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Ökumenisches Patriarchat von Konstantinopel –
International Committee for Interreligious Consultations (IJCIC)

**Zweites Treffen zwischen Judentum und orthodoxem Christentum:
Tradition und Gemeinde im Judentum und der Orthodoxen Kirche,
Bukarest 1979**

Das zweite Treffen zwischen Delegationen von Judentum und Orthodoxem Christentum fand statt vom 29.–31. Oktober 1979 in Bukarest auf Initiative des Ökumenischen Patriarchats von Konstantinopel und dem International Jewish Committee of Interreligious Consultations (IJCIC). Das Thema lautete: „Tradition und Gemeinde im Judentum und der Orthodoxen Kirche“.

Keywords: Interreligiöser Dialog, Judentum, Christentum, Orthodoxe Kirche

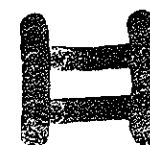
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THE CHRISTIAN ORTHODOX-JEWISH CONSULTATION

II

Bucharest, October 29—31, 1979



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THE REPORT OF THE SECOND
CHRISTIAN ORTHODOX/JEWISH CONSULTATION
CONVENED AT THE
UNIVERSITY THEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE
IN BUCHAREST BETWEEN
29—31 OCTOBER, 1979.



THE SECOND
CHRISTIAN-ORTHODOX/JEWISH ENCOUNTER

(Bucharest, October 29—31, 1979)

EDITORIAL NOTE

The texts have been printed in English or French according to the language used by the participants in the Consultation.

This booklet was edited in the Bucharest Biblical and Mission Institute by Archimandrite *Nilon Mihăiță* of the Church Foreign Relations Department of the Romanian Orthodox Patriarchate.

Theologians of the Orthodox Church and representatives of Judaism met in Bucharest on October 29—31, 1979 for an academic theological consultation. The meeting took place under the auspices of the Patriarchate of the Orthodox Church of Romania and the Chief Rabbi of Romania. The current meeting was a follow-up of one held in March of 1977 in Lucerne at which it was decided to initiate a series of such consultations.

The Bucharest meeting was jointly convened by the Orthodox Centre of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople and the International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultations (I.J.C.I.C.). The participants were Orthodox scholars from Romania, Bulgaria, Greece, Cyprus, France and Switzerland. The Jewish participants were from Israel, Romania, Switzerland, Greece, France and the United States. The consultation had as its theme: "*Tradition and Community in Judaism and the Orthodox Church*". The meetings were chaired by H. E. Metropolitan Damaskinos of Tranoupolis, Director of the Orthodox Centre of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople at Chambésy and Prof. Shemaryahu Talmon, chairman of I.J.C.I.C.

The following papers were presented :

— Prof. Michael Wyschogrod (City University of New York) : "*Tradition and Society in Judaism*" ;

— Deacon Elie Jones-Golitzin (Institute of Biblical Sciences, Theological Faculty of Lausanne): "The role of the Bible in Orthodox Tradition";

— Rev. Dumitru Abrudan (Theological Institute of Sibiu, Romania): "The rôle of the various traditions in the life of the Orthodox Church";

— Israel Singer (World Jewish Congress). "Jewish Community in the light of Jewish Tradition".

DEUXIEME RENCONTRE CHRETIENNE—ORTHODOXE/JUIVE

Du 29 au 31 octobre 1979 des Théologiens de l'Eglise Orthodoxe et des représentants du Judaïsme se sont rencontrés à Bucarest pour une consultation Théologique académique. La rencontre eut lieu sous l'égide du Patriarcat Orthodoxe de Roumanie et du Grand Rabbin de Roumanie. Elle faisait suite à la rencontre de mars 1977, à Lucerne, où il avait été décidé de commencer une série de telles consultations.

La rencontre de Bucarest a été organisée conjointement par le Centre Orthodoxe du Patriarcat Oecuménique de Constantinople et le Comité Juif International pour les Consultations interreligieuses (I.J.C.I.C.). Y participaient des spécialistes orthodoxes venus de Roumanie, de Bulgarie, de Grèce, de Chypre, de France et de Suisse. Les participants juifs venaient d'Israël, de Roumanie, de Suisse, de Grèce, de France et des Etats-Unis. La consultation avait comme Thème : *"Tradition et communauté dans le Judaïsme et l'Eglise Orthodoxe"*. Les séances étaient présidées par S. E. le Métropolite Damaskinos de Tranoupolis, Directeur du Centre Orthodoxe du Patriarcat Oecuménique de Constantinople à Chambésy-Genève et par le Prof. Shemaryahu Talmon, président du Comité Juif International pour les Consultations interreligieuses.

Les rapports suivants furent présentés :

— Prof. Michael WYSCHOGROD (Université de New York) : *"Tradition et société dans le Judaïsme"*.

- Diacre Elie JONES-GOLITZIN (Institut des Sciences Bibliques, Faculté de Théologie, Lausanne): "Le rôle de la Bible dans la tradition orthodoxe".
- R. P. Dumitru ABRUDAN (Institut Théologique de Sibiu, Roumanie): "Le rôle des diverses traditions dans la vie de l'Eglise orthodoxe".
- Israel SINGER (Congrès Juif Mondial): "L'individu et la communauté dans la Tradition Juive".

Jewish Participants :

- Rabbi Balfour Brickner, Union of American Hebrew Congregations ;
- Dr. André Chouraqui, Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultation of Israel ;
- Michael J. Klein, World Jewish Congress ;
- Dr. Gerhart M. Riegner, World Jewish Congress ;
- Dr. Moses Rosen, Chef Rabin de Roumanie ;
- Rabbi Elie Sabetai, Central Board of Jewish Communities in Greece ;
- Zacharian Shuster, American Jewish Committee ;
- Israel Singer, World Jewish Congress ;
- Prof. Shemaryahu Talmon, Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultations ;
- Prof. Michael Wyschogrod, Synagogue Council of America ;

Orthodox participants :

- Revd. Dumitru ABRUDAN, Professor of Old Testament Studies at the Theological Institute in Sibiu ;
- Bishop ANTONIE, Assistant to the Patriarch, Bucharest ;
- Revd. Prof. Cyrille ARGENTI, Marseille, France ;
- Revd. Prof. Ion BRIA, World Council of Churches, Geneva ;
- Deacon Emilian CORNÎTESCU, Asst. lecturer at the Theological Institute in Bucharest ;

- Metropolitan DAMASKINOS of Tranoupolis, Director of the Orthodox Centre of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Chambésy, Geneva ;
- Deacon Elie JONES GOLITZIN, The Institute of Biblical Sciences, The Faculty of Theology, Lausanne ;
- Deacon Basile KARAYANNIS, The Orthodox Centre in Chambésy, Geneva ;
- Revd. Prof. Jean ROMANIDIS, The University of Thessalonika ;
- Mr. Slavco VALTCHANOV, The Theological Faculty in Sofia ;

Observers :

- Revd. Mircea Chialda, Professor at the Theological Institute in Bucharest ;
- Revd. Athanasie Negoită, Professor the Theological Institute in Bucharest ;
- Prot. Nicolai Goranov, Bulgarian Orthodox Church in Bucharest ;
- Mr. Nicolae Mihăiță, of the Romanian Orthodox Patriarchate.

SUMMARY MINUTES

Monday, October 29, opening session.
Chairman — Metropolitan Damaskinos.

The Chairman expresses his pleasure for this second meeting between Orthodox Christianity and Judaism, which must be seen as the result of the Lucerne meeting. He then calls the Metropolitan of Moldavia, as the representative of the Rumanian Christian Orthodox Patriarch, to greet the gathering.

Métropolit Teoctist de Moldavie :

C'est pour moi un agréable devoir que de vous adresser
— au nom de Sa Béatitude Justin, Patriarche de l'Eglise

Orthodoxe de Roumanie — un chaleureux salut fraternel à l'occasion de l'ouverture des travaux de cette consultation académique interreligieuse entre théologiens orthodoxes et représentants du Comité Juif International.

Cette réunion, qui bénéficie à la fois de l'hospitalité de l'Eglise Orthodoxe Roumaine et du Culte Mosaïque de Roumanie, prouve, une fois de plus, l'existence de bons rapports de collaboration et de fraternité entre les cultes religieux de notre pays. Il est bien connu que nous, orthodoxes de Roumanie, avons une longue habitude des contacts avec les membres des autres confessions chrétiennes ou d'autres religions, dans le respect de leurs croyances, tout en conservant notre propre identité.

Surtout à partir de 1948, à la suite de l'instauration d'un nouvel ordre social dans notre pays, apparut aussi un nouveau statut des «cultes religieux de Roumanie» et furent organisées des rencontres et des consultations périodiques entre responsables des cultes, afin de résoudre ensemble problèmes d'intérêt commun. La collaboration et l'amitié liant ces personnalités, affermies par les rencontres de plus en plus fréquentes, s'étendirent ensuite au clergé et aux fidèles, accroissant l'amour et leur cohésion spirituelle. Cet «oecuménisme pratique» de Roumanie n'est pas une théorie, mais une réalité vécue depuis plus de trois décennies. Il résulte de la prise de conscience que nous sommes tous fils d'un même Père céleste, destinés à vivre en frères dans un climat d'amour, de paix, d'entraide et de service réciproques. En ce qui concerne le rapprochement, l'estime et l'affection existant entre l'Eglise Orthodoxe Roumaine et le Culte Mosaïque de Roumanie, ils sont certainement dus, avant tout, à notre foi commune en un Dieu Père de tous les hommes, sans distinction de nationalité, de race ou de croyance religieuse. Par conséquent, nous tous — chrétiens et juifs — avons le même devoir de remettre en valeur, pour notre époque, les principes éle-

vés d'humanité, d'amour de la vérité et de respect envers les hommes que nous enseignent la Sainte Ecriture et la sagesse de nos traditions millénaires. Sur ce plan commun de la foi et des convictions religieuses et morales nous nous rencontrons et collaborons fraternellement à la fois pour le bien de nos fidèles et le progrès du peuple auquel nous appartenons. Ainsi, dans la mesure de nos moyens et à partir de nos positions spécifiques, nous contribuons à l'essor de notre pays.

Ce qui nous rapproche et nous unit est surtout le fait qu'au centre de nos préoccupations, — chrétiennes et mosaïques — se trouvent Dieu et l'homme, créé à Son image et à Sa ressemblance. Nous partageons la conviction que Dieu, qui S'est révélé à nous dans les Livres de l'Ancien Testament, est toujours présent dans toutes les circonstances de notre vie, protégeant les faibles et les opprimés, qui représentant dans le sens le plus plénier l'idéal de justice et de vérité. En même temps, nous croyons et confessons, selon l'enseignement chrétien, que le Fils de Dieu S'est fait homme pour le salut de tous les hommes, fondant Son oeuvre rédemptrice sur l'amour, vertu suprême qui assure le lien entre Dieu et l'homme et entre l'homme et ses semblables.

Dans l'esprit de ces convictions et préoccupations communes, nous considérons avec grand intérêt la réunion théologique interreligieuse qui ouvre maintenant ses travaux dans l'enceinte de l'Institut théologique de la capitale roumaine. Elle ne doit pas avoir un caractère abstrait, théorique, mais doit analyser les thèmes discutés compte tenu de leurs conséquences pratiques.

Les vérités de foi doivent être examinées en tant que points de départ d'une conception du monde, de l'histoire, de la responsabilité chrétienne et humaine. Ainsi, la théologie deviendra de moins en moins une théologie abstraite, spéculative, individualiste, et de plus en plus une théologie du service, une théologie destinée à soutenir la réalisation des no-

bles idéaux de l'homme. Cela peut constituer une prémisse très importante pour notre progression vers une entente toujours meilleure et une estime réciproque.

De même, nous considérons que cette rencontre entre théologiens orthodoxes et juifs de divers pays peut également contribuer au rapprochement et à l'affermissement des liens d'amitié entre les peuples auxquels nous appartenons.

Avec de telles pensées, nous prions Dieu de bénir les efforts communs des participants. Et que les fruits de cette consultation deviennent une offrande sur l'autel du service de Dieu et des hommes, de la bonne entente, de la paix et de la réalisation des idéaux du monde contemporain.

Chief Rabbi Rosen :

I have the honour to salute in the name of the Jewish Community of Rumania and extend a warm welcome to all. I believe, with all modesty, we practice ecumenism just by sitting together. I have had many times in the past met in this very room with the Patriarch and collaborated, in mutual respect and esteem, in solving mutual humanitarianism contemporary problems, while each one held on to his convictions. I think you made a good choice in choosing Bucharest, and I hope this will influence further the effort. The promise that God gave that no destruction will come to the world was witnessed by the multi-coloured rainbow. Each colour of the rainbow will remain for ever. This is God's philosophy of humanity and human brotherhood. No one may trespass upon the other — but all of them will co-exist. This is what creates harmony. And, that is why Abraham, our forefather, is called *Ar amon goyim*. The Jewish Community of Rumania feels very happy to see you all here and takes part in the pleasure of the common effort and in the hopes that this meeting heralds.

Métropolite Damaskinos

En prenant la parole aujourd'hui, j'aimerais vous rappeler notre première rencontre du 16 au 18 mars 1977. Cela avait été une grande joie pour moi que la Faculté de Théologie de Lucerne, qui se caractérise par une coopération très harmonieuse entre des théologiens catholiques et orthodoxes, soit le lieu d'un très important colloque académique sur le thème de *la Loi dans l'interprétation juive et chrétienne*.

L'organisation de cette première consultation remonte à une série de rencontres très amicales entre le Dr Riegner et, à travers lui, l'organisation qu'il représente, d'une part, et le Centre orthodoxe du Patriarcat oecuménique, d'autre part.

