CHAPTER 20

'From the Blood of My Heart': Christian Iconography in the Response of Israeli Artists to the Holocaust

Rachel Berger

Many Israeli artists responded to the Holocaust through the use of Christian sacrificial iconography. This article, based on my doctoral thesis (Berger 2008) examines the visual artistic language of the 'first generation'—defined for the purposes of this study as those artists who at the time of the Holocaust were either children or adults, whether they experienced the events of the Second World War and the destruction of the Jewish population at first hand or viewed it from the outside. In other words, in biographical terms they were the first generation that had to grapple with the Holocaust that had taken place in their lifetime and to construct a tool for expressing this understanding.

The work presents two different approaches of the artists to European Christianity. The first approach used sacrificial Christian symbols as a concealed protest against Europe. Christ was identified as a Jew in Jewish art from as early as the mid-nineteenth century,[1] and the artists turned symbols like the sufferings of Christ, the Crucifixion, and the Pietà into universal symbols of Jewish suffering during the Holocaust. The second approach—and the article will deal mainly with this approach—used Christian sacrificial iconography, confronting Christianity face to face and dealing with the silence of the pope during the Holocaust and the significance of Christian anti-Semitism in Nazi anti-Semitism.

The First Approach—Concealed Protest

In the 1940s, when they were still in Europe, Jacob Loutchansky and Moshe Barasch painted the suffering victims of the Holocaust in the image of the crucified Christ. In the 1950s, crucified figures appeared in the work of Maryan Marinel, empty crosses in the work of Avigdor Arikha, and crucified children in

1 For more on this topic, see Amishai-Maisels 1993, 178–97; Ofrat 2003, 174–91.

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that of Eliahu Gat.[2] Christian iconography served these artists as a universally understood language of communication. The artists used the Christian symbols but emptied them of their original content and imbued them with Jewish meaning. The Christian symbols came to represent the sufferings of the Jews and their death at the hands of the Nazis.

In the 1960s and 1970s, Yosl Bergner, in his efforts to cope with the trauma of the Holocaust, also made use of the crucifixion scene. Bergner, who left Warsaw in 1937 and spent the war years in far-off Australia, used the grater as a symbol for the Jewish victims of the Holocaust. The grater is a common fixture of the Eastern European Jewish kitchen. According to Ariel Hirschfeld's interpretation, the verbs that describe the crushing action of the grater are related to a number of Yiddish verbs that refer to cooking when they refer to actions in the kitchen, but denote acts of violence and slaughter when they occur outside this setting.[3] The crushing actions in the Jewish kitchen are replaced by the acts of slaughter carried out against the Jews.

In some of his works, Bergner expressed the suffering of the grater in traditional crucifixion scenes. In his work *Shulhan Arukh* (*A Set Table*) (fig. 20.1), we see a group of figures behind a table covered with a white cloth. The grater is lying on the table, like a dead man, and is surrounded by the mourning figures. The composition recalls Leonardo da Vinci's *Last Supper* (fig. 20.2). In his work *View from Above* (fig. 20.3), Bergner nailed the graters to wooden posts, recalling a traditional crucifixion pageant. The holes of the grater look like wounds, and these wounds resemble the stigmata—the wounds of Christ on the cross. The smashing/crushing action of the grater represents the slaughter and crushing of the Jewish people.

Shmuel (Samuel) Bak was born in 1933 in Vilnius, Lithuania, and was a child during the Holocaust: in the Vilnius ghetto, in the forced labor camp HKP 526 and in hiding in Benedictine convent in Vilnius. He started to paint at a very young age and continued painting during the war. In 1942, at the age of nine, he presented his works at a group exhibition held in the Vilnius ghetto. Fifty-three years after the exhibition, he painted his *Self-Portrait* as a child in the Vilnius Ghetto (fig. 20.4). Bak drew, in the center of the painting, the figure of a boy, based on the famous photograph taken in 1943 during the Warsaw Ghetto uprising. As in the photograph, the child has his hands raised in surrender and helplessness, and Bak has painted those hands bloodied from the stigmata.[4]

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2 For more on this topic, see Berger 2008, 42–43, 77–80, 161–63.

3 Among these words are *tsereiben* (grating), *tsehaken* (chopping), *tseshtoisen* (crushing). (Hirschfeld 2003, 52)

4 Since 1993, Bak has lived and worked in Weston, Massachusetts.

FIGURE 20.1 *Yosl Bergner*, Shulhan Arukh (A Set Table), *1971, oil on canvas, 225 × 145 cm*

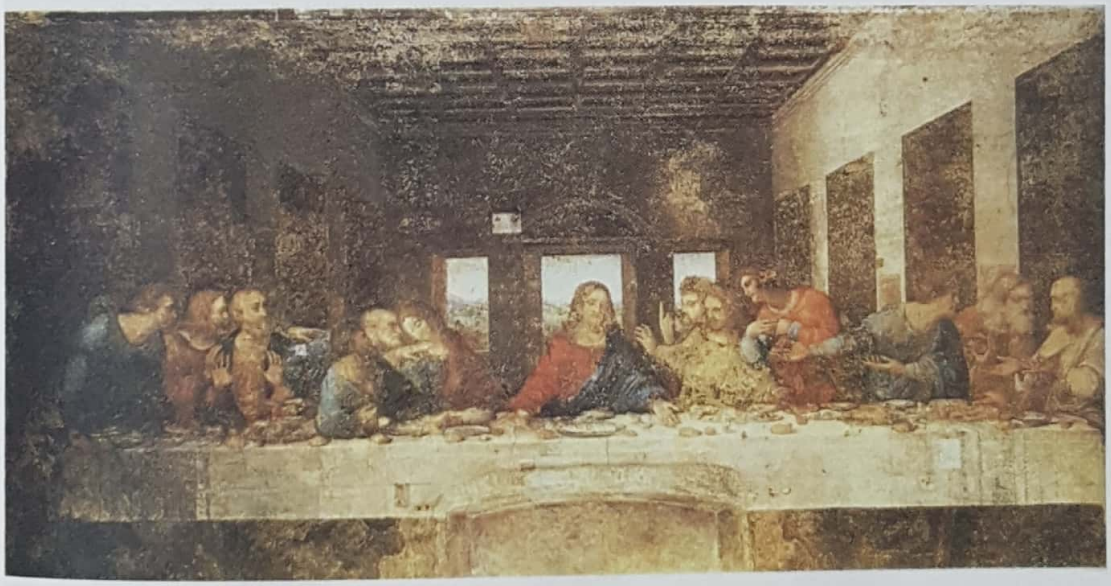

FIGURE 20.2 *Leonardo da Vinci*, Last Supper, *c. 1495, oil, tempera, and fresco, 4.2 × 9.1 m, Milan, Church of Santa Maria della Grazia*

