company commanders and gave them their respective assignments. The orders were relayed by the first sergeant, Kammer,* to First Company, and by Gnade and Hoffmann to Second and Third Companies. Two platoons of Third Company were to surround the village.[10] The men were explicitly ordered to shoot anyone trying to escape. The remaining men were to round up the Jews and take them to the marketplace. Those too sick or frail to walk to the marketplace, as well as infants and anyone offering resistance or attempting to hide, were to be shot on the spot. Thereafter, a few men of First Company were to escort the "work Jews" who had been selected at the marketplace, while the rest of First Company was to proceed to the forest to form the firing squads. The Jews were to be loaded onto the battalion trucks by Second Company and Third Platoon of Third Company and shuttled from the marketplace to the forest.[11]

After making the assignments, Trapp spent most of the day in town, either in a schoolroom converted into his headquarters, at the homes of the Polish mayor and the local priest, at the marketplace, or on the road to the forest.[12] But he did not go to the forest itself or witness the executions; his absence there was

conspicuous. As one policeman bitterly commented, "Major Trapp was never there. Instead he remained in Józefów because he allegedly could not bear the sight. We men were upset about that and said we couldn't bear it either."[13]

Indeed, Trapp's distress was a secret to no one. At the marketplace one policeman remembered hearing Trapp say, "Oh, God, why did I have to be given these orders," as he put his hand on his heart.[14] Another policeman witnessed him at the schoolhouse. "Today I can still see exactly before my eyes Major Trapp there in the room pacing back and forth with his hands behind his back. He made a downcast impression and spoke to me. He said something like, 'Man, . . . such jobs don't suit me. But orders are orders.' "[15] Another man remembered vividly "how Trapp, finally alone in our room, sat on a stool and wept bitterly. The tears really flowed."[16] Another also witnessed Trapp at his headquarters. "Major Trapp ran around excitedly and then suddenly stopped dead in front of me, stared, and asked if I agreed with this. I looked him straight in the eye and said, 'No, Herr Major!' He then began to run around again and wept like a child."[17] The doctor's aide encountered Trapp weeping on the path from the marketplace to the forest and asked if he could help. "He answered me only to the effect that everything was very terrible."[18] Concerning Józefów, Trapp later confided to his driver, "If this Jewish business is ever avenged on earth, then have mercy on us Germans."[19]

While Trapp complained of his orders and wept, his men proceeded to carry out the battalion's task. The noncommissioned officers divided some of their men into search teams of two, three, or four, and sent them into the Jewish section of Józefów. Other men were assigned as guards along the streets leading to the marketplace or at the marketplace itself. As the Jews were driven out of their houses and the immobile were shot, the air was filled with screams and gunfire. As one policeman noted, it was a small town and they could hear everything.[20] Many policemen admitted seeing the corpses of

those who had been shot during the search, but only two admitted having shot.[21] Again, several policemen admitted having heard that all the patients in the Jewish "hospital" or "old people's home" had been shot on the spot, though no one admitted having actually seen the shooting or taken part.[22]

The witnesses were least agreed on the question of how the men initially reacted to the problem of shooting infants. Some claimed that along with the elderly and sick, infants were among those shot and left lying in the houses, doorways, and streets of the town.[23] Others, however, stressed quite specifically that in this initial action the men still shied from shooting infants during the search and clearing operation. One policeman was emphatic "that among the Jews shot in our section of town there were no infants or small children. I would like to say that almost tacitly everyone refrained from shooting infants and small children." In Józefów as later, he observed, "Even in the face of death the Jewish mothers did not separate from their children. Thus we tolerated the mothers taking their small children to the marketplace in Józefów."[24] Another policeman likewise noted "that tacitly the shooting of infants and small children was avoided by almost all the men involved. During the entire morning I was able to observe that when being taken away many women carried infants in their arms and led small children by the hand."[25] According to both witnesses, none of the officers intervened when infants were brought to the marketplace. Another policeman, however, recalled that after the clearing operation his unit (Third Platoon, Third Company) was reproached by Captain Hoffmann. "We had not proceeded energetically enough."[26]

As the roundup neared completion, the men of First Company were withdrawn from the search and given a quick lesson in the gruesome task that awaited them. They were instructed by the battalion doctor and the company's first sergeant. One musically inclined policeman who frequently played the violin on social evenings along with the doctor, who played a "wonderful accordion," recalled:

> I believe that at this point all officers of the battalion were present, especially our battalion physician, Dr. Schoenfelder.* He now had to explain to us precisely how we had to shoot in order to induce the immediate death of the victim. I remember exactly that for this demonstration he drew or outlined the contour of a human body, at least from the shoulders upward, and then indicated precisely the point on which the fixed bayonet was to be placed as an aiming guide.[27]

After First Company had received instructions and departed for the woods, Trapp's adjutant, Hagen, presided over the selection of the "work Jews." The head of a nearby sawmill had already approached Trapp with a list of twenty-five Jews who worked for him, and Trapp had permitted their release.[28] Through an interpreter Hagen now called for craftsmen and able-bodied male workers. There was unrest as some 300 workers were separated from their families.[29] Before they had been marched out of Józefów on foot, the first shots from the woods were heard. "After the first salvos a grave unrest grew among these craftsmen, and some of the men threw themselves upon the ground weeping. . . . It had to have become clear to them at this point that the families they had left behind were being shot."[30]

Lieutenant Buchmann and the Luxembourgers in First Company marched the workers a few kilometers to a country loading station on the rail line. Several train cars, including a passenger car, were waiting. The work Jews and their guards were then taken by train to Lublin, where Buchmann delivered them to a camp. According to Buchmann, he did not put them in the notorious concentration camp at Majdanek but in another camp instead. The Jews were not expected, he said, but the camp administration was glad to take them. Buchmann and his men returned to Biłgoraj the same day.[31]

Meanwhile, First Sergeant Kammer had taken the initial contingent of shooters in First Company to a forest several kilometers from Józefów. The trucks halted on a dirt road that

ran along the edge, at a point where a pathway led into the woods. The men climbed down from their trucks and waited.

When the first truckload of thirty-five to forty Jews arrived, an equal number of policemen came forward and, *face to face*, were paired off with their victims. Led by Kammer, the policemen and Jews marched down the forest path. They turned off into the woods at a point indicated by Captain Wohlauf, who busied himself throughout the day selecting the execution sites. Kammer then ordered the Jews to lie down in a row. The policemen stepped up behind them, placed their bayonets on the backbone above the shoulder blades as earlier instructed, and on Kammer's orders fired in unison.

In the meantime more policemen of First Company had arrived at the edge of the forest to fill out a second firing squad. As the first firing squad marched out of the woods to the unloading point, the second group took their victims along the same path into the woods. Wohlauf chose a site a few yards farther on so that the next batch of victims would not see the corpses from the earlier execution. These Jews were again forced to lie face down in a row, and the shooting procedure was repeated.

Thereafter, the "pendulum traffic" of the two firing squads in and out of the woods continued throughout the day. Except for a midday break, the shooting proceeded without interruption until nightfall. At some point in the afternoon, someone "organized" a supply of alcohol for the shooters. By the end of a day of nearly continuous shooting, the men had completely lost track of how many Jews they had each killed. In the words of one policeman, it was in any case "a great number."[32]

When Trapp first made his offer early in the morning, the real nature of the action had just been announced and time to think and react had been very short. Only a dozen men had instinctively seized the moment to step out, turn in their rifles, and thus excuse themselves from the subsequent killing. For many the reality of what they were about to do, and particularly that they themselves might be chosen for the firing squad, had

probably not sunk in. But when the men of First Company were summoned to the marketplace, instructed in giving a "neck shot," and sent to the woods to kill Jews, some of them tried to make up for the opportunity they had missed earlier. One policeman approached First Sergeant Kammer, whom he knew well. He confessed that the task was "repugnant" to him and asked for a different assignment. Kammer obliged, assigning him to guard duty on the edge of the forest, where he remained throughout the day.[33] Several other policemen who knew Kammer well were given guard duty along the truck route.[34] After shooting for some time, another group of policemen approached Kammer and said they could not continue. He released them from the firing squad and reassigned them to accompany the trucks.[35] Two policemen made the mistake of approaching Captain (and SS-Hauptsturmführer) Wohlauf instead of Kammer. They pleaded that they too were fathers with children and could not continue. Wohlauf curtly refused them, indicating that they could lie down alongside the victims. At the midday pause, however, Kammer relieved not only these two men but a number of other older men as well. They were sent back to the marketplace, accompanied by a noncommissioned officer who reported to Trapp. Trapp dismissed them from further duty and permitted them to return early to the barracks in Biłgoraj.[36]

Some policemen who did not request to be released from the firing squads sought other ways to evade. Noncommissioned officers armed with submachine guns had to be assigned to give so-called mercy shots "because both from excitement *as well as intentionally* [italics mine]" individual policemen "shot past" their victims.[37] Others had taken evasive action earlier. During the clearing operation some men of First Company hid in the Catholic priest's garden until they grew afraid that their absence would be noticed. Returning to the marketplace, they jumped aboard a truck that was going to pick up Jews from a nearby village, in order to have an excuse for their absence.[38] Others hung around the marketplace because they did not want to round up Jews during the search.[39] Still others spent as much

time as possible searching the houses so as not to be present at the marketplace, where they feared being assigned to a firing squad.[40] A driver assigned to take Jews to the forest made only one trip before he asked to be relieved. "Presumably his nerves were not strong enough to drive more Jews to the shooting site," commented the man who took over his truck and his duties of chauffeuring Jews to their death.[41]

After the men of First Company departed for the woods, Second Company was left to complete the roundup and load Jews onto the trucks. When the first salvo was heard from the woods, a terrible cry swept the marketplace as the collected Jews realized their fate.[42] Thereafter, however, a quiet composure—indeed, in the words of German witnesses, an "unbelievable" and "astonishing" composure—settled over the Jews.[43]

If the victims were composed, the German officers grew increasingly agitated as it became clear that the pace of the executions was much too slow if they were to finish the job in one day. "Comments were repeatedly made, such as, 'It's not getting anywhere!' and 'It's not going fast enough!' "[44] Trapp reached a decision and gave new orders. Third Company was called in from its outposts around the village to take over close guard of the marketplace. The men of Lieutenant Gnade's Second Company were informed that they too must now go to the woods to join the shooters. Sergeant Steinmetz of Third Platoon once again gave his men the opportunity to report if they did not feel up to it. No one took up his offer.[45]

Lieutenant Gnade divided his company into two groups assigned to different sections of the woods. He then visited Wohlauf's First Company to witness a demonstration of the executions.[46] Meanwhile, Lieutenant Scheer and Sergeant Hergert* took the First Platoon of Second Company, along with some men of Third Platoon, to a certain point in the woods. Scheer divided his men into four groups, assigned them each a shooting area, and sent them back to fetch the Jews they were to kill. Lieutenant Gnade arrived and heatedly argued with Scheer that the men were not being sent deep enough into the woods.[47]

By the time each group had made two or three round trips to the collection point and carried out their executions, it was clear to Scheer that the process was too slow. He asked Hergert for advice. "I then made the proposal," Hergert recalled, "that it would suffice if the Jews were brought from the collection point to the place of execution by only two men of each group, while the other shooters of the execution commando would already have moved to the next shooting site. Furthermore, this shooting site was moved somewhat forward from execution to execution and thus always got closer to the collection point on the forest path. We then proceeded accordingly."[48] Hergert's suggestion speeded the killing process considerably.

In contrast to First Company, the men of Second Company received no instruction on how to carry out the shooting. Initially bayonets were not fixed as an aiming guide, and as Hergert noted, there was a "considerable number of missed shots" that "led to the unnecessary wounding of the victims." One of the policemen in Hergert's unit likewise noted the difficulty the men had in aiming properly. "At first we shot freehand. When one aimed too high, the entire skull exploded. As a consequence, brains and bones flew everywhere. Thus, we were instructed to place the bayonet point on the neck."[49] According to Hergert, however, using fixed bayonets as an aiming guide was no solution. "Through the point-blank shot that was thus required, the bullet struck the head of the victim at such a trajectory that often the entire skull or at least the entire rear skullcap was torn off, and blood, bone splinters, and brains sprayed everywhere and besmirched the shooters."[50]

Hergert was emphatic that no one in First Platoon was given the option of withdrawing beforehand. But once the executions began and men approached either him or Scheer because they could not shoot women and children, they were given other duties.[51] This was confirmed by one of his men. "During the execution word spread that anyone who could not take it any longer could report." He went on to note, "I myself took part in some ten shootings, in which I had to shoot men and women. I

simply could not shoot at people anymore, which became apparent to my sergeant, Hergert, because at the end I repeatedly shot past. For this reason he relieved me. Other comrades were also relieved sooner or later, because they simply could no longer continue."[52]

Lieutenant Drucker's Second Platoon and the bulk of Sergeant Steinmetz's Third Platoon were assigned to yet another part of the forest. Like Scheer's men, they were divided into small groups of five to eight each rather than large groups of thirty-five to forty as in Wohlauf's First Company. The men were told to place the end of their carbines on the cervical vertebrae at the base of the neck, but here too the shooting was done initially without fixed bayonets as a guide.[53] The results were horrifying. "The shooters were gruesomely besmirched with blood, brains, and bone splinters. It hung on their clothing."[54]

When dividing his men into small groups of shooters, Drucker had kept about a third of them in reserve. Ultimately, everyone was to shoot, but the idea was to allow frequent relief and "cigarette breaks."[55] With the constant coming and going from the trucks, the wild terrain, and the frequent rotation, the men did not remain in fixed groups.[56] The confusion created the opportunity for work slowdown and evasion. Some men who hurried at their task shot far more Jews than others who delayed as much as they could.[57] After two rounds one policeman simply "slipped off" and stayed among the trucks on the edge of the forest.[58] Another managed to avoid taking his turn with the shooters altogether.

> It was in no way the case that those who did not want to or could not carry out the shooting of human beings with their own hands could not keep themselves out of this task. No strict control was being carried out here. I therefore remained by the arriving trucks and kept myself busy at the arrival point. In any case I gave my activity such an appearance. It could not be avoided that one or another of my comrades noticed that I was not going to the executions to fire away at

> the victims. They showered me with remarks such as "shithead" and "weakling" to express their disgust. But I suffered no consequences for my actions. I must mention here that I was not the only one who kept himself out of participating in the executions.[59]

By far the largest number of shooters at Józefów who were interrogated after the war came from the Third Platoon of Second Company. It is from them that we can perhaps get the best impression of the effect of the executions on the men and the dropout rate among them during the course of the action.

Hans Dettelmann,* a forty-year-old barber, was assigned by Drucker to a firing squad. "It was still not possible for me to shoot the first victim at the first execution, and I wandered off and asked . . . Lieutenant Drucker to be relieved." Dettelmann told his lieutenant that he had a "very weak nature," and Drucker let him go.[60]

Walter Niehaus,* a former Reemtsma cigarette sales representative, was paired with an elderly woman for the first round. "After I had shot the elderly woman, I went to Toni [Anton] Bentheim* [his sergeant] and told him that I was not able to carry out further executions. I did not have to participate in the shooting anymore. . . . my nerves were totally finished from this one shooting."[61]

For his first victim August Zorn* was given a very old man. Zorn recalled that his elderly victim

> could not or would not keep up with his countrymen, because he repeatedly fell and then simply lay there. I regularly had to lift him up and drag him forward. Thus, I only reached the execution site when my comrades had already shot their Jews. At the sight of his countrymen who had been shot, my Jew threw himself on the ground and remained lying there. I then cocked my carbine and shot him through the back of the head. Because I was already very upset from the cruel treatment of the Jews during the clearing of the town and was completely

> in turmoil, I shot too high. The entire back of the skull of my Jew was torn off and the brain exposed. Parts of the skull flew into Sergeant Steinmetz's face. This was grounds for me, after returning to the truck, to go to the first sergeant and ask for my release. I had become so sick that I simply couldn't anymore. I was then relieved by the first sergeant.[62]

Georg Kageler,* a thirty-seven-year-old tailor, made it through the first round before encountering difficulty. "After I had carried out the first shooting and at the unloading point was allotted a mother with daughter as victims for the next shooting, I began a conversation with them and learned that they were Germans from Kassel, and I took the decision not to participate further in the executions. The entire business was now so repugnant to me that I returned to my platoon leader and told him that I was still sick and asked for my release." Kageler was sent to guard the marketplace.[63] Neither his pre-execution conversation with his victim nor his discovery that there were German Jews in Józefów was unique. Schimke, the man who had first stepped out, encountered a Jew from Hamburg in the marketplace, as did a second policeman.[64] Yet another policeman remembered that the first Jew he shot was a decorated World War I veteran from Bremen who begged in vain for mercy.[65]

Franz Kastenbaum,* who during his official interrogation had denied remembering anything about the killing of Jews in Poland, suddenly appeared uninvited at the office of the Hamburg state prosecutor investigating Reserve Police Battalion 101. He told how he had been a member of a firing squad of seven or eight men that had taken its victims into the woods and shot them in the neck at point-blank range. This procedure had been repeated until the fourth victim.

> The shooting of the men was so repugnant to me that I missed the fourth man. It was simply no longer possible for me to aim accurately. I suddenly felt nauseous and ran away from the

> shooting site. I have expressed myself incorrectly just now. It was not that I could no longer aim accurately, rather that the fourth time I intentionally missed. I then ran into the woods, vomited, and sat down against a tree. To make sure that no one was nearby, I called loudly into the woods, because I wanted to be alone. Today I can say that my nerves were totally finished. I think that I remained alone in the woods for some two to three hours.

Kastenbaum then returned to the edge of the woods and rode an empty truck back to the marketplace. He suffered no consequences; his absence had gone unnoticed because the firing squads had been all mixed up and randomly assigned. He had come to make this statement, he explained to the investigating attorney, because he had had no peace since attempting to conceal the shooting action.[66]

Most of those who found the shooting impossible to bear quit very early.[67] But not always. The men in one squad had already shot ten to twenty Jews each when they finally asked to be relieved. As one of them explained, "I especially asked to be relieved because the man next to me shot so impossibly. Apparently he always aimed his gun too high, producing terrible wounds in his victims. In many cases the entire backs of victims' heads were torn off, so that the brains sprayed all over. I simply couldn't watch it any longer."[68] At the unloading point, Sergeant Bentheim watched men emerge from the woods covered with blood and brains, morale shaken and nerves finished. Those who asked to be relieved he advised to "slink away" to the marketplace.[69] As a result, the number of policemen gathered on the marketplace grew constantly.[70]

As with First Company, alcohol was made available to the policemen under Drucker and Steinmetz who stayed in the forest and continued shooting.[71] As darkness approached at the end of a long summer day and the murderous task was still not finished, the shooting became even less organized and more hectic.[72] The forest was so full of dead bodies that it was difficult to find places

to make the Jews lie down.[73] When darkness finally fell about 9:00 p.m.—some seventeen hours after Reserve Police Battalion 101 had first arrived on the outskirts of Józefów—and the last Jews had been killed, the men returned to the marketplace and prepared to depart for Biłgoraj.[74] No plans had been made for the burial of the bodies, and the dead Jews were simply left lying in the woods. Neither clothing nor valuables had been officially collected, though at least some of the policemen had enriched themselves with watches, jewelry, and money taken from the victims.[75] The pile of luggage the Jews had been forced to leave at the marketplace was simply burned.[76] Before the policemen climbed into their trucks and left Józefów, a ten-year-old girl appeared, bleeding from the head. She was brought to Trapp, who took her in his arms and said, "You shall remain alive."[77]

When the men arrived at the barracks in Biłgoraj, they were depressed, angered, embittered, and shaken.[78] They ate little but drank heavily. Generous quantities of alcohol were provided, and many of the policemen got quite drunk. Major Trapp made the rounds, trying to console and reassure them, and again placing the responsibility on higher authorities.[79] But neither the drink nor Trapp's consolation could wash away the sense of shame and horror that pervaded the barracks. Trapp asked the men not to talk about it,[80] but they needed no encouragement in that direction. Those who had not been in the forest did not want to learn more.[81] Those who had been there likewise had no desire to speak, either then or later. By silent consensus within Reserve Police Battalion 101, the Józefów massacre was simply not discussed. "The entire matter was a taboo."[82] But repression during waking hours could not stop the nightmares. During the first night back from Józefów, one policeman awoke firing his gun into the ceiling of the barracks.[83]

Several days after Józefów the battalion, it would seem, narrowly missed participation in yet another massacre. Units of First and Second Company, under Trapp and Wohlauf, entered Alekzandrów—a so-called street village composed of houses strung out along the road twelve kilometers west of Józefów. A

small number of Jews was rounded up, and both the policemen and the Jews feared that another massacre was imminent. After some hesitation, however, the action was broken off, and Trapp permitted the Jews to return to their houses. One policeman remembered vividly "how individual Jews fell on their knees before Trapp and tried to kiss his hands and feet. Trapp, however, did not permit this and turned away." The policemen returned to Biłgoraj with no explanation for the strange turn of events.[84] Then, on July 20, precisely one month after its departure from Hamburg and one week after the Józefów massacre, Reserve Police Battalion 101 left Biłgoraj for redeployment in the northern sector of the Lublin district.

