

AUTHOR Paul R. Feinberg

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THE PASSOVER HAGGADOTH OF
ISRAEL'S NON-RELIGIOUS KIBBUTZIM

Paul R. Feinberg

Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Master of Arts
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SYNOPSIS

I have endeavored to discover the Passover Haggadoth of Israel's non-religious Kibbutzim. The historical development, the values and attitudes, and the present position of this literature in the kibbutz society have been points of major concern. My three fundamental sources of information were: approximately forty Haggadoth from the years 1935-1970; Israeli periodicals dealing with literature and general cultural life in the kibbutzim; Matitiyahu Shelem, who, as the greatest living expert on the Passover celebration in the kibbutz and authority on kibbutz cultural life in general, guided me through the maze of materials and references. Practically all primary sources were found in the archives located on Shelem's kibbutz, Ramat Yohanan. Some research was done in the Hebrew University Library in Jerusalem. Taped conversations with Shelem plus the major part of my investigations were carried on in Hebrew.

In broad general terms the consciousness of a people is reflected in its calendar, the ability and desire to chronicle the decisive events of the past. In the evolution of the kibbutz Haggadoth we may witness such a process. From earliest printed beginnings the kibbutz Haggadoth have served as a vehicle for the transmission of Jewish history and culture. What has distinguished it from the traditional Haggadah are the radical departures from past accepted forms and contents. Conscious as the early pioneers were of their Jewish identity

SYNOPSIS, CONTINUED

and history, they wished in no way to be encumbered by set ritualistic formulae in their attempt to express their relationship to that People and Land to which they belonged.

From the earliest written record of these Haggadoth until the present one theme is dominant: the selective use of sources from all parts of the tradition, and materials from modern Hebrew literature in order to make relevant in the kibbutz community those major ideas of Passover -- Freedom and Spring. As we survey this festival literature we note, especially in the period before the War of Independence, an extreme consciousness of contemporary events. For instance, the internal problems of settling the Land, the hazardous attempts at immigration, the Shoah, the struggle for Independence figure heavily in the Haggadoth. We discern the bare outlines of the traditional Haggadah, yet there is a complex interweaving of diversified source materials well styled in order to communicate the messages of Passover.

Following the War of Independence, a number of themes started disappearing from the Haggadah. At present in the three major kibbutz movements, we have Haggadoth which, in style and content, resemble the Traditional Haggadah.

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PREFACE

The purpose of this study is to illustrate how Jewish values and attitudes are reflected in the Passover Haggadah of Israel's non-religious kibbutzim. Furthermore, it is intended to show how kibbutz life on the one hand, and the events in the history of the Yishuv and World Jewry and the State on the other, have directly influenced the content and style of kibbutz Passover Haggadoth. I have attempted to enter a narrow corner of the world of creativity and spontaneity that is manifested in this kibbutz literature. There has been no attempt to "prove" the superiority of one kibbutz movement's* literature over another's. Where common denominators can be found they have been noted. Where there are divergences in expression content or apparent ideology, these too have been pointed out. At the outset, one idea reflected in each and every Haggadah that I have read, need here be expressed.

The forms of the holiday came into being with us as free development, spontaneous, perhaps frequently original. They have not been created according to the decision of some 'Sanhedrin'... that set down intellectual and ideological foundations which afterwards were concretized. The development of the festival is like the development of the kibbutz.¹

- a) *Kibbutz Hameuchad - Ahdut HaAvodah
 - b) Ihud HaKibbutzim Vekibbutzot - Mapai
 - c) Kibbutz HaArtzi - Shomer HaTzair
- Excursus No. 1

METHOD AND RESEARCH TECHNIQUES

My overall goal in presenting this paper is to communicate some of the meaningful and spontaneous creativity bound between the covers of the kibbutz Haggadah. How can such a study with its presentation of "contents," "arrangements," and criticisms go beyond mere description and evaluation? How can this on-going struggle -- seen in the evolving Haggadah -- to make the tradition yield fruits for this generation be described? In other words, my explanations, however detailed and accurate, will fall short of achievement if something of the mood, the atmosphere, the changing ideology will not somehow find expression in the subsequent discussion.

The kibbutz Seder, the festival music, the artistic work of the Haggadah -- these are subjects that are themselves worthy of a detailed study. While we cannot, unfortunately, devote ourselves to these elements to a great extent, we can and must indicate their overriding, all-important interconnection. In the evolution of the Haggadah of the non-religious kibbutzim we have come presently to a period of sophistication wherein the Haggadah, the book itself, cannot be understood nor fully appreciated without reference to the preceding elements. The Haggadah is not simply a book that can be catalogued, analyzed and then presented as any ordinary piece of literature. It must be felt, touched and tasted. I have consequently endeavored to provide not only a profile

of ideological considerations which will help explain the reason for addition or omission of various pieces, but also what can simply be called the "spirit of the kibbutz Haggadah."

I have divided this work into two sections. The first is devoted to a study of Haggadoth between the years 1935-1949. Having been motivated to study how historical events have influenced this kibbutz literature, I have found this time span especially appropriate. During this time events which touched the very nerve of the early Yishuv and world Jewry as a whole were mirrored in the individual Haggadoth of the three major movements. From 1936-1940 three distinct events in the life of the Yishuv found their expression in this festival literature. 1936 -- the violent anti-Jewish Arab riots. 1937-1939 -- the "Wall and Tower" period and the promulgation of the infamous "White Paper" radically limiting further immigration. 1943-1944 -- during which time the "Shoah" reached its hideous climax and was unmistakably described in the Haggadoth. The period leading up to Independence was marked by increasing attempts of Jews to reach the shores of Eretz Yisrael. Here too the exploits of the "Maapilim" found pronounced expression in the Passover literature. Finally, the War of Independence, 1948, the preliminary events and the aftermath constituted a large section of the Haggadoth. The reader will find it highly instructive to pay close attention to the historical summaries that have been presented. Such remarks are not meant to exhaust the subject.

But they are as essential as the list of contents themselves. Without an adequate sketch of the respective historical periods before us, we would be far from understanding many of the selected pieces, their appropriateness and popularity.

In order to expedite our study of the Haggadoth of this period, I have selected three highly representative samples. They are the Haggadoth of: Kibbutz Tel Yosef, 1937; Kibbutz Shomer Hatzair, 1943; Kibbutz Naan, 1949. In addition to the bibliographic investigation, I have endeavored to compare the three works with the traditional Haggadah, as compiled and edited by Goldschmidt.

In the second section of this work I have assumed a different approach. One essential factor has caused this alteration. From 1949 until 1970 the contents and the arrangement of the Haggadoth of the non-religious kibbutzim have progressively changed. Contrary to the type of Haggadah published earlier, those from the last ten or fifteen years are not (in content and form) such mirror images of the historical events of their time. We shall speak about this change later on and in greater depth. Rather than try and cover large numbers of Haggadoth published in this later period in order to get a wide overview, I have simply taken for analysis those Haggadoth which have been composed by the central organization of each movement. This has proven to be the more viable approach since within these "movement" Haggadoth we are likely to find large amounts of the variation found in

individual compositions. Furthermore, we are concerned with general developments and not with minor differences that mark one Haggadah from another. Suffice it to say that in this latter period, the vast majority of the individual kibbutzim have adopted the central Haggadah or have incorporated into it only small adaptations to fit local tastes.

This section has been presented on several planes. First I have noted the development of the Haggadoth within each of the three Movements. Secondly, I have taken the three most recently published Haggadoth from each of the three Movements (Ihud, 1965; Meuchad, 1970; Kibbutz Artzi, 1970) and compared them. One can say that embodied in these editions are the major elements found in all preceding compilations. Finally, I have looked to the Goldschmidt Traditional Haggadah for evidence of omissions and additions, i.e., what has been returned from the tradition to a Haggadah which by definition is non-traditional (see comments on "tradition," p. 11-12).

Dr. Ezra Spicehandler, Director of Rabbinical Studies at the Hebrew Union College in Jerusalem has helped in the formulation and organization of this topic. He also has lent his expertise in the broad area of Hebrew literature in helping to identify unfamiliar passages in these Haggadoth. I am also most grateful to Mr. Matitiyahu Shelem, Director of the Archives for Kibbutz Festival literature located at Kibbutz Ramat Yohanan. Without his advice and specialized knowledge in this area, I would have had an impossible task to contemplate.

Through an initial contact with Rabbi Shalom Lilker I was apprised of Mr. Shelem's unique position in Israel as the most knowledgeable authority in every facet of the non-religious kibbutz Haggadah from its first appearance until the present. Mr. Shelem has made available his vast archives on several separate occasions. He has given me the benefit of his recollections, insights, the fruits of his twenty years of endeavor in the area of kibbutz festivals and specifically the kibbutz celebration of Passover and the Haggadah. Due to Shelem's authority in this literature and his knowledge of all secondary sources on it, it is proper to include a word or two of his biography.* All of our conversations which took place in Hebrew were recorded and are in my possession.

It is necessary to add a word with regard to the secondary critical sources at my disposal. There simply has been no systematic yearly evaluation of the kibbutz Haggadoth. This is especially true of the "Ihud" and "Meuchad" organizations. "Kibbutz Artzi" on the other hand, provides a more detailed analysis of its Passover literature. Many articles have indeed appeared; however, Shelem considers some of them only of superficial interest and therefore has not counted them among the others that delve into the problems inherent in the writing of this literature, its forms, and innovations. The dearth therefore, of periodical information for any historical period should not be misconstrued. I have employed this authoritative literature wherever and whenever it exists. With

*Excursus No. 2

regard to periods in which nothing of consequence has been written (according to Shelem), I have felt free to offer my own evaluations.

I have offered a supplementary list of materials found in the Haggadoth of the kibbutzim. This has been done to facilitate the efforts of the interested reader to take immediate note of the major literary works and traditional pieces that have been included. Quite often the former are found in the Haggadah without any note of the author or the title of the work itself. At times this obstacle could be overcome either from the well-known nature of the piece, or by means of the expertise of both Mr. Shelem and Dr. Spicehandler. At other times a significant section of the Haggadah appears simply as the creation of a local "kibbutznik." When the material reflects a major idea in which we are interested, I have copied the Hebrew section and provided my own translation. The reader should be aware that much of the Hebrew, especially from the earliest Haggadoth, appears in a corrupt form. I have done my best to render such Hebrew intelligible. Where this has been impossible, I have simply indicated that the passage is "corrupt". The full research of this thesis has been from Hebrew sources, except for the historical sketches presented here. I take full responsibility in my translation for all information conveyed by the original author.

SECTION I

CHAPTER I

A. BACKGROUND OF THE HAGGADAH:

RELIGION AND CULTURE - TWO DEFINITIONS, ONE REALITY

The national consciousness of a people is reflected in its calendar, the ability and desire to chronicle the decisive events of its past. But only insofar as that process of remembrance is enhanced through a uniting of that past with the present will the national consciousness be transferred from one generation to another.

Perhaps it can be said that the existence of the modern State of Israel mirrors and broadens this consciousness more than any other factor in our time. It is not surprising that the festival which embodies the national consciousness to the greatest extent is Passover. The agricultural heritage which the "Tanach" has bequeathed, plus the additional themes of redemption and salvation realized for many through the political sovereignty of the modern state is crystallized in the Haggadoth generally, and in the kibbutz Haggadoth specifically. For the early Yishuv, the framework of the traditional Haggadah provided a concrete means of identifying with aspects of a tradition which at best had been ignored in the minds and practices of the pioneers, and at worst had been deprecated for its lack of relevance to everyday life. For those who had returned to the Land and were in the process of building the Homeland, the values of the traditional Haggadah as a

historical document of freedom and redemption were easily translated into their vernacular. This rebirth of national consciousness was well expressed by the phrase from the traditional Haggadah:

"בכל דור ודור חייב אדם לראות את עצמו כאילו הוא יצא
ממצרים"

It is essential to point out that the Jewish holiday that crystallized in the period of the Galut became spiritualized. And it was natural, for the Jewish people in the Dispersion had no means of identifying with the "dew of heaven" or the "fatness of the land", which in Biblical days were not idealized motifs, but concrete facts of life of an agricultural society. It has been the merit of Israel's kibbutzim to revitalize these themes in an attempt to root the present celebration in the reality of the past.

As we have mentioned, the forms of the holiday evolved naturally. They were guided by what appears from the literature itself only one preconceived notion: that the forms giving expression to the broad spectrum of values would be firmly rooted in the all-pervasive present. The past, as the past, however, was hardly deprecated. Rather, and it was entirely natural, the early pioneers were living all that had been dreamed of: liberation as free men on the soil of their ancestors. Tradition gave the sources -- Haggadah -- while daily life provide the crystallization which fitted the experience.

The antithetical attitude of the early pioneers to traditional religious forms can be generally accepted, especially if the Haggadah of the Yishuv is representative. Yet the religious backgrounds which many brought with them could not so quickly be relegated to the ash heap. Rather, such influences soon became apparent. The more enlightened settlers had to grapple with the dilemma of how to mold the traditional forms of Passover with contemporary motifs. No less poignant today are the words of Berl Katzenelson who expressed this dilemma in his will to seek deeply rooted festive forms for the Yishuv settlements.

Our movement is of the second or third generation of Jewish Socialism. It is freed from many silly ideas. But from the viewpoint of internal relationship it still stands for the prior notion that Apikorcism is an integral part of Socialism. Because our socialism is not "paper" but real, we must make a revision in these concepts...²

With this view in mind, we can approach an issue, the ramifications of which have a bearing on all that follows. What does it mean to speak of "Religious" and "Cultural" with regard to the attitude of kibbutz editors to their Haggadoth? How are we to understand what is traditional and non-traditional? Would an average "kibbutznik" consider his Haggadah traditional on the basis of a large number of passages included directly and in their entirety from the same Haggadah used by the Orthodox Jew in Mea Shearim (the ultra-Orthodox section of Jerusalem)? I asked Shelem how he, representative

of the kibbutz population that has labored with these same questions, regards religion, culture, tradition, and what Berl Katzenelson meant by Apikorsis. Shelem considers that culture broadly defined is the accomplishment of man in all areas of his endeavor. Religion is law, an all-encompassing way of life, the essence of which is faith. It is the faith of the Orthodox Jew in the God who created the world, who sustains it and demands certain daily acts of personal sanctification. Culture, on the other hand, is a matter of aesthetics, artistic creation. Indirectly referring to what Katzenelson said, Shelem offered that the idea of a "religion of work" is only something lightly said with no relation to "Dat" per se. Religion is of course included in culture. But religion has a special definition. To every aspect of "Dat" there is a special configuration of the world. For us, "Dat Yehudit" is religion, culture, and nationality. In the national aspect of an Israeli's identity, there are many religious elements. The roots of Jewish culture certainly are religious. For the generations the "Tanach" has been a religious book. And yet, a man must not necessarily be called a hypocrite if he cherishes and uses many of its teachings while not personally espousing a religious viewpoint. Shelem "love(s) the Tanach for its worth, for its culture as a book that has a great treasury of culture of the history of (his) people, though (he is) not inclined to the religious aspect."³

Continuing his remarks, Shelem discussed early ideology

in the Yishuv.⁴ Berl Katzenelson in his time was the leader of those who took pains to explain in humanistic terms the *raison d'être* of the labor-socialist movement. When Katzenelson would say that there is no need to flee from, to ignore the cultural heritage of the present labor movement, his words were appreciated and noted. He did not say what must be done or how to do it, i.e., 'take the rich traditional Haggadah', etc. Rather he was against those who endeavored to be rid of all that smacked of Jewish culture (and he included undoubtedly aspects of the tradition in the term "Jewish Culture"). The Apikorsis to whom he referred could very well have been, and often was, a highly educated Jew who had rebelled not only against the religious aspect of his background, but also the elements which even reflected it, i.e., the cultural entities.

This rather lengthy excursus has been necessary to gain a perspective on what motivated those early Chalutzim to disregard the bulk of the traditional elements of the Festival. It also encouraged those like Shelem, following Katzenelson's example, to search for a way back to the sources of his People's identity. Shelem has stated the matter concisely when he said,

Here it is possible to define the differences between us and between the religious attitude. Many factors come together to set the religious celebration and they are: 'fear of Heaven' and an "inheritance" as a tool of tradition... We do not exist on this level. Our portion however, was not with the kibbutzim from an earlier day which were anti-religious, which were heretical in essence

and in everything... We are a non-religious sector which has yearned to live the holidays and the festivals fully, with a national and social meaning.⁵

B. "FIRST CONTACTS"

Let us now consider the development of the Haggadah and the kibbutz Seder (one fully complements the other in terms of providing the sought-after festive atmosphere). In 1935 Givat Brenner produced an innovation, the consequences of which were to influence the subsequent evolution of The "Hag". Here we find the first written formula for the Seder night celebration. The first of the approximately three hundred Haggadoth that have been published since, it tried to limit the informality, the non-serious nature of the earliest kibbutz "seders". With regard to the latter, they were not, in fact, Seders, but rather festive events celebrated by the early beleaguered settlements on the traditional date. At first glance at what little remains of these celebrations (at the Ramat Yohanan Archives there is a small collection of the early material that composed these Passover Haggadoth), one could be shocked at the informality of the celebration. However, Shelem insists that the early Seders were not carried out as a mockery or a humorous satire on the traditional Haggadah. What did take place were festive readings from light literature that was especially created for this period. The themes

of Passover provided the framework for this literature. There was generally no concentrated effort to ridicule as one might mistakenly think, considering the anti-traditionalism of the early settlers.

It is correct that the first Seders were humorous in character, but they were never written and therefore indeed were not fixed. They were geared to the mentality of the young people aged 18-21, who lived in a kind of military camp and rejected all Jewish tradition. What was left then, under these conditions to do?⁶

Unlike the present Kibbutz Seder and Haggadah which fully acknowledges the presence and interests of children and young people, the earliest celebrations were void of such considerations. Pedagogy was then not a motivating principle in such arrangements. For instance, Kibbutz Bet Alpha had, in its early years, only one family out of two hundred members. The parents here were only thirty years old and they appeared very old, grandparents in fact. And this was a typical situation in the early settlements where you could count the families on one hand.*

As the Haggadah developed, the presence of the child figured more and more in its preparation, its physical layout, and the particular contents to be communicated. The kibbutz is distinguished, among other things, by the way families are united. As much as the parents, the kibbutz is dedicated to communicating the values of past and present.

