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# 犹太 研究

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## 犹太研究

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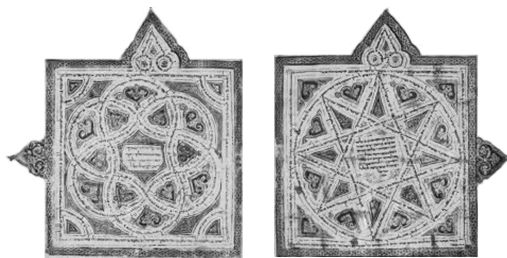
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## “About Himself or Someone Else?”: Lament and Solidarity in the Narrative of Philip and the Ethiopian<sup>\*</sup>

Joanna Collicutt<sup>\*\*</sup>

**Abstract:** The narrative of the conversion of the Ethiopian eunuch in Acts 8 centres on the interpretation of a lament concerning the “suffering servant” from Isaiah 53. There are striking parallels with the narrative of the Emmaus Road in Luke 24, in which two individuals are pointed to the Hebrew scriptures in order to establish suffering as a defining characteristic of the Messiah. This paper explores parallels between the two narratives, including the significance of lament and the experience of trauma in the lives of the protagonists (bereavement through crucifixion in Luke 24, castration and marginalization in Acts 8). It applies the psychological concept of posttraumatic growth in both cases. It goes on to argue that in Acts 8 a foreign, damaged, sexually ambiguous, and marginalized individual is able to enter into the ancient Jewish lament, to make it in some sense his own, and to experience solidarity through both this and the close presence of the Apostle Philip, who assists in its interpretation. It suggests that the present-day reader is also invited to do this by the open form of the Ethiopian’s question and the fact that it remains unanswered in the text. This in part accounts for the longevity of texts of lament in the Hebrew Scriptures, and their ready reception in cultures far removed from their original context.

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\* This is a version of a paper originally given as an oral presentation at the conference “Lament, reading, and therapy” organized by the University of Oxford and King’s College London and held in Oxford on 5th November 2018.

\*\* Joanna Collicutt, University of Oxford, King’s College London.

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**Key Words:** Lament, Acts, Trauma, Identity

This paper takes a psychological approach to Acts 8:26-39, a text from the Christian New Testament that is itself a reading of a text from the Hebrew Bible, Isaiah 53. It focuses on lament as a psychosocial therapeutic process rather than a literary genre. The application of psychology in biblical studies has a chequered history.<sup>①</sup> Nevertheless, I have previously argued that, if used appropriately, psychology has the capacity to illuminate exegesis and enrich interpretation<sup>②</sup>, and this paper will attempt to illustrate the point.

## I. The Psychosocial Function of Lament

The word lament is most simply defined in English as “to express or feel sorrow for”, but lamenting is both broader in scope and deeper in intensity than this. It is perhaps the most obvious response to loss and is engaged in as both an individual and group exercise; it expresses not only consternation at what or who has been lost, but also a desire for things to be made right.

There are several aspects to lament. It is a means of venting emotion. It involves protest, either at the situation itself or at the kind of world order in which such things happen. It can be a form of self-assertion, of refusing to be silenced, and thus an expression of power.

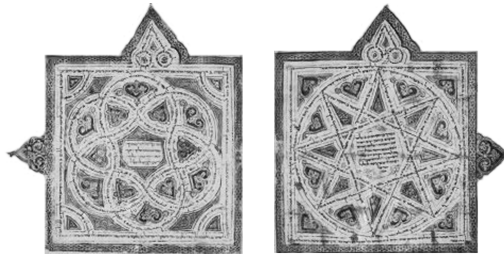
It is also increasingly being seen as a way of making meaning<sup>③</sup>, offering a framework within which to process significant existential issues by posing “Why?” questions. It can involve high degrees of creativity, especially where it becomes a more formalized genre within a tradition. It is also intimately associated with narrative, the weaving of events into a story, bearing witness

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① See, for example, Wayne Rollins, *Soul and Psyche: The Bible in Psychological Perspective* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1999), 62-75.

② Joanna Collicutt, “Bringing the Academic Discipline of Psychology to Bear on the Study of the Bible,” *Journal of Theological Studies* 63 (2012): 1-48.

③ Lewis Hall, M. Elizabeth, Laura Shannonhouse et al., “Religion-Specific Resources for Meaning-Making from Suffering: Defining the Territory,” *Mental Health, Religion & Culture* 21 (2018): 77-92.



and speaking truth.<sup>①</sup> Often those lamenting are drawn into the story, asking themselves whether they could or should have acted differently, expressing contrition or remorse for the part they may have played (as in Isaiah 53: 3-4).

While lament begins as a spontaneous response to an acute recent tragedy, it can come to be repeated regularly as an intentional ritual to ensure that the event and the people concerned are not forgotten and mistakes not repeated. Communal lament can bind groups together and deepens a sense of collective identity.<sup>②</sup> Pathos, in word, gesture, or music, is often invoked to refresh the emotional intensity and lessen the risk of drifting into empty custom. The Hebrew Bible offers many resources for both personal and communal lament, particularly in the Psalms<sup>③</sup>, and the book of Lamentations is recited in this way by both Christians and Jews at key points in their liturgical calendars.

Lament is less prominent as a literary genre in the Christian New Testament, but its psychological building blocks are widespread, for example in Jesus' response to the rejection of his message in Galilee and Jerusalem and in the passion narratives. These provided resources for personal and communal devotion which became elaborated in medieval and early modern western Christianity around motifs such as "The Man of Sorrows" and the Pietà. These forms of devotion allowed believers to connect their personal griefs with a bigger tradition of lament in a way that both validated and gave deeper meaning to their experience.

## II. The Text: Acts 8: 26-39

26 Then an angel of the Lord said to Philip, "Get up and go toward the south to the road that goes down from Jerusalem to Gaza." (This is a wilderness road.) 27 So he got up and went. Now there was an Ethiopian eunuch, a court official of the Candace, queen of the Ethiopians, in charge

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<sup>①</sup> Rita Nakashima Brock and Rebecca Ann Parker, *Saving Paradise: How Christianity Traded Love of this World for Crucifixion and Empire* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2008), 51.

<sup>②</sup> Jennifer Cole, "Painful Memories: Ritual and the Transformation of Community Trauma," *Culture, Medicine & Psychiatry* 28 (2004): 87-105.

<sup>③</sup> Jennifer Brown and Joanna Collicutt, "Psalms 90, 91 and 92 as a Means of Coping with Trauma and Adversity," *Mental Health, Religion, & Culture* 25 (2022): 276-287.

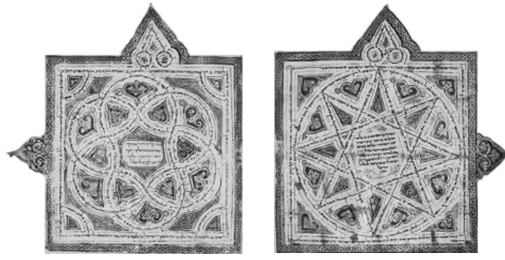
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of her entire treasury. He had come to Jerusalem to worship 28 and was returning home; seated in his chariot, he was reading the prophet Isaiah. 29 Then the Spirit said to Philip, “Go over to this chariot and join it.” 30 So Philip ran up to it and heard him reading the prophet Isaiah. He asked, “Do you understand what you are reading?” 31 He replied, “How can I, unless someone guides me?” And he invited Philip to get in and sit beside him. 32 Now the passage of the scripture that he was reading was this: “Like a sheep he was led to the slaughter, and like a lamb silent before its shearer, so he does not open his mouth. 33 In his humiliation justice was denied him. Who can describe his generation? For his life is taken away from the earth.” 34 The eunuch asked Philip, “About whom, may I ask you, does the prophet say this, about himself or about someone else?” 35 Then Philip began to speak, and starting with this scripture, he proclaimed to him the good news about Jesus. 36 As they were going along the road, they came to some water; and the eunuch said, “Look, here is water! What is to prevent me from being baptized?” [37] 38 He commanded the chariot to stop, and both of them, Philip and the eunuch, went down into the water, and Philip baptized him. 39 When they came up out of the water, the Spirit of the Lord snatched Philip away; the eunuch saw him no more, and went on his way rejoicing. (English New Revised Standard Version)

This passage has sometimes been paired with the account of the journey to Emmaus in Chapter 24 of Luke’s Gospel. As is typical for Luke, both narratives are set in the context of a journey, or more specifically “on the road” (*hodos*), a term Luke uses no less than nine times in Acts to refer to the Christian faith. On both the roads to Emmaus and Gaza we find people in perplexity who are helped by a mysterious individual who interprets the Hebrew Bible to them. In the Emmaus narrative this is the whole sweep of scripture beginning with Moses and the Prophets but also extending to the Psalms (Luke 24: 27, 44); on the Gaza Road it is the Scroll of the Prophet Isaiah. Both narratives involve marginal people: “some women” and a pair of disciples outside the inner circle of the Twelve in Luke 24, a gentile eunuch (of



which more below) in Acts 8. Both describe an affective response of “burning hearts” (Luke 24: 32) and “rejoicing” (Acts 8: 29), which are said to occur on the road. Later Christian interpreters have noted that both narratives culminate in a sacrament: the Eucharist (or proto-eucharist) at Emmaus, baptism on the road to Gaza. For the purposes of this paper, it is perhaps most important to note that both are also concerned with lament.

In an earlier publication I offered a psychological reading of the Emmaus Road narrative, presenting it as an instance of the psychological concept of “posttraumatic growth”.<sup>①</sup> This is a relatively recent concept in psychology, though embedded in many of the wisdom traditions of world religions. It describes the phenomenon whereby an individual or community experience benefits as well as costs in the aftermath of trauma and suffering. The term “posttraumatic growth” (obviously modelled on “posttraumatic stress”) was introduced by Richard Tedeschi and Lawrence Calhoun in a book entitled *Trauma and Transformation* published in 1995.<sup>②</sup> They argue that transformation is key to distinguishing this process from both defensive denial and resilient coping. Instead, in posttraumatic growth a transformative positive change is said to occur so that there is an advance beyond the pre-traumatic state. This change involves emotional engagement with the trauma and its effects and therefore may be accompanied by a degree of psychological distress, but this distress is seen as healthy rather than pathological. Based on empirical studies of trauma survivors, growth has been identified as falling under the broad categories of increased appreciation of life; deepening of relationships with those going through the same thing or who have been there to help; the discovery of unexpected personal strengths; the opening up of unforeseen life

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① Joanna Collicutt, “Posttraumatic Growth and the Origins of Early Christianity,” *Mental Health, Religion & Culture* 9 (2006): 291-306.

② Richard Tedeschi and Lawrence Calhoun, *Trauma and Transformation: Growing in the Aftermath of Suffering* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1995). See also Richard Tedeschi, Jane Shakespeare-Finch, Kanako Taku et al., *Posttraumatic Growth: Theory, Research, and Applications* (New York: Routledge, 2018).

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options; and spiritual development.<sup>①</sup>

Central to the process is the reconstitution of cognitive schemas (working models of the world) which are understood to have been shattered by the traumatic experience.<sup>②</sup> The initial response to trauma includes unmanageable distress, incomprehension, and ineffective action. There is then likely to be a period of questioning of previous assumptions about the world, reflecting an attempt to mend broken schemas. This can be a helpful process, especially if supported by other people or resources (for example books offering practical wisdom), and the weaving of events into a narrative appears to be a particularly powerful way of re-establishing order.<sup>③</sup> But Tedeschi and Calhoun argue that more than mending is required if robust meaning is to be made and growth is to occur; the organisation of the schemas needs to be radically transformed so that their building-blocks are reconstituted in a more sophisticated form that does better justice to the events. This reorganisation of the mental landscape is a form of wisdom that is then carried forward by the individual or community into a healthy engagement with the world.

In my earlier paper I argued that something like this is happening when Jesus takes the Hebrew Scriptures—the basis of existing assumptions about the world for the pair on the Emmaus Road but which have been shattered by his violent death—and begins a process of transforming the assumptions by drawing out the idea that it was “...necessary that the Messiah should suffer these things and then enter into his glory...” (Luke 24:26) This process of transforming the reception of texts from the Hebrew Bible so that they were not only reconciled with the death and suffering of Jesus, but enabled to infuse these with meaning, is seen across the New Testament as a whole.<sup>④</sup> One

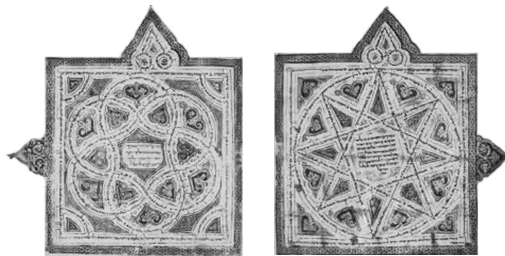
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① Richard Tedeschi and Lawrence Calhoun, “The Posttraumatic Growth Inventory: Measuring the Positive Legacy of Trauma,” *Journal of Traumatic Stress* 9 (1996): 455-471; Richard Tedeschi, Arnie Cann, Kanako Taku et al., “The Posttraumatic Growth Inventory: A Revision Integrating Existential and Spiritual Change,” *Journal of Traumatic Stress* 30 (2017): 11-18.

② Richard Tedeschi and Lawrence Calhoun, *Trauma and Transformation: Growing in the Aftermath of Suffering*, 78. See also Ronnie Janoff-Bulman, *Shattered Assumptions: Towards a New Psychology of Trauma* (New York: The Free Press, 1992).

③ Michelle Crossley, *Introducing Narrative Psychology: Self, Trauma and the Construction of Meaning* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 2000).

④ Joanna Collicutt, “Posttraumatic Growth and the Origins of Early Christianity,” 300-303.



passage in which this is evident is the story of Philip and the Ethiopian which, rather than referring vaguely to the whole of scripture, focuses on and quotes a specific text.

### III. The Text within the Text: Isaiah 53: 7b-8a

The text quoted in Acts 8: 32-33 is reproduced verbatim from the Greek Old Testament. It is a brief extract, and in the original it continues, “Who could have imagined his future? For he was cut off from the land of the living, stricken for the transgression of my people.” This offers a potential theological interpretation, but Luke chooses not to include it, either because he leaves it as an allusion for those of his audience familiar with Isaiah or because he rejects the penal substitutionary interpretation (he does something similar in Chapter 4 of his Gospel in quoting Isaiah 61: 1-2a). Alternatively, some commentators<sup>①</sup> have suggested that the quote ends with the phrase “taken away from the earth” as a way of denoting Jesus’ resurrection (cf. Luke 24: 46) or his ascension.

The text forms part of what is sometimes referred to as the fourth “servant song” in deuterio-Isaiah (42: 1-4; 49: 1-6; 50: 4-9; 52: 13-53: 12), though there is disagreement among scholars as to whether these passages can in fact be treated together.<sup>②</sup> Clearly, in their original context these did not refer to Jesus. However, scholarship is divided as to the identity of the original “servant”. The passages could be autobiographical, referring to the writer himself or perhaps another prophet known to the writer and his community. Michael Goulder has made a strong case for identifying him with the sixth century BCE King Jehoiachin who was deported (“taken away from the land”) in 597 in the first wave of Babylonian exiles.<sup>③</sup> As deuterio-Isaiah is usually thought to have been written towards the end of the exilic period sixty or so years later, this would necessitate either an earlier dating or suggest that the

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<sup>①</sup> For example, Hans Conzelmann, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1987), 68.

<sup>②</sup> Darrell Hannah, “Isaiah within Judaism of the Second Temple Period,” in *Isaiah in the New Testament*, eds. Steve Moyise and Maarten Menken (London T. & T. Clark, 2005), 27-28.

<sup>③</sup> Michael Goulder, “Behold My Servant Jehoiachin,” *Vetus Testamentus* 52 (2002): 175-187.

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author is writing retrospectively.

A more cautious and also the most common interpretation (perhaps because the servant is not named) has been that these passages present an individual who stands for the whole of God's people, or more specifically the righteous, rather as the psalmist may speak for the righteous with an individual voice, beginning with the blessed man of Psalm 1.<sup>①</sup> This also appears to have been the main interpretation in Second Temple Judaism, where it is repeatedly applied to a righteous group of Jews existing in the oppressive cultural environment of Hellenism (e.g. Wisdom 2-5) or under Roman occupation (e.g. The Habakkuk Commentary from the Qumran scrolls).

Nevertheless, there are also eschatological messianic interpretations from this period (e.g. 1 Enoch: 62-63). This existing tradition, together with the sufferings of the mysterious servant figure (in Greek *pais* or *doulos*) documented in Isaiah 50-53, make these passages a potential resource for reflecting on the significance of Jesus to whom the term *doulos* is applied in Philippians 2: 7. While this does indeed seem to have happened in the early church<sup>②</sup>, the systematic application of Isaiah 52: 13-53: 12 to Jesus barely features in the New Testament (in contrast, for example, to Psalm 22 and 110) beyond passing references in the context of Jesus' healing ministry (Matthew 8: 17); his ignominious fate faced with passive silence (Matthew 27: 57-60; Luke 22: 37; 1 Peter 2: 22) and the continuing rejection of his message by mainstream Judaism (John 12: 36; Romans 10: 16). The pivotal nature of the text in Acts 8: 26-39 is therefore something of an exception in this respect and, unlike the references cited above, it is not explicitly identified with Jesus. Instead the identity of the servant is presented as a question posed by the Ethiopian.

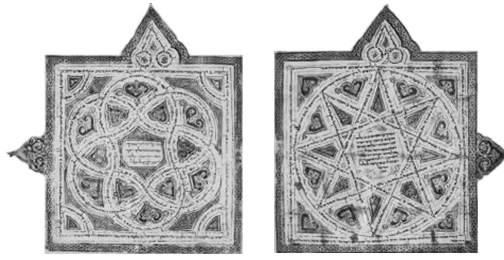
## IV. The Ethiopian

Like the servant figure in deuteron-Isaiah, the Ethiopian may be representative of a group of people. His story is placed between the conversion

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① Darrell Hannah, "Isaiah within Judaism of the Second Temple Period," 29.

② William Bellinger and William Farmer, *Jesus and the Suffering Servant: Isaiah 53 and Christian Origins* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 1998).



of Diaspora Jews on the Day of Pentecost (Acts 2) and that of the gentile Cornelius and his family in Acts 10. He stands in a trajectory outwards from Palestinian Jews, through Diaspora Jews and Samaritans to gentiles. This is presented by Luke as an outward movement of the Holy Spirit. In Acts 8 Philip is preaching in Samaria when a divine messenger (who stands for the Spirit<sup>①</sup>) commands him to travel southwards along a deserted road (not an obvious strategic move) and at the end of his encounter it is the Spirit who snatches Philip away and returns him to the north.

The Ethiopian is returning from worshipping in Jerusalem and is reading a Jewish sacred text. This supports the argument that he is a Diaspora Jew or Jewish proselyte.<sup>②</sup> Because his conversion happens after the Samaritans and before the gentiles it can be inferred that his status is intermediate, perhaps because of his geographically distant provenance, African heritage, and or his sexually ambiguous identity. He is presented as a very senior royal official. The name of his queen is generic and her kingdom may have been in the Kushite empire (modern day southern Egypt/northern Sudan). He is also a eunuch (*eunouchos*).

Eunuchs (castrated males) were fairly common in Graeco-Roman society and prized as members of the more socially exalted households, an attitude that dates back to the Persian empire.<sup>③</sup> They were valued and trusted as officials because their anomalous status made them less likely to form alliances with others and more dependent on their masters; they were incapable of fathering offspring who might form rival dynasties; they could safely be allowed to enter female spaces; they were less physically strong and aggressive than intact males. Castration took place before puberty, usually by ligation of the scrotum or crushing the testicles. Male secondary sexual characteristics would then not develop. In addition, eunuchs would be vulnerable to hormonally related health problems including osteoporosis. While valued as slaves, they appear to have been largely ostracised as people, being at the same

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① Hans Conzelmann, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 68.

② Joseph Fitzmyer, *The Acts of the Apostles: A New Translation and Commentary* (New York: Doubleday, 1997), 410.

③ Plutarch, *Life of Demetr*, 25.900.

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time envied for their often senior positions and despised for their physical weakness and gender ambiguity.<sup>①</sup> In terms of Mary Douglas' anthropological analysis of the Levitical and Deuteronomic purity laws, eunuchs were inherently unholy for two reasons: they were physically incomplete, and their gender ambiguity constituted a breach of category boundaries.<sup>②</sup>

Douglas observes that the abominations catalogued in Leviticus concern systems of categorization and pay special attention to the delineation of boundaries. Blurred boundaries, whether of the physical limits of the human body or the distinction between different types of creature are seen to threaten the integrity of the created order in general and God's people in particular:

...holiness is exemplified by completeness. Holiness requires that individuals shall conform to the class to which they belong. And holiness requires that different classes shall not be confused... Holiness means keeping distinct the categories of creation. It therefore requires correct definition, discrimination and order.<sup>③</sup>

The threat is posed by the mere existence of anomalous creatures such as shellfish or individuals whose bodily boundaries are breached by certain health conditions, but much more by contact with them through touch, ingestion, or sexual intercourse: they are potential pollutants. This danger is managed by avoidance or, where this has not been possible, by self-isolation and reparative cleansing rituals. At a communal symbolic level it is managed by the sacrificial system, whose administrators have stringent personal purity requirements:

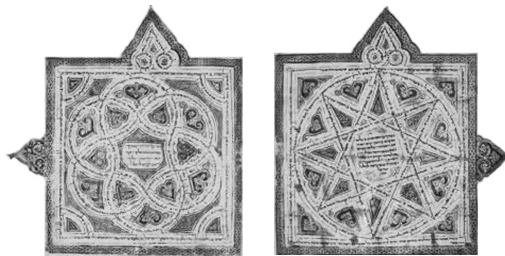
Speak to Aaron and say: No one of your offspring throughout their generations who has a blemish may approach to offer the food of his God. For no one who has a blemish shall draw near, one who is blind or lame, or one who has a mutilated face or a limb too long, or one who has a broken foot or a broken hand, or a hunchback, or a dwarf, or a man with a

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① Lucian of Samosata, *The Eunuch*, trans. by M. D. Macleod and Austin M. Harmon (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1913).

② Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger* (London: Routledge, 1966), 51-71.

③ Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, 67.



blemish in his eyes or an itching disease or scabs or crushed testicles.  
(Leviticus 21: 17-20)

Clearly, eunuchs were excluded from the Levitical priesthood, but Deuteronomy 23: 2 also indicates that they were excluded from temple worship. The extent to which this reflects actual practice during the Second Temple period is unclear<sup>①</sup>; Luke evidently understands the Ethiopian's visit to Jerusalem to worship as unremarkable<sup>②</sup>, perhaps he was familiar with the eschatological promise of Isaiah 56:

Do not let the eunuch say, "I am just a dry tree." For thus says the LORD: To the eunuchs who keep my sabbaths, who choose the things that please me and hold fast my covenant, I will give, in my house and within my walls, a monument and a name better than sons and daughters; I will give them an everlasting name that shall not be cut off. (Isaiah 56: 3b-5a)

Indeed, this text may form a prophetic framework for the whole narrative, in which the coming to faith of the eunuch is a special case of the coming in of the nations in the last days (Acts 2: 17; Isaiah 55: 4-5).

#### V. "About Whom, May I Ask You, Does the Prophet Say This?"

The Ethiopian is reading from Isaiah 53, a passage that is in the form of a lament. The pair on the Emmaus Road are lamenting the death of Jesus and their disappointed hopes for national redemption (Luke 24: 21). The Ethiopian is reading a lament over the anonymous servant who was despised, rejected, held of no account, someone who suffered and was familiar with chronic ill

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① See Joanna Collicutt, *Jesus and the Gospel Women* (London: S. P. C. K., 2009), 39-40.

② Joseph Fitzmyer, *The Acts of the Apostles: A New Translation and Commentary* (New York: Doubleday, 1997), 410

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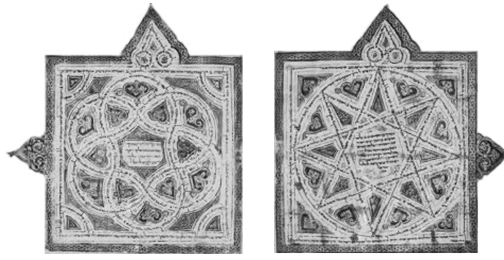
health, wounded, crushed, oppressed, denied justice, and cut off from human society.<sup>①</sup> Philip overhears him reading the text and asks if he understands it, to which the Ethiopian replies that he needs a guide—a *hodēgos* (note again the imagery of leading someone along a road). Philip joins the Ethiopian in the chariot; this is an interesting move, given the Ethiopian’s ambiguous status, that anticipates Peter’s visit to the house of Cornelius two chapters later. He does not answer the question directly but instead uses the text as a starting point for “proclaiming the good news about Jesus.” This is the converse pattern from that on the Road to Emmaus where the precise scriptures are left vague but the fact that they are talking about Jesus is made explicit.

It has been traditional to fill in the gaps in this account by concluding that Philip uses the servant song to explain that Jesus is the innocent servant who, through his suffering and death, atoned for the sins of the people. Protestant interpreters draw out the penal substitutionary aspects of this lament; the “good news about Jesus” is that he is the righteous one who has “borne the sins of many” and “made many righteous” (Isaiah 53: 11-12). The Ethiopian understands that he has a chance of redemption from his sins, asks to be baptized and, in textual variants cited by John Chrysostom and Ambrose and forming v. 37, utters a credal statement in order to receive salvation before undergoing baptism.

Nevertheless, the fact that the Ethiopian’s question is not answered by Philip opens up the possibilities of alternative readings. It could be that the Ethiopian is wondering if the text applies to him. The content of the servant song fits the situation of a eunuch remarkably well, and its lament form has the capacity to connect with the situation of a *doulos* who has suffered and is familiar with chronic ill health, wounded, crushed, oppressed, denied justice, and cut off from human society. By definition, this individual has gone through trauma and continues to live with its physical scars and its consequent limitations. The text may offer something more akin to the healing of wounds

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<sup>①</sup> While it is tempting to make much of the phrase “cut off” in English translations of Isaiah 53: 8 and 55: 5, two different Hebrew words are used in the Masoretic text and the idiom is absent from the Greek Old Testament on which Luke appears to be relying. Isaiah 53: 8 refers to separation and 55: 8 to discontinuation.



than salvation from sin.

In terms of Tedeschi and Calhoun's account of posttraumatic growth, the acute trauma for the Ethiopian may be some time in the past and he is in a phase of living with chronic adversity, albeit in a privileged context. He appears to be seeking meaning (journeying to Jerusalem and searching the scriptures) and he asks a question about identity. Just as on the Emmaus Road, he can make little headway without a companion guide. Just as in that narrative, what the companion says is secondary to the fact that he "draws near" (Luke 24:15) and accepts an invitation to come in and sit beside him (Luke 24:29). This is an act of solidarity in itself and can be understood as the beginning of the proclamation of the good news that God has come to pitch his tent with humanity (John 1:14). But in the text offers yet greater solidarity because the Ethiopian is now no longer lamenting alone but joining in with a greater lament, and his guide shows him that this lament is about the God who has drawn near to him in Jesus. The transformation in understanding is that the things he had previously thought separated him from God are, in their way, a mark of the divine.

The idiom "What is to prevent me...?" (v. 36) is then seen not simply as a way of saying "Let's do it now", but a statement that previous barriers to full participation in the people of God are seen to have been dismantled. Philip apparently agrees and, without further ado and no requirement for credal statements, in another mark of solidarity, "Both of them...went down into the water" (v.38). No wonder the Ethiopian rejoiced as he continued on his road (*hodos*), which we might understand as referring to continued posttraumatic growth in the faith.

## VI. Contemporary Readings

The alternative reading is no less Christological than the first but it is more psychologically compelling. It offers a multilayered approach to Isaiah 53 which can at once be seen as originating in a specific context in ancient Judaism but which is also capable of embracing the lament of all those who are innocent and marginalised. The present-day reader is able to place themselves in this lament and, in a Christian context, when the church acts as a *hodēgos* the

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significance of Christ, the Man of Sorrows, can be more fully appreciated and appropriated. Christ is not simply admired with gratitude for his saving work but received as one who is in solidarity with human suffering and able to transform its significance.

The Ethiopian's story has, unsurprisingly, proved very attractive to those who feel they are anomalous or on the margins of human society, especially in the area of sexual identity and sexuality<sup>①</sup> and its intersection with ethnicity. The actor and biblical scholar Peterson Toscano brings these responses movingly to life in a blog article entitled "The Mystery of the Ethiopian Eunuch"<sup>②</sup>:

Imagine you are a child taken from home and parents, taken to another country. Men held you down. They operated on you as you lay frozen with fear. You felt the searing pain of castration and suffered a long recovery.

You grew up but never experienced puberty. As boys matured, you did not change in the same ways. You began your work in the royal court. You longed to be in a family again, and even to have your own children. But you were busy and unable.

Non-eunuchs in the court respected and mocked you, sometimes at the same time... You felt rejected and alone. You were sick often and grew fragile because you lacked testosterone. Your bones grew brittle. Your heart grew bitter.

Then at a temple stall, you purchase a passage of scripture, one about a man of sorrow acquainted with grief...

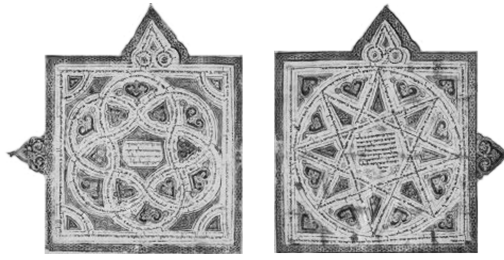
You read the words, and it is like you're looking in a mirror.

The afterlife of Isaiah 53 owes much to the narrative of Philip and the Ethiopian as presented by Luke, that most psychologically attuned of all the New Testament writers, who offers a hermeneutic key in the question posed

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① See, for example, Sean Burke, *Queering the Ethiopian Eunuch: Strategies of Ambiguity in Acts* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2013).

② Peterson Toscano, "The Mystery of the Ethiopian Eunuch," <https://www.meetinghouse.xyz/everything/2017/3/23/the-mystery-of-the-ethiopian-eunuch>.



by Ethiopian. Luke understands the human predicament to be that of feeling alone in the universe, separated from others, separated from self, and separated from God. This predicament is to be voiced as lament and then transformed, with solidarity playing a crucial part in the process and being its primary outcome.<sup>①</sup>

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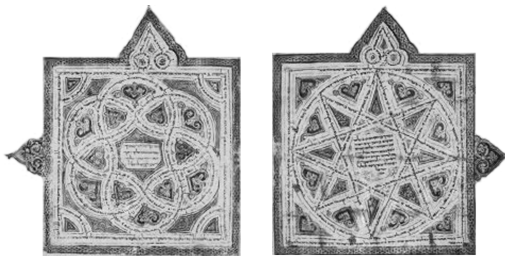
<sup>①</sup> See also Luke 8:48; Luke 19:9 and extensive discussion of Luke 15 in Duff and Collicutt, *Meeting Jesus*.

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## “是指自己,还是指别人呢?”

——腓利与埃塞俄比亚人叙事中的哀歌与认同

乔安娜·科丽卡特

**【摘要】**《使徒行传》第8章关于埃塞俄比亚太监的皈依的叙事,围绕对《以赛亚书》第53章的“受苦仆人”哀歌的解读而展开。这段叙事与《路加福音》第24章以马忤斯之路的叙事有着惊人的相似,后者也谈到《希伯来圣经》,以确定受苦就是弥赛亚的明确特征。本文旨在讨论这两处叙事之间的相似性,包括哀歌的意义以及对创伤(《路加福音》第24章中因耶稣被钉十字架的怆痛,以及《使徒行传》第8章中的去势和被边缘化)的体验在叙事里的主人公生活中的重要性。本文从创伤后成长的角度论证表明,在《使徒行传》第8章,一位异国的、心理受伤的、性别不明的、被边缘化的个体却能够领悟古代以色列人的哀歌,对此感同身受,并因这种感受和使徒腓利的解读帮助而体验到一种认同。由于这位埃塞俄比亚人的提问是开放的,在文本中未被回答,因此文本也邀请今天的读者与他一道,同《希伯来圣经》里的哀歌共鸣。这个邀请部分说明了为什么《希伯来圣经》里的哀歌具有长久的生命力,它们又为什么在与原始语境迥异的文化里能够得到接纳。

**【关键词】**哀歌;《使徒行传》;创伤;同一性

## “Mystically Called”: A Reception-Historical Perspective on Apocalyptic Place Names in the Book of Revelation

Ian Boxall \*

**Abstract:** Biblical scholars have long acknowledged the symbolic significance of specific place names in the Book of Revelation (e.g., Sodom, Egypt, Babylon, the New Jerusalem). But scholars are divided over the extent of such symbolic geography. This article explores the treatment of place names in patristic and early medieval reception of Revelation as one contribution to the scholarly discussion. Attention is paid to “the great city” (variously interpreted as “Sodom,” “Egypt,” and “Babylon,” Rev 11: 8; 17: 5), Armageddon (Rev 16: 16), the cities of the seven churches (Rev 2-3), and John’s island of Patmos (Rev 1: 9). Interpreters are found to have responded to different prompts in the biblical text in interpreting these place names: exploring possible etymologies in either Hebrew (following Rev 16: 16) or Greek; the use of gematria in the case of Patmos (see Rev 13: 18); consideration of how names convey a place’s character or significance (as in Rev 11: 8).

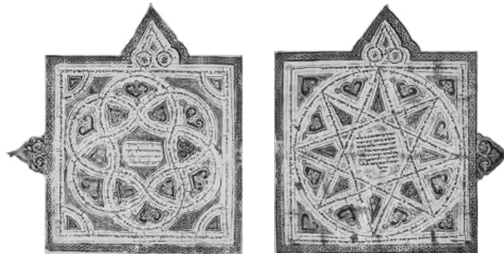
**Key Words:** The Book of Revelation, Apocalyptic Place Name, The Great City, Reception History

### I. Introduction

Biblical scholars have long acknowledged the symbolic significance of

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specific place names in the Book of Revelation. Not only does the climactic vision (Rev 21: 9-22: 5) reveal a celestial city, “the new Jerusalem,” which cannot be straightforwardly identified with historical Jerusalem in Judaea. The great city “Babylon” (Rev 14: 8; 16: 19; 17: 5; 18: 2, 10, 21) is clearly symbolic, variously interpreted as a cipher for Rome<sup>①</sup>, or, in a minority view, as degenerate Jerusalem. The latter interpretation takes its cue from Rev 11: 8, where “the great city” is identified as the city “where also their Lord was crucified.” More importantly for our subject, Rev 11: 8 provides the great city with two additional names, “Sodom” and “Egypt,” both of which are to be understood *πνευματικῶς*. This already poses a stark exegetical question, the answer to which is disputed in Revelation scholarship: can “the great city” be so precisely pinned to a specific terrestrial city, whether Jerusalem or Rome?

Rev 11: 8 also raises further questions for exegetes. What other place names besides “Babylon,” “Sodom” and “Egypt” might function symbolically or figuratively (*πνευματικῶς*) in Revelation’s visionary universe? If Babylon, Sodom and Egypt can shift geographical location, such that they can no longer be easily plotted on a terrestrial map, what of other identifiable places mentioned in the book?<sup>②</sup> Do the locations of the River Euphrates (Rev 9: 14; 16: 12) or Mount Zion (Rev 14: 1) also shift? What of that puzzling reference to Armageddon (Rev 16: 16), whose etymology and location is hotly debated? Does Revelation, like 1 Enoch, presuppose a more expansive, mythic geography in which the relationship between terrestrial topography and its

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<sup>①</sup> John’s Apocalypse would not be alone in viewing “Babylon” as a cipher for Rome: cf. 4 Ezra 3: 1-2; 1 Pet 5: 13.

<sup>②</sup> On Revelation’s cosmology, see e.g., P. S. Minear, “The Cosmology of the Apocalypse,” in *Current Issues in New Testament Interpretation*, eds. W. Klassen and G.F. Snyder (London: SCM, 1962), 23-37; S. M. McDonough, “Revelation: The Climax of Cosmology,” in *Cosmology and New Testament Theology*, eds. J. T. Pennington and S. M. McDonough, LNTS 355 (London and New York: T. & T. Clark, 2008), 178-188; S. M. Ryan, *Hearing at the Boundaries of Vision*, LNTS 448 (London and New York: T. & T. Clark, 2012). For the use of critical spatiality in Revelation studies, see e.g., J. Økland, “Carnelian and Caryatids: Stone and Statuary in the Heavenly Sanctuary,” in *Constructions of Space III: Biblical Spatiality and the Sacred*, eds. J. Økland, J. Cornelis de Vos, and K. Wenell, LHBOTS 540 (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), 184-214; T. M. Rucker, *The Temple Keys of Isaiah 22: 22, Revelation 3: 7, and Matthew 16: 19*, WUNT 2.559 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2021), 124-129.

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visionary counterpart is far from straightforward?<sup>①</sup> And, if so, what is the significance of the place names it contains?

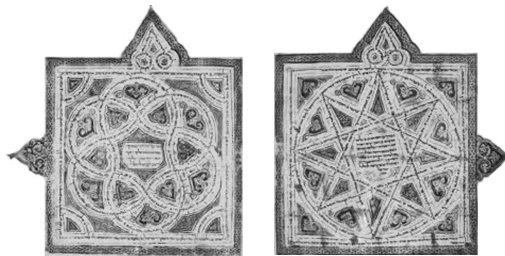
Moreover, how far should this quest for symbolic place names extend? Should it include the geographical locations mentioned in the first part of the book, before the main visionary section of Rev 4: 1-22: 5, i.e., the cities where the seven churches were located? Though conventionally interpreted as purely literal locations, they too are named in a visionary context, as part of John's vision of the one like a human being while "in the spirit" on Patmos (Rev 1: 11; 2: 1, 8, 12, 18, 24; 3: 1, 4, 7, 14). Finally, are there any exegetical grounds for interpreting John's Patmos location in a more than literal sense? How expansive, in other words, is the mythic geography that Revelation describes?

This article will examine how geographical locations fare in the reception history of Revelation, especially its early reception, as one modest contribution to this cluster of questions. It does so not only to consider the potential range of interpretations the text can engender, and the particular circumstances and theological assumptions which may have provoked them. It also aims to open up the potential for reception-historical study of Revelation's placenames for historical-critical interest in original meanings, in light of recent scholarly shifts from authors to audiences, and the growing conviction that "the literal sense" or "authorial intention" is far from univocal.<sup>②</sup> Particular attention will be given to earlier interpreters, who are historically and often culturally closer to the sources, and whose broader scriptural memory bank often attuned them

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① E.g., M. Himmelfarb, "The Temple and the Garden of Eden in Ezekiel, the Book of the Watchers, and the Wisdom of ben Sira," in *Sacred Places and Profane Spaces: Essays in the Geographics of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, eds. J. Scott and P. Simpson-Housley, Contributions to the Study of Religion 30 (Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 1991), 63-78; G.W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), 37-39; I. Boxall, *Patmos in the Reception History of the Apocalypse*, Oxford Theology & Religion Monographs (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 19-22, 24-25. In Revelation, this question is complicated by the fluidity of John's visions, which often blurs the boundary between heavenly and earthly locations.

② On this see M. Bockmuehl, *Seeing the Word: Refocusing New Testament Study* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2006); I. Boxall, "Reception History and the Interpretation of Revelation," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Book of Revelation*, ed. C.R. Koester (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020), 377-393.



to a wider range of potential scriptural allusions and echoes, utilizing patterns of exegesis which parallel Jewish exegetes of late antiquity.<sup>①</sup>

## II .The Great City: Sodom, Egypt, and Babylon

The key to reading place names symbolically rather than literally is provided by Rev 11: 8, which invites a non-geographical interpretation of “Sodom” and “Egypt” where the bodies of the two witnesses are laid:

καὶ τὸ πτώμα αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῆς πλατείας τῆς πόλεως τῆς μεγάλης, ἣτις καλεῖται πνευματικῶς Σόδομα καὶ Αἴγυπτος, ὅπου καὶ ὁ κύριος αὐτῶν ἐσταυρώθη.

And their corpses [will lie] in the main street of the great city, which is mystically called “Sodom” and “Egypt,” where their Lord was also crucified.

Πνευματικῶς is variously translated as “spiritually” (Douai-Rheims, following the Vulgate *spiritaliter*, KJV, CEB), “prophetically” (NRSV), “figuratively” (NIV), “mystically” (NASB), “symbolically” (ESV), and “which has the symbolic names” (NABRE). This adverb presupposes an insight gifted by the Spirit (cf. 1 Cor 2: 14), perhaps accessible to John only while he is ἐν πνεύματι (Rev 1: 10; 4: 2; 17: 3; 21: 10). The identification of “the great city” as “Sodom” may recall its legendary wickedness or inhospitality (Gen 18: 16-33; Ezek 16: 49-50; cf. Matt 10: 14-15). As “Egypt,” it has become a place of slavery (Exod 1: 8-14; 2: 23-25), where God’s people are oppressed or persecuted.

But where is “the great city” in which Sodom, historically located by the Dead Sea, and the land of Egypt find a new home? The explanatory clause “where their Lord was also crucified” seems clear enough. As R.H. Charles

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<sup>①</sup> For a cautious use of the “history of interpretation” test for detecting intertextual allusions in NT texts, see R.B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989), 31. For a more robust defence of the value of patristic exegesis for modern scholarship, see D. C. Allison, *Studies in Matthew: Interpretation Past and Present* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2005), 117-131.

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puts it: “As the text stands, ‘the great city’ can only be Jerusalem.”<sup>①</sup> This would not be completely unexpected, given that both Judah and Zion are sometimes connected to Sodom in the prophets (Isa 1: 9-10; Ezek 16: 46-55). Yet matters are complicated by the explicit identification of “the great city” as “Babylon” later in the book (Rev 17: 18; 18: 10, 16, 18, 19, 21; cf. 16: 19), for many interpreters a cipher for the city of Rome.

At least three solutions have suggested themselves to scholars who maintain that “the great city” has a single, terrestrial location. The first finds a distinction between Rev 11 and Rev 17. In the earlier passage, “the great city” is Jerusalem, whereas in John’s vision of the harlot Babylon, it is Rome.<sup>②</sup> A second solution maintains consistency between the two visions in identifying the great city with Rome in both cases.<sup>③</sup> Finally, a growing minority of scholars take the clarity of ὅπου καὶ ὁ κύριος αὐτῶν ἐσταυρώθη as their starting point, and interpret Babylon in Rev 17-18 not as Rome but as Jerusalem.<sup>④</sup>

There is an alternative solution to the identity of “the great city,” however. This acknowledges the echoes of both Jerusalem and Rome in Revelation’s “great city” passages, yet resists the temptation to restrict the great city to a single terrestrial city, or, in Sigve Tonstad’s words, taking “a metaphor hostage to geography.”<sup>⑤</sup> Rather it is a symbol of any city “where

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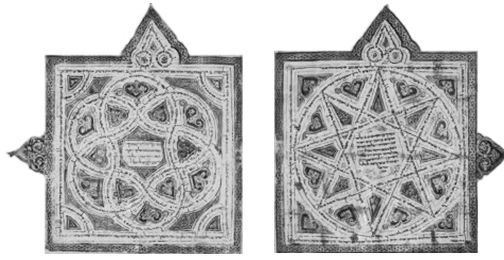
① R. H. Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John*, ICC (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1920), i. 287. Charles, who regards Rev 11: 3-13 as drawing upon an earlier apocalyptic document, concludes that the original also understood the “great city” to be Jerusalem.

② Charles, *Revelation of St. John*, i. 287, ii. 65; A. Feuillet, *The Apocalypse* (Staten Island, NY: Alba House, 1965), 60-62.

③ E.g., Spitta, *Offenbarung des Johannes* (Halle: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1889), 113; J. Wellhausen, *Analyse der Offenbarung Johannis* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1907), 16.

④ E.g., J. M. Ford, *Revelation: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 38 (New York: Doubleday, 1975), 276-293; E. Corsini, *The Apocalypse: The Perennial Revelation of Jesus Christ*, trans. F. J. Moloney (Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1983), 330-335; M. Barker, *The Revelation of Jesus Christ* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 2000), 279-301; E. F. Lupieri, *A Commentary on the Apocalypse of John*, trans. M. P. Johnson and A. Kamesar (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006), 248-251; F. J. Moloney, *The Apocalypse of John: A Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2020), 257-270. For Jerusalem as slayer of the prophets, see Matt 23:37-39.

⑤ S. K. Tonstad, *Revelation*, Paideia (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2019), 165.



God’s sanctuary is attacked, where the Church is giving faithful witness.”<sup>①</sup> Textual justification for this is threefold. First, the description of the two witnesses is prefaced by John being commanded to measure the sanctuary of God (Rev 11: 1-2). There are good grounds for interpreting this not as a literal measuring of the Jerusalem temple, but ecclesologically (paralleling “the camp of the saints” and the “beloved city” of Rev 20: 9 as symbols of the church). Second is the symbolic use of “Sodom” and “Egypt” in the current passage. While this does not require that “the great city” also be understood non-literally, it certainly raises that as a possibility, made stronger if one discerns features of Rome rather than Jerusalem in “the great city Babylon” of Rev 17. Third is the presence of the two witnesses, who are identified as “the two lampstands” (Rev 11: 4), in this great city. Hitherto, lampstands have functioned as symbols of the seven churches, only two of which—Smyrna and Philadelphia—received unqualified praise from “the one like a human being” for the strength of their testimony (Rev 2: 8-11; 3: 7-13). This observation expands the boundaries of “the great city” to incorporate any location, whether Rome, Jerusalem, London or New York, where faithful testimony is present.

### III. The Great City in Early Reception History

How does the early reception history understand “the great city”? The interpretation of the great city in Rev 11: 8 as Jerusalem is certainly early. Victorinus of Pettau (d.c. 304), author of the earliest surviving Latin commentary, links it to the persecution of the Jerusalem church by Jewish authorities: “However, because of the deeds of a persecuting people, he calls Jerusalem ‘Sodom’ and ‘Egypt’.”<sup>②</sup> Similarly, in the *Gospel of Nicodemus*

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<sup>①</sup> I. Boxall, *The Revelation of Saint John*, BNTC (London: Continuum, 2006), 166. See also, e.g., C. R. Koester, *Revelation: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AYB 38A (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014), 500-501; Tonstad, *Revelation*, 165-166.

<sup>②</sup> “Sodoma” autem “et Aegyptum” dicit Hierosolymam; actus populi persecutoris effecit. R. Gryson ed., *Victorinus Poetovionensis Opera quae supersunt*, CCSL 5 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), 215; English translation from W. C. Weinrich ed., *Latin Commentaries on Revelation*, Ancient Christian Texts (Downers Grove: IVP Academic, 2011), 15. The twelfth-century commentaries of Richard of St Victor (PL 196: 793) and Martin of Leon (PL 209: 362) also identify “the great city” as Jerusalem.

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(4th or 5th century), the two witnesses of Rev 11 are identified as Enoch and Elijah, who will be slain by the Antichrist in the city of Jerusalem (Gos. Nic. 9 [25]).

But early commentators who make the Jerusalem connection often distinguish “the great city” of Rev 11: 8 from Babylon.<sup>①</sup> For Victorinus Babylon symbolizes Rome, on the grounds that Rome similarly has persecuted Christians: “For all the saints have suffered martyrdom because of a decree of the Senate of this city.”<sup>②</sup> The Roman identity of Babylon is also the view of Tertullian (160-240): “So again, Babylon, in our John, is a figure of the city of Rome, as being equally great and proud of her sway, and triumphant over the saints.”<sup>③</sup> The two influential Greek commentaries by Oecumenius (c. 500-550) and Andrew of Caesarea (d. 614) also distinguish between Rev 11 and 17.<sup>④</sup> Oecumenius offers the following explanation as to why Jerusalem is called “Sodom” and “Egypt” at Rev 11: 8:

He calls Jerusalem Sodom, not in a literal sense but in a spiritual sense on account of the licentiousness and ill repute it possessed at that time. And he calls it also Egypt because it had enslaved and abused the servants of Christ, just as the actual Egypt did to Israel.<sup>⑤</sup>

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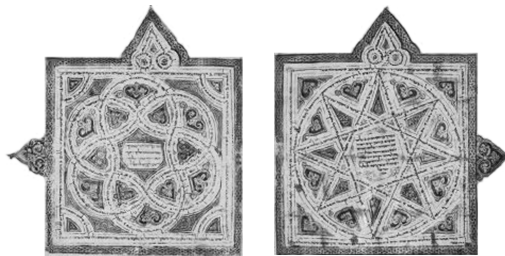
① On the wider reception history of Revelation’s Babylon, see e.g., I. Boxall, “The Many Faces of Babylon the Great: *Wirkungsgeschichte* and the Interpretation of Revelation 17,” in *Studies in the Book of Revelation*, ed. S. Moyise (Edinburgh and New York: T. & T. Clark, 2001), 51-68; J. Kovacs and C. Rowland, *Revelation*, BBC (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004), 178-189.

② *Ommes enim passionnes sanctorum ex decreto senatus illius semper consummata (e)*. Gryson, *Victorinus Poetovionensis Opera quae supersunt*, 244; English translation from Weinrich, *Latin Commentaries*, 19. For Rome as Babylon, see also e.g., Commodian, *Instr.* 1.41. Victorinus’s predecessor Hippolytus (*Antichrist* 36) implies an identification with Rome by stating that John was banished to Patmos by “Babylon” (καὶ γὰρ αὐτὴ σε ἐξώρισεν). Greek text from Ippolito, *L’Antichristo*, ed. E. Norelli, *Biblioteca Patristica* (Florence: Nardini, 1987), 106.

③ Tertullian, *Adv. Jud.*, 9. English translation from ANF 3: 162. So also Tertullian, *Scorp.* 12. 11; *Marc.* 3.13.10; Jerome, *Ep.* 46.12.

④ On Rev 11:8 as a reference to Jerusalem, see also Dionysius barṣalibī, *In Apocalypsim, Actus et Epistulas Catholicas*, ed. I. Sedlacek, CSCO Scriptores Syri CI (Rome: Karolus de Luigi, 1910), 14.

⑤ W. C. Weinrich ed., *Greek Commentaries on Revelation*, Ancient Christian Texts (Downers Grove: IVP Academic, 2011), 49.



By contrast, Rev 17 contains a vision of “what will befall Rome.”<sup>①</sup> For Andrew, the great city of Rev 11: 8 “is Jerusalem, where Antichrist will establish his kingdom,”<sup>②</sup> Jerusalem of the eschatological future. The great city Babylon is different, though Andrew is reluctant to identify it with either old Rome or new Rome (Constantinople), since the city that John sees is “she who bears the power of the earthly kingdom at the end of time.”<sup>③</sup>

Other early exegetes resist a literal interpretation of “the great city,” however. In various homilies, Origen proposes that it symbolizes either the present age, which the godly have learned to despise (*Hom. Ex.* 8.1; cf. *Hom. Jer.* 9.2.3), or the synagogue in contrast to the church (*Hom. Jer.* 18.5). A similar aversion to a straightforwardly geographical literalism is found in the Latin translation of Origen’s *Commentary on Matthew*: “Either the whole world or Judaea is given the name Sodom and Egypt.”<sup>④</sup> Though an allegorical reading might be expected in Origen, given his preference for the spiritual sense, similar interpretations occur elsewhere. In a letter to Marcella, written in the name of Paula and Eustochium, Jerome also denies that “the great city” is Jerusalem, since the Lord loved and wept over that city. Surveying the references to Sodom and Egypt throughout Scripture, he maintains instead that it represents the present world (*Ep.* 46.6-7).<sup>⑤</sup>

This universalizing interpretation of Rev 11: 8 will persist in some medieval Latin commentaries, as in the seventh-century Hiberno-Latin *Handbook on the Apocalypse of the Apostle John* (*Commemoratorium de Apocalypsi Iohannis apostoli*), which circulated under the name of Jerome:

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① Weinrich, *Greek Commentaries*, 73.

② Weinrich, *Greek Commentaries*, 152.

③ Weinrich, *Greek Commentaries*, 177. See E. S. Constantinou, *Guiding to a Blessed End: Andrew of Caesarea and His Apocalypse Commentary in the Ancient Church* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2013), 238-244.

④ Origen, *Comm. ser. Matt.* 50; R. E. Heine trans., *The Commentary of Origen on the Gospel of St Matthew*, OECT (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), II.627.

⑤ “The great city” as the world is also implied in Ephrem the Syrian’s *Hymns on the Nativity* 4, which affirms that the divine Majesty “was not wearied with being in the womb nine months for us, and in being thirty years in Sodom among the madmen.” *NPNF* 2nd series, 13: 234.

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“Here the great city is understood as the world.”<sup>①</sup> The sixth-century senator and exegete Cassiodorus, though aware of interpretations which identify Babylon with Rome, also prefers a figurative interpretation which embraces the city’s cosmic scope, extrapolating from the height of the seven mountains on which the city sits (Rev 17: 9):

Some choose to interpret her as the Roman city that sits upon seven mountains and possesses the world with a singular authority. Others speak better about Babylon, [saying] that its position, not [literal] mountains, is conveyed, and they describe lofty powers.<sup>②</sup>

Even some interpreters who permit a correlation between Babylon and Rome are reluctant to allow that this exhausts the text’s meaning. For Berengaudus, the prostitute Babylon is Rome in a specific sense (*specialiter*), but in general (*generaliter*) symbolizes the city of the devil.<sup>③</sup>

A different line of interpretation is found in Latin exegetes influenced by Tyconius of Carthage (active 370–390), whose Apocalypse commentary would remain influential for centuries.<sup>④</sup> When commenting on Rev 11: 8, Tyconius appeals to one of his rules for interpreting Scripture, *Concerning the twofold body of the Lord* (*De Domini corpore bipertito*), which understood the Church prior to the eschaton to be a *corpus mixtum*.<sup>⑤</sup> Thus the city in which

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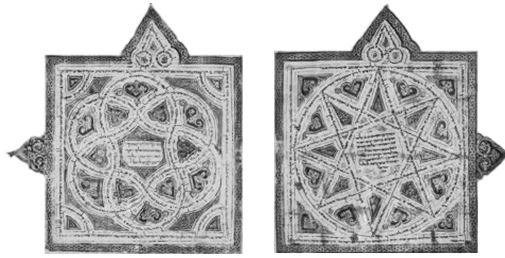
① *Hic ciuitas magna mundus intellegitur*. R. Gryson ed., *Variorum Auctorum Commentaria Minora in Apocalypsin Johannis*, CCSL 107 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 218. English translation from F. X. Gumerlock ed., *Early Latin Commentaries on the Apocalypse*, TEAMS (Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University, 2016), 31. See also, e.g., *Glossa* on Rev 11:8 in R. Gryson ed., *Incerti auctoris Glossa in Apocalypsin: e codice Bibliothecae Universitatis Cantabrigiensis Dd. X. 16*, CCSL 108G (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 97.

② Cassiodorus, *On the Apocalypse*, on Rev 17, in Cassiodorus, St. Gregory the Great, and Anonymous Greek Scholia, *Writings on the Apocalypse*, trans. F. X. Gumerlock, M. Delcogliano, and T. C. Schmidt, FC 144 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2022), 32.

③ *Meretrix ista in aliquibus locis Romam specialiter, quae tunc Ecclesiam Dei persequebatur: in quibusdam vero generaliter civitatem diaboli, id est, omne reproborum corpus demonstrat*. PL 17: 910.

④ See e.g., J. A. Hoover, “Exegeting the Apocalypse with the Donatist Communion,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Apocalyptic Literature*, ed. C. McAllister (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 79–96.

⑤ F. C. Burkitt ed., *The Book of Rules of Tyconius*, TS 3.1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1894).



the corpses of the two witnesses are displayed now functions as a symbol of the bipartite church, divided between those who give faithful witness and those who are the children of the devil:

...certainly in the church, because Jerusalem cannot be restored after the Lord said: “Jerusalem will have been trodden down, until the times of the Gentiles are fulfilled.”

...utique in ecclesia, quia Ierusalem restaurari non potest dicente domino: *Erit Ierusalem conculcata, usque dum compleantur tempora gentium.*<sup>①</sup>

Similarly, for Tyconius, the street in the middle of the great city is “in the midst of the church (*in medio ecclesiae*).” Tyconius’s reading is followed by Caesarius of Arles (c. 468-542), Primasius of Hadrumetum (d.c. 560), and Beatus of Liébana (c. 750-800). If “the great city” is the divided church, Babylon in Tyconian exegesis is the worldly city, the antithesis of the true church: “For there are two cities in the world, one of God and one of the devil, one originating from the abyss, the other from heaven.”<sup>②</sup>

As for the meaning of “Sodom” and “Egypt,” Jerome’s etymologies from *On Hebrew Names (Liber interpretationis nominum hebraicorum)* also have some influence.<sup>③</sup> Jerome interprets Sodom as *pecori tacenti* (“for silent cattle”), and Egypt as *tribulatio* (“distress”), the latter perhaps drawn from the resemblance between מַצְרַיִם and מִצְרַיִם.<sup>④</sup> Bede knew a variant of the first (Sodom means “silent,” *muta*), but interprets Egypt as “dark” or “gloomy”

① English translation from Tyconius, *Exposition of the Apocalypse*, trans. F. X. Gumerlock, intro and notes D. C. Robinson, FC 134 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2017), 114; Latin text from R. Gryson, ed., *Tyconii Afri Expositio Apocalypseos*, CCSL 107A (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 169; the quotation is from Luke 21:24. Tyconius also references Rev 11: 8 when commenting on Rev 1: 15 and 2: 8.

② Tyconius, *Exposition*, 166.

③ Jerome draws on earlier sources, such as Origen and Eusebius’s *Onomasticon*, though has expanded these to include proper nouns in Revelation. G. Bardy, “Saint Jérôme et ses maîtres hébreux,” *RBén* 46 (1934): 145-164; T. E. Hunt, *Jerome of Stridon and the Ethics of Literary Production in Late Antiquity* (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 124-146; E. Poleg, “The Interpretations of Hebrew Names in Theory and Practice,” in *Form and Function in the Late Medieval Bible*, eds. E. Poleg and L. Light (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 217-236.

④ P. de Lagarde, ed., “Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum: De apocalypsi Johannis,” in *S. Hieronymi Presbyteri Opera. Pars I*, 1, CCSL 72 (Brepols: Turnhout, 1959), 159, 160.

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(*tenebrosa*). These two interpretations are appropriate since the great city has “neither the light of faith nor the voice of confession.”<sup>①</sup> Interpreting Egypt as “dark” or “darkness (*tenebrae*)” is probably more exegetical than etymological, recalling the darkness which engulfed the land (Exod 10: 21-23).<sup>②</sup> The eighth-century Reference Bible’s *On the Mysteries of the Apocalypse of John (De enigmatibus ex Apocalypsi Johannis)*, offering a more tropological or moral reading, proposes that Egypt is so called “because of the “darkness” of their sins and because of their ignorance.”<sup>③</sup> Similarly, the city of Sodom is not named *secundum istoriam*, “according to the literal sense.” Rather, the world is called Sodom “for a similitude to the evil deeds of the residents of Sodom, and *Egypt* because of the ‘darkness’ of their sins and because of their ignorance.”<sup>④</sup> Pseudo-Alcuin (ninth century?) simply combines both place names in an allegorical reading: “By Egypt and Sodom is meant the wickedness of the persecutors.”<sup>⑤</sup>

## IV. Armageddon

Another location in Revelation’s mythic geography is the site of, or gathering place for<sup>⑥</sup>, the final battle, identified by John as a Hebrew name<sup>⑦</sup>, though transliterated into Greek characters:

Καὶ συνήγαγεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν τόπον τὸν καλούμενον Ἑβραϊστὶ Ἀρμαγεδών

And he gathered them together at the place which is called in Hebrew

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① Bede, *Commentary on Revelation*, 183. Latin from R. Gryson ed., *Bedae Presbyteri Expositio Apocalypseos*, CCSL 121A (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), 375. So also e.g., Martin of Leon (PL 209: 362); Richard of St Victor (PL 196: 793).

② See also, e.g., *Glossa* on Rev 11: 8 in Gryson, *Incerti auctoris Glossa in Apocalypsin*, 97.

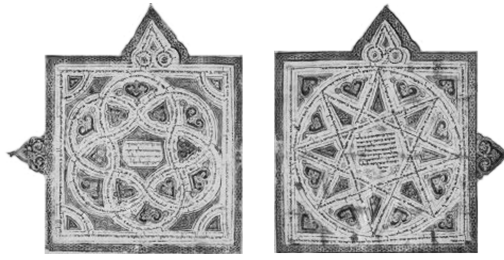
③ *propter tenebras peccatorum et ignorantiam*. Gryson, *Variorum Auctorum Commentaria Minora*, 270. English translation from Gumerlock, *Early Latin Commentaries*, 64.

④ Gryson, *Variorum Auctorum Commentaria Minora*, 270; English translation from Gumerlock, *Early Latin Commentaries*, 64.

⑤ *Per Aegyptum et Sodoma persecutorum iniquitas designatur*. PL 100: 1149.

⑥ For this interpretation of Rev 16: 16, see R. Bauckham, “Armageddon I: New Testament,” in *EBR* 2.770.

⑦ In contrast to Rev 9: 11, where the Hebrew name Abaddon is also given the Greek equivalent Ἀπολλύων.



“Harmageddon” (Rev 16: 16).

The cultural impact of Armageddon far outweighs its prominence in the Apocalypse of John, where it is referenced only once (Rev 16: 16).<sup>①</sup> A recent Google search produced over 47 million websites<sup>②</sup>, a reflection of the name’s broad cultural recognition.<sup>③</sup>

The etymology of the name is disputed.<sup>④</sup> Perhaps most straightforward, and preferred by many commentators, is הַר מְגִדּוֹ (הַר מְגִדּוֹ), “the mountain of Megiddo.”<sup>⑤</sup> Megiddo, transcribed in Greek as Μαγεδδων in 4 Kgdms 9:27 and Μαγεδων in Josh 12: 21, was the site of several significant battles, including Deborah and Barak’s victory over the Canaanites (Judg 5: 19), Gideon’s defeat of the Midianites (Judg 7), and the place where both Kings Ahaziah and Josiah died (2 Kgs 9: 27; 23: 29). Hence it would be an appropriate location for the final battle. Yet the city of Megiddo was not built on a mountain. Some therefore interpret it as “the Megiddo range,”<sup>⑥</sup> with a specific reference to Mount Carmel several miles to the northwest (1 Kgs 18).<sup>⑦</sup> Others would make

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① It is likely, however, that Armageddon is the implied location of two subsequent battle scenes, at Rev 19: 19-21 and 20: 7-10. See e.g., T. R. Schreiner, *Revelation*, BECNT (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2023), 559, who argues that the Armageddon scene describes the same battle as at 6: 15-17 and 19: 11-21, though maintains that 20: 7-10 presents a different scenario.

② Accessed 04/02/2024.

③ For examples of the reception history of Armageddon, see e.g., G. W. Wainwright, *Mysterious Apocalypse: Interpreting the Book of Revelation* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1993), 121-123; Kovacs and Rowland, *Revelation*, 174-175; Tonstad, *Revelation*, 234-237.

④ For summaries of scholarly proposals, see e.g., J. Jeremias, “Har Magedon (Apc 16: 16),” *ZNW* 31 (1932): 73-77; J. Paulien, “Armageddon,” in *ABD*, eds. D.N. Freedman et al. (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 394-395; J. Day, “The Origin of Armageddon: Revelation 16: 16 as an Interpretation of Zechariah 12: 11,” in *Crossing the Boundaries: Essays in Biblical Interpretation in Honour of Michael D. Goulder*, eds. S. Porter and P. Joyce (Leiden: Brill, 1994) 315-326; D. E. Aune, *Revelation 6-16*, WBC 52B (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1998), 898-899; Boxall, *The Revelation of Saint John*, 232-233; Koester, *Revelation*, 660-661.

⑤ E.g., Corsini, *The Apocalypse*, 306, 311-313; Koester, *Revelation*, 661.

⑥ E. Lohmeyer, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, HNT (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1953), 137.

⑦ E.g., W.H. Shea, “The Location and Significance of Armageddon in Rev 16: 16,” *AUSS* 18 (1980): 157-162; Beasley-Murray, *Revelation*, 245; R. Stefanovic, *Revelation of Jesus Christ* (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 2002), 488-489.

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it plural: “the mountains of Megiddo,”<sup>①</sup> reading Rev 16: 16 intertextually with Ezekiel 38-39, which describes the final battle “on the mountains of Israel” (Ezek 39: 4, 17).<sup>②</sup>

Additional etymologies have also been proposed by modern scholars, including “City of Megiddo” (עַר מְגִדּוֹן), “his fertile mountain” (הַר מְגִדּוֹ),<sup>③</sup> and “the desirable city” (עַר הַמְדֵּה), the latter two interpretations understood as a reference to Jerusalem.<sup>④</sup> Others find the key in Zech 12:11, where the Hebrew “in the plain of Megiddo” (בְּבִקְעַת מְגִדּוֹן)<sup>⑤</sup> is translated in the LXX as ἐν πεδίῳ ἐκκαποτομένου, apparently interpreting מְגִדּוֹן as derived from נָדַר, “cut down.”<sup>⑥</sup> Finally, the proposal that Armageddon is derived from “mount of assembly” (הַר מוֹעֵד), Isa 14: 13), the mountain of the gods, has garnered some support.<sup>⑦</sup> This is either viewed negatively, as a demonic rival to Mount Zion<sup>⑧</sup>, or positively, as an alternative name for Zion/Jerusalem (cf. Ps 48:1, 2, 5).<sup>⑨</sup>

Commentators are also divided over whether Armageddon should be interpreted as the literal site of the last battle (either Megiddo or another

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① Charles, *Revelation of St. John*, ii.50.

② E.g., Day, “The Origin of Armageddon,” 323.

③ T. K. Cheyne, “Armageddon,” in *Encyclopedia Biblica* 1 (London: A. & C. Black, 1899), 311.

④ Charles, *Revelation of St. John*, ii.50. For Megiddo as Jerusalem, see also A.J. Beagley, *The ‘Sitz im Leben’ of the Apocalypse: With Particular Reference to the Role of the Church’s Enemies*, BZNBW 50 (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1987), 87-89.

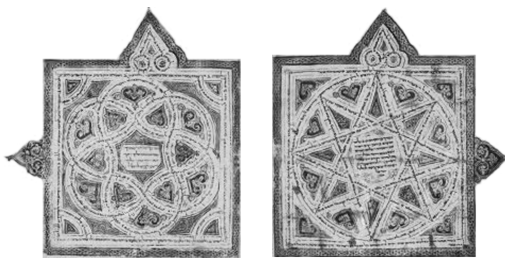
⑤ This is the only place in the Hebrew Bible where Megiddo is spelt with a final nun, paralleling the spelling of Armageddon. Koester, *Revelation*, 660.

⑥ Hence “the mountain of destruction/slaughter,” permitting another allusion to Jerusalem (cf. Zech 14:2). H. K. LaRondelle, “The Biblical Concept of Armageddon,” *JETS* 28 (1985): 21-31, at 23, n. 4; Ford, *Revelation*, 263.

⑦ F. Hommel, “Inchriftliche Glossen und Exkurse zur Genesis und zu Propheten,” *NKZ* 1 (1890): 393-412, at 406-407, n. 3. See also C.C. Torrey, “Armageddon,” *HTR* 31 (1938): 237-248; R. E. Loasby, “‘Har-Magedon’ according to the Hebrew in the Setting of the Seven Last Plagues of Revelation 16,” *AUSS* 27 (1989): 129-132; M. Rissi, *The Future of the World* (London: SCM Press, 1972), 15.

⑧ E.g., Lupieri, *Apocalypse of John*, 244.

⑨ Loasby, “Har-Magedon,” 132: “the place from which Christ will destroy the wicked, the ‘Mount of Assembly,’ that is, Mount Zion.”



location in Palestine)<sup>①</sup>, as code for a different historical location entirely<sup>②</sup>, or in a symbolic, non-geographic sense<sup>③</sup>. David Aune expresses the latter view evocatively: “the mythical apocalyptic-world mountain where the forces hostile to God, assembled by demonic spirits, will gather for final battle against God and his people.”<sup>④</sup> If symbolic, the quest for a precise geographical location would be both unnecessary and inappropriate, with the place name permitting multiple scriptural and mythic allusions.<sup>⑤</sup>

What does the early reception history make of Armageddon? Although some Greek manuscripts read simply *Μαγεδών* or *Μαγεδδών* at Rev 16: 16, i.e., Megiddo<sup>⑥</sup>, it is striking that early commentators rarely mention the city. According to an Arabic commentary on Revelation, Hippolytus (d. 235) understood Armageddon to mean “the smooth (or: trodden) place,” which he took to be a reference to the Wadi Jehoshaphat outside Jerusalem, where according to Joel 4: 2 the Lord will gather the nations for judgment.<sup>⑦</sup>

The Greek commentators Oecumenius and Andrew of Caesarea both

① See the Dispensationalist end-time scenarios of Cyrus I. Scofield and Hal Lindsey. C. I. Scofield, *The Scofield Reference Bible* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1917); H. Lindsey and C. C. Carlson, *The Late Great Planet Earth* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1970). Cf. Wainwright, *Mysterious Apocalypse*, 132.

② E.g., Hugo Grotius interprets Armageddon symbolically as a prophecy of Constantine’s victory over Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge in 312, based on the etymology *mons congregationis* (“mount of assembly”). H. Grotius, *Opera Theologicorum* 2:2 (London: Moses Pitt, 1679), 1213. J. B. Bossuet understands it to signify the defeat of the Roman emperor Valerian by Persian forces. J. B. Bossuet, *L’Apocalypse avec une explication* (La Haye: Marbre-Cramoisy, 1690), 14, 189-190. For Herder, it is a symbolic reference to the siege of Masada. J. G. Herder, *Johannesoffenbarung* (Tübingen and Stuttgart: Cotta, 1829), 134.

③ E.g., A. Farrer, *The Revelation of St. John the Divine* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), 178; Tonstad, *Revelation*, 230-232.

④ Aune, *Revelation 6-16*, 898.

⑤ See LaRondelle, “The Biblical Concept of Armageddon,” 30-31.

⑥ For further details, see B. M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, 2nd edn (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994), 681; Aune, *Revelation 6-16*, 858-859. The shorter reading is also found in the older Syriac translation. J. Gwynn, *The Apocalypse of St. John, in a Syriac Version Hitherto Unknown* (Dublin: Dublin University Press, 1897).

⑦ Hippolytus, *Hippolytus Werke*, ed. H. Achelis and G.N. Bonwetsch, GCS 1.2 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs’sche Buchhandlung, 1897), 236 [*der weiche (oder: getretene) Ort*]. Prigent and Stehly translate the phrase “lieu bien églisé.” P. Prigent and R. Stehly, “Les fragments du De Apocalypsi d’Hippolyte,” *TZ* 29 (1973): 313-333, at 330.

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propose an etymology similar to Zech 12: 11 LXX (ἐν πεδίῳ ἔκκοπτομένου).<sup>①</sup> Oecumenius, although his biblical text reads Μαγεδών (i.e., Megiddo) at Rev 16:16, is more interested in the meaning of the place name. He observes that the name “means a cleft” or “deep wound (διακοπή)” or alternatively “a cleaving” or “being severely wounded (διακοπτομένη),” signifying the brutal slaughter which will take place there.<sup>②</sup> Andrew simply repeats Oecumenius’s etymology.

In the West, several other etymologies appear in Latin commentaries, most derived from Jerome’s *On Hebrew Names*, which lists four:

Armageddon means either an uprising of the roof or an uprising of former things. But a better meaning might be a mountain from robbers or a spherical mountain.<sup>③</sup>

*Armageddon consurrectio tecti siue consurrectio in priora. Sed melius mons a latrunculis uel mons globosus.*<sup>④</sup>

All four seem to be etymological explanations derived from the Hebrew, as Rev 16: 16 demands, albeit transmitted via Jerome’s Greek source, which for the New Testament he believed was composed by Origen.<sup>⑤</sup> For example, *consurrectio in priora* is a Latin translation of εἰς τὰ ἔμπροσθεν ἄξέγερσις found in the pseudo-Origenist *Onomastica Vaticana*, apparently from the Hebrew עִנְיָר and מִקְרָם.<sup>⑥</sup> Jerome’s two preferred interpretations—*mons a latrunculis* and *mons globosus*—probably translate הַר מִגְדוֹן and הַר מִגְדָּר respectively.<sup>⑦</sup> The

① E.g., E. Nestle, “Har-Magedon,” in *Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. J. Hastings (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1899), 2.304-305; P. Prigent, *Commentary on the Apocalypse of St. John*, trans. W. Pradels (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 474, n. 23.

② The different English translations are from Oecumenius, *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, trans. J. N. Suggit, FC 112 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2006), 142; Weinrich, *Greek Commentaries*, 71. Greek text from M. de Groote, ed., *Oecumenii Commentarius in Apocalypsin*, *Traditio Exegetica Graeca* 8 (Leuven: Peeters, 1999), 214.

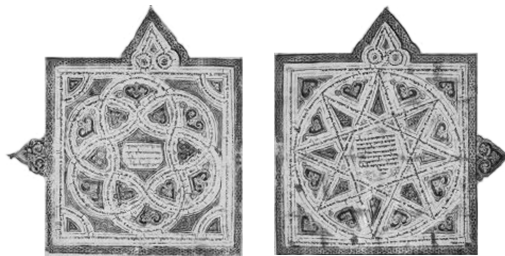
③ English translation from Weinrich, *Latin Commentaries*, 167, n. 21.

④ Lagarde, “Liber interpretationis,” 159.

⑤ L. L. Grabbe, *Etymology in Early Jewish Interpretation: The Hebrew Names in Philo*, BJS 115 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988), 16.

⑥ Jeremias, “Har Magedon (Apc 16:16),” 74, and n. 4.

⑦ Jeremias, “Har Magedon (Apc 16:16),” 75, nn. 4 and 5.



latter proposal is the result of Jerome’s extensive knowledge of the holy land, since he identified Armageddon with Mount Tabor (cf. Judg 4: 6, 12), the circular mountain arising from the Jezreel Valley approximately twenty miles from Tel Megiddo. This makes Tabor a plausible candidate for the “mountain of Megiddo.”

Medieval Latin commentaries which cite variants of Jerome’s etymologies include the seventh-century Reference Bible’s *De Enigmatibus*, Bede’s eighth-century *Expositio Apocalypseos*, Berengaudus (possibly eleventh century)<sup>①</sup>, Rupert of Deutz (c. 1075-1129)<sup>②</sup>, Martin of Leon (1125-1203)<sup>③</sup>, and the *Glossa Ordinaria* on the Apocalypse.<sup>④</sup> Often they elaborate on Jerome’s terse etymologies to offer allegorical interpretations. For example, the Reference Bible explains *consurrectio in priora* as meaning “the saints liberated from the persecution.”<sup>⑤</sup> The interest is less in identifying the location that in exploring the divinely-gifted meaning of the place name, which here reflects the fact that, at Armageddon, the persecutors of God’s people will themselves be defeated. Pseudo-Anselm (12th century?) knows the alternative *mons furum* or “mountain of robbers,” which he interprets as a reference to the Antichrist, “who is head of all who wish the steal the faith from the saints” (*qui est caput omnium qui sanctis fidem furari volunt*).<sup>⑥</sup> Again, the name is viewed as appropriate to what will occur there.

The hermeneutics of the fourth-century Tyconius of Carthage also shapes how several Latin commentators understand Armageddon. Tyconius’s emphasis on recapitulation anticipates several modern commentators in seeing the battle scenes of Rev 16: 16 and 20: 7-10 as describing the same final battle, and interpreting the place of the battle ecclesiologically rather than

① PL 17: 908.

② PL 169: 1126.

③ PL 209: 383.

④ Gryson, *Incerti auctoris Glossa in Apocalypsin*, 118. The Cambridge ms reads “Hermaidon” for “Armageddon.”

⑤ Gumerlock, *Early Latin Commentaries*, 75.

⑥ Ps-Anselm, PL 162: 1559, apparently a variant of Jerome’s *mons a latrunculis*. This reading is also known to Martin of Leon (PL 209: 383).

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geographically.<sup>①</sup> Armageddon is where the nations gather to surround “the camp of the saints and the beloved city<sup>②</sup>, that is, the church (*id est, ecclesiam*).”<sup>③</sup> This conception that the last battle is played out multiple times, wherever the church is threatened by hostile forces, is followed by Primasius, Beatus, and Bede. Such interpretations are very different from the often crassly militaristic modern readings in which Armageddon functions as a literal final battle between opposing human armies.<sup>④</sup>

However one judges the robustness of these interpretations<sup>⑤</sup>, two things are clear from the medieval Latin texts. First, Jerome and his successors evidently seek an etymological explanation via Hebrew, responding directly to the clue provided in Rev 16:16. Indeed, Jerome’s *mons a latrunculis* is not dissimilar to the modern proposal that the name means “marauding mountain,” a variation on Babylon’s “destroying mountain” in Jer 51:25.<sup>⑥</sup> Second, few seem interested in identifying a specific geographical location for Armageddon. Instead, their focus is on what the place name signifies, whether because of what will take place there or because of its physical characteristics. A rare exception is Bruno of Segni, who references Josiah’s death at Megiddo, but merges it with the quotation from Zech 12:11-12, thus seeing weeping at Josiah’s death as foreshadowing the grief at the final battle in Jerusalem.<sup>⑦</sup>

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① Schreiner identifies this as the position of modern amillennialists. Schreiner, *Revelation*, 559.

② A reference to Rev 20:9.

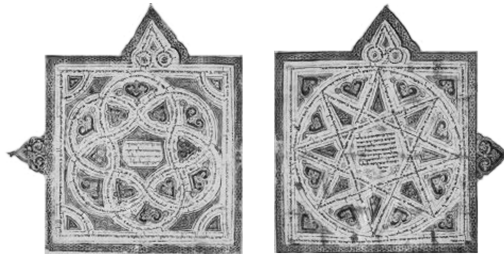
③ Gryson, *Tyconii Afri*, 201; English translation from Tyconius, *Exposition*, 157.

④ B. Chilton, *Visions of the Apocalypse: Receptions of John’s Revelation in Western Imagination* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2013), 9-10.

⑤ Torrey dismisses Origen and Jerome as resorting to “far-fetched etymology.” Torrey, “Armageddon,” 239.

⑥ G.B. Caird, *The Revelation of St John the Divine*, BNTC (London: A. & C. Black, 1966), 207, deriving “marauding” from the Hebrew מַרְדָּו, as in Zech 12:11 LXX. See also M. Jauhiainen, “The OT Background to Armageddon (Rev. 16:16) Reconsidered,” *NovT* 47.4 (2005): 381-393.

⑦ Bruno of Segni on Rev 16:16 (PL 165:695). For modern parallels, see e.g., Corsini’s view that Armageddon is an allegory for the death of Jesus as the new Josiah, which took place on the hill of Golgotha. Corsini, *The Apocalypse*, 355-356. On the Josiah typology, see also the perceptive comments in P. J. Leithart, *Revelation 1-11*, ITC (London and New York: Bloomsbury/T. & T. Clark, 2018), 155-157.



## V. The Cities of the Seven Churches

If the above-mentioned places function more symbolically than geographically, what of the locations of the seven congregations, the seven cities of Asia (Rev 1: 11; 2-3)? Most critical scholars assume that it suffices to locate these cities literally in first-century proconsular Asia.<sup>①</sup> A minority, however, observing that there were more than seven congregations of Christ-followers in first-century proconsular Asia<sup>②</sup>, permit that the seven churches function as more than seven historical congregations, given the symbolic meaning of the number seven.<sup>③</sup>

This view that the seven churches represent more than the sum of their parts is taken as read by earlier commentators. The author of the Muratorian Canon finds it significant that both John and Paul wrote to seven churches, i.e., to the whole church (Mur. Frag. II, 48-50, 57-60).<sup>④</sup> So does Victorinus, noting that what John “says to one, he says to all (*quod uni dicit omnibus dicit*).”<sup>⑤</sup> This conviction that the seven churches represent the universal church will become standard in medieval Latin exegesis (e.g., Apringius, Primasius, Bede, Berengaudus). The same pertains in the East. For Andrew of Caesarea, there is already a “mystical” dimension to the number seven: “mystically meaning [τὸ μυστικὸν] by this number the churches everywhere.”

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① E.g., B. Witherington III, *Revelation*, NCBC (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 75. On wider reception, see e.g., Kovacs and Rowland, *Revelation*, 52-58; Koester, *Revelation*, 231-234; M. Karrer, *Johannesoffenbarung* (Off. 1, 1-5, 14), EKK 24/1 (Ostfildern: Patmos Verlag/Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2017), 373-392.

② Colossae and Hierapolis near Laodicea in the Lycus valley, Col 1: 2; 4: 13; Magnesia-on-the-Meander and Tralles, addressed in the early second century by Ignatius of Antioch; Alexandrian Troas, Acts 16: 8; 20: 6-12; 2 Cor 2: 12; 2 Tim 4: 13.

③ E.g., H. Giesen, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, RNT (Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 1997), 42-44; G. K. Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids and Cambridge/Carlisle: Eerdmans/Paternoster Press, 1999), 186-187; Boxall, *The Revelation of Saint John*, 29-30; Moloney, *The Apocalypse of John*, 45.

④ Bede, *Expositio* Rev 1: 11, makes a similar comparison between John and Paul.

⑤ English translation from Weinrich, *Latin Commentaries*, 3; Latin from Victorin de Poetovio, *Sur l'Apocalypse et autres écrits*, ed. M. Dulaey, SC 423 (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1997), 52. See also e.g., Cyprian, *Fort.* 11; Origen, *Num. Hom.* 3.3.3.

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In addition, he discerns a further correspondence to his own time, “in which the seventh period of days is taking place.”<sup>①</sup> This figurative interpretation generally goes hand-in-hand with the conviction that Rev 2-3 was originally addressed to literal first-century congregations, as Bede observes in his commentary on Rev 1: 11: “The Church of Christ was not only in these places at this time, but all fulness is comprised in the number seven.”<sup>②</sup> Bede, and others in the Tyconian tradition (e.g., Caesarius of Arles; Beatus), view the seven churches as types of different kinds of churches, or different types of Christian, on the basis that the Spirit addresses himself to “the churches” (Rev 2: 7, 11, 17, 29; 3: 6, 13, 22).<sup>③</sup>

More striking is the attention, particularly in the Latin exegetical tradition, to the meaning of the place names themselves. The original naming of these cities seems to have been eponymous. According to Strabo, Smyrna is said to have been named after the Amazon who founded it, as was the case for Ephesus, originally also called Smyrna (Strabo, *Geog.* 11.5.4; 12.3.21; 14.1.4).<sup>④</sup> Similarly, Pergamum supposedly received its name from its founder Pergamus<sup>⑤</sup>, Philadelphia from Attalus II Philadelphus<sup>⑥</sup>, and Laodicea from Laodikē, the wife or sister of Antiochus II, who renamed the city when he fortified it between 261 and 253 BCE.<sup>⑦</sup> Yet, apparently on the basis of Rev 11: 8 and 16: 16, as well as the symbolism of the number seven, greater attention is paid in Latin patristic and medieval exegesis to what *God* intended by these names.