8

Reflections on a Massacre

AT JÓZEFÓW A MERE DOZEN MEN OUT OF NEARLY 500 HAD responded instinctively to Major Trapp's offer to step forward and excuse themselves from the impending mass murder. Why was the number of men who from the beginning declared themselves unwilling to shoot so small? In part, it was a matter of the suddenness. There was no forewarning or time to think, as the men were totally "surprised" by the Józefów action.[1] Unless they were able to react to Trapp's offer on the spur of the moment, this first opportunity was lost.[2]

As important as the lack of time for reflection was the pressure for conformity—the basic identification of men in uniform with their comrades and the strong urge not to separate themselves from the group by stepping out. The battalion had only recently

been brought up to full strength, and many of the men did not yet know each other well; the bonds of military comradeship were not yet fully developed. Nonetheless, the act of stepping out that morning in Józefów meant leaving one's comrades and admitting that one was "too weak" or "cowardly." Who would have "dared," one policeman declared emphatically, to "lose face" before the assembled troops.[3] "If the question is posed to me why I shot with the others in the first place," said another who subsequently asked to be excused after several rounds of killing, "I must answer that no one wants to be thought a coward." It was one thing to refuse at the beginning, he added, and quite another to try to shoot but not be able to continue.[4] Another policeman—more aware of what truly required courage—said quite simply, "I was cowardly."[5]

Most of the interrogated policemen denied that they had any choice. Faced with the testimony of others, many did not contest that Trapp had made the offer but claimed that they had not heard that part of the speech or could not remember it. A few policemen made the attempt to confront the question of choice but failed to find the words. It was a different time and place, as if they had been on another political planet, and the political values and vocabulary of the 1960s were useless in explaining the situation in which they had found themselves in 1942. Quite atypical in describing his state of mind that morning of July 13 was a policeman who admitted to killing as many as twenty Jews before quitting. "I thought that I could master the situation and that without me the Jews were not going to escape their fate anyway. . . . Truthfully I must say that at the time we didn't reflect about it at all. Only years later did any of us become truly conscious of what had happened then. . . . Only later did it first occur to me that had not been right."[6]

In addition to the easy rationalization that not taking part in the shooting was not going to alter the fate of the Jews in any case, the policemen developed other justifications for their behavior. Perhaps the most astonishing rationalization of all was that of a thirty-five-year-old metalworker from Bremerhaven:

> I made the effort, and it was possible for me, to shoot only children. It so happened that the mothers led the children by the hand. My neighbor then shot the mother and I shot the child that belonged to her, because I reasoned with myself that after all without its mother the child could not live any longer. It was supposed to be, so to speak, soothing to my conscience to release children unable to live without their mothers.[7]

The full weight of this statement, and the significance of the word choice of the former policeman, cannot be fully appreciated unless one knows that the German word for "release" (*erlösen*) also means to "redeem" or "save" when used in a religious sense. The one who "releases" is the *Erlöser*—the Savior or Redeemer!

In terms of motivation and consciousness, the most glaring omission in the interrogations is any discussion of anti-Semitism. For the most part the interrogators did not pursue this issue. Nor were the men, for understandable reasons as potential defendants, eager to volunteer any illuminating comments. With few exceptions the whole question of anti-Semitism is marked by silence. What is clear is that the men's concern for their standing in the eyes of their comrades was not matched by any sense of human ties with their victims. The Jews stood outside their circle of human obligation and responsibility. Such a polarization between "us" and "them," between one's comrades and the enemy, is of course standard in war.

It would seem that even if the men of Reserve Police Battalion 101 had not consciously adopted the anti-Semitic doctrines of the regime, they had at least accepted the assimilation of the Jews into the image of the enemy. Major Trapp appealed to this generalized notion of the Jews as part of the enemy in his early-morning speech. The men should remember, when shooting Jewish women and children, that the enemy was killing German women and children by bombing Germany.

If only a dozen policemen stepped out at the beginning to extricate themselves from the impending mass murder, a much

larger number either sought to evade the shooting by less conspicuous methods or asked to be released from the firing squads once the shooting had begun. How many policemen belonged to these categories cannot be ascertained with any certainty, but an estimate in the range of 10 to 20 percent of those actually assigned to the firing squads does not seem unreasonable. Sergeant Hergert, for instance, admitted excusing as many as five from his squad of forty or fifty men. In the Drucker-Steinmetz group, from which the greatest number of shooters was interrogated, we can identify six policemen who quit within four rounds and an entire squad of five to eight who were released considerably later. While the number of those who evaded or dropped out was thus not insignificant, it must not obscure the corollary that at least 80 percent of those called upon to shoot continued to do so until 1,500 Jews from Józefów had been killed.

Even twenty or twenty-five years later those who did quit shooting along the way overwhelmingly cited sheer physical revulsion against what they were doing as the prime motive but did not express any ethical or political principles behind this revulsion. Given the educational level of these reserve policemen, one should not expect a sophisticated articulation of abstract principles. The absence of such does not mean that their revulsion did not have its origins in the humane instincts that Nazism radically opposed and sought to overcome. But the men themselves did not seem to be conscious of the contradiction between their feelings and the essence of the regime they served. Being too weak to continue shooting, of course, posed problems for the "productivity" and morale of the battalion, but it did not challenge basic police discipline or the authority of the regime in general. Indeed, Heinrich Himmler himself sanctioned the toleration of this kind of weakness in his notorious Posen speech of October 4, 1943, to the SS leadership. While exalting obedience as one of the key virtues of all SS men, he explicitly noted an exception, namely, "one whose nerves are

finished, one who is weak. Then one can say: Good, go take your pension."[8]

Politically and ethically motivated opposition, explicitly identified by the policemen as such, was relatively rare. One man said he decisively rejected the Jewish measures of the Nazis because he was an active Communist Party member and thus rejected National Socialism in its entirety.[9] Another said he opposed the shooting of Jews because he had been a Social Democrat for many years.[10] A third said he was known to the Nazis as "politically unreliable" and a "grumbler" but gave no further political identity.[11] Several others grounded their attitude on opposition to the regime's anti-Semitism in particular. "This attitude I already had earlier in Hamburg," said one landscape gardener, "because due to the Jewish measures already carried out in Hamburg I had lost the greater part of my business customers."[12] Another policeman merely identified himself as "a great friend of the Jews" without explaining further.[13]

The two men who explained their refusal to take part in the greatest detail both emphasized the fact that they were freer to act as they did because they had no careerist ambitions. One policeman accepted the possible disadvantages of his course of action "because I was not a career policeman and also did not want to become one, but rather an independent skilled craftsman, and I had my business back home. . . . thus it was of no consequence that my police career would not prosper."[14]

Lieutenant Buchmann had cited an ethical stance for his refusal; as a reserve officer and Hamburg businessman, he could not shoot defenseless women and children. But he too stressed the importance of economic independence when explaining why his situation was not analogous to that of his fellow officers. "I was somewhat older then and moreover a reserve officer, so it was not particularly important to me to be promoted or otherwise to advance, because I had my prosperous business back home. The company chiefs . . . on the other hand were young men and career policemen who wanted to become something." But

Buchmann also admitted to what the Nazis would undoubtedly have condemned as a "cosmopolitan" and pro-Jewish outlook. "Through my business experience, especially because it extended abroad, I had gained a better overview of things. Moreover, through my earlier business activities I already knew many Jews."[15]

The resentment and bitterness in the battalion over what they had been asked to do in Józefów was shared by virtually everyone, even those who had shot the entire day. The exclamation of one policeman to First Sergeant Kammer of First Company that "I'd go crazy if I had to do that again" expressed the sentiments of many.[16] But only a few went beyond complaining to extricate themselves from such a possibility. Several of the older men with very large families took advantage of a regulation that required them to sign a release agreeing to duty in a combat area. One who had not yet signed refused to do so; another rescinded his signature. Both were eventually transferred back to Germany.[17] The most dramatic response was again that of Lieutenant Buchmann, who asked Trapp to have him transferred back to Hamburg and declared that short of a direct personal order from Trapp, he would not take part in Jewish actions. In the end he wrote to Hamburg, explicitly requesting a recall because he was not "suited" to certain tasks "alien to the police" that were being carried out by his unit in Poland.[18] Buchmann had to wait until November, but his efforts to be transferred were ultimately successful.

The problem that faced Trapp and his superiors in Lublin, therefore, was not the ethically and politically grounded opposition of a few but the broad demoralization shared both by those who shot to the end and those who had not been able to continue. It was above all a reaction to the sheer horror of the killing process itself. If Reserve Police Battalion 101 was to continue to provide vital manpower for the implementation of the Final Solution in the Lublin district, the psychological burden on the men had to be taken into account and alleviated.

In subsequent actions two vital changes were introduced and

henceforth—with some notable exceptions—adhered to. First, most of the future operations of Reserve Police Battalion 101 involved ghetto clearing and deportation, not outright massacre on the spot. The policemen were thus relieved of the immediate horror of the killing process, which (for deportees from the northern Lublin district) was carried out in the extermination camp at Treblinka. Second, while deportation was a horrifying procedure characterized by the terrible coercive violence needed to drive people onto the death trains as well as the systematic killing of those who could not be marched to the trains, these actions were generally undertaken jointly by units of Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Trawnikis, SS-trained auxiliaries from Soviet territories, recruited from the POW camps and usually assigned the very worst parts of the ghetto clearing and deportation.

Concern over the psychological demoralization resulting from Józefów is indeed the most likely explanation of that mysterious incident in Alekzandrów several days later. Probably Trapp had assurance that Trawniki men would carry out the shooting this time, and when they did not show up, he released the Jews his men had rounded up. In short, the psychological alleviation necessary to integrate Reserve Police Battalion 101 into the killing process was to be achieved through a twofold division of labor. The bulk of the killing was to be removed to the extermination camp, and the worst of the on-the-spot "dirty work" was to be assigned to the Trawnikis. This change would prove sufficient to allow the men of Reserve Police Battalion 101 to become accustomed to their participation in the Final Solution. When the time came to kill again, the policemen did not "go crazy." Instead they became increasingly efficient and calloused executioners.

The camp commandants believed that even before they served in the camps; the more the brutality increased and the inmates lost their human appearance, the more the theory of race and the subhuman *Untermensch* seemed to be proving itself. It made it easier for the men working at the concentration camps to perform their duties. "They were not human like us," said Ruth Kalder, Amon Göth's widow, in 1975. "They were so foul."[11] The court that heard Karl Chmielewski's case ruled that he was a sadist who murdered hundreds of prisoners by dousing them with boiling water. This was not, however, a crime in his eyes. He did not see them as human beings like him, the court said.[12] "At some point," said Max Pauly's defense attorney, "they murdered people in the camps just as we do away with a bothersome fly or a bedbug."[13]

Gitta Sereny, a British writer and historian, spoke of this with Franz Stangl, once the commandant of the Treblinka extermination camp. She interviewed him in 1971 in the Düsseldorf Prison. "Could you not have changed that? In your position, could you not have stopped the nakedness, the whips, the horror of the cattle pens?" she asked.

Stangl: No, no no. This was the system.... When I was on a trip once, years later in Brazil, my train stopped next to a slaughterhouse. The cattle in the pens, hearing the noise of the train, trotted up to the fence and stared at the train. They were very close to my window, one crowding the other, looking at me through that fence. I thought then, "Look at this; this reminds me of Poland; that's just how the people looked, trustingly, just before they went into the tins—"

Sereny: You said "tins." What do you mean?

Stangl: —I couldn't eat tinned meat after that. Those big eyes—which looked at me—not knowing that in no time at all they'd all be dead.

Sereny: So you didn't feel they were human beings?

Stangl: Cargo. They were cargo.

Sereny: When do you think you began to think of them as cargo? The way you spoke earlier, of the day when you first came to Treblinka, the horror you felt seeing the dead bodies everywhere—they weren't "cargo" to you then, were they?

Stangl: I think it started the day I first saw the *Totenlager* in Treblinka. I remember [SS officer Christian] Wirth standing there, next to the pits full of blue-black corpses. It had nothing to do with humanity—it couldn't have; it was a mass—a mass of rotting flesh. Wirth said, "What shall we do with this garbage?" I think unconsciously that started me thinking of them as cargo.

Sereny: There were so many children, did they ever make you think of your children, of how you would feel in the position of those parents?

Stangl: No. I can't say I ever thought that way. You see, I rarely saw them as individuals. It was always a huge mass. I sometimes stood on the wall and saw them in the tube. But—how can I explain it—they were naked, packed together, running, being driven with whips like...[14]

85. "Now the serpent was most subtle" (Gen. 3:1). The serpent reasoned to himself: If I go and speak to Adam, I know that he will not listen to me, for it is difficult to lead a man away from his own mind. So I shall go and speak to Eve, for I know that she will listen to me, since women are light-headed and easily led by everybody.

"For God doth know" (Gen. 3:5). R. Judah of Sikhnin said in the name of R. Levi: The serpent spoke slander against his Creator, saying to Eve: Our Creator ate of this tree and then created the world. And because every craftsman hates to have a rival in his craft, He said to you, "You shall not eat of it," so that you might not create other worlds.

[The serpent also said to Eve]: Whatever was created after its companion dominates it. Now, Adam was created after all creatures in order to rule over all of them. So make haste and eat [of the tree] before God creates other worlds which will rule over both of you.

Then the serpent touched the tree with his hands and feet, shaking it until its fruit fell to the ground. The tree then cried out: Villain, do not touch me—"Let not the foot of pride overtake me, and let not the hand of the wicked shake me" (Ps. 36:12). The serpent said to the woman, "Look, I touched the tree, yet I did not die. You, too, if you touch it, will not die." Right away, he pushed her and she touched the tree.

When she saw the angel of death coming toward her, she said, "Woe is me! I am as good as dead, and the Holy One will make another woman and give her to Adam." Immediately, "she took of its fruit and ate; and she also gave some to her husband, and he ate" (Gen. 3:6).

R. Aibu said: She squeezed grapes[8] and gave the juice to Adam.

R. Simlai said: She came at him with her answers all rehearsed, saying to him, "What do you suppose—that I will die and another Eve will be created for you? [There will be no new Eve]—'there is nothing new under the sun' [Eccles. 1:9]. Or that I will die and you will have no obligations? 'He created it not a waste, He formed it to be inhabited' " (Isa. 45:18). But our masters maintained: She raised her voice in howling at him, as is said, "Because thou hast hearkened unto the [loud] voice of thy wife" (Gen. 3:17).

["And she also gave unto her husband" (Gen. 3:6).] The world "also" is a word that suggests she also gave the fruit to others to eat, to cattle, beasts, and birds. All obeyed her, except for a certain bird named *hol* (phoenix), of which it is said, "I shall die with my nest, yet I shall multiply my days as the *hol*"[9] (Job 29:18). The school of R. Yannai maintained: The *hol* lives a thousand years. At the end of a thousand years, a fire issues from its nest and burns it up, yet of the bird a piece the size of an egg is left; it grows new limbs and lives again. But R. Yudan son of R. Simeon said: At the end of a thousand years, its body dries up and its wings drop off, yet of the bird a piece the size of an egg is left; it grows new limbs and lives again.[10]

86. "And the woman said unto the serpent" (Gen. 3:2). Now, where was Adam during this conversation? Abba bar Guria said: He had [engaged in intercourse and] fallen asleep. But the sages said: At that time the Holy One was taking him around the entire world, saying to him: Here is a place for planting trees, here is a place fit for sowing cereals.[11]

87. R. Simeon ben Yohai said: By what parable may what happened to Eve and Adam [at that time] be illustrated? By the parable of a man who had a wife at home. He went and brought a cask, and put a certain number of figs and a certain number of nuts into it. Then he caught a scorpion and put it at the mouth of the cask, sealed the cask with a tight-fitting lid, and put it in a corner. "My dear," he said to her, "everything I have in this house is in your hands, except this cask, which you may not touch at all because there is a scorpion in it."

When her husband left for the marketplace, an old woman came calling on her, like those who drop in to borrow a little vinegar. The woman asked, "How does your husband treat you?" The wife replied, "My husband treats me wonderfully—he has given me authority over everything he owns, except for this cask." The old woman said, "Very likely all his precious jewels are inside it. And he didn't tell you that, because he intends to marry another woman and give them to her." What did the wife do then? She proceeded to open the cask and put her hand into it. Whereupon the scorpion stung her. She stepped back and collapsed upon her couch.

When her husband returned from the marketplace, he asked, "What is this?" "I put my hand in the cask," she replied, "and a scorpion stung me, and now I am dying." "Did I not tell you in the beginning" he cried out, "everything I own in this house is in your hands except this cask, which you may not touch at all?" He grew angry at her and no longer thought of her as his wife.[1]

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8. See below in this chapter, §91.
9. JV: "as the phoenix."
10. Gen. R. 19:4–5; PRE 13; MhG Gen., pp. 95–96; ARNA, p. 2b (YJS, p. 9); ARNB, 2b–3a (trans. Saldarini, pp. 33–34); Yalkut, *Bereshit*, §27.

[24]God said, "Let the earth bring forth every kind of living creature: cattle, creeping things, and wild beasts of every kind." And it was so. [25]God made wild beasts of every kind and cattle of every kind, and all kinds of creeping things of the earth. And God saw that this was good. [26]And God said, "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness. They shall rule the fish of the sea, the birds of the sky, the cattle, the whole earth, and all the creeping things that creep on earth." [27]And God created man in His image, in the image

שלישי 24 וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים תּוֹצֵא הָאָרֶץ נֶפֶשׁ
חַיָּה לְמִינָהּ בְּהֵמָה וָרֶמֶשׂ וְחַיְתוֹ־אֶרֶץ לְמִינָהּ
וַיְהִי־כֵן׃ 25 וַיַּעַשׂ אֱלֹהִים אֶת־חַיַּת הָאָרֶץ לְמִינָהּ
וְאֶת־הַבְּהֵמָה לְמִינָהּ וְאֵת כָּל־רֶמֶשׂ הָאֲדָמָה
לְמִינֵהוּ וַיַּרְא אֱלֹהִים כִּי־טוֹב׃ 26 וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים
נַעֲשֶׂה אָדָם בְּצַלְמֵנוּ כִּדְמוּתֵנוּ וְיִרְדּוּ בִדְגַת הַיָּם
וּבְעוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם וּבַבְּהֵמָה וּבְכָל־הָאָרֶץ וּבְכָל־
הָרֶמֶשׂ הָרֹמֵשׂ עַל־הָאָרֶץ׃ 27 וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת־

duction by nonsexual means and because it is later to be cursed. The procreation of animate creatures, however, requires individual sexual activity, mating. This capacity for sexual reproduction is regarded as a divine blessing.

DAY SIX

The drama of Creation is moving toward its final act, the production of animate beings whose natural habitat is dry land. The unusual expansiveness of this section, the enhanced formula of approbation, and the exceptional use of the definite article with the day number indicate that the narrative is reaching its climax.

The section is divided into two parts. Verses 24–25 describe the emergence of the animal kingdom, which is classified according to three categories: cattle, creeping things, and wild beasts. The drama then culminates in verses 26–30 with the creation of the human being.

24. Let the earth bring forth It is uncertain whether the production of animals from earth is a reflex of the concept of "mother earth" or is simply a figurative way of expressing the natural environment of these creatures.

25. The execution of the divine utterance reverses the order of verse 24 so as to juxtapose *'adamah,* "earth," to *'adam,* "human being," in the next verse.

creeping things A general term for creatures whose bodies appear to move close to the ground. Here it seems to encompass reptiles, creeping insects, and very small animals.

The absence of a blessing upon these categories of animals is striking. It may be that, whereas the natural habitat of fish and fowl allows for their proliferation without encroaching adversely upon man's environment, the proliferation of animals, especially the wild variety, constitutes a menace. This idea is actually expressed in Exodus 23:29 and Leviticus 26:22.

26. The second section of the sixth day culminates the creative process. A human being is the pinnacle of Creation. This unique status is communicated in a variety of ways, not least by the simple fact that humankind is last in a manifestly ascending, gradational order. The creation of human life is an exception to the rule of creation by divine fiat, as signaled by the replacement of the simple impersonal Hebrew command (the jussive) with a personal, strongly expressed resolve (the cohortative). The divine intent and purpose are solemnly declared in advance, and the stereotyped formula "and it was so" gives way to a thrice-repeated avowal that God created the man, using the significant verb *b-r-'*. Human beings are to enjoy a unique relationship to God, who communicates with them alone and who shares with them the custody and administration of the world.

At the same time, the pairing of the creation of man in this verse with that of land animals, and their sharing in common a vegetarian diet, focuses attention on the dual nature of humankind, the creatureliness and earthiness as well as the Godlike qualities.

The mysterious duality of man—the awesome power at his command and the starkness of his utter insignificance as compared with God—is the subject of the psalmist who, basing himself on the present narrative, exclaims: "When I behold Your heavens, the work of Your fingers, / the moon and stars that You set in place, / what is man that You have been mindful of him, / mortal man that You have taken note of him, / that You have made him little less than divine, / and adorned him with

glory and majesty; / You have made him master over Your handiwork, / laying the world at his feet" (Pss. 8:4–7).