*Beth Alpha now has 1,000 people

That the child be aware of who he is and where he stands in relation to both his peers and his ancestors is a commonly known ideal in kibbutz life. The kibbutz Haggadah reflects this ideal to a great extent. In the kibbutz the theocentric nature of much of the literature it seeks to communicate must be taken into account. How is the "miraculous element" in the traditional Haggadah, for instance, going to be expressed in the kibbutz counterpart? How is the child going to understand the special condition of his people, and its deliverance from oppressors, past and present? Unfortunately there is no final answer. All we can do is read the Haggadah literature itself to see how such issues find concrete expression. For the moment the question resolves itself well in the following statement.

The central problem today in the kibbutz is legacy; what shall we bestow upon our children and our grandchildren besides a wealthy farm and a high standard of living. The issue is, if one does not receive, there is no instruction. It is urgent that we adapt ourselves to the act of receiving -- you eat candy, the matter touches your heart, it is forever there, it is a part of you. Then let us allow the matter to be passed on to the heart of the coming generation. Without it, it is impossible to pass along anything... The condition of being a man bequeathes the ability to renew.⁷

CHAPTER II
THE KIBBUTZ HAGGADAH AND SEDER
A. THE SEDER

The unique kibbutz Haggadah can be roughly seen in three categories: 1) arrangement of materials, 2) decoration, 3) musical expression. Among those who pioneered the latter field were Postolski and Yehudah Sharet. Following these were Nisim Nismov, A. Horowitz, and S. Jaffa. While almost all Haggadoth in recent years involve choral and/or orchestral arrangements, the Haggadah most extensively involving musical expression was introduced by Sharet in 1954 (Kibbutz Yagur). While such a composition succeeded here, its failure in most other kibbutzim must be noted. It suffices to say here that such an arrangement as this one is generally impossible to implement. The individual kibbutz does not have the indigenous human resources, nor the financial backing to put on such an extravagant program as that envisioned by Sharet in his edition of the Haggadah. Still, the unique conditions native to each kibbutz determine to what extent extravagance or simplicity will be felt.

From the earliest Haggadoth (Ein Harod in particular), musical adaptations to many parts of the literature were common. As the kibbutz movement has matured so have the aesthetic approaches to the festive celebrations. The kibbutz Seder has evolved to the extent that hundreds of guests are

now usually present. They are often drawn to this kind of celebration for its way of expressing age-old ideas in a spontaneous, fast-moving program.

Given the special nature of a kibbutz Seder, it is entirely logical to note the intimate connection between the content of the Haggadah and the manner in which it is presented, i.e., what are the external considerations. All of the creative adaption of the traditional pieces, the desire to arrive at an expression of the ancient heritage will fail if the former is not successful. This is not to be taken for granted. Representative of this type of organization was the Seder arranged this year at kibbutz Urim (which I witnessed). No stone was left unturned to fuse all these vital elements together. The pleasant reading reflected hours of practice, as did the expedient movement from one section of the Haggadah to another. How easy in such a large setting (four hundred people) to have lapsed into a boring, drawn-out presentation.

In arranging the kibbutz Seder around the Haggadah there is one central question to be asked: When to eat? An obvious question, yes, but with the large numbers present how does one arrive at a system of "controlled" celebration? In a small family setting, the extensive traditional ritual is taken for granted. In the kibbutz, however, it is impossible to delay the meal an hour or more. Since this is one meal of the year that is much more than a meal alone, a certain mood must prevail. Of course the religious kibbutzim do not face this

problem, for their Seder and Haggadah are simply an extension of a way of life that is practiced daily. In the non-religious kibbutzim, then, the "ritual" is shortened both for an ideological reason and a practical and aesthetic one.

In the arrangement and decoration of the Haggadah, pronounced changes can be noted from earlier, more modest beginnings. As a rule printed editions have supplanted handwritten stenciled booklets. Far more than its two sister movements, Kibbutz Artzi is known widely for its glossy, colorful depiction of each element in the Haggadah. In 1964 it supplied a slightly modified edition with an accompanying English translation of all pieces. Considering the large numbers of English-speaking visitors to the Seder, this fact says a great deal for the desire to enlist the participation of all the people, even those who know no Hebrew. (One can infer from this also that the Artzi Haggadah enjoys a popularity even outside of Israel in countries where English is spoken.)

Communal participation is by no means limited to the Seder proper. Engaging large numbers of kibbutzim today is the "Omer" celebration renewed in a highly modern framework from days of old.*

B. PROFILE OF THE HAGGADAH

"TRENDS IN COMPOSITION"

What can we say now of the constant themes, the subjects

*"Omer", excursus No. 3

and symbols that find such pleasant expression in our Haggadoth? There is first of all a hesitancy to emphasize the miraculous and the religious element as it is expressed in the traditional Haggadah. Secondly, there is a widening of the Biblical narrative -- the history of Israel in Egypt with an emphasis on Moses and his leadership of the People. This aspect is completely at variance with the traditional exposition of the Haggadah. Thirdly, the link is made between the historical Exodus and the twentieth century experience of Jewish persecution and deliverance. This link is accomplished through the inclusion of the literature of modern Hebrew writers (though with decreasing frequency as the years pass), Bialik, Frishman, and Alterman. The prophetic visions of Ezekiel 37 (rejuvenation of dry bones), Isaiah 2 (Peace among the nations) and Amos 9 (the triumphant return of the People), are popular additions enhancing this theme. This clearly is a motif that is not found in the traditional Haggadah. Fourthly, the moment of spring with its all pervasive influence on the "kibbutznik" finds ample expression in the selected verses from Song of Songs. Lastly, there is a free use of the Pyutim, sometimes in their traditional forms, at other times abbreviated.

Having achieved an over-view of these major themes that repeat themselves in all the literature, we might look to Kibbutz Artzi for a statement of principle that seems to have a shared common ground with the other movements in their

attempts to form a new Haggadah.

It is not the historical Exodus from Egypt but the Exodus of our time. And with it the Holocaust that preceeded, the revolt in the ghetto, the deeds of bravery of the Partisans, the illegal immigration and the establishment of the State... The Exodus from Egypt... is peripheral. It comes only to awaken us up to the miracle merited by this generation. And now, in our history, slavery and redemption are recurring...⁸

This "ever-present historical-rootedness" (thus I call such a motif) has more or less characterized all Haggadoth from their initial appearance. During the early period of the thirties up through the years immediately following Independence, the desire to make the past relevant through an emphasis on contemporary events was reflected in large parts of the ritual. Supplementary sections of contemporary literature, and some traditional forms of the ritual, e.g., the Four Questions and the benediction over the wine, were readily adapted to express the pain and the aspirations of the participants. One of the most radical changes to be noted nowadays is the decreasing frequency of such supplementary literature. The parallels can of course be drawn between Passover 1948 and 1970 with regard to the suffering and death on Israel's borders. For that matter, Israel's fight to gain independence and its fight to gain proper recognition in the family of nations can be partially equated. Even with these points in mind, one fact dominates. The "Song of the Partisans" (Glik, translated by Shlonsky), and "Magash

HaKesef" (Alterman) represent the literature of a certain time. It is literature that was created to serve a certain purpose. Following the establishment of the State, new holidays were created, holidays whose nature is depicted in these pieces. One such holiday celebrated on the fifth day of Iyyar is Independence Day. Then there is the Day of Remembrance preceding Independence Day. Another day is set aside a week after Passover to honor the martyrs and heroes who perished in the Holocaust. The Passover Haggadah then quite naturally began disregarding the motifs of the above days. There was no need. As Shelem implies, it is simply a matter of taste, of a point of view. Similarly, the growing use of the Central Movement's Haggadah entailed an abandonment of elements which mirrored aspects of life in the individual kibbutzim. One piece of literature which has survived this editing process is Bialik's *החגגה הקיבוצית*. According to Shelem, this piece has been left untouched more than others because its contents are so relevant and are well in keeping with the festive spirit. Moreover, Bialik is Israel's national poet. Still, we can suspect that the majority of kibbutzim will begin to reconsider even Bialik. There has been a trend in the composition of kibbutz Haggadoth towards a type of literature we may roughly call "Traditional." By "Traditional," however, we in no way mean Orthodox. Shelem has elaborated on this point.⁹ The use of a truly traditional Haggadah presupposes a certain set of attitudes as immediate background. In the kibbutz situation,

the composition is still rather free (unlike that used in a strictly Orthodox Seder) while the behavior of the participants is hardly along traditional lines. (See pp. 11-12 for comments on tradition.)

Let us for a moment see what contents of the traditional Haggadah that have not generally been included in the kibbutz edition: the kiddush, the Midrash, Mishnah of Raban Gamliel, Hallel (although Psalm 114 has invariably been included in the majority of written editions), the various blessings over the festive symbols, Bircat Ha Mazon (but the festive introduction is also widely accepted -- Psalm 126), and the closing Benediction of Song.

Returning for a moment to the comment on "actualization" (or updating of sources) in the Haggadah, we can see changes from earlier arrangements. The Four Questions as they appear in contemporary kibbutz Haggadoth have come back to their traditional folk framework; (at least in the Ihud and Meuchad.) Once again Shelem's experience and insight readily provided the answer.¹⁰ Originally, the Four Questions were more likely called the "Four Problems." Into their framework were poured the great dilemmas that the "kibbutzniks" lived daily. Additionally there were questions of an even deeper nature, "why is there evil, why is the world as it is," etc. But the child is no philosopher. He has no great problems that demand deep existential replies. He wants to know about what he sees, matzah, bitter herbs, etc. Such an actualization of these

and other pieces is not always successful. Actualization, per se, is only the spice, an added bonus. And in the final analysis the entire daily existence of the kibbutznik, whether on the borders of Israel or in the interior, is "actual." The forms of the festival do not utilize actual events as in prior years. It is more than what happened yesterday or will happen tomorrow. Over the past thirty years those involved in creating the Haggadoth have learned this. Especially in Israel, people are more influenced by the history, by archeology which is always uncovering the roots of the people. So on the holiday which glorifies history what would be more natural than to allow the child to experience as much of his tradition as possible.

With regard to the Four Questions we can note another interesting trend. Kibbutz Artzi, unlike the other two movements, has remained faithful to its contemporized version. And at the same time it has continuously acted most radically in the arrangement of both traditional and non-traditional pieces. For instance, the spring motif is amply expounded in the words of Kallir, Jose ben Jose, and Moses Ibn Ezra. It is interesting to note that in the kibbutz Artzi movement especially, things which have been included for a number of years take on an aura of orthodoxy of their own. With each successive edition the idea comes up that it would be in very bad taste to remove such a piece as "Song of the Partisans" (which in fact appeared in 1970, but only after extensive

discussion).

Kibbutz HaMeuchad and Ihud, as we have seen, are more conservative in their arrangements. They have, in the passage of time, taken out almost all extra literary pieces or those reflecting local elements. At present, according to Shelem, the central cultural committees of both movements could easily combine their efforts and write one Haggadah. They would only have to come to agreement on the arrangement. There are no essential differences between the two. For instance, the section *פסוקי שירה* has been ruled out in Meuchad, while it is still found in the central Haggadah of Ihud. But there would be enough support in the member settlements to remove this piece.

Common to all three Central Haggadoth (and those which have been separately written by other kibbutzim), is the tendency to take over parts of the traditional sources for their own use. Often this can be accounted for by the desire for expediency (especially when the editors want to extract only certain key Biblical portions). At other times, though in an effort to avoid what I previously called the "miraculous", they left out all mention of the Divine Name. There does not seem, however, to be any standard rule for this type of editing because Kibbutz Artzi which usually favors this practice does mention the name of God in certain sections of its Haggadah (especially with regard to the prophetic sources.) Such a policy of editing original source material to suit the aesthetic

or non-religious tastes of people has come under significant criticism as we shall see, even from within the Movement itself.

Shelem personally takes a dim view of such editing even though it may be prompted by complete honesty and sincerity.¹¹ First, he summarizes the arguments used in favor and then against such an editorial policy. Miracles, regardless of how they are attributed to divine intervention, are in essence only the product of man's strivings. That is all. Shelem then gives a representative opposing view. Whether or not one believes in God or in the divine nature of the Haggadah or Biblical writings, both must be accepted as historical documents which cannot be created anew. A source is a source and the importance for the child to realize this is no less significant at the Passover Seder. It is not only from the historical view that such criticism is offered. A logical confrontation with this literature requires one to transmit it as he received it, regardless for what purpose it is intended. For instance, so Shelem reasons, if the prophet has a certain style that required "כה אמר ה'" then this must be included. If the style does not appeal, then it should not be included, obviously. But you accept or reject the piece as it is, in its entirety. This you would do with Shakespeare. This should be the guiding principle. Even in the religious kibbutz setting, there is no hesitancy to add pieces of supplementary literature. But it is "added", not casually intermixed with

the original fabric of the Haggadah.

C. "PLACE OF THE TRADITIONAL HAGGADAH"

Well known for its innovative genius, the non-religious kibbutz is not beyond using a traditional Haggadah if it is thought it will enhance the Seder festivities. In 1964 two kibbutzim of the Ihud movement, Ein Gev and Kibbutz Jezreal, attempted such a Haggadah. I asked Shelem whether such a return to the traditional Haggadah really pointed to a deeper change in kibbutz thinking. The motivation was, however, solely the desire to exploit every festive form that is available to people, who are bound by any fixed approach to festival practice.¹² Yet the traditional Haggadah communicates its message, not in isolation from the environment in which it is read, but in connection with it. In the same way the kibbutz Haggadah is written specifically for its particular environment. A person on the kibbutz who is not accustomed to follow a certain set regimen (religiously speaking) and suddenly on Passover turns to a traditionally religious book to express his sense of the festival, may not be rewarded.

Have the orthodox kibbutzim been influenced to any serious extent from this "free development" in the other kibbutzim? The influence is there, internally however, and not externally. Generally they use the standard traditional Haggadah. The innovations of the non-religious kibbutz sector,

plus the all-pervasive agricultural surroundings stimulate these kibbutzim to use all appropriate pieces. In this same sense symbolic pieces reflecting their deep attachment to the land, find their way into the celebration.

CHAPTER III

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND*

In the year 1933, marked by new waves of mass Jewish immigrations, the Arab Coalition -- Supreme Moslem Council -- was taken over by the Mufti. Appearing progressively more intransigent and nationalistic, the Mufti played a big part in instigating the anti-British riots of the same year. At the same time the Tel Aviv Jews staged their own riot which was restrained and without great consequence. Reports of further Jewish immigrations following these civil disturbances aggravated ill feeling among all parties.

In 1935 Arabs and Jews were invited to London to participate in a government plan to implement some kind of constitutional arrangement. The discussion never reached conclusion for in early April, 1936, the "Arab Rebellion" broke out. While a temporary truce was called in the Fall fighting continued through 1939. Estimated fatalities for the three years of fighting showed 2,287 Arabs killed, 450 Jews, 140 Britons.¹³ The defense of the Jewish community of Palestine devolved primarily on the Jews themselves.

The Peel Commission findings declared the Mandate arrangement totally unworkable and recommended partition. Having

*The Haggadoth of this period are historical texts of reference as well as ritual literature. For that reason a number of representative pieces have been extracted and translated in order to show how great an impact the contemporary events had on the Passover celebration. (References to be found in Excursus No. 4.)

submitted their proposals to both sides in 1938, the British were greeted with a broad rejection and consequently offered their own solution: the infamous White Paper of 1939. Jewish immigration would be permitted, economic conditions allowing, to the extent of 10,000 a year with an immediate immigration of 25,000 refugees in addition to the yearly quota. This immigration, amounting to 75,000 in five years, was to be the arrangement. No further Jewish settlement would be allowed "unless the Arabs of Palestine would be ready to acquiesce in it." Land purchases by Jews from Arabs would be prohibited in some areas and restricted in others in accordance with regulations to be published by the High Commissioner.¹⁴

Ever adamant in their demands for the fulfillment of the promises read into the Balfour Declaration, the Yishuv saw the White Paper as nothing but a sign of appeasement to Arab intransigence. With the Holocaust imminent and the increasingly strong ties of the surrounding Arab states to the Nazi and Facist regimes, the Jews had already taken action to fortify their position with whatever means were at hand. Two of these methods we shall now touch upon: ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION FROM WITHOUT; WALL AND TOWER SETTLEMENTS FROM WITHIN.

For the Jews already settled in the Yishuv, the years 1938-39 were especially filled with anguish. The handwriting was on the wall. As Western civilization seemed about to reach its nadir, the National Home in Palestine was looked to as the sole remaining hope for the Jews in a world gone

mad. Restrictions on immigration had been in effect but they had been well fought legally and otherwise. Now the results of the ill-fated Evian Conference of 1938 (dealing with possible sites of Jewish resettlement other than Palestine) justified the position of the Yishuv leaders. Palestine would be, had to be, the only refuge for Jews fleeing the Nazi extermination. Now in view of Britain's impending move to renege on its pledge of 1917, the Yishuv leadership resorted to every means possible to bring an embattled people to its homeland.

Oddly enough illegal immigration in the immediate pre-war years was aided by the Nazis themselves. Gestapo agents set out to make Central Europe "Judenrein." Shipped out on the Danube, the Jews were given forged immigration documents. Some vessels succeeded in landing their cargo clandestinely at night. Others were stopped and their victims were turned back in accordance with existing mandatory statutes.

The all too depressing story of the immigrant ships, "Pacific," and "The Milos," which were intercepted by the British is indicative of how the Jews were kept from their last possible refuge and deported for the duration. The "Patria," an immigrant ship arriving in Haifa in 1940, immediately sunk after a mysterious explosion while negotiations were being made as to how and where to send its human cargo. The ambiguous administrative policies of the Mandate power were not to bring to realization the Zionist dream.

Indifference to the Jewish plight continued throughout the war (though the Jews had no choice but to join the side of the allies) and reached its peak on the eve of British evacuation in 1947.

