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REFORM VERSIONS OF THE PASSOVER HAGGADAH

by

David Jessel

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

Referee: Professor Jakob J. Petuchowski

Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion

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DIGEST OF THESIS

The reformers of Judaism who lived in nineteenth century Germany, England and America, felt that the traditional Haggadah was no longer meaningful for them in many respects and that the Seder service was too long. To solve the latter problem was not too difficult for them -- they merely omitted certain passages, and thereby shortened the service. To make the Haggadah more meaningful was a greater task.

Among the many problems that confronted them were those of language, ideology and theology. Which passages should be included in the Hebrew, which ones in the vernacular, and which ones in both languages? Are exact translations essential, or would a paraphrase suffice? Should Aramaic be used? Many such questions were contingent upon the ideological and theological questions: What land do we mean, when we thank God for the "land" which he has given us? Shall we have a goblet for Elijah, and if so, how shall we explain its meaning in relation to the rest of the Seder?

Such were the questions that faced the leaders of Reform and Liberal Judaism, as they set out to develop Haggadoth which they hoped would be meaningful, interesting and appealing to the mind and to the eye, motivating both adult and child to be proud of his heritage as a Jew.

The purpose of this study is to examine the trends in this respect, as they are reflected in representative Haggadoth of the three countries. It would be wrong to say that certain Haggadoth or groups of Haggadoth

demonstrate a specific quality which is characteristic of the group; for they all must be viewed within the totality of Reform Judaism and its purpose. One clear and definite conclusion can be drawn -- that within the span of a little more than a century, until the present day, these Haggadoth demonstrate a marked movement closer and closer towards the traditional Haggadah and its contents.

והגדת לבנך ביום ההוא...

"And thou shalt tell thy son in that day ..." (Ex.13⁸)

To my dear parents,
Yaakov and Ahuva Jessel,
who taught me the meaning of the Seder;

and

to my beloved Barbara --
may God bless her with many children,
so that I too can fulfill this commandment.

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INTRODUCTION

In selecting the Haggadoth to be used in preparing this study on Reform versions of the Passover Haggadah, it was necessary to establish criteria for determining what is a Reform Haggadah, and what is not. It was therefore decided that under the heading "Reform" would be included those Haggadoth prepared by Reform rabbis or laymen, or used in Reform congregations. This would, of course, also include the Haggadoth of the Reform and Liberal movements in England, but would exclude such non-traditional creations as those of the Reconstructionist movement, the Yiddish labor movement, and Kibbutz Haggadoth. Two Haggadoth which might fulfill the above criteria, but were considered worthy of mention, are inserted in a chapter entitled "Curiosities".

Those Haggadoth which are examined in this study, were selected mainly by consulting the bibliography of Haggadoth by A.Yaari, as well as the catalogue of the Hebrew Union College Library. To this group were added others suggested by Rabbi Jakob J. Petuchowski, which he came upon in various Reform prayer books. For the sake of clarity and coherence, the arrangement of the Haggadoth for examination is carried out both geographically and chronologically, as much as possible. The transliteration used, though not an official one, should be quite clear.

I do wish to express my gratitude to Mr. Martin Tattmar of the Library Staff, for his assistance with the translation of the German; to Rabbi Theodore Wiener

for his time and patience in helping me find the Haggadoth
and comprehend them; and particularly to my teacher
and friend, Rabbi Jakob J. Petuchowski, for his understanding
advice and encouragement.

D.J.

Cincinnati, Ohio,

February, 1963,
(Shevat 5723).

PART I

THE HAGGADOTH OF GERMANY

CHAPTER 1.

THE HAGGADAH OF LEOPOLD STEIN, Frankfurt am Main 1841.

Since the Reform Haggadoth of Germany were models for those that arose in other countries, it is only fitting that we first study the developments that occurred there. The work by Stein is the earliest known Reform Haggadah. In his introduction to it, he states that he has found the traditional Haggadah suitable, and so has used it as a basis for his own. Because he wanted to bring the whole family into the participation in the Seder, he consequently, in the back of the Haggadah (this section being entirely in German) divided the service into sections for various members of the family to read. To make the service more interesting, he also included poems and songs in German, both ones that are translations of traditional Haggadah songs, as well as others.

Looking at the Haggadah as a whole, we see that in its Hebrew portion it adheres strictly to the traditional Haggadah. The German translation opposite the Hebrew corresponds exactly; however, at the end of the Hebrew section he omits the translation of *וְיָרֵם לְפָנֶיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ*, as well as the passage following it; while in other places, such as the Grace after Meals, he translates such references. One might think that he omits this out of opposition to mention of the sacrificial altar and the rebuilding of Jerusalem. This however, would then not be consistent with his previous mention of such subjects. In his introduction, he indicates a hope that in a later edition he will be able

to make changes in the traditional text which the present edition contains.

The Haggadah opens from both ends; thus we find at one end the Hebrew text with its translation, and at the other end the German portion, as mentioned above. It is in this latter portion that the major changes occur. For the most part, it is a paraphrase of some of the sections appearing in Hebrew and German in the first part of the Haggadah. It is by no means consistent with the supposedly corresponding Hebrew, and Stein in fact informs us of this in his footnotes, which indicate to which corresponding Hebrew section a particular German passage refers. This is apparent in the opening of the German section where the note is included that after saying the Kiddush, the master of the house uncovers the matzoth and recites the German poem found at this point in Stein's Haggadah. The poem is intended to correspond to */cnnf /c d*, yet the only similarity is its first line, and the mention that whoever is hungry should come to eat. To this the poem adds that God shelters all who are in need, and will take care of them. No reference, however, is made as in the traditional Haggadah to our being in slavery this year, and in freedom next year in Palestine.

In answer to five questions (plus the introductory question) about the Passover and its symbols by a child in German, the master of the house states the purpose of the evening; namely, thanking God, because: *1/c/d p 17/ne f d*

17f d d d f d f d /c/d p 17 p p 1/c 3/7 f f d
, p 1/7/7 f f d f d p f d f p 17/ne

Just as the traditional Haggadah presents the above-mentioned four verses (Deut. 26⁵⁻⁸) with a midrash for each, so also does Stein provide his own midrash for the five verses, explaining them literally and then expounding on them. Consequently, he applies them to his own time, thereby fulfilling his desire, as stated in his introduction, of bringing the Haggadah up to date for the sake of interest. Thus, in this respect, he states that the strife met by the Israelites in Egypt was similar to that met by Jews in all ages and in all lands. Furthermore, in presenting his midrash on verse nine:

ויקראו אל ה' ויאמר ה' אל ישראל
אני מביא אתך ממצרים אל הארץ הזאת

the "land" referred to is Germany (or whatever land in which the Jews might be located at the time), and thanks is given to God for having brought them and given them this land.

The distaff side of the family also has a role in presenting Stein's midrash. We thus see that the lady of the house remarks how difficult it was for the women in Egypt, whose husbands had to perform strenuous labor, and thereby worried whether these men might die. Furthermore, she continues, the women were afraid to have children, lest they be male, and therefore be put to death.

In discussing the three main symbols enumerated in the traditional Haggadah (Pesach, Matzah and Moror), Stein provides us with some interesting comments. Concerning Pesach, he explains the "passing-over" meaning without any mention of the paschal sacrifice per se; as ^{found} in the traditional Haggadah, however, he does indicate that although we no longer

desire to bring sacrifices to God, we still offer our entire lives in service to Him. Similarly, in commenting on the meaning of Matzah, Stein presents the traditional meaning, and adds that in the midst of the joy and happiness which we have today, we should not forget the toil and misfortune of the past.

An unusual change is found in the German version of the traditional counting song *עשרה נרות*, and not with respect to the numbers where one might expect changes, such as #8 or #9. Here the alteration is in #6, where *שש* becomes instead the six days of creation, since Stein feels that children are more familiar with this numerical equivalent than with the orders of the Mishna⁶.

Also at the end of the German portion of this Haggadah, we find the reference to the drinking of the second cup of wine, without any mention of the remaining two cups. Part of the conclusion consists of a prayer of thanks to God, for having rescued Israel from Egypt, with the theme in mind (found here in the Hebrew) that:

אשר הוציאנו ממצרים
אשר הוציאנו ממצרים

Looking back over Leopold Stein's Haggadah, we find in it a good attempt to fulfill its purpose of being interesting to the participants in the Seder, particularly the children. In fact, even within the Seder service itself, the comment is made that the various symbols and practices of the Seder provide an opportunity for the child to ask questions about it.

Stein's aim is carried out more in the German portion

at the back of the Haggadah, than in the German translation alongside the Hebrew. The latter is a good aid for those not knowing Hebrew, who are participants at a Seder conducted mostly in Hebrew, and who can thus in this manner keep up with the progress of the Seder. The former, being an abbreviated version of the Seder, and almost entirely in German, provides a fine basis for those who wish to conduct their own Seder along more modern lines.

By providing these two alternatives, Stein's Haggadah has an advantage over many of the versions which followed his; since they provide for the most part a Hebrew section in the first half of the Haggadah (without a corresponding translation), plus a German version in the last half. As a precursor of the Reform Haggadoth to follow, it therefore set a good example⁷, providing (at a time when Reform Judaism was still in its developing stage) a service which appealed to the more traditional elements in the movement, as well as to those who were breaking the path to a more meaningful tradition.

CHAPTER 2.

THE HAGGADAH OF LEOPOLD STEIN

(in his prayer book, Mannheim 1882)

In this Haggadah, published forty-one years after the previous one by Stein, we find the introduction to be almost the same as the earlier one. Here, however, there is no reason given for the change in *אין נא*, as he had mentioned in the previous edition, even though the change still remains⁸.

As we have already observed, the 1841 edition contains a completely traditional Hebrew section (with corresponding German translation) at one end, and a mostly German paraphrase and translation at the opposite end of the Haggadah. It is the latter of these that we see reproduced in his prayer book with certain changes. (Incidentally, the prayer book contains much Hebrew; is traditional in many ways, e.g. opening from right to left; and among its reforms, includes the word *אשר* for *אשר* in the Amidah.)

The Seder opens with a list of the items to be placed on the table, as well as giving the symbolic meaning of each, e.g. the three matzoth representing the priests, Levites and Israelites. This section was not included in the previous edition, nor was the Kiddush which is recited here. The *אשר* paragraph is omitted, and the Kiddush continues normally, with the only change being

*אשר**אשר*instead of *אשר*

. In the German, we find a translation

for *לְיָמֵינוּ תִּשְׁמַח*, but not for *לְיָמֵינוּ*.

These changes thus seem to be a compromise to satisfy those who wish to retain some semblance of the Hebrew, and yet at the same time, the changes do not indicate the complete meaning in the translation for those who do not understand Hebrew. Similar treatment is given to the inclusion of

וְיִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׁמַח בְּיָמֵינוּ,

the full implication of which is "watered down" in translation.

In the Havdalah, on the other hand, all traditional Hebrew passages are retained, and the German is much closer to the true translation.

For *לְיָמֵינוּ*, the poetic version here is the same as previously. So too are the three questions, which are for the most part the same as the five questions asked in the first edition, except that here, more information is asked in a single question. The pages that follow with the answers to the questions, the midrash on Deut. 26⁵⁻⁸, and the three main Passover symbols, are the same in both editions; but at the point where the first edition ends its Seder service, the later one continues with Hallel and the redemption blessing. The first half of this blessing has some minor changes in wording, compared with the traditional version; while in the latter half, we find that it omits from *לְיָמֵינוּ*

וְיִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׁמַח בְּיָמֵינוּ until the final blessing, and substitutes *וְיִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׁמַח בְּיָמֵינוּ*.
וְיִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׁמַח בְּיָמֵינוּ

The *וְיִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׁמַח בְּיָמֵינוּ* is the same as traditionally. We thus see the redemption theme here presented, without any objectionable references included.

The two blessings for *Shabbat* are then included, and after the meal a poetic version of the Grace is sung in German. Instead of *Shema Yisrael* and its connotations, we have a different *Shema* with exactly the opposite intent:

erent עִבְרִית with exactly the opposite intent:
עִבְרִית וְלֹא חֵץ בֵּין שְׁנֵי הַמַּדְרֵגִים
שֶׁבִּין אֵלֶּים וְהַמַּדְרֵגִים הַשְּׁנִי.

One can not mistake the universalistic implications of this passage.

The service is then concluded with *תפלה, / שמונה עשרה* and the singing of *שמונה עשרה* in German. An appendix follows, with other songs in German. As indicated earlier, Stein informs us in the introduction to his first edition, of the reason for changing the #6 in *שמונה עשרה*. The change still stands in this edition, without any explanation in the introduction. As for #8 and #9, in the first edition they follow the traditional version both in German and Hebrew; here, however, they are given new meanings.

Not much needs to be said about this edition of Stein's Haggadah that has not already been stated with regard to the previous edition, for they are so much alike. We should mention, however, that in the forty-one years between the two editions, changes in Reform thinking led to a Haggadah possessing more traditional characteristics, yet at the same time not abandoning many of the Reform beliefs incorporated in the first edition. This trend was further developed in later Haggadoth, particularly those of I.S. Moses.

CHAPTER 3

THE HAGGADAH OF J. MAIER

(in his prayer book, Stuttgart 1848)

In the introduction to his prayer book, Maier reiterates the commonly-held Reform view that many of our co-religionists, particularly the younger ones, do not know Hebrew. Consequently, since the traditional prayer book is not satisfying, he is therefore presenting a new edition of the prayer book. At the same time, however, Maier maintains that he is not writing in order to remove other books, for those who already have a prayer book do not need his; whereas his prayer book is for those who have no other one.

The Haggadah, which consists of five pages entirely in German, is part of a larger section in this prayer book, entitled "Prayers for the Domestic Service", which also contains the Grace after Meals and the "Shema", to be recited at bedtime. The prayer book is used during the entire year, and is mostly in German, with a few sections in Hebrew, such as the "Amidah".

This Haggadah is almost a complete departure from the traditional one, and even for that matter, from most Reform Haggadoth. All five pages are in the form of a prayer of praise to God, in which are incorporated the various elements of the Seder service.