Alexander Bogen, like Bak, is a survivor who began to paint before the Holocaust and continued working during the Holocaust itself. Bogen was born in 1916 in Vilnius, Lithuania. During the Second World War, he found his way into the ranks of the partisans in the Naroch forests of Belarus. In a series of works created in 1992–1993, Bogen painted a small girl holding a doll, standing next to the figure of Christ who is here identified as a Jew by the Hebrew text

FIGURE 20.3 *Yosl Bergner*, View from Above, *1971, oil on canvas, 250 × 160 cm, private collection*

FIGURE 20.4 *Shmuel Bak*, Self-Portrait, *1995–1996, oil on canvas, 200 × 160 cm, Pucker Gallery, Boston*

reading 'I am a Jew' (fig. 20.5). Bogen returned to the Vilnius Ghetto in 1943 as commander of a group of partisans, and in the ghetto he came across a small girl whose parents had been taken, probably to their death, and for whom the doll was her entire world.

Bogen describes their meeting as follows:

> A little girl, about six or seven years old, was holding a doll. She wasn't crying. I asked her, 'Where is Daddy? Where is Mommy?' She answered me, 'They took them.' 'To where?' 'To work.' In fact, they had taken them to concentration camps. I, as a fighter, a sturdy lad, with weapons under my coat, of course with a parabellum (a large pistol), stood facing this miserable creature and could not help her. It was an awful feeling. You could not act. In the forest, fighting the Germans, you were active (...) you destroyed their rear, you placed dynamite under train tracks and a thousand Germans together with heavy arms being sent to the front were destroyed. Here you stood in front of this small creature and there was nothing you could do to help. The only response was that I sketched this.
>
> BOGEN 2005 (fig. 20.6)

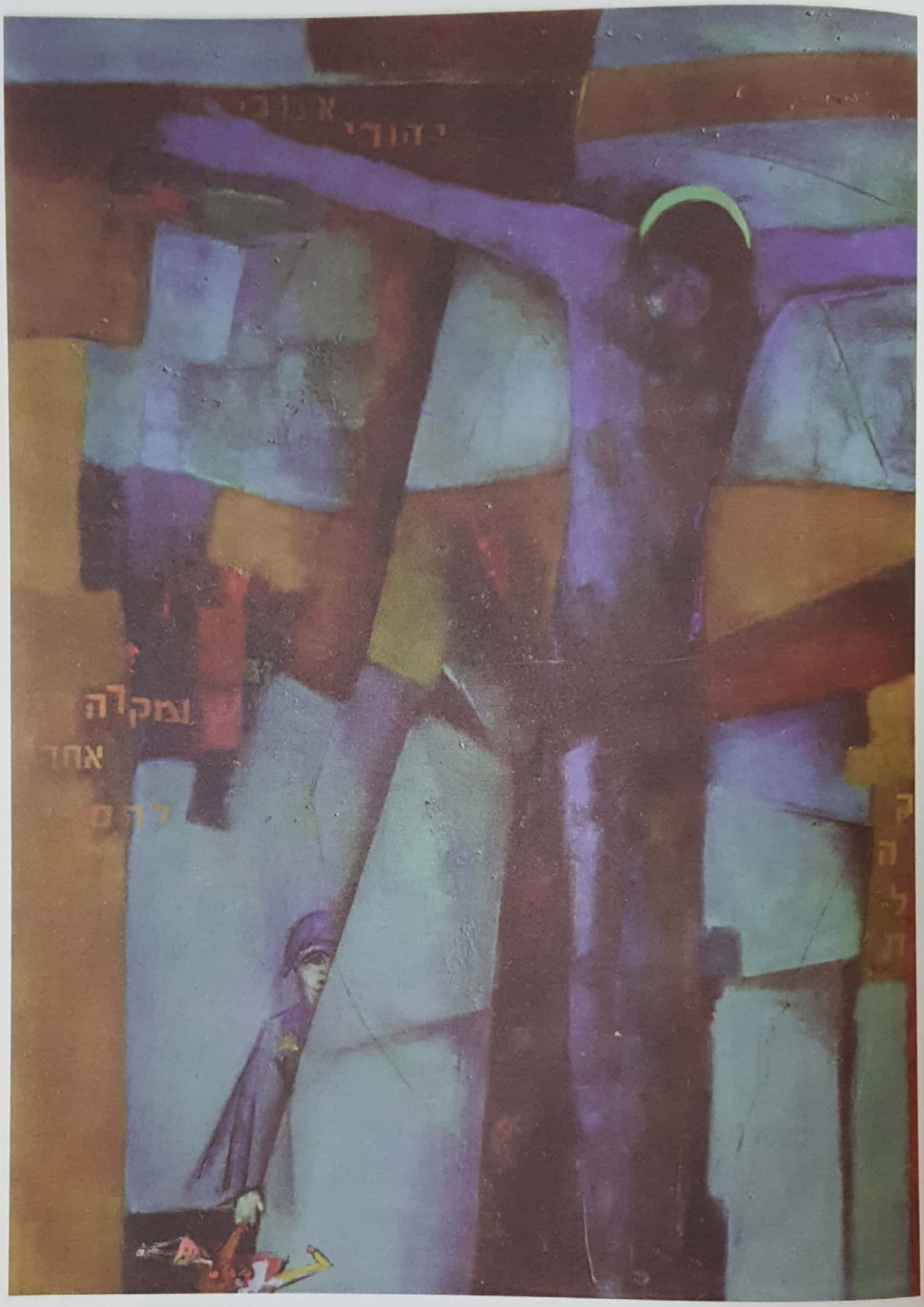

FIGURE 20.5 *Alexander Bogen,* One Thing Befalls Them Both (Ecclesiastes), *1992, oil on canvas, 162 × 120 cm*

