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This study is based upon the assumption that the Jewish people, as one of the universes, IDEAS OF IMMORTALITY IN the Jewish religious traditions of their own AMERICAN REFORM RITUAL have undergone significant development.

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Stephen A. Arnold

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the people read. Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Hebrew Letters and Ordination.

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The significance of the Master of Arts in Hebrew Letters is that it is a degree which is given to those who have completed the requirements of the Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion.

Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion

1961

Referee:
Professor Jakob J. Petuchowski

AN INVESTIGATIVE DIGEST OF THESIS

prayer books reveals the sources for many of our present ideas. This study is based upon the assertion that immortality is one of the universal concerns of mankind. The particular manifestations of this concern within historical Jewish religious experience have undergone significant development. With the Reform Movement there came an important reorientation to ideas of immortality: resurrection was denied, and the eternality of the soul, alone, was affirmed.

The major means of communicating the ideas of immortality, as conceived by Reform theologians, is through the ritual texts which the people read and hear. By analysing the ideas of immortality and the modes by which they are expressed in American Reform ritual, we have attempted to approach a clearer understanding of how effectively and honestly we are dealing with the concerns of our congregants in this area of thought.

The major portion of the thesis is devoted to an investigation of the Union Prayer Book, Newly Revised. We have seen how ideas of immortality are expressed, primarily, through (1) the Gevurot benediction, (2) prefaces to the Kaddish, (3) the Kaddish, and (4) elaborate Memorial Services. There are two major categories into which the ideas of immortality fall: "heavenly" and "earthly." Within these we find descriptions of or, more often, allusions to "passive" and "active" states of existence. The "heavenly" immortality is only vaguely defined. "Earthly" continuance is more specifically spelled out.

An investigation of the major antecedents to the present prayer books reveals the sources for many of our present forms and ideas. However, we find that in the prayer books produced by committee effort, there is an ever increasing tendency to increase the number of words on the subject of immortality, while at the same time reducing the substance of what is said. What once could be described as clear "doctrines" have become suggestive "ideas." The problem of Divine retribution is increasingly glossed over or ignored. Ideas of "earthly" continuance in memory and influence, along with those of "cosmic" eternality, have slowly but surely taken precedence over earlier doctrines of the conscious immortality of the soul.

We suggest that the real concerns of our people for conscious immortality and some eventual justice are not being dealt with adequately in the present liturgy. We urge that the problems be investigated with theological and philosophical honesty; and that the editors of the rituals share more fully their convictions with their congregants, who look to the prayer books for inspiration and comfort.

Finally, we have provided appendices in which the significant portions of the antecedent German liturgies are given in English translation.

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To Professor Jakob J. Petuchowski go not only my thanks, but the major share of any merit which may accrue to this thesis. From inception to completion, his hand has guided this study; and his insight, patience and understanding have been of great help in making this a true "learning experience."

And to my wife, Cecile, go my love and affection for her calm understanding, and her willingness to share her husband with Talmud Torah.

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INTRODUCTION

Immortality is one of the universal concerns of mankind.

There is hardly a single human culture, extant or extinct, in which one does not find some idea or ideas about "what happens after death."

It seems that man has seldom been able to accept, completely, his finitude. In one way or another he has "discovered" that death is not really his ultimate goal, the complete termination of every aspect of his being. Man refuses to be "mortal" -- he strives to be "immortal." He wants to "live" somehow, even after his apparent "death."

There are many reasons why men yearn after immortality -- after some continuation of their essential selves beyond the grave. There is the simple fear of being ultimately alone -- unknown and unknowing, unloved and unloving. There is the frustration of hopes unfulfilled, of goals not yet attained, of potential not fully realized, of work uncompleted. And there is the passion to know that somehow, somewhere, the terrible injustices of earthly life will be rectified.¹

Different cultures, primarily through their religious beliefs and institutions, have sought to deal with the concern for immortality. Various ideas and doctrines have been brought forth through the centuries in an attempt to satisfy the hearts and minds of men with regard to their ultimate destiny.

Judaism, too, has had to deal, in one way or another, with the concern for immortality. In Kaufman Kohler's Jewish Theology² we find a fairly comprehensive summary of the long and varied course of Jewish ideas on the subject.

the soul. Biblical Judaism evinced such a powerful impetus toward a complete and blissful life with God, that the center and purpose of existence could not be transferred to the hereafter, as in other systems of belief, but was found in the desire to work out the life here on earth to its fullest possible development. 3

In the course of time, however, the question of existence after death demanded more and more a satisfactory answer. Under the severe political and social oppression which that came upon the Jewish people, the pious ones failed to see a just equation of man's doings and his destiny in this life, and philosophical principles.

And so began the process which led to the Pharisees' adoption (from the Persians)⁵ of the doctrine of resurrection. In spite of its lack of solid Scriptural support, this was to remain a cardinal article of faith even into the present century.

Through the centuries, as Judaism developed, many ideas of immortality were expressed, both on the level of folklore and of philosophy. But not until the publication of Moses Mendelssohn's Phaedon in 1767 was the doctrine of resurrection challenged so strongly, and the immortality of the soul set forth so persuasively, as to bring about a real change in thought on the subject by a significant group within the Jewish community. With Mendelssohn began a new era in the Jewish treatment of the concern for immortality.

Mendelssohn's purposeful rejection of Jewish tradition and concentration upon eighteenth century philosophy do not disqualify him as the pioneer Reform thinker upon the subject of immortality. On the contrary, it is probable that he set the pattern for the Reformers who succeeded him. 6

Jack Stern (see note above) points out that the theologians of the Reform Movement, which arose in nineteenth century Germany, based their ideas of immortality on both faith and reason. While they felt that resurrection involved a supernaturally induced phenomenon on the order of a miracle, yet they saw the immortality of

the soul as being bound up with the workings of natural law. Kohler declared: "I trust, but certainly the Reform movement has not explicitly declared its position on this subject."

Resurrection of the body was the belief of former ages...but immortality of the soul is the hope of the enlightened. ⁷

And Isaac M. Wise gave a series of Friday night lectures "in which he considered the idea of immortality as a tenet of Judaism in the light of scientific and philosophical principles." ⁸

By the time of the Philadelphia Conference in 1869, the American Reform rabbinate was ready to adopt as one of its principles:

The belief in bodily resurrection has no religious foundations, and the doctrine of immortality refers to the after-existence of the soul only. ⁹

And in 1885, the seventh "plank" of the Pittsburgh Platform was adopted as follows:

We reassert the doctrine of Judaism that the soul of man is immortal, grounding this belief on the divine nature of the human spirit, which forever finds bliss in righteousness and misery in wickedness. We reject, as ideas not rooted in Judaism, the beliefs both in bodily resurrection and in Gehinna and Eden (Hell and Paradise) as abodes for everlasting punishment and reward. ¹⁰

But let us return again to our initial premise: men yearn after immortality. Not only theologians and philosophers, but laymen, too, are concerned with what happens to them when they die. Yet the average layman does not read Maimonides or Mendelssohn or Kohler or the Year-book of the C.C.A.R. How, then, is he to know what the theologians have determined to be his ultimate destiny?

The answer, through the ages, has resided to a considerable extent within the pages of the siddur, the prayer book. For here the theology of the Jews has been set forth for the everyday use of

the "everyday" Jew. (Not that the prayer book could be considered a theological tract; but certainly its prayers and affirmations of faith explicitly or implicitly contain the essentials of Jewish doctrine.)

For the average American Reform Jew, the only clues to his immortality lie in the texts of his rituals -- be they the simple prayer recited over the Yahrtzeit candle, or the elaborate Yom Kippur Memorial Service.

Therefore, if one wishes to investigate and evaluate the ways in which American Reform Judaism is dealing with the concerns of its adherents vis a vis immortality, then one must turn to the prayer books and manuals which actually come within the sight or hearing of the people.

This is precisely what we wish to attempt in this thesis. We shall try to find and evaluate both the ideas of immortality and the words and ceremonies through which they are expressed in American Reform ritual. Hopefully our efforts will bring us closer to a realization of what we are doing, and what we must yet do, in order to deal effectively and honestly with the concerns of our congregants with regard to the purpose and ultimate destiny of their lives.

CHAPTER I

THE UNION PRAYERBOOK, NEWLY REVISED, VOLUME I

INTRODUCTION

The most important source, for our purposes, is the current edition of the Union Prayer Books. These are the prayer books used by almost all Reform Jews in America. The ideas of immortality expressed in these volumes are, then, of greatest significance for today's Reform Jews. In later chapters we shall investigate, compare, and contrast ideas and modes of expression of the antecedents to the current edition. In these first chapters we shall look carefully at each service. Not only ideas of immortality per se, but other ideas which touch on immortality will be noted. (E.g., the soul, retribution, punishment, death, redemption, salvation.)

Rather than cataloging our findings under various headings and noting the pages where specific references may be found, we shall attempt to take the ideas as we find them in the various services.

(From a liturgical point of view, the setting of the idea within the service may be of as much importance as the idea itself.) So these first chapters will procede more or less seriatim through the pages of the prayerbooks. In a later chapter our findings will be summarized and evaluated.

EVENING SERVICES FOR THE SABBATH

"Light is the symbol of the divine in man. The spirit of man is the light of the Lord." (Proverbs 20:27) Here on page seven, in

the "Ritual for Lighting Sabbath Candles," we touch on an idea which is basic to the Jewish concern with immortality. This sentence is one of several on the theme of "light is..." But the idea expressed has deeper significance than mere poetic symbolism. The concept of the divine spark (here "light") within man, which is the "spirit" or "soul," is at the heart of many arguments for the immortality of that spirit.¹ If God is eternal, and "the spirit of man is the light of the Lord," then that spirit, too, must participate in eternity; for how could the "light of the Lord" ever be extinguished? Within its context, our phrase would seem innocent of any reference to immortality; but within the context of an individual worshiper's feelings, the association might easily be suggested. Also there is this consideration: after years of repetition through regular Sabbath worship, this idea, as many others, probably becomes engrained in the sub-conscious of the individual, and may support unconsciously more direct statements about immortality found later in the prayer book.

The idea of the divine in man is again expressed on page 10 in the invocation. We ask God to "enlighten our eyes to behold Thy guiding power in all nature from the remotest star to our inmost soul."

Then, in the same paragraph, another idea is introduced which seems to be associated with our major theme. The invocation is closed with the prayer that our meditations and prayers "be acceptable unto Thee, our Creator and Redeemer."² The words "Redeemer" and "redemption" are found repeatedly in the Union Prayer Book, each with appropriate synonyms. Often the liturgical setting makes it clear what

"Redeemer" means; but in other places, such as the present prayer, the context does not supply a single interpretation.

Divine redemption as expressed in the Union Prayer Book seems to fall into two major categories: deliverance of individuals or nations from various evils in this life; and that ultimate rescue from earthly life which is eternal life. In this prayer, offered at the beginning of Sabbath worship, either category might be applied. "Creator and Redeemer" could be taken as being descriptive of God's all-encompassing involvement in our lives. As it is He who causes us to come into the life of the world, so it is He who, at the end, will deliver us from this life.

Or, redemption can be seen here as a continual process, as is creation. ("Thou renewest daily the work of creation.") Each week we gather to honor the Sabbath, the day which is, in itself, a redemption from the "difficulties and ... conflicts" of the daily work routine. Most likely it is the latter interpretation which most of us would accept in this instance. But again, as we shall see in so many places within the liturgy, the situation and mood of the individual worshiper will usually determine the meaning of a word or passage for him. This particular passage is illustrative of the phenomenon that we find in Jewish worship: the ideas expressed in the ritual are often only suggestive; their deeper meaning and significance are dependent upon the interpretation of the individual worshiper.

In the responsive reading on pages 10-11, which is a compilation of verses from the Psalms chosen for Kabbalat Shabbat in the siddur, we find a number of references to God's "salvation." It is

difficult to interpret precisely what salvation means here. It is tied in with the idea of God's eschatological judgment, the theme of the original psalms involved. Our theme of immortality may be averred to in the verse, "O ye that love the Lord, hate evil; He preserveth the souls of His servants." Now preservation might be understood as either earthly or eternal preservation. The original verse runs: Ohave Adonai sin'u rah, shomer anafshot chasiday; miyad r'shaim ya-tzilem (Psalm 97:10). Here the "b" part of the verse states explicitly what the "a" part means: "He delivers them from the hand (power) of the wicked." However, by omitting the latter phrase, the editors of the Union Prayer Book have made vague that which was once clear. As we find the sentiment in the service now, it could be taken, without too much difficulty, to mean that God preserves the souls of his servants (who hate evil) unto eternity. This would leave us with the problem of the destiny of those who do not "love the Lord." But this would not be unusual, for we shall see that this precise problem comes up quite a number of times as one analyses the pages of the Union Prayer Book.

Redemption is the theme of the geulah responsive reading on pages 14-17. But both the Hebrew and the English make it clear that it is God's saving power in history, not in eternity, which is being praised. The future redemption petitioned for the oppressed of the world is compared to Israel's deliverances "in life," not in a here-after.

But when we come to the Tefilah benedictions, the word "redemption" again retreats into a theological cloud, and its meaning becomes obscured. Also, we are presented with two texts, Hebrew and English,

preach of which must be carefully scrutinized, since the "translation" is not always exact (and a translation must always be, to some extent, an interpretation). In the Avot benediction we recite our praise of God in a modest way (according to Talmudic instruction!). He who was God of our Fathers, remembering the "devotion" of the patriarchs, "bringest redemption to their descendants," we say. We call God our "Savior." Within the general context of the passage, and with an eye to the participial form (umevi -- bringest) the most likely meaning of redemption is some kind of aid within this life. Of course, the Traditional text, reading goel -- redeemer is more explicit, and one might reason that since the former reading called for earthly redemption, so does the present version. (However, this is not always a safe assumption, as there are numerous places where slight changes in text alter meaning considerably.)

And now we come to one of the key passages relating to immortality, the Gevurot benediction. This paragraph has played an important role in the history of Reform theology and liturgy; and it deserves careful attention. In subsequent chapters we shall see what changes have been made over the years in both the Hebrew text and its vernacular interpretation. At present, however, our concern is with the passage as it stands -- as the worshiper reads and interprets it today.

This passage has aptly been called Gevurot -- Powers, because in it are enumerated some of the ways in which God is, eternally, a Gibbor -- a Mighty, Powerful One. We should note that this paragraph is, in a way, an explication and extension of the Avot passage which

precedes it. In each, God is being spoken of not as Creator, not as Master of the Universe, but as "our God (and God of our fathers). We are speaking of the relationship between God and the individual, the Father and his children. The "powers" here mentioned are all those which God exercises in His relations with his children, such as healing the sick, upholding those who fall.³

The major theme of this paragraph is the life-giving power of God. We rehearse the ability of God, as Gibbor, to save, sustain, preserve, uphold, heal, free, keep faith with the dead and to implant within us eternal life. True, we admit to God's power to cause death; but only within a cheerful context of immortality. Here we state without reservation (yet without elaboration) that we are endowed with eternal life.

Instead of "redemption" we use "save" and "salvation" in this paragraph. The precise difference between the two terms is never clarified in the liturgy itself. Again, there is some ambiguity in the phraseology. There seems to be a gradual build-up within the benediction. First we speak of God's saving and preserving power during life; then we affirm His salvation beyond death. But upon closer examination, we see some difficulties. A comparison with the siddur would show how these difficulties have resulted from the editing of the traditional text; but here we must take the words as we find them.

What are we to do with the phrase, "in the multitude of Thy mercies, Thou preservest all"? Is it intended to be understood as the second half of a couplet, repeating the sentiment of "sustainest the living"? Or does "preservest" imply immortality? If the worshiper

can understand Hebrew, he will see that there is a clear difference between m'chalkei and m'chaye. It would seem more reasonable that the latter interpretation is intended, because it is quite obvious that God does not preserve the living -- people do die. This interpretation ("preservest" referring to immortality) would also fit in with the pattern which the next two sentences follow. The "a" part of "Thou upholdest" speaks of earthly life, the "b" part of immortality. (Assuming that "keepest faith with Thy children in death as in life" can be taken as an expression of immortality. Actually, this is a rather vague statement in its present context.) "Author of life and death, source of salvation" seems to be a neat summation of the extent of God's powers: life, death and eternal life (salvation) are His.

"Who hast implanted within us eternal life" finally comes out and says directly what we have been hinting at above. The past tense would suggest that immortality is a certain thing. One might ask at what point this implantation took place -- is one born with eternal life already "built in," or does God especially implant it within us? This question is particularly significant when one compares the English with the Hebrew and finds that noteah is a participial form, and could be taken to mean that eternal life is not something implanted once and for all, but is something which God continually grants, or has the power to grant. There might even be possibility for question here as to whether immortality will be, actually, implanted within each of us. After all, the chatimah of Sim Shalom on p. 141 which praises God as oseh hashalom is not taken to mean that peace is an accomplished

fact -- which it obviously is not. One wonders whether "Implanter of eternal life," understood in the same way as "giver of peace," might not open up quite a new idea of immortality.

We also find in looking at the Hebrew text that further interpretations and understandings are possible. M'chaye hakol could be taken not as "preservest" but "revivest" or "makest live" -- hakol might refer to all mankind, or even to the indestructibility of matter. Of course the more literal "sleep in the dust" is more specific. What undergoes considerable change in translation is melech memit um'chaye umatsmiach yeshuah. "King who causest death and revivest, and causest salvation to sprout," does not fit the pattern established by the editing and the English. The idea of immortality involving a specific act of "reviving" or "quickenning" (as the old translation rendered it) on the part of God is carefully avoided in the translation.

In summary, it would seem that even what we still have of the traditional text has been edited through translation to such an extent that we have no clear idea of what immortality is or might be. Eternal life is preservation, salvation, a state wherein God keeps faith with His children in death. It is left to the worshiper to supply whatever explanation may satisfy him as to what these general terms actually mean, if anything.

The special Sabbath prayer on pages 20-21 gives intimations of immortality. "Heavenly Father, we rejoice that amid the ceaseless cares...of our earthly life, Thy holy Sabbath has been given us as a day of rest and refreshment of soul." "Earthly life" would easily suggest its opposite, "heavenly" or "eternal" life -- especially coming

almost immediately after the Gevurot benediction. Also, we have here a faint reminiscence of the traditional idea of the Sabbath as a foretaste of the world to come. Here as in other places in the liturgy, immortality appears much like a shy "wallflower" -- uneasily present, but unwilling to look the worshiper square in the eye and accept the invitation (sometimes the earnest plea) to come out into the light where its features may be better defined.

Probably no part of the liturgy better illustrates the way in which context and mood can determine meaning than does the twenty-third Psalm. This psalm is found in several places in the Union Prayer Book and in the Rabbi's Manual. In each, the setting in which it is placed does much to determine our understanding of the purpose and intention of the ancient words.

We first find it on page 24 as an alternate selection for "Silent Prayer." Within this context, following prayers for Sabbath rest and for peace, it seems unlikely that any concern for immortality is intended. "He restoreth my soul" would more likely be taken to refer to a state of inner composure than to the afterlife. Even the "forever" of the last phrase could be taken as a restatement of "all the days of my life." Basically it is, in this place in the liturgy, an affirmation of faith and trust in God's comforting presence. As we meet this psalm elsewhere in the prayer book, we shall indicate how ideas of immortality appear within it.⁴

Before going on to the latter part of the Sabbath Eve service which is the same (except for introductions to the Kaddish) for all

over others which might be open to him. variations, we shall see what the variations of the service have by

At any rate, we are introduced to an idea of immortality by way of reference to immortality.

which involves a "life" after death which is not of this world. On page 28 there is a responsive reading, after the invocation does not directly involve the "soul" of the departed, but rather and before the Barechu. This series of psalm verses almost defies sense, the "heritage of a good name" is a point in the analysis. The worshipers seem to be throwing themselves completely upon the mercy of God -- His salvation, His teaching, His strength, His comfort, His light. However, the clue to the ultimate emphasis here is to be found, again, in the context. The "theme" of this service, as keyed in the invocation, is stimulation of awareness of

In the prayer, "Praised be the Lord by day," the case is rather overstated in order to keep the theme going. (Surely, are the souls of all the living and the righteous of all time? "Whom have I in heaven but Thee? And having Thee I desire none else upon earth," would hardly be taken literally by any but the most utterly desolate of our congregants.) Though one might "Wait for the Lord"

In the context of this night prayer, which is the only prayer as a hope for immortality, it is unlikely in this context.