Maier begins with the Kiddush, which, except for omitting *'een p/h* and the Havdalah, is traditional; even

including mention of the "chosen people" concept, something which was not seen in later German Haggadoth, such as Maybaum's. The Kiddush is followed by a prayer of praise and thanks to God (about three pages long) containing such ideas as the meaning of man in relation to God; the idea of freedom; and the biblical aspect of Israel's history, particularly in Egypt. The prayer form is continued with the inclusion of Psalms 113 and 114, followed by a closing prayer in the same train of thought.

The Haggadah concludes with a few notes indicating where one may find the Grace after Meals, as well as two other prayers to be said after the meal: $\frac{2}{6}$ $\frac{1}{3}$ $\frac{1}{7}$ and $\frac{1}{11}$, both in German. The Grace, completely in German and non-traditional, is located after the Haggadah service in a different section by itself (for daily use), followed by the "Shema" said at bedtime.

The first two paragraphs of the Grace are based more or less on the corresponding two in the traditional Grace. Included is a statement of thanks "for the good land which Thou hast given us as a habitation"(i.e. Germany), instead of the traditional version "Thou hast given our fathers to inherit a pleasant land" (i.e. Palestine). We also find mention of "the covenant which Thou hast made with us", a phrase which is frequently omitted in Reform Haggadoth⁹.

Examining Maier's Haggadah in retrospect, we discover a conglomeration of words which actually say very little, compared to the traditional Haggadah, or even other Reform Haggadoth. There is little "meat", and that which is said is more like a sermon or an unduly long benediction.

CHAPTER 4

THE HAGGADAH OF S. MAYBAUM

(Berlin 1893)

In his introduction to this Haggadah, Maybaum states that he is approaching his task with a conservative attitude, for his purpose is not to push aside the traditional Haggadah, which he uses as a core for his own. His Haggadah opens at both ends, with the traditional text in its entirety at one end (without the corresponding German translation as in Stein's Haggadah), and a German paraphrase at the other end. The German varies considerably from the corresponding Hebrew, since Maybaum feels that one should not be slavishly bound to a traditional text.

The Hebrew in this Haggadah, like that in other Reform Haggadoth is provided for those who desire a traditional Seder; while the German at the back is no doubt for those who wish to have either their own Reform Seder, or else attempt to follow the corresponding Hebrew while it is being read during the traditional Seder. The discussion which here follows, refers to the German portion of the Haggadah (which also contains a little Hebrew).

Although the Hebrew portion of the Haggadah opens in the traditional manner with the searching for "Chametz" and the preparing of the "Eruv Tavshilin", the German at the opposite end commences with the Kiddush, without any reference to our "being chosen from all peoples" or "exalted over all tongues" as in the traditional version; instead, man has been

made holy through God's teachings. The German also omits translating the 'על, פ' paragraph and the Havdalah, which are included in the Hebrew section. The *הנהגה* passage is translated fairly literally, except for omitting the concept of being in Israel next year, and including a paraphrase that "those who now thirst after freedom and are like slaves, may welcome the coming Passover as free men".

In Maybaum's Haggadah, the Four Questions become two -- one asking about the general meaning of the festival, and the second expressing wonder as to why we are of such joyful and festive dispositions in spite of our eating unleavened bread and bitter herbs. Thus we see that both of these questions bear little or no relation to the traditional Four Questions, and furthermore that no mention is made of "dipping" and "reclining", the subjects of the second and third questions traditionally asked.

Each of the various passages included in the German portion of this Haggadah begins with a two or three word "headline", indicating more or less the Hebrew portion in the front of the Haggadah, to which the German is intended to correspond. Consequently, the section after the Two Questions begins with the Hebrew words /ש"ב פ' קצ"ח, and presents a capsule history of some of the events in Egypt. This is intended to be an answer to the questions asked by the child.

No reference, however, is given to the rabbinical tales found in the traditional Haggadah after /ש"ב פ' קצ"ח, or to the story of the Four Songs; thus the German continues with the sections beginning *ש"ב פ' קצ"ח* and *והוא*.

Again, in these two sections and in *אֲנִי הָיִיתִי*, the subject matter is barely related to the traditional text, and biblical texts are selected (e.g. "you shall be a kingdom of priests and a holy people"¹⁰) which are not at all included in the corresponding Hebrew. All of this material seems to have been intended to inspire the reader and participants with the heritage and history of Israel (as was also the intention of the traditional Haggadah) without becoming bogged down in complicated midrashim and other such material which might detract from the train of thought.

Much is omitted in this Haggadah, as we see by the jump made to a passage which is included in most Reform Haggadoth-- the explanation of the three symbols: "Pesach, Matzah, and Moror". Here, an optimistic tone is added to any pessimistic or alien qualities one might find in these symbols, and there is a repetition of thanks and praise to God for his saving acts.

Psalms 113 and 114 are now included in their entirety, followed by a rendition of the blessing: *אֲנִי הָיִיתִי* without any reference to Zion or sacrifices, as in the Hebrew. It includes the wish that the day may come when Israel will no longer be troubled by others because of what it believes, and that God's sanctuary might become a house of prayer for all peoples (cf. Isa. 56⁷). This day will be the Passover of the future -- the time of eternal freedom.

Differing from the traditional order of the Seder, with its long "schedule of events", the Haggadah (i.e. the German portion) lists only three items: *אֲנִי הָיִיתִי* (instead of *אֲנִי הָיִיתִי*),

וְשֵׁן לֶחֶם/ו and וְשֵׁן. (In the Hebrew portion, not all the headings are listed, yet the appropriate act is performed for each.) The וְשֵׁן which would normally follow the two psalms mentioned above, is omitted, and so the next item listed on the agenda here is וְשֵׁן לֶחֶם/ו which in reality turns out to be only וְשֵׁן (i.e. the blessing for the matzah), but not לֶחֶם/ו (the blessing for bread per se.)

Under the heading וְשֵׁן, the appropriate blessing is recited, וְשֵׁן is omitted, and then the meal is eaten. The Grace after Meals is ^{an} abbreviated version of the traditional grace, consisting mainly of the first two paragraphs of the latter, the main change being the omission in translation of: וְשֵׁן לֶחֶם/ו וְשֵׁן לֶחֶם/ו וְשֵׁן לֶחֶם/ו וְשֵׁן לֶחֶם/ו a statement which one would expect to be most important during the Seder.

The German Reform editors of Haggadot^h seem to have had an affinity for biblical passages, particularly when these passages were not contrary to their own politics and theology, (cf. however the omission of biblical passages normally contained in the traditional expounding of the section of "Pesach, Matzah, and Moror".) Thus, for example, they almost always include unadulterated psalms from the "Hallel". If, however, the verses are not consistent with their own beliefs, then the editors will either eliminate them or include others. Consequently, many times when the traditional version contains no biblical verses, the German does so, as evidenced in our study of Maybaum's Haggadah,¹¹ and also in latter Haggadot^h.¹²

This is precisely what Maybaum does with *פזמון קדש*. Generally, in Reform Haggadoth, this section is completely omitted, no doubt out of fear for what the non-Jews might say; here, however, the passage is dexterously manipulated. Whereas the traditional text includes Ps. 79⁶⁻⁷, 69²⁵, and Lamentations 3⁶⁶, all indicating an unqualified vehemence against the other nations, Maybaum paraphrases this section as follows:¹³

"O Lord, let the time approach when Thy word will be fulfilled: 'And it shall come to pass afterward, that I will pour out my spirit on all flesh, and your sons and daughters shall prophesy'"

The "pouring out" originally intended by the Hebrew text is here consequently given a pacifistic interpretation:

The Hallel is now completed in its entirety, except for omitting the last traditional paragraph, a practice quite common in Reform Haggadoth. It is difficult to find a reason for this, even from a Reform point of view, and so one must be content to assume that it was done in order to save time and space.

Concluding the Seder is a prayer corresponding to *יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ*, which in its first few lines is similar to the Hebrew, except for omitting the mention of: "the land which Thou didst grant our fathers as a heritage", and referring instead to the land "in which we are tarrying"¹⁴. The remainder of this prayer is entirely different from the traditional one, and deals instead with the wish of freedom for all mankind, particularly freedom of belief, and the disappearance of religious hate and envy. Such a prayer, we must admit, would certainly be

meaningful to the participants of any Seder, no matter in what year it was held.

Here ends the German part of the Seder service on page 20, meeting the final selection in Hebrew on page 41, counting from the opposite direction. We can thus readily observe the amount of condensation that has occurred.

CHAPTER 5

THE HAGGADAH OF C. SELIGMANN

(Frankfurt am Main, 1914)

This Haggadah by Seligmann is very artistically decorated with many drawings. Most of the Haggadah, which opens in the manner of a non-Jewish book (like so many other Reform Haggadoth) is in German. There are also several sections in Hebrew, all arranged in such a way (and many in poetry) that together with the artistry, they combine to form a most aesthetically appealing Haggadah.

The Haggadah opens with an explanation concerning the various items to be included on the Seder table. Whereas in some German Reform Haggadoth, the instructions given are very sparse, here we notice that additional instructions are presented (as in the traditional Haggadah), such as those concerning "dipping" and the Afikomen.

We find the Kiddush occurring here in its entirety in Hebrew (including the *וְעַל פִּי* paragraph, but omitting Havdalah). The corresponding German, in poetry, is a remote paraphrase conveniently omitting or sliding over any Hebrew phrases that might be foreign to the thinking of the Seder participants. The same might also be said of the rendition of *שְׁנֵי הַיָּמִים* (the headings in Hebrew are given) also in poetry, which comes closer to the original; here omitting, as we have already seen elsewhere¹⁵ any references to being in slavery or the desire to be in Israel.

Only two of the Four Questions are asked in Hebrew --

concerning the use of matzah and the use of bitter herbs. Seligmann, however, provides four questions for a child to ask in German:

Introduction - "Why is everything in our house today so wonderful, unusual and different from the rest of the year?

1. Why is the table so festively decorated with pretty picture-books? (i.e. Haggadoth).
2. Why do we eat green things and dip them in vinegar?
3. Why must the bread be unleavened?
4. For whom are we filling the beautiful extra goblet with wine -- for a guest who is later coming to our meal?"

In his version of /ש"ס פ'תח, Seligmann is much more expansive than the traditional Haggadah when presenting the historical background of the events in Egypt. He begins it as a story ("it happened many hundreds of years ago" -- more effective than the traditional opening, which also has a story-like quality), and traces the history of Israel through the patriarchs, Joseph, and the details concerning Moses and Pharaoh, as explained in Exodus. He then brings in details such as the plagues, (which normally appear later in the Haggadah) to complete his story in a well-rounded manner. His version of /ש"ס פ'תח is very appealing, because it fills in details which are lacking in versions we use today; for they simply begin with: "We were slaves to Pharaoh in Egypt", without informing us how we arrived there in the first place.

One of several Hebrew passages found in Seligmann is

now presented, beginning with *אין ארץ מצרים* until *הוא יצאנו*, alongside its German translation.

This is followed by the story (in German) of the rabbis who sat all night reciting the details of the exodus, until their pupils informed them that it was time for the "morning worship" (as in German, rather than the literal translation of

אין ארץ מצרים).

We then have a paragraph describing the wisdom and aptitude of the rabbis who interpreted Scripture to prove that each plague was considered as four, and that at sea the Egyptians were smitten with fifty plagues.

Coming now to the story of the Four Sons, we find that in the traditional Haggadah it begins with the statement that the Torah speaks of four sons -- one intelligent, one wicked, one simple, and one who does not know how to ask. It then outlines the problem confronting each child, and the resultant reply of the father. Both the composition of this section in the traditional Haggadah, as well as its contents, present difficulties which render it somewhat incomprehensible due to the lack of further explanation. The relation of the answer to the question is not as clear as it could be in each of the four cases; thus, when the wise son asks:

*אני חכם ויודע
אני חכם ויודע*

the Haggadah informs the father:

*אמר לו כל ענין
אמר לו כל ענין*

To the child in this dialogue, such a reply might be clear, since he is the wise one. To the child of today, however, who might also ask his father questions about the Seder, this

is certainly a difficult answer, unless expanded further.

Seligmann does much to help solve this problem. This is performed by telling us that in the Torah there are four verses which speak about a father's duty to his son, in reciting the story of the exodus from Egypt. Seligmann lists these verses, and asks why the Torah, which does not contain superfluous material, found it necessary to mention this matter four times. His answer is that these verses refer to four types of sons, whose character is reflected in the manner of their questioning. What distinguishes Seligmann's presentation of the story from that in the traditional Haggadah, is the reply which he would have the father offer his son --namely, that found in the biblical text following the original question in each case¹⁶. For the most part, these are not the answers which the traditional Haggadah provides.

The silence which the father confronts from the son who does not know how to ask, is met by the scriptural advice¹⁷ *וְיָדַעְתָּ לְבִנְךָ בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא*. Seligmann discusses this verse in a different subsection of his Haggadah, explaining that this is how the Haggadah receives its name. Nowhere in the traditional ^{Haggadah} do we find such a statement, with the result that many a child (and no doubt many an adult) is left in doubt as to the source of this very important word. Seligmann continues by saying that this night should not only be concerned with relating the story of the exodus from Egypt, but also with considering our multitude of sufferings (in all ages), and the manifold times that God was our saviour and

protector. This thought is again reflected in the paraphrase which accompanies לְיָדָיִם לִלְמַד found here in the Hebrew.

Instead of לְיָדָיִם לִלְמַד , which tells its reader to "go forth and learn", Seligmann provides a section (but still maintaining the Hebrew title) in which the leader of the Seder asks the participants to take a little trip with him in spirit throughout the history of the Jewish people. Through this journey, it is discovered that the Jewish people, no matter where they were -- in Babylon, under the Greeks, the Romans or the Spanish, still maintained their faith and trust in God; thereby indicating how Judaism is eternal and undying. Such a comment for לְיָדָיִם לִלְמַד appears to be much more relevant to the modern-day Seder participant, than does the midrash developed at this point in the traditional Haggadah. Having presented such an inspiring commentary on Jewish history, it is no wonder that Seligmann follows it with the singing of לְיָדָיִם לִלְמַד in German "nach der alten Melodie", which is rousing enough to make anyone stand up and fight for his religion.