The "Wall and Tower" period was so-called as a consequence of the type of settlements which literally sprung up over night. In view of various clauses of the McDonald White Paper, the ability of the Jewish settlers to increase their area was severely limited. Though World War II broke out the Mandates Commission declared the White Paper to be a violation of the Mandate. Still, Britain began to implement it immediately, especially those provisions concerning "land transfers." Divided into three administrative regions, the land of Palestine was to be only one twentieth open to Jewish buyers. In the remaining two zones land acquisitions were to be minimal or entirely restricted to Jews.¹⁵

Illicit settlements proceeded thusly: in the middle of the night communal dwellings which bounded a special tract intended for a "wall and tower" settlement would send their members out en masse. Before daybreak, the participation of all workers resulted in a ready-made defensible dwelling area. According to Ottoman law (followed in this case by the British) a structure fully constituted with a roof and four walls could not be removed or destroyed. The British could not easily patrol the entire country at night, and so when they encountered such a fait accompli in the morning hours they

were forced to abide by the law (practically and politically they could not afford to make a nasty scene, especially when there were such flagrant breaches of their regulations.)¹⁶

The Arab riots of 1936 were as much an antecedent cause of this type of settlement as the strictly enforced British immigration policies. "Tel Amal" was such a settlement built by volunteers from Beth Alpha who helped to sustain this outlying bastion of defense in the Jezreel valley. Berl Katzenelson saw in these erstwhile developments a unique and glorious moment in Jewish history. In order that the reader may "feel" the situation in which the writers of these early Haggadoth found themselves, I include a translated piece of his "All the Land Has Become for Us a Tel Hai."*

There are moments in which the nation is tested, in which the movement is tried, in which a man will be moulded, in which history will take place. Now you have become a people!... Do we not feel that the calamitous events of 1936-37 with all the panic in them are such a moment in our lives... The generation which has built and fortified, which has brought up on the shores of the embattled Yishuv boats of immigrants hurrying to establish at the front of work and defense, is worthy to say to Yosef Trumpeldor and Aharon Sar, the men of Tel Hai, 'we have not shamed you. You have not gone forsaken.'¹⁷

World War II, the "Shoah" -- the annihilation of 6,000,000 European Jews, is an epoch in the annals of world history not

*Tel Hai -- an outpost settlement on the Lebanese border which fell to Arab marauders in 1920, despite the valiant leadership of Yosef Trumpeldor.

ever to be forgotten. For the Jews of the Yishuv, there was no alternative but to remain faithful to the allies. The policy of these Jews was formulated by David Ben Gurion: "To fight the Nazis as if there was no 'White Paper', and to fight the 'White Paper' as if there were no Nazis." The "Shoah" in all of its manifest atrocities, and the ultimate defense shown by those in the ghetto were no secrets hidden from the Jews of Palestine. In any event, the temporary truce held until 1946, at which time some elements in the Yishuv even resorted to terrorist activities to drive the Mandate Power from Palestine.

Haganah, through its political arm in Europe, organized "Mosad," an intelligence branch unit which supervised the secret removal of liberated European POW's to Palestine. The ill-fated journey of the "President Warfield" renamed "Exodus 1947" is indicative of the price paid by many of the former inmates of the Nazi concentration camps. But many were those who arrived as members of "Aliyah Bet". The "Maapilim," those who successfully ran the British blockade, demonstrated a type of courage to reach the Jewish homeland no greater than that shown by its defenders in the War of Liberation.

Shortly following the Security Council decision of November, 1949, for partition, Arab attacks began again. The War of Liberation informally started in December, 1947. Formal attacks immediately followed the Proclamation of Independence, May 15, 1948. The war raged for nearly one and a half years

as eight Arab states invaded Israel, only to be sorely repulsed by the bravery of the Yishuv's defenders. These episodes were well-written into the annals of Jewish History for all time.

The people had come back. The land had been retaken, the nation was reconstituted on its native soil. Could the Passover theme have become any more real for those Jews reading the Haggadah in 1949?

CHAPTER IV
STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS AND ARRANGEMENT
OF THREE REPRESENTATIVE HAGGADOTH*

PART ONE: "GENERAL OBSERVATIONS"

First, let us make a number of preliminary observations on the form and structure of these Haggadoth from the "early period." With the publications in 1935 of the first written kibbutz Haggadah, a number of guidelines were unofficially established. For one, there was no explicit need to detail the sources of the materials included. While the Haggadah in fact was an anthology of many kinds of literature, such specific listings would take away from the spontaneous festive mood which the selections engendered. Secondly, and probably more important, for a good many of the settlers of this period, such extra-Haggadic materials (far outweighing in number those carried over from the traditional Haggadah) were well enough known. When we occasionally come across pieces which are identified, this is most likely the style of a certain editor. The exception to this rule is Kibbutz Artzi, which generally carried at least a partial identification for each selection. Especially, however, in the early period there are to be found numbers of freely composed pieces, adaptations of the contents of the traditional Haggadah, or of

*Kibbutz, Tel Yosef 1939
Kibbutz Shomer Hatzair 1943
Kibbutz Naan 1949

other traditional materials. These selections are usually anonymously presented, with a title superimposed by the editor according to the contents of the piece, or the theme of the section in which it is found. When first encountering a Biblical citation at the end of one paragraph, I have found, in the interest of accuracy, to see if additional verses from other sources have automatically been included. Often they were. In this way, I have attempted to give a precise structural-content description of all pieces. In my presentation, I have been hampered by the style in which much of this Hebrew is composed. Often the Hebrew does not conform to acceptable grammatical rules and therefore it has been difficult to translate sensibly.

Two other trends evident in the earlier Haggadoth, though certainly less pronounced in our generation are: (1) adaptation of traditional Haggadic pieces to fit in with contemporary ideas and events, and (2) adaptation of Biblical verses. Small in number are the passages from the traditional Haggadah. There are some, however, and their inclusion, as I shall show, is quite apt.

The four questions are a perfect example. The "why" is a self-evident introduction. From there we find question-answer exchanges, delineating the contemporary life situation, its horror and its blessings, in terms quite familiar to the assembled participants. There are then also traditional pieces which are easily understood and appreciated in their

original formulation. When a kibbutz member in 1939 uttered "שפור חמתך" he had a direct object for his vindictiveness, even as did those medieval Jews who first included this piece in the Haggadah. Before the Jews of the Yishuv were the unfulfilled promises of the British, the violence of the Arabs, the imminence of liquidation at the hands of Hitler. And in 1949, what more fitting a recitation could there be than "כל דכפין" a call to all those who were hungry and alone to join in the festivity of the first seder night in the history of the modern State of Israel.

Editors of the early Haggadah drew inspiration and direction from the traditional Haggadah. For them it was a model, one historically and spiritually rooted in an age-old heritage. They freely chose to enhance this anthology in the most meaningful way. This meant omission as well as addition -- addition of materials from other traditional sources as well as from the wide range of secular Hebrew literature.

Here then we find the most radical form of innovation. An inspection of these contents will prove self-explanatory. What must be emphatically pointed out -- and this I consider almost a masterstroke of genius -- is the way each non-Haggadic piece was chosen. The arrangers were mindful of the need to maintain the overall continuity within one section and throughout the entire Haggadah. Cognizant of this need from thematic, ideological, and aesthetic points of view, they were able to weld together many diverse elements into a

unified whole. For a people reconstituted in its historic homeland, speaking its own language, this festival anthology is a unique creation, linking past and present. Aware of the all-pervasive influence of contemporary historical events on the writing of the Haggadah, one need only check the content of the Biblical citations, note the themes of the modern Hebrew literature selections, and read the anonymously written sections to appreciate how the "kibbutznik" has interpreted for his own time the injunction in Exodus:

And when in the time to come, your
son asks what does this mean, you
shall tell him. (Ex. 13:14)

CHAPTER IV

PART TWO: "A DETAILED PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF THE CONTENTS OF THREE HAGGADOTH, AND A BRIEF CONTENT COMPARISON WITH THE TRADITIONAL HAGGADAH."*

TEL YOSEF -- 1939

A. Traditional Elements Included

1. ד' קושיות* (a free adaptation)*

The formula has been partially adopted with regard to a question and answer rubric. Two questions are asked by the assembled public with two succeeding answers based on contemporary events. Following this introduction is an extensive embellishment of the theme, "the sorrowful plight of the Jews in the Land and in the world."

2. שפור חמתך

This piece develops the previously introduced idea of the hated oppression to which world wide Jewry was subject at this time.

3. כל דכפין

Appropriately following the above, this selection issues a plea for compassion and succor for all those hopeless and unfortunate among the People.

4. חד גדיא

Included in the usual formula, it is written in the Hebrew.

*Hebrew text and accompanying translation found in Excursus #5

rather than the traditional Aramaic. Such a translated version probably reflects the pride of the people in their ability to use their own language in their own land. Hebrew had once again become a living language in all facets of life.

B. Traditional Elements Excluded

- 1) קידוש
- 2) ד' כוסות
- 3) מדרשים
- 4) משנת רבן גמליאל
- 5) הלל
- 6) ברכת המזון
- 7) ברכת גאולה
- 8) ברכת השיר פיוטים

C. Selections from Contemporary Hebrew Literature

1. SPRING

a. מ. טבנקין - השמש במערב יורדת

b. לוי בן אמיחי - שבולת פנימה

2. Revival of the People (hope in the face of desolation)

a. ח. נ. ביאליק - מתי מדבר האחרונים

3. Oppression and Destruction of the Jewish People

a. untitled essay -- Belinson

b. ש. שלום - לילותינו במצור
מעולם הלהבות
marauders)

c. ח. נ. ביאליק - על השחיטה the theme of extermination of the People -- the imminent Holocaust and the Palestine riots.

This piece is appropriately placed in the Haggadah preceding as it does.

4. Encouragement of a People who do not struggle in vain
 - a.
- D. Selections from other traditional sources which complement ideas expressed in the preceding paragraphs.
 1. SPRING
 - a. "omer" -- וְהָיָה "אָמֶר"
 2. Servitude, redemption, and return to the Land
 - a. Ex. 1:6-13 (selections)
 - b. Ex. 2:11-15 to end (Moses story)
 - c. Neh. 2:18, 4:1-7 (rebuilding the city walls)
 - d. Ex. 14:5-15 (escape of people before the Egyptians)

This Haggadah is simply composed with a number of plain sketch drawings. The entire work is stenciled with a marked absence of color. None of the pieces are identified. Tel Yosef is typical of the modest booklet form Haggadoth published in the 1930's.

KIBBUTZ ARTZI HAGGADAH OF PESACH, 1943

A. Materials retained from the traditional Haggadah

1. וְהָיָה לְכָל בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל (adaptation)
וְהָיָה לְכָל בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל

A plural summons to participate which here emphasizes the collective nature of the assembled public, and which is a declaration of the situation facing contemporary Jewry.

2. וְהָיָה לְכָל בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל p. 6*

*Hebrew text and accompanying translation found in Excursus No. 5.

Only two are listed. They express the immediate situation of the participants at the kibbutz Seder.

3. עבדים היינו p. 7* (adaptation of the "first introduction" to the Midrash; a partial rewriting of the passage in order to stress the idea of the present generation participating in the process of redemption. SEE HEBREW.
4. והיא שעמדה... p. 9-10* (adaptation of the opening of the Midrash, again stressing the actuality of the present generation's deliverance; an explicit omission of the Divine aspect. SEE HEBREW.
5. במתי מעט... con't p. 9-10 (opening line of Midrash)
Deut. 26:5
6. חסל p. 28* (shortened version of the "piyut")

B. Traditional materials excluded

1. Kiddush and Four Glasses
2. Tannaitic Stories preceding Four Sons
3. Four Sons
4. Midrash (all but opening line); Midrash on Plagues;
Plagues
5. Additions to Midrash
6. Mishnah of Raban Gamliel
7. Hallal
8. Shefoch Hamatchah
9. Benedictions over the Passover foods
10. Grace
11. Blessings of Song

*Hebrew text and translation found in Excursus No. 5.

12. Piyutim (all but חור גדיא)

C. Selections from Hebrew Literature

1. Spring

- a. "בשירי לחם" (חורדיה) Shlonsky p. 4-5

2. Return of People

- a. "pioneer strivings," free, p. 14

Testimony to those who
overcome all obstacles to
return; apparent reference
to the Maapilim

- b. "סיני" Frishman, p. 11

3. Oppression of People

- a. "איכה" Tebenkin p. 16

- b. "דבר" Bialik p. 17

- c. "annihilation," free, p. 18 The catastrophe of
the Shoah

- d. "evil in the world," free, p. 20

- e. "rescue from the Shoah," free, p. 26

4. Return

- a. "מתי מדבר" Bialik, p. 13

- b. "נס ציונה" Yeudah Halevi, p. 22

- c. "מגופה" S. Meltzer

D. Other Traditional Sources

1. Spring

- a. Ex. 12:2, 12:14, 12:41, p. 1 (adaptation 12:41
in order to remove
the Divine element
in the process of
deliverance)*

*Hebrew text and accompanying translation found in Excursus No. 5.

- b. Song of Songs 2:11-13, p.3
- c. Ex. 13:3, p. 8 (adaptation; stressing the contemporary parallel of the uprootedness of the Jewish people throughout history)*
 "בכל דור ודור..."
- 2. Israel in Egypt, Moses, p. 9-12
 - a. Joseph Story (Gen. 47:1-7) and Egyptian servitude
 - b. Ex. 1-8-9, 14, 22; 2:11; 3:7, 14:5, 23; 15:22
- 3. Reflections of Shoah-universal suffering of Jewish people
 - a. Jer. 8:23
 - b. Psalm 137, p. 15
- 4. Relief from Suffering
 - a. Is. 42:24; 43:2, 6, p. 21
 - b. Ez. 37, p. 23
 - c. Is. 60:2-11 (60:2 -- omits the name of God) p. 27
 - d. Amos 9, p. 27
 - e. Free statement by kibbutz concerning the War and the hope of ultimate blessing of ability to fully rebuild the Land p. 25

KIBBUTZ NAAN -- 1949

A. Traditional Elements Included

1. ד'קושיות p. 6

Only the first question is introduced, "why is this night different...?" Following is a free flowing piece that reflects the stress of contemporary events. Observed here is the past striving for freedom now seen through the eyes of a people which has achieved its eternal dream of freedom and Independence.

*Hebrew text and accompanying translation found in Excursus No. 5.

2. בכל דור ודור p. 12
3. כל דכפין p. 30
4. הלל (represented only by Psalm 114 which is quite common in many Haggadoth). p. 13

B. Traditional Elements Excluded

1. Major part of the
2. פיוטים

(for the remainder of exclusions, see additionally mentioned pieces omitted in Haggadah of Tel Yosef, 1939)

C. Selections from Contemporary Hebrew Literature;

1. Spring
 - a. בא ואשק לך בני אדם... S. Shalom p. 1
 - b. לקראת אביב, נרוץ בקול Y. Ahai p. 3
2. Servitude -- Freedom
 - a. סיני D. Frishman p. 8
 - b. מתי מדבר האחרונים Bialik p. 10
 - c. מתי מדבר Bialik p. 21
3. Redemption - Freedom
 - a. מנגינה לי S. Tchnerhovsky p. 19
4. Independence -- Return to the Land
 - * a. מגש הכסף Alterman p. 24
 - b. ראי אדמה Tchnerhovsky p. 25
 - c. כל דכפין Tchnerhovsky p. 30
 - d. Free - "history" p. 16-17

D. Selections from other traditional sources

1. Spring

*Appeared for the first time in the emergency edition, 1948 of the "Artzi" Haggadah.

- a. Lev. 23:10 "omer" p. 2
- b. Song of Songs 2:11-19 p. 4
- 2. Story of the Enslavement, Moses, Deliverance, Joyful Return to the Land
 - a. Ex. 1:15-2:23 p. 7
 - b. Ex. 3:1-8
 - c. Ex. 14 (selections)
 - d. Ex. 15 (Song of the Sea) p. 9
 - e. Ex. 13:3-4 ('festival of freedom, festival of spring) p. 13
 - f. Numbers 13 (spies) p. 11
 - g. Neh. 2:17 (rebuilding the walls) p. 18
 - h. Isaiah 60:4 - Hope p. 26
 - i. Lev. 26:4, 5, 6, 9 (abundance and new security) p. 27
 - j. Is. 40:9 - glorious return
 - k. Jeremiah 31:8-9 (same theme) p. 28
 - l. Amos 9 (Restoration) p. 29

SECTION II

CHAPTER V

THE EVOLUTION OF THE KIBBUTZ HAGGADAH: ARTZI, IHUD, MEUCHAD INTRODUCTION: VALUES, CONTENT, FORM

By delimiting the "recent period" thusly, we do not mean to imply a rigid chronological framework. We had chosen the 1949 edition of "Naan's" Haggadah because it was conveniently representative of many Haggadoth published in the wake of the War of Independence, or immediately before the 1949 edition therefore it was not necessarily the last Haggadah for a certain period. We do note a gradual shift from this time onward in content and arrangements. In order to expedite our investigation of the structural and thematic development of the Haggadoth, we will simply concentrate on those of the specific Central Movement.

The kibbutzim have progressively yielded in their innovative patterns to an expression of a new idea: that the Haggadah of Passover should deal with one main theme -- Passover. We need be reminded of the unique booklets which appeared at the Passover Seders in the early years. They were filled with ideas and the events of the times which pervaded the life of the kibbutz, the Yishuv, and of the world Jewish community. The new trend did not evolve in a vacuum. The establishment of the State brought with it a new calendar of festival days, the themes of which were quite evident in the early Haggadoth.

There was the experience of immigration and new settlement which was keenly felt especially by members of the kibbutzim and which demanded expression in the Passover ritual. So too there was the Holocaust, the Jewish Resistance, and the ultimate fulfillment of the Jewish dream-Independence.

But can we say that one event "caused" another, i.e., a new calendar of festival days automatically denuded the kibbutz Haggadah of non-traditional contemporary pieces, the themes of which found embodiment in the new holidays? Was the kibbutz community then consequently led back to the traditional Haggadah for want of sufficient materials? No, it was not. An examination of Haggadoth appearing after 1949 reveals a series of pieces whose content is not traditional. The literary components also reflect historical events given full expression in these other holidays instituted after Independence. For example 23rd day of Nissin, fixed for a special remembrance of the Shoah; 4th of Iyar commemorating the heroism of those who fell in defense of the State; 5th of Iyar, Independence Day. I refer especially to the 1970 edition of the Kibbutz Artzi Haggadah which includes among other contemporary pieces, *נִסְיָן* by Shlonsky which clearly refers to the period of the Shoah. Also we find here and in all Haggadoth Alterman's *הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה* written on the eve of Independence and found in all main editions of the Haggadoth of the Central Movements since 1951. Ihud Hakibbutzim and Hakibbutz and HaMeuchad are less inclined

to the type of "contemporizing" characteristic of the Kibbutz Artzi. What we can say, however, about the three Movements is that their Haggadoth do tend increasingly to be traditionally constituted. The quantity of material taken over from the traditional Haggadah tends to be larger in recent editions. There are also represented pieces from other traditional sources especially the Bible which has contributed many verses narrating the struggle from slavery to Independence (or reconstitution of the people in its historic Homeland).