L'idée d'un colloque fut lancée lors d'une conférence que j'eus l'honneur de donner, en 1976, à Zürich, dans le cadre d'une réunion du Comité judéo-chrétien pour la Suisse, sur le thème des intolérances des deux religions, chrétienne et judaïque et de la nécessité de leur dialogue. Pour l'essentiel, ce discours n'a pas rencontré d'objections ni de refus mais a été positivement accueilli du côté judaïque. Il est devenu l'objet d'une vive discussion entre les participants d'une rencontre tenue au Centre orthodoxe du Patriarcat oecuménique au mois d'octobre de la même année.

La consultation de Lucerne, enfin, a montré que l'interprétation du rôle de la Loi est d'une grande importance dans la controverse judéo-chrétienne. C'est cette importance qui justifie pleinement la discussion de ce thème au niveau académique.

Des rencontres de ce genre sont vivement encouragées par l'Orthodoxie.

La première Conférence panorthodoxe préconciliaire (novembre 1976, Chambésy, Centre orthodoxe du Patriarcat oecuménique) exprima la volonté de l'Eglise orthodoxe de coopérer, dans un esprit d'entente mutuelle, avec les différentes religions afin de mettre fin à tout fanatisme et contribuer ainsi

à la réconciliation entre les nations et à la sauvegarde de la paix et de la liberté dans le monde ; cela au service de l'humanité tout entière, sans distinction de race ou de religion.

C'est cette décision de la Conférence panorthodoxe qui inspira à S.S. le Patriarche oecuménique Dimitrios I-er son message de Noël 1976, invitant ses frères les chefs des Eglises et des Confessions chrétiennes de même que les chefs des différentes religions, sans distinction, les organisations internationales, les institutions spirituelles, les chefs des Etats responsables de la paix, du développement et du bien être de leurs peuples, ainsi que les hommes d'esprit, de culture, d'opinions et de tendances diverses à un effort commun pour que triomphent la liberté religieuse et la tolérance et pour que disparaisse du monde le fanatisme religieux.

C'est ainsi qu'une fois de plus nous répondons à ce vœu patriarcal en nous réunissant, sous le haut patronage de la sainte Eglise de Roumanie et de son vénérable chef, pour donner suite, par une deuxième consultation académique, à l'heureuse rencontre entre théologiens orthodoxes et représentants du Congrès juif mondial à Lucerne, il y a deux ans.

Le thème «le rôle de la tradition dans l'Eglise orthodoxe et dans la Communauté juive» sera traité sous deux aspects :

a) La place de la Bible dans la tradition de l'Eglise et dans la Communauté juive et, plus précisément, la relation entre la Bible, comprise comme une tradition écrite, et la tradition vivante de l'Eglise et de la Communauté juive ;

b) Le rôle des diverses traditions (liturgique, rituelle, canonique, éthique, familiale etc.) dans les deux religions.

De chaque côté, deux théologiens présenteront des rapports sur les deux aspects du thème principal.

Enfin, je voudrais souligner le caractère spécifique de notre consultation qui est un dialogue académique entre représentants de nos deux religions. Le fait qu'elle se déroule sur le sol de la sainte Eglise de Roumanie contribuera à ce

qu'elle s'harmonise, d'une façon heureuse, à la dimension spirituelle que constitue le propre de toute religion.

Car, académiciens, nous vivons à une époque de libres rencontres, de dialogues où chacun exprime son opinion et confesse sa foi tout en étant prêt à écouter les arguments de l'autre et, au besoin, à reformuler les siens. On ne peut arriver à une entente entre les religions par la simple suppression des contradictions existantes ; il ne faut pas que ceux-ci restent des relations de juxtapositions ou d'oppositions mortes mais deviennent l'enjeu d'une discussion vivante. Cette dernière ne saurait, naturellement, être confondue ni avec une autodéfense polémique superflue ni avec des attaques mutuelles sous un déguisement oecuménique.

C'est ainsi que, remplis de confiance, nous remettons l'avenir entre les mains de Dieu. Car, pour citer Saint Grégoire de Nysse, «la puissance divine est capable de susciter l'espoir là où il n'y en pas et de trouver un chemin qui soit impossible, mais l'impossible lui-même peut être le chemin menant vers le père commun».

C'est avec plaisir que je demande à présent au premier orateur, le Prof. Wyschogrod, de présenter son rapport.

Prof. Wyschogrod : I should like first of all, to express the pleasure and gratitude of all of us for the hospitality shown to us, both from the Christian as well as the Jewish side. Hospitality is a sign of our common ancestor Abraham, and it is, therefore, a sign of a reconciliation.

Prof. Michael Wyschogrod
"TRADITION AND SOCIETY IN JUDAISM"

To think about tradition within the framework of Judaism is to think about Judaism itself. Tradition is not a theme in Judaism; it is the very fabric of Judaism. Judaism is the system of ideas and practices which the Jewish people transmit from one generation to another. This act of living transmission is the central duty of the Jewish people. While the existence of Israel as a people is of redemptive significance for all humanity, the Torah, the revelation which contains God's demands of Israel, is not a revelation addressed to all of humanity. It is the charter of the Jewish people whom God has called from the human family as the people called for the service of the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. Because Israel does not, therefore, stand in a direct posture of proclamation to the rest of humanity, its fundamental and primary obligation becomes the transmission of its calling to its offspring which, as the house of Israel, will continue to carry out the task first assigned to Abraham. The receiving and transmission of the tradition is the bond that unites the generations of Israel with the revelation at Sinai.

Tradition is therefore the tradition of revelation. This must be emphasized from the outset since otherwise the distinction between Jewish tradition and social tradition in the more universal sense will be overlooked. All societies are based on tradition. Of the infinite number of ways in which human beings can behave, each society selects a limited number of options which it shapes into its culture. We need go no further than language itself. Each language is a selection

of symbols arranged according to a system of rules into coherent discourse. Because there are so many different languages, the diversity of options available is very clear. Once a society speaks a language, it transmits that language to its young who grow up in a particular linguistic tradition. While this process is perhaps most obvious in the case of language traditions, it is no less operative in the complex of values and concepts that make up a culture. It is this complex that determines ways of dressing, eating, singing, dancing and doing all the other things that human beings do. All cultures therefore transmit a tradition that is characteristic of the culture in question.

The Jewish people is not exempt from this sense of cultural tradition. Jews, too, have a language or languages as well as other modes of behavior which they transmit. Because of the long dispersion of the Jewish people, this culture is no longer a unitary one. In significant respects, including language, the Jews of different countries live in and transmit different cultures. Yet there has always persisted a core language — Hebrew — and in some respects a core culture which has made possible the revival of a truly unitary culture as that has developed in this century in the modern State of Israel. At the center of this core culture is the Jewish tradition in its religious sense which is the sense that gives Jewish tradition its unique meaning.

We have already said that, within the framework of Judaism, tradition is the tradition of revelation. Jewish tradition transmits the account of God's relationship with the people of Israel from the election of Abraham, through the Exodus from Egypt to the giving of the Torah on Sinai and continuing with the events that constitute the record of God's interaction with Israel. An essential element of this record is the body of demands that God makes of Israel ranging from "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy

soul", (Deut. 6:5) to the regulations governing food, treatment of the poor and many other areas of human life. This body of revelation is referred to as Torah, a term that cannot be easily translated, which must first be seen as an integrated body of teaching whose content can be classified in a number of ways. The best known classification is that into *Aggadah* and *Halachah*. The *Aggadic* portions of the Torah are the narrative while the *Halachic* positions consist of the legal aspect of the Torah. Such divisions are not illegitimate, in fact, even inevitable, but their importance must not be exaggerated. Fundamentally, Torah is God's teaching to Israel which appears in various forms but which remains revelation because it is not the creation of man but the word of God to man.

Starting with the concept of tradition, we find that tradition in Judaism refers to the transmission by Israel of God's revelation as a body of teaching known as Torah. The most tangible and specific form of tradition is therefore Holy Scripture, the collection of writings that the Jewish people has come to revere as the written Torah. Known as the Old Testament to the church and as the *תנ"ך* (the acronym for *כתיב, נביא, חורף* Pentateuch, Prophets, and Writings) to Israel, the written Torah is the central document of God's revelation to Israel. For the believing Jew, the term "Torah" in the first instance refers to the Pentateuch but also to any other portion of the *תנ"ך*. These books are considered divinely inspired, written by men at the command of God, containing precisely those teachings which God wished to convey to man. As *כתיב קדש*, holy writings, they take on a status of sanctity that is reflected in the legal status of the physical Torah scroll. The preparation of such a scroll is surrounded by a set of requirements that must be scrupulously adhered to if the resulting scroll is to receive the sanctity that pertains to a kosher Torah fit for reading in the synagogue.

Since the Reformation, it is not possible to discuss tradition without contrasting it with scripture. For the reformers there was a very important difference between scripture and tradition. Scripture was the authentic word of God that was capable of speaking to every faithful Christian who desired to hear its message. Tradition, on the other hand, was largely the handiwork of man which generally obscured if not silenced the voice of Scripture. Acutely sensitive to the influence of Greek categories in the writings of the Church Fathers as well as the scholastics, the Reformers undertook to purge Christianity of its pagan accretions by returning to the Bible including, of course, the New Testament as the original, uncontaminated body of revelation which they recognized as supremely authoritative. Against this, the Catholic church taught two sources of divine revelation, scripture and tradition, which "may be treated separately, and statements of revealed truth (dogmas) may be gathered from tradition alone, though they are in no way contained in Scripture" ¹. While the Constitution on Divine Revelation of Vatican II makes a serious effort to re-emphasize Scripture as a basic source of revelation, it finds it necessary to assert that "it is not from sacred Scripture alone that the Church draws her certainty about everything which has been revealed" ². Tradition thus remains for the Catholic Church a separate if supplementary source of revelation.

I have referred to these matters because the debate generated by the Reformation cannot but influence our approach to the question of tradition. In fact, of course, this debate goes back much beyond the Reformation. In Matthew 15:1-9, we read:

Then Pharisees and scribes came to Jesus from Jerusalem and said: "Why do your disciples transgress the tradition

1. The Documents of Vatican II, ed. Walter M. Abbott (New York, 1966), p. 115, n. 15.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 117.

of the elders? For they do not wash their hands when they eat". He answered them: "And why do you transgress the commandment of God for the sake of your tradition? For God commanded: 'Honor your father and your mother', and, 'He who speaks evil of father or mother, let him surely die'. But you say, 'If any one tells his father or his mother, What you would have gained from me is given to God, he need not honor his father'. So, for the sake of your tradition, you have made void the word of God. You hypocrites! Well did Isaiah prophesy of you, when he said: 'This people honors me with their lips, but their heart is far from me; in vain do they worship me, teaching as doctrines the precepts of men'.

It is clear from this and from its parallel version in Mark 7:1-13 that Jesus here advances the thought that "for the sake of... tradition", the Pharisees "have made void the word of God". His meaning seems to be that it is biblically commanded to honor one's parents. But since a person can, by means of a vow, donate his property to Temple use, it follows that if a person so donates property to the Temple which he should have used to support his parents, the tradition which teaches that donations by means of vows is valid undermines the word of God which commands honor of parents. It is worth noting that the Mishnah in *Nedarim* (9:1) specifically holds vows which dishonor parents invalid. Authoritative rabbinic thinking on this point is therefore not as alleged. Nevertheless the *sola scriptura* frame of mind is, in some sense, already found here, a fact which makes the attitude of the reformers much easier to understand.

But if the current discussion about Tradition among Christians is still largely defined by the *sola scriptura* theology of the Reformers and the two sources of revelation theology of the Catholic Church, with a serious effort underway to narrow if not eliminate the gap between the two, very little of this discussion takes much cognizance of the Jewish view

of tradition. We will have occasion to ask whether there need be any connection between Christian and Jewish tradition, whether the New Testaments resting on the Hebrew Bible requires a parallel resting of Christian tradition on Jewish tradition. At this point we must briefly review the Jewish understanding of Jewish tradition.

Jewish tradition grounds itself precisely where it grounds scripture — in divine revelation. At Sinai, God revealed the Pentateuch to Moses who wrote it down at God's command. But during the forty days and nights that Moses spent on Mt. Sinai, he did not only receive the Pentateuch. He also revealed the Oral Torah which, in the first instance, consists of necessary explanations of the Written Torah. The Rabbis taught: "Moses received Torah from Sinai and delivered it to Joshua, and Joshua to the Elders, and the Elders to the Prophets, and the Prophets delivered it to the Men of the Great Synagogue. These said three things: "Be deliberate in judging, and raise up many disciples and make a hedge for the Torah". (Aboth 1:1). The "Torah" referred to in this Mishnah probably refers to both the Written and Oral Torah inasmuch as the teachings attributed to the "Men of the Great Synagogue" are not found in the Written Torah. Elsewhere, (Aboch de-Rabbi Nathan 16:61) we read: "It is related that a certain man stood before Shammai and said: 'Rabbi, how many Torahs have you?' The rabbi replied: 'Two—one written and one oral'. Finally, we read (Berakhot 5 a):

What is the meaning of the verse, "and I will give thee the tables of stone, and the law and the commandments, which I have written to teach them"? (Ex 23:12). It means as follows: "The tables of stone" are the Ten Commandments, "the law" is the Pentateuch, "the commandments" is the Mishnah, "which I have written" are the Prophets and the Hagiographa, "to teach them" is the *Gemara*. This teaches us that all these things were given at Sinai.

