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The Haggadah - Then and Now, 1984.

The Haggadah Then and Now Daniel Jeremy Silver April 15, 1984

A few weeks ago when Adele and I were in London we spent a few pleasurable hours in the Victoria and Albert Museum. During our wanderings we chanced on a hall which displays English silver. My eye was drawn to what was by any account the largest piece of silver in that hall, a three, perhaps four-foot high presentation piece. On inspection it proved to be covered with small statues of various Biblical figures, and even a few Hebrew inscriptions. The presentation plaque indicated that this piece had been given in 1841 to Sir Moses Montefiore, England's leading 19th century Jewish personage, on the occasion of his having negotiated the release from prison of the heads of the Jewish community of Damascus.

The previous year a Franciscan priest who taught at the Franciscan Seminary in Damascus, a certain Father Thomas, had been murdered. The French consul in Damascus, a notorious anti-semite, convinced the pasha that his death had been an act of ritual murder, perpetrated by Jews. One doesn't how much convincing the pasha required, but we do know that he ordered the imprisonment and the torture of eight of the leading citizens of the Jewish community. Their imprisonment, torture and their obviously false confessions became something of a cause celebre in Europe.

Many upper-class Europeans were anything but well disposed towards Jews, but most believed themselves to be beyond medieval superstition. The ritual murder was an acknowledged medievalism. So Montefiore, with some aid from the English government, was able to go to Egypt and meet the Khediv, Mohammed Ali, who was the Damascus pasha's superior. In Cairo, by various persuasions, monetary and otherwise, Montefiore convinced Mohammed Ali to insist on the release from prison of those Jews who survived.

This story merits retelling today because in August 1841, at the height of the interest over this incident, the London Times undertook to publish a complete translation of the Haggadah. They did so in order to prove to any of their readers who might still be skeptical about Jewish practice, that in fact the Seder

service was harmless to Christians. Let me read you the paper's introductory paragraph. "A correspondent has furnished the text, a very minute account of this ceremony which would be exceedingly curious in itself to most of our readers and, at the same time, have an evident bearing on the Damascus case. It repels strongly the barbarous notion that human blood, or blood of any kind, is essential to this ceremony." One would like to believe that with such certification England's concerns about the Seder were forever put to rest.

How did the idea that human blood was necessary for the celebration of the Seder originate? The answer is we don't really know. We do know that this libel was popularized in the late 15th and early 16th century by itinerant Franciscan evangelists who traveled across Italy, Germany and central Europe, encouraging the faithful. This was the heyday of the Catholic counter-Reformation. The preachings of Luther, Calvin and Zwingli had emphasized the evils and greed of the Roman church: the selling of indulgences, simony, nepotism and its indifference to the needs of the poor. One of the major purposes of this preaching was to divert the anger of Christians from the papey to Jews. It has long been a familiar tactic of those under attack to divert the anger from themselves to others.

Why this particular canard? The Passover story centers on blood. The Bible reports that the last of the Ten Plagues, the death of the first-born, spared these homes where the Israelites had sacrificed a lamb and marked with its blood their doorway. In this way the angel of death knew which homes to pass over and which to visit. Anthropologists would call this an apotropaic ceremony, a ceremony in which you simulate the evil you fear in order that that evil not take place. Presumedly, the same tragedy will not strike twice. By shedding the blood of an animal, by smearing your home with its blood, you protect your home from any further shedding of blood.

Then, too, in the Christian world the association of blood with the Passover was reinforced by the whole story of the Crucifixion. The Crucifixion follows immediately on a Seder, the Last Supper, and in Christian theology the paschal

sacrifice is not the sacrifice of a lamb but the sacrifice of the Christ, Jesus Himself. Medieval Christians were accustomed to the sight of Jesus hanging from the cross with blood visibly dripping down from various wounds. The association of blood and the Passover was an understandable one for people.