A survey of the contents of all Haggadoth listed will bring to light another of the distinguishing hallmarks of this kibbutz literature: the moment of Spring, certainly not central in the traditional Haggadah, and the story of Moses which is entirely absent. All three Movements have produced Haggadoth which stress these themes to about the same extent. We remarked earlier that a key idea in the evolution of the kibbutz Haggadoth is the minimization if not the eradication of the Divine element. In its stress on Moses the kibbutz has wished to emphasize an idea exemplified in the following passage from the Haggadah:

וְיוֹצֵאֵנוּ ה' מִמִּצְרַיִם לֹא עַל יְדֵי מַלְאָךְ וְלֹא עַל יְדֵי שַׂרְף...
אֵלָּא הַקְדוֹשׁ בְּרוּךְ הוּא בִּכְבוֹדוֹ וּבַעֲצָמוֹ

Certainly the removal of God (not always possible, nor always done in a consistent or logical manner as is seen especially in the Artzi Haggadoth) allows for more emphasis on the person and role of Moses in the narration of the history of the

deliverance. I stress again the manner in which this narration has taken form. It is in my opinion a near stroke of genius how the editors have carefully selected and arranged key passages for the Haggadah. Those assembled participants in the Seder can then feel that through their reading they are truly re-enacting the historic journey of their people. While Moses led the people forth, the prophets heralded an even more far-reaching deliverance. Passages from Ezekiel, Jeremiah, Isaiah, and Amos are prevalent and quite apt and re-enforce the following traditional passage adopted in most rituals.

בכל דור ודור חייב אדם לראות את עצמו כאילו הוא יצא ממצרים

In order to sufficiently update the traditional element of the Midrashic introduction, the kibbutz Artzi Haggadah has so arranged the following lines:

עבדים היינו לפרעה במצרים ויעבדונו בפרך ונגאל משם.

Thus the rough thematic outlines of the present Haggadot are as follows: The kibbutz Artzi - Spring, Exodus, from Egypt, Peace, In-gathering of the Exiles; Ihud - Spring, Exodus, Redemption; kibbutz HaMeuchad - Exodus, Redemption, Spring.

I have attempted to show how each new Haggadah published by the specific Central Movement has organically evolved from the preceding one. The first major work of each Movement (Artzi, 1943, Ihud, 1953, Meuchad, 1947) is fully delineated to show content and thematic arrangement. For each

successive edition I have shown what materials have been retained in addition to those pieces, traditional or otherwise, which have been added. Following the exposition of the first Haggadah under consideration in each movement, I have for each successive one presented listed the years in which a retained piece has appeared. I have slightly modified this procedure for the Artzi Haggadoth from 1951-1970 since they are very similar. In short, however, a continuous reference to the first Haggadah for any Movement will provide the foundation to note significant development and change.

I have found that the most recent edition of any Movement Haggadah embodies the earlier developments, the themes and pieces that have been most popular from the beginning. For that reason it has been necessary to limit my joint comparisons only to these (Artzi, 1970, Meuchad, 1970, Ihud, 1965). Having made continuous reference to "traditional materials retained, added, or omitted," I have not had to specifically make this comparison between the Kibbutz and the traditional Haggadah for these years.

In dealing with the specific Haggadoth of Kibbutz Artzi, I have been greatly aided by a number of systematic examinations. For Kibbutz Meuchad and Ihud, however, with the exception of general schematic discussions there exists no concise analysis equivalent to the critique of the Artzi Haggadah which appeared a number of years ago.* Since there were only minor changes from the 1964 to the 1970 edition

* המחקר - ד"ר אוריאל
1965 - תשכ"ה

this study was particularly helpful. Moreover it is valuable since it was done by a member of the Artzi movement. In addition to providing an insightful discourse on the materials themselves, the writer has not at all been lax in pointing up apparent weaknesses as well as obvious strengths of the Movement Haggadah. With regard to the Ihud and Meuchad Haggadoth, the rationale for certain arrangements and thematic expositions can only be generally deduced. Comparatively speaking these two Haggadoth reveal little of the radical innovative tendencies of the Artzi Haggadah. Consequently they do not elicit criticism or comment to the same degree. I have attempted of course to mention whatever may appear unusual or outstanding in them.

CHAPTER VI

AN ANALYSIS AND CRITICISM OF THE ARTZI HAGGADOTH - 1945-1970*

A. SURVEY

The most innovative of the Haggadoth before us are those of the Kibbutz Artzi. Two of the most decisive changes in values in the Artzi Haggadoth are noted in the updated rubric of the Four Cups and the Four Questions. The return to Zion and the sovereignty of the State heralded in the "first cup of Deliverance" replaces the emphasis on the Exodus from Egypt. Conveyed in the blessing over the "second cup of Redemption" are all the universal, humanistic and socialistic tendencies of the people. While the traditional formula for this blessing provides the idea of redemption, the stress on its inherent miraculous and Divine character is hardly appropriate to the Artzi scheme of ideas. Mixing the themes of the first two benedictions, the "third cup of Consolation" for the peace of Israel and the nations has nothing in common with its traditional counterpart included at the end of the Grace. The Fourth cup is appropriately raised at the end of the Seder. Though not within the rubric of the Hallel it is the concluding section of an extravagant series of praises to God. The Artzi formula for the last Cup is an adaptation of themes found within the traditional rubric of **ברכת מעין שלוש**.

*Excursus #6, for the Artzi Haggadah, 1943
A rendering of Hebrew texts and translations for Artzi Haggadoth, 1945-1970 can be found in Excursus #6.

The moment of Spring is explicitly introduced at the outset of the Seder and is totally unlike anything found in the traditional Haggadah. While in addition to the selection from the Song of Solomon -- common -- to all Movement Haggadoth -- there are additional selections from Hebrew literature (Kallir, Yose ben Yose, Ibn Ezra). We find the latter also well represented in the sister Haggadoth of the other Movements. Over the years these pieces have become traditional in their own right and are popularly appreciated for their ability to more fully communicate the all pervasive element of Spring.

Following the traditional mention of the "bread of affliction" (which now appears without any contemporary embellishment), and a nearly traditional rendition of Raban Gamliel's dissertation on Matzah, and the blessing over the First Cup, there is a free adaptation of **הנני מוכן ומזומן**. We initially note how the opening verbs are couched in the plural (**הנני מוכנים ומזומנים**) thus giving added expression to the communal character of arranged festive celebration. It comes both as a summary of those themes that preceded -- the national, the universal, and the humanitarian -- and as an indication of what will follow.

The rubric of the Four Questions leads to an examination of a more controversial matter. We may note what is an apparent inconsistency in the arrangement of the Second question (see 1951 for full wording). Here the prescription for

children and parents to specially join together in the dining room for the Seder seems to distort a more important inherited tradition dealing with the Passover ritual. The arrangement as we have it in the kibbutz Haggadah seems to refer only to the fact of the unusual combined seating arrangements in honor of the day. But the original injunction as it has come down to us for people to "sit around" traditionally reflects an explicit idea of acquired freedom and not only familial togetherness. Though the latter is indeed a highly praised value, this applied meaning has somehow eclipsed a more far reaching significant theme. This is only one of a number of examples of thematic mixing and innovation that may be said to distort more constant ideas that are worthy of perpetuation even for Kibbutz Artzi. The following rationale for changing old materials and implementing new ones, however, can well be applied to the arrangements we encounter in the other Movement Haggadoth.

There is not just one section in the Traditional Haggadah. Neither are all the components equally important. It is possible to understand that our generation saw fit to change over from the traditionally accepted formula. So there is nothing essential to oppose in that the arrangers were aided by the words of poets, old and young; thus they added to the words of the traditional Haggadah poems of Bialik, Shlonsky, Alterman, Frishman, Judah Halevi, and Kallir.¹⁸

Two additional points of change now deserve our attention. We have in later editions of the Artzi Haggadah a return to the traditional arrangement of the First question (Matzah).

Secondly, there is no longer any use made of the Questions as repositories of themes that have contemporary import. Even with the free formulation of the other Questions, we find there is still an attempt made to promulgate the theme of Passover.

There are several sections which have particularly drawn an unusual amount of criticism even by the standards of a non-religious member of the Artzi organization. Arrangements of verses from the second and eleventh chapter of Isaiah are cases in point. If the original editors were solely motivated by a desire to present verses with an intellectual and perhaps metaphysical coloring, then they have succeeded. But such a combination of Is. 2:4-6, 11:4-6, 9 (and here with the omission of God) seemingly has achieved the desired goal at the expense of the full thrust of the prophetic injunction.

The most crucial part of the Haggadah expounding the vicissitudes of Israel throughout history is partially adopted here in its traditional garb: **והיא שעמדה לאבותינו**. The revised ending (an adaptation of Ex. 12:41 -- see Hebrew supplement) however has transferred all powers of deliverance into the hand of man alone. Is it fair to argue that all is done in the service of innovative creativity and intellectual honesty? It is possible. The argument may also be heard that a traditional source, not agreeable theologically or aesthetically should rather be omitted than reworked in a contemporary formula simply to please the tastes of a certain

community. After all a source -- especially Biblical -- is the work of one or more authors. How in all honesty can one approach such work, regardless of what his motivations are, with the idea "correction."?

Consistency is not one of the outstanding characteristics of the Haggadah of Kibbutz Artzi. Still we should realize that because this literary anthology is the work of committee, as are all the Movement Haggadoth, it would be difficult to find one hundred percent agreement. Suffice it to say that we still have in this literature elements of the Divine or the miraculous. From the festival Grace, Psalm 126 has been adopted in its entirety. Among the traditional Passover foods mentioned in the ritual, the "Matzah" section is carried in its traditional wording. There is no attempt to modify the theo-centric content of Exodus 15, the Song of the Sea. But the non-traditionalists argue that passages such as these serve only a ceremonial value.

Using the rubric of the Four Cups or the adapted version of "הנני מוכן ומזומן" as a measuring rod, one might get the impression that the themes of the Artzi Haggadah are generally universalist and humanistic. Comparatively speaking such an assumption is more true for the Haggadah of Kibbutz Artzi than for the other two. Still we are left with a sufficient selection of Biblical verses to demonstrate the popularity of the narrative of Israel's struggle for freedom and ultimate achievement of national sovereignty. Even if we take into

account the removal of the long popular *פאנץ פאָע* from the 1970 edition (and also from the most recent Meuchad Haggadah), there still remain other pieces of the same quality. Among these we find, "The Ten Plagues" -- Alterman, "The Vow" -- Shlonsky and "The Song of the Sea." One of the arguments heard against the exclusion of *פאנץ פאָע* runs along the following lines:

We held in account the gentiles of every generation, those who stood against us to annilate us. Yet there is still a hope in us for expressing a sense of salvation...¹⁹

We come now to a final exposition of that ideology which has motivated some elements in the Artzi Kibbutz community to continually criticize and improve this festival anthology.

Though we know we cannot impose on a man a certain attitude as to how he should relate to matters of tradition, or to impose a world view that is in contradiction to a social or political outlook, it is beyond us how the people of the Movement have ignored values of our past which many among our people in Israel and the Diaspora have faithfully kept. There is no contradiction between socialism and the faith of Israel; it is consequently possible to leave a door open. Just as there is no need to compel any man to some kind of faith, there is no need to compel him to heresy ... The decision is not by the society, but by the individual alone.²⁰

KIBBUTZ ARTZI HAGGADAH OF PESACH 1945

A. Materials retained from 1943

1. Ex. 12:2, 14, 41 p. 1
2. Song of Songs 2:11-13 p. 1
3. **הננו מוכנים ומזומנים** p. 5 (adapted; again stressing the contemporary situation of the assembled participants who have survived the historic catastrophe of annihilation, and who rejoice in the fruits of their labors)
4. Four Questions p. 6* (a dual statement of the festive nature of the day and a recognition of the pain and suffering of those not fortunate enough to be present: a clear reference to the present annihilation of European Jewry)
5. First Intro. to Midrash p. 7
6. Gen. 47:1-7, p. 8
7. Beginning of Midrash (Deut. 26:5), and Israel in Egypt p. 9-10
8. **"סיני"** Frishman p. 10
9. Ex. 14:5, p. 11
10. Ex. 13:3, **"זכור..."** (mixing the theme of the eternal struggles and pains of the Jewish People, with the renewal of Spring, bringing new life and hope)
11. Jer. 8:23, p. 13
12. **"והיא שעמדה..."** p. 13

*Excursus 6 and Hebrew texts

13. "מתי מדבר" Bialik, p. 14
14. Psalm 137, p. 19
15. "נס ציונה" p. 25-26
16. Ez. 37, p. 27
17. Amos 9, p. 31
18. "חסל סדר" p. 33

B. Additions from the Traditional Haggadah

1. "הא לחמא" p. 3
2. "שפוך חמתך" p. 21*(stressing the retribution due the oppressor)
3. "נברך" -- arranged by David Cohani in the Haggadah of Kibbutz Merhavia, 1940 (summary of contents of "ברכת מעין שלוש").

C. Additions from Hebrew Literature

1. Spring
 - a. "טל" Kallir
2. The struggle against oppression and remembrance of the fallen
 - a. "כי אש צורה" 'according to the accounts of the ghetto fighters.' p. 15
 - b. "לקראת נצחון" L. Reznik, p. 18
 - c. "חזון התשבי" Y. Frishman (declaring that justice will be meted out accordingly and revenge taken)
 - d. "Song of the Partisans," Glick-Shlonsky p. 22
 - e. "נזכור" (copied from the 'book of testimony, in remembrance of all those fallen, and those who rose in heroic opposition to the enemy') p.20

*Excursus 6 and Hebrew texts

f. "למתנדבים בעם" Bialik, p. 26

KIBBUTZ ARTZI HAGGADAH OF PESACH 1947

A. Materials retained from previous Haggadoth

1. Ex. 12:2, 14, 41; p. 1 (1943, '45)
2. Song of Songs 2:11 p. 2 ('43, '45)
3. "חא לחמא" p. 4 ('43)
4. "הבנו..." p. 5 ('43, '45)
5. Four Questions (same as 1945) p. 6
6. Intro. to Midrash p. 7 ('43, '45)
7. Midrash (Deut. 26:5) p. 8 ('43, '45)
8. Ex. 1:7-15; 2:11 p. 9-10 ('43, '45)
9. "סיני" p. 10-11 ('43, '45)
10. Ex. 13, "זכור" p. 14 ('43, '45)
11. "כי אש צררה..." p. 15 ('45)
12. "שפור חמתך" p. 17* slight variation ('45)
13. "נזכור" p. 18 *slight variation on the same theme as that selection from 1945
14. Song of the Partisans p. 19 ('45)
15. "נס ציונה" p. 22 ('43, '45)
16. Is. 42:24, 43:2, 6, p. 26 ('43)
17. Is. 60:2, 4, 5, 11 p. 30 ('43)
18. Amos 9 p. 32 ('43, '45)
19. "נברך..." p. 33 ('45)
20. "חסל סדר" p. 33 ('43, '45)

*Excursus 6 and Hebrew texts

B. No additions from the traditional Haggadah

C. Additions from Hebrew Literature

1. Spring

a. "אביב בשומרון" Yakov Fichman p. 3

b. "שירת העמים" Shlonsky p. 22

2. Reflection of the Holocaust

a. "ידעתי בליל ערפל" Bialik p. 14 ... The thematic arrangement of materials here is particularly significant. This present piece is preceded by Jer. 8:23. The bringing together of these materials in this way makes a self-contained narrative.

3. Ingathering of People

a. "מתי מדבר האחרונים" Bialik, p. 12

b. "אנו עולים ושרים" Y. Cohen p. 13 (a statement of the anxieties and difficulties of those who endeavor to return to the Land despite all obstacles. An apparent reference to the Maapilim.

c. "בת יונה הומיה" Bialik, p. 19

d. "און בן פלא" S. Shalom p. 21

e. free*: p. 28 ... the sorrowful cry of the people who plea for some salvation from the wrath of their enemies, who seek their rightful place in the only Homeland that they have.

D. Additions from other traditional sources

1. Egyptian servitude

*Excursus 6 and Hebrew texts

- a. "ישראל במצרים - יציאת מצרים" Sefer Haggadah
 "...והיו ישראל מקוששים את הקש"

2. Return and consolation

- a. Jer. 31:8, 9, 13. p. 29

KIBBUTZ ARTZI HAGGADAH OF PESACH 1951

A. Materials retained from previous Haggadoth

1. Ex. 12:2, 14, 41 p. 1 ('43, '45, '47)
2. Song of Songs 2:11-13 p. 3 ('43, '45, '47)
3. "חא לחמא" p. 7 ('45, '47)
4. "הננו מוכנים" p. 8 ('43, '45, '47) -- Here, a combination of the arrangements from the above years.
5. Four Questions* p. 9 ('43, '45, '47) A combined theme of 'festival of freedom' and remembrance of those who are at the moment still suffering under the bonds of oppression.
6. Intro. to Midrash p. 10-11 ('43, '45, '47)
7. Midrash to Deut. 26:5b; Ex. 1:7-15 (selections)
 p. 12 ('43, '45, '47)
8. Sefer Haggadah: 'Israel in Egypt-servitude'
9. Ex. 2:11, 3:1-2 (add. 7-8) p. 14 ('43, '45, '47)
10. "סיני" p. 15 ('43, '45, '47)
11. "מתי מדבר האחרונים" p. 16 ('47)
12. "זכור" Ex. 13:3 p. 17 ('43, '47) same rendition as 1947.
13. "נוזכור" p. 18 ('45, '47) approximately same as 1945.

*Excursus 6 and Hebrew texts

14. Ez. 37 p. 19 ('43, '45, '47)
15. Ez. 36; 24, 35 (selections) p. 20
16. Is. 60:4, 5, 8-9a p. 21 ('43, '47)
17. Amos 9 (selections) p. 22 ('43, '45, '47)
18. p. 23 ('45, '47)
19. p. 24 ('43, '45, '47)

B. Additions -- All editions of the Artzi Haggadoth from 1951 to 1970 are clearly arranged around four themes: Spring, Exodus from Egypt, Peace and Ingathering of the Exiles. A sophisticated and highly creative artistic form accompanies the contents of each of these themes. Furthermore, beginning in 1951, the Artzi Haggadah has included a highly innovative formula for the Four Cups. In the 1951 edition they are listed as follows: Cup of Salvation p. 2; Cup of Redemption p. 16; Cup of Consolation p. 21; Cup of Blessing, p. 27.