The rabbis were convinced that the written Torah could not properly be understood without an Oral Torah for a number of reasons. Some scriptural verses seem to contradict each other, e.g. Deut. 16:3-4 which prohibits the eating of leavened bread during Passover for seven days while Deut. 16:8 prohibits it for six days. Other verses are ambiguous, e.g. Exodus 21:22-23 where it is not clear whether the harm referred to is to the mother or the embryo. Still other verses are not specific enough :e.g. "And ye shall afflict your souls" (Lev. 16:31) does not explain how and the prohibition against work on the Sabbath does not specify the kind of work prohibited. The rabbinic answer to all these problems and many others was the Oral Torah. On Mt. Sinai, God explained what these passages meant and these explanations which were not allowed to be written down constituted the Oral Torah. Many centuries later when the Oral Torah was in danger of being forgotten, the decision was made to write it down and from this resulted the Mishnah, the definitive written collection of the Oral Law attributed to Judah ha-Nasi toward the end of the second century, C.E. The Mishnah, together with the Gemara, the elaborate discussions around the Mishnah, constitute the Talmud.

It is important to realize that the Oral Law consists of three components. There is first the directly revealed explanations of biblical verses. Take the interpretation of "eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot" (Ex. 21:24) as an example. The rabbinic view is that God told Moses on Sinai that this refers to monetary compensation, i.e., one who puts out the eye of a fellow man must pay him the monetary value of an eye. The rabbinic function here is simply the transmission of this divinely revealed interpretation. The rabbis are not the interpreters in any original sense. It is not their ethical judgment or textual acumen that comes into play here. In the absence of revelation transmitted orally,

one can only speculate how the rabbis would have interpreted the law of *lex talionis*. As it is, they interpret it the way they do because of the tradition they have received.

The second component of the Oral Law assigns to the rabbis a somewhat more active role. Here it is a matter of reasoning, of drawing conclusions from premises, of making legal decisions in new cases based on knowledge of similar but not identical cases. Here again, there are two components to this activity. There is reasoning based on 13 hermeneutical rules which the rabbis consider revealed. And then there is the more common sort of reasoning found in the application of any legal system which has to cope with new cases to which the law must be applied. The rabbis believe that they have been authorized by God to apply the law on an ongoing basis. Here the rabbis are not simply transmitting revelation but applying human reason to a system whose premises are known by revelation.

Then there is finally the legislative function of the rabbis, which brings us back to the three sayings of the Men of the Great Synagogue (Aboth 1 : 1) to which we have referred. One of these sayings advises the making "of a hedge for the Torah". A hedge is a protective fence. If the Torah prohibits something (e.g., seething a kid in its mother's milk), the rabbis are advised to make a hedge around it (e.g., prohibiting the eating of any meat and milk together). The purpose of the hedge is to prevent the violation of the biblical prohibition. A person who abstains from eating any meat and milk together is more likely not to eat a kid seethed in its mother's milk than someone who eats milk and meat but refrains only from a kid seethed in its mother's milk. It is obvious, of course, that in hedgebuilding good judgment must be exercised, lest — to be extra safe — we forbid everything altogether. The hedges must protect from violating the biblical commandment without paralyzing life altogether.

It must be noted that the rabbis were convinced that God had bestowed on them the legislative function and that he endorsed, as it were, their legislation. When a Jew lights Hanukah candles to commemorate the Maccabean victories over the enemies of the Torah, they recite a blessing which reads: "Blessed art thou, Oh Lord, our God and God of our fathers, who has sanctified us with his commandments and commanded us to light the Hanukah lights". The commandment to light Hanukah candles is, of course, not to be found in the Torah since the events those lights commemorate took place long after the Mosaic period. Nevertheless, the rabbis did not hesitate to speak of the lighting of Hanukah candles as commanded by God. Since God had delegated a legislative function to the rabbis, rabbinic legislation that resulted from the exercise of this function had divine sanction and could therefore be spoken of as commanded by God.

Lest it be thought, however, that the rabbis simply erased the difference between the scripturally commanded and the rabbinically legislated, we must note that the rabbis continued to distinguish very clearly between what was biblically prescribed (*mideuraita*) and what was rabbinically added (*mide-rabanan*). The educated Jew to this day is aware of whether a given positive or negative commandment is biblical or rabbinic. While both must be obeyed, there are significant legal differences between the two. Thus, for example, when a biblical commandment conflicts with a rabbinic one, the biblical takes precedence. The sanctions attached to the two are different. On the popular level, the distinction is often not recognized. The average, not very Talmudically educated Jew, knows generally what is prescribed and what is forbidden without realizing which is biblical and which rabbinic. Some rabbinic commandments and prohibitions have fared very well in the sense of popular acceptance and some bibli-

cal commandments and prohibitions have fared rather poorly. But the system has never failed to distinguish the two consistently.

One final if somewhat subtle point before leaving this matter. When the rabbis speak of what is biblically commanded, they are not referring to what the Bible literally says. By the concept "biblically commanded" they mean the Bible as interpreted by the Oral Torah. Thus the rabbis believe that 39 kinds of labor are biblically prohibited on the Sabbath. Now, as we have already said, the Bible never enumerates these 39 labors as those prohibited on the Sabbath, it simply prohibits all labor (Ex. 23 : 12 and 34 : 21). Because of the juxtaposition of the instructions to build the Sanctuary and the prohibition of Sabbath work, the rabbis inferred that it was forbidden on the Sabbath to do any work that was required for the Sanctuary. Since they found 39 labors connected with the Sanctuary, they identified these 39 as the labors prohibited on the Sabbath. The important point here is that these 39 labors were considered biblically prohibited even though they are not specifically enumerated in the Bible as the labors prohibited on the Sabbath. This identification was part of the Oral Torah, revealed to Moses on Sinai and therefore the correct meaning of the biblical text. There are other labors, beyond the 39 biblically prohibited ones, which are rabbinically prohibited so that the distinction between rabbinic and biblical prohibition remains clear, while including in biblical prohibitions the interpretive content of the Oral Torah.

It must by now have become clear that the sharp line between Scripture and Tradition is not easily maintained. Scripture must be interpreted and interpretation draws on a tradition which in Judaism is itself considered divinely revealed. But the term "interpretation" requires some elaboration or, perhaps, interpretation. Up to this point, we have been

speaking of interpretation in the conceptual sense, i.e., the sense in which the reader attempts to understand the meaning of a text. But in the case of the Hebrew Bible, the term "Masorah", (that which is handed down, tradition), refers in the first instance to the text of the Bible itself. More specifically, it refers to those aspects of the text whose writing down was originally forbidden. We are referring here to the vowel signs, diacritical signs and masoretic accents required for the public reading of the Torah. Because this is a rather complex topic, we need only understand that with the written text of the Bible, there was since the most ancient times an unwritten tradition which defined many essential aspects of the text in the absence of which the text could not be read. The written text was therefore enveloped in the Masorah through which it was read in the community. The Oral Torah is therefore a continuum which, at one end, defines the writing, pronunciation and melody to which the Torah is read in public and, at the other, deals with conceptual questions of interpretation and meaning.

Looked at from this point of view, the very attempt to distinguish between scripture and tradition is futile. It has been said, sometimes by critics of Judaism and sometimes by its expounders, that Judaism is the religion of the rabbis, not of the Bible. There is, in fact, considerable truth to this assertion. It is one of the reasons that some Jews are not overly impressed by the contention that Judaism and Christianity share a deep bond because they both accept the Hebrew Bible. While this cannot be denied, these more sceptical Jews point out that Judaism reads the Hebrew Bible through the Oral Torah while Christians do not and this, in effect, means that Jews and Christians are, in fact, reading from different books. It is also worth noting that in Orthodox Jewish circles, study of the Bible does not occupy as lofty a position as does study of the Talmud. Children are started in Bible but are very

quickly (by age nine or ten) introduced to the Talmud the mastery of whose intricacies is viewed as far more of a challenge than study of the Pentateuch or the Prophets, which is often reserved for children and old people. The fact that the Bible retains high prestige in secular, Hebrew oriented circles, particularly in Israel, also does little to alleviate the feeling of many Orthodox Jews that the Bible alone is an insufficient basis for Jewish survival.

But this is not the whole story. The fact is that the Bible remains the center of Judaism. In every possible way, it remains standing in a class unto itself. It is the tradition which teaches this. The tradition remains deeply reverent of Scripture. It understands itself as clustered around Scripture, serving to elaborate and explain Scripture but never to replace it. And this is true in spite of the fact that there were at least two significant movements in Judaism that rejected the Oral Torah almost completely. Under these circumstances, it could have been expected that rabbinic Judaism would react by reducing the centrality of Scripture in favor of tradition. But it did not do so. Instead of over-reacting, rabbinic Judaism maintained the centrality of scripture and the truth of tradition. While it is dangerous, in theological matters, to appeal to history, it is nevertheless interesting that the Sadducees are no longer with us while the Karaites, the later group that rejected the Oral Torah in favor of the Written, is barely alive. So it is clear that an unqualified appeal to Scripture against tradition has no place in Judaism. But neither does any interpretation of Judaism that neglects the centrality of the written Torah.

The way of life of the traditional Jew is a direct result of a most obedient listening to the Written Torah, particularly the Pentateuch. An outside, neutral observer who knew only the text of the Pentateuch would not, of course, immediately recognize the scriptural basis of every detail of such a Jew's

way of life. But, I venture to say, in the overwhelming majority of instances he would have little difficulty recognizing the Pentateuchal origins of most traditional Jewish practices. Whether he were seeing the observance of the Sabbath or Passover or Succoth (the Feast of Booths), the foods avoided and those consumed, the Mezuzah on the doorpost or the phylacteries worn at prayer or a hundred other practices, not excluding the giving of charity and honesty in business dealings — in all of these our neutral observer, if he knew his Bible, would have no difficulty in locating the biblical source of the practice in question. The Oral Torah is organically intertwined with the Written Torah as its natural elaboration. Much of rabbinic literature is actually cast in the form of commentary on Scripture. And even where, as in the Mishna, this is not the case, scripture is clearly presupposed. There are occasional instances where it can be plausibly argued that the rabbinic interpretation or legislation conflicts with the plain meaning of Scripture. But this represents a very small proportion of rabbinic literature. In the overwhelming number of cases, rabbinic Judaism is a serious carrying out of the biblical commandments. Traditional Judaism is therefore clearly rabbinic but it is not, for that reason, nonbiblical.

Rabbinic Judaism is, in fact, so biblical that the Bible takes on a certain quasi-sacramental significance in Judaism. I am here referring to the sanctity attached to the actual biblical scrolls read in the synagogue. As we have already noted, there is a complex body of rabbinic writings which formulate the way such a scroll must be written and the materials on which and with which it may be written. The physical result of this process in the Torah scroll, the holiest object in post-exilic Jewish life. It is the architectural focus of the synagogue. It is experienced by almost all Jews as holy. It must also be remembered that it was the rabbis who ordained reading of the Torah in the synagogue. The text

of the Pentateuch was divided into portions so that in the course of the years — or in a three year cycle in some cases — the whole of the Pentateuch was read. And this reading was not accompanied by the reading of any rabbinic interpretation. The congregation was to hear the words of the Torah, nothing more nor less.

It is therefore patently false to claim that Judaism relegates the bible to a place of non-importance. The Bible, in fact, is the center of Judaism. But so is tradition. The truth is that there cannot be a Bible without tradition. We receive the Bible in a second-hand book store or in a library. It is handed down to us by our forefathers and it comes to us with their guarantee. Yehudah Halevi, the medieval Jewish philosopher, attaches great significance to this fact. He sees it as a chain of testimony on which we can rely. I know my father did not lie to me and he knows that his did not lie to him, and so on until we reach back to the truth of Sinai. And it is for this very same reason that Karl Barth has said that the question of tradition is closely tied to the fifth commandment: "Honor thy father and thy mother". To ignore tradition is to fail to respect our parents.

For Judaism, particularly, the sanctity of tradition is intimately related to the election of Israel as the people of the covenant. God did not proclaim a teaching to humanity which he left in the form of a pure idea. Instead, he chose a particular people, the seed of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob as his covenant partner to embody God's teaching in the national life of this people. The life of this people is therefore the medium through which God's revelation reaches humanity. This is so in two ways. First, the history of the people of Israel is the central concern of the Hebrew Bible as well, to a large extent, of the New Testament. Secondly the Bible comes into being in the midst of the people of Israel. It is Israel which recognizes some books as canonical and others as outside of

the canon. There are those who have concluded, based on this fact, that it is the tradition of Israel that rules the Bible. I do not believe that is so. It is the word of God that judges Israel and not Israel the word of God. The fact that it is the tradition of Israel which recognizes a given book as canonical does not mean that the recognition makes it the word of God. It means that Israel hears God in these writings because God speaks in them. But while the tradition of Israel does not rule the word of God, it is the channel through which it is transmitted.

In conclusions, there are two points I wish to make concerning the question of Scripture and tradition in the context of Jewish-Christian dialogue. We have earlier referred to Matthew 15 and Jesus' criticism of Pharisaic tradition. It is easy to read that passage and others like it as a fundamental repudiation of Jewish tradition. If this is done, then the Hebrew Bible remains a part of Christian Scripture but Jewish tradition — the Oral Torah — retains no significance for Christianity. Christianity's break with Judaism can then be made to result from Jesus' rejection, not of the Hebrew Bible, but of the human accretion around it which came to dominate Pharisaic Judaism. I would characterize this view as a limited Marcionism. In the final analysis, it is not, in my view, a plausible one. If Jewish tradition is fundamentally unsound, then the pedigree of the Hebrew Bible is undependable. Islam takes this view. It considers the Hebrew Bible a deeply flawed book in which many Jewishly partisan corruptions can be found. But this is not the standpoint of Christianity. The frequency with which the New Testament quotes the Hebrew bible makes clear that for the writers of the New Testament the Hebrew bible was sacred scripture and it is for this reason that Marcion's program was rejected. But the Hebrew bible came to Jesus and the Apostles transmitted through Israel's tradition. If Israel's tradition is fundamentally flawed, then

there is no assurance that Exodus or Leviticus, Isaiah or the Psalms properly belong in the canon. They are part of the Christian canon because the early church trusted their transmission at the hands of Israel. Jewish tradition, at least up to the time of Jesus, must therefore have some validity for Christianity. And if this tradition did not end in the first century C.E., if the Jewish people still transmits this tradition today, then it might be relevant for Christianity to inquire into the significance of this fact.