Let us make The extraordinary use of the first person plural evokes the image of a heavenly court in which God is surrounded by His angelic host.[20] Such a celestial scene is depicted in several biblical passages. This is the Israelite version of the polytheistic assemblies of the pantheon—monotheized and depaganized. It is noteworthy that this plural form of divine address is employed in Genesis on two other occasions, both involving the fate of humanity: in 3:22, in connection with the expulsion from Eden; and in 11:7, in reference to the dispersal of the human race after the building of the Tower of Babel.

man Hebrew *'adam* is a generic term for humankind; it never appears in Hebrew in the feminine or plural. In the first five chapters of Genesis it is only rarely a proper name, Adam. The term encompasses both man and woman, as shown in verses 27–28 and 5:1–2, where it is construed with plural verbs and terminations.[21]

in our image, after our likeness This unique combination of expressions, virtually identical in meaning, emphasizes the incomparable nature of human beings and their special relationship to God. The full import of these terms can be grasped only within the broader context of biblical literature and against the background of ancient Near Eastern analogues.

The continuation of verse 26 establishes an evident connection between resemblance to God and sovereignty over the earth's resources, though it is not made clear whether man has power over nature as a result of his being like God or whether that power constitutes the very essence of the similarity. A parallel passage in 9:6–7 tells of God's renewed blessing on the human race after the Flood and declares murder to be the consummate crime precisely because "in His image did God make man." In other words, the resemblance of man to God bespeaks the infinite worth of a human being and affirms the inviolability of the human person. The killing of any other creature, even wantonly, is not murder. Only a human being may be murdered. It would seem, then, that the phrase "in the image of God" conveys something about the nature of the human being as opposed to the animal kingdom; it also asserts human dominance over nature. But it is even more than this.

The words used here to convey these ideas can be better understood in the light of a phenomenon registered in both Mesopotamia and Egypt, whereby the ruling monarch is described as "the image" or "the likeness" of a god. In Mesopotamia we find the following salutations: "The father of my lord the king is the very image of Bel *(ṣalam bel)* and the king, my lord, is the very image of Bel"; "The king, lord of the lands, is the image of Shamash"; "O king of the inhabited world, you are the image of Marduk." In Egypt the same concept is expressed through the name Tutankhamen *(Tut-ankh-amun),* which means "the living image of (the god) Amun," and in the designation of Thutmose IV as "the likeness of Re."

Without doubt, the terminology employed in Genesis 2:26 is derived from regal vocabulary, which serves to elevate the king above the ordinary run of men. In the Bible this idea has become democratized.[22] All human beings are created "in the image of God"; each person bears the stamp of royalty. This was patently understood by the author of Psalm 8, cited above. His description of man in royal terms is his interpretation of the concept of the "image of God" introduced in verse 26. It should be further pointed out that in Assyrian royal steles, the gods are generally depicted by their symbols: Ashshur by the winged disk, Shamash by the sun disk, and so forth. These depictions are called: "the image *(ṣalam)* of the great gods." In light of this, the characterization of man as "in the image of God" furnishes the added dimension of his being the symbol of God's presence on earth. While he is not divine, his very existence bears witness to the activity of God in the life of the world. This awareness inevitably entails an awesome responsibility and imposes a code of living that conforms with the consciousness of that fact.

It should be added that the pairing of the terms *tselem* and *demut,* "image" and "likeness," is paralleled in a ninth-century B.C.E. Assyrian-Aramaic bilingual inscription on a statue at Tell Fekheriyeh in Syria. The two terms are used interchangeably and indiscriminately and obviously cannot be used as criteria for source differentiation.

They shall rule The verbs used here and in verse 28 express the coercive power of the monarch, consonant with the explanation just given for "the image of God." This power, however, cannot include the license to exploit nature banefully, for the following reasons: the human race is

of God He created him; male and female He created them.
[28]God blessed them and God said to them, "Be fertile and increase, fill the earth and master it; and rule the fish of the sea, the birds of the sky, and all the living things that creep on earth."

[29]God said, "See, I give you every seed-bearing plant that is upon all the earth, and every tree that has seed-bearing fruit; they shall be yours for food. [30]And to all the animals

הָאָדָם בְּצַלְמוֹ בְּצֶלֶם אֱלֹהִים בָּרָא אֹתוֹ זָכָר
וּנְקֵבָה בָּרָא אֹתָם׃ 28 וַיְבָרֶךְ אֹתָם אֱלֹהִים וַיֹּאמֶר
לָהֶם אֱלֹהִים פְּרוּ וּרְבוּ וּמִלְאוּ אֶת־הָאָרֶץ וְכִבְשֻׁהָ
וּרְדוּ בִּדְגַת הַיָּם וּבְעוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם וּבְכָל־חַיָּה
הָרֹמֶשֶׂת עַל־הָאָרֶץ׃ 29 וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים הִנֵּה
נָתַתִּי לָכֶם אֶת־כָּל־עֵשֶׂב זֹרֵעַ זֶרַע אֲשֶׁר עַל־פְּנֵי
כָל־הָאָרֶץ וְאֶת־כָּל־הָעֵץ אֲשֶׁר־בּוֹ פְרִי־עֵץ זֹרֵעַ
זֶרַע לָכֶם יִהְיֶה לְאָכְלָה׃ 30 וּלְכָל־חַיַּת הָאָרֶץ

not inherently sovereign, but enjoys its dominion solely by the grace of God. Furthermore, the model of kingship here presupposed is Israelite, according to which, the monarch does not possess unrestrained power and authority; the limits of his rule are carefully defined and circumscribed by divine law, so that kingship is to be exercised with responsibility and is subject to accountability. Moreover, man, the sovereign of nature, is conceived at this stage to be functioning within the context of a "very good" world in which the interrelationships of organisms with their environment and with each other are entirely harmonious and mutually beneficial, an idyllic situation that is clearly illustrated in Isaiah's vision of the ideal future king (Isa. 11:1–9). Thus, despite the power given him, man still requires special divine sanction to partake of the earth's vegetation, and although he "rules" the animal world, he is not here permitted to eat flesh (vv. 29–30; cf. 9:3–4).

There is one other aspect to the divine charge to man. Contrary to the common beliefs of the ancient world that the forces of nature are divinities that may hold the human race in thralldom, our text declares man to be a free agent who has the God-given power to control nature.

27. male and female He created them No such sexual differentiation is noted in regard to animals. Human sexuality is of a wholly different order from that of the beast. The next verse shows it to be a blessed gift of God woven into the fabric of life. As such, it cannot of itself be other than wholesome. By the same token, its abuse is treated in the Bible with particular severity. Its proper regulation is subsumed under the category of the holy, whereas sexual perversion is viewed with abhorrence as an affront to human dignity and as a desecration of the divine image in man.

The definition of the human community contained in this verse is solemnly repeated in 5:1–2, an indication of its seminal importance. Both sexes are created on the sixth day by the hand of the one God; both are made "in His image" on a level of absolute equality before Him. Thus the concept of humanity needs both male and female for its proper articulation.

It is noteworthy that the recurrent formula "of every kind," hitherto encountered with the emergence of every living thing, is here omitted. There is only one human species. The notion of all humankind deriving from one common ancestry directly leads to the recognition of the unity of the human race, notwithstanding the infinite diversity of human culture. The sages of the Mishnah, in Sanhedrin 4:5, observed that mankind was created as a single unit in order to inculcate the idea that the destruction of a single life is tantamount to the destruction of the entire world and, conversely, the preservation of a single life is the preservation of the entire world. The sages further understood that God, in order to promote social harmony, intended that no person have claim to unique ancestry as a pretext for asserting superiority over others.

28. God blessed them and God said to them The difference between the formulation here and God's blessing to the fish and fowl in verse 22 is subtle and meaningful. Here God directly addresses man and woman. The transcendent God of Creation transforms Himself into the immanent God, the personal God, who enters into unmediated communion with human beings.

Be fertile and increase Some commentators have understood this blessing of fertility to encompass a religious duty of procreation as well.[23] However, only in its repetition in 9:7, following the depopulation of the earth by the Flood, is it clearly prescriptive.[24]

30. God makes provision for the sustenance of man and beast—a reminder that man is still a creature totally dependent on the benevolence of God. The narrative presupposes a pristine state of

on land, to all the birds of the sky, and to everything that creeps on earth, in which there is the breath of life, [I give] all the green plants for food." And it was so. 31And God saw all that He had made, and found it very good. And there was evening and there was morning, the sixth day.

וּלְכָל־עֹוף הַשָּׁמַיִם וּלְכֹל רוֹמֵשׂ עַל־הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר־
בֹּו נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה אֶת־כָּל־יֶרֶק עֵשֶׂב לְאָכְלָה וַיְהִי־כֵן׃
31 וַיַּרְא אֱלֹהִים אֶת־כָּל־אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה וְהִנֵּה־טֹוב
מְאֹד וַיְהִי־עֶרֶב וַיְהִי־בֹקֶר יֹום הַשִּׁשִּׁי׃ פ

2 The heaven and the earth were finished, and all their array. 2On the seventh day God finished the work that He

ב וַיְכֻלּוּ הַשָּׁמַיִם וְהָאָרֶץ וְכָל־צְבָאָם׃ 2 וַיְכַל
אֱלֹהִים בַּיֹּום הַשְּׁבִיעִי מְלַאכְתֹּו אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה

vegetarianism. Isaiah's vision of the ideal future in 11:7 and 65:25 sees the carnivorous animals becoming herbivorous.

very good A verdict on the totality of Creation, now completed.

the sixth day The exceptional definite article here and with the seventh day points to the special character of these days within the scheme of Creation.

CHAPTER 2 THE SEVENTH DAY (vv. 1–3)

The ascending order of Creation, and the "six-plus-one" literary pattern that determines the presentation of the narrative, dictates that the seventh day be the momentous climax. Man is indeed the pinnacle of Creation, but central to the cosmogonic drama is the work of God, the solo performer. The account of Creation opened with a statement about God; it will now close with a statement about God. The seventh day is the Lord's Day, through which all the creativity of the preceding days achieves fulfillment. The threefold repetition of the day number indicates its paramount importance within the cosmic whole. The seventh day is in polar contrast to the other six days, which are filled with creative activity. Its distinctive character is the desistance from labor and its infusion with blessing and sanctity. This renders unnecessary the routine approbation formula. An integral part of the divinely ordained cosmic order, it cannot be abrogated by man. Its blessed and sacred character is a cosmic reality entirely independent of human effort.

The human institution of the Sabbath does not appear in the narrative. Indeed, the Hebrew noun *shabbat* is absent, and we have only the verbal forms of the root. There are several possible reasons for the omission. First, the expression "the seventh day" is required by the conventional, sequential style of the creation narrative in which numbered day follows numbered day in an ascending series. Further, the term *shabbat* connotes a fixed institution recurring with cyclic regularity. This would be inappropriate to the present context and, in general, inapplicable to God. Finally, as we read in Exodus 31:13, 16, and 17, the Sabbath is a distinctively Israelite ordinance, a token of the eternal covenant between God and Israel. Its enactment would be out of place before the arrival of Israel on the scene of history.

Nevertheless, there cannot be any doubt that the text provides the unspoken foundation for the future institution of the Sabbath. Not only is the vocabulary of the present passage interwoven with other Pentateuchal references to the Sabbath,[1] but the connection with Creation is made explicit in the first version of the Ten Commandments, given in Exodus 20:8–11. "Remember the sabbath day and keep it holy. Six days you shall labor and do all your work, but the seventh day is a sabbath of the LORD your God. . . . For in six days the LORD made heaven and earth and sea, and all that is in them, and He rested on the seventh day . . . and hallowed it." The biblical institution of the weekly Sabbath is unparalleled in the ancient world. In fact, the concept of a seven-day week is unique to Israel, as is also, so far, the seven-day cosmogonic tradition. Both these phenomena are extraordinary in light of the widespread use of a seven-day unit of time, both as a literary convention and as an aspect of cultic observance in the ancient Near East. The wonderment is compounded by additional data. The other major units of time—day, month, and year—are uniformly based on the phases of the moon and the

had been doing, and He ceased on the seventh day from all the work that He had done. 3And God blessed the seventh day and declared it holy, because on it God ceased from all the work of creation that He had done. 4Such is the story of heaven and earth when they were created.

וַיִּשְׁבֹּת בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי מִכָּל־מְלַאכְתּוֹ אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה׃
3 וַיְבָרֶךְ אֱלֹהִים אֶת־יוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי וַיְקַדֵּשׁ אֹתוֹ כִּי
בוֹ שָׁבַת מִכָּל־מְלַאכְתּוֹ אֲשֶׁר־בָּרָא אֱלֹהִים
לַעֲשׂוֹת׃ פ רביעי [שני לספרדים]

movement of the sun, and the calendars of the ancient world are rooted in the seasonal manifestations of nature. Remarkably, the Israelite week has no such linkage and is entirely independent of the movement of celestial bodies. The Sabbath thus underlines the fundamental idea of Israelite monotheism: that God is wholly outside of nature.

It is still a moot point whether the noun *shabbat* is derived from the verb *sh-b-t,* "to cease," or vice versa. Attempts have been made to connect it with the Babylonian-Assyrian calendrical term *shapattu,* which is described as *ūm nūḥ libbi,* "the day of the quieting of the heart (of the god)," that is, the day when he is appeased. This day, however, is defined as the fifteenth of the month, the day of the full moon. It is not certain that every full moon was called *shapattu,* nor is it clear how the term would have been transferred to the Israelite cyclical seventh day freed of any lunar association. The etymology and exact meaning of that term still remain problematical. In fact, the likelihood exists that *shapattu* is itself a loan word in Akkadian. In addition, there is no evidence that the day entailed a cessation from labor. Whatever its etymology, the biblical Sabbath as an institution is unparalleled in the ancient world.

1. all their array Hebrew *tsava',* in the sense used here, is strictly speaking applicable only to "heaven"; but, by the figure of speech known as zeugma, it is extended to apply to the "earth" as well.[2]

2. On the seventh day This phrase caused embarrassment to ancient translators and commentators,[3] for it seems to be out of harmony with the context, implying some divine activity also on this day. However, the preposition can easily mean "by," and the verb can be taken as a pluperfect, "had finished," or as a declarative, "pronounced finished," just as "he declared it holy" in verse 3.

He ceased This is the primary meaning of *sh-b-t;* the idea of resting is secondary.[4]

3. God blessed . . . declared it holy Unlike the blessings of verses 22 and 28, which are verbal, specific, material, and relate to living creatures, this blessing is undefined and pertains to time itself. The day becomes imbued with an extraordinary vital power that communicates itself in a beneficial way. That is why the routine day-formula is here omitted. God, through His creativity, has already established His sovereignty over space; the idea here is that He is sovereign over time as well. Through his weekly suspension of normal human activity, man imitates the divine pattern and reactualizes the original sacred time of God, thereby recovering the sacred dimension of existence. Paradoxically, he also thereby rediscovers his own very human dimension, his earthliness, for the Sabbath delimits man's autonomy, suspends for a while his creative freedom, and declares that on that one day each week nature is inviolable.

holy This first use of the key biblical concept of holiness relates to time. This is in striking contrast to the Babylonian cosmology, which culminates in the erection of a temple to Marduk by the gods, thereby asserting the sanctification of space.

all the work of creation that He had done This smooth English conceals a difficulty in the Hebrew, which literally translates "all His work that God created to do." Ibn Ezra and Radak understood the final verb as connoting "[for man] to [continue to] do [thenceforth]." Ibn Janaḥ and Ramban connected the final verb with the preceding "ceased," thereby taking it to mean: "He ceased to perform all His creative work."[5]

When the LORD God made earth and heaven—[5]when no shrub of the field was yet on earth and no grasses of the field

4 אֵלֶּה תוֹלְדוֹת הַשָּׁמַיִם וְהָאָרֶץ בְּהִבָּרְאָם בְּיוֹם
עֲשׂוֹת יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים אֶרֶץ וְשָׁמָיִם׃ 5 וְכֹל שִׂיחַ

ה' זעירא v. 4.

Eden and the Expulsion: The Human Condition (2:4–3:24)

While God the Creator was the primary subject of the previous chapter, the focus of attention now shifts to humankind. This change in perspective and emphasis is signaled by the inversion of the regular sequence "heaven and earth" in the opening sentence. The almost unique expression "earth and heaven" suggests pride of place for terrestrial affairs. Information about the physical world is offered only to provide essential background for the understanding of the narrative, which seeks to explain the nature of man and the human condition.

Chapter 2 is not another creation story. As such it would be singularly incomplete. In fact, it presupposes a knowledge of much of the preceding account of Creation. Many of the leading ideas in the earlier account are here reiterated, though the mode of presentation is different. Thus, in both narratives God is the sovereign Creator, and the world is the purposeful product of His will. To human beings, the crown of His Creation, God grants mastery over the animal kingdom. In chapter 1, this idea is formulated explicitly; in the present section it is inferred from the power of naming invested in man. Both accounts view man as a social creature. Both project the concept of a common ancestry for all humanity. The notion that the human race was originally vegetarian is implied in 2:16–17, as in 1:29. Finally, one of the most serious questions to which the present narrative addresses itself—the origin of evil—would be unintelligible without the fundamental postulate of the preceding cosmology, repeated there seven times: the essential goodness of the divine creation.

The startling contrast between this vision of God's ideal world and the world of human experience requires explanation. How did the pristine harmony between God, man, and nature come to be disturbed? How are we to explain the harsh, hostile workings of nature, the recalcitrance of the soil to man's arduous labors? If God ordered man and woman to procreate, why then does woman suffer the pangs of childbirth in fulfilling God's will? If God created the human body, why does nudity in the presence of others instinctively evoke embarrassment? In short, how is the existence of evil to be accounted for?

The biblical answer to this fundamental question, diametrically opposed to prevalent pagan conceptions, is that there is no inherent, primordial evil at work in the world. The source of evil is not metaphysical but moral. Evil is not transhistorical but humanly wrought. Human beings possess free will, but free will is beneficial only insofar as its exercise is in accordance with divine will. Free will and the need for restraint on the liberties of action inevitably generate temptation and the agony of choosing, which only man's self-mastery can resolve satisfactorily. The ensuing narrative demonstrates that abuse of the power of choice makes disaster inescapable.

THE CREATION OF MAN (vv. 4–7)

Whereas the previous chapter simply recorded without detail the creation of humankind, male and female, the creations of man and woman are now described separately.

4. Such is the story The *'elleh toledot* formula is one of the distinguishing characteristics of the Book of Genesis.[6] In each of its other ten occurrences, it introduces what follows, invariably in close connection with the name of a person already mentioned in the narrative. Its use indicates that a new and significant development is at hand. Deriving from the verb *y-l-d,* "to give birth," the noun form would mean "begettings" or "generations," and in most instances it precedes genealogies that are sometimes interspersed with narrative material. In 25:19 and 37:2, where no family tree follows but only stories of subsequent events, the formula is used figuratively for "a record of events." This is the meaning it bears in the present passage. In this sense, the entire verse may be understood as a unity

had yet sprouted, because the LORD God had not sent rain upon the earth and there was no man to till the soil, 6but a flow would well up from the ground and water the whole surface of the earth—7the LORD God formed man from the dust of the earth. He blew into his nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living being.

הַשָּׂדֶה טֶרֶם יִהְיֶה בָּאָרֶץ וְכָל־עֵשֶׂב הַשָּׂדֶה טֶרֶם
יִצְמָח כִּי לֹא הִמְטִיר יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים עַל־הָאָרֶץ
וְאָדָם אַיִן לַעֲבֹד אֶת־הָאֲדָמָה׃ 6 וְאֵד יַעֲלֶה מִן־
הָאָרֶץ וְהִשְׁקָה אֶת־כָּל־פְּנֵי־הָאֲדָמָה׃ 7 וַיִּיצֶר
יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים אֶת־הָאָדָם עָפָר מִן־הָאֲדָמָה וַיִּפַּח

referring to what follows. Further support for this interpretation lies in its parallel structure, not to mention its poetic chiasm, "heaven and earth," "earth and heaven."[7]

the LORD God This combination of the personal divine name YHVH with the general term *'elohim* appears twenty times in the present literary unit, but only once again in the Torah, in Exodus 9:30. It is exceedingly rare in the rest of the Bible. The repeated use here may be to establish that the absolutely transcendent God of Creation *('elohim)* is the same immanent, personal God (YHVH) who shows concern for the needs of human beings. Admittedly, however, the remarkable concentration of the combination of these divine names in this narrative and their virtual absence hereafter have not been satisfactorily explained.

5. This passage is not a cosmogonic account but simply a description of the initial, barren state of the earth after the formation of dry land, which was briefly recorded in 1:9–10. The existence of both celestial and subterranean stores of water are presupposed here. The earth itself is still a desert. It lacks rain, verdure, and humankind.

rain Rain is not conceived simply as a phenomenon of nature; it is a source of blessing to man from God.

no man to till the soil Agriculture is considered to be the original vocation of man, whose bond to the earth is an essential part of his being.

6. a flow The idea seems to be that the primordial, subterranean waters would rise to the surface to moisten the arid earth,[8] thereby making it receptive to the growth and survival of vegetation and providing the raw material with the proper consistency for being molded into man.