But how did it come about that Jews were associated with a blood ritual on Seder night? Here I must introduce you to a group of ex-Jews who over the centuries caused our people great harm. Our tradition knows them as malshinim. A malshinim is a defamer. In history he was usually a rather neurotic individual who converted to Christianity and who once he and converted felt a desperate need to prove the virtue of his apostasy by venting his bile against the faith he had abandoned. He had to feel he had done the right thing, so, fitted with guilt and need, these individuals would manufacture libels against the people and faith that they had abandoned. Most Christians couldn't read Hebrew; most couldn't even read, and they were only too happy to have the malshinim provide them the true inside story of Judaism, a story which confirmed their every prejudice.

Often, what the malshin said seemed to have the appearance of faith. On Seder night the medieval Jew followed an interesting custom which provided a welcome measure of emotional relief and the feeling was revenged upon his enemy. The traditional Haggadah at one point lists the Ten Plagues, and as the Jew read this list he would dip his finger in the cup of wine and flick a bit of the wine on the floor of his home at the mention of each miracle. Obviously, what was involved here was a kind of emotional release: as these plagues had happened to our enemies in the past so may they happen to our enemies all about.

The first of the plagues is <u>dam</u>, blood. The Bible describes Moses holding his rod over the Nile and the pure waters of the river turn to blood, thus denying the Egyptians water for drink or irrigation. It was easy enough for the <u>malshin</u> to point to <u>dam</u> in the Haggadah and say, here is proof the Jews use blood in their ceremony.

How do you respond to the ignorance, superstition and the villification of

those who are determined that what they "know" is in fact the truth? If the group under attack values reasonableness, it tends to assume that by proclaiming the truth it will be able to lay these superstitions to rest. Prejudice is rarely laid to rest by the facts, but by some Italian rabbis of the time advising Jews to use white rather than red wine on Seder night. Presumedly, white wine could not be identified with blood. Other rabbis suggested that the gates of the ghetto be left open on Seder night and that the Jewish householder leave open the door of his home so that anyone who passed by could look in and see for himself that the ceremony was innocent. The early Reformers simply excised the list of Plagues from the Haggadah, I doubt that anything we did had much of an impact. The blood libel has tended to disappear from European demonology, but this has more to do with the end of medievalism than with any proof Jews offered.

Why do I say "tended" to disappear? Some years ago I took a group of ministers from Cleveland to Israel. These were the years when there were regular flights of Soviet emigres from Vienna into Lydda. The flights would arrive in the early hours of the morning. We went to the airport early one morning to meet a group of these emigres and we talked to a number of them. I noticed a family of short, rather thin people sitting aside from the major group. I tried to talk to them but we had no language in common. Finally, an Israeli explained to me that these were Russian Jews from Uzbekstan. Uzbekstan is a largely Muslim Republic in the far reaches of Soviet Asia. They found someone who was able to communicate with this group and he asked them why they had left. The patriarch of the group argued that two years before there had been a pogrom in his village when the iman had charged the Jews with ritual murder. This killing had decided his family that it was time for them to leave. Here, of course, we have never felt threatened by this canard, and recently the Reform movement has seen fit to reintroduce into its new Haggadah the list of the Ten Plagues, but they've gone about it in a way that deliberately removes any suspicion that this act should be treated as an emotional release from the pressures of the exile.

The new text provides this rather interesting reversal of the original meaning of this ritual.

Though we descend from those redeemed from brutal Egypt, and have ourselves rejoiced to see oppressors overcome, yet our triumph is diminished by the slaughter of the foe as the wine within the cup of joy is lessened when we pour ten drops for the plagues upon Egypt. Each drop of wine we pour is hope and prayer that people will cast out the plagues that threaten everyone everywhere they are found, beginning in our own hearts. The making of war, the teaching of hate

The text transfers each plague which occurred to others to a plague we should remove from our hearts. It's a lovely idea, but I often wonder whether it's as effective or as emotionally satisfying as the earlier ritual.