Another idea of immortality is introduced in the Silent Prayer on page 46. The worshiper asks that God help him to make His bidding a "familiar way of life, so that I may live on in deeds that bless other lives and leave behind me the heritage of a good name." We shall find variations on this idea elsewhere in the liturgy. It is not necessarily exclusive of the idea of "eternal life." It could be understood as a companion to the immortality of the soul, or, on the other hand, as an explication of what it is. In either case, we have here a definite connection made between conduct and immortality. The worshiper wants to lead the proper life "so that I may live on in deeds." One could take this to imply that the only immortality is in "deeds that bless." Just as easily it could be inferred that the congregant is expressing his preference for this kind of immortality

over others which might be open to him.

At any rate, we are introduced to an idea of immortality which involves a "life" after death which is not self-conscious, does not directly involve the "soul" of the person deceased. In a sense, the "heritage of a good name" is a mode of immortality, through which the departed may "live on." The essence of the sentiment expressed here is that one establishes, with God's help, one's immortality through deeds performed while living. So it could be said that in this way, God implants within us eternal life.

In the prayer, "Praised be the Lord by day," on page 68, we find a phrase which is often repeated in the liturgy: "In His hands are the souls of all the living and the spirits of all flesh." In general this would seem to be an expression of God's providential care; but when looked at more closely, it provokes questioning.

In the context of this night prayer, and in the light of the prayer which follows asking for mercy and protection, we can probably assume that God's temporal providence, rather than His eternal care is implied. However, we shall see that the same phrase, used in other contexts, will render a different interpretation. The same might be said for the phrase: "In His hands, we entrust our spirit." Here it is meant as an expression of trust at night, in the same spirit as the last stanza of the Adon Olam. Elsewhere we shall find it referring to faith in immortality.

Perhaps the major source of ideas of immortality in the Union Prayer Book is to be found in the pages immediately preceding the Kaddish. Here are a series of paragraphs designed to give comfort to

the mourners, who recall their departed loved ones at this moment. This is the officially recognized time for congregants to give thought to death and immortality.

Some of the paragraphs are direct addresses to "all you who mourn the loss of loved ones." Others are statements of belief. One is a prayer, addressed to God. Part of the reason for having more than one of these paragraphs is to allow for a different one at each of the five Sabbath Eve services, thus allowing for the variety intended. But there is another reason (or result) which becomes clear upon analysis of the separate pericopes. There are different ideas of immortality expressed in these pages -- the variety is not only stylistic.

In the first of these prefaces to the Kaddish, on pages 72-73, there are included several of the major ideas of immortality. "Only the body has died and has been laid in the dust. The spirit lives in the shelter of God's love and mercy." This is an expression of what we will call "heavenly" immortality. Somehow -- no details are given -- the spirit continues to "live" in association with God. No activity of any kind is suggested for the spirit, so we might classify this idea of immortality as "heavenly-passive."

But then another idea is offered. "Our loved ones continue, also, in the remembrance of those to whom they were precious." This kind of immortality we might describe as "earthly-passive," since, again, there is no active life involved -- the remembrance is on the part of the living. The word "also" makes it clear that, at least within this paragraph, "heavenly" and "earthly" immortality are considered as coincident, not exclusive of each other.

the living. Then "remembrance" is elaborated upon: "Their deeds of lovingkindness, the true and beautiful words they spoke are treasured up as incentives to conduct by which the living honor the dead."

This adds a further dimension to earthly immortality. An "active" element is present. Deeds and words of the deceased serve as incentives to the living, hence a kind of "earthly-active" immortality is achieved. There is an extension beyond death of the sphere of influence of the deceased. True, this is not self-conscious "activity,"

but there is certainly a difference between the idea of "continuing"

by way of a loved one's remembrance, and "continuing" as a conscious or subconscious influence on the conduct of that loved one. Certainly the idea expressed here is a reflection of the hope expressed in the Silent Prayer on page 46 "that I may live on in deeds that bless other lives."

The rest of the paragraph deals with comfort and resignation for the mourner, concluding with a reaffirmation of "heavenly-passive" immortality: "All souls are in His keeping."

In the paragraph assigned for the second service, we find quite another approach to immortality. The vagueness of this section is even greater than that of the one preceding it. Here we speak of the "eternal plan" and affirm that "growth and decay, life and death all reveal His purpose." (We are not told how, though.) Immortality is, here, not a doctrine, not even an idea. "He who is our support in the struggles of life is also our hope in death."

We hope and trust in God. We assume that His plan is somehow all-encompassing, and that our lives are part of "nature's ebb and flow." The most we can say is that "in His hands are the souls of all

the living and the spirits of all flesh." This is the same phrase which we found on page 68. But what a different interpretation we give the words in this context! Yet, is it necessarily so different? It would not be at all difficult to assume that the phrase is meant here to refer to the lonely mourner, rather than the departed soul! Here, again, our "idea of immortality" is an elusive wisp, whose very existence may only be due to our desire, and not at all to the author's intent.

One wonders whether it would, then, be possible to recite the Kaddish without such a perfect intent, yet still with an In the third preface to the Kaddish, we return to the "heavenly-knowledge of the sovereignty and wisdom of God. passive" idea of immortality. Indeed, though in the form of a prayer we close with the summons: "Let us, then, give praise unto God, this is actually an argument for the necessity of spiritual God who is the source of our salvation and our eternal hope." Immortality. "For surely Thou wilt not abandon us to despair, nor vation in this context has obvious intimations of immortality which those we love to the eternal midnight of the tomb." Immortality is, we have seen, that the world does not change with its passing on after all, the only reasonable consequence of life. "Thou hast placed the prayer book man upon the earth, bestowed upon him a mind to seek truth, a heart to So the third preface is an elaboration on the third preface perceive love and beauty and Thou wilt not crush it all forever." All of our lives are eternal life, though it be but a dream, yet it is though elsewhere in the liturgy we shall find lengthy expressions of what this life is like. the Biblical notion of the frailty of man's existence, yet here we In the fourth preface we are told that the soul is immortal. assert: "Our life is more than a watch in the night, than yesterday and tomorrow alike, for Thou dost establish the work of Thy hands, when it is past, for Thou dost establish the work of Thy hands."

And now, having insisted that there cannot be an end to life, we declare that "the spirit born of Thy spirit, breathed into the clay to animate and to enable, returns unto Thee, the Fountainhead of all spirits." And so the words of the ritual for lighting the Sabbath candles are brought to their logical conclusion: "The spirit of man is the light of the Lord," so, naturally, it "returns unto Thee."

No particular activity is described for the returning soul, except that it may be supposed to return in a "lone journey through the valley of shadows,"⁵ wherein God's "everlasting arms uphold us" as they did in the "vicissitudes of life."

Finally, we ask that God teach us to speak the words (presumably) of the Kaddish. "Teach us to acknowledge Thy sovereignty and Thy wisdom with perfect trust that death is but the portal unto eternal life." One wonders whether it would, then, be possible to recite the Kaddish without such a perfect trust, yet still with acknowledgment of the sovereignty and wisdom of God.

We close with the summons: "Let us, then, give praise unto God who is the source of our salvation and our abiding hope." Salvation in this context has obvious intimations of immortality which we have seen that the concept does not always have in other places in the prayer book.

So the third preface is an elaboration on the rational basis of why we have eternal life, though it is not too clear just how and what this life is to be.

In the fourth preface there is no mention at all of any "heavenly" immortality. Here the "earthly" eternality of man is elaborated upon:

Though absent, the departed still minister to our spirits, teaching us patience, faithfulness and devotion. ("Earthly-active" immortality.) In the remembrance of their virtues and affections, the best and purest part of their nature lies eternally enshrined ("Earthly-passive".)

It is interesting to note that the "departed" are pictured here as teachers of the highest sort of virtues. Though we all have a tendency to emphasize the good rather than the bad side of those we

remember lovingly, yet one might question how, through having become "departed" the dead become such paragons of virtue.

Interestingly, the real emphasis here is on the mourner, not the departed. In all these prefaces, immortality is, to some extent, more of a means than an end. We say "there, there, don't fret" to the mourner, using immortality as a kind of spiritual aspirin tablet, which has no real value in itself as an end. It is not a goal towards which men strive. Rather it is a part of the "faith and confidence" which "can lighten the heaviness of the heart."

Finally, in the fifth preface paragraph, we are reminded that death is, after all, "the summons that sounds for all men." And here are both "heavenly" and "earthly" immortality, yet expressed in a way somehow different in spirit from those in previous paragraphs. "The deeds of the righteous enrich the lives of men as the fallen leaf enriches the soil beneath." This is "earthly-active" continuance of the most general kind, wherein the individual merges with history, as matter merges with the "stuff" of the universe. (Of course, we do not mention the fate of the wicked.)

"The spirit lives on with God's eternal years"; and the dead "shine on in the untroubled firmament of endless time." This is a sort of "heavenly" continuance; but it is certainly not of the same order as living "in the shelter of God's love and mercy." This seems to be about as far as one can go in the opposite direction from self-conscious life-after-death, without denying immortality altogether. As if in resignation to the fact that there is no real, conscious immortality, we are bidden to "be thankful for the companionship that

continues in love that is stronger than death and spans the gulf of the grave. Cherishing their memory..." After what has gone before, this cannot be a turnabout which implies that the deceased are capable of "love." Rather it can only be another way of insisting that the only real immortality, the only personal immortality, is to be found in the sentiments of love still held for the dead by those remaining.

And so we come to the Kaddish. In a later chapter we shall go into some of the history of this doxology, especially as it developed within the ritual of the Reform movement. But here we are primarily interested in the texts, English and Aramaic, as they stand, and as the worshiper uses them.

Though the rubric directs that "Mourners rise," yet it has become the practice in a considerable number of Reform congregations in this country for the entire congregation to stand: either to listen to the rabbi recite the Kaddish, or to join in as a body. Also, it is usually the practice for the Aramaic alone to be read aloud, with the last two paragraphs in English being, in many places, inserted by the reader. Another interesting practice is the omission, by several rabbis known to this author, of the al Yisrael paragraph from the recitation. This latter practice, as we shall see, has particular bearing on our subject of ideas of immortality.

To begin, the "translation" is not a translation. In the first paragraph and the response, the essential intent of the Aramaic is retained, if not the precise translation. However, from the second paragraph onward, we find more than mere paraphrastics. From this point onward, the congregant who is following in the English is in-

involved with ideas quite different from those of his neighbor who may be following (and understanding) the Aramaic text.

aspect The second paragraph of the English, after expressing the essence of the Aramaic in its first sentence, adds on a sentiment wholly absent from the Aramaic text: "Our guide is He in life and our redeemer through all eternity." The latter half of the sentence can only refer to the redemption of immortality. To this the congregation responds: "Our help cometh from Him, the creator of heaven and earth."⁶ "Help" here could be understood in a double way, as referring both to the departed and to the mourners. The only connection between this phrase and the Aramaic text is the term, "creator of heaven and earth," which is in the Aramaic.

Then comes the English paragraph often inserted into the Aramaic. This is the literal translation of the words: "May our Father send peace by our rabbis:

power for the dead, a petition asking that they be regarded as entering the peace of life eternal. ("Heavenly-passive" immortality".) They still live on earth in the acts of goodness they performed ("earthly-active") and in the hearts of those who cherish their memory ("earthly-passive"). May the beauty of their life abide among us as a loving benediction ("earthly-active").

This paragraph has almost no relationship to the Aramaic one which appears on the page opposite it.

Finally we pray, in a paraphrase of the Aramaic: "May the Father of peace send peace to all who mourn, and comfort all the bereaved among us."

The total effect of the English "Kaddish" is a praise of God plus a review, by way of comforting mourners, of the major ideas of immortality expressed in the various prefaces to the Kaddish. In-

terestingly enough, even with all the talk about immortality, there is, in the English, no actual prayer for the dead. The petitionary aspect is on behalf of the mourners. The beauty of the departed's life is to abide as a loving benediction -- for the living; God is asked to send peace to the mourners.

As for the Aramaic text: with the exception of the al Yisrael section, there is no mention whatsoever of either the dead, immortality, or comfort of mourners. (Peace is invoked as a blessing upon "us and all Israel," not for "all who mourn.")

What concerns us here is the section al Yisrael.

For Israel and for the righteous and for every person who has departed from this earth according to the will of God, may there be great peace and grace and loving-kindness from the Master of heaven and earth.

This is the literal translation of the words. Here we find a direct prayer for the dead, a petition asking that they be granted a certain state of being in eternity. The implications of this prayer are considerable.

In the first place, it assumes that Jews, righteous people, and indeed, all who have died, are in need of some prayer for their benefit on the part of the living. So there must be some kind of "heavenly" immortality in which they are participating; and there must be some question as to their exact condition in that immortal state. Also implied is the belief that prayer on the part of the living can in some way affect the condition of the departed, by influencing God to grant them certain status. All this is very vague, but it certainly can be drawn from the wording and the very presence of this prayer in this part of the service.

Now it must be obvious that the idea of immortality conveyed by, "the departed whom we now remember have entered into the peace of life eternal," is not the same as that which the Aramaic petition for the granting of Divine peace expresses. One is a statement, the other a request. One leaves the mourner comforted, the other involves him actively in the fate of his beloved and could easily lead to a concern that the request might not be granted, or that the "peace of life eternal" was something achieved in part through the recitation of this prayer by the mourner. (A not unfamiliar idea in the history of the liturgical role of the Kaddish!)⁷ A further consequence (potentially) of this prayer, would be that in the course of the actual recitation of the Kaddish, the rather divergent ideas of immortality expressed in the English and in the Aramaic might be simultaneously voiced by the same congregation -- English readers and Aramaic readers. What is more likely, under the present circumstances, is that the congregants are busy comforting themselves with thoughts of sure immortality, while the rabbi, alone in the Aramaic, is pleading for good treatment of the departed! The only thing that keeps this from happening is the practice among some rabbis of omitting the al Yisrael, thus avoiding the problem altogether. However, the fact that the text remains in print, as it is, leaves the problem unsolved. It is one thing when ideas of immortality differ; but quite another when they directly contradict each other on opposing pages.

Of the Sabbath Eve prayers, there remain to be examined those special prayers which are inserted during or near the various holidays.

On page 79 there is a responsive reading for the Sabbath during Passover. This is composed of psalm verses and its sentiment is one of thankfulness for God's redemption. Of particular interest for our subject are ideas expressed such as: "The cords of death encompassed me....He saved me," and: "For Thou hast delivered my soul from death....I shall walk before the Lord in the lands of the living." Here there can be no question but that redemption is in this life, not in another. Life, not death, is most precious.

On the next page, in the third paragraph of the Passover prayer, there is an interpretation of redemption which also fits the spirit of the holiday. Here the idea is expressed that the redemption of man's soul consists in his becoming a servant unto God alone, being freed from servitude to men. "May we strive for the redemption of our souls and thus become messengers of freedom to all Thy children." We note this concept of redemption in order to contrast it with other ideas we shall find, where redemption is found in death and immortality, rather than in life.

Again on pages 85-86, where Psalm 30 introduces prayers for Hanukkah, the victory over death is glorified. Here the typical biblical attitude towards immortality is stated: "Shall the dust praise Thee? Shall it declare Thy truth?" The strength of this line is somewhat weakened, though, by the omission in the English (not the Hebrew) of the preceding line: "What profit is there in my blood, when I go down to the pit?" The literary "niceness" of the prayer book version is obvious; but more subtle is its effect on the total approach to immortality: for the stronger our Bible quotations contra immortality, the harder put we are to make immortality "sell" when we desire it.

SABBATH MORNING SERVICE

The opening prayer of the first Sabbath morning service on page 101 is an affirmation of the soul and its immortality: "Thou hast preserved it in this body and, at the appointed time, Thou wilt take it from this earth that it may enter upon life everlasting." This is the "heavenly-passive" idea. Though we do not express belief in any specific place to which the soul is to be taken, yet it will be "from this earth." If this were a consistent doctrine throughout the Union Prayer Book, it would at least clarify the idea of earthly immortality. This latter kind of continuance cannot, then, involve the "soul," since we affirm the idea that the soul is "taken from this earth."

However, if we admit that the body returns to dust, and the soul to God, then what part of the individual is it that "lives on in deeds"? Is this "earthly" immortality really a way in which a person may continue his existence beyond death?

Again we find the phrase: "In whose hands are the souls of all the living and the spirits of all flesh." And again, the context makes the meaning clear.

On the same page, the Reform adaptation of the Ribon kol haolamim again affirms the soul. It is interesting to see the progression of thought in this prayer. First we declare that we have no merit, but come before God "trusting in Thine infinite mercy alone." Before God we are as naught, "our days pass away like a shadow." But then, following the example of the Spanish and Portuguese liturgy (and elaborating upon it), we change the course of the thought.

Our life would be altogether vanity, were it not for the soul which, fashioned in Thine own image, gives us assurance of our higher destiny and imparts to our fleeting days an abiding value.

Exactly what this "higher destiny" is, is hard to say. On the one hand, it may well refer to the higher type of life on earth to which man may aspire, having been blessed with the soul. On the other hand, this could be taken to refer back to the preceding prayer, wherein the destiny of the soul is "life everlasting." In either case, the divinity of the soul is underscored, if not defined; and the idea of

"heavenly" immortality is given additional strength.

Though the soul is mentioned in various ways in other opening prayers for the variations on the Sabbath Morning service, yet there is no further reference to immortality to be found before the Gevurot passage. There are numerous references to "salvation"; but in the same vein as those of the Sabbath Eve services, which we have indicated to be fairly devoid of any other-worldly connotations.

However, it is in the intermediate paragraph of the Tefilah, the prayer for the Sabbath, that we find, as in the Evening Service, further reference to ideas of immortality.

On page 128, in the selection for the first service, the Sabbath is glorified as a haven of rest and peace in the "storms of earthly life." But in emphasizing the value of the Sabbath, the passage manages to make life itself seem rather distasteful. We conclude with what amounts to an ultimate rejection of life, and a welcome of death and immortality!

As week follows week and man gives no heed, so pass the years away, and the end of our work draws nigh. Help us to live that our souls may look upon these transient scenes with calmness and contentment, assured that at last we shall rest in the light of Thy countenance and rejoice in Thy goodness forever. (emphasis mine)

Within the total context of this page, we are given the idea of death and immortality as that ultimate Sabbath of the soul towards which we are moving and yearning. True to its Sabbath-like image, this idea of immortality involves not only the "heavenly-passive" notion of "rest," but (and this is the first time we have found it thus far) the "heavenly-active" state wherein we will "rejoice in Thy Goodness." Here is again the traditional concept of Sabbath as a foretaste of life in the world-to-come.

This passage and its idea of immortality become even more noteworthy when seen in contrast to the other selections offered in the pages following. Only this first prayer turns the worshiper to thoughts of immortality, away from earthly life. All the others make use of the Sabbath theme in order to turn man back to life -- albeit a more holy type of life -- and the "foretaste of the world-to-come" idea is removed. The curious effect of all this is that the ideas of immortality in American Reform ritual depend, to a great extent, upon what Sabbath of the month one is attending worship!

Once again, on page 138 and 139, in the Modim section, we render thanks for God's providential care. And again, though the primary intent seems to be thanks for protection in this life, yet there are hints at eternal divine care which could be well taken by those searching for them. "Our lives which are in Thy hand,...our souls which are ever in Thy keeping," could easily be interpreted as an indication of both earthly and heavenly providence (hence immortality in addition to this life).⁸ Indeed, the English lection in this

direction by supplying "souls which are ever in Thy keeping," the "ever" being absent in the Hebrew: v'al nishmotenu hap'kudot lach.

Here as elsewhere, the idea is expressed in such a way as would enable the worshiper to "take it or leave it" quickly in passing, without expressing a clear "doctrine" one way or the other.

We next encounter an idea of immortality on page 146, in the benediction recited after the reading of the Torah.

Praised be Thou...who hast given us the law of truth and hast implanted within us everlasting life.

This is no invention of the Reform liturgist. The benediction is the same as that found in the siddur; and it can be dated as early as the seventh century.⁹ Here we find that the idea of immortality is linked with that of Torah. Hertz explains the connection in this way:

The second Benediction expresses Israel's gratitude for the Law of Truth entrusted to it, and for the everlasting life which thereby became Israel's portion.¹⁰

In the Hamburg prayer book, the translation itself indicates this interpretation:

Who hast given us the Torah of truth and given us through it (durch sie) eternal life.¹¹

Now this is an idea which has not been expressed on previous pages of the Union Prayer Book. The implications of this concept are several. If immortality and Torah are somehow related, then what is the status of those people who do not have Torah? How are they to achieve eternal life? And has the act of mattan Torah by God automatically insured immortality, or is there implied some necessary activity on the part of the recipients? Then, too, how are we to

relate this idea with that of the immortality of the soul derived from its innate divinity? The liturgical text does not suggest any answers. Most High.