FIGURE 20.6 *Alexander Bogen*, A Child with a Doll, *1943, drawing, collection of the artist*

By choosing the image of Christ to represent the Jewish victim, Bogen was transmitting a message that Ziva Amishai-Maisels has described as follows: 'In killing Jews or other innocent victims, Christians were not only betraying Christ's ideas, but killing Christ himself' (Amishai-Maisels 1993, 197). Bogen brought together the Crucified and the child, thus, as he said, making it clear that 'their path was identical (...) Jesus was also a Jew and circumstances turned him into a victim' (Bogen 2005). As he moves from painting to painting, he gradually distances himself more and more from the authentic sketch, until the little girl finally disappears—a clear expression of her death.

The figure of Mary the mother of Christ mourning for her son, generally known as the *Pietà*, also became a recognized image of the suffering of the Jews in the Holocaust, as shown by Naftali Bezem. Bezem escaped from Germany thanks to his parents, who managed to send him to Eretz Israel (Palestine), where he arrived just two weeks before the outbreak of the Second World War. The parents, who remained behind, perished in the Holocaust. Throughout the fifties, sixties, and seventies he painted a series of *pietàs*, in some of which Christ is replaced by a concentration camp inmate whose body is transparent and skeletal (fig. 20.7).

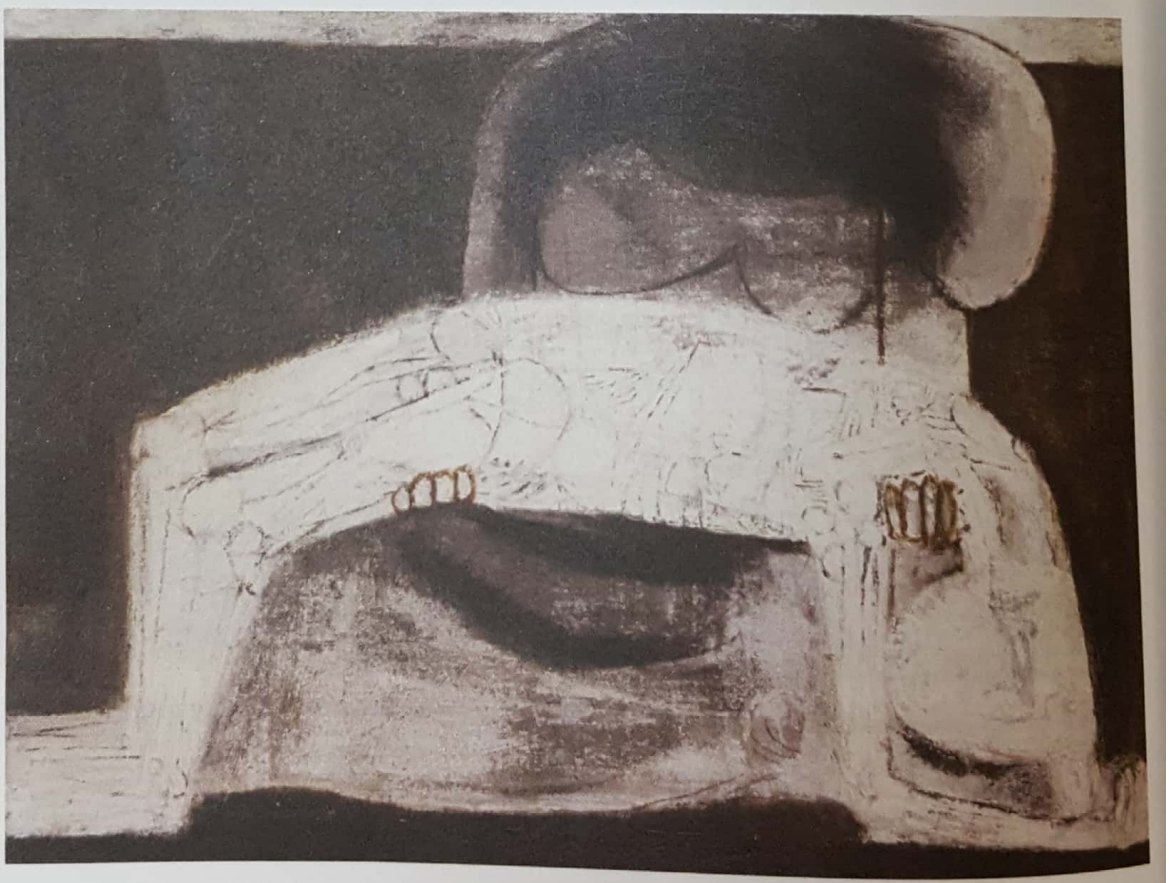

FIGURE 20.7 *Naftali Bezem*, Pietà, *1961, mixed media, 60 × 81 cm, collection of the artist*

Yigal Tumarkin also used this symbol in his response to the Holocaust (fig. 20.8). Tumarkin, who left Germany and came to Eretz Israel (Palestine) in 1935, based this work on Michelangelo's *Pietà Rondanini* (fig. 20.9). In his composition, Tumarkin turned the figures of mother and son into cardboard

FIGURE 20.8 *Yigal Tumarkin*, Pietà Rondanini, *1986–1987, painted steel and canvas, length 6 m, the Israel Museum*