7. Nothing was said in 1:27 of the substance from which man was created. Here it is given as "dust," a word that can be used synonymously with "clay."[9] The verb "formed" (Heb. *va-yitser)* is frequently used of the action of a potter *(yotser),* so that man's creation is portrayed in terms of God molding the clayey soil into shape and then animating it. This image is widespread in the ancient world. In Egyptian art the god Khnum is shown before a potter's wheel busily fashioning man, and in the Wisdom of Amen-em-opert (chap. 35), it is stated that "man is clay and straw, and the god is his builder." Mesopotamian texts, in particular, repeatedly feature this notion. The same is found in the Greek myth about Prometheus, who created a man, and about Hephaestus, who molded the archetypal woman Pandora from earth.

The poetic imagery evoked by the Genesis text is graphically explicit in the Book of Job: "Consider that You fashioned me like clay" (10:9); "You and I are the same before God; / I too was nipped from clay" (33:6). The human body is a "house of clay," and human beings are described as "those who dwell in houses of clay, / Whose origin is dust" (4:19).

Here in Genesis, the image simultaneously expresses both the glory and the insignificance of man. Man occupies a special place in the hierarchy of Creation and enjoys a unique relationship with God by virtue of his being the work of God's own hands and being directly animated by God's own breath. At the same time, he is but dust taken from the earth, mere clay in the hands of the divine Potter, who exercises absolute mastery over His Creation.

man . . . earth Hebrew *'adam . . . 'adamah.* This word play, not given in chapter 1, once more expresses man's essential bond to the earth. An oft-cited equivalent is "homo . . . humus."

the breath of life The uniqueness of the Hebrew phrase *nishmat ḥayyim* matches the singular nature of the human body, which, unlike the creatures of the animal world, is directly inspirited by God Himself.[10]

[8]The LORD God planted a garden in Eden, in the east, and placed there the man whom He had formed. [9]And from the ground the LORD God caused to grow every tree that was pleasing to the sight and good for food, with the tree of life

בְּאַפָּיו נִשְׁמַת חַיִּים וַיְהִי הָאָדָם לְנֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה׃
8 וַיִּטַּע יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים גַּן־בְּעֵדֶן מִקֶּדֶם וַיָּשֶׂם שָׁם
אֶת־הָאָדָם אֲשֶׁר יָצָר׃ 9 וַיַּצְמַח יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים מִן־
הָאֲדָמָה כָּל־עֵץ נֶחְמָד לְמַרְאֶה וְטוֹב לְמַאֲכָל וְעֵץ

THE GARDEN OF EDEN (vv. 8–17)

Man's first domicile is a garden planted by God. The narrative is very sparing of detail about its nature and function. Other biblical references indicate that a more expansive, popular story about man's first home once circulated widely in Israel. A phrase like "the garden of the Lord," as well as the figurative use of "Eden" or "Garden of Eden" as symbols of luscious vegetation, suggests a background not given here.[11] Ezekiel 28:13; 31 testify to the one-time existence of a tale about a wondrous "garden of God," rich in a large variety of precious stones, beautifully wrought gold, and an assortment of trees.

Ancient Near Eastern literature provides no parallel to our Eden narrative as a whole, but there are some suggestions of certain aspects of the biblical Eden. The Sumerian myth about Enki and Ninhursag tells of an idyllic island of Dilmun, now almost certainly identified with the modern island of Bahrein in the Persian Gulf. It is a "pure," "clean," and "bright" land in which all nature is at peace, where beasts of prey and tame cattle live together in mutual amity. Sickness and old age are unknown. The Gilgamesh Epic likewise knows of a garden of jewels. It is significant that our Genesis account omits all mythological details, does not even employ the phrase "garden of God," and places gold and jewels in a natural setting.

8. a garden The Greek version, the Septuagint, translated this word by *parádeisos,* a term that originated in the Old Persian *pairi-daeza,* meaning "an enclosed park, a pleasure ground." The translation was taken over by the Vulgate version and so passed from Latin into other European languages.[12] Because Hebrew *'eden* was interpreted to mean "pleasure," "paradise" took on an exclusively religious connotation as the place of reward for the righteous after death. Such a meaning for *'eden* is not found in the Hebrew Bible.

in Eden Clearly, Eden designates a wider geographical location of which the garden was a part.[13] The name has been derived from the Sumerian *edinu,* "a plain," but an Aramaic-Akkadian bilingual inscription suggests that the real meaning is "luxuriance."

in the east Hebrew *mi-kedem,* here interpreted spatially, can also have a temporal meaning, "in primeval times," and was so rendered in some ancient versions and exegesis.[14] This would preclude the possibility that the garden was planted after the creation of man.

9. The verse tells nothing about the greening of the earth in general, only about the garden, which is pictured as a tree park. This accords with the description of the "garden of God" in Ezekiel 31:8–9. The idea is that man's food was ever ready at hand. The attractive, nutritious, and delectable qualities of the fruit are stressed with the next episode in mind. The human couple will not be able to plead deprivation as the excuse for eating the forbidden fruit.

The two special trees are brought to our attention in a deliberately casual manner; their significance will become obvious later on. The "tree of life" is mentioned first, the "tree of knowledge" second. Only the first is given prominence in the garden, while the second gives the appearance of being an appendage to the verse. Yet as the narrative unfolds, the sequence is reversed. Only the "tree of knowledge" comes into focus, only its fruit is prohibited, only it is mentioned in the subsequent dialogues.

This shift in emphasis signals another breach with the central pagan theme of man's quest for immortality, as illustrated, for example, in the Mesopotamian Gilgamesh Epic and the Story of Adapa.[15] It is not the mythical pursuit of eternal life but the relationship between God and man that is the primary concern here.

the tree of life It is clear from 3:22 that the fruit of this tree was understood to bestow immortality upon the eater.[16] What is uncertain is whether a single bite was thought to suffice or whether steady ingestion was needed to sustain a process of continuous rejuvenation. Either way, the text presupposes a belief that man, created from perishable matter, was mortal from the outset but

in the middle of the garden, and the tree of knowledge of good and bad.

10A river issues from Eden to water the garden, and it then divides and becomes four branches. 11The name of the first is Pishon, the one that winds through the whole land of Havilah, where the gold is. (12The gold of that land is

הַחַיִּים בְּתוֹךְ הַגָּן וְעֵץ הַדַּעַת טוֹב וָרָע׃ 10 וְנָהָר
יֹצֵא מֵעֵדֶן לְהַשְׁקוֹת אֶת־הַגָּן וּמִשָּׁם יִפָּרֵד וְהָיָה
לְאַרְבָּעָה רָאשִׁים׃ 11 שֵׁם הָאֶחָד פִּישׁוֹן הוּא
הַסֹּבֵב אֵת כָּל־אֶרֶץ הַחֲוִילָה אֲשֶׁר־שָׁם הַזָּהָב׃

that he had within his grasp the possibility of immortality. The "tree of life" is not included in the prohibition in verse 17.

the tree of knowledge of good and bad The interpretation of this enigmatic designation, which is unparalleled anywhere outside the present narrative, hinges upon the definition of "knowledge" and the scope of "good and bad." Ibn Ezra, followed by many moderns, understood carnal knowledge to be intended since the first human experience after eating the forbidden fruit is the consciousness of nudity accompanied by shame; moreover, immediately after the expulsion from Eden it is said, "Now the man knew his wife Eve."

Against this interpretation is the fact that at this stage woman is not yet created, that sexual differentiation is made by God Himself (cf. 1:27), that the institution of marriage is looked upon in verse 25 as part of the divinely ordained order, and that, according to 3:5, 22, "knowledge of good and bad" is a divine characteristic. Thus it will not do to take "good and bad" as the human capacity for moral discernment. Aside from the difficulty of understanding why God should be opposed to this, there is the additional argument that a divine prohibition would be meaningless if man did not already possess this faculty. Indeed, from 3:3 it is clear that the woman knows the meaning of disobedience; that is, she is already alert to the difference between right and wrong, which can have no other meaning than obedience or otherwise.

It is more satisfactory, however, to understand "good and bad" as undifferentiated parts of a totality, a merism meaning "everything." True, man and woman do not become endowed with omniscience after partaking of the fruit, but the text does seem to imply that their intellectual horizons are immeasurably expanded. Passages like 2 Samuel 14:17, 20 lend support to this interpretation. It should also be noted that "good and bad," exactly in the Hebrew form used here *(tov vara')*, occurs again only in Deuteronomy 1:39: "Moreover, your little ones who you said would be carried off, your children who do not yet know good from bad . . ." There the context leaves no doubt that not to know good and bad means to be innocent, not to have attained the age of responsibility. In the present passage, then, it is best to understand "knowledge of good and bad" as the capacity to make independent judgments concerning human welfare.

THE RIVERS OF PARADISE (vv. 10–14)

The story of man is abruptly interrupted by a description of the geographical setting of the garden. This pause functions as a tension-building device, for the reader is left wondering about the role of the two special trees. The identical literary stratagem is employed in the story of Joseph, where the digression of chapter 38 heightens the reader's suspense at a critical moment in the development of the plot.

A single river "issues from Eden." Its source appears to be outside the garden, which it irrigates as it passes through. Here, as in Genesis 13:10, which reflects this same tradition, the garden is made independent of the vagaries of seasonal rainfall. Somewhere beyond the confines of the garden the single river separates into four branches that probably represent the four quarters of the inhabited world. In other words, the river of Eden also nourishes the rest of the world with its life-giving waters. While the Tigris and the Euphrates are of course well known, the other two names defy positive identification. They may stand for another great river civilization corresponding to that of the Mesopotamian plain, perhaps the Nile Valley.

11–12. Pishon is an unknown name.[17] It is said to be a meandering river associated with "the land of Havilah." If this latter name is Hebrew, it means "sandy land." There are two biblical sites identified by the name Havilah, one within the Egyptian sphere of influence, the other in Arabia. Here the place is described as a source of gold and precious materials.

good; bdellium is there, and lapis lazuli.) 13The name of the second river is Gihon, the one that winds through the whole land of Cush. 14The name of the third river is Tigris, the one that flows east of Asshur. And the fourth river is the Euphrates.

15The LORD God took the man and placed him in the garden of Eden, to till it and tend it. 16And the LORD God

יב וְזָהַב הָאָרֶץ הַהִוא טוֹב שָׁם הַבְּדֹלַח וְאֶבֶן
הַשֹּׁהַם: יג וְשֵׁם־הַנָּהָר הַשֵּׁנִי גִּיחוֹן הוּא הַסּוֹבֵב
אֵת כָּל־אֶרֶץ כּוּשׁ: יד וְשֵׁם הַנָּהָר הַשְּׁלִישִׁי
חִדֶּקֶל הוּא הַהֹלֵךְ קִדְמַת אַשּׁוּר וְהַנָּהָר הָרְבִיעִי
הוּא פְּרָת: טו וַיִּקַּח יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים אֶת־הָאָדָם
וַיַּנִּחֵהוּ בְּגַן־עֵדֶן לְעָבְדָהּ וּלְשָׁמְרָהּ: טז וַיְצַו יְהוָה

As far as Egypt is concerned, its primary sources of bullion and jewels were the mines of Nubia, a region south of Egypt that corresponds roughly to present-day Nilotic Sudan. In fact, the name Nubia is derived from Egyptian *nb,* meaning "gold." The term "good gold"—that is, high-grade ore—was used in Egyptian commercial transactions. It is also possible that the mention of gold in connection with the river refers not to lode or vein mining but to alluvial gold and reflects the ancient method of washing gold-bearing sands and gravel deposited by streams and rivers.

The description in verses 11–12 might also fit an Arabian location. In 10:29, Havilah is stated to be a "brother" of Ophir, which is the name of a country celebrated for its gold. It is not absolutely certain, however, that Ophir was in Arabia.

Bdellium is mentioned again only in Numbers 11:7, where it is assumed to be a well-known substance. From ancient times, opinion has been divided as to whether it was a precious stone or a much valued aromatic resin called *bdellion* by the Greeks and mentioned in Akkadian sources as *budulḫu,* which corresponds to Hebrew *bdolaḥ.*[18] This product was an important export of Nubia.

lapis lazuli Hebrew *shoham* is an oft-mentioned precious stone;[19] its exact identity is uncertain. Ezekiel 28:13 lists it among the gems found in the Garden of Eden.

13. Gihon is the name of a spring in a valley outside of Jerusalem. The stem *g-y-ḥ* means "to gush forth."[20] No river of this name is otherwise known. The association with "the land of Cush" complicates the identification because in 10:6–10 Cush is a "brother" of Egypt and is also connected with South Arabia and with Mesopotamia. There also seems to be another Cush in Midian on the northeastern shore of the Gulf of Akaba.[21] Generally in the Bible, Cush refers to Nubia. If this is the case here too, then Pishon and Gihon may be terms for the Blue Nile and the White Nile. These two rivers unite at Khartoum to form the mightiest river of Africa, which finally empties into the Mediterranean Sea.

14. Tigris Hebrew *ḥiddekel* is mentioned again only in Daniel 10:4.[22]

east of Asshur Hebrew *kidmat* means literally "in front of," that is, eastward, from the vantage point of one facing the rising sun, which is the standard orientation in the Bible. "Asshur" may be either the city of Ashur, which lay west of the Tigris, or the larger region of Assyria, to which it gave its name. The parallel with "the land of Cush" would favor the second possibility, but the Tigris actually bisects Assyria, so that here the city itself, not otherwise mentioned in Scripture, is more likely intended.

Euphrates To an Israelite, this was the river par excellence and therefore required no topographical description.[23]

THE PROHIBITION (vv. 15–17)

15. The opening line of this section repeats the contents of verse 8. This resumptive repetition, or recapitulation after a digression, occurs again in 39:1 = 37:36 and in 43:24 = verse 17.

to till it and tend it The man is not indigenous to the garden. He is fashioned elsewhere and finds himself in it solely by the grace of God. True, his needs are easily taken care of, but his life in the garden is not to be one of indolence. He has duties to perform. It is his responsibility to nurture and conserve the pristine perfection of the garden. This he must do by the labor of his hands. Yet, no strenuous exertion is required, for nature responds easily to his efforts.

commanded the man, saying, "Of every tree of the garden you are free to eat; [17]but as for the tree of knowledge of good and bad, you must not eat of it; for as soon as you eat of it, you shall die."

[18]The LORD God said, "It is not good for man to be alone; I will make a fitting helper for him." [19]And the LORD God formed out of the earth all the wild beasts and all the birds of the sky, and brought them to the man to see what he would call them; and whatever the man called each living

אֱלֹהִים עַל־הָאָדָם לֵאמֹר מִכֹּל עֵץ־הַגָּן אָכֹל
תֹּאכֵל: 17 וּמֵעֵץ הַדַּעַת טוֹב וָרָע לֹא תֹאכַל
מִמֶּנּוּ כִּי בְיוֹם אֲכָלְךָ מִמֶּנּוּ מוֹת תָּמוּת: 18 וַיֹּאמֶר
יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים לֹא־טוֹב הֱיוֹת הָאָדָם לְבַדּוֹ אֶעֱשֶׂה־
לּוֹ עֵזֶר כְּנֶגְדּוֹ: 19 וַיִּצֶר יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים מִן־הָאֲדָמָה
כָּל־חַיַּת הַשָּׂדֶה וְאֵת כָּל־עוֹף הַשָּׁמָיִם וַיָּבֵא אֶל־
הָאָדָם לִרְאוֹת מַה־יִּקְרָא־לוֹ וְכֹל אֲשֶׁר יִקְרָא־לוֹ
הָאָדָם נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה הוּא שְׁמוֹ: [שלישי]

16–17. Just as in the Creation narrative of chapter 1, the human race is here assumed to have been originally vegetarian.

you must not eat Unrestricted freedom does not exist. Man is called upon by God to exercise restraint and self-discipline in the gratification of his appetite. This prohibition is the paradigm for the future Torah legislation relating to the dietary laws.

you shall die The threat of death would have been intelligible to the man only if he had witnessed the demise of animals and birds. Even without understanding the meaning of death, he would have inferred that disobedience incurs divine disapproval.

As noted in the Comment to verse 9, man was mortal from the beginning. Logically, therefore, the transgression should incur immediate capital punishment, not mortality as opposed to immortality. But man and woman did not die at once, and it is not stated that God rescinded the death penalty. For these reasons, "you shall die"[24] must here mean being deprived of the possibility of rejuvenation by means of the "tree of life," as existed hitherto—in other words, inevitable expulsion from the garden.

THE CREATION OF WOMAN (vv. 18–24)

Curiously, the extant literature of the ancient Near East has preserved no other account of the creation of primordial woman. The present narrative is therefore unique. Moreover, whereas the creation of man is told briefly, in a single verse, the creation of woman is described in six verses. This detail is extraordinary in light of the generally nondescriptive character of the biblical narrative and as such is indicative of the importance accorded this event. With the appearance of woman, Creation is complete.

18. ***It is not good*** The emphatic negative contrasts with the verdict of 1:31 that everything was "very good," this after the creation of male and female. The idea here is that man is recognized to be a social being. Celibacy is undesirable. Genesis Rabba 17:2 expresses this point as follows: "Whoever has no wife exists without goodness, without a helpmate, without joy, without blessing, without atonement . . . without well-being, without a full life; . . . indeed, such a one reduces the representation of the divine image [on earth]."

I will make This divine declaration of intent balances that preceding the creation of the man in 1:26. It is God who takes the initiative to provide the wife for Adam.

a fitting helper Literally, "a helper corresponding to him."[25] This term cannot be demeaning because Hebrew *'ezer*,[26] employed here to describe the intended role of the woman, is often used of God in His relation to man.

19. As noted above, the dominant theme of this section, to which all else is subordinated, is man and the human condition. The narrative now focuses on humankind's mastery over the animals. Mention of their creation is therefore made incidentally, not for its own sake, and is no indication of sequential order in regard to the creation of man.

creature, that would be its name. 20And the man gave names to all the cattle and to the birds of the sky and to all the wild beasts; but for Adam no fitting helper was found. 21So the LORD God cast a deep sleep upon the man; and, while he slept, He took one of his ribs and closed up the flesh at that spot. 22And the LORD God fashioned the rib that He had taken from the man into a woman; and He

לספרדים] 20 וַיִּקְרָא הָאָדָם שֵׁמוֹת לְכָל־
הַבְּהֵמָה וּלְעוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם וּלְכֹל חַיַּת הַשָּׂדֶה וּלְאָדָם
לֹא־מָצָא עֵזֶר כְּנֶגְדּוֹ׃ 21 וַיַּפֵּל יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים
תַּרְדֵּמָה עַל־הָאָדָם וַיִּישָׁן וַיִּקַּח אַחַת מִצַּלְעֹתָיו
וַיִּסְגֹּר בָּשָׂר תַּחְתֶּנָּה׃ 22 וַיִּבֶן יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים אֶת־
הַצֵּלָע אֲשֶׁר־לָקַח מִן־הָאָדָם לְאִשָּׁה וַיְבִאֶהָ אֶל־

and all the birds of the sky Another example of zeugma, as in 2:1. The birds were actually created out of the water and the animals out of the earth, according to 1:21, 24. The apparent contradiction between the two accounts is resolved by the Talmud in Ḥullin 27b, with the assumption that the origin of fowl life was alluvial mud.

and brought them to the man In chapter 1 God bestows names only on the cosmic phenomena connected with time and space. Here He assigns to man the role of naming terrestrial animates, which, as explained in the Comment to 1:5, is another way of expressing the bestowal of authority and dominion over them, the idea contained in 1:28.

20. The Bible offers no speculation about the origin of language, only a theory about the diversity of languages, which is presented in chapter 11. Here the first man is assumed to have been initially endowed with the faculty of speech, with a level of intellect capable of differentiating between one creature and another and with the linguistic ability to coin an appropriate name for each.

Adam The Hebrew vocalization *le-'adam* makes the word a proper name for the first time,[27] probably because the narrative now speaks of the man as a personality rather than an archetypal human.

no fitting helper was found The review of the subhuman creation makes the man conscious of his own uniqueness, of his inability to integrate himself into that whole biological order or feel direct kinship with the other animate beings. At the same time, by observing the otherwise universal complementary pairing of male and female, he becomes aware of his own exceptional status and of his solitariness.

21. God empathizes with man's loneliness.

a deep sleep Hebrew *tardemah* is used of abnormally heavy sleep,[28] divinely induced. It has here the dual function of rendering the man insensible to the pain of the surgery and oblivious to God at work.

one of his ribs The mystery of the intimacy between husband and wife and the indispensable role that the woman ideally plays in the life of man are symbolically described in terms of her creation out of his body. The rib taken from man's side thus connotes physical union and signifies that she is his companion and partner, ever at his side.

This correspondence between the part of the body and the role of the one identified with it is found in both Mesopotamian and Greek literatures. In the former, Ea, the god of wisdom, is described as "the ear of [the god] Ninurta" because the ear was regarded as the seat of intelligence. In Greek mythology, Athena, goddess of wisdom, sprang from the forehead of Zeus, the seat of the brain; and Aphrodite, goddess of love, generation, and fertility, is said to have sprung from the foam in the sea that collected about the severed male organ of the god Uranus.

22. ***The LORD God fashioned*** Literally, "built," the only use of this verb in the Creation narratives. It certainly harks back to ancient Near Eastern poetic traditions, in which it is widely used for the action of the deity in creating mankind.[29] At the same time, it well fits Hebrew *tsela'*, "rib," which frequently appears as an architectonic term in building texts. In a word play, Genesis Rabba

brought her to the man. 23Then the man said,
"This one at last
Is bone of my bones
And flesh of my flesh.
This one shall be called Woman,
For from man was she taken."
24Hence a man leaves his father and mother and clings to his wife, so that they become one flesh.