For many Latin commentators, the main source is Jerome’s *On Hebrew Names*,

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① Andrew of Caesarea, *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, trans. E. S. Constantinou, FC 123 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2011), 56; see Constantinou, *Guiding to a Blessed End*, 190.

② Bede, *Commentary on Revelation*, trans. F. Wallis, TTH 58 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013), 111.

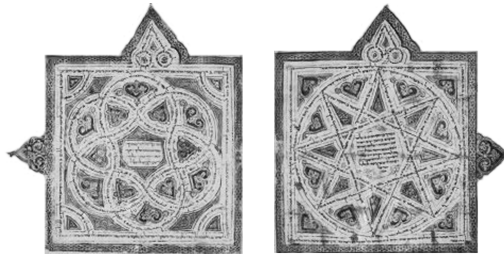
③ Tyconius, *Exposition*, 44; cf. Matt 5: 3; 2 Cor 6: 10.

④ D.E. Aune, *Revelation* 1-5, WBC 52A (Dallas: Word Books, 1997), 159.

⑤ Aune, *Revelation* 1-5, 180.

⑥ Charles, *Revelation of St. John*, i. 85. But see C. J. Hemer, *The Letters to the Seven Churches in their Local Setting*, JSNTS 11 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1986), 153-154.

⑦ Aune, *Revelation* 1-5, 249.



paralleling the treatment of Armageddon.<sup>①</sup> Jerome interprets the names of the seven cities as follows:<sup>②</sup>

Ephesus	<i>uoluntas siue consilium meum</i> (“my will” or “my counsel”);
Smyrna	<i>canticum eorum</i> (“their song”);
Pergamum	<i>diuidenti cornua eorum uel dissecanti uallem</i> (“to him who divides their horns” or “to him who dissects the valley”);
Thyatira	<i>inluminata</i> (“enlightened”); <sup>③</sup>
Sardis	<i>principium pulchritudinis</i> (“beginning of beauty”);
Philadelphia	<i>saluans haerentem domino</i> (“preserving adherence to the Lord”);
Laodicea	<i>tribus amabilis domini siue fuerunt in uomitu</i> (“tribe beloved of the Lord” or “they were in vomit”). <sup>④</sup>

As for Armageddon, Jerome’s interpretations of the city names are apparently etymological, derived from Hebrew (cf. Rev 16: 16). Although precise derivation is unclear, the underlying presupposition is that names convey meaning. For later commentators on Revelation (e.g., Apringius, Primasius, Beatus, Bede), Jerome’s etymologies are expanded to function as glosses on the character of the cities, or the churches therein. As the sixth-century Apringius of Béja has it: “But there is a mighty mystery in the names, which we will examine and discuss to the extent that God allows.”<sup>⑤</sup> Thus, Apringius interprets Jerome’s “their song” (Smyrna) as a reference to the song “of those who have rightly

① Later medieval commentaries drawing on Jerome’s *On Hebrew Names* include Pseudo-Alcuin (PL 100; 1096), *Commemoratorium de Apocalypsi Johannis Apostoli* (in Gryson, *Variorum Auctorum Commentaria Minora*), Pseudo-Anselm (PL 162), Berengaudus (PL 17), the *Glossa ordinaria* (in Gryson, *Incerti auctoris Glossa in Apocalypsin*), and Martin of Leon (PL 209).

② Lagarde, “Liber interpretationis,” 159-160.

③ The definition for Thyatira comes from Jerome’s list of names from Acts; Lagarde, “Liber interpretationis,” 149-150.

④ The latter definition is probably derived from Rev 3: 16.

⑤ *Sed est forte in nominibus sacramentum, quod discutientes, in quantum deus dederit, disseramus.* Apringius in Gryson, *Variorum Auctorum Commentaria Minora*, 41. English translation from Weinrich, *Latin Commentaries*, 28.

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confessed the catholic truth,” reflecting the positive assessment of that church’s faith (Rev 2: 9-10).<sup>①</sup>

An obvious objection to Jerome’s etymologies is that the names of the seven cities of Asia should be derived either from Greek, or from an earlier Anatolian language. Thus, although Bede knows several of Jerome’s interpretations, probably via Primasius’s commentary<sup>②</sup>, in some cases he prefers Greek alternatives. For Ephesus, he offers “a great falling away (*lapsus magnus*)” as an alternative to “my will is in her (*uoluntas mea in ea*),” reflecting the resemblance of the city’s name to the Greek ἔφεσις, “throwing” or “hurling.”<sup>③</sup> Both names are appropriate for Revelation’s message to the church in Ephesus, since its angel is said to have “fallen” (Rev 2: 5), yet the church contains those who carry out God’s will (Rev 2: 2-3, 6). Smyrna is understood as derived from the Greek word for “myrrh” (Latin: *myrra*; Greek: *σμύρνα*), which Bede gives an additional allegorical meaning, perhaps with a tropological function for the benefit of his readers: “which symbolizes the mortification of the flesh.”<sup>④</sup> Thyatira means “sacrificial victim” (*hostiam*; Greek *θητήριος*).<sup>⑤</sup> Sardis connects with the gemstone *σάρδιον*, one of the twelve precious stones adorning the New Jerusalem (Rev 21: 20), while the city of Philadelphia is appropriately identified as “brotherly love” (*dilectio fraterna*, from the Greek *φιλadelphía*).<sup>⑥</sup>

The exegetical process—beginning with etymology, and using that to discern the symbolic significance of a place name for readers attuned to Revelation’s mythic geography—is arguably rooted in the clues provided by John of Patmos, especially in Rev 11: 8 and 16: 16. The additional significance is frequently sought to make a moral or tropological point, in some cases related to the “character” of the church in that place.

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① Weinrich, *Latin Commentaries*, 33.

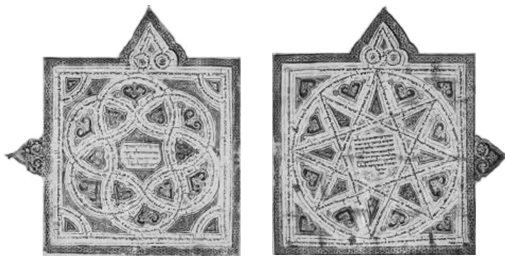
② E.g., Pergamum as “dividing their horns”; Laodicea as “tribe beloved of the Lord” or “they were in vomit.”

③ Bede, *Commentary on Revelation*, 116, n. 57; Latin from Gryson, *Bedae Presbyteri*, 249.

④ Bede, *Commentary on Revelation*, 117; Latin from Gryson, *Bedae Presbyteri*, 253.

⑤ Bede, *Commentary on Revelation*, 121, n. 86; Latin from Gryson, *Bedae Presbyteri*, 259.

⑥ Gryson, *Bedae Presbyteri*, 265, 267.



## VI. Patmos

What, finally, of John’s own location, at least for his inaugural vision if not also of composition? Even allowing for a symbolic addition to the names of the seven Asian cities, Patmos would appear to be an obvious exception to the symbolic rule. After all, it is mentioned prior to the visions proper, rooting the seer firmly on *terra firma*. Yet, a return to Rev 11: 8, with its statement that the great city “is spiritually called “Sodom” and “Egypt”,” suggests a more complex reality. The passive *καλεῖται* could be taken as a divine or theological passive: i.e., God has called the great city “Sodom” and “Egypt.” The same could be said for the place “which is called (τὸν καλούμενον) in Hebrew Armageddon” (Rev 16: 16).

Like 11: 8 and 16: 16, Rev 1: 9 combines a place name with the passive voice of the verb *καλέω*. John states, not merely that he was on Patmos, but that he was “on the island which is called Patmos” (ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τῇ καλουμένη Πάτμῳ, Rev 1:9). Identifying his location as an island, within a Jewish worldview, highlights its marginal character, since in the LXX *νήσος* often describes “the islands of the gentiles,” particularly in the Mediterranean (νήσοι τῶν ἐθνῶν, e.g., Gen 10: 5, 32; Zeph 2: 11; 1 Macc 11: 38). That it is *called* Patmos potentially invests its place name with theological significance.<sup>①</sup> Indeed, a plausible reading of Revelation’s narrative presents Patmos as an island of mythic proportions, able to contain both a wilderness (Rev 17: 3) and a lofty mountain onto which the New Jerusalem descends (Rev 21:10). Etymological explanations of the name Patmos (and its ancient variant Patnos, found in a 2nd century BCE inscription) have included a derivation from the Greek *πατήμα* or “step,” reflecting the myth that the god Poseidon stepped on this island, and from a Syriac word meaning “terebinth,” perhaps because such trees grew there.<sup>②</sup>

Yet, unlike “the great city,” Armageddon, and even the cities of the seven churches, early reception history is more reluctant to explore the deeper

① See the discussion in Boxall, *Patmos*, 16-22.

② V. Guérin, *Description de l’île de Patmos et de l’île de Samos* (Paris: Auguste Durand, 1856), 2-4.

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significance of the name “Patmos.” Patmos is the sole place name in Revelation not discussed by Jerome in his *On Hebrew Names*. On the other hand, early interpreters did consider the appropriateness of the island’s remoteness and restricted size for the exile of a troublesome preacher and for the reception of visions.<sup>①</sup> Both Primasius and Bede, for example, almost certainly drawing on Tyconius, observe that “It was fitting that when *he was forbidden to go beyond a circumscribed confine of the earth*, it was vouchsafed to him *to penetrate the secret things of heaven*.”<sup>②</sup> This reading accords a greater role to divine agency in the debated phrase *διὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν μαρτυρίαν* (Rev 1: 9). Though human agents (e.g., the emperor, or a local Roman official in Asia Minor) may have been instrumental in John’s sojourn on Patmos, as the traditional view would have it, ultimately the hand of God was at work in bringing his servant to this island of vision.<sup>③</sup>

More intriguing is a reading found in multiple medieval Latin commentaries, whereby Patmos is interpreted by the Latin noun *fretum* (“strait,” “channel,” “raging”). This interpretation goes back at least to the seventh or eighth century, since it is interpolated into a copy of Primasius’s commentary from that date in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.<sup>④</sup> It is also found, among others, in commentaries by Primasius’s eighth-century successor Ambrose Autpert, Haimo of Auxerre (ninth century), and Pseudo-Anselm. Moreover, Patmos as *fretum* was popularized in the Middle Ages through its inclusion in the *Glossa ordinaria*, which also connects the geographical remoteness of Patmos to John’s proximity to divine realities.<sup>⑤</sup> An etymological explanation is not obvious, whether one is working in Latin, Greek, or Hebrew. Though etymology cannot be ruled out entirely, a more promising

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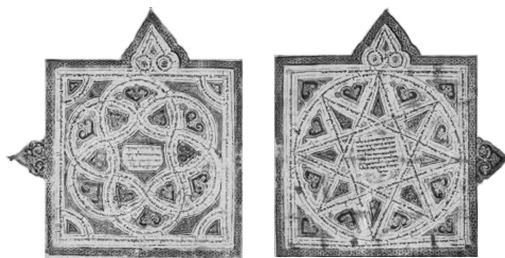
① Boxall, *Patmos*, 28-55.

② Bede, *Commentary on Revelation*, 111 (italics in the original, marking the direct quotation from Primasius). In support of a Tyconian source, see K. B. Steinhauser, *The Apocalypse Commentary of Tyconius: A History of Its Reception and Influence* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1987), 267.

③ This motif is particularly prominent in apocryphal lives of John, such as the *Acts of John at Rome* (either fourth or fifth century) and the Greek *Acts of John by Prochorus* (probably fifth century). Boxall, *Patmos*, 51-53, 106-114.

④ Codex Bodleianus, MS. Douce 140 [21714], II, 105-107. Boxall, *Patmos*, 70-71.

⑤ Gryson, *Incerti auctoris Glossa in Apocalypsin*, 39.



explanation is offered by gematria. In a simple system whereby the letters of the Latin alphabet correspond to numbers from 1 to 23, both Patmos and *fretum* have the numerical value 79.<sup>①</sup> This offers a somewhat different exegetical approach to the meaning of Revelation’s place names, taking its starting-point not from Rev 16: 16 (Hebrew etymology) but from the call to calculate the number of beast in Rev 13: 18, which is frequently solved using gematria.<sup>②</sup>

## Conclusion

This reception-historical exploration of Revelation’s place names makes no claim to be exhaustive. Further work could fruitfully be undertaken, for example, on Mount Zion, where the Lamb stands with the 144,000 (Rev 14: 1), or the River Euphrates (Rev 9: 14; 16: 2), the great river which flowed through Babylon, whose “many waters” (Jer 51: 13; cf. Rev 17: 1) come to symbolize “peoples and multitudes, nations and languages” in Revelation’s symbolic geography (Rev 17: 15). One might also have included the slew of personal names, some of which, like “Sodom” and “Egypt” (Rev 11: 8) serve to obscure actual names as well as revealing perceived character flaws: “Jezebel” (Rev 2: 20), “Balaam” (Rev 2: 14), possibly “the Nicolaitans” (Rev 2: 6, 15).<sup>③</sup> Attention to the meaning of names might accord additional significance to “Antipas,” the sole named Christian martyr in Pergamum (Rev 2: 13), and perhaps even that of John himself (Ἰωάννης, a Greek form of יהוה, “Yahweh is [or ‘has been’] gracious,” Rev 1: 1, 4, 9).<sup>④</sup>

The reception history of the place names discussed here demonstrates the sensitivity of older interpreters to what such names convey, in a text whose

① PATMOS=15 +1+19+12+14+18=79. FRETUM=6+17+5+19+20+12=79. Boxall, *Patmos*, 72.

② There are some attempts to interpret Patmos etymologically from the Hebrew, though these are much later, e. g., the French Jesuit Jean Hardouin (1646-1729). J. Hardouin, *Joannis Harduini Commentarius in Novum Testamentum* (Amsterdam, 1741), 739; see Boxall, *Patmos*, 161-162.

③ The last two names are sometimes connected etymologically by scholars. Charles, *Revelation of St. John*, i. 52-53.

④ Aune, *Revelation* 1-5, xlix-l.

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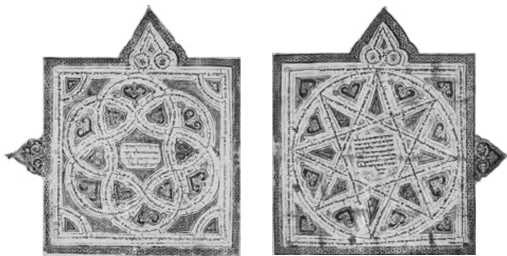
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“literal sense” is often profoundly symbolic. The various strategies employed can each claim to be rooted in exegetical clues provided by the biblical text, whether etymological explanations (grounded in Rev 16: 16), those resorting to gematria (taking Rev 13: 18 as their starting-point), or attending to a place’s history, character, or potential (following the lead of Rev 11: 8). In addition, the extensive scriptural memory bank of pre-modern interpreters often flags up intertextual connections which can further illuminate a text’s meaning, such as Hippolytus’s identification of Armageddon with the Valley of Jehoshaphat, recalling Joel 4: 2, or Bruno of Segni’s appeal both to Zech 12: 11-12 and to the death of Josiah at Megiddo (2 Kgs 23: 29), with its Christological potential for viewing Christ as the new Josiah. Such approaches can be illuminating for contemporary scholarship, irrespective of the particular merits of specific interpretations, such as the more tenuous etymological explanations, which inevitably reflect the circumstances and theological perspectives of the respective interpreter.

Moreover, such treatments of Revelation’s place names, which often move beyond etymology and gematria to questions of significance and their implications for Christian living, mesh with exegetical reflection on both Revelation’s genre and purpose. That names mean more than location is appropriate for a book with apocalyptic characteristics, given that apocalyptic visions “*expand* the boundaries of the known world through esoteric knowledge.”<sup>①</sup> That readers are invited to enquire into the significance of place names for their own following of Christ also accords with a text which functions to challenge as well as console the churches (Rev 2-3). The basic instinct of pre-modern readers, in short, is to give full weight to the invitation to read names *πνευματικῶς* (Rev 11: 8), and thus permitting them properly *theological* significance. If *God* has called these places by names such as “Patmos,” “Sodom,” “Egypt,” and “Armageddon” (as Rev 1: 9, 11: 8 and 16: 16 imply), then the names themselves deserve as close attention by exegetes as do the specific locations they denote. Early interpreters of Revelation seem to have understood this theological imperative well.

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① L. L. Thompson, “Mapping an Apocalyptic World,” in *Sacred Places and Profane Spaces*, eds. Scott and Simpson-Housley, 115-127, at 119.



## “神秘的召唤”

——《启示录》中天启地名的接受史研究

伊安·伯克索尔

**【摘要】**圣经学者们长久以来认识到了《启示录》中的特殊地名(比如所多玛、埃及、巴比伦、新耶路撒冷)的符号意义。但是,关于这些地理位置在多大程度上是符号性的,学者们存有争论。本文探讨教父和早期中世纪论著在接受《启示录》时是如何处理地名问题的,以期对该争论有所贡献。本文主要关注“大城”(《启示录》11:8, 17:5 中的所多玛、埃及、巴比伦)、哈米吉多顿(《启示录》16:16)、七教会所在的城(《启示录》2—3)以及约翰的拔摩岛(《启示录》1:9)。本文指出,在解释这些地名时,学者们诉诸《圣经》文本中的不同线索,如希伯来文(比如《启示录》16:16)和希腊文的词源学、拔摩岛叙事中数字密码的使用(比如《启示录》13:18)以及地名所传达的地理位置特征及重要性(比如《启示录》11:8)。

**【关键词】**《启示录》;天启地名;大城;接受史

## Advantages and Disadvantages of the Use of Digital Tools Exemplified by Textual Studies

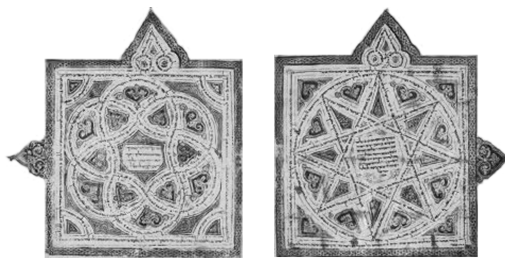
Emanuel Tov<sup>\*</sup>

**Abstract:** Since the 1970s, computers have been used in the service of the humanities, and now we can no longer do without them. A good computer program such as *Accordance* consists of fully integrated biblical texts with morphological analysis and linked to lexicons, atlases, and commentaries. All the imaginable bilingual searches are now possible. However, there are drawbacks to the digital advancement in textual criticism. (1) The users of computer editions lose the familiarity readers previously had with the printed Bible text. (2) For textual criticism, it is important to have a mental image of the shape of the ancient book. (3) When practicing textual criticism, one needs to have a clear concept of the existence of margins around the written, but in computer editions there are no margins. (4) The lines of many poetical texts are arranged graphically in the medieval codices and the Qumran scrolls, but this system has been discontinued in the main computer editions. (5) The running text of Masoretic Text is subdivided into sections, but the computer editions do not provide the visibility of the spacing of the open and closed sections.

**Key Words:** Digital Tools, Textual Criticism, Hebrew Bible, Masoretic Text, Text Editions

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Since the 1970s, computers have been used in the service of the humanities, and now we can no longer do without them. In one area we may get close to self-sufficiency basing ourselves only on digital sources for the text-critical study of the Hebrew Bible, and that is teaching. A good computer program such as *Accordance* consists of fully integrated biblical texts with morphological analysis and linked to lexicons, atlases, and commentaries. All the imaginable bilingual searches are now possible, Greek-Hebrew and Hebrew-Greek, joined by several statistical features.

However, there are drawbacks to the digital advancement. In the area of textual criticism, I see these problems: (1) The concept of a Bible book: The users of computer editions lose the familiarity readers previously had with the printed *Bible* text. If one was accustomed to seeing the beginning of Genesis chapter 12 at the top of the left page, there are no left and right pages in computer editions and, in fact, no pages at all. Instead, the extent of the computer “pages” depends upon the parameters of the screen, font, and line spacing. (2) Shape of the ancient book. For the practice of textual criticism, it is important to have a mental image of the shape of the ancient book. (3) When practicing textual criticism, one needs to have a clear concept of the existence of margins around the written or printed text block. However, in computer editions there are no margins. (4) The lines of many poetical texts are arranged graphically in the medieval codices and the Qumran scrolls. However, this system has been discontinued in the main computer editions in which poetical texts are presented as running prose texts. (5) The running text of Masoretic Text (MT) is subdivided into sections. The computer editions that provide complete running texts do not provide the visibility of the spacing of the open and closed sections, and hence the user loses a significant aspect of the guidance of the layout of MT.

By necessity, students have lost some skills unrelated to textual criticism that nevertheless harm the text-critical analysis (writing by hand, mention of the source of the digital editions, reliance on scans). In the last decades of the previous century a branch of pseudo-research developed that was based on counting letters in the biblical text. Finally, we turn to the subjectivity of the sources that are recorded by computers, including Wikipedia.

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## I. Advantages

The discipline of textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible works with ancient manuscripts, text editions, and many additional sources. It compares details in many languages and its purpose is to gather information about the transmission of the ancient texts, to compare readings, to express an opinion on them, and to create editions. For some scholars, like myself, this is their main academic focus. Textual criticism is not only descriptive; we want to make the readings that are retrieved from the ancient sources available for the exegetical endeavor of the Bible. After all, textual criticism is meant to be an auxiliary discipline in the service of exegesis.

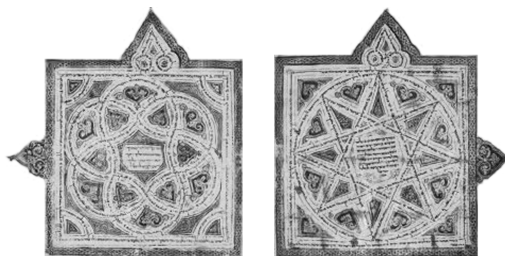
For three centuries, text-critical activity proceeded very well without computers. Of course, many studies would have been more precise and efficient had they been carried out with the aid of computers. But, if you do not have computers, you do not miss them. Before the advent of the computer, projects worked with endless numbers of boxes filled with slips of paper or index cards. I remember very well the project room of the Oxford project in the mid-1970s that was involved in the revision of the Liddell and Scott Greek lexicon.<sup>①</sup> The room was filled with hundreds of boxes crammed with paper slips, an unimaginable sight for modern eyes. That's also how we worked in the Hebrew University Bible Project<sup>②</sup>, using cards of different colors and sizes. The logic of these cards is identical to the main idea of the computer arrangement.

Since the 1970s, computers have been used in the service of the humanities, and now we can no longer do without them. Some projects made the move to computers in the 1970s, and others in the 1980s or 1990s. It was an enormous revolution for projects and for our personal research, and later

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① Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon: With a Supplement*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968).

② Moshe H. Goshen-Gottstein, *The Hebrew University Bible: The Book of Isaiah* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1995); Chaim Rabin, Shemaryahu Talmon, and Emanuel Tov, *The Hebrew University Bible: The Book of Jeremiah* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1997); Moshe H. Goshen-Gottstein and Shemaryahu Talmon, *The Hebrew University Bible: The Book of Ezekiel* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 2004).



also for the classroom. I am old enough to have witnessed the different technological stages. My M. A. thesis was typed on a Hebrew typewriter, supplemented by an English Olivetti, while the Greek was written in by hand. In the next stage, my doctoral dissertation<sup>①</sup> was typed in English by a professional typist, supplemented by Hebrew and Greek “golf balls” on an IBM Selectric typewriter. That was ages before the advent of the computer...

The first mainframe computers in the service of textual studies were rather primitive, slowly developing into the small personal computers of today. Computers are now a fact of life, and for textual criticism they have been very beneficial. With the aid of computers much has been done that could not have been done otherwise. However, has anyone asked whether there are also drawbacks to the use of computers? I do not refer to the use of a computer in word processing. I speak about the use of textual data in machine-readable form in research and in the classroom.

Take, for example, the Masoretic Text of the Hebrew Bible. For several decades this text has been available digitally together with a morphological analysis of all its words and a lexicon as the basis for many types of text-critical, linguistic, and literary examinations. Since the 1980s, search programs have been improved, now searching for letters, parts of words, words, word combinations, vowels, vowel combinations, cantillation marks and patterns, the Masorah, open and closed paragraphs, and *Ketiv-Qere*.<sup>②</sup> Other scholars perform comparative authorship studies. As far as I know, in 2024 MT is not yet linked with databases of masoretic variants, but it is joined with the Judean Desert texts (the Dead Sea Scrolls). It is linked with the Septuagint Greek translation at the word level through the CATSS program<sup>③</sup>,

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① *The Septuagint Translation of Jeremiah and Baruch: A Discussion of an Early Revision of Jeremiah 29-52 and Baruch 1: 1-3;8*, HSM 8 (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1976).

② For details about all these components of the biblical text, see my *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, revised and expanded fourth edition (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2022), 35-86.

③ *Computer-Assisted Tools for Septuagint Studies*, co-directed by Robert A. Kraft (University of Pennsylvania) and Emanuel Tov (Hebrew University of Jerusalem), module of the *Accordance* (<https://www.accordancebible.com/>) and *Logos* (<https://www.logos.com/>) programs.

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and the same pertains to the targumim (Torah only) through the *Targums WordMap*<sup>①</sup>. Most of the ancient and modern translations are also morphologically analyzed<sup>②</sup> allowing for searches.

In addition, the main critical editions of the Hebrew Bible, LXX, Vulgate, targumim, and Peshitta are now available digitally.<sup>③</sup> However, variants of these texts are not yet available in a flexible way, except for those of the Göttingen Septuagint integrated in the *Accordance* and *Logos* programs.<sup>④</sup>

The available data and procedures in the field of textual criticism are more extensive than what I can sketch here. Sophisticated projects now analyze handwriting, and various natural science techniques are applied to the ancient documents. However, my main topic is not the achievements, but the research trends to which I turn now.

We possess many textual sources in digital form as well as programs that analyze them. However, we cannot perform our research solely based on digital sources, and we will never be in a situation in which most or all of the textual research can be performed in that way. There will always be many sources that are not available in machine-readable form.

However, in one area we may get close to self-sufficiency basing ourselves only on digital sources, and that is teaching. Teaching involves the availability of digital tools before and during the class. In the classroom, the students have access to all the texts in parallel columns, grammars, lexicons, atlases, and commentaries, allowing them to correct the teacher from the data on their own laptops! All these tools are available in the *Accordance* and *Logos* programs.

Traditionally, the major tool for the study of the LXX was the bilingual

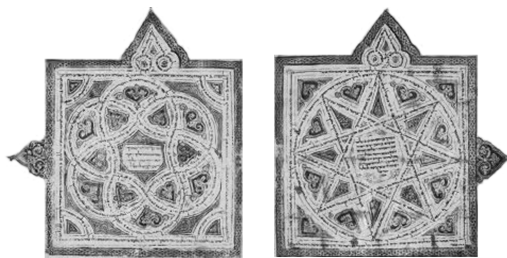
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① A module in the *Accordance* program, *Targums WordMap* is edited by Leeor Gottlieb of Bar-Ilan University, <https://www.accordancebible.com/product/targums-wordmap-the-equivalent-project/>. At the verse level, MT is further linked with the Peshitta, Vulgate, Old Latin, as well as with all modern translations, through “Strong’s equivalents.”

② A morphological analysis provides the root (stem) of the word and an exact definition of the grammatical form.

③ Listed in Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 4th ed., 83-86, 258-262, 272-274.

④ Marilyn Lundberg and Todd R. Hanneken, eds., *Science, Technology, and Textual Criticism*, vol. 3D of *Textual History of the Bible: A Companion to Textual Criticism*, eds. Russell E. Fuller and Armin Lange (Leiden: Brill, 2022) provides the details.



concordance of Hatch and Redpath that provided data that required great patience in their use as the equivalents were not always transparent.<sup>①</sup> When I was a student, I checked for hours the Hebrew-Greek equivalents of the LXX and MT based on that concordance. The reverse index of Hatch-Redpath was of help, until a better printed tool was developed by Takamitsu Muraoka.<sup>②</sup> As a teacher, I availed myself of these tools as well, until I developed confidence in the digital tools.

The remainder is history. A good computer program such as *Accordance* consists of fully integrated biblical texts with morphological analysis and linked to lexicons, atlases, and commentaries. All the imaginable bilingual searches are now possible, Greek-Hebrew and Hebrew-Greek, joined by several statistical features. Statistical research of either the Greek or the Hebrew Bible is now very developed as well. Furthermore, it is quite innovative to use these tools in the classroom. For the past twenty or more years I have not faced students surrounded by copies of the Hebrew and Greek Bible but have instead seen students sitting behind ten or fifteen screens. Their computers provide them with the equivalent of more books than they would be able to carry. In real time they were able to search for Hebrew-Greek equivalents and to question what the teacher said.

## II. Disadvantages<sup>③</sup>

Are there any drawbacks to the digital advancement? Yes, there are. We are a transition generation. We still use books, although the beginning students prefer not to use them. If good computer tools exist, or if texts are scanned, they prefer that easy medium to looking up something in the library.

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<sup>①</sup> Edwin Hatch and Henry Adeney Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint and the Other Greek Versions of the Old Testament (Including the Apocryphal Books)* 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1998).

<sup>②</sup> Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Greek-Hebrew/Aramaic Two-Way Index to the Septuagint* (Louvain: Peeters, 2010).

<sup>③</sup> Several persons helped my thinking. I mention in particular Simon Ratenau who studied with me at the Pontificio Istituto Biblico and Lotem Allouche, my assistant at the Hebrew University. Substantial input was given at a later stage by Shira Golani. I am grateful to all of them.

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Soon enough, students may no longer know what a book looks like. Students will not develop a personal relation with books and their bindings.

Now the drawbacks for the study of textual criticism.<sup>①</sup>

## A. Concept of a Bible Book

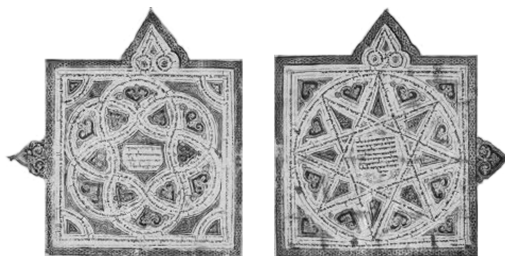
A Bible book in a medieval codex of the Masoretic Text or a printed edition has a clearly defined beginning and end, as did, at one time, the ancient scrolls such as found in the Judean Desert. It begins on a new page and ends on another page followed by blank spaces. Likewise, most Qumran scrolls started on a separate column if the scroll contained only one book, or after several empty lines. Rabbinic literature has distinct rules for the separation between books.<sup>②</sup> In printed editions, one always knows whether one is reading in the beginning, middle, or end of the book. On the other hand, in computer editions, you lose track of your position in the text. There may be one blank line between the books, and sometimes the name of the new book may be marked in red (the *Accordance* program). But basically, the computer Scripture file (*Accordance* and *Logos*) is one *large amorphous unit*. Scrolling is not the same as leafing through a book, because when scrolling one loses one's sense of direction. Even so, scrolling is better than filling in the number of the chapter and verse in most freely available programs on the internet.

The users of computer editions lose the familiarity readers previously had with the printed Bible text. If one was accustomed to seeing the beginning of Genesis chapter 12 at the top of the left page, this familiarity with the text aided its analysis. However, there are no left and right pages in computer editions and, in fact, no pages at all. Instead, the extent of the computer “pages” depends upon the parameters of the screen, font, and line spacing.

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① I should mention that if one reads on a split screen a modern computer text together with a medieval manuscript some of the problems raised will be solved (suggestion of Daniel Olariu).

② P. t. Meg. 1.71d [1.9] determines the amount of space between books of the Torah (4 lines) and Minor Prophets (3 lines) when these books are included in a multibook scroll. The books of the Prophets (3 lines) may end at the bottom of the page, while the books of the Torah and Minor Prophets should end in the middle of the page. Also b. B. Batra 13b.



## B. Shape of the Ancient Book

For the practice of textual criticism, it is important to have a mental image of the shape of the ancient book. Biblical books were once contained in scrolls, each containing a separate book or part thereof. With the birth of Christianity, codices replaced scrolls, and the concept of a column in a scroll was replaced by a page in a codex.<sup>①</sup> That concept remained the same in the printed book, although the dimensions differ. It is important to have such a mental image when practicing textual criticism, especially regarding the size of written units, and when visualizing certain types of mistakes. For example, a mental image of a column or page is crucial when assuming the addition or omission of a line or paragraph.

## C. Margins of the Text Block

When practicing textual criticism, one needs to have a clear concept of the existence of margins around the written or printed text block, to the right, left, below, and above the text, resembling the margins in the medieval manuscripts and earlier scrolls. Some corrections were inserted in these margins, e.g., in the large Isaiah scroll 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> and 4QJer<sup>a</sup>.<sup>②</sup> From the beginning of critical scholarship of the Bible, long before the Dead Sea Scrolls were discovered, the margins were in the minds of scholars who assumed that corrections or additions to the text were written in them. The margins thus serve as a passive player in the text-critical analysis. However, in computer editions there are no margins.

## D. Layout of Poetry

The poetical lines (stichs, *stichoi*) of many poetical texts are arranged

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① The shape of a codex resembles that of a modern book.

② Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert*, STDJ 54 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 227.

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graphically in the medieval codices and the Qumran scrolls. In the scrolls, several systems are used, for example, two half-stichs per line separated by a space, or each half-stich on a separate line.<sup>①</sup> The system was standardized in the medieval manuscripts of MT, in which certain songs and poetical books were always presented in one of these systems. The medieval system is usually imitated in printed editions; see, for example, the critical edition of *BHS*<sup>②</sup> in Genesis 49; Exodus 15; Deuteronomy 32, 33; Joshua 12; Judges 5; 1 Samuel 2; 2 Samuel 22, 23. However, this system has been discontinued in the main computer editions (*Accordance*, *Logos*, *Miqra'ot Gedolot Haketer*<sup>③</sup>), in which poetical texts are presented as running prose texts.<sup>④</sup> It is understandable that the computer editions had to give up the graphical arrangement as many advantages of the text analysis would be lost with a graphical layout. Unfortunately, this omission removes from the text an essential segment of the insights of the ancient and medieval scribes of the Scripture text.

## E. Section Divisions

The running text of MT is subdivided into sections. This section system displays the traditional understanding of the meaning of the text, with open sections indicating major divisions and closed sections indicating minor divisions.<sup>⑤</sup> The system is necessarily subjective, but it is part of the tradition of MT. This graphical device, which resembles modern text divisions, provides a quick reference system into the subdivision of the text, and hence forms an essential tool in the traditional understanding of the text structure. The computer editions that provide complete running texts (*Accordance* and *Logos*) indicate the section divisions of MT with the letters ׀ and ׁ in the

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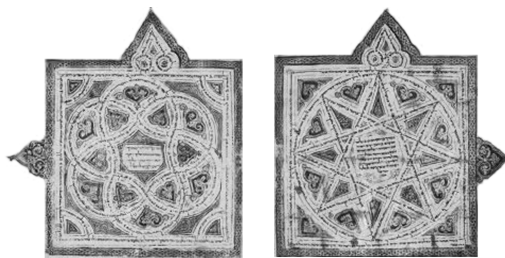
① Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 166-174.

② *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia (BHS)*, ed. Wilhelm Rudolph and Kurt Elliger (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1967-1977).

③ <https://www.mgketer.org/> (*Miqra'ot Gedolot "Haketer"*).

④ *Accordance* and *Logos* do offer the option of presenting the text verse by verse. This layout is closer to a poetical text. Further, some versions of the Snunit program (<https://kodesh.snunit.k12.il/i/t/t0.htm>) indicate the presence of spacing with letter codes.

⑤ Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 41-43; Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 143-163.



spaces between the verses.<sup>①</sup> However, this arrangement does not provide the visibility of the spacing of the open and closed sections, and hence the user loses a significant aspect of the guidance of the layout of MT.

## F. Presentation of the Masorah and the Ketiv-Qere

The Masorah<sup>②</sup> is an inseparable part of MT, and it is therefore represented in such printed editions as *Miqra'ot Gedolot*, Ginsburg, *BHS*, *BHQ*<sup>③</sup>, and *HUB*<sup>④</sup>. In all other printed texts, at least the *Ketiv-Qere* notes<sup>⑤</sup> are included in the margins or under the text. Both the *Ketiv* and *Qere* are part of the MT tradition, and that text is unimaginable without both groups of words. The *Ketiv-Qere* words need to be taken into consideration, as well as their position in the page. The unvocalized *Ketiv*, though included in the running text, needs to be disregarded while the *Qere* with its vowels (often added to the *Ketiv* in the manuscripts), found in the margin, needs to be read. In contrast, in computer texts, there are neither text blocks nor margins and therefore the user does not benefit from the traditional understanding of the accepted and rejected readings.<sup>⑥</sup> Thus, in the computer editions, both forms are included *in* the text; the *Qere* is recorded either in the text itself in brackets following the *Ketiv* (*Accordance*)<sup>⑦</sup>, or under the text (*Logos*), both vocalized. This arrangement raises the importance of the *Ketiv* to a level higher than it held traditionally because it is provided with vocalization that is

① The *Miqra'ot Gedolot Haketer* program indicates the closed sections with the letter ס (תומה), while the open sections are indicated by spacing together with the letter פ (תורה).

② The Masorah is an apparatus of instructions for the writing and reading of MT, written in the margins of the text. The *Masorah magna* (“large Masorah”) is the Masorah apparatus written in the top and bottom margins of the text, while the *Masorah parva* (“short Masorah”) is the Masorah apparatus written in the side margins of the text.

③ Adrian Schenker, ed. *Biblia Hebraica Quinta* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2004).

④ See n. 2.

⑤ The *Qere* reading is mentioned in the *Masorah parva* (see n. 23) replacing the *Ketiv* reading found within the Masoretic Text.

⑥ Only the *Miqra'ot Gedolot Haketer* program indicates the *Ketiv* in an almost ideal way as grey letters (visible but disregarded) next to the *Qere*.

⑦ Additionally, the ETCBC (Eep Talstra Centre for Bible and Computer, Amsterdam) module, recently added to *Accordance*, presents the *Ketiv* without vocalization.

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included in the text and not in the margin. Computer programs need to make compromises, but in this case they give a distorted view of the textual transmission.

### III. Loss of Skills

The students of today are born with computers in their cradles, so to speak. By necessity, they have lost some skills unrelated to textual criticism that nevertheless harm the text-critical analysis.

(1) Students hardly write texts by hand, preferring to write on keyboards. Accordingly, they are not exposed to the vicissitudes of the handwriting and they are unaware of the mistakes made by scribes in antiquity or in the Middle Ages. They therefore find it difficult to understand such phenomena as haplography, dittography, and interchanges of similar Hebrew letters such as *daleth* and *resh* in manuscripts.<sup>①</sup>

(2) Once printed, books remain static forever. Books have pages mentioning authors or editors. Good text editions mention their editorial principles in the preface. However, machine-readable texts behave differently, as the idea of their editorship is often intentionally vague. Most programs do not indicate their source.<sup>②</sup> When I ask my students about the source of the digital Bible text they are using, they do not even understand the question.<sup>③</sup>

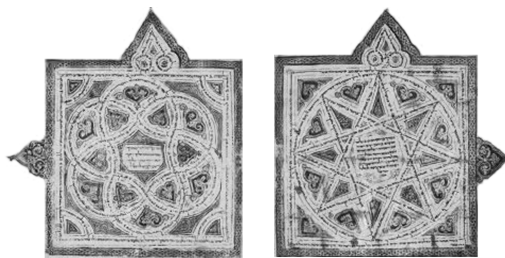
(3) In another aspect of the computer culture, we increasingly depend on what exists digitally. In the click culture, we are spoiling our students too much. We do not tell them to look up something in a book, but we scan pages and provide hyperlinks. In this way we raise a generation that is accustomed to

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① I therefore found it necessary to institute a copying exercise of a stretch of text in my introductory course to textual criticism. I give the students a printed unvocalized stretch of ten lines of Scripture text which they copy, and which their neighbors check. The students are usually amazed at the number of scribal mistakes made and this exercise convinced the students of the existence of phenomena that were self-evident in the pre-computer era. See Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 455 (*exercise 29*).

② However, within *Accordance* and *Logos*, each file is accompanied by a “Read me” information file.

③ To some extent, this question also pertains to some printed Bible editions whose source is not indicated, but in those cases one knows at least the name of the printer and the year of publication.



receiving the material ready-made.

(4) Let me also refer for a moment to the computer as a word-processor. It may sound strange, but I often have the feeling that the use of a computer obstructs the thinking process. That is, the fingers and not the mind guide the action. For some people it may be easier to control the flow of their ideas through the computer, but for others the computer may be a disturbing factor in the thinking process. Concentrating may sometimes be easier if the fingers do not move.

#### IV. Pseudo-Research

Much research is carried out with the aid of computers that could not or could hardly have been carried out without them. In some cases, however, the research is based on incorrect premises.

In the last decades of the previous century a branch of pseudo-research developed especially among religious mathematicians, which was based on counting letters in the biblical text. Researchers counted the letters that appeared with a fixed number of spaces between them<sup>①</sup>, creating a pattern or code that presumably was God-given. In the Wikipedia article “Bible Codes” this approach is summarized as follows: “This is based on a belief that the Torah is unique among biblical texts in that it was given directly to mankind (via Moses) in *exact letter-by-letter sequence* and in the original Hebrew language.” In this way, the Israeli mathematician Eliahu Rips found that Yitzchak Rabin would be murdered and that the name of the murderer was Amir.<sup>②</sup> The details are found in a book by an American reporter Michael

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<sup>①</sup> For a summary and evaluation, see Jeffrey H. Tigay, “The Bible ‘Codes’: A Textual Perspective”, <https://www.sas.upenn.edu/~jtigay/codetext.html>. “These sequences of letters are known as equidistant letter sequences, ELSs for short, and proponents of the method use them to argue that the Torah contains various significant patterns of letters and often alludes cryptographically to historical events that took place long after the Bible, down to modern times.” See also Hans Ausloos, “De ‘Bijbelcode’ eindelijk ontcijferd?” *VBS-Informatie* 29 (1998): 88-92.

<sup>②</sup> Cf. Doron Witztum, Eliahu Rips, and Yoav Rosenberg, “Equidistant Letter Sequences in the Book of Genesis,” *Statistical Science* 9 (1994): 429-438.

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Drosnin, named *The Bible Code*.<sup>①</sup> According to this procedure, one will obtain the code יצהק רבין, starting with the first *yod* in Deut 2: 33 and then reading every 4,772nd letter, ending with the first *nun* in Deut 24: 16. This name intersects with a quote from Deut 4: 42, רוצח אשר ירצח, “a murderer who murders,” while the personal name of the murderer, Amir, appears seven rows earlier in reverse sequence.<sup>②</sup> Drosnin, who renders the phrase as “assassin that will assassinate,” takes this as a prediction that Rabin would be assassinated. This book and its sequel<sup>③</sup> describe tens of examples of this kind. This procedure was taken as transmitting a mystical message from God through the letters and it was also used by certain groups in Judaism and Christianity that wished to demonstrate through this procedure that the computer proved God’s existence.<sup>④</sup> However, there is one small problem inherent with this procedure, namely through which text have the intentions of God been transmitted? There is no such thing as the text of the Bible. The word of God is included in all the Bible texts, not only in MT. Even if we look at the MT alone, the codices and even the printed editions differ in small details, making it impossible to obtain the same results.<sup>⑤</sup> This fact refutes all research on Bible codes.

## V. Trustworthiness of Digital Data

There is an unjustified feeling that digital data are more trustworthy than printed books, probably because many believe that the computer never errs.

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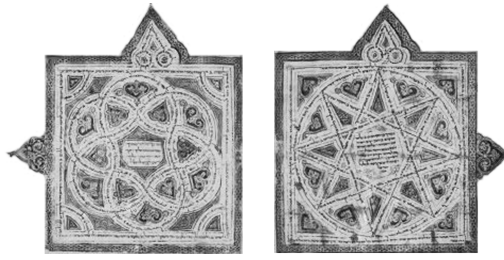
① Michael Drosnin, *The Bible Code* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1997).

② Drosnin, *Bible Code*, 15-17.

③ Michael Drosnin, *The Bible Code 2: The Countdown* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2002).

④ The logic of this procedure was that only a computer search would be able to reveal the concealed secrets in the biblical text that had been hidden for more than 2000 years. The system used by the decoders is simple: one strips the computer texts of all the details except for the consonants and then discovers a code indicated by the positions of the letters.

⑤ This was pointed out especially by Tigay, “The Bible ‘Codes’” (n. 32). The internet is full of refutations of Drosnin’s theories. Brendan McKay shows that with this system all kinds of events can be predicted. Thus, Lady Diana’s death was predicted by an analysis of *Moby Dick*; see Brendan McKay et al., “Scientific Refutation of the Bible Codes,” <https://users.cecs.anu.edu.au/~bdm/dilugim/torah.html>. See further Jeffrey Satinover, *Cracking the Bible Code* (New York: William Morrow, 1997).



### A. Do Computers Make Mistakes?

As far as I know, computers do not make mistakes, but if they are fed with wrong data, they will create them. I have the feeling that older persons approach a computer-encoded text just like any written source. In their view, computer texts may contain mistakes since most texts were recorded manually; for example, the morphological analysis of the words in the MT and LXX within the *CATSS* module was determined by humans. However, it seems to me that the students of today have a different inclination. They have an excessive trust in digital devices in general, including computer tools. I believe that they do not easily grasp the subjective element of these tools.<sup>①</sup>

### B. The Subjectivity of the Sources Recorded by Computers

Most sources in our field have been encoded or collected by humans and hence need to be approached like printed books. This pertains also to *Wikipedia*. All of us use that tool, but as educators we also warn against it. As an anonymous tool it is unparalleled in the scholarly world. We teach our students not to quote the *Anchor Bible Dictionary* or the *Encyclopedia Britannica* without mentioning the authors of the articles in them. In *Wikipedia* this is not possible since articles are not signed, and besides, even if they were, they are changing all the time. When quoting an article, one needs to mention the exact day and hour it was consulted.

In the article describing its procedures<sup>②</sup>, *Wikipedia* claims that its entries reached a high degree of precision, but the examples given mainly relate to the sciences. I am afraid that I found much imprecision in the articles I consulted regarding textual criticism.

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<sup>①</sup> When trying to find professional literature on this point, I found only general discussions such as in InformationQ.com relating to the advantages and disadvantages of computers versus books in teaching. A good discussion in [https://www.oxfordlearning.com/textbooks-vs-computers/entitled “Should Textbooks be Replaced by Notebook Computers?”](https://www.oxfordlearning.com/textbooks-vs-computers/entitled%20Should%20Textbooks%20be%20Replaced%20by%20Notebook%20Computers?) prefers printed textbooks for schools.

<sup>②</sup> “Wikipedia,” in Wikipedia.com.

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Let me give a few examples:

*Septuagint*. This article contains many imprecisions although it has been slightly improved since I reviewed this entry.<sup>①</sup> It starts off by giving the impression that the Letter of Aristeas referred to all the books of the LXX, which is not the case. Further, “It is unclear to what extent Alexandrian Jews accepted the authority of the Septuagint” (in the light of Philo’s writings, this is a very questionable remark). The statement “Some sections contain Semiticisms, idioms and phrases based on Semitic languages such as Hebrew and Aramaic” shows ignorance of the topic and misunderstanding. The entry discusses briefly the “differences from the Vulgate and the Masoretic text” (in that sequence), thereby showing that the entry singles out the Vulgate and may well have been written by a scholar who is influenced by that translation. The entry is compiled based on secondary handbooks, lacks basic scholarly literature, does not dwell on the essence of the LXX, and does not provide help for the scholarly users of the LXX.

Several entries provide insufficient information: *Lucian of Antioch* (insufficient information on the Lucianic revision of the LXX), *Peshitta*.<sup>②</sup>

*Aquila of Sinope*. The article describes the publication of the larger fragments of this translation, but not the many marginal quotations in manuscripts, nor modern editions. It does not discuss translation technique.

*Hexapla*. This entry as well as the entries on *Aquila* and *Theodotion* mention in detail the modern Hexapla Project but omit mentioning the fine Göttingen editions in which the Hexaplaric readings can be consulted. These entries were most likely written by an associate of the Hexapla Project.

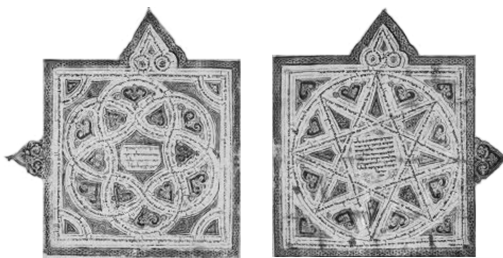
*Masoretic Text*. This entry is full of imprecisions and is clearly copied from handbooks. It is not written by someone with a good knowledge of the Masorah. The main features of MT, its early antecedents, and of the Masorah are not described. It wrongly mentions among the tikkune sopherim the change from Ishbaal to Ish-bosheth.

Some articles are confessional: *Bible, translations* (focus on the New

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① The Wikipedia articles were accessed on 26 June 2023.

② Since I reviewed the entry “Samaritan Pentateuch” on 10 June 2021, it has been updated with new information.



Testament); *Qere* and *Ketiv* (focus on Jewish tradition).

On the other hand, the English articles on the Dead Sea Scrolls and several Hebrew articles in the Hebrew version of Wikipedia about technical details in the Masoretic Text are good. The good quality of these entries shows that there is room for articles of this type on the internet.

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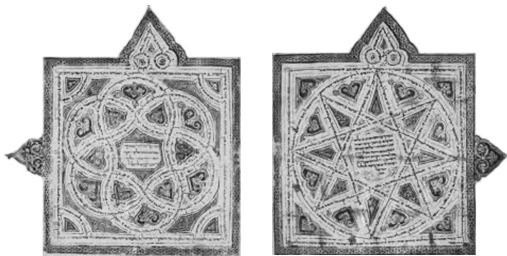
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## 电子工具的使用之优点与缺点:以文本研究为例

伊曼努尔·托夫

**【摘要】**20世纪70年代计算机开始运用于人文学科,如今我们已经无法离开它。在《希伯来圣经》研究领域,一个好的计算机软件(比如 *Accordance*)会把文本与单词的形态分析充分结合,并且整合词典、索引、解经的功能。一切可以想见的双语搜索都变得可能。但是,文本鉴别学的数字化革命也有不少缺陷。第一,电子文本的使用让读者失去了对之前印刷版《圣经》文本的那种熟悉感。第二,对于文本鉴别研究而言,对古代文本外形的观想还是很重要的。第三,进行文本鉴别研究时,需要意识到正文周边存在一些注释,但是电子文本不存在这些周边内容。第四,在很多中世纪手稿和昆兰古卷里,诗歌文本的编排都是图像化的,而在电子版中这种图形化编排消失了。第五,马所拉文本都依照章节进行内容细分,而电子文本没有为首末节留下明确的位置。

**【关键词】**电子工具;文本鉴别学;《希伯来圣经》;马所拉文本;文本编修

## Is There Evidence of a Synagogue from the Time of Jesus at Capernaum ?

Jodi Magness\*

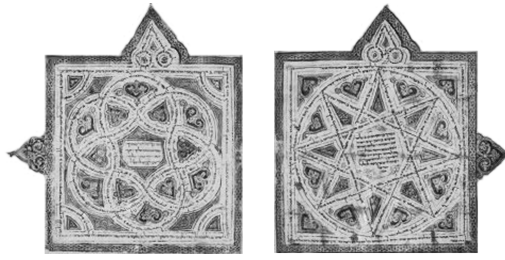
**Abstract:** Luke 7: 1-5 refers to a synagogue built by a centurion at Capernaum. Today the site is dominated by a monumental ancient synagogue constructed of white limestone. Although archaeologists disagree about its exact date, there is no doubt that the white limestone synagogue is later than the time of Jesus. In this paper, I consider the literary and archeological evidence for claims that the synagogue of the centurion lies underneath the white limestone synagogue. I conclude that there are no definite archaeological remains of a synagogue from the time of Jesus, nor is it possible to establish that such a synagogue even existed.

**Key Words:** Capernaum, Synagogue, Centurion, Archaeology, Jesus

Every day, hundreds of Christian pilgrims visit Capernaum, the base of Jesus' Galilean ministry, where they are shown the supposed remains of the synagogue of the centurion mentioned in Luke 7: 1-5. In this article, I consider the literary and archaeological evidence, and conclude that there are no remains at Capernaum that can conclusively be identified as a synagogue from the time of Jesus, nor is there definite evidence that any such structure even existed. I begin with a review of pre-70 CE synagogues in Palestine.

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## I . Pre-70 CE Synagogues in Palestine

Synagogues (referred to by various terms including Greek *synagoge* and *proseuche*; Hebrew *beth kneset*) are Jewish assembly halls. Like the term “church,” synagogue can denote both the congregation itself as well as a building to accommodate the congregation.<sup>①</sup> When synagogues first developed before 70 CE, they served mainly as places for the reading and explanation of the Torah (Pentateuch) to the congregation, which is still the core of a synagogue service. In the centuries following the destruction of the second Jerusalem temple in 70 CE, synagogues assumed an increasingly central role in Jewish religious life, and elaborate prayers and liturgies were added to the Torah readings.<sup>②</sup> At the same time, synagogue buildings became more monumental and began to be decorated with iconographic programs and symbols that alluded to the Jerusalem temple.

Over one hundred ancient synagogues are known in Palestine, the remains of which have been uncovered in excavations or are attested by architectural fragments or inscriptions.<sup>③</sup> Literary and epigraphic evidence and scattered architectural fragments attest to the existence of numerous other synagogues, the remains of which either have not survived or have not been discovered yet. Outside of Palestine, the remains of over a dozen late antique synagogue buildings have been discovered around the Mediterranean and Near East, and

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① Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.-A.D. 135)* (Edinburgh; T & T Clark, 1979), 423-430, 439-440.

② Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People*, 447-463; Lee I. Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue, The First Thousand Years* (New Haven; Yale University Press, 2005), 530-592.

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inscriptions hint at the existence of many more.<sup>①</sup>

Whereas most of the known synagogue buildings date to the fourth to sixth centuries (late antiquity)<sup>②</sup>, this article focuses on pre-70 CE Palestinian synagogues, specifically, the evidence for a synagogue at Capernaum dating to the time of Jesus. What did Palestinian synagogues look like at this time? To answer this question, we must first consider the origins of the synagogue.<sup>③</sup> Scholars have proposed a wide range of dates and settings for the earliest synagogues, including:

(1) Pre-exilic Judah (pre-586 BCE). According to this view, Josiah's reforms eliminating temples and shrines around the country and centralizing the cult in the Jerusalem temple would have made it necessary to offer alternative venues to worship the God of Israel. For example, Lee I. Levine proposes that city gates were a prototype for early synagogues, as both were settings for a variety of communal and religious activities.<sup>④</sup>

(2) The Babylonian exile. According to this theory, the existence of synagogues explains how the Judahites preserved their distinctive religious identity and continued worshipping the God of Israel while in exile in Babylonia. Although popular and attractive, this theory has no textual or archaeological support.

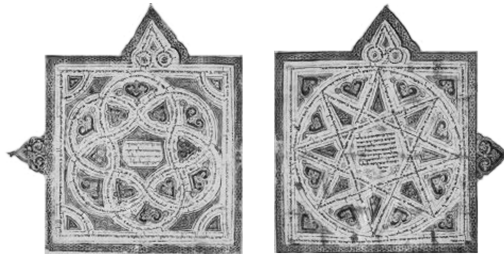
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① See A. Thomas Kraabel, "The Diaspora Synagogue: Archaeological and Epigraphic Evidence since Sukenik," in *Ancient Synagogues, Historical Analysis and Archaeological Discovery*, Vol. 1, eds. Dan Urman and Paul V. M. Flesher (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 95-126; Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue*, 252. For Andriake and Limyra in Asia Minor, see Martin Seyer and Helmut Lotz, "A Synagogue in Limyra? Preliminary Report on a Byzantine Building with Jewish Elements," *Journal of Ancient Judaism* 4 (2013): 133-148; Nevzat Çevik, Özgü Çömezoglu, Hüseyin Sami Öztürk, and İnci Türkoğlu, "A Unique Discovery in Lycia: The Ancient Synagogue at Andriake, Port of Myra," *Adalya* 13 (2010): 335-366. For an evaluation of the remains from Limyra, see Jodi Magness, "Purity Observance among Diaspora Jews in the Roman World," *Archaeology and Text: A Journal for the Integration of Material Culture with Written Documents in the Ancient Mediterranean and Near East* 1 (2017): 39-65, here 41. For Samaritan synagogues, see Itzhak Magen, "Samaritan Synagogues," in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, Vol. 4, ed. Ephraim Stern (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1993), 1424-1427; Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue*, 187-192.

② Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue*, 176-177; Lee I. Levine, "Synagogues," in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. Ephraim Stern (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1993), 1421-1424, here 1422.

③ See Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue*, 21-44.

④ Ibid., 30-38.



(3) Post-exilic Judah (fifth century BCE). Some scholars understand Ezra’s public reading of the Torah to the assembled Judeans (Neh 8:2-9) as the origin of the synagogue.

(4) Hellenistic Egypt (third-second centuries BCE). This theory identifies the Jewish *proseuche* mentioned in Hellenistic inscriptions from Egypt as a synagogue, based on the usual translation of the term as “prayer house” and its use interchangeably with the term synagogue in first century BCE and later sources such as Philo.

(5) Hasmonean Palestine (second-first centuries BCE). This argument from silence claims that since there are no definite literary or epigraphic references to synagogues before the first century BCE and they are not mentioned by Ben Sira, they did not exist before the Hasmonean period.

Several problematic assumptions underlie scholarly attempts to pinpoint the origins of the synagogue. First is the implicit Darwinian assumption that synagogues developed organically over time—an approach that in my opinion is not helpful for understanding early synagogues. A second, larger problem is one of definition. Today the term synagogue generally denotes a building. However, synagogue originally referred to (and still can mean) an assembly or congregation of Jews, not a building to house that gathering.<sup>①</sup> Even today, a purpose-built building is not required to house a synagogue gathering, as attested by the fact that some synagogue congregations meet in churches. Similarly, the term church originally denoted a congregation rather than a building, as for example in the Book of Revelation (or Revelation of John), where the author reports having been instructed to “Write in a book what you see and send it to the seven churches” (Rev 1: 11; NRSV). And, of course, the earliest church gatherings were held in houses and other private settings, not in purpose-built assembly halls.<sup>②</sup>

<sup>①</sup> John S. Kloppenborg, “The Theodotos Synagogue Inscription and the Problem of First-Century Synagogue Buildings,” in *Jesus and Archaeology*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2006), 236-282, here 238, 241-222. For different ancient terms used to denote synagogues, see Donald Binder, *Into the Temple Courts, The Place of the Synagogues in the Second Temple Period* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1999), 91-154.

<sup>②</sup> L. Michael White, *Building God’s House, Architectural Adaptation among Pagans, Jews, and Christians* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins, 1990), 102-126.

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Therefore, any attempt to pinpoint the origins of the synagogue must distinguish between assemblies or congregations—that is, the institution of the synagogue—and purpose-built buildings to house those assemblies (synagogue buildings). This is important because assemblies in and of themselves leave few physical traces. Synagogues only become identifiable in the archaeological record when Jews began to construct purpose-built buildings to house their assemblies, particularly after these buildings were equipped with permanent liturgical furniture and decorated with Jewish symbols and iconography. The question of when and where synagogues first originated depends not on archaeological evidence but on the interpretation of literary and epigraphic sources—that is, on how one defines the institution of the synagogue.

A third problem with pinpointing the origins of the synagogue is the modern understanding of the institution as primarily religious in nature. By religious I am referring to scholarly assumptions that early synagogues—like their modern counterparts—were the setting for communal prayer and worship. In contrast, Levine concludes that, “Prayer appears to have played little or no role in the typical [pre-70] Judaeon synagogue.”<sup>①</sup> Instead, the earliest synagogues were assemblies of Jews, especially on the Sabbath and festivals, primarily (but not only) for the public reading of the Torah.

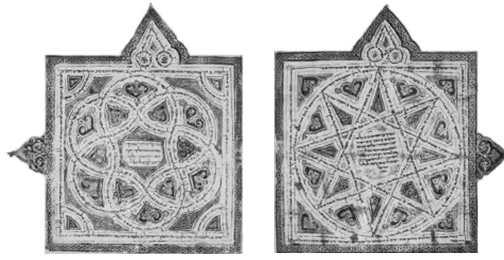
Archaeological remains associated with a first century CE synagogue were discovered in excavations at the southern end of Jerusalem’s southeastern hill (the City of David) in 1913-1914, when Raymond Weill found an inscribed stone block that had been dumped in a cistern with other architectural fragments.<sup>②</sup> The inscription, which is in Greek, commemorates a synagogue built by Theodotos son of Vettenos:

Theodotos son of Vettenos, priest and archisynagogos, son of an

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① Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue*, 169.

② See Hershel Shanks ed., *The City of David, Revisiting Early Excavations, English Translation of Reports by Raymond Weill and L.H. Vincent, Notes and Comments by Ronny Reich* (Washington, DC: Biblical Archaeology Society, 2004), 84-93; Rachel Hachlili, *Ancient Synagogues—Archaeology and Art: New Discoveries and Current Research* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 523-526; Hannah M. Cotton et al., *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaea/Palaestinae, Vol. 1, Jerusalem, Part 1: 1-704* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2010), 54-55; Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue*, 57-59; Binder, *Into the Temple Courts*, 104-109.



archisynagogos, grandson of an archisynagogos, built the synagogue for the reading of the Law and teaching of the commandments, and the guest-house and the (other) rooms and water installations (?) for the lodging of those who are in need of it from abroad, which (the synagogue) his forefathers, the elders and Simonides founded.<sup>①</sup>

The inscription refers to a synagogue building that was part of a complex including a hostel, rooms, and some sort of water installations, perhaps cisterns and/or miqva'ot. Presumably the building associated with the inscription was located nearby and was destroyed in 70 CE. Although Theodotos is a common Greek name (equivalent to the Hebrew Yehonatan [John] or Netanel [Nathaniel]), Vettenos appears to be Latin, suggesting this was an immigrant family.<sup>②</sup> *Archisynagogos*—Greek for “head of a synagogue”—is the most common leadership title associated with ancient synagogues.<sup>③</sup> It is unclear whether this title indicates that the bearer had any liturgical and/or administrative responsibilities or was purely honorific. The fact that Theodotos was a priest and a third generation *archisynagogos* and had the means to dedicate a synagogue identifies this as an elite family. The inscription states that the synagogue was built “for the reading of the Law [Torah] and the teaching of the commandments” but without mentioning prayer or worship.

It is unclear if Theodotos' synagogue served an immigrant or Diaspora congregation like those mentioned in Acts 6: 9, or if it replaced an earlier building on the same spot, or if the guest house (hostel) was intended for pilgrims visiting Jerusalem. Some scholars have speculated that the Theodotos synagogue is the “synagogue of the Freedmen” of Acts 6: 9 because Tacitus and Philo mention that Jews brought to Rome as captives were soon freed. According to this view, the Vettenos family would have been descended from

① From Cotton et al., *CIIP*, 54 no. 9.

② Charles Clermont-Ganneau, “Découverte a Jérusalem d'une synagogue de l'époque hérodiennne,” *Syria* 1 (1920): 190-197, here 193; Cotton et al., *CIIP*, 54-55.

③ Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue*, 415.

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Jews taken into captivity when Pompey annexed the Hasmonean kingdom in 63 BCE.<sup>①</sup> However, John Kloppenborg refutes this suggestion, noting that if Theodotos was a freedman or the son of a freedman, he should be named Theodotos Vettenos (or, technically, Caius Vettennius Theodotos), not Theodotos *son of* Vettenos.<sup>②</sup> And the widespread assumption that Vettenos is a Latin name, although reasonable, is unproven. To the contrary, the lack of a reference to the family's origin in the inscription (e.g., Theodotos son of Vettenos of Rome), which might be expected if they were immigrants, leaves open the possibility that they were natives of Judea.

Archaeological remains of pre-70 synagogue buildings in Palestine accord well with the picture presented so far. These include the synagogues at Masada, Herodium, Gamla (or Gamala), and—more recently—Migdal/Magdala. At Masada and Herodium, synagogues were installed in pre-existing Herodian rooms by Jewish rebels at the time of the First Revolt against Rome.<sup>③</sup> The Masada synagogue, for example, was installed in a casemate room on the northwest side of the mountain that apparently functioned as a reception hall in the time of Herod. The rebels atop Masada modified the structure by removing the anteroom wall to make a single hall, adding columns and rows of benches along the walls.<sup>④</sup> The columns have nothing to do with the function of the building as a synagogue; they simply supported the roof because the width of the room exceeded the length of the available wooden beams. The benches in the Masada room indicate that it was used for assembly, and, because the population on the mountain at the time of the revolt was entirely Jewish, this room can be identified as a Jewish house of

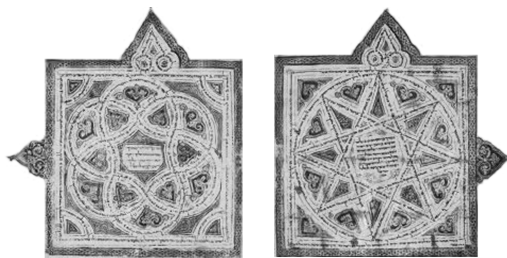
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① Clermont-Ganneau, “Découverte a Jérusalem,” 193, 195-197; Jonathan R. Trotter, *The Jerusalem Temple in Diaspora Jewish Practice and Thought during the Second Temple Period* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 98.

② Kloppenborg, “The Theodotos Synagogue Inscription,” 263-265.

③ For Herodium, see Gideon Foerster, “The Synagogues at Masada and Herodium,” in *Ancient Synagogues Revealed*, ed. Lee I. Levine (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1981), 24-29.

④ Yigael Yadin, “The Synagogue at Masada,” *Ancient Synagogues Revealed*, ed. Lee I. Levine (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1981), 19-23; Ehud Netzer, *Masada III, The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963-1965, Final Reports: The Buildings, Stratigraphy and Architecture* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1991), 402-413; Jodi Magness, *Masada: From Jewish Revolt to Modern Myth* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019), 171-172.



assembly—that is, a synagogue. Had this same structure been found in a mixed (Jewish and gentile) context or in a gentile context, we would not be able to identify it as a synagogue—that is, we could not say it was a Jewish house of assembly as opposed to any other kind of assembly hall. Like other pre-70 synagogues, the one at Masada lacks other features such as an orientation towards Jerusalem, a Torah shrine, and Jewish symbols and iconography. These features became common in late antique synagogues, with the development of regularized communal prayer and worship and to accommodate liturgical needs, which apparently did not exist before 70 CE. The Masada synagogue also has a room at the back added by the rebels, which seems to have served as a *genizah*—a repository in a synagogue where damaged sacred writings are buried (although not every synagogue has such a repository). The Masada *genizah* consists of two pits dug into the dirt floor of the back room, which contained scroll fragments belonging to Deuteronomy and Ezekiel.

Gamla is the earliest of these synagogue buildings (and, in my opinion, it is the earliest definite synagogue building discovered so far in Palestine), as it was constructed not before the late first century BCE and was destroyed during the Roman siege in 67 CE. The Gamla synagogue differs from the Masada and Herodium examples in being purpose-built.<sup>①</sup> Nevertheless, it displays the same features as other early synagogues, most prominently the rows of benches lining the interior. The Migdal synagogue is also purpose-built and displays a similar rectilinear layout surrounded by benches, albeit on a smaller scale. Its interior decoration features mosaic floors with geometric designs, Pompeian style wall paintings, and an enigmatic stone table decorated with the first motifs associated with the Jerusalem temple found in a pre-70 synagogue. A coin of 43 CE reportedly found under the mosaic floor provides a *terminus*

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① See Shmaryahu Gutman, “The Synagogue at Gamla,” in *Ancient Synagogues Revealed*, ed. Lee I. Levine (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1981), 30-34; Zvi Uri Ma’oz, “The Synagogue of Gamla and the Typology of Second-Temple Synagogues,” *Ancient Synagogues Revealed*, ed. Lee I. Levine (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1981), 35-41.

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*post quem* for the synagogue building.<sup>①</sup>

The evidence reviewed here enables us to reconstruct the appearance of pre-70 CE Palestinian synagogue buildings with some confidence. They were rectilinear structures with flat roofs characterized by rows of benches surrounding the interior. The modest size of these structures and the absence of features associated with later synagogues make it difficult to identify archaeological remains of these buildings. This difficulty is compounded by the fact that Jewish assemblies could be held anywhere, not just in purpose-built synagogues. Therefore, it is possible that buildings that housed synagogue assemblies have been excavated but lack identifying features.

## II. The Cobblestone Pavement at Capernaum: The First Century Synagogue of the Centurion?

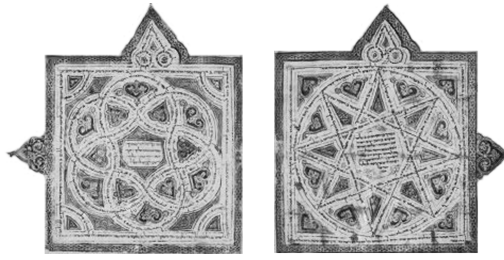
The author of the Gospel of Luke refers to a synagogue built by a centurion at Capernaum:

After Jesus had finished all his sayings in the hearing of the people, he entered Capernaum. A centurion there had a slave whom he valued highly, and who was ill and close to death. When he heard about Jesus, he sent some Jewish elders to him, asking him to come and heal his slave. When they came to Jesus, they appealed to him earnestly, saying, “He is worthy of having you do this for him, for he loves our people, and it is he who built our synagogue for us.” (Luke 7: 1-5; NRSV)

Today the site of Capernaum is dominated by a monumental synagogue built of white limestone, which contrasts with the black basalt that was used for the construction of all the other structures at Capernaum (see Fig. 1). The

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<sup>①</sup> Dina Avshalom-Gorni and Arfan Najar, “Migdal,” *Hadashot Arkheologiyot* 125 (2013) at [https://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report\\_detail\\_eng.aspx?id=2304&mag\\_id=120](https://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=2304&mag_id=120) (accessed 08/27/2023). The excavators mention two earlier phases, the first of which dates to the mid-first century BCE and was not a synagogue; they report that the second phase was a synagogue but without providing a date or other information. A second synagogue similar to the first was discovered at Migdal in 2021; see <https://www.timesofisrael.com/second-ancient-synagogue-found-in-migdal-alters-ideas-of-jewish-life-2000-years-ago/> (accessed 08/27/2023).



white limestone synagogue was excavated in 1905-1907 by Helmut Kohl, Ernst Hiller, and Carl Watzinger under the auspices of the Deutsche Orient Gesellschaft.<sup>①</sup> Based on stylistic comparisons, mostly to Syrian buildings of the late Roman period, Kohl and Watzinger dated the synagogue to the late second to early third century. P. Gaudenzio Orfali, who conducted excavations at Capernaum in 1921-1926, identified the white limestone synagogue as the first century synagogue of the centurion mentioned in the Gospel of Luke.<sup>②</sup> Whereas Orfali's identification never gained widespread acceptance, many Israeli archaeologists still follow Kohl and Watzinger in dating the white limestone synagogue to the second to third century. However, since 1968 Italian archaeologists have discovered over 25000 small bronze coins and large quantities of pottery dating to the fourth and fifth centuries under the paving stones of the synagogue's hall and adjacent courtyard.<sup>③</sup> The latest of these finds published so far date to the first half of the sixth century CE, indicating that the white limestone synagogue was built centuries later than previously thought.<sup>④</sup>



Fig. 1 The White Limestone Synagogue at Capernaum (photo by the author)

① Helmut Kohl and Carl Watzinger, *Antike Synagogen in Galilaea* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1916).

② P. Gaudenzio Orfali, *Capharnaüm et ses ruines d'après les fouilles accomplies à Tell-Houm par la Custodie Franciscaine de Terre Sainte (1905-1921)* (Paris: Auguste Picard, 1922), 84-85.

③ Stanislaw Loffreda, "Coins from the Synagogue of Capernaum," *Liber Annuus* 47 (1997): 223-244, here 223; also see Tine Rassalle, *Ancient Synagogue Coins, A Digital Dissertation Project (2021)*, at [www.ancientsynagoguecoins.com/synagogue/capernaum](http://www.ancientsynagoguecoins.com/synagogue/capernaum) (accessed 08/27/2023).

④ See Jodi Magness, *Ancient Synagogues in Palestine: A Reevaluation Nearly a Century After Sukenik's Schweich Lectures* (London: The British Academy; forthcoming).

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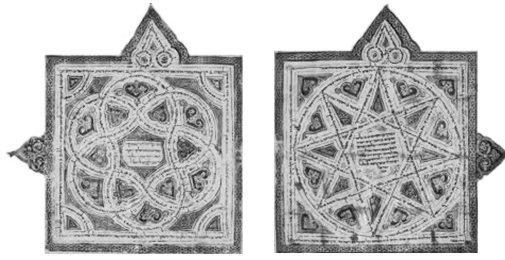
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No matter which date one prefers—second to third century or later—the white limestone synagogue postdates the time of Jesus. But the multitudes of Christian pilgrims who pour into Capernaum every day come to see the synagogue of the centurion mentioned by Luke, not the white limestone synagogue. For this reason, the Italian excavators, who are members of the Franciscan Order of the Custody of the Holy Land, have sought to uncover the remains of the synagogue of the centurion. Assuming that Luke’s account is historically accurate, and a synagogue built by a centurion existed at Capernaum in the time of Jesus, what did it look like, and where was it located? The logical place to look would be under the later synagogue, based on a phenomenon known to archaeologists as continuity of cult, in which sites tend to remain sacred over time even if the religious traditions change, as illustrated by Jerusalem’s Temple Mount (Jebusite to Israelite to Jewish to Roman to Muslim) and Caesarea’s Temple Platform (Herodian/Roman to Byzantine Christian to Muslim to Crusader). The phenomenon of continuity of cult might apply to Capernaum if the white limestone synagogue indeed dates to the second to third century. In this case, the white limestone synagogue would have immediately followed its predecessor. However, this principle does not work if the white limestone synagogue was built later, after a hiatus of hundreds of years. Nevertheless, visitors to Capernaum will notice a sign pointing to the synagogue of the time of Jesus by the steps leading up to the white limestone synagogue (see Fig. 2). What is the basis for this claim?



Fig. 2 Sign Pointing to the Synagogue of Jesus under the White Limestone Synagogue at Capernaum (photo by the author)



The white limestone synagogue sits on an elevated black basalt foundation that is built over earlier houses in the midst of the ancient village. Most of the houses were constructed in the Hellenistic and early Roman periods and were occupied at least until the third to fourth centuries CE.<sup>①</sup> Virgilio Corbo identified three strata in and under the white limestone synagogue, which are as follows from latest to earliest:<sup>②</sup>

Stratum A: the white limestone synagogue

Stratum B: the remains of a public building of the first century CE under the walls of the white limestone synagogue, represented by basalt walls (*muro di basalto* = MB) and a related cobblestone pavement (*massciata A*)

Stratum C: private (domestic) houses constructed in the Hellenistic period and demolished by the construction of MB

MB denotes black basalt walls under the synagogue, at the base of which lies a rough basalt cobblestone pavement of the first century CE (*massciata A*). Corbo identifies MB not as the foundation of the white limestone synagogue but as an earlier synagogue structure because their walls are not precisely aligned. In addition, the foundation of the synagogue's courtyard is constructed differently from and is not bonded with MB. Corbo assigns MB to the early Roman period (first century CE) because it overlies Hellenistic houses but (according to him) predates the synagogue. Because of its size, he concludes that MB and the cobblestone pavement must belong to an earlier public building—apparently a synagogue: “Se il MB appartiene ad un edificio più antico, quale edificio potete essere? la sinagoga costruita dal Centurione romano (Lc. 7,5)?”<sup>③</sup>

Stanislao Loffreda has reevaluated the evidence for a first century

① Stanislao Loffreda, “Ceramica ellenistico-romana nel sottosuolo della sinagoga di Cafarnao,” in *Studia Hierosolymitana III*, ed. Giovanni C. Bottini (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1982), 273-312, here 290, 311-312; Matthew J. Grey, “Simon Peter in Capernaum, An Archaeological Survey of the First-Century Village,” in *The Ministry of Peter, the Chief Apostle*, eds. Frank F. Judd Jr., Eric D. Huntsman, and Shon D. Hopkin (Provo: BYU Religious Studies Center, 2014), 28-66, here 47-48.

② Loffreda, “Ceramica ellenistico-romana,” 314.

③ Virgilio C. Corbo, “Resti della sinagoga del primo secolo a Cafarnao,” in *Studia Hierosolymitana III*, ed. Giovanni C. Bottini (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1982), 313-357; here 337, 339.

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synagogue. He defines as follows the three strata in and under the white limestone synagogue:<sup>①</sup>

Stratum A: layers of mortar that formed the bedding for the stone pavement

Stratum B: the fill of the synagogue podium

Stratum C: structures that antedate the white limestone synagogue

Loffreda concludes that MB cannot be associated definitely with the first century floors and pavements (including massciata A) below the white limestone synagogue: “D'altra parte mi sembra impossibile associare ‘il muro di basalto’ MB a quei pavimenti e datrlo di conseguenza nel primo secolo.”<sup>②</sup>

Loffreda rejects Corbo's association of the cobblestone pavement (massciata A) with MB because MB sits atop the pavement, which continues underneath it.<sup>③</sup> Nevertheless, Loffreda agrees with Corbo that the cobblestone pavement belongs to a first century CE synagogue, noting that although a cobblestone pavement is present below other parts of the synagogue, only in the nave were no walls or other features found associated with it. Since the area of the nave is too large to be the room of a private house, Loffreda concludes that it must belong to a public building—that is, a synagogue. According to Loffreda, this explains why the later synagogue was built on this spot.<sup>④</sup>

However, it is not clear that the cobblestone pavement was free of overlying walls or other features or installations throughout the entire nave, as the pavement is shown in published photos in only two adjacent loci in the central-eastern part (L824 and L825).<sup>⑤</sup> Furthermore, cobblestones were commonly used at Capernaum to pave the ground floor rooms of houses, which were used for various activities including food preparation, storage, and the stabling of animals. The pavements were a durable, utilitarian, and relatively inexpensive way to protect the floors of these rooms. The inhabitants slept and sometimes dined upstairs on the roof and/or at the second story level (if there

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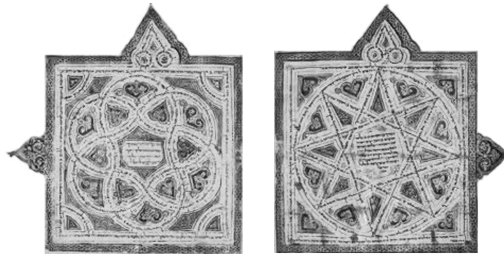
① Stanislao Loffreda, *Cafarnao V, Documentazione fotografica degli scavi* (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 2005), 15.

② Loffreda, *Cafarnao V*, 15.

③ See, e.g., Stanislao Loffreda, *Recovering Capernaum* (Jerusalem: Edizioni Custodia Terra Santa, 1985), 46; Loffreda, *Cafarnao V*, 167 DF 264; 168 DF 265; 172 DF 282.

④ Loffreda, *Recovering Capernaum*, 45-47.

⑤ See Loffreda, *Cafarnao V*, 172-173, DF 282-286.



was one), away from the dirt and noise on the ground floor. That roofs were commonly accessed is illustrated by Mark's story of Jesus healing a paralytic at Capernaum:

When he [Jesus] returned to Capernaum after some days, it was reported that he was at home. So many gathered around that there was no longer room for them, not even in front of the door; and he was speaking the word to them. Then some people came, bringing to him a paralyzed man, carried by four of them. And when they could not bring him to Jesus because of the crowd, they removed the roof above him; and after having dug through it, they let down the mat on which the paralytic lay. (Mk 2: 1-4; NRSV).

Similarly, the New Testament says that Jesus' Last Supper took place in the "upper room" (Mk 14: 15; Lk 22: 12; Acts 1: 13).

Most other first century synagogue buildings were not paved with stones or cobblestones. As Zvi Uri Ma'oz observes about the Gamla synagogue:

At first glance it seems strange that the center of the hall lacked paving, thus presenting a shabby appearance in comparison with the surrounding paved and ashlar-built porticoes. However, was this really the case? What, in fact, was the function of stone pavements in that period? If we examine the stone floors in the Herodian buildings at Masada, Jericho, and other sites, and especially the public and private houses in Jerusalem, we find that the most important rooms of the buildings had not stone, but earthen floors. Stone pavements are restricted to the streets and courts of the houses, while in the rooms, mats or elaborately worked woven rugs, none of which, of course, has been preserved, were laid on the dirt floor (for this reason we find mosaic pavements—waterproof stone carpets—in the bathrooms). Open areas called for sturdy floors which could withstand rain and the wear and tear of pedestrian traffic. Moreover, even rough household chores, such as drawing water and washing clothes, were carried out in the courts. Use of stone pavements in this period was therefore dictated by their practicality and strength, and was not a sign of importance or the desire for

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ornamentation. This also appears to have been the case in the synagogue at Gamla... The center of the hall, in contrast, could have been adorned with colorful woven rugs, which lent an air of splendor and beauty to this area.<sup>①</sup>

The floor of the Migdal synagogue was covered with cobblestones, which apparently were the foundation for mosaics (which were preserved in the corridor but not in the center of the main hall).<sup>②</sup> Therefore, one could argue that the cobblestone pavement at Capernaum was the foundation for a mosaic or other floor that is not preserved or was never laid. Even so, the identification of the cobblestone pavement at Capernaum as the floor of a public building is contradicted by the lack of evidence of interior supports. The limited size of wooden beams available for roofing means that a large interior space would need to have been subdivided by posts or columns (as in other first century CE synagogues) or a window wall (a common device at Capernaum). In addition, the pottery found on the pavement in the eastern part of the synagogue nave (L825) includes first century types that were embedded in the cracks between the cobblestones, indicating, according to Loffreda, that occupation began no later than the first century CE. The pottery points to a domestic context, in contrast to the interiors of public buildings, which generally were kept clean and do not have deposits of cooking pots and other household vessels.<sup>③</sup> Thus, there is no archaeological support for the claim that the cobblestone pavement under the nave of the white limestone synagogue was a large interior space belonging to a public building. This does not rule out the possibility that one of the first century houses under the white limestone was used for gatherings; only that there is no positive evidence to support this claim.

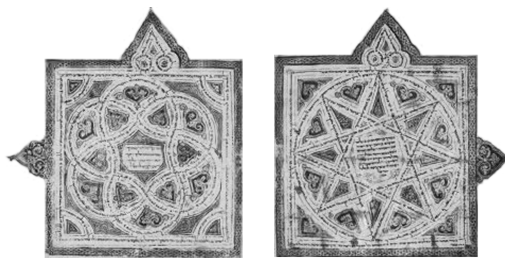
The Gospel evidence for a first century CE synagogue at Capernaum is no less problematic than the archaeology. Because the parallel version of the story in Matthew (8: 5-10, 13) lacks any reference to a synagogue at Capernaum

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① Ma'oz, "The Synagogue of Gamla," 38.