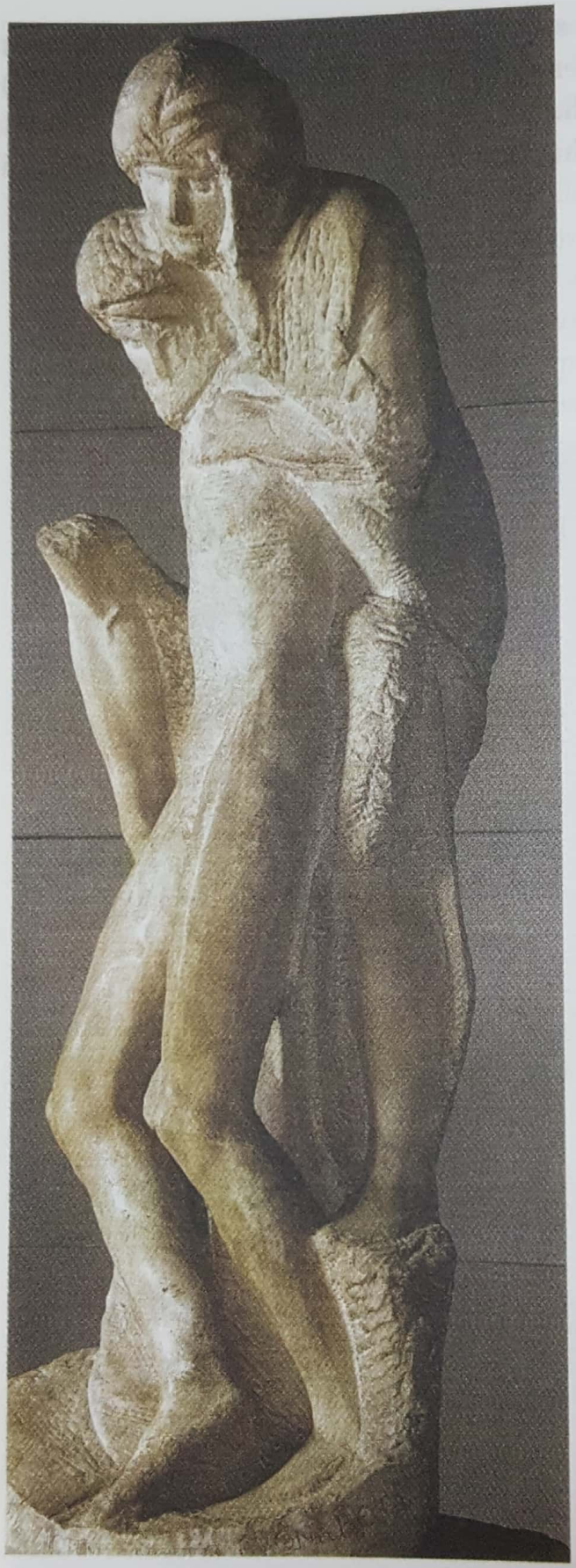

FIGURE 20.9 *Michelangelo,* Pietà Rondanini, *1555–1564, marble, height 195 cm, Milan, Castello Sforzesco*

cutouts. He placed them on train tracks and sent them to their deaths.[5] Yigal Tumarkin, like Naftali Bezem, turned the image of the Pietà into a universal symbol for Jewish suffering during the Holocaust. The artists mentioned so far used the Christian symbols but imbued them with Jewish meaning, in this way raising the victims to a level of holiness.

The Second Approach—Confrontation

The artists who adhered to the first approach used Christian sacrificial iconography as universal symbols for Jewish suffering. Moshe Hoffmann, like them, quoted scenes from Christian iconography, but he did so in an accusatory way. The traditional scene of Christ's removal from the cross is replaced by a grotesque scene in which the Jew about to be crucified is taken down from the cross in the midst of his crucifixion and led by the Nazi to the death convoy (fig. 20.10). In the scene 'Judgment Day', in which Christ judges the people, he is replaced by a Nazi judge (fig. 20.11). The cynical inversion in these two works makes a mockery of the values of compassion and justice that Christianity supposedly upholds. The woodcuts of Moshe Hoffmann lead us to the complex Christian–Jewish confrontation expressed in the work of Moshe Gershuni.

Moshe Gershuni was born in Tel Aviv in 1936 and was a child when the Second World War broke out. His parents, Zionists who came to Eretz Israel from Poland in the 1920s, were able, with extraordinary effort, to save most of their family in Poland and bring them to the safety of Eretz Israel, but a sister and a brother of his mother remained behind and were murdered. In the seventies, Gershuni began relating to the Holocaust in his art, but only covertly. The main body of his Holocaust-related work was produced in the eighties. The complexity and unusual nature of his work make him deserving of a more detailed examination.[6]

His first work that confronted the subject directly was the installation entitled *From the Blood of My Heart*. The work, created in May 1980, was placed in two galleries of the Tel Aviv Museum of Art. In the center of the first gallery, an easel was set up. On it was a transparent plate of glass on which there was a red-colored handwritten text in German. The text, which had already appeared in several of Gershuni's works, was *Mein Purpur ist sein teures Blut*, which translates as 'My royal (scarlet) robe is his precious blood.'

5 See Posèq's analysis of this work: Posèq 1996, 193–204.

6 For more on the Holocaust-related work of Gershuni, see Berger 2008, 187–215.

FIGURE 20.10 *Moshe Hoffmann,* One of the Series 6,000,001, *1967, woodcut, 100 × 70 cm, Yad Vashem collection*

FIGURE 20.11 *Moshe Hoffmann*, One of the Series 6,000,001, *1967, woodcut, 100 × 70 cm, Yad Vashem collection*

In the second gallery (fig. 20.12), one hundred and fifty white porcelain plates were set on the floor, in a shape recalling the swastika but with one of its four arms missing. The plates were stained with red glass paint, a technique purposely chosen by Gershuni in order to suggest the natural look of blood. The spilling of blood on the plates is a strong visual statement depicting a