הָאָדָם׃ 23 וַיֹּאמֶר הָאָדָם
זֹאת הַפַּעַם
עֶצֶם מֵעֲצָמַי
וּבָשָׂר מִבְּשָׂרִי
לְזֹאת יִקָּרֵא אִשָּׁה
כִּי מֵאִישׁ לֻקְחָה־זֹּאת׃
24 עַל־כֵּן יַעֲזָב־אִישׁ אֶת־אָבִיו וְאֶת־אִמּוֹ וְדָבַק

18:1 connects the present use of *b-n-h,* "to build," with *b-y-n,* "to discern," indicating that "woman was endowed with intelligence surpassing that of man."

He brought her to the man As noted in a midrash, the image may well be that of God playing the role of the attendant who leads the bride to the groom. Without doubt, the verse conveys the idea that the institution of marriage is established by God Himself.[30]

23. Man's first recorded speech is a cry of ecstatic elation at seeing the woman.

This one at last In contrast to the animals.

shall be called Woman Insofar as the power of naming implies authority, the text voices the social reality of the ancient Near East. Yet the terminology used here differs from that employed in verse 20 for naming the animals. Here the man gives her a generic, not a personal, name, and that designation is understood to be derived from his own, which means he acknowledges woman to be his equal. Moreover, in naming her *'ishah,* he simultaneously names himself. Hitherto he is consistently called *'adam;* he now calls himself *'ish* for the first time. Thus he discovers his own manhood and fulfillment only when he faces the woman, the human being who is to be his partner in life.

Woman . . . man Hebrew *'ishah . . . 'ish,* though actually derived from distinct and unrelated stems, are here associated through folk etymology by virtue of assonance. The corresponding tacit word play for the man was noted in the Comment to verse 7.

24. ***Hence*** Hebrew *'al ken* is not part of the narration, but it introduces an etiological observation on the part of the Narrator;[31] that is, the origin of an existing custom or institution is assigned to some specific event in the past. In this case, some interrelated and fundamental aspects of the marital relationship are traced to God's original creative act and seen as part of the divinely ordained natural order. The fashioning of the woman from the man's body explains why his bond to his wife takes precedence over his ties to his parents. It accounts for the mystery of physical love and the intense emotional involvement of male and female, as well as for their commonality of interests, goals, and ideals.

clings . . . one flesh There is a seeming contradiction here since Hebrew *d-v-k,* "to cling," essentially expresses the idea of two distinct entities becoming attached to one another while preserving their separate identities. To become "one flesh" refers to the physical aspects of marriage, as though the separated elements seek one another for reunification. The underlying meaning of the paradox is clear, if it is noted that the verb *d-v-k* is often used to describe human yearning for and devotion to God.[32] Sexual relations between husband and wife do not rise above the level of animality unless they be informed by and imbued with spiritual, emotional, and mental affinity.

25. This verse forms the transition to the next episode by means of a word play on "naked" (Heb. *'arom,* pl. *'arummim*) and "shrewd" (Heb. *'arum*). It also conveys an anticipatory hint at what is related in 3:7.

they felt no shame The Hebrew expresses mutuality. So long as the harmony with God remained undisturbed, the pristine innocence and dignity of sexuality was not despoiled.

3 [25]The two of them were naked, the man and his wife, yet they felt no shame. [1]Now the serpent was the shrewdest of all the wild beasts that the LORD God had made. He said to the woman, "Did God really say: You shall not eat of any tree of the garden?" [2]The woman replied to the serpent, "We may eat of the fruit of the other trees of the garden. [3]It is only about fruit of the tree in the middle of the garden that God said: 'You shall not eat of it or touch it, lest you

בְּאִשְׁתּוֹ וְהָיוּ לִבְשָׂר אֶחָד׃ 25 וַיִּהְיוּ שְׁנֵיהֶם עֲרוּמִּים הָאָדָם וְאִשְׁתּוֹ וְלֹא יִתְבֹּשָׁשׁוּ׃

ג וְהַנָּחָשׁ הָיָה עָרוּם מִכֹּל חַיַּת הַשָּׂדֶה אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל־הָאִשָּׁה אַף כִּי־ אָמַר אֱלֹהִים לֹא תֹאכְלוּ מִכֹּל עֵץ הַגָּן׃ 2 וַתֹּאמֶר הָאִשָּׁה אֶל־הַנָּחָשׁ מִפְּרִי עֵץ־הַגָּן נֹאכֵל׃ 3 וּמִפְּרִי

CHAPTER 3

The work of God's Creation has been termed "very good"; the idyllic life of man and woman in the Garden of Eden has been described. How did evil come into existence? Evil is seen to be the inevitable result of human violation of God's law. Human beings are free moral agents; hence, they must bear the consequences of their actions.

THE TRANSGRESSION (vv. 1–7)

1. the serpent The serpent has always been a creature of mystery. With its venomous bite, it can inflict sudden and unexpected death. It shows no limbs, yet it is gracefully and silently agile. Its glassy eyes—lidless, unblinking, strangely lustrous—have a fixed and penetrating stare. Its longevity and the regular, recurrent sloughing of its skin impart an aura of youthfulness, vitality, and rejuvenation. Small wonder that the snake simultaneously aroused fascination and revulsion, awe and dread. Throughout the ancient world, it was endowed with divine or semidivine qualities; it was venerated as an emblem of health, fertility, immortality, occult wisdom, and chaotic evil; and it was often worshipped. The serpent played a significant role in the mythology, the religious symbolism, and the cults of the ancient Near East. As noted in the Introduction to Genesis 1, biblical poetic texts such as Isaiah 27:1 demonstrate that there once existed in Israel popular compositions in which the serpent, a monster representing primeval chaos, challenged, to its own ruin, God's creative endeavors.[1]

This background is essential for an understanding of the demythologizing that takes place in the present narrative. Here the serpent is introduced simply as one of "the creatures that the LORD God had made." In the wording of the curse imposed on it in verse 14, the phrase "all the days of your life" underlines its mortal nature. Of the three parties to the transgression, the serpent alone is summarily sentenced without prior interrogation—a token of God's withering disdain for it. Further, the voluble creature does not utter a word—a sure sign of its impotence in the presence of the Deity. In sum, the serpent is here reduced to an insignificant, demythologized stature. It possesses no occult powers. It is not demonic, only extraordinarily shrewd. Its role is to lay before the woman the enticing nature of evil and to fan her desire for it. The serpent is not the personification of evil; in fact, its identification with Satan is not encountered before the first century B.C.E., when it appears for the first time in the apocryphal Wisdom of Solomon 2:24.

the shrewdest The serpent's cunning reveals itself in the way it frames the question, in its knowledge of the divine proscription, in its claim to be able to probe God's mind and intent, and in the selection of its victim.

to the woman She, rather than her husband, is approached because she has not received the prohibition directly from God. She is therefore the more vulnerable of the two, the more susceptible to the serpent's insidious verbal manipulation.

say The serpent subtly softens the severity of the prohibition by using this word in place of the original "command." Then it deliberately misquotes God so that the woman cannot give a one-word reply but is drawn into conversation that forces her to focus upon the forbidden tree that he had not mentioned.

3. or touch it In correcting her enquirer, she either unconsciously exaggerates the stringency of the divine prohibition or is quoting what her husband told her. Either way, she introduces into her own mind the suggestion of an unreasonably strict God.

die.'" 4And the serpent said to the woman, "You are not going to die, 5but God knows that as soon as you eat of it your eyes will be opened and you will be like divine beings who know good and bad." 6When the woman saw that the tree was good for eating and a delight to the eyes, and that the tree was desirable as a source of wisdom, she took of its fruit and ate. She also gave some to her husband, and he ate. 7Then the eyes of both of them were opened and they perceived that they were naked; and they sewed together fig leaves and made themselves loincloths.

הָעֵץ אֲשֶׁר בְּתוֹךְ־הַגָּן אָמַר אֱלֹהִים לֹא תֹאכְלוּ
מִמֶּנּוּ וְלֹא תִגְּעוּ בּוֹ פֶּן־תְּמֻתוּן׃ 4 וַיֹּאמֶר הַנָּחָשׁ
אֶל־הָאִשָּׁה לֹא־מוֹת תְּמֻתוּן׃ 5 כִּי יֹדֵעַ אֱלֹהִים כִּי
בְּיוֹם אֲכָלְכֶם מִמֶּנּוּ וְנִפְקְחוּ עֵינֵיכֶם וִהְיִיתֶם
כֵּאלֹהִים יֹדְעֵי טוֹב וָרָע׃ 6 וַתֵּרֶא הָאִשָּׁה כִּי טוֹב
הָעֵץ לְמַאֲכָל וְכִי תַאֲוָה־הוּא לָעֵינַיִם וְנֶחְמָד הָעֵץ
לְהַשְׂכִּיל וַתִּקַּח מִפִּרְיוֹ וַתֹּאכַל וַתִּתֵּן גַּם־לְאִישָׁהּ
עִמָּהּ וַיֹּאכַל׃ 7 וַתִּפָּקַחְנָה עֵינֵי שְׁנֵיהֶם וַיֵּדְעוּ כִּי
עֵירֻמִּם הֵם וַיִּתְפְּרוּ עֲלֵה תְאֵנָה וַיַּעֲשׂוּ לָהֶם

4–5. The serpent emphatically contradicts the very words God used in 2:17. In this way it removes her fears. It then proceeds to ascribe self-serving motives to God, thus undermining His credibility in her eyes. Finally, it appeals to an attractive standard of utility: eating of the tree's fruit elevates one to a higher plane of existence.

5. your eyes will be opened You will be endowed with new mental powers,[2] with the capacity for reflection that allows one to make decisions independently of God.

like divine beings Hebrew *'elohim* is a comprehensive term for supernatural beings and is often employed for angels.[3] Any possible ambiguity inherent in the use of the same word for "God" and for "divine beings" is here removed by the plural form of the verb "know" *(yode'ei)* and by verse 22 ("one of us"). As tractate Soferim 4:5(4) points out, "the first *'elohim* [in this verse] is sacred, the second non-sacred."

who know good and bad See Comment to 2:9. The notion that such is a prerogative of the angelic host is found again in 2 Samuel 14: "For my lord the king is like an angel of God, understanding . . . good and bad" (v. 17); and "My lord is as wise as an angel of God, and he knows all that goes on in the land" (v. 20). A polytheistic version of this sentiment is found in Gilgamesh: "Wise art thou, O Enkidu, like a god art thou."[4] What the serpent is saying is that the woman and the man will have the capacity to make judgments as to their own welfare independently of God. The insidious nature of its discourse lies in the implication that defiance of God's law constitutes the indispensable precondition for human freedom.

The serpent had initially pretended total ignorance of the situation. The woman had merely referred to "the tree in the middle of the garden." By "coincidentally" using the phrase "to know good and bad," God's own words in 2:17, the creature cleverly enhances the listener's receptivity to its words.

6. The word of the serpent prevails over the word of God. The allure of the forbidden has become irresistible. There is an undertone of irony in the formulation that she "saw that it was good," for it echoes God's recurring judgment about His creation in chapter 1. Now, however, good has become debased in the woman's mind. Its definition is no longer God's verdict but is rooted in the appeal to the senses and in utilitarian value. Egotism, greed, and self-interest now govern human action.

as a source of wisdom Hebrew *le-haskil* is the capacity for making decisions that lead to success. The Targums as well as the Septuagint, Latin, and Syriac versions all derive the verb from the stem *s-k-l,* "to see, contemplate."[5]

and he ate The woman is not a temptress. She does not say a word but simply hands her husband the fruit, which he accepts and eats. The absence of any hint of resistance or even hesitation on his part is strange. It should be noted, however, that in speaking to the woman, the serpent consistently used the plural form. This suggests that the man was all the time within ear's reach of the conversation and was equally seduced by its persuasiveness. In fact, the Hebrew text here literally means, "She also gave to her husband *with her ('immah),*" suggesting that he was a full participant in the sin, thereby refuting in advance his later excuse.

7. the eyes . . . were opened Just as the serpent had foretold! But, ironically, the new insight they gain is only the consciousness of their own nakedness, and shame is the consequence.

[8]They heard the sound of the LORD God moving about in the garden at the breezy time of day; and the man and his wife hid from the LORD God among the trees of the garden. [9]The LORD God called out to the man and said to him, "Where are you?" [10]He replied, "I heard the sound of You in the garden, and I was afraid because I was naked, so I hid." [11]Then He asked, "Who told you that you were naked? Did you eat of the tree from which I had forbidden you to eat?" [12]The man said, "The woman You put at my side—she gave me of the tree, and I ate." [13]And the LORD God said to the woman, "What is this you have done!" The woman replied, "The serpent duped me, and I ate." [14]Then the LORD God said to the serpent,

חַגְרֹת׃ 8 וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ אֶת־קוֹל יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים מִתְהַלֵּךְ
בַּגָּן לְרוּחַ הַיּוֹם וַיִּתְחַבֵּא הָאָדָם וְאִשְׁתּוֹ מִפְּנֵי
יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים בְּתוֹךְ עֵץ הַגָּן׃ 9 וַיִּקְרָא יְהוָה
אֱלֹהִים אֶל־הָאָדָם וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ אַיֶּכָּה׃ 10 וַיֹּאמֶר
אֶת־קֹלְךָ שָׁמַעְתִּי בַגָּן וָאִירָא כִּי־עֵירֹם אָנֹכִי
וָאֵחָבֵא׃ 11 וַיֹּאמֶר מִי הִגִּיד לְךָ כִּי עֵירֹם אָתָּה
הֲמִן־הָעֵץ אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתִיךָ לְבִלְתִּי אֲכָל־מִמֶּנּוּ
אָכָלְתָּ׃ 12 וַיֹּאמֶר הָאָדָם הָאִשָּׁה אֲשֶׁר נָתַתָּה
עִמָּדִי הִוא נָתְנָה־לִּי מִן־הָעֵץ וָאֹכֵל׃ 13 וַיֹּאמֶר
יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים לָאִשָּׁה מַה־זֹּאת עָשִׂית וַתֹּאמֶר
הָאִשָּׁה הַנָּחָשׁ הִשִּׁיאַנִי וָאֹכֵל׃ 14 וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה
אֱלֹהִים אֶל־הַנָּחָשׁ

fig leaves The fig tree has unusually large and strong leaves. Incidentally, it is indigenous to the Land of Israel, where it was cultivated very early, but it was not known in Babylon; hence, this detail reflects a West Semitic, not a Mesopotamian, cultural background.

loincloths Their pristine innocence is gone. In a sense, this action has already taken them outside Eden, for clothing is a characteristic of civilization. In the Gilgamesh Epic, putting on clothes is one of the tokens of the wild Enkidu's abandonment of his outdoor life with the beasts of the field.[6]

THE INTERROGATION (vv. 8–13)

The foregoing dialogue and action had proceeded as though God were backstage. Now, prompted by a guilty conscience, the disobedient couple suddenly becomes aware of the Divine Presence. God re-emerges and moves to the center of the stage.

8. hid from the LORD The attempt to evade God is tantamount to an admission of guilt.

9. God called out to the man Not the woman, because only he had heard the prohibition directly from God.

Where are you? The question is merely a formal civility, often used as a way of opening conversation.[7]

10. The man's evasive words contain a hint of irony, for in Hebrew the words "I heard the sound of You" can also be translated "I obeyed You," which, of course, is the opposite of the truth.

I was afraid because I was naked Another evasion of the truth. The statement itself voices the Israelite ethos that it is improper for man to appear naked before God. This finds practical expression in the laws of Exodus 20:26 and 28:42–43 that regulate the proper dress code for the act of worship. There is probably an underlying protest here against pagan fertility cults and a reaction against a Near Eastern practice of priests, such as in Sumer, where the cultic ritual was performed in the nude.

11. Man's self-awareness discloses the radical change that has taken place in the human condition. The consciousness of nakedness can have meaning only in contrast to the consciousness of being clothed, a new condition that came about only because of his sin.

forbidden Literally, "commanded not to," in contrast to the softer verb used by the serpent in verses 1 and 3.

12–13. The confessions are compromised by each shifting the blame onto the other. The man does not say why he ate. He stands self-condemned, for he unquestioningly did what his wife told him to do but did not do as God told him.

"Because you did this,
More cursed shall you be
Than all cattle
And all the wild beasts:
On your belly shall you crawl
And dirt shall you eat
All the days of your life.
15I will put enmity
Between you and the woman,
And between your offspring and hers;
They shall strike at your head,
And you shall strike at their heel."
16And to the woman He said,
"I will make most severe
Your pangs in childbearing;
In pain shall you bear children.
Yet your urge shall be for your husband,
And he shall rule over you."

כִּי עָשִׂיתָ זֹּאת
אָרוּר אַתָּה מִכָּל־הַבְּהֵמָה
וּמִכֹּל חַיַּת הַשָּׂדֶה
עַל־גְּחֹנְךָ תֵלֵךְ
וְעָפָר תֹּאכַל
כָּל־יְמֵי חַיֶּיךָ׃
טו וְאֵיבָה אָשִׁית בֵּינְךָ וּבֵין הָאִשָּׁה
וּבֵין זַרְעֲךָ וּבֵין זַרְעָהּ
הוּא יְשׁוּפְךָ רֹאשׁ
וְאַתָּה תְּשׁוּפֶנּוּ עָקֵב׃ ס
טז אֶל־הָאִשָּׁה אָמַר
הַרְבָּה אַרְבֶּה עִצְּבוֹנֵךְ וְהֵרֹנֵךְ
בְּעֶצֶב תֵּלְדִי בָנִים
וְאֶל־אִישֵׁךְ תְּשׁוּקָתֵךְ
וְהוּא יִמְשָׁל־בָּךְ׃ ס

THE PUNISHMENT (vv. 14–19)

Human beings have arrogated the right to make decisions concerning human welfare independently of God and in defiance of His norms. They have lost their innocence and must assume full responsibility for their actions. Accordingly, God now metes out punishment on each transgressor in turn, in the order of their original appearance on the scene. In each case, the judgment is of a twofold nature: it affects what is of central concern in the life of each entity, and it regulates a basic relationship. The snake is punished in its manner of self-propulsion and in its contacts with human beings; the woman is doomed to suffer in childbearing, and her relationship to her husband is defined; the man is fated to a life of arduous labor, and his interaction with the soil is to be disagreeable.

14. more cursed . . . than Hebrew *'arur mi-kol* evokes the description in verse 1, . . . *'arum mi-kol,* "more shrewd than," in a kind of literary framework expressing the idea of measure for measure.[8]

On your belly This reflects a popular notion, often represented in the art of the ancient Near East, that the serpent originally walked erect. Having arrogantly aggrandized itself in a challenge to God, it is now permanently doomed to a posture of abject humiliation.[9]

dirt shall you eat The transgression involved eating, and so does the punishment. As the serpent slithers on its way, its flickering tongue appears to lick the dust.[10]

15. enmity This curse seeks to explain the natural revulsion of humans for the serpent. Clearly, when it entered into conversation with the woman, it could not have been so regarded; indeed, it posed as her friend, solicitous of her interests. The imprecation may also carry antipagan undertones, as if to say that the serpent is neither a fertility symbol, as in Canaan, nor a protective emblem, as among Egyptian royalty, but a hostile object of aversion.

the woman She is singled out because she conducted the dialogue with it, but she is here representative of the entire human race, as the reference to her "offspring" shows.

16. Your pangs in childbearing This verse, like the preceding, presupposes the blessing of 1:28, "Be fertile and increase." Now, however, its fulfillment is to be accompanied by pain and suffering, which include the disorders occurring during pregnancy as much as the rigors of par-

[17]To Adam He said, "Because you did as your wife said and ate of the tree about which I commanded you, 'You shall not eat of it,'

Cursed be the ground because of you;
By toil shall you eat of it
All the days of your life:
[18]Thorns and thistles shall it sprout for you.
But your food shall be the grasses of the field;

יז וּלְאָדָם אָמַר כִּי־שָׁמַעְתָּ לְקוֹל אִשְׁתֶּךָ וַתֹּאכַל
מִן־הָעֵץ אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתִיךָ לֵאמֹר לֹא תֹאכַל מִמֶּנּוּ
אֲרוּרָה הָאֲדָמָה בַּעֲבוּרֶךָ
בְּעִצָּבוֹן תֹּאכְלֶנָּה
כֹּל יְמֵי חַיֶּיךָ׃
יח וְקוֹץ וְדַרְדַּר תַּצְמִיחַ לָךְ
וְאָכַלְתָּ אֶת־עֲשֶׂב הַשָּׂדֶה׃

turition itself. Intense pain in childbearing is unique to the human species and generally unknown to other female mammals. It therefore calls for explanation. While the rigors of childbearing are presented here as a consequence of partaking of the tree of knowledge, modern biology traces the woman's condition to the enlargement of the human skull that was entailed by the evolutionary increase in the size of the human brain, especially that part of the brain, the neocortex, that is associated with human intelligence.

your urge The import of this phrase is unclear. Rashi understood this, together with the next clause, to refer to the satisfaction of female sexuality being traditionally dependent upon the husband's initiative. Ramban took it to mean that despite the discomforts and pain attendant upon childbearing, the woman still longs for the sexual act that brings about this condition. Another possibility is to see the two provisions as a reflection of social reality. Historically, the woman was wholly dependent for her sustenance upon what her husband could eke out of the soil, in striking contrast to the situation in Eden where her food was readily and independently available at all times. It should be noted that the "curse" is used in connection with the judgments on the serpent and the man, but not in relation to the woman.

he shall rule over you It is quite clear from the description of woman in 2:18,23 that the ideal situation, which hitherto existed, was the absolute equality of the sexes. The new state of male dominance is regarded as an aspect of the deterioration in the human condition that resulted from defiance of divine will.