You know the old asying that familiarity breeds contempt. It's one of those truisms which is rarely true as any of us knows who has enjoyed a wonderful lifelong friendship. Familiarity can breed greater respect and even greater love. This is particularly true in matters religious. The more you understand the many levels of meaning involved in any given ritual, the more that ceremony will mean to you, which is fhy, if you look back over the schedule of lectures I've given over the last 28 years, you'll find that almost every week before the Passover I come back to the holiday theme. I want to deepen the meaning of the Seder and Passover for you. The fact that I've been able to present 28 different lectures on Passover should suggest to you the many levels of meaning that are to be found in our observance. I've no doubt I'll find 28 themes in the years that lie ahead.

The London Times Haggadah got me thinking about translations of the Haggadah. When was the first translation of the Haggadah completed? There's nothing unJewish about using a translation of the Haggadah. The Talmud tells us that Jews
can worship in any language. The traditional Haggadah is already a mixture of

Hebrew and of the Aramaic vernacular of Jews of a later time. When was the first translation of the Haggadah into a modern European tongue? It turns out that this first translation was made in 1512 in Frankfurt on Main. What is surprising about this translation is that it is not in German but in Latin, a language the Jews of Frankfort could not understand. My interest was piqued and when I looked up the text I found that this Haggadah was translated by Christians for Christians. It was not a Haggadah to be used by Jews. Why in 1512 would a Christian printing house and a Christian translator print an Haggadah for Christians? Thereby hangs an interesting tale.

1512 puts us back in the age of the Counter Reformation. Two issues trouble the Church at that time: the breakaway of men like Luther who denied the authority of the papacy; and the challenge of the Christian humanists like Eurasmus and Reuchlin whose major issue was not the authority of the papacy but the legitimacy of academic study unhindered by doctrinal censorship. In the early part of the 16th century these humanists became embroiled with the Church in what has been called a battle of the books. At issue was not papal authority but books by Arabs or Jews whose subject matter was of interest. Rome had sent out through Europe Dominican friars, determined to ban or burn all non-Catholic books. Their devotion to the truth, they said, required that they stop the spread of error. The humanists, many of them pious Catholics, were outraged by the narrowness and the violence of such views. They agreed that the Church had a right to prevent calumnies against itself or the person of the Pope, but the Church has no right to destroy the wisdom of the ages - civilization. Books by non-Christians contained much that could benefit everyone. The interest of the humanists in Hebrew books centered primarily on two issues. They felt that books by Jews would help them make a proper understanding of the Bible. Jews knew Hebrew. Jews understood the nouances of Hebrew style and grammar in ways Christians did not. They were also interested in medieval Jewish philosophy and in the Kaballah. Philosophy and theosophy were fields which interested the many Christian theologians quite as much as the rabbis.

In 1509 one of the <u>malshanim</u> I was telling you about, a certain Johan Pfefferkorn, an apostate from Moravia; Pfefferkorn was a particularly nasty person who after his conversion spent the rest of his life writing one scurlious pamphlet after another defaming Jews and Judaism. One of these scrawls was a purported account of "how the blind Jews observed their Easter." What he presented in Latin was a twisted and distorted account of every aspect of the Haggadah so that the Haggadah becomes a barbarous anti-Christian document which could only have meaning to a spiritually benighted people.

Frankfurt was a center of European humanism and some of these folk undertook to print a translation of the Haggadah, not out of love for Jews so much as to prove that there were in fact ideas of value in such books. So the Haggadah was translated into Latin as part of an ongoing battle between those who said ban and burn and those who truly prized civilization.

Since my mind was wrapped around the issue of translation, I began to look at other translations of the Haggadah. There are many of them. A number of Haggadah published in the 16th and early 17th century in Venice provide several translations at once. They are divided into four columns. The first column is the traditional Hebrew-Aramaic text. The second provides a translation into Judao-German, that is Yiddish; a the third a translation commentary into that Judeo-Spanish which is Ladino; and the fourth a translation into Judaeo-Italian. Venice of the 16th and 17th century contained the first actual ghetto in Europe. The ghetto's popularion comprised three distinct communities: German Jews who had come down for the opportunities of trade; a native Italian Jewish community; and Spanish-Portugese exiles who had come after the expulsion of 1492 and 1497. Each group had its own synagogue. This printer was a good businessman who wanted to insure that his Haggadah could be used by everyone; so he devised a four-columned format.