The second point I have in mind refers to that which Jews and Christians have in common. Put very simply, it can be said that Jews and Christians have the Hebrew bible in common and traditions which separate them. There is, of course, considerable truth in this. Had Marcion been victorious, had Christianity given up the Hebrew bible as being unnecessary to or even in conflict with the Hebrew bible, Christianity would have become something quite different than it is. Because the Hebrew bible is an integral part of Christian scripture and because Jesus and the early church functioned in the midst of Israel, the faith of Israel can remain a living issue in the faith of the church. But from the point of view of a Jewish observer, Christian and also Orthodox tradition has not often emphasized this fact. Little connection has been made between the vocabulary of Israel as that is used in Christian theology and liturgy and the living Jewish people and when such a connection was made, it was made in a negative and non-constructive way.

Neither Judaism or Orthodox Christianity can ignore its traditions. But if tradition is holy, it is holy because it expresses the living faith of living faith communities. Living faith takes account of human encounters through which a tradition renews itself and becomes the tradition of the future. It is in this spirit that our work must be undertaken.

*Discussion :**Prof. Romanides :*

I would like to point out that the fundamental teaching expressed in Prof. Wyschogrod's paper, could easily be accepted from the Orthodox Christian point of view. In this connection we have more common ground with the Jewish attitude to the Bible than with the Catholics or others. The idea of written and unwritten or oral Torah corresponds to the Christian notion of created and un-created Torah. Also, in both traditions, Moses is exemplified as the highest and most ethical being.

Evêque Antoine :

J'ai écouté avec beaucoup d'intérêt l'exposé du Prof. Wyschogrod et j'ai apprécié la ressemblance entre le christianisme et le judaïsme en ce qui concerne les sources de la Révélation : l'Écriture et la Tradition. Sur cette question, je pense que les deux traditions, judaïque et chrétienne *orthodoxe* sont plus proches entre elles qu'avec, par exemple, l'Eglise catholique-romaine et les Eglises protestantes. D'une part, les protestants ont refusé la Tradition — et tout ce qui est resté dans le christianisme de la tradition judaïque ; d'autre part, les catholiques-romains ont trop ajouté à la Tradition, l'interprétant comme sainte et source égale à la sainte Écriture. Les orthodoxes ont retenu les deux sources sur un pied d'égalité, étant même en difficulté de les séparer ou de soumettre l'une à l'autre, ou d'établir laquelle est la première et laquelle la seconde. Le Prof. Wyschogrod a dit presque la même chose sur la situation de la théologie judaïque.

M. le Professeur, en comparant les deux religions, a dit que Jésus rejeta la tradition judaïque. Je pense que la vérité est que Jésus rejeta certaines traditions, ou, plus exac-

tement, qu'il les interpréta d'une manière nouvelle, spirituelle. Jésus a agi de même avec la Loi. Il a toujours dit qu'il ne veut pas détruire la Loi, mais l'accomplir, voulant également dire par là l'expliquer et la compléter.

De plus, il faut se souvenir que l'Écriture, la Loi — pour Jésus — c'était l'ancien Testament qui, donc, était saint pour Lui, et saint pour nous.

Je pense que nous sommes ici sur le même terrain, en convergence, orthodoxes et juifs.

Je serais intéressé d'apprendre du professeur Wyschogrod ce que les juifs reprochent à Jésus de ce point de vue (respect de la Tradition). Les juifs pensent-ils que Jésus s'est placé complètement en dehors de la Tradition judaïque, qu'il l'a niée ? Y-a-t-il quand même une continuité entre les deux Traditions, comme par exemple, lorsque nous reconnaissons la continuité des deux Testaments écrits ? En ce qui concerne la Tradition, la situation est-elle différente ? Si oui, dans quelle mesure ? Peut-on avoir quelques exemples ?

André Chouraqui :

L'intervention du Prof. Romanidis et la conférence du Prof. Wyschogrod permettent à André Chouraqui de préciser la théorie de la connaissance telle qu'elle fut définie au XI^{ème} siècle, en Espagne musulmane, par Bahya Ibn Paqda, auteur du traité classique de théologie ascétique et mystique, l'un des plus fameux et des plus étudiés dans le judaïsme : l'«Introduction aux devoirs des coeurs».

Bahya reconnaît trois sources d'accès à la connaissance humaine : la Bible, la Tradition et la Raison ou Intellect. Les deux premiers termes, Bible ou Thora et Tradition sont définis par Bahya, comme le Prof. Wyschogrod l'a excellemment dit, pour l'ensemble du judaïsme de l'époque de l'Exil. Il y ajoute une troisième voie d'accès à la connaissance : la Raison ou Intellect. Ce faisant, Bahya est tributaire de la

pensée musulmane et de la théologie chrétienne également inspirées par une certaine forme de néo-platonisme.

Bahya ne voit aucune possibilité de contradiction entre Thora, Tradition et Raison puisque toutes trois sont des émanation de la Sagesse divine. Bahya met l'accent sur ce qu'il appelle les Devoirs du cœur qu'il oppose aux Devoirs des Corps. Les *Devoirs du cœur* conduisent l'homme à méditer sur l'Unité de Dieu, la contemplation des créatures, la soumission à Dieu, l'abandon à Dieu, la purification des actes, la pénitence, l'examen de conscience, l'unité de l'acte et l'ascèse qui conduisent au but de toute vie religieuse : le pur amour de Dieu.

Bahya propose ainsi un traité de la vie intérieure tout entier inspiré par l'exigence biblique d'une incarnation de l'amour divin et de la constante prière du cœur, réalités également centrales dans la théologie mystique orthodoxe.

Rév. P. Cyrille Argenti :

J'aimerais juste répondre à deux questions, l'une du professeur Wischogrod concernant le danger de la conception du nouvel Israël. Je crois qu'il y a deux choses qu'il ne faut pas confondre. Je pense que l'Eglise orthodoxe affirme et est très consciente de sa continuité avec l'ancien Israël. Mais, ce sentiment et cette conscience d'une continuité ne signifient nullement qu'il y aurait eu transfert d'élection. Ce sont là deux choses différentes. Il me semble au contraire que saint Paul affirme explicitement dans l'Épître aux Romains (11, 1) que l'élection de l'Israël selon la chair continue, qu'il y a une fidélité de la promesse à Abraham qui est éternelle et cette promesse va aux descendants d'Abraham selon la chair et y demeure. Donc là, il n'y a pas transfert d'élection. Les Orthodoxes sont très conscients de cette continuité avec l'ancien Israël. Quant aux persécutions, elles n'impliquent nullement, bien au contraire, un mépris de ceux qui constituent

la chair du Christ. L'ancien Israël est la chair du Christ, puisque nous pensons que le Fils de Dieu s'est incarné dans cet Israël. Et j'irais jusqu'à dire qu'il me semble que lorsque le Malin — je dis bien le Malin — s'attaque à Israël et persécute les Juifs, c'est, au fond, pour nous, le Christ lui-même qu'il persécute. A moi, il me semble qu'Auschwitz c'est autant de clous supplémentaires enfoncés dans le corps du Christ. Maintenant, en ce qui concerne les remarques du professeur Chouraqui, je crois qu'il y a un malentendu sur le sens du mot «Eglise». Certainement, pour nous Orthodoxes l'Eglise, telle que la conçoivent les Catholiques-romains, L'Eglise, telle que nous la comprenons, existait déjà dans sa plénitude dès les premières semaines qui suivirent la Résurrection. L'Eglise, telle qu'elle apparaît dans les Actes des Apôtres, lorsque Pierre s'adresse au peuple de Jérusalem le jour de la Pentecôte, est déjà présente dans sa plénitude. L'aspect institutionnel — les Patriarches, les Vaticans etc — est tout à fait secondaire. Pour nous, Paul parle déjà de l'Eglise exactement comme nous devons en parler aujourd'hui. Cette Eglise était encore, effectivement, essentiellement judaïque. Mais j'ajouterais qu'elle ne cesse pas, même aujourd'hui, de l'être.

Chairman — Professor Talmon :

By way of introduction, on behalf of the Jewish delegation, may I say that a new unity has been achieved. "Veayah kol aaretz Safah ahat" — This signifies the unity that has been achieved ; all speaking one common language. A meeting of unity where, though diverse languages are spoken, all speak the language of God. Even though we do not represent a single interpretation of Judaism, Prof. Wyschogrod presented, basically, a sound picture of tradition. He should be congratulated not only for his presentation, but for the fruits he reaped.

I present now Father Elias Jones.

Elias Jones-Golitzin

"THE ROLE OF THE BIBLE IN ORTHODOX TRADITION"

The Bible is the account of sacred history, of God's relationship with His people. Ours is a God who acts, who reveals Himself to humanity. Our history is that of the saving acts of God performed for His people. In the creation, in the covenant with Noah, the covenant with Abraham, the promises to Abraham, Isaac and Jacobs, the revelation to Moses, the marvellous deeds of the Exodus, the message of His prophets, we see God acting to call His people to Him. In the Bible, God reveals Himself as He intervenes in human history. The Bible is a book about God, about the vocation of humanity. It is a book about the divine-human encounter. It is the epiphany, the revelation of the true nature of personhood, the opening of the person to the other.

The Bible is given within the believing community. To treat it as an object apart from this community would be to deny its true existence. The Church recognises the Bible as the Word of God. It is not a Word communicated without the intermediary of humanity nor is it solely a human creation. It is the result of the cooperation, of the *συνεργία* of the divine and human. It is the fruit of a theandric union. The Bible as the Word of God is Revelation. God can and does reveal Himself to humanity. Orthodox theology is rooted in the idea that God can make Himself known to us. In His revelation, He does not merely give data on Himself, but rather reveals Himself. Humanity is ontologically incapable of knowing God in His essence. That which is by definition finite cannot

grasp that which is infinite. Nevertheless, God does reveal Himself to us, can be known by us, in the wealth of His divine manifestations. We are therefore capable of knowing God as He reveals Himself to us. Humanity is created by God to be in communion with Him and to know Him.

In the Biblical tradition, revelation is always by the Word and the Spirit. The Word is central to revelation. The revelation of God is *towards* the world, *through* the Word and the Spirit. If humanity is created in God's image and likeness, its very *raison d'être* is to be in communion with God. In *οἰκονομία*, God allows humankind and creation to become that which they were created to be. The revelation of *οἰκονομία* exists because humanity is open to divinity. Divinity can express itself in a form adequate to humanity. The Scriptures are the Word of God in human form. St. Maximus the Confessor (d. 662) speaks of the incarnation of the Word of God in written form, i.e. — in human words. This antinomy can be understood in termn of *συνεργία*. The divine is revealed in human form, but the integrity of both remain intact.

God is the ultimate source of divine revelation. Scripture has God at its source; it is a self-manifestation of God. Human beings, inspired by the Holy Spirit, spoke from God. Humanity had to actively will to be the instrument of God. Through the human participation, the words are given in a very specific environment. The human element is determined by the human context. However, the validity of the writings does not depend on whether this or that person wrote them. If, for example, it is found that Isaiah did not write all of the Book of Isaiah, this would not invalidate the writings or change their meaning.

The writing of Scripture in human words leads to communion with God. In and through the Bible humanity enters into communion with the living God. In contemplating the Scriptures we share in the divine reality, the divine wisdom.

The Bible does not supplant God. It leads us to God. It points to God. It is an icon, a way to communion with the reality itself.

According to Orthodox Tradition, the Scriptures are indicative of the divine reality. In the course of the divine *oixovopía*, the Scriptures have a central rôle. The Bible is given in the community of faith. It was the law, prophecy and worship for God's people. The inspiration and revelation of God in the Scriptures are one element in the revelation to the people of the covenant community. The Bible can only be interpreted by understanding its relation to everything else. As Emmanuel Levinas says :

"L'esprit qui guide cette lecture dite naïvement 'littérale' consiste peut être en réalité à maintenir chaque texte particulier dans le contexte du Tout".¹

The Bible is part of the total life of the community. As a book in the community, there is a tradition of interpretation that is communal. The same Holy Spirit who inspired the writing inspires the interpretation, under the shepherding of the Lord. The community acknowledges the word spoken and bears witness to its truth.

The Bible can be studied just as a book ; however, for the Orthodox, if it is only studied in this manner, it can never be fully understood and violence will be done to what it claims to be and to the people whose book it is. The inspired Scriptures are the Word of God given in a particular cultural milieu. Scriptures are part of the covenant community. They are interpreted by the community within the very life of the community. As the study of Midrash and Targum shows us, for one who receives all of revelation as a unity, there is neither past nor future. All can be united in interpretation. The Jewish exegetical tradition reveals to us precisely this

1. P. Ricoeur, E. Levinas, E. Haulotte, E. Cornélis, Cl. Geffré, *La Révélation*, Faculté universitaire Saint-Louis, Bruxelles, 1977, p. 63.

holistic and dynamic approach to the Bible. This attitude is also manifested by the New Testament authors and by Jesus Himself. The Bible was considered as a sacred book, but not as a mummy. There was therefore not a mechanical, but rather a living transmission. For example, the authors of the P source of the Old Testament did not hesitate to rewrite their sources entirely, removing whatever conflicted with their story and adding whatever supported their perspective. One could almost consider the P source as a type of Midrash. Here there is no docile slavery to that which is written. Even the Decalogue is present in different versions in Exodus and Deuteronomy. Scripture is not separated from tradition, nor is it ever separated from interpretation. The Torah could not be transmitted without interpretation. Indeed, interpretation is the very life of the text. In the *Antiquities*, Josephus states that he has added nothing to or subtracted nothing from the Biblical text. However, his text is a condensation of aggadic exegesis and he often seems to be influenced by targumic interpretation.