17. The longest address is reserved for the man, for his is the greatest share of culpability since it was he who received the prohibition directly from God. His cowardly shifting of the blame is rejected. The individual is morally autonomous and must bear responsibility for his actions.

Adam See Comment to 2:20.

Cursed be the ground Once again, the punishment is related to the offense. The sin of eating forbidden food results in complicating the production of goods. The man himself is not cursed, only the soil. The matter from which he sprang turns against him. His pristine harmony with nature is disturbed by his transgression. This notion of moral ecology is a major biblical theme; it is explicitly formulated in Leviticus 18:24–28 and 20:22, and it underlies the great exhortations of Leviticus 26 and Deuteronomy 28.

By toil Hebrew *'itsavon* is the same term as is used in verse 16 for the woman's anguish. The man's backbreaking physical labor is regarded as the male equivalent of the labor of childbearing. The curse lies not in the work itself, which is decreed for man even in Eden (2:15), but in the uncooperative nature of the soil, so that henceforth the wresting of subsistence from it entails unremitting drudgery.

All the days of your life The same phrase as used of the serpent in verse 14. Man and beast were created mortal from the start. The formula is absent in verse 16 because childbearing does not occur all the days of a woman's life.

18. Thorns and thistles Weeds that rob the cultivated plants of light, water, and the soil's nutrients and that require much effort to control. And this occurs in the face of mankind's need to subsist on the grasses of the field! Humankind is once again viewed as being vegetarian, and agriculture is taken to be man's earliest occupation.

19 By the sweat of your brow
Shall you get bread to eat,
Until you return to the ground—
For from it you were taken.
For dust you are,
And to dust you shall return."
20 The man named his wife Eve, because she was the mother of all the living. 21 And the LORD God made garments of skins for Adam and his wife, and clothed them.

19 בְּזֵעַת אַפֶּיךָ תֹּאכַל לֶחֶם
עַד שׁוּבְךָ אֶל־הָאֲדָמָה
כִּי מִמֶּנָּה לֻקָּחְתָּ
כִּי־עָפָר אַתָּה
וְאֶל־עָפָר תָּשׁוּב׃
20 וַיִּקְרָא הָאָדָם שֵׁם אִשְׁתּוֹ חַוָּה כִּי הִוא הָיְתָה
אֵם כָּל־חָי׃ 21 וַיַּעַשׂ יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים לְאָדָם
וּלְאִשְׁתּוֹ כָּתְנוֹת עוֹר וַיַּלְבִּשֵׁם׃ פ חמישי
[רביעי לספרדים] 22 וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים הֵן

19. The sentencing ends on an ironic note. Human beings had attempted to elevate themselves to the level of the divine. All they achieved was to condemn themselves to a ceaseless, brutal struggle for subsistence, with the consciousness of the fragility of life ever hanging over them.

A MEASURE OF RAPPROCHEMENT (vv. 20–21)

These verses interrupt the flow of the narrative, which draws to its logical conclusion in verses 22–24. Such apparently intrusive data is one of the recurring literary features of the Genesis narratives. Generally, their function is to provide the background for the understanding of future developments. Verse 20 signifies a restoration of relationships between man and wife, indispensable to the development in 4:1; verse 21 indicates a measure of reconciliation between human beings and God. Both are essential for survival after the expulsion from Eden.

20. The man named his wife Previously he had given her a generic name (2:23). Now she acquires a personal one that expresses her nature and destiny positively and sympathetically. The woman's procreative role is implied in verse 15 and made central in verse 16. It is appropriate that she now receive a name that symbolizes its actualization, which is shortly to take place. The man's act is thus an affirmation of life.

Eve Hebrew *ḥavvah,* which seems to be an archaic form of *ḥayyah,* could mean "living thing," life personified. This is how the Septuagint understood it when it rendered the name here *Zōē.* The vocalization suggests an intensive form, so that "propagator of life" is also a possible meaning. There might, in addition, be a word play involved, for Aramaic *ḥivya* means a serpent, as noted in Genesis Rabba 20:11; 22:2. In the Sfire inscription (I.A.31), the word for serpent is actually written *ḥvvh.*

mother of all the living This description is closely paralleled in Near Eastern mythology, where it belongs to the mother goddess. Here it is demythologized and naturalized to express the biblical concept of the unity of the human race and of woman's primary role—motherhood. On the former, see Comment to 1:27.

21. Despite their transgression and punishment, Adam and Eve are not wholly alienated from God, who now displays His parental concern for their welfare. Since nakedness now evokes shame,[11] God restores human dignity by providing clothing. Also, the garments will afford protection against the harsh conditions of life they are to encounter outside Eden.

garments Hebrew *kutonet* was a kind of long- or short-sleeved shirt, generally made of linen or wool, that reached down to the knees or even the ankles. It became fashionable in the Late Bronze Age and standard dress in the Iron Age.

of skins This supposes that the earliest clothing was made of animal skins. An interesting tradition, preserved in the Targum Jonathan, has it fashioned from the sloughed-off skin of the serpent.[12] As noted in Genesis Rabba 20:12 and Sotah 14a, the Hebrew can also yield "garments for the skin." This leaves unspecified the material of their composition.

22And the LORD God said, "Now that the man has become like one of us, knowing good and bad, what if he should stretch out his hand and take also from the tree of life and eat, and live forever!" 23So the LORD God banished him from the garden of Eden, to till the soil from which he was taken. 24He drove the man out, and stationed east of the garden of Eden the cherubim and the fiery ever-turning sword, to guard the way to the tree of life.

הָאָדָם הָיָה כְּאַחַד מִמֶּנּוּ לָדַעַת טוֹב וָרָע וְעַתָּה
פֶּן־יִשְׁלַח יָדוֹ וְלָקַח גַּם מֵעֵץ הַחַיִּים וְאָכַל וָחַי
לְעֹלָם: 23 וַיְשַׁלְּחֵהוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים מִגַּן־עֵדֶן לַעֲבֹד
אֶת־הָאֲדָמָה אֲשֶׁר לֻקַּח מִשָּׁם: 24 וַיְגָרֶשׁ אֶת־
הָאָדָם וַיַּשְׁכֵּן מִקֶּדֶם לְגַן־עֵדֶן אֶת־הַכְּרֻבִים וְאֵת
לַהַט הַחֶרֶב הַמִּתְהַפֶּכֶת לִשְׁמֹר אֶת־דֶּרֶךְ עֵץ
הַחַיִּים: ס

THE EXPULSION FROM EDEN (vv. 22–24)

By his transgression, man distanced himself spiritually from Eden. God's punishment inevitably entailed physical separation from its precincts. This is now promptly brought about.

22. Man, having already exceeded the limits of creaturehood, has radically altered the perspective of human existence. He lives henceforth in the consciousness of his mortality. He may therefore be tempted to change his condition by artificial means, rather than by restoring the ruptured harmony between divine will and human will, the harmony that is ultimately the definition of paradise.

like one of us See Comment to verse 5.

the tree of life See Comment to 2:9.

23. ***to till the soil*** As noted above, agriculture seems to be regarded as man's earliest occupation.

from which he was taken This refers back to 2:7–8. Man was created from earth outside of Eden and is now returned to his place of origin.

24. ***drove . . . out*** Hebrew *geresh* is harsher and more explicit than *shillaḥ* in the previous verse. The same two verbs also appear in tandem in Exodus 6:1 in connection with the Exodus.

east of the garden The entrance was envisaged as being on the east side, facing the rising sun. It is assumed that Adam and Eve could walk back into the garden if they so desired. Steps must be taken to prevent this from occurring.

the cherubim Neither here nor anywhere else is there a clearcut definition or description of these beings. The use of the definite article presupposes a familiarity with them on the part of the reader, probably because they figured in popular legend and folklore. An example of such is Ezekiel's dirge over the king of Tyre in 28:11–19. See Excursus 1.

and the fiery ever-turning sword This is a separate, protective instrument, not said to be in the hands of the cherubim. It too carries the definite article and so was also something well known to the Israelite imagination, even though it is not again mentioned in the Bible precisely in this form.

CHAPTER 4

Reality Outside Eden

The narrative now turns to the fortunes of humankind in the harsh world outside Eden. The flow of time that separates the events of chapter 3 from those about to be described is of no consequence and therefore goes unmentioned. The focus of the narrative is not history but the human condition.

The previous and present chapters are closely linked by several common themes: free will, personal responsibility, and inevitable punishment for wrongdoing. The opening verse harks back to 3:16,20 as the woman begins to fulfill her appointed destiny: propagation of the species—the continuity of life through the constant regeneration of the human race. Outside of Eden, this is the answer of humankind to the quest for immortality; it is a perpetual triumph over death.

4 Now the man knew his wife Eve, and she conceived and bore Cain, saying, "I have gained a male child with the help of the LORD." 2She then bore his brother Abel. Abel became

ד וְהָאָדָם יָדַע אֶת־חַוָּה אִשְׁתּוֹ וַתַּהַר וַתֵּלֶד
אֶת־קַיִן וַתֹּאמֶר קָנִיתִי אִישׁ אֶת־יְהוָה׃ 2 וַתֹּסֶף
לָלֶדֶת אֶת־אָחִיו אֶת־הָבֶל וַיְהִי־הֶבֶל רֹעֵה צֹאן

The preceding narrative focuses on the role of greed and unbridled ambition, and the present chapter deals with the place of the irrational in human conduct. The former offense was against God; now it is man against his brother, which also is an offense against God. It was the "fruit of the tree" that led to the downfall of Adam and Eve; it is the "fruit of the soil" that leads to Cain's undoing. The first human was worried about death; now the experience of death becomes a reality.

Apart from these thematic parallels, several other correspondences tighten the bond between the two chapters: the name Eve occurs here too and never again in the Bible; the verb "to know" appears four times in each chapter; verse 7 here virtually reproduces 3:16; the divine question to the culprit in each case—"Where?"—receives an evasive reply in both chapters; the wording of the curse upon Adam in 3:14 is echoed in that upon Cain in 4:11; the son, like his parents in the previous chapter, is "banished" and settles to the east of Eden.

The present chapter divides into four distinct units: Cain and Abel (vv. 1–16), the Genealogy of Cain (vv. 17–22), the Song of Lamech (vv. 23–24), and Seth and Enosh (vv. 25–26). Tying together these apparently discrete units are notices about the developments in civilization that each contains. These developments number seven in all: agriculture, sheep-breeding, urbanism, pastoralism, music, metallurgy, religion. The symbolic number seven is featured repeatedly: sevenfold vengeance is invoked (vv. 15,24); Lamech is the seventh generation from Adam; his song refers to "sevenfold" and "seventy-seven"; the number of souls mentioned in all, from Adam to Lamech's offspring, is twice seven; and the name Abel appears seven times, as do also the words "brother" and "name."

CAIN AND ABEL (vv. 1–16)

This narrative has often been interpreted as a reflection of the traditional conflict between the farmer and the nomad, and its supposed bias in favor of the latter is seen as representing a nomadic ideal in Israel. This is unlikely. The evidence for such an ideal in biblical literature is extremely flimsy. Further, there is not the slightest suggestion in the text of any comparative evaluation of the vocations of Cain and Abel, nor is there the slightest disparagement of the tiller of the soil. On the contrary, agriculture is regarded as the original occupation of man in the Garden of Eden as well as outside it. The sentence upon Cain is restricted to him alone; his sons are not made into vagrants or stigmatized in any way. Finally, the three pillars of seminomadic culture, as set forth in verses 20–22, are actually said to have originated with the descendants of Cain.

The narrative, which is extraordinarily terse and sketchy here, gives no explicit reason for the unacceptability of Cain's offering and no explanation for the manner by which this is revealed. Cain lived in an unpopulated world. Of whom was he afraid? And who was there for him to marry? The presumption is inescapable that an independent narrative, in which these details presented no problem, was once well known in Israel. The difficulties now apparent arose when the Torah chose only the bare bones of the story as a vehicle for the expression and inculcation of certain fundamental truths about some of life's most perplexing problems.

1. the man knew "Knowing" in the Bible is not essentially intellectual activity, not simply the objective contemplation of reality. Rather, it is experiential, emotional, and, above all, relational. Thus, in 18:19, when God says of Abraham, "I have singled him out" or to Israel, in Amos 3:2, "You alone have I singled out of all the families of the earth," the true connotation is "I have entered into a special relationship with you." For that reason, the Hebrew stem *y-d-ʿ* can encompass a range of meanings that includes involvement, interaction, loyalty, and obligation. It can be used of the most intimate and most hallowed relationships between man and wife and between man and God. Significantly, the verb is never employed for animal copulation.

The Hebrew construction here employed usually indicates a pluperfect sense; that is, it would normally be rendered "the man had known." This leads Rashi to conclude that coition had already taken place in the Garden of Eden before the expulsion, an interpretation that finds support in 3:20.

Bibliodrama
Bereshit 3:7-3:34

Characters:
Narrator
God
The Man
The Woman

Narrator: After they had eaten from the tree that they had been told not to eat from, Adam and The Woman's eyes opened and they saw that they were naked. And so they sewed together fig leaves and made themselves loincloths.

WHAT MADE THEIR EYES OPEN?
WERE THEY NAKED BEFORE?

Narrator: They heard the sound of God moving about in the garden at the breezy time of day. And the man and his wife hid from God among the trees of the garden.

HOW COULD THEY HEAR GOD?
WHERE COULD THEY HIDE - DOESN'T GOD KNOW ALL?

Narrator: And God called out to the man and said to him:

God: Where are you?

DO YOU REALLY THINK THAT GOD DID NOT KNOW WHERE HE WAS? HOW CAN WE RELATE THIS TO ADULTS ABOUT TO PUNISH CHILDREN, ETC?

Adam: I heard the sound of you in the garden, and I was afraid because I was naked, so I hid.

God: Who told you that you were naked? Did you eat from the tree that I had forbidden you to eat from?

Adam: The woman you put at my side - she gave me of the tree, and I ate.

WHAT IS ADAM DOING AT THIS POINT? DOES HE OWN UP TO THE CRIME?

God (to Woman): What is this you have done?

The Woman: The serpent duped me, and I ate.

WHAT IS THE WOMAN DOING AT THIS POINT? DOES SHE OWN UP TO THE CRIME?

God (to serpent): Because you did this, More cursed shall you be, than all cattle and all the wild beasts. On your belly shall you crawl, and dirt you shall eat, all the days of your life.. I will put enmity between you and The Woman, and between your offspring and hers. They shall strike at your head, and you shall strike at their heel.

WHAT WAS THE SERPENT'S ROLE IN THE CRIME? WHAT IS THE CONSEQUENCE FOR THE SERPENT? IS THIS FAIR?

God (to Woman): I will make most severe your pangs in childbearing. In pain shall you bear children, yet your urge shall be for your husband, and he shall rule over you.

WHAT WAS THE WOMAN'S ROLE IN THE CRIME? WHAT IS HER CONSEQUENCE? IS THIS FAIR?

God (to Adam): Because you did as your wife said and ate of the tree about which I had commanded you "you shall not eat of it", cursed be the ground because of you. By toil shall you eat of it, all the days of your life. Thorns and thistles shall it sprout for you, but your food shall be the grasses of the field. By the sweat of your brow shall you get bread to eat, until you return to the ground - for from it you were taken. For dust you are and to dust you shall return.

WHAT WAS ADAM'S ROLE IN THE CRIME? WHAT IS HIS CONSEQUENCE? IS IT FAIR?

Narrator: The man named his wife Eve, because she was the mother of all the living. And God made garments of skins for Adam and his wife, and clothed them.

WHY WOULD GOD MAKE CLOTHES FOR THE TWO PEOPLE HE HAD JUST PUNISHED?

God (to Adam and Eve): Now that the man has become like one of us, knowing good and bad, what if he should stretch out his hand and take also from the tree of life and eat, and live forever!

WHAT IS GOD WORRIED ABOUT?

Narrator: So, God banished him from the Garden of Eden, to till the soil from which he was taken. God drove the man out, and stationed east of the Garden of Eden the cherubim (legendary winged beings who protect sacred places) and the fiery ever-turning sword, to guard the way to the tree of life.

WHAT IS THE ULTIMATE CONSEQUENCE AT THE END OF THIS SCENE?

concept, "This is the day of the world's birth . . . " (e.g., p. 150). This prayer was already included in Amram's ninth-century prayerbook (see p. 56 above) and, in its wording, reflects several citations from biblical and Rabbinic literature. The idea it presents is central to Rosh Hashana, so much so, that it deserves independent treatment.

"This is the day of the world's birth . . . " (pp. 143, 147, and 150)

A recurrent idea found in the world's religions is what Mircea Eliade, the student of comparative religion, has called "The Myth of the Eternal Return." In contrast to secular time, which simply comes and goes, Eliade speaks of liturgical time which is cyclical. Liturgical time celebrates the great events of the cosmos, the most obvious one being Creation itself. Through annual holy days, religions present us over and over again with the opportunity to re-experience these cosmic events. In our case, Eliade holds, Judaism provides a Rosh Hashana in which more than the year is renewed; all of creation is regenerated, ourselves included. We break out of the shackles of profane time and relive the possibility of starting completely afresh.

This thought should not be altogether new to us. It is reminiscent of the *Tefila's* petition that we be inscribed in the Book of Life for the year ahead (e.g., p. 105). Later, the liturgy for returning the Torah to the Ark will conclude with the wish, "Renew our days, as in the past" (p. 155). Now we have an explicit statement that Rosh Hashana is a recollection of that past. It is "the day of the world's birth."

Jewish sources first discuss the idea in a Talmudic debate on the significance of various New Years, similar to our modern fiscal year, calendar year, school year, and so on (see above, p. 19). In the course of the debate, two second-century rabbis introduce the thought that these purely calendrical realities have also mythic proportions, in that cosmic events are connected to them. In Tishri, the Hebrew month that contains both Rosh Hashana and Yom Kippur, says Rabbi Eliezer, the world was created.

Further tradition fleshed out the idea in concrete imagery applicable to the Days of Awe. We are told, for example, that God began creation *before* Rosh Hashana day, so that the creation of Adam and Eve would occur precisely on the first day of the first year. It is as if the universe existed for a while with no humans to inhabit it, but the counting of days did not begin until Adam and Eve. Without them, historical time was impossible, since there can be no history without humans to make it. Thus, exactly on the original New Year's day, God created man and woman, and only then could it be said that "the world was created."

But the essence of human beings is our free will, so our Midrash emphasizes the fact that on the very day we were created, we were set free to act, and, as a consequence, we sinned. Though holding no belief in original sin or the essentially sinful condition of humanity, Judaism is quite clear about the fact that all of us possess an evil inclination that leads us to error. God thus tried Adam and Eve for their first human crimes, and, miraculously, sent them forth from judgment as free people able to begin life again. "This," concluded God, "shall be a sign for all posterity. As you came into My presence for judgment on this day and went forth free, so will your children come into My presence for judgment on this day and go forth free." Quoting yet another of our prayers in the *Shofar* Service (p. 144), the Midrash summarizes: "This is the day of the world's beginning; . . . creation's first day." On Rosh Hashana we revert to the simple primeval state of Adam and Eve, reduced to the calculation of the good and bad we have wrought. But if we will it, we, too, may start again, as if the world itself were beginning anew.

Now, Eliade has claimed that all great religions provide a mythical celebration of new beginnings by utilizing the idea of "re-creation." He points to a great mass of evidence from religions that use sacred readings or drama to reproduce their myths of the world's origins. But we have seen that, traditionally, Judaism does not prescribe the Creation narrative for Rosh Hashana. Instead, the traditional reading for the first day is God's visit to Sarah, to inform her of Isaac's birth. And on Day Two, we read of the near-tragedy, the possibility that Isaac might himself not live to propagate his own children (see pp. 91–94 above). *For Judaism, then, the root metaphor for renewal is not re-creation but procreation!* As there is no history without humans to make it, so the cosmic event that Judaism calls to consciousness is the guarantee that human life will go on. Like Adam and Eve on the fated first day, we, each of us, can begin our lives again; but we do so knowing that our own mortality should not be taken as an indication that life is meaningless. Beyond each of our lives lie others. Isaac stands for the eternally necessary "next generation."

Perhaps most fascinating of all, then, is the first of the two Hebrew words, which we have translated as "the world's birth." It is *harat*, a derivative of the noun meaning "conception," not "birth"; the beginning of the process leading to life, not the end of it. A truer translation might be: "This is the day the world was conceived."

As an idea, conception surpasses birth, because it carries with it the dream of unsurpassed potential. Imagine planning an entire universe without having to worry about one already in existence. What pregnant woman has not dreamed of the some-day child in her womb? Ideas not yet tried can go anywhere. Whether of the world, of a child, or of an

century, who rarely thought in terms of such discrete categories of human experience as happiness, loneliness, anger, and so on. They were much more likely to think in terms of what we called idea-complexes, in which they combined easily what might seem to us widely diverse notions: the nature of human beings and the nature of God, for example; or justice and mercy; or all the divine attributes together, rather than any single quality on which moderns are capable of reading or writing entire books.