But there is another interpretation which could remove the idea of immortality as we have been thinking of it. "Everlasting life" need not refer to a continuance after death at all. It could simply be taken to mean that Israel, through the Torah, has been implanted with everlasting life as a people (religious community). With and through Torah, Israel will live forever in history, on earth -- not necessarily in eternity, in some spiritual abode. Whatever interpretation we may wish to give the words, they remain a challenge to any congregant who pauses over them long enough to wonder. From a practical point of view, however, we must recognize that this benediction is not so placed in the liturgical structure as to invite meditation upon its meaning. Even a troubled soul in search of thoughts on his latter end would most likely pass over this short passage entirely.

As in the Sabbath Eve services, there is a preface to the Kaddish, on page 151. However, the editors chose to offer only one selection for this service, as opposed to five for the evening service. The most reasonable explanation for this phenomenon is that there are really five separate services for Sabbath Eve, whereas only one service, with introductory variations, is provided for the Sabbath Morning.

The general nature of this preface is like the others; it offers comfort to the mourners and urges them to resignation to God's will. Only the "heavenly" immortality is mentioned:

are left with Let us call to mind those who have finished their earthly course and have been gathered to the eternal home. Though vanished from bodily sight, they have done better not ceased to be; they abide in the shadow of the justice, "Most High."

Actually, these ideas are so vague that one could take them to mean almost anything. They do not speak specifically about the soul or the spirit; but the idea of cosmic eternality found on page 75 does not suggest itself, either. The most definite statement here is: "They have not ceased to be."

What is really puzzling, if one looks at it closely, is this statement: "In the divine order of nature both life and death, joy and sorrow serve beneficent ends, and in the fullness of time we shall know why we are tried..."

First, just how does death serve beneficent ends? Granted, we may say that a death which comes after long life or intense suffering is a "blessing." But it is rather far fetched to expect those of our

congregants who have lost loved ones through accidents, particularly children, to accept such an idea. Second, the idea is even harder to accept because rather than giving some explanation for this statement, the writer has merely said, "in the fullness of time we shall know..."

(so) wait patiently all ye who mourn, and be ye of good courage."

"In the fullness of time" could mean almost anything; but one thing it clearly indicates: the prayer book is not prepared to justify its own declaration that death serves beneficent ends. There may be a hint at something here which is absent from the pages of the prayer book which we have studied so far, that is, divine retribution. There may be the germ of the idea that in some way there is revealed to us in "the eternal home" the answers to such questions as how death serves beneficent ends. But this idea is never spelled out; and we

are left with a very unsatisfactory sentence. The editors might have done better by ending the paragraph with the affirmation of God's justice, "though no man can comprehend His ways."

EVENING SERVICE FOR THE FESTIVALS

This service (actually three services) contains almost no reference to immortality. On page 184, at the close of the invocation "for Succos," we find the petition: "Help us so to live that when we shall have gathered our final harvest, many shall rise up and call us blessed." The euphemism for death is in keeping with the theme of the festival. The "earthly-passive" idea of immortality is apparent here; but the real emphasis is on life, not immortality. Here, as in a number of similar instances, immortality is mentioned more as a kind of pleasant by-product of goodness than as a consciously sought-after goal.

The Gevurot passage remains the same as in the Sabbath services, and would require no mention except for one curious fact. Both in the evening service (page 192) and in the morning service (page 224) the closing words are "immortal life" as opposed to "eternal life" in other versions. One might wonder at the inconsistency; but for our purposes there is little to be gained by belaboring the question. Though "immortal" may seem to be more precise a term than "eternal" as regards the intent of the benediction there is no appreciable difference between the two: the "heavenly-passive" factor remains operative.

In the preface to the Kaddish on page 203, we find expression of both our basic immortality ideas. The opening sentence affirms

again the "heavenly-passive" concept:

Thou, O heavenly Father, bestowest the blessing of life and recallest the soul to Thyself in Thine own good time.

Again, there is no attempt to spell out the meaning of the "recall." In the next sentence we imply both "earthly-passive" and "heavenly-passive" life: "We thank Thee for the sweet memory of our loved ones whose earthly life has ended." And then the "earthly-active" idea is expressed and expanded upon:

May their hallowed influence continue to be a joy and source of strength and comfort to us. May they inspire us to a more useful life, to higher hopes and greater contentment of spirit.

Notice that it is the "earthly-active" idea of immortality which allows for the greatest elaboration and specification. Within the context of the Kaddish preface, this is perhaps the most fitting thing to do. After all, immortality is spoken of here primarily for the benefit of mourners who are still quite mortal. What may be of greatest comfort is an idea of immortality which somehow involves a continuing relationship between the deceased and the bereaved. The "earthly-active" idea does more than give assurance of a continuance of the beloved dead: it assures the bereaved that he has not been left alone!

The next paragraph asks directly for God's consolation, concluding: "comfort them with the thought of Thy fatherly love, vouchsafed unto Thy trusting children." Now this "fatherly love" could be taken either as directed towards those still living or towards the souls of the dead, or both. It is one of those soft, hazy phrases which, like marshmallow, seems to be neither solid nor liquid, but somehow manages to satisfy one's needs anyway.

Now the passage concludes:

In filial submission to Thy will and in joyous hope
 of life everlasting, we praise Thee in whose hands are
 the souls of all the living and the spirits of all
 flesh.

This "joyous hope of life everlasting" is the "heavenly" immortality idea, but it is sounded in a new key, and it leaves some question as to whether it is "active" or "passive" in nature. We had hints in this direction in some of the Sabbath Eve prayers, in which we noted some vestige of the idea of Sabbath as a foretaste of the world to come. But "joyous hope" goes a step beyond this. It would seem to anticipate "life everlasting" as a goal to be happily awaited. This cannot refer to immortality for those already dead -- this we have affirmed, not hoped for. So this must be a hope for the worshipers themselves. "In filial submission to Thy will (in having taken our beloved) and in joyous hope of life everlasting (for us, too)...."

In contrast to this eager expectation, we might recall the second preface to the Kaddish for Sabbath Eve: "He who is our support in the struggles of life is also our hope in death. We have set Him before us and shall not despair." (Page 73.) We would submit at this point that this latter sentiment is closer to the "normative" attitude towards one's own immortality found in the present Reform liturgy than is the idea of "joyous hope."¹²

We note, also, the ubiquitous "...in whose hands are the souls of all the living and the spirits of all flesh" which can serve, in this instance, as a coverall for both the present and the departed.

MORNING SERVICE FOR THE FESTIVALS

Aside from the Gevurot benediction, there is nothing to be found before the Memorial Service which has direct relation to ideas of immortality. However, there are two observations we should like to make which bear indirectly upon our subject.

The first observation is regarding a certain genre of psalm verse found in the Hallel section, pages 149-151.

The dead praise not the Lord, neither any that go down into silence (Psalm 115:17)

I shall not die, but live, and declare the works of the Lord.

The Lord hath chastened me sore, but He hath not given me over to death (Psalm 118:17, 18.)

We cite these verses as being typical of an attitude quite contrary to that of "joyous hope of life everlasting" which we found in the Kaddish preface on page 203. They represent what might be called the "normative" attitude towards death found in the Bible, which is rather devoid of any expectation, no less hope for, immortality. Of course, the mood of the Hallel is not the mood established by the Kaddish preface.¹³ One would not expect to find the same feelings about death expressed. But what we are trying to point out is that beyond the dictates of mood, there is a basic "doctrinal" difference inherent in the contrast. The Hallel "I shall not die" is basically a biblical idea; the "joyous hope in life everlasting" is indebted to rabbinic thought. It is interesting to see how the liturgy (or rather, the liturgists) have made no attempt to reconcile these views, but use them interchangeably, depending upon the need of the hour. We are not necessarily arguing with this procedure; but

feel it worthwhile to point out this testimony to the fact that one cannot expect to find complete theological consistency within the

Union Prayer Book.¹⁴ as a whole matter for the memorial service.

MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR THE SEVENTH DAY OF PASSOVER

On page 266, just before "Returning the Scroll to the Ark" we find a rubric in small type: "(If memorial service is used, insert here)." And then on pages 268-273, there is the memorial service.

The rubric implies that the memorial service is optional; and the title indicates that if used, it is only intended for use on the seventh day of Passover. Though we are not attempting a comparative

or historical approach in this chapter, it should be pointed out that there is good reason for the rubric and title to be as they are.

First, there is no memorial service included in the earlier editions of the Union Prayer Book for any of the Festivals. The Reform prayer book followed the minhag Ashkenaz in this respect, as well as that of the Sephardic rite. The inclusion of a memorial service for the seventh day of Passover, as an optional service, would indicate a concession of a sort to the wishes of the ever-increasing number of Reform congregants whose ancestral experience was with the Polish minhag -- which included Yizkor on the last day of each Festival.

Second, the choice of Passover as the time for a memorial service (if at all) is clearly a matter of logic. This Festival comes at a point about half-way between successive Yom Kippur memorial services.¹⁵

The memorial service opens with Psalm 23, assigned to the

choir. We have discussed this psalm and the mistranslation of bigge tzalmavet earlier. But undoubtedly the use of the psalm (with mistranslation) as a mood-setter for the memorial service, as well as in the funeral service, has helped to implant it firmly within Reform tradition as a funeral psalm. So phrases like "He maketh me to lie down in green pastures...He restoreth my soul... though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death...I shall dwell in the house of the Lord forever," can easily be taken by the worshiper as comforting assurances of immortality for oneself or one's beloved. Then follows a prayer of invocation, in which an idea of "heavenly-passive" immortality is affirmed (or, more accurately, argued). The theme is appropriate to Passover, commenting on the reawakening of nature in the spring from the "seeming death of winter." With spring's awakening,

A renewed faith and confidence surge through our hearts.
The clouds that darkened our spirits are dispelled by
the miracle of reviving nature. The gloom of the valley
of the shadow is pierced by the light of Thy presence.

This sentiment might well speak to the hearts of all of us, after a "typical" gloomy winter. How much the more so might it not touch the feelings of those who had, during the past months, seen a loved one laid to rest?

So the "argument" which follows has been introduced by the ageless identification of the cycle of nature with the cycle of man's career..

Beyond the winter of death smiles Thine eternal springtime. It cannot be that in a world of unending life, we, Thy children, are given over to destruction; that fashioned in Thine image we are doomed to annihilation. The spirit, implanted within us, cannot be only a passing breath. Thou art our dwelling place in life and in death.

Immortality, here, is an "eternal springtime." Two basic arguments are contained in this passage: the indestructibility of matter -- hence of "Thy children"; and the eternality of the soul, insofar as it partakes of the eternality of the Divine. The arguments are difficult to refute; but the ultimate conclusion is as ambiguous as any to be found on this subject in this prayer book: "Thou art our dwelling place in life and in death." Elsewhere we have affirmed everlasting life "with" God, return "to" God; but here we are talking about life in God. Perhaps the nature theme has gone too far, and we have argued ourselves into a Spinozistic-pantheism wherein we will eventually not "die" but merely be absorbed into the Deity which is the cosmos.

We have seen this "cosmic" immortality expressed before, more directly. In our present passage, however, the wording is just vague enough as to allow for both a "cosmic" and "heavenly" interpretation, depending upon the disposition of the congregant. It would not take too much rearranging, for instance, to let this prayer, as it stands, conclude with an affirmation of belief in the resurrected Christ, in whom our own immortal life is to be found!

Following the invocation is a series of psalm verses to be read responsively. The general theme is the longing for and dependence upon God. Phrases such as "Thou wilt guide me with Thy counsel, and afterward receive me with glory," might be taken as vague references to a "heavenly-passive" immortality; but no clear idea is expressed.

The choir is then assigned Psalm 16:8-11 -- Shiviti Adonai
l'negdi tamid. This is basically an affirmation of the joy found

in God's protection in life. The flesh as well as the soul, "dwelleth in safety." As these verses stand, they have no reference to remembrance of the dead, or to immortality. However, within the context of the memorial service, one might expect that there would be a tendency for people to take part of the selection as a reference to immortality.

For Thou wilt not abandon my soul to the grave
(lish'ol); neither wilt Thou suffer Thy faithful
to see destruction.

(Exactly the sentiment expressed in the invocation.)

Thou makest me to know the path of life (eternal).
In Thy presence (in the after-life) is fulness of
joy, at Thy right hand, bliss forevermore.

As with Psalm 23, the fact that the intention and even the translation of the psalm have been altered or are altered in the minds of the readers is interesting to note; but from a liturgical point of view it changes nothing.

Now follows a long passage for the reader, in which the "memorial" part of the memorial service is introduced. Reverent mention is made of departed loved ones, congregants, and heroes of Israel, named and unknown.

"Transfigured by memory, our dear ones stand again before us in this sacred hour." This is as clear a statement of the "earthly-passive" idea of immortality as one can find in the prayer book. And it is the only mention of immortality in the entire passage which can be clearly defined as such, except for the final sentence: "Mayest Thou remember them for blessing among the righteous of the world."

Now here we are given what is, in this study, a new aspect of the "heavenly-passive" idea. Asking God to "remember them for blessing" indicates a specific way in which the soul may achieve immortality: one lives on in the memory of God.

In fact, the central prayer of this whole service, from which it takes its name, is the Yizkor prayer -- "May God remember...."

In the Union Prayer Book version of this originally quite-short portion of the Shacharit service, more attention is paid to the mourners, and their remembrance of the dead. Yet, in the final analysis, it is God's remembrance which is most crucial.

The theme of Divine remembrance is not reserved for the dead alone. It is found throughout the High Holyday liturgy, with reference to the deeds of the living. (Here, of course, some appeal to the Divine capacity for forgetfulness is made.) Indeed, a separate study of the meaning of the theology implicit in Yizkor Elohim would be helpful to a fuller understanding of our ideas of immortality; but this is beyond the scope of the present project. Within the context of the liturgy itself, there is little more than the plea, "remember" which would indicate to what specific benefit this petition is intended.¹⁶

The memorial service reaches its climax, and its conclusion, with the silent prayer Yizkor, in a Hebrew and English version; and with El Male Rachamim, which is assigned to the choir, and appears both in Hebrew and English.

It must be noted that the English paragraph beneath the Yizkor is not a translation. It begins as a paraphrase and ends as a completely new prayer for the mourner. One reason for this is immediately apparent when we see the Yizkor in place just before El Male Rachamim.

Exact translation would result in a repetitiousness of certain phrases found in both prayers. We can also see, in comparing the original with the English, that the English version combines both "heavenly" and "earthly" immortality, in what one could suppose to be the "ideal" mode of "existence" after death. Translated quite literally, the prayer would read:

May God remember the soul of my revered father, who has gone to his eternity. Oh may his soul be bound in the bond of life, and may his rest be glory. In Thy presence is fulness of joy, at Thy right hand, bliss for evermore.

This is the prayer as it appears on page 272 of the prayer book.

Remember, O God, unto life eternal the soul of my beloved who has gone to his (her) repose and shelter him (her) beneath the wing of Thy love and grace for evermore. Strengthen me in my loss, O God of mercy, that I may honor the memory of my departed by kindly deeds unto the living. Help me to continue the noble tasks which gave meaning to his (her) life, and to contribute in his (her) spirit to the well-being of our fellowmen and to the sanctification of Thy name.

The significant difference is to be found in the addition of the ideas found from "strengthen me in my loss" onward. What is really implied here is the "earthly-active" idea. If the mourner is able to "continue the noble tasks which gave meaning to his (her) life" and to "contribute in his (her) spirit," then the deceased does partake, in some measure, of an active "existence" beyond death.

This "earthly-active" kind of immortality is found, interestingly enough, combined with a "heavenly" existence which seems completely passive. Both in the Yizkor and El Male Rachamim, the soul is tz'rurah, bound; we wish it m'nuchah n'chonah, perfect rest; and our final hope is: v'yanuchu b'shalom al mishcavam -- may they rest in peace (upon their resting place).

Again we are left without direction as to how these phrases are to be interpreted. What is m'nuchah n'chonah? The translation is "perfect rest"; but this fails to convey the implications of the term. Perhaps this is deliberate: the individual may determine for himself the connotation of "perfect rest." But then, this is not a new idea --- the prayer (in various forms) is fairly old.¹⁷ Certainly it cannot be understood in the same way as ordinary "rest." (Sabbath m'nuchah is already understood to be in a different category from ordinary rest.)¹⁸

Also, whatever our understanding of m'nuchah n'chonah is, it must be reconciled with our interpretation of yitzror b'itzror hachayim --- bound up in the bond of eternal life. This, too, is an idea which could use considerable explanation.¹⁹

Of course, many of the questions we have raised are of greater concern to the student than to the average congregant. For the Memorial Service as a part of the ongoing conduct of the ritual (not as an object of study) does not provoke questions. It helps create a mood. It directs the thoughts and feelings of the congregant towards death, immortality and remembrance, shedding a light on these subjects which is intentionally soft and diffuse, rather than sharp and clear (as the student might desire it.)

The Memorial Service concluded, the Festival Service continues. We should point out that the prayer for rain and dew, page 265, is a complete reinterpretation of the traditional tefilat tal. The original prayer was a compound of ideas including dew, national restoration and resurrection of the dead. The reinterpretation could have spoken of immortality, but ignores it.

The service ends with the Kaddish and its preface on page 275. Here the main emphasis is on comfort and resignation; and in one short paragraph, the major ideas of immortality found in the prayer book are stated:

Death is not the end; the earthly body vanishes, the immortal spirit lives on with God. ("Heavenly-active.") In our hearts, also, our loved ones never die. Their love and memory abide as a lasting inspiration, moving us to noble deeds and blessing us evermore. ("Earthly-active.")

EVENING SERVICE FOR WEEKDAYS

Aside from the Gevurot benediction there is no mention of immortality in this service up to the Kaddish preface. The rubric directs one to page 274 for the Adoration and Kaddish, so the Kaddish preface is the same as for the festival morning service. (However, this would not preclude the use of other Kaddish prefaces in the prayer book, if the leader of worship so directed.)

EVENING SERVICE AT THE HOUSE OF MOURNING

This is rather a short service, compared with others in the Union Prayer Book. For the most part the prayers are concentrated on the mourners, rather than God. Barechu and Sh'ma are retained; and the ma'ariv benediction is given in paraphrase, with direct reference to joy, sorrow and death. The Avot passage is replaced with a responsive reading on God as comforter, followed by the Gevurot (in English only). Psalm 23 is suggested for the silent prayer; and the service concludes with the Adoration, preface and Kaddish.

It is interesting to note that in this entire service, with the exception of the Gevurot, there is not one direct reference to immortality. The preface to the Kaddish, page 307, only hints at life eternal:

Let Thy light shine on us in the night of our sorrow that we may find the path of life and follow it towards the goal which Thou hast appointed to each of Thy children.... Calm Thou our troubled spirits that athwart our tears may arch the rainbow of Thine eternal promise.

We might safely assume that the "goal" and "eternal promise" are allusions to immortality. Yet it strikes us as being somewhat odd that the editors of this service chose to virtually eliminate any idea of immortality as a source of comfort to the mourner.

MORNING SERVICE FOR WEEKDAYS

The only additional material to be discussed here is found in the four prefaces to the Kaddish, pages 366-369. The first combines a kind of vague cosmic immortality idea with a rather weak version of the "earthly-active" idea. Death usually overtakes us with our work unfinished, "yet we lift up our souls to Thee, that our little day may find its permanence as part of Thine eternity and our work its completion in Thee." The existential problem which often leads to a longing for immortality is well stated in the opening sentences of the paragraph. But the assurance of "permanence" and "Completeness" is not very convincing as an answer to the individual's desire for his own, individual fulfillment in eternity.

And even the idea of immortality through memory is "watered down" here, as compared to other expressions we have found in the prayer book. "By love are they remembered and in memory they live"; but then it is not the dead but "the noble purposes which inspired them and the high ideals which they cherished (which) endure in our thoughts and live in our actions." Now certainly one cannot deny that this is what is implied in other "earthly-active" statements we have

discussed. Yet here the idea of the immortality of the individual personality is given a distinct shove to the rear. There is a difference between: "Though absent, the departed still minister to our spirits..." (page 74) and the idea expressed in our current passage.