The Word of God inspires interpretation to find the meaning of the text. As Saint Hilary of Poitiers (d. ca. 367) wrote : "Scripturae enim non in legendo sunt, sed in intelligendo" (for Scripture is not in the reading, but in the understanding)². In the 20th century, there is sometimes a tendency to separate the text from the commentary. One is accustomed to think of the text as an objective fact and of commentary as subjective interpretation. Jewish and early Christian commentators did not make this distinction. The freedom with which they treated the text is rooted precisely in the fact that the text was sacred and that it was given for the life of the community of faith.

For the Tradition of the Orthodox Church, the Bible is the book of the community. It is not something which can

2. *Ad. Constantium Aug.*, lib. II, cap. 9, MLX, 570.

be separated from its context. It has its fulness of meaning within the life of the community of the People of God. Not only can it not be separated from this milieu, but also its very nature cannot be understood outside of this community, from which it springs, in and for which it has its existence. This sentiment is also voiced by Tertullian in his *De praescriptione haereticorum*, in which he stresses the fact that the Scriptures belong to the Church.

Thus, in the Tradition, παράδοσις, of the Orthodox Church, the Bible is this continual revelation, a continual transmission of the revelation. The Scriptures reveal to the Church the great moments of the history of salvation. For the Christian community, this stretches from the story of creation to the vision of the end-times, re-capitulating and transforming all of creation. For the Orthodox Tradition, the critical point is reached in the advent of Jesus Christ and the inauguration of the New Covenant and the New Covenant community in and through Him. The Christ-event is understood in the light of the Old Testament and the Old Testament is seen in the light of the coming of Him whom we confess as Jesus the Christ. The Old Testament served as the background against which Tradition identified Jesus and from then on it read the Old Testament with Jesus as the key of interpretation. The notion that it is one and the same God who is active in both of the Testaments and that the two covenants are linked in the person of Jesus Christ is central to the Orthodox understanding of the unity of the Bible and explains why the Church fought against Marcion to preserve the Old Testament in the Church.

Interpretation of the Bible is always under the guidance of the Holy Spirit in the Church. Thus, inspiration covers both the transmission of the sacred text and its interpretation. This is given and realised within the Tradition. There is somehow within Orthodoxy a holistic approach to the Scrip-

tures, which, I posit, reflects the heritage of Jewish exegetical traditions and their understanding of the Bible. This holistic approach is sensitive to the unity and diversity of the Bible. It always perceives and receives the Bible within the context of its existence-in-the-community. This of course allows for a particularly close and free relationship to the Bible. The Biblical vision of reality permeates all aspects of life in Orthodoxy.

Many would say that Orthodoxy is not at all Biblical; that indeed, the Fathers play a much more important part in the life of Orthodoxy than the Holy Scriptures themselves. However, this very approach to the Bible is rooted in the fact that Scripture and Tradition are always seen together. The Reformation problem of *sola Scriptura* and the Counter-Reformation articulation of two separate sources of revelation, Scripture and Tradition, represent a problematic that is foreign to Orthodoxy. To the non-Orthodox ear, the word Orthodox almost immediately brings to mind the word Tradition. However, for Orthodox theology, although Scripture and Tradition cannot be separated, they can be distinguished. Tradition, the on-going life of the Spirit in the Church and of the Church in the Spirit, is the context, the living community. The source of revelation, God, is one; the content is one. *Sola Scriptura* does not exist, nor are there two parallel sources of revelation, Scripture and Tradition, with the latter being merely material added on to Scripture. Tradition receives Scripture as the Word of God for His people. It is Tradition which *transmits* the Scriptures. Tradition can be expressed in the following words of St. Irenaeus of Lyons (d. ca 202):

"But (it has, on the other hand, been shown), that the preaching of the Church is everywhere consistent, and continues in an even course, and receives testimony from the prophets, the apostles, and all the disciples-as I have

proved-through (those in) the beginning, the middle, and the end, and through the entire dispensation of God, and that well-grounded system which tends to man's salvation, namely, our faith; which, having been received from the Church, we do preserve, and which always, by the Spirit of God, renews its youth, as if it were some precious deposit in an excellent vessel, (*depositum juvenescens*) causes the vessel itself containing it to renew its youth also. For this gift of God has been entrusted to the Church, as breath was to the first created man (*quemadmodum aspiratio plasmationi*)"³.

Tradition is characterised by a radical fidelity to the content of the Biblical revelation. There are not two sources of revelation: Tradition does not exist without Scripture, nor does Scripture exist *in vacuo*. Tradition is the mode of receiving the revelation of Truth. It is the on-going life of the Spirit, given to believers to hear, know, receive and appropriate the Truth. Tradition responds to the Word of God in word and in silence. It is this which makes it impossible to merely juxtapose Scripture and Tradition. The two are one: Tradition receives and transmits the Truth; it is the milieu in which Scripture is given. It receives and flows from Scripture.

If the Bible is the Book of the community, this also means that the Scriptures are the written authority for the Church. However, this authority is not over against the Church, but rather within the Church. The Church must reflect the Biblical vision of reality by ever conforming itself to the Scriptures and to the reality which they express. This is reflected in the Orthodox Church's approach to canon law. There is a subtle but necessary distinction to be drawn between the Church's canon and the various canon laws. The very term *záwón* originally meant a straight rod, a ruler; this

3. *Adversus Haereses*, III.24.1.

was translated into Latin as *regula*, rule. The Church's canon is based on the Church's understanding of itself as an epiphany of the Kingdom, which is yet to come. The canons express the Church's canon which itself is rooted in and is the expression of the Church's Tradition. This Tradition, in turn, is the on-going transmission of revelation, a living faithfulness to the Biblical vision. It is sometimes difficult for some to distinguish between Biblical and canonical rules. In the minds of many, the two are often confused. Yet what saves canon law from being or becoming mere casuistry is precisely this Biblical vision of reality which is its basis. It is a Christian *halachah*, if you will, which shows us the way in which to live, the way along which to walk in fulfilling our vocation as children of the Most High. One might not be able to find a Biblical quotation to justify every existing canon, but it is clear that with a certain sensitivity to the Bible, one becomes aware of the fidelity of the canons to the revelation, to the entire scope of *αἰχνοποιία*, of them as a response to the Scriptures. Saint Basile the Great (d. 379) articulates this very well:

"Of the beliefs and practices whether generally accepted or publicly enjoined which are preserved in the Church some we possess from written teaching; others we have received delivered to us 'in a mystery' by the tradition of the apostles; and both of these in relation to true religion have the same force... This is the reason for our tradition of unwritten precepts and practices, that the knowledge of our dogmas may not become neglected and condemned by the multitude through familiarity. 'Dogma' and 'Kerigma' are two distinct things; the former is observed in silence; the latter is proclaimed to all the world"⁴.

The liturgical life of Orthodoxy is also deeply rooted in this Biblical vision, in this sensitivity to the content of revelation. The Biblical and Jewish notion of *halachah* lies at

4. *De Spiritu Sancto*, XXVII.66.

the roots of the Orthodox understanding of the sanctification of time, life and creation. The Bible is ever present in the liturgy. The Book of the Gospels, *which is solemnly enthroned on the altar, is, at various moments* in the life of the community, carried in procession and offerend to the veneration of the faithful. The liturgy remains the *locus par excellence* for the reading of the Bible. The use of the Old Testament in the liturgy reflects and influences the Church's reading of these books. The use of Psalm 119, for example, in the mattins of Holy Saturday (as well as in the weekly vigils of the Resurrection and in the funeral service) reflects an understanding of the Law which sees it not as a heavy yoke, but rather as God's revelation to humanity. At the tomb of Christ, the Church sings this proclamation of love for the Law, this Law which is God's gift of meaningful life to humankind.

We all acknowledge that Christianity is born of Judaism. That to which we refer as the Old Testament comes to us through a very specific tradition. We must always be aware of Jewish tradition and Jewish exegesis as a vital link between the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament. We discover that it is not just to the Old Testament in itself that we must refer ourselves. We must become increasingly aware of the profound influence of Jewish tradition on our interpretation, reading and text of the Old Testament. Jewish tradition has played an important rôle in the development of our liturgical forms. It is perhaps often more useful to look to the synagogal liturgy of the first centuries of this era rather than to the Temple liturgy in order to discover the roots of our liturgy. The Messianic element in Judaism, the mystical tradition, the interpretation of the Scriptures, the on-going life of Israel: in these we learn much that is of vital importance for us. The faith of Israel cannot be ignored. We can study Hillel, meditate with Isaac Luria, pray in the words of Judah

ha-Levi, be guided by the Baal Shem Tov. Perhaps through a greater awareness of Jewish tradition we will discover its importance for our life, reflexion and faith today.

Chairman: I want to express our gratitude to Father Jones for a very clear and sound lecture. Now, I call Father Argenti to present his intervention.

R. P. Argenti:

Tout d'abord je dois dire que je parle pour la première fois devant un auditoire appartenant au peuple qui donna naissance à mon Maître et Sauveur. J'en viens à notre sujet: la tradition telle que l'Eglise Orthodoxe la comprend. Qu'est-ce que la Tradition? Je définirais-et je pense que les juifs pourraient dire la même chose-ce qui n'est pas tradition: ce qui n'est pas matière à transmettre par une source orale. J'utilise le mot «*tradition*» dans quatre sens: (a) message transmis par la Parole de Dieu. Cela n'est pas la même chose que la tradition humaine, les coutumes etc. «*Tradition*» dans le sens des mots utilisés dans Deuté. «*sheman Israël*» et répétés ensuite par le Christ dans le Nouveau Testament. (b) Celui de Paul en Rom. 10, 8: «*Tout près de toi est la parole, dans ta bouche et dans ton coeur. Cette parole, c'est la parole de la foi que nous proclamons*» (c) Présence de l'esprit de Dieu qui forme et rend réceptifs les coeurs de ceux qui reçoivent la tradition: les fidèles. (d) La Parole de Dieu donnée dans le coeur des fidèles — l'Esprit qui rassemble le peuple et qui constitue le peuple de Dieu, uni par l'Esprit, dépositaire de la tradition.

Dans l'Eglise Orthodoxe il existe une unité parfaite, une unité absolue entre la Parole de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament. La Bible, de la Genèse jusqu'à la Révélation, est considérée comme un seul livre.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 30, MORNING SESSION.

Chairman-Metropolitan Damaskinos :

The chairman introduces Prof. Abrudan.

Prof. Dumitru Abrudan :

"ROLE DES DIVERSES TRADITIONS (LITURGIQUES, RITUELLES, CANONIQUES, FAMILIALES ETC) DANS L'EGLISE ORTHODOXE".

Le terme «tradition» revêt plusieurs sens dans la pensée chrétienne orthodoxe.

Il y a d'abord la *Tradition divine, apostolique ou sacrée*, qui est identique à la Révélation surnaturelle et se trouve exposée dans la Sainte Ecriture, développée dans les écrits des Saints Pères et résumée dans les Symboles de foi oecuméniques, dans les 85 Canons apostoliques, dans les définitions (décisions) dogmatiques des 7 Conciles Oecuméniques et des 9 Conciles locaux (approuvés par le VI-e Concile in-Trullo), dans les livres de culte, les confessions de foi des martyrs, dans les définitions dogmatiques répondant aux hérétiques et dans les témoignages historiques et archéologiques concernant la foi. (1).

Cette Tradition constitue le fond commun de toutes les confessions chrétiennes. Elle est unique, en dépit de la scission historique du christianisme, car sa source, le Saint Esprit, est unique. Elle est, de même, ininterrompue et inépuisable, et son dépôt est l'Eglise, d'où sa dénomination de «conscience» ou «memoire vivante» de l'Eglise. En effet, l'Eglise vit aussi dans la Tradition, vérifiant en celle-ci sa propre identité. A cause de son rôle capital, l'Eglise a défendu

fermement, tout au long de l'histoire, l'intégrité et la pureté de la Tradition, s'opposant à toute tentative de dénaturer son contenu soit par additions, soit par omissions. C'est ainsi que la Tradition est restée toujours la même, mais sans acquérir pour autant un caractère statique (2), elle est restée constante et inchangée dans son contenu ou son fond révélé mais s'est concrétisée sous une multitude de formes correspondant à chaque génération et à chaque époque historique. De là son caractère toujours vivant, actuel, efficient, dynamique. Les possibilités qu'a la Tradition de se renouveler, de s'approfondir et de s'adapter aux préoccupations et aux aspirations des fidèles sont restées illimitées. Les fidèles lui ont imprimé une multitude d'accents, ont trouvé en elle une variété de sens, que nous n'avons pas à regretter, mais, bien au contraire, considérer comme des aspects complémentaires qui, ensemble, mettent mieux en valeur la richesse cachée dans la Révélation. Le résultat de ce processus continu fut la constitution des *traditions particulières locales, ecclésiastiques*, qui sont, en général, un développement, une concrétisation, une expression locale et temporelle de la Tradition universelle; elles prennent naissance de la Tradition apostolique, se maintiennent dans le cadre de celle-ci, se nourrissent à sa source stable et avancent sur un chemin dont les jalons ont été virtuellement fixés par elle, mais se sont modelés selon les problèmes et les conditions prévalant actuellement. (4) Chacune, à sa manière, est l'expression de la présence et de la diversité de l'élément humain dans l'Eglise.

L'apparition de ces traditions peut être confirmée depuis l'époque de l'Eglise indivise, lorsqu'en Orient coexistaient déjà deux écoles exégétiques, l'une à Alexandrie, l'autre à Antioche, utilisant des méthodes différentes dans l'interprétation de la Sainte Ecriture. L'école d'Alexandrie se caractérisait par l'interprétation allégorique, celle d'Antioche par l'interprétation historico-littéraire. Ont été créées ainsi deux manières,

deux directions exégétiques, qui abordaient d'un point de vue différent le même verbe, inspiré, de l'Écriture. Celles-ci étaient respectivement les «créations» du «christianisme alexandrin» et «antiochien», du milieu intellectuel de ces deux grands foyers de culture et de civilisation de l'antiquité. (5).