But it is differentiation of subject matter that governs modern minds. "What is the book about?" we ask, or "What is the rabbi's sermon topic?". Authors write introductions explaining how their work differs topically from others, and they label chapters according to the logical subcategorization of their subjects. So, as modern liturgy is freed from the structural constraints of rubrics designed centuries ago, it is frequently reorganized according to topic.

A glance through the Additional Prayers offered in *Gates of Repentance* indicates this attempt to conceptualize the subcategories that together make up Yom Kippur. We find:

Prayer (pp. 363–365),
Human Nature (pp. 365–368),
Responsibility (pp. 368–370),
The Evil Inclination (pp. 370–371),
Turning (pp. 372–377),
Forgiveness (pp. 377–383),
Seeking and Finding (pp. 383–388), and
Life and Death (pp. 388–391).

None of these topics is so modern that tradition does not know of it. But traditional prayers spoke easily of all these things together, while we ask worshipers to spend part of this Great Day of Awe considering the implications of each one separately.

Internalizing the message of Yom Kippur through a thoughtful consideration of these, its sub-headings, is no easy task. In their rush for modernity, Western minds have relegated many of these concepts to what they view as a trash-heap of outmoded religious ideological baggage. They may use some of the same vocabulary, to be sure, but if so, they have filled the word with new content, usually drawn from more familiar universes of meaning, typically psychology. Judaism still insists that Yom Kippur's message is not reducible to psychology—or to sociology, or politics, or any other modern discipline with which we feel comfortable. We ask that worshipers think about these Additional Prayers in terms of their age-old religious meaning, not their modern definitions.

What does the fact that we begin our quest for meaning by considering "Prayer" (pp. 363–365) imply regarding the Jewish view of life? How

does the Jewish definition of "Human Nature" (pp. 365–368) differ from systems contained in a university curriculum, or from the mechanistic model of Marx or Freud, for example? Are we mere atoms, set into motion by accidental processes? Are we battlegrounds between instinctive drives and the harness of conscience? Are we changeable? And, if so, how?

To whom do we owe "Responsibility" (pp. 368–370)—to ourselves, to family, to the Jewish people, to humanity, to God? What does it mean to have to admit not only that there is such a thing as evil in the world, but that we are capable of causing it ("The Evil Inclination," pp. 370–371)? In the end, we speak in ancient echoes of "Turning" to God (pp. 372–377) and sensing "Forgiveness" (pp. 377–383). We affirm the reality, and the difficulty, of the religious quest itself ("Seeking and Finding," pp. 383–388). As the "*Unetaneh Tokef*" already taught us (pp. 75–78 above), we insist that we shall have failed dismally this day if we do not come to terms with one fact above all: we are human beings whose mortal lives will some day end. What shall be said of our lives when they are over ("Life and Death," pp. 388–391)?

The modern material in the service speaks clearly to ears familiar with contemporary imagery and style. But juxtaposed to the new readings is a selection of traditional passages, some of it material that was originally to have been placed elsewhere in the Yom Kippur *Machzor*, but was omitted in its standard place in the course of our editorial deliberations on this book. Topically speaking, these traditional readings fit here because they illuminate a religious message for contemporary life.

The two Hebrew passages at the bottom of page 366, for example, are attributed to two rabbis of the first and second centuries (Hillel and Akiba). They are followed immediately by an English reading ("Then Isaac asked . . . ") composed by Edmond Fleg (1874–1963), who based his work on an ancient midrash. The interpretation of "You are my witnesses," which concludes the three entries (p. 367), is attributed to Shimon bar Yochai, another second-century sage, whom medieval Jews associated with Jewish mysticism.

The author of the middle piece, Edmond Fleg, deserves more than passing mention, because he illustrates well the dilemma posed by Judaism to many Jewish European intellectuals at the turn of the century. Our investigation into the High Holy Day prayers favored by the Reform Movement has necessarily biased our historical survey, in that we have dwelt on the "success stories" of those Jews who remained loyal to their heritage and devoted their lives to translating its message for the new age. Many other Jews succumbed completely to the allure of modernity, proving themselves more than anxious to flock to the banner of other ideologies,

And it has been written: "Fire shall be kept burning upon the altar continually; it shall not go out." Our heart is the altar. In every occupation let a spark of the holy fire remain within you, and fan it into a flame.

◆

MEDITATION

Raba said: At the final judgment we are asked:
Did you conduct your business honestly?
Did you set aside time for the study of Torah?
Did you cultivate your mind?
Did you try to understand the inner meaning of things?
Did you wait hopefully for redemption?
And if, in addition, reverence for the Lord was your treasure, then it is well with you.

◆ ◆

ON THE EVIL INCLINATION

The greatest victory of the evil inclination is to make us forget our royal lineage.

We were created to lift up the heavens.

When the evil inclination whispers: 'You are not worthy to fulfill the Law,' I will say: 'I am worthy.'

I am dust and ashes, and yet for my sake was the world created!

◆

In days to come the righteous will perceive their evil inclination as a mountain, while the wicked will see it as a small strand of hair. Both will weep. The righteous will say: How were we able to overcome so high a mountain!

The wicked will say: How could we have been unable to overcome this slender hair! And the Holy One, too, will wonder, as it is written: "Thus says the Lord of Hosts: If it be marvellous in the eyes of the remnant of this people in those days, it will also be marvellous in My eyes."

◆

Lord, we are not so arrogant as to pretend
that the trial of our lives
does not reveal our flaws.
We know ourselves,
in this moment of prayer,
to have failed
the ones we love and the stranger,
again and again.
We know how often
we did not bring to the surface of our lives
the hidden goodness within.
Where we have achieved, O Lord,
we are grateful;
where we have failed,
we ask forgiveness.
Remember how exposed we are
to the chances and terrors of life.
We were afraid.
We sometimes chose to fail.
And we ask:
Turn our thoughts from the hurt to its remedy.
Free us of the torments of guilt.

Forgiven, O Lord, we shall then forgive others;
failing, we shall learn to understand failure;
renewed and encouraged, we shall strive to be like
those who came before us: human.
Sinners sometimes, yet a blessing.

◆ ◆

Unit Four: Resistance

Introductory Statement:

Throughout the horrors and tragedies of the Shoah, there were instances where a flicker of hope for humanity existed. Events such as the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, resistance groups like the White Rose and Swing Kids were formed, and small amounts of people (non-Jews) risked their lives to help others in need. This unit is dedicated to searching out these groups, events, and people. To understand the Shoah is to understand not only the evil that existed, but the goodness that prevailed.

Resources:

Fogelman, Eva. Conscience and Courage. Anchor Books: New York, 1984.

Schindler, Emilie. Where Light and Shadow Meet. W.W.Norton and Company: New York, 1996.

Key Concepts:

Ways of resistance:

1. Passive: This is the most controversial way of resisting. It is not to be misconstrued as allowing evil to exist, but rather resisting the urge to shout back and risk one's own life or that of the person next to you. An example of this method is the Swing Kids group who non-violently resisted the music restrictions of the Nazi party.
2. Active: This method of resistance is the most obvious to researchers. Usually containing some amount of violence, active resistance is portrayed in multiple forms, and can consist of physically fighting back (like in the Warsaw Ghetto), or putting oneself at risk (like so many Righteous Gentiles did when they helped to hide Jews).
3. Silence: This method cannot be categorized as either passive or active resistance. This method of resistance uses silence as a way of preserving dignity and personal integrity. For example, the thousands of Jews who were slaughtered and chose to die with an ounce of dignity by silently praying, thinking, or reflecting used silence as their only way to resist. This method, like passive resistance, is also controversial due to its style.

Righteous Gentiles: Non-Jews who assisted Jews escape or hide from Nazis. These people risked their lives, and the lives of their families in

doing so. Many housed and fed Jewish children and families at their own cost, and at their own risk. To be caught helping Jews in any way by the Nazis was to put a death warrant out on your own life.

Standing up for what you believe: An important lesson that all people learned from the Shoah. The importance of this lesson is that everyone needs to speak up at injustice and to fight for equality.

Goals:

1. To explore the three forms of resistance: silence, passive, and active.
2. To allow students to identify a few Righteous Gentiles and the sacrifices they endured.
3. To provide a forum for students to relate resistance in the Shoah to their lives today.

Objectives:

At the end of this unit, Students Should Be Able To (SSBAT):

- Define the three forms of resistance and give examples of each.
- Identify one Righteous Gentile, state what they did and one consequence that they would have faced if they had been caught.
- Identify an incident in which they resisted something, with one of the three forms of resistance.

Suggested Core Learning Activities:

- Students should study scenarios in which the outcome is deleted. Students could then fill in their outcome and then discuss it with the class. (scenarios attached to the end of this unit)
- A simulation game of possible scenarios could be played. Students would role play specific characters and then discuss the possible outcomes as a class. This is similar to the above activity except that it is oral and active rather than written and discussed.
- Students could prepare a service for a tree planting ceremony in honor of a Righteous Gentile at the synagogue. Students could work with an Educator or a Rabbi on the service, and lead the ceremony for the rest of the synagogue or school at a community event on Yom HaShoah or even on Tu Bishvat.
- The class could write a service at the synagogue, in honor of the Righteous Gentiles during the Shoah.

Scenarios for Suggested Learning Activities

1. You have only $5.00 for lunch. The meal that you want is $4.50 but a person approaches you, looking tired and is dressed with clothes that look like they have not been washed in a few weeks. They ask you for some money for lunch. You know that you will have approximately $.50 change, although it is not enough for a person to eat lunch. What do you do?
2. Suppose that you are paying for a shirt that costs $18. You hand the cashier a $20 bill. You get your change, and leave the store. When you return home, you open up your wallet to find that the cashier had given you two $10 bills instead of two $1 dollar bills. What do you do?

Guide to Resources for Unit Four

The book, Conscience and Courage by Eva Fogelman is an excellent way for students to study testimonial accounts from Righteous Gentiles. Their compassion and commitment to humankind in the midst of evil is overwhelming. (focus on pages 67-83)

Emilie Schindler's memoir entitled Where Light and Shadow Meet is another fascinating testimonial account by a more well known Righteous Gentile. (focus on pages 161-162)

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CONSCIENCE & COURAGE

RESCUERS OF JEWS ·DURING· THE HOLOCAUST

EVA FOGELMAN

· 5 ·
THE RESCUER SELF

"IT IS AMAZING HOW MUCH noble, unselfish work these people are doing, risking their own lives to help and save others," Anne Frank wrote in her diary. "Our helpers are a very good example. . . . Never had we heard one word of the burden which we certainly must be to them, never had one of them complained of all the trouble we give."

As the world knows, Anne Frank's family was betrayed by an informer and sent to concentration camps. Anne died two months before the end of the war at Bergen Belsen. So the last word on Anne's rescuers goes to one of them, Miep Gies: "I willingly did what I could to help. My husband did too. It was not enough."[1]

This tragic result long obscured the personal sacrifice and commitment that Miep Gies and others like her made to save Jews. That sacrifice was enormous. When bystanders transformed themselves into rescuers, they put concern for their own survival in the background and took responsibility for the well-being of others. They became outlaws in a Nazi no-man's-land. Their ideas of right and wrong were out of fashion. This was new for them, since before the war they had been very much part of their communities. Most rescu-

ers were not loners or people who felt alienated from society.[2] But the secret of rescue effectively isolated them from everyone else. Neighbors viewed people who harbored Jews as selfish and dangerous because they risked their lives and the lives of those around them.

A rescuer's life was intricate and terrifying. A careless word, a forgotten detail, or one wrong move could lead to death. Dutch rescuer Louisa Steenstra recalled that German soldiers arrested the sixteen-year-old daughter of a friend for merely saying hello to a resistance man who was in their custody. She was sent to a concentration camp, where one hour later a guard shot her for insolence.

At home the strains were often just as great. Overnight, relationships changed, as families adjusted to a new member being sheltered. The home atmosphere could become poisonous if one spouse did not support the other's rescuing efforts. Comfortable routines were upset and new patterns had to be developed. Husbands and wives gave up their privacy. Children found themselves sleeping with strangers whom they had to learn to call brother, sister, aunt, uncle—whatever the situation or the occasion required. "Sibling" rivalries and jealousies developed.

A core confidence, a strong sense of self, and a supportive situation had allowed bystanders to undertake the rescue. But once the decision to help had been reached and the rescue had begun, a different self—a *rescuer self*—emerged, to do what had to be done and to keep rescuers from becoming overwhelmed by new responsibilities and pressures.

A "transformation" had taken place. It was not simply their behavior that changed. Successful rescuers became, in effect, different people. Psychohistorian Robert Jay Lifton explains the psychological process: When people find themselves in a world that no longer makes sense, their identities—the ways they behave, even notions of right and wrong—no longer seem to fit. They become "de-centered." In an effort to reestablish psychological equilibrium, they try hard to find new centers, to create new selves.[3] This new self, in the case of the rescuers, was built on strong moral foundations. It allowed them to do what was necessary—including plotting, stealing, lying, taking

risks, enduring hardships, putting loved ones in jeopardy, and living in fear—all in the service of setting the world (and their place within it) on solid ground.

The act of rescue often entailed anxiety and great risk; rescue acts could also unleash strong feelings of guilt (at not being able to do more, at risking one's family in the service of others), rage (at the oppressors), terror and sadness (at witnessing atrocities and dehumanization), all of which ostensibly could induce inner chaos. But it is apparent from my interviews that rescuers have a strong equilibrium. They were able to withstand intense de-centering experiences and the accompanying pain and confusion. As Robert Jay Lifton points out, such experiences can help to *re-center* people, allowing them to achieve a new mode of flexible psychological coping.

The rescuer self kept the fear of death and the knowledge of Hitler's Final Solution at bay. French pastor and underground leader Marc Donadille summed it up:

> On some level we knew [the gassings] were true, incredible as it seemed—but we pushed it to the back of our minds and got on with the daily work of rescuing. It didn't make sense to say to the Jews we were rescuing, living side by side with, in our houses, 'Hitler is going to kill you all.' What haunted us was to save the Jews that were there. We had enough to do to keep them hidden, safe and fed.[4]

The rescuer self had to be competent, resourceful, and practical in order to get through each day safely. Their charges had to eat, and food shopping was a major problem. To avoid arousing suspicion by buying too much food at once, rescuers wandered far afield. In large cities such as Amsterdam this was not a problem at first. Janny Blom, who was feeding an extended family of five, and Miep Gies, who was buying groceries for seven people in hiding as well as for herself and her husband, distributed their purchases among several stores. These ruses were not foolproof. One day Gies's local vegetable man noticed that she was buying large amounts of vegetables. Without saying anything, he began putting vegetables aside for her shopping visits.

Months later when she stopped by to shop as usual, he was not there. He had been arrested for hiding two Jews.[5]

In rural villages, the daily chore of finding food and other basic necessities for those in hiding was nearly a full-time job. Jean Kowalyk had to go to a neighboring town to buy extra bars of soap so that the local merchant would not become suspicious. Toward the end of the war, even rescuers in large cities had to spend more and more time scavenging for groceries. It was not unusual to wait in a long line at a shop, finally get to the counter, and find that there was nothing to buy but a few potatoes. In Holland, those who prepared meals devised creative cooking methods for preparing tulip bulbs.

People in hiding got sick and it sometimes required what seemed like crazy actions to get them well. You could not call in a doctor to help a sick Jew. And you could not bury one who died; that person was not supposed to exist. In 1942, Wladyslaw Misiuna, a teenager from Radom, Poland, was recruited by the Germans to help inmates at the Fila Majdanek concentration camp start a rabbit farm to supply furs for soldiers at the Russian front. Misiuna felt responsible for the thirty young women he supervised. He stuffed his coat pockets with bread, milk, carrots, and pilfered potatoes and smuggled the food to them. But one day one of his workers, Devora Salzberg, contracted a mysterious infection. Misiuna was beside himself. He knew if the Germans discovered the open lesions on her arms they would kill her. He had to cure her, but how? He took the simplest route. He infected himself with her blood and went to a doctor in town. The doctor prescribed a medication, which Misiuna then shared with Salzberg. Both were cured, and both survived the war.

Jews had to be kept well hidden, so the rescuer self planned, plotted, and improvised. Hideouts were secured and contingencies anticipated on the assumption that sooner or later the Germans would search the house. The entrance to the Franks' secret annex was camouflaged by a bookcase. Jean Kowalyk's double wall allowed just enough space to hide her seven charges if they stood and squeezed together. The Voses built a tunnel between their two-story home in Laren and a nature preserve several hundred yards away. The entrance to the tunnel was hidden beneath a false bottom in the coal chute.

Despite the suspicious fact that the coal chute always had coal in it, a rare occurrence in the middle of the war and almost an unheard-of one at the end, the Nazis never found the tunnel.

Each combination of rescuer, victim, and situation created a peculiar alchemy. Whatever its distinctive traits, the rescuer self that emerged never strayed from the person's basic humanitarian values, which were solid and unchanging. They were democratic and humane in nature. It was easier, of course, to harbor a person who was likable than someone who was unpleasant or demanding. But once a rescuing relationship began, it was not easily terminated because of personality differences. Took Heroma and her husband, a doctor, had taken in a single Jewish woman in her twenties who happened to be pretty dull. Shortly afterward, Heroma heard of a famous professor who was looking for a hiding place. She felt very guilty for wishing she could have exchanged this boring woman for an interesting professor. Her rescuer self was not comfortable with the idea that these people were not equal.

The rescuer self was vigilant, inventive, and quick to take the unexpected in stride, holding together when the stress of living in confined quarters unhinged others. During a Nazi raid, while soldiers were busy elsewhere, the Voses had to restrain one Jewish man from a suicidal leap from a window. On another occasion, a Jewish woman staying with the Voses threw a kettle of boiling water at her husband, attacked the Voses, and ran from the house claiming she was going to turn herself in to the Gestapo. Fortunately, she did not. She came to her senses and returned to the house. She survived the war, staying with the Voses for three years, and remained a dear friend. But Johtje Vos recalled her friend's moment of temporary insanity as one of the most dangerous times for them during the war.

To operate effectively, the rescuer self was secret and rescue activities clandestine. The Nazis offered rewards for information that led to the capture of Jews. Informers were everywhere. In Poland, professional confidence men, informers, and blackmailers, called *szmalcowniks,* extorted money and valuables by threatening to denounce their victims to the occupying authorities. As was the case with the Germans, they were alert to any telltale signs of illegal activity. Laundry

that was not recognizable as belonging to the homeowner (the wrong-size brassiere on a clothesline, for example) might arouse the suspicions of a neighbor. For rescuers like Jean Kowalyk, who was washing and ironing for seven fugitives, this presented a problem. She solved it by drying the clothes inside the house at night. As it was, Kowalyk's neighbors suspected she was up to something when they observed her chimney smoking at all hours of the day and night. They called the authorities, and Kowalyk's house was searched. Fortunately, the double wall in the attic, behind which the fugitives hid, was not discovered.

Holland was full of Nazi collaborators. While the number of Dutch rescue efforts appears to have been high, the number of people actually rescued represented only 11 percent of the Jewish population.[6] Betrayal was commonplace. In Amsterdam, the Bloms dared not trust their three-year-old son Hubert with the secret of who their guests were, lest in his innocence he blurt out a wrong word. During the day, the Vreedenburgs stayed out of sight in a bedroom on the second floor. Their feet were covered in crocheted slippers so their footsteps would be muffled. At night, they wandered about the house more freely. One evening, Hubert saw them. Janny Blom shooed him into bed and convinced him that he had been sleepwalking. This gave her an excuse to lock him in his room at night.

Rescuers constantly grappled with the question of who could be trusted with their secret. Six-year-old Annie P.'s stepfather told her to let certain strangers into her Bussum, Holland, house after curfew. Her stepfather, noted in this suburb of Amsterdam for his black roses, was a horticulturist who was hiding twenty-five Jews on various parts of his nursery property. Annie was never directly told that her family was sheltering Jews, but she figured it out. So did her stepfather's pro-Nazi neighbors. They noticed that the huge amount of garbage Annie's family threw out was too much, even for a family with twelve children. The neighbors reported their suspicions to the Germans, who raided Annie's house regularly.

On one of these occasions, the officer in charge was particularly frustrated by still another fruitless foray by his troops. He questioned Annie: Did she know where the Jews were hiding? Annie said noth-

ing. The German threw her down and kicked her again and again. Still Annie said nothing. She kept the secret. The Jews survived the war, but the vicious kicking Annie received damaged her spine. Years and a number of unsuccessful operations later, she lost the use of her left leg and required a brace.

The general rule of thumb was: the fewer people who knew, the better. Willem Blom, for example, operated according to this principle. Although he was part of the Dutch underground, he never told fellow members he was sheltering Jews. "If you knew things like that, then you knew too much," said Blom, whose work in the underground involved instructing members on how to operate new weaponry like the Sten gun and the bazooka. Miep Gies's husband worked for the Dutch resistance for six months before he told her of his secret life. ("I didn't want to worry you," he said when she asked him why he had not told her sooner.[7]) Gitta Bauer entrusted her secret to her sisters and a couple of friends whose help she needed. At the very end of the war, when she and Baumgart were desperately hungry, Bauer took a chance and told a German soldier. He did not betray her and in fact gave her food. No one else, including her parents, knew. "We knew they would not abandon her or even denounce her," Bauer told me. "But we knew it would be a terrible burden for them. They would be afraid."