In the second preface, page 367, we find the first reference to another "world." As we remember our loved ones, "they whisper to us of a world where years and horizons have no meaning and where the heart's desires come abidingly into their own." Certainly this is, for all its vagueness, one of the clearest "definitions" of "heavenly" immortality we have found so far. Actually there is a close relationship between this idea and that expressed in the first paragraph of the first preface on page 366. Each does what few of the other passages on immortality in the prayer book do: give voice to some of the reasons why an individual wants immortality for himself. The need for "completeness," and the hope for achieving at last the "heart's desires" are very real; yet are usually ignored in the ritual.

Then, too, there is some hint at "earthly-active" immortality here. For how do the dead "whisper to us" except through some kind of life-after-death?

In the third preface we return to the more standard version of "heavenly" immortality found earlier in the prayer book:

Though the dust returns to the earth as it was, the spirit returns to God who gave it. Death is not the end. Our dear ones have passed through the gateway of the grave into the peace of life that endureth always...our beloved whom Thou hast taken unto Thyself.

In the fourth preface we find no mention of the departed or of immortality. It is simply a prayer for comfort and strength for those who mourn.

PRAYERS FOR PRIVATE DEVOTION

In the back of the Union Prayer Book, Part I, there is a short section devoted to miscellaneous prayers for various occasions, most of which take place outside the synagogue. It may be of some interest to note, in passing, that in the experience of the writer, very few of the people who use the prayer book are aware at all of this section's existence. So our discussion of the ideas of immortality contained herein may be, to a great extent, academic, since the influence of prayers contained here is probably quite limited.

On page 384 there is a "Prayer on the Anniversary of a Death." The rubric indicates: "It is customary to burn a small light for twenty-four hours on the anniversary of a death." The prayer text presupposes the light. The ideas of "heavenly-passive," "earthly-passive" and "earthly-active" immortality are all touched upon.

Help me to feel that my dear _____ is in Thy peaceful keeping....My dear _____ is gone; but all the goodness, the sweetness and nobility of that life I will remember. As this light burns pure and clear, so may the blessed memory of the goodness, the nobility of character of my dear _____ illumine my soul.

One cannot read this prayer, which comes near the end of the prayer book, without thinking of those oft-repeated words at its beginning: "Light is the symbol of the divine in man. The spirit of man is the light of the Lord." It might well be that this phrase, at our prayer book's beginning, and the "small light," near its end, express together an idea of immortality more eloquent than any other to be found on the pages between them.

The final expressions of immortality to be found in this volume of the prayer book are on page 335 in the "Prayer in the Cemetery"

offered when dedicating a tombstone.

Thou dost grant us the blessed comfort of prolonging
on earth the living memory of our dear ones. ("Earthly-
passive")

May the soul of our departed be bound up in life ever-
lasting. ("Heavenly-passive") Praised be Thou, O God,
who givest life and takest it away.

CHAPTER II

THE UNION PRAYER BOOK, NEWLY REVISED, VOLUME II

INTRODUCTION

Our treatment of the material in this volume of the prayer book will be less extensive than that of the first volume. The major ideas of immortality have already been introduced and commented upon. Most of the general observations made about the ritual, the importance of context and so forth need little further elaboration. So the bulk of the material in this chapter will be more in the nature of description and documentation.

There is, however, one major consideration which must be held in mind throughout this chapter. That is the fact that this volume of the Union Prayer Book is read by a much greater number of individuals than is the other. For many of our congregants, the twice-a-year (or even once-a-year) worship experience with this volume constitutes their only formal religious experience. Hence, we may assume that whatever ideas of immortality are to be found in this prayer book may well be the only such ideas that many of our congregants will ever know.

Also to be remembered is the fact that the general mood of the High Holy Day services, especially the Memorial Service, is unlike that of the Sabbath and Festivals. Not only the words of the prayers, but the very emotions with which the worshiper enters the temple are changed. And so we may find that an idea of immortality which appears even banal to the Sabbath eve congregant, may evoke an altogether different response on Kol Nidre Eve.

EVENING SERVICE FOR THE NEW YEAR

Immortality is not a subject for concern in this service. The responsive reading of verses from Psalm 90 on page nine does speak of the shortness of man's life, and one might expect a petition for immortality. However, the prayer is for "a heart of wisdom," and for God's establishment of the "work of our hands." This is altogether a fitting note with which to introduce the Rosh Hashanah service, whose themes are centered on earthly life and its proper conduct. Not until the service for Yom Kippur morning will we find any appreciable interest in the "world to come" (excepting the usual Gevurot benediction and Kaddish preface).

There is an additional phrase inserted in the Avot benediction for the New Year. It is identical with the insertion made in the traditional liturgy.

Remember us unto life, O King, who delightest in life,
and inscribe us in the book of life, for Thy sake, O
God of life.

There can be no doubt that "life" in this context can mean only earthly, mortal life -- one of the central themes of the whole High Holyday liturgy.

We call attention to this insertion, with its clear reference to mortal life, in order to help clarify another insertion found in the Gevurot benediction. Just before the chatimah we read, "mi chamochah av harachamim, zocher y'tzurav lachayim -- who is like unto Thee, O merciful Father, who rememberest Thy creatures unto life." Now here, again, "life" is generally understood to mean mortal life, even though the next phrase speaks of "eternal life." We note this

because the translation is not consistent throughout the High Holyday liturgy. In the Tefilah for Rosh Hashanah morning, and for the concluding service of Yom Kippur, (on pages 52 and 328 respectively,) chayim is translated as "life eternal." The meaning of the insertion is then considerably altered, but for no apparent reason. Upon looking at earlier editions of the Union Prayer Book we find that "eternal life" is the consistent translation given. So perhaps the current inconsistency is a result of incomplete revision, rather than confused theology. As in a number of other cases we have seen, it is highly unlikely that anyone other than a rabbinic student would even notice such a matter, no less become concerned over it.

The Kaddish preface for this service picks up the theme of the introductory prayers: the transience of life, hence the need for a proper life, so that death may find us "prepared." Into this theme is woven the "heavenly-passive" idea of immortality. We read, on page 31:

Our life is but a fleeting gleam between two eternities...Only the dust returns to the earth, the spirit returns to God who gave it. Our dear ones have passed through the gateway of the grave into the endless peace of life eternal.

The only new aspect of this idea which we find here is that of "two eternities." One familiar with the rabbinic ideas on the pre-existence of the soul,¹ prior to infusion into the just-born infant, might read a great deal into this phrase in the prayer book. What was actually intended to be conveyed by the author of this preface is not certain; but it seems unlikely that any complicated theology of pre-existence is brought to the mind of the worshiper. The emphasis is on the "fleeting gleam" which is this life.

MORNING SERVICE FOR THE NEW YEAR

There is little new material to add from this service. On page 41, among the introductory prayers, there is a paragraph entitled "Atah hu." It is an adaptation based on the two prayers beginning with those words found in the traditional Birchot Hashachar. The basic theme is the eternality and power of God; but in making the point we affirm: "Thou art our God in this life, and Thou art our hope and refuge in the life to come." The latter part of the sentence follows the pattern of many other "heavenly-passive" references, indicating immortality as some vague haven beyond the grave. It is interesting to compare the version here with the simple Hebrew of the original text: Atah hu ba'olam hazeh, v'atah hu l'olam habah² - Thou art (God) in this world, and Thou art (God) for the world to come.

We have already spoken of the insertion in the Gevurot benediction which reads, in this service: "Who rememberest Thy children unto life eternal."

In the preface to the Kaddish, we find an expression of a kind of "cosmic" immortality.

On this solemn day of the New Year, we see life as through windows that open on eternity. We see that love abides, the soul abides, as Thou, O God dost abide forever. We see that our years are more than grass that withers, more than flowers that fade. They weave a pattern of life that is timeless and unite us with a world that is from end to end the abode of Thy love and the vesture of Thy glory. In life and death we cannot go where Thou art not, and where Thou art, all is well.

One might be tempted to conclude that this prayer on page 89 is a direct contradiction to the responsive reading from Psalm 90 on

page 9, where we declare:

In the morning they are like grass which groweth up.
In the morning it flourisheth and groweth up, in the
evening it is cut down, and withereth.

However, the respective contexts in which these passages are found make it clear that the "contradiction" is really a deeper insight into the human situation. We might say that the worshiper is expected to have a somewhat greater perspective on his existence after attending two New Year services, than when he first entered the synagogue. So, too, the idea of man's years as "grass" grows in its perspective, from one end of the service to the other.

EVENING SERVICE FOR ATONEMENT DAY

Aside from the Gevurot benediction, there is no reference to immortality in this service before the Kaddish preface. In the Kaddish preface, page 161, we affirm again a faith in the "heavenly-passive" idea of eternal life.

Thou wilt not suffer Thy children to see destruction;
our beloved, who have passed through the portals of
death, live on with Thee. Into Thy hands we commit
our lives, as we entrust the spirits of those we love.

And finally, in the closing hymn, Yigdal, on page 164-165, we note an insignificant, yet interesting situation. The Hebrew of the closing stanza traditionally reads, "metim y'chaye El," God will revive the dead. The Reform version, following the pattern of the new Gevurot chatimah, reads, "chaye olam natah b'tochem," But the English on the opposite page reads, "He redeems the dead to life that endeth never." Forced no doubt by his rhyme scheme, the poet has translated more in the spirit of the traditional Hebrew than the Reform.

This observation may shed little light on the subject of immortality; but perhaps it may serve to illumine somewhat the problem of "translation" which we have encountered from time to time in this study.

MORNING SERVICE FOR ATONEMENT DAY

In the introductory prayers we find, on page 174, the passage beginning, "the soul which Thou, O God, hast given unto me." We have already discussed this prayer in chapter one, with special reference to "Thou wilt take it from this earth that it may enter upon life everlasting." We mention it again, because in this service, on the opposite page, the Hebrew text of "Elohai N'shamah" is printed.

Now if we compare this Hebrew text to that found in the Siddur,³ we find that the chatimah has been eliminated. There is good reason for this, in terms of Reform theology, for the chatimah concludes, "hamachazir n'shamot lif'garim metim." (Literally, "who restoreth souls to dead corpses.") Now in terms of rabbinic theology, this is an unmistakable reference to the doctrine of resurrection of the dead in the Messianic time.⁴ Since the founders of Reform specifically rejected this doctrine,⁵ we would not expect to find it expressed in the prayer book.

However, upon re-reading the Hebrew text in our prayer book, we find that a glaring reference to resurrection has been retained: "v'atah atid litt'lah mimeni ul'hachazirah bi leatid lavoh," which means, literally, "and Thou wilt in future take it from me and restore it within me at a future time." Now it stands to reason that if only the soul is immortal, there can be no "me" within whom the soul can

be "restored" at any time. So the Hebrew as it stands does not belong in the Union Prayer Book.

A new idea on the subject of immortality is introduced in the "enosh mah yizke" prayer, page 210-211.⁶ This passage serves as a preface to the silent confession on the pages following. Here we find for the first time in our study of these prayer books the idea that there is a connection between a man's conduct on earth and his eventual immortality.

The major theme of the prayer is God's judgment of human conduct; but the sub-theme of reward (not punishment)⁷ is added.

But why should man murmur at his lot? Though he be called to toil and to trouble, his faithfulness shall not fail of reward. Happy, therefore, is the man who maketh divine wisdom his guide, and whose reverence for God is from the heart.

For all things stand revealed at last, and all men will be called to render account for their doings. Then truth will be made manifest, and deception will be ended forever. He who worketh righteousness and showeth mercy will find everlasting peace. His reward surpasses all earthly treasures and honors. A good name is his here below, and the crown of immortal life beyond. For him the day of death is better than the day of birth. Therefore until the day of a man's death, Thou dost wait for him to repent so that he may live the life eternal.

What is actually being said here is that "heavenly" immortality is the reward for righteous conduct and/or repentance. This is an extraordinary idea, because it is practically the only place in the Union Prayer Book where it may be found.⁸ It is true that within its context, serving as an introduction to set the mood for confession, it may be useful as a means of stimulating the worshiper to sincere repentance. But we seriously question how any person can be expected to believe it.⁹ All year 'round the prayer book leads us

to affirm and reaffirm our faith in immortality as the natural "end" to all human life. "The soul returns to God who gave it," is what we are told, not "the repentant soul returns to God!" Yet now, on Yom Kippur morning, we find ourselves reminding God that he waits for man to "repent so that he may live the life eternal."

There is more involved here than a mere academic demand for textual consistency; and it is more than a matter of new emphasis in order to bring home the message of the Holy Days. If we really believe that "heavenly" immortality is dependent upon right conduct and/or true repentance, then this idea ought to find its way into the liturgy again and again, throughout the year. We should not be allowed to forget for eleven months out of the year that our entrance upon "life eternal" is not an automatic affair.

Now one may say that this is far fetched. One may point out that during most of the year the references to immortality are made for the benefit of those mourning persons already dead. Under these circumstances it may be unwise to provoke doubts in the minds of mourners as to whether their loved ones are actually "with God" or not. Whereas in the present context, the worshiper is concerned with his own immortality, and perhaps will be persuaded to live that kind of life which might earn him eternal life.

One answer to this line of reasoning would be simply stated: this is theologically dishonest. It is true that ritual and the words which accompany its practice are basic "tools" with which organized religion can bring both comfort and challenge to the worshiper. But

in the case we are considering, it seems to us that the use of immortality most of the time as a comforting promise, and once a year as a threatening (implied) reward, is a gross misuse of the "tool."¹⁰

Needless to say, there is a theological gap in the enosh mah yizke as it stands. What happens to the man who does not work righteousness and who dies unrepentant? What is the alternative to "reward" and the "crown of immortal life"?

This question asserts itself again as we look at the "confession" and find on page 213: "In all my doings make me recognize every day and every hour that I am shaping for weal or for woe the destiny of my immortal soul." Once more the idea that conduct influences immortality; and now the alternatives are laid out for us in magnificently archaic English: "For weal or for woe." If this is the best that the prayer book can offer, it might be better to eliminate it altogether in future editions.

This theological dishonesty is found again in the special meditation for the aged, on page 216. In the penultimate paragraph the older person is supposed to pray:

I crave the power to see ever more clearly that other half of life's plan, which youth cannot discern.
Sustain me with the faith that wrong, cruelty and injustice cannot prevail but that the right, the pure and true shall endure. And may the imperishable worth of life uphold me in the deathless hope of the hereafter.

Now the usual affirmation of sure immortality has been voiced. But the editors of the prayer book will not let this suffice. The prayer concludes:

Let me not be afraid! As one by one my bodily powers weaken, may my soul enter into greater freedom and be purified and atoned in Thy sight. Let me die the death of the righteous and let mine end be like his.

There is a deep theological problem involved here. The most we can do at present is point it out. We hope that some day it will be grappled with honestly and that some evidence of that struggle will be manifest in the pages of the Union Prayer Book.

AFTERNOON SERVICE FOR ATONEMENT DAY

There are two passages in this service which need attention. The first is a poem by Meshullam ben Kalonymous, on page 255. The poet calls upon man to exalt God and His wonders. He concludes:

But of man --ah! the tale is another,
His counsels are evil and vain;
He dwells with deceit as a brother,
And the worm is the close of his reign.
Not so God! -- In light He is clad as a raiment:
His greatness no eulogy needs;
Yet exalt, 'tis your only repayment,
His marvelous deeds.

The idea here seems to be that exaltation of God is man's highest reward. There is no intimation of immortality.

Again in the un'tane tokef, pages 256-259, we find that "man is but flesh and blood, his origin dust, his end dust."¹¹ Both the Hebrew text and its English paraphrase speak of man's frailty and of God's providential power over man's destiny. A great deal is said about death, especially in the Hebrew; but no mention of life beyond death is present. This is actually quite reasonable, since the emphasis here is on death as a decree which we hope to avoid. We do not think about immortality when in the midst of trying to "avert the stern decree."

MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR ATONEMENT DAY

The custom of remembering the dead on Yom Kippur is not a Reform innovation.¹¹ However, the position in the liturgy and the

length and content of the material included mark this Memorial Service as being a significant departure from the traditional format. (In a later chapter we shall trace the evolution of this service in Reform liturgy.)

Placed after the Torah reading of the afternoon service, and before the concluding service, the memorial service is actually a separate ritual in itself. Indeed, in some of our congregations it is printed separately in a booklet which also contains the names of those departed whom the members wish remembered.¹²

The dominant theme of the first part of the service is the shortness of life and the inevitability of death. Through psalm verses and original prayers this theme is stated and restated for eight pages prior to the second part of the service, which is the actual "memorial" section.

Woven into the dominant theme are the sub-themes of immortality and retribution. The opening Adonai mah adam (a compilation of psalm verses) concludes:

Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright; for the end of that man is peace. The Lord redeemeth the soul of His servants; and none of them that trust in Him shall be desolate.

On page 309 there begins a series of passages on the inevitability of death, with the refrain, "Oh, what is man, the child of dust? What is man, O Lord?" The passage opens with the following words, which clearly express the connection between the Day and immortality, between moral conduct and eternity.

O Lord, God of the spirits of all flesh, who givest life and takest it away, Thou hast appointed this Day of Atonement that we might sanctify our lives on earth and attain unto life eternal.

The extended theme of death is not pointless, however, for we see that,

The speedy flight of life, and the gloom of the grave should not dismay us, but should teach us wisdom. It should prompt us to put our trust in Thee, who wilt not suffer Thy children to see destruction. For only the dust returns to the dust; the spirit which Thou hast breathed into us, returns to Thee, its everliving source.

Yet our feelings of assurance are not without some doubt, which leads us to pray further:

O that we might die the death of the righteous and our end be like theirs. Suffer us not to pass away in our sins, O Judge of life and death.

Again we have found the idea that immortality is somehow to be earned -- that something different is in store for those of us who, unfortunately, "pass away in our sins."

Then follows Psalm twenty-three, which has been discussed already, and a meditation, "O soul, with storms beset." In the latter the soul is told to accept the inevitability of death:

Thus mayest thou save thyself, and win high aid
To profit thee,
For, like a bird, unto thy next away,
Thou wilt take flight. 13

The concluding lines might be taken as referring to the "grace" which is the reward of eternal life.

Make pure thy thoughts from sin,
And bring a contrite heart as sacrifice
His grace to win.

Finally, on page 314, there is a summary prayer which brings this section of the service to a close and "clears the field" so to speak, for the memorial part of the service. It is interesting to note that in this prayer the idea of immortality is in no way connected to an idea of retribution. Indeed, the idea of "heavenly" immortality

is expressed as a "hope," a "vision" implanted within us, rather than a sure "doctrine" of the faith. Even God is described as "our hope in eternity." Hence we find now a new variation on the idea of immortality: we feel assured that we will live the life eternal because we have the idea "implanted within us."¹⁴

Beginning on page 315 with the responsive reading, "Let us call to remembrance the great and good"¹⁵ the actual "memorial" prayers are found. And here, to a certain extent, we find again the overtones of "earthly" immortality. (Which idea has been totally lacking heretofore in the High Holyday liturgy.)

Some have left a name behind. Their "remembrance is sweet as honey in all mouths." Others have no memorial, yet "the goodness of their lives has not been lost and their work cannot be blotted out."

There is a section dedicated to remembrance of our martyrs. Though they be nameless and their resting places unknown, "they shall not be forgotten. We take them into our hearts and give them place beside the cherished memories of our own beloved. They now are ours."

Now the choir sings shiviti Adonai l'negdi, which as we have previously noted, takes its implication of immortality from the context in which it is found.

Finally, just before the section entitled Yizkor, a summary prayer links together the first and second parts of the Memorial Service:

This hour of memorial bids us be mindful of the supreme hour which will call us to the realm of eternal rest and gather us to our fathers, to all the unnumbered generations that have gone before us.

What appears to be an idea of some kind of heavenly reunion here is more likely a figure of speech, borrowed from the biblical

vocabulary. The prayer ends with another "push" towards righteousness:

Grant, O Lord, that when the time of our departure comes, we may look back without sorrow upon the life we leave, and with trust in Thy mercy enter that life which Thou hast prepared for the righteous.

The Yizkor section consists of a series of six silent devotions "in memory of" father, mother, husband, wife, child and brother, sister or friend; a brief prayer introducing the reading of the memorial list, and the Kaddish.