Toujours à cette même époque furent posées les bases des deux systèmes théologiques — oriental et occidental — fondés sur les écrits et la pensée des Pères de l'Eglise d'Orient et d'Occident. La nuance qui les différenciait ne tenait pas à l'essence mais plutôt à la forme, à la méthode littéraire utilisée pour habiller l'enseignement de l'unique foi sous le vêtement de l'expression humaine. Les premiers (les Pères de l'Eglise d'Orient), dans l'élaboration de leurs oeuvres, ont eu recours à des notions appartenant à la philosophie grecque, tandis que les autres (les Pères de l'Eglise d'Occident) à des notions de droit romain. C'est ainsi que furent constitués ces deux systèmes théologiques différents, dont l'oriental est plus mystique et l'occidental plus scolastique. (6)

On peut affirmer qu'il n'y a pas de domaine de la vie chrétienne où ce processus naturel de création et de développement des traditions locales ne soit manifesté. Si l'on pense au domaine liturgique ou de la vie du culte, en général, on constate que les Eglises ont constitué, ici aussi, et très tôt, leur propre tradition liturgique.

L'ancien ordre liturgique pratiqué à l'aube de l'histoire chrétienne s'est amplifié et diversifié continuellement. Inchangé demeura le noyau (l'épiclese), mais autour de lui vinrent se grouper de nouvelles parties créées en des lieux et des époques différentes. C'est ainsi qu'apparurent diverses Liturgies : la Liturgie de St. Jean Chrysostome, la Liturgie de St. Basile le Grand, la Liturgie des Présanctifiés. Leur structure est semblable mais elles diffèrent par certains aspects. La même chose s'est passée avec les autres offices religieux. Sans doute, dans leur composition sont entrés aussi des éléments empruntés à

des formes de cultes prechrétiens appartenant aux divers peuples : c'est ce qui advint surtout pour le culte des morts et pour certaines fêtes. L'Eglise a transfiguré ces éléments, leur attribuant une fonction nouvelle, mais qui, tout de même, marquèrent de leur empreinte spécifique chaque tradition locale. On peut parler aussi d'une influence du folklore sur le culte chrétien d'une région ou d'une autre. La musique religieuse fut la première touchée dans ce sens. Dans sa structure mélodique on peut identifier les accents du mélос populaire. Participant activement à la célébration des offices religieux, les fidèles enrichissaient incessamment les chants liturgiques. Ainsi, dans le cas d'une tradition locale étendue sur une aire géographique plus vaste, les influences, s'exprimant par des nuances différentes, n'ont pas manqué, mais en général on est allé jusqu'à la constitution de traditions locales distinctes.

De même, l'architecture et l'art iconographique sont tributaires de la création artistique spécifique à une zone géographique quelconque. Les Eglises ont compris la nécessité spirituelle des fidèles de retrouver dans leurs lieux de prière l'atmosphère de leur milieu d'origine. Pour cette raison, non seulement elles permirent la naissance d'une tradition architecturale et picturale locale mais l'ont même encouragée. C'est ainsi que s'explique l'épanouissement des styles d'architecture et de peinture religieuses : des styles différents se sont formés même au sein d'une seule Eglise. Dans l'Eglise Orthodoxe Roumaine on parle, par exemple, du style moldave, illustré par les églises, des monastères et des paroisses du nord de la Moldavie, du style «brâncovenesc» répandu en Valachie et en Olténie, du style transylvain, dans le cadre duquel on distingue un autre style — celui des églises en bois de Maramures et d'autres régions.

Tous ces styles font partie de la tradition de notre Eglise dans la construction des lieux de culte. D'autres Eglises possèdent, évidemment, leur style propre. Mais il existe un do-

maine à part où le rôle de la tradition locale est tout à fait remarquable : celui de la peinture iconographique. Dans ce cas, la constitution des traditions locales revêt la même valeur, la même importance et signification que la traduction de la Bible dans la langue nationale de chaque peuple. Lorsqu'ils ont pu lire le texte sacré dans leur langue maternelle, les fidèles se sont sentis profondément responsables de leur propre salut, de même lorsqu'ils ont pu contempler les visages sacrés des icônes, ils ont compris que, dans le Royaume à venir il y aura, pour eux aussi, une place. Ces visages — là leur sont devenus très familiers car c'est leurs propres traits qu'ils y retrouvaient. Cela renforce la conviction que désormais ils «co-habitent» avec les saints et coopèrent avec Dieu à l'oeuvre de renouvellement du monde. Voilà pourquoi là où l'on tenta d'introduire une tradition iconographique étrangère, la masse des fidèles réagit de manière négative, jusqu'à rejeter ce qui lui fut imposé du dehors dans certaines circonstances.

A côté de la tradition exégétique, théologique, liturgique et cultuelle, les Eglises ont créé aussi leur propre tradition canonique, y incluant tous les canons fixés par les conciles oecuméniques et locaux, ainsi que toutes les normes, lois et règles établies par l'Eglise au cours des temps, en fonction des nécessités liées à sa constitution et à son développement en tant que société religieuse. (7) A cela il faut ajouter les lois et les principes juridiques des Etats que l'Eglise fit siens, les incorporant à sa propre législation. Il s'agit des lois de l'Etat concernant l'organisation administrative et territoriale appliquées également par l'Eglise lors de l'organisation de ses entités administratives, ainsi que d'autres lois concernant des questions ecclésiastiques et l'activité de l'Eglise. Ce qui permet de distinguer une tradition canonique par rapport à d'autres concerne précisément cet héritage juridique pris par chaque Eglise locale à la législation de l'Etat concerné. Si,

jusqu'au grand schisme de 1054, l'Eglise entière se bornait à utiliser, en plus des canons, les lois romano-byzantines, après cette date les traditions canoniques allaient se diversifier par l'adoption, en Occident, de certaines normes juridiques promulguées par des Etats considérés comme barbares dans le domaine religieux et, en Orient, par l'assimilation de diverses lois en vigueur dans les Etats slaves, roumains, arabes ou dans l'Empire Ottoman.

Le rapport existant entre le fond révélé de la Sainte Tradition et la vie a déterminé l'apparition de traditions diversifiées également sur le plan éthique ou moral. Ici aussi, on peut parler de plusieurs «types» de vie chrétienne, correspondants aux différents modes de «transposition» des vérités révélées jusque dans la vie, utilisés par les fidèles. (8) En réalité, il n'existe pas de morale chrétienne unique. La transposition dans la vie des vérités de foi revêt des formes confessionnelles, locales et même familiales ou individuelles diverses. Un rôle important dans la constitution de la tradition morale d'une communauté locale déterminée fut joué sans aucun doute par les grandes personnalités religieuses, les grands confesseurs de la foi, tous ceux qui atteignirent le plus haut degré de perfection spirituelle : la sainteté. Mais il est tout aussi vrai que ce qui imprima à chaque tradition morale son caractère spécifique, particulier, fut la collectivité. Les saints ne sont pas tombés du ciel.

C'est au coeur de l'Eglise que leur propre personnalité s'épanouit. En leur personne se retrouve la quintessence des vertus de leur peuple d'origine. Par l'oeuvre de la grâce, ils ont mis en valeur — au niveau le plus élevé — des éléments trouvés dans la vie du peuple, dans la vie des fidèles qui les précédèrent où chez ceux qui les entouraient, dans la vie de leur famille. Ils répondirent à l'appel de leur Eglise, et suivirent l'exemple de leurs dignes prédécesseurs. Autrement dit, ils s'intégrèrent dans une tradition morale portée déjà par plusieurs générations.

Après avoir parlé de façon générale de toutes ces traditions locales particulières ou ecclésiastiques, il nous faut maintenant préciser leur rôle et leur importance dans la vie de l'Eglise.

La constatation qui s'impose est que celles-ci témoignent du caractère vivant et dynamique de la Tradition universelle qui n'est pas une curiosité archéologique ou une donnée pétrifiée dans des formes révolues. Elle est une force vivante, la conscience d'un organisme dynamique — l'Eglise. En elle le passé rejoint le présent où, déjà, vit l'avenir.

Par-dessus tout, ces traditions confirment que l'unité chrétienne n'est nullement une uniformisation stérile, monotone, mais une diversité de nuances harmonieusement assemblées.

De plus, elles aident les fidèles à s'intégrer totalement dans la vie de sainteté de l'Eglise, elles leur donnent la certitude l'utilité des efforts en vue du salut.

L'histoire de l'Eglise atteste que l'existence de ces traditions fut une nécessité. Incorporant en Christ tous ceux qui, objectivement, sont rachetés par le Christ, l'Eglise n'a pas gommé leur identité personnelle et ethnique, au contraire, elle crée le cadre propice au développement plénier de toutes ces particularités essentielles. (9) D'autre part, elle respecta le droit de chaque fidèle de penser et de vivre dans le présent, de s'exprimer selon son enthousiasme intérieur. En conséquence de cet ensemble de faits se cristallisa la diversité dans l'unité chrétienne, apparurent des traditions locales distinctes mais faisant toutes partie du noyau de la Tradition universelle. Elles représentent, selon l'expression d'un penseur chrétien, une croissance allant de l'intérieur vers l'extérieur, de la Tradition divine (10) vers une manifestation extérieure, phénoménale, de son unité intérieure. Leur variété signifie richesse spirituelle dans la mesure où elles sont en harmonie avec la Tradition unique et parfaite. Nous soulig-

nons cet aspect du rapport interne direct entre les traditions ecclésiastiques et la Tradition unique, car tout au long de l'histoire apparurent aussi des traditions moins rattachées à celle-ci ; par rapport à elle, ces traditions apparaissent comme des innovations injustifiées, nuisibles à l'unité de foi et d'action de l'Eglise. Elles sont par trop imprégnées de la relativité historique et de l'étroitesse humaine. Afin d'y être acceptées, ces traditions devraient être «re-traditionnalisées» (12), c'est-à-dire accordées à la Tradition commune.

Les autres traditions peuvent — et doivent — être conservées par les Eglises, car elles représentent la Tradition universelle dans le contexte humain. Elles sont liées à l'inévitable déroulement historique de la vie de l'Eglise. Mais en une époque oecuménique telle que la nôtre, deviennent indispensables l'approfondissement théologique, l'étude, la comparaison et la juste compréhension de ces traditions, cela afin de mieux nous connaître et de découvrir les éléments qui nous unissent. Dans ce sens, suivons l'exemple des chrétiens de l'Eglise ancienne, qui avaient compris que la Tradition, unique dans son principe, ne saurait être que multiple dans ses développements secondaires.

En conclusion, nous voudrions rappeler un point relevé par le prof. Shemeryahu Talmon lors de la rencontre précédente entre Juifs et chrétiens orthodoxes : c'est que dans la *Thora le divin a un caractère permanent, mais son interprétation est confiée à l'homme*. Nous considérons que cette affirmation est parfaitement en accord avec la thèse chrétienne sur la permanence ou invariabilité du fond révélé de la Tradition et la possibilité de développement et de renouvellement continu de ce fond, en fonction des préoccupations et des exigences de chaque époque. D'ailleurs, la même chose a été soulignée par le rabbin Rabinovich, parlant du caractère flexible de l'interprétation de la Thora dans le judaïsme. La

constatation de ces points communs augure favorablement du développement ultérieur des contacts entre nos religions et, en même temps, du dialogue préconisé.

Chairman :

The Chairman call Mr. Slavco Valtchanov Slavov to present his intervention.

Slavco Valtchanov Slavov :

«FONDEMENTS BIBLIQUES, TIRES
DE L'ANCIEN ET DU NOUVEAU TESTAMENT, DE LA
NOSTALGIE ET DE L'EFFORT DES CHRETIENS ET DES
JUIFS VERS LA PAIX ET LA JUSTICE".

Dans la Sainte Ecriture de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament on trouve deux catégories théologiques extrêmement importantes, toutes deux fondamentales dans le Christianisme et le Judaïsme : la notion de «paix» et celle de «justice». Je voudrais, durant cette discussion, montrer sur la base de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament que la nostalgie et la poussée vers ces deux idéaux si actuels rapprochent le Christianisme et le Judaïsme.

1. — La Paix, ce grand besoin de notre époque, correspond à une nostalgie profondément ancrée en chaque être humain. Cependant, celui-ci ne prend pas toujours suffisamment conscience de la nature et de la richesse de cette réalité. Nous nous en rendons compte en recouvrant d'un sens très large la notion biblique de «Paix», «Shalom». La racine de ce mot signifie : «compléter, poser des buts» (Job, 9, 4), par ex. compléter la construction d'une maison (I Rois, 9, 25), mais aussi : «reconstituer les choses dans leur état précédent, endommagé» (Ex. 21, 34, Ps. 49, 14). C'est la raison pourquoi «Paix» revêt le sens, dans la Bible, non seulement d'un «contrat» au terme duquel les hommes vivent tranquilles et heu-

reux, non seulement d'un «temps de paix» qu'on oppose à un «temps de guerre» (Qo. 3, 8, Ap. 6, 4), mais d'une harmonie, d'une justice et d'une évolution (vers quelque chose de meilleur). Sa réalisation ne présuppose pas seulement les efforts de l'homme individuel mais, surtout, ceux, communs, de tous les hommes.