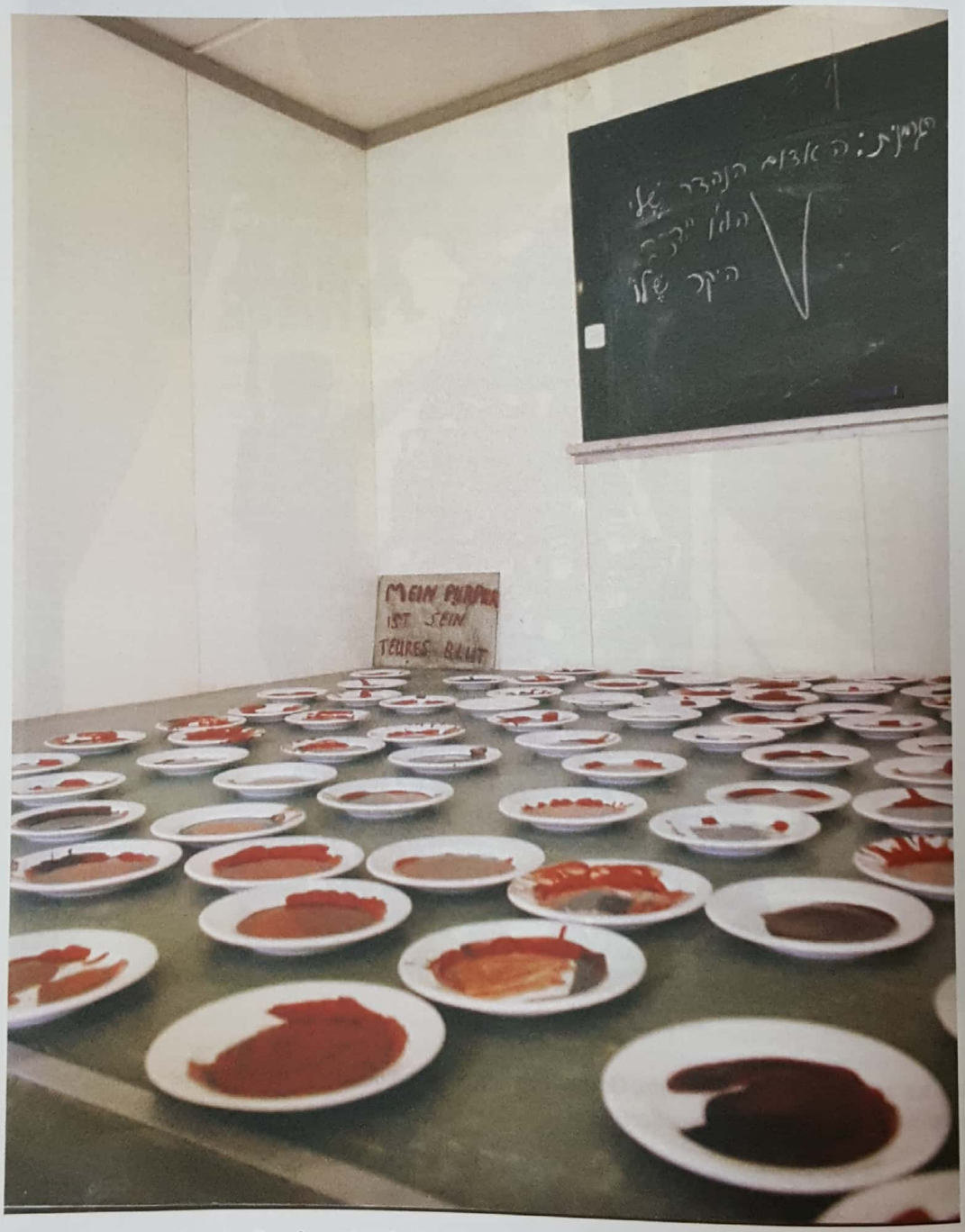

FIGURE 20.12 *Moshe Gershuni*, With the Blood of My Heart, *1980, reconstruction of the Tel Aviv Museum of Art installation (mixed media plates, red paint, panel), presented at the Tel-Hai Contemporary Art Meeting 1980*

murder site. The question that arises here is: Whose blood is this? In other words, who are the victims?[7]

In Gershuni's work, the blood is splattered in the hundred and fifty plates. Gershuni chose plates as a symbol of home and family. This image is actually related to the testimony that he heard from a Hungarian Holocaust survivor who was thrown out of his home at the age of 12. As the survivor described it, the family was in the midst of eating when their home was burst into and they were ordered to leave. When he turned back to get a last glimpse of his home, he saw the table with the dishes and all the remains of the food, remains of the egg, remains of the soup—and this, for him, symbolized home (Weiss-Berkovich 2001). Since most of the Jews thrown out of their homes in those years were in fact sent to their death, Gershuni interpreted the testimony to the expulsion as a scene of murder. This is the essence of the installation: *Life and Death*—the white plates, a symbol of the home and intimacy, together with the blood spilled in the plates, evidence of the death of the diners.

The additional layer of the installation is revealed in the connection of the blood in the plates with the 'language'; the phrase '*Mein Purpur ist sein teures Blut*' is a quote from Johann Sebastian Bach's Cantata BWV 75, '*Die Elenden sollen essen, daß sie satt werden*' which translates as: 'The miserable shall eat so that they become filled':

Mein Jesus soll mein alles sein!	My Jesus shall be everything to me!
Mein Purpur ist sein teures Blut,	My royal (scarlet) robe is his precious blood,
Er selbst mein allerhöchstes Gut,	He himself is my greatest possession,
Und seines Geistes Liebesglut	And the loving ardour of his Spirit
Mein allersüß'ster Freudenwein	Is for me the sweetest wine of joy

BACH 2005

Gershuni interpreted the sentence 'My royal (scarlet) robe is his precious blood' as follows:

> This is a song of praise to Christ, and the purple robes of the priests, being the color of royalty, symbolize his blood. Their (the priests') splendor in

7 The camouflaged swastika covers much of the area of the composition. Dalia Manor (1998, 264) writes about it as follows: 'Through its immediate recognition as the symbol of Nazism, and consequently of the Holocaust, the swastika becomes in a kind of perverted way also the symbol of Jewish fate and history.' The spilling of blood in the swastika composition connects the symbol of evil with the symbol of its victims.

> fact derives from the sacrifice, from the blood of Christ. I related this to art in general—the notion that the beauty, the magnificence, is, in fact, the blood of others—ours, all of ours, mine.[8]
>
> GERSHUNI 2006

The connection with the blood of Christ is also found in Gershuni's comments on another source of inspiration for this work—a famous altar painting by Matthias Grunewald dated 1515 (fig. 20.13). Grunewald, a 15th–16th century German painter, was best known for his work in the town of Eisenheim in Alsace. The altar painting is a folding one, and on its closed external wings there is a violently brutal depiction of Christ suffering on the cross, his blood dripping onto the ground where it is collected in a chalice.