Further additions (Hebrew Literature)

1. Spring
 - a. "ח'סד אגוד" Ibn Ezra, p. 4
 - b. "ח'סד אגוד אגוד" Yose ben Yose p. 7
2. Exodus from Egypt -- a contemporary expression
 - a. "ח'סד אגוד" Natan Yonatan (a testimony to the courage of the people and their right to constitute themselves as a nation and to defend their land) p. 17.
 - b. "ח'סד אגוד" Natan Alterman p. 19
 - c. "ח'סד אגוד אגוד" (the undaunted will of the people to return and establish their Homeland) p. 21.

d. "שים שלום" (from liturgy of Rosh Hashana) p. 22.

Addition from the Bible: Ex. 13:4 (SPRING) p. 2

A PERSONAL TESTIMONY OF Kibbutz Artzi pp. 31-34

KIBBUTZ ARTZI HAGGADAH OF PESACH 1953

A. Materials Retained from previous Haggadoth:

With very few exceptions, this edition is identical with the one preceding.

A. Spring-same

B. Exodus from Egypt

1. Four Questions, p. 9

#1 Same

#2 * "...on all nights we converse about ordinary things -- tonight we say a song of redeemed people."

#3 ...similar to #3, 1951

#4 same

2. "על מלאח" A. Shlonsky (a plea for the land to realize its potential and reward the labor of its inhabitants.)

(Omitted-personal testimony of the kibbutz.)

KIBBUTZ ARTZI HAGGADAH OF PESACH 1955

A. Changes noted (additions)

1. Spring

a. "פרקי דרב אליעזר" p. 7

*

... שבכל הלילות אנו מסיחים בדברי חולין
בלילה הזה אנו אומרים שיר גאולים

- b. "טל" Kallir p. 7 (1945)
- c. "זה רחש" A. Shlonsky p. 8 על מלאח
- 2. Exodus from Egypt
 - a. Four Questions
 - 1) #1 Traditional (a marked change)
 - #2 same as #1, 1951
 - * #3 "...on all nights we shorten the meal; tonight we lengthen it, and all of it is a watch night."
 - #4 same as #2, 1953
 - b. Song of the Sea (Ex. 15) p. 11 (only partial rendition in 1943)
 - c. Song of the Partisans (1945, 47) p. 13
 - d. Psalm 83:2-5a. This forms a highly appropriate supplement to the previous piece.
 - e. "The Vow" -- Shlonsky (full revenge against the hated adversary) p. 24
 - f. "נס ציונה" p. 24 ('43, '45)
- 3. Peace
 - **a. a 'free' addition "שים שלום" p. 29
(peace on the refuge
of Israel and all peoples
everywhere)
- 4. Ingathering of Exiles

* ... שבכל הלילות אנו מקצרים בסעודה - הלילה הזה אנו

מאריכים בה וכלו ליל שמורים.
** Hebrew and English translation found on p. 67.

א ר צ י

... שים שלום על פליטת בית ישראל ועל

מדינת ישראל ועל הגר אשר בתוכה ועל

כל עם ועם לארצו ולשבטיו, ולמשפחתיו.

ולמשחיטינים ומחרחרי-ריב ומלחמה

אל התיה תקוה, וכל עושי-רשעה

יאבדו.

Let there be peace upon the refuge of the House of Israel
and the State of Israel and upon the stranger in its midst
and upon each and every people, for its land, its tribes and
its families.

And let there not be hope for those who hate and stir up
strife and war. Let all those who make evil be destroyed.

KIBBUTZ ARTZI HAGGADAH OF PESACH 1958

A. Spring

B. Exodus from Egypt

- a. מצה זה אוכלים " Trad. from Haggadah (with God
 על שום מה" mentioned)
 Mishnah of Raban Gamliel

b. Four Questions

#1 Trad.

#2 similar to #1 1953

#3 same as 1955

#4 same as #2 1953

c. Ex. 12:29 (smiting of the Egyptians)

- d. "נוא אמן" N. Alterman. The Ten Plagues and a
 vivid pictorial description.

C. Peace

D. Ingathering of Exiles

KIBBUTZ ARTZI HAGGADAH OF PESACH 1964

A. Spring

B. Exodus from Egypt

1. Full mention of Mishnah of Raban Gamliel (Traditional)
 Matzah, Pesach, Moror pp. 8-11.

C. Peace

D. Ingathering of Exiles

1. Psalm 126 (from the Festival and Shabat Grace)

End with "חד גדיא" with brightly colored accompanying figures

"חסל" omitted

KIBBUTZ ARTZI HAGGADAH OF PESACH 1970

A. Spring

- *1. From the Talmud Babli p. 11
(omitted "על מלאכת")

B. Exodus from Egypt

- "סיני" omitted
Song of the Partisans - omitted

C. Peace

D. Ingathering of Exiles

- a. Ez. 16:6 (the rerooting of the people in a new life) p. 33.
- b. Ps. 122:2-4a (without mention of God) p. 33.
pp. 6-7 (ideal Jerusalem)
- c. "חסל" (in all editions but 1964) p. 41
- d. "חד גדיא" p. 42

*

בניסן נברא העולם

בניסן נולדו אבות

בניסן נגאלו...

B. ANALYSIS AND SUMMARY OF THE IHUD HAGGADOTH

In discussing the evolution of the Haggadoth published by the Ihud Movement, our task is relatively simple. There has been only one additional Haggadah published - 1965 - since the first experimental edition in 1953.

As in the two sister movements, there has been a progression over the years from an extremely modest booklet to an arrangement quite sophisticated, artistically and editorially. By way of comparison with the Artzi Haggadoth, those of the Ihud Movement are arranged without any identification of the contents. There are two possible reasons for this. First, the contents are so familiar to the participants that such an addition would simply be superfluous. On the other hand, a more aesthetic reason suggests itself. In spite of the fact that the Passover Haggadah is literally an anthology of great merit; its use at the Seder goes beyond that of a literary anthology even for members of a non-religious kibbutz. It is the organizing principle of the festival celebration. By a designation of both title and author of a piece, the group recital loses some of its spontaneity. One does not want to be bothered with academic questions in this particular setting.

It has been said that the vast majority of the kibbutzim of any one Movement use the collective Haggadah. In the case of the Ihud Hakibbutzim Movement, such situation does not preclude the possibility or acceptability of individual innovations.

The 1970 edition of the Haggadah is appropriately bound with string which can be removed to allow for the insertion of additional pieces especially popular with any particular kibbutz. Of the three Movements, Ihud is the only one that favors this type of arrangement. It is quite common, however, that an individual kibbutz will simply pass out supplementary literature which will be read in between the recital of the standard sections.

Ihud has continued stressing the historical motif of the Passover celebration. This is done with a fair quantity of selections carefully arranged primarily from the Book of Exodus. As in the Artzi Haggadah the story of Moses is central to the narration 'from slavery to redemption.' Works from the Prophets enhance this theme for they emphasize the idea of the reconstitution of the Jewish people in its historic Homeland.

A quick glance at the table of contents of the two Haggadoth will reveal the extent to which the Traditional elements are represented. These materials, as well as those from other traditional sources, are used and apparently appreciated for their own intrinsic merits. There is no adaptation of Biblical or Haggadic passages to express contemporary events such as we find in all of the Artzi Haggadoth.

Finally, another aspect of present-day kibbutz Haggadoth evidences itself in the most recent edition of the Ihud Haggadah. There is a marked decrease in the number of selections from Hebrew literature, previously comprising a healthy part

of this festival material. There are not to be found any freely edited and written pieces as we still find in the Artzi Haggadah. The present editors are more inclined to utilize the materials available in either the Bible or the Traditional Haggadah itself.

The light poetic additions at the end of the Haggadah appear to be slightly more popular than in the Artzi Haggadah. On the other hand, the Haggadah of the Artzi Movement gives more emphasis to the moment of Spring.

HAGGADAH OF PESACH OF IHUD 1953

A. Materials retained from the Traditional Haggadah

1. "חא לחמא" p. 5
2. Four Questions (the first three)* p. 6
3. Introduction to Midrash p. 6
4. "מעשי ברבי אליעזר" p. 7
5. Midrash (partial) ויענונו המצרים ויענונו
כמה שנאמר" p. 8
6. Psalm 114 (taken from the Hallal) p. 14
7. "שפור חמתך" p. 20
8. Opening of Midrash ויחיה אברהם ויחיה יצחק ויחיה יעקב "ויהיה" p. 21
9. "ברכת מעין שלוש" נברך על הגפן... p. 27
10. Psalm 126 (from Grace) p. 26
11. Psalm 126 (from the Festival Grace) p. 26
12. פיוטים pp. 28-30 { אדיר במלוכה
חד גדיא
חסל

B. Traditional Elements Excluded

1. Kiddush and Blessing of Four cups
2. Four Sons
3. Additions to Midrash
4. Mishnah of Raban Gamliel
5. "בכל דור ודור"

* ד' קושיות... שבכל הלילות משיחים אנו שיחות

חולין הלילה הזה כולנו משיחים עמנו וגאולתנו
(This one is freely composed.)

6. Hallal (major part)
7. "ברכת הגאולה"
8. "ברכת המזון"
9. "ברכת השיר"

C. Selections from Hebrew Literature

1. "מתי מדבר האחרונים" Bialik p. 18-19
Return to a nation
2. "על השחיטה" Bialik p. 22
The moment of war - vengeance
for the oppressor
3. "נדר" Shlonsky p. 20
4. "מגילת אש" Bialik p. 20

D. Elements from other Traditional Sources

1. Spring and the Remembrance of the Festival
 - a. (הגיע ליל פסח וכל העולם אומר הלל) p. 1
"פרקי דרבי אליעזר"
 - b. Song of Songs 2:1-2, 16, 6:11, 10-12 pp. 2-3
 - c. Ex. 13:3
2. Story of Moses, Servitude and Deliverance
 - a. Ex. 2:11-15 p. 8
 - b. Ex. 3:1-11 p. 9
 - c. Ex. 14:5-11, 21-23 p. 11; p. 13
 - d. Ex. 15:20, 11 p. 14
3. Possessing the Land the ultimate promise of return
 - a. Nu. 13:1-23 (selections) Spies
Nu. 25-26 pp. 16-17
 - b. Is. 40:9a p. 25
 - c. Amos 9, p. 26

HAGGADAH OF PESACH OF IHUD 1965*

A. Materials retained from 1953

1. "פרקי דרבי אליעזר" p. 1
2. Song of Songs - same as p. 2
3. Ex. 13:3 p. 4
4. "חא לחמא" p. 6
5. Four Questions (completely traditional) pp. 8-9
6. First Intro. to Midrash p. 10 עבדים היינו...
7. "מעשי ברבי אליעזר" p. 11
8. Ex. 2:11-15 p. 14
9. Ex. 3:1-11 p. 16
10. Ex. 14:21-23 p. 16
11. Psalm 114 (from Hallal) p. 25
12. Ex. 15 - Song, 15:20 Miriam p. 26
13. "מתי מדבר האחרונים" p. 29
14. Opening of the Midrash "ויהיא שעמדה לאבותינו" pp. 30-31.
15. על השחיטה p. 35
16. Amos 9 p. 36
17. Psalm 126 (from Festival Grace) p. 38
18. "חסל" p. 38

B. Traditional Elements Added

1. "הנני מוכן ומזומן" p. 7
2. Graphic description of the plagues p. 20

*This edition is marked by elaborate art work, striking pastels, and fancy script. It is bound with a string to allow quick insertion of supplementary pages.

3. "לפיכך אנחנו חייבים" (preceding Hallal) pp. 32-33
4. פיוטים (אחד מי יודע) pp. 39-40
(חד גדיא)

C. Additions from other Traditional Literature

1. Spring and the Proclamation of the Festival
 - a. "של" Kallir p. 3
 - b. Ex. 12:14 p. 5
2. Enslavement and the Exodus (Moses)
 - a. Deut. 26:22 p. 11
 - b. Ex. 1:8-11; 2:23-25 p. 13
 - c. Ex. 3:7-8, 10 p. 17
 - d. Ex. 5:1, 11 p. 19
 - e. Ex. 12:30-31, 13:39 p. 21
3. Return and rebuilding
 - a. Neh. 3:38 p. 33
 - b. Neh. 4:12 p. 22

C. ANALYSIS AND SUMMARY OF KIBBUTZ MEUCHAD HAGGADOTH

Of the three Haggadoth before us, that of Kibbutz Ha-Meuchad shows the clearest signs of having undergone a "traditional revival." This does not yet mean that this is a traditional Haggadah, but rather it reflects in its composition a wide range of traditional sources. We noted earlier that the non-religious kibbutzim, not bound by rigid traditional or religious conceptions, have a free hand with which to work. Kibbutz HaMeuchad in 1970 has certainly exercised its prerogatives in the area of 'traditional innovation' artistically, stylistically, and thematically. An examination of the contents and arrangements of the preceding Haggadoth (1947, 1952, 1961) will clearly show how it arrived at its present form.

The moment of spring receives the same emphasis it had in previous editions. The arrangement does not differ measurably from that found in the other two Haggadoth. The form of Biblical narrative also shares much in common with the Haggadoth of Artzi and Ihud. We read most of the same passages from Exodus and the Prophets that we have already encountered.

Kibbutz Artzi, in its highly innovative adaptations has made the "eternal" very much a part of the present, and the present very much a part of the "eternal". At times this updating of pieces has been accomplished at the expense of basic rules of consistency or good taste. Kibbutz HaMeuchad

like Ihud HaKibbutzim has sacrificed some degree of innovation in its attempt to provide an arrangement that will not only be aesthetically pleasing but also true to the sources it utilizes. For example, following the section of spring, the ritual continues with many of the traditional elements up through the beginning of the Midrash. The inclusion of some carefully chosen Biblical verses at this juncture provides a proper thematic complement to what preceded. The climax of this section of Biblical narrative is the stirring Song of the Sea. The accompanying Midrash of the angels rejoicing at the sight of the drowning Egyptians adds the right amount of ideological balance. And all of this is achieved without severing any verses or rewriting them.

In the same section we find the famous piece by Bialik, וְהָיָה כִּי יֵצֵא יִשְׂרָאֵל מִמִּצְרָיִם It comes forth to emphasize the eternal verity of the people's exodus from oppression. But contemporary references are, in the broadest sense of the word, of little value unless they complement the literary elements of the heritage which the entire Passover Seder hopes to teach. The Meuchad Haggadah appears to be successful in this area. The section of Piyyutim is larger in 1970 than that of previous editions. It consequently brings the Seder to a light happy conclusion.

There was not always the present interest in such a traditionally constituted Haggadah. But in recent years, as we have pointed out, the goal has been to allow Passover to retain its original character: Festival of Spring; Festival

of Freedom. The kibbutz community at large could not achieve this goal by completely reverting to the traditional Haggadah. Furthermore there is always the desire to enrich this traditional literature as much as is possible, while still remaining within a healthy radius of those literary elements that make the Haggadah what it is.

We cannot be too quick, however, to assume that the Ihud and Mauchad organizations will in short time come closer to the traditional framework. It is all a rather pragmatic arrangement. At the present the interest seems to be to let the traditional materials stand on their own merits. Committee resolution decreed that at the present "שפור חמתיך" had outlived its usefulness of expression. But the next edition of any of the three Haggadoth may reveal a gradual or even radical attempt to convey the traditional themes of spring and freedom in a different way. This is the way of the literature.

KIBBUTZ HAMEUCHAD 1947*

A. Elements Included from Traditional Haggadah

1. "חא לחמא" p. 7
2. Four Questions p. 8
3. Introduction to Midrash p. 11
4. "Pesach Matzah, Moror," - R. Gamliel p. 14
5. Ps. 114 (from Hallal) p. 14
6. בכל דור ודור... p. 16
7. שפור חמתך p. 20
8. חד גדיא p. 24
9. חסל סדר p. 26

B. Traditional Elements Excluded

1. Kiddush and Four Cups
2. Tannatic Stories (preceding Four Sons)
3. Four Sons
4. Introduction to Midrash
5. Additions to Midrash
6. Hallal (major part)
7. Benedictions over Passover food
8. ברכת המזון
9. ברכת השיר

C. Additions from Traditional Literature

*Most of the selections required identification. Few sketches are included in the fancy hand-written booklet.

1. "Passover"

a. פרקי דרבי אליעזר

2. Spring

a. Lev. 23 (Omer) p. 4

b. Song of Songs 2:11-14 p. 6

3. Exodus, Deliverance

a. Selections, Exodus 3, 13 pp. 9-12

b. Midrash שיר השירים רבה ב p. 13
מכילתא בשלה - ויהי ב

c. Song of Sea (selections) p. 14

d. Jer. 8:23 p. 15

4. Consolation - end of suffering (with exclusion of God's name)

a. Is. 40:9, 16, p. 21

b. Jer. 31:16 p. 21

c. Amos 9 p. 23

D. Selections from Hebrew Literature

1. Spring

a. שדות ים Rachel p. 3

b. כחונת פסים M. Ibn Ezra

c. טל Kallir

d. השמש במערב
ויורדת שוקעת Levi Ben Amitai

2. Persecution and Deliverance

a. סיני Frishman p. 12

b. דבר Bialik p. 17

c. מגילת אש Bialik p. 17

d. חלום חלמתי Isaac Katzenelson pp. 18-19

- e. Song of Partisans, Glik, Shlonsky p. 19
 f. מתי מדבר האחרונים Bialik p. 22

KIBBUTZ HA MEUCHAD 1952*

A. Materials Retained from 1947

1. Song of Songs p. 3
2. טל Kallir, p. 4
3. הא לחמא p. 6
4. Four Questions (only the "question") p. 7
5. Introduction to Midrash p. 8
6. פרקי דרבי אלעזר p. 9
7. סיני Frishman p. 13
8. Song of the Sea p. 15
9. מתי מדבר האחרונים Bialik p. 20
10. Ps. 114 (Hallal) p. 20
11. שפור חמתי - in extra-large letters, p. 21
12. Jer. 31:16 p. 22
13. Amos 9 p. 30
14. חסל p. 35
15. הר גדיא pp. 38-39

B. Additions from Traditional Haggadah

1. דיינו p. 34

*No identifications, more art work, than 1947 edition but little color. Only slight variations in print style. This booklet has a threaded binding to allow for inserts.