Perhaps the most interesting translation of the Haggadah completed in Italy

was not a rendering into Italian but into Spanish. It was published in 1654 in Leghorn in southern Italy. In 1492 the Jews of Spain were told to leave or to convert. Six hundred thousand left. For various reasons at least an equal number converted. Many of those who converted became what the history books now call Morannos. Moranno is a Spanish word which means pig. It was the defaming term which native Catholics in Spain used to describe those whom they believed to be masquerading as Christians. During the 15th century and the 16th century a steady trickle of Morannos escaped from Spain. Many made for Venice or Leghorn, places accessible by sea from the Spanish prots where they could revert to Judaism. Many then moved on into the Turkish Empire where the Muslims allowed the Jews a degree of freedom unavailable in Europe outside of the Netherlands.

Those who came out in 1500 or 1510 were still of the generation that had gone to Hebrew schools and who had at one time practiced Judaism. Those who came out in the 1650's were the fifth or sixth generation to have lived nominally Christian lives. Judaism was an image and an idea, not a known quantity. You'd gone to Catholic schools. You had learned Latin. You knew little about Judaism. You certainly could not read Hebrew. This 1654 translation, done for one-time Morannos, contains not one word of Hebrew. It is best described as a simple explanation of the basic practices of the Seder night for those who have never experienced a Seder. Many of the explanations use Catholic words to explain Jewish traditions. Interestingly, besides these explanations of such rituals as the four questions and opening the door for Elijah, the book contains a series of recipes for the basic foods of the Seder. I want to read you its recipe for charoses; you may get some ideas for your own concoction. This recipe certainly includes an in-

Take apples or pears, cooked in water; hazelnuts or almonds; shelled chestnuts or walnuts; figs or rains; and after cooking them thoroughly and dissolve them in the strongest wine vinegar that can be found. Then mix in a bit of brick dust, in memory of the bricks which our fathers made in Egypt. For the eating, a little cinnamon powder is sprinkled above.

If brick dust is a little too bitter for the taste, the editor adds:

Those who wish may add other fruits and spieces into the concoction as they wish.

Over the years the Haggadah has served many purposes. It provides a powerful service centered on the themes of redemptions past and the redemptions yet to come. It provides a yearly review of the exodus history. Haggadot have also been developed which present not simply the traditional text which was established in the third and fourth century of this era, but someone's special understanding of the Jewish vision. If you were to make a collection of Haggadot used in the kibbutzim from the 1920's and 1930's, you would find that most of these texts omit every reference to God. These were the rituals used by young socialists for whom the synagogue and theology represented a past against which they were rebelling. What you would find in these Haggadot are songs about the land and the nation and the themes of economic justice and political freedom redemption defined in secular terms.

A few years ago during our sabbatical we were in Japan during Passover. We had made arrangements to attend a Seder in Kobe, but we were in Kyoto and the woman in charge of the event in Kobe indicated that there were a few Jews in Kyoto who intended to have a Seder and that they might invite us. The "might" was intriguing because any Jew will immediately invite a visitor to Seder. The door's open not only to Elijah. When we met the young couple in charge of the Kyoto Seder, we passed muster. Later I discovered the reason for the test. The Kyoto group consisted, for the most part, of young Israelis who were in Japan for study and the last thing they wanted at their Seder was an orthodox rabbi who would impose upon them the traditional regimens as far as food and ritual are concerned. Seder turned out to be a wonderful mixture of Japanese and Shtetl food, eaten sitting cross-legged beside a low table. I knew the ritual. They knew the Israeli folk songs and between us we worked out a pretty good balance.