Gershuni thus designed his composition with Christian iconography in mind—both musical (influenced by Bach) and visual (influenced by Grunewald). The spilled red color is the blood of Christ with its heavy baggage: anti-Semitic Christian Europe, which accused the Jews of murdering Christ and reinforced that guilt through blood-soaked religious art. Simultaneously, that same blood is identified in the installation as the blood of the murdered Jews of the Holocaust. Finally, this is also the blood of the artist himself, who identifies with them—as the installation's title *From the Blood of My Heart* makes clear.

The sentence 'My royal (scarlet) robe is his precious blood' is a possible indication of another source for the painting—the play 'Der Stellvertreter' (The Deputy) by German playwright Rolf Hochhuth, first performed in 1962. Is it not the duty of the Christian to protect those pursued through no fault of their own until his blood is spilled, as demanded by the color of the scarlet robe? This is the question Ricardo put to Pope Pius XII (Hochhuth 1964, 222), thus accusing him and together with him the entire Catholic Church of inaction in the face of the slaughter of millions of Jews. The play shed light on the role of the 'bystanders' or the 'observers' and the influence of their behavior on the progression of the Holocaust. The play strongly influenced research of the Holocaust (Michman 2002, 13–14). This was Gershuni's intention in quoting

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8 The phrase '*Mein Purpur ist sein teures Blut*' opens extensive discussion. See other connections to the subject in Isaiah 63:1–2; there is a similar verse: 'מִי-זֶה בָּא מֵאֱדוֹם, חֲמוּץ בְּגָדִים מִבָּצְרָה, זֶה הָדוּר בִּלְבוּשׁוֹ, צֹעֶה בְּרֹב כֹּחוֹ; אֲנִי מְדַבֵּר בְּצְדָקָה, רַב לְהוֹשִׁיעַ. מַדּוּעַ אָדֹם, לִלְבוּשֶׁךָ; וּבְגָדֶיךָ, כְּדֹרֵךְ בְּגַת'

The figure returned from the battle. He dressed in purple, a symbol of the monarchy. but it also shows the enemy's blood splashed on the garment. Also see on this topic: Schwartz 1993, 215–28; 311–24.

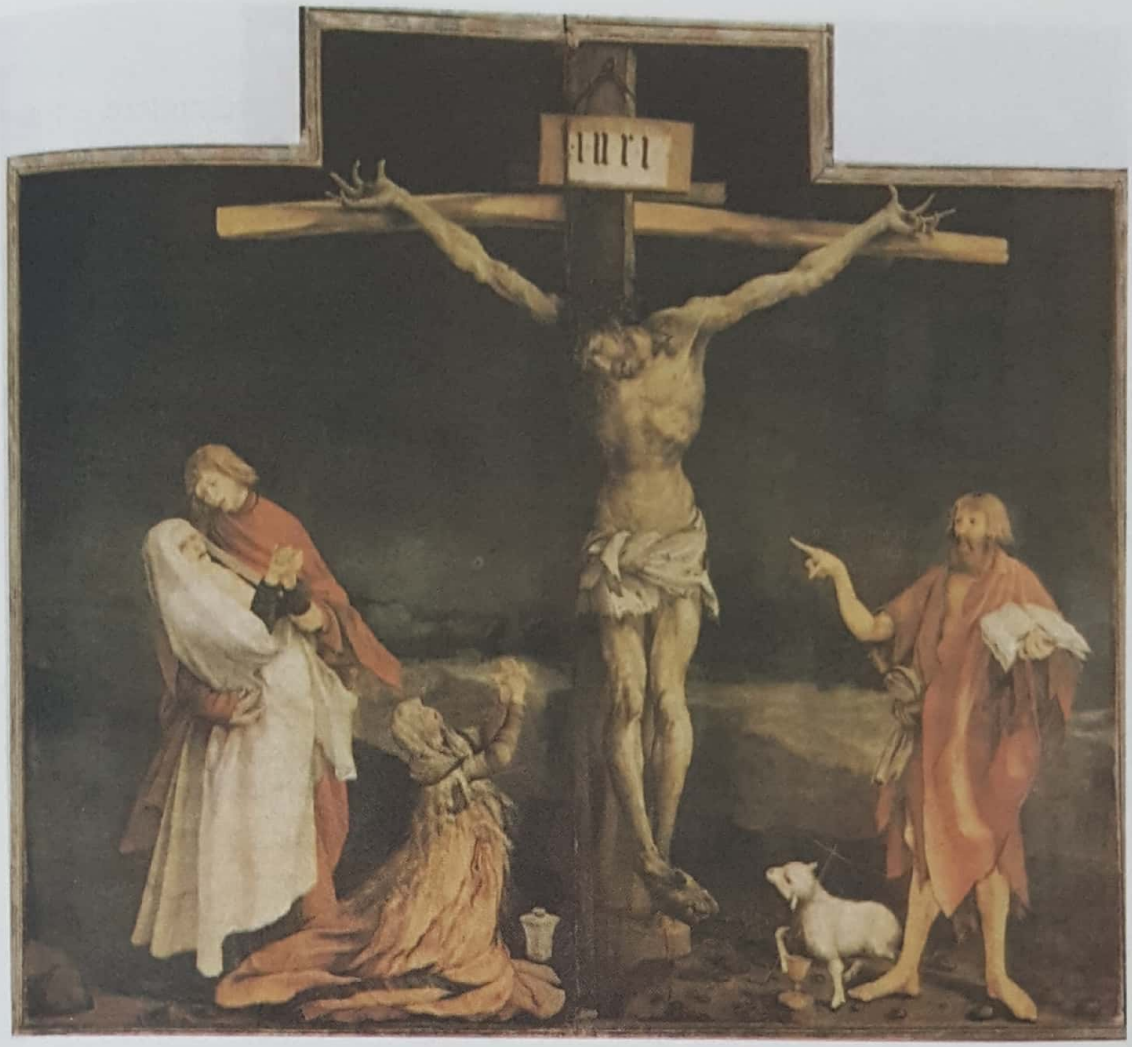

FIGURE 20.13 *Matthias Grünewald*, Crucifixion, *Eisenheim altar, completed c. 1515, the Museum of Colmar*

the phrase from the Christian hymn, a statement that was to be even more powerful in another work, as we shall see.