This format is quite different from that found in the Yizkor for the Seventh Day of Passover, which contains an actual yizkor prayer in Hebrew and the El maley rachamin, without the Kaddish. We shall see in a later chapter that the reason for this difference may lie primarily in this fact: the Passover Memorial Service is new to this edition of the Union Prayer Book and has direct ties to the Siddur. The Yom Kippur Memorial Service, on the other hand, has a long and varied history within the liturgy of the Reform movement, and its connections with the Machzor are tenuous at best.

These memorial prayers are all in the first person and are directed not to God, but to the departed person who is being remembered. All follow the same pattern:

1. I remember you.
2. Your image lives on in my heart.
3. May God reward you with eternal peace, bliss, etc.

Of course one may raise a significant theological question at this point: what is the purpose of the memorial prayers in their present form? Is the form of direct address to the deceased an indication of a belief that they can hear the prayer, or is it more a manner of

speaking? (The traditional Yizkor prayer is addressed to God, thereby avoiding this confusion.) Also, why continue to pray for the welfare of the departed? How long, if at all, do the dead require that their posterity invoke God's "reward" on their behalf?¹⁶ There seems to be a contradiction inherent in these memorial prayers -- a contradiction of Reform's denial of the power of special prayers to affect the status of the departed within the after-life.¹⁷

When we look at the history of his Memorial Service within Reform liturgy, we may find that there are contained in the present service a combination of several views on immortality and modes of expressing them. Some seem to be in keeping with historical Reform theology. Others are more likely the remnants of one man's piety, which we might be well advised to cast off.

CONCLUDING SERVICE FOR THE DAY OF ATONEMENT

There is little which remains to be said on the subject of immortality. The Gevurot benediction brings its message, with the insertion now reading "life eternal" for chayim. And in the closing pages we find two final manifestations of the belief in immortality. The first is homiletical in form, the second catechismal. On page 344-345, cued by the p'tach lanu sha'ar we pray:

And still another dwelling Thou hast destined for us, O Source of life; an eternal abode to which we shall go after our brief stay on earth has closed. Open unto us the portals of eternal peace when the gates of our earthly home shall have closed behind us. Be Thou our guiding star on our homeward journey. Let thy light shine in the night of our death as the dawn of a new morning, that from our grave may sprout not the barren thistle but the fragrant myrtle, a blessed memory redounding to Thine honor and glory.

And on page 347 we affirm:

In man, the son of dust and the child of heaven,
Thou hast blended the two worlds, perishable earth
and immortal soul; finite matter, fettered to time
and space, and infinite spirit, which endures through
eternity.

CHAPTER III

RABBI'S MANUAL

INTRODUCTION

There are a number of prayers and services not found in the Union Prayer Books. These are primarily rituals of an occasional nature, which do not require congregational participation. We find them, along with other pertinent materials, in the Rabbi's Manual. The edition now available was arranged in 1928. A new edition is now being prepared, but unfortunately its publication will be too late for inclusion in this study.

Although the average congregant never reads the Rabbi's Manual, he hears its words as often as he may be present on an occasion when it is used -- particularly at life-cycle ceremonies. Our chief interest is, of course, the funeral service, and other ceremonies connected with death.

PRAYERS FOR THE DYING

There are two versions offered. The first, on pages 57-58, is mostly in English. A brief confession is followed by a prayer in which the dying person (or the rabbi reading on his behalf) says:

Fervently do I pray and sincerely do I trust that
Thou wilt show me the path of life so that cleansed
through Thee, my soul may enter life everlasting...
into Thy hand I commit my spirit, mayest Thou redeem
it, O God of mercy and truth.

We see again here the idea found in the Yom Kippur confession, indicating that immortality is somehow conditional rather than automatic. The idea of God as redeemer is, in this context, an unmistakable

reference to an "other-worldly" deliverance.

In the Hebrew Vidui, pages 59-60, there is no mention of a future life. It is a confession of sin and a testimony to God's power to know all and forgive all. One prays for God's protection of the beloved relatives to be left behind; and finally, in resignation to the decree, the dying person declares: al ken b'yad'chah afkid ruchi, paditah oti Adonai, El emet, (therefore into Thy hand I commit my spirit, Thou hast redeemed me O Lord, God of truth).

FUNERAL SERVICE

The funeral service is divided into three sections: in the home, the funeral chapel (or temple), and the cemetery. There is nothing new to be found here by way of ideas of immortality. If anything, the funeral service has less emphasis on immortality than we might expect! The primary theme is one of comfort and consolation to the mourners.

In the prayer to be read at home (pages 63-64) we find these sentiments:

Now his earthly end has come. We give him back unto Thee....in Thine encompassing love gather him unto Thee. Forgive him his errors, for there is no man that liveth and sinneth not, and vouchsafe unto him Thy heavenly peace. Make our true love a constant inspiration...that his memory may live on through us...

The service in the chapel opens with the same psalm verses used in the Yom Kippur Memorial Service (Adonai mah adam); and there are several selections offered, none of which touch on immortality. The main idea is resignation to death and trust in God. In the prayer "For a Young Parent" and "For a Child" only the "earthly-passive" idea of immortality is found. Not until the El maley rachamim, in English

and Hebrew, do we see evidence of a belief in "heavenly" life after death. This prayer, which concludes this part of the service, has been discussed in chapter I under the Memorial Service for Passover.

In the cemetery verses from Psalm 91 are to be recited as the coffin is taken to the grave. At the grave the tziduk hadin is read. No translation is given, though we cannot understand why. Certainly the declaration of God's justice is worthy of understanding by those who do not comprehend the Hebrew. The same key phrases are found in this version as in other, traditional services. (We were unable to find any two versions exactly alike.) Specific reference to cheshbon, however, is not found in our version, as in others.

The benediction pronounced as the coffin is lowered is an adaptation of the traditional one:

Praised be Thou...who forms us in His image, who nourishes and sustains us in His goodness, who causes us to die in accordance with His law, and who implants within us immortal life. Praised be Thou O Lord, Judge of truth.

After the coffin is lowered there are a series of comforting prayers and psalms, including the Gevurot in a slightly different translation. The most interesting part of this is the phrase, "Thou wilt fulfil Thy promise of immortal life unto those who sleep in the dust." This is a far less ambiguous translation of the Hebrew than we find in other versions of this benediction throughout the liturgy.

Several selections of closing prayers before the Kaddish have the phrase "the dust returns unto the earth as it was, but the spirit unto God who gave it."

The Kaddish text in Aramaic is slightly different from the one

found elsewhere in the liturgy. In the al Yisrael paragraph we find the words, v'chulkah tavah l'chaye alma d'ate ("and a good portion for the life of the world to come"). Up to the present edition of the Union Prayer Book this was included in every Kaddish; and its inclusion here is probably due to the age of the copyright of the Manual. Thus the English translation, which differs somewhat from those in the current prayer books, is also a product of an earlier era, and was at one time used in the prayer book, too. We shall discuss it further in the next chapter.

AFTERNOON SERVICE AT A HOUSE OF MOURNING

This is a simple service with nothing significant to add by way of ideas of immortality.

DEDICATION OF A TOMBSTONE

The prayers are, in the main, devoted to the comfort and inspiration of the mourners. The phrase, "t'hi nishmato...tz'rurah bitzror hachayim -- May his soul be bound up in the bond of eternal life," is found on page 96, immediately after consecrating the memorial. Kaddish and El maley rachamim conclude the service.

SERVICE FOR THE CONSECRATION OF A CEMETERY

The major ideas of immortality are expressed in the prayer on page 120:

The spirit returns to God who gave it...He has implanted eternity in our hearts, and has made us sharers in His unending life. He redeems our life from the pit... The goodness...with which our lives are linked, do not die... Living in His presence, even this place of mortality shall be unto us as a House of Life.

And on page 121, the "earthly-active" idea is very nicely

put:

Thou who hast ordained that our deeds live after
us...may what of us lives on beyond the grave, be
for our honor for strength and for courage to those
after us, and thus for the glory of Thy name.

ANNUAL MEMORIAL SERVICE AT THE CEMETERY

The stress in these prayers is laid on good deeds which live
on, rather than on spiritual immortality.

So let us set our hearts to gain wisdom...that we may
faithfully discharge our duties....thus, life shall
become a song of immortality, sanctifying the name of
God and glorifying our human existence. 13

CHAPTER IV

ANTECEDENTS TO THE UNION PRAYER BOOK,
NEWLY REVISED

INTRODUCTION

The ideas of immortality found in the Union Prayer Book and the forms in which they are expressed often differ (in varying degrees) from those found in the traditional liturgies. We might summarize the differences in this way:

1. Ideas:

- a) Removal of references to physical resurrection.
- b) Addition of ideas of spiritual immortality alone ("Heavenly" or "cosmic").
- c) Addition of ideas of "earthly" immortality.

2. Forms:

- a) Changes in the Gevurot benediction.
- b) Addition of prefaces to the Kaddish.
- c) Removal of all but the Mourner's Kaddish from the liturgy.
- d) Changes in the Kaddish text.
- e) Memorial service for the Seventh Day of Passover.
- f) Memorial service for Day of Atonement.
- g) Addition of references to immortality at various points in the liturgy.
- h) The funeral service.

These changes and innovations did not come about de novo. American Reform ritual as we find it today is a product of almost 150 years of change and innovation on the part of both German and American liturgists within the "tradition" of the Reform Movement.

In this chapter we shall attempt to outline, briefly, the major lines of development which have led to the ideas of immortality in the current prayer books. We shall try to show how both ideas and forms have undergone changes in emphasis and intensity from one Reform prayer book to its successor (or competitor).

A detailed analysis of each prayer book published prior to the current Union Prayer Book would be beyond the scope of this thesis. We have selected those few prayer books whose influence has been greatest (directly or indirectly) upon our present liturgy. Within these books we shall examine four specific parts of the ritual: (1) the Gevurot benediction; (2) prefaces to the Kaddish; (3) the text and "translation" of the Kaddish; and (4) the memorial services.

THE SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE PRAYER BOOK

There can be no doubt but that the Hashcabah of the Spanish and Portuguese rite was the basis upon which the early Reform memorial services were built. We invite the reader's attention to the appendices, where a few moments' comparison of texts will confirm this assertion.

There may be reason to believe that the custom of mourners reciting the Kaddish in unison with the rabbi stems, too, from this rite.¹

2

THE HAMBURG PRAYER BOOK, 1819

This first "Reform" prayer book was, by present standards, not too different from the traditional ritual it purported to replace. However, it contained certain innovations which remain to this day as a part of the Reform liturgy.

The text of the Gevurot benediction was, for the time being, unchanged. The Hebrew was identical to that of the siddur. The German translation offered no new interpretation, rendering m'chaye metim as "revivest the dead" (belebst).

However, something new had been added. Just before the mourner's Kaddish there was a paragraph in Hebrew, with a translation, entitled "Gebet fur die Abgeschiedenen - Prayer for the Deceased." A note indicated that "this prayer is said only when the mourners are present in the temple." The "Prayer" (see Appendix B) is actually a compilation of rabbinic statements which give assurance that "all Israel have a share in the future life." The emphasis, though, is upon righteousness, wisdom and the study of Torah whose "reward" is "in the land of eternity."

This same "preface" is used whenever the mourner's Kaddish is recited. The kind and number of prefaces to the Kaddish have changed over the years; but to the editors of the Hamburg Prayer Book we owe the credit for originating the practice.

Idea-wise, the kol Yisrael preface is still reflected in our present prayers. The major idea is one of assurance to the mourner that the departed share in some kind of immortality. The theme of righteousness, however, is reserved almost exclusively now to the

Yom Kippur prayers. We might indicate that this is a significant change in emphasis.

The text of the mourner's Kaddish itself is an innovation with this prayer book. (See Appendix B) In the first paragraph we find inserted the words, "d'hu atid l'chaddtah almah ul'acha'ah metayah --- who will renew the world and will revive the dead." This insertion is found only in this Kaddish, and in none of the other Kaddeshim found in other parts of the liturgy. It is clearly intended as a means of setting off this mourner's Kaddish from the others. The words themselves are not new, though. They are the first part of a longer insertion found in the traditional Kaddish l'chaddtah, the Kaddish recited at burial.³ It is hard to know just why this particular phrase was inserted, since the Kaddish l'chaddtah insertion speaks specifically about the Messianic resurrection of the dead! This particular usage was never carried beyond the Hamburg liturgies.

Another innovation in the mourner's Kaddish was carried elsewhere, however. With one change it remains part of our Kaddish to this day. This was the new paragraph beginning al Yisrael. The text is composed mainly of phrases taken from the traditional Kaddish d'rabbanan;⁴ and from the Hashcabah of the Spanish and Portuguese rite.⁵ The German text is a fairly literal translation of the Aramaic, (as opposed to the current practice which we discussed in chapter I).

The major significance of this new paragraph was (and still is) that it altered the nature of the traditional mourner's Kaddish and made it a "prayer for the dead" rather than a strictly doxological litany. For many years the recitation of Kaddish by traditional Jews had been believed to be of some benefit to the souls of the deceased.

The editors of the Hamburg Prayer Book, and those which followed it, made sure that what had been implied by the people was now made explicit.

Now what was found in "miniature" in the new Kaddish and its preface, was laid out in much fuller dimensions in the new memorial service for Yom Kippur. As we have seen, neither the Western nor the Spanish and Portuguese rites had ever created lengthy sections of the prayer book devoted to thoughts of death and immortality. The idea of an expanded Hazcarat Han'shamot was truly an innovation on the part of Frankel and Bresselau. (As was its placement in the service following the Musaf service.)

The service in its entirety is reproduced in Appendix B, including a translation of the new German meditations and prayers. We have observed before that the latter part of the service, from mah rav tuv'chah, is basically the hashcabah used by the Sephardim. The other parts, however, seem to be altogether original with the editors as liturgical formulations.⁶

The arrangement of biblical verses comprising Adonai mah adam remains precisely the same in our present Memorial Service. The prayers of remembrance for parents and relatives are now much shorter, but they follow the basic pattern established in the Hamburg Prayer Book: The prayers are addressed to the deceased, rather than to God. The major ideas of the prayers have remained unchanged. The chief differences are two: we no longer speak so specifically of the "activity" of the departed in "heaven"; and there is no mention of a donation made on behalf of the dead (although such donations are still offered!).

The most important part (and the major innovation) is the opening prayer. This is at one time a prayer, an essay on death, a philosophical argument and a plea. It speaks of death, the indestructibility of the soul, the joys of "heavenly-active" immortality and, only in an off-hand way, of some kind of retribution. Most of the "heavenly-active" ideas are no longer present in the Union Prayer Book; but a careful comparison of texts will reveal certain ideas, even actual phrases still manifest in our present Memorial Service.

Though the actual form of the service has undergone a number of changes, still the basic plan of an elaborate "service" in which the worshiper dwells at length on life, death and immortality, has been maintained to the present.

So one can see that in a number of ways, the Hamburg Prayer Book did much to influence the ideas of immortality and the forms into which they were cast, as we find them today in American Reform ritual.

THE HAMBURG PRAYER BOOK, 1845⁷

We find no changes in either the Gevurot, the preface to the Kaddish or the Kaddish itself in this later edition of the Hamburg Prayer Book. However, in the Memorial Service (see Appendix C) there are changes worth noting.

The form of the service remains the same. However, the opening prayer is about twice as long as that of the 1819 edition. This is a new creation, not an expansion on the older one. It is even more essay-like, giving additional "proofs" for the immortality of the soul:

the argument from God's goodness, from the need for the spirit to achieve the perfection unattainable on earth, from the divinity of the soul and from God's justice. There is an even stronger hint at something less than desirable in store for the wicked of the earth; but no "punishment" is spelled out. It does not seem likely that the present Memorial Service prayers on death and immortality are the "descendants" of this one. The first edition is the "ancestor."

We note a hope for reunion with the departed, expressed in the prayer of remembrance. This idea is definitely lacking in the present liturgy. Also, these "memorial" prayers are addressed to the Deity, rather than to the deceased.

One further note. This edition of the prayer book contains a brief burial service. In the instructions for the service we find, on page 430, the term "hashcabah," referring to the prayer beginning on page 313 which we have said is, in essence, the Sephardic hashcabah. The fact that the prayer book itself uses the very term by which the Sephardim designate their prayer for the dead should leave no doubt whatsoever as to its source.

ISRAELITISCHES GEBETBUCH ⁸

In 1854, Abraham Geiger published his prayer book in Breslau. This was truly a Reform prayer book -- it was quite radical in many ways. Geiger did not feel nearly so bound by the traditional liturgy as did the editors of the Hamburg Prayer Books; and we can safely conclude that much of Geiger's basic approach is still reflected in the structure and style of the Union Prayer Book, (albeit probably via Einhorn's Olat Tamid).

Consider, first, Geiger's German interpretation of the Gevurot benediction. (This is illustrative of a habit now thoroughly engrained in Reform liturgy -- a traditional Hebrew text next to a vernacular "translation" which is actually an interpretation.)

Thy might, O God, giveth life, preserveth and reneweth it. Thou refreshest the plants when they wither, and when they die Thou causest new ones to sprout. Thou upholdest the falling, healest the sick and preservest Thy faithfulness also to those who slumber in the dust. Indeed, Thy might fulfillleth the promise to the dead that salvation may sprout for them in the new, eternal life. (Father of mercy, Thou dost always remember Thy creatures and guardest their life.) Praised be Thou O God, (Praised be God, praised be His holy name), who givest life here and there. (Pages 38-39.)

We do not have this kind of interpretation of the Gevurot today, but we saw the analogy between plant life and human life expressed somewhat similarly on page 269 of the Union Prayer Book, Part I.

However, in Geiger's prefaces to the Kaddish (see Appendix D) we can see the germinal stage of many of our present prayers before the Kaddish. There is no idea of "earthly" immortality, but there is the affirmation of God's justice, some brief, unelaborated mention of "heavenly" life, prayer for strength and submission to God's will. Note, too, that these are original compositions rather than compilations of rabbinic and biblical verses as in the Hamburg Prayer Book. It is Geiger's approach which has been followed in the Union Prayer Book.

Geiger's Kaddish text is not the new one, but that of the traditional German and Polish rites. But his "translation" is again, an interpretation. (See Appendix D, end.) Note the words "imperfect" and "perfect" which reveal an idea of immortality only hinted at heretofore.

In Geiger's memorial service we note further differences from the Hamburg ritual. First, he indicates that the service is to be read during the morning service, (in the traditional position following the reading of the Torah). Second, he assigns the service to be read not only on Yom Kippur but on the last day of each of the Three Festivals, in accordance with Minhag Polin. Then, too, his order of service is slightly different and considerably shorter than the Hamburg version.

His central prayer gives only brief attention to "arguing" immortality, speaking of the deathless life of any "power" (Kraft) which God creates, and of the assurance of reunion with loved ones in the hereafter. The majority of the prayer is given over to remembrance of the departed -- in various categories. Here Geiger comes closer to what might be called an "earthly" immortality idea than did either of the Hamburg memorial services.

The congregation's prayer is directed first to God, then to the deceased. Here we find ideas which may sometimes be implied in the present memorial prayers, but are never clearly stated. The living pray for the benefit of the dead, and then ask the departed to "pray for me" and "introduce" me when I join you in heaven. Geiger also repeats a number of times the hope that he will find forgiveness of sin in the next life. The Enosh mah yizke of the Union Prayer Book still reflects this idea, but only palely.

Viewed in general, though, we would have to conclude that Geiger's prayer book probably had little direct influence on the Union Prayer Book, at least as far as our area of study is concerned.

MINHAG AMERICA, 1857

There were a number of editions of Minhag America; this edition of 1857 was "revised and compiled by the Committee of the Cleveland Conference" but it is basically the work of Isaac M. Wise, and the English translation is credited solely to him.

Like the Hamburg Prayer Book, on which it was modeled to some extent, Wise's prayer book did not depart too far from the form and content of the traditional siddur. But already in Wise's translations we can see certain changes taking place in the ideas of immortality expressed.

Though the Hebrew of the Gevure benediction was still the traditional formulation, yet Wise translated m'chaye metim as "who grantest perpetual life to the dead." This is a step in the direction away from the vagueness of "revivest" or "quickenest" which can be taken as references to resurrection.