The leader of the Seder now informs the participants that they are coming to the explanation of the symbols which had a strong effect on him in his childhood -- Pesach, Matzah, and Moror. In both the Hebrew and German given here, however, only the first sentence of the explanation is included, and without the biblical proof text. This thereby omits any reference to sacrifices, found at this point in the traditional Haggadah.

A question which was already asked as one of the Four

Questions is now asked again: "What is the meaning of the large goblet filled with wine?". The reply is offered that this cup belongs to Elijah the prophet, and the story is then related how the angel fed him in his wandering, and how he functions for us in our time. We thus set out a cup of wine in readiness for him, and when we thank God for our food, we pray that He send to us Elijah, the herald of the Messianic Kingdom which will arise in the Passover of the future. This will be a period of light, and not darkness; when God's new temple will be rebuilt -- a temple of love and freedom on earth. God, says the leader of the Seder, has led us to brighter times, and has delivered us, just as He did with our forefathers in Egypt.

We now come upon a section entitled "Blessings", among which are included the ones for redemption, wine, matzah (both blessings), and bitter herbs, all of which are found in the traditional Haggadah (which also contains at this point the blessing for washing the hands, here omitted). In the Hebrew, however, the redemption blessing

(*יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ*) omits the phrases:

(a) *קַדְשׁ לַלַּיְלָה זֶה*

(b) *יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ*

In the German translation of the same blessing, God is thanked for "having led us full of favor to this festive night"¹⁸, to which the traditional Haggadah adds: "when we eat Matzah and Moror" (included by Seligmann in Hebrew, but not in German). This latter omission does not however

seem to be of any great significance, since Matzah and Moror are discussed elsewhere in the Haggadah.

For the blessing over the wine, Seligmann's version reads: "We extol Thee through the comforting drink of wine, which makes the heart of man joyful, and we consecrate the second glass of freedom". The other blessings (e.g. for Matzah and Moror) are paraphrased somewhat similarly, and these are accompanied by explicit directions for conducting the Seder (e.g. concerning the breaking of the Matzoth, and taking the Moror and Charoset)

We find that *p7/s* -- inserting the Moror between two pieces of Matzah -- takes place here, whereas in other Reform Haggadoth¹⁹ it is absent.

The question is now asked why we eat bitter herbs a second time, to which the comment is made that we Jews do not erect monuments for our great men, but rather through our religious practices do we keep their memory alive. Thus, according to Seligmann, the repeated use of Moror is out of a sense of honor to Hillel, who did likewise when the Temple stood in Jerusalem, and uttered the phrase: "Do not do unto others what you would not have them do unto you" -- the essence of Judaism.

This version by Seligmann of course does not explain, as does the traditional Haggadah, why Hillel made his sandwich; the reason being to fulfill the scriptural verse: "They shall eat it with unleavened bread and bitter herbs".²⁰ His explanation, nevertheless, would probably be more comprehensible and meaningful to the Seder participants,

both adults and children alike, to whom the Golden Rule (Jewish version) would no doubt be familiar, and by which they could subsequently associate it with both Hillel and his famous sandwich.

The Grace after Meals, Seligmann informs us, may either be the traditional one, or the one which he provides in this Haggadah. This version includes no Hebrew, and is for the most part an amplification of the first paragraph of the traditional grace, for which a paraphrase is here given. In general, it is a prayer of thanksgiving, as well as an asking for God's blessing over the house, with no mention of any of the numerous "alien" (i.e. Messiah, Zion, or Jerusalem) passages found in the traditional version.

The wine blessing in Hebrew for the third glass is now given, for which the translation reads the same as for the second glass, except that this one is called the "glass of redemption". This practice differs from the traditional Haggadah, where each of the four glasses represents one of the four types of redemption, yet no one glass is assigned a specific title.

The post-meal Hallel in German (except for *לְחַיֵּה הַמֵּת* and *לְחַיֵּה הַחַיִּים* in Hebrew) begins with Ps. 117 (instead of Ps. 115 as traditionally), and continues in poetic form until the end of *לְחַיֵּה הַמֵּת* *לְחַיֵּה הַחַיִּים*. The Seder is interrupted now by the singing of *לְחַיֵּה הַמֵּת* in Hebrew and German, which would normally appear after the formal conclusion of the Seder (i.e. with the saying of *לְחַיֵּה הַמֵּת* *לְחַיֵּה הַחַיִּים*). Here, however, we have the blessing for the drinking of the fourth cup of wine, which

is entitled "the cup of our historic election to be the people of religion". Closing the Seder is a poem of thanks to God, followed by the singing of the traditional Passover songs. In the counting song (*89/1 'N 31/c*) which appears in German only, #9 is altered to refer to the nine mourning days at the beginning of the month of Ab²¹.

One of the tenets of any educational program is to motivate those who are participating in it. Since the Passover Haggadah is basically an educational instrument whose purpose it is to instill the child with an appreciation and understanding of Israel's history, particularly in Egypt, it is necessary that the Haggadah contain such motivating elements. Seligmann's Haggadah possesses this requirement. Its language, style, development and content all combine to form a most effective product. Particularly important is the constant attempt throughout to provide explanations where the traditional Haggadah does not, as well as to elucidate those which the latter does present. This is indeed necessary, for so often the traditional Haggadah makes statements without too much clarification of them; thereby making comprehension difficult for the modern Seder participant.

CHAPTER 6

THE OFFENBACHER HAGGADAH

(by S. Guggenheim, Offenbach am Main 1927; 2nd ed., Flushing N.Y., 1960.)

The basis for describing this Haggadah in the following pages will be the 1927 edition, with references made to the second edition (1960), where it differs from the former. Both editions, it should be noted, are in German, with a fair amount of Hebrew in each. The second edition, as Guggenheim mentions in its preface, differs little from the first. Among the major changes are the use of more Hebrew; printing in the Roman script, rather than the Gothic; and an appendix containing many notes on the text.

In his preface to the first edition, Guggenheim states that he has issued this Haggadah for use in his home. Consequently, he has utilized the Hebrew and added other material with this purpose in mind, thereby stimulating others to have a Seder. He informs us that he has combined the old with the new, and that therefore one can add or subtract from the included material, as suits the individual need. The sources used are many, particularly Seligmann's Haggadah; and the final product developed by Guggenheim was apparently of such a caliber, that even Orthodox circles, who might in principle have been opposed to it, nevertheless wished him well in his undertaking.²²

This Haggadah, with its many "stage directions" (even more than in the traditional Haggadah) reminds one of

reading a play. It describes the procession of the Seder participants to the table, with the master of the house at their head, dressed in a white robe "worn in some areas" (so state the instructions), the meaning of which is here given. When the master of the house enters, the children sing the "Sabbath Song": *שבת פריה* in German. He then blesses them with the priestly blessing, and addresses the mistress of the house with some words of praise (included here). She, in turn lights the candles, which is her duty "according to the Mishna (Sabbath 2b)." The history of the Menorah in ancient times is at this point discussed in the notes²³, with related references made to the Talmud, Chanukah, and the prophet Zechariah.

After the Kiddush has been given (the *18/11* section in transliteration, and the remainder in Hebrew with German paraphrase), we find a discussion of some of its elements. The importance of the chosen people concept is described, concluding with the verses of Deut. 7⁷⁻⁸:

"It was not because you were more in number than any other people, that the Lord set his love upon you and chose you, for you were the fewest of all peoples, but it is because the Lord loves you, and is keeping the oath which he swore to your fathers, that the Lord has brought you out with a mighty hand, and redeemed you from the house of bondage, from the hand of Pharaoh, king of Egypt."

The *Shema* blessing is explained by stating that one says it when he has not seen a friend for thirty days, and similarly at the approach of a festival. A complete account of the four cups of wine is presented, together with an explanation of the Kiddush as a symbol of holiness,

and making one's self holy through reciting it.

Although not a part of most Reform Haggadoth, the ceremony of washing the hands is found in this Haggadah. Not only that, but Guggenheim also instructs the assembly that at this point a blessing is not recited (as in the traditional Haggadah), but only before the meal itself. He in fact, goes beyond the traditional Haggadah, by explaining the meaning behind the handwashing ceremony, as well as the rationale for omitting the blessing here, but including it later on.

In a similar fashion, the *לכבוד* passage is not only presented in its full Aramaic version, with an exact translation, but we are as well given a breakdown of some of its important phrases, with an explanation of each. Thus, for example, the wish for the return to Israel is a reference to the quick approach of the Messianic time, when all men will become *ישראל*. The notes in the appendix²⁴ examine the passage even further, with its implications in the past, the present, and the future.

Concerning the Four Questions, the appendix²⁵ informs us of the version in the Mishna which contains only three questions²⁶. Guggenheim's translation of the fourth question is not a literal one, as in the case of the other three, but rather a brief explanation of the custom of eating in either an upright or reclining position. Similarly, after including *לפניו* in the Hebrew, Guggenheim, rather than giving us a straight translation of it, discusses instead the meaning and implications of the particular passage.

Again, in relating the story of the rabbis at B'nai Brak, Guggenheim provides us with more than does the traditional Haggadah. Not only do we have the Hebrew and its translation, but also a further account of the historical events behind the particular meeting, and its meaning for us today. (The second edition even has a section containing important maxims of the participating rabbis, which is totally unrelated to the surrounding content). The reference to reciting the Shema in the above passage leads the editor to a short discussion of the "Krias Sch'ma" and its importance to Jews; "for the religious Jew begins and closes the day with it, and its words are recited when the soul of a person departs²⁷." The story of the ten plagues now follows, out of its usual place as found in the traditional Haggadah.

Guggenheim's first edition does not contain the "Dayenu" passages, which are only found in their Hebrew entirety in the appendix to the second edition. Furthermore, in the actual text of the latter, only three of the "Dayenu" items are included in the German. The story of the Four Sons is told here in good detail in Hebrew and German, together with an explanation of the biblical verses upon which the story is based. This is similar to the treatment given by other German Reform Haggadoth, such as Seligmann's.

In the traditional Haggadah, a paragraph is found at this point, beginning with the words:

הוא קרא שמונה עשרה / ויהי חורבן בית
 והיה חורבן בית / והיה חורבן בית
 והיה חורבן בית / והיה חורבן בית

This passage becomes in Guggenheim: *ה' יצאנו ממצרים ונבטח בו*
וה' יצאנו ממצרים ונבטח בו

We thus see in this version that God, instead of foreseeing the end of bondage (as He had said to Abraham), instead tells Abraham that he will be a blessing²⁸. It is difficult to see the reason behind this change, for it appears to be a different (although more hopeful) way of saying the same thing.

The theme of *וה' יצאנו ממצרים* (included here both in Hebrew and German) that God saved us from oppressors in every generation, is reiterated in a paragraph beginning with the words: "ZE ULEWAD". This actually has little connection with the traditional passage of the same name, except the appearance of the theme of oppression and God's continuous help.

We now come upon several pages of what might be called general information about Judaism. Here is discussed the meaning of the word "Jew" (with references to the Bible and Talmud); the role of Egypt in Jewish history, and its repeated mention in the liturgy (with reference also to the Sifra); and the various aspects of redemption in Judaism (with comparison to redemption in Christianity through Jesus, and in Buddhism). This discussion leads to the inclusion here of the passage (in Hebrew and German) beginning: *וה' יצאנו ממצרים ונבטח בו*
וה' יצאנו ממצרים ונבטח בו

(out of its usual place), thereby indicating the importance of redemption from Egypt for all generations, as well as

the need to retell the episode. This thought is reinforced by the inclusion of the tale of Elazar ben Azaryah (in Hebrew and German), which normally occurs much sooner in the Seder; and also a fable illustrating the same point.

In form typical of Guggenheim, he not only describes the three main Passover symbols, as in the traditional Haggadah (together with the Hebrew text), but goes further in his explanation of their significance, and at the same time also briefly discusses "Charoset". Further information on the symbols is provided in the notes at the end of the second edition.

The paragraph beginning with the words: --- *לחם מצות* omits the sentence: *לחם מצות וזוהי מצות*

לחם מצות וזוהי מצות as do many other Haggadoth. It is followed by a German paraphrase which omits the reference to the words *לחם מצות* included here in the Hebrew.

These are the first major cases in Guggenheim's Haggadah of such omissions, i.e. where we might normally expect one in a Reform Haggadah. Until this point, as for example in *לחם מצות* the renditions were faithful to the Hebrew text, although there have been occasional omissions and changes in paraphrasing and translation, which were not of such significant import.

The hands are now washed for the meal, and a blessing said, as in the traditional Haggadah; however, here a rationale is brought for the performance of the act, via a quotation from Rabbi Pinchas ben Jair, that purity of the body leads

to purity of the soul. This latter subject is developed further in the second edition of this Haggadah, by means of a midrash added at this point, together with a translation of ²⁹ '2 NNR MEJ '2fk. The traditional passage closes with: "Blessed art thou, O Lord, who restorest souls unto the dead." This is not found in the first edition, and is added in the second one.

As he has acted in previous instances in this Haggadah, so does Guggenheim also treat the Hillel sandwich (P2/2), i.e. he explains its historical background, which is much more than the manner in which the traditional Haggadah treats this subject. Yet, at the same time, he introduces extraneous material, the only connection being, that it concerns Hillel. He also provides a good explanation for the Afikomen, rather than merely stating the word P2/2 with its instructions, as in the traditional Haggadah. It should be mentioned here that Guggenheim does not employ the traditional catchwords as headings in his Haggadah (e.g. P2/2 P3/2), even though he might include the particular symbol or ceremony designated by a specific catchword. Instead, he uses his own German headings, or else transliterations of his own Hebrew ones, e.g. WEHIGADTO; ZE ULEMAD; and ÜBER DIE HÄNDEWASCHUNG.