From the Blood of My Heart was followed by a new installation entitled *Theatre: Red Sealing*, which Gershuni presented at the Venice Biennale that same year (fig. 20.14). Gershuni related to the work as autobiographical. He viewed the Holocaust as an integral part of his identity—a fact he stressed in our conversation: 'I cannot let them forget that I relate to Europe in many different ways, not only purely artistic ones. Europe for me is also the Europe of the forties' (Gershuni 2006). As in the previous example, the subject of the Holocaust is present in this work as well, both openly and by suggestion.

Gershuni isolated the surroundings by marking each entrance to the room in red. 'Nature (or God) gives us rains of blessing—and man turns them into blood', he wrote in the installation, and concretized this idea by means of a large pool filled with a red-colored liquid and placed in the center of the hall (fig. 20.14). The water was sent down from eaves troughs in two windows in

FIGURE 20.14 *Moshe Gershuni*, Theatre Red Sealing, *1980, Venice Biennale, Israeli Pavilion, documentary photograph, lent by the artist*

the ceiling, dropping down into the pool through giant metal spouts. When rain fell, it fell into the water. 'I let the rain show that in Europe, even when it rains, it is connected with blood', he said (Gershuni 2006). On the wide wall, the German word *Arbeit* is written several times, clearly alluding to the infamous sign at the entrance to Nazi concentration camps—'*Arbeit macht frei*'.

The Christian aspect is present here as well. The dialogue between the burden of the Holocaust and the musical culture of Europe has already been demonstrated in the work *From the Blood of My Heart*, with its allusion to the Bach cantata. This pattern is repeated in the Venice Biennale, using two famous musicians: Russian pianist Sviatislav Richter and composer/conductor Gustav Mahler. Mahler is already present in Gershuni's art of the seventies and the eighties. In the pieces of paper that constitute the introduction to the installation, Gershuni drew Mahler's face and quoted the nickname that stuck to him: 'Mahler, you Jewish monkey'. On the strip that crosses the length of the wall, Gershuni sketched Mahler's face with a huge nose (fig. 20.15).

Gideon Ofrat, in his analysis of this work, said: 'Gershuni is therefore performing a "nose operation" on Mahler and imposing on him once again a heavy sense of his Jewishness, as found in anti-Semitic caricatures' (Ofrat 2004, 370). It could be said that Gershuni did not force this on Mahler, but rather that he was expressing the anti-Semitism actually experienced by Mahler. In his

FIGURE 20.15 *Moshe Gershuni*, Theatre Red Sealing, *1980, Venice Biennale, Israeli Pavilion, documentary photograph, lent by the artist*

youth, he had been rejected by the theater to which he auditioned because of his Jewish nose. However, several years later, thanks to the fame he had amassed in the meanwhile as a musician, that same theater offered him the position of manager. Mahler refused the offer, sending a short note: 'I reject the offer. The nose hasn't changed' (Lieberman 1992, 45). In 1897, Mahler aspired to the position of conductor of the Vienna Opera. The objection to Jews bearing high positions prevented him from achieving this position, and he therefore decided to convert to Christianity. He was baptized in the Roman Catholic Church. However, and despite his conversion, when he left Vienna in 1907, Mahler described his decade in the opera as 'The Ten Year War', because while he was lauded as a conductor who raised the state opera to new heights, he was still subjected, as he had been throughout his career, to hateful criticism because of his Jewish origins (Lieberman 1992, 33). Conversion did not lessen the tensions related to his Jewishness; on the contrary, it made them

more acute. So in the anti-Semitic consciousness, Mahler remained a Jew, a stranger, and a refugee.[9] Mahler's identity crisis and the anti-Semitism he had experienced strongly affected Gershuni. As we shall see, Gershuni confronted Christianity face to face, accusing this 'Mahler' Christian anti-Semitism of sowing the seeds of Nazi anti-Semitism.

An additional Christian context in the installation was revealed in two pails painted white on the inside, with a towel above them (fig. 20.16). The pails were 'very sterile, sort of pure' (Gershuni 2006). The red color smeared on the walls was fresh. Many people touched it and got dirty; therefore, in the introduction to this work, Gershuni wrote that whoever dirties his hands with the red color should wash them in the clean water and wipe his hands on the towels. Here Gershuni was referring to the Crucifixion and to Pontius Pilate, who, as we read in Matthew 27, verse 24: 'took water and washed his hands before the multitude, saying, I am innocent of the blood of this just person.' Gershuni described to me the three days of the opening in the following way: 'A group of Germans came, and they understood the intention of the work and performed a sort of ceremony of purification, standing and washing their hands.' He also added: 'The entire history of Christianity is the idea behind Auschwitz. The Holocaust is a natural consequence of the whole history of Christian anti-Semitism, especially that of Luther and the Lutherans (...). Everything that happened in the forties is simply the result of a process that the Christian world underwent, with all its anti-Semitism—all the conflict-laden situations between Jews and Christians' (Gershuni 2006).

Another Christian–Jewish confrontation was expressed in Gershuni's work in 1980. Gershuni replaced the canvas background with a reproduction of a portrait of Pope Innocent X (fig. 20.17), painted by the Spanish artist Diego de Silva Velázquez in 1650. Velázquez, who was a famed portraitist in the court of King Philip IV of Spain, painted an official realistic likeness of this pope and it is one of his best-known works. In 1949–1950, British artist Francis Bacon produced a series of works based on Velázquez's pope. One of these works, for example, shows the pope screaming in fear. In others, he is surrounded by bleeding pieces of meat. Ziva Amishai-Maisels interpreted Bacon's works in the light of his entire creative output and reached the conclusion that 'the pope seems to be a victim of circumstance, who, although stained with the blood of the martyrs, is also in some way similar to the equally helpless Christ' (Amishai-Maisels 1993, 196).