② See Avshalom-Gorni and Najjar, "Migdal."

③ For the pottery, see Loffreda, "Ceramica ellenistico-romana," 278 Fig. 3: 37-52 (Group G); the first century types mentioned by Loffreda on p. 290 are nos. 52 and 48-49.



built by the centurion, John Kloppenborg argues that it is “likely that Luke added these verses (7: 4-5) to underscore the centurion’s piety and humility and to enhance the parallels with the Cornelius story [in Acts 10: 22]. But this means that Lk 7:5 ceases to be compelling early evidence of *synagōgē* meaning ‘building’.”<sup>①</sup> Kloppenborg concludes that Luke’s references to synagogue buildings (4: 15-30; 7: 5) may well reflect his assumptions about synagogues in his time (the late first century or later) rather than any reality in the time of Jesus.<sup>②</sup> Thus, not only is there no evidence that the first century cobblestone pavement under the nave of the white limestone synagogue was the interior of a public building, but there is no reason to assume the historicity of Luke’s reference to a synagogue of the centurion dating to the time of Jesus.

### III .MB: A White Elephant Under the White Limestone Synagogue?

As we have seen, Corbo and Loffreda associate the cobblestone pavement with a first century synagogue under the nave of the white limestone synagogue. However, whereas Corbo associates the cobblestone pavement with MB (and therefore reconstructs the first century synagogue along the lines of the white limestone synagogue), Loffreda argues that the cobblestone pavement—and, by way of extension, the first century synagogue—were restricted to the area of the white limestone synagogue’s nave. He identifies MB as the remains of a synagogue that postdates the (supposed) first century synagogue represented by the cobblestone pavement but antedates the white limestone synagogue: “Both Fr. Corbo and the writer agree on one important point: the ‘basalt stone wall’ [MB] predates the white synagogue and is better understood as belonging to an earlier synagogue... the ‘basalt stone wall’ constitutes an intermediate stage between the first century synagogue and the white synagogue of the late fourth century A.D.”<sup>③</sup>

<sup>①</sup> Kloppenborg, “The Theodotos Synagogue Inscription,” 240.

<sup>②</sup> Ibid., 242.

<sup>③</sup> Loffreda, *Recovering Capharnaum*, 18-19 (note that here he dates the white limestone synagogue to the late fourth century); also see Loffreda, *Cafarnao V*, 16: “il muro di basalto appartiene ad un edificio (sinagogale) anteriore alla sinagoga in pietra.”

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According to Loffreda, MB was not originally built to serve as the foundation for the white limestone synagogue but instead represents the remains of an earlier synagogue building. He notes that the foundation of the white limestone synagogue's courtyard (on the east) was built separately of ashlars that abut MB, which is inferior in construction. This indicates that the white limestone synagogue reused as its foundation the walls of a pre-existing building (represented by MB), while the foundation of the courtyard was built *de novo* "much later."<sup>①</sup>

Not only does MB represent the remains of a synagogue that predates the white limestone synagogue, but its construction was never completed, as Loffreda correctly concludes: "The 'basalt wall' was probably built in view of a synagogue which was never completed."<sup>②</sup> However, unlike Loffreda, I identify MB as the incomplete foundation of a synagogue building rather than its superstructure. This is indicated by the fact that although the walls and stylobate of the white limestone synagogue were established on top of MB, MB's eastern and western stylobates are incomplete, with no evidence that the missing portions were robbed out.<sup>③</sup> As Loffreda states, "the 'basalt stone wall' is conspicuously discontinuous beneath the stylobate of the prayer hall. What is worse, the N stylobate of the prayer hall rests upon a shaky fill and in that area the 'basalt stone wall' is completely missing."<sup>④</sup> Although MB is preserved to the same level throughout, the top of the wall slopes down slightly from north to south following the natural ground level. Therefore, the lowest course of the white limestone synagogue had to be tapered accordingly, using small stones to fill the gap.<sup>⑤</sup> Had the construction of MB been completed, and the building destroyed (for example, by an earthquake), dismantled, and/or robbed out, the walls would not be preserved throughout to the same height/level, and there would be signs of a stylobate in the missing portions. Furthermore, even if one attributes the absence of MB under

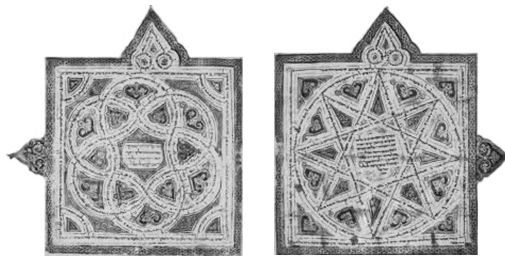
① Loffreda, *Recovering Capernaum*, 18-19; Loffreda, *Ca farnao V*, 16.

② Stanislao Loffreda, "Coins from the Synagogue," 239.

③ See Corbo, "Resti della sinagoga," 344-345, Tav. 2.

④ Loffreda, *Recovering Capernaum*, 19.

⑤ Loffreda, "Coins from the Synagogue," 225; Loffreda, *Recovering Capernaum*, 19. See, e.g., Loffreda, *Ca farnao V*, 126 DF 174, 175; 128 DF 178.



the north stylobate to a later decision by the builders to add a stylobate to this side of the building, MB's east and west stylobates should be complete. Instead, as Loffreda notes, portions of MB's east and west stylobates are missing as well. As a result, the entire north stylobate and parts of the east and west stylobates of the white limestone synagogue are founded on the Stratum B fill instead of on MB.<sup>①</sup>

Identifying MB as the incomplete foundation for a superstructure that was never built explains why there are no traces of a floor; it is because no floor was ever laid. Although MB is over one meter high, any associated floor should have been at the top of it—that is, at the level of the base of the stylobate of the white limestone synagogue. This is indicated by the fact that Wall 104, which antedates MB, is directly overlaid by the west stylobate of the white limestone synagogue, north of the point where the MB stylobate ends (L821). The top of Wall 104 (elevation 11.39) is only half a meter below the level of the pavement of the white limestone synagogue (elevation 11.91).<sup>②</sup> As Loffreda notes, “If it is in vain to look for the pavement of this intermediate synagogue at the level of the foundation of the ‘basalt wall’ (as Virgilio Corbo suggests), it is just as vain to look for it at the preserved summit of that same ‘basalt wall’ because the pavement never existed. If it had existed at that height, we would have found some trace and above all we would not have so easily found late Roman coins in the whole depth of the podium of the white synagogue.”<sup>③</sup> Furthermore, as Matthew Grey observes, despite its height, MB has no openings for doors, while the supposed stylobates are too tall and would have obstructed movement.<sup>④</sup>

These factors, as well as the size and layout of MB, indicate that it was

① See Loffreda, *Cafarnaon V*, 169, DF 271; 171, DF 274, 276, 277; 173 DF 283; but 172 DF 279 shows the fill of Stratum B under MB in L817 (that is, under the doorway into the east aisle), which makes no sense as MB antedates Stratum B. So, perhaps this is not part of the Stratum B fill?

② Loffreda, *Cafarnaon V*, 16, 168-169 DF 271; Loffreda, “Coins from the Synagogue,” 225: “In Trench 21, for instance, the walls of stratum A almost reach the height of the mortar of stratum C.” Also see Loffreda, *Cafarnaon V*, 181 DF 310, L806, which shows the outer northeast corner of the synagogue sitting on one course of MB, which is built directly on top of the walls of earlier houses.

③ Loffreda, “Coins from the Synagogue,” 239; also see p. 226: “No traces of floor were found between the upper part of level [stratum] B and the mortar of level [stratum] C.”

④ Grey, “Simon Peter in Capernaum,” 47.

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intended to be the foundation for a synagogue that was never built—not the white limestone synagogue, as Loffreda correctly notes, but an earlier structure. The foundation (MB) of the intended building was abandoned and left incomplete until a later date, when the white limestone synagogue was constructed on top of it. This accounts for the lack of alignment between MB and the white limestone synagogue.<sup>①</sup> In other words, MB appears to be a white elephant. MB's date can be established based on the associated pottery and coins. One ceramic assemblage comes from an occupation level on top of the cobblestone pavement (massciata A) in L825, below the eastern part of the synagogue nave.<sup>②</sup> The latest types in this deposit (Loffreda's Group G) are Kefar Hananya (KH) Ware Form 1e (Loffreda's TEG 18), of the mid-third to fifth century, and a type of basin dated by Loffreda to 350-550 CE (PIAT 66).<sup>③</sup> The same ceramic types were found on top of massciata A elsewhere under the synagogue.<sup>④</sup> This pottery cannot be dismissed as intrusive (as some scholars have argued for the coins) and is consistent in date with the latest coins from the same contexts.<sup>⑤</sup>

The coins from Stratum A include fourth century issues found with the pottery on top of massciata A in L825.<sup>⑥</sup> Other late Roman coins from Stratum A contexts under the synagogue include one specimen of 341-346 CE from the upper pavement of a dwelling in the north aisle (L802), and a coin of Arcadius

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① See Loffreda, *Recovering Capernaum*, 49.

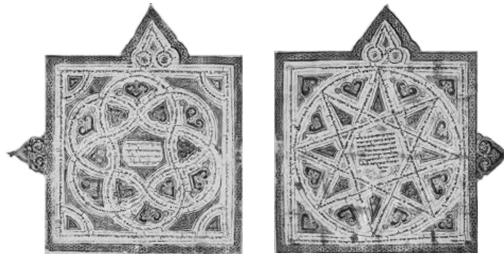
② Loffreda, "Coins from the Synagogue," 225-226, notes that the cobblestone pavement in L802, L824, and L825 was well preserved.

③ Loffreda, "Ceramica ellenistico-romana," 283 Group G (from Trench 25), 278 Fig. 3: 37-52 (nos. 40-66 are KH 1e); Stanislao Loffreda, *Cafarnao VI, Tipologie e contesti stratigrafici della ceramica (1968-2003)* (Jerusalem: Edizioni Terra Santa, 2008), 365, Reg. No. 6474 (PIAT 66), from 825.3; 249-250. For the dating of Kefar Hananya Ware, see David Adan-Bayewitz, *Common Pottery in Roman Galilee, A Study in Local Trade* (Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University, 1993); Jodi Magness and Daniel Schindler, "Pottery and Jewish Settlement in Late Roman Galilee," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 374 (2015): 191-207.

④ See Loffreda, *Cafarnao VI*, 360-365.

⑤ See Loffreda, "Coins from the Synagogue," 240-241; the pottery from L825 Group G includes an almost complete profile of KH 1e Fig. 3:45 (Reg. no. 6425).

⑥ Loffreda, "Ceramica ellenistico-romana," 290; however, no coins from Stratum A in L825 are listed in Loffreda, "Coins from the Synagogue," 230.



(383-388 CE) from the south end of the east aisle(L817).<sup>①</sup> In addition, coins of Honorius (395-401 CE) and Theodosius (383-388 CE) were found in Stratum A under the balcony on the south side of the synagogue (L818).<sup>②</sup> Thus, the ceramic and numismatic evidence provides a late fourth century *terminus post quem* for the construction of MB and rules out the possibility that it represents a third century or early fourth century synagogue that was destroyed in the earthquake of 363.<sup>③</sup>

The coins from Stratum B provide a *terminus ante quem* for MB. A deposit of 236 coins, the latest of which published so far date to 491 CE, was found in the Stratum B fill in L814, which is on the south side of the west aisle, including in the foundation of the west stylobate.<sup>④</sup> Two late fourth to early fifth century coins were found in the foundation of the west stylobate in L821, just north of L814, and another fourth century coin comes from the foundation of the same stylobate in L822 in the nave.<sup>⑤</sup> The discovery of these coins under the stylobate contradicts the claim made by some archaeologists that the white limestone synagogue was renovated or rebuilt after the earthquake of 363, as the removal of the stylobate would have required dismantling the entire superstructure.<sup>⑥</sup> Another three coins described by Loffreda as “late Roman”

① Loffreda, “Coins from the Synagogue,” 230, who notes that a third century CE coin was found under the threshold of a Stratum A dwelling in L817.

② Loffreda, “Coins from the Synagogue,” 230, 233.

③ Benjamin Y. Arubas and Rina Talgam, “Jews, Christians and ‘*Minim*’: Who Really Built and Used the Synagogue at Capernaum—A Stirring Appraisal,” in *Knowledge and Wisdom, Archaeological and Historical Essays in Honour of Leah Di Segni*, eds. Giovanni C. Bottini, L. Daniel Chrupcała, and Joseph Patrich (Jerusalem: Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, 2014), 237-274; here 261-262, 268. See Loffreda, “Ceramica ellenistico-romana,” 290, 311-312; Loffreda, “Coins from the Synagogue,” 237, 239.

④ Loffreda, “Coins from the Synagogue,” 229, who says that “more than one hundred late Roman coins were found in the foundation of the stylobate”; Bruno Callegher, *Cafarnao IX, Monete dall'area urbana di Cafarnao (1968-2003)* (Jerusalem: Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, 2007), 18. Also see Jodi Magness, “The Question of the Synagogue: The Problem of Typology,” in *Judaism in Late Antiquity, Part Three, Where We Stand: Issues and Debates in Ancient Judaism*, Volume Four: *The Special Problem of the Synagogue*, eds. Alan J. Avery-Peck and Jacob Neusner (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 1-48, 79-91; here 20; Rassalle, *Ancient Synagogue Coins*, at [https://ancientsynagoguecoins.com/synagogue/Capernaum \[Fifth Deposit\]](https://ancientsynagoguecoins.com/synagogue/Capernaum%20[Fifth%20Deposit]) (accessed 08/29/2023).

⑤ Loffreda, “Coins from the Synagogue,” 229-230.

⑥ See Magness, “The Question of the Synagogue,” 20.

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were found in Stratum B in L825, on the east side of the synagogue nave.<sup>①</sup> Two coins dating to 341-346 and 352-360 were found in Stratum B in L804 (the courtyard), at a depth of 1.25 m below the white limestone synagogue pavement, and a coin of 383-395 was found 1 m below the synagogue pavement in L818 (the porch).<sup>②</sup>

The coins from Stratum B in L814 and L825 provide a late fifth century *terminus ante quem* for MB. Therefore, MB must date between ca. 400-500 CE. The absence of imported Late Roman Red Wares and bilanceolate oil lamps from the deposits on top of massiciata A suggests that the houses below the synagogue went out of use, and MB was constructed, around or shortly after 400 CE.<sup>③</sup> The white limestone synagogue was erected on top of MB approximately a century later.

It is not clear why the construction of MB stopped, although the absence of cracks and sinking in MB suggests it was not due to an earthquake. One possibility is that funding ran out—a well-known phenomenon in antiquity. For example, the construction of the temple of Olympian Zeus in Athens was begun by the Peisistratids in the sixth century BCE and continued by Antiochus IV Epiphanes in the second century BCE but was only completed in the second century CE by Hadrian.<sup>④</sup> Another example is the temple of Apollo at Didyma—one of the great white elephants of classical antiquity—on which work continued intermittently over the course of four centuries and ultimately was left unfinished.<sup>⑤</sup> Of course, white elephants are not limited to antiquity, as illustrated by the new headquarters of the Israel Antiquities Authority in Jerusalem (“The Jay and Jeanie Schottenstein National Campus for the Archaeology of Israel”), much of which was constructed between 2010-2014

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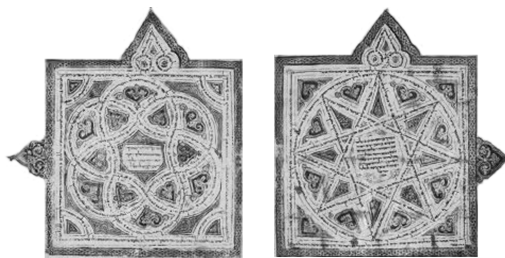
① Loffreda, “Coins from the Synagogue,” 230.

② Stanislao Loffreda, “The Synagogue of Capharnaum. Archaeological Evidence for Its Late Chronology,” *Liber Annuus* 22 (1972): 5-29; here 14.

③ For the pottery from these deposits, see Loffreda, *Cafarnao VI*, 359-365. For bilanceolate oil lamps (Loffreda’s LUC Type 5), see Loffreda, *Cafarnao VI*, 50-51; Stanislao Loffreda, *Cafarnao VII*, *Documentazione grafica della ceramica (1968-2003)* (Jerusalem: Edizioni Terra Santa, 2008), 17-18.

④ William B. Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece, An Account of Its Historic Development* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1975), 280-281.

⑤ Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece*, 229.



but languished for years after funding ran out, and was only completed in 2022.<sup>①</sup> Another example is Tel Aviv’s “new” central bus station, on which work commenced in 1967 but which was not opened until 1993. In the meantime, the building housing the bus station has deteriorated and much of it is abandoned, while plans to move it to another part of the city have been stymied.<sup>②</sup>

## Conclusion

This review indicates that neither the basalt walls (MB) under the white limestone synagogue at Capernaum nor the cobblestone pavement below MB belongs to a synagogue from the time of Jesus. In this case, however, the absence of evidence is not necessarily evidence of absence since pre-70 C.E. synagogues typically were modest structures that do not always leave identifiable traces in the archaeological record. Nevertheless, at present there are no definite archaeological remains of a synagogue from the time of Jesus at Capernaum, nor, indeed, is it possible to establish that such a synagogue even existed.

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<sup>①</sup> See [https://www.timesofisrael.com/liveblog\\_entry/national-campus-for-the-archaeology-of-israel-set-to-be-completed-by-end-2022/](https://www.timesofisrael.com/liveblog_entry/national-campus-for-the-archaeology-of-israel-set-to-be-completed-by-end-2022/) (accessed on 30 July 2023).

<sup>②</sup> See [https://www.abandonedspaces.com/public/tel-aviv-bus-station.html?D6c=1&D\\_4\\_6cALL=1&D\\_4\\_6\\_10cALL=1&A5c=1](https://www.abandonedspaces.com/public/tel-aviv-bus-station.html?D6c=1&D_4_6cALL=1&D_4_6_10cALL=1&A5c=1) ; <https://en.globes.co.il/en/article-regev-ditches-tel-aviv-central-bus-station-relocation-plan-1001447841> (accessed on 30 July 2023).

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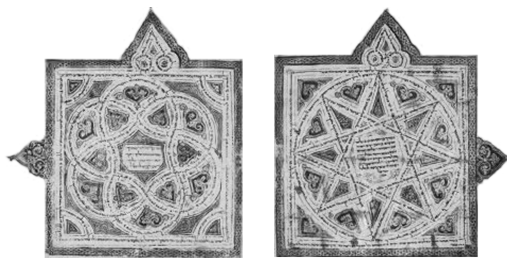
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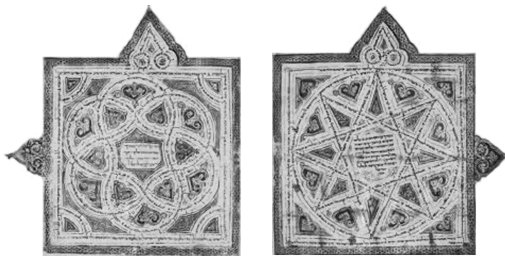
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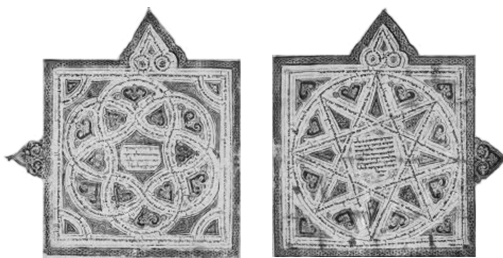
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## 有证据表明在耶稣时代的迦百农有个犹太会堂吗？

朱迪·马格尼斯

**【摘要】**《路加福音》7:1—5 谈到迦百农一位百夫长所建的会堂。今天,在那个位置上有一座白石灰岩造的纪念会堂。对于这座会堂的确切建造时间,考古学者存有争议,但是毫无疑问,这座白石灰岩会堂的建成时间晚于耶稣时代。一些学者认为,这座白石灰岩会堂下面就是《路加福音》文本里那个百夫长所建的会堂。本文从文本和考古角度考察这个论点,结论为没有属于耶稣时代会堂的确切的考古遗迹,这样的会堂也不太可能存在。

**【关键词】**迦伯农;会堂;百夫长;考古学;耶稣



## The Lurianic Background of the Concept of Divine Pathos in Abraham Joshua Heschel's *The Prophets*

Marvin A. Sweeney\*

**Abstract:** Abraham Joshua Heschel's volume, *The Prophets*, is one of the seminal works of Jewish biblical scholarship that opened the way for the development of Jewish biblical theology, with his discussion of divine pathos as a key concept in biblical prophecy. It has had wide impact on biblical theology in general, but most scholars are not familiar with the importance of Heschel's background as a Hasidic Rebbe and its impact on his work, particularly his understanding of divine pathos. This paper traces the background of the development of Heschel's concept of divine pathos in *The Prophets*. It begins with a brief treatment of Heschel's early life in Poland, where he was born into a Hasidic family, his early studies in Jewish Enlightenment literature, and his doctoral studies at the University of Berlin, from which he was forced to flee to the United States prior to World War II. It continues with a discussion of Heschel's concept of divine pathos, i.e., the interplay between divine compassion and divine justice, which stands as the basis for his study, *The Prophets*, published in English in 1962. The paper then turns to a critical discussion of Heschel's concept of divine pathos and its application to the prophetic writings in the *Bible*. It examines the major concepts of the Ten Sefirot in the Zohar, Lurianic Kabbalah, and their role in Hasidic thought. It then points to the expression of

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evil as an aspect of G-d's character in prophetic texts, such as Hosea 1-3; Isaiah 6; and Jeremiah 2:7-18, that is characteristic of Lurianic Kabbalah and stands as a key issue in Heschel's understanding of divine pathos in the interpretation of the *Bible* and later Jewish tradition.

**Key Words:** Divine Pathos, Abraham Joshua Heschel, Lurianic Kabbalah, *The Prophets*, Ten Sefirot

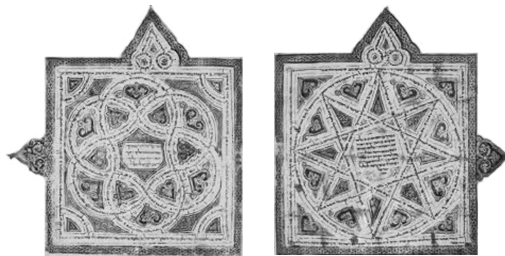
## I

Abraham Joshua Heschel's (1907-1972) volume, *The Prophets*, is one of the seminal works of Jewish biblical scholarship that opened the way for the development of Jewish biblical theology, with his discussion of divine pathos as a key concept in biblical prophecy.<sup>①</sup> *The Prophets* was originally written in German at the University of Berlin as Heschel's doctoral dissertation and published in 1936 in Krakow, Poland, and in Berlin, Germany.<sup>②</sup> It came to wide attention when Heschel expanded the work and translated it into English in 1962. Most biblical scholars, whether Jewish or not, know the work well, but most are not familiar with the background of Heschel's understanding of divine pathos in Lurianic Kabbalah. Such an understanding is key to the development of Heschel's further work in Jewish philosophy and spirituality following his dissertation, which provides the foundations for developing a dynamic relationship between G-d and humanity in the larger context of the

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① Abraham Joshua Heschel, *The Prophets* (New York: Harper and Row; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1962); Abraham Joshua Heschel, *The Prophets*, 2 vols. (New York: Harper Torchbooks; Harper and Row, 1971).

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world of creation.<sup>①</sup>

This paper attempts to trace the background of the development of Heschel's concept of divine pathos in *The Prophets*. It begins with a brief treatment of Heschel's early life in Poland, where he was born into a Hasidic family and was destined to become a Hasidic Rebbe, his early studies in *Haskalah*, i.e., Jewish Enlightenment literature, and his doctoral studies at the University of Berlin, from which he was forced to flee to the United States prior to the outbreak of World War II and the Shoah (Holocaust). It continues with a discussion of Heschel's concept of divine pathos, i.e., the interplay between divine compassion and divine justice, which stands as the basis for his study, *The Prophets*, first published in German in 1936, expanded and translated into English in 1962. The paper then turns to a critical discussion of Heschel's concept of divine pathos and its application to the prophetic writings in the Bible. It examines the major concepts of the Ten Sefirot in the Zohar, Lurianic Kabbalah, and their role in Hasidic thought. It then points to the expression of evil as an aspect of G-d's character in prophetic texts, such as Hosea 1-3; Isaiah 6; and Jeremiah 2: 7-18, that is characteristic of Lurianic Kabbalah and an ongoing issue in Heschel's understanding of divine pathos in relation to post-Shoah theology in the interpretation of the *Bible* and subsequent Jewish tradition.

## II

The two-volume biography of Heschel, written by Edward K. Kaplan and Samuel H. Dresner for the first volume and Kaplan alone for the second following the death of Dresner, provides an overview and analysis for

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<sup>①</sup> See, e.g., Abraham Joshua Heschel, *Man Is Not Alone: A Philosophy of Religion* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1951, 1976); Abraham Joshua Heschel, *The Sabbath: Its Meaning for Modern Man* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1951, 1984); Abraham Joshua Heschel, *G-d in Search of Man: A Philosophy of Judaism* (New York: Jason Aronson, 1987); Abraham Joshua Heschel, *Israel: An Echo of Eternity* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1967, 1968, 1969); Abraham Joshua Heschel, *Maimonides: A Biography* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1982); Abraham Joshua Heschel, *Heavenly Torah: As Refracted through the Generations* (New York and London: Continuum, 2007).

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Heschel's life and work.<sup>①</sup>

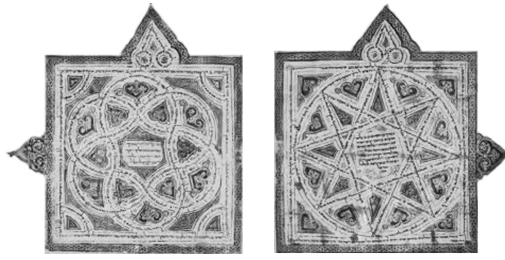
Abraham Joshua Heschel Heschel (1907-1972) was born in Warsaw into a Hasidic dynasty that could be traced back prior to the early years of the Hasidic movement.<sup>②</sup> His father was R. Moshe Mordecai (1873-1916), the Pelzovizna Rebbe and a descendant of the Heschel dynasty, and his mother was Rivka Reizel Perlow (1874-1942), a daughter of the Perlow dynasty (descended from R. Dov Baer of Mezeritch [1710-1772], the Maggid of Mzeritch). It was customary at the time to name a child after a distinguished ancestor, including the ancestor's family name, and then to attach the family name afterwards, hence the double appearance of the name, Heschel. He was the sixth child and second son of the family, who was named for his great great-grandfather, R. Abraham Joshua Heschel (1748-1825), the Rebbe of Apt (Polish, Opatow), who emerged as a major Hasidic leader of the third Hasidic generation following the death of the founder of Hasidism, R. Israel ben Eliezer, the Baal Shem Tov (Besht, ca. 1698 or 1699-1760). The earliest namesake for the family was Rabbi Joshua Heschel of Kraków (d. 1664). Although Heschel was born in Warsaw, his family home was in Medzibozh (Polish, Miedzyborz), located in Podolia Province, Ukraine, where the Apter Rav was buried next to the Baal Shem Tov.

Heschel's sisters included Sarah Brakha (1891-1964), who married R. Abraham Joshua Heschel (1888-1967), the Rebbe of Kopitzhinitz; Esther Sima (d. 1942); Gittel (d. 1942); Devorah Miriam (d. 1943); and his brother was R. Jacob Heshel (Anglicized name, 1903-1970), who married Sarah bat Nahum Mordecai Friedman, the Rebbe of Tchartkov, a descendant of the Friedman dynasty (descended from R. Levi Yizhak of Berditchev [1740-1810]). His grandfather was R. Abraham Joshua Heschel (1832-1881), the Rebbe of Zinkov, and his grandmother was Leah Rachel bat R. Shalom Joseph Friedman, the Rebbe of Sadegora, another descendant of the Friedman

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① Edward J. Kaplan and Samuel H. Dresner, *Abraham Joshua Heschel: Prophetic Witness* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 1998); Edward K. Kaplan, *Spiritual Radical: Abraham Joshua Heschel in America* (New Haven, CT, and London, UK: Yale University Press, 2007).

② For discussion of Heschel's family and early years, see Kaplan and Dresner, *Abraham Joshua Heschel*, x-xii, 1-72.



dynasty. His great-grandfather was R. Meshullam Zusya Heschel (1813-1866), the Rebbe of Zinkov, and his great-grandmother was Sima bat R. Moshe Zvi of Savaran. His great great-grandfather was R. Yithak Meir Heschel (1770-1855), the Rebbe of Zinkov, and his great great-grandmother was Miri bat R. Haim Jacob Strauss.

Heschel was recognized from childhood as an *Illui*, “a prodigy,” who would grow up to become a *Zaddik*, a righteous man in the Hasidic tradition who embodied the teachings of Torah, and a Hasidic Rebbe like his ancestors. His father was known for his opulent clothing, deliberately worn to attract the attention of the Evil One, who would then leave other more poorly dressed persons alone, combined with his piety and his empathy for the poor. Heschel’s father accepted only modest remuneration for his work, and made sure that no money would remain in his house at the end of the day when he gave any remaining coins to the poor. Heschel viewed his father’s piety and empathy for the poor as an inspiration for his own understanding of divine pathos in *The Prophets*.<sup>①</sup>

But in 1916, the German army occupied Warsaw during World War I, and a typhus plague soon followed. On November 16, Heschel’s father died from typhus, shortly before Heschel turned ten. With the death of his father, Heschel’s uncle, R. Alter Israel Shimon Perlow, the Novominsker Rebbe, took over his education, which differed markedly from that of R. Moshe Mordecai. Whereas R. Moshe Mordecai had emphasized the joy and optimism of the Baal Shem Tov, R. Alter Israel Shimon emphasized the Kotzker Hasidic tradition of anxiety in the observance of Torah. The tension between the two models proved to be a major factor in Heschel’s own humble personality and his understanding of Jewish tradition.

When Heschel was born, Jews constituted over 40% of Warsaw’s population. Although Warsaw was heavily populated by Hasidic Jews, it was also a modern metropolis, and the Jewish world of Warsaw was also heavily influenced by the currents of the *Haskalah*, the Jewish Enlightenment, that saw waves of philosophical, literary, and political rationalism, especially following the Communist revolution of 1917 and the overthrow of the Czarist

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① Kaplan and Dresner, *Abraham Joshua Heschel*, 17.

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Dynasty that ruled the Russian empire. Many Jews had left the Russian Empire, including Poland, for the United States, Ottoman Turkish Palestine, and other locations, during the Czarist persecution of Jews following the assassination of Czar Alexander II in 1882, and they continued to do so following the Communist Revolution. Others, including Heschel himself, began to turn increasingly to the study of Haskalah ideas and literature. Heschel began to write poetry and literature in Yiddish and Hebrew, such as his 1925 Yiddish piece, *Der zaddik fun freyd*, “The Zaddik of Joy,” which explored the conflict between joy and anxiety in his own soul, and works of philosophy, such as his biography of Moses Maimonides, first published in German in 1935, a popular work, in which he explored similar tensions in the life and work of one of Judaism’s foremost philosophers.

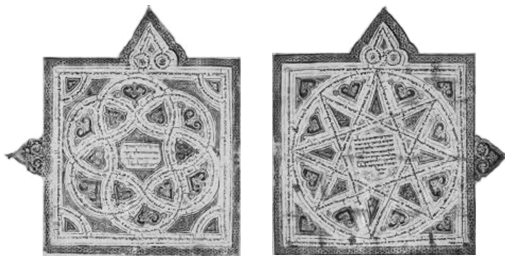
Heschel made his way to Vilna (Lithuanian, Vilnius), Lithuania, the so-called Jerusalem of Lithuania, which was known for its Talmudic scholarship. But Vilna was also known for its strong reputation in Haskalah studies. Heschel enrolled in the Mathematical-Sciences Gymnasium (Polish, Matematycsno-Przyrodnicze Gymnazjum), where he studied mathematics, the sciences, literature, languages, etc., in preparation for entering a European university. Apart from shaving his beard, Heschel did not give up his Jewish-Hasidic identity while studying in a secular Jewish environment, and he remained plagued by the tension within his identity.

Upon passing his examinations in Vilna in June, 1927, Heschel relocated to Berlin, where he began his studies at the University of Berlin and simultaneously at the Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums, a Jewish college that trained liberal rabbis and scholars. He was also heavily influenced by David Koigen, a philosopher of Jewish history and culture, who lectured independently. Although the tension between the two sides of his Jewish identity remained, he managed to hold them together as expressions of his service to G-d.<sup>①</sup>

At the University of Berlin, Heschel concentrated on philosophy and esthetics with Max Dessoir and Heinrich Maier, biblical criticism and Semitic languages with Alfred Bertholet and Eugen Mittwoch, and art history with

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① Kaplan and Dresner, *Abraham Joshua Heschel*, 96.



Erich Brinkmann and Wolfgang Köhler. At the Hochschule, he concentrated in Jewish philosophy with Julius Guttmann. Heschel submitted his dissertation on “Die Prophetie” for defense, and he passed his examinations on February 23, 1933, with an overall evaluation of *Sustinuit*, “Sufficient.” But this period saw the rise of the Nazi party in the German government, and it became difficult for him to publish his dissertation, which was a requirement for receiving his degree. While searching for a publisher, David Koigen passed away. Heschel subsequently wrote his biography of Maimonides in 1934, in which he opposed the common understanding of Maimonides as a rationalist and portrayed him instead as an ethical and spiritual figure yearning for G-d. Finally on March 23, 1936, Heschel’s dissertation was co-published by a German press under the title, *Das prophetische Bewusstsein*, and by a Polish press under the title, *Die Prophetie*.<sup>①</sup> The publication of his doctoral dissertation enabled Heschel to receive his doctorate from the University of Berlin.

### III

Although Heschel received his doctorate at Berlin due to the publication of his dissertation, his troubles in Germany were not over. Due to the rising power of the Nazi government in Germany, it was impossible for him to secure a position at a German university and it was also clear that his safety—and that of all Jews—was in question. He was forced to flee Germany for the United States. He was able to leave Germany for London on July 13, 1939, where he stayed with his brother, Rabbi Jacob Heshel, and his family. After considerable difficulty, Professor Julian Morgenstern, President of the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, Ohio, secured a position for him, which enabled him to secure a visa as well. Heschel left for the United States on March 9, 1940. He was unable to secure visas for his mother, or his sisters, Esther Sima, Gittel, and Devorah Miriam, all of whom ultimately perished in

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<sup>①</sup> Abraham Heschel, *Das prophetische Bewusstsein* (Berlin: Erich Reiss Verlag, 1936); Abraham Heschel, *Die Prophetie* (Kraków: Nakładem Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności, 1936). For discussion see Kaplan and Dresner, *Abraham Joshua Heschel*, 229-236.

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the Shoah.

Heschel remained at Hebrew Union College for some five years until he joined the faculty of the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York in 1945. His biography on Maimonides and his study on Prophecy were both well received in Europe, despite the atmosphere of antisemitism during the war. As he adapted himself to life in the United States, he would ultimately expand and translate his study on *The Prophets* for publication in 1962.

Heschel's study on *The Prophets* focused on the concept of divine pathos<sup>①</sup>, which he argued represented the prophet's understanding of the character or attitudes of G-d rather than their ideas about G-d.<sup>②</sup> Divine pathos represented the interaction of two key aspects of the divine personality. The first is passion, in which G-d gives expression to an emotional convulsion as G-d seeks an intimate relationship with the human being, formed in G-d's image. Such an expression would entail the emotion of divine love or compassion in the relationship between G-d and human beings in which anger might be expressed on G-d's part, but always with the expectation of human repentance. This leads to the other dimension of the divine personality, ethos, in which G-d gives expression to justice that will not call for irrational and irresponsible action on G-d's part when justice is not served. Heschel refers to ethos as G-d's "moral nature."<sup>③</sup> In Heschel's view, divine pathos is inherently transitive in that it requires an object—and that object is the human being, i.e., G-d seeks a relationship with the human being that gives expression to both divine passion and divine ethos. The human being then functions as "a consort, a partner, a factor in the life of G-d."<sup>④</sup> The G-d of the prophets is not "the Wholly Other," but one who is "involved, near, and concerned."<sup>⑤</sup> In short, prophecy is G-d meeting the human being. Divine pathos is therefore "like a bridge over the abyss" that separates G-d from the human being.<sup>⑥</sup> It entails that the relationship between G-d and human beings is not dialectic, but

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① See esp. Heschel, *The Prophets*, 2:1-11.

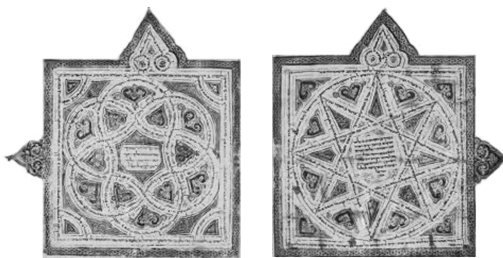
② Ibid., 2:1.

③ Ibid., 2:5.

④ Ibid., 2:6.

⑤ Ibid., 2:7.

⑥ Ibid., 2:9.



it may be characterized by opposition and tension.

Heschel concludes his initial discussion of the theology of divine pathos with the following:

In sum, the divine pathos is the unity of the eternal and the temporal, of meaning and mystery, of the metaphysical and the historical. It is the real basis of the relationship between G-d and man, of the correlation between Creator and creation, of the dialogue between the Holy One of Israel and His people. The characteristic of the prophets is not foreknowledge of the future, but insight into the present pathos of G-d.<sup>①</sup>

Heschel's discussion of individual prophets includes Amos, Hosea, Isaiah 1-39, Micah, Jeremiah, Habakkuk, and Second Isaiah. His focus is on G-d's relationship with Israel and G-d's dissatisfaction with Israel's behavior in relation to the covenant between G-d and the people. He avoids Ezekiel, on which his biblical studies advisor, Bertholet had published a commentary at the time that Heschel completed his dissertation<sup>②</sup>, and a number of the Twelve Prophets, such as Jonah and Nahum, who were concerned with the punishment of the nations, and Joel, Obadiah, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, all of whom were considered later by biblical scholars of the time. It would appear that Heschel's selection of prophets best represented in his mind the two major elements of divine pathos, viz., divine passion and divine ethos or judgment.

A few examples will illustrate his treatment of the prophets named here.

Heschel treats Amos along the classical lines of modern critical scholarship as a prophet concerned especially with social justice. Amos decries corruption in the Israelite court system which denied the under classes of the people their economic and legal rights due to them in the covenant according to Amos 6: 1-7. G-d expresses divine compassion for Israel by redeeming the people from Egyptian bondage and leading them through the wilderness to the promised land of Israel, but the people corrupted G-d's Nazirites and ordered

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① Heschel, *The Prophets*, 2: 11.

② Alfred Bertholet, *Hesekiel*, HAT I: 13 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr/Paul Siebeck, 1936).

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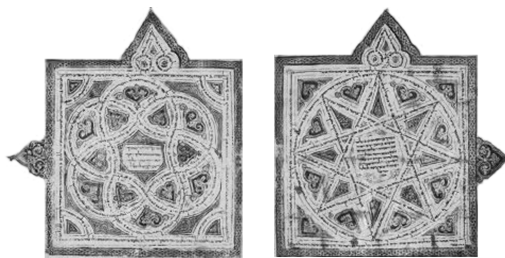
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G-d's prophets to remain silent in Amos 2: 10-12. Because Israel is G-d's chosen people, G-d chose to punish them among the nations for their iniquities in Amos 3: 1-2. Nevertheless, G-d was willing to forgive the people if they asked for mercy as expressed in Amos 7: 2-3, 5-6.

Hosea lived during the eighth century B.C.E. when the Assyrian empire rose to power and Israel sought protection from its enemies by allying with Assyria rather than relying on G-d. G-d consequently accused Ephraim, the power tribe of the northern kingdom of Israel, metaphorically of conducting itself like a harlot who seeks relations with strange men and is thereby defiled in Hosea 5: 3; 6: 10; and 9: 1. Corruption was widespread throughout the nation according to Hosea 7: 7, and Ephraim was acting like a silly dove in flitting back and forth to seek protection or power from nations like Egypt and Assyria, which only encouraged them to take control of Israel and plunder them at will according to Hosea 7: 11; 12: 2. Such conduct would only lead to exile according to Hosea 11: 5. Although there was tension between G-d's compassion and justice, G-d stood ready to accept Israel's repentance and return according to Hosea 14: 1-4.

Heschel likewise treats Isaiah 1-39, generally understood to represent the work of the eighth century B.C.E. Judean prophet, Isaiah ben Amoz, as another expression of G-d's dissatisfaction with Israel's—or Judah's—behavior, while standing ready to protect the people and to recognize their repentance. King Ahaz ben Jotham of Judah relied on his treaty with the Assyrian empire to protect his kingdom from enemies, but Isaiah condemned such reliance on foreign powers as a betrayal of Judah's intimate relationship with G-d, i.e., a covenant with death, in Isaiah 28: 15 and called instead for justice and righteousness in keeping with G-d's instruction in Isaiah 28: 16-17. Assyria would openly blaspheme against G-d, and G-d would bring down the Assyrian empire in Isaiah 10: 15-11 and 14: 24-27. G-d makes it clear that G-d is tired with false piety when the people ignore G-d's requirements for justice and care for the poor in Isaiah 1: 11-15. And G-d portrays the divine Self metaphorically as a close friend, who tended a vineyard, i.e., Israel, that ultimately produced no fruit despite G-d's loving care. But in the end, Isaiah 36-37 illustrate how G-d actually did defeat the Assyrian empire when it invaded Judah using motifs from the Exodus narrative concerning G-d's



liberation of Israel from Egyptian bondage in 701 B.C.E. when King Hezekiah repents.

Finally, Heschel's treatment of Jeremiah emphasizes the tension in the relationship between G-d and the prophet when Jeremiah attempts to refuse G-d's commission as a prophet, although G-d ultimately insists that Jeremiah will do as he is told in Jeremiah 1: 4-19. G-d's anger against Jerusalem and Judah are clear throughout the book, e.g., as illustrated by the image of a storm from G-d that will descend upon the nation in Jeremiah 23: 19-20 and Jerusalem will be left desolate in Jeremiah 7: 33-34. Nevertheless, G-d's love for Israel—and Jerusalem and Judah—are also apparent throughout the book when G-d recalls divine love for Israel, metaphorically portrayed as G-d's bride in the wilderness according to Jeremiah 2: 1-3. G-d nevertheless expresses extreme frustration with the people, accusing them of faithlessness, adultery, etc., in Jeremiah 5: 7-9; 28-29. G-d expresses extreme sorrow at the need to punish Jerusalem and Judah for its alleged infidelity in Jeremiah 12: 7-13; 8: 18-23. But G-d nevertheless stands ready to take the people back if the people will repent and return to G-d in Jeremiah 4: 1-2.

#### IV

Overall, Heschel's *The Prophets* portrays a compassionate G-d who is forced to decree judgment for a beloved people that employs free will to make the wrong choices. But interpreters often overlook the Jewish theological background in which the interplay between divine compassion and divine judgment find their expression in the Hasidic movement from which Heschel emerged, i.e., Lurianic Kabbalah. Although the Baal Shem Tov is often portrayed as a joyful Jewish spiritualist unconcerned with the study of Jewish tradition, his successors gave far greater attention to Jewish tradition in general and the Kabbalistic tradition in particular in developing later understandings of Hasidic thought.<sup>①</sup> Until the pioneering work of Gershom Scholem beginning in the mid-twentieth

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<sup>①</sup> For a comprehensive study of Hasidism, see David Biale et al., *Hasidism: A New History* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2018).

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century<sup>①</sup>, Jewish interpreters viewed kabbalistic thought as an expression of Jewish superstition, magic, and nonsense.<sup>②</sup> Consequently, interpreters paid little attention to the role of Hasidism and Kabbalistic thought in their evaluations of Heschel's thought during his lifetime and beyond.

But the dialectical thinking in which Kabbalah understands the major components of the divine personality and their influence in the human being provide the foundations on which Heschel's understanding of the interplay between divine compassion and divine ethos or judgment are based. Consequently, an understanding of the Ten Sefirot, i.e., the ten emanations of the divine personality in the Zohar and their portrayal in Lurianic Kabbalah are essential for understanding the interplay between divine compassion and divine judgment in Heschel's conceptualization of divine pathos.

The Zohar was written to portray the esoteric teachings of the second century CE. Tannaitic Rabbi Shimon bar Yohai, was actually authored in the late-thirteenth century CE by the Spanish kabbalist, R. Moshe ben Shemtov de León of Avila, who died ca. 1290 CE.<sup>③</sup> Building on earlier kabbalistic tradition, such as the *Sefer ha-Bahir* and other works, de León wrote the Zohar as an expression of R. Shimon bar Yohai's teachings on the esoteric meaning of the Torah during the thirteen years he hid with his son in a cave following the Roman genocide against the Jewish people in the Bar Kochba War of 132-135 CE.

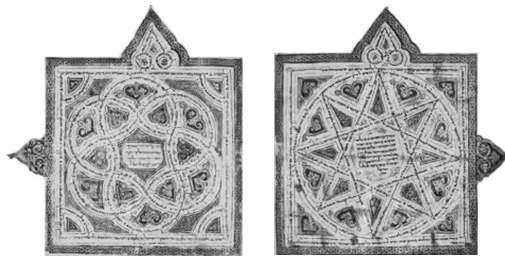
A key aspect of the Zohar was de León's development of the Ten Sefirot, "the Ten Countings" or "the Ten Emanations" of the personality or character of G-d that infused all of creation, including human beings, with the divine presence. The Ten Sefirot were ten characteristics of G-d that aided in

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① Gershom Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (New York: Schocken, 1941, 1961).

② See now Moshe Idel, *Kabbalah: New Perspectives* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988); Marvin A. Sweeney, *Jewish Mysticism: From Ancient Times Through Today* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2020).

③ For discussion of the Zohar, see esp. Scholem, *Major Trends*, 156-243; Sweeney, *Jewish Mysticism*, 285-324. For the Zohar in translation, see esp. Daniel C. Matt, *The Zohar: Pritzker Edition*, 12 vols. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2004-2018); Isaiah Tishby, *The Wisdom of the Zohar: An Anthology of Texts*, 3 vols. (Oxford and Portland, OR: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1989).



explaining how the infinite character and presence of G-d could be manifested in the finite world of creation. They focused on the ideal, intangible principles that underlay finite and tangible creation. The Zohar's conceptualization of the Ten Sefirot employs the Aristotelian ethical principal of "the golden mean" to organize the Sefirot into three triads, i.e., mental, moral, and material, in which two ideal opposite principles would be balanced by a third. Consequently, each ideal Sefirah or principle is defined in relation to its opposite.

The Ten Sefirot proceed from the infinite character of G-d, identified as the *Ein Sof*, "without end, boundary," which generates the first three, "mental" Sefirot. This begins with the *Keter Elyon*, "Crown of the Most High (G-d)," which constitutes an expression of "the will of G-d" to engage in the creation of the finite world. The *Keter Elyon* then generates two ideal aspects of thought that stand in tension but work together in creation, *Hokhmah*, "wisdom," which constitutes the theoretical aspect of thought that conceives and plans, and *Binah*, the practical aspect of thought that takes conceptualization and fashions it into tangible reality.

The three mental Sefirot then generate the three moral Sefirot. The first two constitute an ideal pair held together in tension by a balancing third. *Hesed*, "fidelity, compassion, mercy," which constitutes the ideal principal of giving in the moral realm of action, and *Gevurah*, "power," also known as *Din*, "judgment," which constitutes the ideal principle of punishment or taking. *Hesed* and *Gevurah/Din* are then held together by the balancing principal, *Tif'eret*, "beauty," so that ideal giving or good and ideal taking or evil are held together in tension and defined in relation to each other as opposites.

The moral Sefirot then generate the third material triad of Sefirot. Again, the first two constitute an ideal pair held together by a balancing principal that holds them together in tension. *Netzah*, "endurance," expresses the tangible principal of dynamism and change in the material world, and *Hod*, "majesty," expresses the tangible principal of stability or the lack of change in the material world. The two are held together in tension by *Yesod*, "foundation," which expresses a balanced interplay between dynamism and stability in the material world. The material Sefirot might be compared to the interaction of Yang,

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male dynamism, and Yin, feminine stability, in Chinese thought or the interplay of Shiva, “the destroyer (changer),” and Vishnu, “the preserver,” generated from Brahman, in Indian philosophy.

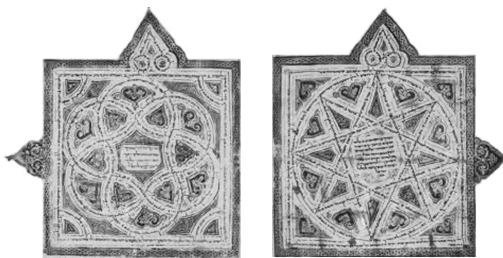
When the three Sefirotic triads are functioning together smoothly to produce a balanced expression of the emanations of the divine, they produce the tenth Sefirah, *Malkhut*, “(divine) kingship,” also known as *Shekhinah*, “(divine) presence,” to signify the holy presence of the infinite G-d in the finite world of creation, including human beings. The *Zohar* then explains the emergence of evil in the world as a disruption of the balanced functioning of the Ten Sefirot, e.g., when human beings sin as a result of their use of free will, *Gevurah* or *Din* is released from its balance with *Hesed*, thereby releasing evil or punishment into the world of creation.

Because the *Zohar* is composed as R. Shimon bar Yohai’s esoteric commentary on the Torah, the presentation of the Ten Sefirot in the *Zohar* remains unsystematized. But the sixteenth century kabbalist, R. Isaac Luria of Safed (1534-1572), also known as Ha’ashkenazi Rabbi Yitzḥaq, “the Ashkenazi Rabbi Isaac,” or simply, ha-’Ari, employed a mythologically-based portrayal of how the Ten Sefirot were fashioned and disrupted to represent G-d’s exile from the world and the task of human beings to restore the divine presence to creation.<sup>①</sup> As a true mystic, Luria never recorded any of his oral teachings, but his disciple, Ḥaim Vital, recorded them. Nevertheless, it is not always certain whether Vital’s writings present Luria’s own teachings or Vital’s interpretation of those teachings.

Vital’s presentation of Luria’s teachings posits that creation takes place when G-d fashions ten clay vessels, representing the Ten Sefirot, and then attempts to pour divine light into each of them. But the divine light is so powerful that seven of the vessels shatter, scattering sparks of divine light and fragments of the vessels throughout creation. This portrayal is metaphorical in that the three surviving vessels represent the three Mental Sefirot, viz., *Keter Elyon*, *Ḥokhmah*, and *Binah*, and the seven shattered vessels represent the Moral and Material Sefirot as well as the tenth Sefirah, *Malkhut* or *Shekhinah*. The presentation presupposes that the finite vessels intended to hold the Moral and

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① For discussion of Lurianic Kabbalah, see Scholem, *Major Trends*, 244-286; Lawrence Fine, *Physician of the Soul: Healer of the Cosmos: Isaac Luria and His Kabbalistic Fellowship* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003); Sweeney, *Jewish Mysticism*, 325-362.



the Material Sefirot as well as the presence of G-d were too weak to do so. Thus the *Shevirot ha-Kelim*, “the Breaking of the Vessels,” represents the disruption of the Sefirotic system and results in the exile of the holy presence of G-d from the finite world of creation. According to Luria, G-d’s attempt to create the world by pouring out the divine Sefirot into finite vessels represents an expression of divine love and G-d’s desire for companionship.

But the shattering of the vessels and exile of G-d, known as *Tzimtzum*, “contraction, withdrawal,” in Lurianic thought, left G-d and the world of creation fractured, disjointed, and in need of repair, with evil left unchecked in the resulting chaos. Consequently, the Lurianic system posits that human beings, using their capacities for knowledge as expressed through the surviving Mental Sefirot, must act to gather the sparks of the divine scattered throughout the world and to reassemble the seven shattered vessels that will result in the restoration of the Moral and Material Sefirot together with the tenth Sefirah, the holy presence of G-d, to the world. Holy action in accordance with the teachings of G-d’s Torah, “Instruction,” enables *Tikkun Olam*, “the repair of the world,” in Lurianic thought.

In Ḥasidic thought, it is the task of Jews to begin the repair of the world through holy thought and action to ensure the restoration of the holy presence of G-d to the finite world of creation. When viewed from this perspective, it becomes clear that Heschel’s understanding of the roles of divine compassion and divine justice within the larger concept of divine pathos, presuppose Lurianic teachings concerning the Sefirot, particularly the Moral Sefirot of *Ḥesed*, “fidelity, compassion, mercy,” and *Gevurah/Din*, “power, judgment,” that work together within the personality or characteristics of G-d as expressed in the prophets.

## V

Heschel’s conceptualization of G-d in *The Prophets* entails a G-d who is in need of the human being to act as a partner with G-d in the completion of

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creation.<sup>①</sup> In Heschel's view, G-d is always concerned with the human being, even when rendering judgment against humans for cause<sup>②</sup>, and in this regard, G-d is always good. But the portrayal of G-d above in Lurianic Kabbalah envisions G-d as somehow impaired by the disruption of the Sefirot, which allows *Gevurah/Din*, "power, judgment," the capacity to escape from the dialectical relationship with *Hesed*, "fidelity, compassion, mercy," and to act independently. One might argue that the independence of *Gevurah/Din*, "power, judgment," would then leave the remaining character of G-d essentially good in keeping with its overwhelming *Hesed*. Heschel maintains that divine justice does not lead to "irrational and irresponsible action" on the part of G-d, but instead indicates that all of G-d's actions are just.<sup>③</sup> But more recent experience with post-Shoah theology indicates that there are times of divine absence or inaction, such as the Shoah when some six million Jews perished without evidence of divine action to protect them.<sup>④</sup> G-d might have been present during the Shoah, as many pious Jews might maintain, but G-d did not act decisively.

With such concerns in mind, one might also ask if any prophetic texts illustrate this point. Three texts in particular stand out in this regard, i.e., Hosea 1-3; Isaiah 6; and Jeremiah 2: 7-18, all of which are treated in one way or another by Heschel in *The Prophets*.

Hosea 1-3 recounts G-d's instructions to the late eighth-century BCE prophet, Hosea ben Beeri, to marry a woman of harlotry and to have children with her, each of which is named to highlight an aspect of northern Israel's abandonment of YHWH for alliance with the Assyrian empire, which entails recognition of other gods.<sup>⑤</sup> The passage appears to presuppose the alliance of Israel with Assyria during the reigns of King Jehu of Israel (842-815 BCE) and

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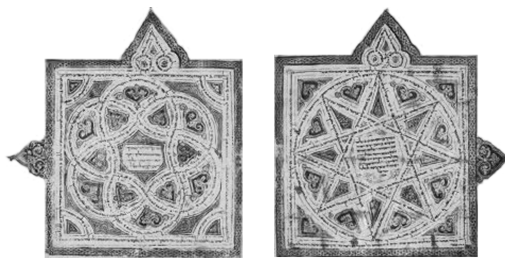
① Heschel, *The Prophets*, 2: 15, 2: 6; cf. Heschel, *Man is Not Alone*; Heschel, *G-d in Search of Man*.

② Heschel, *The Prophets*, 2: 21.

③ *Ibid.*, 2: 5.

④ Marvin A. Sweeney, *Reading the Hebrew Bible after the Shoah: Engaging Holocaust Theology* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2008).

⑤ For discussion, see Marvin A. Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets*, 2 vols. (Berit Olam; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 2000), 1: 3-40.



King Shalmaneser III of Assyria (859-824 BCE). Shalmaneser III attempted repeatedly to cross the Euphrates River to invade Aram, which successfully repelled the Assyrians repeatedly with the help of its allies, including King Ahab ben Omri of Israel. But when the wars against the Assyrians proved to be far too costly and led to the death of King Ahab in battle and the wounding of his son, King Jehoram ben Ahab of Israel, Jehu led a revolt that overthrew the house of Omri, suffered invasion and subjugation from his erstwhile ally, King Hazael of Aram, and ultimately turned to Shalmaneser III for an alliance that would protect Israel from Aramean attack. Hosea was incensed by this move, and argued that Israel had abandoned YHWH like his wife, Gomer bat Diblaim, whom he charged with adultery for her alleged relationships with other men.

Heschel spends little time with Hosea 1-3, but argues that G-d rightly charged Israel with abandonment and longed for reunion with her.<sup>①</sup> But one may ask some rather pointed questions about Jehu's alliance with Assyria. Where was YHWH when Aram attacked Israel and subjugated it through invasion? YHWH had a covenant with Israel, noted in Hosea 2:1-2, which cites YHWH's covenant with Jacob, the eponymous ancestor of northern Israel, in Genesis 28:13-15, in which YHWH promises to increase Israel's numbers and to protect Israel from enemies. But YHWH didn't do that when the Aramaeans invaded, and Jehu sought protection from Assyria instead. Furthermore, neither Israel nor Gomer have any voice in Hosea 1-3—or elsewhere in the book—to explain why she had to seek protection from Aram in the case of Israel or support from other men in the case of Gomer. Jehu's alliance with Assyria suggested that YHWH had become an unreliable covenant partner, and Gomer's relations with other men suggest that maybe Hosea was not a very good husband.

Heschel has nothing to say about this issue. But in the aftermath of the Shoah, it is a key question in Jewish thought. Indeed, it is the same question asked by Jews in the aftermath of the Spanish expulsion of Jews in 1492, not to mention the Roman genocide of Jews following the Bar Kochba Revolt of 132-135 CE, the Crusader massacres of Jews in the Rhine Valley in 1098 CE,

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① Heschel, *The Prophets*, 2: 50-51.

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and the pogroms launched against Jews in Europe following the outbreak of the Plague in 1346-1353.

A second text would be Isaiah 6: 1-13, which portrays the vision of YHWH by the late-eighth century Judean prophet, Isaiah ben Amoz.<sup>①</sup> Isaiah envisions YHWH enthroned in the Jerusalem Temple, calling for volunteers to speak on YHWH's behalf to the people of Jerusalem and Judah. When Isaiah volunteers for the mission, YHWH informs him that he is to render the people blind, deaf, and dumb, so that they will not repent nor save themselves from punishment so that YHWH's glory may be revealed to the world at large in aftermath of the collapse of the Babylonian empire in the late-sixth century BCE as announced in Isaiah 40-55. Isaiah, apparently shocked at what he is asked to do, asks YHWH, "how long?" and YHWH responds with statements that punishment will last until only one tenth of the people will be left.

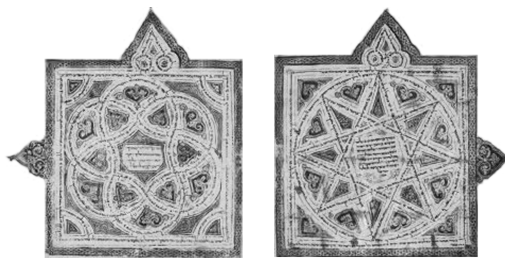
YHWH's proposal entails another case of destruction; indeed, the verb root, *Sha'ah*, "to destroy," appears repeatedly in YHWH's statements to the prophet in the last verses of Isaiah 6, which appears to announce an early example of Shoah in Isaiah's time. Heschel discusses the passage, and notes its contradictions. But in the end, he justifies YHWH's statements by asserting that hardening of the heart for punishment is often caused by man himself. But the moral contradiction is serious here. YHWH's statement indicates that the passage presupposes teleological ethics, i.e., that end result justifies the means to achieve the goal, insofar as later generations will see the glory of G-d, although a number of generations will perish in order to achieve this result. Such a scenario violates ontological ethics, which ask whether or not an action is moral in its essence or being (ontology), and YHWH's proposal is not ontologically just.

Again, Heschel allows a moral problem to slip without argument, and the result is an early example of the deliberate sacrifice of several generations of Jews, in this case due to YHWH's desire to reveal divine glory to the world.

The final example is Jeremiah 2: 7-18, the last of Jeremiah's complaints

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<sup>①</sup> For discussion, see Marvin A. Sweeney, *Isaiah 1-39, with an Introduction to Prophetic Literature*, FOTL 16 (Grand Rapids, MI, and Cambridge, UK: Eerdmans, 1996), 132-142.



against G-d.<sup>①</sup> Jeremiah served as a prophet of YHWH in the late-seventh and early-sixth century BCE, when he witnessed the decline and destruction of Jerusalem and Judah at the hands of the Babylonian empire. He is a reluctant prophet throughout the book. One might understand his reluctance to witness the destruction of his homeland and the death and exile of so much of its population due to the Babylonian invasions of the early sixth century BCE and the destruction of Jerusalem and the Jerusalem Temple. But YHWH insists that Jeremiah serve as prophet throughout the book, and Jeremiah does so, however reluctantly.

The key issue in Jeremiah's charges that G-d had seduced, overpowered, and raped him as if he was a woman, and left him pregnant, metaphorically, with the word of G-d that he cannot withhold within himself just as a pregnant woman is powerless to stop the birth of her child. Rape is a crime in the Torah as specified in Deuteronomy 22: 23-29, and it entails penalties for the rapist depending on the circumstances of the rape. Heschel discusses the passage, and argues that it ultimately constitutes a call to serve as a prophet and that it portrays the dialectic (of compassion combined with justice in divine pathos) his characterization of G-d throughout his study.<sup>②</sup> But one must also ask if YHWH engages, even metaphorically, in what would be considered an immoral and evil act in order to achieve the divine goals. Here, Heschel recognizes the interaction of good and evil in G-d's treatment of Jeremiah in terms fitting with those of Lurianic Kabbalah as discussed above, although he does not mention Lurianic thought at all.

G-d appears to have an evil dimension in the divine character, much as the disruption of the holy divine presence of G-d would have been disrupted in Lurianic Kabbalah. G-d does indeed need human beings in Heschel's understanding of divine pathos to undertake not only the repair of the world but the repair of G-d as well.

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<sup>①</sup> For discussion, see Marvin A. Sweeney, *Jeremiah*, 2 vols. Illuminations (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, forthcoming, 2025), ad loc.

<sup>②</sup> Heschel, *The Prophets*, 2: 113-114.

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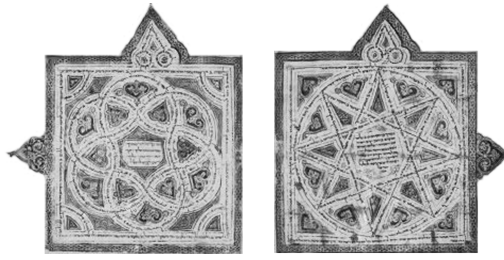
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In sum, divine pathos is the key concept that underlies and informs Abraham Joshua Heschel's study of the Prophets. But the above arguments demonstrate that Heschel's understanding of divine pathos is firmly rooted in Kabbalistic understandings of the workings of Ten Sefirot, i.e., the Ten Emanations of the Character of G-d, in the finite world of creation, human beings, and the prophets themselves. In Lurianic Kabbalah, it is clear that the task of human beings is to act as a partner with G-d in undertaking *Tikkun Olam*, repair of the world, to restore the Holy Presence of G-d to the finite world. Nevertheless, Heschel's work leaves open a key theological question, viz., to what extent does G-d also need humankind to undertake the task of repair of the divine? In the aftermath of the Shoah, this is one of the key questions that faces the contemporary Jewish world, and indeed, the worlds of Christianity and Islam as well.

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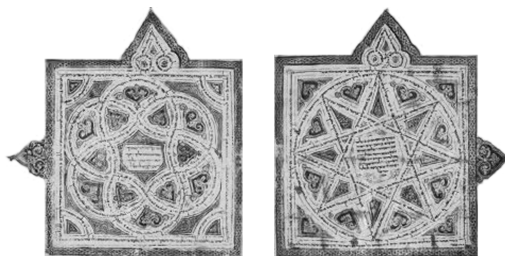
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## 亚伯拉罕·约书亚·赫斯柯《先知》中“神悯”概念的卢里亚背景

马文·斯维尼

**【摘要】**亚伯拉罕·约书亚·赫斯柯的《先知》是犹太圣经学界影响深远的专著之一。赫斯柯在该书中提出了“神悯”的概念，认为“神悯”是先知预言的关键所在，由此，他开拓了犹太圣经神学的维度。该书在圣经神学领域具有很大影响，但是许多学者并不熟悉赫斯柯哈西德拉比背景的重要性，以及这个背景对其作品，尤其是其对“神悯”概念的理解的影响。本文探讨“神悯”这一概念在《先知》中是如何发展的。首先，本文简要回溯赫斯柯在波兰的早期生活，包括他的哈西德主义家庭背景、他早期对犹太启蒙运动和文学的研究，以及他在柏林大学的博士学习——他在二战前夜被迫从柏林逃往美国。其次，本文讨论赫斯柯的“神悯”概念，即神的同情与正义的交织，这个概念也是发表于1962年的英文版《先知》的根基所在。再次，本文对赫斯柯的“神悯”概念进行批判性讨论，关注其在《圣经》先知作品上的运用，考察《光明之书》的十大塞菲洛和卢里亚的喀巴拉，以及这两个概念在哈西德派思想中的作用。最后，本文讨论先知作品（比如《何西阿书》1—3、《以赛亚书》6、《耶利米书》2:7—18）关于恶的表述所体现的神性，这一表述是卢里亚的喀巴拉的特征，也是赫斯柯在解读《圣经》和随后的犹太传统中理解“神悯”概念的关键所在。

**【关键词】**神悯；亚伯拉罕·约书亚·赫斯柯；卢里亚的喀巴拉；《先知》；十大塞菲洛



## Who Indeed ?: A Reconsideration of מִי יוֹדֵעַ in the Hebrew Bible\*

Brent A. Strawn\*\*

**Abstract:** The present article takes up the question “Who knows?” (מִי יוֹדֵעַ) in the Hebrew Bible, where it appears no less than ten times. Instead of categorizing the instances according to their perspective on the future, whether open or closed (per the important study published by James L. Crenshaw in 1986), the current investigation posits that מִי יוֹדֵעַ connotes a lack of human knowledge while at the same time implicating God and God’s full knowledge. “Who knows?” is thus an anthropocentric question that admits of a theological exception. The theological aspects of מִי יוֹדֵעַ have gone understudied, however. The current essay seeks to rectify this, pursuing each of the ten occurrences with an eye on the neglected theological subject of this rhetorical question, categorizing each into certain and less certain examples.

**Key Words:** מִי יוֹדֵעַ, Crenshaw, Divine knowledge, Human knowledge

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\*\* Brent A. Strawn, Duke University.

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For the Most High knows all that may be known; he sees from of old the things that are to come. (Sir 42: 18b; NRSV)<sup>①</sup>

[T]he implication, as in other passages beginning with this phrase... is that *God* knows what is good.<sup>②</sup>

God is greater than our hearts, and he knows everything. (1 John 3: 20b; NRSV)

*For Choon-Leong Seow*

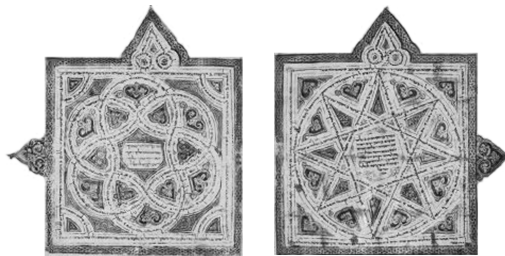
The question “who knows?” (מִי יֹדֵעַ)—by most accounts a rhetorical question expecting a negative response<sup>③</sup>—occurs ten times in the Hebrew Bible and was the subject of an important essay by James L. Crenshaw published in 1986.<sup>④</sup> Crenshaw divided the ten instances into two equal parts according to his determination of their *telos*: five passages leave “a door open to possible

① Translations are my own, unless otherwise indicated.

② R. N. Whybray, *Ecclesiastes* (NCB; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989), 111 (his emphasis).

③ So, e.g., Roland E. Murphy, *Ecclesiastes* (WBC 23A; Dallas: Word, 1992), 31: “implies a negation.” Elsewhere, Murphy defines a rhetorical question as: “A question asked for its...effect, which does not require a reply. It is found frequently in argument and persuasion, and occurs as a subgenre in all parts of the OT. The supposition is that the answer is clear, usually the only one possible and a deeper impression is made upon the hearer by the question form than by a statement.” (*Wisdom Literature: Job, Proverbs, Ruth, Canticles, Ecclesiastes, and Esther*, FOTL 13 [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1981], 181) For more on questions, see Moshe Held, “Rhetorical Questions in Ugaritic and Biblical Hebrew,” *EI* 9 (1969): 71-79; Benjamin Kedar, “The Interpretation of Rhetorical Questions in the Bible,” in “*Sha‘arei Talmon*”: *Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and the Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon*, eds. Michael Fishbane, Emanuel Tov, and Weston W. Fields (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1992), 145-152; Walter Brueggemann, “Jeremiah’s Use of Rhetorical Questions,” *JBL* 92 (1973): 358-374; Philippe Guillaume, “Caution: Rhetorical Questions!” *BN* 103 (2000): 11-16; Adina Moshavi, “Two Types of Argumentation Involving Rhetorical Questions in Biblical Hebrew Dialogue,” *Bib* 90 (2009): 32-46; Adina Moshavi, “Can a Positive Rhetorical Question Have a Positive Answer in the Bible?” *JSS* 56 (2011): 253-273; Adina Moshavi, “What Can I Say? Implications and Communicative Functions of Rhetorical ‘WH’ Questions in Classical Hebrew Prose,” *VT* 64 (2014): 93-108; Adina Moshavi, “Between Dialectic and Rhetoric: Rhetorical Questions Expressing Premises in Biblical Prose Argumentation,” *VT* 65 (2015): 136-151; and, more generally, Kenneth M. Craig, Jr., *Asking for Rhetoric: The Hebrew Bible’s Protean Interrogative*, BIS 75 (Leiden: Brill, 2005).

④ 2 Sam 12: 22; Joel 2: 14; Jonah 3: 9; Esth 4: 14; Ps 90: 11; 14; Prov 24: 22; Qoh 2: 19; 3: 21; 6: 12; 8: 1; note also מִי יֹדֵעַ in Jer 17: 9 and מִי יוֹדֵעַ in Isa 29: 15. James L. Crenshaw, “The Expression *mī yōdēa’* in the Hebrew Bible,” *VT* 36 (1986): 274-288; reprinted in James L. Crenshaw, *Urgent Advice and Probing Questions: Collected Writings on Old Testament Wisdom* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1995), 279-291 (citations follow the 1986 version).



response that will change the situation for human good” (2 Sam 12: 22; Joel 2: 14; Jonah 3: 9; Esth 4: 14; Ps 90: 11) while the other five “seem to assume a closed door to any redeeming action,” and so, in his judgment, represent a type of skepticism (Prov 24: 22 and all instances in Qoheleth).<sup>①</sup>

Since Crenshaw’s study, **מִי יוֹדֵעַ** has been left mostly unstudied, testimony to the cogency of his analysis. Indeed, Crenshaw’s essay contains a number of important insights into each of these ten passages. Even so, an important factor that surfaces repeatedly in the course of these texts, and in Crenshaw’s study thereof, but one that he neglects to comment on extensively, is how **מִי יוֹדֵעַ** seems to implicate God. “Who knows?” that is, is an *anthropocentric* question—it is one addressed to the human community of (non-) knowers; it is *not* a theological question that implies any *lack* in divine knowledge. As Sir 42: 18b, used as one of the epigraphs above, puts it: “the Most High knows all that may be known,” or, as Ezekiel puts it—apparently emphatically: “O Lord YHWH, (only) *you* know” (אֲדַנִּי יְהוָה אַתָּה יוֹדֵעַ; Ezek 37: 3). Said differently, therefore, and perhaps better, **מִי יוֹדֵעַ** is an *anthropocentric question that admits of a theological exception*. While human beings may *not* know, there is one who most certainly does: the Deity. It is only partially correct, then, to say, as Crenshaw does in another place, that “[t] he rhetorical question, ‘who knows?’ contains an implicit negative response: ‘nobody knows’”<sup>②</sup> because, in point of fact, *God does know*—as the second

① Crenshaw, “The Expression,” 274-275; also 278 for the question functioning “overwhelmingly as an expression of skepticism.” Many follow Crenshaw on his judgment about skepticism. See, inter alia, Antoon Schoors, *Ecclesiastes*, HCOT (Leuven; Peeters, 2013), 193. Cf. Hans Walter Wolff, *Joel and Amos: A Commentary on the Books of the Prophets Joel and Amos*, trans. W. Janzen et al., ed. S. Dean McBride, Jr. (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977), 50 n. 82, who calls the phrase “[a]n interrogative form of skeptical wisdom,” but curiously cites only Joel 2: 14; Eccl 2: 19; 6: 12; and Jer 17: 9. John Goldingay, *Ecclesiastes* (Eugene, OR: Cascade, 2021), 148-149, differs from Crenshaw by thinking **מִי יוֹדֵעַ** in Qoh 3:21 “might nevertheless express openness.”

② James L. Crenshaw, *Joel: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, (New Haven; Yale University Press, 1995), 138; cf. James L. Crenshaw, “The Expression,” 278, 285. Similar sentiments are widespread—e.g., Schoors, *Ecclesiastes*, 308, 491, 594; Whybray, *Ecclesiastes*, 80; Stuart Weeks, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Ecclesiastes, Vol. 1: Introduction and Commentary on Ecclesiastes 1.1-5.6*, ICC (London: T & T Clark, 2020), 449, 454. It is made explicit in some of the Versional evidence as well, as, e.g., in the Vulgate’s translation in Qoh 2:19 (*ignoro*) and 6: 12 (*cum ignoret*).

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epigraph from Norman Whybray rightly asserts.<sup>①</sup> The purpose of the present essay, therefore, is to update Crenshaw's helpful analysis so as to include the Neglected Theological Subject who lurks in the background of **מי יודע**. This updating reveals that more is going on in **מי יודע** than simply whether the future is open or closed, though those categories, too, may still be operative, at least in some cases. Instead, the “more” that is at work in this question is that God remains the knower (and knowing agent) that looms above the limits of human knowledge; the “who knows?” question acknowledges human epistemological finitude, therefore, while also subtly evoking the presence of one who knows better (cf. 1 John 3: 3). I will first review the ten **מי יודע** texts, arranging them from clearer ( I ) to less clear instances ( II ) when it comes to the presence of God at work in **מי יודע**. Various inferences will be drawn along the way, but the final section draws some larger conclusions ( III ) which demonstrate why the present investigation is called for and why it is important to recognize the Deity behind, or perhaps better above, all instances of “Who knows?”

## I . “Who Knows?” Part I: Clearer Examples of **מי יודע**

That the question “Who knows?” always implies divine knowing is admittedly clearer in some texts than others. I move, therefore, from the clearest examples in this section to the less clear in the following section ( II ).

(1) Joel 2: 14

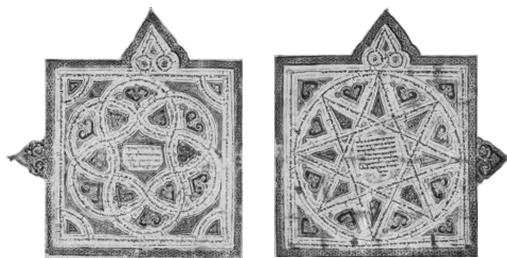
מי יודע ישוב ונחם והשאיר אחריו ברכה מנחה ונסך ליהוה אלהיכם

Who knows? He may turn and repent and leave behind him a blessing—a grain offering and a drink offering for the LORD your God.

In Joel 2: 13 the prophet exhorts the people to return to Yhwh your God (**ושוב אל־יהוה אלהיכם**) because he is “gracious and merciful, slow to anger, and

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<sup>①</sup> For Whybray, this point is true, even if it is also true that God “has withheld...knowledge” from humankind (*Ecclesiastes*, 111).



abounding in steadfast love” (the *Gnadensformel*).<sup>①</sup> Then comes the question in 2: 14, which obviously continues to play with the notion of turning (שוב), only this time it is YHWH’s turn to turn. Ultimately, the prophetic call to return stems from YHWH who urges the people to “return [imperative] to me with all your heart!” (שבו עדי בכל־לבבכם) in 2: 12.

Given the divine origin of the call to return, not to mention the divine predicates expressed in the *Gnadensformel*, it is obvious that YHWH—and perhaps YHWH alone—has the knowledge that is expressed by the prophet in the מי יודע formula. That is to say that the prophet urges action because the human community does not (yet) know what YHWH will do—their turning *may* eventuate in YHWH’s turning, the threatened disaster “may yet be averted,”<sup>②</sup> but they do not yet know this with certainty (even if the prophet hopes as much). YHWH remains the actant, and, as a result, is the agent who knows what he will do and/or who determines how he will respond. This is true, even if in this instance מי יודע “does not express perplexity but tentative confidence,”<sup>③</sup> or, at least, hope amidst uncertainty, which is to say that, even if the prophet (and his audience) are not confident of God’s response, they *are* certain that something must be done; namely, their (re)turning to YHWH which *may* lead to YHWH’s (re)turning to them. Once again, the origin of the human (re)turn, which is rooted in the Lord’s command (2: 12; note also נאם־יהוה there), and its possible efficacy, rooted in the Lord’s graciousness (2:

① See Exod 34: 6b-7 and its various reflexes elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible. For a study, with prior literature, see Brent A. Strawn, “YHWH’s Poesie: The *Gnadensformel* (Exodus 34: 6b-7), the Book of Exodus, and Beyond,” in *Biblical Poetry and the Art of Close Reading*, eds. J. Blake Couey and Elaine T. James (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 237-256; reprinted in Brent A. Strawn, *The Incomparable God: Readings in Biblical Theology*, eds. Collin Cornell and Justin Walker (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2023), 26-44.

② John Barton, *Joel and Obadiah: A Commentary*, OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2001), 81. Crenshaw, *Joel*, 138 compares אולי in Amos 5: 15b and 2 Kgs 19: 4 at this point, and, citing Wolff, associates both מי יודע and אולי with the “‘perhaps’ of hope.” Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, 50, states that this hopeful “perhaps” is “appropriate to the humility of one who prays,” adding that אולי “always designates God’s freedom over against those who turn to him.” For more on “perhaps” (אולי and its congeners), see David J. Reimer, “An Overlooked Term in Old Testament Theology—Perhaps,” in *Covenant as Context: Essays in Honour of E. W. Nicholson*, eds. A. D. H. Mayes and R. B. Salters (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 325-346.

③ Barton, *Joel and Obadiah*, 81; cf. Crenshaw, “The Expression,” 275-276.

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13), ought not be missed.

(2) Jonah 3: 9

מִי־יֹדֵעַ יָשׁוּב וְנָחַם הָאֱלֹהִים וְשָׁב מִחֲרוֹן אַפּוֹ וְלֹא נֹאכַד

Who knows? The Deity may turn and repent, turning from the heat of his wrath so that we do not perish.

In this passage, *מי יודע* appears on the lips of the king of Nineveh, who has divested himself of royal attire, covered himself with sackcloth, sat down in ashes (Jonah 3:6), and proclaimed a fast, ordering that all be covered in sackcloth, “pray mightily to God” (וּיקרא בחזקה אל־אלהים), and turn from their wicked ways (3:7-8). The king’s question in 3:9 bears notable similarities to Joel 2:14 and with similar force: the human characters do not (yet) know what “the Deity” (האלהים) will do—how their actions will affect God—but God presumably, and obviously, *does* since God is the agent of what follows. The human community and the readers of Jonah must wait, but not for long, before that information is revealed in the very next verse. There, in language that once again recalls Joel 2, the text indicates that after “the Deity” (האלהים) sees what the Ninevites had done, turning (שוב) from their wicked ways, “the Deity” (האלהים), too, repented (נחם) of the disaster he had planned and didn’t do it (3:10).<sup>①</sup>

(3) Psalm 90: 11

מִי־יֹדֵעַ עַז אַפְךָ וְכִירְאֲתְךָ עֲבֵרְתְךָ

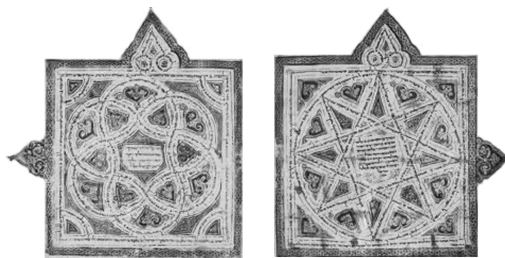
Who knows the intensity of your anger, and your wrath according to the fear of you?<sup>②</sup>

There are some textual problems in this verse, but this translation is acceptable for the MT as it presently stands.<sup>③</sup> The most important point for present purposes is that the question is addressed directly to God, who is

① For more on Jonah and the playfulness of *מי יודע*, see Timothy C. McNinch, “‘Who Knows?’: A Bakhtinian Reading of Carnavalesque Motifs in Jonah,” *VT* 72 (2022): 699-715.

② The translation is from Crenshaw, “The Expression,” 277. Contrast NRSV: “Who considers the power of your anger? /Your wrath is as great as the fear that is due you.” See next note.

③ LXX appears to reflect *מִן* rather than *כִּי* (ἀπὸ τοῦ φόβου σου). See NETS: “Who knows the might of your wrath, and your anger from your fear?” Cf. the previous note.



identified as “my Lord” (אדני) in Ps 90:1, “God” (אל) in 90:3,<sup>①</sup> and YHWH in 90:13. The latter verse is important insofar as it echoes themes familiar from Joel 2 and Jonah 3. The psalmist implores YHWH to “turn” (שובה יהוה) and “show compassion” (והנחם) on “your servants” (על־עבדיך) (Ps 90:13). In this instance, too, therefore, what the psalmist does *not* know, God most certainly does. Hence, despite the difference in emotional valence between text (3) and texts (1) and (2) in terms of *wrath and anger vs. mercy and forgiveness*, respectively, the positions on the game board, as it were, are identical: humans cannot “comprehend” what God does.

(4) 2 Samuel 12: 22

ויאמר בעוד הילד חי צמתתי ואבכתי כי אמרת כי יודע יהונני  
יהוה וחי הילד

And he (David) said, “While the child was still alive, I fasted and wept because I thought: ‘Who knows? YHWH may be gracious to me and the child survive.’”

This verse constitutes David’s response to those who ask him why he has ended his fasting and praying upon learning of the death of his son with Bathsheba. While the child lived, David reports, he wasn’t fully sure what YHWH might do, though obviously YHWH did and had announced it via the prophet Nathan in 2 Sam 12:14—a point confirmed by the narrator in v. 15b. David’s “fasting and self-humiliation” is thus a case of “imploping Yahweh to spare the child.”<sup>③</sup> Once the child is dead, but only then, David knows with full clarity—or at least accepts—what YHWH had known beforehand, even before Nathan’s divine pronouncement of YHWH’s intentions in v. 14.<sup>④</sup> Crenshaw thinks that *מי יודע* here functions like the prophetic *אולי* (see, e.g., Amos 5:

① LXX took this as a negative particle and associated it with the verb in v. 3.