Normally at this point, we would find the Grace after Meals, generally preceded by Ps. 126. Guggenheim now presents the latter, but follows it with the section concerning Elijah and his cup, which is usually placed at the end of the Grace, but here precedes it. The passage beginning

פאןן זיך is here omitted, but the appendix³⁰ contains a comment that it is found in the traditional Haggadah, and here provides a translation for it. To this, Guggenheim adds that in the Middle Ages many people misunderstood it, and thereby slandered Judaism as a religion of hate; however, he states, the true rendition may be found by referring to Lament.1¹²:

"Is it nothing to you, all you who pass by?
Look and see if there is any sorrow like
my sorrow which was brought upon me, which
the Lord inflicted on the day of his fierce
anger."

The Midrash Rabba to this verse states that Israel spoke to the nations of the world, saying that that which happened to her, did not happen to them. This, for Guggenheim, consequently explains the real meaning of פאןן זיך, which he nonetheless omits from the text of both editions of his Haggadah, relegating it only to the notes.

Instead of פאןן זיך in the text, we find an explanation of Elijah's role as harbinger of the Messianic Age, with appropriate quotes from Malachi. In a paragraph entitled: "UVECHEN TEN PACHDECHO", the latter theme is continued via a translation of פאןן זיך / זיך / זיך from the High Holyday liturgy³¹. This is combined with a translation of Isa.2²⁻⁴, depicting the Messianic Kingdom, together with versions of the same theme by Herder and Buber, found in the appendix.

Having been interrupted by the Elijah section, the Grace after Meals is now recited. One may use either "our old traditional Grace" which is not found here, but

only in the appendix to the second edition³²; or else the abridged version of the Grace which Guggenheim here presents. This one-page rendition, entirely in German, eliminates all references which might be objectionable to Reform Jews. The second edition does, however, also contain the passage in Hebrew, beginning: *יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְהוָה אֶחָד*.

After the Seder participants sing several Hallel psalms set to music (transliterated and translated), their theme is continued in comments concerning the wonders which God has done for us and our forefathers, and the significance of this. The verse *וְיִסְמְךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ* in turn leads to a brief discussion of immortality, eschatology, and the meaning of life in this world, accompanied by appropriate quotations from the Bible and Talmud. We then find a section entitled: "SEMIROS", with the words and music of *יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְהוָה אֶחָד*, something which we might normally expect to hear on the Sabbath, but not at a Seder, unless perhaps if it occur on Friday evening. The Great Hallel (Ps.136) is omitted, and so the Haggadah continues with *וְיִסְמְךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ* and its translation. The song

וְיִסְמְךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ is here inserted in the second edition.

Everyone now recites *וְיִסְמְךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ*. This leads to the comment that its utterance, like that of

וְיִסְמְךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ at the beginning of the Haggadah (in *יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ*) indicates a hope in the quick coming of the Messianic era, when God's kingdom will be established on earth, in the way that we pray for it in *וְיִסְמְךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ* and the *עֲשֵׂה נָא*. Someone, continues the comment, has stated

that the Messianic kingdom will be established by man through his own deeds, when he is ready. The fourth cup of wine is thus raised, with the hope in mind that man will work towards the arrival of the Messianic Age. Guggenheim indicates in the appendix how earlier German Haggadoth used to add the name of another city after Jerusalem. They would therefore say: "פ'סע/ר'ע דאס ירושלים - oder zu Brunn"; i.e. if they could not return to Jerusalem, they hoped at least to return to their native area in Germany, from which they had been driven out.

In the second edition, the editor includes a special passage for the State of Israel, including Isa. 11¹¹⁻¹², foreshadowing its establishment. These verses, incidentally, form part of the Haftara for the eighth day of Passover, therefore fitting in well with the occasion. Guggenheim concludes this section with the hope that Israel will fulfill its mission of bringing about the ideal, stated in verse nine in the chapter of Isaiah, that "the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea."

This paragraph concerning the State of Israel is an apt insertion before the section: ידעו כי יבנה ירושלים which stresses the need for building up Zion and Jerusalem. The latter occurs in its entirety in the Hebrew of the second edition; whereas the corresponding German omits a translation for ידעו כי יבנה ירושלים. The inclusion of this paragraph is inconsistent with the omission previously in the Haggadah, of the clause³³:

B

ידעו כי יבנה ירושלים

A

ידעו כי יבנה ירושלים

Both parts of the clause are there included in Hebrew, but omitted in German. In view of the later content of the Haggadah, we might consequently say that phrase "A" is acceptable, but not phrase "B"; i.e. Guggenheim accepts the rebuilding of Zion, but not the Temple cult.

The master of the house here recites a prayer of thanks to God in honor of his wife, with the hope that she live

וְיֵה פִּזְעָר/ וְכֵן זָרָה. The Haggadah concludes with the singing of the traditional Passover songs, to which it adds the final hymn: *פִּזְעָר/ וְכֵן*. Among these songs, the only noteworthy alteration is in *זָרָה/ וְכֵן* where #9 in German refers to the nine days of mourning³⁴ (from the first day of Ab), while the Hebrew retains the traditional version. In the second edition, on the other hand, the German reverts back to the true translation of the Hebrew.

Much of the praise accorded in this study to Seligmann's Haggadah can similarly be directed to the Haggadah edited by Guggenheim, which was of course greatly influenced by the former, from which it derived both ideas and material³⁵. While on the one hand resembling Seligmann's Haggadah in many ways, particularly the format of its art work and its Reform qualities; it nonetheless also resembles a traditional Haggadah in several of its characteristics. Thus, for example, passages are included which one does not generally associate with Reform Haggadoth; viz., *פִּזְעָר/ וְכֵן* and the blessings for the washing of the hands, even though new and possibly more meaningful explanations have been provided for them. There is recurrent mention of the Mishna and

Talmud, particularly where proof-texts are needed for certain ceremonies. In this respect, Guggenheim goes even beyond the traditional Haggadah, which does not provide such information within the body of the text.

There is no doubt that this Haggadah provides us with abundant explanations, even more so than Seligmann. In this way, it clarifies traditions which might otherwise be incomprehensible, and this in turn leads to a discussion of other material, e.g. immortality, even though the latter might not be relevant to the subject at hand. It does not fear to tread into more technical matters, especially in the notes; and at the same time has no hesitation in presenting traditional variants, where it feels that they might be useful or necessary.

We might sum up Guggenheim's Haggadah by saying that it combines in a very skillful manner both Orthodox and Reform elements, and as the work of a layman, it is a masterful production. The Orthodox traits have already been discussed. With regard to the Reform ones, we might add that the Haggadah opens in a non-traditional manner, maintains much of the Reform ideology (e.g. Messianic Age; Mission of Israel), and even employs references to other religions as a basis for comparison. At the same time, however, it demonstrates a movement away from earlier Reform Haggadoth by its references to the "chosen people" concept, to the rebuilding of Zion and Jerusalem, and above all by its prayers for the State of Israel.

CHAPTER 7

THE HAGGADAH OF HERMANN FALKENBERG

(Berlin 1929)

This Haggadah was issued by the Northern Liberal Synagogue of Berlin, where Falkenberg was a teacher in the religious school. It opens in the traditional manner, and contains a large amount of Hebrew, but the quantity of German is in the majority. The particular copy which is being used in this study, bears the imprint of Schneider's Hotel in Berlin, indicating that it was probably utilized in a hotel Seder.

Opening the Haggadah is a table of contents, at the end of which, mention is made of the inclusion of selections from the Haggadoth of Maybaum and Seligmann, as well as the writings of Martin Buber and Franz Rosenzweig. This is followed by a page listing the various items needed for the Seder. The Haggadah indicates that four cups of wine will be drunk, for the four types of redemption associated with the exodus from Egypt. The most beautiful cup on the Seder table is for "the prophet Elijah, herald of the Messianic Kingdom, who on the Seder night is awaited as a divine invisible guest in all Jewish hearts, and for whom a chair is prepared, next to the master of the house"³⁶.

The introduction to the Haggadah deals quite thoroughly with the meaning of the Seder, its symbols and customs; and relates them to their Greek and Roman origins. For example, it explains how reclining was performed, the fact

that the hands were washed, and the meaning of the Afikomen. Falkenberg discusses how the roasted bone replaced the paschal sacrifice, and indicates that the use of wine on the festive table of the Greeks was adopted by the Jews. It is important for us to note his comment that although the ancient idea behind these symbols has now disappeared, the symbols have been brought to life again by giving them new meaning and significance, appealing to both old and young alike.

In another paragraph of his introduction, Falkenberg explains the meaning behind the Seder as a whole, with comments on some specific passages. Thus, with regard to *לכבוד*, he emphasizes its underlying social aspect, that when Jews celebrate a festival, the poor are also invited; consequently, whoever is hungry may come and eat. For this reason, so he maintains, the passage was written in Aramaic, the language of the people, in order that all those unfamiliar with Hebrew could understand it. In this reasoning by Falkenberg, we therefore detect certain universalistic undertones.

He also refers to the belief in universal freedom for all in the future. There will be a rebirth, symbolized by the egg; which also reminds us of the festive sacrifice, as well as being a sign of mourning for the destruction of the Temple. It will thus be the Messianic Age, heralded by Elijah, when out of the ruins of the old Temple will arise a new world for all mankind.

The Kiddush omits the words *לערב* for Friday night, but maintains in Hebrew and German the remainder of the traditional Kiddush (with a few changes), as well as the

Havdalah. In the first section (beginning with *שבת!*), the German omits any reference to God's resting on the Sabbath, mentioning instead that he established the Sabbath on the seventh day. The *שבת! שבת! שבת!* blessing in German does not indicate that God created the fruit of the wine, but instead praises Him with "the gift of the wine". In the next section, the only change is the omission of the words

שבת! שבת! in both Hebrew and German. The same trend is continued in the Havdalah, omitting the phrases *שבת! שבת!* and *שבת! שבת!*.

Consequently, we see no reference to a belief in the "chosen people" doctrine, at least not in the sense of Israel's being better than other peoples; for phrases such as

שבת! שבת! and *שבת! שבת!* are still retained.

Another doctrinary change is reflected in *שבת! שבת!*, both in German and in the Aramaic, where the sentence

שבת! שבת!

is omitted, indicating a non-adherence to Zionistic tendencies on the part of the editor. He does, however, maintain *שבת! שבת!* which is frequently omitted in Reform Haggadoth. Apparently in an attempt to suppress any indignation which the translation of

שבת! שבת! might have aroused, Falkenberg presents two renditions of it in German. The first of these is closer to the Aramaic version found here, while the second is somewhat like that of Maybaum's, containing the view that "all who now still bear the bonds of slavery, may greet the

coming Passover as free men".³⁷

Both the Four Questions and *למה פירש* are presented in their entirety in Hebrew and German, except for one little point in the German of the latter. Whereas this Haggadah, like the traditional one, states:

אך למרות זאת the German translates it: "although we are so learned and wise". Such a statement leads one to think that the wisdom and learning of many of the followers of this Haggadah may have been in areas other than Torah; therefore, such a rendition was created in order not to embarrass them.

The first of the rabbinic stories which follows, is *גשם ושלום* which is found in its entirety in Hebrew, together with an amplified translation. Of interest is Falkenberg's literal translation of *הנה* as "Morgenschma"³⁸, compared to Seligmann's rendering it: "Die Morgensonne ist schon nah, es ist Zeit zum Morgengebet"³⁹.

The midrash concerning Rabbi Elazar ben Azarya is presented in detail in German, together with an explanation and transliteration of the expounded words. At the same time, the point is brought out that the rabbis were discussing not only the exodus from Egypt per se, but also the meaning that the event bears for the present; and similarly, how the paschal feast of old developed into the Seder of today. Falkenberg states that the reference to *הנה* points to the present, as well as to the Messianic Age. As for the treatment given to the subject of the Four Sons,

which follows, we might say that it is a combination of elements from Seligmann and the traditional Haggadah.

Beginning with the words *וְהָיָה לְכָל בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל* and *וְהָיָה לְכָל בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל*, the next two sections are found in their entirety in both Hebrew and German, except that in the latter section, the words *וְהָיָה לְכָל בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל* apparently objectionable, are omitted in translation. The following section, which would normally be *וְהָיָה לְכָל בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל*, is not found here, but after "Dayenu". Instead, we have *וְהָיָה לְכָל בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל* in Hebrew and German, omitting any mention of Laban's vile acts. Only a few sentences of the accompanying midrash are included here, and these are interspersed with large portions of background data concerning the events in Egypt.

Falkenberg now includes a section entitled: "God's Wonderous Deeds", in which he lists the ten plagues in Hebrew and German, and follows this with the midrash concerning the sinking of the Egyptians in the Red Sea. When this latter event occurred, relates the midrash, the angels were about to sing for joy, but God said to them: "My creatures are lying in the sea, and you utter songs of joy"⁴⁰. The midrash seems to have been included here as a mollifier in contrast to the plagues, illustrating that God is not as cruel as one might imagine.

The "Dayenu" section is included at this point; however, of the fourteen passages listed in the traditional Haggadah, only eight are found here, many composed of combinations of the others. We therefore have, for example:

וְהָיָה לְכָל בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל *וְהָיָה לְכָל בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל* *וְהָיָה לְכָל בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל*

instead of:

פירש פון דער אלץ פונשטן / ארץ / ארץ.

Note that the land of Israel is mentioned both in Hebrew and in German, with reference to:

אין דער ארץ / ארץ / ארץ / ארץ / ארץ / ארץ.

In this case, we thus find mention of two items -- the land of Israel, as well as the Temple, both of which are otherwise ignored in this Haggadah⁴¹, just as they are in many Reform Haggadoth⁴². There is also reference made here to the giving of the Torah on Mt. Sinai.⁴³

A short passage in German is now inserted with the heading *אין דער*. It tells the participants that they should relate not only the story of the exodus from Egypt, but also the sufferings in Egypt, together with God's saving power; for just as He revealed Himself then, so does He likewise reveal Himself at all times and in all places.