There are no prefaces to the Kaddish contained in the services themselves (daily, Sabbath and Festivals). However, in the appendix Wise has provided "Prayers for Mourners and Jahrzeit" on page 117 and following. There is no indication given as to where in the service these prayers are inserted. Actually Wise has provided a miniature memorial service:

1. Psalm 90.
2. Adonai mah adam.
3. Three brief memorial prayers for father, mother, relatives.
4. Shiviti Adonai l'negdi.
5. Mah rav tuv'chah.
6. M'auachah n'chomah.
7. Melech malche ham'lachim.
8. Kaddish Yatom.

There are no ideas of immortality of particular interest to us in these prayers -- beyond those we have already discussed. However, when it comes to the Kaddish, Wise's translation introduces a new note.

The "Orphan's Benediction" consists of the traditional text with the al Yisrael paragraph inserted. Wise's translation is for the most part a literal one. But in al Yisrael (page 33) he becomes interpretive:

May the Lord of heaven and earth grant eternal peace and a full participation in the bliss of eternal life, grace and mercy, to Israel, to all the righteous, and to all who parted this life in the fear of the Lord.

Now "full participation in the bliss of the eternal life" is an interesting interpretation of "chulkah tavah l'chaye almah d'ate." It is a somewhat different idea, but does not manage to convey any more information about the nature of the activity in "heavenly" immortality than does the Aramaic. But, "to all who departed this life in the fear of the Lord," is something altogether different. Either Wise simply mistranslated "bir'ute" as "in the fear of" rather than "by the will of," or he deliberately injected a new idea. In either case the result is the same: anyone not included among the categories listed is not considered worthy of prayer on his behalf!

The Union Prayer Book sometimes throws a sidelong glance in the direction of this idea; but never would come right out and say it!

To this edition of Minhag America the ideas of immortality in our present ritual owe very little.

MINHAG AMERICA, 1866

This was Wise's prayer book for Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur. He wrote a good many original prayers and hymns for these services, including the memorial service, which we shall examine shortly.

The text of the Gevurot benediction remained the same in Hebrew, but now there was a slight nuance of meaning in the translation of m'chaye metim which leaned even further toward a clear denial of the old resurrection idea. Now on page 12, and elsewhere, he concluded: "Who grantest perpetual life after death."

Wise has one "Address to the Mourners" before the Kaddish on Rosh Hashanah eve, (page 66-68). Here is where we find for the first time an "earthly" immortality idea along with those of "heavenly" life. Wise takes Psalm 92.14, "implanted in the house of the Lord they shall blossom in the courts of God" as a "proof-text" for eternal life. But "the memory of the righteous is to blessing" on earth, as well.

The righteous and pious ones live in the presence of the Almighty in the realm of happiness; they live in the hearts of Their children and friends.

This "address" is really one of the prototypes for those prefaces now in the Union Prayer Book. Strip this "address" of its proof-texts and flowery language, and one can see how easily it would fit into the present liturgy.

The Kaddish remains the same as in the 1857 edition, with one major innovation. The brief "Prayers for Mourners" are now a full-blown memorial service.

The Seder hazcarat han'shamot, pages 64-91, is mostly a new

creation by Wise. He took the basic idea of a long memorial service from the Hamburg liturgy; but the form of the service is new. We shall not attempt a complete analysis of the service; however, certain general considerations should be mentioned.

It is obvious that the first section of this service has been incorporated, with much editing, into the memorial service of the Union Prayer Book. Compare Wise, pages 64-68 with the present edition, pages 309-310. We have retained the skeletal outline of Wise's creation. Yet much has been omitted; and herein lies the key to understanding the trend in ideas of immortality which has been operative over the past century in the development of American Reform ritual.

Now a good deal of the "editing" of Wise's version we can attribute to changing styles in English prose and to a pruning of excess verbiage. But the major deletions are Wise's rather detailed descriptions of the after-life. For example, on page 66:

The bliss which Thou in the realm of eternity bestowest
on the pure and sanctified soul...the rays from the
luminous palace of eternity, where the sun of Thy grace
radiates eternal felicity on Thy returning children.

Moving on to parts of his service not included at all in the Union Prayer Book, we find a long prayer in which Wise "argues" the rational proofs for the immortality of the soul, using most of the same reasons given in the Hamburg services. Only a few vestiges of this kind of prayer remain in the Union Prayer Book. Today we briefly affirm our faith in the return of the spirit to God; but we do not argue the point with God. Wise does at least say that "there must be a reward to virtue, which suffers on earth, and a punishment

to wickedness...." (page 74); but he, too, is reluctant to spell out the terms of punishment any further. The individual memorial prayers are somewhat similar to those we now use; but they seem to center more on the mourner than on the deceased. The hashcabah of earlier prayer books is gone completely; the service ends with aleinu and Kaddish.

In placing this service at the end of the Yom Kippur eve prayers, Wise was undoubtedly "borrowing" from the Sephardic tradition, as did the Hamburg liturgists before him. The Sephardim read their memorial list on the eve of Yom Kippur.

MINHAG AMERICA, 1872

This prayer book (daily, Sabbath and Festivals) does not bear Wise's name. The title page indicates that it has been "Revised in Conference." The important change for our purposes lies in the Gevurot benediction.

The standard version, as on pages 40-41, has, for the first time, an altered Hebrew text. The words "m'chaye metim" have been eliminated from the body of the text; and the last two sentences now read: "v'ne'eman atah lachayim v'lametim. Baruch atah Adonai, m'chaye nishmot hametim -- Thou art faithful to the living and to the dying. Praised be Thou, O God, who keepeth alive the souls of dying mortals."

But this is not the extent of the "alteration." In the Musaf service for the Sabbath, which is "intended to be recited in the English instead of the Hebrew," (page 187), there is an even more radical departure from the original. We find on page 189:

(Congregation). Thy faithfulness in life and death
is cheerful hope to us in life and death.

(Hazan). Praised be Thou, O God, who guidest the
soul to eternal life.

Slowly but surely the liturgy was developing towards its present
forms and ideas.

OLAT TAMID, 1872

After three successful editions in Hebrew and German, David
Einhorn published an English-Hebrew edition of his prayer book in
1872. This was later to become, with some revisions, the Union Prayer
Book.

In Einhorn's version of the Gevurot benediction we find the
source of our present reading. It is his chatimah which is of great-
est importance:⁹ "Baruch atah Adonai, hanoteah b'tochenu chaye olam --
Be praised, O God, who hast planted immortal life within us." (page 5.)
Finally the "metim" have been removed altogether from the benediction.

Einhorn has no prefaces for the Kaddish. He provides a special
prayer for the dead on page 45 among the "Prayers for Special Cases"
to be recited on the Sabbath in connection with the donation of
"pious gifts for the aggrandizement of our religious institutions"
in memory of the deceased.

The Kaddish text is almost the same as in Minhag America,¹⁰
but Einhorn's translation is more literal. The innovation to be
noted is that the Mourner's Kaddish is the only version of the Kad-
dish in this prayer book, all others having been discarded.¹¹ This
practice has been retained up to the present day in our liturgy.

Before discussing the memorial service, we should like to note one other area of the services. We saw that in the Union Prayer Book the special prayers for Sabbath and Festivals sometimes contained vague references to the traditional idea of the Sabbath (or Festival) as a foretaste of the world to come. As we look through Olat Tamid we can see that these prayers were once more definite:

And, when once our day's work will be all done, may (we) enter upon the inheritance of the eternal Sabbath. (page 7.)

Through the darkness of the tomb Thou ledest the righteous to the enjoyment of an everlasting Sabbath, of endless felicity....(page 23.)

And finally close our earthly career in true contentment and in the serene anticipation of heavenly holidays, full of beatitude and never ending.(page 117.)

Einhorn followed the German minhag, to the end that no memorial services are provided for the Festivals. His "Commemoration of the Dead" comes near the end of the afternoon service for Yom Kippur.

The penchant for poetic expression which Einhorn possessed is nowhere better displayed than in this service. His descriptions of life, death, and immortality are often dazzling; and he uses several pieces which seem to have been adapted from original Hebrew poems. He does not become involved in philosophical arguments for immortality, as did Wise and his Hamburg predecessors. Rather he goes on, page after page, in rapturous affirmation of the beauties of the next life.

His opening prayer, "We are strangers before Thee," has been retained (much-abridged) in our current memorial service on pages 316-317. Most of the editing eliminated ideas already expressed in

the section taken from Wise, or else summarized the more drawn-out ideas. But one idea in particular which has been deleted altogether, deserves our attention. Einhorn is the only prayer book editor we have yet investigated, who actually attempted to spell out what he meant by the "punishment" which was to be given to those who were not righteous on this earth.

He who toils only for vain things...may dread the grave in which death is to tend him...for the record of his life is -- an epitath, his monument -- a mound of clay...his place denies him as soon as he is torn from it, saying, I have not seen thee. (pages 270-271.)

Einhorn contrasts to this the fate of the righteous, whose life, left in the hearts of men, is his record; and for whom loved ones weep at the grave. In short, he is saying that the wicked will have no "earthly" immortality, whereas the righteous will. This is a far cry from a description of Divine retribution in "heaven"; but it goes farther than any previous (or later) prayer book would venture. Of course the facts of history do not verify Einhorn's contention -- the Pharaoh's, Haman's and Hitler's having been all-too-well remembered, while their pious victims have been forgotten. Yet on a more domestic level there may be more truth to the idea.

Following Einhorn's pattern, we still include the twenty-third Psalm, as well as the poem, "O soul, with storms beset."¹² The individual memorial prayers are like our present ones, but we have deleted the prayer for reunion "in the abode of eternal felicity," as on page 279. Also gone now are Einhorn's English prayers based on the hashcabah and his inclusion, for no apparent reason, of El maley rachamim in unpointed Hebrew, without translation, following the Kaddish.

THE UNION PRAYER BOOK, PART I, 1895

This is the first of the three editions in which our prayer book has been published, under the direction of a committee of the Central Conference of American Rabbis. As we have said, it is based, mainly, upon Einhorn's Olat Tamid.

Ideas of immortality are not found in over-abundance in this first edition. The Gevurot benediction was given the Hebrew form which it now has -- the English differs only slightly.

In all there are four separate prefaces to the Kaddish in the entire volume. Several have been retained in the Newly Revised edition, with some changes. We note two interesting facts here: first, the large number of different prefaces found in the present edition were felt unnecessary in earlier days; second, the prefaces themselves, compared with previous and later ones, indicate a growing "shyness" of specific statements about the nature of life in "heaven." For example, we might compare the preface on page 49 of the 1895 edition with its revised version on page 72 of the current edition.

1895: Only the body has died and has been laid in the dust. The spirit lives and will live on forever in the land of undisturbed peace and perfect happiness.

1940: Only the body...the spirit lives in the shelter of God's love and mercy.

Or compare the old version on page 105 with its revision on page 151.

1895: Though vanished from bodily sight, they have not ceased to be, and it is well with them; they dwell in safety with the everlasting Spirit.

1940: They have not ceased to be, they abide in the shadow of the Most High.

We do not as yet find the ideas of "earthly" immortality which are so abundant in the Newly Revised edition.

The Kaddish itself is the same as Einhorn's;¹³ but the translation is really an interpretation. To an even greater extent than does the Newly Revised version, the first edition makes every paragraph of the "translation" refer in some way to death, even if obliquely. (As for example, "Blessed be the Lord of life and righteous Judge for evermore" on page 50.)

THE UNION PRAYER BOOK, PART II, 1894

In this High Holyday prayer book there is only one version of the preface to the Kaddish. It is the same as that found on page 49 of the Sabbath prayer book.

There is one meditation on immortality in the afternoon service for Yom Kippur (page 208) which was retained in the Revised edition, but not in the Newly Revised. No doubt both the description of heavenly bliss and the angelology made it unfit for mid-twentieth century worshippers.

This is the purpose of my prayers....O grant when the soul shall leave its earthly habitation, even though it deserve and dare claim no reward, it may trust that it has been cleansed of all guilt, and may hasten to Thee, free and glad and pure. Then let Thine angels of peace receive it, singing in joyful chorus. Peace be Thy coming. There may it find its habitation in the blissful light of the spiritual world and its portion in unmeasured eternity and unending happiness.

The memorial service is basically the same as the one we have today, the major difference being the section on the martyrs, which the 1894 edition does not have. However, we can see here the same trend as we found in our comparison of Kaddish introductions. For example, let us compare the prayer "O Lord, God of the spirits of

all flesh" (taken from Wise) in its earlier and later versions.

(Page 294 in the old, page 309 in the new.)

1894: Thou hast hallowed this day as a Sabbath of the soul, so that disengaged from worldly thoughts and interests, we may rise to thoughts of eternal life, and taste of the bliss which awaits the sanctified and the pure.

1945: On this Sabbath of the soul, we seek the strength which comes from the contemplation of Thine abiding love.

And again on pages 296 and 311, respectively, where the early edition retains a good deal of Einhorn's idea of the "punishment" in store for the wicked, the Newly Revised prayer tells us merely that "when we become servants of Thy Law....then indeed do we endow our fleeting days with abiding value."

The major difference, then, between the first edition of the Union Prayer Book and the Newly Revised edition, is not one of form, but rather of content, emphasis and abundance. The editors of the first Union Prayer Books did not find it necessary to speak at length on "heavenly" immortality; but they were not unwilling to say something about it when necessary. The idea of "earthly" immortality was seldom to be found at all.

THE UNION PRAYER BOOK, PART I, REVISED, 1918

THE UNION PRAYER BOOK, PART II, REVISED, 1922

There are no appreciable differences, with regard to our subject, between the first and the revised editions of the prayer book. The two memorial services differ only slightly, and the new material has been amply discussed in chapter two.

CHAPTER V

EVALUATION AND CONCLUSION

All through this thesis, in the process of describing and analyzing the material, we have given our evaluation of various specific ideas and prayers. What remains for us is to outline, in general, our overall views on the ideas of immortality in American Reform ritual, and to offer our suggestions for possible future work.

We have been using the term "ideas" where one might have expected the term "doctrines." Our terminology is, in itself, a kind of evaluation. For "doctrine" connotes an idea or article of faith which has become firm, set, "official" in some way. An "idea," on the other hand, is something not quite so authoritative -- perhaps more tentative, more suggestive than directive. It is our contention that the term "ideas" is the more accurate means of describing (and evaluating) the various ways in which immortality is spoken about in our liturgy -- particularly in the Union Prayer Books.

For the early German and American Reform liturgists, immortality was a "doctrine" which they enunciated at great length and with great fervor. But we have seen that with the passage of time and the production of new prayer books, what had been so certain, so strong, so reassuring, became but a mere shadow of its former self. So that now we have what are really mere "ideas"; sometimes the same, sometimes contradictory, seldom very definite.

We speak of the "soul" returning to God; but with all the verbiage spent on the subject, nowhere is there an attempt made to

spell out (even as a suggestion) just what is the soul. Actually there seems to be a tendency to shy away from the idea of the immortality of the soul; and we find an increasing number of Kaddish prefaces which speak of a "cosmic" sort of immortality. For some this idea of general absorption back into the eternal matter of the universe may be suitable. But it can hardly be expected to bring comfort and satisfaction to those people who are concerned for the immortality of their conscious selves.

The ideas of immortality in today's liturgy have little to do with the concerns we spoke about in the introductory pages. In Kaddish prefaces and memorial services there is an almost studied avoidance of any solid idea of the individual somehow finding fulfillment, completion, perfection of his earthly strivings in a future life. The Yom Kippur liturgy may hint that there is a connection between immortality and the ultimate worth and purposefulness of human life; yet nowhere is the connection spelled out in even speculative terms. It would seem that those men who edit the prayer books do not have strong convictions about immortality, and are somehow unwilling to share even their hopes for a future life with their congregants.

With every edition of the Union Prayer Book have come more references to what we have called "earthly" immortality. We are assured that our departed now (or we ourselves in the future) will "live" on in memory, or in the good deeds performed on earth, or through ideals which continue to inspire those who remain. Now this kind of idea is not untrue, and may, indeed, bring considerable comfort. But this is not really "immortality" in the deeper sense of

the word. "Live" is only a poetic word in this useage. There is nothing here which gives hope to one whose real desire is for some part of himself to exist self-consciously beyond the confines of what appears to be "mortal" life.

Then, too, the whole problem of reward and punishment, of ultimate retribution for the injustices and unrewarded sufferings of life -- this problem is almost totally ignored. The early reformers were reluctant to spell out the fate of the unrepentant sinner; but at least they gave ample assurances that those who sought righteousness "here" would reap their reward of eternal bliss "there." The present prayer books will seldom grant even that satisfaction.

Of course, in all fairness, it should be pointed out that there are men in the Reform rabbinate whose theological views would preclude such ideas. Rabbi Jerome Malino, for example, must have voiced the feelings of a number of his colleagues when he said, in his Conference lecture:

The promise of redress, in the world to come, for the injustices of life is the pie in the sky for which our generation is likely to have too little appetite. If the concept of divine justice is to have meaning it will have to be understood in the light of a man's experience on earth. It will have to be consistent with what he knows of history and of the world in which he lives and will have to pass the test of those rational criteria that he is accustomed to apply to the non-religious domains of his thought and experience. 1

But granting, for the moment, Malino's premise, we can see nothing in the liturgy of the Reform Movement which attempts to do something constructively in accordance with this idea. The problem is only avoided, which may, in the end, be of greater disservice to many congregants than if at least the ideas of the early liturgists

had been retained with some consistent pattern. Stern has pointed out:

The revisers have not followed through in their excision of passages which make retribution in the next life an inducement to righteousness in this life. If they are convinced of their stand, let them be consistent.. 2

What we would hope for in the next revision of the prayer book would be some evidence that the editors had really come to grips with the problem and that their convictions had been consistently expressed in the liturgy.

Perhaps the most disconcerting factor which we find in the prayer book today is the "middle of the road" attitude which the material dealing with immortality seems to display. It sometimes seems as if the committee had decided: let us try to please everyone. For those who don't believe in individual immortality, we include ideas of "earthly" or "cosmic" immortality; and for those who are more "old fashioned" we'll keep a few phrases like "the soul returns to God who gave it," which is vague enough to be taken any way the worshiper wants to understand it. In this way, no one will be offended; and the Reform ritual can provide something for everybody.

It may well be that a "perfect" solution to this problem will never be found as long as our prayer books are the product of committee effort. However, after a careful analysis of the present treatment of immortality, we feel justified in suggesting that a great deal remains to be done, even under the present conditions.

But it is not in ideas alone that the present liturgy "misses the mark." Too often the form in which the ideas are cast is life-

less, unable (or unwilling) to stir the hearts of those who worship. We can only echo the plea of Rabbi Alan Green, before the Conference in 1948:

Where is the prayer that opens the flood-gates of our feelings, and then charts the course for them to subside and resume their normal channels? I know of none. Surely not: 'In the fullness of time we shall know why we are tried.' We do not believe that. Someone has yet to articulate the mingled moods of this moment...³

We would conclude, albeit unhappily, that in both the ideas of immortality and the manner in which they are expressed, the present ritual falls far short of serving the emotional and spiritual needs of our congregants. Words have been piled upon words in an effort to provide interest and variety; but the result has been, we feel, that the prayer books say more and more about less and less.

If the Reform Movement is to remain true to its original spirit of change, innovation, re-evaluation, and its willingness to experiment with new truths, new modes of expression, then let this spirit and openness be manifest in a new liturgical approach to immortality. Let there be a wedding of philosophical and theological honesty with a keen awareness of the spiritual needs of the people, that once again the people may find true inspiration and comfort in their words and ways of worship.

APPENDIX A

The Book of Prayer and Order of Service According to the Custom
Of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews.

Volume I

HASHCABAH FOR MEN: pp. 200-201

והחכמה מאין חכמה, ואיזה מקום בינה. אשרי אדם חכם
 חכמה, ואדם יסוף חכמה.

מה רב טובך אשר צמנה ליראיך, מעלת לחושים בך נגד בני
 אדם. מה יקר חסדך אלהים, ובני אדם בצל כנפיהם יחטיו. ירויח
 מדען ביהוה, ונחל עדניך חסד.