② Reading with the Kethib here; Qere: *יהונני*.

③ P. Kyle McCarter, Jr., *II Samuel: A New Translation with Introduction, Notes and Commentary*, AB 9 (Garden City: Doubleday, 1984), 301. David’s actions are clearly an attempt to influence YHWH and may be seen, especially after the fact, as a way of knowing YHWH’s will. Within the narrative, David knows that will ahead of time because of the divine utterance of judgment through Nathan.

④ Walter Brueggemann, *First and Second Samuel*, Interp (Louisville: John Knox, 1990), 283.

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15). In his opinion, the emphasis thus “falls on the sovereignty of God.”<sup>①</sup> Other interpreters concur, some going so far as to translate **מִי יוֹדַע** with “perhaps.”<sup>②</sup> Such a dynamic equivalent translation may capture something of the sentiment here, but without further explanation such a rendering seems to underestimate the theological element—not least vis-à-vis those **מִי יוֹדַע** passages where the Deity is not explicitly mentioned (see further below).

(5) Proverbs 24: 22

כִּי־פֶתְאֵם יָקוּם אִידָם וּפִיד שְׁנִיהֶם מִי יוֹדַע

Because suddenly disaster comes from them; and who knows the destruction from both of them?

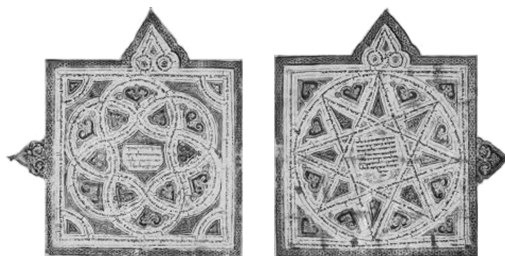
This verse is not without its difficulties.<sup>③</sup> What is important to note is that the 3mp suffixes on **אִיד** and **שְׁנִים** go back to Prov 24:21 which admonishes the student (**בְּנִי**: “my son”) to “fear YHWH and the king” (**יִרְאֵת יְהוָה...וּמֶלֶךְ**). God and the monarch, therefore, are the “two/both of them” who are the possible origin(s) of “disaster” (**אִיד**) and “destruction” (**פִּיד**).<sup>④</sup> Proper conduct is thus warranted before these powerful entities, but it is also without question that these commanding parties know full well what they are capable of even if

① Crenshaw, “The Expression,” 275.

② A. Graeme Auld, *I & II Samuel: A Commentary*, OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2011), 470. So also, in the case of Joel 2: 14, Crenshaw, *Joel*, 132; Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, 39; for Esth 4: 14, cf. Lewis Bayles Paton, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Esther*, ICC (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1908), 224: **מִי יוֹדַע**, “followed immediately by an impf., is equivalent to *perhaps*.” Cf. the early study by Hinckley G. Mitchell, “Final Constructions of Biblical Hebrew,” *JBL* 34 (1915): 83-161, esp. 100-101, who concludes that “[i]t is difficult to see any difference in effect between **אִיד** and **מִי יוֹדַע**. If there is any, it is, that, while the former represents the result desired as barely possible, the latter suggests that it is not absolutely impossible.”

③ See, e.g., Crawford H. Toy, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Proverbs*, ICC (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1902), 449-451; Crenshaw, “The Expression,” 278-279, for some of the issues and different translational possibilities. Note that LXX adds five additional couplets about the king following 24: 22. See further Michael V. Fox, *Proverbs: An Eclectic Edition with Introduction and Textual Commentary*, HBCE 1 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2015), 327; Michael V. Fox, *Proverbs 10-31: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AYB 18B (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 751-753.

④ Assuming the pronouns are subjective, rather than objective. Cf. Toy, *Proverbs*, 450; Bruce K. Waltke, *The Book of Proverbs: Chapters 15-31*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 280 n. 47, 287-288.



their subjects don't. In this text, then, there *is* a human being who knows the answer to the question **מִי יוֹדֵעַ**, but it is an atypical and non-representative one: the human king at the very top of the socio-political hierarchy. This point granted, the distributive function at work in the grammar—"them... the two of them"—means that the single question, "Who knows?" is actually bipartite. The monarch knows the destruction that can come from him, but such knowledge does not obtain for the Deity's part of the question (and answer): humans do not know that. So, despite the somewhat atypical situation involving this rather unique individual (the king), it remains true that YHWH clearly knows what human beings—including the king, per David in 2 Sam 12: 22!—do not.<sup>①</sup>

(6) Qoheleth 3: 21

מִי יוֹדֵעַ רוּחַ בְּנֵי הָאָדָם הַעֹלָה הִיא לְמַעַלָּה וְרוּחַ הַבְּהֵמָה הַיֹּרֶדֶת הִיא לְמַטָּה לָאָרֶץ

Who knows if the spirit of humans goes up and the spirit of animals goes down to the earth?

Here, as so often in Ecclesiastes, God lurks very near the surface of the discourse. God is the subject of several verbs in Qoh 3: 17-18, with the latter verse particularly instructive for v. 21 since it introduces the relationship between humankind and animals: "I said in my heart regarding human beings that the Deity [הַאֱלֹהִים] is testing them to show that they are but animals."<sup>②</sup> Qoheleth then indicates that the fate of humans and animals is one (מִקְרָה אֶחָד), as is their spirit (רוּחַ אֶחָד), and that they both go to the same place (מִקּוֹם אֶחָד; 3:19-20a). The sage's conclusion is that "everything comes from the dust and everything returns to the dust" (3: 20b), which is followed by the "who

<sup>①</sup> Crenshaw, "The Expression," 279, notes that LXX Prov 30: 1-14 immediately follows LXX Prov 24: 22, and that MT Prov 30: 4 ends with "surely you know" (**כִּי תֹדַע**) addressed to God. See Fox, *Proverbs*, 381, for a discussion.

<sup>②</sup> Qoh 3: 18 is complicated; the translation above follows the NRSV fairly closely. See Y. A. P. Goldman, "Qoheleth," in *General Introduction and Megillot*, BHQ 18 (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2004), 77\* -78\*.

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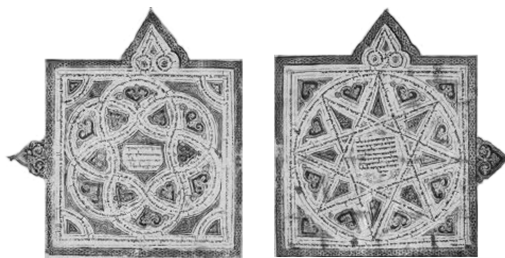
knows?” question in 3: 21.<sup>①</sup>

There are two good reasons for suggesting that Qoheleth’s question does not exclude God from knowing the matters at hand and so, in fact, assumes and implies divine knowledge.<sup>②</sup> The first has already been mentioned: the presence and actions of “the Deity” (האלהים) in 3: 17 and, especially, 3: 18. The second is how Qoheleth returns to the larger issue of death at the end of the book, in 12: 7, which states that, at the end of things (or of *all*

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① Qoh 3: 22 should also be noted: “Who can bring them to see what will be after them in the future?” (מי יביאנו לראות במה שיהיה אחריו). The Hiphil stem of בוא is noteworthy here, especially in the larger context, and it seems quite likely that this question, too, somehow invokes the Deity, especially given various intertextual references with the Psalms and the power of God over and beyond death which is expressed there. I hope to return to this matter in a subsequent essay. See further under text (7) below.

② See Goldman, “Qoheleth,” 79\* who thinks LXX and Syr, which read ומי יודע are to be preferred over MT, Vulg, and Targ ממי יודע. Goldman thinks “[t]he omission of the cj. in proto-M creates a separation between v. 20 and v. 21. One may suspect this is a theological revision...” but Goldman’s argument here seems overly fine (cf. Weeks, *Ecclesiastes* 1-5, 560). The same holds true, in my judgment, for Goldman’s position regarding the pointing of הַעֲלֵה and הַיִּרְדֵת [depending on GKC § 100m: “the article is a correction due to doctrinal considerations,” without further argument; though cf. similarly Thomas Krüger, *Qoheleth: A Commentary*, trans. O. C. Dean Jr., ed. Klaus Baltzer, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2004), 82 n. 21a; Michael V. Fox, *A Time to Tear Down and a Time to Build Up: A Rereading of Ecclesiastes* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 216]. For discussion of this latter matter, see Crenshaw, “The Expression,” 280 n. 18, who thinks the inclusion of הִיא requires the interrogative sense; Choon-Leong Seow, *Ecclesiastes: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 18C (New York: Doubleday, 1997), 168: “the forms [in MT] are not impossible as interrogatives”; George Aaron Barton, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Ecclesiastes*, ICC (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1909), 111 (who apparently thinks the pointing in MT is simply a mistake); Robert Gordis, *Koheleth—The Man and His World: A Study of Ecclesiastes*, 3rd ed. (New York: Schocken, 1968), 238; Christian D. Ginsburg, *The Song of Songs and Coheleth (Commonly Called the Book of Ecclesiastes): Translated from the Original Hebrew, with a Commentary, Historical and Critical*, repr. ed. (New York: Ktav, 1970), 319-320; Schoors, *Ecclesiastes*, 307-308; Weeks, *Ecclesiastes* 1-5, 561; and Robert D. Holmstedt, John A. Cook, and Phillip S. Marshall, *Qoheleth: A Handbook on the Hebrew Text*, BHHB (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2017), 141. Holmstedt et al. state that, “[u]nlike most of Qoheleth’s questions, this one [in 3: 21] does not seem to be a rhetorical question, but an open-ended one” (ibid.), though they offer no further discussion and do not specify the difference. Daniel J. Treier, *Proverbs & Ecclesiastes* (Grand Rapids: Brazos, 2011), 158, reading the forms as having the definite article, not interrogative *he*, takes the verse as another instance of “the back-and-forth uncertainty of the passage, hardly asserting an unorthodox or cynical conclusion.” Crenshaw, *Ecclesiastes*, 104, points out that, if 3: 21 has been tampered with, “the equally unorthodox teaching in 3: 19 was left unchanged.”



things!)<sup>①</sup>, “the dust returns to the earth as it was, and the spirit returns to the Deity [האלהים] who gave it.” Perhaps Qoheleth is agnostic to the last insofar as the return (שוב) in 12: 7 could (still) be upward or downward (למעלה or למטה; see 3: 21) for either (or both) humankind and beasts, but he is quite certain, in chapter 12, that the spirit in question (הרוח) returns to “the Deity.”<sup>②</sup> It seems quite safe to assume, regardless of Qoheleth’s imperfect apperception—precisely because he is human and not divine (see 3: 11; 8: 17)—that the Deity does know, even if Qoheleth does not, the answer to the question posed in 3: 21.<sup>③</sup>

① See C. L. Seow, “Qoheleth’s Eschatological Poem,” *JBL* 118 (1999): 209-234.

② Note Weeks, *Ecclesiastes* 1-5, 544: “Qoheleth does in fact believe there to be a difference, and this will much later be confirmed by his unequivocal suggestion in 12.7, that human breath does return to God.” Cf., e.g., Krüger, *Qoheleth*, 93, who thinks that 3: 21 “does not stand in contradiction to 12: 7... That is, if humans and animals have one and the same life spirit (v. 19), which comes from God (12: 7), we may assume that the life spirit of animals also returns to God at their death (cf. Ps 104: 29-30; Job 34: 14-15).” Even so, if Qoheleth is somehow engaged with the opening chapters of Genesis (see *ibid.*, 92; also 133 n. 4; etc.), then a contrast between human life and animal life may be operative (cf. *ibid.*, 93 n. 51; cf. Graham Ogden, *Qoheleth* [Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1987], 62: “some distinction is required, even though it presently lies beyond proof, beyond empirical testing. Qoheleth’s term *yitrôn* holds within it hope for some post-death resolution”). Crenshaw, *Ecclesiastes*, 105, also does not think 3: 19-21 contradict 12: 7: “Qoheleth remarks that both elements [dust and divine breath] return to their source, a fact from which he drew no comfort (cf. Eccl. 12: 8),” but it may be doubted that 12: 8 applies to 12: 7 at all. For his part, Ginsburg thinks that מִי יודע in 3: 21 (and elsewhere) is an instance of “emphatic denial” (*Qoheleth*, 319; cf. 260; similarly Ogden, *Qoheleth*, 62; also Barton, *Ecclesiastes*, 110). Schoors, *Ecclesiastes*, 309, thinks Qoheleth’s “view on this question is agnostic and even sceptic[al]... Qoh. does neither contest nor reject this view, but only suggests by his rhetorical question that nobody knows.” Murphy, *Ecclesiastes*, is also cautious: “It is useless to try to determine from this denial his specific views on Sheol and the next life,” adding that 12:7 “is obviously not the same claim that he rejects” in 3: 21 (37). Barton, *Ecclesiastes*, 110, however, thinks Qoheleth’s true view “is shown by 12<sup>7</sup>, though in his mood of despondent pessimism he seems here to deny it.” On the possibility of development within the course of the Book of Ecclesiastes (and/or within Qoheleth’s thought), see Eric S. Christianson, *A Time to Tell: Narrative Strategies in Ecclesiastes*, JSOTSup 280 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998). On the connections between 3: 21 and 12: 7, see also Michael A. Eaton, *Ecclesiastes: An Introduction and Commentary*, TOTC 18 (Downers Grove: IVP Academic, 1983), 87-88.

③ Cf. Weeks, *Ecclesiastes* 1-5, 544; E. Podechard, *L’Ecclésiaste* (Paris: Gabalda, 1912), 312. Also pertinent here may be the possibility that לברם in 3: 18 should be read as (reflecting) לבראם, which would explicitly invoke God’s creative activity (see Goldman, “Qoheleth,” 77\*). For the divine referent of ברא, see W. Randall Garr, “God’s Creation: ברא in the Priestly Source,” *HTR* 97 (2004): 83-89.

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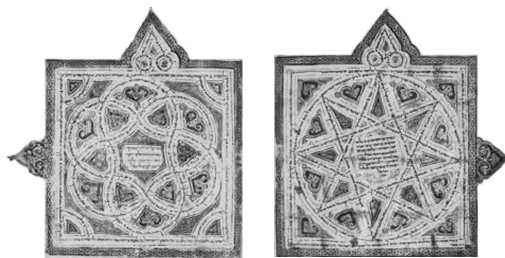
To summarize thus far; each of texts (1)-(6) use **מי יודע** in contexts that explicitly mention the Deity, variously identified. Indeed, text (3) uses **מי יודע** in direct address to the Lord/God/YHWH within a psalm, “a prayer of Moses.” Only text (5) seems to admit of another possible and non-divine knower—namely, the king. But this passage likely limits this exceptional human knower to knowing only those things wrought by this selfsame individual; hence this passage, too, does not disallow divine knowing from the question **מי יודע**. Instead, text (5) only allows for one, truly unique anomaly in a sea of human *non*-knowing (and divine *most-certainly*-knowing). Again, in this particular case, especially given the distributive use of **שניהם**, what the human king knows is likely *not* at all what God knows but is restricted to the disaster wrought by royal prerogative. In this way the king-as-knower is an outlier at best but equally in the dark (alongside the royal subjects) about what God may or will do. Indeed, the ignorance of another monarch—the king of Nineveh in Jonah 3—proves this point precisely, as does that of another ruler, this one Israel’s great king, David, in 2 Samuel 12. Finally, even “agnostic” Qoheleth admits in the end, even if only indirectly (and contextually), that God is knowledgeable about what the crabby sage is himself not aware of and can only guess at (text [6]). In brief, therefore, texts (1)-(6) repeatedly offer evidence that *what human subjects do not know, God most definitely does*. It is time now to move from these texts to others that seem, at least at first, to be less clear instances of the Divine Subject that somehow lurks amidst **מי יודע**.

## II. “Who Knows?” Part II: Less Clear Examples of **מי יודע**

(7) Qoheleth 6: 12

כי מי־יודע מה־טוב לאדם בחיים מספר ימי־חיי הבלו ויעשם כצל אשר מי־יגיד לאדם מה־יהיה  
אחריו תחת השמש

Because who knows what is good for someone while living the few



days of their vain life which they pass in the shadow?<sup>①</sup> Who can declare to someone what will take place after them under the sun?

While text (7) is the first of four passages that seem less clear when it comes to God-as-ultimate-knower, the One who knows what all others do not, this text, too, is not far removed from texts (1)-(6) given the strongly deterministic overtones established in Qoh 6:10a: “Whatever happens—it has already been named; and what human beings are is known”; and even more due to the sentiment found in 6: 10b: “They are unable to contend with the one who is stronger than they” (עם שהתקיף ממנו).<sup>②</sup> Contrary to the NRSV (“those who are stronger”), the grammatically-singular form found in the MT here should be retained in translation; contrary to the NJPSV (“what is stronger than he”) the referent is unlikely to be impersonal. Instead, given Qoheleth’s use of a kind of double-register elsewhere, speaking at once about both God and death, it seems quite likely that God is present here as “the One stronger.” The Deity, therefore, is implied in 6: 10. As a result, after the brief aside in 6:11, it is not difficult to see that God, unlike human beings, is also the one who could answer the question “who knows?” in 6: 12. This gains even more credence when 6: 12 is compared to 3: 15, which uses very similar

① See Goldman, “Qoheleth,” 88\* -89\*, for בצל (LXX: ἐν σκιά) rather than כצל (MT, supported by Syriac *ʿyk illʿ*; and Vulgate *velut umbra*). Seow thinks MT is “sound and need not be emended” (*Ecclesiastes*, 234); an extensive discussion, ultimately reading with MT, may be found in Stuart Weeks, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Ecclesiastes*, Vol. 2: *Commentary on Ecclesiastes 5.7-12.14* (ICC; London: T & T Clark, 2022), 136-138. Peter Enns, *Ecclesiastes*, THCOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2011), 77, thinks the subject of ויעשהם is “certainly... God, who is, once again, responsible for what humanity must endure.” The mp object suffix, in turn, “could refer either to humanity... or to the days of one’s life... The theme is familiar by now: life is absurd, you die anyway, and God is to blame.” If Enns is correct [see, similarly, Craig G. Bartholomew, *Ecclesiastes*, BCOTWP (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2009), 239; Tremper Longman, *The Book of Ecclesiastes*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 178], the verb ויעשהם is another instance where Qoheleth is speaking of God, but I think any such speech-about-the-divine here is covert at best and perhaps not present at all. Note that most scholars take עשה here to mean simply “spend time” (see, e. g., Fox, *Time*, 248; Schoors, *Ecclesiastes*, 493; Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 233).

② Cf. Schoors, *Ecclesiastes*, 491: “the rhetorical question suggests a negative answer, ‘nobody knows’, because of divine predestination.” He goes on to compare Prov 20: 24: “All our steps are ordered by the LORD; how then can we understand our own ways?” (NRSV). For the Kethib/Qere issue with שהתקיף, see Goldman, “Qoheleth,” 39, 88\*.

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language and where God is explicitly mentioned along with the implication that God knows those things that evade human comprehension:<sup>①</sup>

Whatever happens—it already did; and what will happen—it already has. And the Deity [והאלהים] seeks out what has passed by.

Finally, 6: 12 couples מי יודע with another rhetorical question: “who can declare?” (מי יגיד)<sup>②</sup> and locates the unknowable (to humans) future firmly “under the sun” (תחת השמש), a phrase that many interpreters have deemed an anthropological, not theological, locus.<sup>③</sup> That is to say that “under the sun” does *not* apply to the Deity who is *not* under the sun—not, at least, in the same way human beings are but is instead *above* the sun or *beyond* it in some way. “Under the sun” refers, therefore, to the *beneath-* or *non-God* realm. No human being, therefore, could tell another human being what will take place after them in the future, but God, who is not limited to life “under the sun” very well could and might.<sup>④</sup> God could declare this future (6:12b; cf. 3: 22)

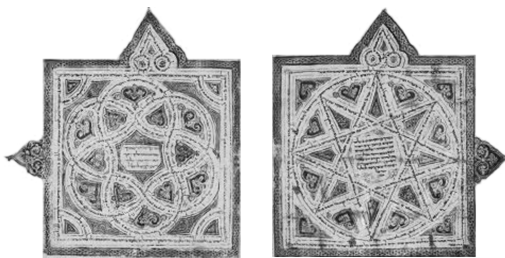
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① See Crenshaw, “The Expression,” 282.

② Cf. מי יביאנו in Qoh 3: 22; see above under text (6).

③ See, inter alia, J. Gerald Janzen, “Qohelet on Life ‘Under the Sun,’” *CBQ* 70 (2008): 465-483.

④ Cf. Ogden, *Qoheleth*, 98: “Implicit in the rhetorical question is the belief that *nobody* knows, or that at least only God knows.” Divine knowledge is assumed, in my judgment, regardless of whether אחריו refers “to future events in one’s lifetime” (so Fox, *Time*, 248-249) or beyond that more generally (i.e., after one’s death). Schoors disputes any presence of the afterlife in this context, however, “because of the adjunct ‘under the sun’” [*Ecclesiastes*, 491; cf. 495-496; also found, earlier, in A. Schoors, *The Preacher Sought to Find Pleasing Words: A Study of the Language of Qoheleth*, Part II: *Vocabulary*, OLA 143 (Leuven: Peeters, 2004), 131-132]. Murphy, *Ecclesiastes*, 59, is similar: Qoheleth has in mind “how things will turn out while one still lives on earth.” Once again, cf. Qoh 3: 22 and the discussion above under text (6).



and therefore God also knows what is good (6: 12a).<sup>①</sup> Perhaps one should observe at this point that, elsewhere in Ecclesiastes, Qoheleth has a decent sense of what is good (מה טוב) and is quite clear that it is *God's* gift (see 3: 12-13; 5: 17-19; cf. 3: 22).<sup>②</sup>

(8) Qoheleth 2: 19

ומי יודע החכם יהיה או סכל וישלט בכל-עמלי שעמלתי ושחכמתי תחת השמש גם-זה הבל  
 And who knows if he [i.e., the heir] will be wise or foolish? But he will have control over all my work that I toiled at and that I was wise about under the sun. This, also, is *hevel*.

Generally-speaking, text (8) seems little different in terms of tone or substance as texts (6) and (7), which were deemed more and less clear, respectively, with regard to divine knowing. In text (8), which precedes texts (6) and (7) in the book, Qoheleth (also) laments lack of knowledge about<sup>③</sup> or perhaps better, lack of control over, the future—in this specific case, the indeterminate quality of his heir(s) and how that heir(s) will deploy that which Qoheleth has accomplished through his “wise toil.”<sup>④</sup> Qoheleth’s frustration over this situation is captured by how he begins with *מי יודע*, equivalent

① See, similarly, Krüger, *Qoheleth*, 133 n. 4, who thinks that, while v. 12a “does not have to be read from the start as a ‘rhetorical’ question,” even so, “[w]ith the background of [the] primeval history...the question could be answered with ‘God’ (cf. Gen 2: 18)... what is ‘good’ cannot be determined by human beings themselves...it is given to them in advance by God through God’s creative activity.” Krüger goes on to argue that God is also the one “who could declare” (יגיד; *ibid.*, 133 n. 5) and points to the divine limitation of human knowledge in 3: 11 (also 3: 14). Cf. Whybray, *Ecclesiastes*, 111: “It is Qoheleth’s view (v. 10) that each person’s destiny is known—to God. So in saying that we cannot know what is good for man he is not contradicting earlier statements such as 5: 18 [17], but rather confirming them”; and Treier, *Proverbs & Ecclesiastes*, 182: the question “has a positive as well as negative answer: not humans, but God. God knows what is good for mortals.” Treier notably entitles the second half of the book, 7: 1-12: 7, “Who Knows?” in his commentary. Cf. Murphy, *Ecclesiastes*, 58: “The rhetorical question (‘who knows?’) expresses an issue that crisscrosses through the book (2: 3; cf. the ‘nothing better’ sayings of 2: 24; 3: 12, 22; etc.). It is also an introduction to the futile attempt to find out what is good (chaps. 7-8) or to know what lies ahead (chaps. 9-10).”

② As a result, Michael V. Fox detects some “self-directed irony” in 6:12 [*Ecclesiastes* (JPS Bible Commentary; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 2004), 42]. For the  $\sqrt{t-w-b}$  word group in Qoheleth, see Schoors, *Preacher*, 27-44.

③ Cf. Vulgate, which makes Qoheleth the explicit subject: *ignoro* (“I do not know”).

④ See Gordis, *Koheleth*, 223, who takes *שעמלתי ושחכמתי* as a hendiadys: “I toiled wisely.”

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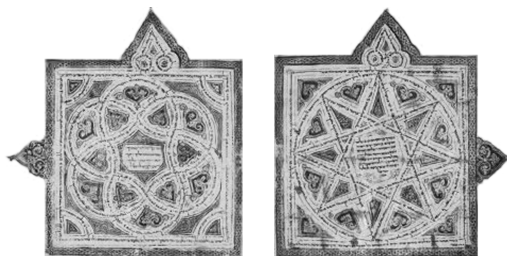
here to “no one knows,”<sup>①</sup> at the start of this verse, and how Qoheleth ends with his judgment that “this, too, is הבל.” On the one hand, Ogden is right that מי יודע here is “actually an affirmation that nobody knows, least of all Qoheleth himself.”<sup>②</sup> On the other hand, this judgment is wrong because time itself will tell. Neither Qoheleth—nor any one else *at the moment*—can determine the quality of his heir(s) and the fate of his fortune...at least under the sun [see text (7) above]. But there is nothing preventing God from knowing this information, especially God as envisioned by Qoheleth. [Others, too, will know, but only after the fact; cf. text (4) above.] This is, after all, the Deity who “does all” or “makes everything” (האלהים אשר יעשה את־הכל; 11: 6), and who has “long ago approved what you do” (כי כבר רצה האלהים את־מעשיך; 9: 7). More immediate in the literary context of text (8) is how Qoheleth’s frustration in 2: 18-23 moves to his first “joy-passage” (2: 24-26), which explicitly invokes God; *God’s* hand, *God’s* role in eating and enjoyment, *God’s* giving of wisdom, knowledge, and joy along with the hard work of gathering and heaping. This, too, is *hevel* and a pursuit of wind (גם־זוה הבל ורעות רוח; 9: 26b), *but it is thoroughly God-implicated*. The judgment that מי יודע in 2: 19 “expresses utter skepticism,” therefore, needs some important nuancing<sup>③</sup>: God transcends the human subject rather definitively in Qoheleth’s thought and in the book named after him.<sup>④</sup> If some things are unclear, worthy of skepticism in Ecclesiastes, this point about the Deity is most certainly not under debate. Qoheleth seems abundantly clear about that much at least! And so, again, while he rails against the limits of (his own and) human knowing, God’s transcendence is not similarly limited. Indeed, it is the existence of the

① Ginsburg, *Qoheleth*, 295, translates “no one knoweth...” (as also for 3: 21; see also *ibid.*, 318, 296) and argues that the formula “is used for *no one knows*.” Similarly, Pouchard, *L’Ecclésiaste*, 276: “*Et qui sait, c’est-à-dire ‘on ne sait pas.*”

② Ogden, *Qoheleth*, 45.

③ Crenshaw, *Ecclesiastes*, 87. Whybray, *Ecclesiastes*, 60, who thinks Crenshaw “overstates its [the question’s] significance.”

④ Cf., memorably, Elias Bickerman, *Four Strange Books of the Bible: Jonah/Daniel/Koheleth/Esther* (New York: Schocken, 1967), 149: “for Koheleth the traditional precept to ‘fear God’ means to be on guard against *Elohim*.” More generally, see Schoors, *Preacher*, 93-111; Klaas Smelik, “God in the Book of Qoheleth,” in *The Language of Qoheleth in Its Context: Essays in Honor of Prof. A. Schoors on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*, eds. A. Berlejung and P. Van Hecke, OLA 164 (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 177-181.



latter, God’s lack of limitations—or, said differently, the Deity’s *non-finitude*—that seems to cause and exacerbate Qoheleth’s struggles with his own (and human) finitude.

(9) Qoheleth 8: 1

מי כהחכם ומי יודע פֶּשֶׁר דְּבַר חִכְמַת אָדָם תֵּאִיר פְּנֵיו וְעַז פְּנֵיו יִשְׁנָא

Who is like the wise? And who knows the interpretation of a matter/word? A person’s wisdom brightens their face and the hardness of their face is changed.

Right from the start, the Hebrew of text (9) is vexed, with scholarly opinions diverging widely over how to understand the opening question, מי כהחכם. Despite Aquila, Vulgate, and perhaps Symmachus, all of whom suggest a different division of characters from MT: “who is so wise?” (מי כה חכם)<sup>①</sup>, Goldman thinks the non-elided definite article after the preposition should be retained as a feature of Late Biblical Hebrew.<sup>②</sup> The latter part of Qoh 8: 1, about the shining of one’s face and the like—if not the entire verse—is usually taken as a kind of proverbial statement, perhaps cited by Qoheleth if not actually created by him. Whatever the case, several factors argue that in this verse, too, God is implied as one who knows that which is

① So also Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 277; Fox, *Ecclesiastes*, 53; also idem, *Time*, 272: “since v. 1aβ can only mean that no one knows the meaning of a matter, we require a negative evaluation in v. 1aα, too, in other words, a statement that *even* the wise man has a limited capacity for understanding...[W]e may paraphrase v. 1a as: No one is so wise as to understand the meaning of anything.” I disagree with Schoors, who thinks that the reading in Aquila et al. “undoubtedly offers a *lectio facilisans*” (*Ecclesiastes*, 593). See also the next note.

② Goldman, “Qoheleth,” 97\*, citing GKC § 35n. Similarly Gordis, *Koheleth*, 286; Holmstedt, Cook, and Marshall, *Qoheleth*, 226. Eaton’s perspective, that the כ here is an example of *kaph veritatis*, would make the (mis) division issue moot (*Ecclesiastes*, 117). See also Schoors, *Ecclesiastes*, 594; Treier, *Proverbs & Ecclesiastes*, 197; and cf. Whybray, *Ecclesiastes*, 128. Ginsburg, *Coheloth*, 390, somewhat oddly, thinks כִּי should be supplied before יודע in Qoh 8: 1. If he is correct, Qoh 8: 1 would no longer be an instance of מי יודע, but Ginsburg offers no substantive support for his emendation and it should be rejected. Once again, Weeks, *Ecclesiastes* 5-12, 312-314, offers an extended discussion. He retains MT and translates “Who is like the wise man?” (312).

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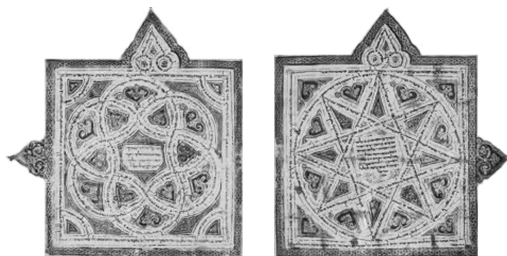
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unknown to humans.<sup>①</sup> The first of these factors may well be the general force of the other **מִי יוֹדֵעַ** passages previously examined, especially texts (1)-(6), coupled with the general depiction of God in Qoheleth [see above on text (8)]. Another, more specific consideration would be the use of **פֶּשֶׁר** elsewhere, particularly in Daniel.<sup>②</sup> **פֶּשֶׁר** occurs with great frequency in Daniel since “interpretation” is of great concern throughout that book. Many different individuals are said to offer **פֶּשֶׁרִין**, with human **פֶּשֶׁרִין** in great demand (see chaps. 2, 4-5; also 7:16). Daniel, of course, is the master interpreter par excellence. One might say, therefore, that one possible response to the question: “Who knows the interpretation of a matter/word?” would be: “Daniel and others like him.” While this is no doubt true, it must be quickly added that, for his part, Daniel gives credit where credit is due: his skills in interpretation are due *not* to his own wisdom; rather, “this mystery has been revealed to me” (**רְזָא דְנָה גְלִי לִי**; Dan 2: 30). Even more salient is Daniel’s testimony that it is “the Great God who has revealed to the king what is to come after” (**אֱלֹהִים רַב הוֹדַע לְמַלְכָא מַה דִּי לְהוּא אַחֲרֵי**; 2: 45). In Daniel 4, Nebuchadnezzar is the one who recognizes the ultimately divine origin of Daniel’s gifts, even if the king conceives of that origin in polytheistic terms: “you are able [to interpret the dream] because the spirit of the *holy gods* is in you” (**וְאַנְתָּה כְּהֵל דִּי רוּח־אֱלֹהִין קִדִּישִׁין בְּךָ**; 4: 15). Daniel makes sure to set the king straight: “This is the interpretation, O King, and it is a decree of *the Most High* that has come upon my lord the king” (**הִיא דִּי מַטְתַּ עַל־מְרָאֵי מַלְכָא**) (4:21). Still further, in 7:16, Daniel must approach one of the divine attendants (**חַד מִן־קְאָמִיא**) in order to obtain the interpretation of the visions that terrified him. What all of this makes abundantly clear, therefore, is that, if a special human being like Daniel does know the interpretation of a (divine) matter/word—and even the best sometimes do not

① Cf. Murphy, *Ecclesiastes*, 82, who, citing Alonso Schökel, notes that “God may provide the context” for 8: 1. Contrast Goldingay, *Ecclesiastes*, 214-215, who relates the two parts of the verse to each other: “The obvious answers to the double rhetorical questions would be respectively ‘no one’ and ‘the smart person does.’ In other words, the second half of the line restates the first, elaborating on what it means to be smart.” See further below.

② The other place where the notion (Heb **פֶּתְרוֹן/פֶּתֵר**) is found is in the Joseph cycle (Genesis 40-41); see Krüger, *Qoheleth*, 151-152 and n. 7 and further below.



(so Dan 7: 16!)—they know this *only because of divine disclosure*.<sup>①</sup> This is just another way to say, once again, that even if human beings do not know, God does. That is why, if and when human beings *do* know, it is *only because God so allows*.<sup>②</sup>

A final, smaller consideration that adds still further weight to this interpretation of מִי יוֹדֵעַ in text (9) is the reading of the Targum at Qoh 8: 1: “Who is the wise who can stand against the wisdom of the Lord?” (מֵאֵן אֵיִת חֲכִימָא דִּיכּוּל לִמְקַם כְּלִי־קַבֵּל חוֹכְמַתָּא דִּיִּי). Goldman posits that this phrasing might “be an interpretation of that particular use of the article of M[ T], i.e., ‘the Wise’ *par excellence* is the Lord.”<sup>③</sup> Even if Goldman isn’t right about the Targum here, or, even if he is and the Targum is not entirely germane to MT Qoh 8: 1, it remains the case that scholars have often found in text (9) and its larger context another instance of Qoheleth’s double-speak because what follows in chapter 8, which is putatively about the king (מֶלֶךְ; 8: 2), seems equally if not more applicable to God, especially by means of the phrases “he

① Daniel 5 is no real exception. True, Daniel does not explicitly credit God for the interpretation but the judgment discussed stems from offenses made against “the Most High God” (אֱלֹהֵא עֲלִיָּא; 5: 18), because Nebuchadnezzar needed to learn the sovereignty of the Most High God (אֱלֹהֵא עֲלִיָּא; 5: 21), and because Belshazzar has not honored “the God in whose hand is your breath and who owns all your ways” (וּלְאֱלֹהֵא דִּי־נִשְׁמַתְךָ בִּידֵהּ וְכָל־אַרְחַתְךָ לֵהּ; 5: 23). Finally, it is from this God’s presence (מְנִי־קְדֻמוּהִי; 5: 24) that the hand writing was sent, and God (אֱלֹהֵא) is the first mentioned subject after the introductory formula “this is the interpretation of the matter” (דְּנִנָּה פֶּשֶׁר־מִלְתָּא; 5: 26). One might compare the extensive use of פֶּשֶׁר at Qumran, where it is typically used of divinely revealed interpretation, especially that given to the Righteous Teacher, “to whom God [אֱלֹהִים] revealed all the mysteries of the words of his servants the prophets” (1QpHab 7.4-5).

② Krüger, *Qoheleth*, 151-152: “With Joseph as well as with Daniel...the text states emphatically that the ‘interpretations’ conveyed by them *go back to God*,” and so, as a result, “Qoh 8: 1a can also be read as a statement about the *incomparable wisdom of God* that is not at human disposal” (emphases added). Under this general rubric of divine knowledge revealed to human beings belong texts like Amos 3: 3-8; Deuteronomy 5; Ezek 37: 3.

③ Goldman, “Qoheleth,” 97\* .

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does whatever he pleases” (כל־אשר יחפץ יעשה; 8: 3)<sup>①</sup> and “who can say to him, ‘What are you doing?’” (ומי יאמר־לו מה־תעשה; 8: 4). Of course, anyone who has read text (5), Prov 24: 22, is not at all surprised to see the two ancient Near Eastern superpowers, the divine and human rulers, linked once again in text (9) if not also elsewhere in Ecclesiastes. Last, but certainly not least, it should be noted that some ancient interpreters, too, read the questions in text (9) as referring to God.<sup>②</sup>

(10) Esther 4: 14

כי אִם־הִרְשָׁה תַחֲרִישִׁי בַעַת הַזֹּאת רוּחַ וְהִצְלָה יַעֲמוּד לַיהוּדִים מִמְּקוֹם אַחֵר וְאֵת וּבֵית־אֲבִיךָ תֵּאבְדוּ וּמִי יוֹדַע אִם־לֵעֵת כִּזְאת הִגַּעַת לַמַּלְכוּת

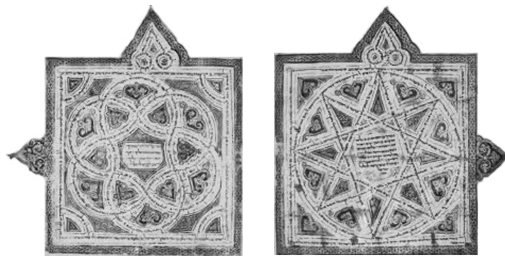
If you keep completely silent at this moment, relief and deliverance may arise for the Jews from another place, but you and your ancestral house will perish. But who knows if you have not come to the kingdom for a moment precisely like this one?

This is a famous verse if only because, according to most interpreters, “another place” is the closest MT Esther gets to anything even remotely

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① The close similarity between Qoh 8: 4b and Job 9: 12b, where the referent is God, has long been observed. Cf. also Isa 45: 9 and Dan 4: 35. For the phrase כל אשר חפץ עשה, see A. Hurvitz, “The History of a Legal Formula; *kol ‘ašer-ḥāpēṣ āšāh* (Psalms cxv 3, cxxxv 6),” *VT* 32 (1982): 257-267. It occurs in Pss 115: 3 and 135: 6, which state that it is *God* who does whatever he pleases. A slightly modified form is found in Isa 46: 10 (God speaking); Jonah 1: 14 (the sailors’ prayer to God); and here in Qoh 8: 3 (Hurvitz thinks Dan 4: 32 is an adaptation of the same phrase). The fact that God is the acting subject in these texts is noteworthy; it would be odd for Qoheleth to use the same phrasing with different meaning.

② E.g., *Pesiqta de Rab Kahana VI: II* which states that the question, “Who is wise enough?” (note the possible implications for the *Vorlage*) pertains to the Holy One [see Jacob Neusner, *Symbol and Theology in Early Judaism* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991), 90].



mentioning God.<sup>①</sup> It is the climax of Mordecai’s speech to Esther urging her to act on behalf of her people by interceding with the king. Though God is never mentioned by name in MT Esther (LXX Esther, of course, is a very different story, as is the Alpha Text), many scholars find evidence of divine providence in this verse, as elsewhere in the Hebrew form of the book.<sup>②</sup> The rabbis, too, had no qualms with identifying “(the) Place” (מקום [ה]) as an epithet for God.<sup>③</sup> The cumulative evidence of various details—including hardly subtle ones like fasting, wearing (or laying in) sackcloth and ashes, “wailing with a loud and bitter cry,” great mourning, weeping, and lamenting (4: 1-3);<sup>④</sup> or the allusions to sacral war practices later in the book (chaps. 8-9)<sup>⑤</sup>—coupled with

① See the discussion in Jon D. Levenson, *Esther: A Commentary*, OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1997), 81, who notes that “if ‘another quarter’ is God, then we have in this verse the strongest approximation in the Masoretic Esther to an explicit theological affirmation.” Adele Berlin, *Esther*, JPS Bible Commentary Philadelphia (Jewish Publication Society, 2001), 44: deems it “hard to imagine that salvation could come ‘from another place’ without seeing this as a veiled reference to God.” Carey A. Moore, *Esther: Introduction, Translation, and Notes*, AB 7B (Garden City: Doubleday, 1971), 50, thinks that the explicit mention of the deity in the Alpha Text, in Josephus, and in the Targums at this point “are certainly correct to see in the Hebrew a veiled allusion to God.” Moore goes on to compare the use of “mercy” in 1 Macc 16:3 and “kingdom of Heaven” in the Gospel of Matthew. He concludes: “That same phrase [‘another quarter’], as well as ‘It’s possible that...’ [which is how he translates מִי יוֹדֵעַ], seems to affirm the author’s faith in God’s providential care” (52).

② See Crenshaw, “The Expression,” 277, who also refers to the work of Sandra Beth Berg, *The Book of Esther: Motifs, Themes, and Structure* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979), 177-179. See also, inter alia, Moore, *Esther*, 52. Cf. Levenson, *Esther*, 18-21, esp. 19: “That [God] is unnamed need not entail that he is uninvolved.” For larger treatments, see Brittany N. Melton, *Where is God in the Megilloth? A Dialogue on the Ambiguity of Divine Presence and Absence*, OTS 73 (Leiden: Brill, 2018); and Chloe T. Sun, *Conspicuous in His Absence: Studies in the Song of Songs and Esther* (Grand Rapids: IVP Academic, 2021).

③ See, e.g., Gen. Rab. § 68; Pesik. R. § 21; Ab. Zar. 40b; Nidd. 49b; Ber. 16b; Lev. Rab. § 5. See Marcus Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*, repr. ed. (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2005), 2: 830; and A. Spanier, “Die Gottesbezeichnungen *hammāqôm* und *haqqādōs bārūk hū’* in der frühalmudischen Literatur,” *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatische-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft* 66 (1922): 309-314.

④ See Berlin, *Esther*, 44; Paton, *Esther*, 95. It is hard to agree with Moore, *Esther*, xxxii, who deems fasting “comparatively unimportant.”

⑤ See Brent A. Strawn, “Commentary on Esther 7: 1-6, 9-10; 9: 20-22,” <https://www.workingpreacher.org/commentaries/revise-common-lectionary/ordinary-26-2/commentary-on-esther-71-6-9-10-920-22-2> (accessed 2/1/2024). Paton, *Esther*, 95, includes the “mention of proselytes” in Esth 8: 17; 9: 27.

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the divine entanglements of *עַלְמֵי יְהוָה* evident in the other texts explored above, seems to support the view that Esth 4:14 does get very close indeed to naming God without actually doing so.<sup>①</sup> Even if this is so, it does not solve the riddle of why the book as a whole seems to studiously avoid explicit mention of the Deity<sup>②</sup>, though the immediate literary context of chapter 4 offers a perfectly reasonable idea for why Mordecai may have used a circumlocution: the messages between him and Esther are being relayed through third-party intermediaries (see 4: 5-10, 12-13). Perhaps communication through Persian messengers required extra discretion.

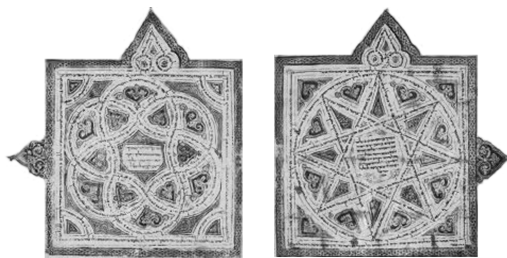
Despite these not inconsiderable factors, text (10) is placed last among the “less clear” *עַלְמֵי יְהוָה* passages, and as the final, climactic example therein, because of the strong tendency to see Esther as decidedly *non*-theological.<sup>③</sup> And yet, if what has been presented above is correct, not only about Esth 4:

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① So Angel Manuel Rodriguez, *Esther: A Theological Approach* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1995), 18. Note also Paton, *Esther*, 95: “belief in God is at least implied...in the circumlocution of 4<sup>14</sup>,” though he goes on to say that “the author goes out of his way to avoid mentioning God” (222; similarly Rodriguez, *Esther*, 18; see also 25). Both points are important. Contrast Frederic Bush, *Ruth, Esther*, WBC 9 (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1996), 396, who thinks “another place” with reference to God would have to mean “from another God,” which strikes me as quite unnecessarily mechanistic with reference to *אֲחֵרָה* (so also Crenshaw, “The Expression,” 276-277 and n. 8). Similarly overwrought is Bush’s second concern that a “stark contrast” would be “set up thereby between the divine deliverance and the deliverance that Esther might achieve by her appeal to the king” (*Ruth, Esther*, 396). By way of response, note Paton (*Esther*, 223), for example, who thinks that even help from another nation “might have [been] regarded as providential” by the author. Bush goes on to argue that Esth 4:14b “is a positive rhetorical question, expressing a strong negation... Consequently, the ‘who knows?’ of the question does not express doubt or skepticism about the providential purpose of her position as queen, or mere possibility. On the contrary, it expresses a confident hope” (*Ruth, Esther*, 397). Bush deems Esther’s subsequent words “If I perish, I perish” as similarly expressing “courageous determination” (400).

② See Michael V. Fox, *Character and Ideology in the Book of Esther*, 2d ed. (Eugene: Wipf & Stock, 2010), 237-247; Levenson, *Esther*, 17, also 32-34, on the possibility that MT represents a purposefully *de*-theologized version of the book. Cf. Berlin, *Esther*, 44, on Esther 4: “God is most present and most absent in this chapter. Religious practice and the mention of God’s name come closest to the surface here, and are most obviously suppressed...In this sad scene, the author is hard pressed to write God out of the story.”

③ A major interpreter in this vein has been Marvin A. Sweeney. See, e.g., his “Absence of G-d and Human Responsibility in the Book of Esther,” in idem, *Visions of the Holy: Studies in Biblical Theology and Literature*, RBL 105 (Atlanta: SBL, 2023), 701-712.



14 but about the **מִי יוֹדֵעַ** texts more generally (especially the clearer ones), much needs to be reevaluated. One sees, at the very least, that Day isn't quite right when she says that Mordecai "tosses things to destiny, suggesting that it is fate that brought Esther to queenship to answer the present need," because, as Day herself notes, "[o]ther biblical figures who use similar language, asking 'who knows?' about future events, *do so explicitly within a consideration of God's role in those events.*"<sup>①</sup> In fact, precisely because of that larger contextual pressure brought to bear by the use of "similar language," I deem it *not at all* "highly significant that Mordecai does not use this [explicit] language," since *only some* of the **מִי יוֹדֵעַ** passages do so—in part, evidently, because **מִי יוֹדֵעַ** *by itself* involves (even if only as an intellectual exception) the Deity. Furthermore, the climax in Esther's reply to Mordecai, "if I perish, I perish" (וּכְאֲשֶׁר אֲבַדְתִּי אֲבַדְתִּי; 4: 16), is also not "throw[ing] things to the fates" (per Day) because of the highly similar situation in Dan 3:17-18. Contrary, then, to Day's interpretation (and a great many others that are very much like it), life and death hang *not* on some amorphous notion of "fate(s)" in Esther but hang precisely on the Deity insofar as and exactly because *God* is the one who knows and the question **מִי יוֹדֵעַ** knows this.<sup>②</sup> In the end, this is not an ambiguous question at all; quite to the contrary!

To summarize: texts (7)-(10) are admittedly somewhat less clear than texts (1)-(6), but texts (1)-(6) surely impinge—and *should* impinge—on the proper understanding of texts (7)-(10). Indeed, even the "less clear" texts are not entirely nor equally opaque. Text (7), in context, is perhaps more clear than not. The close affinities between text (7) and text (8) suggest that the latter, too, is not entirely vague on the matter at hand. This leaves only texts

① Linda M. Day, *Esther*, AOTC (Nashville: Abingdon, 2005), 92 (emphasis added).

② This is not to say that God isn't operative through chance occurrences, which is what many believe is the case in Esther (see above). For a recent discussion of fate and God in the Hebrew Bible, see Stephen B. Chapman, "Miqreh and YHWH: Fate, Chance, Simultaneity, and Providence," in *Divine Doppelgängers: YHWH's Ancient Look-Alikes*, ed. Collin Cornell (University Park, PA: Eisenbrauns, 2020), 181-200, which notes overlap between God and the Israelite concept of fate (מִקְרָה). Note that מִקְרָה is never plural ("fates") in the Hebrew Bible. For another study on *miqreh*, see Peter Machinist, "Fate, Miqreh, and Reason: Some Reflections on Qohelet and Biblical Thought," in *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots: Biblical, Epigraphic, and Semitic Studies in Honor of Jonas C. Greenfield*, eds. Ziony Zevit, Seymour Gitin, and Michael Sokoloff (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 159-175.

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(9) and (10) as belonging more solidly to the “less clear” category when it comes to the theological character of **מִי יוֹדֵעַ**. In light of the larger literary context, however, as well as comparable texts in Daniel along with Qoheleth’s penchant for speaking in a kind of double-register about the Deity, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that text (9), too, allows for the possibility that God knows **כִּשְׁמֵר דְּבַר** even if other, wise individuals—people like Qoheleth himself—simply don’t (cf. 8: 17). Similarly, while MT Esther is famous for its *non*-theological presentation, the subsurface presence of the divine is often noted by interpreters, whether that is via the various religious rituals that are mentioned, the high frequency of (divine?) coincidences,<sup>①</sup> or the possible double-referent of **מְקוֹם אַחֵר**.<sup>②</sup> While all of those points are quite significant, the “Who knows?” texts discussed above suggest that if one wishes to “find” God in MT Esther, **מִי יוֹדֵעַ** may be every bit as good a “place” to start as **מְקוֹם אַחֵר**.<sup>③</sup>

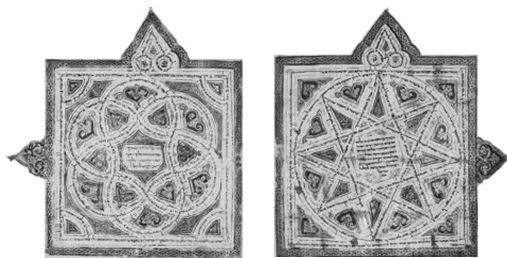
### III. Conclusions

If the presentation above is cogent, the results are striking. In at least 6 of the 10 instances of **מִי יוֹדֵעַ** in the Hebrew Bible, God is clearly present or heavily implicated in the question “Who knows?” In two others, texts (7) and (8), it is not hard to see the same. Interpretive details at work in several of these eight instances indicate that the same judgment likely also holds true for

① See Berlin, *Esther*, 49; Levenson, *Esther*, 18-19; Bush, *Ruth, Esther*, 323.

② Bush, *Ruth, Esther*, 326, citing David J. A. Clines, *The Esther Scroll: The Story of the Story*, JSOTSup 30 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1984), 155-156, approvingly: “the storyteller is no theological sophisticate promoting a ‘religionless Judaism’, but an Old Believer whose ultimate act of faith is to take the protective providence of God for granted”; hence, “there is nothing *hidden* or *veiled* about the causality of the events of the Esther story: it is indeed *unexpressed* but it is unmistakable, given the context within which the story is set” (ibid., 156; cited in Bush, *Ruth, Esther*, 326). See further, once again, the discussions in Melton, *Where Is God?*; and Sun, *Conspicuous in His Absence*.

③ Cf. Levenson, *Esther*, 81: “In support of this more theological reading [of ‘another quarter’], the expression ‘who knows’ (*mī yōdēā*) is suggestive,” though he connects the phrase, not to God’s knowledge (or being) but to its use in texts related to penitential practice that may lead to a change in God’s judgment. So, “[i]f this is the background to the usage in Esth. 4: 14, then we have here another echo of the rites of lamentation with which the chapter began.” Levenson’s final comment on 4: 12-17 is delightful: “Who knows? Perhaps the rites have had an effect, and larger forces are at work that will rescue the Jews after all.”



text (9). This leaves only one passage, text (10), Esth 4: 14, as less clear or obvious—but even this text, per the discussion above, seems to evoke God, and in more ways than just **מי יודע**.

In sum, therefore, it seems not only possible but quite probable that God is somehow *present in each and every instance* of **מי יודע**. The answer to the question “Who knows?” is thus clearly two-edged: on the one hand, the question signals that *no human being knows*; on the other hand, that *only God does* (cf. Prov 30: 4; as well as the pointed questions and comments from God to Job about the latter’s lack of knowledge [ $\sqrt{y-d-}$ ] in Job 38: 4-5, 18, 21). If **מי יודע** is an anthropocentric question, it nevertheless has a theologically fraught side. The calculus of these data leads to at least three conclusions:

(1) First, Crenshaw’s analytic of “open”- vs. “closed”-door scenarios, while helpful, is not the only, and perhaps also not the best metric for understanding the force and meaning of **מי יודע**.<sup>①</sup> There is more to say about these texts, especially more to say about them *theologically*. Indeed, in my judgment, the theological trace within **מי יודע** is operative whether these texts are “open” to the future or “shut” to the same. Either way, God knows; either way, God is an agent.<sup>②</sup> Unfortunately, the implicature of the Deity in the “Who knows?” texts has gone underappreciated with negative effects for the interpretation of these passages. Put differently and slightly more pointedly: the “skeptical” texts no less than the “open” ones are fraught with the presence of God.

(2) If **מי יודע** is a theologically “involved” query, it is possible that God

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① Note, e.g., how Crenshaw, “The Expression,” 277 seems to be overly concerned with divine change in Est 4: 14. But the point of **מי יודע** is not divine change but divine *knowledge*. Bartholomew, *Ecclesiastes*, 144, continues to use Crenshaw’s metaphor: “*Mī yōdēa* ‘does indeed occur in passages in Ecclesiastes in which Qohelet is in the grip of his struggle with the enigma of life, but this very struggle indicates that the door of hope remains ajar, however marginally.’”

② If accurate, this judgment has various ramifications for other topics, including the larger question of what God knows in the Hebrew Bible. I cannot engage that large topic here, but wish to underscore that this is a very large question that must include a large range of texts about epistemology—divine and human—in the Old Testament. For a start, see Annette Schellenberg, “Reflections on the Limitations of Cognition in the Book of Job,” *HeBAI* 12 (2023): 295-308, with literature (note that this whole issue of *HeBAI* is devoted to epistemology in Job). Alongside *divine knowledge* the large topic of *divine freedom/agency* is also to be considered.

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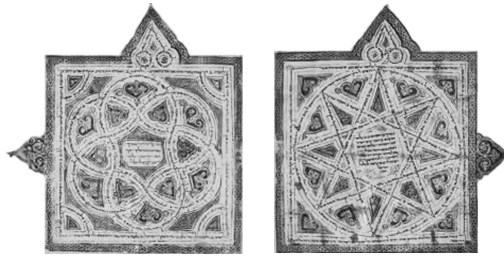
might be entangled in other rhetorical questions, particularly in Ecclesiastes. If so, the present study of **מִי יוֹדֵעַ** has bearing on Qoheleth's ways of talking about the Deity elsewhere in the book that bears his name. This finding would contribute to the double-register found elsewhere in Qoheleth but perhaps also (and relatedly) to the issue of parapraxes in the Book of Ecclesiastes.<sup>①</sup> The same may hold true for other questions, some perhaps less rhetorical, both within Ecclesiastes<sup>②</sup> and well beyond it.<sup>③</sup>

① I hope to investigate the issue of parapraxis in Qoheleth in a subsequent study. The concept, famous since Freud, connotes a “slip of the tongue” or “a slip of memory” where someone reveals something more or something beyond what they meant to communicate.

② Fox, *Time*, 272, notes that the interrogative **מִי** “occurs seventeen times in the book, sixteen in rhetorical questions tantamount to ‘no one.’” See, e.g., **מִי יִבְיֵאֵנוּ** in 3: 22; **מִי יִגִּיד** in 8: 7; 10: 14; etc. Schoors, *Ecclesiastes*, 494-95, deems the latter references negative “parallels”: “no one knows.” In fact, elsewhere Schoors deems **כִּי מִי יִגִּיד לּוֹ** in 8: 7 “the equivalent of” **אֲשֶׁר מִי־יִגִּיד לָאָדָם** in 6: 12 (*Preacher*, 132), saying that “Qoh calls this ignorance of the future **רַעָה**, ‘a misfortune’ (8, 6).” Schoors also compares 11: 5 (**אֵינֶךָ יוֹדֵעַ...לֹא תִדַּע**) and 11: 6, as well as 9: 12; and other texts on the “theme of human ignorance” (131-34). Cf. also Qoh 8: 1 with 6: 12, 8: 5, 7, 12, etc. Fox, *Time*, 247, has pointed out the close relationship between 3: 11a and 8: 6a; and 3: 11b and 8: 7. For the interpretation that only God knows the future, see also Whybray, *Ecclesiastes*, 133; and Barton, *Ecclesiastes*, 151. Note also Crenshaw, “The Expression,” 283, who delineates no less than seven variants of **מִי יוֹדֵעַ** in Ecclesiastes.

③ E.g., and most closely, **מִי יִדְעֵנוּ** in Jer 17: 9, but also, and more expansively, the questions raised about death in the Psalms (see, e.g., Ps 88: 11-13). Note also the following important passages from the Qumran texts: (1)1Q27 (1QMysteries) frg. 1 i 3-4 and 8: “but they did not know (**וְלוֹא יִדְעוּ**) the secret of the way things are nor did they understand the things of old and they did not know (**וְלוֹא יִדְעוּ**) what would come upon them...This is all ready to happen, it is a true oracle, and by this it shall be known to you (**וְזִמָּה יוֹדֵעַ לְכִמָּה**) that it cannot be averted.” (2)1QH<sup>a</sup> ix 10: “And [without you no]thing is done, and nothing is known without your will (**וְלוֹא יוֹדֵעַ בְּלוֹא רְצוֹנְכָה**).” (3)1QH<sup>a</sup> xviii 11: “Apart from you nothing is done; nothing is known without your will (**וְלוֹא יוֹדֵעַ בְּלוֹא רְצוֹנְכָה**); and except for you, there is nothing.” (4)11Q5 (11QPs<sup>a</sup>) xxviii 7-8: “Ah, but who can proclaim (**כִּי מִי יִגִּיד**), who declare (**וְמִי יִדְבֵר**) the deeds of the Lord? God has seen all, heard and attended to everything.” (5)4Q511 (4QShir<sup>b</sup> = Songs of the Sage<sup>b</sup>) frg. 2 ii 6-8: “[the mysterie]s of God, who knows (**מִיָּא יִדַּע**) [...] the God of strengths has appointed them for [...] like them, and the unclean according to their impurity [... Who] knows (**מִי יוֹדֵעַ**) the uprightness of the upright in Is[rael (?)]...”. (6)4Q185 (4QSapiential Work) frgs. 1-2 iii 11-13: “Did not [Go]d make the hearts, and does he kno[w] (**וְיִדְעוּ**) their thoughts? God sees all the inmost being, and puts its kidneys to the test. [God made] the tongue, and knows (**יִוֹדֵעַ**) its word. God made hands, [and knows (**יִוֹדֵעַ**) their deeds.]”

Translations follow *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader*, 2nd ed., 2 vols., eds. Donald W. Parry, Emanuel Tov, and Geraldine I. Clements (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 2:181, 285, 321; 457, 887; and *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 2 vols., eds. Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 1:381.



(3) Finally and most importantly, if *מִי יוֹדֵעַ* does in fact refer to God, whether implicitly or explicitly (the latter given associated text and context), then this question makes an important predication about God—specifically about God’s *knowledge*—as well as about all others who are *not* God, especially about their *lack of knowledge*. Qoheleth was quite keen on the last-mentioned point (see, above all, Qoh 8: 17).<sup>①</sup> While the joy passages in Ecclesiastes strike a chord with a statement attributed to Irenaeus, that “the glory of God is the human being fully alive,”<sup>②</sup> the *מִי יוֹדֵעַ* passages evoke something less bright and cheery—something far more apophatic it would seem. But the resonance need not be only *via negativa*. John Calvin (1509-1564) began his *Institutes of the Christian Religion* famously:

Nearly all the wisdom we possess, that is to say, true and sound wisdom, consists of two parts: the knowledge of God and of ourselves. But, while joined by many bonds, which one precedes and brings forth the other is not easy to discern. (I i.1)<sup>③</sup>

*מִי יוֹדֵעַ* may not help with discerning which type of knowledge comes first—knowledge of God or knowledge of self—not least because “Who knows?” is aware that there is so much human beings do *not* know, specifically about things theological. But this, too, per Calvin, constitutes a crucial piece of knowledge of God (or, apophatically, its *lack*), if not also knowledge of the human self. And so, in this case, no less than many others, it would seem that one of these may not precede the other but, rather, that both must proceed together, hand-in-hand (cf. Qoh 7: 18).

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① Crenshaw, “The Expression,” 285, is memorable: “the sages in Qoheleth’s day made extravagant claims about knowledge that gave birth to an unwanted child whose infant wail was *mī yōdēa’*.” See further, 286-288.

② The Latin text may be slightly less inspiring: *Gloria Dei est vivens homo*, “the glory of God is the living human” (*Against Heresies*, 4, 20, 5-7).

③ John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, 2 vols., trans. Ford Lewis Battles, ed. John T. McNeill, LCC 20 (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1960), 1: 35.

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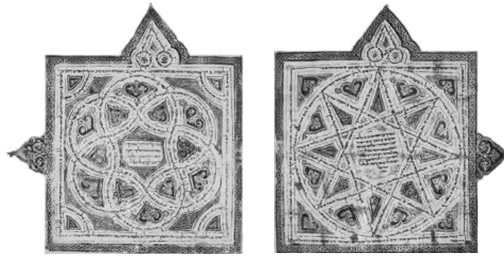
## 到底是谁呢？

——对《希伯来圣经》中 **מי יודע** 一语的重新思考

布伦特·斯特朗

**【摘要】**本文探讨《希伯来圣经》中出现了 10 余次的 **מי יודע**。1986 年克伦肖发表了对该短语的重要研究，依照其对未来是开放还是封闭的可能来划分这个短语的两种用法。本文试图修正克伦肖的理论，指出这个短语暗示了人类知识的贫乏和神的知识的丰足。“谁知道”的问题因此是面向人类的问题，对神例外。然而，**מי יודע** 这个短语的神学意义还是被忽略了。本文试图弥补这个缺憾，依次考察该短语出现的例子，关注各个例子中被忽略的不同程度的神学主题。

**【关键词】****מי יודע**；克伦肖；神的知识；人类知识



## Sacrifice of the Son or Sons ?: Genesis 22 and the Question of Child Sacrifice in Ancient Israel

Thomas Römer \*

**Abstract:** Among the many stories about Abraham in the biblical book of Genesis, there is one text in particular that has intrigued or irritated commentators, the story of Abraham’s sacrifice in Genesis 22. There is little doubt that this text has to do with the question of human sacrifice in ancient Israel and Judah. This question was apparently topical at the time when the story of Abraham’s sacrifice came to light. The article will show the evidence for the practice of human sacrifice in ancient Israel, as well as strategies for putting an end to such practices.

**Key Words:** Child Sacrifice, Genesis 22, Abraham’s Sacrifice

Among the many stories about Abraham in the biblical book of Genesis, there is especially one text that has intrigued or irritated commentators, that is the story of Abraham’s sacrifice in Gen 22. Whereas Immanuel Kant in *The Conflict of the Faculties* used this narrative in order to demonstrate that God would never ask a human to slaughter his own child<sup>①</sup>, Søren Kierkegaard in “Fear and Trembling”<sup>②</sup> understood the story as the best example of what true faith is about, namely that Abraham suspended ethical requirements in order

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① Immanuel Kant, *The Conflict of the Faculties*, trans. Mary J. Gregor (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992).

② *Fear and Trembling* 1843—Kierkegaard’s Writings; 6—copyright 1983—Howard V. Hong.

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to fulfill what he regarded as his absolute duty to God. And until today the story of Abraham's sacrifice is used in very different contexts as a symbol of religious fanaticism, but also in more ironical contexts, as for instance in Woody Allen's rereading of the narrative.

In the context of historical-critical exegesis, Herrmann Gunkel, followed by others, had put this text in relation to the human sacrifices. Gen 22 should be read as a passage from human to animal sacrifices. For Gunkel, Gen 22 would reflect a very ancient pre-Israelite legend in which a father would have wanted to sacrifice his son to a deity who would have prevented him from doing so by asking him to offer an animal in his place.<sup>①</sup>

In reaction to this hypothesis, many Jewish and Christian commentators (who criticized Gunkel's approach, claiming in particular that ancient Israel would not have known child sacrifices) have seen Gen 22 above all as a "theological" account which would like to show that God can demand from humans that they give him back what he has given them (for instance K. Schmid<sup>②</sup>) or which insists on the faith of Abraham who, in spite of God's incomprehensible order, trusts in the same God that he will return with his son (Veijola<sup>③</sup>). It presents Abraham as a paradigm for a public that saw itself, as a result of the events of 587, deprived of its future.

In my opinion, the two approaches are not mutually exclusive, but they both need to be modified:

(1) As regards the human sacrifice; Gen 22 is not the residue of an archaic legend, but of a problem which is still at stake for the author who wrote Gen 22 in its primitive form.

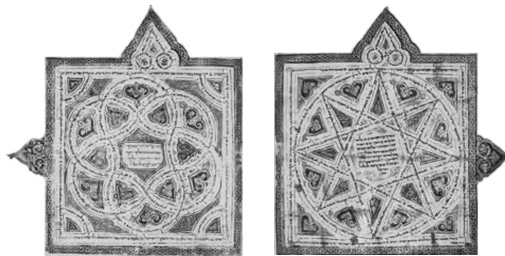
(2) With regard to the understanding of Gen 22 as a "theological" narrative; it is certainly a question of underlining Abraham's obedience but also of confronting the addressees with the experience of an incomprehensible God.

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① H. Gunkel, *Genesis übersetzt und erklärt*, 3rd ed (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1910). English translation: *Genesis* (Macon, Ga: Mercer University Press, 1997).

② K. Schmid, "Die Rückgabe der Verheißungsgabe. Der 'heilsgeschichtliche' Sinn von Gen 22 im Horizont innerbiblischer Exegese," in *Gott und Mensch im Dialog. Festschrift für Otto Kaiser zum 80. Geburtstag*, ed. M. Witte (Berlin, New York: de Gruyter, 2004), 271-300.

③ T. Veijola, "Das Opfer des Abraham—Paradigma des Glaubens aus dem nachexilischen Zeitalter," *ZThK* 85 (1988): 129-164.



In my view, the Bible itself attests that human, particularly child sacrifices were practiced in Israel and Judah, and more generally speaking in the ancient Levant.<sup>①</sup>

The idea that the first fruits of a harvest or the first-born of a (domestic) animal are to be offered to the deity is widespread in many religions. This sacrifice serves either to guarantee the fertility of the field or the herd, or to symbolically recognize the divinity as the author and owner of the crops and births. In the Hebrew Bible, the sacrifice of the first-born also concerns male children. Thus the legislation of the “Covenant Code” in the book of Exodus states: “You shall give me the firstborn of your sons. You shall do the same for your ox and for your sheep; he shall remain with his mother seven days; on the eighth day you shall give him to me”. (Ex 22: 28-29; cf. Ex 13: 2)

Some other texts reflect the same requirement, but indicate the substitution of human sacrifice by animal sacrifice: “You shall bring unto YHWH every one that opens the womb... Every human firstborn among your sons you shall redeem.” (Ex 13: 11-12, cf. Ex 34: 19-20)

It has often been concluded that the formulation of sacrifice which does not mention the idea of “redemption” belongs to a more archaic period. The sacrifice of the first-born human being would then have been replaced very quickly by an animal victim. However, the biblical texts show that this is not the case and that there are allusions to sacrifices of children in Judah during the monarchic period until the beginning of the Persian period.

A text from the book of Micah contains a critical parody of the sacrificial cult: “Will YHWH be pleased with thousands of rams, with ten thousands of rivers of oil? Shall I give my firstborn for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul? He has told you, O mortal, what is good; and what YHWH requires of you: to do justice, and to love kindness, and to walk humbly with your God” (Mi 6: 7).

This prophetic criticism denounces the dissociation of sacrifices from social justice (cf. v. 8). But this denunciation shows at the same time that the sacrifices of the firstborn human beings are part of the official Yahwistic cult.

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<sup>①</sup> T. Römer, “Le sacrifice humain en Juda et Israël au premier millénaire avant notre ère,” *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 1 (1999): 16-26.

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There is therefore no evolution from a practiced human sacrifice to its substitution.

The two possibilities coexist, as is also the case in the Phoenician colony of Carthage. In the cemetery of children of Salamambo there are hundreds of bones of children and animal bones dating to seventh century BCE, according to Lipinsky a “clear proof of the existence of the sacrifices of substitution.<sup>①</sup>” There is also a Punic inscription, from Malta 6th century BCE : “Stele of the offering (mlk) in place of an infant.”

The sacrifice of the firstborn in Judah was probably never conceived without the possibility of redemption, but it was also practiced as the greatest sacrifice to YHWH<sup>②</sup> until the early Persian period. A text from the book of Ezekiel dating from this period contains a very singular statement. In a prophetic discourse YHWH speaks about the offering of the firstborn: “I myself gave them ordinances that were not good and customs that were not life-giving. I defiled them with their offerings when they made everyone who opened the womb pass [through the fire]...” (Ezek 20: 25-26).

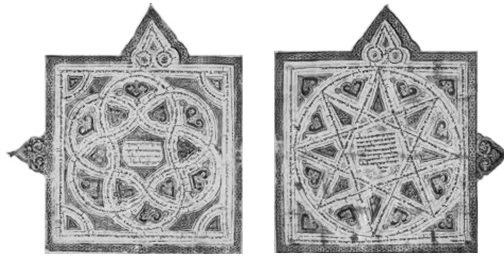
The Hebrew text of v. 26 (בְּהַעֲבִיר בְּלִפְטֹר רָחֵם) corresponds to the prescription of Ex 13: 2 (בְּלִבְבוֹר פֶּטֶר בְּלִרְחֵם). The author of Ezek 20 who considers the sacrifices of the firstborn as illicit cannot declare them as “pagan”. They are too strongly rooted in the worship of YHWH. Thus the author, belonging to the new orthodoxy, is obliged to resort to a subterfuge, claiming that YHWH himself would have enacted bad laws by decreeing human sacrifices (cf. v. 21, the observance of YHWH’s laws make people live). Some biblical authors tried however to suggest that these sacrifices were offered to another deity, Molech.

According to some biblical texts, child sacrifices were practiced in Jerusalem, in a place called Tophet (or Taphet): Jer 7: 31: “They build the

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① E. Lipinski, “Sacrifices d’enfants à Carthage et dans le monde sémitique oriental,” in *Studia Phoenicia VI. Carthago*, ed. E. Lipinski, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 26 (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 1988) 151-185; citation 151.

② J. D. Levenson, *The Death and the Resurrection of the Beloved Son. The Transformation of Child Sacrifice in Judaism and Christianity* (New Haven-London: Yale University Press, 1993) speaks of a “theological ideal about the special place of the first-born son, an ideal whose realization could range from literal to non-literal implementation, that is from sacrifice to redemption” (p. 9).



high places of Tophet...to burn their sons and daughters with fire, which I have not commanded and which never came to my mind”. The word taphet/tophet, whose exact meaning is not known<sup>①</sup>, is also used by scholars to designate the places that the Phoenician colonies had reserved for sacrifice, or at least for the burial of young children.<sup>②</sup> Text related to the Judean Tophet, i.e. the valley of Hinnom, mention the passage through the fire of girls and boys, without specifying their age. 2 Kings 23: 10 describes this sacrifice as offered to “Molech”: “He [king Josiah] defiled Topheth, which is in the valley of Ben-Hinnom, so that no one would make his son or his daughter pass through fire for Molech.”

Four biblical texts<sup>③</sup> mention the word “Molech” in connection with child sacrifices:

Lev 18: 21: You shall not give any of your offspring to make him pass over (לְהַעֲבִיר) to Molech and so profane the name of your God: I am YHWH.

Lev 20: 2-5: 2 Say further to the sons of Israel: Any of the sons of Israel, or of the aliens who reside in Israel, who give any of their offspring to Molech shall be put to death... 3 I myself will set my face against them, and will cut them off from the people, because they have given of their offspring to Molech, defiling my sanctuary and profaning my holy name. 4 And if the people of the land should ever close their eyes to them, when they give of their offspring to Molech, and do not put them to death, 5 I myself will set my face against them and against their

① J. Day, *Molech. A God of Human Sacrifice in the Old Testament*, University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 41 (Cambridge et al. 1989) 24-31 considers, following W. R. Smith, a link with the Aramaic word תַּפְתָּא cooking hearth, fire-place. The vocalization of *tophet* is probably artificial from the word *boshet* (“shame”).

② We will not discuss the question of whether the Phoenicians overseas practiced child sacrifice. In spite of the reservations of M. Gras, P. Rouillard, and J. Teixidor, *L’univers phénicien* (Paris: 1989), 176-180, it seems to me difficult to interpret the different inscriptions in the sense of a burial of a stillborn child or of an infant who died of natural causes, cf. also S. Brown, *Late Carthaginian Child Sacrifice*, JSOT/ASOR Monograph Series 3 (Sheffield: 1991).

③ Molech appears once more in 1 Kings 11: 7, but there it is a scribal error for Milkom, the god of the Ammonites.

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family, and will cut them off from among their people, them and all who follow them in prostituting themselves to Molech.

2Kgs 23: 10: “He [king Josiah] defiled Topheth, which is in the valley (לְהַעֲבִיר) of Ben-Hinnom, so that no one would make his son or his daughter pass through fire for Molech.”

Jer 32: 35: They built the high places of Baal in the valley of Ben-Hinnom, to pass over (לְהַעֲבִיר) their sons and daughters to Molech, what I did not command them, nor did it enter my mind that they should do this abomination, causing Judah to sin.

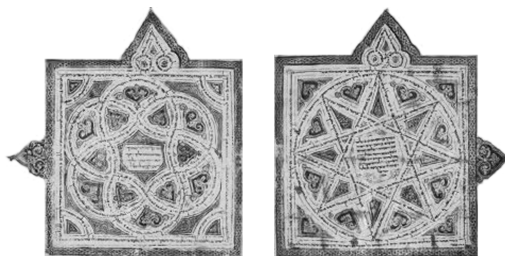
Traditionally Molech has been seen as a bloodthirsty deity, fond of human holocausts. He has been identified with the chthonic deity Maliku/Milku, attested in Ugaritic texts. Other identifications have also been proposed: Milkom, Baal and Adad-Milki. None of these solutions is satisfactory:

An underworld deity Maliku/Milku exists at Ugarit, but its attestations are very few, and have no connection with human sacrifices. The identification of Molech with Milkom can only be based on 1 Kings 11: 7, but the mention of Molech in this text is due to a scribal error. Jer 32: 5 mentions Baal and Molech in the same context, but they are either two distinct deities, or “Baal” is a gloss. The case for Adad-Milki is also very weak. 2Kgs 17: 31 speaks of the Sepharvites who burned their children in the fire to Adrammelech, but the identification of this divinity with Adad-Milki is not certain at all.<sup>①</sup>

This difficulty in determining the identity of the god Molech could speak in favor of the thesis that *molk* designates a certain type of sacrifice: molk, derived from a Punic word, was originally a sacrificial term designating child sacrifices. In Persian times, scribes would have deliberately changed *molk* into *molek* in order to transform the term into an idol, and to make child sacrifices an idolatrous cult. The thesis is attractive. Remains however the difficulty of explaining the arrival of a Punic word (which is not attested in Phoenicia) in Palestine; and besides, the biblical texts understand *molek* as designating a deity and not a type of offering.

The best solution seems to be that *molek* was originally *melek*, “king” a

① S. Kaufman, “The Enigmatic Adad-Milki,” *JNES* 37 (1978): 101-109.



title for YHWH. The word *melek* is often used in the Hebrew Bible to designate the god of Israel (more than 50 times). Other appellations for Yahweh are known, such as YHWH *šebaot* (YHWH of the armies). It is therefore possible that the child sacrifices were offered to the god of Israel as YHWH-Melek.

Our thesis is confirmed by the Greek translation of *molek* in Lv. J. Lust<sup>①</sup> which has shown that the Greek translator read in Lev 18: 21 (καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ σπέρματός σου οὐ δώσεις λατρεύειν ἄρχοντι καὶ οὐ βεβηλώσεις τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἅγιον ἐγὼ κύριος)<sup>②</sup> and in 20: 2-5 (same translation by ἄρχοντες) *melek* (not *molek*) and probably understood it as a title for YHWH.

According to Lev 18: 21 a child sacrifice to Molek is a desecration of the name of YHWH: “You shall not deliver one of your children to mo/melek and you shall not profane the name of your God”.

This only makes sense if *melek* is referring to the god of Israel. Jer 7: 31 goes in the same direction: “They build the high places of the Tophet...to burn their sons and daughters with fire, which I have not commanded and which never came to my mind.” The author asserts that YHWH never commanded child sacrifices, but which the people criticized here thought to be an appropriate sacrifice to YHWH.

This sacrifice to Yahweh-Melek was carried out by burning (cf. the two expressions “to burn” and “to make pass by the fire”). What was its purpose? Lipinski thinks that it is a ritual birth control that allows the elimination, through a sacrifice, of unwanted children or those born with physical or psychological handicaps. Indeed, Jerusalem was experiencing a population explosion at the end of the 8th century BCE, when these sacrifices appeared, which would explain the desire to reduce births. This hypothesis seems to us, however, too “modern”; it is moreover contradicted by the Israelite conception of sacrifice, which forbids the sacrifice to the divinity of any being having a

① J. Lust, “Molek and ARCWN”, in *Studia Phoenici IX. Phoenicia and the Bible*, ed. E. Lipinski, Orientalia Lovanensia Analecta 44 (Leuven: Peeters Publishers, 1991) 193-208. He concludes this article in the following way: “The translator of Leviticus...vocalized the term as *melek* ‘king’ and probably understood it as a title of YHWH” (208).

② “And thou shalt not give of thy seed to serve a ruler; and thou shalt not profane my holy name; I am the Lord.”

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defect.

In our opinion, the sacrifices by fire are best explained by a story about a human sacrifice by the Moabite king Mesha which is related in the books of Kings<sup>①</sup>: “When the Moabite king saw that the battle was lost to him... he took his firstborn son who was to rule in his place, and offered him as a burnt offering on the wall. There was great wrath upon Israel. They fled from him and returned to the land.” (2 Kings 3: 26-27) It is in a context of military crisis that Mesha sees no other solution than to offer what he holds most dear: his son, successor to the throne. The text does not say (anymore?) to which deity this holocaust was destined. Possibly he offered his son to his tutelary deity Kemosh, whose wrath made the Israelites and their allies flee. This account, which overcame the censorship of the biblical writers, allows us to explain the passing of children (who are not necessarily infants) through the fire as a sacrifice of last resort during serious crises. Biblical evidence supports this interpretation.

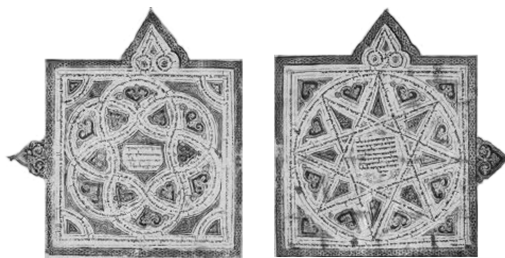
The sacrifice of Ahaz (2 Kings 16: 3) is situated in the context of the Syrian-Ephraimite war, that of Manasseh (2 Kings 21: 6) at the time of the Assyrian occupation. 2 Kings 17: 17 relates child sacrifices just before the fall of Samaria, and Jeremiah 7: 31-32; 32: 35 could reflect the distress of the population at the time of the siege of Jerusalem. Sacrifices involving “passing through fire” are therefore rituals intended to invoke the intervention of the deity in situations of great danger.

The evolution of the ancient Judean religion into a monotheistic system in the Persian period was accompanied by the exclusion of human sacrifice. Mere prohibitions (cf. Deut 18: 10; Lev 18: 21) were not enough; the idea that YHWH himself had demanded child sacrifices was too widespread. For this reason Ezek 20: 25, as we have seen, equates the sacrifice of the firstborn human beings with an evil commandment given by Yahweh in his anger.

The account of the (substituted) sacrifice of Isaac in Gen 22 is part of a similar strategy. In this text, God asks Abraham to sacrifice his son to him,

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① A. Kunz-Lübecke, “Auf dem Stein und zwischen den Zeilen. Überlegungen zu einer kontrafaktischen Geschichte Israels am Beispiel von 2 Kön 3 und der Mescha-Inschrift,” *BZ* 51 (2007): 1-22.



but an angel of YHWH holds him back at the last moment, thus opening the way to an animal substitution<sup>①</sup>. It is highly significant that Gen 22 is the only account in the Abraham narrative in which the patriarch offers a sacrifice. It is true that during his migrations he builds altars, but he uses them exclusively to “invoke the name of YHWH”. One almost gets the impression that the authors of the passages in question distance themselves from sacrificial practices. Gen 22 should therefore be understood as a didactic account explaining that the only human sacrifice demanded by God took place in a very specific context (the testing of Israel’s ancestor), and that YHWH himself substituted an animal sacrifice for such an offering.

Verse 1 is usually translated as “And it came to pass after these things, that God did tempt Abraham”. The Hebrew, however, has “ha-elohim”, literally “the God”, and the same holds true for verses 3 and 9. This lexeme appears frequently in texts from the late Persian and early Hellenistic period, and especially in the book of Qoheleth. In this book Ha-elohim is used to denote a god that dwells far away from humans and appears to be incomprehensible. The same may hold true for Gen 22. I would therefore argue for a translation like “the deity” in order to distinguish “ha-elohim” from “elohim”.

This subtle distinction was perhaps also the reason why later redactors inserted the tetragrammaton in the narrative. By doing so they constructed a scenario in which a deity asks that human sacrifice should be offered to the god of Israel, who does not want this kind of offering.

The god who asks Abraham to sacrifice his son (even if he only wants to “test” him) is called “ha-elohim” (the deity); Abraham first says that “elohim” will provide himself a victim (v. 8); the human sacrifice is stopped by the messenger of YHWH (v. 11). After that the redactor of v. 14b affirms that YHWH is the real name of the God that his audience should worship.

In V. 14 Abraham calls the place of sacrifice: “YHWH will see or will be seen”, v. 14 thus replacing “Elohim” (v. 8; אֱלֹהִים יִרְאֶה by יְהוָה יִרְאֶה)

These changes in divine titles also suggest in a certain way an evolution in

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① F. Stavrakopoulou, *King Manasseh and Child Sacrifice. Biblical Distortions of Historical Realities*, BZAW 338 (Berlin-New York: de Gruyter, 2004).

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divine revelation; YHWH, the god of Israel, is venerated exclusively by animal sacrifices. Gen 22 can then be read as a very fine polemic against the practice of human sacrifice.