The paragraph *אין דער ארץ* in Hebrew occurs at this point, out of its usual context, together with a stanza from Stefan Zweig on a similar note. There follows a paragraph based on Seligmann's rendition of⁴⁴ *אין דער ארץ*, providing a glance at Israel's painful history, which was accompanied by the hopeful light cast by God. Concluding this section is the thought that although Israel's love for her fellow men may often have been extinguished by the events that occurred, she still retains her love for God, and her belief in the word of the prophet, that: "My house shall be called a house of prayer for all peoples"⁴⁵. The universalistic tone demonstrated by the above passage in the Haggadah is therefore quite evident.

Pesach, Matzah and Moror, the three main symbols of the Seder are now explained in Hebrew and German, in a manner characteristic of other German Reform Haggadoth; that is, without the appropriate biblical proof-text accompanying each section. Falkenberg does, however, expound these symbols further, employing Maybaum's treatment as his source, and following this up with a discussion of Elijah's cup in the manner of Seligmann's Haggadah.

Ps. 113 and 114 of the Hallel in Hebrew and German are followed by the prayer of redemption (שְׁמַחְתָּ / שְׁמַחְתָּ) also in Hebrew and German, which contains the phrase פִּיעֵל פִּינֵה *פִּיעֵל פִּינֵה*, thereby omitting the reference to the rebuilding of Jerusalem (בְּיָמֶיךָ / בְּיָמֶיךָ) which normally comes after the word פִּינֵה. It also omits the reference to the sacrificial cult: פִּנְסָה / פִּנְסָה / פִּנְסָה / פִּנְסָה. We thus see that Falkenberg's treatment of this passage is exactly the same as that of Seligmann, previously discussed.

The sections כֶּסֶף, מַלְאָךְ, מַלְאָךְ now follow, exactly as in the traditional Haggadah, and accompanied by an explanation of Hillel's sandwich similar to the reasoning offered by Seligmann. Here, however, the three Hebrew words שְׁמַחְתָּ, עֲצָרְתָּ, נָשָׂא are also included. It is interesting to note that both Seligmann and Falkenberg employ two blessings for בֶּרֶךְ / בֶּרֶךְ as in the traditional Haggadah, while Maybaum uses only the blessing for Matzah.

The Grace after Meals, found here in both Hebrew and German, is in many respects the same as the traditional one,

except for the following changes, many of which are indicative of the philosophy of the editor, while the reasoning behind others is difficult to comprehend:

- 1) it omits: *על ייחוד הארץ לארץ ישראל* *אלה חסדך אלהי ישראל*

This is inconsistent with Falkenberg's inclusion⁴⁶ of:⁴⁷

אשר נתן לנו אלהי ישראל *ארץ חסדך אלהי ישראל*

We could be facetious and say that perhaps Falkenberg reconciles this inconsistency by taking the land mentioned in Deuteronomy to refer to Germany; for in other Haggadoth, thanks is often given to God "for having brought us to this land", meaning Germany⁴⁸.

- 2) for: *אשר נתן לנו אלהי ישראל* which might

be lacking in taste, this Haggadah reads: *אשר נתן לנו אלהי ישראל*, which of course sounds nicer.

- 3) it omits: *בביתך אלהי ישראל* *אשר נתן לנו אלהי ישראל*

which refers to the land which God has given to us (i.e. Israel).

- 4) it omits: *אשר נתן לנו אלהי ישראל*, again detracting from God's power, as in the Kiddush and elsewhere in the Grace.

- 5) it omits the first half of the paragraph beginning: *אשר נתן לנו אלהי ישראל* and continues with: *אשר נתן לנו אלהי ישראל*.

- 6) in the special paragraph for the Sabbath, it omits mention of Zion and Jerusalem.

- 7) in the special paragraph for festivals (*ויחצלה ויבא*) it omits:

(a) *אשר נתן לנו אלהי ישראל* *אשר נתן לנו אלהי ישראל*

(b) *אשר נתן לנו אלהי ישראל* in the phrase *אשר נתן לנו אלהי ישראל*

(c) *אשר נתן לנו אלהי ישראל* *אשר נתן לנו אלהי ישראל*

The editor is thus in "b" and "c" withdrawing God's qualities of mercy and salvation.

8) it omits the paragraph *הנה ירשלים* as well as the paragraph following.

9) it omits:

(a)

(b)

One wonders why "a" and "b" are omitted, unless the theology implied bothers Falkenberg; or else perhaps for the purpose of conserving space.

(c)

The omission of "c" denies the thought that we are now in slavery, as well as the desire that we return to Palestine, our supposed homeland.

(d) it includes the prayer for the coming of Elijah, as in the traditional Grace, but in the German translation the editor adds a qualifying phrase: "the herald of the Messianic Kingdom".

10) it omits *כח שר כח* for no apparent reason.

11) it omits the paragraph beginning:

12) (a) it includes *המשיח וזמנו*

(העולם הבא). The German translates this as: "May the Almighty make us worthy of the day of the

Messianic Kingdom, and the life of the coming world".

(b) it omits:

13) it omits the paragraph beginning:

The remainder of the Hallel as traditionally said (except for the last paragraph) is now included, both in Hebrew and in German. Then, strange as it might seem in this

Haggadah, the words *פסח/ה' צדקה* are uttered, for which the translation given is: "Von Israels Zukunft". In the light of the many anti-Zionist changes in the Grace, one would certainly not expect to find these three words here. Considering however, the translation that is presented for these words, and knowing the philosophy that is implicit in this Haggadah quite well, we might say that they perhaps apply to a future age, at a time when the Messianic Kingdom will be established.

In the traditional Haggadah, the above-mentioned three words are considered as ending the Seder, but are here followed by a selection from Stefan Zweig. At this point, the fourth cup of wine is offered (instead of before

אכילת ארץ), with the appropriate blessings in Hebrew and German, but no mention in the *אכילת ארץ* blessing, of sacrifices, Zion or Jerusalem. The Seder concludes with a paraphrase of *אכילת ארץ* in German (again with omission of references to Zion), followed by the singing of the traditional Passover songs.

Summarizing Falkenberg's Haggadah, we observe how he has attempted to bring new meanings into the old symbols, particularly by means of his shedding light on the true origin of the latter in his thorough introduction. For some reason, however, this Haggadah seems to lack the beauty inherent in the works of Seligmann and Guggenheim. Perhaps this is because it lacks the artistry of the others, and also since their explanations were relegated to the body of the text which formed part of the Seder service, while Falkenberg's

explanations are all contained in the introduction,, which may not necessarily be read by the Seder participants. This second reason may account for the lack of interest which Falkenberg's Haggadah stirs up, in comparison to the two other Haggadoth mentioned above; for the explanations which they provide within the body of the text would thereby break up the monotony of the service.

Theologically speaking, Falkenberg seems to be very cautious, not to alienate anyone. Consequently, he goes overboard in his omissions, and is not even consistent with them. Thus, for example, he omits most references to Zion and Jerusalem; but in three instances he retains them⁴⁹. If there is any question of God's true powers, Falkenberg is sure to omit this passage.⁵⁰ The "chosen people" concept is retained, but with a different meaning implied; and the concept of universalism for all in the future is found throughout. It will be the time of the Messianic Kingdom ushered in by Elijah, when a new world for all mankind will arise out of the destruction of the past.

This marks the conclusion of our examination of the Reform Haggadah, as it developed in Germany from 1841 to 1960. The variety of products has certainly been strange, ranging from Haggadoth that were barely distinguishable as such (when compared with the traditional Haggadah), to those that include many traditional traits. It is the latter quality particularly, that is evident in an ever increasing amount in the later Haggadoth of Germany, just as we find it to be present in the later Haggadoth of England and America.

PART II

THE HAGGADOTH OF ENGLAND

CHAPTER 1

THE HAGGADAH OF THE WEST LONDON SYNAGOGUE

A year after Stein produced the first Reform Haggadah in Germany, there was published the first one in England. Of the several Haggadoth associated with the Reform movement in England, the main one that will be discussed here is the 1842 edition by the Rev. D.W. Marks, entitled *הגדה ליל פסח*. Although the title follows the Sephardic custom, the page headings read *הגדה ליל פסח* according to the Ashkenazic custom. A few variations, which will be cited later, are found in the 1921 edition of the Haggadah, as it appears in Forms of Prayer used in the West London Synagogue of British Jews (Vol.II), edited by the ministers of the congregation.

As will shortly be indicated, this Haggadah is unique, differing immensely from both the traditional Haggadah, as well as Reform Haggadoth. In many ways we might even say that it is original, and yet at the same time it contains many familiar passages.

The traditional Kiddush opens the Haggadah, followed by a prayer¹ which includes elements we might normally consider to be alien to Reform. We observe here a desire to return to Zion and there offer up the required sacrifices². Thus, not only are the references to the sacrificial cult not deleted, but new ones are introduced³ which are not found in the traditional Haggadah. In the 1921 edition, however, these references are excluded, although the desire for a return to Zion is still expressed⁴.

Such familiar passages as *העשרה נסיונות*, the Four Questions,

and the Four Sons are omitted, and in their place we have biblical selections⁵, e.g. Ex.12¹⁻²⁰, interspersed with

traditional passages such as *וְיָבֹא אֵלָיו וְיִשְׁכַּח*

(which substitutes *וְיִשְׁכַּח* for *וְיִשְׁכַּח*), and the

section beginning *וְיִשְׁכַּח*. The verses of

Deut.26⁵⁻⁸ are here included⁶, but the traditional midrash

for them is not present. The "peshat" rendering of the phrase

וְיִשְׁכַּח is: "A wandering Aramean (Syrian, Assyrian)

was my father", and the midrash interprets it as: "An

Aramean (i.e. Laban) tried to kill my father" (i.e. Jacob).

The 1842 edition of the West London Synagogue Haggadah

introduces an interesting twist to the above "derash" by

saying: "An Assyrian had nearly caused my father to perish⁷",

but the later edition (1921) reverts back to the "peshat"⁸.

The ten plagues are listed in both editions, introduced

by the traditional phrase⁹ *וְיִשְׁכַּח*. They

are then followed by a summary of the "Dayenu" passages, as

in the traditional Haggadah (but not the passages themselves)

introduced by the phrase *וְיִשְׁכַּח* instead of

וְיִשְׁכַּח as in the traditional Haggadah.

We then come to the presentation of the three main Passover

symbols, which follow the traditional pattern of discussion,

but are preceded by¹⁰:

וְיִשְׁכַּח

instead of the quotation by Rabban Gamliel. Following this,

are the paragraph *וְיִשְׁכַּח*, a variation of the *וְיִשְׁכַּח*

passage, and Ps.113 and 114.

In the redemption blessing¹¹, this Haggadah again

differs from other Reform Haggadoth, for here there is a reference to the altar and the blood of sacrifices being sprinkled on it. In this respect, it also replaces the traditional phrase *ל'חם ו'כרם* by the phrase *ל'חם*

PNT . Since this passage is Mishnaic¹², such a change in wording might indicate the desire to move away from Rabbinic usage, which is so characteristic of the Rev. Marks and the Karaite tendencies found in this Haggadah¹³. The above mention of the sacrificial cult is completely omitted in the 1921 edition¹⁴.

The blessings for שמע ישראל and יהוה אחד are here said,
but יהוה אחד is omitted. In the Grace after Meals, which is
shortened and formulated differently from the traditional
version, the references to Zion, Jerusalem, and the Messiah
are included¹⁵. The only change in the later edition is the
omission of the phrase found in the 1841 edition¹⁶:
אמין אלהינו יהוה אחד ברוך שם כבוד מלכותו לעולם ועד

After the Grace is recited, Ps.78 is then included, along with a new prayer on the same theme. The Haggadah then concludes with several traditional passages: Ps.136,

π_{NE} , π_{SE} , and π_{EF} .

In view of the philosophy of this Haggadah, we might expect to find *pi shenim shenim*. In other Reform Haggadoth, its absence could be expected; here, however, the absence of this phrase is surprising, as is the omission of any songs to conclude the Seder service.

The Karaite characteristics and other innovations found in this Haggadah seem to detract immensely from its

effectiveness for the modern Seder participant. Consequently, when one examines this Haggadah, he wonders how it could appeal to people who may have been accustomed to the traditional Haggadah, or even any other Reform Haggadah; for this is such a radical departure from both.

Since Marks, the editor of this Haggadah, was the rabbi of the West London Synagogue for about sixty years, we can understand how his Haggadah could have become a fixed segment of that synagogue's liturgy, particularly since the Haggadah was included in its prayer book. Yet, at the same time, one wonders how and why the Haggadah was reprinted in 1921 (twelve years after Marks' death) in almost the same format as the original edition, and also whether it ever attained any widespread usage. If Mr. Leonard G. Montefiore, a son of Claude G. Montefiore, is any criterion as indicated in his letter to Jakob J. Petuchowski,¹⁷ then apparently it did not.

CHAPTER 2

THE HAGGADAH OF HAROLD F. REINHART

(appearing as a supplement in the SYNAGOGUE REVIEW, Apr.1941.)

This Haggadah by the then rabbi of the West London Synagogue is entirely in English, together with a transliteration of the benedictions, catchwords before certain passages, and the "agenda" listings, such as *וְשִׁבְתָּ לְךָ* and *וְשִׁבְתָּ לְךָ*. According to Petuchowski¹⁸, the reason for the absence of Hebrew "is undoubtedly due to the difficulties of publishing in war time". Notwithstanding this fact, the Haggadah follows very closely the traditional version of the Seder service, with only a few whole passages excluded, e.g. Ps.136 and *וְשִׁבְתָּ לְךָ*, probably for lack of space.

In addition, there are also changes in the passages that are included, these changes being mostly for ideological reasons. Both the *וְשִׁבְתָּ לְךָ* paragraph and the Havdalah are omitted. There is no mention of Zion or Jerusalem in any passage, except within the listing of the "Dayenu" items: "If he had brought us to the land of Israel, and had not built for us the Temple¹⁹". References to the altar and sacrifices are generally omitted (e.g. in the redemption blessing) along with hopes for the Restoration; yet we do find mention of them -- although less obvious than in those cases which are omitted -- in:

- a) the discussion of the symbol "Pesach"²⁰: "you shall say that it is the sacrifice of the Lord's Passover".

b) Hallel²¹: "Bind the festive offering with cords, even unto the horns of the altar."