2. נברך על הגפן p. 36
3. ברכת מעיין שלוש p. 36
4. קרב יום (piyut) p. 38
5. אחד מי יודע p. 40

C. Additions from other Traditional Sources

1. Announcement of the Day, Ex. 12:2, p. 1
2. Spring - addition of Song of Songs 7:12-13
3. History of slavery and delivery
 - a. Gen. 16:13-14 p. 9
 - b. Ex. 3:7-8 p. 9
 - c. Ex. 1:8-12 p. 9
 - d. Ex. 5:2, 12:29-30 p. 10
 - e. Ex. 2:11, 3:1-5, 7, 10 p. 11
 - f. Ex. 3:4, p. 12
 - g. Ex. 17:1-12, p. 16
 - h. Ex. 16:3, p. 19
 - i. Ex. 13:3, p. 20
4. Return
 - a. Ez. 37 (national rejuvenation) pp. 25-26
 - b. Ex. 24 (paraphrase) p. 27

D. Selections from Hebrew Literature

1. Spring
 - a. מה יפית האביב p. 6
2. In Praise of the Lands and its People
 - a. ראי אדמה Tchnerhovsky p. 22
 - b. כיום Belinson p. 24

3. Ultimate Victory of the People

- a. (no title) Berl Katzenelson p. 29

KIBBUTZ HA MEUCHAD 1961*

A. Materials Retained from Previous Haggadoth

1. Ex. 12:2 (with minor additions) p. 3
2. כתנות פסים Ibn Ezra (1947) p. 2
3. פרקי דרבי אלעזר - "הגיע ליל פסח..." (1947, 1952) p. 4
4. "סל" Kallir (1947, '52) p. 5
5. Song of Songs (selection) 2:11, 7:12 (1947, 1952)
p. 6-8
6. Ex. 13:3 (1947, 1952) p. 7
7. Introduction to Midrash (1947, 1952) p. 7
8. חא לחמא (1947, 1952) p. 11
9. Four Questions now in complete traditional formulation
(1947, 1952) p. 11
10. מעשי דרבי אלעזר (1947, 1952) p. 12
11. בכל דור ודור... (1947, 1952) p. 13
12. Ex. 1:6-12 (1952) p. 14
13. "סיני" Frishman (1947, 1952) p. 17
14. Song of the Sea (1945, 1952) p. 17
15. Psalm 114 (1947, 1952) p. 18
16. Mishnah Raban Gamliel (1947) p. 26

*Fully printed; a larger "Spring" supplement. Approximately the same arrangement as 1952; only minimum identification of pieces.

17. מתל מדבר האחרונים - Bialik (1947) p. 31
18. Ez. 36:24 (1952) p. 32
19. Amos 9 p. 39
20. חסל (1947, 1952) p. 40
21. חר גדיא (1947, 1952) pp. 43-44
22. אחד מי יודע (1952) p. 43

B. Additions from Traditional Haggadah

1. הנני מוכן... p. 9
2. Four Sons (only introduction) p. 13
3. Midrash to Deut. 26:5 p. 13
4. Ps. 126 (from Festival Grace) p. 38
5. אליהו הנביא p. 41
6. אדיר במלוכה p. 45

C. Additions from other Traditional Sources

1. Spring
 - a. בניסן גברא העולם Babli "Rosh Hashanah" p. 4
 - b. "גשם" Yosi Ben Yosi p. 5
2. Enslavement - Deliverance p. 16
 - a. Ex. 2:11-15
 - b. Ex. 5:17-19 p. 15
 - c. Ex. 7:16 p. 18
 - d. Ex. 12:29-30 p. 19
 - e. Ex. 12:1-3, 11, 39 p. 21
 - f. Ex. 14:9-13 p. 22
 - g. Midrash "בשלה - ויהי" ב p. 23
 - h. Ex. 15:22 pp. 29-30

i. Is. 55:12 p. 42

3. Return to Land

a. Numbers 13 (selections) - "Spies" pp. 29-31

b. Is. 60:4, 11 p. 37

D. Additions from Hebrew Literature

1. Revenge - "נדר" Alterman p. 20

2. Return "נס ציונה" Yehudah Halevi p. 36

KIBBUTZ HA MEUCHAD 1970*

A. Materials retained from previous Haggadoth

1. Ex. 12:2 (1961) p. 1
2. Song of Songs 7:12-13 (1952, 1961) p. 1
3. כחונת פסים (1947, 1961) p. 2
4. פרקי דרבי אלעזר (1947, 1952, 1961) p. 2
5. "סל" - (1947, 1952, 1961) p. 2
6. "גשם" (1961) p. 3
7. חא לחמא (1947, 1952, 1961) p. 5
8. Four Questions - traditional (1947, 1952, 1961) p. 5
9. Mishnah Raban Gamliel (1947, 1961) p. 6
10. מעשי דרבי אלעזר (1956, 1961) p. 7
11. Introduction to Midrash (1947, 1952, 1961) p. 7
12. בכל דור ודור... (1947, 1961) p. 7

*The artwork here is a direct imitation of the Prague Haggadah. Highly traditional in its appearance and arrangement, this Haggadah is soft-bound, without any color.

13. Four Sons - new complete (1961) p. 8
14. Midrash Deut. 26:5 (1961) p. 8
15. Selections from Ex. 1, 2, 3, 7 (1947, 1952, 1961)
pp. 8-14
16. Song of the Sea (1952, 1961) p. 15
17. Midrash (1961) p. 15
18. Psalm 114 (1947, 1952, 1961) p. 16
19. Numbers 14 - Selections from spy story (1961) p. 17-18
20. "מתי מדבר האחרונים" (1947, 1952, 1961) p. 19
21. וַיְהִיָּא שַׁעֲמָדָה לַאֲבוֹתֵינוּ (1952, 1961) p. 20
22. Is. 60:4 (1961) p. 21
23. נֵס צִיּוֹנָה (1961) p. 22
24. Ps. 126 (Festival Grace) 1961 p. 23
25. בִּרְכַת מַעֲיִין שְׁלוֹשׁ (1952) p. 24
26. Amos 9 (1947, 1952, 1961) p. 24
27. Pyutim אחד מי יודע (1961) p. 25
אדיר במלוכה
28. "חסל" (1947, 1952, 1961) p. 26
29. קרב יום (1952) p. 27

B. Additions from traditional literature

1. Exodus

- a. Ex. 12:11 p. 13

EXCURSUS #1

KIBBUTZ MOVEMENTS

The kibbutz movements have their origins in the early period of the Yishuv. The kibbutz itself was both a manifestation of ideology and the response to very definite problems. It was primarily the creation of those settlers who arrived during the Second Aliyah (1904-1913). Prior to these years the Jewish sector of the economy was primarily dependent on hired Arab labor. In opposition to the majority of settlers who drifted into such an employer-employee arrangement, there were some who sought to invest socialist-Zionist thought with new meaning. Arab labor was cheap and easily obtainable, especially in the agricultural sector. These new ideas, however, required that Jewish labor be employed here so that a Jewish working class and farm class develop. The creation of the kibbutz (collective settlement) sprung from the need to develop the country's basic agricultural potential.

Intricately bound up with the institution of the kibbutz was the country's political structure. Political parties have many functions governing, opposing and defining issues, etc. They also are significant in unifying diverse elements in the society.

"The several kibbutz movements in Palestine included the best organized and politically most articulate elements in the population. Moreover, since the kibbutz was an explicitly ideological enterprise, no other segment of the developing society could compare with its ideological concern and commitment."²¹

We shall not concern ourselves with the detailed infighting that has traditionally marked the history of the kibbutz movement. Rather we shall be concerned with broad definitions and characteristics of the movements as they have evolved.

In light of this background we approach the three largest kibbutz movements - the social, economic and political organizational creations of the dominant political parties.* On the political spectrum we find, slightly to the right of the Communist Party, the Mapam organization. Mapam (United Party of Workers) was founded in 1948 partially by those mere orthodox Marxists from HaShomar HaTzair founded in 1927. There are 74 kibbutzim with a population of 30,500. During the early 1950's a split occurred. It was caused by a number of internal pressures brought about by a more critical look at Soviet Jewish policy. What was left of Mapam, primarily, was the political arm of Kibbutz Artzi, the kibbutz movement of HaShomar HaTzair. As a kibbutz based party, Mapam remains dedicated to traditional pioneerism and militant socialism.

This kibbutz movement is probably the least constrained than its sister movements by orthodox approaches to customs and holidays. The extreme socialist impulses evident here are fully manifested in the Passover Haggadoth we shall examine.

Somewhat further to the right is "Ahadut Avodah," (Unity

*All information was taken from L. J. Fein's Politics.

of Work) the party of Kibbutz HaMeuchad. Similar to Mapam in that it derives support mainly from the kibbutz organization, it is rooted firmly in the tradition of pioneerism. It takes less orthodox stance in its Marxism. Founded in 1927, Kibbutz HaMeuchad now has fifty-eight member kibbutzim with a total population of 25,300.

It is relatively easy to distinguish between the cultural and religious orientations of Kibbutz Artzi and Kibbutz HaMeuchad. The latter shows more of a sensitivity towards the unity of the traditional religious Passover literature and is not significantly inclined to rewrite this literature to suit contemporary needs. Granting the fact that Kibbutz HaArtzi - Shomar HaTzair has had a longer involvement in a centrally directed cultural program the Kibbutz HaMeuchad festival literature is also creative and exciting.

"Mapai," (Party of Israeli Workers) founded in 1929 is mainly the party of the establishment (Ben Gurion, Meir, Berl Katzenelson). It has continued its tremendous influence felt long before Independence. "Ihud Hakibbutzot VeHa-Kibbutzim (Unity of Kibbutzot and Kibbutzim) founded in 1951 is the kibbutz movement affiliated with Mapai. Most of the eighty-five kibbutzim with a population of 30,500 are associated with the Israel Labor Party. Being the most pluralistic party, its positions reflect many diverse views. Its program is worked around a loose structure of Zionism and democratic socialism. There is however a constant inner tension between

broad economic development, and socialist development as a basic plank of party organization.

There is little in the way of specific observations that I can make concerning the non-political, non-economic aspects of the kibbutz organizations. Its innovative festival literature is not ideologically easily distinguished from that of Kibbutz HaMeuchad. Neither of these kibbutz groups, however, show the same radicalism as Kibbutz HaArtzi.

We also note here that in 1969 Mapai and Ahadut HaAvodah merged forming a new party -- "Mifleget" Ha-Avodah (Labor Party).

EXCURSUS #2

Matitياهو Shelem came to Israel in 1922 as a part of the Third Aliyah. Throughout the years he has remained a "kibbutznik." As a result of a political schism in the movement, Shelem moved in the 40's from Emek Jezreal to Ramat Yohanan, a medium-sized agricultural settlement twenty-five minutes east of Haifa.

In the 1940's, Shelem occupied himself with a search for new ways of expressing the Festival of Passover in the kibbutz. His published texts of arranged dances, plays, and songs are set against the background of the Festival celebration to which he has significantly contributed. He instituted Chag HaGez (festival of the shepherds) and was the key force in the revitalization of the Festival of the Omer, for which he published twenty songs. For these occasions, plus kibbutz weddings, he has contributed lyrics and music.

Ten years ago, he became directly involved in what was being accomplished on a broad scale by those in the area of the "kibbutz festival." Finding no organized approach to the sorting and collecting of the wide range of materials and criticisms which were coming out of the kibbutz sector, he started systematically searching out what was available. In addition to collecting, he is continuously writing critiques and summaries (as is quite evident from the sources listed here). Shelem has been chosen by the kibbutz on a number of

occasions to teach Bible and literature. But by his own admission, he is a real איש הקיבוץ a "kibbutznik" of the old order; one who has no professionally acquired expertise, but who works well in any of the areas demanded of him. His specialty is sheep. I mentioned that it seemed with his aesthetic appreciation and artistic skills he is indeed a modern day David. With an unusually broad smile he simply said, "להבדיל." Shelem is one who has come back to his Land, and now through efforts especially in the area of the Spring Festival of Freedom, he wishes to bring more of the Land back to those who are searching for a way to unite the old and the new.

Shelem has now collected, as he says, every worthwhile piece of literature written on the Passover Haggadoth from 1935 until 1970. From these materials I have amassed all my biographical sources. For the most part the Haggadoth that I have read were suggested by him as being the most representative. I have already mentioned these Haggadoth that will be central to this work. I wish to add that my contact with this segment of kibbutz literature was of necessity much broader than might be assumed from the relatively few Haggadoth that have been presented. Prior to the final delimiting of the topic, I managed to read approximately thirty-five kibbutz Haggadoth from the very first in 1935 (Givat Brenner) until the editions for the 1970 Seder. Such background reading was not only helpful but invaluable since this

was initially virgin territory, intellectually speaking. But from beginning to end, Shelem has been a never-ending source of insight and wisdom.

EXCURSUS #3

RENEWAL OF THE CELEBRATION OF THE OMER

The festival of the "first cutting" found its renewal among the early settlements of the Jezreal Valley in the 1920's. The enthusiasm of the first pioneers with their tasks of reclamation stirred their creative instincts (and their historical memories) to develop festive modes which might deepen their renewed attachment to the land. Unlike the 15th of Shevat (Arbor Day) and the festival of First Fruits (Shavuoth) which are additionally widely celebrated outside of the kibbutzim, the rejuvenated celebration of the Omer is characteristically a kibbutz creation.

Matitiyahu Shelem has developed these opening ideas in probably the only definitive study of the historical place of the Omer celebration in Jewish life as it has come to expression in the Passover celebrations of Israel's non-religious kibbutzim.* Shelem has already indicated the intricate connection, especially at the kibbutz Seder, between the Haggadah and the Seder itself. Similarly, in a discussion of the unique motifs of this celebration a number of remarks should be made concerning the Omer, no less rooted in the tradition than the other elements of the ritual that have once again been revived from the heritage. We shall see, however, how the "natural"

*All factual information in this excursus was taken from:

מ. שלם, "לחידוש חג העומר", ניב הקיבוצים, 1961 pp 66-71.

חוברת י, כרך א, מרץ 1961.

expression of this spring celebration has evolved: from its original expression in Temple days, to the time when it received only symbolic acknowledgment, until our time when it has been incorporated in its original form.

The implementation of those injunctions concerning the Omer (Deut. 16, Lev. 23) became impossible from a religious and a practical viewpoint after 70 A.D. All that remained was the "counting" which bridged the period between the Festival of Matzot and that of the First Fruits seven weeks later. Still even when the act of actual cutting was supplanted by the "counting of the grains," the natural meaning was not entirely lost. Questioning why God demanded this counting, the sages remarked that because the world worries during this seven week period over the fate of the produce, the days of counting must be prolonged with prayer. And one knows that with no food there is no Torah. Subsequently, however, the Omer festival took on more distant interpretations. The plague that killed so many of Rabbi Akiba's students was said to have subsided on the thirty-third day of the Omer period. Further notions of grief and suffering connected with this time gained currency with the 17th century persecutions of Polish Jews. Until the return to the Land, then, such were the expressions of sorrow that dominated the conception of a holiday whose original intent had been to give joyous thanksgiving for a new harvest on the threshold of Spring.

The Ceremony According to the Sources

There are those who see in the celebration the remnants of a pagan Canaanite ritual. While indeed there is the element of a thank offering for nature's bounty, we can still easily accept the view (propounded by Yehezcial Kaufman) that the festival was very much a part of ancient Jewish life. Just as the Festival of Matzot and First Fruits were of a type common to all people (and which were specially adapted to the situation and beliefs of the Jews), so the Festival of the Omer developed from sources clearly Jewish in content and form.

While we must go to the Mishnah for a detailed picture of the actual celebration, the Biblical sources do point up the overall rubric of the agricultural thanksgiving offerings. According to the Pharisaic interpretation of Lev. 23:11, the celebration was to be carried out on the eve or the first full day of the festival. Such is the practice today among the kibbutz settlements.

From the Mishnah we note the aspect of mass participation on the part of the local public. The reaper would overtly involve all who had come to witness the implementation of the Biblical injunction.

When it grew dark he called out, 'Is the sun set?' And they answered, 'yes,' (three times). 'Is this the sickle?' And they said, 'yes' (three times). 'Is this the basket?' And they said, 'yes' (three times). 'Shall I reap?' And they said 'yes' (three times). (Pesahim 10:3)

The Sages attached great significance to this ceremony and found in it, apart from the obvious religious factor, a firm link binding the people to the land. 'By means of the Omer Abraham was deemed worthy to inherit the land.' (Lev. Rabah, 28:4, on Lev. 23:10). Josephus enlarges our understanding with his description of what must have taken place.

On the second day of Unleavened Bread, the 16th of Nisan, our people partake of the crops which they have reaped and which have not been treaded until then. And esteeming it right to do homage to God to whom they owe the abundance of these gifts they offer to him the first fruits of the barley in the following way: after parching and crushing the little sheaf of ears and purifying the barley for grinding, they bring to the altar an Omer for God...*

The Festival of the Omer in the Settlement

As in all matters relating to the celebration of the Passover in the non-religious kibbutzim, there is no standard way of regulating this part of the festival. It may be presented on the eve of the holiday with samples of the cutting being brought to the communal Seder, or on the following day (as I witnessed at Kibbutz Urim in the Negev). The procession in which I participated went out to the field and was something to behold! Old and young climbed aboard tractors and wagons or went on foot to the area where brightly costumed

*Josephus translation - Vol. 14, William Haineman, Harvard University, 1961, p. 438.

members of the kibbutz and volunteers prepared to 'bring in the Omer.' Amidst singing and creative dance, the bearers of the sickles joyously went to work. Dance-Convocation-Song: each of these elements are found in the three major arrangements of the Omer celebration as they are adapted by the individual kibbutzim. The formulation are: 1) Ein Harod, with special songs and tunes by Postolaski; 2) Ramat Yohanan, with a festive skit and music by Mititiyahu Shelem; 3) Haftzibah, with dances and songs by Lea Bergstein.

Our previous remarks are not to be construed as to ignore the fact that there are practical problems involved in reviving this traditional Passover custom. While the ceremony, as we have described it, has indeed captured the interests of large segments of the kibbutz community, its integral connection with the tradition needs to be more widely appreciated by the participants. Without such a conscious recognition, a kind of artificiality is liable to creep in. The ideal situation would be one in which the ceremony is not only enjoyed for its own merits, but is also appreciated as another firm link to the past, a past which the kibbutz is actively adapting to its present existence. Shelem speaks of a 'fixed and enduring continuity' without which no tradition will adequately crystallize. In short, the degree to which such a festival renewal will in the long run be successful depends on how well the community openly is aware of the antecedents for what they are presently doing. The present

kibbutz Haggadah, written according to the needs and desires of a specific public, shows in its content and arrangement a very real link with that heritage which has inspired its creation. 'And in every generation... a man should tell his son...' Similarly, with regard to the Omer ceremony a combination of folk and religious elements is very much evident.