With the help of these stories nascent Judaism sought to eradicate child sacrifice; but perhaps it would be more accurate to say that it sought to provide a sublimation for these practices.

Let us come back to the divine order; Some rabbis interpreted the command to sacrifice Isaac as not being from God, but from Satan.<sup>①</sup> Another Jewish interpretation also involves the devil, but to prevent Abraham from obeying (cf. the rabbinic commentary on Genesis *Bereshit Rabba*). The Satan would have confronted Abraham with a quote from the Torah: “He who sheds the blood of man, by man shall his blood be shed” (Gen 9: 6). This shows that the rabbis were clearly aware of the theological problem of God’s command.

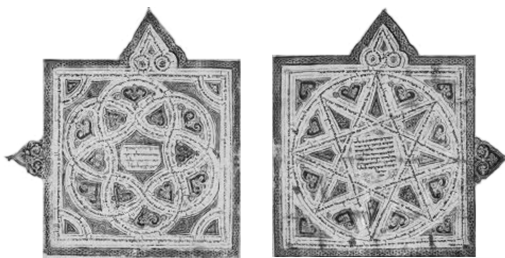
Rashi ( see already *Bereshit Rabba* 56, 8 ) had noted that the literal translation of God’s command is: “Make him ascend/go up” (וַתַּעֲלֵהוּ אֱלֹהִים לְעֹלָה) and tried to explain the text in the following way: “He did not say, ‘Slay him!’, because the Holy One, blessed be He, did not desire that he should slay him, but he told him to bring him up to the mountain to prepare him as a burnt offering. So when he had taken him up, God said to him, ‘Bring him down...’”<sup>②</sup> This interpretation has been taken up by several modern Jewish commentators who argue that Abraham misunderstood God’s order. According to this reading, God wanted to cure Abraham of his misunderstanding of the divine. Such a reading, although sympathetic, does not however respect the biblical text and all that is shocking about it.

The expression “עֹלָה לְעֹלָה” is throughout the Hebrew Bible a technical term for the burnt offering, the holocaust, a sacrifice which is completely burnt and whose smoke rises to God (Gen 8: 20; Ex 24: 25; Lev 14: 20; Deut 12: 13-14; 27: 6, etc.). The order addressed to Abraham is therefore about sacrifice. And Abraham has understood what God is asking of him. The biblical text is

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① For details T. Römer, *Genèse* 11, 27-25, 18. *L’histoire d’Abraham (CAT Ib)* (Genève: Labor et Fides, 2023), 332.

② [https://www.sefaria.org/Rashi\\_on\\_Genesis.22.2.5?lang=bi&with=all&lang2=en](https://www.sefaria.org/Rashi_on_Genesis.22.2.5?lang=bi&with=all&lang2=en).



very sober. It does not tell us anything about Abraham's reaction; no attempt to negotiate with God (as he had done in Gen 18), nor to ask God for explanations.

V. 5: "Then Abraham said to his young men, 'Stay here with the donkey; the boy and I will go over there; we will bow down, and then we will come back to you.'"

What is the meaning of Abraham's words to the young men? It is as ambiguous as the answer that the patriarch will later give to his son's question. Is it a lie so as not to worry his son and the boys? Did he decide not to sacrifice his son? Did he know in advance that God would not ask him to make such a sacrifice? The expression he uses "we will bow down" is indeed more general than "offer a sacrifice" and in this announcement he does not distinguish between himself and his son.

V. 7-8: "Isaac said to his father Abraham, 'Father!' And he said, 'Here I am, my son.' He said, 'The fire and the wood are here, but where is the lamb for a burnt offering?' Abraham said, 'God himself will see (provide) the lamb for a burnt offering, my son.' So the two of them walked on together."

This answer is again ambiguous: does Abraham hope or know that the sacrifice of the son will not take place, or are the last two words "my son" to be understood as referring to the victim, i.e., the animal of sacrifice is you, my son?

V. 9-10: "When they came to the place that God had shown him, Abraham built an altar there and laid the wood in order. He bound his son Isaac, and laid him on the altar, on top of the wood. Then Abraham reached out his hand and took the knife to immolate his son."

In this scene nobody speaks, nor Abraham neither Isaac (this will change in the Targum and in later reception).

The very rare word עקד (it appears only here in the Hebrew Bible, "to bind" which is the origin of the term "Aqedah") means the binding of the legs of the animal so that it does not move during the immolation. The word שחט, on the other hand, is omnipresent in Leviticus to express the killing of an animal destined for sacrifice. According to the rituals of Leviticus the victim is immolated before it is put on the altar, in Gen 22 the act of killing is kept until the end.

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V. 11-12: “The angel of YHWH called to him from heaven, and said, ‘Abraham, Abraham!’ And he said, ‘Here I am.’ He said, ‘Do not lay your hand on the boy or do anything to him; for now I know that you fear God, since you have not withheld your son, your only son, from me.’”

The angel speaks in God’s stead (see also Ex 3: 6 and elsewhere): “Now I know that you fear God”.

The expression “now I know” has provoked an important theological debate. Didn’t God know before? There have been various attempts to solve this problem. One “solution” is to say that instead of “I know” one should understand “I make known” (already in the book of Jubilees 18, 11 which paraphrases the biblical account in this way; this idea is adopted thereafter by many Church Fathers). Luther and Augustine take up an idea from Origen: God speaks to men in the manner of men (see also the Talmud: The Torah speaks the language of men).<sup>①</sup>

For the author of the story, such a theological problem hardly arose. As in Deut 8 (where God “tests” the generation in the desert), in Gen 22 he tests Abraham, and it is the latter’s behavior that shows whether he really fears God (see in the same sense also Job 1-2).

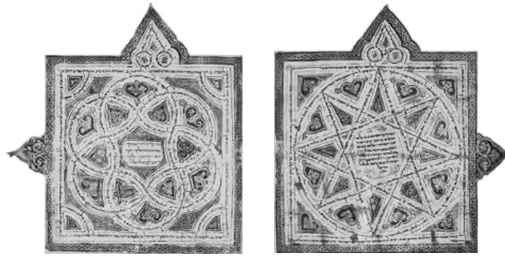
Abraham’s behavior is described by the expression “fear of God”. This is a frequent term in wisdom texts. In Ex 1: 17 it is a behavior by which the midwives oppose a mortifying royal order; here the term expresses rather submission under the divine order (with the hope that God himself will change his mind?). This brings Gen 22 perhaps closer to the use of the term in Qohelet.

V. 13: “And Abraham looked up and saw a ram, caught in a thicket by its horns. Abraham went and took the ram and offered it up as a burnt offering instead of his son.”

Abraham sees the ram, and he knows immediately what he must do. Abraham finds a ram (an adult animal) instead of the lamb (the little one) that Isaac had mentioned. But the word used by Isaac means small livestock in

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<sup>①</sup> J. L. Ska, “Et maintenant, je sais (Genèse 22, 12),” in *Palabra, Prodigio, Poesía. In memoriam P. Luis Alonso Schökel, S. J.*, ed. Vicente Collado Bertomeu (Roma-Jáva [Alicante]: Pontificio Instituto Biblico, Huerto de Enseñanzas, 2003), 117-144.



general. The choice of the ram **איל** is explained by the fact that it is an animal often immolated as a burnt offering (cf. Ex 29 and Lev 8: consecration of the priests; Lev 16: purification sacrifice and scapegoat ritual; Num 6-7, etc.). In the priestly texts, the ram is also used in sacrifices of reparation whose purpose is to renew the relationship between an individual and his god after a sin has been committed.

The end of the verse emphasizes that this is a sacrifice “in place of Isaac”. The command of the God (**וַהֲעֵלֶהוּ שֵׁם לְעֹלָה**) is now fulfilled by the sacrifice of an animal (**וַיַּעֲלֵהוּ לְעֹלָה**).

The theme of substitution is quite frequent.

In certain variants of the story of Iphigenia, she is replaced, following an intervention of Artemis, by an animal. Another version is found in the legend of Athamas (Bibliotheca of Pseudo-Apollodorus I, 9.1). The king Athamas becomes the victim of a machination of Hera who makes him understand, following a drought, that he must sacrifice to Zeus his eldest son. He brings him to a mountain and wants to kill him when Zeus sends a ram to save the son with his sister. In the end, it is the son who offers the ram.

Gen 22 seems to presuppose such a motif of substitution by an animal. No command is given to Abraham what to do with the ram, Abraham and the audience know what to do.

A later redactor has added a second divine speech (v. 15-18), which rewards Abraham.

The original story ended in V. 19: “Abraham returned to his young men, and they arose and went together to Beer-sheba; and Abraham stayed at Beer-sheba.”

Although the story ends with a “happy end” of a sort, it hints at the fact that Abraham has to separate from Isaac as he had separated from Ishmael. In verse 5, when leaving his servants with Isaac, he tells them “Stay here with the donkey; the boy and I will go over there; we will worship, and then we will return to you.” But the narrator concludes the story in v. 19 with “So Abraham returned to his young men”. No word is said about Isaac. Does this mean that in the oldest tradition behind this text, Isaac had indeed been immolated, as some commentators have suggested?

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Some Jewish commentators had indeed concluded that Isaac was sacrificed and went to paradise. More recently, there have even been attempts to reconstruct an ancient text in which Isaac was really offered as a sacrifice by his father:

Abraham reached out his hand and took the knife to kill his son (and he killed his son). The angel of God called to him from heaven, and said, “Abraham, Abraham!” And he said, “Here I am.” He said, “now I know that you fear God, since you have not withheld your son, your only son, from me.” So Abraham returned to his young men, and they arose and went together to Beer-sheba; and Abraham stayed at Beer-sheba.<sup>①</sup>

This reconstruction is interesting but does probably not meet the intention of the story which is about the replacement of human sacrifices by animal sacrifices. The end of the story hints at the necessary separation between Abraham and Isaac. Henceforth Isaac apparently lives without his father, since in the chapters that follow Abraham and his sons never again appear together. Only at the occasion of their father’s funeral do both sons return to him.

As shown by the history of reception Gen 22 is a very complex narrative, but it can be read as a very subtle polemic against the practice of human sacrifice.

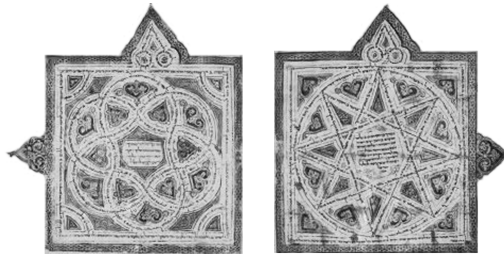
The story of the sacrifice of Jephthah’s daughter (Judges 11: 29-40) has a similar purpose. Contrary to popular opinion, this is a recent text dating from probably the fourth or third century BCE. The author knows both Gen 22 and the myth of Iphigenia as used by Euripides<sup>②</sup>.

This story from the Book of Judges reads like the “feminine” version of the one we have been examining. In both passages, a father is required to offer his child as a “burnt offering” (Gen 22: 2; Judg 11: 30); in both cases the child is presented as the “only child” of the father (Gen 22: 2; Judg 11: 3). The verb “to see” plays an important role in both passages: Abraham tells

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① Reconstruction of T. L. Yoreh, *The First Book of God*, BZAW 402 (Berlin-New York: de Gruyter, 2010), 22.

② T. Römer, “Why Would the Deuteronomists Tell About the Sacrifice of Jephthah’s Daughter?” *JSTOT* 77 (1998): 27-38.



Isaac that God “will see” the sacrificial victim (Gen 22: 8) and Jephthah sees his daughter who then becomes a intended victim. After the substitution of a ram for Isaac, God promises Abraham innumerable descendants (Gen 22: 17), while Jephthah’s daughter will disappear without having slept with a man (Judg 11: 39). The “happy ending” in Gen 22, becomes a tragic ending. The author of Judges 11 knows the story of Gen 22. That means that the narrative in Judges 11: 29 is not a residue from archaic times when Israel had not yet attained a high degree of spirituality, as asserted by several commentators.

Apparently, the author of Judg 11 wants to present Jephthah’s daughter (who has no name) as a kind of Hebrew Iphigenia. This can be explained by the growing influence of Hellenistic culture on nascent Judaism

The story of the sacrifice of Jephthah’s unnamed daughter (Judg 11: 30-32, 34-40) presupposes the Greek tradition of Iphigenia, more specifically the two versions written by Euripides: “Iphigenia in Tauris” (412 BCE) and “Iphigenia at Aulis” (407 BCE).

In Iphigenia in Tauris, Artemis substitutes a hind and takes Iphigenia away to Asia. The original version of Iphigenia at Aulis apparently ended with the death of the girl. I would like to argue that the author who inserted the story about Jephthah’s daughter into the book of Judges knew the tradition around Iphigenia according to Euripides.

In Judg 11, human sacrifice is declined in the mode of tragedy. Judg 11 is silent about YHWH’s reaction to Jephthah’s vow and sacrifice. In contrast to Gen 22, there is no happy end and no divine intervention from heaven. God does not demand the human sacrifice promised by Jephthah, but neither does he intervene to prevent it.

In this way, he reveals a certain theological scepticism about the idea that the various cultic actions of man (vow and sacrifice) can guarantee contact with God. The author also distances himself from the idea of a divine pedagogy, an idea that was still underlying Gen 22. He depicts a God who does not react in the face of human aberrations, and who confronts the humans with the consequences of their discourses.

To summarize: there are several texts in the Hebrew Bible that show how nascent Judaism sought to eradicate child sacrifice; but perhaps it would be more accurate to say that it sought to provide a sublimation to these practices.

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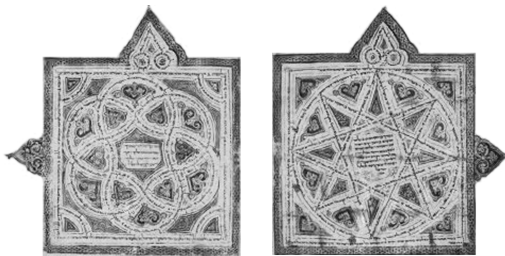
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According to Levenson, “the impulse to sacrifice the first-born son remained potent long after the literal practice had become odious and fallen into desuetude.”<sup>①</sup> The importance of the Aqeda in Judaism and its sacrificial reading applied to the Jewish people, as well as the Christian idea of the sacrifice of the Son of God, seem to give reason to this idea. But we leave the treatment of this subject to more competent authors.<sup>②</sup>

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① J. D. Levenson, *The Death and the Resurrection of the Beloved Son. The Transformation of Child Sacrifice in Judaism and Christianity*, 52.

② Cf. for instance M. Balibutsa, *Les sacrifices humains antiques et le mythe christologique* (Kigali: Imprimerie Nationale de Rwanda, 1983).



## 献祭儿子还是儿子们？

——《创世记》第 22 章与古代以色列的孩童祭祀问题

托马斯·罗莫尔

**【摘要】**《圣经》的《创世记》篇载有关于亚伯拉罕的诸多故事，其中，《创世记》第 22 章里亚伯拉罕献祭儿子的故事地位独特，引发了大量评论。毫无疑问，该故事涉及古代南北以色列活人祭祀的问题，这显然是亚伯拉罕献祭故事问世时的热门话题。本文将证实，活人献祭在古代以色列确实存在，但是古代以色列人也采取了诸多策略来最终禁绝这一活动。

**【关键词】**孩童献祭；《创世记》第 22 章；亚伯拉罕献祭

## “不被敌人定义”

——《芬克勒问题》中“羞愧的犹太人”与身份认同

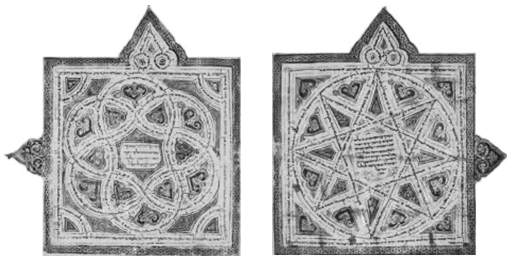
饶雪\*

**【摘要】**英国犹太裔作家霍华德·雅各布森在小说《芬克勒问题》中呈现了多种犹太问题。本文以小说中的人物芬克勒及“羞愧的犹太人”组织为主要研究对象,在社会心理学家对“犹太人的自我憎恨”的研究基础上,探讨小说中巴以冲突语境之下“羞愧的犹太人”组织产生的内在原因。“羞愧的犹太人”内化参照群体对犹太人的偏见,以正义为由反对犹太复国主义、反对以色列,憎恨自己的犹太身份,但他们的憎恨并不能改变反犹主义者对他们犹太身份的确认。通过层出不穷的反犹事件,雅各布森思考了对以色列的恨是否会导致对犹太人的恨这一问题,揭示了非犹太人对犹太人难以改变的偏见。通过芬克勒身份的转变,雅各布森批判了“羞愧的犹太人”具有反犹主义性质的行为,展现了流散犹太人构建文化身份的困境,表达了他对犹太人未来的担忧以及对犹太身份的坚守。

**【关键词】**霍华德·雅各布森;《芬克勒问题》;犹太人的自我憎恨;偏见;反犹;身份认同

恨是人内在情感的一种表达,自我憎恨/自恨(self-hatred)从字面上看表达的是自己对自己的憎恨,但通过社会心理学家的研究可知,自我憎恨既是一种个体现象,也是一种群体现象,最典型的群体自我憎恨就是犹太人和黑人的自我憎恨。就“犹太人的自我憎恨”(Jewish Self-hatred)而言,不同的学者对其产生原因有不同的看法,有学者认为这是犹太人固有的精神疾病或心理疾病,也有学者认为这是一种社会现象,还有学者从语言文化的角度出发认为这是不平等的文

\* 饶雪,信阳师范大学文学院讲师。



化交融的结果。<sup>①</sup> 自恨以文学的话语表达出来,便形成了自恨文学。关于犹太人的自恨文学,李俊宇认为“耶利米哀歌”就是一个典型,而当代较具代表性的犹太自恨文学就是美国犹太裔作家菲利普·罗斯(Philip Roth)的“自恨”叙事。<sup>②</sup>

被冠以“英国的菲利普·罗斯”之称的英国犹太裔作家霍华德·雅各布森(Howard Jacobson)2010年凭借《芬克勒问题》(*The Finkler Question*)获得布克奖。雅各布森以三个男性主人公芬克勒、特雷斯洛夫、利博尔的爱情、工作、友谊为叙事主线,在戏谑而严肃的争论中探讨了反犹太复国主义、反犹主义、犹太身份等问题。在小说中雅各布森塑造了“羞愧的犹太人”(ASHamed Jews)这一特殊群体,实际上该群体与“自我憎恨的犹太人”(self-hatred Jews)在产生原因上有相同之处,是“自我憎恨的犹太人”的一种表现形式。学界对《芬克勒问题》的研究可分为两个部分。一是叙事分析。学者大多认为雅各布森采用了喜剧的创作手法,但在雅各布森的喜剧中又包含着悲剧的因素,达到了寓庄于谐、严肃而搞笑的艺术效果。<sup>③</sup> 二是对犹太文化身份问题的探讨。学者多选取一个特定的语境来进行分析,如阿克塞尔·斯特尔(Axel Stähler)从当代英国犹太人对以色列的复杂态度出发,探讨以色列对英国犹太人身份建构的影响<sup>④</sup>,而吴攸则从全球化时代背景下多元文化交融与碰撞这一角度,分析了《芬克勒问题》中流散的英国犹太人的文化身份认同危机<sup>⑤</sup>。本文借助社会心理学家对“自我憎恨的犹太人”的分析,考察“羞愧的犹太人”在巴以冲突背景之下为什么会对自身的犹太身份感到羞愧。通过层出不穷的反犹事件,雅各布森思考了对以色列的恨是

<sup>①</sup> 关于“犹太人的自我憎恨”产生原因的不同观点,可参见李俊宇 Li Junyu,〈自恨现象研究——以犹太人和黑人为中心的考察〉[Self-Hate Phenomenon],于《华侨大学学报》(哲学社会科学版)[Journal of Huaqiao University (Philosophy & Social Sciences)],2021年第6期[2021, Issue 6],5—15。

<sup>②</sup> 参见李俊宇 Li Junyu,〈菲利普·罗斯的“自恨”叙事——以《波特诺伊的怨诉》为例〉[Philip Roth's Self-Hate Narrative: A Case of Portnoy's Complaint],于《国外文学》[Foreign Literatures],2021年第4期[2021, Issue 4],123—133。

<sup>③</sup> Christoph Houswitschka, “‘Show Me a Novel That's Not Comic...’: Howard Jacobson's *The Finkler Question*,” *Contemporary Literary Criticism*, 442 (2019); 韩江红 Han Jianghong,〈寓庄于谐 寓悲于乐——《芬克勒问题》喜剧艺术及主题解读〉[A Tragicomedy Integrating Solemnity and Humor—An Interpretation of the Artistic Characteristics of *The Finkler Question*],于《山东外语教学》[Shandong Foreign Language Teaching],2011年第1期[2011, Issue 1],84—88。

<sup>④</sup> Axel Stähler, “Antisemitism and Israel in British Jewish Fiction: Perspectives on Clive Sinclair's *Blood Libels* (1985) and Howard Jacobson's *The Finkler Question* (2010)”, *Jewish Culture and History* 14 (2013): 2-3, 112-125.

<sup>⑤</sup> 吴攸 Wu You,〈文化交融还是文明冲突?——论《芬克勒问题》中的犹太文化身份困境〉[The Crossing of Cultures vis-à-vis the Clash of Civilizations: On Cultural Identity Crisis in *The Finkler Question*],于《当代外国文学》[Contemporary Foreign Literature],2019年第2期[2019, Issue 2],54—62。

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否会导致对犹太人的恨这一问题,揭示了非犹太人对犹太人难以改变的偏见。通过“羞愧的犹太人”组织成员芬克勒思想的前后变化,雅各布森批判了“羞愧的犹太人”具有反犹太主义性质的行为,展现了流散犹太人构建文化身份的困境,表达了他对犹太人未来的担忧以及对犹太身份的坚守。

## 一、巴以冲突背景下“羞愧的犹太人”:偏见的内化

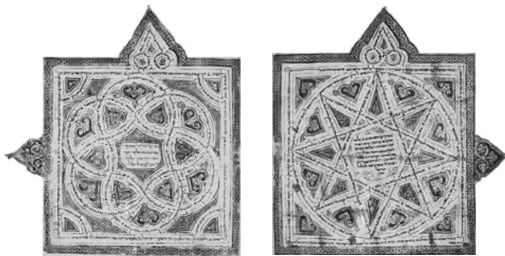
学界公认“犹太人的自我憎恨”这一术语出自1930年特奥多尔·莱辛(Theodor Lessing)创作的《犹太人的自我憎恨》(*Jewish Self-Hatred*)一书,克劳斯·P. 费舍尔(Klaus P. Fischer)评论称:“这是一本自我诊断和描绘犹太人受虐狂的古怪图书。”<sup>①</sup>事实上,在莱辛明确提出这一术语之前,“犹太人的自我憎恨”现象就已经存在于犹太群体之中。桑德·吉尔曼(Sander L. Gilman)认为“犹太人的自我憎恨”是犹太人历史上存在的一种特定的自我否定(self-abnegation)模式的标签。作为一个标签,它有特定的历史和意识形态语境。吉尔曼强调它的概念必须在特定的语境中理解,在不同的语境中这个概念会以不同的修辞呈现出来,但是这个概念的内在结构是不变的。<sup>②</sup>例如,中世纪犹太人以改宗的方式表达自我憎恨,19世纪犹太启蒙思想家以“自我批评”(self-criticism)表达憎恨,大屠杀之后犹太人的自我憎恨以作家的形象呈现出来,但在不断变化的表现形式之下是自我憎恨不变的内在结构,“自我憎恨的中心范式只是刻板印象本身性质的复制品。在对感知变化的动态反映中,它是一系列不断波动的自我形象”<sup>③</sup>,即“犹太人的自我憎恨”本质上是犹太人内化了非犹太人对他们的刻板印象的结果。吉尔曼从语言文化角度追溯了“犹太人的自我憎恨”的发展史,在其研究的结尾,他提到了以色列建国之后出现的新形式的“犹太人的自我憎恨”,即部分犹太人对以色列的存在的恶意反对<sup>④</sup>,但是在20世纪80年代这种形式的自我憎恨只是处于萌芽阶段,吉尔曼也并没有进行详尽的阐释。然而,随着以色列与巴勒斯坦冲突的不断加深,以色列的形象深刻影响着流散犹太人的身份建构,而部分犹太人对以色列的憎恨也越来越凸显,对以色列的憎恨

① Klaus P. Fischer 克劳斯·P. 费舍尔,《强迫症的历史:德国人的犹太恐惧症与大屠杀》[The History of an Obsession: German Judeophobia and the Holocaust], 余江涛 She Jiangtao 译(南京[Nanjing]:译林出版社[Yilin Press],2017),183。

② Sander L. Gilman, *Jewish Self-Hatred* (London: The Johns Hopkins University Press,1986), 1-2.

③ 同上,12。

④ 同上,391。



是新时代“犹太人的自我憎恨”的主要表现形式。

社会心理学家戈登·奥尔波特(Gordon W. Allport)认为:“自我憎恨指一个人为自己有着所属群体中为人鄙夷的特质而感到耻辱——无论这些特质是真实存在还是无稽之谈。我们也将自我憎恨一词用于对自己所属群体中的其他成员的憎恶,因为他们‘拥有’这些特质。”<sup>①</sup>吉尔曼认为:“自我憎恨产生于外来者(outsider)接受他们的参照群体(reference group)对他们的幻想,并将这些幻想看作真实的。”<sup>②</sup>保罗·门德斯-弗洛尔(Paul R. Mendes-Flohr)强调自我憎恨的现象必须在同化的语境中理解。<sup>③</sup>不难看出,自我憎恨是主体在以他者的标准对自己或自己所属群体进行审视之后的反应,其本质是内化他者的观念以求获得他者的认可。正如门德斯-弗洛尔所说:“自我憎恨是犹太人或者所有少数民族在现代化进程中不得不付出的更为阴险的代价之一。”<sup>④</sup>其后果就是“自我憎恨的犹太人”丧失对自身进行定义的权利,成了为不断获取参照群体认可而进行改变的变色龙。

关于历史上出现的“犹太人的自我憎恨”现象,李俊宇总结道:“犹太人的自恨繁盛于启蒙运动中后期的欧洲,那时候大量的德国犹太人受启蒙运动的影响,纷纷抛弃犹太教,要么加入基督教,要么全身心拥抱德国文化,或二者皆为。在二战前后的美国,犹太人中也会出现自恨高潮,而其诱因主要是融入和同化于美国社会的压力。”<sup>⑤</sup>雅各布森在《芬克勒问题》中塑造的“羞愧的犹太人”可以说体现了“犹太人的自我憎恨”的第三次高潮,其主要表现为对以色列存在的憎恨,而其诱因也主要出于融入主流文化群体、获得身份认可的需求。

自1948年以色列建国到1983年,以色列与阿拉伯国家前后爆发五次中东战争,战争导致无尽的伤亡与苦难,尤其是1967年第三次中东战争即六日战争,以色列侵占约旦河西岸及加沙地带的领土,导致生活在其上的阿拉伯人无家可归,造成影响巨大的难民危机,对阿拉伯无辜平民的伤害使以色列的战争染上非人道的色彩,受到国际社会舆论的强烈谴责。在循环往复的战火与伤亡中,巴以双方领导人也致力于寻找和平之路,但在争取和平的道路上仍冲突不断。2008年,为了报复哈马斯在加沙地带对以色列的攻击,以色列对加沙地带展开了“铸

<sup>①</sup> Gordon W. Allport 戈登·奥尔波特,《偏见的本质》[The Nature of Prejudice],凌晨 Ling Chen 译(北京[Beijing]:九州出版社[Jiuzhou Press],2020),164。

<sup>②</sup> Sander L. Gilman, *Jewish Self-Hatred*, 2.

<sup>③</sup> Paul R. Mendes-Flohr, “The Throes of Assimilation: Self-Hatred and the Jewish Revolutionary,” *European Judaism: A Journal for the New Europe* 12 (Spring, 1978): 34.

<sup>④</sup> 同上,39。

<sup>⑤</sup> 李俊宇,《菲利普·罗斯的“自恨”叙事——以《波特诺伊的怨诉》为例》,124。

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铅行动”(Operation Cast Lead),该行动在阿拉伯世界又被称为“加沙大屠杀”(Gaza Massacre)。以色列通过军事打击摧毁哈马斯在加沙地带的武装力量、军火武器以及军事设施,使加沙地区像铸了铅一样无法承载哈马斯的反以行动。“铸铅行动”总共造成至少 1300 名巴勒斯坦人死亡,约 5500 人受伤,其中一半为平民。<sup>①</sup>

以色列因给阿拉伯民众造成的灾难长期以来受到国际社会的谴责,英国社会也存在这样的反以声音。在追溯英国历史上的反犹主义时,安东尼·朱利斯(Anthony Julius)将以色列自 1967 年六日战争以来在其存在的合法性上遭受的挑战称作“当代反犹太复国主义”(contemporary anti-Zionism),他认为在当代的反犹太复国主义中,可能会发现世俗的、左派的或后左派的反犹太复国主义(“新反犹太复国主义”),以及穆斯林、犹太人和基督教的反犹太复国主义(统称为“教义反犹太复国主义”)。<sup>②</sup> 英国在犹太复国主义道路上扮演着独特的角色,伴随犹太复国主义进程的便是不断的反犹太复国主义运动。反犹太复国主义者的激进主义在英国尤其强烈,在某种程度上相当于反以色列游说,而其重要的表现形式则是对以色列的抵制运动。<sup>③</sup> 在 21 世纪的第一个十年,针对以色列的各种抵制运动在英国社会轮流上演。

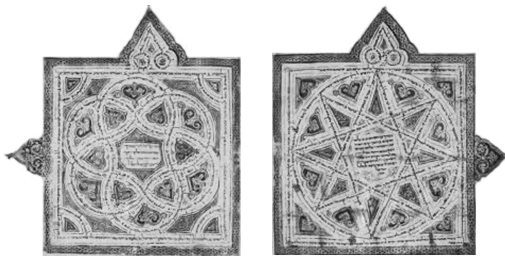
正是在这样一种大的政治背景之下,雅各布森创作了《芬克勒问题》。在小说中雅各布森塑造的“羞愧的犹太人”这一群体,是现实中英国社会中反以色列的犹太人代表,是“自我憎恨的犹太人”。他们以人道的名义谴责犹太复国主义是非人类的行为,对犹太复国主义行为感到不耻。“羞愧的犹太人”在对其他犹太人感到憎恨的同时,还包含着一种自我炫耀,他们向英国人展示自己的正义,以表明自己区别于犹太复国主义者,以获取英国人对他们的认可。

小说中的“羞愧的犹太人”组织主要由英国犹太知识分子构成,包括学术教授、戏剧演员、著名厨师、脱口秀演员等。“羞愧的犹太人”这一名称来自小说中的犹太实用主义哲学家芬克勒,他同时也是一位电视名人,在电视节目中芬克勒公开表示自己为巴勒斯坦人失去家园感到羞愧。戏剧界和学术界的知名人士为褒扬芬克勒的勇气,决定将他们的团体命名为“羞愧的犹太人”。这些成员经常聚集在一起,以犹太人的身份对以色列感到羞愧。他们强调他们根本不憎恨自

<sup>①</sup> 参见张倩红 Zhang Qianhong,《以色列史》[The History of Israel](北京[Beijing]:人民出版社[People's Publishing House],2014),477—478。

<sup>②</sup> Anthony Julius, *Trials of the Diaspora: A History of Antisemitism in England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 442.

<sup>③</sup> 同上,443。



己的犹太属性,认为是他们在延续公正与同情等伟大的犹太传统。<sup>①</sup>然而,实质上,犹太身份只是他们用来向英国主体证明他们区别于其他非“羞愧的犹太人”的工具,炫耀作为犹太人只有他们是正义的,他们并不真正认可犹太身份所象征的文化意义。

“羞愧的犹太人”的自我憎恨主要表现在两个方面:一是反犹太复国主义,二是反犹太教。他们将以色列对巴勒斯坦阿拉伯人的行为比作新的纳粹主义,批判以色列在加沙的行动,对以色列采取抵制行动。“羞愧的犹太人”组织的抵制行动主要是对以色列大学与机构进行学术与文化抵制,当然还有其他形式的抵制。“羞愧的犹太人”组织团体中最重要的抵制者是默顿·库格尔,他在私人场所抵制以色列,不惜累垮自己的身体,也要抵制以色列的每一件商品。而“羞愧的犹太人”组织的首创成员阿尔文·伯利亚科夫每天坐在摄像机前记录自己的包皮修复过程,然后在互联网上发表反犹太教的长篇大论。他认为犹太教的割礼是对犹太人身体的一种残害,他要为全世界几百万身体受到残害的犹太人说话。“在阿尔文·伯利亚科夫看来,犹太人的割礼仪式和复国主义者的屠杀之间,必然存在着直接的关联。无助的犹太婴儿和赤手空拳的巴勒斯坦人是一样的,因为犹太人无所顾忌地饮着他们无辜的血。”<sup>②</sup>反犹太复国主义与反犹太教在嗜血这一点上达到了一致,“羞愧的犹太人”坚持犹太人要为无数反人性的罪行负责。

吉尔曼认为“犹太人的自我憎恨”是一个可以和“犹太反犹太教”(Jewish anti-Judaism)、“犹太反犹主义”(Jewish anti-Semitism)互换的术语。<sup>③</sup>克里斯托夫·胡斯维奇卡(Christoph Houswitschka)也认为萨姆·芬克勒是“羞愧的犹太人”的一员,他们是接近反犹太主义和自我憎恨的反犹太复国主义者。<sup>④</sup>如前文所述,流散在世界各地的犹太人在文化交融中在不同时期表现出不同形式的自我憎恨,他们本质上是内化了流散地主体民族对犹太人的偏见,从文化的角度来看,“羞愧的犹太人”的产生可以解释为他们面对文化压迫时所采取的一种防御机制,在巴以冲突的大背景下,他们内化了英国社会中存在的对以色列非正义的批判声音,内化了英国社会中存在的对犹太人的刻板印象,站在了反犹太主义者的立场,以期获得他们的认可。“羞愧的犹太人”实质上是不平等的文化交融

<sup>①</sup> 参见 Howard Jacobson 霍华德·雅各布森,《芬克勒问题》[The Finkler Question],周小进 Zhou Xiaojin 译(上海[Shanghai]:上海译文出版社[Shanghai Translation Publishing House],2014),194。

<sup>②</sup> 同上,307。

<sup>③</sup> Sander L. Gilman, *Jewish Self-Hatred*, 1.

<sup>④</sup> Christoph Houswitschka, “‘Show Me a Novel That’s Not Comic...’: Howard Jacobson’s *The Finkler Question*.”

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过程中的受害者,他们丧失了对自身文化的自信,是徒有犹太身份的反犹主义者。

## 二、对以色列的恨与对犹太人的恨:难以改变的偏见

巴以冲突引起的问题,不仅影响犹太人对自身身份的定位,也牵动着世界各地对犹太人的认识。当“羞愧的犹太人”反犹太复国主义时,非犹太人的反犹行动也在同时发生。

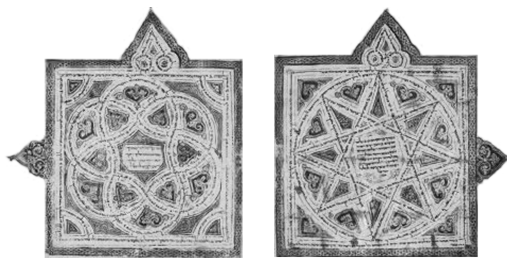
当回顾《芬克勒问题》的创作时,雅各布森谈到2008年至2009年以色列对加沙开展的“铸铅行动”对他的影响,他说:“那几个月的情绪不可避免地进入了我的小说。当时,我想记录下在这个国家(英国)做犹太人的感觉,当提出对以色列的憎恨是否会蔓延到对犹太人的憎恨(这种事情不是不可能的),以及一个新的水晶之夜是否即将到来等问题似乎是合理的时候。”<sup>①</sup>他说《芬克勒问题》“在一定程度上是一本关于犹太人身份的书。它讲述的是非犹太人想成为犹太人和犹太人不想成为犹太人的故事。以色列入侵加沙后,在英国有一种非常可怕的感觉——几乎是犹太人身份的危机,这本书因此获得了动力。我无法停止写这本书或思考这本书。考虑到以色列正在发生的事情,我从自己的角度写了一本小说,讲述在英国做一个犹太人的感觉”<sup>②</sup>。

在小说中,雅各布森展现了大量的反犹主义事件,来凸显以色列对巴勒斯坦人的行动给英国流散犹太人身份造成的危机,而这些事件都是现实生活中犹太人处境的一种反映。小说中的利博尔——特雷斯洛夫和芬克勒的老师,一个在大屠杀之前移民英国的捷克犹太人,收到一封半个多世纪未曾联系的一个女人艾米·奥本斯坦因的来信,询问他是否还在写专栏。艾米22岁的孙子被阿尔及利亚人刺中面部导致失明,凶手在攻击时用阿拉伯语喊“上帝伟大”,还有“所有犹太人去死”<sup>③</sup>,事情发生在伦敦,在以色列入侵加沙之后。艾米的孙子受到的伤害其实就反映了对以色列的恨导致了对犹太人不加区分的恨,艾米的孙子并没有参加加沙行动,但作为一个犹太人在阿拉伯人眼中他就是有罪的,就应该为以色列的行为负责。而面对阿拉伯人对犹太人的报复,处于事件之外的旁观者中有一种声音称他们可以理解阿拉伯人的行为。艾米希望找利博尔这样的新闻界人士来发声,不仅要控告袭击者还要谴责那些声称理解这一袭击行为的人。

① Howard Jacobson, “Anti-Zionism-Facts (and Fictions),” *Jewish Chronicle* (July 30, 2010): 22.

② Simon Round, “Interview: Howard Jacobson,” *Jewish Chronicle Online* (January 21, 2010).

③ 霍华德·雅各布森,《芬克勒问题》,211。



艾米告诉利博尔,一个电影导演说他理解为什么有人要使她的孙子失明,理解为什么人们恨犹太人,想杀死他们。艾米对这个电影导演的评论充满愤怒,对他表示理解的言论不满。因为在艾米看来,“理解”包含了某种正当性,为那些袭击她孙子的人提供正当性。艾米质问道:“因为加沙,所以就可以把我孙子的眼睛弄瞎?难道一切以加沙名义犯下的罪行,因为加沙就提前宽恕了?”<sup>①</sup>艾米所提出的问题其实是,是否因为以色列给加沙造成了伤害,一切以加沙为名义对犹太人的伤害就是正当的,是否为了表达仇恨阿拉伯人就可以对犹太人采取任何行动,而犹太人只能默默忍受。小说中电影导演的观点,其实就代表了现实中部分文化人士在巴以冲突问题上对犹太人所采取的态度,他们不区分流散与非流散犹太人或者犹太复国主义者与非犹太复国主义者,在他们的观念中,只有作为整体的犹太人,而没有作为个体的犹太人,作为个体的犹太人的人性被抹除。因此,当单个的无辜犹太人受到伤害时,他们也不会出于人道的名义为犹太人辩护,这样就使犹太人陷入一种孤立无援的境地。而像利博尔这样的流散犹太人,面对这一人性抹除也无能为力,因为他也在被抹除之列。

在对袭击行为表示理解之外,更多的针对犹太人的袭击伴随巴以冲突在英国以及世界各地上演,不仅包括阿拉伯人对犹太人的报复,也包含反犹主义者对犹太人的攻击,还有普遍存在的对犹太人难以改变的刻板印象及偏见。小说叙述道,在利博尔表示无法帮助艾米之后,艾米经常打电话给他,向他讲述发生的反犹事件,例如两个戴流苏披肩的犹太男孩又被袭击,伦敦北部一个犹太公墓里的墓碑被人损坏等。而利博尔自己也回想起他和妻子玛尔琪住在威尔斯登(Willsden)时遭遇的黑暗时期,他们因将一栋公寓用作出租屋,变成了房东,而遭受租户的谩骂指责,说他们是“只知道搜刮钱财的脏犹太人”<sup>②</sup>,而那些指责他们的人不过是英国的普通民众,吝啬、肮脏是他们对犹太人的一种刻板印象。

利博尔的曾侄孙女赫夫齐芭,想在伦敦兴建一个盎格鲁-犹太文化博物馆,展示犹太人在英国的成就以区别于普遍存在的大屠杀纪念馆,但她的犹太文化博物馆也遭到反犹袭击,刚安装好的橡木门把手上被反犹分子挂上咸猪肉,而且他们在墙上写“所有犹太人去死”<sup>③</sup>。报纸上充斥着反犹的言论,以色列士兵杀害巴勒斯坦人被解读为就为了在国际市场上贩卖人体器官。华盛顿一家犹太博物馆的一名保安遭到枪击,负责犹太公共设施的人都感到震惊,焦虑恐惧在犹太人之间传播。电影院里关于犹太人杀死巴勒斯坦人的电影在上演,犹太人被比

① 霍华德·雅各布森,《芬克勒问题》,213。

② 同上,291。

③ 同上,314。

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作纳粹,被看成谋杀儿童者。中世纪关于犹太人嗜血杀婴的诽谤标签在 21 世纪又重新被贴在犹太人身上。“犹太人又成了问题。罕见地沉寂了一段时间之后,反犹主义又恢复了它长期以来的面目——一台永不停歇的自动扶梯,任何人只要愿意随时可以跳上去。”<sup>①</sup>

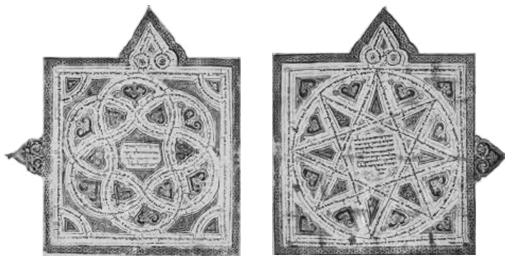
1967 年六日战争,以色列占领加沙及约旦河西岸的领土,在阿拉伯人居住的地方建立自己的定居点。因为定居点的问题,以色列在数十年间遭受巴勒斯坦恐怖组织的袭击。2003 年,在巴以寻求和平的道路上,以色列总理沙龙提出“脱离计划”,即撤离在加沙和约旦河西岸的定居点,与巴勒斯坦脱离。然而,在撤离的行动中,部分犹太定居者不愿离开定居点,抗议与袭击时有发生。在小说中,雅各布森讲述了撤离背景下发生的悲剧。迈尔·阿布拉姆斯基是定居点的定居者,坚信定居点就是他们的土地,是上帝应允给犹太人的圣地,坚决不愿离开定居点。面对撤离的命令,他没有袭击前来驱赶的以色列士兵,而是爬上一辆公交车,打死了一家阿拉伯人。面对这一事件,赫夫齐芭及其他犹太人都感到震惊,为这一悲剧感到震惊,同时也为他们即将不得不面对的后果震惊,因为“到处都把犹太人描述成嗜血的怪物,无论复国主义的历史如何解释——是从他们攫取他人国家一开始就嗜血,还是事件逐步累积使他们失去了同情心而变得嗜血——可是没有任何犹太人在为这个阿拉伯家庭的死亡而欢呼,街道上没有,他们自己家里也没有……汝等不可杀人!那些诽谤者、那些煽动仇恨者,他们想怎么说就怎么说,往犹太人身上泼脏水,说他们是种族主义者、犹太至上主义者,但汝等不可杀人已经烙在犹太人的心中”<sup>②</sup>。

像赫夫齐芭这样的犹太人并不觉得占领区的定居者与她有任何相同之处,她也不同意这些定居者的行为,认为其是普遍非理性的孩子,但是伦敦街头的那些反犹主义者并不这么认为,他们不会区分到底有哪几种犹太人,在他们心中,只有一种犹太人。美国社会心理学家戈登·奥尔波特在探讨偏见的本质时认为,偏见包含两个基本要素:一个是喜爱或者厌恶的态度,另一个是过度泛化的信念。他认为如果没有针对整个群体的泛化信念,敌对态度就无法长久地持续下去。且人们的信念系统有一套自我调整的把戏,去配合和维持更永久性的偏见态度。<sup>③</sup> 反犹主义就是一种针对整个犹太人群体的泛化信念,所以当一个人犹太人犯罪时,整个犹太群体都会被视为有罪的,即使在与个体的犹太人相处时反犹主义者发现这个犹太人并不是有罪的,他也会作出自我调整,来合理化他的敌

① 霍华德·雅各布森,《芬克勒问题》,315。

② 同上,387。

③ 参见戈登·奥尔波特,《偏见的本质》,14—15。



对态度。

在巴以冲突的背景下,不管是对阿拉伯人袭击犹太人行为的理解,还是对犹太人肮脏、吝啬、嗜血杀婴的诽谤,都是长久以来非犹太人对犹太人偏见的一种投射,犹太人在非犹太人的心中作为一种标签符号是一个整体,不管犹太人对以色列的行为是否感到羞愧,不管犹太人是否支持犹太复国主义,在对犹太人持有偏见的非犹太人眼中,他们都是同质的。雅各布森通过众多发生在英国的反犹事件,揭示了潜藏在英国主流群体中的难以改变的对犹太人的偏见。

### 三、反犹现实下对“自我羞愧”的重思:芬克勒的身份转变

如前文所述,在反犹主义者眼中只有作为整体的犹太人,所以当反犹主义者攻击犹太人时,不管“羞愧的犹太人”有多么反对以色列,认同参照群体的价值观,他们在参照群体看来也始终是局外人、他者。正如吉尔曼所说,在“自我憎恨的犹太人”接受参照群体对他们的定义时,这种接受本身就包含着内在的对立,一方面是外来群体幻想只要他们遵守参照群体的要求,他们就能获得认可。另一方面是参照群体隐藏的资格与诅咒:你越像我,我就越知道你希望分享的我的权利的真正价值;你越希望分享,我也越意识到你只是一个伪劣的冒牌货,一个局外人。<sup>①</sup> 所以,“羞愧的犹太人”在本质上处在一种不平等的文化交融之中,无法获得参照群体真正的认可。正是在这样一种对不平等文化交融的深刻体悟中,作为“羞愧的犹太人”组织的一员,芬克勒发生重大的思想转变,退出“羞愧的犹太人”组织。《芬克勒问题》出版后并没有像菲利普·罗斯的《波特诺伊的怨诉》那样引起犹太人强烈的反对与批评,其中一个重要原因就是雅各布森不仅表达了犹太人中存在的自我憎恨心理,也表达了对自我憎恨的犹太人以及造成犹太人自我憎恨的压迫群体的批判。

在小说中,每当有自我憎恨的言论发出时,就有相应的反对自我憎恨的声音。当芬克勒还是“羞愧的犹太人”时,他的反对者主要是他的妻子以及利博尔等亲密的人。芬克勒的妻子泰勒,是一个想成为犹太人的非犹太人,当芬克勒在电视节目中公开表示自己的羞愧时,在家里观看节目的泰勒就会为芬克勒的行为感到羞愧。在泰勒的眼中,芬克勒就是一个虚荣、爱炫耀、自大、自夸、自傲的人,就是为了获得名誉而将羞愧当作工具的精致利己主义者。而利博尔也指责他不应该将自己对犹太人的羞愧当众展示,他和泰勒都认为这是犹太人自己的事情,不应该在非犹太人面前展示。奥尔波特观察道:“急切想要抹去弱势群体

<sup>①</sup> Sander L. Gilman, *Jewish Self-Hatred*, 2.

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对他们的影响并向往融入主流群体的人,往往会受到群体中其他成员的敌视。他们会认为这样的人是‘自命不凡的’‘马屁精’,甚至是叛徒。”<sup>①</sup>在泰勒以及利博尔等人眼中,芬克勒及其他“羞愧的犹太人”的行为就具有背叛的性质,泰勒评价芬克勒说:“他这种犹太人,要是换个时代,连最憎恨犹太人的国王或苏丹都会给他高官做。”<sup>②</sup>

泰勒去世后,芬克勒会经常回想起泰勒对他的批评,并反思自己的行为,而他与“羞愧的犹太人”组织的意见分歧也逐渐使他认识到羞愧行为中的背叛性。面对“羞愧的犹太人”对以色列开展的学术抵制运动,芬克勒持反对意见,在潜移默化中他内化了泰勒和利博尔的观点,即作为犹太人,羞愧是犹太人自己的事,不应该公开展示,而作为一家人,犹太人更不应该抵制犹太人。

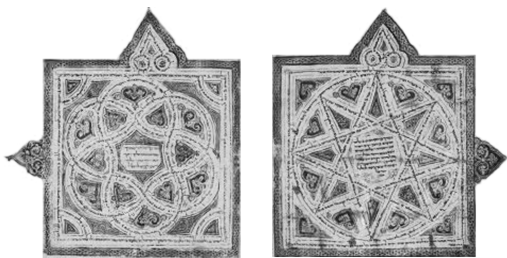
面对不断发生的反犹事件,利博尔表示让人感到难过的不仅仅是犹太人没有采取任何行动,还有犹太人在反犹事件面前感觉的丧失。而芬克勒则表示丧失感觉是因为他们在如何应对反犹事件上彩排得太频繁,他认为是犹太人自己制造了一种无谓的焦虑气氛,芬克勒希望将犹太人遭遇的攻击看作正常普通的事件。但当芬克勒听到自己的儿子卷入了一场反犹袭击之后,他也感到恐惧害怕,感到焦虑。而经常幻想捶打父亲肚子的芬克勒,在梦中梦见自己的犹太父亲在自己的商店中被反犹主义者袭击。发生在亲人身上的或真实或虚幻的反犹事件,仿佛都是对他不严肃对待反犹事件的警告。通过芬克勒,雅各布森其实是对现实中众多持同样麻木冷漠态度的犹太人的质问,难道非要等到反犹事件切实地发生在自己身上,犹太人才采取行动,发出自己的声音吗?

在面对反对犹太复国主义者对以色列的反对时,芬克勒的立场也发生重大转变,在公开场合,他情不自禁要为以色列的存在进行辩护,虽然他仍对以色列杀害无辜阿拉伯人感到羞愧,但他并不像“羞愧的犹太人”组织成员那样认为犹太复国主义从一开始就是有罪的,要彻底反对以色列国的存在。在一场关于以色列建国的合法性的辩论中,一个非犹太女人说去到圣地她看到的是一个被种族至上主义者统治的种族隔离国家,作为一个犹太人芬克勒难以接受犹太人被看作种族至上主义者,本来在辩论中处于批判以色列立场的芬克勒从受伤的心里发出对非犹太女人的谴责:

你怎么这么大胆,一个非犹太人——你怎么这么大胆,竟然以为自己能告诉犹太人他们该生活在什么样的国家,难道不正是你——一个欧洲非犹

① 戈登·奥尔波特,《偏见的本质》,165。

② 霍华德·雅各布森,《芬克勒问题》,163。



大人——让犹太人独立建国成为必要吗？

你用暴力把人从你的土地上赶走，现在他们不来烦你了，你居然认为自己有权高高在上，规定他们该到哪儿去、该怎么做才对他们有好处，这是什么扭曲、复杂的逻辑呢？我是英国人，我爱英国，你是不是也认为这不是种族歧视的国家？每个国家的近代历史都有污点，都有针对某种人的歧视和仇恨，哪个国家不是？我们本身就是种族主义者，又有什么权利去指摘别人身上的种族主义？只有在一个无需畏惧的世界里，犹太人才会应允接受人类的教训。否则，犹太人的国家给全世界的犹太人提供安全——没错，犹太人优先——可能并不公正，但绝不能说是种族主义。一个巴勒斯坦人可能会说，这让他觉得像是歧视，我理解他，尽管他们的历史上也鄙视过信仰不同的其他民族，但你呢，女士，我无法理解，你的表现像是心里在流血、良心受煎熬的非犹太世界的代表，而几个世纪以来，犹太人一直要逃离的就是这个世界，这并不是他们的错……<sup>①</sup>

芬克勒从历史现实以及犹太人所遭受的迫害为以色列建国赋予合法性，芬克勒想表达真正造成犹太人采取复国行动的其实是欧洲那些种族论者，在欧洲犹太人是种族主义受害者，所以，作为迫害过犹太人的种族主义国家就没有资格站在道德的制高点指责犹太复国主义是种族主义行为。

在公开的辩护之后，芬克勒退出了“羞愧的犹太人”组织，不断发生的反犹事件使他认识到“羞愧的犹太人”并不能改变主流群体对他们是犹太人的认识，他不得不重新思考自己的犹太身份以及作为一个犹太人的职责。面对反犹现实，他意识到作为一个犹太人“最难的部分，是不要由敌人来定义自己”<sup>②</sup>。小说结尾芬克勒完成了身份的转变，把名字从萨姆·芬克勒(Sam Finkler)改回了萨缪尔·芬克勒(Samuel Finkler)，萨缪尔是一个古希伯来先知的名字，在上大学之前他坚持叫自己萨缪尔，但后来改为萨姆，因为他不想让别人知道他是一个犹太人。名字的重拾意味着芬克勒重新做回了犹太人，意味着他对犹太身份的坚守，也意味着他要自己定义自己而不再以非犹太人的观念来定义自己。

然而除了改变自身之外，面对强烈的反犹现实以及犹太人面对反犹时习以为常、麻木、厌倦的态度，芬克勒什么也做不了，只能在犹太会堂里祈祷。小说结尾，利博尔因无法忍受失去妻子的痛苦，跳崖自尽，芬克勒每天去教堂为利博尔哀悼，但三十天哀悼时间完成之后，芬克勒并没有停止他的哀悼，谁也不能让他

<sup>①</sup> 霍华德·雅各布森，《芬克勒问题》，325—326。

<sup>②</sup> 同上，389。

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停下来,他几乎可以去哀悼所有犹太人,而且也不限于犹太人,芬克勒的悼念永无止境。

通过芬克勒的身份转变,雅各布森表达了在流散语境之下对犹太身份的坚守以及面对强大的反犹现实对犹太人未来的担忧,同时也表达了对反犹主义者的批判。雅各布森是当代英国较具代表性的犹太裔作家,敢于直面棘手的英国性问题<sup>①</sup>,在表达犹太声音的同时,体现了当代英国犹太裔作家逐渐找回的自信态度<sup>②</sup>。

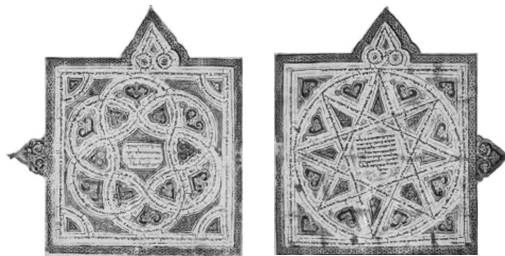
## 结 语

“犹太人的自我憎恨”长期存在于流散犹太人的心里,深刻影响他们在文化交融中对自身身份的定位。作为“犹太人的自我憎恨”现象的延续,巴以冲突背景下的“羞愧的犹太人”也是不平等的文化交融的产物,他们为了寻求融入主流群体内化了参照群体对以色列及犹太复国主义的批判,而丧失了自身的犹太立场。而反犹的现实则揭示出非犹太人对犹太人的偏见难以改变,“羞愧的犹太人”最终不仅得不到主流群体对他们的接受,还使他们背上叛徒的骂名。通过《芬克勒问题》,雅各布森揭示了,只有保持文化自信,坚守自己的文化身份,自己定义自己,才不会沦为文化交融过程中的牺牲品。

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① Bryan Cheyette, “Imagined Communities: Contemporary Jewish Writing in Great Britain,” in V. Liska and T. Nolden, eds., *Contemporary Jewish Writing in Europe: A Guide* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008), 97.

② Ruth Gilbert, “Contemporary British-Jewish Writing: From Apology to Attitude,” *Literature Compass* 5 (2008): 394-406.



**Not to Be Defined by One’s Enemies”:**  
**ASHamed Jews and Identity in *The Finkler Question***

RAO Xue

**Abstract:** In his novel *The Finkler Question*, Howard Jacobson, a British Jewish writer, presents many Jewish issues. This paper takes Finkler, the character in the novel, and the “ASHamed Jews” as the main research object. Based on the research of social psychologists on “Jewish self-hatred”, this paper discusses the internal causes of the “ASHamed Jews” in the context of Israeli-Palestinian conflict in the novel. “ASHamed Jews” internalized the reference group’s prejudice against Jews, opposed Zionism and Israel on the grounds of justice, and hated their Jewish identity, but their hatred did not change the anti-Semitism’s recognition of their Jewish identity. Through the endless anti-Semitic events, Jacobson pondered whether hatred of Israel would lead to hatred of Jews, and revealed the prejudice of non-Jews against Jews that is hard to change. Through the change of Finkler’s identity, Jacobson criticized the anti-Semitic behavior of “ASHamed Jews”, showed the plight of diaspora Jews in building cultural identity, expressed his concern about the future of Jews and his adherence to Jewish identity.

**Key Words:** Howard Jacobson, *The Finkler Question*, Jewish Self-hatred, Prejudice, Anti-Semitism, Identity

## 矛盾统一：犹太人对中国革命的贡献<sup>\*</sup>

伊扎克·希霍尔<sup>\*\*</sup>

洪 韬 肖 宪<sup>\*\*\*</sup> 译

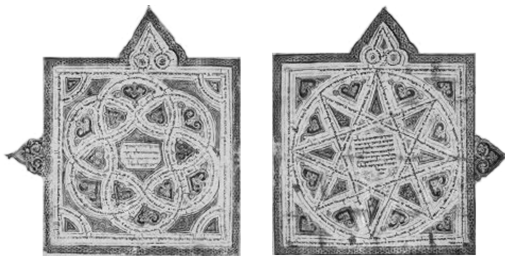
【摘要】犹太人深深地卷入了欧洲的共产主义革命，尤其是在俄罗斯，他们往往是革命的领导者。这很容易理解，因为犹太人生活的地理位置、接受的良好教育以及长期以来遭受的苦难。然而，我们如何解释他们在亚洲特别是在中国的共产主义革命中同样也发挥了作用呢？那里几乎没有犹太社团可言，生活在那里的少数犹太人几乎被完全同化了，他们对中国文化、历史和政治毫无兴趣。尽管如此，（来自中国以外的）犹太人不仅参加了中国的革命，而且还帮助点燃了革命的烈火，他们有的继续留在了革命队伍中，有的则是后来加入了革命队伍。尽管我对此感到困惑，但在本文中我仍将尝试对中国的犹太活跃分子和革命者进行分类，解释他们的动机（无论是否出于主动选择），并尽可能地评估他们的贡献。尽管看起来犹太身份在他们的革命活动中并没有发挥什么直接影响，但却起到了间接作用。本文的研究对象包括格舒尼、维经斯基、舒米亚茨基、鲍罗廷、越飞、米夫、柯鲁克、李敦白、爱泼斯坦、沙博理、爱德勤、金诗伯、夏皮洛等人。他们对中国革命的贡献主要集中于写作、翻译、沟通和出版。

【关键词】犹太活动家；中国共产主义革命；犹太身份；Tikkun'Olam（改造世界）；犹太革命

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你持守这个为美,那个也不要松手。(《传道书》7:18)

在近现代历史上,犹太人参与激进的社会运动和革命活动并不是一个罕见的现象。世界各地有很多证据证明了这一点,尤其是在欧洲。犹太人不仅参加了左翼和共产主义运动,而且在许多运动中发挥了领导作用,这一点在俄国革命中尤为突出。如果我们看到犹太人在当地人口中所占的比例(1917年俄罗斯大约有300万犹太人),就能看到他们已完全融入了当地的语言和文化,很容易理解他们在沙皇和其他压迫者统治时期所遭受的政治、社会和经济压迫以及他们的宗教背景、教育和知识水平。

与此同时,也有许多犹太人坚定地反对共产主义,维护资本主义。有时一些犹太家庭内部也会分裂成支持共产主义和反对共产主义的两派。这种对立在西方很常见,在中国则不存在。中国犹太社团不仅弱小,而且对参加革命也毫无兴趣。中国一度成为逃避迫害和死亡的俄国和欧洲犹太人的避风港,这些人在中国得到了庇护、自由和繁荣。以前在中国定居的犹太社团中,最为人所知的是开封犹太社团,他们都被同化了。与英国关系密切的巴格达犹太人从19世纪50年代中期开始主要定居在上海和香港;他们对革命毫无兴趣,更不用说共产主义了。事实上,他们对革命几乎一无所知。社会主义思想在19世纪后期的中国没有什么影响。和大多数西方学说一样,社会主义思想通过日本传入亚洲,并被侨居海外的中国、朝鲜、越南知识分子和活动分子所接受。

最初,在“进口”到日本的各种社会主义思想中,共产主义(以及马克思)对中国知识分子是最没有吸引力的。“阶级斗争”观念被认为过于暴力,与倡导和谐统一社会的传统儒家价值观是矛盾的。此外,“工人阶级”代表“普世”和“革命”阶级的思想,也与前现代中国人的观念格格不入。与亚洲工业化和城市化的领跑者日本不同,“现代”中国仍是一个落后的农业国家。它的资产阶级和无产阶级都太弱小、太不发达,无法产生革命的条件和革命的动力。因此,知识分子们更喜欢西方的社会民主或国家社会主义,即按照传统价值观来进行统治,强调政府,强调以德治国和社会凝聚力。无论存在什么样的社会政治反对力量和激进思想,都不是按马克思的共产主义来表达,而是按无政府主义来表达的。一直到20世纪20年代初,中国共产党创始人之一、后来成为中国共产党领导人的毛泽东,都认为自己是无政府主义者。在这些面向日本后来又间接面向中国(和东亚)的无政府主义“传播者”中,有一位立陶宛籍的犹太活动家格里戈里·格舒尼(Grigory Gershuni)。

与中国的无政府主义者都是知识分子和理论家不同,格舒尼是一名职业的

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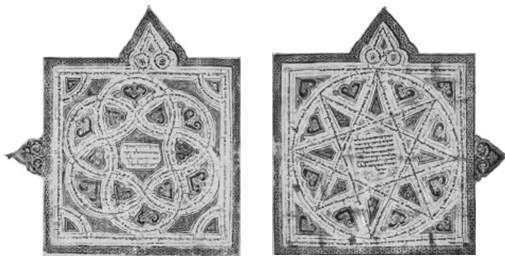
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无政府主义者。和其他犹太革命者一样,他完全融入了俄罗斯文化,然而他却为自己的犹太血统感到自豪,并具有反击反犹主义的能力,必要时甚至可以使用暴力。他是俄国政治解放工人党(Workers' Party for the Political Liberation of Russia)的创始人,经过1901年被捕后,他又成为社会革命党(SR)的共同创始人之一。1902年,他建立了党的武装组织,从事暗杀和恐怖活动。由于一名“同党”叛变,他于1903年被捕,一年后被流放到东西伯利亚涅尔钦斯克地区的一所监狱(劳改营)。在被捕前,他同意与立宪民主党人建立临时联盟。1906年,他靠藏在一个酸菜桶里逃到中国,然后又去了日本。他在日本遇到一些1904—1905年日俄战争的战俘和亚洲的活动家(如孙中山)。这也许是亚洲“革命者们”第一次了解到现实中的无政府主义。当时社会主义并没有多少吸引力,因为它与民族主义无关,而且缺乏发动革命的组织工具。格舒尼提供了一些工具,将无政府主义改造成了20世纪初东亚最流行的西方意识形态。但是不久后,无政府主义就被列宁主义超越了,列宁主义为民族主义和组织形式这两个难点提供了解决办法,从而触发了中国的共产主义,并导致了中国历史上迄今为止最伟大的革命运动。格舒尼之所以失败,是因为他只倡导革命的一个方面,即革命的破坏性,而没有倡导革命的建设性。格舒尼的主张最初使中国的激进派印象深刻,但后来却发现它是消极和不可接受的。

传统观点认为,中国的共产主义起源于五四运动(1919年)。人们听说凡尔赛会议决定将山东的一部分(原先是德国的租借地)交给日本,因此感到很失望。成千上万的示威者表达了他们对西方列强的愤怒,特别是对美国、对威尔逊总统的“出卖”感到愤怒,这显然导致学生和知识分子接受了马克思-列宁主义和俄国革命。因此,中国共产党是被称为“‘五四运动’的知识分子反帝思潮的直接产物”<sup>①</sup>。然而,事实可能并非如此。1922年,日本将山东还给了中国。华盛顿的“出卖”就被遗忘或忽略了,美国也开始与“中华民国”交往。此外,知识分子思潮或意识形态也不能取代组织。而且,马克思-列宁主义也并非五四时代中国知识分子的唯一选择,然而当时却没有其他组织来宣传别的意识形态。事实上,中国的青年学生和知识分子对马克思-列宁主义和苏联的选择,并非完全出于自愿(或是对西方的反应),而更多的是因为布尔什维克的努力和第三国际(Comintern)的活动。第三国际正好成立于1919年3月,它派出的“国际代表”

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<sup>①</sup> Tony Saich, “The Chinese Communist Party during the Era of the Comintern (1919-1943),” in Juergen Rojahn, “Comintern and National Communist Parties Project,” International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, [https://www.academia.edu/24398395/THE\\_CHINESE\\_COMMUNIST\\_PARTY\\_DURING\\_THE\\_ERA\\_OF\\_THE\\_COMINTERN\\_1919-1943](https://www.academia.edu/24398395/THE_CHINESE_COMMUNIST_PARTY_DURING_THE_ERA_OF_THE_COMINTERN_1919-1943).



不仅传播苏联式的意识形态,而且致力于共产主义支部的建立,最终导致了中国共产党的建立。正是此时,犹太活动家开始在中国革命中发挥作用。他们的“犹太身份”从未直接甚至间接地对他们的活动产生什么影响。尽管如此,他们的行动还是有一些共同之处——如果不是有意识的,或许就是潜意识的——并且影响到了他们在中国的使命。他们在不同的阶段,以不同的身份,努力通过解决矛盾、弥合分歧、调解对抗、团结统一,推动了中国革命的发展,从而将中国传统和犹太传统、东方和西方融合在了一起。

本文包括三个部分。第一部分集中讨论 1919—1949 年犹太人在引进共产主义、消除中国共产党与国民党分歧中的作用。第二部分主要讨论在 20 世纪三四十年代进入中国的外籍犹太人在沟通中国与外部世界之间所做的努力。第三部分探讨后毛泽东时代犹太顾问在中国利用资本主义(或市场经济)中的作用,这也是邓小平改革的主要内容,但也许无意中成了最终实现马克思共产主义的先决条件。

## 一、1919—1949 年:沟通共产主义与民族主义

在 20 世纪第二个十年前后,犹太人在各国共产主义运动中发挥的作用远远超出了他们在人口中所占的比例,在俄国革命中尤其如此。俄国革命前夕,第一届布尔什维克政治局的七名成员中,就有四名是犹太人:托洛茨基(Trotsky)、加米涅夫(Kamenev)、季诺维也夫(Zinoviev)和索科尼科夫(Sokolnikov)。其他著名的犹太人还有李维诺夫(Litvinov)、卡尔·拉狄克(Karl Radek)、贝拉·库恩(Bela Kun)。苏联和共产国际在中国的许多主要代表都是犹太人:维经斯基(Grigoriï Voitinski,也叫吴廷康),鲍罗廷(Mikhail Borodin)、越飞(Adolf Joffe)、米夫(Pavel Mif)、尼科尔斯基(Nikolsky)<sup>①</sup>、舒米亚茨基(Boris Shumiatsky)和其他一些人。由于犹太人没有祖国,便可以克服民族主义感情,接受普世主义观点。犹太人也不需要皈依或放弃宗教,因为共产主义是反对宗教的。而犹太人可以很容易接受另一种文化和意识形态,特别是马克思-列宁主义,用它来代替他们所缺乏的那种民族性文化。对他们来说,中国在地理和文化上的遥远无关紧要。作为一种普世性的意识形态,马克思-列宁主义可以适用于所有国家。犹太人不受限于排他性的民族情感,可以(而且有人认为是应该在包括中国在内的任何地方发挥革命作用。他们用自己的方式确实也做到了。

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<sup>①</sup> 1921 年 7 月,两名共产国际代表出席了中共第一次代表大会。一个是马林(Sneevliet),另一个是尼科尔斯基(Nikolsky,犹太人)。

# JEWISH STUDIES

犹太研究

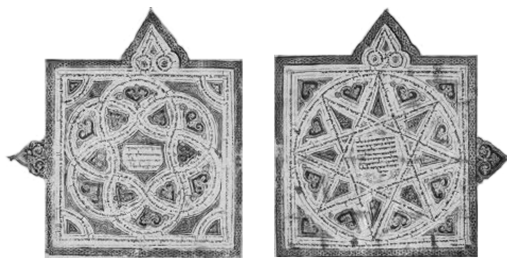
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鲍罗廷和维经斯基是第三国际派往中国的重要“国际代表”，他们的支持对于中国共产党的成立是不可或缺的。虽然鲍罗廷的任务是与国民党保持联系，但他最基本和最主要的使命是推动中国共产党的建立。他原名叫米哈伊尔·马尔科维奇·格鲁森贝格(Mikhail Markovich Gruzenberg)，16岁时加入了“崩得”(Bund,即犹太工人总联盟)，这是一个仍保持其犹太身份的知识分子组织。1900年时，它是俄国最大的社会民主主义组织。就像大多数犹太革命者一样，鲍罗廷放弃了他原先接受过的一切犹太宗教教育和文化观念。也像他们一样，鲍罗廷不仅要让犹太人也要让全人类过上更好的生活。这是一个弱小的少数民族或社会民主党人无法实现的，而布尔什维克主义被普遍认为是要根除世界上所有的社会罪恶。

鲍罗廷在中国推动共产主义，靠的是他的组织能力、个人形象以及非凡的智慧和百科全书式的知识，尤其是他的马克思主义、西方哲学和历史方面的知识。他的正式身份是列宁派到中国作为孙中山的顾问，当时孙中山在广州建立了一个独立的民族主义政权。鲍罗廷1923年抵达北京后，10月6日前往广州。国民党只是部分地接受了他传达的信息，包括土地分配、提高工人工资、缩短工作日时间。他认为这些有关土地和劳动的改革可以作为联合共产党和国民党以及整个中国的基础。据俄国资料称，曾有几个可能持反犹立场的美国人问孙中山是否知道鲍罗廷的真名。据说，孙中山回答道，“我知道，他叫拉法叶(Lafayette)”<sup>①</sup>和其他曾到开封与犹太人后裔联系过的苏联犹太代表不同，鲍罗廷对此并没有兴趣。他的努力主要放在共产主义者身上，那些共产党员在国民党中的影响迅速上升，这也要归功于他。

他坚持国共合作，这也反映了他的看法。他曾经说过，中国还不具备共产主义的条件，而且未来几十年也不具备。现在来看，他说的是对的。1949年10月中华人民共和国成立，但目前处于并将长期处于社会主义初级阶段。然而当1926年3月蒋介石在上海开始打击共产党时，鲍罗廷就不再相信蒋介石了，而是在年底领导了武汉的革命。如果没有他，武汉政府就不会存在，也无法存活。为了躲过蒋介石的报复，鲍罗廷于1927年7月离开中国，9月下旬回到了苏联。一开始，由于斯大林的支持，鲍罗廷在一段时间里没有被捕和处决。但是，随着斯大林的反犹主义和对第三国际在国外活动的怀疑与日俱增，鲍罗廷既是犹太人又是一名国际主义者，于是便成了被清洗的对象。他于1949年年初被捕，以后就再也没出现过，最后于1951年5月29日在雅库茨克的监狱中去世，终年

<sup>①</sup> 拉法叶，一译拉法耶特，一位法国人，深受启蒙思想的影响，于1777年志愿前往参加美国独立战争，曾任大陆军总司令乔治·华盛顿的副官，被授予少将军衔——译者注。



67岁。一直到最后,他都赞成斯大林的统一战线政策。虽然多数学者以及中共领导人都认为斯大林的中国政策犯了严重的错误,然而,从今天的角度来看,以及按照马克思-列宁主义和鲍罗廷的观点来看,斯大林或许是正确的。

鲍罗廷对中国革命的主要贡献是促成了国共合作,这也意味着资产阶级是实现共产主义的基本前提。这一点被毛泽东(以及后来也被斯大林和多数“共产主义”领导人)所忽略,然而,一些中国领导人——特别是那些在第一次世界大战后在西欧度过他们青年时期的中国领导人却赞同这一点。这些领导人包括周恩来、朱德、陈毅、李富春,尤其是邓小平;他们从20世纪50年代初起就认为,要想实现社会主义和共产主义,就必须首先以经济发展为基础。以邓小平为首的领导人在毛泽东去世后实施经济改革和自由市场政策,为未来的共产主义打下基础。<sup>①</sup> 尽管这与鲍罗廷所设想的并不完全一样,他始终认为与资产阶级和资本家合作才是实现共产主义的基础。

鲍罗廷的观点得到了阿道夫·阿布拉莫维奇·越飞(Adolph Abramovich Joffe)的赞同。越飞曾短暂地担任苏联驻北京政府大使(1922—1924)。他参加过1917年的十月革命,之后担任过多个职位(副外交人民委员、驻德国大使等)。他出生于克里米亚的一个犹太教卡拉派家庭<sup>②</sup>,曾努力说服孙中山相信莫斯科。像鲍罗廷一样,他认为共产主义在中国(以及在其他地方)取得成功的先决条件是有个强大的资产阶级。对于孙中山来说,这也是他的一项基本政策,因为他依靠富有的资本家。然而,越飞的游说却被拒绝了,这其实也是获得苏联支持的条件之一。孙中山说,中国不能引入共产主义和苏联模式,越飞对此也表示同意。于是,他转而强调国家统一和独立的重要性。他推动了国民党对共产党的承认以及国共两党的合作,将此作为苏联支持国民党的先决条件。<sup>③</sup> 事实上,正是在越飞抵达中国不久后的1922年9月,孙中山接受了第一批中共党员加入国民党。<sup>④</sup> 越飞的政策被苏共政治局所采纳。越飞因身患重病而离开了中国,后来成了斯大林的政敌托洛茨基的盟友,于1927年11月自杀身亡。

虽然马克思-列宁主义原先就在中国的一些地方作为一种理论而存在,但却

<sup>①</sup> 1952年年初,周恩来带领一个团队起草了第一个五年计划,其中包括李富春和聂荣臻——他们都亲历了20世纪20年代的欧洲资本主义。

<sup>②</sup> Albert S. Lindemann, *Esau's Tears: Modern Anti-Semitism and the Rise of the Jews* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 430.

<sup>③</sup> C. Martin Wilbur, and Julie Lien-ying How, *Missionaries of Revolution: Soviet Advisers and Nationalist China, 1920-1927* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), 54-63, 80.

<sup>④</sup> Alexander Pantsov, *The Bolsheviks and the Chinese Revolution, 1919-1927* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), 57, 105.

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犹太研究

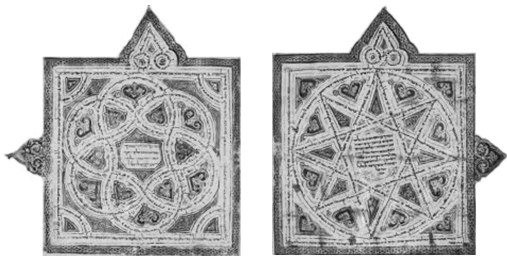
第23辑

是以格里戈里·纳乌莫维奇·维经斯基为首的第三国际代表们将其转变为有组织的行动,是他们开始着手建立中国共产党。维经斯基并不是第一个来到中国的第三国际代表,在他之前还有马林、伯特曼、波波夫和阿加廖夫等人。但维经斯基是最重要的,从某种意义上说,他也是“第一个”。维经斯基对中国的共产主义运动产生了巨大的影响。<sup>①</sup> 当时,建立中国共产党的想法已经在流传,然而在1920年4月维经斯基(时年27岁)来华之前,还没有人采取过任何行动。

1893年,维经斯基出生在俄罗斯涅韦尔的一个犹太家庭,原名叫格里戈里·扎尔金(Grigorii Zarkhin)。布尔什维克革命后不久的1918年,他在符拉迪沃斯托克(海参崴)加入了共产党。1920年,他成为第三国际远东局副局长并前来中国,见到了后来成为中共领导人的陈独秀和李大钊。虽然陈独秀早在1918年就接触了共产主义思想,但他对其他思想(如联邦主义)也颇感兴趣。只是在遇到维经斯基之后,他才开始投身共产主义,不仅在理论上,而且更重要的是在行动上。陈独秀在与维经斯基会面后,组织了第一批共产主义小组——在中国共产党成立之前,至少在不同的城市和省份建立了七个小组。维经斯基支持和推动的马克思主义学习小组不仅为党组织的建立铺平了道路,而且也向中国知识分子传播马克思-列宁主义知识打下了基础。<sup>②</sup> 事实上,在维经斯基来中国之前,社会主义和马克思主义学习小组就已经存在了,但理论学习团体与真正有组织的政党之间还有着很大的距离。要组织一个政党,还需要有外部的专业支持。以维经斯基为首的共产国际代表团便提供了这样的支持。维经斯基的影响不仅体现在中国知识分子里出现的反美情绪中,更重要的是,也体现在反对无政府主义并最终获胜的斗争中。1920年8月,维经斯基帮助陈独秀在上海建立了社会主义青年团。而在此前的5月,也就是他到达中国不久之后,他就鼓励一批知识分子秘密地建立了一个中国共产党。“这应该被认为是中国共产党成立的

<sup>①</sup> Yoshihiro Ishikawa, *The Formation of the Chinese Communist Party* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2012), 95-119; Hu Yunxia and Li Shaohua, “The Contribution of Voitinski, the Representative of the Russian (Bolshevik) Communist Party, to the Establishment of the Chinese Communist Party,” *Journal of Southwest Jiaotong University (Social Sciences)* 10 (2009): 87-92.

<sup>②</sup> Bruce A. Elleman, *Wilson and China: A Revised History of the Shandong Question* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2002); Kun Chen, “Voitinski’s Visit and the Early Spread of Marxism in China,” *Journal of Xichang College, Social Science Edition* 28 (2016): 25-27; Lu Mengyao, “Voitinski and the Propagation of Marxism in China,” *Journal of Nantong Vocational and Technical Shipping College* 13 (2014): 15-18.



真正日期,尽管后来正式日期被定为 1921 年 7 月。”<sup>①</sup>

最后,中国革命者不仅在中国受到苏联的影响,而且在苏联也受到影响。随着 1925 年莫斯科中山大学的创建,第一批约 340 名中国学生(既有国民党也有共产党)抵达莫斯科。卡尔·拉狄克出任第一任校长。他于 1885 年出生于利沃夫的一个犹太家庭,原名叫卡罗尔·索贝尔松(Karol Sobelsohn)。他年轻时是一名坚定的左翼分子,但后来倾向于修正主义,看重资产阶级的价值。1922 年,他在加入第三国际执行委员会后,起草了关于中国共产党员加入国民党的决议,交给在中国的马林执行。该决议隐晦地承认了国民党和中国资产阶级的革命潜力。当时包括托洛茨基和季诺维也夫在内的许多人都反对这个决议,但拉狄克不仅支持并且起草了该决议,还投票使决议以多数获得通过。<sup>②</sup> 1925 年,拉狄克被认为是一名中国问题专家,他也确实深入研究过中国。虽然他从未去过中国,却讲授了中国革命运动史。作为莫斯科中山大学的校长,他肯定对中国学生产生了影响,包括左右两派学生。为了强化他对国共合作的倡议,他声称受外国帝国主义的影响,中国沿海地区早在 19 世纪 40 年代就开始出现了近代资本主义。他还认为,地主所有制(landlordism)是资本主义的一种形式,而不是封建主义。这也就意味着中国的资产阶级并不像人们所认为的那么弱小,因此国共合作是非常重要的。他在 1925 年说过的有关中国共产党夺取政权前景的一句话,现在可以看作一种预言:在革命斗争中,中国无产阶级和小资产阶级一起,“将暂时被迫以资本主义的方式去发展土地经济实力”<sup>③</sup>。

然而,1926 年,拉狄克开始(或被迫)改变自己的看法,至少表面上如此,这主要是两方面的原因:一是出现了蒋介石残酷的反共政策,二是斯大林的坚决反对。在莫斯科中山大学里,拉狄克及其支持者们不得不遵循“党的路线”,但他们仍然有一些表达自己观点的空间,他们也确实这样做了。拉狄克的书和其他著

<sup>①</sup> 中国的资料更倾向于认为,陈独秀在李大钊遇到维经斯基之前就已经讨论过建立中国共产党的问题,强调党是发源于中国而不是苏联。Chow Tse-tsung, *The May Fourth Movement: Intellectual Revolution in Modern China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1960), 248. 也有学者认为,“然而,我们不能说陈和李在维经斯基到达中国之前就讨论过组建共产党”(Yoshihiro Ishikawa, *The Formation of the Chinese Communist Party*, 103)。

<sup>②</sup> 最初,托洛茨基也支持这个“在一定时期内是正确和进步的”决议。Alexander Pantsov, *The Bolsheviks and the Chinese Revolution, 1919-1927*, 47, 51, 102, 105, 114.

<sup>③</sup> Karl Radek, “Voprosy Kitaiskoi Revoliutsii,” *Krasnyi Internatsional Profsoiuzov* 10 (1925): 30, quoted in Warren Lerner, *Karl Radek: The Last Internationalist* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1970), 136, 205, n. 43.

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作以及他的支持者的著作<sup>①</sup>仍然得以出版。然而,无论他们的影响如何,并未能持续很长时间。1927年4月6日,拉狄克被解除职务并被开除出党。他通过莫斯科中山大学与中国学生的接触也被切断了。据说他被指控犯有叛国罪,于1939年在劳改营被处决(1988年被平反)。

总而言之,尽管第三国际的主要任务是促进中国共产党的发展和推动中国的共产主义革命,但第三国际的代表中有许多犹太人,他们认为中国共产党与国民党的团结,以及与国民党所依赖的民族资产阶级和资本家的团结,用列宁主义的术语来说,是革命成功的必要条件。维经斯基不仅推动了中国共产党的成立,也推动了中共与国民党的合作,而且他还坚持保持中国共产党的独立性和批评国民党的权利,以阻止“右倾偏差”。<sup>②</sup>

蒋介石一生都在依靠外国人——俄国人、德国人或者美国人,但是从来没有信任过他们(现在看来是有充分理由的)。<sup>③</sup> 然而,犹太人却不同。蒋介石认识到了犹太人对中国革命的贡献,他1923年在莫斯科停留之后是这样说的:

在中国的国民革命中,大多数向孙中山表示敬意并且同中国真诚合作的俄国党政领导人都是犹太人,只有加米涅夫和契切林(Chicherin)是例外,他们是俄罗斯人(实际上加米涅夫也是犹太人)。这些犹太人……引起了特别的兴趣。我发现,比较而言,像托洛茨基、季诺维也夫、拉狄克和越飞这些人更关心国民党和俄国共产党之间的合作问题。<sup>④</sup>

## 二、1949—1979年:沟通中国与西方

20世纪30年代末40年代初,超过两万名犹太难民从欧洲逃到中国,绝大部分逃到了上海,也有少数去到其他地方。他们中一些人参加了共产党,并为之

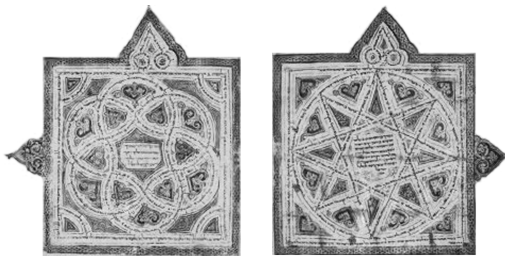
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① 其中一些人是犹太人,如贝拉·爱泼斯坦(Bella Epshtein)、亚伯兰·格里戈里耶维奇·普里戈任(Abram Grigorievich Prigozhin)、米哈伊·沃林(Mikhail Volin,即 Semen Natanovich Belenky,著名汉学家,中国研究所所长)。至少有一些中国学生称赞了他们。Alexander Pantsov, *The Bolsheviks and the Chinese Revolution, 1919-1927*, 171, 175, 178, 183, 295.