The washing of the hands, the ten plagues, the midrash on Deut. 26⁵⁻⁸, as well as פאנן ז/ח are also not found here. At the point where the latter would be said, the Haggadah gives instructions for the door to be opened²², without any further hint as to what is said or done. Furthermore, Elijah is also excluded from the Grace after Meals; but we do find there references to the "Messianic day" and the "world to come"²³.

In place of the objectionable passages which it omits, the redemption blessing substitutes some words in a universalistic vein. The blessing after the fourth cup of wine (/צדו וצו שח/ צדו שח) is similarly changed to a prayer "to stimulate us to deeds worthy of free men"²⁴. Concluding the service are three Passover songs, with the last one (חזן וזן זח/ח) making changes in numbers 6, 8, and 9.

Perhaps the absence of Hebrew in this Haggadah makes it seem so short, but it certainly contains quite a bit of material (almost the entire traditional Haggadah) in eight pages. Traditionally speaking, and aside from the absence of Hebrew, it is one of the most complete Reform Haggadoth that we have studied so far, and is certainly a good companion, or even replacement, for the Haggadah of the West London Synagogue.

CHAPTER 3

THE HAGGADAH OF THE LIBERAL MOVEMENT

1918-1962

- A - 1918 - in Services and Prayers for Jewish Homes,
published by the Liberal Jewish Synagogue.
- B - 193? - " " " " " "
- C - 1953? - published by the Union of Liberal and Progressive
Synagogues.
- D - 1962 - same publisher as "C".

Of the Haggadoth mentioned above, "A" is found in the British equivalent of the Union Home Prayer Book. "B" is exactly the same as "A", and so will not be discussed here. Dates are not listed on the title page of "B" and "C", and so the ones given above are those attributed to the Haggadoth by the Hebrew Union College Library, after consulting Yaari's bibliography²⁵. Since all of the above Haggadoth have similar publishers, and since their dates are not definite, they will be called in this study: A, C, or D (as above), with the comments that refer to A, also applying to B.

Whereas A moves directly into the Seder service with the recitation of the Kiddush (after noting that the Kiddush is preceded by the kindling of the lights), C opens with a list of preparations for the Seder. D even precedes the latter with a short introduction concerning the history of the Haggadah and the Seder. The editor of D emphasizes that the Seder is basically a home celebration, and that

"it is very important that it should remain so²⁶". He further indicates that the communal Seder has historical precedent as far back as the Second Temple, and then later in medieval Spain; yet, although the custom is today widespread, "it must not be allowed to supplant the family Seder".²⁷

In their instructions for preparing the table, C and D both include a goblet for Elijah, but A makes no mention of it at anytime. D adds that "where the custom of 'leaning' is observed, the participants, or at least the leader, should be provided with a cushion²⁸". We can understand the presence of this custom in D when we see that the aim of the editors is twofold²⁹:

1. To use as much traditional material as possible.
2. To inject a modern universalistic note.

The second aim thus casts a light on the opening meditation in D, with its hope "that the whole world will be delivered from bondage and illumined by the worship of God³⁰".

Both C and D include the blessings for the candles in Hebrew and English, with the latter edition providing an alternate prayer in English. This is followed in D by the priestly blessing³¹ to be recited over the children present, whether the Seder be a communal one, or at home. Before the Kiddush, C and D present an explanation of the origin of the wine as used in the Seder, as well as the meaning of the four cups. D informs us that Passover, which expresses the deliverance of Israel in the past, also looks forward to the deliverance of all mankind in the future.

Thus Passover indicates the hope that the coming of the Messianic Age may "be realised *בקרוב ומהר* speedily in our days³²".

It is at this point, as mentioned above, that A opens its service with the Kiddush. All three editions being discussed here (i.e. A, C, and D) omit the 'עַד הַיּוֹם' paragraph and Havdalah, although the latest edition (D) includes a note after the Kiddush, stating that the Havdalah may be inserted there, but does not include it. The Kiddush in A and C is the traditional one, including the "chosen people" references, but D omits the phrase 'לְעַם בְּחֻרָתָא', and for it substitutes 'לְכָל עַם וְעַם'. This consequently qualifies the meaning of 'וְיִשְׁמַח בְּךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ כִּי יָבִיא לָנוּ מִלְּךָ מֶלֶךְ עוֹלָם', resulting in the translation: "who didst choose us from all peoples to proclaim thy unity throughout the world³⁴". In spite of the above changes, the clause 'וְיִשְׁמַח בְּךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ כִּי יָבִיא לָנוּ מִלְּךָ מֶלֶךְ עוֹלָם' still remains.

After the Kiddush, 0272 is omitted in A, but C comments that "at this point in the service, those who follow all traditional customs eat a little parsley or cress dipped in salt water³⁵. This is carried out after saying the blessing 0273 0274 which is included in C and D together with an explanation of the origin of 0275. Incidentally, it should be mentioned here that D provides an excellent appendix containing further historical and explanatory notes³⁶ on the various parts of the Seder, with references to talmudic and midrashic literature.

Both A and C contain the same version of /NN6 100 ,

omitting the references to slavery and Palestine. D however, does include the mention of slavery (but not Palestine), yet translates it: "this year many are oppressed, next year may all be free³⁷". In all editions, *לְכָל עַם יִשְׂרָאֵל* is then followed by the reading of a short passage whose universalistic implications and brotherhood tones stand out most clearly.

Where we might expect to find the Four Questions, A and C have only the sentence: *עַל כֵּן יִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׂרָאֵל*. It is present in both Hebrew and English, to the latter of which is also added: "and what is the meaning of the service and the things that are on the table?³⁸". This leads into the questions asked by the Four Sons, and the answers given them, which are not necessarily the traditional ones. The questions and answers to the sons are all in English, and are out of their usual position in the Haggadah.

In D, however, we find the complete Four Questions in Hebrew and English. In fact, the third question in English even explains what the two types of "dipping" are. Furthermore, an alternative fourth question about the roasted lamb is offered³⁹ for those who do not observe the custom of leaning, or who do not attribute sufficient importance to it⁴⁰. In the translation of *לֵךְ עִם בְּרִיתְךָ* (found also in Hebrew), A and C depart from their otherwise literal presentation of this passage, and include the sentence: "We share in the blessing of the redemption that came to our fathers⁴¹". This is omitted in D, which adheres strictly to the literal translation of the paragraph.

D gives us a paraphrase in English of the story of of the rabbis who sat all night relating the Passover details,

and then (in contrast to the other editions, but like the traditional Haggadah) discusses the Four Sons. Of the three editions which explain this, D follows the traditional pattern more closely than the others do, although also not adhering completely to it. The appendix⁴² explains how this edition differs from the traditional one.

All editions omit *וְיָמְנוּ לְפָנָיו*, and continue with Deut. 26⁵⁻⁸ minus the midrash. The ten plagues are not included in any edition, but D notes⁴³ how at this point the traditional Haggadah dwells on that story at considerable length. The editors of D, in a lengthy explanation in the appendix⁴⁴ claim that they must exclude the ten plagues and other miracles from the Haggadah because, to put it briefly, they feel that:

- a) these stories have been somewhat embellished.
- b) God here contradicts the laws of nature which he himself ordained.
- c) there were times in history when God did not act, e.g. against the Nazis; therefore where is his justice?
- d) the plagues raise questions concerning the moral nature of God.

Any enmity which the ten plagues (although not present here) might awaken against the Jews, is mollified by a prayer in D thanking God for helping the Jews outlive their persecutors, and indicating that: "our prayer is not for the destruction of enemies and evildoers, but of enmity and evil⁴⁵". A somewhat similar train of thought is continued with the inclusion of a passage⁴⁶ from the Babylonian Talmud in Hebrew and English⁴⁷ describing how God rebuked the ministering angels for wanting

to sing a song of praise when the Egyptians were drowning in the sea. The editors here add that in line with this sentiment, a shortened version of the Hallel was proclaimed for the last six days of Passover.⁴⁸

Following this section in D, and after Deut. 26⁵⁻⁸ in A and C, all editions provide for the telling of the exodus story, and include details for the leader of the Seder to utilize, if he so wishes. The "Dayenu" listing in A and C is the same (although containing fewer items than the traditional Haggadah) including the mention of Palestine and the Temple, as well as an original insertion of : *יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ* which is similar to the Union Haggadah's use of *יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ* *אֱלֹהֵינוּ*, both of which are not found in the traditional "Dayenu". To this, C adds its version of the summary passage that begins with the words *יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ*. In D, we are also introduced to three new items in the "Dayenu" listing, all reiterating this edition's philosophy of universalism and the mission of Israel. These are summarized with others in the *יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ* section. The following are the new "Dayenu" passages⁴⁹:

יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ

Something which we have not seen previously in Reform Haggadoth is now introduced in A and C - - the first paragraph of the Shema, including *יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ*.

All of this is inserted in D at the end of the service.

In the discussion of the three Passover symbols which follows, the Pesach paragraph in Hebrew is omitted in D, although explained in the English⁵⁰ and in the notes.⁵¹ Both A and C present the Hebrew in its entirety, but in the English omit the references to God's smiting the Egyptians. They do, however, explain Pesach much more clearly than does the traditional Haggadah. The symbols Matzah and Moror are included in all editions, both in Hebrew and English according to the traditional format.

It is interesting to observe how D nicely relates the discussion of the symbols (and the material that follows) back to each of the Four Questions⁵², and so includes at this point passages concerning "dipping", charoset, "leaning", and the roast lamb; the latter to be read if the alternate fourth question was asked. A and C also present similar paragraphs explaining some of the symbols, but not the custom of "leaning".

All editions now include comments about Passover as the spring harvest festival⁵³, with appropriate quotations from Song of Songs⁵⁴ (D even includes the Hebrew of this). They also describe how various Seder symbols are associated with that time of year. In D, Rabban Gamliel's comment about the importance of explaining Pesach (though it is not mentioned here), Matzah and Moror are here given in English⁵⁵.

The section beginning 7/3/ 3/3 *Shp* is then found in D⁵⁶, but not in other editions. Up to a point, it is exactly the same as the traditional version, but

omitting only the last verse⁵⁷, referring to the return to the land which God promised to our ancestors. It then continues with a new version in Hebrew and English, explaining part of the mission of Israel:⁵⁸

אֵלֶּם אֶתְּחַלְּצֶנּוּ מִיַּד הַצָּר, כִּי צָרָה לָנוּ
אֶתְּחַלְּצֶנּוּ מִיַּד הַצָּר, כִּי צָרָה לָנוּ
אֶתְּחַלְּצֶנּוּ מִיַּד הַצָּר, כִּי צָרָה לָנוּ
אֶתְּחַלְּצֶנּוּ מִיַּד הַצָּר, כִּי צָרָה לָנוּ

This is followed by the traditional קוּדְשָׁא in Hebrew and English in all editions. The English in A and C does not translate the word פִּלְעֵל, which in D becomes "marvellous deeds"⁵⁹ instead of the usual translation as "miracles". For the first part of Hallel, A and C present selections (mostly English) from Ps. 113, 114, 115, and 118; although the last two mentioned are traditionally recited after the meal. D, on the other hand, adheres to the traditional pattern and includes at this point only Ps. 113 and 114, in both Hebrew and English. All editions omit the traditional verse: "who maketh a barren woman to dwell in her house as a joyful mother of children"⁶⁰, no doubt wanting to be cautious about offending any of the Seder participants.

The redemption blessing in A and C pursues the traditional version in Hebrew until the words הֵאֱרַתָּנוּ מִיִּצְרָאֵל, and then concludes with the traditional הֵאֱרַתָּנוּ מִיִּצְרָאֵל.

In English, a paraphrase thanks God for having redeemed our fathers (but not us) from Egypt, and also thanks him for the Feast of Passover. The English הֵאֱרַתָּנוּ however, adds something to that which the Hebrew says, by blessing

God as the redeemer of Israel "and all mankind"⁶¹. The same thoughts are repeated in the English translation as found in D⁶², but there, we are also included as having been redeemed from Egypt along with our ancestors. In D, the redemption theme is more emphasized than previously, as indicated for example by the translation: "that by eating unleavened bread and bitter herbs we may commemorate our redemption"⁶³, which is not found in the earlier editions.

The most notable change in the redemption blessing as found in D is that, whereas the previous editions of the Liberal Haggadah omitted the traditional references to the restoration of Zion and sacrifices, this edition does likewise, but attempts to approximate the traditional Haggadah, by substituting a new version to indicate its own theology. Thus D continues:⁶⁴

וְהָיָה כְּשֶׁנִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ בְּיָמֵינוּ וְנִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ בְּיָמֵינוּ וְנִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ בְּיָמֵינוּ

We consequently see here a hope in the coming of God's kingdom and a rejoicing in his worship, both thoughts of which are variations on the traditional theme. Note especially that the *וְנִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה* in Hebrew now includes an addition which the English in all earlier editions had always contained.

After the redemption blessing, a second cup of wine should be drunk, according to the traditional Haggadah. "A" makes no mention of this, nor of any other cup after the Kiddush. C, on the other hand, lists throughout the Haggadah the various places where the cups are drunk⁶⁵, but omits the appropriate blessing on each occasion.

Only in D, do we have each of the four cups mentioned with its blessing.

The carrying out of $\text{וְשֵׁנִי לְכִסְיִי}$ and וְיָיִן now takes place, but no blessing for וְיָיִן is included, except in D⁶⁶. For וְיָיִן , A mentions nothing, C presents only a historical explanation, and D includes the traditional passage וְיָיִן וְיָיִן in Hebrew and English⁶⁷. At this point, the Afikomen is hidden, but A makes no mention of it.