טוב שם משמך טוב, ויום המות מיום הולדו. סוף דבר הכל
 נשמע, את האלהים ירא, ואת מצותיו שמור, כי זה כל-האדם. יעלזו
 חסידים בלבבך, ירננו על משכבותם.
 מנוחה נכונה בישיבה עליונה תחת כנפי השכינה במעלה קדו-
 שים וטהורים כזהר הרקיע מאירים ומזהירים, וחלוצי עצמים וכתרים
 אשמים וחרוקת טעם והקדחת יסע וחמלה וחנינה, מלמדי שוכן מעונה,
 וחלקא טובא לחיי העולם הבא שם תהא מנה ומחיבה וישיבת גמול השם
 הטוב (פלוגי) קדש יי הניחנו בגן עדן. דאחמסר מן עלמא הדין
 כרעוה אלהא מדי שמיא וארעא, מלך מלכי המלכים ברחמינו ירחם
 עלינו ויחמול ויחמול עליו. מלך מלכי המלכים ברחמינו יסחירנו בצל
 כנפיו ובסתור אהלו, לחיות בנעם יי ולבקר בהיכלו לקץ הימין יע-
 מידנו ומבואל ערבו יסקהו ויגרורו בצרור החיים נשמחו ושם כבוד
 מנוחתו, יי הוא נחלתו וילזה אליו השלום ועל משכבו יהיה שלום
 כלפניו, יבוא שלום ינוחו על משכבותם הולך נבוחו. הוא וכל-
 שכבי עמו ישראל בכלל הרחמים והטעמים, וכן יהי רצון וגאמר אמן.

APPENDIX B

The Hamburg Prayer Book, 1819

MOURNER'S KADDISH AND PREFACE used throughout the Hamburg Prayer

Books:

כל ישראל יש להם חלק לעולם הבא שנאמר, ועמך כלם צדיקים
לעולם יירשו ארץ. אשרי מי שעמלו בחורה ועשה נחת רוח ליוצרו, ד
בדל בשם טוב ונפטר בשם טוב מן העולם. ועליו אמר שלמה בחכמתו
טוב שם משמך טוב ויום המות מיום הולדו. למוד תורה הרבה ויתנו
לך שכר הרבה ודע מתן שכרם של צדיקים לעתיד לבא.

יתבדל ויתקדש שמיא רבא, דהוא עתיד לחדתא עלמא ולאחא
מתיא, וימליך מלכותיה בחיבתו וביסודיכו ובהיי דכל בית ישראל
בעגלא ובזמן קריב ואמרו אמן.

אמן. יהא שמה רבא מברך לעולם ולעלמי עלמא.

יתברך וישתבח ויתפאר ויתרומם ויתנשא ויתחדד ויתעלה
ויתהלל שמה דקודשא בריך הוא. לעלא מן כל ברכתא ושירתא חשבונתא
ונתנתא דאמירן בעלמא ואמרו אמן.

על ישראל ועל צדיקא ועל כל מן דאתמט מן עלמא הדין
ברעותיה דאלהא יתא לחון שלמא רבא וחולקא טבא להיי עלמא דאחי
וחסדא ורחמי מן קדם מאריה שמיא וארעא ואמרו אמן.

יהא שלמא רבא מן-שמיא וחייט טובים עלינו ועל-כל-ישראל

ואמרו אמן.

עשה שלום במרומיו הוא ברחמינו יעשה שלום עלינו ועל-כל-

ישראל ואמרו אמן.

MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR YOM KIPPUR: pp. 279-288

Opening Prayer: (pp. 279-281)

Great Spirit, whose ways art beyond searching out! Ruler over life and death! Thou didst call forth the infinite universe out of nothing. Thine almighty word didst adorn it with magnificence and beauty. Thy breath didst breathe forth living creatures of innumerable aspect; and above all, man towers supreme. Him Thou hast created in Thine image and hast gifted him with power to have command over the work of Thy hands. Thou didst kindle within him the divine spark of reason, so that he might redognize Thy might and greatness in all creation. Yet in Thy wise providence it hath pleased Thee to appertion to all Thy creatures a finite time. And so Thou didst set a limit for man, too. From the moment of his birth he walks towards death; and as plant and worm fade away, so, also, man fades into -- the grave. But Thou, Almighty, hast not created Thy works in order to give them over to destruction. Nothing is destroyed. Nothing will be lost which was created by Thy creative hand. Everything dies in order to be newly formed: not a mote of dust will lose its being, since Thy creative breath hath formed it. How, then, should man, the master work of all creatures, be annihilated through death? How wouldst Thou, who only createst, and destroyest nothing, destroy the spirit which lives in him, which is a part of Thine own being? No! Thou liftest up the spirit to Thee, and only the fragile shell which contained God's spark, only the body, which is mortal, rests in the lap of the earth, will turn into dust out of which it was created. There rests the entire pre-world, from the beginning of Creation. There, too, rest the members of our family and our friends, our parents and relatives; but only their bodies rest in the grave. Their spirit stands before God the Almighty; and so shall we, too, when our final hour comes to reunite us with those beloved ones who were our leaders and our friends.

Through death a purer and better life begins for us in the blissful abodes of peace. No cover of earth limits the pure spirit. There will appear to us in illuminated clarity what on earth seemed to us dark and incomprehensible. What need we fear from death? Since it leads us to a better life; and while we leave our earthly belongings on earth, there, ever-valuable treasures await us. Only the non-believer trembles before death, and only he who dreams away his earthly career in thoughtless, animal-like lust, he who in the dispositions of this earth does not recognize Thy Fatherly hand, who will not worship Thee, O God. The faithful God-loving soul which is animated by feelings of Thy presence, sees Thee, O God, in all, admires Thee in all Thy works. So, too, may death hold no terror for us if our heart knows itself free from all reproaches and if we recognize in death, too, a wise dispensation of providence from the Almighty. Death is a gate which leads from darkness into pure

light, where a new sun will shine for us and will shine for us upon the wrong ways of earthly life, where the soul, saturated by pure joy, will cast its glance into eternity, and will acknowledge more deeply and more ardently the perfection of the Eternal, and in the choir of spirits Thy praise proclaim, oh Thou Unsearchable!

Almighty God, Lord of all souls and of all flesh, let us look towards the hour of our departure with quietness and serenity. And when Thou dost call us from this life, so let us, too, share the bliss which Thou hast provided for the righteous. Accept us also in the shadow of Thy wings, for the source of life is with Thee; Thou art the fountain of life, in Thy light do we see light.

Adonai mah adam: (p. 281)

יְיָ מִה אֵלֶּם וְהַדְעָהוּ בֶן-אָנוּשׁ וְחַשְׁבֹּהוּ. אֵלֶּם לְהַבִּיל דַּמָּה
יִמְיוֹ בָּצַל עוֹבְדִי. בְּקֶרֶךְ יִצְיָק וְחֶלֶךְ לַעֲרֵב יִמְלִיל וְיִבְשֵׁ. חֲשֵׁב אֲנִי
עַד-דָּבָא וְחַשְׁבֹּה שׁוֹבֵב בְּנִי-אֵלֶּם. לֹא חֲשֵׁבִי יִשְׁכְּלִי זֶהָ יִבְשֵׁנִי לֵאמֹר
חֲרִיבִי. כִּי לֹא בְּמוֹתוֹ יִקָּה הַכֵּל לֵא-יִרְדֵּי אַחֲרָיו כְּמוֹתוֹ. שְׂמֹךְ אֵם
וְרֵחָה יִקָּרֵב כִּי אַחֲרָיָה לְאִישׁ שְׁלוֹם. מוֹדָה יְיָ גַּם עַד יִרְדֵּי דָלִים
יִאֲשֹׁרוּ כָל-אֲחֻרָּיִם בּוֹ.

The German text is a straightforward translation.

For Departed Parents: (pp. 282-283)

Of thee, oh my beloved father (my beloved mother), I think in this solemn hour, and of the love, care and fidelity with which thou didst guide me as long as thou wast around me on earth. Thou didst depart from me and leave me behind; but I remember the teachings which thou gavest me and my heart is deeply touched and beats loudly and warmly towards thine immortal spirit, which dwells high up with its heavenly Father. Oh may the Almighty have accepted thy soul into His Fatherly protection, united with those who live forever and bask in the glory of the Divine greatness and majesty, in which thou mightest hover around me until my spirit, too, will associate with thine and in the kingdom of purest light will meet those who wandered virtuously on this earth and were so dear and beloved to me. And Thou, O Heavenly Father, think of the pious gift which I vow to the benefit of this house and devote to the dear memory of the departed. Oh that the willing sacrifices of my mouth be acceptable unto Thee.

For Departed Relatives: (p. 283)

I think of thee, my beloved brother...of thy faithful love, of thy warm friendship which made my heart so happy on this earth. I think with sorrow and emotion: ah, it has vanished, the heart which they gave me; it is shattered and become dust! But the spirit which gave life and love to this heart lives. Oh, that, purified and pious,

this spirit may be accepted by the Heavenly Father above in a fatherly way, and may it wander in the kingdom of purest light, ever more blissful and ever hovering around those who are left here behind, and will go home soon or late to the Father according to the will of the Most High. And Thou, O Heavenly Father, accept favorably this pious donation which I dedicate for the benefit of this house in dearest memory of the departed.

Mah rav tuv'chah: (pp. 283-284)

מה רב טובך אשר צפנה ליראיך מעלת לחושים כך נגד נגד
אדם מה יקר חסדך אלהים וצדי אדם בכל כנסיון יחסיון ירויון
מלשן ביהוה ונחל צדיק חסדו יעלנו חסידים בכבוד ירננו על
משכבותם.

Ashre adam, shoker hachen: (p. 284)

אשרי אדם מצא חכמה	שקר החן והבל היומי
ואדם יפיק תבונה.	אשה יראת יי היא תחלל.
טוב שם משמן טוב	חנן לה מפרי ידיה
ויום המות מיום הולדו.	ויהללו בשערים מעשיה.

M'nuchah n'chonah: (pp. 284-285)

מנוחה נכונה תחת כנפי השכינה במעלה קדושים וטהורים
כזוהר הרקיע מאירים ומזהירים וכמרת אשמים והרחקת משע והקרבת יסע
וחמלה וחגיגה מלפני שוכן מנוחה וחלק טוב לחיי העולם הבא שם תהא
מנח וישיבת נפש השם הטוב

(Here the page divides for masculine and feminine versions.)

הנכבד (חלוצי) שנאסף לעמיו רוח יי הניחנו בגן עדן.
חלק מלכי המלכים ברחמינו יחוט ויחמול עליו (עליהם) יסתדדו
(יסתדדו) בגל כנסיו ונבחר אהלנו לחזות בנועם יי ולבקר בהיכלו ילוח
אלינו (אליהם) השלום. ועל משכבו (משכבת) יהיה שלום כאמור יבא
שלום ינוחו על משכבותם הולך נכוחו הוא (הם) וכל שוכבי ישראל עמו
(עמהם). וכן יהי רצון ונאמר אמן.

Kol Yisrael: (p. 286)

כל ישראל יש להם חלק לעולם הבא שנאמר, ועמך כלם צדיקים
לעולם יירשו ארץ. אשרי מי שעמלו בתורה ועשה נחת רוח ליוצרו, ב
גדל בשם טוב ובפטר בשם טוב מן העולם. ועליו אמר שלמה בחכמתו
טוב שם משמן טוב ויום המות מיום הולדו. למוד תורה הרבה ויחננו
לך שבר הרבה ודע מתן שכרם של צדיקים לעתיד לבא.

Kaddish: (pp. 287-288)

יגדל ויחזק שמיך רבא, דהוא עתיד לחדתא עלמא ולאחא
מחיא, וימליך מלכותיה באיכוך וביחויכוך ובחיי דכל בית ישראל
בעגלא ובזמן קריב ואמרו אמן.

אמן. יהא שמה רבא מברך לעולם ולעלמי עלמיא.

יחברך וישחבה ויחפאד ויחרומם ויחגשא ויחחדר ויחעלה
ויחחלל שמה דקודשא בריך הוא. לעלא מן כל ברכתא ושירתא חשבחתא
ונחבתא דאמירן בעלמא ואמרו אמן.

על ישראל ועל צדקיא ועל כל מן דאחמטור מן עלמא הדין
ברעותיה דאלהא יתא להון שלמא רבא וחולקא טבא לחיי עלמא דאחי
וחסדא ורחמי צן קדם באריה שמיא וארעא ואמרו אמן.

יהא שלמא רבא מן-שמיא וחייס טובים עלינו ועל-כל-ישראל
ואמרו אמן.

עשה שלום בפרומינו הוא ברחמינו יעשה שלום עלינו ועל-כל-
ישראל ואמרו אמן.

The German texts which accompany these prayers are straight-
forward translations and their inclusion here would serve no scholarly
purpose.

APPENDIX G

The Hamburg Prayer Book, 1845

MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR YOM KIPPUR: pp. 306-316

Opening prayer: (pp. 306-310)

The day, that we humbly devote to the examining of our life, at which we recognize, ashamed, that distant as is the earth from heaven are our thoughts and deeds from God-pleasing thoughts and deeds. The day on which we make the humiliating confession that we have severely sinned before God, and done what is evil in His eyes; this day demands that we regard the picture of our sinfulness as well as that of our frailty. Oh, not only the sky in its splendor and moon and stars which God hath founded call to us: What is man -- how small before such greatness, how low before such height! No, every leaf falling from the tree, every flower withering, every drop falling -- everything, everything preaches to us this teaching, and reminds us of the shortness, of the speed, of the end of human life. Everything preaches to us the saddening truth: Our life is like a fragile potsherd, like a vanishing shade, like a fleeing dream. Yet more powerfully, more vitally and more painfully does life itself preach to us this truth. When we in such a solemn hour, remembering our frailty, glance beyond our own house, our own family, upon nearer and farther circles, and today count their heads, seek all members who until recently stood within the circles, -- oh, what blank spaces we observe in them. Here religion mourns the loss of a dear teacher, the wisdom of a worthy disciple, here poverty weeps for its helper, a congregation for its leader, a house for its father, the lonely orphan for the mother, parents for the darlings of their hearts, sisters and brothers mourn for the brother, the sister, and the friend for the friend of his soul. No, there is no bond that has not been loosened here or there, no relationship that is not touched by the hand of death. And only a little while -- and those who sorrow are summoned, and those in grief are grieved for. And our mouth keeps silent, our eye is closed, our heart stands still, and dust covers us and earth embraces us. We all are perishable, we all are but strangers on earth, we are all destined for death, we all are soon a prey of death.

Indeed! Is this the goal and the purpose of the creature who is able to conceive of his Creator and believe in him? And the dark walls of the grave enclose the being which measures out the earth, strides over the seas? And a prey of worms the man who looks up to heaven, glances at the sun? No -- my spirit, breath of God in us! You will not die, you will live; not be enclosed by the grave, but enter through the gate of the grave to life, through the night of death to light; you will not perish, but raise yourself to your God,

and step before your Creator and worship Him whom we praise here on earth, of whom we call in deep reverence: Holy, Holy, Holy is God, Lord of Hosts, and the whole earth is full of His glory.

We will not die -- we will live! We want to live, to go to Thee, O God, to remain with Thee, O Father, to dwell in Thine eternal sanctuary, O Creator! As the heart panteth for the water-spring, thus my soul thirsts for Thee! And thou, Thyself, O Source of goodness, hast planted in our heart this longing for survival, for an eternal life. Thou didst teach us to look to Thee, to hope for Thee, not only on earth, but beyond. And Thou art the one who takest away from us, callest from here those whom we love, to whom we are attached. Thou art the one who lets not become cold our love for them, lets not extinguish our memory in us, lets not die our wish and our hope to see them again. Thou dost not take them away from us in order to destroy them. Thou callest them, and with Thee and before Thee there is no death. Thou teachest us to love our dear ones, and dost not leave our love and our loved ones to the grave. Though flesh and heart perish -- Thou art and remainest our portion, and we and our souls and the souls of all men remain with Thee forever. We recognize Thy goodness, O God, which endureth forever; and therefore we know and believe: we shall not die, not be given over unto death, but we shall live!

We cannot end in death, not cease to exist with death; for we are Thy work, and Thy work is the strength which Thou hast given us, and from Thee is the soul, which Thou hast breathed into us. But this, Thy work, does not fulfill its destiny here on earth. But this strength, capable of infinite improvement, here on earth never reaches it. But our soul feels, believes, what on earth it will never know and see. And should it be possible that with the thread of our life there also tear the powers of spirit and soul? Would God's image be destroyed and eliminated? God's breath die in me? The soul, into which God impressed the seal of His perfection, the nature of infinity, should end in imperfection, as it leaves us and the body and life, and never reach its destiny, which God, God's wisdom, has determined for it, miss it forever? No, Exalted, Thou art wise, and in wisdom Thou hast formed us, too, and what Thou determinest, that remains, and what Thou desirest, comes to pass; and Thou wilt that we remain forever. Therefore we shall not die, but live -- live even after death.

And Thy justice proclaims to us the happy belief in our enduring existence. For how often the godless prospers on earth, in enjoyment and gladness, whereas the righteous experiences life's bitterness. How often rejoices he who trespasses Thy commandments, while he is severely laden who holds fast to Thy word. How often rejoices he who closes his ear to the petition of the poor, and his eye to the tears of the lonely, whereas he starves and hungers whose heart is rich in mildness and piety. Now the righteous and the godless die -- is now their death their end, and no justice and no judge, and all vain? Far be the thought! How? Shall not the Judge of all

the world do justice? We know, O God: righteous are Thy judgments, and righteous art Thou in eternity. Therefore we know: all works of men Thou wilt bring before Thy judgment, the good as well as the evil. Therefore also we know: we will give dust to dust, whence it is taken, but the spirit returns to Thee, who hast given it, and we shall not die, but live -- live and remain before Thee, our shield and redeemer.

And in this belief we raise ourselves. If the thought of the death of our body humiliates our pride, the thought of the duration of our soul encourages our faith, our hope for God and for His mercy towards us. We draw the same blessedness which gives to the repentant sinner the certainty of divine forgiveness when we think of our death, from the living faith in our immortality. In our immortality -- and therefore also in the duration, in the salvation of those who were so precious to us in our lifetime, who remain close to us through their love and through their works, and we to them through the pious memory which we devote to them always, and especially in this hour.

Thus may then, O God of Life, the memory of our death and that of our life after death be acceptable to Thee; look favorably upon the sorrowful memory which we devote to our departed, whom we believe and know to live with Thee. Grant that the thought of death make us live according to Thy will and teach us to hope for eternal life from Thee. Help us to look with trusting eye towards that hour when we depart from here, have to leave the earth. Teach us to remember that through death we pass from the mortal life to immortal life, that with the last hour on earth the first hour in heaven comes for us; and guide us, O God, through life and death to Thee, with whom is blessed life, into Thy kingdom, the dwelling-place of the pious and righteous; and give us a share in the blessedness and joy which Thou hast stored up for those who love Thee and trust in Thee forever and aye.

Adonai mah adam: (pp. 310-311)

Both the Hebrew and German texts are identical with those of the 1819 edition.

For the Memory of Deceased Parents: (pp. 311-312)

In this solemn hour we remember before Thee, O God, all the pious and precious souls with whom we were so closely bound together through the ties which Thou didst sanctify; ties which -- alas -- death has separated and loosened. In deep sorrow we remember the creators of our days, the protectors of our childhood, the guides of our youth, who have cared and worked, lived and striven for us, who through teaching and example have made our hearts noble, formed our spirits, have exhorted us to virtue and the fear of God, have

suffered and borne for us. Thus I remember my father, _____, deceased in God; my mother, _____, deceased in God; my parents, departed in God, in a child's love and esteem, whose name and teaching shall ever remain precious and sacred to me. Only the bodily form rests in the grave; the spirit, the immortal one, dwells with our Heavenly Father, in fellowship with those who live forever and delight in the glory of His greatness and majesty. Oh, that I, too, one day may depart as the good and pious depart! Oh, that my end be like theirs, that my spirit, too, when God calleth me, in the realm of light and truth may meet the souls of the just and holy who during their life-times bestowed upon me so much faithfulness and care, so much mildness and kindness!

But Thou, Father in Heaven, let the pious gifts, which I for the benefit of this house give to the precious memory of the deceased become a blessing; and may the willing offerings of my mouth be pleasing to you.

In Memory of Deceased Children, Brothers and Sisters, and

Relatives: (p. 312)

Before Thee, O God, I remember the pious deceased, whose fellowship and affection, love and faithfulness once so dearly delighted me and beautified the days of my life. I remember the beloved brother, ..with deep sorrow and affection. Alas -- to dust has turned the faithful heart which beat for me so fondly and warmly!

Yet only the body, the visible, decays; but not the spirit which God hath created and fashioned in His image. The spirit lives, cleansed and purified from everything earthly, accepted in the land of life, where it enjoys the blessedness which Thou hast prepared for all those who walk in Thy ways, who remain faithful to Thy law, and who live and die for Thee, O God.