② Zhou Lisheng, "On the Rectification of the Tendency of Right Deviation in the Party during the Early GMD-CCP Cooperation: Voitinsky as the Focus of Research," *Social Sciences* 8 (2016): 144-151.

③ Theodore H. White, *In Search of History: A Personal Adventure* (New York: Warner Books, 1978), 157.

④ Chiang Kai-shek, *Soviet Russia in China: A Summing-Up at Seventy* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1957), 22.



提供各种服务,主要是医学和学术方面的专业服务。<sup>①</sup> 这些犹太人几乎没有在中国出生的,或者是自愿来中国的,他们之所以参与中国的共产主义运动,主要是出于意识形态信仰,出于不仅要在中国而且还要在全世界推动革命运动的理想。

在参与中国共产主义运动的犹太活动家中,有一些是美国人。李敦白(Sidney Rittenberg)就是其中之一。李敦白的外祖父曾是俄国犹太革命家,受外祖父的影响,他在1940年18岁时就参加了美国共产党,并于1942年加入美国陆军。他决定学习汉语而不是日语,计划到中国去支援中国革命,以期创造一个更美好的世界。<sup>②</sup> 他1945年9月抵达中国时,战争已经结束。作为一个生活在南卡罗来纳州的犹太人,他“从未感到被当地社会完全接受”。他知道自己所属的宗教:“我在那些圣经故事和古老的赞美诗中找到一些安慰,但我不相信有一个人形上帝。”<sup>③</sup>一般说来,他所遇到的中国人都不知道犹太人是什么。作为一名可以自由行动的士兵,李敦白开始与中国共产党人接触,为他们提供一些帮助——包括帮助几名地下党员逃避警察追捕。1946年年末或1947年年初的某个时候,在得到包括毛泽东、刘少奇、周恩来、任弼时和朱德等中共最高领导人的批准后,李敦白成了一名中共党员<sup>④</sup>;他也是第一位成为中共党员的美国公民<sup>⑤</sup>。他发挥的主要作用是让西方知道中国共产党胜利的消息,而这些消息在中国之外往往被打折和受到忽视。

1949年,据说是根据斯大林命令,李敦白遭到逮捕。1955年4月获释后,中国方面承认对他的指控和监禁是错误的。李敦白并不是唯一在北京的犹太人,另外还有珍·萨克斯·霍德斯(Jane Sachs Hodes,高盛银行哈利·萨克斯

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<sup>①</sup> M. Avrum Ehrlich, ed., *The Jewish-Chinese Nexus: A Meeting of Civilizations* (London: Routledge, 2008); Gerd Kaminski, ed., *Ich Kannte Sie Alle: Tagebuch des Chinesischen Generals Jakob Rosenfeld* (Vienna: Löcker Verlag, 2002); Pan Guang, *A Study of Jewish Refugees in China (1933-1945): History, Theory and the Chinese Pattern* (Singapore: Springer, 2019).

<sup>②</sup> Sidney Rittenberg and Amanda Bennet, *The Man Who Stayed Behind* (New York, NY: Simon and Schuster, 1993), 13, 31, 144.本节中的许多内容都来自这本书。

<sup>③</sup> Sidney Rittenberg and Amanda Bennet, *The Man Who Stayed Behind*, 161.

<sup>④</sup> Sidney Rittenberg and Amanda Bennet, *The Man Who Stayed Behind*, 92-93.

<sup>⑤</sup> Barb Charzuk, “Ex-advisor to Communist China Dies at 98”, *The Fountain Hills Times* (August 14, August 27, 2019).

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的女儿)<sup>①</sup>、乔希和米里亚姆·霍恩(Josh and Miriam Horn)、大卫·柯鲁克(David Crook),以及逃离纳粹奥地利的弗兰克·苏(Frank Su)的妻子索尼娅(Sonia)等人。<sup>②</sup>李敦白在1967年担任过几个月中国广播事业局(中国国际广播电台)的领导,当时“文化大革命”正不断恶化。一些中国人和外国人因嫉妒他的职位而对他进行攻击,用的是反犹太主义话语:“李敦白表现出了我们一直以来所熟悉的犹太人的各种品行。”<sup>③</sup>后来他被再次逮捕并被讯问关于当时也被捕入狱的伊斯雷尔·爱泼斯坦(Israel Epstein)和迈克尔·夏皮洛(Michael Shapiro,一译夏庇若)的情况;大卫·柯鲁克也是如此,他们全都是犹太人。李敦白被监禁了近十年,到1977年11月才获释,并于1980年3月回到美国。尽管遭受了苦难,他仍然执着于中国共产党的活动,并向外部世界传播中共的各种信息。早在1949年,北京就将他称为“一位在中国人和美国人民之间架设桥梁的工程师”<sup>④</sup>。事实上,这正是他和他的犹太伙伴们的重要使命。

李敦白回到美国后,仍在继续自己的使命,让西方更深入地了解中国,但更多的是用经济话语而非革命话语。“他在哥伦比亚广播公司《60分钟》节目中接受的采访比任何人都要多。”<sup>⑤</sup>更重要的是,他为在中国开展业务的美国公司开办了一家咨询公司。他利用个人关系和对中国制度的了解提供咨询服务,成了一个货真价实的资本家,赚取了数百万美元。<sup>⑥</sup>通过这样做,他身体力行地向世界展示毛泽东时代之后中国的做法——在共产主义制度下将社会主义市场经济与资本主义结合在一起。这种前所未有的创新主要也是由犹太经济学家引入中国的。

爱泼斯坦也作出了类似的贡献,同样也经受了类似的痛苦。爱泼斯坦1915年出生于华沙,后全家来到中国,先是在哈尔滨,后到天津。美国和英国在天津

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① 珍·霍德斯是一名资深共产党员,20世纪50年代在中国生活了五年,编辑英语出版物,教授英语并在英语广播电台播音。Jane Hodes, “Lifelong Activist, Founder of Niebyl-Proctor Library,” *People's World* (June 18, 2009), <https://www.peoplesworld.org/article/janehodes-lifelong-activist-founder-of-niebyl-proctor-library/>; Sonia R. Su, “What China Has Meant to Me,” in *Living in China*, ed. Rewi Alley (Beijing: New World Press, 1979), 127-145.她曾在外文局法语组工作。

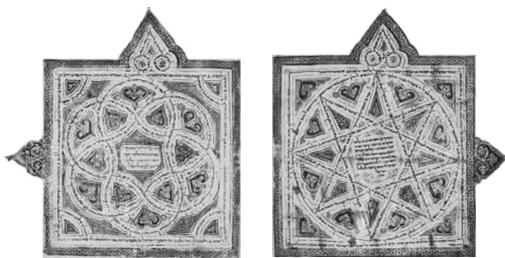
② Beverley Hooper, *Foreigners under Mao: Western Lives in China, 1949-1976* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2016).

③ Beverley Hooper, *Foreigners under Mao: Western Lives in China, 1949-1976*, 383.

④ Jonathan Margolis, “Sidney Rittenberg Obituary,” *The Guardian* (August 28, 2019).

⑤ Barb Charzuk, “Ex-advisor to Communist China Dies at 98,” *The Fountain Hills Times* (August 14, August 27, 2019).

⑥ Robert D. McFadden, “Sidney Rittenberg, Idealist American Aide to Mao Who Evolved to Counsel Capitalists, Dies at 98,” *The New York Times* (August 24, 2019); Gary Rivlin, “A Long March from Maoism to Microsoft,” *The New York Times* (December 5, 2004).



都很有影响,爱泼斯坦因此接受的是英语教育,英语成了他的主要语言,并使他进入了新闻业。尽管如此,他父母的社会主义思想以及1917年俄国革命的影响,形成了他自己终生的政治倾向。某种意义上,这也是一种正统犹太教和欧洲启蒙现代主义的结合——这与中国改革者试图将传统儒家思想(“体”)与现实需要(“用”)相结合并无太大差别,不同之处在于,中国是一个国家,而犹太人却没有自己的国家。爱泼斯坦年幼时在哈尔滨目睹了白俄对“布尔什维克犹太人”所采取的残酷的反犹主义;这些“布尔什维克犹太人”与中国共产党人一起被逮捕,遭受酷刑并被杀害。中国几乎没有反犹主义,其主要是白俄、日本人和西方人“带进来”的,并被一些国民党人士“接受”。爱泼斯坦回忆说,一名陪同外国记者前往共产党控制区的国民党官员告诉东道主,这些记者中有三个人是犹太人;他还说,他们只对金钱感兴趣,对“新闻”并不真正感兴趣。而且,因为犹太人没有祖国,他们肯定理解不了民族主义和民族斗争的含义,所以他们应该相信他。不出所料,国民党官员的提议和建议遭到了拒绝。<sup>①</sup>于是,有意或无意间,犹太人和中国共产党之间形成了一条纽带。一些离开中国前往美国的犹太人成了工会活动家和共产党员。不可避免的是,随着俄国影响的增强,犹太特性消退了。爱泼斯坦写道:

虽然我父母都出生在虔诚的犹太家庭,但他们早已成为坚定的无神论者。我甚至直到成年后才见到犹太会堂内部的样子(虽然哈尔滨也有几座犹太会堂,但我从未进去过);也没人教过我希伯来语……我们没有进过犹太会堂,不在赎罪日禁食,也不遵守犹太洁食规矩或者逾越节的饮食规定,我没有接受过成人礼,这是对犹太男性长到13岁的确认,从此他们便应当承担成年人的道德责任……但是我们的无神论家庭却非常犹太化,以一种世俗的方式保持我们的犹太性。<sup>②</sup>

虽然不信教,但爱泼斯坦研究并熟悉犹太宗教和历史故事,他以及他的家人从来不隐瞒自己的犹太身份,也没有更改自己的姓名。然而,他和他的父母都拒绝有神论和犹太复国主义;而且他还接受了共产主义,并认为向外部世界宣传中国的共产主义是自己的使命。爱泼斯坦曾在诸如合众国际社(UPI)等新闻机构和《纽约时报》工作过。他通过自己的写作,是“一位(中国)统一战线不知疲倦的

<sup>①</sup> Israel Epstein, *My China Eye: Memoirs of a Jew and a Journalist* (San Francisco, CA: Long River Press, 2005), 181-182.

<sup>②</sup> Israel Epstein, *My China Eye: Memoirs of a Jew and a Journalist*, 35, 39.

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支持者”<sup>①</sup>。作为《中国建设》(*China Reconstructs*)杂志的创始人之一,他于1979年5月成为其主编。1983年,他被中国人民政治协商会议(CPPCC)接纳为委员。全国政协的十位外籍委员中有一半是犹太人。在大多数中国面向外部世界的媒体中,犹太人发挥了非常重要的作用。除了爱泼斯坦在《中国建设》和李敦白在中国国际广播电台工作外,还有沙博理在对外文化联络局工作,后又在外文出版社工作,迈克尔·夏皮洛在新华社工作,大卫·柯鲁克在外语学院工作。

另一位帮助中国架起与世界沟通桥梁的犹太裔美国人是沙博理。他于1915年年底出生在纽约的布鲁克林,学习过法律和中文,曾与另一位后来也来到中国的犹太人朱利安·舒曼(Julian Schuman,中文名叫舒子章)同住。<sup>②</sup>沙博理很清楚自己有犹太血统,尽管他和他父母认为自己是美国人。他最后一次与犹太教“相遇”是在1928年,当时他13岁,在犹太会堂里用希伯来语作了他的成人礼致辞。1989年,他访问了以色列,而在此之前他一直没有关注过以色列。他后来说:“这里就是它(犹太性)开始的地方,我作为一个犹太人的基本属性就是来自这里的。我找到了一个起源。”<sup>③</sup>毕业后,他进入了一家著名的华尔街犹太律师事务所。他于1947年3月离开纽约,并不是出于任何意识形态动机或有什么共产主义倾向,而是希望在北京的一家美国公司找一个商业律师的工作,同时提高中文水平。通过他的中国未婚妻,他接触到了共产党人,从而意识到自己想过一种更有意义的生活。<sup>④</sup>沙博理没有(像李敦白那样)去联系共产党人,而是他们来找他。当时没有其他事情可做,他利用自己的中文知识,开始将中国文学作品翻译成英语,“希望它们能进入美国市场”。后来这导致了第一部关于中国共产党的小说在美国出版。沙博理也很快受聘于对外文化联络局,成为各种书和小册子的翻译者。然而,他仍坚持自己“并不是一个马克思主义者”。<sup>⑤</sup>

1953年,沙博理加入了中国刚刚成立的外文出版社。后来他写道:“我有生以来第一次有了使命感、成就感和目标。”<sup>⑥</sup>到1961年时,他已经翻译了十多部

① Matthias Messmer, *Jewish Wayfarers in Modern China: Tragedy and Splendor* (New York, NY: Lexington Books, 2012), 208.

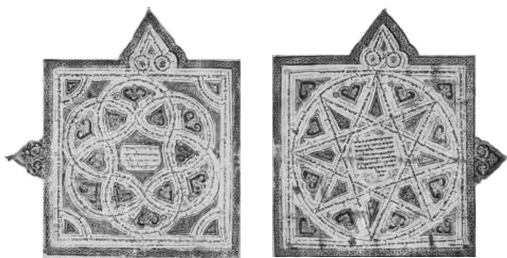
② Julian Schuman, *China: An Uncensored Look* (Sagaponack, NY: Second Chance Press, 1979).

③ Sidney Shapiro, *An American in China: Thirty Years in the People's Republic* (Beijing: New World Press, 1979), 204-205; Sidney Shapiro, *I Chose China: The Metamorphosis of a Country and a Man* (New York, NY: Hippocrene Books, 2000), 274.

④ Sidney Shapiro, *An American in China: Thirty Years in the People's Republic*, 24.

⑤ Sidney Shapiro, *An American in China: Thirty Years in the People's Republic*, 39, 42.

⑥ Sidney Shapiro, *An American in China: Thirty Years in the People's Republic*, 85.



小说和几十篇短篇小说,其中大部分与抗日战争有关。他还常常为《中国文学》杂志工作,然后又为《中国画报》工作。他三十多年来的翻译工作,除了向世界展示了中国现代和古典文学的特质以外,“还在向世界展示真实的中国方面起到了有效的作用。它们提供了我们的许多文章极为欠缺的筋骨和血肉。在我看来,其他国家的普通人一旦像我一样了解了中国人,就会情不自禁地喜欢和钦佩他们。在当前‘仇恨中国’的氛围中,面对面的交流是如此欠缺——文学媒介可能是次优的选择。”<sup>①</sup>

20世纪60年代早期,沙博理终于下定决心得到他最想要的生活。他意识到自己“在北京比在纽约更能从事有意义且满意的工作”,便于1963年申请了中国公民身份,几个月后获得批准。

大卫·柯鲁克于1910年出生在伦敦一个有东欧犹太血统的家庭。<sup>②</sup>他小时候接受过犹太传统教育,学了一些希伯来语,吃犹太洁食,守犹太节日,甚至还受到一点犹太复国主义的影响。受萧伯纳作品的影响,他逐渐放弃了宗教信仰,后来出国到了巴黎、德国和纽约之后,这种世俗化的倾向进一步加强了。随后,他的阅读、工作和经历大萧条引起了他对苏联和社会主义的兴趣,也引发他对资本主义、失业和法西斯主义在世界蔓延的批评。不知不觉中,柯鲁克在哥伦比亚大学就读时(1931—1935)参与了共产主义活动。他不久就加入了共产主义者领导的全国学生联盟。他从同伴以及他们的意识形态中得到很多收获。他第一次读到列宁的《国家与革命》。1936年回到英国后,柯鲁克加入了共产党,并于1937年年初加入了国际纵队的英国防空营,同西班牙法西斯主义战斗。武器、训练和补给都来自苏联,西方民主国家采取“不干涉”立场。到4月,他被克格勃招募并开始监视反对苏联尤其是反对斯大林的“左翼分子”。他没有掩饰自己的犹太身份,并得到了一个新身份。<sup>③</sup>

1938年5月,按照苏联的命令,他前往上海,也受到了埃德加·斯诺(Edgar Snow)的《红星照耀中国》的影响。他的正式身份先是在圣约翰大学后又在苏州大学教授文学,而非正式身份则主要是监视“托洛茨基分子”。他使用过

<sup>①</sup> Sidney Shapiro, *An American in China: Thirty Years in the People's Republic*, 200-201.

<sup>②</sup> David Crook, *Hampstead Heath to Tian An Men: The Autobiography of David Crook*, [www.davidcrook.net/simple/main.html](http://www.davidcrook.net/simple/main.html); Delia Devin, “A Communist Who Fought against Franco, Spied for Stalin and Wrote a Classic on Change in China,” *The Guardian* (December 18, 2000); Zhang Shu, “Professors David and Isabel Crook and Their Family,” *Voice of Friendship* 179 (2015): 41-45.

<sup>③</sup> 在西班牙的约4万名志愿者中,约有8000人是犹太人。在约2000名英国志愿者中,约有200人是犹太人,即10%,是他们在英国人口中所占比例的10倍。1996年12月,柯鲁克应西班牙政府邀请,带着300名国际旅老兵返回西班牙。

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哈罗德·艾萨克斯(Harold Isaacs)的《中国革命的悲剧》(1938),艾萨克斯当时是一名坚定的托洛茨基分子(他本人也是犹太人)。1940年夏天,柯鲁克前往成都,在流亡中的南京大学任教,并于1942年回到伦敦,与一位在成都的加拿大传教士的女儿伊莎贝结婚。伊莎贝一家思想开明,愿意接受他的共产主义和犹太教信仰,尽管他早就脱离宗教了。他学习了英国皇家空军的情报课程,负责监视和破译日本的无线电通信,并成了一名军官。他先后驻扎在印度、锡兰和缅甸(在那里他晋升为空军中尉),最后来到香港,此时战争已经结束。

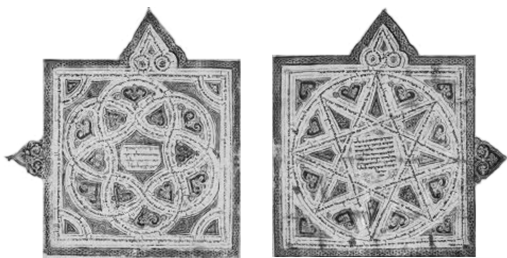
柯鲁克不久又被调到新加坡。由于被怀疑为苏联搞间谍活动,他遭到降职;三年的海外服役结束后,他回到了英国。1946年,他和伊莎贝决定返回中国。柯鲁克开始在伦敦大学东方与非洲学院学习中文(他当时没有学汉字,直到20年后被关进监狱时他才开始学习汉字)和中国历史。学习结束后,他从英国皇家空军退役,并获准前往中国。柯鲁克在继续参加共产党的活动时,仍对自己的犹太身份感到不自在,也没有加入犹太退役军人协会。

在前往北京的途中,他们在香港见到了后来成为外交部部长的乔冠华及其妻子、重庆的中共发言人龚澎以及后来成为外交部副部长的章汉夫。在天津,他们又见到了后来任中国驻美国大使的韩叙。在北京短暂停留后,从1947年11月下旬起,他们在十里店村住了八个月,写了三本书。在农村逗留期间,他们见到了廖承志(时任新华社负责人)、薄一波和邓小平。1948年6月,他们前往石家庄。在那里,在一位重要的外交官王炳南的要求下,他们同意在新设立的延安外国语学校授课,开启了他们终身的职业生涯。叶剑英当时是附近延安外国语学校的院长,后来是中国人民解放军元帅、国防部长和中共中央副主席,也参与了此事。这项任务也使柯鲁克夫妇的第一本书的出版推迟了10年,直到1959年才出版。

20世纪50年代初,柯鲁克成为了英语系副系主任。外国的教师们一般都能克制自己的反犹主义,然而一些中国人却很欣赏他的犹太身份,于是,早年隐瞒了自己宗教信仰的柯鲁克再也没有试图继续隐瞒下去,当然也没有炫耀。与此同时,延安外国语学校更名为北京外国语学院(后来又改为北京外国语大学)。柯鲁克将教学重点放在培养能够陪同外宾的口笔译人员,而不是将时间“浪费”在教授文学上;他认为文学往好处说是“不实用”,往坏处说则是“比智力”。在他的数千名学生中,许多人“获得了外交部或者学术界的最高职务”<sup>①</sup>。

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<sup>①</sup> Delia Devin, “A Communist Who Fought against Franco, Spied for Stalin and Wrote a Classic on Change in China,” *The Guardian* (December 18, 2000); Israel Epstein, “David Crook,” *China Today* (2001): 37.



1957年,柯鲁克到加拿大和英国待了六个月,发表了一些赞扬中国的宣传演讲。1958年,他经苏联返回中国。1966年夏天,他犯了一个错误——在“文化大革命”前夕离开中国;接着又犯了一个更严重的错误——不久又返回了中国。1967年2月回国后,他加入了“红旗战斗队”,后来又加入了主要由外国人组成的“白求恩-延安革命兵团”。10月17日,红卫兵学生把他抓了起来,称他是英国间谍,将他投入了北京警戒级别最高的秦城监狱。在监狱里,他终于学会了中文。他于1973年1月获释。对他的指控修改了三次,一次比一次好,最后被彻底平反。在1973年3月的一次讲话中,已经生病和虚弱的周恩来总理在谈到外国人受到的不公正待遇时,提到了一些人的名字:“大卫·柯鲁克现在已获释,我们向他表示歉意。”而迫害外国人的罪魁祸首江青,可能正被迫坐在那里。<sup>①</sup>1979年,教育部任命大卫·柯鲁克(和伊莎贝)为“学院顾问”,相当于大学校长的级别。<sup>②</sup>柯鲁克在北京恢复教职后,1972年开始担任为期六年的《汉英词典》首席母语顾问。

总之,柯鲁克认为自己在教育方面作出了贡献,在“宣传”(因为找不到更好的词)方面也作出了贡献,比如写书、写文章和小册子和广播,但最重要的是,在中国顶尖的学术机构之一——北京外国语大学教授英语。<sup>③</sup>他还提出过改革中国教育制度和加强中外联系的建议。由于他的建议,中国取消了许多不准外国人访问某些地方的规定,这些地方原先只对中国人开放。

尽管柯鲁克认为自己是一名无神论者和反犹太复国主义者,但他从未放弃与犹太教的关系。1979年10月,虽然他对赎罪日禁食的做法嗤之以鼻,也没有犹太教祈祷文,但他仍然记得“一些安息日的旋律”<sup>④</sup>。《中国日报》创刊后,他就各种问题向该报编辑寄了25封信。他的一些信被拒,例如关于反犹主义、军售以及中国与以色列和阿拉伯人的关系等。<sup>⑤</sup>1984年1月17日,柯鲁克给《中国日报》寄了这样一封信:

今天《中国日报》上的漫画是种族主义的……脸上有典型的犹太人鼻子,由犁头铸成的剑后面的大卫六芒星,这无疑是想谴责以色列前政府和现政府的好战和扩张主义。谴责他们是对的——特别是对于一个社会主义

<sup>①</sup> David Crook, *Hampstead Heath to Tian An Men: The Autobiography of David Crook*, 189.

<sup>②</sup> David Crook, *Hampstead Heath to Tian An Men: The Autobiography of David Crook*, 190.

<sup>③</sup> David Crook, *Hampstead Heath to Tian An Men: The Autobiography of David Crook*, 203-204.

<sup>④</sup> Vera Schwarcz, *Long Road Home: A China Journey* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984), 174-175.

<sup>⑤</sup> David Crook, *Hampstead Heath to Tian An Men: The Autobiography of David Crook*, 243-245, 250, 255.

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国家来说。但是,不能通过嘲笑犹太人的身体特征或者许多世纪以来激励犹太民众与反犹主义斗争的标志……他们,犹太人民,应该被团结,而不是被侮辱。<sup>①</sup>

这封信没有被登载出来,也没有得到回复。而当时中国正在购买以色列的武器和军事技术,其中一些还在1984年纪念中华人民共和国成立35周年的阅兵式上被展示——尽管柯鲁克并不知道这些情况。他(和迈克尔·夏皮洛)关于中国的看法经常受到《卫报》(的约翰·吉廷斯)和《每日电讯报》的诋毁。<sup>②</sup>

1986年,柯鲁克76岁时不无愧疚地访问了以色列。启程之前,他在纽约会见了一位以色列教授和一位以色列驻联合国官员。他和妻子经由埃及和西奈半岛前往以色列,重温了他的犹太教知识。在2009年的一次采访中,伊莎贝说:“我们的角色是扮演在中国的西方。”<sup>③</sup>然而,这一说法暴露出一种居高临下的西方和传教士态度。大卫·柯鲁克可能会改为“我们的角色是扮演在西方的中国”,或者在中国和西方之间架起一座桥梁。中国人在2010年他去世十周年、100周年诞辰时评价道:“他书写和讲述中国,在极度简单化的冷战背景下,向外界提供了一幅关于新中国的准确图景。”<sup>④</sup>

另一位成为彻底的亲中国代言人的英国犹太人是迈克尔·夏皮洛。<sup>⑤</sup>他出生在伦敦东区一个世俗的犹太家庭,尽管年轻时经历过反犹主义,但是他从未在公开场合或私下里谈到过他的宗教信仰。他对犹太事务没有兴趣,认为人类最主要的决定性因素是阶级。在伦敦经济学院(LSE)学习后,夏皮洛于1934年加入了英国共产党。1949年或者是1950年,他“应中国共产党中央委员会邀请,受英国共产党派遣”<sup>⑥</sup>前往中国,被安排在中国国际新闻局。他的著作《变化的中国》于1958年在西方出版,一位评论家写道:“夏皮洛不仅对八年来的变化进

① David Crook, *Hampstead Heath to Tian An Men: The Autobiography of David Crook*, 255.

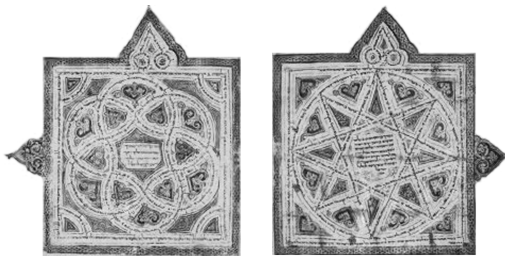
② David Crook, *Hampstead Heath to Tian An Men: The Autobiography of David Crook*, 266.关于以色列对中国的军售问题,见 Yitzhak Shichor, “Israel’s Military Transfers to China and Taiwan,” *Survival* 40 (1998); Yitzhak Shichor, “Proxy: Unlocking the Origins of Israel’s Military Sales to China,” *The Asia Papers* (2020).

③ Beverley Hooper, *Foreigners under Mao: Western Lives in China, 1949-1976* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2016), 11.

④ Li Qi, “Man of the People,” *China Daily* (October 20, 2010).

⑤ Neil Redfern, “Michael Shapiro: A Communist Life in Britain and China,” <http://www.academia.edu/4754354/>; David Crook, *Hampstead Heath to Tian An Men: The Autobiography of David Crook*, 160.

⑥ 根据1986年10月6日新华社讣告。Neil Redfern, “Michael Shapiro: A Communist Life in Britain and China,” 7.



行了简要的概括,而且还对这一变化的内容进行了专业的分析。”<sup>①</sup>与他的同事不同,夏皮洛的工作主要是针对外国共产党的,他批评苏联的“修正主义”和“改良主义”,将其与中国革命的纯洁性进行比较。然而,他和李敦白都是正式的外国共产党员,又在“文化大革命”中参加过一段时间的红卫兵活动,所以经历的磨难也比其他外籍人士多。<sup>②</sup>

迈克尔·夏皮洛再也没有回英国,直到1986年去世,一共在华36年。他在新华社和外文出版社工作,还为面向海外的国内新闻部门编辑英文评论,并且翻译毛泽东和刘少奇的著作。这就是在中国的西方“外国专家”——其中许多是犹太人——的主要任务,下文还将提到。<sup>③</sup>

1959年年底,中共中央决定成立一个小组,将《毛泽东选集》第四卷翻译成英文,并对20世纪50年代中期发行的前三卷的英文译文进行修改。这项工作从60年代初开始,翻译小组共有14人,其中9个中国人(包括受过牛津大学教育的学者,外交部、外语出版社和外语学院的官员和领导)以及5名外国人:李敦白、柯富兰(Frank Coe)、爱泼斯坦、索尔·爱德勒(Sol Adler)和迈克尔·夏皮洛——全都是犹太人。经过近两年的工作,1964年1月,毛泽东招待翻译组在勤政殿共进晚餐。柯富兰、爱德勒<sup>④</sup>、爱泼斯坦和李敦白一同前往。安娜·路易斯·斯特朗也受邀出席,正是她作为间谍在莫斯科被捕,才导致李敦白在中国也被捕。关于李敦白,毛泽东曾歉意地说:“我们在他的案子上犯了一个很糟糕的错误。他是一个好同志,我们冤枉了他。”<sup>⑤</sup>金诗伯(Sam Ginsbourg)于1914年出生在赤塔的一个犹太家庭,后全家逃离了白俄罗斯。他在1967年花了几个月的时间,“通过逐字逐句地对比中文原文,检查了《毛主席语录》的英文和俄文译

<sup>①</sup> William H. Hinton, “Review of Changing China, by Michael Shapiro,” *Science & Society* 26 (1962).

<sup>②</sup> Anne-Marie Brady, “Red and Expert: China’s ‘Foreign Friends’ in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution 1966-1969,” *China Information* 6 (1996): 110-137; Anne-Marie Brady, “The Political Meaning of Friendship: Reviewing the Life and Times of Two of China’s American Friends,” *China Review International* 9 (2002): 307-319.

<sup>③</sup> 以下段落来自 Sidney Rittenberg and Amanda Bennet, *The Man Who Stayed Behind* (New York, NY: Simon and Schuster, 1993), 249-252.

<sup>④</sup> 关于索尔(所罗门)·阿德勒,见 Matthias Messmer, “China’s Realities from the Viewpoints of ‘Foreign Experts,’” in *The Jewish-Chinese Nexus: A Meeting of Civilizations*, ed. M. Avrum Ehrlich (London: Routledge, 2008), 22-23. 关于柯富兰,见 Walter H. Waggoner, “Frank Coe, in Peking; Former U.S. Official Took Asylum in 50s,” *The New York Times* (June 6, 1980)。从1958年到1980年,他在中国生活和工作了22年。

<sup>⑤</sup> Sidney Rittenberg and Amanda Bennet, *The Man Who Stayed Behind*, 273. 另参见 Sam Ginsbourg, *My First Sixty Years in China* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1982)。

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本,并提出了改进建议”<sup>①</sup>。在狱中,柯鲁克(当时已被排除出翻译团队)试图“做得更好”：“我尝试翻译或重新翻译,我对毛泽东作品的官方英文译本的僵硬风格不满,想要一个忠于他时常活泼、朴实甚至有诗意的译本。”<sup>②</sup>

在中华人民共和国成立后的前30年里,这些生活在中国的外籍犹太人正是在新闻领域特别是翻译和编辑以及在外语教学中作出了重大贡献,向世界展示中国并让世界了解中国。

### 三、1979—2019年：将社会主义与资本主义相结合

在前30年里,中国的共产主义运动遵循毛泽东思想的设想,即共产主义可以通过越过资本主义阶段来实现。作为资本主义问题的专家,马克思起初认为,资本主义是实现共产主义不可缺少的基础和先决条件。然而,由于没有先例表明共产主义革命产生于资本主义社会,也没有迹象表明共产主义革命将会很快发生,马克思在晚年失去了耐心,提出了一个选项,即依靠传统的社群主义(主要是在俄罗斯)作为实现共产主义的捷径,以绕开资本主义。<sup>③</sup>

40年后,列宁试图追随马克思的脚步,在俄国发动革命,但可能意识到这是行不通的。俄罗斯的农民经济过于落后和薄弱,无法创造在社会中用来分配的财富。因此,他提出了新经济政策<sup>④</sup>,允许通过自由市场和贸易的要素来重振经济发展。这一政策非常成功,以至于激起了党内的反对,而其中大部分反对者是犹太人,他们担心“资本主义复辟”会危害革命。斯大林领导的苏联放弃了自由市场,并导致其最终解体。尽管中苏关系有起有落,但显然中国基本上是模仿了苏联的方式,试图绕过资本主义来实现共产主义。毛泽东认为资本主义和社会主义是一对互相矛盾的概念,将它们组合在一起是反动的。<sup>⑤</sup> 其实,早在苏联解体之前,邓小平和其他中共领导人就得出结论,没有经过自由市场的资本主义,就无法实现共产主义。然而,他们却不知道如何在一个已经由共产党领导的国

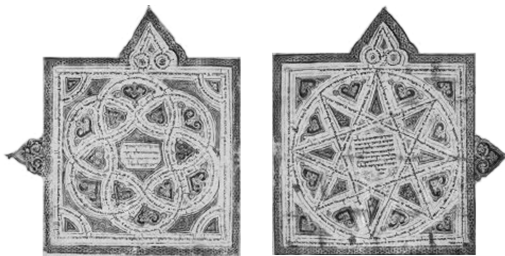
<sup>①</sup> Sam Ginsbourg, “A Voyage into the Future,” in *Living in China*, ed. Rewi Alley (Beijing: New World Press, 1979), 39.

<sup>②</sup> David Crook, *Hampstead Heath to Tian An Men: The Autobiography of David Crook*, 181.

<sup>③</sup> Theodor Shanin, *Late Marx and the Russian Road: Marx and the Peripheries of Capitalism* (New York, NY: The Monthly Review Press, 1983).

<sup>④</sup> Roger Pethybridge, *One Step Backwards, Two Steps Forwards: Soviet Society and Politics in the New Economic Policy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990).

<sup>⑤</sup> The Revolutionary Mass Criticism Writing Group of the Party School under the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, “Theory of ‘Combine Two into One’ is a Reactionary Philosophy for Restoring Capitalism,” *Beijing Review* 14 (1971): 6-11.



家发展自由市场经济,共产党从掌握政权的那一刻起,就坚持扼杀任何资本主义的苗头,而且将矛头对准“走资本主义道路者”——包括领导层。由于他们对资本主义的了解有限,并且缺乏坚实的资本主义基础,后毛泽东时代的中国改革派领导人便希望寻求外部的建议。

20世纪70年代末,当中国的领导人决定进行广泛的经济改革时(一些人早在50年代初就有此想法),就邀请外国顶尖经济学家来华进行讨论。不管是有意还是无意,他们中的大多数都是犹太人。从历史上看,犹太人通常就与金钱(资本)联系在一起,无论是好是坏。

精通商业和银行业务,受过良好教育,生活在城市但流动性高,有全球范围的家族性联系,犹太人代表着现代性,是资本主义增长和发展背后一股重要的推动力。<sup>①</sup> 马克思本人特别地将资本主义等同于犹太教。<sup>②</sup> 犹太人在研究方面也很出色:所有诺贝尔经济学奖获得者中的40%和美国诺贝尔经济学奖获得者中的51%都是犹太人。第一批专家由代表着纯粹资本主义的美国人组成,他们都是研究自由市场经济学最前沿、最受尊敬和最负盛名的学者。

芝加哥大学教授、诺贝尔经济学奖获得者(1976)、“世界主要的自由市场原教旨主义倡导者”<sup>③</sup>米尔顿·弗里德曼(Milton Friedman)于1979年年底被邀请访问中国。当他1980年9月来到中国时,意识到中国的学者/经济学家们对自由市场经济并不熟悉。在1988年9月的第二次访问中,他强调了“自由私有经济”的必要性,并驳斥了“双轨制”,即苏联式的“计划经济”和“市场经济”相结合的体制。虽然弗里德曼的一些观点特别是关于政治改革的必要性最初遭到了拒绝,但后来还是被部分接受了。他的著作《资本主义与自由》(*Capitalism and Freedom*, 1962)的中文版也于1993年出版。

1979年,另一个代表团访问了中国。该代表团由宾夕法尼亚大学教授劳伦斯·克莱因(Lawrence Klein, 1980年诺贝尔经济学奖得主)率领,成员包括加州大学伯克利分校研究生院农业与资源经济系教授伊尔玛·阿德尔曼(Irma Adelman),哈佛大学的肯尼斯·阿罗(Kenneth Arrow, 1972年诺贝尔经济学奖

<sup>①</sup> Yuri Slezkine, *The Jewish Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004), 60; Werner Sombart, *The Jews and Modern Capitalism*, trans. M. Epstein (Kitchener, Canada: Batoche Books, 2001).

<sup>②</sup> Karl Marx, “On the Jewish Question,” in *Early Writings* (New York: Vintage Books, 1975), 211-241.

<sup>③</sup> Julian Gewirtz, *Unlikely Partners: Chinese Reformers, Western Economists, and the Making of Global China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2017), 84. 下面的讨论大部分来自这本书,然而,这本书几乎没有提到“西方经济学家”的犹太人身份。

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得主)——都是犹太人。他们在中国巡回授课并举行研讨会。1980年,克莱因又返回中国,为官员和学者们举办了一次计量经济学的强化研讨班。一年后,他被聘为中国重要的国家计划委员会的“技术顾问”。<sup>①</sup> 1991年,麻省理工学院教授、出生于意大利犹太家庭的弗朗哥·莫迪利亚尼(Franco Modigliani, 1985年诺贝尔经济学奖获得者)在中国人民银行举办了几次研讨会<sup>②</sup>,他是家庭和企业行为专家。哥伦比亚大学经济学教授、2001年诺贝尔经济学奖获得者约瑟夫·斯蒂格利茨(Joseph Stiglitz)也是犹太人。2007年3月,他在北京举办的中国发展高层论坛上发表了演讲。在后来的一段时间里,他鼓励中国采取实用主义,使其经济适应全球市场体系的需要。他还赞扬了中国的经济成就并且创造了一种新的、独特的经济模式。<sup>③</sup>

第二个专家群包括原籍为匈牙利、波兰、南斯拉夫和捷克斯洛伐克等东欧国家的著名经济学家,早在共产主义阵营解体之前,这些国家就提出并进行了新的经济实验。他们中较早的一位是弗拉基米尔·布鲁斯[Włodzimierz Brus, 原名为本雅明·齐伯尔伯格(Benjamin Zylberberg)],他早在1979年年底就首次访问了中国。作为一位在牛津大学工作的波兰流亡者,他坚持认为自由市场概念与社会主义既不矛盾,也不会取代社会主义,因而在中国引起了轰动。<sup>④</sup> 他认为规范的市场机制是一种能使中央计划更好、更有效也更有利地发挥作用的一种手段。他的观点极大地影响了包括孙冶方在内的中国主要的经济学家[孙冶方是中国重要的经济学家,深受20世纪60年代苏联著名经济改革家叶夫塞·利伯曼(Yevsei Liberman)的影响。利伯曼也是犹太人]。

另一位帮助指导中国后毛泽东时代经济改革的东欧社会主义改革者是奥塔·锡克(Ota Šik),他是一名在德国集中营里幸存下来的捷克犹太人,后在亚历山大·杜布切克1968年布拉格之春时期担任副总理兼经济部长。<sup>⑤</sup> 20世纪60年代中期以来,他一直主张减少中央计划,扩大市场的作用。他1968年访

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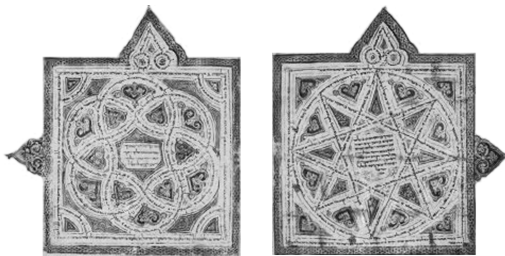
① Julian Gewirtz, *Unlikely Partners: Chinese Reformers, Western Economists, and the Making of Global China*, 8, 58-59, 78-79, 253.

② 同上, 253。

③ Joseph Stiglitz, “China: Towards a New Model of Development,” *China Economic Journal* 1 (2008): 33-52.

④ Włodzimierz Brus, *The Market in a Socialist Economy* (London: Routledge, 1972).

⑤ Ota Šik, “Eduard Goldstuecker Return to Czechoslovakia, Plan to Leave Again,” *JTA Daily News Bulletin* 36 (1969). “奥塔·锡克、爱德华·戈德斯图克回到捷克斯洛伐克,计划再次离开”,然而,后来他公开否认自己是犹太人,“犹太人对捷克前总理奥塔·锡克博士否认犹太血统感到惊讶”[“Jews Surprised by Denial of Jewish Ancestry by Former Czech Premier Dr. Ota Šik,” *JTA Daily News Bulletin* 36 (1969): 1-2]。



问南斯拉夫时,正好遇到苏联入侵捷克斯洛伐克,于是他迁居瑞士,在那里度过了余生(2004年去世)。1981年,他访问了中国,与其他外国顾问一样,他也强调计划和市场相结合。他说,中央计划无法对整个经济作出正确和有效的决策,因为它忽视了市场的多样性和准确性,尤其是价格;而价格决定供求关系,从而产生可以提高生产和利润的物质刺激。然而,与资本主义经济不同,社会主义市场并不是完全自由的,而是在中央计划规定的范围内运作。<sup>①</sup> 锡克的建议获得了广泛的关注,并被纳入中国的经济政策,导致了价格研究中心的建立。

在邀请西欧和东欧顶尖经济学家访华的同时,中国的经济专家也开始参加国际会议。国际经济学会雅典论坛(1981年8月)为他们提供了一个与一些著名经济学家见面的机会,其中包括苏联犹太学者列昂尼德·康托罗维奇(Leonid Kantorovich),也是唯一获得诺贝尔经济学奖的苏联人(1975年),因为他为开发资源分配数学模型作出了贡献。另一个东欧经济学家代表团于1982年7月访问了中国,代表团成员包括弗拉基米尔·布鲁斯、波兰国家物价专员尤利斯·斯特鲁明斯基(Julius Struminsky)、捷克前副总理季季·科斯塔[Jiří Kosta, 原名为海因里希·格奥尔格·科恩(Heinrich Georg Kohn)]、匈牙利官员和政治评论员彼得·肯德(Péter Kende),全都是犹太人。他们一致建议按照东欧模式来改革中国经济。<sup>②</sup> 但是,那些年在中国最引人注目的是雅诺什·科尔奈(János Kornai)。

在东欧经济学家中,对中国经济发展最有影响的是雅诺什·科尔奈。他原名叫科恩豪泽(Kornhauser),出生在一个匈牙利犹太家庭,1984年移居美国并进入哈佛大学。在中国人1985年在一艘名为“巴山号”(Bashan)游轮上举行的一次会议上,他是主要嘉宾。他的著作《短缺经济学》(1980)抨击了社会主义官僚计划经济和长期缺乏增加生产的投资。“匈牙利人雅诺什·科尔奈是出现在战后共产主义欧洲的最著名也是最有影响力的经济学家。”<sup>③</sup>在认识了科尔奈之

<sup>①</sup> Ota Šik, *Plan and Market under Socialism* (White Plains, NY: International Arts and Sciences Press, 1967).

<sup>②</sup> Julian Gewirtz, *Unlikely Partners: Chinese Reformers, Western Economists, and the Making of Global China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2017); Jiří Kosta, “The Chinese Economic Reform: Approaches, Results and Prospects,” in *Crisis and Reform in Socialist Economies*, eds. Peter Gey, Jiří Kosta and Wolfgang Quaisser (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1987), 145-171.

<sup>③</sup> Robert Skidelsky, “Essay: A Chinese Homecoming,” (January 1, 2006), <https://robertskidelsky.com/2006/01/01/essay-a-chinese-homecoming/>; Robert Skidelsky, “Winning the Gamble with Communism,” *New York Review of Books* 54 (2007).斯基德尔斯基勋爵(Lord Skidelsky)于1939年出生于中国哈尔滨的一个“寡头”家族(他本人语),父亲是犹太人。该家族在当地犹太社团和中国东北经济中发挥了重要作用。

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后,中国的学者和经济学家们意识到西方经济学对中国发展的价值,他们不时会援引匈牙利的经验,参考科尔奈的著作。

中国的经济顾问们主张将“社会主义”与“市场”相结合的制度作为经济转型的一个阶段,但并不认为这个阶段是稳定或持久的。计划经济和市场经济可以在一段时间内共存,但最终会走向资本主义而不是社会主义。然而,科尔奈和他的同事们——他们代表了东欧的转型风格,认为政治改革作为拯救本国经济的必由之路——却没有向中国提出这样的解决方案。科尔奈呼吁减少政府的“家长式作风”,即对经济的过度干预,他强调中国的“合同责任制”,减少强制性计划,并强调间接管理。

中国主要的经济学家和经济出版物称赞科尔奈对高等数学的运用,以及他把西方经济理论和马克思主义经济理论结合在一起,从而使东欧的经济改革,特别是匈牙利经济改革,适用于中国的情况。他的观点在西方与东方之间架起了一座桥梁。同时,他也表示,这种计划经济与市场力量的结合只是一种“过渡”。在一年多的时间里,“科尔奈在中国的声誉已经发展到惊人的水平”,达到了“科尔奈热”的程度。<sup>①</sup>这不仅反映了他的智力和能力(西方经济学家也拥有的),还反映了他的东欧经验(西方经济学家所欠缺的)。

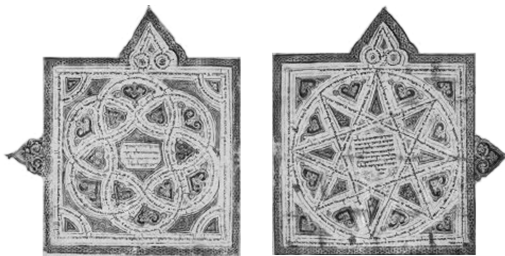
尽管他们热衷于将中央计划和自由市场结合起来,但并非所有的中国领导人和经济学家都接受社会主义改良模式,无论这种模式是东欧的还是西方的。一些强硬的保守派马克思主义者仍然推崇苏联式的计划经济,并且相信其他经济学家。其中一位是欧内斯特·曼德尔(Ernest Mandel)。他出生在法兰克福,父母是波兰犹太人,后来移居比利时;他在那里为马克思主义辩护,直到1995年去世。他的著作《论马克思主义政治经济学》在1962年出版,1979年被翻译成中文,在接下来的几年里,那些反对改革的人用这本书来与改革派作斗争,但结果是失败的。<sup>②</sup>

总而言之,后毛泽东时代的领导人不太可能意识到他们的大多数外国经济顾问,无论是来自西欧的还是东欧的,都有犹太人身份。同样,这些顾问也不太可能将他们的犹太身份视为推动中国经济改革的一种动力或者工具。事实上,一些苏联知识分子和官员曾暗示基辛格和一些著名美国犹太人有一种“犹太复

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① Julian Gewirtz, *Unlikely Partners: Chinese Reformers, Western Economists, and the Making of Global China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2017), 166.

② Julian Gewirtz, *Unlikely Partners: Chinese Reformers, Western Economists, and the Making of Global China*, 77-78.



国主义阴谋”，要将资本主义引入中国（以及苏联）。<sup>①</sup> 然而，即使双方都没有意识到或忽略了这些顾问的犹太血统，犹太特性（Jewishness）可能已经改变了后毛泽东时代中国改革的基础。它反映了一种前所未有的组合，以前从来没有在社会主义框架内完成过，更不用说成功了。无论东欧国家经历了什么样的经济改革，它们都没有保持“社会主义”，更不用说“共产主义”了。也许犹太人的思维提供了灵活的知识独创和概念创新，这是其他人所想不到也做不到的。将中国从落后的中央集权和旧式经济转变为融合了资本主义元素的先进现代经济，是犹太知识分子敢于面对，也准备面对的巨大挑战。大多数学者、政治家以及媒体，都怀疑这种大规模转型是否可能。然而，到目前为止，中国 40 多年来的成就是令人难以置信的，也是史无前例的。

## 结 论

本文讨论的这些为共产主义革命作出了贡献的各式各样的人物有两个共同点：一个是客观的、无可争辩的共同点——他们都是犹太人；另一个是主观的、显而易见的共同点——他们的犹太属性并不是他们的基本身份。我不同意第二种看法。诚然，中国（或其他地方）的犹太革命者可能从未踏入过犹太会堂，但是他们世代都在吸收自己的犹太信仰。<sup>②</sup> 马克思（在中国人眼中是犹太人）所描绘的共产主义甚至社会主义——真实的而非乌托邦式的——可以被视为对资本主义罪恶的救赎或纠正（*Tikkun 'Olam*，“修复世界”——希伯来-犹太人的说法）。中国的犹太革命者肯定被有意无意地定义成了犹太人。爱泼斯坦提到，周恩来在正式访问华沙的招待会上问起了波兰著名数学家利奥波德·英菲尔德（Leopold Infeld）教授。由于英菲尔德是犹太人，被安排在一个角落里，看着周恩来穿过大厅前来与他握手，“这是一种不赞成社会主义国家有反犹太主义的明确无误的姿态”<sup>③</sup>。

当然，最终的问题不仅在于这些犹太活动家如何定义自己，而且也在于其他人如何定义他们。犹太人参加共产主义运动的一个原因是，这一运动被认为是

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<sup>①</sup> Alexander Lukin, *The Bear Watches the Dragon: Russia's Perceptions of China and the Evolution of Russian-Chinese Relations since the Eighteenth Century* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2003), 150.

<sup>②</sup> 他们是“不信教的犹太人”。参见 Isaac Deutscher, *The Non-Jewish Jew and Other Essays* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968)。由于没有祖国，犹太人无论住在哪里都是与众不同的，这有助于他们保持自己的身份，而不一定靠宗教信仰。

<sup>③</sup> Israel Epstein, *My China Eye: Memoirs of a Jew and a Journalist*, 242.

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国际主义和普世性的。犹太人没有祖国,主要过着流散生活,共产主义运动非常适合他们。但是,如果说他们在 20 世纪 20 年代还没有理解共产主义运动的话,那么在 30 年代,当数十名犹太革命者被清洗和处决时,他们就肯定理解了;当时终于证明这种革命是民族性的,尤其是俄罗斯人的。犹太人被排除在外,不仅因为传统的反犹主义,而且还因为他们拒绝革命中狭隘的俄罗斯属性。无论如何,这两种态度都凸显了他们的犹太宗教身份,无论他们在感觉上和实际上离理论和实践有多远。<sup>①</sup>

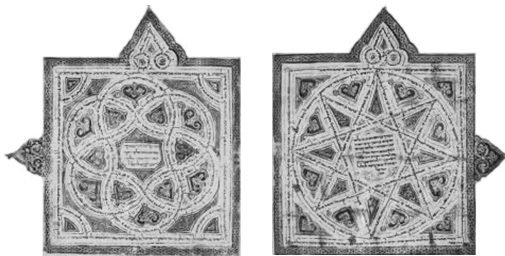
在上述三个时期里,犹太人对中国革命贡献的共同点是,他们试图“正确地”处理中国国内外的意识形态矛盾,弥合分歧。正如亚历山大·卢金(Alexander Lukin)所评论的那样,苏联对华政策的分歧,以及中国共产主义运动内部的分歧,不是制度上的,而主要是意识形态上的。<sup>②</sup>从本质上讲,20 世纪 20 年代和 80 年代一样,他们关注的是“左派”观点和“右派”观点之间的差异——“左派”着眼于革命的共产主义本质,而“右派”则专注于革命的资产阶级前提。当然,最终政策是由莫斯科制定的,通常是由党制定的。然而,由于苏联特使们更熟悉中国当地的情况,他们有一定的回旋余地,也有自己的偏好。犹太顾问们的建议是左右结合,“两者兼而有之”,很符合中国的传统。这也符合马克思的辩证唯物主义的世界观,即资本主义必然是共产主义的先决条件。而且,即使他们没有意识到这一点——有些人肯定意识到了,这些思想也都符合中国哲学的基本原理,即对立统一、阴阳原则以及一些西方和黑格尔的概念。<sup>③</sup>

在第一个时期,大多数代表苏联政府或苏联共产党的犹太顾问都强调了与国民党保持良好关系的重要性。他们与马克思尤其是列宁的观点保持一致,赞同中国国民党对民族主义和独立运动的推动,以及依靠资本主义来发展中国。这两点都被视为实现共产主义的先决条件。在第二个时期,当中国的社会主义被认为已经“实现”了的时候,大多数参与革命的犹太人试图通过翻译和出版中国的资料和著作,将它们介绍到国外,以此来弥合中国与外部世界之间的差距。在第三个时期改革即将开始时,犹太顾问们——他们自己不一定是共产主义者——又重新回到了 20 世纪 20 年代马克思-列宁主义观念,即资本主义是共

<sup>①</sup> Leonard Shapiro, “The Role of the Jews in the Russian Revolutionary Movement,” *The Slavonic and East European Review* 40 (1961): 166-167.

<sup>②</sup> Alexander Lukin, *The Bear Watches the Dragon: Russia's Perceptions of China and the Evolution of Russian-Chinese Relations since the Eighteenth Century* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2003), 82, 109.

<sup>③</sup> V. J. McGill, and W. T. Parry, “The Unity of Opposites: A Dialectical Principle,” *Science & Society* 12 (1948): 418-444.



产主义的重要基础。和他们的前辈一样,这些犹太顾问提供了将社会主义与资本主义相结合以弥合差距的办法,并“正确地”处理了两者之间的矛盾。他们可能在无意间颠覆了马克思,指出了一种新的革命道路;这种革命取得成功的前景虽然仍存在疑问,但却是有史以来最好的。

最后,无论有意还是无意,这些“沟通者”都是犹太人,而中国领导人和活动人士在多大程度上意识到了这一点?再进一步说,如果他们没有想到——也很可能已经意识到了——来自外部的信息(过去是反犹太主义,现在则是媒体渠道)也会提醒他们这一点。最近的迹象表明,中国认识并赞赏犹太文明不仅对中国,而且对亚洲(和世界)文明产生的影响。中国国家主席习近平在2019年5月15日在北京举行的亚洲文明对话大会的开幕词中说:“在数千年发展历程中,亚洲人民创造了辉煌的文明成果。《诗经》《论语》《塔木德》《一千零一夜》《梨俱吠陀》《源氏物语》等名篇经典。”<sup>①</sup>值得注意的是,习近平主席提到了《塔木德》,而不是《圣经》。我想有两个原因。首先,《圣经》虽然最初只是犹太人的,但后来也为基督教和伊斯兰教所共有,它们都认为这也是它们遗产的一部分。其次,因为《塔木德》相较于《圣经》而言更是犹太人独有的财产,更能代表和反映犹太人的精神和本性,即争论和辩论,不接受事物表面的价值、主张对立的统一、协调分歧、调和矛盾。

可以想到的是,习近平主席在提到亚洲文化成就时把中国经典(《诗经》《论语》)放在最前面;但想不到他会把犹太人的《塔木德》排在第二位。在此之后,他才提到阿拉伯人、印度人和日本人的贡献。假如不是习近平主席本人,那么一定是有中国领导层或知识分子中的其他人提议给予犹太文明如此高的地位。而且,由于中国政治中很少有或者根本没有巧合,这一点就很重要了。

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<sup>①</sup> 习近平主席在亚洲文明对话大会开幕式上的演讲全文,可访问 <https://eng.yidaiyilu.gov.cn/home/rolling/90755.htm>, 2019年7月12日。

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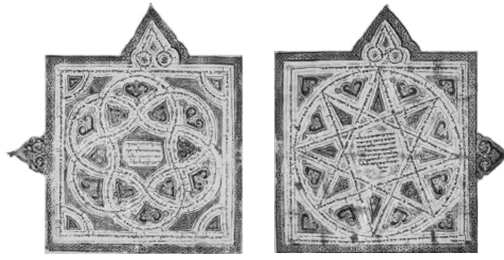
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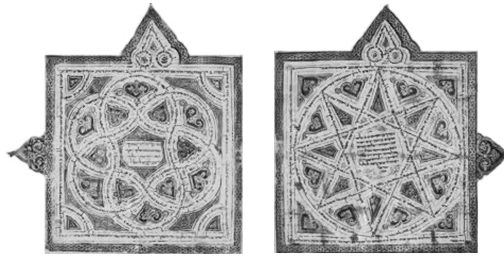
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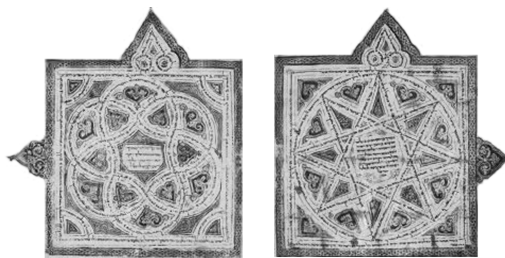
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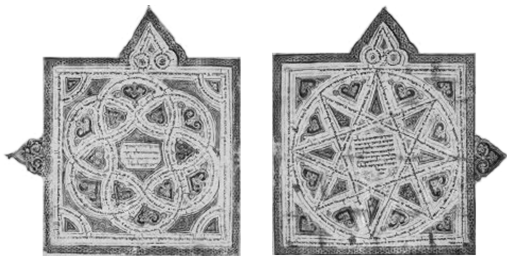
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## Combining Contradictions: Jewish Contributions to the Chinese Revolution

Yitzhak Shichor Tr. HONG Tao XIAO Xian

**Abstract:** Jews were deeply involved in Communist revolutions in Europe, and primarily in Russia, often in leading positions. This is understandable given their demographic location, extensive education and suffering over the years. However, how could we account for the fact that they also played a role in Communist revolutions in Asia, and especially in China? There were practically no Jewish communities to speak of and those few who lived there had been almost totally assimilated, and had no interest whatsoever in Chinese culture, history and politics. Still, Jews (who arrived out of China) not only took part in the revolution but had also helped igniting it and then stayed on or joined later. While dealing with this puzzle in my paper, I'll try to offer a typology of Jewish activists and revolutionaries in China, to explain their motives (by choice or not), and to evaluate their contributions in perspective. It appears that their Jewish identity did not play a direct role in their revolutionary activism, but it did play an indirect role. Included in this study are Grigorii Gershuni, Grigorii Voitinski, Boris Shumiatsky, Michail Borodin, Adolf Joffe, Pavel Mif, David Crook, Sidney Rittenberg, Israel Epstein, Sidney Shapiro, Solomon Adler, Sam Ginsbourg, Michael Shapiro, and more. Their main value to the revolution was mainly writing, translation, communication and publication.

**Key Words:** Jewish Activists, Chinese Communist Revolution, Jewish Identities, Tikkun 'Olam, Jewish Revolution



## 传播学视角下的犹太神秘主义大众化现象

——以近现代哈西德运动为例\*

陈 影 马婉骁\*\*

**【摘要】**犹太神秘主义是犹太研究的重要话题。有趣的是,具有密契性质的犹太神秘主义出现了面向大众传播的现象。本文聚焦犹太神秘主义大众化现象,以近现代哈西德运动为例,从传播学视角出发,探究犹太神秘主义大众化的实现路径及其在现代社会产生的问题。研究发现:宗教仪式和宗教领袖在犹太神秘主义的大众化传播中发挥了重要作用,但犹太神秘主义向大众下移的同时也给犹太传统带来了危机,出现了后现代语境下功能异化的问题。

**【关键词】**犹太神秘主义;哈西德运动;传播学;大众化

神秘主义是世界不同宗教之中的普遍现象,神秘主义和宗教在本质上密不可分。若将宗教看作包含双向箭头的膜结构整体,箭头的一端在历史文化的向度上,外指“此在”人类社会中多元变化的宗教形式和传统,即宗教体制化的一面,并最终落在其不容置疑的社会性规范或实质性强制上;箭头的另一端作为一种内在的本原性动力,始终内指信仰者灵魂深处的宗教灵性诉求<sup>①</sup>,即对信仰之实在本身的感受或领悟能力,而这正是宗教的神秘主义内核,它对体制化宗教

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<sup>①</sup> 参见刘精忠 Liu Jingzhong,《犹太神秘主义概论》[An Introduction to Jewish Mysticism](北京[Beijing]:中国社会科学出版社[China Social Sciences Press],2015),13。

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总是呈现出一种抗拒和摆脱的趋势。

神秘主义往往占据宗教的核心地位,而作为世界上最古老的民族性宗教之一,犹太教也并不例外。由于神秘主义本身是信仰者灵性层面试图跨越“此在”与“神性”之间鸿沟的“神圣之旅”<sup>①</sup>,其内含的神秘真理从根本上超越有限的语言和理性,加之其与正统派发生冲突的可能性较大,因此一般的宗教神秘主义都有秘传传统。虽然犹太神秘主义在历史上也发生过在特定群体小范围内的传播,但是出于犹太民族自身特殊的历史原因,犹太神秘主义最终表现为“试图去影响更多的人,甚至是整个民族”<sup>②</sup>,在具体实践中出现了神秘主义知识的目标受众从少数“受选者”转向普通犹太民众的现象,而这正是一种宗教神秘主义的个人生活化和宗教灵性实践的公开大众化,它最终表现为犹太神秘主义的大众化,特别是在哈西德运动中。

## 一、“喀巴拉”与近现代哈西德运动

“喀巴拉”(Kabbalah)原意为“传统”,狭义指的是中世纪西班牙和巴勒斯坦地区犹太神秘主义者在吸收传统资源的基础上发展出的一种较为完备的神智学理论。<sup>③</sup>作为犹太神秘主义中的一个派别,喀巴拉逐渐发展壮大,进而演变为广义上整个犹太神秘主义的代名词。值得注意的是,犹太神秘主义强调“灵性”,虽然“灵性”一词受到基督教传统的影响,在西方语境中该词常被认为是肉体和对立面的。<sup>④</sup>但“灵性”在犹太神秘主义中不仅意味着一种宗教体验意义上的领悟或感受,还包含着一种“近乎全方位的宗教实践主义的底蕴”<sup>⑤</sup>,二者是不可分割的一个整体。事实上,单纯包含个体宗教体验的宗教神秘主义确实难以实现自身的大范围传播,因此不得不将神秘知识限定在秘传传统上;而若包含了一定的信仰实践底蕴,大众化传播就有了现实可能。从这一点上讲,犹太神秘主义的大众化似乎早就具有历史基础。

近代以来,犹太神秘主义运动持续发展,哈西德运动标志着犹太神秘主义运

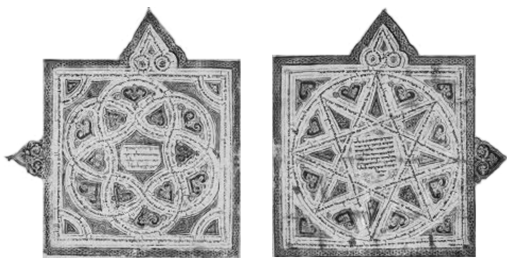
① 刘精忠,《犹太神秘主义概论》,5。

② G. G. Scholem 格舍姆·G. 索伦,《犹太教神秘主义主流》[Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism], 涂笑非 Tu Xiaofei 译(四川[Sichuan]:四川人民出版社[Sichuan People's Press],2000),21。

③ 参见周燮藩 Zhou Xiefan、刘精忠 Liu Jingzhong,《犹太教概论》[An Introduction to Judaism](北京[Beijing]:中国社会科学出版社[China Social Sciences Press],2012),232。

④ B. Huss, *Spirituality: The Emergence of a New Cultural Category and Its Challenge to the Religious and the Secular* (Abingdon: Journal of Contemporary Religion, 2014),47-60。

⑤ 刘精忠,《犹太神秘主义概论》,17。



动迎来了一个高潮。本文提到的“哈西德运动”指的是近现代的犹太神秘主义运动。从传播学角度来看,哈西德运动中呈现出的以下几个新特点值得注意。第一,为了使喀巴拉神秘主义的宗教灵性实践大众化,哈西德运动逐渐建立起一套日臻完善的“柴迪克”(Zaddik)或“圣徒”崇拜制度,作为社会层面大众化传授的基本组织架构。第二,哈西德运动体现出形式上的创造性,具体来讲就是哈西德运动中的仪式极富宗教激情。一方面,各种舞蹈、歌谣以及迷狂中的狂喜等感性表达因素出现在哈西德仪式的公开祈祷中;另一方面,在信仰的传递过程中还增添了对历史上哈西德圣徒言行的复述等内容,即通过所谓的“哈西德故事”来达到对一般信众的灵性启发。这些新变化都为犹太神秘主义中的宗教灵性体验在大众间广泛传播提供了条件。

## 二、犹太神秘主义大众化的路径

与其他喀巴拉神秘主义思潮专注义理思辨与精神提升不同,早期的哈西德运动将重心移向引导并激发犹太民众内在的个体宗教体验,因此更为注重创造生动并充满激情的宗教仪式,以实现神秘主义灵性体验向大众下移的目标。从传播学的角度看,哈西德运动在宗教仪式上的创新对于犹太神秘主义大众化具有重要意义。宗教仪式在本质上具有沟通人神关系的意义,是连接人神的中介和桥梁,这也构成了宗教仪式活动蕴藏媒介传播思想和理念的基础。<sup>①</sup>对于哈西德运动而言,仪式的参与者是受众,即广大犹太民众;而哈西德仪式完成过程中深度介入和不断呈现的各种媒介都是传播者。在哈西德仪式中,二者间形成的传受关系仍然受到议程设置的控制,是经过编辑、设计、策划和过滤的传播。<sup>②</sup>具体而言,为实现预期的传播效果,哈西德仪式的主持人依据自己的宗教体验,选择性设计了让喀巴拉神秘主义中关键的“灵性”体验内容能够生动地传播给受众的一系列活动:哈西德仪式所包含的内容丰富多样,有舞蹈、歌谣和讲故事等各种因素,是集声音、图像、行为于一体的“多载体传播”形式。宗教仪式的操控者和受众之间指向一种分享经验、形成共有思维模式和操作技能的过程,这一过程可概括为 SECI 模型(“社会化—外化—组合—内化”模型)。<sup>③</sup>通过仪式的传

<sup>①</sup> 参见刘路 Liu Lu、陈晓华 Chen Xiaohua,〈传播学视野下的宗教仪式与媒介利用〉[Religious Ritual and Media Utilization from the Perspective of Communication Studies],于《宗教学研究》[Religious Studies],2009年第2期[2009, Issue 2],206—210。

<sup>②</sup> 同上。

<sup>③</sup> 同上。

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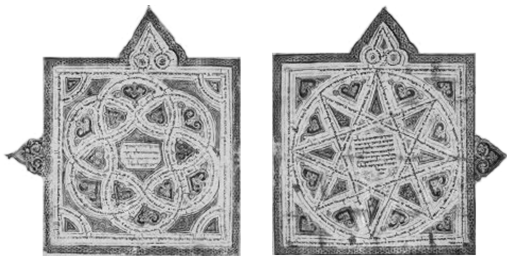
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播中心(包括议程的描述和表达、泛媒介化的组合传播形式),将宗教信仰转化为具象化和系统化的宗教仪式体系,并在传播过程中逐渐形成群体知识,由仪式操控者个人扩散到整个组织,最终内化为全体成员对神的体悟和信仰。

值得注意的是,除了仪式的多样化,哈西德仪式中所包含的感性因素是哈西德运动能够推动犹太神秘主义向大众传播的关键之一,而这与传播学中媒介与物质空间频繁且紧密的互嵌共生关系有关。<sup>①</sup> 媒介本身对空间建构的作用是巨大的,媒介通过组织、改造人的现实行为,重塑了物质空间;不同媒介物的独特性导致其带来的中介化实践千差万别,由此对物质空间产生不同的影响。<sup>②</sup> 因此,选择合适的传播媒介以建构神秘主义灵性体验的精神空间并最终塑造现实的信仰群体,就成为实现神秘主义大众化的重要途径。就此而言,哈西德仪式将激情感性的宗教形态作为传播喀巴拉神秘主义的媒介,恰恰是对这一媒介—空间关系的回应。这是由于宗教神秘主义强调的是一种个体性的宗教体验,与一般意义上人们所推崇的理性、逻辑的认知方式格格不入。正因如此,作为试图把握这一灵性体验的神秘主义仪式来说,仪式的内容与形式不可停留在人类的理智层面,否则会产生南辕北辙的效果,难以使受众真正体悟到“神秘主义”所面向的那个“世界”;唯有从信仰者个体的宗教灵性领域出发,使仪式尽可能贴近感性,受众才可能产生某种意义上的领悟或理解。因此,哈西德仪式中所包含的那些充满宗教激情的沉浸式的感性宗教形态,例如迷狂的舞蹈、歌谣等,正是喀巴拉神秘主义向大众传播的有效媒介。一方面,作为传播媒介的感性宗教仪式为仪式参与者搭建了一个崭新的喀巴拉神秘主义灵性体验的虚拟空间,它让犹太民众能够感受到上帝的“临在”;另一方面,感性因素所建构的虚拟空间将犹太民众置于一种灵性觉醒的生存状态,随之产生的归属感和认同感促进了历史世界中整个犹太民族精神的苏醒和成长,在现实中表现为神秘意境下的社会整合和民族凝聚,由此重塑了物质空间中的喀巴拉信仰群体。除此之外,哈西德仪式中的感性因素还体现出强调“知觉感受”。“知觉感受”是仪式参与者的“感觉在场”,即

① 参见《国际新闻界》传播学年度课题组 Chinese Journal of Journalism & Communication Annual Research Group on Communication Studies,〈2022 年中国的传播学研究〉[Communication Studies in China 2022], 于《国际新闻界》[Chinese Journal of Journalism & Communication], 2023 年第 1 期[2023, Issue 1], 25—49。

② 参见孙玮 Sun Wei,〈城市的媒介性——兼论数字时代的媒介观〉[The Media of City: Also on the Media View in the Digital Age], 于《南京社会科学》[Social Sciences in Nanjing], 2022 年第 7 期[2022, Issue 7], 103—110。



宗教传播中“身体在场”的第一维度。<sup>①</sup> 感官对各种信息的体验是十分丰富的, 感官及其载体即身体作为某一物质形式, 使得在场者能够处在与物质世界和他者互动的联系之中。近年来, “身体转向”思潮逐渐回归传播学的视野, 身体在传播中的基础性地位被重新确立, 因此从某种意义上讲, 哈西德仪式的内在传播机理在本质上关联着“在场”的仪式参与者对仪式本身的感性知觉体验: 感性因素给予了仪式参与者知觉系统上的快感和满足, 这一感官享受使广大哈西德信徒在迷狂意境中得以触碰到上帝的神性光辉, 而“感觉在场”或“身体在场”的享受最终达到“上帝在场”的体悟, 这种共同的“在场”使得自我与他者、“此在”与“彼岸”的区隔得以暂时消解, 具有特殊意义上的“阈限”的意义<sup>②</sup>, 从而让犹太民众在这一过程中更容易体验到喀巴拉神秘主义中深层次的“灵性”奥秘所在。

除却仪式本身作为媒介的作用, 从更加宏观的传播视角来看, 哈西德仪式所创造的宗教空间契合了传播学中的“空间生产”。基于列斐伏尔理论的核心观点, 即空间生产可被划分成三个相互辩证关联的维度或过程, 后来的研究者将其理论中的概念三元组由“空间实践、空间再现和再现空间”发展为“物理空间、精神空间和社会空间”。<sup>③</sup> 物理空间是能够直接感知的实践环境, 它不仅包含发生在最基础空间中的物质流动、转换、仪式和互动, 还包含着具有主体性的“身体”在前者中所进行的积极的实践和生产。<sup>④</sup> 精神空间则更多表现为一种知性而有距离的空间, 依赖语言、论述与文本等符号系统。<sup>⑤</sup> 在哈西德仪式中, 除了迷狂式的祈祷、歌舞等仪式创新之外, 最为重要的就是加入了对历史上哈西德圣徒言行的复述, 讲述被赋予了仪式性价值的“哈西德故事”。<sup>⑥</sup> 例如在安息日, 喀巴拉信徒会聚在一起祈祷并享用公共晚餐, 后来哈西德信徒增设了告别安息日的第

<sup>①</sup> 参见高长江 Gao Changjiang, 《宗教文化传播的美学之维》[Aesthetic Dimension of Religious Culture Dissemination], 于《宗教学研究》[Religious Studies], 2020年第3期[2020, Issue 3], 165—173。

<sup>②</sup> 参见郭建斌 Guo Jianbin, 《“在场”: 一个基于中国经验的媒体人类学概念》[“Presence”: An Anthropological Concept of Media Based on Chinese Experience], 于《新闻与传播研究》[Journalism & Communication], 2019年第11期[2019, Issue 11], 37—54。

<sup>③</sup> 参见李耘耕 Li Yungeng, 《从列斐伏尔到位置媒介的兴起: 一种空间媒介观的理论谱系》[From Lefebvre to the Rise of Positional Media: A Theoretical Pedigree of Spatial Media Views], 于《国际新闻界》[Chinese Journal of Journalism & Communication], 2019年第11期[2019, Issue 11], 6—23。

<sup>④</sup> 参见文军 Wen Jun、黄锐 Huang Rui, 《“空间”的思想谱系与理想图景: 一种开放性实践空间的建构》[Ideological Pedigree and Ideal Picture of “Space”: Construction of an Open Practical Space], 于《社会学研究》[Sociological Study], 2012年第2期[2012, Issue 2], 35—59。

<sup>⑤</sup> D. Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), 218-219.

<sup>⑥</sup> 参见刘精忠, 《犹太神秘主义概论》, 200。

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四餐,借此聆听柴迪克讲述哈西德圣徒们的故事。<sup>①</sup>在讲故事的过程中,哈西德信徒们的身体与其所在宗教场所的环境以及二者间的互动共同构成了犹太神秘主义传播的物理空间,而柴迪克的故事语言所描绘的神秘体验则为哈西德信徒构想了传播的精神空间,即那个在灵性意义上跨越“此在”而抵达的终极世界,两者共同作用,启发了信众的灵性。此外,哈西德故事的内容还包括犹太传统民间故事和传统作品选集<sup>②</sup>,例如摩西带领犹太人摆脱法老奴役、走出埃及的故事,由此产生的培养共同意识、维护哈西德文化边界的效果则涉及物理空间和精神空间所共同指向的另一空间——“社会空间”。社会空间是一种“他者化”的空间,它不同于第一空间和第二空间,却又包括并超越两者,指向具有新可能、新地点和新差异的第三空间。<sup>③</sup>社会空间的关系本质使得一起听故事的受众之间形成了一种情感的连接,促进了新的社会关系的生产;而传播行为的重复使这种社会关系更加紧密,能够增强群体的向心力和凝聚力,最终使得故事的受众发展为一种“新部落式”的情感式社群。<sup>④</sup>社会空间的生产也与哈西德运动中向大众传授神秘主义的内在动因有着密切联系。犹太民族区别于其他民族的独特的一点就在于其长期的民族性的流散生活,这“必然不可避免地要体现为喀巴拉不同于其他宗教神秘主义的历史—文化差异”<sup>⑤</sup>。具体来讲,即使作为少数群体,喀巴拉主义者仍然需要担负起民族的共同命运,这表现为它需要发挥一种社会性整合功能,从精神层面来维系这个流散的民族,因此也出现了“虽说按照信条只有少数受选者才能了解真正的奥秘,可在历史上的某些时期,喀巴拉信徒也曾试图去影响更多的人,甚至影响整个民族”<sup>⑥</sup>的现象。从现实来看,社会空间生产的效果是极为显著的:哈西德运动在不到一个世纪的时间内席卷东欧大地,将东欧一半以上的犹太民众囊括到自己的阵营里<sup>⑦</sup>,并最终使多个哈西德小团体互相

① 参见马丹静 Ma Danjing,〈哈西德运动在东欧兴盛的原因探析〉[An Analysis of the Reasons for the Prosperity of Hasidic Movement in Eastern Europe],于《学海》[Academia Bimestrie],2012年第3期[2012, Issue 3],195—199。

② Joseph Dan, *Kabbalah: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 102.

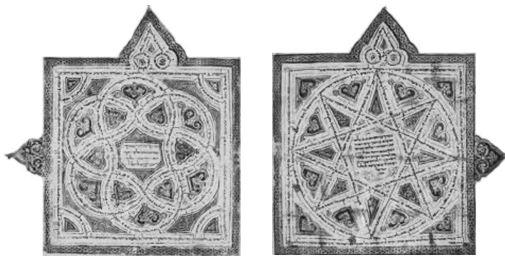
③ 参见陆扬 Lu Yang,〈空间理论和文学空间〉[Space Theory and Literary Space],于《外国文学研究》[Foreign Literature Studies],2004年第4期[2004, Issue 4],31—37。

④ M. Maffesoli, *The Time of the Tribes: The Decline of Individualism in Mass Society* (London: Sage, 1996), 96-99.

⑤ 刘精忠,《犹太神秘主义概论》,25。

⑥ 格舍姆·G. 索伦,《犹太教神秘主义主流》,21。

⑦ Jerome R. Mintz, *Legends of the Hasidim: An Introduction to Hasidic Culture and Oral Tradition in the New World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), 4.



“缠绕和连接”，最终形成具有一定规模的神秘主义运动。

在犹太神秘主义大众化的过程中，与哈西德仪式相比，“柴迪克”崇拜制度所发挥的作用同样巨大。“柴迪克”这一称谓，原义所指的只是《圣经》中描绘的“义人”或正直之士；而在哈西德运动中，“柴迪克”逐渐神圣化，对于被称为“柴迪克”的哈西德领袖们来说，他们在信徒中最重要的身份是灵性导师，为信徒担当着上帝与其尘世间的子民——犹太信众之间的灵性引导媒介。<sup>①</sup> 在早期的哈西德运动中，柴迪克只是信徒通过灵性体验与神圣世界发生灵性交流的指导者，信徒沟通的直接对象仍然是神本身；随着时间的推移，柴迪克与“神性”的联系更加紧密，这表现在新的“柴迪克信条”中，柴迪克本人逐渐成为信徒宗教灵性生活的唯一托拉或信仰源头，信徒甚至可以直接通过靠近“柴迪克”来获得宗教灵性体验。柴迪克逐渐“神圣化”的过程与犹太神秘主义大众化的进程表现出高度重合的历史轨迹，这恰恰表明，作为引导者或领袖角色的“柴迪克”在犹太神秘主义向大众下移的过程中具有不可忽视的作用。

要深入理解这一点，需要结合组织传播理论中关于权威性资源的论述。根据结构化理论对于社会权力模型的建构，作为资源的权力类型包括回报、强制、参照、正当和专家这五种权力，这些权力赋予了个人影响组织中的传播互动的能力。回报权力指的是对他人具有提供积极结果的能力的感知。柴迪克本人具有极高的宗教灵性上的天赋，能够给予信徒令其信服的灵性体验上的指导，因此回报权力是柴迪克所具有的影响犹太神秘主义在组织中进行传播的资源之一。另外值得一提的是正当权力，即对他人因职位或地位而所具有的能力的感知。根据《民数记》27:16“愿耶和華万人之灵的神，立一个人治理会众”，柴迪克须建立在“神圣”选举的基础之上，“灵选”的目的在于证明哈西德领袖就是能够显现“灵性因子”的神性力量，而这样一种“神圣化”的程序是对领袖之所以为领袖的最好解释和可信度证明，并驱使着喀巴拉信徒在传播过程中赋予柴迪克以正当权力。<sup>②</sup> 根据结构化理论，权力会影响组织决策过程中规则的制定，此处的规则指的是组织或群体为了达成目标而遵循的一般惯例。<sup>③</sup> 对于哈西德运动而言，此处的规则亦即领袖柴迪克凭借自身的权力给予广大喀巴拉信徒的这样一个信号：信徒真正需要的其实并非关于喀巴拉的神秘理论，他们只需紧紧追随眼前的

<sup>①</sup> 参见刘精忠，《犹太神秘主义概论》，187。

<sup>②</sup> Rachel Elior, *The Mystical Origin of Hasidism* (Liverpool: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2006), 131.