According to all sources before us it is not only a religious ceremony but a Hebrew festival of Spring which is not a cult of nature. Rather it is a condition of the accumulated experiences of life, exposed in the customs of a people rooted in its land... This festival has beautifully joined together the real and the symbolic aspect in the month of spring, the first period of the harvest. It has brought the notion of freedom of Passover as a symbol of the blossoming and renewal which are also the symbols of Spring.
(M. Shelem, p. 69)

EXCURSUS #4

From the individual Haggadoth of the "Early period" -- here are separate pieces (original Hebrew found on accompanying sheets) reflecting the events of the time.

- 1) Ginegar (1938) -- "War, Wall and Tower Period"
Saul Tchernovsky

Also this night, we shall give up sleep on account of the aged father and the old mother who have sanctified the Name; with their brightness and their strength they have blessed the daughter and have given their sons over to the holy war with savage men.

- 2) Naan (1937) -- "Arab Riots"

And this year was for us one of great sadness and distress, and the hand of fate was heavy upon us, and the land came up against seige many days, and the cry of our people rose up to us from the Golah. And it (people) wallowed in despair and the destruction and the hatred of the gentiles, and we saw flames of fire springing up in our land... And our people cried out for defense. And the night was for guarding, and the day for work. And all of us were drawn up for battle day and night.

- 3) "Masad" (1939) "Wall and Tower Period."

And we arose up in these very bloody days on this hill. And on the top of the hill there was a forsaken ruin, a symbol to ancient life. And we built upon the old ruins the encampment which was defensible in the face of enemy attack. And the observers' tower was set up, its heights to the sky, and it sent its blessing to all of the surrounding. And we loved the gloomy wilderness, its scattered hills, in spite of the danger bound up in them, we also loved the Jordan's bank shining in the light of the rising sun.

- 4) Givat Brenner (1941) "Ships of the Maapilim."

Let those who wander in the heart of the sea, who struggle in the waves of despair and fear be gathered in. Let them not be forsaken to the dangers of the ocean -- all these for whom there is no shore in the world to receive them except the shore of their Land... For the Land of Israel now needs every man beating upon its gates, devoted and

prepared to strengthen its settlement and its defense because it is impossible now to abandon the people. For it is impossible to drive them from the shore to throw them out in these waters.

5) Alumot (1941) "Closing of Immigration."

Here we are, close to you, O Homeland. But to your stores we are not able to draw near. Oh, alas, we shall cut our (wrists) veins (commit suicide) in our yearning... No for this is much too much... Our closed heart will be torn wide open. And its fire will break through toward the only yearned for shore.

Know then, you who our enemy. You will not frighten us. Not by your benevolence was the land given to us. And with your treacherous wickedness you won't make the land bereaved (i.e., you shall not separate us from it.) We shall smash the iron bars. You shall not subdue us.

6) Afikim (1942) "Struma."

In the waters of the Bosphorus... the boat -- Strumma -- went down to the depths a boat of exiles, refugees, whirled about and not comforted. Their soul shall be bound up within the sorrowful bundle of victims of wickedness in this war, and the victims of the blockage running -- among those drowned ones of the "Patria," the "Salvador" and the victims of the deportation of the "Atlantic."

"Fate of the Jews"

My brothers, the sons of my people found in the midst of calamity throughout the Golah. I am with you this night as I recline with my companions at this Seder night. I am with you my brothers who dwell in foreign lands, who eat the bread of oppression in horror, who anxiously drink water in small quantity.

7) Ramat HaKovesh (1942) MAAPILIM --

(Yakov Cohen -- "With the Immigrants Who Break Through to the Land. To the Sea Shore.")

To the Sea shore of the Land of Israel the immigrants break through. They come from far away. They come from wanderings flung about from all ends of the globe. Those torn to pieces and impoverished -- to the sea shore of the Land of Israel... And who will curb their flow? And who will help them?

8) Maoz Hayim (1943) "Ghetto Revolt."

Our brothers are those who are transported in choking railroad cars, and are buried alive. Our sisters are those who are led to disgrace. Our children are those who are crushed to pieces against the rocks of the streets. Our brothers are those who are the survivors, those few who are plucked up who have lifted up their heads and have risen up against their murderers, thousands who have fallen among those who defended the streets of the ghettos. And those who have remained from them have been led away to their last way (death).

9) Yagor (1943) JEWS OF THE SHOAH: "Letters from the Jews of the Holocaust."

The Jews of the ghetto were divided into four groups when they presented themselves for death census. The four groups were designated in a special note that each Jew receives; and he could only guess his judgment -- but would not know for sure. 1) workers in government projects; 2) members of their family; 3) member of the Jewish council; 4) and those of the militia (Jewish). The railway cars are completely full (so that there is no free space). They transport them a distance of several miles to the forests near-by. They stand them up in a place are up in a surrounded by guards armed with sub-machine guns. Afterward they dug a trench about fifteen feet deep perpendicular to the path...

שאל טשרניחובסקי

(1) יד וד 1938

"גם הלילה הזה נותר על שנה"...
 בשל אב הזקן, בשל אם זקנה שקדשו
 את השם במאורס ואונס וברכו
 את הבת; הפקירו את בנם למלחמת
 מצוה עם פראי-האדם..."

(2) 6J 1937

ותהי לנו השנה שנת יגונים גדולים ומצוקה
 ותכבד עלינו יד הגורל ותבוא הארץ במצור
 ימים רבים, ותעל אלינו מן הגולה גם שועת
 עמינו והוא מתבוסס ביאוש ובכליה, ובמשמטת
 הגוים... ונראה שלהבות אש עולות בארצנו...
 ויזעק עמינו להגנה. ויהיא הלילה משמר, והיום
 למלאכה ונהיה כולנו דרורים במערכת יום וליל..."

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(3) מסד 1939

ונעל בעצם ימי הדמים על גבעה זו ועל
 ראשה חורבה עזובה - סמל לחיי קודמים
 ונבנה על הריסות הישן את הטירה, המוגנת
 מפני התקפת האויב ויוקם מגדל צופים
 אשר יתנשא במרובים. וישלח ברכתו לכל
 הסביבה ואהבנו את הישימון האפור, את תליו
 המפוזרים. על אף הסכנות הכרוכות
 ואם גדות הירדן המבריקים באור
 עלית החמה..."

(4) גבעת ברנר 1941

"אוניות הפליטים"

יכוננסו לארץ התועים בלב ים, הנאבקים עם גלי היאוש והאימה.
 אל יופקרו לסכנות הימים כל אלה אשר שום חוף בעולם לא
 יקלם בלתי את חוף ארצם...
 זקוקה עתה לכל אדם המתדפק על שעריה נאמן ומוכן לחזק
 את ישובה ואת הגנתה כי אי אפשר להפקיר עתה את האנשים
 כי אי אפשר לגרשם מהחוף ולשלחם בימים אלה.

(5) "סגירת העליה"

אלומות

הנני פה קרובים אליך "מולדת" ולחופיך לא נוכל לקרוב
 הו', נחתוך את עורקינו בכמיהתנו... לא כי זה רב
 מדי רבו. הו' נקרע סגור לבנו ואשו תתפרץ אל החוף האחד
 הנכסף.

דעו איפוא צוררינו. לא תפתידו אותנו. לא בחסדכם
 נתנה לבו הארץ ולא בזדון - רמיתכם חשכלו אותה.
 ננפץ את בריחי הברזל. לא תכניעו אותנו.

(6) אפיקים "סטרומה"

אפיקים 1942

במימי בוספור... ירדה למצולות אנחה - "סטרומה"
 אונית גולים, פליטים סוערה לא רוחמה.
 נשמתם תהא דרורה בדרור קרבנות הרשע
 במלחמה זו, וקרבנות ההעפלה לארץ-בין
 טבועי "פטריה", "סלודור", וקרבנות גרוש "אטלנטיק".

"גורל היהודים"

אחי, בני עמי, הנמצאים ברעה, בכל מקום בגולה
 אתכם אני גם הלילה הזה בהסבי
 עם חברי בליל סדר פסח זה אתכם אני אחי,
 היושבים ב"נכר." אוכלי לחם הלחץ בשממין.
 השותים את מי המשורה בדאגה...

(7) רמת הכובש

עם העולים המתפרצים לארץ

אל חוץ ימיה - יעקב כהן

אל חוף ימה של ארץ ישראל חותרים גילים

ממרחקים באים, מטלטילים בכל קצוי תבל...

טרופים ומדולדלים אל חוף ימה של ארץ ישראל...

ומי יבלם שטפם, מי יעזרם?

(8) "המרד בגטו" 1943

מעוז חיים

אחינו הם המוסעים בקרונות חנק ונקברים חיים -

אחיותינו הן המובלות לקלון - ילדים הם המנופצים

אל אבני הרחוב. אחינו הם השרידים, התלישים המעטים

אשר הרימו ראשם. ויקומו על רוצחיהם - לאלפים שנפלו

המגינים ברחבות הגטות ויתרם הובלו בדרכם האחרון.

"מכתב מיהודי השואה"

לארבעה סוגים נתחלקו יהודי הגטו, בהתייחסם ל"מפקד המות"
 ארבעה סוגים המסומנים בפתק מיוחד שאותו מקבל היהודי,
 ומנחש את פסק דין, אך ידוע לא ידעהו:
 עובדים במפעלו השלטוני; בני משפחתם;
 ושל חברי מועצת היהודית ושל אנשי המיליצה...
 את הקרונות המלאים עד אפס מקום
 הסיעום כמה מילים אל היערות הסמוכים, והעמידום במקום
 מוקף זקיפים מצויינים תת-מקלעים. אחר כך כרו בכיוון
 מאונך לכביש תעלה בעומק 15 רגל...
 מאונך לכביש תעלה בעומק 15 רגל...

EXCURSUS #5

Translations of 'free' Compositions*

1) Tel Yosef 1937

a. FOUR QUESTIONS

Why is this night different from all other nights?
On all other nights lately we arrange evening parties
and celebrations while on this night we arrange a
big celebration and, as opposed to last year, this
year all the children are in the dining hall.

On all other nights we stand and ask, 'what change
has occurred in the situation of the Jewish people
in the world. Has relief come from its many suf-
ferings? Have they stopped persecuting it,
chastizing it...?'

Also this year, it is the same question. And to our
great sorrow, children, we must answer you, no, no!
The situation of the Jews in the world is not better...
There is no relief from its suffering. Mighty and
strong, is the desire to again be free men, and to
build the Jewish corner we have -- the Land of Israel...
These are difficult days for all the Jewish people
and for us here in the Land, for the evil and mal-
icious government has become mighty in our days.
Much woe to him who is not aggressive and strong
(against it)... But hope also glimmers for redemp-
tion; still there is a plot of land in Israel. Still
there are thousands of Jews. Here is "Tel Amal,"
"HaSadeh," "Masada," "Ein HaKorah"... Let us cele-
brate the festival of yearning for freedom even in
these difficult days and nights.

b. Belinson:

All of our historical course is like a Pogrom... In
each and every place on the globe we are liable to
become victims of Pogroms. For not because of our
faith are we slaughtered, nor because of our wickedness
are we killed, not because of martyrdom are we burned;
only because we are hated, and we are hated ones of
of all of mankind."

*Selection #3 for Kibbutz Artzi found in Excursus No. 6.

2) Kibbutz Naan 1949

a. FOUR QUESTIONS

Why is this night different from all others: Because this night of Passover we are all sitting here at the feast, all of us together; fathers and sons in a brotherly gathering. And as we are doing so are all the sons of Israel doing and those in the Diaspora... For throughout the years we had arranged the Seder of the Festival of our freedom while we were in the hands of a government, foreign and oppressing, yet struggling over the up-building and immigration. And this year, we are free men in the State of Israel. And the gates are open to those who return from the Golah... We rejoice in the Spring, in the freedom of work, and in the association of men in the Hebrew Kibbutz.

b. "History"

The generation of the exile of Egypt in the desert -- And there arose a young generation, and it daringly broke through to the Land of Israel, and it took possession of it and settled... And Israel was the orphan among the nations, its soul dispersed along the ways... And there arose few in number from among Israel and they broke through for a second time to immigrate to the Land -- Israel. And so we have built it with the labor of ants... The people in the Golah cried out for redemption -- we were a victim of the enmity of peoples, the object of evil intentions of governments, tranquility being far from our habitations. And we struggled in the Underground and we built up in a storm and broke through to the Land in the dark of night like "Maapilim", (clandestine immigrants). And the World War broke out with our people quivering in the web of the Golah until the great Shoah overtook it -- murder unlike anything from the beginning of man... And from the depth of the destruction we heard a voice cry out -- 'in your blood, live!'

(1) "עברית 8 תל יוסף" 1937

א. ארבע קושיות

מה נשתנה הלילה הזה מכל הלילות שבכל הלילות בזמן האחרון
 אין אנו מסדרים נשפים וחגיגות הלילה הזה מסדרים חגיגה
 גדולה, וכל הילדים בחדר אוכל השנה לעומת השנה שעברה.
 שבכל שנה ושנה אנו עומדים ושואלים, מה נשתנה במצב של
 העם היהודי בעולם. הבאה הקלה בסבלותיו המרובים
 החדלו לרדוף אותו לרדות בו...?
 גם השנה אותה השאלה, ולצערינו הגדול, ילדים, עלינו לענות
 לכם, לא, ולא. לא הוטב מצב היהודים בעולם. לא הוקל
 סבלו... כן עזה וחזקה התשוקה לשוב ולהיות בני חורין
 לבנות את הפינה היהודית שיש לנו את ארץ ישראל.
 הימים קשים האלה וכל העם היהודי וגם לנו
 כאן בארץ. כי גבר שלטון הרשע והזדון בימינו אלה
 אמת ימים קשים הם הימים האלה. וכל מי שאינו תקיף ואינו
 אלים - רע לו מאד... אבל גם נצוצה התקוה לגאולה...
 עוד כברת אדמה בארץ ישראל, עוד אלפים יהודים... הנה
 "תל עמל" והנה "השדה", "מסדה", "עין הקורא"... את חג
 השאיפה לחרות נחוג גם בימים וערבים קשים אלה..."

ב.

וכל מהלך ההסטוריה שלנו הוא כפוגרום ... בכל מקום ומקום
 על כדור הארץ, אנו עלולים להיות קרבנות לפוגרומים. כי
 לא על אמונתנו נשחטים בני ישראל ... לא על רשעתנו אנו
 נהרגים לא על קדוש השם אנו נשרפים ... רק מפני שנואים
 אנו מכל בני אדם."

(2) נען 1949

ארבע קושיות

מה נשתנה הלילה הזה מכל הלילות, שבליל הפסח אנו מסובים
 כאן בסעודה כלנו יחדיו, אבות ובנים שבת אחים וכמונו כן
 עושים כל בני ישראל אשר בארץ ואשר בכל תפוצות הגולה...
 שבכל השנים היינו עורכים את סדר חג חירותנו כשאנו בידי
 שלטון זר וצורר נאבקים על הבנין והעליה. וחשחא-אנו
 כבני חורין במדינת ישראל והשערים פתוחים לשבי גולה...
 אנו שמחים באביב, בחירות העמל, ובחברת האדם בקיבוץ העברי.

עריכת חופשית - "הסטוריה"

דור גלות מצרים במדבר. ויקם דור צעיר ויעפל ארצה - ישראל.
 ויירשנה ויתנחל... ויהיא ישראל היתום בעמים,
 ורוחו זרועה בכל הדרכים...
 ויקומו מתי מעט מישראל ויעפילו שנות לעלות ארצה-ישראל
 ונבנה בעמל נמלים... העם בגולה צעק לפדות-קרובן למשטמת
 עמים. היינו, מטרה לנכלי שלטונות והמנוחה רחקה מנונו
 ונאבק במחתרת ונבנה בסערה ונפרץ לארץ באופל ליל כמעפילים...
 ותפרץ מלחמת העולם ועמנו מפרפר ברשת הגולה ועד אשר הדבקתו
 השואה הגדולה - רצח אשר לא היה במותו מיום היות אדם.
 ומתהום החורבן שמענו בת קול "בדמיך חיי...".

EXCURSUS #6

Translations of 'Free' and Adapted Pieces in the Haggadoth of the Kibbutzim (con't from Excursus #5)

1) Kibbutz Artzi - Shomar HaTzair - 1943

a. Adaptation of Four Questions p. 1

And in the month of Aviv, on the fourteenth of the month is Passover; it is the time of our freedom, for on this very day, their forces went out of Egypt. On this day they became a people.

b. "Hinenu Muchanim Unzumanim" p. 2*

Here we are ready and willing to tell about the Exodus from Egypt, from slavery to liberty, from servitude to redemption. For we also have grown up in the bitter surroundings of the people, and now this house alone remains for us. In it we shall continue to sanctify the period of liberty, we our sons, and our grandsons forever. And the words of this Haggadah have been comforting to us. Now our brothers are screaming, those scattered throughout the Diaspora... (but) there is still hope.

c. Introduction to Midrash p. 7

We were slaves in Egypt... and they made us* serve with rigor... and we were redeemed from there. And we crossed the sea on dry land. And forty years we wandered in the wilderness. And we came to our land. Had we not gone out... He who fully tells the story of the Exodus is to be praised.

d. Four Questions** p. 6

1. Why is this night different...

For on all other nights children and parents sit around separately. On this night all of us sit

*Note how the adaptation of the original (with plural forms of the verbs) helps facilitate group participation. Not only in spirit but in the words spoken do the participants cast themselves in the roles of their ancestors.

**Note the adaptation of the traditional rubric in order to give expression to the actual condition of the participants.

together.

2. ...For on all other nights we tell different stories. All of this night is a remembrance of the Exodus from Egypt.

e. Exodus 13:3 p. 8

Remember this day on which you went out of Egypt, from the House of Bondage. For in every generation a man is obligated... We also were delivered with them. And poverty-stricken miserable times came upon us and we were exiled to foreign lands... But again the ground collapsed under our feet. And we have become like plants without roots, like a withering flower, like a leaf driven away in the wind.

f. From Introduction to Midrash

...not one alone has stood against us... (even) unto today they stand against us to annihilate us, yet we are delivered from their hands.

g. "Pioneer Strivings" p. 14

And the pioneers (vanguard) rose up before the camp to break through every locked gate. We burst through upon every way, striving forward on all paths, breaking through from across the mountain ranges.

h. "Evil Forces" p. 20

For true peace will not dwell upon the earth as long as iniquity will spread its venom and with it feed the animosity of peoples as long as it will not be eradicated.

i. Partial Statement of Kibbutz p. 25

This year is the fourth year of the World War. "In the open the sword shall bereave, in the chambers shall be terror." (Deut. 32:25)

j. "Rescue from the Shoah" p. 26

And from the flames of the great Exile we have been fortunate this year to scoop out one rescued fire-brand (one survivor) i.e., the refugees children who after many years of toil, have arrived to the safe shore. And they will again be planted on their own land.