By and large, doctrinaire atheism no longer preoccupied the kibbutzim, and the power of the Seder is manifest in the fact that these doctrinaire anti-synagogue

people maintained the Seder as a ritual even if they changed the text. Haggadot have been written for many special reasons. There are texts written by Christian missionaries in which they insert Christology for their own purposes. A number of Haggadot were published in the Soviet Union by the Jewish Commisariat of the Communist Party who proposed to use the familiar elements of the Seder for all Communism. A 1929 Russian-Communist Haggadah transforms "this is the bread of affliction which our fathers ate in the land of Egypt, let all who are hungry come and eat," into "For the bread of affliction did every capitalist buy our blood and sweat. Driven by hunger, we became voluntary slaves to capital. Our Jewish caretakers, lovely pillars of the community and rabbis, taught us to be patient. They wanted to persuade us that we are hungry and lonely only because we are in exile. They transformed their festivals into a means for the benighting and enslavement of the people."

The chanting of the Hallel psalms was transformed this way: "Sing the "International' and say - down with the mildew of the ages! Down with clerical nationalist festivals! Long live the revolutionary workers' holidays." One of the reasons I've always known that we will survive such propaganda is that it has no flair. It's lifeless.

We have been talking of the ways the outside world impinged on our lives and affected perhaps the most natural spiritual expressions of our people. Such pressures have always been there. We know very little about how Seder was celabrated in homes outside of Jerusalem while the Temple was still in being. What we do know is that before the Passover groups of men went up to Jerusalem from all over Israel. They would bring with them a lamb which would be taken to the Temple where it would be sacrificed. The lamb's blood would be spilt on the altar. Blood was a symbol of the living essence and this ritual was an apotropaic ceremony designed to insure the continued aliveness, health of those who brought the offering. The group would receive back the animal's carcass which had, in effect, been barbecued. They would take it to a room they had hired and then

share the roasted lamb in a communal meal which featured evocations - memories of the redemption that had been, the exodus from Egyt, in order to encourage God to master the redemption that was yet to be, the coming of the messiah, the ultimate redemption of mankind.

With the destruction of the Temple the sacrificial rituals ceased and the focus of Seder was transferred from the Temple in Jerusalem into the home. Seder is the one ceremony that was not transferred to the synagogue. We don't know quite how each of the various parts of the ceremony developed, but by the fourth century the core liturgy of the Haggadah was in place. Of course, practice has changed. If you consider the four questions you immediately recognize that they represent the rather innocent questions a child would ask who has observed the family eating the Passover meal: Why are things different tonight than usually? Why do we eat matza? Why do we eat reclining? Why do we dip the herbs twice? Why do we eat the bitter herbs? Why do we eat certain vegetables? A child would have to notice these differences befire he would ask about them. But in our Haggadah these questions precede the meal. Obviously, at some point this ritual has been displaced. Why?

During the 4th and 5th centuries the early Christian Church began to celebrate Seder for their own purposes, of course. The Last Supper had been a Seder. Jesus was the Agnus Dei, the lamb of God, the paschal sacrifice. By this time the Church had created the mass based on the idea of trans-substantiation, the presumed miracle in which the wafer and the wine, the matza and the wine, became the body and the blood of the Christ. In the early Church the maror, the bitter herb, became a symbol of the bitterness of the passion. Christians observed the Seder as a Christological moment and the Jews of the day wanted to make sure that the concept of redemption which Passover expressed should not be understood and that Jews not be guiled into an observance which would be that of another faith. The questions are asked early so that the answers must be given early and no one present could doubt that the meal was a Jewish redemption ceremony and

not an idolatrous rite, a communion meal in which wine and matza are transformed into the divinity itself.

There is other evidence of this need to build Jewish safeguards around Seder. Almost immediately after the Four Questions, a child asks three further questions: What is the meaning of Pesach? What is the meaning of Matza? And what is the meaning of Maror? Why was this section added? Again, so that the paschal sacrifice be defined in terms of the Exodus and not in terms of the crucifixion. The matza is the bread of affliction which our fathers baked in haste, not a symbol of the body of the risen Lord. The Morar are bitter herbs, a remembrance of the bitterness of slavery and not a reference to the Passion.