<sup>③</sup> 参见 Richard West 理查德·韦斯特、Lynn H. Turner 林恩·H. 特纳，《传播理论导引：分析与应用》[Introducing Communication Theory: Analysis and Application]，刘海龙 Liu Hailong、于瀛 Yu Ying 译（北京[Beijing]：中国人民大学出版社[China Renmin University Press]，2022），223。

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这位“圣徒”，就可以直接认识喀巴拉的奥秘。<sup>①</sup> 具体而言，对喀巴拉信徒来说，相比自己进行难以捉摸的宗教灵性体验以试图和一个并不处在“此在”世界的神进行沟通，追随领袖“柴迪克”近于一种迷狂的状态似乎更可能达到对神的依恋，甚至说柴迪克的生活本身就象征着“神性”在世俗历史世界中的实在，它时刻彰显着“上帝在场”。这对于长期流亡而饱受灾难折磨的犹太民族而言是很关键的一点，因为柴迪克的存在引导着犹太民众持有“上帝并没有抛弃我们”的信念，使他们不断深化对神的信仰。若进一步把权力看成是一种资源，结构二重性理论认为组织中的权力作为结构的一部分能够被用来产生某种行动，该行动反过来又会导致结构发生变化。<sup>②</sup> 柴迪克的“神圣性”引导了喀巴拉信徒对其崇拜、追随的行为，而这种迷狂的献身确实带给了喀巴拉信徒那种哈西德神秘体验中所描绘的“与神相依”(Devekuth)的灵性状态，这反过来印证了柴迪克的能力和身份，巩固了柴迪克自身的“神性”地位，从而促进了更大规模的犹太民众对其的迷恋与对喀巴拉神秘主义的信仰。

### 三、犹太神秘主义大众化的弊端

犹太神秘主义大众化被誉为犹太神秘主义的“一次历史性的伟大跨越”<sup>③</sup>。历史上原本仅限于神秘体验者群体内部传播的宗教灵性经验，在犹太大众间公开而广泛地传递，在这一过程中，哈西德领袖柴迪克带领其信徒超越“此在”间“未被救赎”的犹太生活中的不幸与苦难，使哈西德民众的生存状态处于一种灵性觉醒或信仰复兴的勃勃生机之中，用马丁·布伯的话来说，“喀巴拉成为一种民族精神”<sup>④</sup>。

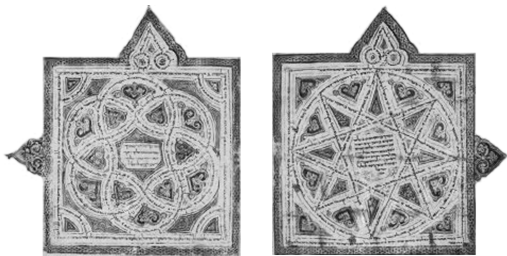
但不可否认的是，犹太神秘主义大众化的影响是复杂的。在《乌合之众》一书中，大众心理学家古斯塔夫·勒庞将“现代”定义为“大众的时代”，并认为大众的崛起造成了文化的衰落。这意味着在向大众下移的过程中，犹太神秘主义自身依据大众需求作出了适应性调整，由此产生的变化应当辩证地审视。退一步讲，即使暂时悬置受众群体可能带来的负面性影响，当宗教灵性体验这样一种隐秘而不可表达的神秘主义知识开始大范围地向普通人表达与传播，当神秘主义在某种程度上被“拉下神坛”，事实上这本身似乎就会产生问题，而且这些问题在

① 参见格舍姆·G. 索伦，《犹太教神秘主义主流》，334。

② 参见理查德·韦斯特、林恩·H. 特纳，《传播理论导引：分析与应用》，226。

③ 刘精忠，《犹太神秘主义概论》，200。

④ 同上，205。



现代及后现代的背景下变得愈加凸显。

一方面,犹太神秘主义在跨文化传播过程中,给自身带来了潜在的冲击。传播适应理论强调传播需要分不同对象与场景进行调节,以达到更好的传播效果<sup>①</sup>;正是出于这样的考虑,作为在后现代精神运动中受到重视和复兴的边缘化文化主题,犹太神秘主义并没有在其传统形式和背景中得到体现,而是经常与其他文化标志物相结合,创造出融合文化作品的混合体<sup>②</sup>。或者说,犹太神秘主义也被从传统的文化环境中搬了出来,重新“嵌入”现当代的文化环境中,与包括生态运动、女权主义、心理治疗等内容在内的现代产物相融合。<sup>③</sup>在现实中,“适应性融合”这一策略对于犹太神秘主义的大众传播有十分积极的影响,它甚至成为犹太神秘主义得以在现代社会扎根的关键。但是,这种交叉混合与互相嵌入的做法客观上模糊了神秘主义与世俗文化的界限,宗教灵性出现了从精神与世俗的二元对立中偏向前者走向二者兼有的回归迹象。<sup>④</sup>而问题也因此最终落在了神秘主义与世俗文化之间的博弈上,即从根本上讲现代性究竟能为传统的存在保留多少空间。遗憾的是,鉴于现代文化尤其是资本主义文化的强扩张性,答案其实不容乐观,适应的结局很可能是反遭吞噬。

另一方面,现代媒介手段在一定程度上异化了犹太神秘主义。20世纪特别是二战以后,广播、电视、网络等大众传播媒介相继成为现代传教手段,这导致犹太神秘主义的布道与接受形式产生剧烈震荡;但是,大众传播媒介在促进犹太神秘主义向广大民众下移的同时,也加深了犹太神秘主义内核的衰微与危机:正如尼尔·波兹曼(Neil Postman)所指出的,传递方式的改变会引起其传递信息所产生的意义的改变<sup>⑤</sup>,大众媒介自身所具有的非自反性和去语境化特征会消解神圣与世俗之间的界限,使神秘主义中的崇高性、神秘性、私密性消失殆尽<sup>⑥</sup>。当

① 参见刘丽群 Liu Liqun、谢精忠 Xie Jingzhong、张蔚涵 Zhang Weihuan,《传播适应理论的研究现状、脉络与应用——基于 WOS 的文献计量和内容分析》[Research Status, Context and Application of Communication Accommodation Theory], 于《新闻与传播评论》[Journalism & Communication Review], 2020年第1期[2020, Issue 1], 47—61。

② B. Huss, *The New Age of Kabbalah* (Oxford: Journal of Modern Jewish Studies, 2007), 107-125.

③ B. Huss, *The New Age of Kabbalah*, 107-125.

④ B. Huss, *Spirituality: The Emergence of a New Cultural Category and Its Challenge to the Religious and the Secular*, 47-60.

⑤ 参见 Neil Postman 尼尔·波兹曼,《娱乐至死》[Amusing Ourselves on Death], 章艳 Zhang Yan 译(广西[Guangxi]: 广西师范大学出版社[Guangxi Normal University Press], 2004), 7。

⑥ 参见刘燕 Liu Yan,《后现代宗教认同的“衰微”与“蜕变”: 媒介技术层面的质疑与反思》[“Decline” and “Metamorphosis” of Postmodern Religious Identity: A Question and Reflection on Media Technology], 于《新闻大学》[Journalism Research], 2009年第3期[2009, Issue 3], 62—66。

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现代媒介使宗教中的超自然力量被淡化,从“精神救赎”走向明显的“世俗主义”<sup>①</sup>,隐藏在背后的媒介逻辑进一步改变了传统的犹太神秘主义,其中之一的表现便是犹太神秘主义的“浅薄化”。事实上,为了实现当代喀巴拉主义者经常宣称的“以现代、可理解和易于消化的方式向更广泛的公众揭示和传播喀巴拉的秘密”,当代喀巴拉的一个常见特征就是倾向于以简化和外在的方式表达思想,即使这些思想本身来自高度复杂和深奥的传统。<sup>②</sup> 这种表达方式给喀巴拉神秘主义带来一种后现代语境下的潜在危险,即神秘主义传统深度和意义的丧失,因为根据詹姆逊的说法,“一种新的扁平性和无深度性的出现,一种最字面意义上的新型肤浅,(可能是)所有后现代主义的最高形式特征”<sup>③</sup>。除此之外,现代媒介总是与娱乐、商业有着千丝万缕的联系,致使其所传递的神秘主义也不可避免地沾染上实用主义的色彩。自1970年以来,喀巴拉研究中心在世界各地建立起来,吸引了众多社会群体,其中包括基督徒;很多基督徒在互联网上发布以“喀巴拉”为题的作品,并宣称其中包含了有关犹太神秘主义的“秘密”知识。<sup>④</sup> 然而,即使不考虑神秘主义作为一种内在的个人体验本身就难以用文字进行表述与传播,作为犹太教的“局外人”,这些接触喀巴拉神秘主义时间并不长的基督徒究竟能够在其中发现多少真正的“秘密”知识,仅是这一点就不免引发质疑;退一步讲,这些基督徒的动机都可能带有宗教实用主义的意味,即他们是在利用喀巴拉神秘主义来为自己的文章“吸引眼球”以“赢得流量”。无独有偶,好莱坞的喀巴拉学习中心吸引了很多名人明星,例如著名的意大利裔美国女歌手麦当娜(Madonna Ciccone)。在2004年,麦当娜宣布改名为“Esther”,而“Esther”是喀巴拉神秘主义对“上帝”的称呼之一,只不过它在语法上是阴性的,代表着圣母(Virgin)和犹太女性神圣力量的结合。<sup>⑤</sup> 关于麦当娜选择“Esther”这个名字的原因有多种解释,对于麦当娜本人的信仰也有各种猜测;但归根结底,麦当娜是将这个名字作为一个寄托个人情感和表现自我性格与形象的手段,其中的宗教实用主义色彩不言而喻。

上述例子所体现的当代意义上的犹太神秘主义大众化传播所带来的危机,是与后现代思潮纠缠在一起的一种“时代症候”,它呈现出明显的解构、肤浅、碎片化与对宏大叙事的质疑等时代特征;再者,它是一种对现代“精神病态”的反

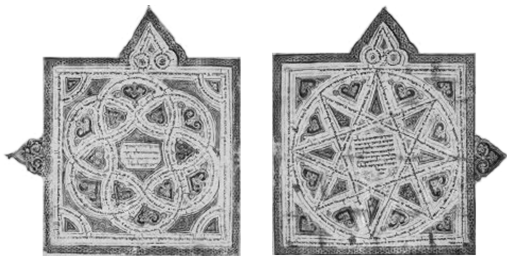
① 参见刘燕,《后现代宗教认同的“衰微”与“蜕变”:媒介技术层面的质疑与反思》,62—66。

② B. Huss, *The New Age of Kabbalah*, 107-125.

③ 同上。

④ Joseph Dan, *Kabbalah: A Very Short Introduction*, 111.

⑤ 同上。



映。<sup>①</sup>正如传播学中的“使用与满足理论”所强调的,受众在传播过程中不是完全被动的,受众对媒介的积极使用作为反馈信息源,实际上制约并影响着传播的各个环节。<sup>②</sup>在现代社会,很多人已经抛弃了精神建构的需要,却仍渴望得到相当程度的自我满足感。这种满足感逐渐转化为现代人心中对于消解深度、娱乐狂欢的追求,反过来驱动着传统的神秘主义通过自身的不断“下移”来适应这些具有新特征的受众群体,呈现出娱乐化、商品化的趋向,例如当代喀巴拉创业主义的兴盛:许多成功的全球商业企业以可观的价格推销与喀巴拉神秘主义相关的精神服务和产品,包括书、各种喀巴拉物品(如护身符、珠宝、冥想卡等)以及各种私人企业家提供的与教学、治疗和精神咨询等相关的收费式喀巴拉服务。<sup>③</sup>根据乌特·哈内赫拉夫(Wouter Hanegraaff)的说法,当代喀巴拉神秘主义已经采取了精神超市的形式,宗教消费者在那里挑选他们喜欢的精神商品,并根据他们的个人需求进行微调,达到自身精神的满足。<sup>④</sup>但是,虽然“使用与满足理论”指出了受众的主体性和能动性,其缺陷在于这种能动性仍是极其有限的,仅局限于媒介所能提供的“有选择的接触”范围之内,即个体可能作出的各种无意识的潜在选择并没有得到足够的关注。换言之,现代人真正渴望被“满足”的是其心灵空虚的缺口需要得到即时的填补,而不是任由其向娱乐与狂欢的谷底滑坡;前者有望在喀巴拉神秘主义更深层次的灵性体验中得到实现,但是商品化的喀巴拉神秘主义只是提供了去往后者的路径,而这也是其招致众多反对者批评、嘲笑和谴责的原因之一。

## 结 语

综上所述,哈西德运动使犹太神秘主义大众化得以实现的关键在于哈西德仪式和哈西德领袖“柴迪克”。在传播学视角下,哈西德仪式中多种媒介的有效调度不仅成为难以捉摸的犹太神秘主义灵性体验的物化展演<sup>⑤</sup>,而且充分调动了受众身体和感官的参与,二者共同指向了多维度传播空间的创造,空间中的共同“在场”使得个体得以向上触碰“彼岸”的神性光辉,向下连接“此在”的信仰群

<sup>①</sup> 参见刘燕,《后现代宗教认同的“衰微”与“蜕变”:媒介技术层面的质疑与反思》,62—66。

<sup>②</sup> 参见张晋升 Zhang Jinsheng,《对“受众第一”观念的再思考——兼谈使用满足理论的实践意义》[Rethinking the Concept of “Audience First” and Discussing the Practical Significance of the Use of Satisfaction Theory],于《新闻知识》[News Research],1999年第1期[1999, Issue 1],4—5。

<sup>③</sup> B. Huss, *The New Age of Kabbalah*, 107-125.

<sup>④</sup> 同上。

<sup>⑤</sup> 参见刘路、陈晓华,《传播学视野下的宗教仪式与媒介利用》,206—210。

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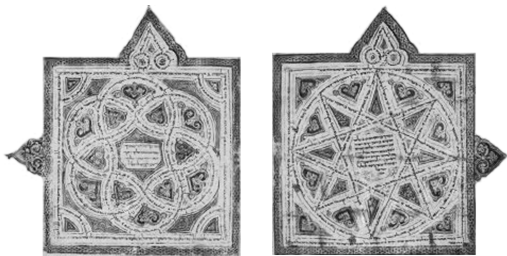
体,这样同时发挥了神学意义和社会学意义上的传播效用,从而增加了犹太神秘主义向大众下移的广度和力度。此外,柴迪克作为传播中心也进一步推动了上述过程。通过这些大众化路径,犹太神秘主义从过去秘传传统中点对点的“传递”,变为如今面向大众的一对多的“撒播”。<sup>①</sup>这一新的传播模式面向一切潜在的喀巴拉信徒,在内在权利层面上释放了对犹太神秘主义的解读自由,尽管在后现代背景下由此产生的“误读”情况也确实存在,但不可否认的是,“撒播”在客观上增加了犹太神秘主义灵性体验成功实现大范围传播的可能性。因此,虽然“撒播”是本着“广种薄收”的原则,但事实上犹太神秘主义在大众化的过程中的确获得了自身影响力的极大提升。

就犹太神秘主义大众化所产生的影响而言,似乎面临着某种程度上的价值评判困境:一方面,在当代背景下,伴随着犹太神秘主义下移范围的扩大和程度的加深,其自身的传统和内核不可避免地受到了现代文化和现代媒介的威胁和冲击,浅薄化、商品化和实用主义逐渐走向极致,喀巴拉灵性体验的异化加剧,引起了不少人的反对与批评;另一方面,如果暂且不论生物学理论的适用范围而只是将其作为认识神秘主义大众化意义的一个工具,那么借助生物学中的种群数量变化曲线来看,对于犹太神秘主义这样一个宗教中的少数群体来说,若其仅因为宗教灵性经验需要秘传而长久局限在自身的小圈子中进行传播,理论上随着时间的推移,信仰群体会日益缩小,该群体则注定滑向灭亡的原点,而在这一层面上,结合犹太神秘主义大众化后所显现的蓬勃的发展活力和其带给犹太民族的巨大的整合效果,犹太神秘主义大众化的意义可谓历史性的,甚至在某种程度上是关乎存亡的。价值评判的困境来源于评价标准及角度的差异,传统与当下的本质变化或效果对比,是观察犹太神秘主义大众化的不同侧面,由此产生了对其价值评判的复杂张力;但事实上,犹太神秘主义大众化兼有积极意义与负面影响,短时间内难以作出一个绝对公允的评判。因此,不妨暂时悬置对其评价的问题,将目光聚焦于现存矛盾本身的解决:后现代背景下犹太神秘主义大众化带来的“传统缩水”和“功能异化”的问题应该如何应对?其他文化语境下神秘主义大众化问题的解决方法与其有何异同点?神秘主义大众化的“度”究竟在哪里?这些问题需要得到学界持续的讨论与对话,而这或许对于犹太神秘主义大众化的发展也更有现实性意义。

在现代媒介逻辑深度影响世界发展的时代背景下,传播学视角下的对神秘

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<sup>①</sup> 参见刘海龙 Liu Hailong,《大众传播理论:范式与流派》[Mass Communication Theory: Paradigms and Schools](北京[Beijing]:中国人民大学出版社[China Renmin University Press],2008), 24。



主义大众化问题的分析揭示了问题背后更加本质的媒介动因,打开了新的神秘主义研究视角。对于中国而言,传播学视角下关于犹太神秘主义大众化的讨论也有十分重要的意义。在神秘主义大众化方面,中国的情形不同于西方,而更类似于犹太民族,对犹太神秘主义大众化的研究可以在某种程度上帮助我们理解历史上中国的神秘主义实现自身的大众化传播并扎根于中国文化深处的内在传播逻辑,也启示我们去思考如何循着传播学尤其是媒介学的学科理路,探求神秘主义大众化在当代中国语境下的出路。

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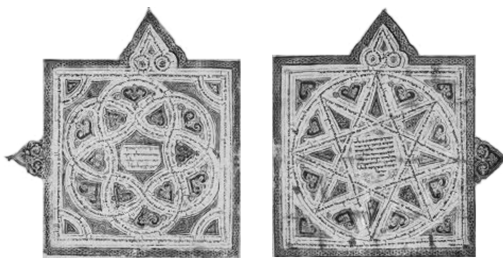
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## **Popularization of Jewish Mysticism in the Perspective of Communication Studies: Taking the Modern Hasidic Movement as an Example**

CHEN Ying MA Wanxiao

**Abstract:** Jewish mysticism is an important topic in Jewish studies, but what is quite interesting is that Jewish mysticism with the nature of being a secret movement has turned out to be a mass communication. This study focuses on the phenomenon of mass communication of Jewish mysticism, taking the modern Hasidic movement as an example. From the perspective of communication studies, it explores the path of realisation of the mass communication of Jewish mysticism and the problems it has created in modern society. The study finds that religious rituals and religious leaders have played an important role in the mass dissemination of Jewish mysticism, but the downward movement of Jewish mysticism to the masses has also brought about a crisis in the Jewish tradition and the problem of functional alienation in the postmodern context.

**Key Words:** Jewish Mysticism, Hasidic Movement, Communication Studies, Popularization

## 创造的安息日

——莫尔特曼对罗森茨维格安息日思想的阐发\*

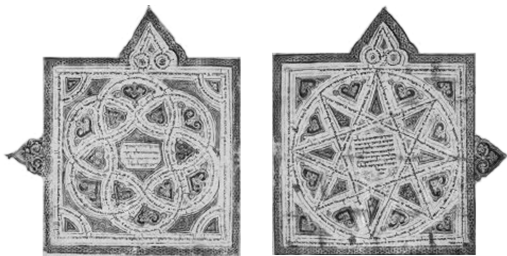
李 聪\*\*

**【摘要】**莫尔特曼阐释了罗森茨维格将安息日视为创造的节日之观念,并进一步发展,借此论证了基督教的主日与犹太教的安息日同为创造的节日,两者是一体两面、密不可分的整体。在此基础上,莫尔特曼还进一步创造性地发展了罗氏对“舍金纳的流浪”之论述,用以阐明安息日和舍金纳的关系,即安息日是上帝在时间中的舍金纳。尤其值得注意的是,莫尔特曼还将创造的安息日之观念创造性地拓展至对生态议题的讨论之中。相比罗森茨维格,莫尔特曼所指的“安息传统”更为全面,除指向一周中第七天的安息日外,还包括第七年的安息年、五十年节和终末的安息。安息日是《圣经》所述创造论的真正标志,遵守安息日诫命,是承认大自然是上帝的造物,而不是自然环境而已;安息日是生态的休息日,是不再干涉自然的日子。安息日还指向安息年,安息年主要与土地有关,体现出上帝在大地政策上的公义,并使得人与自然、人与人之间被异化的关系得以恢复。五十年节是七个安息年后的一年,其内涵和意义与安息年是一致的。安息日、安息年和五十年节最终都指向终末的安息,终末的安息是永久的、没有尽头的安息日,万物复和,人与自然的的关系也得以复和,呈现出一幅天、地、人和谐共生的生态图景。

**【关键词】**莫尔特曼;罗森茨维格;安息日;创造

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莫尔特曼(Jürgen Moltmann)虽是德国基督教新教神学家,但他致力于与犹太教的对话。目前,学界对他与犹太思想的对话关注甚少。在中文学界,只有两篇为莫尔特曼专著中译本所写的导言简要提及莫氏与犹太思想的关联问题:一篇是曾念粤所写的导言,他指出莫尔特曼的思想深受犹太教思想的影响,但只是简要提及罗森茨维格(Franz Rosenzweig)等犹太思想家的名字,并未具体指明莫氏受到罗氏何种影响。<sup>①</sup>另一篇是洪亮教授所撰写的导言,他在论及莫尔特曼的著作与以色列问题的关联时指出,莫尔特曼与犹太教的对话是出于莫氏原本就抱有“跟犹太教建立起新的共同体关系”的夙愿,而不是因“从对犹太教传统的理论兴趣中生发出与犹太教和解的意愿”,但洪亮教授也未具体指明莫氏与罗氏有何思想关联。<sup>②</sup>关于罗森茨维格的现有研究,中文学界截至目前有12篇论文,其中涉及罗氏的新思维(the new thinking)的有刘平<sup>③</sup>、朱文明<sup>④</sup>、高山奎<sup>⑤</sup>、戴远方<sup>⑥</sup>、莫名仁<sup>⑦</sup>等人的五篇研究,另有黄钰洲的两篇有关罗氏与德国唯

① 参见 Jürgen Moltmann 莫尔特曼,《来临中的上帝》[The Coming of God],曾念粤 Tseng Nien Yueh 译(上海[Shanghai]:上海三联书店[Shanghai Sanlian Bookstore],2006),导言,3—4。

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心论、黑格尔法哲学的新近研究<sup>①</sup>、张楠<sup>②</sup>、彭盛有<sup>③</sup>等人的两篇有关罗氏的救赎观之论文，林华敏一篇旨在考察罗森茨威格对列维纳斯的贡献之论文<sup>④</sup>，林国华一篇比较罗森茨威格与赫尔曼·柯亨(Hermann Cohen)的文章<sup>⑤</sup>，涂笑非与刘勇合写的一篇从罗氏视角看欧陆哲学对批判佛教的映射的论文<sup>⑥</sup>。上述研究均未涉及罗氏对安息日的论述。但是，安息日等犹太节期对罗森茨威格有着重大的影响，罗氏曾经考虑归信基督教，却在经历一次赎罪日的祭典活动后决定留在犹太教<sup>⑦</sup>，并且他之后在自己的书房接待祈祷班、举行安息日等节日礼拜直至他过世前一周<sup>⑧</sup>。在他看来，赎罪日是“安息日中的安息日”<sup>⑨</sup>，安息日是“生命的制高点”<sup>⑩</sup>，可见安息日教义是理解罗氏思想非常重要的切入点。

① 参见黄钰洲 Huang Yuzhou,〈重新发现体系——“德国唯心论最早体系纲领”的发现与罗森茨威格的体系构想〉[Rediscovering the System: The Discovery of the “Program of the Earliest System of German Idealism” and Rosenzweig’s Conception of the System],于《海南大学学报》(人文社会科学版)[Journal of Hainan University (Humanities & Social Sciences)],中国知网发布的预印本,目前刊期未定;黄钰洲 Huang Yuzhou,〈罗森茨威格和他的《黑格尔与国家》:20世纪黑格尔法哲学研究中被遗忘的风景〉[Rosenzweig and His Hegel and the State: The Forgotten Landscape in the Study of Hegel’s Philosophy of Right in the 20th Century],于《伦理学术》[Academia Ethica],2023年第1期[2023, Issue 1],209—233。

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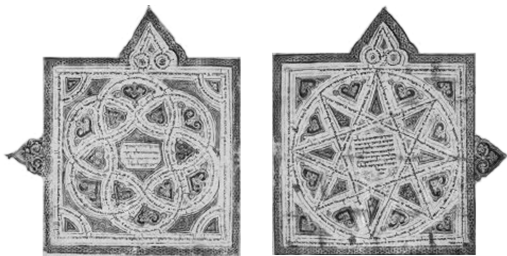
⑥ 参见涂笑非 Tu Xiaofei、刘勇 Liu Yong,〈反本质主义:欧陆哲学对批判佛教的映射——从罗森茨威格的视角说开〉[On Anti-essentialism: The Mapping of Continental Philosophy on Critical Buddhism from the Perspective of Franz Rosenzweig],于《常熟理工学院学报》[Journal of Changshu Institute of Technology],2017年第6期[2017, Issue 6],27—30。

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⑧ 同上,182。

⑨ Franz Rosenzweig 弗朗茨·罗森茨威格,《救赎之星》[The Star of Redemption],孙增霖 Sun Zenglin、傅有德 Fu Youde 译(济南[Jinan]:山东大学出版社[Shandong University Press],2013),306。

⑩ 同上,285。



鉴于现有研究在莫尔特曼与罗森茨维格思想关联探究方面的缺失,而安息日又是基督教与犹太教值得深入对话之处;更为重要的是,莫尔特曼在论著中明确表达自己是受到罗森茨维格等人的影响而进入与犹太教的对话之中<sup>①</sup>,还提名感谢罗氏等人对自己的深刻影响<sup>②</sup>,并对罗氏的安息日论述有不少阐发。<sup>③</sup>因此,本文拟以“创造的安息日”为主线,探究莫尔特曼对罗森茨维格将安息日作为创造的节日这一观念之阐释,并呈现莫氏对罗氏思想的进一步发展,其发展主要体现为:主日和安息日同为创造的节日,安息日是上帝在时间中的舍金纳之观念,并将罗氏有关创造的安息日之观念进一步拓展至生态议题的讨论中,这是莫尔特曼对此作出的独创性贡献。

## 一、安息日是创造的节日

莫尔特曼受到罗森茨维格的启发,推崇“安息日是创造的节日”这一观念。莫尔特曼强调:

基督教庆祝的是基督救世史的弥赛亚节日。它不知道创造的节日。犹太教庆祝的是它的救世史的节日;但它首先庆祝创造的安息日。在当今的生态危机中,基督教回忆创造的安息日是必要的和适时的。<sup>④</sup>

可见,莫尔特曼认为基督教没有将安息日视为创造的节日,而犹太教则将安息日作为创造的节日去庆祝。基督教应当吸取犹太教这一观念和做法,充分重视创造的安息日。尤其值得注意的是,莫尔特曼将创造的安息日放在生态危机

<sup>①</sup> 参见 Jürgen Moltmann 莫尔特曼,《耶稣基督:我们的兄弟,世界的救主》[Jesus Christ: Our Brother, Savior of the World],林鸿信 Lin Hong-Hsin 译(台北[Taipei]:台湾神学院出版社[Taiwan Theological College and Seminary Press],2009),124。

<sup>②</sup> 参见莫尔特曼,《来临中的上帝》,3。

<sup>③</sup> 因本文是按照主题的逻辑关联性展开论述,且主要是将莫尔特曼的思想作为整体,来与罗森茨维格的安息日思想进行对比,故在引述莫氏作品时并未按照其原著年代先后顺序,也未专门梳理莫氏的论著在安息日思想上是否一贯延续或有所发展,这有待日后专文进一步论证。但就笔者目前所见,莫氏在《创造中的上帝》中已充分展示对安息日思想的重视,如引述罗氏“创造的安息日”之观念,并展开论述。此后,在《公义创建未来》中,他又强调安息伦理是《圣经》所说的创造伦理,并对安息年的论述有所展开。在《耶稣基督:我们的兄弟,世界的救主》中,他更是明言自己是受到罗森茨维格等人的影响而进入与犹太教的对话之中的。在《来临中的上帝》中,他再次提名感谢罗氏等人对自己产生深刻影响,指出基督教终末论的根源在安息日和舍金纳的神学中,并进一步创造性地发展了罗氏对“舍金纳的流浪”的论述,用以阐明安息日和舍金纳的关系,即安息日是上帝在时间中的舍金纳。

<sup>④</sup> Jürgen Moltmann 莫尔特曼,《创造中的上帝》[God in Creation],隗仁莲 Kui Renlian 译(北京[Beijing]:生活·读书·新知三联书店[SDX Joint Publishing Company],2002),400。

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的语境下,将罗森茨维格创造的安息日这一观念进一步拓展至生态议题的讨论中,这是莫尔特曼作出的独特贡献,也是下文要论述的重点。

罗森茨维格明确提出安息日是创造的节日,即安息日是纪念创世的圣日。罗森茨维格在《救赎之星》中明言,安息日是创造的圣日,安息日的意义在于它是“纪念创世的圣日”<sup>①</sup>。莫尔特曼进一步阐明了安息日作为创造的节日之意涵,他指出“安息日不是创造之日,而是‘主日’”<sup>②</sup>,也就是说,据《希伯来圣经·创世记》所载,上帝用六天完成创世之工后,在第七天即安息日休息了,在安息日这一天不再进行创造,而是庆祝前六日创造之工的完成,因此安息日不是创造的日子,而是庆祝已完成创造的节日。

还需要明确的是,安息日作为创造的节日,并不能脱离救赎来谈。罗森茨维格明言:

安息日是创世的圣日,但是,创世是为了救赎的缘故才发生的。安息日是在创世结束时作为创世的意义和目标被启示出来的。基于这样的理由,我们不是在创世的第一天,而是在最后一天,即第七天庆祝这个圣日。<sup>③</sup>

由此可见,安息日作为创造的节日,和救赎密切相关,在第七天而不是第一天庆祝创造的安息日,这就表明创造的意义是为了救赎,救赎是创造的目标,因此不能离开救赎来谈创造。安息日作为创造的节日,同时也可以理解为救赎的节日,两者不能分开来看,而是密切相关的。罗森茨维格除了将安息日视为创造的节日,也将安息日理解为救赎的节日,其有双重的意义和基础:一是对创造完成的纪念,突出安息日的神圣歇息;二是纪念犹太人从奴役中被解放,从而使得原本为奴的犹太人像上帝完成创世后就歇了一切的工那样得以休息。<sup>④</sup> 罗森茨维格还考察了安息日的创造、启示和救赎,安息日作为创造的节日早已拥有启示节日的所有内容<sup>⑤</sup>,如果说安息日之夜(周五的晚上)主要是庆祝世界的创造,那么安息日的早晨则是庆祝启示,安息日下午的祈祷就变成了救赎的祈祷,犹太人在祈祷中感觉到自身不仅是上帝的选民,而且是唯一的选民<sup>⑥</sup>。尤为值得注意的是,罗森茨维格不仅论述了安息日的创造、启示和救赎,还指出它们之间的

① 弗朗茨·罗森茨维格,《救赎之星》,295。

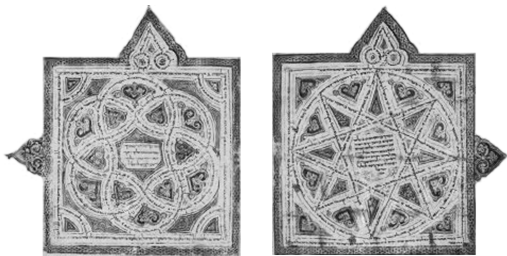
② 莫尔特曼,《创造中的上帝》,380。

③ 弗朗茨·罗森茨维格,《救赎之星》,298。

④ 同上,337。

⑤ 同上,295。

⑥ 同上,296。



关联,即“创造和启示在救赎的休息中合为一体”<sup>①</sup>。莫尔特曼对此有重要的阐发:

创造的节日是完成或完满的节日,是通过这一节日得以实现的完满。因为在安息日实现的创造的完满也代表着创造的拯救。这一拯救使它参与上帝所显示的永恒存在中去,所以,我们也可以把安息日看作是拯救的节日。但是,如果作为创造的节日已经是创造拯救的节日,那么,可以理解,整个创造就应该是为了这一拯救才出现的。<sup>②</sup>

莫尔特曼在作出以上论述之后,紧接着就引用了罗森茨维格“安息日是创造的圣日”<sup>③</sup>的论述,可见莫尔特曼将创造与救赎结合为一体的观念,与罗森茨维格有密切的关联。至少可以说明,莫尔特曼也和罗森茨维格一样,既将安息日视为创造的节日,也把安息日理解为拯救的节日,创造在安息日得以完成并被庆祝,创造因此也可以被理解为得到了救赎,创造是为了救赎,救赎以创造为前提。莫尔特曼所谓安息日“作为创造的节日已经是创造拯救的节日”之意涵在于,创造和拯救是一体两面,不能离开创造去谈论救赎,也不能脱离救赎而言说创造,创造就是救赎的创造,救赎也是创造的救赎,它们密不可分、彼此成全。因而安息日作为创造的节日,可以被视为创造拯救的节日。

莫尔特曼基于对安息日的上述考察,进一步探讨了安息日(周六)与主日(周日)的关联,即安息日与主日同为创造的节日。在罗森茨维格看来,基督教在主日没有像犹太教在安息日那样真正地推行休息的诫命,而是使得主日完全成为开始的节日,主日是一周的第一天,意味着新一周的开始,而不是创造完成之后的休息日。<sup>④</sup>莫尔特曼则认为,安息日与主日的关联之所以长期地被忽视,是因为基督教没有“像犹太人对上帝启示的理解那样去考察安息日的这一个别原理,并以此为出发点确定安息日的弥赛亚原理,它是从基督教对上帝启示的理解中形成的”<sup>⑤</sup>。这说明莫尔特曼认为基督教与犹太教的对话,需要从犹太教关于安息日与弥赛亚的关系出发,如莫氏所言“如果所有以色列人庆祝安息日,那么弥赛亚就会来到”<sup>⑥</sup>,即莫氏认为罗氏之所以将安息日等犹太节期视为救赎的“弥

① 弗朗茨·罗森茨维格,《救赎之星》,337。

② 莫尔特曼,《创造中的上帝》,375。

③ 弗朗茨·罗森茨维格,《救赎之星》,298。

④ 同上,337—338。

⑤ 莫尔特曼,《创造中的上帝》,376。

⑥ 莫尔特曼,《来临中的上帝》,34。

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赛亚式一瞬间”，是因为犹太教认为安息日和弥赛亚密不可分。<sup>①</sup>

值得注意的是，莫尔特曼不仅指出安息日是创造的节日，还进一步发展了罗氏的这一观点，指出基督教的主日与安息日同为创造的节日。莫尔特曼写道：“基督教的礼拜天也是创造的节日：它是随基督复活而开始的万有之新创造。它是创造从一开始就指向的那个完成。”<sup>②</sup>可见，在莫尔特曼看来，基督教的主日也是创造的节日，虽然主日意味着开始，但这一开始是随着耶稣基督的复活而开始的新创造。莫尔特曼将创造分为起初的创造、继续的创造以及终末的新创造。起初的创造经由继续的创造，并期盼在终末的新创造，如此，万有的创造才得以完成。如果主日是随基督复活而开始的新创造，那么主日就可以被理解为起初的创造所指向的那个完成之日。因此，创造在主日得以完成，并得到纪念与庆祝。而安息日也是纪念并庆祝创造完成的日子，在这个意义上，主日和安息日一样，也可以被理解为创造的节日。

莫尔特曼进而强调，安息日与主日密切相关，而不是割裂与替代的关系。罗森茨维格认为基督教将创造的节日从一周的第七天（周六的安息日）改为第一天（周日的主日），是因为没有意识到安息日的深层意义。<sup>③</sup>莫尔特曼认同罗森茨维格的上述观点并指出，以色列的安息日与基督教的主日有密切的关联，不应该用一个去代替另一个。基督教以主日废除安息日，从历史和神学两个角度来看都是错误的，这使得基督教的节日被异教化了。<sup>④</sup>但与罗森茨维格不同的是，莫尔特曼还进一步重新探寻了主日与安息日的关联，主张“以基督教方式圣化安息日”<sup>⑤</sup>，这一方式是指从周六开始逐渐放下手中的劳作，在周六晚上开始感受上帝的神圣创造之完成，从而在主日即周日早晨进入耶稣基督复活的自由当中。<sup>⑥</sup>安息日是回首开始的创造，主日是指向创造的将来；安息日是上帝的休息，主日是上帝的复活；安息日是结束的智慧，主日是开始的欢愉。如果说安息日是完成之梦，那么主日就是梦的完成，主日成为安息日之梦的延伸与成全。简言之，安息日是追忆和感激，主日是盼望和开始，安息日与主日是一个整体，两者密不可分。<sup>⑦</sup>

① 参见莫尔特曼，《来临中的上帝》，34。

② Jürgen Moltmann 莫尔特曼，《盼望伦理》[Ethics of Hope]，王玉静 Wang Yujing 译（香港 [Hong Kong]：道风书社 [The Logos and Pneuma Press]，2015），286。

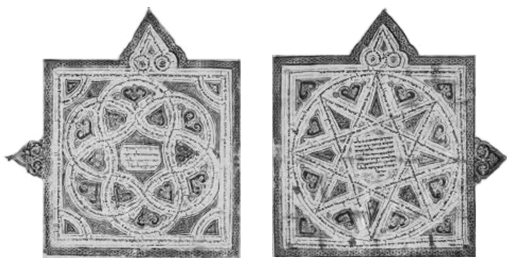
③ 参见弗朗茨·罗森茨维格，《救赎之星》，337。

④ 参见莫尔特曼，《创造中的上帝》，398。

⑤ 同上，399。

⑥ 同上，400。

⑦ 参见莫尔特曼，《盼望伦理》，287。



## 二、创造的安息日是上帝在时间中的舍金纳

安息日是创造的节日,还体现在安息日与舍金纳的关系上,即安息日是上帝在时间中的舍金纳。莫尔特曼以终末即开始的原则构建了基督教终末论,并且认为基督教终末论的根源在安息日和舍金纳的神学中。<sup>①</sup> 舍金纳是 Shekinah<sup>②</sup> 的中文音译,其本意是“住所”<sup>③</sup>,引申为“上帝的显现”<sup>④</sup>,即上帝在此世的临在、内在性或者停留<sup>⑤</sup>。在《希伯来圣经》中,舍金纳所描绘的是上帝与他的子民同住,与以色列人一同漂流旷野,临在于会幕以及锡安圣殿之中,是上帝的临在。<sup>⑥</sup> 舍金纳在《佐哈尔》中有两层象征意涵:其一,舍金纳被描述为上帝的本体与上帝的显现之间出现了隔离的不完美存在状态,即舍金纳被理解为一种“流放”状态。<sup>⑦</sup> 其二,舍金纳被描绘成被流放的、哭泣的、女性化的形象,这一形象最终与流离四散的犹太民众等同起来,并赋予犹太人的散居生活以宗教意义。<sup>⑧</sup> 罗森茨维格有关“舍金纳的流浪”之阐释,与上述舍金纳的流放图景是一脉相承的。

莫尔特曼对舍金纳概念的理解受到了罗森茨维格对“舍金纳的流浪”这一论述的启发。罗森茨维格写道:

舍金纳,即降临于人间并逗留于人们之间的上帝,被描述成上帝自身内发生的分裂。上帝自身从自身分离,把自己献给他的人们,分担他们的痛苦,和他们一起经历流放的苦难,和他们一起流浪。<sup>⑨</sup>

莫尔特曼在《创造中的上帝》中特别引述了罗氏的上述段落,并指出舍金纳概念“可以用来帮助我们理解上帝在他的创造物中的这种自我分化和张力”<sup>⑩</sup>。莫尔特曼所理解的舍金纳是指上帝在以色列人当中居住,甚至在以色列人遭遇

① 参见莫尔特曼,《来临中的上帝》,258。

② Shekinah 在英文文献中也有 Shekinah、Shechina、Shechinah 等不同的拼写法。

③ 周燮藩 Zhou Xiefan、刘精忠 Liu Jingzhong,《犹太教概论》[An Introduction to Judaism](北京[Beijing]:中国社会科学出版社[China Social Sciences Press],2012),470。

④ 刘精忠 Liu Jingzhong,《犹太神秘主义概论》[A Guide to Jewish Mysticism](北京[Beijing]:中国社会科学出版社[China Social Sciences Press],2015),248。

⑤ 参见 G. G. Scholem 索伦,《犹太教神秘主义主流》[Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism],涂笑非 Tu Xiaofei 译(成都[Chengdu]:四川人民出版社[Sichuan People's Publishing House],2000),53。

⑥ 参见周燮藩、刘精忠,《犹太教概论》,471。

⑦ 参见刘精忠,《犹太神秘主义概论》,124。

⑧ 同上,125。

⑨ 弗朗茨·罗森茨维格,《救赎之星》,373。

⑩ 莫尔特曼,《创造中的上帝》,25。

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流放之苦时,仍然与他们同在。<sup>①</sup> 换句话说,舍金纳不仅是以色列人出埃及时期云柱火柱的上帝同在,也表明舍金纳随着犹太人一起被掳巴比伦,上帝是他的子民在被流放中同受苦难的忠实同伴。

基于上述理解,莫尔特曼进一步创造性地发展了罗氏对“舍金纳的流浪”之论述,用以阐明安息日和舍金纳的关系,即安息日是上帝在时间中的舍金纳,舍金纳则是上帝在空间中的安息。犹太人在经历流散之苦时也能感受到上帝舍金纳的临在,这引致安息日的圣化。耶路撒冷这一空间中的圣殿,被安息日这一“时间中的圣殿”取代,也就是说,上帝在耶路撒冷圣殿这一空间中的临在,转变为上帝在安息日这一时间中的临在。<sup>②</sup> 莫尔特曼写道:“安息日是上帝在他的受造的时间当中的临在,说得更准确一些,永恒在时间中动态的临在,它联系起初和终末,因此也唤起回忆和盼望。”<sup>③</sup>可见,在莫尔特曼看来,上帝在安息日临在于创造之中,这就是永恒临在于时间中,这一临在将起初的创造和终末的新创造联系起来,借此回忆起初的创造,期盼终末的新创造。起初的创造借由上帝在安息日中的临在而得到安歇,并领受上帝在终末时要充满“新天新地”这一空间的应许,当上帝在终末临在时,这一应许将会被实现,因此安息和舍金纳的关系正如莫尔特曼所言,是“应许和实现,开始和圆满终结”<sup>④</sup>的关系。不同于罗森茨维格,莫尔特曼将基督的道成肉身也放在这一回忆的期盼架构下理解,基督道成肉身,住在世人中间,是上帝的临在在时间中的实现,上帝永恒的道成为肉身,在时间中得以实现。上帝以圣子耶稣被钉十字架的样式与这个罪恶的世界同住,并透过基督的复活与临在,提前展现在终末的新创造时上帝普遍临在于世界的图景。<sup>⑤</sup>

如果说舍金纳是上帝在终末时空间中的临在,那么创造的安息日就是关于上帝在终末时临在于受造物之中的应许。上帝作为创造者,通过创造的安息日来祝福他的造物,因而创造的安息日就是关于造物在终末时上帝舍金纳圆满终结的应许。莫尔特曼考察犹太人关于安息日的观念,即安息日是上帝造物中的单数存在,并被冠以“安息日女王”的称呼,犹太人作为上帝的选民,是安息日的同伴,他们通过遵守七天一次的安息日诫命,成为安息日的伙伴。安息日作为创造的节日,是创造圆满终结的开端,上帝在终末时临在于新天新地,把创造

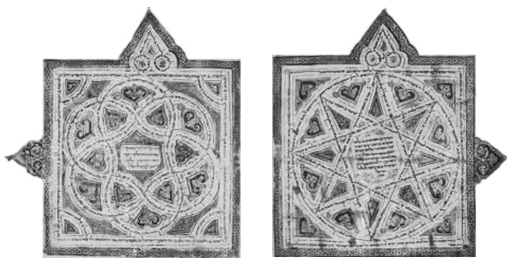
① 参见莫尔特曼,《耶稣基督:我们的兄弟,世界的救主》,133。

② 参见莫尔特曼,《来临中的上帝》,250。

③ 同上,249。

④ 同上,249。

⑤ 同上,250。



物带入终末的安息之中。<sup>①</sup>

### 三、创造的安息日是生态的休息日

莫尔特曼将罗森茨维格所阐述的安息日作为创造的节日之观念,放在生态危机的语境下展开论述,进一步发展了罗氏的安息日思想。莫尔特曼强调,“在当今的生态危机中,基督教回忆创造的安息日是必要的和适时的”<sup>②</sup>。就是说,莫尔特曼认为基督教忽视了创造的安息日,而重新追忆这一观念,将有助于基督教在当今世界所面临的生态危机处境下,发挥积极的作用。

相比罗森茨维格,莫尔特曼所理解的安息传统更为全面,他认为安息传统既包括安息日,也涵盖安息年、五十年节和终末的安息。莫尔特曼是比较尊崇《圣经》的神学家,他细致考察《圣经》传统,从中发现自然的智慧,并指出“《圣经》的生态智慧集中体现在这种安息传统中”<sup>③</sup>。他所指的“安息传统”,除指向一周中第七天的安息日外,还包括第七年的安息年、五十年节和终末的安息。<sup>④</sup> 安息日指向安息年和五十年节,并期盼终末的安息。上帝乃一切临在一切,不仅是在终末时才会发生,而是在安息日时就会预先展现,也就是说,在安息日时上帝歇了一切的工,完全临在于他所创造的世界,造物也活在上帝的面前,上帝和世界因而形成一种共融的关系,安息日成为上帝与世界共融的时间。

#### (一)安息日

安息日是《圣经》所述创造论的真正标志。在莫尔特曼看来,遵守安息日诫命,是承认大自然是上帝的造物,而不是自然环境而已。他在《公义创建未来》中已指出,安息是创造的法则,因此安息伦理是《圣经》所说的创造伦理。<sup>⑤</sup> 在《创造中的上帝》中,他进一步指出,安息日的做法中体现了最优秀的创造智慧,但因为非犹太人的基督教会忽视了安息日,所以需要重新发掘其中的智慧。<sup>⑥</sup> 他所理解的《圣经》传统,既包括基督徒的也涵盖犹太人的传统,这一传统认为创造与安息日紧密相连。<sup>⑦</sup> 安息日的和平使得创造得以完成,并区分了两种世界

① 参见莫尔特曼,《来临中的上帝》,266。

② 莫尔特曼,《创造中的上帝》,400。

③ 同上,中译本前言,23。

④ 同上。

⑤ 参见 Jürgen Moltmann 莫尔特曼,《公义创建未来》[Creating a Just Future], 邓肇明 Deng Zhaoming 译(香港[Hong Kong]:基道出版社[Logos Publishers],1992),61。

⑥ 参见莫尔特曼,《创造中的上帝》,4。

⑦ 同上,374。

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观：一种是将世界视作上帝的造物，另一种是将世界视为自然。<sup>①</sup> 上帝在安息日并通过安息日完成了创造，人也是在安息日并通过安息日停下手中的劳作，不再干涉这个世界，将这个世界视为上帝的造物，从而珍视人类自身以及其他受造物的尊严。<sup>②</sup> 这就不同于将世界视为自然的观念，即不是把世界看成没有停歇、不断生产的自然。<sup>③</sup>

安息日的生态意涵首要的观念体现为，上帝的安息日是造物主的冠冕，人类不是造物主的冠冕。在莫尔特曼看来，人类和其他一切造物，都是上帝为了自己的安息日而造的。虽然人类是最后被创造的，但人类要依赖在他们之先被造的天地、植物、动物等地球生态系统而存活。<sup>④</sup> 虽然人类不同于其他造物，是上帝按着自己的形象而造的，但人类和其他造物一样，也是为了上帝的安息日而被造的，和其他造物一起颂赞上帝的荣耀，“即使没有人类，诸天也会诉说上帝的荣耀”<sup>⑤</sup>。这表明莫尔特曼所倡导的是一种上帝中心论的观念，人类并不是造物主的冠冕，而只是造物主共同体的一部分，这就有助于摆脱人类中心论的观念，构建人类和其他造物主的共同体关系。<sup>⑥</sup> 莫尔特曼虽未明确说明自己的上述观点是来自哪里，但其观点与《海德堡要理问答》是一致的。《海德堡要理问答》第六问答：“上帝造人原本就是如此邪恶悖逆吗？回答：不。上帝造人原是好的，是按照他自己的形象，有公义和真实的圣洁；好叫人正确认识他的造物主上帝，尽心爱他，与他同住在永远的福乐中，来赞美荣耀他。”莫尔特曼对安息日的理解是人类和其他造物主一起颂赞和荣耀上帝，这种理解与《海德堡要理问答》所说的人要赞美和荣耀上帝的看法是同出一辙的，因而造物主的冠冕不是人类，而是上帝自己在安息日显出的荣耀。人与其他造物主因颂赞上帝，而蒙受从上帝而来的祝福和喜乐。

安息日的和平则是安息日生态意涵的进一步体现。安息日的和平是人与自然和平的开始。安息日的和平首要的是人与上帝的和平，这和平的范围广大，达至灵魂与身体、个人与家庭及人类社群、人类和动物、其他生物乃至天地万物。如果不庆祝、体验上帝的安息日，人与自然的和平就永远不会出现。<sup>⑦</sup> 庆祝并享受安息日，不能以他人和其他造物主为代价，而是要和其他人一起，通过对生活

① 参见莫尔特曼，《创造中的上帝》，13。

② 同上，373—374。

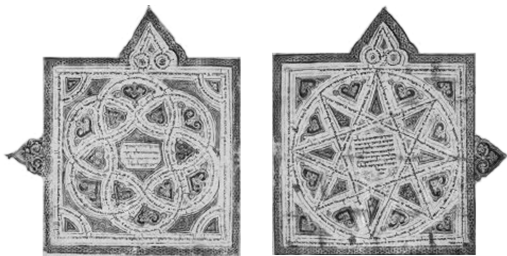
③ 同上，13。

④ 同上，256。

⑤ 同上，45—46。

⑥ 同上。

⑦ 同上，375。



的回忆和感激,以崇敬的心来庆祝。<sup>①</sup>

安息日生态意涵最集中的体现为,安息日是生态的休息日,是不再干涉自然的日子。面对生态危机,莫尔特曼主张基督教要回忆创造的安息日,这一安息日是生态的休息日,是应该没有环境污染的日子。<sup>②</sup>莫尔特曼引用《出埃及记》20章的安息日诫命并阐述道:“六个工作日后,人们要休息,这意味着不干涉自然,即不干涉我们自身之外的外部自然,以及我们自己内部的内在本性。”<sup>③</sup>在安息日,“人们不再在劳作中干涉其自然环境。借此,世界观有所改观:人们不再根据其利用和使用价值对事物做出评价,而是赞叹地感知其存在价值。事物显现如其自在所是”<sup>④</sup>。就是说,人们不再从成本效益计算的功利性角度来看待外部自然,而是从单纯的审美角度去欣赏上帝的创造,让自然成为其原本的样子,让自然不再是被人类支配的存在,让自然得以喘息和恢复。同样地,在安息日,“我们也会意识到自己的身体和灵魂是上帝的造物以及上帝在尘世的形象”<sup>⑤</sup>,即人们不再干涉自身的内部自然,而是放松精神,使得心灵再一次回归身体,身体成为圣灵的殿,人的整全性的存在即身体和灵魂都得到休息与恢复。<sup>⑥</sup>基于对安息日是生态的休息日之理解,莫尔特曼将安息日与老子的《道德经》“无为”思想进行了对比,认为安息日是不干预自然的休息时刻,这正是老子《道德经》中“无为”思想的回音。<sup>⑦</sup>

此外,安息日的祝福是对造物普遍的祝福。上帝是为着一个日子即安息日祝福,而不是为某个受造物祝福,这就使得凡经历安息日的受造物都得到祝福,因此安息日的祝福是普遍的。<sup>⑧</sup>换言之,安息日休息的祝福临到所有的被造物,除了“男人和女人、父母和孩子、雇主和雇员、人和动物”<sup>⑨</sup>,还扩及其他生物、天地等整个宇宙生态系统。

## (二)安息年与五十年节

安息日指向安息年,安息年主要与土地有关,体现出上帝在大地政策上的公

① 参见莫尔特曼,《创造中的上帝》,385—386。

② 同上,400。

③ Jurgen Moltmann, *The Source of Life: The Holy Spirit and the Theology of Life* (London: SCM Press, 1997), 82.

④ 莫尔特曼,《盼望伦理》,284。

⑤ 同上,284。

⑥ Jurgen Moltmann, *The Source of Life: The Holy Spirit and the Theology of Life*, 82.

⑦ 参见莫尔特曼,《创造中的上帝》,中译本前言,23。

⑧ 同上,382。

⑨ Jurgen Moltmann, *The Source of Life: The Holy Spirit and the Theology of Life*, 82.

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义,并使得人与自然、人与人之间被异化的关系得以恢复。<sup>①</sup>

在上帝与大地的关系上,安息年是上帝与土地之约。按照《旧约》的描述,以色列要遵守上帝的安息年诫命,即每七年让地休耕一年,在这一年,不允许耕种土地,要让土地得到休息。土地上自出的土产,也不能收割,而要留给犹太人中穷苦的人以及寄居在犹太人中的外族人,以供应他们的需要。如果犹太人遵守这一安息年诫命,将会蒙受祝福而留在本地安然居住,而如果违反诫命,则会遭受放逐之苦,以便土地得回自己的权利,得到休息,重获生机。在莫尔特曼看来,这种做法表明“上帝和他的土地之间的约在于安息年”<sup>②</sup>,上帝为了土地得到安息,当犹太人背约、不尊重安息年的约定时,他们甚至被放逐他乡,这不是律法主义,也不是巫术,而是体现了生态学上的智慧。

在人与自然的的关系上,安息年体现了可持续的生态原则。在莫尔特曼看来,“守安息不独能救我们自己,也能挽救我们赖以生存的土地”<sup>③</sup>,就是说安息年对于人和土地的生存都是至关重要的,这深刻影响到人与土地的关系。安息年体现了一种看似简单,但却真正能够维持良好的人与土地关系的法则。<sup>④</sup> 安息年体现了休耕这一土地利用的可持续原则。莫尔特曼观察到,人类几千年的文明中,农业都实施休耕制度。<sup>⑤</sup> 违反休耕原则的玛雅等文化因忽视土地的可持续性而遭受毁灭,特别是那些为供养大城市和军队而劫掠土地的大帝国,也因此而土崩瓦解。现代社会因一味地追求短期的利润,完全忘记了休耕的原则,错误地认为化肥可以使土地永葆肥沃,除草剂、杀虫药等化学品的副作用已演变成主要的作用。即便“绿色革命”推广人工肥料,也无法改变作物被病虫害越来越频繁侵袭的困扰。不仅如此,现代农业还废弃了从前的轮流耕种,而以单一耕作来替代,因而导致无法阻挡的泥土流失。<sup>⑥</sup> 因此,安息年的休耕原则,虽然看似简单,也远超过这些现代农业技术的使用效果,唯有让土地安息,才能真正恢复土壤的肥力,保持人与土地的永续共存关系。

在人与人的关系上,安息年体现了公义的社会意义。莫尔特曼正确地观察到,《出埃及记》23章明确了安息年的目的之一,是要使犹太人中的穷人有吃的,这是安息年的重要社会意义,而这一社会意义与安息日的生态意义是紧密相连的。莫尔特曼指出,“如今大多数的生态冲突也产生于陌生的农业康采恩及外来

① 参见莫尔特曼,《创造中的上帝》,13—14。

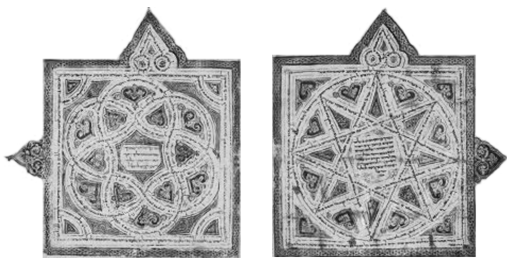
② 莫尔特曼,《公义创建未来》,62。

③ 同上,64。

④ 同上。

⑤ 同上,62。

⑥ 同上,63。



势力与土生土长的本地居民之间”<sup>①</sup>。也就是说,第一世界国家通过世界市场体系对第三世界国家进行剥削,破坏了第三世界国家的粮食独立等农业自主性,也侵吞了土壤的肥力,这违反了空间上的生态公义。莫尔特曼谴责当代人因追求眼前的利益而将生态代价推给子孙后代,认为这是一种无情无义的不公义行为,是人类非理性的自我毁灭倾向<sup>②</sup>,这无疑破坏了世代间的生态公义。

五十年节和安息年的上述意涵是一致的。五十年节是七个安息年后的一年,本质上也是一种安息年,因而五十年节的内涵和意义与安息年是一致的。莫尔特曼引述《利未记》25章,指出五十年节是“上帝的豁免年”,债务奴隶将被免除债务,重获人身自由,得回原先被出售的地业,庆祝土地的安息。和普通的安息年一样,这一年也不可耕种,而是吃土地自出的土产。但相比一般的安息年,五十年节也有其特殊之处,莫尔特曼认为“五十年节的特殊之处似乎是上帝的法规和法令先颁发给人类,然后再由人类传达给造物,传给异乡人、动物和土地”<sup>③</sup>,就是说五十年节是通过犹太人在社会中施行废除债务、释放奴隶、归还地业等体现上帝公义的律法原则,从而照顾到穷人、异乡人、动物的需要,并使得土地得到生态性的恢复。

### (三) 终末的安息

安息日、安息年和五十年节都指向终末的安息。终末的安息是永久的、没有尽头的安息。在莫尔特曼看来,因为《新约》是永久的,所以终末的安息也是没有尽头的,是上帝原初安息日的终末对应,是“对历史终结时的永恒安息日的弥赛亚盼望”<sup>④</sup>。莫尔特曼认为耶稣从未违背安息日的诫命,没有把安息日视为无关紧要的事,也从未取消安息日,从而让人类在他自己和犹太教之间作出抉择。耶稣也从未让自己的门徒脱离安息日,而是宣告安息日是犹太人所盼望的弥赛亚之梦的实现<sup>⑤</sup>,通过对来临中的上帝国的宣告,使终末的安息生效。在终末的安息中,上帝乃一切、在一切之中,即上帝伸展自己,亲自充满整个天地,上帝面对面和受造物同在,并使万物复和。世界不再有劳苦愁烦、眼泪哀伤。刀剑被铸成犁头,不再有战争。一切都不伤人、不害物,人与动物和平相处。上帝将地面更换为新,人与自然的关系也得以复合。

① 莫尔特曼,《盼望伦理》,141—143。

② 参见莫尔特曼,《公义创建未来》,63。

③ 莫尔特曼,《创造中的上帝》,387—388。

④ 同上,390。

⑤ 同上,394。

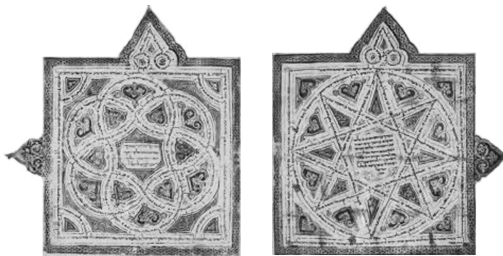
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## 结 论

综上所述,莫尔特曼不仅阐明了罗森茨维格的创造的安息日这一思想,还进一步发展了这一观念。他借此将基督教的主日和犹太教的安息日都视为创造的节日,并由此阐释了安息日和舍金纳的关系,更为重要的是,他极富创造性地将创造的安息日延伸至生态议题的讨论。作为生态神学的当代重要代表人物之一,莫尔特曼充分挖掘《圣经》所蕴含并导引出的“安息传统”,这一传统不仅指向每周一次的安息日,还包括每七年一次的安息年、五十年一次的禧年以及终末的安息。安息日指向安息年,安息年则表明人与大地(代表大自然)之间被扭曲的关系亟需恢复,基于这一生态公义,五十年节又凸显出释放奴隶和免除债务的社会公义层面。而安息日、安息年、五十年节这三者都指向终末的安息,在终末的安息中,万物复和,天地人和谐共生,人与自然被异化的关系得以复和,展现出一幅生态和谐的美丽画卷。



## The Sabbath of Creation: Moltmann's Interpretation and Development of Rosenzweig's Thought on the Sabbath

LI Cong

**Abstract:** Jürgen Moltmann explained Franz Rosenzweig's idea that the Sabbath is a festival of creation, and further developed it, thus demonstrating that the Christian Sunday and the Jewish Sabbath are both festivals of creation, and they are inseparable. On this basis, Moltmann further creatively developed Rosenzweig's exposition of "Shekina's Wandering" to clarify the relationship between the Sabbath and Shekina, that is, the Sabbath is God's Shekina in time. It is particularly noteworthy that Moltmann creatively extended the concept of Sabbath to the discussion of ecological issues. Compared with Rosenzweig, Moltmann's "tradition of Sabbath" is more comprehensive, including the Sabbath on the seventh day of a week, the Sabbath year on the seventh year, the jubilee on the fiftieth year and the eschatological Sabbath. The Sabbath is the real symbol of the creationism mentioned in the *Bible*. Obeying the Sabbath commandment is to admit that nature is God's creation, not the natural environment. Sabbath is an ecological rest day, and it is a day to stop interfering with nature. The Sabbath also points to a Sabbath year, which is mainly related to the land, reflecting the justice of God's land policy and restoring the alienated relationship between man and nature and between people. The jubilee is a year after seven Sabbath years, and its connotation and significance are consistent with the Sabbath year. Sabbath, Sabbath year and jubilee all point to the eschatological Sabbath, which is a permanent and endless Sabbath. Everything is reconciled, and the relationship between man and nature is also reconciled, showing an ecological picture of harmonious coexistence which formed by God, man, and the earth.

**Key Words:** Jürgen Moltmann, Franz Rosenzweig, Sabbath, Creation

## 关于“弥赛亚”的另一种读法

——论“赵紫宸吴雷川之争”中的“耶稣为基督”问题\*

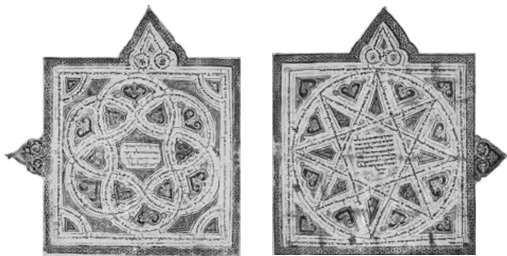
褚潇白\*\*

**【摘要】**1936年,赵紫宸撰文批评吴雷川在《基督教与中国文化》一书中赋予耶稣政治性君王弥赛亚形象,认为这并不符合《圣经》事实,而是迎合附丽现代主张,丧失了基督教自身的立场与信念。吴雷川虽未著专文回应赵紫宸的批评,但在其后的作品中不再提耶稣乃政治性弥赛亚,而是强调耶稣承认自己是弥赛亚的目的就是要改造社会,建立经济上人人平等的地上天国。与吴雷川不同,赵紫宸既不赞成吴雷川的物质性天国论,又反对犹太末世天国论,唯独标举作为心灵之域的“天国”。二者所持末世天国观虽迥异,但俱是在中华民族存亡之际的“末世”处境中被催逼而出的,是以救国为基本议程的,是关于“弥赛亚”的现代中国式解读。吴雷川对“弥赛亚”这个概念的理解更接近于《希伯来圣经》原文和犹太拉比传统,而其天国革命的弥赛亚愿景实则是一种激进无产阶级革命;赵紫宸坚持精神心理建设意义上的天国革命,但关于耶稣之弥赛亚身份体认和理想旨归均失去《圣经》传统启示神学、犹太—基督教末世论和救赎论的支撑,致使赵氏始终无法在耶稣之死的终极意义问题上自圆其说。

**【关键词】**赵紫宸;吴雷川;弥赛亚;“耶稣为基督”;末世论

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1936年12月,中国著名基督教神学家赵紫宸<sup>①</sup>在《真理与生命》月刊第10卷第7期上,发表了题为《“耶稣为基督”——评吴雷川先生之〈基督教与中国文化〉》<sup>②</sup>的文章,对燕京大学同事吴雷川<sup>③</sup>于同年出版的《基督教与中国文化》一书

① 赵紫宸(Zhao Zichen, T. C. Chao, Chao Tzu-ch'en, 1888—1979),浙江德清人,曾在东吴大学学习,后以优异成绩获得美国范德比尔特大学(Vanderbilt University)神学学士和文学硕士学位,1947年还获得普林斯顿大学荣誉博士学位。1918年回国后,赵紫宸历任东吴大学哲学教授、东吴大学文理学院院长、燕京大学宗教学院院长和燕京协和神学院研究教授。他曾三次代表中国基督教界参加世界宣教会议(International Missionary Council Meeting),并在1948年世界基督教协进会第一次会议上当选世界基督教协进会六位主席之一。赵紫宸一生勤于著述,仅神学方面的专著就达27部之多,近200万字,是中国最早尝试创立“基督教哲学”思想体系的知识分子,也是第一位提出建构“中国的系统神学”并进行初步尝试的基督教神学家。赵紫宸被誉为“近代中国最有影响力的神学家”,同时又是著名宗教教育家、文学家和诗人,其神学思想得到海内外研究者的相当关注。关于赵紫宸神学思想的研究,主要有:Winfried Glüer, *Christliche Theologie in China: T. C. Chao 1918-1956* (Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1979); Winfried Glüer 古爱华,《赵紫宸的神学思想》[*Christliche Theologie in China: T. C. Chao 1918-1956*], 邓肇明 Deng Zhaoming 译(香港[Hong Kong]:基督教文艺出版社[Chinese Christian Literature Council], 1998); Winfried Glüer 古爱华,《赵紫宸的神学思想》[*Christliche Theologie in China: T. C. Chao 1918-1956*], 邓肇明 Deng Zhaoming 译(上海[Shanghai]:中国基督教协会[China Christian Council], 1999); 林荣洪 Lin Ronghong,《曲高和寡:赵紫宸的生平及神学》[*The Life and Thought of Chao Tzu-ch'en*] (香港[Hong Kong]:中国神学研究院[China Graduate School of Theology], 1994); 邢福增 Xing Fuzeng,《寻索基督教的独特性——赵紫宸神学论集》[*Exploring the Uniqueness of Christianity: Theological Essays on T. C. Chao*] (香港[Hong Kong]:建道神学院[The Alliance Bible Seminary], 2003); 唐晓峰 Tang Xiaofeng,《赵紫宸神学思想研究》[*T. C. Chao's Theology*] (北京[Beijing]:宗教文化出版社[Religion Culture Publishing House], 2006); Hoi Ming Hui, *A Study of T. C. Chao's Christology in the Social Context of China 1920-1949* (PhD diss., University of Birmingham, 2007); Yongtao Chen, *The Chinese Christology of T. C. Chao* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2017); Chloë Starr, “Zhao Zichen and a Creative Theology: The life of Jesus (1935),” in *Chinese Theology: Text and Context* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2016)。

② 该文后收录于《赵紫宸文集》第三卷[*The Collected Works of T. C. Chao* (3)](北京[Beijing]:商务印书馆[The Commercial Press], 2007), 704—715。

③ 吴雷川(1870—1944),原名震春,字雷川。民国时期著名教育家、基督教思想家。1898年考中进士,授翰林院庶吉士。辛亥革命后曾担任杭州军政府民政长、杭州市市长、国民政府教育部参事等职务。1915年于圣公会受洗,皈依基督教。1919年加入基督教生命社,组建“真理会”并创办《真理周刊》(1923)。1922年开始在燕京大学授课,1929年到1933年任燕京大学第一位华人校长。主要代表作有《耶稣的社会理想》(1934)、《基督教与中国文化》(1936)、《基督徒的希望》(1939)和《墨翟与耶稣》(1940)。吴雷川生平介绍可见:赵紫宸 T. C. Chao,《当代中国信徒之介绍——吴雷川小传》[*Introduction to Contemporary Chinese Christians: Biography of Wu Leichuan*], 于《真理与生命》[*Truth and Life*], 1937年第8期[1937, Issue 8]; 赵紫宸 T. C. Chao,《当代教育家吴雷川》[*Contemporary Educator Wu Leichuan*], 于《逸经》[*Yi Jing*], 1936年第16期[1936, Issue 16], 41—45; 查时杰 Cha Shijie,《吴雷川——致力中国文化与基督教信仰沟通的著名学者》[*Wu Leichuan: A Famous Scholar Dedicated to the Communication between Chinese Culture and Christian Faith*], 《中国基督教人物小传》[*Biographies of Chinese Christians*] (香港[Hong Kong]:中华福音神学院出版社[China Evangelical Seminary Press], 1983), 70—74。

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提出了严厉批评。书评的标题选用《基督教与中国文化》第四章的标题“耶稣为基督”，不仅是对吴书的回应，直指该书的问题核心，也指向了基督教神学的问题核心——耶稣何以是基督，以及由此而来的“基督教何以是基督教”（基督教的独特性）问题。

## 一、政治性的君王弥赛亚

在吴雷川看来，“耶稣为基督”是《福音书》和历代神学家都未曾解释清楚或存在根本性误读的基督教核心问题。<sup>①</sup> 在《基督教与中国文化》题为“耶稣为基督”的核心章节中，吴雷川首先解释“基督”即希伯来文“弥赛亚”的希腊文译音，意为“受膏者”，并介绍古代以色列有三类人受膏：君王、先知和祭司。<sup>②</sup> 吴雷川认为，如果把这三类人结合在一起，我们最终会得到中国天子或皇帝的形象，即“治理万民的君王，也是传达天命以教诲万民的先知，更是代表万民祭天的祭司”<sup>③</sup>。吴雷川更进一步强调犹太人所想望的弥赛亚，不只是“指着在外表上涂抹膏油，更是指着内心受圣灵的膏沐，正如《书经》上所说‘亶聪明作元后’，那就是中国所谓‘圣天子’了”<sup>④</sup>。可是，耶稣怎么会是“圣天子”呢？吴雷川显然对此产生了困惑，在写于1933年的《耶稣生平》中他提出了疑问：“原来‘基督’这个名号，本是犹太人历代所想望的君王，而耶稣乃是平民，何以能与这名号发生关系，这是很费研究的事。”<sup>⑤</sup>

根据吴雷川的推测，耶稣起初的计划就是要做犹太人所想望的那位君王基督<sup>⑥</sup>，他的这一计划从一开始就以获得政治权力为前提，但与传统犹太君王弥赛亚的理想有所不同，因为这个计划有双重目标：既要实现救世主复兴国家的希

① “耶稣一生的事业以及他的受死而成为完全的人格，都和他为基督这一件事有重要关系。而这种重要的关系，在福音书上却没有很清楚的记载，就很容易发生疑问。若依照神学家的说法，这一切都是上帝所预定，自然就没有问题。但我们要研究耶稣为人的，神学家的意见，大概我们都不愿意接受。”吴雷川 Wu Leichuan,《基督教与中国文化》[Christianity and Chinese Culture](上海[Shanghai]:上海古籍出版社[Shanghai Classics Publishing House],2008),47。

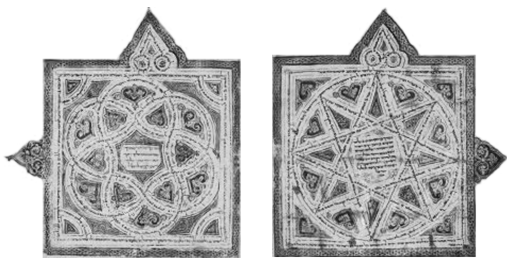
② “原来基督二字是希腊文的译音——希伯来文的译音是弥赛亚——它的意义是‘受膏者’。古代犹太人的规例，凡是被立为君王或先知或祭司的，都要用一种香膏涂抹在被立者的头上，因此基督这一个名词，就包含君王、先知、祭司三种职分。”(吴雷川,《基督教与中国文化》,47)

③ 吴雷川,《基督教与中国文化》,47。

④ 同上。

⑤ 吴雷川 Wu Leichuan,《耶稣生平》[Biography of Jesus],于《大公报》[Ta Kung Pao],1933年第2期[1933, Issue 2]。

⑥ “据我的推测，他的计划，正是要作成一般犹太人所想望为君王的基督。”(吴雷川,《基督教与中国文化》,48)



望,在取得国家政权后又必须实施建设新社会的改革,而且彻底改造旧社会才是其更主要的目标。吴雷川推测,耶稣从小立志成为君王弥赛亚后,他在第二个目标,即对社会进行彻底改革上从未动摇,只是后来情势发生了变化,不得已才必须改变方式去实现这个目标。吴雷川认为,耶稣计划的转变主要有两个原因:一是由于“成大事者必要结合徒党”<sup>①</sup>,所以耶稣最初乃是与约翰共谋复兴犹太国之大业,二者分头行动,约翰在加利利讲道,而耶稣则与耶路撒冷领导人协商。当约翰被捉拿牺牲后,耶稣“真如人身断去了一臂”<sup>②</sup>,获得政治权力的基督王国计划因此被迫推迟。二是来自耶稣与耶路撒冷领袖和加利利民众接触后的经验,因为他们都不能接受耶稣所要实行的改造社会的主义,而是仍以政权为唯一目的。如果权力是唯一目的,那就必然要采取把石头变饼、从殿顶跳下乃至拜魔鬼等不正当手段,而这是耶稣慎思明辨后决意不为的。<sup>③</sup> 吴雷川再三强调,耶稣为了能保全彻底的社会改造,只能牺牲自己的生命,与恶邪势力斗争到底,由此将真理的种子传播人间,成为人类的普遍祝福:

耶稣起初要作犹太人所想望为君王的基督,是激发于爱国的热忱。后来考察时势,转移观念,甘心作为人受死的基督。我们承认:在他全部生活中有这样重要的变化,正显出他为人类而艰苦奋斗的决心与勇气。<sup>④</sup>

耶稣最初的计划,虽然是要作犹太人所想望的君王,而其主要的目的乃是要改革社会,这就与犹太人传统的观念大不相同了。……犹太人所想望的是急速地以武力脱离外国的羁绊,宣布独立,而耶稣则是深察内外的情势,要谋彻底的改造。他以为:必是先将国内种种腐败的现象全数扫除,按照真理重新厘定制度,解除人民痛苦,使他们得到真正的幸福,才是建立了新的国家。<sup>⑤</sup>

吴雷川对“耶稣为基督”的这种解释显然有别于基督教主流基督论,其中又有三点尤为殊异:其一,“耶稣为基督”不是主流基督论中由上帝预定的,而是耶

① 吴雷川,《基督教与中国文化》,19。

② 同上,50。

③ 同上,50—51。

④ 同上,56。

⑤ 同上,49。

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稣自决的。<sup>①</sup> 在吴雷川眼中,《圣经》上所记载的关于耶稣 12 岁在耶路撒冷圣殿中对其父母所说的那句话,“为什么找我? 岂不知我应当以我父的事为念?”(《路加福音》2:42—51),已然是耶稣“自觉、自认、自决”为“基督”的标志。耶稣童年在圣殿中获得的这一“觉悟”就是“应当以上帝的事为念”,而吴雷川认为这乃是耶稣使命的基础,“耶稣一生的事业,都是从他这次所说的一句话里演绎出来,就可知道他这次情感激发以后,确能继续着持守,使它成为坚强的意志。所谓‘择善而固之’,所谓‘得一善则拳拳服膺而弗失之’(《中庸》第二十八、八章),这就是耶稣在十几年中所用的工夫了”<sup>②</sup>。其二,耶稣所觉悟到的那个基督是具有政治权力的犹太民族之王,吴雷川甚至还建构了耶稣和约翰之间的政治“同谋”关系,只是在失去革命同志后耶稣才被迫放弃了起初的政治性目标。其三,既然应当以上帝的事为念,那么究竟何谓“上帝的事”呢? 在吴雷川的解释体系中,耶稣童年所言“上帝的事”指的就是要拯救犹太民族使之复兴。而如何拯救犹太民族,吴雷川认定是通过“改造社会”<sup>③</sup>,而所谓的“改造社会”,其实就是“建立天国”,“使天国降临于世界之上”<sup>④</sup>。

在上述三点中,赵紫宸撰文主要抨击吴氏所谓耶稣要做政治君王的第二点。赵紫宸开门见山指出这一全书中心思想并不符合《圣经》所载事实,而是迎合时事,牵引附丽于现代主张,因此丧失了基督教自身立场与信念。<sup>⑤</sup> 首先,耶稣要做政治的君王,要取得政权以复兴犹太国,这在赵紫宸看来完全是吴雷川的想象。<sup>⑥</sup> 进一步而言,赵紫宸毫不留情地剖析此种想象源自吴雷川的一种“愿欲”:

我们的试诱是大的,自己有一种愿欲,到热切的时节,容易因着丝毫类似之处而想象我们所深深钦崇的人物与我们一样,因而将我们的宗教、哲

① “耶稣为基督,自古相传是上帝预定的,其实:这事是否上帝预定姑且不论,但为使人多得教训起见,与其说是上帝预定,还不如说是耶稣自决……才显得出耶稣人格的伟大。”(吴雷川 Wu Leichuan,〈作基督徒的两个问题〉[Two Questions about Being a Christian],于《真理与生命》[Truth and Life],1934 年第 4 期[1934, Issue 4])

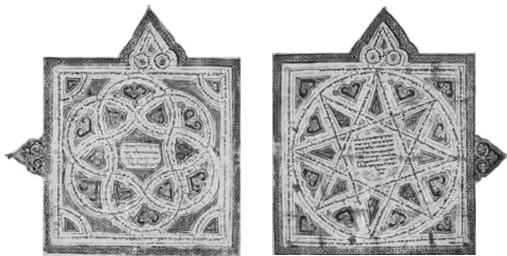
② 吴雷川,《基督教与中国文化》,18。

③ “耶稣之为基督,无论其为王或为人受死,他底改造社会的宗旨是一贯的。”(吴雷川,《基督教与中国文化》,55)

④ 吴雷川 Wu Leichuan,〈基督教与中国时局〉[Christianity and the Current Situation in China],于《真理周刊》[Truth Weekly],1924 年第 36 期[1924, Issue 36]。

⑤ 参见赵紫宸,〈“耶稣为基督”——评吴雷川先生之《基督教与中国文化》〉,收录于《赵紫宸文集》第 3 卷,705。

⑥ “耶稣要作政治的君王的证据,《新约》里是完全找不出来的,而这件事的反证却是不一而足。吴先生所找的不是证据,乃是想象。”(赵紫宸,〈“耶稣为基督”——评吴雷川先生之《基督教与中国文化》〉,收录于《赵紫宸文集》第 3 卷,708)



学、伦理与夫对于政治经济的要求，一一推而纳诸不曾梦想到此种问题的人物之心中口中事业中……吴先生要“耶稣为基督”，为握政权的君王，原是要解释基督教是一个改造社会，改革经济制度的动力……不惟无有史实为根基，而且把基督的宗教加上了一层误解，使永恒的基督变成了暂时的局部的政治上的君王。<sup>①</sup>

赵紫宸批评吴雷川赋予耶稣以政治君王的形象，而一个政治性的弥赛亚耶稣，这正是赵紫宸在其大量著作和文章中一再否定的，比如，他在《耶稣传》<sup>②</sup>里细致描写耶稣在旷野受到“面包”和“饼”的物质试探之后，明确自己要进行的是心理建设运动，而非物质革命运动。<sup>③</sup> 吴雷川虽未对这位燕京大学同事兼好友的批评专门撰文回应，但在1940年创作的《墨翟与耶稣》中可见他在这一问题上的调整：不再提耶稣乃政治性的弥赛亚，而是强调耶稣承认自己是基督的目的就是要改造社会。<sup>④</sup> 事实上，“改造社会”自始至终是吴雷川理解耶稣之弥赛亚身份的关键。在德国学者罗曼·马雷凯(Roman Malek)看来，这点是正确理解吴雷川耶稣观的一把钥匙。<sup>⑤</sup> 至于弥赛亚是否为政治君王，在吴雷川那里既非重点也非终点，而只是实现改造社会的手段之一。改造社会才是耶稣的一生宏志所在，至于耶稣为什么在最后受审时依然承认自己是政治君王的弥赛亚，吴雷川认为这是因其革命志士之“诚”所致。<sup>⑥</sup> 可惜耶稣的那些门徒乃至之后的整个基督教传统都忽视了耶稣改造社会的大计，而将其弥赛亚的身份误置于纯粹宗教改革的范畴之中。<sup>⑦</sup> 这在吴雷川看来实乃西方基督教近两千年来的一大谬。

<sup>①</sup> 赵紫宸，《“耶稣为基督”——评吴雷川先生之《基督教与中国文化》》，收录于《赵紫宸文集》第3卷，711。

<sup>②</sup> 赵紫宸的《耶稣传》于1935年由上海青年协会书局出版，在1948年前就加印5次，而且被多次转载。这部长达17万字的传记是国人撰写的第一部耶稣传记，而且深受基督徒青年和非基督教作家欢迎。

<sup>③</sup> 参见赵紫宸，《耶稣传》，收录于《赵紫宸文集》第1卷，497。

<sup>④</sup> “耶稣自己承认为基督，目的是要改造社会，而进行的顺序，乃是先改革宗教”；“他从前所计划的纲要是：先在一般人的心理上从事建设，然后进行制度的改革”。吴雷川 Wu Leichuan,《墨翟与耶稣》[Mo Di and Jesus](上海[Shanghai]:青年协会书局[The Association Press of China],1940),110。

<sup>⑤</sup> Roman Malek, “Der Sozialreformer Jesus. Das Leben Jesus nach Wu Leichuan 1869-1944,” in *The Chinese Face of Jesus Christ*, Vol. 3, ed. Roman Malek, S. V. D. (Sankt Augustin, Germany: Institut Monumenta Serica and China Zentrum, 2005), 988.