Oh, that I, too, when my time comes, may inherit the lot which Thou hast prepared for Thy pious ones who trust in Thee. And therefore bless the pious gift which I, for the benefit of Thy house, devote to the precious memory of the deceased.

Mah rav tuv'cha: (p. 313)

The Hebrew text is identical to that in the 1819 edition. The German translation differs only slightly.

Ashre Adam: (p. 313)

Sheker hachen: (p. 313)

M'nuchah n'chonah: (p. 313-314)

Melech: (p. 314)

Kol Yisrael: (p. 315)

Kaddish: (pp. 315-316)

The Hebrew texts are identical to those in the edition of 1819. The translations have only minor, stylistic changes.

APPENDIX D

Israelitisches Gebetbuch

PREFACES TO THE MOURNER'S KADDISH

Before first recitation, morning service (p. 63):

Indeed, O Lord, Thou art One and Thy name is One; only Thy kingdom, the kingdom of truth and justice, is of eternal duration. Into Thy kingdom Thou callest us, when we have finished our work.

(~~To the day~~ (On the day of death)

In sorrowful memory I think today of the deceased _____; of the faithful love which he showed me during his life, and of his pious example, of how in devotion he honored Thy will. Thus will I, too, praise Thee in joy and sorrow.

(In the year of mourning)

Thou hast called also my beloved _____. Certainly my heart is sorrowful, yet I honor Thy will in humble submission. Thy name be praised forever and ever.

Before second recitation. (P. 65):

Indeed, my soul longs for Thee, O God, and for the dear deceased, who are with Thee in Thy heavenly kingdom. My prayer ascends to Thee, that in Thy grace Thou wilt give them a life of pure blessedness, that their spirit refresh itself and draw from the wellspring of Thy joy. But to me, O Father, give comfort and strength and a joyful labor until Thou dost gather me in to the deceased.

Before Kaddish on Festival evenings which fall on
Sabbath. (P. 159)

O God eternal, in this life as in the life to come! Thy kingdom is the kingdom of eternal peace, and Thou hast given us the Sabbath as an image of that calmness of the spirit, as an encouragement, that we already here, through serious concentration, gain the calmness of the spirit. Therefore, be still, my soul, and do not complain. The deceased have entered the eternal Sabbath-rest. Even I will through pious submission prepare myself for it in dignity.

MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR YOM KIPPUR: (pp. 461-467)

ALSO FOR FESTIVALS: (pp. 230-236)

Adonai mah adam: (pp. 461-462)

יְיָ מַה אָדָם וְהִדְעָהוּ בֶן-אָנוּשׁ וְהִחְשְׁבָהוּ. אָדָם לְהַבִּיל דָּמָה
סִמְיוֹן כָּצֵל עֹבֵר. וְהִחְשְׁבָהוּ מַעַם מַאֲלָהִים וְכַבֹּד וְהַדָּר תַּעֲטֶרְהוּ. כִּי-
יִדְעָתִי מוֹת הַשִּׁיבּוּשׁ וְנִיחָה מוֹעֵד לְכָל-חַיִּים. יְרוּחָ-אֵל עֲשֵׂה־נִי וְנִשְׁמַח שְׂדֵי
חַיִּים. וְיִשְׁבַּח הַעֲמִיד עַל הָאָרֶץ כְּשֶׁהִיא וְהָרֹחַ חֲשׂוֹב אֶל-הָאֱלֹהִים אֲשֶׁר
נִחְמָה. גַּם כִּי-אֵלֶךְ בְּגִיטָא צְלִמְתָּ לֹא-אֵירָא רַע כִּי אַתָּה עֲמִיד שְׂבִיטָךְ וְנִשְׁ-
עֲנֵךְ חֲמָה יְנַחֲמֵנִי. אֲנִי בְּצֹק אֲחִזָּה טָנִיךְ אֲשַׁבֵּעָ בְּהִקִּיץ חֲמוּנְתְךָ.

O Lord, what is man that Thou dost regard him; or the son of man, that Thou dost think of him? Man is like a breath, his days are like a passing shadow (Ps. 144.34). Yet Thou hast made him little less than angels and dost crown him with glory and honor (Ps. 8.6). Well do I know that Thou wilt bring me to death, and to the house provided for all living (Job 30.23). Yet the spirit of God hath made me, and the breath of the Almighty giveth me life (Job 33.4). And when the dust returns to the earth as it was, then the spirit returns to God who hath given it (Eccl. 12.7). And though I walk in the dark valley, I do not fear evil, for Thou art with me; Thy rod and Thy staff, they comfort me (Ps. 23.4). I in virtue will see Thy face, awakening delight in Thy presence (Ps. 17.15).

Prayer by the Rabbi: (pp. 462-463)

Great God, whose ways are beyond searching out! In Thine image Thou hast created man, given him the spirit which strives toward perfection. Thou hast allotted this earth to him, that man on it purify himself and work as Thou wouldst have it; and when Thy

wisdom thinketh it fit, Thou callest him back, and the body is given back to the earth. Yet the spirit is eternal, it does not die; the soul returns to Thee and lives, pure, in Thy sanctuary; since Thou, Lord, dost not allow any power, which Thou hast imbedded into the universe, to fade away. Forms and shapes may change, but the power which produces and supports them, it creates and works eternally. And would the human spirit, this wonderfully active, invisible power, which teaches us to think which gives us self-consciousness, suddenly be cut off? No, we are not afraid of death, for our noble part (endures); we part from this life in order to enter into a better one. Though some bonds, which down here had been tied closely, might be loosened -- up there we shall re-unite in Thy kingdom. Therefore today we want to remember our dear and precious ones, with calmness and devotion, who have gone before us into the eternal home. We thank Thee, O Lord, that Thou hast refreshed us by their love; and the memory of their kindness toward us shall never vanish from our hearts. The children remember the faithfulness and devotion with which the protectors and guardians of their childhood were concerned and considerate towards them; how they lived and suffered for them; how they went before them with wise counsel, with instruction, comfort and example; led them in Thy ways, God; left them their blessing, which up to this day brings its fruit upon them. Husbands and wives remember the too-early loosened covenant which they entered into before Thee, O God, and which they kept in holiness and faithfulness, as long as Thy wisdom wanted to let them dwell here together in the closest fellowship of life. The memory of loving tenderness and faithful closeness, to which they adhered in the varying occurrences of life, fills their soul yet today edifyingly and refreshingly. The parents also remember the precious pledges which Thou, God, didst entrust to them. They had rejoiced in their kindness and grateful love, became young with them in their development, and looked forward with joy towards the fulfillment of beautiful hopes; and again today the picture of the early departed stands before the eyes of those whom they preceded into eternal life. We remember, O Lord, all men and women who have looked upon us with friendly, mild eyes; who have fostered us through their love, kindled the divine light within us, made us recognize the truth, strengthened us in faith, eased the sorrows of life for us, and made straight our paths. We honor and bless their memory in this hour; grant, O God, that it be blessed also for us, that it wake us to all that is good and pleasing to Thee, that it encourage us, give us strength and perseverance; that the blessing with which they departed from us work to our salvation for us; that we preserve their teaching and their example in child-like memory, further their work, keep their name in honor, always are found worthy of them; that they, from Thy heavenly realm, may look upon us with kindness, and intercede for the blessings of life for us, as we pray for their eternal salvation.

Not all have entered Thy kingdom in perfection; there is no pious one on earth who would not give room to sin in his heart and his ways. Yet Thy mercy, O Lord, will wipe off the failure, and

grant a gracious reconciliation to the weak mortal. Let our plea find a hearing with Thee, merciful God! Many also have parted from us early, before they attained full development, before, through their work, they could make themselves worthy of Thy grace; receive them, the innocent, into Thy eternal kingdom! They have not experienced the trials of life, yet Thy grace nevertheless wilt bless them there. But unto us, O Father of all, mayest Thou give a cheerful labor on earth; and when one day Thou wilt call us, then give us strength and courage, and a gracious reception in eternity.

Congregational Silent Prayer: (pp. 463-464)

I remember before Thee, O God, my departed _____ in sincere love. Remember Thou them also in a gracious hour. Give them a light, bright seat in heaven, that their soul might enter into eternal rest, into eternal joy, into eternal bliss, and that they share in the blessings which Thou hast promised to the pious and the righteous as their divine reward for all earthly suffering that they endured, for all their worrying, striving and laboring. Give peace to the transfigured ones; let their innermost longing and hoping and wondering find a hearing and granting with Thee on account of the faith and the love with which they departed from the world. Exalt them and glorify them, O God, in Thy heavenly kingdom, and also may my prayer and appeal be heard, on account of the innermost love with which I bring to you the sacrifice of my heart. Amen! You, my precious ones, look from your heaven down upon me in kindness and love, as you looked upon me in kindness before God took you from me unto Himself. (Receive my thankfulness for your fatherly and motherly care and love and loyalty, for your patience and mildness which you exercised so manifoldly! Forgive where I have failed and sinned towards you in youthful thoughtlessness.) Remember me before God, pray for me and my own, that God protect and preserve me from all grief. And when I myself be called and enter into my eternal resting place, then may your love receive me, introduce and lead me into the divine kingdom of truth and peace; that I may find atonement and forgiveness for every sin and weakness, and find a hearing and granting for all my wishing and hoping, and share with you in eternal rest and joy!

Mah rav tuv'chah: (p. 464)

Hebrew text identical to that of the Hamburg Prayer Books.

The German text is a straightforward translation.

Ashre adam: (p. 464)

Sheker hachen: (465)

The Hebrew texts are identical with those of the Hamburg Prayer Books. The German texts are simply translations.

M'nuchah n'chonah: (p. 465)

Instead of separate hashcavet for individual men and women, Geiger has a single hashcavah covering all the departed. The essential Hebrew text is the same as that found in the Hamburg Prayer Books, with the addition of collective terms of identification of the departed.

Sure rest is in the protection of God, in the circle of the holy ones and pure, who shine in heavenly brightness; there is forgiveness of sins, failure far and salvation near, mercy and grace with Him who is enthroned on high, and there is everlasting life. There also may be the share of the worthy...relatives of those who are gathered here in reverence, who have gone home to their fathers; may God's spirit lead them in Paradise! May the All-Merciful let His grace rest upon them, protect them in his safe care, that they may behold the joy of the hand. May peace guide them, and on their abode of rest be peace, as it is said: Peace comes; on his bed he rests who walked uprightly. Thus may they and all the pious ones rest in peace.

Kel Yisroel: (pp. 465-466)

The Hebrew text is identical with that of the Hamburg Prayer Books.

He who leads a Godly life and proves himself worthy of the name of Israel will inherit eternal life, as it is said: If the people is righteous and pious, then it will inherit the land of eternity. Blessed be he who yearns for the Torah, works as it is pleasing to his Creator, grows in good name, dies with a good name; of him is true the wise saying: Better is a good name than precious oil, and the day of death better than that of birth. Strive on toward perfection, the reward in the other life will not fail.

Kaddish: (pp. 466-467)

The Hebrew text is that of the regular Kaddish Yatom found in the German and Polish rites.

Thus be blessed, great God, (Cong: Amen) from the lips of the imperfect, as in the kingdom of the perfect spirits Thy name is praised with reverence.

Amen. Thy name be praised here and there.

Be praised, All-Good (Cong: Praise Him) for the life that Thou dost allot to us on earth, as well as for the eternal life of the spirit, toward which we go. Amen.

Be praised, All-Good, for the love with which Thou adornest this life, for the precious relatives and friends whom Thou hast given us here, whose spirit delights now in Thy kingdom. Amen.

Thy grace shine upon them and give them glad salvation. Thy grace shine upon us on earth, until one day we come to them into Thine eternal kingdom. Amen.

Lachen samach libi: (p. 467)

לכן שמח לבי ויגל כבודי אף בשמי ישכון לבטח. כי לא
תעזב נפשי לשאול לא חתך חסדיך לראות שחתי. חודיעני אלה חיים
שבך שמחתם את בניך בעולמות היםינן נצח. (Ps. 16.9-11.)

NOTES

Introduction

1. Rabbi Israel Lebediger has spoken eloquently on this subject in "The Need for Belief in Immortality," Conservative Judaism, XV, No. 1, (Fall, 1960), pp. 35-42.
2. K. Kohler, Jewish Theology (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1918).
3. Ibid., p. 281.
4. Ibid., p. 282.
5. According to Kohler, p. 283; and B. Bamberger, Fallen Angels (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1952), p. 55.
6. Jack Stern, Jr., "The Doctrine of Immortality in Reform Judaism" (unpublished Master's thesis, Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, 1952, p. 13.
7. Ibid., p. 33. He quotes from Kohler's Manual of Religious Instruction, p. 13.
8. Ibid., p. 16.
9. Yearbook of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, I, (1890), p. 118.
10. Ibid., p. 121.

Chapter I

1. See the section on the menorah as a symbol of immortality in E. R. Goodenough, Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period (New York: Pantheon Books, Bollingen Series XXXVII, 1954), IV, p. 78 ff.
2. This is a paraphrase of Psalm 19.15.
3. In rabbinic theology, the gevurot of God are His powers to give life to both man and nature; and these include the power to resurrect. See S. Baer, Avodat Yisrael (Rodelheim: Lehrberger and Co., 1901), p. 89, where he connects um'kayeym emunate to the prophecy of resurrection in Daniel 12.2.

4. In the Sephardic ritual for the Sabbath Eve, too, we find this psalm. There is little likelihood that it was intended to convey "ether-worldly" implications. See M. Gaster, The Book of Prayer (London: Henry Frowde, 1901), I, p. 89. The principal source of confusion is the mistranslation of b'gey tzalmavet in verse 4 as "in the valley of the shadow of death." It really means, "in the valley of thick darkness."

5. An obvious reference to the understanding of Psalm 23.4, based on the mistranslation discussed in the preceding note.

6. Originally a congregational response before the final paragraph of kaddish titkabal. See Baer, p. 130. (Psalm 121.2)

7. Regardless of the English wording, the congregant still says Kaddish for much the same reasons: something he is doing is somehow helping the deceased.

8. Though this is not the original intention of the prayer.

9. J. H. Hertz, Authorized Daily Prayer Book (New York: Bloch, 1955), p. 485.

10. Ibid., p. 486.

11. G. Frankel and M. Bresselau, (ed.), Ordnung der Öffentlichen Andacht des Neuen-Tempel-Vereins (Hamburg: 1819), p. 57.

12. This may be a vestige of a belief more popular in earlier days. See Geiger's Kaddish prefaces in Appendix D.

13. Though there is room for considerable discussion as to what mood ought to be set prior to and during the Kaddish.

14. The same could be said of the siddur. One can find the same sort of juxtaposition of opposing ideas.

15. The Italian rite calls for Yizkor on the eighth day of Passover; but it is unlikely that this had a direct influence upon our current practice.

16. See T. Gaster, "Yizkor: The Living and the Dead," Commentary, XV, No. 3 (March, 1953), pp. 236-243.

17. Probably 17th Century. See Rabbi's Manual (Cincinnati: CCAR, 1952), p. 205.

18. For a recent analysis see Harris H. Hirschberg, "Some Comments on Jewish Prayer," C.C.A.R. Journal, VIII (January, 1961), p. 19.

19. See T. Gaster, p. 242.

Chapter II

1. See Kohler, pp. 214-215.
2. Hertz, p. 30.
3. Ibid., p. 18.
4. And to the idea that the soul leaves the body while one sleeps. Geiger's interpretation of the traditional text indicates this clearly: "Even today didst Thou give me my soul again, and I awoke to new life." Israelitisches Gebethbuch (Breslau: 1854), p. 4.
5. See Introduction, p. 3.
6. Based on an insertion in the Gevurot in the repetition of the Yom Kippur morning Tefilah. See H. Adler, Service of the Synagogue (London: Routledge & Sons, 1905), Part II, p. 56.
7. There is "punishment" in the original. If a man is unworthy, "his days are cut short."
8. See Appendices for the contrast with earlier Reform liturgies, where the idea is much in evidence.
9. Kohler seems to have come to the same conclusion in his concluding remarks on Divine Retribution. But a careful study of his final paragraph reveals to this reader an ambiguity which is still manifest in the passages under discussion in the prayer book. Jewish Theology, p. 309.
10. Though it has been suggested that our year-'round congregants are all tzadikim, for whom eternity is certain, and that only on Yom Kippur, when the truly wicked appear at services, are such warnings necessary!
11. See A. Z. Idelsohn, Jewish Liturgy (New York: Sacred Music Press, reprint), pp. 230-232, for a discussion of the history of this custom.
12. Ibid., p. 231, on "Memor-Books."
13. See the article, "Birds as Souls," Jewish Encyclopedia (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1901), III, p. 219.
14. This is a reflection of Mendelssohn's approach as described by Kohler in Jewish Theology, p. 295: "God...cannot deceive the hope of the human heart for a continued living and striving onward and forward, without thereby impairing His own perfection."
15. A paraphrase of Ecclesiasticus 44.1-14, "Let us now praise famous men...."

16. Our practice may yet reflect a traditional belief in the need for further atonement by the dead. "One recalls souls and vows pious gifts on behalf of the dead, for there is atonement for the dead, too, on Yom Hakippurim. That is why it is called Yom Hakippurim -- plural -- for the living, and for the dead." Note after reading of the Torah in Machzor l'Resh Hashanah v'Yom Hakippurim im Korban Aharon v'Likute Tzvi (Vilna: 1886), p. 236.

17. For a full discussion see J. Stolz, "Funeral Agenda," Yearbook of the C.C.A.R., Vol. VII, (1897), pp. 27-47.

Chapter III

1. "In reality this life eternal is not the future, but is already potentially present and invariably at hand in the spirit of man himself, with its constant striving toward the highest." Maimonides as quoted by Kohler, p. 308.

Chapter IV

1. S. Freehof, Reform Jewish Practice (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1952), Vol. II, p. 115. Jacob Emden reports in his Siddur a custom he had observed in Hamburg (!): "How fine is the custom of the Sephardim here who recite the Kaddish in unison and thus all disputes are ended."

The Reformers of Hamburg admired more than the Sephardi liturgy. Many aspired to the aristocratic station of the Sephardim in the community; so their "borrowing" had social as well as religious implications. For some time the Sephardic pronunciation of Hebrew was taken over by Reformers as well as some liturgical forms. (Information conveyed by J.J. Petuchowski.)

2. Ordnung der Öffentlichen Andacht des Neuen-Tempel-Vereins.

3. See D. Pool, The Kaddish (New York: Bloch, 1929), p. 80 ff.

4. Ibid., p. 89 ff.

5. Ibid., p. 16.

6. See M. Gaster (ed.), The Book of Prayer and Order of Service According to the Custom of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews (London: Henry Frowde, 1901), Vol. I, pp. 205-206. There may be some connection between the "prayer for parents" and the Sephardic prayers said when visiting the cemetery.

7. Gebetbuch^{für} die "öffentliche und hausliche Andacht der Israeliten nach dem Gebrauch des Neuen Israelitischen Tempels (Hamburg: 1845).

8. A. Geiger, Israelitisches Gebetbuch für den öffentlichen Gottesdienst im ganzen Jahre (Breslau: 1854).

9. Though one other change should be noted. The first m'chaye metim in the benediction now reads pode nefesh avadav mimavet -- "Thou redeemest the souls of Thy servants from death. In the Union Prayer Book, however, this was changed to m'chaye hakol.

10. In the last two phrases, Einhorn's universalism is manifest. For Yisrael he has substituted achenu and banav -- "our brothers," "His children."

11. Thus Einhorn was the first to follow through completely on the resolution by Prof. Sulzer; "The Kaddish is to be recited once only during a service and a passage should be inserted in the Kaddish which bears on the demise of the departed." "Resolutions from the First Synod, at Leipzig, from June 29 to July 4, 1869," Yearbook of the C.C.A.R., Vol. I, (1890), p. 107.

12. This dates back to an earlier German prayer book.

13. Except that Yisrael has been restored to the last two phrases, in place of Einhorn's more universalistic usage.

Chapter V

1. "Creators of Worlds," Yearbook of the C.C.A.R., Vol. LXVIII, (1958), p. 216.

2. Op. cit., p. 55.

3. "Religious Services -- How Can We Make Them More Meaningful?" Yearbook of the C.C.A.R., Vol. LVIII, (1948), p. 243.

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