Le vrai donateur de la Paix pour tous les hommes (Zachar. 9, 10) de tous les temps et de toutes les religions est Dieu. Dans le livre des Juifs (6, 24) on trouve l'expression : «Jahweh shalom», «Dieu est Paix» (Ps. 34, 27). Plus encore : la Dieu unique est aussi l'origine de tout être (Gen. 1, 1, Jean, 1, 3, Heb. 11, 3). Tout ce qui est lié à lui et tend vers lui : «Car c'est en lui que nous avons la vie, le mouvement et l'être» (Actes. 17, 28), «l'âme de tout ce qui vit est dans Sa main, et l'esprit de la chair de tous les hommes» (Job. 12, 10).

Si «shalom» dans l'Ancien Testament ne désigne pas simplement un état d'«éloignement de la guerre» mais, surtout, un concept dynamique, un processus qui apporte le bonheur à l'individu et à la communauté, le concept «Paix» (eiréné) quant à lui, représente dans le Nouveau Testament une catégorie remplie d'un sens supérieur et plus riche que «la paix dans le monde» bien que la comprenant déjà en elle (Jean, 14, 27, Luc. 24, 36, Hebr. 12, 14).

C'est justement ce commandement religieux de paix en nos âmes et en notre vie communautaire qui constitue la plus noble exigence de notre époque. Et en effet, nous sommes tous aujourd'hui les témoins d'un grand miracle de l'histoire du monde : grâce à l'élan et à l'effort communs en vue d'une paix stable et juste, la volonté de Dieu pour l'unité de tous les hommes se réalise, — hommes tous issus d'un seul et même sang (Actes (17, 26). Les obstacles dressés entre les hommes et les peuples sont mis de côté car, pour le Christ Sauveur, «il n'y a pas de grec ni de juif, de circoncis ou de non-circoncis» (Col. 3, 11).

Déjà chez les prophètes de l'Ancien Testament, le Messie futur est vu comme un Prince de la Paix, et son oeuvre de salut comme un Royaume de l'éternelle vérité et d'une Paix sans fin (Es. 9, 7). L'Hymne de Noël proclame : «Gloire à Dieu dans les cieux, et paix sur terre, aux hommes bienveillance» (Luc. 2, 14). L'assurance de notre foi (Es. 2, 4 ; Ps. 45, 9—10), en harmonie avec les plus profonds espoirs de tous les hommes, nous conduit vers ce temps béni de la paix générale (Es. 2, 4). C'est alors qu'arrivera ce que le prophète annonça (Es. 61, 2) et déclara pour le Christ sauveur (Luc. 4, 19) et pour «l'année agréable du Seigneur».

2. Sans aucun doute, le motif biblique de *justice* exprime une règle voulue par Dieu sur le comportement dans toute la vie des juifs et des chrétiens. L'idée biblique de justice, exprimée par le terme vétérotestamentaire «zedaka» (correspondant à celui du Nouveau Testament : dikaiosyné), s'étend sur les nuances-très compréhensives-suivantes : le droit qu'on doit rendre à quelqu'un ; une exigence de droit en général ; une bonne attitude exigée de tous et qui «exprime en vérité et en sincérité la justice en tant que qualité du juge ; un rapport analogue des hommes entre eux accepté par Dieu comme vrai et juste. De même l'idée biblique de «justice» signifie non seulement un état statique de l'Esprit, mais un effort vers le maintien de la justice parmi les hommes, c'est à dire : justice en tant qu'activité à l'aide de laquelle on vit et exerce une activité. C'est la raison pour laquelle toute attitude qui abandonnerait l'esprit et les formes de la justice sociale est impardonnable pour le chrétien et le juif, la Parole de Dieu commandant et jugeant : «Malheur à vous, docteurs de l'Ecriture qui faites des lois injustes» (Is. 10, 1). «Pourquoi regarderais-tu les perfides, et te taisais-tu ? (Habakuk 1, 13). «Celui qui commet l'injustice, celui-là sera découvert pour les injustices qu'il a commises» (Col. 3, 25). Au contraire, les pauvres, les opprimés et ceux qui souffrent

sont l'objet d'une sollicitude et d'une protection particulières. Leur protection et leur salut sont un devoir fondamental pour chaque fidèle inspiré par la justice de Dieu (cf. Deut. 15, 9—10 ; Job. 29, 12 ; 31, 19—22 ; Ps. 11, 6 ; 40, 1 ; 81, 3 ; 108, 31 ; Isai 1, 17 ; 10, 6—7 ; 56, 1 ; 85, 6—7 ; Math. 25, 34—40 ; Jac. 2, 14—16 ; I Th. 5, 14).

La justice biblique exprime donc une activité «concrète» et crée en même temps des rapports «concrets». Elle embrasse la justice des rapports humains qui demandent une vie et une activité authentiques.

De cette manière nous nous rapprochons de la Sainteté et de la Foi, car la justice et la paix sont une attitude commune des chrétiens et des juifs, selon la volonté de Dieu. (Gen. 15, 6 ; Deut. 6, 25 ; Matth. 6, 33 ; I Jean 2, 29).

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 30, AFTERNOON SESSION.

Chairman — Professor Talmon :

The session opens with the discussion on the two papers presented during the morning session. Then, Professor Singer presents his paper.

Israel Singer :

"THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE COMMUNITY
IN THE JEWISH TRADITION"

There is a *Midrash*, a traditional exegesis, about the miracle of Jewish survival through the millenia. It is said that Jews survived because they kept the Sabbath. "No, it is the other way around", goes the response. "It is the Sabbath that maintains the Jews". In fact, both the thesis and its response are correct. Jews and Judaism have been integrally interwoven from the time of Abraham.

In our own time, in what is egotistically called "modern times", the relationship of Judaism and Jews has undergone some change. There have been two stages in this change. The first stage, beginning in the eighteenth century and dominating the nineteenth, saw the redefinition of Judaism, the heritage. The second stage, beginning in the nineteenth and dominating the twentieth, saw the redefinition of Jews as a people.

The premodern Jew was not concerned with definitions. He was secure in his knowledge of who he was and how he stood in the three essential relationships of his life : his relationship to other Jews, his relationship to Gentiles, and

his relationship to God. The essence of modernity is doubt, uncertainty and insecurity in both relationships and identity.

The emancipation of the Jews was a byproduct of changes taking place within European society. These changes were intellectual, social, economic, and political. The central change was in the mind of man, in his enlightenment. As Kant wrote in his *Beantwortung der Frage : Was ist Aufklärung ?* (1784), "Enlightenment is the liberation of man from his self-caused state of minority. Minority is the incapacity of using one's understanding without the direction of another". Man was now the center of the world and his reason replaced divine revelation as the measure of truth. The basic idea underlying enlightenment was the conviction that human understanding is capable, by its own power and without any recourse to supernatural assistance, of comprehending the system by which the world operates and that this new understanding of the world will lead to eventual mastery over the conditions of human existence. Religious truth was thought to be attainable by the exercise of human reason and, consequently, religious truth was believed to be accessible to every human being.

Man had become the center of the world and the individual, the basic unit of society. The corporate structure of the middle ages in which a man related to others and to the State as a member of a community was replaced by structures in which each individual was to stand in a direct relationship to the State. Each individual was to have the same relationship to the State and to the other members of the State. The revolution in theological thought found analogy in social relations : Universalism succeeded particularism and age of tolerance, if not acceptance, began. *Liberte, Egalite, et Fraternite*, were the call words of this Revolution. This revolution changed the conditions of Jewish life. The eighteenth century saw the end of an authoritative Jewish

community which had the power to effectuate compliance with its decisions. Membership in the Jewish community became voluntary. Jews began to live in a larger environment and less so in the narrower Jewish world. How were Jews to participate in a non-Jewish environment without surrendering their distinctions and their ancient traditions? What was the relevance of the Revelation and the value of the ancient tradition in this new age? All the certainties of Jewish life were now called into question.

These answers required legitimation and the legitimation was of a radically new type. In the past when a situation necessitated a new response the religious leadership of the Jewish community delved into the tradition for guidelines. But now legitimation was sought by historians and theologians using the Western tool, science. The Science of Judaism, or the *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, arose in early nineteenth century Germany. Its aim was the objective historical investigation into the sources and history of Judaism. Its practitioners exposed the complexity of Jewish thought and asserted that Judaism developed in response to outside stimuli: The belief that Judaism was a self-contained, unchanging entity consistent in all its parts, was no longer tenable. Once it is accepted that Judaism had changed since God's covenant with Abraham in response to changing conditions, it is possible to consider actively reforming Judaism to conform with the new world of modern times.

Reform Judaism began as a movement among laymen who were concerned about improving the aesthetic qualities of the synagogue service. The ideological developments followed a generation later. A leading Reform Rabbi, Samuel Holdheim of Berlin, formulated it this way: "The present requires a principle that shall enunciate clearly that a yaw, even though divine, is potent only so long as the conditions and circumstances of life, to meet which it was enacted, continue;

when these change, however, the law must also be abrogated, even though it has God for its author. For God himself has shown indubitably that with the change of the circumstances and conditions of life for which He once gave these laws, the laws themselves cease to be operative, that they shall be observed no longer because they can be observed no longer". The Bible was still considered to have been revealed by God though it contained two distinct elements: the eternally valid religious ideas of monotheism and morality, and the temporally bound components of the constitution of ancient Israel. The latter had lost their validity as everything connected with the Temple and the State was to be considered abolished. Jewish Law, as articulated by the Rabbis throughout the centuries, was no longer considered as being incumbent upon the individual. Ritual and other aspects of tradition were not regarded as divinely-ordained conditions of Jewish existence; traditional Jewish practices were but vestiges of ancient Hebrew civilization. The relevance of these practices to the Jew as an individual was to be subjectively determined.

The credo of the French Revolutionaries who declared that "For the Jews as individuals, everything. For the Jews as a nation, nothing", seemed to be affirmed by Central European Jewry who, seeking social and economic emancipation, were ready to sacrifice the rights of the Jewish people for the rights of the Jew as an individual. The classic formulation of Reform Judaism, the Pittsburg Platform of 1885, expresses the emancipatory credo by saying that the Jews were «no longer a nation, but a religious community, and therefore expect neither a return to Palestine... nor the restoration of any laws concerning the Jewish state...». In recent years, Reform Judaism has moderated considerably, opening up to many traditional observances and to energetic support

of the State of Israel and for endangered Jewish communities across the globe.

If Reform Judaism was revolutionary, then Conservative Judaism was evolutionary. Conservative Judaism accepted the inevitability of change in Jewish religious life in the modern age. They viewed the history of Judaism as a succession of adaptations. The liberalization of certain traditional practices in liturgy and ritual was viewed as tactically justified if Judaism was to survive in an open society. The relaxation of Jewish law was made as an incentive to counteract the appeal of secularism among the potentially disaffected sectors of modern Jewry. The Conservative movement conceived of the Jewish people as an organism which revitalized its spirit through history by responding creatively to new stimuli.

Conservative Judaism believes that the traditional forms and precepts of Judaism are valid and that changes in practice are to be made only with great reluctance. Rabbi Alexander Kohut, an early leader of Conservative Judaism, responded to the Pittsburgh Platform in this way: "Our religious guide is the Torah, the Law of Moses, interpreted and applied in the light of tradition. But inasmuch as individual opinions cannot be valid for the whole community, it behooves individuals and communities to appoint only recognized authorities as teachers; such men, that is to say, as acknowledge belief in authority, and who, at the same time, with comprehension and tact, are willing to consider what may be permitted in view of the exigencies of the time, and what may be discarded, without changing the nature and character of the foundation of faith...". Thus Conservative Judaism perceives itself as a moderate option between reform and tradition.

A twentieth century movement originally termed "Zionist Judaism" is the Reconstructionist philosophy of Mordecai

M. Kaplan. Originally Reconstructionism sought to keep, as far as possible, observances intact, but to assign to them new meanings in line with modern ideas. As Reconstructionism has developed, it has found it necessary to be more selective as to which observances are to be kept intact. Recently Kaplan has reformulated the basic principle than an "...objective and adequate rational for Judaism of our day... has to select from the Judaism of the past those beliefs and practices which either in their original or in a reinterpreted form, are compatible with what we now recognize to be authentic". Thus Judaism, according to Kaplan, exists for the Jewish people, not the Jewish people for Judaism. Reconstructionism abandons the idea of a personal God and of revealed Torah. Kaplan goes in many ways the furthest in putting man at the center of the universe. The central reality of Judaism for reconstructionism is neither God nor tradition, but the Jewish people. On the theological plane, therefore, Reconstructionism is the most radical of the religious interpretations of Judaism. On the national plane, Reconstructionism is the least liberal of the movements concerning the compromising of traditional unity of the Jewish people. *Clal Ysroel*, the Unity of Israel, is, for the Reconstructionist, of preeminent importance.

The fourth and last of the movements which arose in Judaism in modern times is Neo-Orthodoxy. Its main ideologue was Rabbi Samson Raphael Hirsch of Frankfurt. Arthur Hertzberg has, perhaps, best described Neo-Orthodoxy as the "Right Wing of Reform". It adopted the goal of integration within modern society, aiming at a symbiosis between traditional Orthodoxy and modern culture. Adherents of Neo-Orthodoxy remain strictly observant of the laws and customs of the tradition. Yet they accepted many Western values such as the education of women and the concept of freedom of conscience. Neo-Orthodoxy accepted non-Jewish languages as

the languages of Jewish culture and secular knowledge as a value in itself. Most importantly Neo-Orthodoxy, along with the other modern movements, shared a positive appreciation of the Exile, consigning the idea of "Return to Zion" to the Messianic Era while maintaining that Jews had a "Universal Mission" which is to be fulfilled in the Exile.

All the modern movements are creations of the Exile or the Diaspora. They are rationales of accommodation with Western society. The significance of Zion and Jerusalem are obfuscated in the modern Jewish religious movements by the need to seek a tolerable *modus vivendi* with the non-Jewish world-at-large.