Is there a significant difference between the Jewish and the Christian doctrines of redemption? We praise on Passover night the God who redeemed us from Egypt. "I am the Lord your God who brought you out of the land of Egypt and out of the house of bondage." It is God who redeems. Redemption is an actual fact, a political reality. Redemption ends the state of slavery and begins the state of freedom. Redemption establishes one's own destiny through the grace of God. As you know, there has always been a strong element in the Jewish tradition that defines the redemption that is yet to be as a this-worldly redemption: independence for the people of Israel, peace and justice established throughout the world.

The Christian doctrine of redemption moves away from this political, thisworldly vision and defines redemption in terms of the salvation of the soul through the atoning death of a saviour.

Classic Christianity emphasized what they called original sin. "In Adam's fall we sinned all." According to the Christian doctrine no one escapes the thralldom of original sin unless one has faith in this act of self-sacrifice by the Saviour sent by God, and only those who participate in this salvific act merit salvation which was defined as life eternal. It's an interesting, obviously powerful and compelling doctrine, but Judaism does not limit salvation doctrine simply to those who affirm a particular faith. "The righteous among all nations

have a share in the world to come." Nor have we looked upon salvation as something which is available to the individual apart from the community. We share Seder together. We celebrate as a community. Salvation and redemption, when it comes, will come as it came to the people of Israel as a community, to all mankind as a community. There are significant differences of emphasis and difference of focus in these two great redemptive doctrines.

The Haggadah presents a platform from which those who lead the Seder can plunge into the theme of redemption, the theme of freedom, the theme of the work which we must do, each of us, and together in order to enhance the possibilities of our time. If I were to offer any suggestion to all of you for Seder night, it is simply this: the Haggadah offers suggestions on the theme of redemption and is an open invitation to think and talk about its themes at whatever level of understanding, whatever those around the table can manage.

/ Though we descend from those redeemed from brutal Egypt, and have ourselves rejoiced to see oppressors overcome, yet our triumph is diminished by the slaughter of the foe as the wine within the cup of joy is lessened when we pour ten drops for the plagues upon Egypt.

Each drop of wine we pour is hope and prayer that people will cast out the plagues that threaten everyone everywhere they are found, beginning in our own hearts. The making of war, the teaching of hate and violence, despoliation of the earth, perversion of justice and of government, fomenting of vice and crime, neglect of human needs, oppression of nations and peoples, corruption of culture, subjugation of science, learning, and human discourse, the erosion of freedoms.

KOREKH [in a real Seder, the combining of matzah and bitter herbs]:

Put together the Second International and the League of Nations. Between them place Zionism, and say-"Let them be eaten." May they be eaten up by the world revolutionary uprising of the proletariat.

HALLEL [psalms of praise]: Sing the "International" and say-Down with the mildew of the ages! Down with clerical nationalistic festivals! Long live the revolutionary workers' holidays. U-REHATZ [the washing of hands]:

Wash away, workers and peasants, the entire bourgeois filth, wash off the mildew of the ages and say-not a blessing-but a curse: May annihilation overcome all the outdated rabbinic laws and customs, yeshivas and heders [the traditional Jewish elementary schools], which blacken and enslave the people.

MAGGID [the recital]:

JHa lahma anya-for the bread of affliction did every capitalist buy our blood and sweat. Driven by hunger, we became voluntary slaves to capital. Our Jewish caretakers, lovely pillars of the community and rabbis, taught us to be patient. They wanted to persuade us that we are hungry and lonely only because we are in exile. They transformed their festivals into a means for the benighting and enslavement of the people.

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Take apples or pears, cooked in water; hazelnuts or almonds; shelled chestnuts or walnuts; figs or raisins; and after cooking, grind them thoroughly and dissolve them in the strongest wine vinegar that can be found. Then mix in a bit of brick dust, in memory of the bricks which our fathers made in Egypt. For the eating; a little cinnamon powder is sprinkled above. Lole bantus,

Those who wish to add other fruits and spices into the concoction may do so.

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