9 As he himself said: 'I am three times a homeless person: as a native of Bohemia in Austria, as an Austrian among Germans, and as a Jew all over the world. Will I be a foreign invader wherever I am?' (Kennedy 1986, 12).

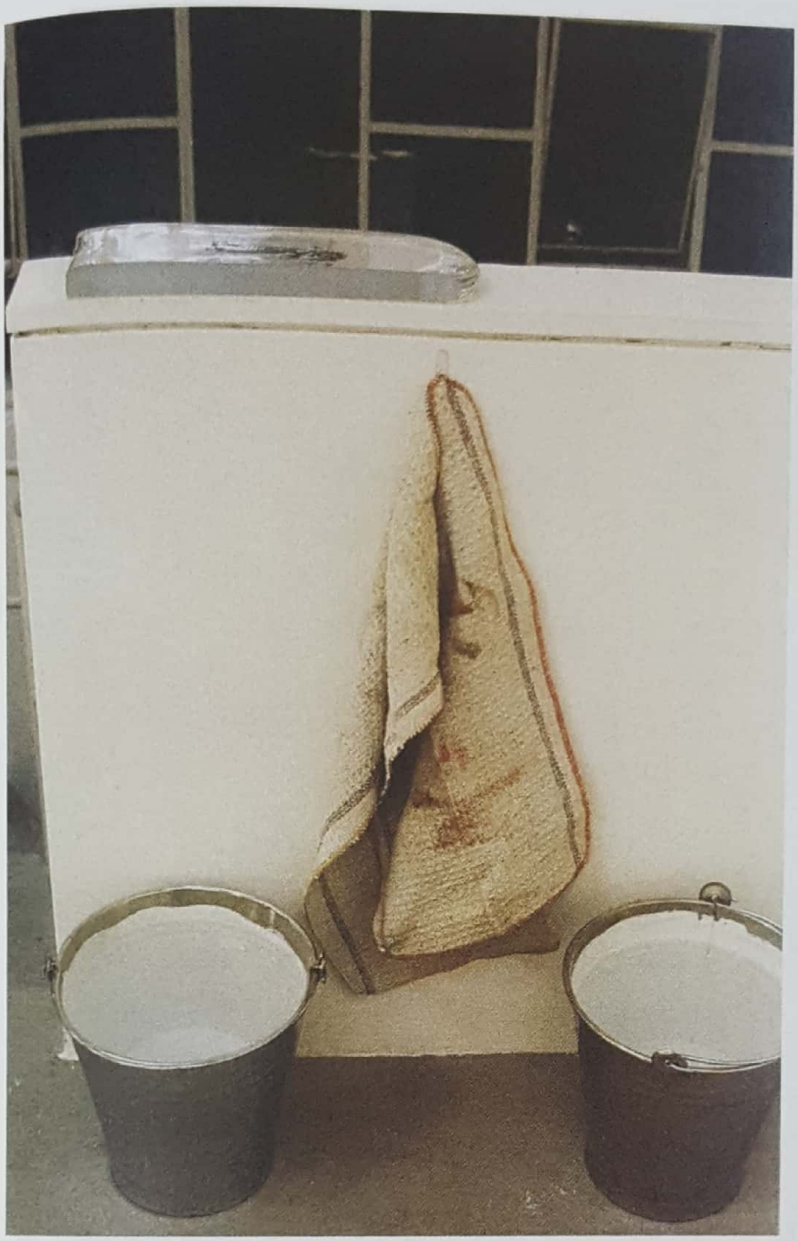

FIGURE 20.16 *Moshe Gershuni*, Theatre Red Sealing, *1980, Venice Biennale, Israeli Pavilion, documentary photograph, lent by the artist*

Gershuni's message is different. This becomes clear when the original portrait is compared to his work (fig. 20.18). He covered the reproduction with transparent lacquer and turned the white robes into yellow ones. The pope's scarlet cloak has been covered with red dots, and his hand holds keys that look like a 'circle of hooks going round and round', as Gershuni explains it (2006). Around the pope's head, four additional sets of such 'hook-keys' have been drawn. Possibly these 'hook-keys' are related to the Christian doctrine of keys: Christ gave the 'keys of the kingdom of heaven' to Peter, the first among the disciples. Peter became the first bishop of Rome and it is from him that all subsequent popes have derived their authority and their claim to exclusive control of the church over the souls of its followers.

FIGURE 20.17 *Diego de Silva Velázquez*, Pope Innocent X, *1650, oil on canvas, 140 × 120 cm, Rome, Galleria Doria Pamphili*

In Gershuni's work, the keys of salvation have been replaced by a 'circle of hooks going round and round' that actually recall swastikas. In his painting of Innocent X, he was thus in fact pointing an accusing finger at Pope Pius XII. Pius, who was appointed to his office on March 2, 1939, served in that position throughout the Second World War, and Gershuni criticizes the pope and the Christians who remained silent.[10]

10 The controversy about the role and response of Pope Pius XII continues to this day. For a concise survey of this topic, see Wistrich 2001.

FIGURE 20.18 *Moshe Gershuni*, Untitled, *1980, oil and varnish on a reproduction of Velázquez's portrait of Pope Innocent X, 40 × 30 cm*

To conclude, I have presented two approaches of Israeli artists to European Christianity. First, we examined that approach which used Christian symbols as a concealed protest against Europe, which in its betrayal of the Jews in fact betrayed its own cultural symbols. The artists used the Christian symbols but emptied them of their original content and imbued them with Jewish meaning

in order to raise the victims to a level of holiness. We then looked at the second approach, as reflected mostly in the works of Gershuni. Gershuni designed his composition with Christian iconography in mind—musical (influenced by Bach and Mahler), visual (influenced by Grunewald and Velázquez), and literary (influenced by Hochhuth and Matthew). He confronted Christianity face to face, criticizing the pope and the Christians who remained silent and accusing Christian anti-Semitism of sowing the seeds of Nazi anti-Semitism.

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The Actuality of Sacrifice

Past and Present

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