<sup>⑥</sup> “他既抱了改造社会的诚，但使有机会可乘，总是要向前努力，这正是革命志士必有的态度。所以他于受审时直承自己是基督是王，就是他出于诚而不能自己的回答。”(吴雷川,《基督教与中国文化》,52)

<sup>⑦</sup> 门徒在耶稣死后只“说明耶稣是作了先知所预言为人受死的基督，而于耶稣要改造社会的大计却一字不提。他们对于耶稣为基督的确认，好像是故意地援引另一种遗传的说法以为根据”(吴雷川,《墨翟与耶稣》,111)。

## 二、改造社会的天国愿景

在吴雷川接受基督教信仰的早期,他就认定改造社会是耶稣一生的志愿,而所谓的“改造社会”,其实就是“建立天国”,“使天国降临于世界之上”。<sup>①</sup> 1931年,在《基督教与革命》一文中,他指出“耶稣在世时重要的使命,乃是宣传天国”,并认为“他所宣传的天国”,其含义和犹太人传统观念不同:“耶稣所说的天国降临,乃是要将天国建立在人世之上。”<sup>②</sup> 同年,在《耶稣新社会的理想及其实现的问题》一文中,他再次提到耶稣的天国观,认为“我们用现代人的眼光来看,假如说耶稣所传的天国就是他理想的新社会,似乎是很合时宜的解释了”<sup>③</sup>。这个关于天国等同于社会改造的“合乎时宜”的理想,之后在1933年《耶稣生平》和1934年的《耶稣的社会理想》<sup>④</sup>中得到了重点阐发。20世纪三四十年代的三篇《耶稣略传》,也是通过重新书写耶稣传的方式去展现耶稣那隐藏在宗教表象下的改造社会思想。所谓的“天国”只是耶稣借用犹太人素来所憧憬的宗教愿景作他宣传的标题和口号,以发表他对于社会改造的理想。也正因为此,吴雷川认为,“凡是福音书所记载耶稣讲论天国的语言,都是他阐发关于理想社会的要旨”<sup>⑤</sup>。

“天国”于是也成为吴雷川解读“主祷文”的重心。在《基督教与中国文化》中,吴雷川说:“你的国就是上帝的国,也称天国。天国并不是在这世界之外另有一个世界,更不是像教会所常讲的死后升天堂,乃是将这世界上所有不合仁爱和公义的事全都除去,叫这世界上充满了上帝的仁爱和公义,这就是天国降临。用现在的话说,就是改造旧社会,成为新社会。”<sup>⑥</sup> 在《墨翟与耶稣》中,吴雷川继续强调:“所谓求上帝的国,不是望空祈求它的降临,乃是努力实行改造社会的工作。”<sup>⑦</sup> 如此云云,都是在设想地上的天国,一个需要人类来努力建设的新社会。这自然体现了吴雷川最迫切的现实关怀,即如何在推翻本国帝国统治后,进一步

① 参见吴雷川,《基督教与中国时局》,于《真理周刊》,1924年第36期。

② 吴雷川 Wu Leichuan,《基督教与革命》[Christianity and Revolution],于《真理与生命》[Truth and Life],1931年第4期[1931, Issue 4],4。

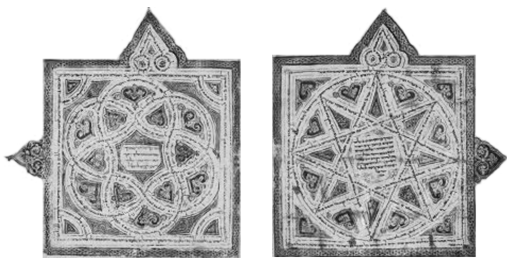
③ 吴雷川 Wu Leichuan,《耶稣新社会的理想及其实现的问题》[Jesus' New Social Ideals and Their Realizations],于《真理与生命》[Truth and Life],1931年第2期[1931, Issue 2],5。

④ 吴雷川 Wu Leichuan,《耶稣的社会理想》[Jesus' Social Ideals](上海[Shanghai]:青年协会书局[The Association Press of China],1934),5。

⑤ 吴雷川,《基督教与中国文化》,20。

⑥ 吴雷川,《基督教与中国文化》,38。

⑦ 吴雷川,《墨翟与耶稣》,118。



摆脱外来帝国统治,并重建新国家。吴雷川将自己的现实关怀赋予了耶稣,他为耶稣建立了一个清晰的内心愿景,虽然这个愿景的名字也叫“弥赛亚”,但并非基督教传统中为了赎世人之罪而牺牲的弥赛亚,而是在现世塑造崭新王国的弥赛亚。

面对包括赵紫宸等人的批评,吴雷川在“耶稣是基督”的问题上略有调整,不提耶稣是要进行政治夺权的君王弥赛亚,但在其最后一部著作《墨翟与耶稣》中强化了为天国愿景奋斗并牺牲的社会革命者耶稣形象,且这一社会革命之根本乃是旨在达到人人均等的经济改革。吴雷川的这一思想深受德国社会主义者考茨基(Karl J. Kautsky)<sup>①</sup>的《基督教之基础》(*The Foundation of Christianity*)一书影响。考茨基认为,基督教的主要发起人都是被压迫、被奴役的社群或其他社会底层团体,且早期教会是以“登山宝训”为标准平等分配社群资源的一种无产阶级组织。故此,基督教的起源是一个无产阶级运动,而这次运动在短暂时期内达到了真正的共产主义。<sup>②</sup>考茨基始终相信原始基督教具有革命特质,而基督教的能量则来自对弥赛亚的期盼,这种期盼能引领一种新的政治和社会秩序。这也正是吴雷川后期思想,尤其是《墨翟与耶稣》中的重点——耶稣不仅是社会革命家,而且是无产阶级社会革命家,他的使命就是要实现弥赛亚盼望,即改革政治和社会秩序。

对吴雷川而言,弥赛亚盼望中的地上天国,其王国基石即是经济改革。由于人类社会中最痛苦的事就是“因经济制度的不善以致人的贫富不均”<sup>③</sup>,故要对社会进行改革首要任务乃是要改革经济制度,消除私有财产。在《基督教与中国文化》和《墨翟与耶稣》中,吴雷川都通过对耶稣训言的诠释来对其经济改革的主张加以详尽论述:主祷文中“我们日用的饮食天天赐给我们”在吴雷川眼中是耶稣不轻看物质,其改造社会的首要任务是物质分配平均<sup>④</sup>;“浪子悔改”的著名寓言(《路加福音》15)被吴雷川解释为因其一开始依仗私有财产所以导致后来的悲

<sup>①</sup> 社会主义者、历史学家和经济学家考茨基(1854—1938),生于布拉格,1875年起成为社会民主党成员,1885—1890年与恩格斯合作,1883年创办《新时代》刊物,成为马克思主义传播的重要工具,19世纪90年代成为德国社会民主党的主要意识形态思想家。在赫克尔(E. H. Haeckel)影响下,考茨基提出“唯物历史观”(1928)。《基督教之基础》(1908)一书是其最著名,也是引起最大争议的论著。此著中文版于1932年由神州国光社出版,汤浩等译,1955年再版之作由叶启芳等人修订原译本,北京三联书店出版。考茨基的思想于20世纪二三十年代影响了许多中国知识分子,其中亦包括沈嗣庄、吴雷川和朱维之这样的基督徒知识分子。

<sup>②</sup> Karl Kautsky, *Foundations of Christianity*, trans. Henry F. Mins (New York: S. A. Russell, 1953), 268-272.

<sup>③</sup> 吴雷川,《基督教与中国文化》,43。

<sup>④</sup> 同上,38。

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剧,故要让人明白人对财产的占有于人无益,应当铲除<sup>①</sup>;众人推辞天国筵席的寓言(《路加福音》14:16—24)重点在于提醒那些不愿意参加改造社会工作的人,经济制度不改变的话,人们的道德就不能进步,所以改革经济制度必为改造社会工作的中心<sup>②</sup>;“财主难进天国”之喻(《马太福音》19:21—24)直指耶稣主张废除私有财产制度<sup>③</sup>;在《墨翟与耶稣》中除了重申以上各条以强调“废除私有财产制度”外,更进一步将“人必各尽所能,乃各得所需”作为改善经济制度的条件<sup>④</sup>。吴雷川把耶稣的训辞都置于经济框架内解读,得出的结论是:耶稣的话语已为天国生活构建了明确蓝图,即经济制度改革必须被放在将社会转变为天国的核心位置,财富再分配被视为实现天国的一种手段,也即所有人都拥有每日的面包。

赵紫宸在评论文章中批评吴雷川所谓的“中国文化”未能涵盖最重要的中国艺术方面,实则对吴雷川而言,“中国文化”从根本而言是物质问题。他在《基督教与中国文化》一书中故意凸显出自己对文化的这一理解,使之涵盖文化生活的整个领域,特别包括经济事务和劳资关系。正如曾庆豹所分析指出的,“对赵来说,中国文化是一个精神性的问题,但吴则认为是一个物质性的问题,后者明确将自己与他同时代对中国历史所进行的‘社会史’解读联系起来。换言之,赵没有捉到这个问题意识,以及当时史学界对中国史所做的社会(经济)史解读,所以他也就明白何以吴雷川不厌其烦且大篇幅地直接引述陶希圣、李麦麦、夏曾佑等人的作品之原因”<sup>⑤</sup>。

吴雷川作为民国时期为数不多的没有出国留学经历甚至不通外语的中国基督徒知识分子,通过自学当年引进翻译的书刊,其历史观和教会论思想资源很大部分实则来源于欧洲现代自由主义神学和马克思主义,甚至对所谓“罪”的理解也并不因循基督教传统聚焦人的精神和灵性层面,而同样具有马克思主义特色,侧重于结构性的,以经济为基础的社会之罪。<sup>⑥</sup>除此之外,吴雷川在革命是否能以暴力方式进行的问题上与考茨基持相同观点。考茨基根据《马太福音》(10:34)“你们不要想,我来是叫地上太平;我来并不是叫地上太平,乃是叫地上动刀

① 吴雷川,《基督教与中国文化》,43。

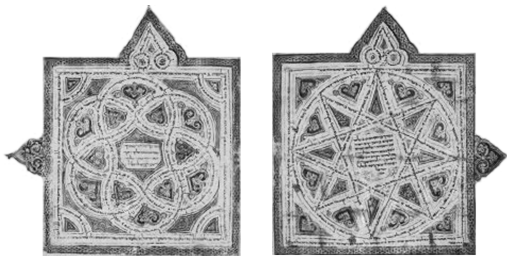
② 同上,43。

③ 同上。

④ 参见吴雷川,《墨翟与耶稣》,140。

⑤ 曾庆豹 Chin Kenpa,〈吴雷川与革命的基督教〉[Wu Leichuan and Revolutionary Christianity],收录于《基督教文化学刊》(第32辑)[Journal for the Study of Christian Culture (32)],杨慧林 Yang Huilin 主编(北京[Beijing]:宗教文化出版社[Religion Culture Publishing House],2014),165。

⑥ 参见曾庆豹 Chin Kenpa 主编,《中国基督教公共神学文学(二):耶稣形象篇》[Collected Essays on the Public Theology of Chinese Christianity II: The Image of Jesus](香港[HongKong]:研道社[Centre for Advanced Biblical Studies and Application Ltd],2012),XXVIII。



兵”这一句经文,按照字面解经的方式,指出耶稣是一个反叛者,为了重新建构社会关系以建立上帝的国度,耶稣拒绝个人的家族和国家。由于反叛的特征及其在政治张力中所活出的对弥赛亚的期盼,考茨基认为早期基督教的一个特征就是“暴力”。吴雷川在1930年的文章《“纵火”与“导争”》中同样引用《马太福音》(10:34)的这句话指出耶稣革命的暴力性质:“自有信仰耶稣的人们,大都梦想和平,高谈博爱,那里愿意有纵火与分争的,但耶稣却明说他来到世上的目的,正是为此。”<sup>①</sup>考虑到考茨基的《基督教之基础》中文版初版于1932年,不通外语的吴雷川应该在此前无法阅读该著,故只能说吴、考二人在此问题上英雄所见略同,并不存在影响一说。不过,也许是之后受到考氏相同观点的鼓励,吴雷川在后续两部著作中都更明确地直陈暴力社会革命的必要性。<sup>②</sup>在吴耀宗以其“唯爱论”对吴雷川的“暴力革命论”提出批评意见后<sup>③</sup>,吴雷川不仅并未接受,反而在《墨翟与耶稣》中越发强调武力手段“不能废除”。当然,根据吴雷川的革命宗教逻辑,如果再考虑到当时的战争处境,这在硝烟弥漫、生灵涂炭中书写的武力革命的弥赛亚救主形象也就更顺理成章了。

### 三、弥赛亚末世论与耶稣之死

赵紫宸和吴雷川二人同是燕京大学教授,而且也都是“生命社”<sup>④</sup>同仁,长年共享同志之谊。“生命社”同仁早期几乎都赞成耶稣的教导即意味着社会变革之诉求,但到了20世纪30年代,在如何实现变革的问题上,原先的同志们分歧越来越大。“生命社”初创的五四时期,激进思想表现为对传统发起攻击,但到了20年代后期,尤其是五四运动后,文化激进主义已远远不够“激进”。燕京大学的学生们和当时其他中国学生一样,都在民族主义热浪中越来越迫切地寻求着更明确的爱国情感表现方式。学生们开始拒绝胡适以及基督教自由派所提出的“用一点一滴的方法来救国”的观点。他们要找到一个“囊括一切的法则”,来分

<sup>①</sup> 吴雷川 Wu Leichuang,《“纵火”与“导争”》[Arson and Dispute],于《真理与生命》[Truth and Life],1930年第1期[1930, Issue 1]。

<sup>②</sup> 参见吴雷川,《基督教与中国文化》,178;吴雷川,《墨翟与耶稣》,174。

<sup>③</sup> “应当把耶稣自己的主张和今日基督教可能采取的方法,分别而论。耶稣自己的主张,我认为是绝对唯爱的、非武力的,然而它却不是纵容放任的无抵抗。”(吴耀宗,“序”,收录于吴雷川,《基督教与中国文化》,6)

<sup>④</sup> “生命社”前身为1920年成立的“证道团”,其成立的初衷即是通过“展示基督教的真理和价值”及其与中国的关系来回应新文化运动和五四运动对基督教的冲击,以证明基督教适应时代的要求。1922年非基督教运动正式爆发后,“证道团”为了回应更严峻的形势,于1924年9月改组为“生命社”。

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析中国的“落后、随处可见的不公正和受帝国主义压迫”等问题,把它们放在理论框架内研究,“并找到一条行动的革命之路”。<sup>①</sup> 赵紫宸撰文批评吴雷川笔下的暴力革命者耶稣的一个重要背景正在于此:“生命社”最初把耶稣看作和平之子,这一形象排除了暴力革命的合法性,但到了30年代,学生们频频以“斗争”和“暴力”等词语来谈救国<sup>②</sup>,革命与改革二者的冲突被推至风口浪尖。

彼时,任何公共言论都处于国家拯救和复兴的大标题下,尤其作为教会大学宗教学院的教师,赵紫宸和吴雷川二人更必须及时回应学生强劲的救亡图存诉求及其与难见成效的“基督教救国”议程之落差的质疑。在写于1935年年初的一篇文章中,赵紫宸坦承自己思想上经过长时间的挣扎犹疑,最终才决定在行动上选择“改革”而非政治性的“革命”:“二者在我的头脑中不断斗争,一个是彻头彻尾的社会革命,一个则是同情恻隐之心。我决定精神上走革命的道路,但行动上却循沿渐进改革之路。”<sup>③</sup>事实上,赵紫宸经常混用“改革”和“革命”这两个词,他常说基督教是革命的,这个“革命”意指“对于一切内部的束缚,精神的堕落,人格的腐败,社会的罪恶而革命”,而革命的方法则是“努力的挚爱”和“诚恳的牺牲”<sup>④</sup>,也就是他努力在《耶稣传》里所呈现的那个作为社会改革家耶稣的革命性。他也常说基督教“作革命运动”,但这革命绝不同于吴雷川追求的政治革命,而是“在基本的心理革命上下手,将所造就的革命势力,由其所造就的人们,侵入社会的各种运动之中,而自身不为此种种的运动”<sup>⑤</sup>。

在赵紫宸看来,吴雷川对耶稣的政治性弥赛亚身份及其暴力革命把握并无任何《圣经》依据。在此问题上,赵紫宸显然是从基督新教的神学立场去释读整本《圣经》中关于“弥赛亚”的含义。如果搁置基督教神学立场的话,可以发现吴雷川对“弥赛亚”这个概念的理解更接近于希伯来圣经原文和犹太拉比传统。许多犹太启示性(apocalyptic)作品都提到末世降临的先兆(如《巴录二书》70:7)。有些人将这些艰难的先兆比作“产前阵痛”,或“弥赛亚/弥赛亚时期的生产之痛”

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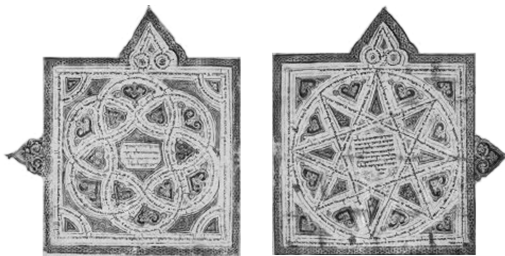
① Philip West 菲利普·韦斯特,《燕京大学与中西关系》[Yenching University and Sino-Western Relations, 1916-1952],程龙 Cheng Long 译(北京[Beijing]:北京师范大学出版社[Beijing Normal University Publishing Group],2019),235。

② 同上,130。

③ 赵紫宸 Zhao Zichen,《福音的小初解》[The Explanation of the Gospel],《真理与生命》[Truth and Life],1935年第8期[1935, Issue 8],418。

④ 赵紫宸,《风潮中奋起的中国教会》,收录于《赵紫宸文集》第3卷,241。

⑤ 赵紫宸,《学运信仰与使命的我解》,收录于《赵紫宸文集》第3卷,654。



(如在库姆兰的感恩诗歌中;《以赛亚书》13:8,《何西阿书》13:13)<sup>①</sup>。犹太拉比传统中对于弥赛亚的理解虽各有不同,但有些观点是一致的。比如弥赛亚是在世界末日时降临的英明君主,具有大卫王的血统,是接受神的旨意而降生于世并履行拯救犹太人,建立和平、公正的美好社会的国王。弥赛亚是凡人,而不是神。弥赛亚降临之前的明显征兆是社会动乱,战争频发,道德极度败坏。这样的战乱、颓败局面是“弥赛亚来临前的阵痛”,被比作母亲临产时的痛苦。<sup>②</sup>

事实上,即便在基督新教神学研究领域中,《马太福音》10章5至15节中耶稣关于天国与末世惩罚的教训一直是新约研究中很有争议性的一个重心。新约神学家温司卡(Sze-kar Wan)认为吴雷川从社会政治角度来看这些耶稣训言,和实情相距不远,因此吴雷川所作的贡献,可能比赵紫宸所承认的多。<sup>③</sup>温斯卡还进一步指出,赵紫宸对末世主义及政治参与的两极化看法,是基于一种过分简化的“此世”和“他世”的分野。其实末世主义往往源于强烈的政治环境,而且常被认为是一种强大的颠覆力量。赵紫宸和吴雷川都忽略了这点,但后者在直觉上提及了正确的论点。<sup>④</sup>

那么,赵紫宸究竟是如何看待并解释弥赛亚末世主义的呢?在《耶稣传》导言中,赵紫宸点明狄尼的《耶稣的事迹与其意义》一书给了他许多暗示,最终使他毅然决然地废除了耶稣信从犹太传统“末世论”的观念。<sup>⑤</sup>这一“末世论”即上帝在世界终末时将忿怒倾倒入世,将一切有罪的人都消灭。赵紫宸以耶稣成长过程中的心理轨迹为线索,在其与父亲的对答和与好友约翰的相处中埋下质疑的伏笔,最终在耶稣受洗时于来自上帝的圣爱中获得“大觉悟”。这“大觉悟”不仅是对自身为上帝儿子的身份体认,而且还明确上帝至善之爱与犹太传统末世论中上帝的仇恨忿怒彼此抵牾枘凿,施洗者约翰所传的“虽有至理,却非正解;人当

<sup>①</sup> 参见 Craig S. Keener 季纳,《新约圣经背景注释》[The IVP Bible Background Commentary: New Testament],刘良淑 Liu Liangshu 译(北京[Beijing]:中央编译出版社[Central Compilation & Translation Press],2015),88—89。

<sup>②</sup> 以上关于犹太拉比传统对“弥赛亚”的解读参见傅有德 Fu Youde 等,《犹太哲学史》上卷[The History of Jewish Philosophy (1)](北京[Beijing]:中国人民大学出版社[China Renmin University Press],2007),142。

<sup>③</sup> 参见温司卡 Sze-kar Wan,《中国教会诠释论的孕育——吴雷川与赵紫宸之间的争论及中国基督教的问题结构》[The Emerging Hermeneutics of the Chinese Church: The Debate between Wu Leichuan and T. C. Chao and the Chinese Christian Problematic],收录于《现代性、传统变迁与汉语神学》[Modernity, Transformation of Tradition and Sino-Christian Theology],李秋零 Li Qiuling、杨熙楠 Yang Xinan 主编(上海[Shanghai]:华东师范大学出版社[East China Normal University Press],2010),581。

<sup>④</sup> 同上。

<sup>⑤</sup> 参见赵紫宸,《耶稣传》,收录于《赵紫宸文集》第1卷,459。

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悔改,固然,但上帝要将忿怒倾在全世界,这一定是犹太教师们传统的错误。从此以后,耶稣可以与约翰乐其始,断不能与他共其成”<sup>①</sup>。赵紫宸笔下的施洗者约翰也是一位不满于犹太现状,在旷野宣传悔改“福音”的改革者。他和耶稣是有共同改革愿景的“同志”,都觉得以色列民族复兴的根基在于心理的改造与建设。<sup>②</sup>但耶稣与施洗者约翰的分道扬镳,问题出在耶稣不认同约翰的末世论,赵紫宸一再强调耶稣抛弃了约翰持有的犹太传统末世论,而是逐渐意识到,应以自己的牺牲成全以色列民族的最高理想:

他决定舍命,并不是因为他相信“末世论”,将来自己会复活升天,随后乘云下来;乃是因为他觉到以色列民族最高的理想,是要为全国全世界,作受苦受难的神仆。<sup>③</sup>

以色列民族的救赎,绝对不在于飞降的弥赛亚从天显威能,也不在于上帝用猝然下临,向人类倾倒的忿怒,而在于为正谊,为人道,将自己的生命舍弃,藉以唤醒民众,救度人类的神仆的大牺牲。耶稣现在透澈地晓得了。<sup>④</sup>

这样的耶稣是孤独的。他摒弃约翰的盛满上帝忿怒和惩罚的“末世论”,同时也拒绝了基督教主流神学的救赎论,更否认了彼时犹太人固执相信的一个流行观念:弥赛亚是那个从天飞降,领导以色列以武力推翻现时政权的君王。<sup>⑤</sup>在赵紫宸看来,“天国”是一个心灵之域<sup>⑥</sup>，“天国”并非存于彼岸世界,而是人心变革之后的人人都爱上帝、爱人的团契生活。<sup>⑦</sup>所以,相应的“天国运动”是保全以色列民族灵魂的事工,那虽然是“宗教的革命,亦简直是政治革命”<sup>⑧</sup>,但仍是在精神心理建设的意义上所谓的“革命”,而非疾风骤雨式的激进政治革命。这正是20世纪二三十年代赵紫宸以改变人心、依靠革命者的公心去开展革命的基督

① 赵紫宸,《耶稣传》,收录于《赵紫宸文集》第1卷,493。

② 同上,486。

③ 同上,460。

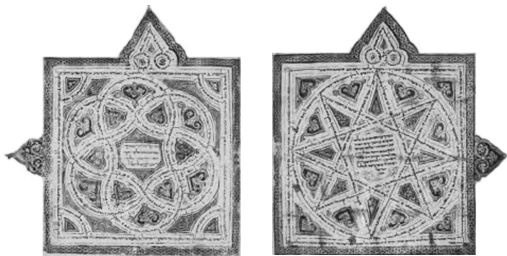
④ 同上,565。

⑤ “人们真一点也不懂事,只逞着急切的愿望。在他们心里深深地种着一个观念,就是弥赛亚,上帝用膏所膏立的君王,能够领导他们推翻现时的政权。”(赵紫宸,《耶稣小传》,收录于《赵紫宸文集》第4卷,36)

⑥ 参见赵紫宸,《“耶稣为基督”——评吴雷川先生之《基督教与中国文化》》,收录于《赵紫宸文集》第3卷,710。

⑦ 参见赵紫宸,《耶稣小传》,收录于《赵紫宸文集》第4卷,27。

⑧ 赵紫宸,《耶稣传》,收录于《赵紫宸文集》第1卷,600—602。



教“人格救国”观。<sup>①</sup> 在赵紫宸看来,耶稣这种天国观和天国运动并不为当时的犹太民族所理解,无论是法利赛人、文士、撒吐该人、希律,还是施洗的约翰,连那些和耶稣朝夕相处,被耳提面命的门徒也误解了他。彼得和其他门徒虽然知道耶稣是弥赛亚,但是一个必须被人钉死在十字架上受难的弥赛亚是不可思议的事情。对弥赛亚身份的全民误解在《耶稣传》里被犹太的叛变推向高潮。赵紫宸以小说家笔法杜撰了犹太的心理活动,为这位著名的出卖灵魂给魔鬼的人提供了另一种截然不同于《圣经》主流诠释的叛变理由:犹太无法再继续容忍耶稣,因为耶稣一再拒绝犹太国民的要求成为将整个民族从他国他族的暴力中解放出来的起义领袖,反而将一套爱人爱仇敌的理论堆在恼怒满心的民众头上。犹太原本寄予耶稣的弥赛亚盼望破灭,一腔爱国激情化为对耶稣的怨恨,而虚荣心作祟又终于使他彻底堕入深渊。<sup>②</sup> 这一部分关于犹太心思意念的小说家文字,不仅显示作者对犹太充满了同情性理解,更重要的是,通过犹太的误解和背叛,赵氏《耶稣传》得以更生动地传达耶稣独特的救国救世理想不是基于流行的以全能尊威为中心的基督观,而是作为社会改革者的耶稣所奋力传扬的那种以纯爱舍身为中心的基督观。然而,这一理想与犹太社会传统的民族理想之间存在着巨大差异,其间的落差正蕴含着赵氏所谓的宗教革命或政治革命的内涵。耶稣理想被广为误解,本人甚至最终陷入“众叛亲离”的境地,赵紫宸在《耶稣传》里着意刻画了一个孑然孤独的革命者形象。这一形象在写于1941年的《耶稣小传》中甚至变得更加诗意惆怅,在万人皆醉我独醒中,耶稣独自面对宇宙间最高的山峰、清虚的天和天上的星,这一切都被诗人赵紫宸描绘得极具诗意的孤独。<sup>③</sup>

一个受难而死的弥赛亚,不是犹太人所盼望的带领他们脱离外族统治的弥赛亚。在赵紫宸的《耶稣传》中,当耶稣努力地追问自己,他将成为什么样的弥赛亚时,他熟知当时世人对弥赛亚的期望,他翻阅犹太圣经的相关段落以求正解。早年,他虽然毫不怀疑自己有正义感,但有一天他会被作为罪犯而处死却并不在他的预想范围内。耶稣的身份定位和角色意识都是不断发展着的,那是从他的上帝意识里返照出来的,是上帝的心启示。<sup>④</sup> 《耶稣传》里的耶稣生而为人,却一生努力发展与神的特殊关系,最终意识到,与神的这种特殊“父子”关系意味着要完成神交给他这个“子”的特殊使命。这是赵氏早年神学所赋予耶稣这个神子

① 具体表述参见赵紫宸,《基督教与中国的心理建设》,收录于《赵紫宸文集》第3卷,471、466;赵紫宸,《我们的十字架就是我们的希望》,收录于《赵紫宸文集》第3卷,456。

② 赵紫宸,《耶稣传》,收录于《赵紫宸文集》第1卷,575。

③ 赵紫宸,《耶稣小传》,收录于《赵紫宸文集》第4卷,39。

④ 赵紫宸,《耶稣传》,收录于《赵紫宸文集》第1卷,523。

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的“重任”。然而,问题是,作为受苦献身的弥赛亚,其身份体认和理想旨归如果失去了《圣经》传统启示神学和犹太—基督教末世论和救赎论的支撑,那么,在解释耶稣之死的时候必然会遇到一些困难——爱就等于自我奉献,但这必然要求死亡吗?赵氏在《耶稣传》中如此描述耶稣对自己必死使命的认识:

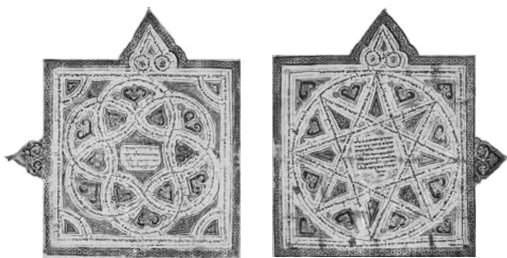
十字架,光华万丈的是自己,是死亡的代表;谁知道更是生命扬溢的代表?基督要走上十字架,要死。但是上帝的胜者不能消亡于朽坏之中。他要复活,他永不死;如何不死,生命的主自己知道,从容赴死,杀身成仁者始能知道;上帝亲自自有启示!……耶稣必须用惊人的挑战使他们(以色列)受最深的刺激,从梦中醒过来。他们不醒,则有自己死——死便是最后的唤醒民族的方法。用自己的死亡,促他人的觉悟,是东方人最特别的,最伟大的信念;西方人不能窥见其中的精元!“人生自古谁无死,留取丹心照汗青。”——人之死,圣贤英杰之死,即是国家天下所系命的威权。<sup>①</sup>

赵紫宸在此将耶稣之死作了中国处境化的解释,以文天祥的名句代表儒家杀身成仁之价值诉求,由此类比耶稣的从容赴死。只是选用文天祥这样为国捐躯的民族英雄的舍身精神来类比耶稣似有不妥:文天祥是在举兵抗元失败被俘后宁死不屈而成为民族气节的精神象征,这正好比犹太民族所渴望的那个能带领他们征战的弥赛亚,然而赵氏笔下的耶稣则是决绝地反对武力革命的温和的社会改革者。一个自身改革理念完全无法被人理解,甚至连最亲密的家人和门徒都不理解的改革者,最终受酷刑而死,这样的死如何能成为唤醒民族的最后方法呢?当赵紫宸否认了《圣经》传统中包括耶稣复活再临的末世论后,耶稣之死的价值变得尤为可疑。1933年,赵紫宸本人也曾对耶稣之死的意义提出质疑:“爱是自我给予,这是否意味着死亡,那是另一个问题,因为我觉得一个人也能够通过生活而奉献出自己的生命……坦白说,我不明白为什么耶稣必须死去为了服务于世界。”<sup>②</sup>这段诚恳的自白表露了赵紫宸20世纪30年代所经历的莫可名状的不安和神学上的困惑<sup>③</sup>,特别是关于救赎论与末世论的模糊性。有学者猜测20世纪30年代的赵紫宸可能有一个机械的启示主义概念,根据这个概念,复活、升天和再临在最后时刻互相跟随。因此,赵紫宸认为耶稣的自愿奉献不可能

① 赵紫宸,《耶稣传》,收录于《赵紫宸文集》第1卷,565。

② T. C. Chao, “Jesus and the Reality of God,” 《真理与生命》[Truth and Life], 1933年第5期 [1933, Issue 5], 1—10, 6。

③ “我心深处的恳求是莫可名状的,只可以说,我要得上帝。我所要求的,哲学也不能给。”(赵紫宸,《我的宗教经验》),收录于《赵紫宸文集》第3卷,72—73)



发生在世界末日的背景下,因为如果是这样的话,充其量只能最好算是演戏,最坏算是雇佣军。相反,耶稣的死为以色列履行了受苦仆人的角色。<sup>①</sup>

## 结 语

基督教在过去的 1800 年历史中形成了一种基督论的传统,即将拿撒勒人耶稣和以色列的上帝联系起来,认为历史上实存的耶稣既是上帝之子,亦是三位一体的上帝本人,他是基督,是神圣的逻各斯的化身。这是“从上面”(神的角度)发展而出的基督论和对基督神性的理解。然而,那些自欧洲启蒙运动以来从历史角度理解自身基督教信仰的学者们拒绝基督神性的教条,他们从人类历史上的耶稣开始,“从下面”(人的角度)开启另一条解释“耶稣是基督”的路径。<sup>②</sup> 20 世纪 30 年代,两位中国神学家不约而同地“从下面”解释并争论“耶稣是基督”的问题,不仅因为二者俱为欧洲启蒙精神的继承者,而且由于 20 世纪 20 年代中国非基督教运动迫使五四时期的护教者进一步反省自己的信仰,更自觉地对基督教进行严肃质疑。非基督教运动中对基督教最严厉的指责即是基督教为西方帝国主义列强帮凶,这成了基督教在中国的原罪。护教者们既无法也根本不愿为制度性的西方基督教开脱罪责,而聚焦于耶稣本人,可以将在华基督教与历史上的西方建制基督教区隔开来。因为在护教者眼中,耶稣是未受西方教会组织、文化等毒害势力侵染之前的那个基督教“原点”。<sup>③</sup> 于是,耶稣成为赵紫宸和吴雷川等人基督教信仰唯一的避难所。<sup>④</sup> 对他们而言,以耶稣为基督教之精华和原点已非单纯回应非基督教人士的一种策略,而是经过长时间痛苦反思后所寻求到的信仰答案和所能给予未来中国的基督教方案。

然而,当赵紫宸和吴雷川反复强调“基督教的精要在基督”<sup>⑤</sup>“基督教是基督”<sup>⑥</sup>时,基督究竟意指什么,耶稣为何是基督,又是怎样的基督等,就成为无法

<sup>①</sup> Sze-kar Wan, “The Emerging Hermeneutics of the Chinese Church: The Debate between Wu Leichuan and T. C. Chao and the Chinese Christian *Problematik*,” in *Bible in Modern China: The Literary and Intellectual Impact*, eds. Irene Eber, Sze-kar Wan, Knut Walf, and Roman Malek (Institute Monumenta Serica, 1999), 356.

<sup>②</sup> Albert Schweizer, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus: A Critical Study of Its Progress from Reimarus to Wrede*, 398.

<sup>③</sup> Yamamoto Tatsuro, *History of Protestantism in China: The Indigenization of Christianity* (Tokyo: Toho Gakkai, 2000), 265.

<sup>④</sup> 参见吴雷川,《基督教与中国文化》,85。

<sup>⑤</sup> 赵紫宸,《耶稣基督》,收录于《赵紫宸文集》第 3 卷,502。

<sup>⑥</sup> 赵紫宸,《基督教与中国的心理建设》,收录于《赵紫宸文集》第 3 卷,465。

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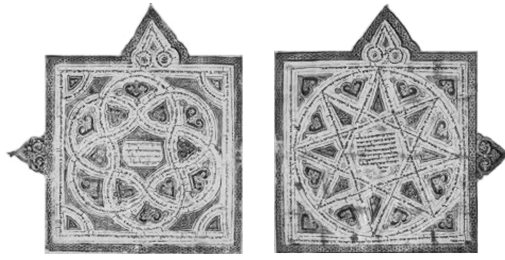
回避的关键问题。赵紫宸批驳吴雷川的“耶稣是基督”，主要因为后者根据唯物观和夺取政权的武力主义去塑造一个怀抱政治经济之志、寻思着起义必要结合徒党的君王式弥赛亚，赵紫宸谴责这种政治性赋予是合于现代需要的独裁政治。<sup>①</sup>从神学角度而言，基督论是基督教系统神学中的一部分，它和上帝论、救赎论、末世论等其他部分不可分割，共同组成了基督教神学的整体。赵紫宸批判吴雷川的基督论，其矛头实则直指吴雷川的“天国观”（末世论）。与吴雷川针锋相对，赵紫宸认为耶稣的“国”不是普通人所谓国家之国，而是上帝已经赐给耶稣的国，是性灵世界中的国。<sup>②</sup>在1949年新政权产生之前，吴雷川这种假定耶稣由改造社会而复兴民族，而后招选门徒预约他们作政治运动而实现新的国家政权的神学思想，被赵紫宸视作大谬不然。在《耶稣传》导言中，赵氏即表明了观点：“《福音书》中的耶稣简直明说自己的基督观，不是当时流行的弥赛亚观，因为他的国不是普通世界上的国，而是历经艰难而更兴的精神世界：‘所谓钉死之后，三日内必然复活，是说身体虽死，精神巍然永存。’”<sup>③</sup>不过，即使赵紫宸很谨慎地与直接参与政治和民族主义话语保持距离，尤其在神学上将“天国”概念厘定为精神性道德性的国度，但其实他本人的神学愿景也同样宣称救国是其议程，且毫不犹豫地将耶稣塑造为“人格救国”的典范。当他严厉批评吴雷川牵强附会地利用基督教，使之在现代问题上发生效力时，他也许并没有自觉意识到他笔下的耶稣形象亦是在国家拯救和复兴的大势之下，与诸多中国现代话语和运动交织在一起的。赵紫宸和吴雷川对于“耶稣是基督”的阐发和争论实则都是在民族存亡的“末世”处境中被催逼而出的，是以中国五四之后的现代话语为分析语法的关于“弥赛亚”的另一种现代中国的读法。

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① 参见赵紫宸，《“耶稣为基督”——评吴雷川先生之《基督教与中国文化》》，收录于《赵紫宸文集》第3卷，713。

② 同上，709。

③ 赵紫宸，《耶稣传》，收录于《赵紫宸文集》第1卷，462。



### Another Way to Read Messiah :

## On the Problem of “Jesus as Christ” in the “Dispute between Zhao Zichen and Wu Leichuan”

CHU Xiaobai

**Abstract:** In 1936, Zhao Zichen wrote an article criticizing Wu Leichuan’s portrayal of Jesus as the political king Messiah in the book *Christianity and Chinese Culture*. He believes that this is not in line with the facts contained in the *Bible*, but caters to current events and draws attachments to modern discourses, thus losing the stand and belief of Christianity itself. Although Wu Leichuan did not respond to Zhao Zichen’s criticism with a special article, he no longer mentioned Jesus as the political Messiah in his subsequent works, rather emphasized that the purpose of Jesus’ recognition of himself as the Messiah was to transform society and establish the kingdom of heaven on earth. Zhao Zichen’s theory of the kingdom of heaven is quite different from this. He not only opposes the Jewish eschatological theory of the kingdom of heaven, but also disapproves of Wu Leichuan’s theory of the material kingdom. Instead, he uniquely marks the “kingdom of heaven” as the realm of the mind. This article analyzes the dispute between Zhao and Wu on the issue of “Jesus is the Christ”, and argues that although the two hold different views on the eschatological kingdom, they are both forced to be in the “eschatological” situation at the time of the survival of the Chinese nation. They both deliver a modern Chinese interpretation of “Messiah” with national salvation as its basic agenda. In fact, Wu Leichuan’s understanding of the concept of “Messiah” is closer to the original text of the *Hebrew Bible* and the Jewish Rabbinic tradition, and his messianic vision of revolution is actually a radical proletarian revolution; while Zhao Zichen insists on spiritual and psychological construction. However, Zhao’s arguments about Jesus’ Messianic identity and purpose have lost the support of the *Bible*’s traditional apocalyptic theology and Judeo-Christian eschatology. Therefore, Zhao has never be able to interpret the ultimate goal of Jesus’ death successfully.

**Key Words:** Zhao Zichen, Wu Leichuan, Messiah, “Jesus is Christ”, Eschatology

## 马萨达象征符号的记忆史书写

——对《马萨达神话与以色列集体记忆塑造》的解读

李冬冬\*

**【摘要】**马萨达具有历史与现实的多重维度,它源于古代犹太历史学家约瑟夫斯对公元 73 年集体自杀事件的记载,但在中世纪几乎被遗忘,直到 20 世纪才又重新进入犹太集体记忆之中。作为英雄主义的代表符号,马萨达发展为现代犹太民族国家构建的政治神话。《马萨达神话与以色列集体记忆塑造》一书以马萨达神话的建构和解构为中心,运用跨学科的研究方法,从集体记忆的角度出发,梳理了马萨达神话的由来及演变,重点探讨了作为以色列集体记忆的“马萨达”与现代犹太身份认同之间的关系,丰富了马萨达研究相关成果,具有较为重要的学术价值和现实意义。

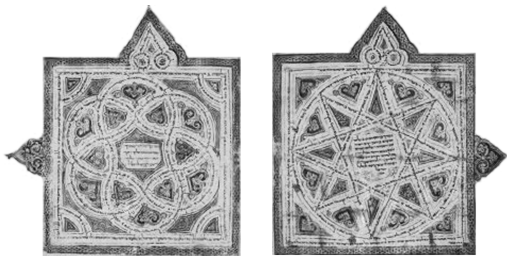
**【关键词】**马萨达;以色列;集体记忆;历史书写

犹太民族自大流散以来,长期客居他乡。19 世纪末,犹太复国主义运动兴起,在犹太复国主义者的努力下,犹太民族最终于 1948 年建国。值得注意的是,在犹太复国主义运动以及以色列建国之后的发展过程中,犹太史的记忆化书写起到了重要的推动作用。目前国内学界关于大屠杀记忆的研究成果已经较为丰富,但在其他历史事件的记忆史书写上仍有很大的研究空间。

艾仁贵的《马萨达神话与以色列集体记忆塑造》<sup>①</sup>将目光投向了鲜有人关注的马萨达事件,书写了以马萨达神话为代表的历史资源与英雄主义巧妙结合的“记忆神话”。该著作揭示了神话叙事与历史真相之间的关系,在理论视角、研究对象和结构布局等方面显现出值得关注的学术特色。这既是国内学界关于犹太

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① 参见艾仁贵 Ai Rengui,《马萨达神话与以色列集体记忆塑造》[Masada Myth and the Shaping of Israel's Collective Memory](北京[Beijing]:社会科学文献出版社[Social Science Academic Press],2021)。



史研究记忆化书写趋势的一个缩影,亦是国内学界以马萨达神话为角度分析以色列集体记忆塑造的第一部作品。

该书分为上、中、下三篇,既有对马萨达历史真相的考据,又有对马萨达神话建构和解构的过程叙述。上篇偏重对马萨达事件的起源、流传与真相的解读;中篇则主要探讨了20世纪初至20世纪60年代巴勒斯坦犹太社团以及以色列国对马萨达事件的神话构建;下篇介绍了马萨达神话回归历史的过程及作者对该书价值的期待,同时以此作为结尾,使全书呈现出严谨的结构。

## 一、马萨达的历史书写与记忆转向

马萨达是以色列重要的精神遗产,在犹太历史上也有着不可忽略的地位和价值。由于犹太复国主义运动以及犹太民族的千年流散,来自不同地域和文化背景下的犹太人在回归故土的同时,都面临着文化整合的困境,这也由此开启了各方对马萨达长达数十年的历史书写与记忆塑造。作者在书中将马萨达神话的塑造总结为三次形象的转变:中古时期的马萨达是懦弱的自杀者,20世纪初的马萨达是犹太青年朝圣和崇拜的对象,二战开始后马萨达则转变为“永不陷落”的象征。

其中,二战时期马萨达神话化是该书的重点。作者将以色列比作一个“放大的马萨达城堡”<sup>①</sup>,言明了马萨达事件被神话化的动因。自19世纪末开始,犹太复国主义组织开始引导犹太人向巴勒斯坦移民。如何使犹太民族和这片土地建立起情感纽带、增强犹太人之间的身份认同、为移民行动提供法理依据,是犹太复国主义组织所面临的问题。作为中东地区唯一的异教国家,1948年以色列建国自然引发了中东其他国家的强烈反应,地区紧张局势明显加深。被包围感和危机感充斥着以色列社会的各个角落。面对人口和工业规模数倍之多的阿拉伯世界,如何激发国民斗争意识以应对战争威胁成为以色列当局亟待解决的问题。现实与历史相映照,这种相似性与危机感使马萨达从历史的尘埃中脱颖而出并为世人所瞩目,“马萨达绝不再次陷落”成为当局推崇价值观念的媒介,并成为犹太民族的精神符号之一。因此,马萨达在古代英雄主义和现代英雄主义之间架起一座桥梁,成为连接古代民族独立和现代民族独立的精神纽带。<sup>②</sup>

<sup>①</sup> 艾仁贵,《马萨达神话与以色列集体记忆塑造》,24。

<sup>②</sup> 参见张倩红 Zhang Qianhong、胡浩 Hu Hao、艾仁贵 Ai Rengui,《犹太史研究新维度》[A New Dimension in the Study of Jewish History](北京[Beijing]:人民出版社[People's Publishing House], 2015),293。

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就历史书写的角度而言,犹太史家和文学家对马萨达事件的持续书写既是社会大背景下民族文化不断发展的表现,亦是犹太民族的集体意识觉醒所带来的必然结果。马萨达事件经历了不断的流变,虽然在不同时期的书写与记忆表现出明显的不同,但19世纪末起,就基本形成了一种对马萨达事件相对稳定的记忆认知,即将马萨达视为“英雄主义”的代名词,这符合犹太民族当时的现实需要,也从侧面反映了犹太民族集体意识的苏醒。

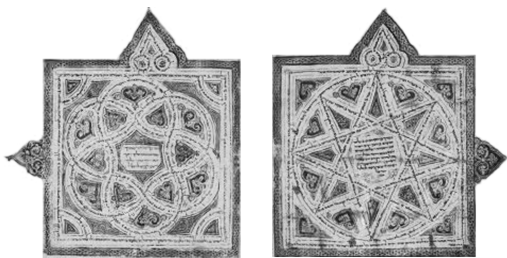
就记忆史的角度而言,犹太史家和文学家在不同时期对马萨达事件的记忆转向均体现出他们对该事件的取舍和侧重,反映了对该叙事的记忆构建。从历史的角度看,马萨达事件无疑对犹太历史的书写和传承作出了贡献。但与此同时,不同时期的社会背景导致了各时期的人们对马萨达的态度各不相同。由于犹太民族建立犹太国家的时间相对较晚,即便自犹太复国主义运动兴起之日算起,距离马萨达事件也已约两千年,历史的原貌亦已鲜为人们所重视。在中世纪,马萨达事件被拉比们刻意遗忘;进入近代以后,有关马萨达的历史记忆又相继被犹太史家截取和改变,这些举动都意在迎合社会趋势,进而整合集体记忆。

## 二、马萨达象征符号的政治运用及其启示

《马萨达神话与以色列集体记忆的塑造》通过展现政治力量对马萨达历史有选择性的忽略和更改,以期还原民族团结和民族认同的马萨达记忆的嬗变过程。这种构建集体记忆的方式,在其他国家亦是如此。如马克·布洛赫(Marc Bloch)在关注德意志民族观的建构时曾提出,“共同情感或心态而非一些德国同行所认为的种族或语言界定了民族”<sup>①</sup>。由于历史事件的年代性,其真实的面貌一般不会为人所全部知晓,这也就为书写民族神话、构建民族身份认同提供了基础。神话叙事在民族建构初期诚然是有利的,它推动了国家凝聚力和群体民族性格的形成,但当民族国家初步形成和稳定后,其神话叙事的目的也就达到了,它又会逐渐地回归历史。

透过作者对马萨达符号运用的分析可以清晰地感知到,犹太记忆史书写是以现实原因为主导的多重因素深度结合的结果。包括马萨达在内的多个历史符号被应用于以色列集体记忆和国民精神的塑造上,对其深度挖掘后可以窥探到犹太民族背后的历史悲歌。对于马萨达事件被神话化,我们应秉持“理解”和“警

<sup>①</sup> 赖国栋 Lai Guodong,〈心态史的发展及其时代意蕴〉[The Development of the History of Mentality and Its Epochal Implications],于《光明日报》[Guangming Daily],2020年11月16日[November 16, 2020]。



惕”的双重态度。一方面,我们应当理解马萨达事件被神话化是时代所需,即犹太民族需要马萨达精神,犹太复国主义者需要历史依据。面对强大的威胁,犹太民族需从古老的历史中汲取精神力量以应对危机。正是在政治力量的推动下,马萨达事件逐渐被神话化。也就是说,当国家和民族面临生死存亡的危机时,历史会变得感性,服务于现实;当国家和民族稳定后,历史又会变得理性,并归于学术。另一方面,我们应当警惕对历史有意曲解的行为,避免陷入历史误区,即历史不是任何时代的附庸,也不是现实的写照。历史与现实是平行的,而不是交错的。马萨达神话固然在很大程度上守护了犹太民族和以色列国,或许这段神话在塑造的过程中已然成为历史,但它并不是最初那段历史的真相。我们应当尽力破除历史的迷思,尽量还原历史的真相,这样才能真正地以史为鉴,开卷有益。

作为一部学术著作,《马萨达神话与以色列集体记忆的塑造》尽管精益求精,但仍有些许疏漏。由于马萨达研究的史料过于繁杂琐碎且较为稀缺,作者在书写马萨达事件变迁的连贯性方面有一定缺失,例如对 20 世纪 80 年代后的叙述较为稀少;而且,著作在研究马萨达与以色列集体记忆塑造的关系上较为强调外部因素,对其民众心态的研究较少。当然,以上问题的提出属吹毛求疵,重要的是将阅读著作后的所思所感为我所用。

总之,《马萨达神话与以色列集体记忆的塑造》是第一次将马萨达事件运用于犹太集体记忆研究领域的中文著作。以此为棱镜,不仅折射出马萨达事件在不同时期的参差百态,同时也拓宽了犹太集体记忆研究领域的边界,推动了国内记忆史学的整体发展,它代表了作者近十年的学术历程与点滴思考。此书所涉及的研究角度与研究方法皆具有前瞻性,能够使读者产生些许思考,或进一步借鉴研究路径来分析相关问题,这既是作者的心愿,也是此书最大的价值。

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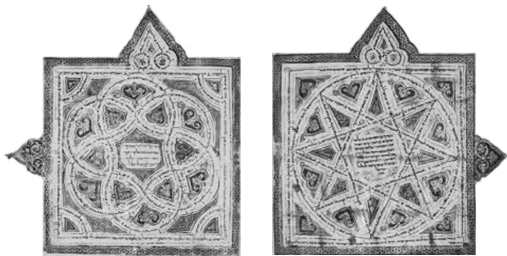
## Writing of Memory History on Masada Symbol:

### *Interpretation of the Masada Myth and the Shaping of Israel's Collective Memory*

LI Dongdong

**Abstract:** Masada has multiple dimensions of history and reality, it originated from the ancient Jewish historian Josephus's account of the mass suicide in 73 AD, but it was almost forgotten in the Middle Ages and only re-entered the Jewish collective memory in the 20th century. As a representative symbol of heroism, Masada developed into a political myth for the construction of the modern Jewish nation-state. With the construction and deconstruction of Masada's myth as the center, the book uses interdisciplinary research methods to comb out the origin and evolution of Masada's myth from the perspective of collective memory, and focuses on the relationship between "Masada" as Israel's collective memory and modern Jewish identity, enriching the research achievements related to Masada. It has important academic value and practical significance.

**Key Words:** Masada, Israel, Collective Memory, Historical Writing



## 马克思与阿伦特审视“犹太人问题”理论视角差异

罗二红\*

**【摘要】**马克思和阿伦特在研究“犹太人问题”时虽然有着不同的角度和重点,但却存在一定的思想联系。他们将“犹太人问题”置于社会和政治的背景下进行分析,关注犹太人在现代社会中所面临的社会排斥和政治限制。马克思着重于资本主义社会对犹太人地位的影响,而阿伦特更注重犹太人作为少数群体在民主国家中的处境。尽管两人研究的重点和方法不同,但都试图从社会和政治结构的角度理解“犹太人问题”,本文将探讨两人在解决这一复杂社会议题上的异同。

**【关键词】**马克思;阿伦特;犹太人问题

“犹太人问题”本质上是民族的生存问题,其表征复杂而多层次,涉及历史、文化、宗教和政治等多个领域。它通常指的是对犹太人在生活历史上所面临的各种形式的歧视、迫害和排斥现象的研究和讨论。这个问题涵盖了从古代到现代的各种事件,包括犹太人在不同国家和地区的社会地位、法律限制、宗教迫害、种族歧视、大屠杀等。“犹太人问题”的研究对理解人类历史和文化的发展,以及对抗种族主义和仇恨犯罪具有重要意义。因此,关于“犹太人问题”的研究一直以来都吸引着哲学家、社会学家和历史学家的关注。马克思和阿伦特作为两位杰出的社会思想家,都对“犹太人问题”进行了研究,但在不同的历史和社会背景下,他们的研究重点和方法有所不同。马克思在 19 世纪的欧洲特别是在德国对“犹太人问题”进行了深入的分析。他将“犹太人问题”置于资本主义社会的背景下,认为犹太人在资本主义社会中的特殊地位是经济结构和社会关系的变化导致的。马克思的研究强调了犹太人作为一个社会群体在资本主义经济中所扮演的角色,以及他们面临的社会排斥和政治限制。汉娜·阿伦特(Hannah Arendt)则在 20 世纪对“犹太人问题”进行了深入的思考,她的研究更加关注犹

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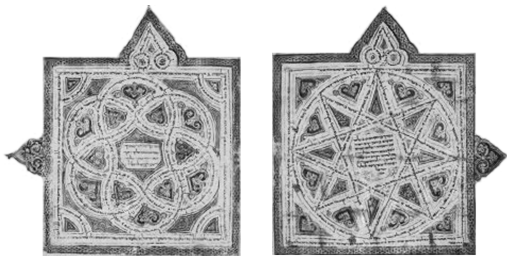
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太人在现代国家和政治体制下的处境。阿伦特认为，“犹太人问题”不仅是一个种族或宗教问题，更是一个在生存和生活思考基础上的政治问题。

## 一、马克思主义视角下的“犹太人问题”与资本主义社会批判

马克思对犹太人的批判揭露出资本主义的社会制度问题，这种观点在他的著作《论犹太人问题》<sup>①</sup>中得到了表达，马克思指出，在资本主义经济结构下，犹太人在商业和金融领域中显著存在。他认为，由于犹太人在这些领域中的活动频繁，他们被视为资本主义经济中的代表性角色。然而，这种经济角色也使得犹太人成为社会的排斥对象，因为他们被认为是利用金融手段谋取私利的象征。例如，在《论犹太人问题》中，犹太人在马克思的笔下被描绘为自私自利的象征，他将自私自利与“犹太精神”相联系并进行了解读。根据马克思原文，犹太人只不过是“市民社会成员”的代表，因此，“犹太人问题”在他的文章中实际上指向了与“市民社会成员”相关的“资本主义社会问题”。对此，罗恩·费尔德曼(Ron H. Feldman)指出：“马克思的‘犹太人问题’处于时代发展的前沿，因为犹太人所体现的特征是现代社会发展过程中现代化问题的信号。因此，正是通过犹太人，马克思首次发现了金钱成为‘当代普遍的反社会因素’，即‘最高的实际表达人类自我疏离状态’，导致‘公民社会将自己与国家生活完全分离，切断了人类所有物种的纽带，并将人类世界溶化为一个原子主义、对立的个体世界’。马克思后来将货币本身的反社会因素与由此产生的商品拜物教联系起来，这一社会关系被他界定为商品拜物教，同时他的研究重心从犹太人转移到了资产阶级。这并非偶然，因为犹太人——至多——是原始资本家。作为商人、金融家和放债人，在中世纪和现代早期，他们比其他任何群体更多地涉足远离土地和货币经济的领域。因此，根据马克思的观点，犹太人在前资本主义社会的货币经济部分的社会和经济存在预示了现代社会的发展方向。随着工业资本主义的兴起，犹太商人和金融资本只是资本主义阶级的寄生部门，他们从工人手中获取一部分剩

<sup>①</sup> 除了《论犹太人问题》之外，马克思在《神圣家族或对批判的批判所做的批判——驳布鲁诺·鲍威尔及其伙伴》中再次提到“犹太人问题”，但主要是批判鲍威尔的自我意识的哲学思维方式，这和“犹太人问题”理论上无关。《德法年鉴》之后马克思就不再讨论“犹太人问题”，主要是由于马克思不再关注“犹太人问题”，但是在后期马克思对资本主义社会的批判中，有着犹太人的影子。因此，从文本上看，马克思在《论犹太人问题》之后，就没有关于“犹太人问题”的文本了，但是从思想关联上看，马克思将犹太人视作资产阶级的代表对资本主义制度进行批判。参见 David McLellan 戴维·麦克莱伦，《马克思传》[Karl Marx]，王珍 Wang Zhen 译（北京[Beijing]：中国人民大学出版社[China Renmin University Press]，2016），77—83。



余价值。因此,当马克思通过对犹太人的思考首次发现了资本主义的‘秘密’所在,并认为这一秘密首先在犹太人发展起来时,他认为犹太人在资本主义生产的唯物辩证法中并没有独特的地位,因为这种辩证法将所有人都转变为资本家或工人。”<sup>①</sup>马克思对资本主义社会问题思考的另一个维度是对犹太人与金钱货币之间关系的思考,马克思将其称为“人的异化”。在他看来,金钱成为犹太人崇拜的神,一切都以金钱为中心,政治活动也成为金钱的附庸。马克思明确指出:“犹太人的实际政治权力同他的政治权利之间的矛盾,就是政治同金钱势力之间的矛盾。虽然在观念上,政治凌驾于金钱势力之上,其实前者是后者的奴隶。”<sup>②</sup>金钱的异化控制人使人成为物的奴隶,“金钱,这个财产的外在化了的空洞抽象物,就成了世界的统治者。人已经不再是人的奴隶,而变成了物的奴隶;人的关系的颠倒完成了”<sup>③</sup>。马克思将犹太人利用“金钱”操控“政治”的问题指向对资本主义社会政治问题的思考,“实际需要、利己主义是市民社会的原则;只要市民社会完全从自身产生出政治国家,这个原则就赤裸裸地显现出来”<sup>④</sup>。基于此,当“马克思把对犹太民族劣根性的批判与对资本主义制度的本质批判结合在一起”<sup>⑤</sup>时,我们不难理解“金钱,正是金钱令犹太精神渗透到资本主义世界的每一个角落”<sup>⑥</sup>。总而言之,马克思认为,“犹太人问题”实际上是“资本主义社会问题”的先兆。犹太人不仅代表着一个民族,更是资本主义社会发展过程中的一个重要标志。通过对“犹太人问题”的研究,马克思揭示了其中蕴含的不仅是犹太人的自私自利,更是资本主义社会发展中存在的根本性问题。他警示称,资本主义社会在金钱的腐蚀下可能走向自私自利、个体化的社会,从而阻碍市民社会成员实现“政治解放”及随之而来的“人的解放”。

① Werner J. Dannhauser, “The Jew as Pariah, by Hannah Arendt, edited by Ron H. Feldman (Book Review),” *Commentary* 67 (Jan 1979): 70.

② 《马克思恩格斯文集》第1卷[Marx and Engels Collected Works (1)](北京[Beijing]:人民出版社[People's Publishing House],2009),51。

③ 同上,94—95。

④ 同上,52。

⑤ 张倩红 Zhang Qianhong,《《从论犹太人问题》看马克思的犹太观》[An Analysis of Marx's Views on Jews from “On the Jewish Question”],于《世界历史》[World History],2004年第6期[2004, Issue 6]。

⑥ 刘同舫 Liu Tongfang 等,《青年马克思政治哲学思想研究》[A Study of Young Marx's Political Philosophy](北京[Beijing]:中国社会科学出版社[China Social Sciences Press],2018),111。

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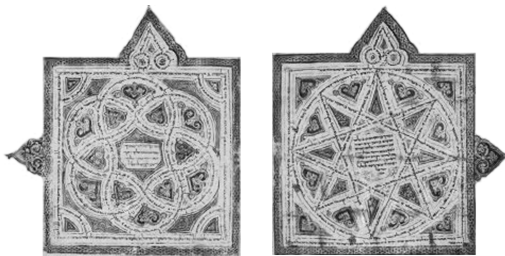
## 二、阿伦特的“马克思主义”视野：探析 20 世纪“犹太人问题”的政治思考

阿伦特受到马克思理论的影响,一方面是由于 1933 年德国爆发了迫害犹太人的“水晶之夜”事件,这就促使阿伦特转变为对“犹太人问题”进行研究。同时她查阅了马克思有关“犹太人问题”的文章,例如,她在文中指出“马克思论犹太人问题的论著是人所共知的”<sup>①</sup>。另一方面,阿伦特对马克思及其理论的认识主要受到其第二任丈夫海因里希·布吕歇尔<sup>②</sup>的影响。由于布吕歇尔曾是德国共产党员,他关于马克思共产主义的革命实践的观点对阿伦特的政治理论产生了深远影响。阿伦特的学生伊丽莎白·扬-布鲁尔(Elisabeth Young-Bruehl)在阿伦特的传记中记载了布吕歇尔的马克思主义观对阿伦特的影响,她写道:“以海因里希·布吕歇尔(又译作布吕赫)为师,阿伦特为她对马克思、列宁和托洛茨基的大部分阅读增加了一种‘革命实践’的感觉。……她概括了布吕赫在学术上对她的影响:‘我从我丈夫的政治思考和历史观察中学习,如果没有他我就不会做到这样,因为我在历史和政治上被导向了犹太人问题。’”<sup>③</sup>阿伦特早期对马克思的研究主要围绕“犹太人问题”中的反犹主义以及帝国主义时期的资本主义问题展开。尽管此时阿伦特的关注点不在马克思的共产主义理论上,但她在分析反犹主义和帝国主义时多次引用并注解了马克思及共产主义的观点,以论证近代反犹主义的兴起及理论。此外,在分析《极权主义的起源》第二部分的帝国主义时,阿伦特借鉴了马克思对资本主义的批判。这一方面日本学者川崎修认为阿伦特的《极权主义的起源》等著作中潜藏着马克思主义理论,他写道:“尤其不能忽略的,是隐藏在阿伦特观念背后作为背景的马克思主义的存在。这种说法也许会让人甚感意外。这是因为,不管从哪种意义上说,这本书所论述的都不是最

① Hannah Arendt 汉娜·阿伦特,《极权主义的起源》[The Origins of Totalitarianism],林骧华 Lin Xianghua 译(北京[Beijing]:生活·读书·新知三联书店[SDX Joint Publishing Company],2017),90。

② 海因里希·布吕歇尔,其名字全称为海因里希·弗里德里希·恩斯特·布吕赫(Heinrich Friedrich Ernst Blücher)。布吕赫先后参加过斯巴达主义团体及德国共产党。布吕赫是一位马克思主义者,特别是他的政治理论深受马克思、恩格斯及托洛茨基的影响,后期他对苏联的共产主义极为失望,加入了阿伦特所说的“原共产主义”(former Communist)。1936年,布吕赫认识阿伦特,1940年1月16日两人在巴黎结婚,1941年两人从法国经由葡萄牙坐船移民至美国。战后深受美国反共产主义的影响,未能获得美国国籍,直到1954年获得美国国籍,后期在美国里德学院任教,被聘任为里德学院哲学教授,1970年病逝于美国。

③ Elisabeth Young-Bruehl 伊丽莎白·扬-布鲁尔,《爱这个世界——汉娜·阿伦特传》[Hannah Arendt: For Love of the World],陈伟 Chen Wei、张新刚 Zhang Xingang 译(上海[Shanghai]:上海人民出版社[Shanghai Renmin Chubanshe],2017),134—135。



终决定论,实际上,它对从经济方面用因果关系来解释历史的方法进行了多方面的批判。此外,阿伦特在其他文章(如《帝国主义论》《作为贱民的犹太人》等)中,也明确地批判马克思主义关于帝国主义的理论。但是,把帝国主义当作资本主义的逻辑归结,恰恰是马克思主义的观点。在某种意义上,阿伦特的帝国主义论,其实就是从政治和文化的角度,对马克思主义的帝国主义论给予了某种补充。”<sup>①</sup>阿伦特曾在《历史的道德》(“The Moral of History”)中高度赞扬了马克思对资本批判的合理性:“犹太人卡尔·马克思写了《资本论》,一本狂热追求正义的书,比‘族群中被选中的人’(chosen man of the chosen race)更有效地继承了犹太传统。”<sup>②</sup>“马克思的《资本论》起初叫《政治经济学批判》,并且,在第二版的序言中,马克思提到,辩证的方法,同时也是‘批判性的和革命性的’。马克思知道他在做什么。”<sup>③</sup>

当然如果将马克思对“犹太人问题”的研究与阿伦特的“犹太人问题”研究联系起来,可以发现阿伦特对20世纪“犹太人问题”的探讨是对后资本主义时代问题的延续思考。例如,资本主义经济扩张导致西方传统政治结构的衰退现象。阿伦特认为:“在资本主义的发展中,马克思是最早发现产业革命中各种问题的人。”<sup>④</sup>她写道:“我认为,只有认识到自18世纪政治革命和19世纪工业革命以来,现代世界已经改变了人类活动的总体平衡,才能理解马克思主义诞生以来发生的事情。”<sup>⑤</sup>马克思生活的19世纪是资本主义迅速发展的时代,其核心是由发展所带来的社会变化。这种变化延续到20世纪,并对20世纪的政治产生了重大影响,如帝国主义扩张、反犹主义、两次世界大战、经济危机等后资本主义时代的政治问题。马克思对资本主义政治问题的批判也是阿伦特继续关注的问题。因此,阿伦特将自己所处的时代与马克思的时代联系起来思考:“只要这些问题依然存在,我们今天依然与马克思生活在同一个时代。今天,马克思对世界几乎

<sup>①</sup> Kawasaki Osamu 川崎修,《阿伦特:公共性的复权》[Arendt: The Reclamation of Publicness], 斯日 Si Ri 译(石家庄[Shijiazhuang]:河北教育出版社[Hebei Education Press], 2001), 5。

<sup>②</sup> Hannah Arendt, *The Jewish Writings*, eds. Jerome Kohn and Ron H. Feldman (New York: Schocken Books, 2007), 315.

<sup>③</sup> Hannah Arendt 汉娜·阿伦特,《康德政治哲学讲稿》[Lectures on Kant's Political Philosophy], 罗纳德·贝纳尔 Ronald Beiner 编,曹明 Cao Ming、苏婉儿 Su Waner 译(上海[Shanghai]:上海人民出版社[Shanghai Renmin Chubanshe], 2017), 56。

<sup>④</sup> Hannah Arendt 汉娜·阿伦特,《马克思主义与西方政治思想传统》[Karl Marx and the Tradition of Western Political Thought], 孙传钊 Sun Chuanzhao 译(南京[Nanjing]:凤凰出版社[Phoenix Publishing House], 2012), 7。

<sup>⑤</sup> 伊丽莎白·扬-布鲁尔,《爱这个世界——汉娜·阿伦特传》,301—302。

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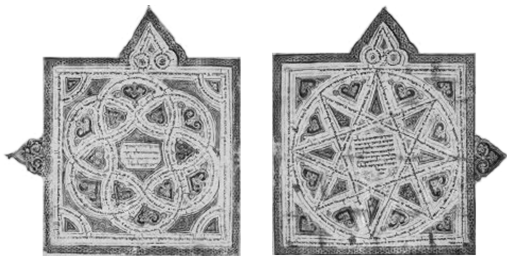
所有领域仍然有着巨大影响,这是一个明证。”<sup>①</sup>阿伦特与马克思共同通过对犹太人问题的关注对资本主义进行批判,并没有因为时代的不同而产生重大分歧,反而在阿伦特的思想中可以找到马克思主义的影子。阿伦特的学生伊丽莎白·扬-布鲁尔指出:“很多人都忽略了阿伦特对资本主义社会的批判,资本主义也会带来不幸和普遍贫困的区域——正如美国自身以及世界上很多地方正发生的那样‘经济增长有一天可能变成诅咒而非善果,它绝无可能引向自由或为自己的存在提供理据’。”<sup>②</sup>因此,菲利普·汉森(Phillip Hansen)指出:“阿伦特的著作背后‘巍然耸立着马克思的形象’。”<sup>③</sup>阿伦特关于政治行动重要性的观点,以及她关于行动、自由和政治原因的看法,实际上与马克思的观点更接近。在阿伦特的“犹太人问题”研究中,20世纪犹太人遭受屠杀的事实成为后资本主义时代的一个明显政治问题。

深入探究阿伦特的政治思想我们会发现,她的“犹太人问题”研究是其后期政治理论形成的重要源泉。尽管在艾希曼审判之后,阿伦特很少直接谈论“犹太人问题”,但通过研究她的著作,如《人的境况》《过去与未来之间》《论革命》《康德的政治哲学讲稿》《政治的应许》《责任与判断》等,我们可以发现阿伦特对“犹太人问题”的关注,特别是关于犹太人的“非政治性”特征与近代人类社会的“无世界性”以及“世界异化”(worldly alienation)之间的思想关联。以《人的境况》为例,虽然表面上它并非“犹太人问题”的研究文本,但通过对其中的政治理念进行解读,我们可以看到其中隐含着犹太人“非政治性”的影子。学术界从两个方面分析《人的境况》与“犹太人问题”的关联。一方面,通过纳粹对犹太人的迫害,人们可以看到对人类政治生存处境的先兆。学者玛丽·G.迪茨(Mary G. Dietz)在《阿伦特与大屠杀》中认为,《人的境况》揭示了阿伦特对“犹太人问题”的政治思考成果。她指出:“只有我们理解了《人的境况》中那个被‘刻意排除’的现象的特性,我们才能明白阿伦特关于作为‘展示空间’的政治公共领域概念的深度与复杂性。那个现象,就是阿伦特认为开启了通往大屠杀这一极权主义之恶的极端形式的‘地狱实验’:纳粹党卫军集中营,在那里,整个对于犹太民族的清洗与灭绝计划在进行,反人类罪在发生。《人的境况》的一大部分正是针对这一地狱实验,阿伦特发明的‘展示空间’概念正是其反题。当然,这一努力并非直接的,

① 汉娜·阿伦特,《马克思主义与西方政治思想传统》,9。

② 伊丽莎白·扬-布鲁尔,《爱这个世界——汉娜·阿伦特传》,16—17。

③ Phillip Hansen 菲利普·汉森,《历史、政治与公民权:阿伦特传》[Hannah Arendt: Politics, History and Citizenship], 刘佳林 Liu Jialin 译(江苏[Jiangsu]: 江苏人民出版社[Jiangsu People's Publishing House], 2004), 1。



但这并不意味着我们不能在阿伦特的文本中看到她最终怎样巧妙而隐微地应对这一人造地狱带来的恐怖。”<sup>①</sup>另一方面,通过犹太人对政治的漠视态度,我们可以分析现代社会政治已经被经济发展瓦解的现象。达纳·维拉(Dana R. Villa)指出:“任何一个少数人团体如果从公民生活中撤离,或者接受了多数强加给他们的政治排斥,则可能失去的不仅仅是公民权利,而是一切。这种命运就发生在欧洲犹太人的身上。”<sup>②</sup>尽管阿伦特在《人的境况》中没有直接谈论犹太人的“非政治性”,但她提出的“非世界性”与“世界异化”两个政治概念对此有所暗示。在《人的境况》以及《过去与未来之间》中,阿伦特解释了“非世界性”是一种政治现象,表现为政治世界的非延续性与断绝性特征,即人类政治空间遭受的破坏情形。而“世界异化”则指人类在科技发展条件下,研究范围已超越地球而进入宇宙领域的探索,导致人类逐渐脱离自身生存的世界,与世界形成一种疏离状态,生活在一个“无世界性”(worldlessness)的政治状态。通过分析犹太人的“非政治性”给犹太人带来的灾难,我们可以预见在未来的人类政治中,人类可能因陷入“无世界性”和“世界异化”而面临毁灭危险:阿伦特特别提到核战争以及现代经济发展导致的人类毁灭危险。因此,阿伦特通过对“犹太人问题”的研究,警示我们20世纪之后的人类政治可能走向毁灭:“在我们20世纪所造成的灾难以及可能从政治中产生的更大的灾难。”<sup>③</sup>“犹太人问题”只是阿伦特对后资本主义问题研究的开端,其本质是透过该问题展现人类政治潜在的危机。阿伦特曾在《极权主义的起源》初版序言中写道:“在此意义上,就必然可能面对和理解一种残暴的事实,即犹太人问题。它是一种很小的(而且在世界政治这很不重要的)现象,但是反犹主义却成为先是纳粹运动,接着是世界大战,最后建立死亡集中营的触发原因。”<sup>④</sup>

### 三、马克思与阿伦特在理论上解决“犹太人问题”探究

马克思在《论犹太人问题》中提出了两个关键步骤来解决“犹太人问题”:首先是“政治解放”,其次是“人的解放”。前者是马克思解决“犹太人问题”的政治

<sup>①</sup> Dana Villa 达纳·维拉编,《剑桥阿伦特指南》[The Cambridge Companion to Hannah Arendt], 陈伟 Chen Wei、张笑宇 Zhang Xiaoyu 译(南京[Nanjing]:译林出版社[Yilin Press],2018),99。

<sup>②</sup> 同上,6。

<sup>③</sup> Hannah Arendt 汉娜·阿伦特,《政治的应许》[The Promise of Politics], 杰罗姆·科恩 Jerome Kohn 编,张琳 Zhang Lin 译(上海[Shanghai]:上海人民出版社[Shanghai Renmin Chubanshe],2017),103。

<sup>④</sup> 汉娜·阿伦特,《极权主义的起源》,2。

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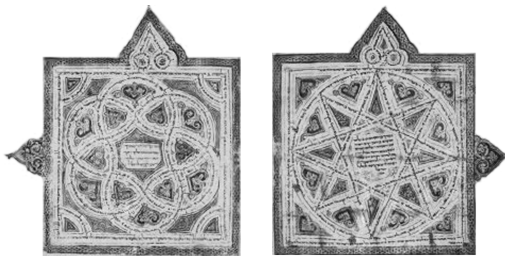
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前提,而后者则被视为解决问题的终极办法。马克思的这一观点与阿伦特对“犹太人问题”的研究有所区别。阿伦特认为,既然“犹太人问题”是一个政治问题,那么解决它也需要从政治层面上寻找办法。比较马克思和阿伦特关于“犹太人问题”的观点,我们可以发现,两者都从政治的角度探讨了问题的根源以及犹太人在政治行为中所表现出的弊端。然而,在提出最终解决“犹太人问题”的方法时,两者却有着截然不同的观点。马克思倾向于实现一个无阶级社会的“人的解放”,而阿伦特则更倾向于“复归古希腊罗马式的民主政治生活”<sup>①</sup>。比较马克思和阿伦特解决“犹太人问题”的观点需要从不同的维度进行分析,包括他们对问题根源的认识、解决方案的具体内容以及方法论上的差异等。

首先,马克思主张的解决方案聚焦于社会结构和经济制度的改变。他认为,“犹太人问题”的根源在于资本主义社会结构下的阶级斗争和经济剥削。马克思强调资本主义社会中的阶级矛盾导致了犹太人和其他群体的社会排斥和经济压迫,因此解决这一问题需要通过社会主义革命来消除私有制和阶级差别。马克思的思想反映了对经济基础对上层建筑的决定作用的强调,他认为只有通过彻底改变社会经济制度,才能真正解决“犹太人问题”。马克思着眼于未来人类进入一个大团结的无产阶级社会,将犹太人视为人类社会的一部分,并通过解决整体性问题来实现部分问题的自我解决。对此,刘增明指出:“马克思认为只有以‘社会力量’对抗‘政治力量’,才能实现人的解放,而实现人的解放的社会形式只能是共产主义。从而,《论犹太人问题》已经为1848年的《共产党宣言》做了良好的铺垫,在《共产党宣言》中,马克思指明无产阶级只有与资产阶级进行坚决的斗争,才能使人的解放获得现实性,从而也才能为个人生活与公共生活的真正统一,提供现实的道路。”<sup>②</sup>相比之下,阿伦特更关注文化认同和政治权力的问题。她认为,“犹太人问题”的根源在于犹太人在欧洲社会中的文化异化和政治排斥。阿伦特主张犹太人应当重新建立自己的国家,并重建自己的文化认同和政治权力,以摆脱历史上的压迫和排斥。她强调文化和政治层面的因素对“犹太人问题”的影响,认为只有通过重新获得政治自主权和文化认同,犹太人才能真正摆脱历史上的困境。例如,阿伦特在谈论以色列在巴勒斯坦建国方案时,她所赞同的“基布兹运动”以及“伊休夫运动”就类似于古希腊城邦的民主政治体。所以她

① 白刚 Bai Gang,〈超越现代性的两条道路:马克思与阿伦特〉[Two Paths beyond Modernity: Marx and Arendt],于《人文杂志》[The Journal of Humanities],2013年第1期[2013, Issue 1]。

② 刘增明 Liu Zengming,〈论马克思对个人生活与公共生活关系的批判和重构——从《论犹太人问题》的文本解读来看〉[Marx's Critique and Reconstruction of the Relationship between Private Life and Public Life: An Interpretation of "On the Jewish Question"]],于《哲学动态》[Philosophical Trends],2009年第3期[2009, Issue 3]。



倡导在巴勒斯坦地区建立起阿拉伯—以色列双民族的国家联盟。在《拯救犹太家园》中,阿伦特建议:“地方自治和尽可能多的犹太—阿拉伯市政和农村混合委员会(mixed Jewish-Arab municipal and councils),是最终能够导致巴勒斯坦政治解放的唯一现实政治措施。”<sup>①</sup>

其次,两位思想家的解决方案存在一些共通之处。马克思和阿伦特都认为“犹太人问题”是深层次的社会问题,需要通过根本性的改变来解决。他们都强调了社会结构和权力关系对犹太人的影响,虽然侧重点有所不同,但都认为只有通过改变社会结构和积极参与政治权力的分配才能解决“犹太人问题”。例如,在《过去与未来之间》中,阿伦特指出,在马克思的理想社会中,无阶级和无国家的社会似乎实现了古代摆脱劳动之闲暇的一般条件,同时也实现了摆脱政治的闲暇。她认为政治的前提是自由,而要获得自由就需要从劳动中解放出来。阿伦特指出“只有拥有闲暇时间的雅典人才是雅典公民,他们拥有不劳动的自由,而这种自由是马克思预言在未来社会才能实现的”,所以“当我们能深入考察马克思理想社会的实际情形,他的理想社会与雅典城邦国家之间的相似性就显得更令人震惊了”。<sup>②</sup>如果说人依然受制于劳动的束缚,那么政治自由就无从谈起。“只有在物质之上必需与身体之上之野蛮武力终结之处,政治方才开始存在。”<sup>③</sup>关于这一论断,阿伦特在《人的境况》中分析“积极生活”(vita activa)的起源与亚里士多德的“政治生活”(bios politikos)及奥古斯丁的“实践的生活”(vita negotiosa or actuosa)相关,并论述“政治”与“自由”之间的关联。“自由”是一种致力于公共政治事务的生活。自由,即完全不受生存必需品和由于生存必需而产生的关系的束缚。自由的前提条件就是排除了所有首要目的在于维生的生活方式,简言之,任何人自愿或非自愿地为了他全部或暂时的生存,丧失了他运动或活动的自由倾向,就都被排除在了自由生活之外。<sup>④</sup>这也切合了马克思的“人的解放”理论。

最后,两位思想家的方法论存在一些差异。马克思主张通过革命的方式来改变社会结构,他认为只有通过阶级斗争和社会革命,才能摆脱资本主义社会中的剥削和压迫。相比之下,阿伦特则更强调政治行动和文化认同的重要性,她主张通过建立犹太人国家和重建文化认同来解决“犹太人问题”,强调了个体和群

<sup>①</sup> Hannah Arendt, *The Jewish Writings*, 401.

<sup>②</sup> 参见汉娜·阿伦特,《政治的应许》,15。

<sup>③</sup> 同上,111。

<sup>④</sup> 参见 Hannah Arendt 汉娜·阿伦特,《人的境况》[*The Human Condition*],王寅丽 Wang Yinli 译(上海[Shanghai]:上海人民出版社[Shanghai Renmin Chubanshe],2018),5。

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体的政治责任和行动的重要性。这一点尤其归因于阿伦特认为马克思对“犹太人问题”的研究受限。一方面,阿伦特认为马克思对资本主义社会经济关系研究的深入导致其后期淡出了“犹太人问题”。1951年,阿伦特在写给雅斯贝尔斯的信件中指出,马克思理论的重心在于分析资本主义商品经济,即“商品经济将人和自然去自然化”现象,因而后期马克思很少再讨论“犹太人问题”。<sup>①</sup>另一方面,阿伦特指出了马克思在研究“犹太人问题”时的缺失,特别是忽视了犹太人的政治问题,这限制了他对国家结构和犹太人角色的进一步“监视”。在阿伦特看来,“政治”这一概念对于马克思而言有所欠缺。例如,在《人的境况》中,阿伦特论述马克思在政治的理解上是一种被动形式而非主动形式,“政治只不过是社会的功能,活动、谈话(speech)和思维原本是社会利益的上层建筑——这不是马克思的发现,而是马克思从近代经济学家们那里毫无批判地接受的若干公理性假设之一”<sup>②</sup>。阿伦特的分析并未完全否定马克思对“犹太人问题”的研究,而是在他的基础上进一步思考。“阿伦特对马克思《论犹太人问题》的继续再思考,是在马克思批判犹太人社会层面的基础下,发展马克思所没有提及犹太人的政治问题。”<sup>③</sup>因此,在阿伦特看来,马克思提出的“人的解放”解决“犹太人问题”会有破坏人类政治活动的嫌疑。在《论革命》中,阿伦特分析马克思的革命观时指出,“马克思沉迷于社会问题,不愿认真关注国家和政府问题来加以解释”<sup>④</sup>。这归咎于马克思以“人的解放”为基础形成的“社会领域”不仅破坏政治空间的“私人领域”,同时也破坏了政治的“公共领域”。“当马克思宣布哲学及其真理不是处在人群事务及他们的共同世界之外,而是恰恰就处在人群事务及共同世界当中,并且只有在共同生活的领域中‘实现’[他将该领域称为‘社会’,基于‘社会化的人’(vergesellschaftete Menschen)的出现而存在]的时候,政治思想传统就到达了它的终点。”<sup>⑤</sup>

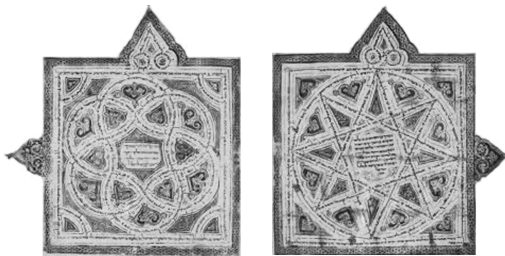
① 参见伊丽莎白·扬-布鲁尔,《爱这个世界——汉娜·阿伦特传》,11。

② Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), 23.

③ 陈伟认为马克思的《论犹太人问题》虽然没有正视“犹太人问题”,但是马克思倡导的反抗被压迫的意识对“犹太人问题”依然有着重要的意义,如他写道:“对于马克思主义在犹太人问题上的见解,从阿伦特的立场来说,它仍然没有正视犹太人问题,但马克思主义倡导的反抗行动,对犹太人问题之解决仍具有重要意义。”陈伟 Chen Wei,《阿伦特与犹太人问题》[Hannah Arendt and the Jewish Question],《世俗时代与超越精神》第8辑[*Secular Age and Transcendent Spirit*(8)],许纪霖 Xu Jilin 主编(江苏[Jiangsu]:江苏人民出版社[Jiangsu People's Publishing House],2008),223。

④ Hannah Arendt 汉娜·阿伦特,《论革命》[*On Revolution*],陈周旺 Chen Zhouwang 译(南京[Nanjing]:译林出版社[Yilin Press],2017),242。

⑤ Hannah Arendt 汉娜·阿伦特,《过去与未来之间》[*Between Past and Future*],王寅丽 Wang Yinli、张立立 Zhang Lili 译(南京[Nanjing]:译林出版社[Yilin Press],2018),13。



总的来说,马克思和阿伦特对解决“犹太人问题”的观点虽然存在一些差异,但也有一些共通之处。他们都认为“犹太人问题”是深层次的社会问题,需要通过根本性的改变来解决。马克思更强调社会结构和经济制度的改变,而阿伦特则更注重文化认同和政治权力的重建。他们的思想为我们理解“犹太人问题”提供了不同的视角和思考框架,值得我们深入探讨和借鉴。

## 结 论

“犹太人问题”是一个历经古今、复杂多变的议题,涉及历史、文化、宗教和政治等多个层面。从马克思到阿伦特,两位杰出的社会思想家都对此进行了深入的研究,尽管他们的关注点和方法有所不同。马克思将“犹太人问题”置于资本主义社会的背景下,强调了犹太人在经济领域的活动以及他们所面临的社会排斥和政治限制。而阿伦特则更加关注犹太人在现代国家和政治体制下的处境,认为“犹太人问题”不仅是一个种族或宗教问题,更是一个政治问题。两位思想家都试图从社会和政治结构的角度理解“犹太人问题”,并探讨如何解决这一复杂的社会议题。他们的研究为我们理解这一议题提供了重要的思想资源。然而,“犹太人问题”远未结束,仍然存在于当今社会。种族主义、仇恨犯罪以及政治排斥等问题依然困扰着犹太社群。从激增的反犹太主义言论到针对犹太人社区的暴力袭击,这些事件提醒着我们,历史上的伤痛并没有被遗忘,而是在某种程度上重演。在探讨“犹太人问题”的过程中,我们也必须反思人类社会的演进。历史上,“犹太人问题”的出现并非孤立事件,而是人类社会对于少数群体的歧视和迫害的一个缩影。因此,解决“犹太人问题”并不仅仅关乎犹太社群本身,更关乎整个人类社会的进步和发展。通过对马克思与阿伦特的“犹太人问题”深入研究和持续探讨,我们可以更好地认识人类社会的演变过程,从历史的教训中汲取智慧,以期建立一个更加公正、和谐、文明的世界。

# JEWISH STUDIES

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## Differences in the Theoretical Perspectives of Marx and Arendt in Examining the “Jewish Question”

Luo Erhong

**Abstract:** Although Marx and Arendt approached the “Jewish question” from different perspectives and focal points, they share certain intellectual connections. They analyze the Jewish question within the context of society and politics, focusing on the social exclusion and political constraints faced by Jews in modern society. Marx emphasizes the impact of capitalist society on the status of Jews, while Arendt is more concerned with the situation of Jews as a minority group in democratic states. Despite their different focuses and methodologies, both attempt to understand the Jewish question from the standpoint of social and political structures. This paper will explore the similarities and differences between the two in addressing this complex social issue.

**Key Words:** Marx, Arendt, Jewish Question