As we have just seen, four new trends arose within Judaism, each expressing a different relation between the Jews and their tradition. Reform, Conservative, and Neo-Orthodoxy developed in nineteenth century Germany. Eastern Europe, northern Africa, and the Middle East was the human reservoir of Jewry and the bastion of traditional Judaism. There are three basic groupings within traditional, or as is more commonly known, Orthodox Judaism, which claim not to have made any accommodations. The first is Sephardic or Oriental Jewry, with many of their own rites and customs. The second is Hassidism, with its roots in the eighteenth century Ukraine. Hasidic Jewry is organized on the basis of the various dynasties of Rabbis, such as the Lubavitcher, Satmer, Gerer, and Belzer. Hassidism is emotional and mystical with its message that simple faith is superior to scholasticism, that joy is to be invoked in God's service and that there are "holy sparks" in all things to be redeemed by a life of sanctity. The third group is that represented by the yeshivot, or academies, of the Lithuanian pattern and the rabbis educated in these institutions. The emphasis is on Torah study and the carrying out of the detailed observances. The stress is on intellectual comprehension, particularly of the sea of lore that is the Tal-

mud. The *Musar* movement, a sub-group of the latter Orthodoxy, is based on the teachings of Rabbi Salanter. A profound emphasis on ethics is the stress of the *Musar* movement.

But Orthodox Judaism of the twentieth century is not the same as it was in the eighteenth century. Orthodox Jews have organized themselves so as to maximize their power in the political process. In recent years they have become responsive to the opportunities of government programs, often showing a greater willingness to cooperate with non-Jews than with non-Orthodox Jews. Orthodox Jews have not been immune to the advances of technology and innovation. Secular education has been accepted, and even education for women, something which would have been violently rejected 200 years ago, has been assimilated from the outside and has become acceptable to a limited degree.

The second stage of change in the relationship of Jews and Judaism in modern times has seen the redefinition of Jews. It is perhaps more correct to say that many definitions are now available compared to the one definition of the pre-modern period. This is due primarily to two factors: the end of the traditional, authoritative Jewish community and the impact of secularization.

With the end of the corporate society, each individual has had to decide the content of his Jewishness. He has had to decide whether to consider himself as Jewish at all. If identity is individual and voluntary, how then to relate to others who call themselves Jewish, particularly when their Jewishness is not yours?

This problem is particularly acute between those for whom Judaism remains an integral part of their Jewishness and those for whom Judaism is no part of their Jewishness. To many Jews, God is dead and religion at best is a means of survival which was useful in the past, but no longer vital or effective. Those Jews have had to redefine their Jewish-

ness in one or two ways. One way has been culturally, that is to say, they are a part of Jewish culture. But is there a Jewish culture without Judaism? There is no country, with the exception of the State of Israel, on the face of this earth where the majority of the Jews express themselves in a language other than the vernacular. Countless dissertations have been written asking, but not quite answering, the question of what is Jewish in the writings of Bellow or Kafka or even Joseph Heller. Is there Jewish art or music, if it is not ritual art or liturgical music? There is no Jewish culture without Judaism.

Therefore, most nonreligious Jews have defined themselves, nationally, as participants in Jewish peoplehood. *Am Yisrael*, Jewish peoplehood, was always one of the elements of Jewish identity. The Jews are the descendants of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob to whom God promised the land of Israel for their eternal homeland. The land of Israel has always played a central role for the Jews. It is true that the relative weights of nationalism and religion have shifted many times throughout Jewish history.

Our century has seen the development of a Jewish national movement, Zionism, and its coming to fruition in the State of Israel. Israel is the corporate entity and identity of contemporary Jewry, just as it was for Biblical Jewry. It has both a positive and a negative aspect. The positive aspect is that it is the unit, the community through which the Jew can fully participate in the world. The negative aspect is that it reemerged as a necessary response to the Jewish need to be secure from anti-semitism.

I have given you a brief survey of the varieties of Judaism and Jews in our times. The most important point is that while before there was a single definition, today there are many. In 1958 Prime Minister Ben-Gurion asked the question, "Who is a Jew?" The answers are many and varied.

The one thing that unites all Jews is their concern for each other and their concern that what has happened at Auschwitz will never happen again.

The unity of the Jewish people is integral to all that is Jewish. There exists, however, a tension, between the Jew as part of the Jewish whole and the Jew as himself, as an individual. To be a Jew, therefore, is to exist as a polarity consisting both of the social being and of the unique soul.

The Jewish polarity is a balanced one: we know all too well of the possibilities for evil that obtain when the collective attempts to obfuscate the individual; gluttony and selfishness, on the other hand, emerge when the individual is contemptuous of his social responsibilities. The potential for an internecine struggle between the social and individual human being is arrested by Jewish law. The recognition of this tension and its solution, the balance that maintains the Jewish whole as the sum total of Jewish persons, is affirmed and reaffirmed by Jewish liturgy, practice and thought.

One of the ideal examples through which an individual is called upon to express his individuality in the Jewish faith are the Jewish festivals. Every Passover every single Jew is required to feel as if he once more this year is leaving bondage in Egypt. Each Shavuoth every single Jew is required to achieve the feeling of standing on Mt. Sinai and receiving the Decalogue and the Torah from God himself. Each Succoth Jews leave their permanent homes to experience once again a feeling of henebrenation to renew the feeling of peregrinations and wandering through the desert. Indeed every Chanukah I once more am victorious together with the Hasmoneans in reconsecrating the Temple and reliving the miracle of the single vial of oil that lasted for eight days and every Purim I am victorious against Haman and the struggle against oppression. It is I the individual experiencing these existential states together with millions of other Jews that creates together a functioning Judaism.

The Sabbath was created by God as an attestation to His six days of creative work. The Sabbath is forged by the six preceding days of labor, of seminal effort, of organic travail. The human is the microcosmic of the Divine and it is therefore Man's task to emulate God. And what is God? The question has no, or, perhaps, many answers according to Judaism. What can be said is that to know God is to know his attributes. In fact, one can know God only through the thirteen attributes by which he has chosen to reveal His presence. These attributes include the Divine as all-merciful, as imbued with understanding and, as compassionate. If man is to render himself in God's image then he must also be merciful, understanding and compassionate. Man betrays his creator and, in the process destroys himself when he deals with his fellows without sensitivity of mercy, with contempt and deceit or when he effects the subjugation of another human to base desires.

The *neshema*, the human spirit is clothed by the body. Crimes against the spirit perpetrated by an individual against another or, similarly, crimes against the body, is according to the Jewish world-view, an abomination before the Lord. When one human being treats his peers with pain he is ungodly in his action and he mocks the purity of soul which has been vested in him at his birth. Crimes against people have existed since the forging of society. The institutionalization of criminality, be it through tyranny, warmongering or bigotry, is the most revolting of sights before God's eyes. What has come to be called "human rights", are God given rights. The individual may not be sacrificed for the collective; by so doing the collective aggregate of persons suffers an irreparable loss.

The human being's creation by God entitles him to an existence whereby he can carry out three sets of interaction unfettered by the fear of treachery between men. The inter-

actions, in epistemological order, include self-knowledge, social consciousness and the ability to know God.

The achievement of *comunitas* between the individual creature and the Omniscient One is best achieved through prayer. Prayer is the channel for dialogue between the Host of Hosts and His children when the latter wishes to communicate with Him. From a Jewish perspective, prayer is optimized through collective worship known traditionally as a *minyan*. The Jew is instructed to seek other Jews, whom together constitute themselves as a quorum that collectively petitions God's attention so that each person's agenda can be considered. There is an old Mishnaic statement which asserts that the bigger the crowd the greater the beauty for the King. In the same vein Reb Menachem Mendel of Kotzk, the founder of the Gerer Hassidic dynasty, proposes an allegory by which the individual can preserve his individuality in the collective whole: A Hassid enwraps himself in his prayer shawl so as to seek God through his own private sojourn. Simultaneously, however, he embarks upon his sojourn in the company of ten other men. The odyssey to the Transcendent is deeply personal but one takes part in the journey with fellow-travelers.

Indeed my grandfather once taught me a solution to the vexing question of "how can I be me when we must be us?" He recommended that I take two pieces of paper and that I inscribe the following, one on each: "*im ein ani li mi li? and uchesheani leatzmin ma ani?*" These words constitute the two poles of Hillel's maxim: "If I am not for me, who is for me! If I am only for myself, what am I?" Grandfather said that when I feel the pressure of society is oppressing me I should assert myself by taking out the scrap of paper upon which the first part of the maxim is written. When, alternately, I am oppressing society through the shunning of my societal responsibilities I should renew myself by taking out

the second piece of paper upon which I remind myself that I am nothing without the social whole. The maxim applies, of course, not only to the individual but also to the society-at-large. There is a collective correspondent to the personal libido. Likewise there is a societal correspondent to the superego. Libido cannot be allowed to flow unchecked nor can the superego rule by excess and whim.

The resolution of the tension between the individual and the collective is the foundation upon which rabbinic Judaism is built. The solution which rabbinic Judaism offers is applied to the analogous tension between modernity and tradition. Halachic Judaism allows for the coexistence of the time-honored, Divinely-ordained traditions of Judaism and at the same the advancement of society through modernization.

The individual has a third dimension to his essence. The human being feels both sorrow and joy in his relationship to himself, to society and to God. Mourning, the emotive expression of sorrow, is not, however, an experience that the individual undergoes alone: in Jewish law *shiva*, the mourning period, is a rite of solidarity. The solidarity rite can be carried out as such because the *shiva*-caller consoles his friend as a mourner of Zion and Jerusalem and, after all, we are all mourners of Zion and Jerusalem. The same holds true for the individual in his greatest moment of happiness, under the canopy of Holy matrimony, when the groom breaks the glass in an experiential reliving of the sacking of Jerusalem. The despoilment and exile from *Eretz Yisroel* is re-experienced by the leaving of the corner of one's new home unmended or unpainted. We too feel the destruction of the ancient Jewish polity. The mourning period, the breaking of the glass and the leaving of a disheveled corner of one's home are collective acts that, by their coordinated practice among all Jews, recalls the sadness we have endured. No less so do

we commemorate our entire history as well as affirming our common future.

It was Job who, in his mourning and anguish was joined by his three friends each of whom, individually sensing that Job's pain was, in a sense, their own, arrived together at the gates of the city at the same time even though they had initiated their mission of compassion alone. That man can feel one another's pain, that man can act together to exorcise the root of another's despair, that cooperative response, dialogue, empathy and concerted action together makes it possible for multi-dimensional man to live with himself, within society and by the grace of God.

R. Père Cyrille Argenti :

Tout d'abord une brève remarque concernant la conférence du professeur Abrudan. Il a dit que dans la composition des offices religieux orthodoxes sont entrés aussi des éléments païens. Je ne pense pas personnellement que dans des offices chrétiens il y ait des éléments empruntés à des offices non chrétiens. La seule source non-évangélique de nos offices est la tradition juive. Je pense que l'origine de toutes nos liturgies, y inclus la Divine Eucharistie, est dans le culte de la Synagogue. Il n' y a jamais eu de source païenne à nos liturgies.

J'ai écouté maintenant avec un intérêt passionné la conférence du professeur Singer. Une question revient sans cesse à mon esprit et j'aimerais qu'on essaie d'y répondre, peut-être cet après-midi. Dans ce lien si intime entre religion et peuple où manifestement vous concevez que le peuple juif, que la nation juive, a une mission universelle mais que cependant la religion juive n'est pas une religion universelle mais la religion d'un peuple particulier, où donc- dans le plan de Dieu tel que le comprennent les Juifs- est la place des Gentils ?

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 31, MORNING SESSION :

Chairman — Metropolitan Damaskinos :

At the beginning of the session, Metropolitan Damaskinos made presentations to the participants of the Jewish delegation. He then called Chief Rabbi Rosen to give a report on Jewish life in Rumania.

Chief Rabbi Rosen :

The Jewish Community of Rumania exists since the 16th century, although, historically speaking, it dates from the 5th century. Before World War II lived some 800,000 Jews in Rumania ; half of them were killed (especially those living in the region of Transilvania). The remaining 400,000 were helped through humanitarian programmes by the Rumanian government. Eighty per cent of these people have emigrated to Israel, and today remain in Rumania 37,000 Jews. Over sixty per cent of the Jewish population are over 60 years old, and there are 68 communities all over the country, the largest being the Bucharest Community. There are 120 synagogues in the whole country — 68 functioning with a daily minyan. In Bucharest the Community runs a Jewish restaurant, catering daily for over 1,000 people, and various social and cultural programmes are being carried. Similar activities take place in the other communities as well. Relations with the State and the authorities are cordial, and the government has always been helpful.

Evêque Antoine :

En ce qui concerne l'Eglise de Roumanie, nous pouvons dire que nous sommes Orthodoxes depuis des temps immémoriaux. Il y a 17 millions de chrétiens orthodoxes sur une population de 20 millions d'habitants, des dizaines de prêtres, d'Eglises et plus de 100 monastères. De façon générale, nos relations avec l'Etat sont très cordiales et nous sommes confrontés aux mêmes problèmes que la communauté juive.

Dr. Riegner :

First of all, we are grateful to the State and the President for providing to all religious communities the facilities to live according to their beliefs. The general preoccupations of the Jewish people are the universal preoccupations of peace, disarmament etc. On the specific Jewish preoccupations for the Jewish people I would say there are three, namely : a) Israel — its centrality and importance for the Jewish people. b) Anti-Semitism and Islamic fundamentalism — a danger not only for Jewish life, but for religious minorities in general. That is why cooperation is needed, so that we may find a structure of common attitudes. c) education of youth — that is, how to transmit the Jewish message and inspire young generation with the enthusiasm of their grand-parents. This is a very important issue for us, upon which the survival of Jews and Judaism depends. He then reported about the relations with the Catholic Church and the W.C.C.

La séance est levée et la rencontre clôturée.

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