Grace after Meals is preceded by the traditional singing of Ps. 126 in D (found here in Hebrew and English), and then continues with a version of the traditional call to say Grace. In the appendix to D, the editors indicate some of the changes which they have made in the Grace⁶⁸:

- "We follow the traditional text, except that:
- a) we have made a number of omissions.
 - b) the prayer for Sabbath is new, and
 - c) in the verse 'May God, in his mercy, make us worthy...', we have substituted 'the days of redemption' for the 'days of the Messiah'".

These changes will be indicated as we go along.

The first paragraph of the Grace after Meals in A is the same as the traditional paragraph, but C⁶⁹ omits the words from: וְיָיִן וְיָיִן until וְיָיִן וְיָיִן . This passage was however, reinserted in the 1962 edition. Also the words וְיָיִן וְיָיִן in the וְיָיִן section are omitted in C (although A includes them without a translation), and then reinserted in D, with a translation. Further on in the Grace, we have the omission in C (although found in A and D) of the words:

1021/1187 which follows in all editions omits the references to Zion and the Messiah. A and C here conclude the service with a selection of verses from the last paragraph of the traditional Grace, to which C also adds the 1018/1187 verse, which should actually precede the others.

After *1 Cor 11:17*, D continues with a number of *1 Cor 11:17* passages, omitting the references to Elijah and the "breaking of the yoke". Instead of the prayer for the coming of the Messiah, it also introduces a new prayer⁷⁰:

והרחמים ברא יצחק אברהם ויעקב
which in English reads: "May God in his mercy permit us to
witness the days of redemption, and to inherit everlasting
life". The Grace then concludes with: --- /אמן ואלהי אבותינו.

The third cup of wine is now drunk in C and D, and the door is opened (but not in A), leading to various explanations here about Elijah's cup. C informs us that⁷¹:

"It was customary to open the door at this point in the Service, originally, it is probable, as a sign of hospitality, but it came to be interpreted as an expression of the trust in God which banishes all fears. Those wishing to observe this custom might, while the door is open, recite the following verses from Psalm 27."

At the beginning of the Haggadah, before the Kiddush, C, in a discussion of the cup of Elijah, states that⁷²:

"one associates it with the belief in the coming of Elijah as the forerunner of the Messiah, so that the cup has become the symbol of the future redemption of humanity."

To this it adds that the cup was probably placed on the table ready for any stranger who might come in to partake in the Seder (i.e. as stated in *לחן פה*). "It is therefore the symbol of the spirit of hospitality and Jewish brotherhood⁷³". In view of these comments, we can observe an attitude which is exactly the opposite of that expressed in the traditional *פניו פ'ל* which is absent in all editions of the Liberal Haggadah.

The above sentiments found in C concerning Elijah's cup, are reiterated in D⁷⁴. For the custom of opening the door, D tells us⁷⁵ that it may have originated as a gesture of hospitality, but that it came to be interpreted as an expression of trust in God, arising out of the fear of persecutions which befell the Jews, particularly in the Middle Ages. In view of this, continue the editors in the appendix⁷⁶, we can understand why the traditional Haggadah has the passage: "pour out thy wrath upon the nations that do not acknowledge thee"; but, so they contend, this is not a sentiment "worthy of perpetuation"⁷⁷. As in the case of C, D also provides for the reciting of Ps.27 at this point, a custom which seems to have been introduced by Rabbi Israel Mattuck⁷⁸.

For the latter part of the Hallel which is now said, A provides a few small selections in Hebrew and English; C contains a little more than A; and D includes almost all of the sections in the traditional Haggadah (but omitting

--- *לחן פה*). Except for the singing of

Passover songs, this concludes the Seder as found in A, but C and D continue with the Great Hallel (Ps.136) in Hebrew and English. C then concludes with the drinking of the fourth cup, a medieval poem by Isaac Ibn Giat⁷⁹, and several Passover songs. D then continues with *||N^c||* in Hebrew and English, followed by the fourth cup of wine.

The conclusion in D consists of a prayer of thanks to God for the blessings of the past, and at the same time also remembers the Jewish martyrs of all ages, particularly those of World War II. In this closing prayer, we see reflected the ideology of the editors with regard to redemption and universalism, as well as a new attitude to Israel, different from that prevalent within the body of this edition and its predecessors. We need only quote the following:⁸⁰

"We give thanks that many have found refuge especially in the land of Israel, praying that peace may reign within its borders and that the Law may again go forth from Jerusalem, and even as we pray that our faith, with its message of redemption for all humanity, may flourish more and more in our own land and in all lands."

Following the above paragraph in D, we find the portion of the Shema which previous editions placed after "Dayenu". Songs in Hebrew and English are then inserted, the only noteworthy alteration being in⁸¹ *||N^c||*. The change which we might expect to find for #8 is here present (i.e. eight days of Chanukah), but for #9 we find a new version, which we have not met previously -- a reference to the nine candles of the Chanukah Menorah (including the Shammash).

In looking back over the Haggadoth associated with

Liberal Judaism in England, we notice firstly that they are much closer to the traditional Haggadah than are those of the West London Synagogue, with the exception of Reinhart's Haggadah. We also observe that they contain for the most part those omissions and changes which we usually associate with Reform (i.e. Liberal) Haggadoth, such as the ones concerning sacrifices and the city of Jerusalem. At the same time, however, from edition to edition (with the exception of B, which is the same as A) there is a marked trend towards more tradition. This is particularly so in the many ways that D is more traditional than the previous editions, e.g. in the inclusion of more passages in Hebrew from the traditional Haggadah, as well as original innovations in Hebrew (such as in the "Dayenu" section⁸²). This is in keeping with the aim of the editors of D to use more traditional material.⁸³

Each edition also demonstrates a greater tendency to make the service clear to the participants, and so we find more and more explanations both in the preface and also within the text itself. D further expands in those areas, as well as presenting a very fine appendix, giving source references for symbols and customs; and also variants as found, for example, in the traditional Haggadah⁸⁴. It still, however, does not contain the quantity or quality of material found in the appendix of the Union Haggadah's Revised Edition.

Of all the changes in the Liberal Haggadah, the most noticeable is the increased insertion by D of universalistic elements wherever possible, sometimes ad nauseam. A and C also show a pacifistic bent, as demonstrated in the English

translation of the symbol "Pesach" which omits the mention of God's smiting the Egyptians. D continues the trend in its reasoning for omitting the plagues⁸⁵. These thoughts are coupled in with the Mission of Israel and the belief in a Messianic Age, when the establishment of God's kingdom will bring redemption for all mankind.

Here again, in the case of the Reform and Liberal Haggadoth of England, just as in the case of those that developed in Germany, we find some of the same trends in both instances. For the most part, both sets of Haggadoth retain the same pattern of alterations and omissions with respect to their individual ideologies and theologies; but particularly noticeable is the fact that throughout the years, each begins to adopt an increasing number of traditional elements, until the latest product of each country (viz. the Offenbacher Haggadah in Germany and the Liberal Haggadah of England) resembles the other in many respects.

PART III

THE HAGGADOTH OF THE UNITED STATES

CHAPTER 1

THE HAGGADAH OF DAVID EINHORN

(in his prayer book, Berlin 1858, used in Har Sinai Congregation
Baltimore.)

Among the first Reform Haggadoth used by Jews in America was the one by David Einhorn, found in his prayer book

3'N1 Nf/r used in his congregation in Baltimore, and in other congregations in the United States. The prayer book, which is mostly in German, contains much Hebrew, particularly when compared with Maier's prayer book of ten years before. The Haggadah itself, entitled "Domestic Service on the Eve Of Passover", is entirely in German, with the exception of two words: *ל' ו'ל'ק'ל'ל'ל'* which refer to the Israelites as fighting hosts of God. The prayer book was printed three years after Einhorn came to America to be rabbi in Baltimore, and was used by congregations where German was the vernacular. In 1872, in New York, it was translated into English (including the Haggadah); but in 1896, a new translation edited by Emil G.Hirsch no longer contained the Haggadah, as well as other material found in the first English edition.

In his Haggadah, Einhorn omits *ל' ו'ל'ק'ל'ל'ל'* (as well as *ל' ו'ל'ק'ל'ל'ל'* which one might expect to be omitted), and begins the Haggadah with a version of *ל' ו'ל'ק'ל'ל'ל'*. Actually, the only resemblance to the original is the first sentence. He continues to explain the significance of the "unleavened bread" (not "bread of affliction"), and informs the group that they have gathered on this "night of watching"

(cf. פ'ג/נ'ע, פ'ד) to thank God and offer praise to Him, and to celebrate the remembrance of the events in Egypt.

This leads a child to ask two questions:

1. Why is this night called a "night of watching"?
2. Why is this holiday celebrated more festively in Jewish houses than any other ?

The answers are provided by the head of family in a version of /J''') פ'גדג.

One of the Seder participants asks whether our ancestors in Egypt also assembled on this night in their houses for the purpose of worship, to which the leader of the Seder gives a definite affirmative answer, commenting that the forms were, however, different. This leads to a discussion of the various symbols, indicating their different meaning then and now. Thus, states the leader of the Seder, the sacrificial meal, which has not been observed since the destruction of the Temple, is replaced by : "the thank-offerings which we present this evening to the Keeper of Israel in our songs and entertainment¹".

We find in this Haggadah, explanations which either differ from the traditional explanation, or else add something to it. Thus, whereas one usually considers the symbol of bitter herbs as being a reminder to us of the bitter times in Egypt, Einhorn informs us that they were used by our ancestors in Egypt. When the Israelites marched towards Canaan, the bitter herbs were to remind them that the struggle ahead, involving the other nations, was to be a bitter one. In a similar fashion, Einhorn contrasts the symbolic use

of matzah today, with its original use in Egypt.

There is now traced for us the trials and terrors of Israel throughout its history, with emphasis placed on the fact that these martyrs nevertheless still maintained their faith in the divine promise of freedom and victory. This confidence in God had its reward when much of the darkness was changed into light:

"though there is not yet full light everywhere; and it is chiefly in this, our vast and great country, that the tents of Jacob stand planted like gardens by the stream²".

For Einhorn, therefore, the Jew has finally come home to rest.

Praise is consequently offered to God by means of selections from the Hallel, followed by a prayer remotely related to --- / *Wahle alle Ehre / der Herr*. Here there is also thanks for redemption, but a universal note is injected:³

"to allow Israel to see the day of the redemption of all mankind; that we may sing to Thee a new song together with all nations of the earth".

After the meal, the "usual" grace is recited (though not included here), followed by a closing benediction read responsively. The grace, although not part of the Haggadah itself, is included in the prayer book in the section entitled "Domestic Service." It consists of one paragraph of praise and thanks to God for all that has been received. In it, the meal becomes the symbol of a peace-offering, and the table an altar "reminding us of the sublime priestly mission of Israel⁴".

In the preface to his prayer book, Einhorn states that he has made a great attempt to be consistent in it; this

effort was naturally carried over into his Haggadah. Yet in a Haggadah of approximately **eight** pages, such **as** his, it is much easier to be consistent than in a larger Haggadah. This struggle for consistency does not seem to have made the Haggadah any more appealing, although it did realize an ideal. There are, on the other hand, Haggadoth that came after Einhorn's (both of the consistent and inconsistent type), that are much more satisfying, aesthetically and theologically.

Einhorn's Haggadah was among the first Reform Haggadoth used by Jews in America, whether they maintained the earlier German edition, or adopted the later English one. If one examines Emil G. Hirsch's preface to the new English translation of *3'11 1 1874* in 1896, he gathers that the prayer book has had a significant impact on Reform Judaism in America:⁵

"We know that there will always be a few congregations that will continue to love their Einhorn; for many decades they have by this book been led to the fount of true edification. They know no reason why they should now exchange their old and well-tried friend for a new-comer that, at its best, can only give what the old possesses so abundantly."

Strangely enough, the Haggadah was not included in this edition of the prayer book, and if one examines the Reform Haggadoth that followed Einhorn's, he observes that they were only minutely affected by his. We might therefore conclude, that while Einhorn's prayer book itself was held in high estimation, this may not have been so, with respect to his Haggadah.

CHAPTER 2

THE HAGGADAH OF BENJAMIN SZOLD (in his home prayerbook
Baltimore, 1867)

This Haggadah in Hebrew and corresponding German was compiled by a man who was rabbi of the Reform congregation Oheb Sholom in Baltimore, and a member of the C.C.A.R., yet also had Conservative leanings. On the one hand he preached to his congregation the importance of the traditional observance of the Sabbath, and tried to keep them from straying in this respect, even asking them to withdraw from the U.A.H.C. To add to this, he was sympathetic to Zionism, and was invited to be instructor in Talmud at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, to which he also felt close. On the other hand, in spite of all this, he remained until his death a member of the C.C.A.R.; received an honorary degree from Hebrew Union College on the basis of his scholarship in the field of Bible, and was even a candidate in 1883 for a chair in Bible at Hebrew Union College.⁶ His Haggadah^{which} is found as one of the sections of his home prayer book,⁷ opens in the traditional manner, with a list of the Passover symbols and a short comment on each, including the four cups of wine to be drunk. The Kiddush omits the 'עֵץ פֶּי' paragraph⁸ as well as the phrase 'לֶחֶם עֵץ לִי' but retains the other references to the chosen people. Similarly, the Havdalah omits the phrase⁹ 'לֶחֶם עֵץ לִי' but retains other references of the same type. The German translation for these passages, it should be noted, adheres to the Hebrew.

In 'לֶחֶם עֵץ לִי'¹⁰ we find mention of our being in slavery, but the expression of hope for being in Israel is omitted.

(ה'שנ' / ק' אכיל) . The German translation here corresponds faithfully to the Hebrew. In the blessings before the meal, the *ל' ח' / נ'* is omitted, and only the blessing for *ד' ש' נ'* is recited. Also *ק' ו' / נ'* is excluded.

Our editor refers us back to p.29 for the Grace after Meals. (Incidentally, pp.27 and 28 have an abbreviated Grace, one in Hebrew and German, and one in German only.) The full Grace that is here given is unusual, because its omissions are generally for brevity's sake, and not for theological reasons; thus we have the inclusion of all references to Zion and Jerusalem. With one exception (*ל' ח' / נ'* *אמר ק' ו' / נ'* instead of *ל' ח' / נ'* *אמר ק' ו' / נ'*) the first half of the Grace is wholly traditional, and all omissions and changes come after the *ק' ו' / נ'* paragraph.