Secrecy became a habit and a way of life. Because the Bloms' house was attached to another house on each side, they whispered constantly. One day Janny Blom found, to her chagrin, that she was ordering meat from the butcher in her now-usual voice—a whisper. As time went on, she picked up the Vreedenburgs' speech inflections. She began answering questions with a question. Years later, she dismissed this as an amusing anecdote, but at the time such slips were often fatal.

Many rescuers retained the habit of secrecy even after secrecy was no longer necessary. Rescuers repressed painful memories of that time and so kept quiet. (It was not until quite recently, for instance, that, through psychoanalysis, Annie P. remembered that German soldiers had sexually molested her.) Some feared for their lives and dared not say anything. Others were somewhat ashamed of the things they did

in order to keep their charges safe, and therefore said little. Katrina W., who distracted a border guard by having sex with him, had a daughter from that encounter. Her daughter was raised believing that her father had been killed at the Russian front. When asked about the war, her mother was proud but circumspect in describing her rescue activities. It was not until after Katrina W.'s death that her daughter matched up dates and times and figured out the truth.

Many kept their activities secret because they were afraid to acknowledge how they had risked their families' lives without their knowledge or consent. One Polish rescuer, for example, shielded his wife from the fact that he hid Jews in another apartment across town. During the war, he was afraid the knowledge would have been too frightening for her to bear. After the war, he was afraid that she would be angry to learn how he had gambled with her life.

The rescuer self had to be an actor, changing roles—and even changing plays—with the situation. John Weidner, head of the Dutch-Paris underground network, used eleven different aliases to evade the Nazis. One moment he was acting the part of John Cartier; the next he was Paul Rey. Weidner, who helped 800 Jews and more than 100 Allied airmen cross the borders into Switzerland and Spain, rehearsed his roles. First he memorized the details of each new identity and then he practiced answers to interrogation with another network member. Similarly, rescuers drilled Jewish children on their assumed baptismal names, catechism, religious hymns, and Christmas carols. Christians taught their Jewish charges the proper way to kneel and cross themselves in church. If the Nazis should stop them and ask for a demonstration, which was often the case, Jews would give a convincing performance.

Dutch housewife Theresa Weerstra lived the part of a pregnant woman to conceal the real pregnancy of one of her charges. Weerstra padded her underclothes with progressively fatter wads of clothing and then at the proper time "gave birth" so she could harbor a newborn without arousing suspicion. German Quaker rescuer Olga Halle leaped into the role of "dear relative" when Nazi guards searched the train on which she and an elderly Jewess were traveling. Halle chatted with the guards, but her companion was speechless.

Thinking quickly, Halle told the guards she was taking her deaf relative to Berlin. The guards wished her a pleasant journey. She and her companion escaped.

Other roles were improvised. A knock on the door late one winter night in 1943 thrust Maria Byrczek, a Polish Catholic mother of four small children, into a role for which she had no preparation. Standing at the door of her home in the small village of Jaworzno-Borj on the outskirts of Cracow was an elderly neighbor holding a five-month-old baby girl. The neighbor explained that the child's mother had been taken to a concentration camp and begged the elderly woman to find someone to care for her daughter, Marysia. Could Byrczek possibly take care of her? Byrczek looked at the infant and thought of a mother so desperate that her last hope for survival for her only child lay in entrusting her to a stranger. Byrczek took the baby.

But almost immediately the reality of her own situation sunk in and set her trembling. She realized that if she were caught sheltering a Jewish child, she and her own children would be killed. There was nobody else at home to help her. Her husband was dead, killed by the occupying forces. One sister, who lived in Warsaw, was in a concentration camp. She was crazed with fear. To calm herself and ease her mind, Byrczek created a fictional story. She told villagers that the baby was her sister's. Some unknown people had given her the child because her sister was in a concentration camp and there was no one else to care for the baby. The story was plausible enough, and the role of aunt gave Byrczek the courage and ease necessary to get through each day. Byrczek obtained a birth certificate for Marysia with her sister's last name on it. Her children welcomed their "cousin" and helped raise her. "Thanks to the story, my fear and anxiety were somewhat reduced," said Byrczek, a rescuer I found when her granddaughter replied to my letter published in a Polish newspaper requesting rescuers' names. "But I still could not sleep well, especially during roundups, searches, and night shootings."

Desperate times called for both creative solutions and constant vigilance. The rescuer self always had to be alert. A warning telephone call, a sound of a truck rumbling down the road at night, sent those in

hiding scurrying for concealment. Rescuers never knew if an informer had given the Gestapo intelligence about their whereabouts or if the Gestapo was just pursuing a hunch. Whatever the case, rescuers had to give the performance of their lives. On one occasion, the Nazis burst in unexpectedly at the Kowalyks' residence. Jean Kowalyk, who lived with her mother, had practically no warning. Her charges had barely enough time to hide before the soldiers climbed the stairs to the attic. There in plain view was a table littered with cigarette butts and cards. Cigarette smoke still lingered in the air. At this dangerous moment, Kowalyk's nine-year-old nephew spoke up. He confessed that he and his friends had been secretly playing cards and smoking. He pleaded with the soldiers not to tell his mother, as she would beat him if she knew. The Germans promised to keep his secret and left.

From day to day the rescuer self played the part of innocent bystander concerned solely with getting by in these difficult times. It minded its own business and kept out of people's way. This role, of course, concealed the daily scramble to meet the various needs of a hidden household. In a two-room home barely big enough for herself and her mother, Jean Kowalyk housed a pack of strangers in her attic. For eighteen months, she fed them, carried their waste to the outhouse, washed and ironed their clothes, and refereed their fights. Acting the role of a dutiful daughter who gave sewing lessons to make ends meet gave her a necessary cover from suspecting neighbors. Having students come to the house made it seem like business as usual. It also gave her an essential psychological distance from her actions. She need not dwell on the fears and risks. She could escape into her role and almost believe it herself.

Rescuers had to be ready on a moment's notice to shift smoothly from one role to another. One day when John Stenekes and Jack, his Jewish charge, were returning from Haarlem, a German soldier stopped them and asked for identity papers. Luckily their papers were in order, but the German asked Stenekes if the boy was his son. Without missing a beat, Stenekes became a proud, protective father and said that yes, this fine lad was his son. Then he waited. The German looked Jack up and down and said, "He is a fine-looking

boy. He's got a real Aryan look." Stenekes agreed, and the two went on their way.

Stenekes grew more adept with practice. He felt he "could drop from one person to another at the right moment." His Friesland home and bakery now supported three Jews: Jack, nine-year-old Anna, and a Jewish woman. Their cover story was that the three guests were the surviving members of a Rotterdam family whose home had been bombed. From time to time, others on the run from the Germans stayed with Stenekes too. In October 1944, Stenekes's situation became even more complicated. Seven German soldiers moved into his house. The soldiers were in charge of feeding the 150 soldiers in the area. The Stenekes's home became the local mess tent.

Keeping up their roles of local baker and wife minding their own business took iron nerves. Once Stenekes and his wife were sitting at their dining table with an SS man and the Jewish woman, whose looks and false papers gave her an air of legitimacy. Suddenly, Anna came running in bleeding from a fall and dripping blood all over everybody and everything. The SS man leaped out of the way, sputtering at her, "You damn little Jew!" Everybody in the room froze. Anna and those sitting around the table turned white. "We were shaking on the inside," said Stenekes, until it became obvious that the SS man meant nothing in particular by the remark. It was just an offhand expletive.

In the case of those Germans who were ardently anti-Hitler, playing the role of stolid Third Reich citizen was a twelve-year engagement. Oskar Schindler acted out the part of a German *bon ami* so convincingly that Amon Goeth, the brutally sadistic labor camp commandant with whom Schindler socialized, considered calling him as a character witness at his war trial.[8] Other Germans led similar double lives. Gitta Bauer and Hiltgunt Zassenhaus were two young women who served the Nazi bureaucracy while at the same time trying to undermine it. Bauer was drafted into the army headquarters' training division. Zassenhaus was assigned to be an interpreter for Norwegian and Danish political prisoners held in Germany. While mumbling *Heil Hitler,* Bauer hid a Jew and Zassenhaus, on her translation missions, supplied prisoners with vitamins, medicines, and words of en-

couragement. "It was a continuous game," said Zassenhaus, who like many other rescuers drew pleasure and courage from outwitting the Nazis. "I was like an actor playing a part. The part included saying, *'Heil Hitler!'* to every Nazi official I encountered. So I would raise my hand and mumble a similar-sounding phrase, *'Drei liter!'*—in English: 'Three liters!' An insignificant point, but at the time it made me feel better."[9]

Rescuers were all too aware that simply playing a part was not enough to fool the authorities. Rescuers constantly scanned their homes for any details that might be out of character. Minor items were sources of worry. Christians who hid Jewish books and valuables made sure they were well concealed. People whose homes functioned as underground shelters needed to ensure that objects and evidence of activity conformed to those of a normal household. Identification cards could not be stashed in drawers lest a search find ones with a "J," for *Jude* (Jew), stamped on them. Family members shared their beds with their charges so that a night raid would not reveal too many unmade beds. In apartment houses, the sounds of the toilet being used had to be carefully coordinated to conform with the number of people supposedly living there.

In the case of Romualda Ciesielska, having the proper props on the stage saved her own life and those of twenty-three Jews. Romualda and Felix Ciesielska were working as Christian relief workers in Cracow. Their office functioned as a forgery operation, providing false identification papers for the Christian underground movement, Ruch Oporu. In December 1940, the Gestapo cut off the Jewish section of the city and began rooting out and murdering the inhabitants. Jews piled into the Ciesielskas' office to escape. As the Gestapo approached their building, Romualda Ciesielska set the stage for the cover-up. She grabbed a Catholic prayer book in the corner of the room and tore it up. With a paste made of flour, she glued holy pictures on the wall outside their offices. The Gestapo entered the building and tore through each apartment in search of Jews. When they saw the holy pictures outside the Ciesielskas' door, they did not bother to go in, thinking it was a Christian outpost.

A few days later, Ciesielska created a new role. She was bringing

food to a woman and her eleven-year-old daughter hidden with a peasant family. When Ciesielska arrived in the town, she found Nazis rounding up Jews in the square, providing them with spades to dig their own graves in the forest. Ciesielska first walked away casually, then ran straight to the Jews in hiding to warn them. There was no time to flee, and the Jewish woman looked too Semitic to slip past. Ciesielska ordered the Jewish woman into bed and told her to pretend she was dying. She placed a towel over the woman's head, a cross in her hands, and candles at her sides. Ciesielska grabbed the peasant's apron and tied it on the daughter, who was commanded to kneel at the bed and start weeping. She ordered the peasant women outside to feed the chickens. When the Gestapo arrived Ciesielska told them in German, "Please be quiet, there is a dying woman here." The Germans took one look and left.

Roles played by rescuers were tougher than mere stage acting. They lived their parts day and night. Their roles had to contain a kernel of truth, part of their real experience, or else the Germans and their sympathizers would see them for what they were. When Helena Orchon, a Polish actress and a daughter of a noted director, was asked by a friend to take in a Jewish child and act as if the child were hers, she refused. She felt she could not act the part convincingly. In real life, Orchon did not have any children, and she felt that she would be unable to live the part day after day.

The development of a rescuer self helped these rescuers keep their fear under control. The ego gratification and self-satisfaction gained from successfully outwitting the authorities and protecting others encouraged rescuers to keep up and, in some instances, to expand their activities. Maria Byrczek, who had taken in a baby, later befriended two young women who had escaped from the ghetto. The fugitives hid in the barn, where their presence was kept a secret from Byrczek's children. When Byrczek fed the animals, she left food for the two women. In the winter, she brought them hot water, and late at night when the children were asleep, she allowed them to warm themselves in her house. Only her sisters, who lived nearby, and the village doctor, who provided her with food ration tickets and warm clothes, were privy to her secret life.

There was also a rational calculation which supported doing more. As LaFontaine and other rescuers point out, the punishment was the same for small and large illegal acts. Some rescuers figured that as long as they were going to be shot for hiding one Jew, they might as well hide more. Dutch rescuer Wilto Schortingnuis and his wife began by agreeing to a request from a friend that they hide a Jewish doctor and his wife. Soon, a Jewish nurse from the psychiatric hospital where Schortingnuis's wife worked asked if they would harbor her and her two brothers. " 'If we could have two,' Wilto said, 'we could have four or six,' " Mary Schortingnuis recalled. "The risks were the same."

Rescuers basked in the appreciation of their wards. In the eyes of those they rescued, they saw their own inner goodness and they strove to live up to that reflection. Schindler's workers, for example, believed him to be a humane and unusually compassionate man. Living up to that image of himself spurred him on to further humanitarian acts. Schindler stepped up his efforts to recruit workers from the most brutal labor camps. At his relocated factory in Brunnlitz, he made a deal with the local police to send Jewish escapees to him rather than turn them over to the German authorities.[10]

Rescuers were able to play various roles and take required actions because, at the deepest level of their beings, it was who they were and what they believed that really mattered. They were certain that singling out a group of people, vilifying them, and hounding them to death was wrong. Their neighbors, friends, and co-workers could think and do as they liked, but they knew better; the laws were wrong. Unlike the Nazi doctors studied by Robert Jay Lifton, the actions of rescuers were consistent with their moral beliefs, identities, feelings, and attitudes.[11] They felt good about what they were doing. Many rescuers told me that this time of terror and mayhem was one of the most satisfying periods of their lives. Nothing they did afterward ever seemed so important or so vital.

The rescuer self allowed them to do what was needed to save lives. If the role called for lying, stealing, even killing, they did it. Under other circumstances, they would not have dreamed of behaving in such ways. But these were not normal times.

There were limits. When certain actions went against rescuers' personal sense of values, they refused to do them. Pacifists did not shoot other human beings. Religious rescuers were not about to exact revenge on their persecutors. Tina Strobos, a college student living in Amsterdam, for example, was asked by the Dutch underground to play the role of a double agent. Strobos felt the degree of duplicity required for that part violated her core sense of who she was. She refused to do it. She agreed readily, however, to steal identification cards for the underground. Without the least compunction, she attended a funeral and waited until all the mourners were in the chapel. She then sneaked into the coatroom, went through their coats, and stole all their identification cards. Another time she invited classmates to her house for a party. When a guest went to the bathroom, she found his or her coat and lifted the card.

They sometimes had doubts. "We had to teach our children to lie," said Johtje Vos, stepmother to a nine-year-old boy and mother to three-year-old and one-year-old girls. "It was one of the greatest problems in that period of our lives. On the one hand, we had to punish them or reprimand them when they lied for other purposes. We had to make them understand the difference between the lies. Our children all knew—even the little ones—what they could say and what they couldn't say."

Rescuers sometimes did things they later regretted. Some, like Jopie D., tossed their fugitives out when food became scarce or neighbors threatened to denounce them. Others took unbelievable, foolish risks. To this day, Johtje Vos is horrified by what she did. It was at a time when a member of their rescue network had been arrested. Everyone's life was in danger. The Voses sat down with their fugitives to decide what to do. In preparation for a move to another hiding place, Johtje Vos had retrieved their real papers. Without warning, the Germans arrived. Aart Vos and the Jews ran for the tunnel. With the children upstairs napping, Johtje Vos realized she could not leave. She scooped up the papers and, desperate for a place to hide them, stuffed them into the pocket of the sweater her son was wearing. "Quietly try to get out of here and disappear with the papers," she ordered him. He did as he was told. As it happened, no one was arrested, but it was

the narrowest of escapes. Afterward, Johtje Vos was appalled that she risked her son's life that way.

Harvard social scientist Kenneth Keniston, when studying Vietnam protesters, found that their antiwar acts were part of a longer series of concerned stances, not unique, one-time, one-cause involvements. Similarly, when social psychologist David Rosenhan of Stanford University interviewed committed civil rights workers he discovered a continuity in their moral values.[12] These are consistent with my own observations, that the basic compassion and moral integrity that triggered rescuing activity was repeated over and over during the rescuers' lifetimes. At the end of the war, for example, German soldiers in Friesland were starving. They came to the Stenekes's home bearing suitcases of stolen goods, ready to barter items for something to eat. Berta Stenekes told them to keep their stolen goods. If she had a piece of bread, however, she would give it to them. "In a way, I felt sorry for them too," she said. "They were so hungry."

Similarly, Aart Vos's values would not allow him to turn his back on the wounded German soldier he found in the road. Without giving it much thought, Vos picked up the young soldier, put him on his bicycle, and rode with him to get medical help. Vos was lambasted by a friend for showing such charity. An enemy was an enemy, the friend told him. They gave no quarter, so no mercy was due them. Vos saw it differently. He did not see a generic enemy. He saw a bleeding, young man, and he responded.

The rescuer self enabled people to do things that—in retrospect—seem unbelievable, even (perhaps especially) to them. To this day, John Stenekes is amazed at some of the things he did. "You grew into [these roles] and you don't even realize how intense it got," said Stenekes recalling his young rescuer self. "If someone wanted to give me a million dollars today [to do what I did then], I could not do it. But then it was life and death, and you started to get used to it. It seemed like half the time you did not even get scared anymore. And then it got so you were seldom scared. But if you got scared, then you were really scared."

The rescuer self emerged from the essential nature of the individual, very much a natural development of temperament and experi-

ence. Doctors and other professionals carried out their rescues with their professional, concerned but detached airs. Adventurers such as LaFontaine continued to be adventurers. Before the war, for example, John Weidner was a successful textile executive and an avid skier. During the war, he used his business acumen to assess the factors involved in setting up and running a new enterprise, an escape network: Who needed help? Who would help out? Which guards were open to bribes? Which ones were sympathetic? Like an executive laying out his business plan, Weidner refined his product and assessed the competition. He combined his businessman's instincts and his love for skiing to create an enterprise in which he and others skied Jews and other Nazi fugitives across the borders to safety.

Having listened to so many stories—of quick wits and remarkable bravery—I remain most impressed by each rescuer's perseverance. Day after day they grappled with the pedestrian problems of feeding their hidden households, caring for their charges when they were ill, alleviating their boredom when they could. They risked their lives to bury a dead Jew, to console a crazy one, or to comfort a scared one. In the main, rescuing was not glamorous or filled with dramatic moments of valor. Rather, it was a tedious, enervating job, more like an assembly-line worker's duties than a movie star's. They did not know how it would end. Many rescuers described their weariness from endless days of deception and anxiety. Yet most did not abandon their charges. Most were tenacious in their determination to help. Wilto Schortingnuis spelled it out: "Our whole life changed. We could not have our friends visit . . . even our parents did not know, yet we could not stop them from visiting for three years' time. Whenever someone came to the door, a scare went through the house. We lived under constant pressure, day and night, three hundred sixty-five days a year."

Some rescuers thrived under the pressure. Others are amazed to this day at how they somehow managed. It was not until much later that the effects of their experience would haunt some of them.

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Emilie Schindler

WHERE LIGHT AND SHADOW MEET

WITH ERIKA ROSENBERG

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL SPANISH BY DOLORES M. KOCH

A MEMOIR

Epilogue

A Toast to Life

WELL, I DON'T THINK I HAVE ANYTHING ELSE TO SAY. Now you know everything about Emilie, her childhood, her first and only love, Schindler's list, her life after the war, her leaving for Argentina. Now you know her soul, her joys, and her sorrows.

In these pages I decided to come out of the shadows, and I have taken pains to throw as much light as possible on the past. I have done so from this corner of the world, seemingly so far away, where I live surrounded by dogs and cats that cannot speak but are great company. Let's remember that words are the only opposite of silence: the old German words, which I used to write this book, words that I kept rediscovering little by little in the recesses of my weary memory.

It is really wonderful. . . . When I started writing, I never thought that the memories of so many events had remained locked in my mind. Emilie turned out better than I had thought, after all. I often feared that when getting to the last chapter of my memoirs, everything would be colored by some of the bitterness and despair of farewells. But that's not the way it is, nor does it have to be.

I had the good fortune of being able to help people beset by tragedy, and I believe I have contributed, to the best of my ability, to making this world a better place in which to live.

To reencounter the hardworking Emilie who haggled on the black market, who used to walk from one corner of the Brünnlitz factory to the other, and who harbored a secret hatred for the Nazis, helped make me realize that, in spite of all my mistakes, my life has not been in vain. The fact that you are reading these last lines confirms this.

The moral of my story is simple: a fellow human being always has the right to life. Like so many others during the war, I think I have experienced in my own flesh that "Love one another" is not an empty phrase but a maxim worth living by, even in the worst of circumstances. The descendants of those on Schindler's list have shown this to be true: they are living, having children, remembering. . . .

To love one another. That is life, such as I had learned since early childhood: to love, and to struggle. . . . I have written this book in the hope that it will be of use to others, because it is others who give meaning to our acts. As on the evening I decided to write my memoirs, I again lift my glass to celebrate and give thanks to God.

A toast to all of you, my fellow human beings. I hope that as you close this book, you will want to make a toast for my husband. . . . And for me, too.