2) Kibbutz Artzi - Shomar HaTzair 1945a. Hinenu Muchanim Unzumanim p. 5

Also we and our children have gone out from the house of bondage, from the valley of death -- and we have built a house that will not topple for the wanders of Israel (that is) upon their own land. And we will go on sanctifying this holiday of freedom in this home, we and our children and our grandchildren.

Therefore let us set aside this day from all the days of toil, days of the happiness of the production, and future happinesses, days of the joy of the harvesters, and the pain of Israel, and the suffering of the enslaved everywhere. Therefore let us set aside this night from all the nights, and on it let us tell a great deal about the Exodus from Egypt, a remembrance of hope and redemption.

b. Four Questions p. 6

1. Why is this night different... for we have made of all the tables -- one table with all brothers seated together; we the fathers are seated around, and the children and parents (together)... Similar to 1943.

2. Same as 1943.

3. And we speak of the Exodus from Egypt while the cry of our brothers who are led astray goes up from the lands of their exile...

4. And we are happy in work, and in building while they scheme against us to cause us great pain.

c. Exodus 13... p. 15

Remember... for in every generation does the people of Israel moan and so does every human moan under the yoke of enslavers. And in every generation the anger of the sorely depressed breaks out to smash the yoke, and in each and every generation the heart of the oppressed will be refreshed, towards a new Spring, towards a new life, towards hope of liberation and rejuvenation.

d. Shafoch Hamatchah p. 21

Pour out your anger... upon the governments which have

not called in your name. Go and announce in the streets; and at the tops of the walls flags flutter; there is justice and recompense. Watch the houses of the murderers.

e. "Let us remember..." p. 20

The multitude of the souls of our brothers and our sisters who have been cut off before their time, who have fallen in fields of battle... who have been taken out to murder in public (innocently). No sin is on their hands, except that they are of Jewish stock, those who have been drowned in the waves... Let the people of Israel remember for the vision has not ceased for those who continue a tradition of bravery among its sons and daughters have become many, those who have sanctified the name of Israel...

f. "Let us bless..." p. 33

The vine and the fruit of the vine and the pleasant land. To eat from its fruit, to be satisfied from its goodness. Let us bless on account that we have been redeemed and have arrived at this evening, to be happy, to be joyful, to sit around together. So let us come to festive times and holidays that will come to us in peace, happy (as we are) in the upbuilding, joyful in the work. And let us sing a new song for our deliverance, and the redemption of our lives.

3) Kibbutz Artzi - Shomar HaTzair 1947

a. Shafoch Hamatchah p. 17

b. "Let us remember..." p. 18

Let us remember those who were the first to go, and the first who fell... Let us remember when they went forth to smite the enemy, against the enemy in every generation... in memory of them we shall fight, we will be strong, we shall win!

c. "Free" p. 28

O Land -- open up the tributaries of your great and broad wilderness to those who thirst for the Land.

The darkness has surrounded us and evil machinations have closed in upon us; they have overtaken us in the

midst of distress, our enemies cause us difficulties;
our friends have stood aside while he who destroys
us has made wide the breach.

Seek, O Homeland the peace of your exiles who are
lifted in wanderings upon the surface (of the earth)
for yesterday they were at your gates, they saw us
closely, but to you they have not yet come.

Bring back our exiles as the wadies in the Negev, and
we shall tear asunder before you the roll of wickedness
which decreed to sanctify the desolation and conspired
to choke us.

4) Kibbutz Artzi - Shomar HaTzair 1951

a. Four Questions p. 9

1. Same as 1945-1947.
2. ...on all nights we are busy with different things;
tonight is dedicated to redemption, a memory to
the Exodus from Egypt.
3. ...on all nights there is the horror of war; to-
night a canopy of peace is spread over us.
4. ...on all nights the voice of our brothers rise
up from the burdens of their exile... Tonight is
a song of praise to the ingathering of our
dispersed.

b. Four Cups

1. Cup of Redemption p. 2

We lift a cup of redemption to Israel's going
out from exile to redemption, from the enslave-
ment of the nations (kingdoms) to sovereignty in
our land, to life, to deliverance.

2. Cup of Salvation p. 16

We lift a cup of salvation to break the bonds of
slavery throughout the entire world, for the
deliverance from troubles, to life, to redemption.

3. Cup of Consolation p. 21

We lift a cup of consolation to the peace of the remnant of Israel, to the peace of the peoples; may there be peace in our ranks, calm in our dwelling -- to life and to peace.

4. Cup of Blessing p. 27

We lift a cup of blessing to us and to our children and to all the work of our hands, to the fruit of the land and to the produce of man, to the day of labor, to a life of cooperation, for life and for blessing.

c. Statement of the kibbutz: p. 31

Let us bless our home 'Mizra' on this thirtieth Seder night since its establishment. From a few builders and pioneers, we merited a bustling community, wealthy in the treasures of comradeship, culture, and land. We have been lucky that generations of young people have joined with the founding fathers in our work for the sake of the continuation of the blessing of harvest and produce. And on the kibbutz risen up here proudly we shall be blessed for it has become the pride of the society which it serves. We have merited a beautiful center for our (communal) life. May there reign over this home an honest constructive comradeship and true brotherhood.

d. Few in number, the Kibbutz Artzi set out twenty-five years ago along the path of its mission and now it has become a great movement. Children who were brought up among the Shomar's (guard) youth, those shaping its dream in the crystalized reality of the Homeland, the first immigrants of Shomar HaTzair who came with the Third Immigration, established the foundation. They gathered their little accumulated strength in four kibbutzim and founded the "covenant of the Shomar communities."

The Kibbutz Artzi - Shomar HaTzair have fused a familial blend between the settlement in Israel and the redemption of the people by means of the class war for freedom from dual slavery from exile and from capitalism.

(1) קיבוץ ארצי, שומר הצעיר 1943

(a) ובחדש האביב בארבעה עשר בו פסח הוא זמן חרותינו,

כי בעצם היום הזה יצאו צבאותם ממצרים היום היו לעם... p.

(b) הננו מוכנים ומזומנים לספר ביציאת מצרים מעבדות לחרות,

משעבוד לגאלה, כי גם אנחנו עלינו במשכנות הדו' של העם.

והבית הזה יחיד נשאר לנו - בו נמשיך לקדש את מועד

החרות אנחנו, ובנינו, ובני בנינו לעולם, והיו לנו דברי

ההגדה הזאת לנחומים. כי גם עתה עת זעקת אחינו, פזורי

גולה ... עוד יש תקוה. p. 2

(c) עבדים היינו ... ויעבידונו בפרך ונגאלנו משם ונעבור ים

בחרבה וארבעים שנה נדדנו במדבר ונבא אל ארצנו - אלמלא

לא יצאנו ... וכל המרבה לספר ביציאת מצרים הרי זה משוּבָּח. p.

(d) "ד" קושיות" p. 6

(1) ... שבכל הלילות מסובים ילדים לחוד והורים לחוד הלילה

הזה כלנו מסובים.

(2) ... שבכל הלילות אנו מספרים ספורים מספורים שונים

ושירים משירים שונים, הלילה הזה כולו זכר ליציאת מצרים.

(e) זכור את היום הזה אשר בו יצאתם ממצרים מבית עבדים.

כי בכל דור ודור חייב אדם ... אף אנו נגאלנו עמהם. וישוּבו

עלינו ימי ענינו, ומרודינו, ונושלך לארצות נכר ...

אף שוב התמוטטה הקרקע תחת רגלינו, ונהיה

כצמח בלי שרש, כציף נובל, וכעלה נדף ברוח. p. 8

(f) והאשעמדה לאבותינו, שלא אחד בלבד עמד עלינו ... עד היום

עומדים עלינו לכולותינו ואנו נצלים מידם. pp. 9-10

(g) נחלצו חלוצים לפני המחנה לפרוץ שערים נעולים. חתרנו

בכל השבילים, הבקענו בכל הנתיבות, מעפילים מעבר לרוכסי

הרים. 14. p.

(h) כי לא ישכן שלום אמת על אדמות, כל עוד יקר הרשע את ארסו

ויזין בו שנאת עמים, כל עוד לא תשרש... p. 20

(i) השנה שנה רביעית למלחמת עולם. מחוץ תשכל הרב ומחדרם

אימה ... p. 25

(j) ומתבערת הגולה הגדולה. זכינו השנה לחתות אוד מוצל

אחד, את הילדים הפליטים אשר אחרי שנות עמל הגיעו לחוף

מבטחים, וינטעו שוב על אדמתם. p. 26

(2) 1945 "ארצי"

(a) הננו מוכנים ומזומנים ... גם אנו יצאנו מבית עבדים מגיא

הריגה. ובנינו בית בל ימוט לנדחי ישראל על אדמתם.

ואת מועד החרות נוסיף לקדש בבית הזה אנו, ובנינו ובני

בנינו.

על כן ניוחד יום זה מכל ימות העמל ימי חדות היצירה,

וחדות עתידות ימי רינת הקוצרים, וצער ישראל, וסבל

המשועבדים בכל אתר על כן ניוחד לילה זה מכל הלילות

ונרבה לספר בו ביציאת מצרים; זכר תקוה לגאולה ... p. 5

- (b) 1 מה נשתנה ... שעשינו את כל השולחנות שלחן אחד, ושבת אחים גם יחד אנו מסבים אבות ובנים, חורים וילדים.
- 3 ... שאנו מספרים ביציאת מצרים בעוד זעקת אחינו הנדחים עולה מארצות גלותם
- 4 ... שאנו שמחים בעבודה, ובבנין בעוד מתנכלים לנו להצר צערינו. p. 6
- (c) זכור ... כי בכל דור ודור נאנקים בני ישראל ונאנק כל הנברא בצלם תחת עול משעבדים ובכל דור ודור מתפרץ חרוץ הנדכאים לפרוק עול ובכל דור ודור יתרונון לב העשוקים לקראת אביב חדש לקראת חיים חדשים, לקראת חקת השחרור והתחיה. p. 15
- (d) שפוך חמתך ... ועל הממשלות בשמך לא קראו. לכו והכריזו ברחובות ובראשי חומות דגלים נופפו יש משפט וגמול, שמרו על בית הרוצחים. p. 21
- (e) נזכור את רבבות הנשמות של אחינו ואחותינו שנכרתו בלא עתם אשר נפלו במערכות הקרב ... אשר הוצאו להורג בראש כל חוצות על לא עול בכפם, כי מזרע היהודים הם אשר הטבעו בגלים ... וזכור עם ישראל כי לא תם החזון. כי רבו בין בניו ובנותיו ממשיכי מסרת הגבורה, אשר קדשו שם ישראל ... p. 20

"ברכת מעין שלוש"

(f)

נברך על הגפן ועל פרי הגפן ועל ארץ חמדה טובה ורחבה
לאכול מפריה ולשבע מטובה. נברך על אשר נגאלנו והגענו
ללילה הזה, לשמחה, לגיל, ולהסב בו יחד. כן נגיע למועדים.
ולרגלים הבאים לקראתינו בשלום שמחים בבנין וששים בעבודה.
ונשיר שיר חדש על גאולתינו ועל פדות נפשינו. p. 33

1947

שומר הצעיר

קיבוץ ארצי

(3)

(a) שפוך חמתך על הגוים ... כי אכל את יעקוב ואת נוחי השמו.
תהי טרחת נשמה באהליהם אל יהי יושב. p. 17

(b)

"נזכור" - נזכור את אלה אשר הלכו הראשונים ונפלו הראשונים...
נזכור - ביציאתם להכות באויב, לאויבי בכל הדורות...
עם זכרם נלחם נגבר וננצח! p. 18

(c)

ארץ, פתחי זרועות ערבותיך ומרחביך הגדולים לצמאי-אדמה.
כי אפפנונו מחשבים, ומזימות סגרו עלינו; השיגונו בין
המצרים. יקשו אויבים לנו. ידידים עמדו מנגד, ובין-
משחית הרחיב הפרץ
... שאלו מולדת לשלום גולית, הנשאים בטלטלה על פני הימים
כי תמול היו בשעריך, מנגד ראוך, ואלית טרם באו...
שובי שביתינו כאפיקים בנגב ונקרע לך את מגילת הזדון
אשר גזרה על השממה לקדשה ואת המזימה אשר אמרה להחניקנו
נפש. p. 28

(4) קיבוץ ארצי

שומר הצעיר 1951

(a) ג' תש"א p. 9

(2) ... שבכל הלילות אנו עוסקים בדברים שונים, הלילה הזה כולו

קדש לגאולה, זכר ליציאת מצרים

(3) שבכל הלילות תבעיתנו אימת מלחמה

הלילה הזה פרושה עלינו סכת שלום

(4) שבכל הלילות עולה קול אחים מסבלות גלותם

הלילה הזה שיר הלל לקיבוץ פזורינו.

(b) "ד" כוסות"

(1) כוס ישועות: נשא ליציאת ישראל מגולה לגאולה

משעיבוד מלכויות לקומימות בארצנו לחיים, לישועה. p. 2

(2) כוס שני - כוס גאולה: נשא לנתוק מוטות עבדות

במלא תבל לפדות עמלים לחיים לגאולה. p. 16

(3) כוס שלישי - כוס נחמה: נשא לשלום שארית ישראל ולשלום

העמים יהי שלום בחילינו, שלווה באהלינו, לחיים ולשלום p. 21

(4) כוס רביעי - כוס ברכה: "חסל סדר פסח כהלכתו"

כוס רביעי כוס ברכה. נשא לנו ולבנינו ולכל מעשי

ידינו לפרי האדמה ולתנובת האדם ליום העמל לחיי

השתוף לחיים ולברכה. p. 27

נברך על ביתינו "מזרע" בליל הסדר השלישי

(c)

מני היווסדי ממתי מעט בונים וחלוצים זכינו לקהילה שוקקת
ועתירת נכסי חברה תרבות ומשק.
זכינו כי דורות צעירים השתלבו עם אבות-מייסדים ביצירתנו
למען המשך ברוך תנובת ויבולים...

ועל בית-הקיבוץ הנישא כאן לתלפיות, נתברך כי הוא להפארת
החברה אותה הוא משרת. זכינו למרכז נהדר, וראוי לחיינו
השיתופיים. תחא שרויה על בית זה רוח של חברות כנה ובונה
ואחזה אמיתית...
p. 31

(d)

במתי-מעט יצא הקיבוץ הארצי לפני עשרים וחמש שנים לדרך
יעודותו, ועתה היה לתנועה גדולה.

עולי ימים, גמולי הנער השומרי ורוקמי חלומי במציאות
ההגשמה במולדת, ראשוני העולים מהשומר-הצעיר עם העליה
השלישית יסדו את המסד. הם אגרו את כוחם המעט האצור
בארבעה קיבוצים ויסדו את "ברית הקומונות השומריות"
הקיבוץ הארצי-השומר-הצעיר מכור מחשבות ומניסיון עמלם
השיתופי במולדת צרפו את המזוגה הגואלת בין ישוב הארץ
לבין גאולת עם על ידי מלחמת המעמד... לשחרור מעבדות
כפולה - מגלות ורכושנות...

CONCLUSION

I have so far illustrated in detail the major trends in the evolution of the Passover Haggadah of Israel's non-religious kibbutzim. From its experimental beginnings in the Yishuv's first communal settlements to the present day, this festival literature has served to carry the participants back to their ancestral origins. Given the unique setting in which this literature was composed and read, however, we were not astounded by the adaptations in form and content. Once the socialist-Zionist pioneers overcame their hesitancy to identify with traditions deeply embedded in the religious consciousness, they were free to try all possible innovations. These innovations over the years have reflected the diverse ways men have expressed this spiritual consciousness.

I succeeded in entering a narrow corner of the world of creativity and spontaneity manifested in these kibbutz writings. What was discovered, however, was more than a bountiful source of literary innovation. In a limited way. I feel as if I touched the national pulse and communal heart of some of the most outstanding people of the Yishuv and the State. Their response to the Spring festival of freedom mirrored conditions of daily living that we know as "history". It was then current history, at least in the middle and latter period of the Yishuv, that provided the "kibbutznik" with elements to make his Haggadoth a living document. The traditional themes were

there: persecution and deliverance. The Four Questions and Four Cups of Wine were widely adopted even in the early days. The authors of the early Haggadoth also made good use of the light medieval poetry found in the traditional Haggadah. Influenced as much as it was by its traditional antecedent, the kibbutz Haggadah was still a child of its own age. Though it would be oversimplifying matters to say it was anti-religious, it by no means was conceived of as a vehicle for expressing the miraculous content of the festival.

Still words such as "miraculous" and "spiritual" can be misleading. By definition one who lives in a non-religious kibbutz could not have at his Seder table a traditional Haggadah. He could in fact have such a book with all the accepted inserts, but it would not mean the same thing it would to an Orthodox "kibbutznik". Life style then is the key point to consider as we witness the turning away from the older festival documents to those that show a remarkable similarity to the traditional version. In recent years the kibbutz settler has been increasingly mindful of one thing: to restore Passover to its rightful place as the Spring festival of Freedom, the commemoration of the historical Exodus from Egypt. Themes that figured in the Haggadoth of the earlier period have been taken up by new holidays created in the wake of Independence. The kibbutz family is moreover inclined to communicate the known traditions of the heritage in such a way that the young person will be well aware of the nation's

history, whether it be history learned from secondary or primary sources. The ideological considerations that may have bothered earlier generations are not so significant today. The traditional Haggadah alone can well serve as the key source of materials in a non-religious setting.

FOOTNOTES

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2. ראובן מיכאל, לעצב ההוי המסרתי בתנועת הקיבוצים", שבועון מפלגת פועל הצעיר, (כתבים ו', ע' 422) p. 23, 1959, #36
3. M. Shelem and Ramat Yohanan. Tape from June 7, 1970.
4. Ibid.
5. מ. שלם, (בלי שם), ידיעון לתרבות, דצמבר 1964, (בלי מספר דף)
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8. ו. קלנר, הגדה קיבוץ ארצי: "דור נבוכים" מולד, 1965 אוקט/נובמ: p. 511
9. M. Shelem and Ramat Yohanan. Tape from June 7, 1970.
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20. א. קלנר, "השפה דמיון או לא?" דורנבאום, p. 513.
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