After the Grace, the third cup of wine is drunk, and no reference is made to the door being opened, the cup of Elijah, or *ק' ו' / נ'* . This is followed by the remainder of the Hallel, beginning with Ps. 117 (instead of Ps.115 as traditionally), but omitting the last paragraph (*ק' ו' / נ'*). The Haggadah then concludes with the blessing for the fourth cup of wine¹⁶.

All that can really be said about this Haggadah in summary, is that it contains both markedly traditional as well as markedly Reform elements, and it is difficult to determine to which side the Haggadah leans more. There are certainly inconsistencies present here; for if we try to say that this Haggadah favors the "chosen people" doctrine, as again indicated by the presence of passages of this nature;

then why, we might ask, do we also find statements to the contrary. We must admit that it is a puzzle, unless of course, Szold was trying to cater to both points of view.

THE HAGGADAH OF I.S. MOSES

(Chicago, 1892)

The version of the Haggadah used for the discussion here, will be the manuscript edition of 1892. The next year, the first edition appeared, without any changes over the previous year's copy. Numerous editions appeared in the following years, with only minor changes, which will be listed here.

After enumerating the various items to be placed on the Seder table, the Haggadah includes the comment:¹⁷

"With bread (sic) and wine, the two most precious gifts of the earth, and with the symbols of Israel's checkered career, shall we celebrate the return of this oldest and most significant Festival of Judaism in happy family reunion".

The Kiddush, like most other versions in Reform Haggadoth, omits the *'leḥ pī* paragraph and Havdalah. What remains in the Kiddush is an odd formulation, for one reason: it is traditional in all respects, but omits the words: *יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ*.

Observing this omission, one would expect to see absent all references to the "chosen people" concept (as, for example, in Maybaum's Haggadah); yet this is not so, as witnessed by the presence of : *פָּרָה וְכֹסֶם וְיֵרֵךְ וְיֵלֶכֶת*. It therefore becomes difficult to explain why one is omitted, and the other not, since all of these passages have the same concept in mind. The universalistic intention is certainly clear in a paraphrase of part of the Kiddush:¹⁸

"Thou hast called our ancestors to Thy service, to proclaim Thy truth that Thou art the Father of all men, and the Ruler of all nations".

A footnote at the beginning of this Haggadah indicates that it is formulated after the German of Leopold Stein. Although the Haggadah contains many translations from Stein, it does at times alter these. The Haggadah, which opens in the non-traditional manner, is completely in English, except for two passages in this edition cited in Hebrew -- the Kiddush and the shortened version of the Grace after Meals.

For *הנה* *הנה* we have the same poem used by Stein. This is followed by a child's asking one question: the usual introductory one (*הנה* *הנה*) combined with a general question on the meaning of the unleavened bread, bitter herbs, and all the other symbols on the table. The version in English of *הנה* *הנה* follows that of Stein, as does also that of the midrash based on: "a wanderer from the East (sic) was my father¹⁹", the latter varying only slightly from Stein's version, and even including the ninth verse of Deut.26.

Moses' rendition of the midrash is brought even more up to date, with the inclusion of such a statement as:²⁰

"He did bring us into this Canaan -- America,
this land of freedom".

Similarly, the verse: *הנה* *הנה* *הנה* *הנה* leads to the statement:²¹

"He has made us co-workers in, and partakers of the
liberty and the free government of this glorious
Republic".

The comments on the three main Passover symbols are the same as those in Stein. In the manuscript edition, the leader of the Seder is then provided with an opportunity to expound on the blessings of the past year, and the history of his

own house. This is omitted in later editions, as is also a hymn of praise²², which is replaced by a responsive reading.²³

There now follows a version in English of the prayer:

1) *Yisroel* *shel* *End* *Yisroel* *rek* which was not included in Stein's Hargadah. Like many other Reform renditions of the same prayer, it omits the references to Zion and the sacrifices.

The Grace after Meals, which is the second of the two Hebrew passages in this Haggadah, begins with a version of the traditional opening: *יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ (יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ) רַחֵם*

ד'ר'ק' וואס היינט אפאכטן / נען / אפאכטן / ח"ט' /

The later editions of this Haggadah, on the other hand, contain the complete traditional opening. This Grace consists of only the first two paragraphs found in the traditional Grace, the second of which contains several changes:

(1) For: דב"ר דבר חן וְהָיָה עַל הַמִּשְׁכָּן
 " " "
it reads: וְהָיָה עַל הַמִּשְׁכָּן

(2) In: *ה' אלהים אחד* *אשר לא ימות*
it omits: *ה' אלהים*

(3) It omits: /אם ידיתך שמתחת בהשגך/

(4) It omits the paragraph beginning: *הוּא ה' אלהינו*, but concludes with the blessing: *הללנוך ה' אלהינו* -- from that paragraph.

The corresponding English for the two paragraphs is only a paraphrase, omitting many of the elements included in the Hebrew.

Beginning with the second edition (1892), the Grace is much more complete, with the above changes no longer existing.

As mentioned above, the introduction to the Grace in later editions is the full one, and the 1907 edition even provides words and music for singing *שִׁיר הַמַּחְצִיט* (Ps.126) before the meal. The remainder of the Grace in these later editions follows the traditional one, with these changes:

(1) It omits: a) *אֶת*

b) *לַיּוֹם* for Sabbath

c) *וְעַתָּה*

d) *וְעַתָּה* and the blessing following

(2) For:

הַמַּלְאָכִים הָאֵלֶּה יִשְׂרָאֵל מַעֲשֵׂה בְרָאשִׁית וְעַתָּה
יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ קִוִּימוֹת עֲשֵׂה לָנוּ.

It reads: *הַמַּלְאָכִים הָאֵלֶּה יִשְׂרָאֵל מַעֲשֵׂה בְרָאשִׁית כֵּן אֵלֵינוּ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל*
וְעַתָּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ קִוִּימוֹת עֲשֵׂה לָנוּ.

(3) there is no mention of Elijah, but there is mention in

Hebrew of the Messiah, which becomes "Messianic Kingdom" when translated.

(4) it omits the last traditional paragraph (*וְיָד אֵת ה'*).

The first edition of Moses' Haggadah now ends with the singing of several Passover songs in English, followed by a blessing over the fourth cup of wine. The other editions here contain some form of the Hallel, including several verses in Hebrew in the second edition, substituted by transliteration in the later editions.

In the second and later editions, we also find Hebrew versions of the Passover songs, but not beside their English rendition. For *שִׁשִּׁי יְמֵי בְרָאשִׁית*, the Hebrew follows the traditional version, but the English has the following changes:

#6 - "Six days the Lord has given you
 In them your worldly work to do.

- #7 - The seven means a sacred time
By God made blessed and sublime.
- #8 - Eight are the candles clean and bright
That symbolize the Feast of Light.
- #9 - Nine are the symbols of God's grace
Ruling all things in time and space."

The meaning of #9 is not clear.

These later editions then conclude with the singing of AMERICA, THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER, and the drinking of the fourth cup.

The Haggadah by Moses, as we have seen, contains many of the elements found in the Haggadoth by Stein, such as the omission of references to Zion and sacrifices, and the inclusion of *וְיִשְׂרָאֵל* as in Stein's later edition. In each case, it is clear that the intention of the Haggadah is not to illustrate the "chosen people" concept in its literal meaning, and this is witnessed here by the inclusion of certain universalistic passages.

In examining the various editions, we find that the later ones include more Hebrew and are generally more traditional, yet still omitting the passages that might be objectionable to Reform Jews, and at the same time making certain changes, such as adopting the concept of a Messianic Kingdom. Most noticeable of the changes is the fact that the homeland of the Jews, as conceived by Moses, is not Germany or Palestine, but America. Thus we can understand why the yoke of oppression to be broken is not from the backs of the Jews in America, specifically, but rather "from off all our brethren of the house of Israel", according to Moses' version of the Grace after Meals.

CHAPTER 4

THE HAGGADAH OF RABBI J. LEONARD LEVY

(Philadelphia, 1896)

Only a few words need to be said about this Haggadah to illustrate its ideology which permeates all forty-four pages. The Haggadah is entirely in English, and only faintly resembles the traditional Haggadah. This resemblance is mainly by virtue of the order and arrangement of its passages, which include a section on immortality²⁴.

We can most certainly say that the Haggadah goes overboard in expressing its American Patriotism and universalistic views, which are combined with its comments on the mission of Israel. Among the various symbols of the Seder table is an American flag, which leads a child to ask in one of the Four (mostly new) Questions:²⁵

"What is the meaning of the flag and the flowers, the unleavened bread and the wine, and also these lights."

The entire Haggadah centers around the answers given by the Reader to questions asked by a child. It suffices merely to list a few of the questions asked, and this will immediately give a hint as to the philosophy prevalent here:

- a) "Does the history of the Jewish people show that they have been saved for a purpose?"²⁶
- b) "What is the mission of which we speak so often?"²⁷
- c) "When will this task be accomplished?"²⁸
- d) "What further meaning has the Passover besides this duty of remaining true to our religion and our mission?"²⁹

The rest is commentary.

87.
CHAPTER 5

THE SEDER - arranged by Joseph Krauskopf

(2nd ed., 1906)

It is difficult to tell whether this pamphlet is a Haggadah or a guide to the Seder, for it seems to combine aspects of both. This (unpaged) Haggadah, as we shall call it, is entirely in English, and in its eight pages is much closer to the traditional Haggadah (although still quite far) than the one by J. Leonard Levy.

Among the items to be placed on the Seder table are:

"Prayerbook and Hymnal - Symbols of Israel's
Comfort and Support.

U.S. National Flag - Symbol of Israel's Love of
Liberty.

Flowers - Symbol of Israel's Hope of Peace on
Earth and Good Will Among All Men".

To this, the notes on the bottom of the first page add:

"Have some flowers and a little United States Flag in front of each participant, the flag to be waved by each when singing the National Hymn. It will heighten the festive spirit and the joyfulness of the evening."

Included in this Haggadah is a Kiddush similar to most Reform ones; a paragraph of four questions, including one on the meaning of the flag; an explanation of the symbols of matzah and bitter herbs; a Grace after Meals and songs. The "mission" theme is here absent, and so the little emphasis we do find is on universalism, as for example, in the explanation of the matzah, which combines elements of

(C N N S K D) : "As we are free, may the next year see all Israel and all mankind free."

Krauskopf, who compiled this Haggadah was one of the

leaders of the American Reform movement towards the end of the last century and the beginning of this one. A member of the first graduating class of Hebrew Union College(1883), he became rabbi of Philadelphia's Keneseth Israel Congregation in 1887, and president of the C.C.A.R. in 1903. This might lead us to believe that his Haggadah influenced the creating of the Union Haggadah; but compared to each other, they are like day and night. The same can be said about Krauskopf's Service Ritual (1888) and his Service Manual (1892), published almost about the same time as the first edition of the Union Prayer Book (1892) which contained a Haggadah. Yet the Union Prayer Book of that time, with all its Reform characteristics, was much closer to the Orthodox Siddur than was Krauskopf's prayer book mentioned above, which he continued to use in his congregation, instead of the one issued by the C.C.A.R.

THE UNION HAGGADAH

1892 (in Union Prayer Book)
 1905 (manuscript edition)
 1907 (first edition)
 1907 (second edition)
 1908 (third edition)

In order to fully comprehend the development of the Union Haggadah, it is necessary to examine the background behind its publication, as reflected in the pages of the CCAR YEARBOOK. In a letter to the president and members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis (C.C.A.R.) on Dec. 2, 1892³⁰, Dr. Mielziner, the chairman of its Ritual Committee, informed them that an error had been made in appending to the Union Prayer Book some material which had not been submitted to the Ritual Committee.

This error was committed by the Rev. I.S. Moses, secretary of the committee, who had included the confirmation and marriage ceremonies, as well as the Passover Haggadah, in the 1892 edition of the Union Prayer Book, containing daily prayers, and also prayers for Sabbath and the Pilgrim Festivals. On examining its manuscript edition (1892) prepared for the C.C.A.R., we find that the three above-mentioned items are included in the "Table of Contents" (without any page reference), but do not appear in the actual text of the prayer book; it is only in the prayer book, as adopted by the C.C.A.R. the same year, that the Haggadah appears. Not only is this Haggadah exactly the same as the 1892 edition by I.M. Moses (who was the secretary of the Ritual Committee) discussed earlier, but even the plates are the same.

Continuing his letter, Mielziner writes:³¹

"If the Central Conference is not willing to approve of these appendices, they might easily be eliminated from this part of the prayer book, and in a more suitable fashion be either published separately or appended to the proposed second part of the Union Prayer Book."

This is no doubt why we do not find the Haggadah in later editions of the Union Prayer Book; viz. 1895, 1905, and later.

We might then assume that the Haggadah edited by Moses perhaps did not appeal to the C.C.A.R., leading ten years later to the suggestion for the preparation of a new Haggadah,³²

"that shall contain a clear exposition of the story of Passover, and at the same time be sufficiently modern in tone to arouse interest in the almost abandoned Sedar (sic) service."

The following year, the C.C.A.R. Committee on the Pesach Haggadah reported that it had examined existing literature on the subject. Among its recommendations, it pointed out that,³³

"the work to be issued shall embody the quaint charm and traditional sentiment of the original Haggadah, as far as this is consonant with the spirit of the present time."

It was soon realized that this was not going to be as easy as it had seemed, while at the same time adapting the Haggadah to modern times; nevertheless, they felt that,³⁴

"the task is imperative, because the old work is so entirely out of accord with the feelings of many sincere Jews, who are eager to preserve the old observance in a consistent and effective way."

At the same time, however;³⁵

"there must be a candid recognition of the fact that in the present generation much of the old Pesach Haggadah is obsolete

and tasteless, and at times even giving offense to our sense of devotion. This is due to the commingling of purely religious elements with the didactic, of innane sophisticated discussions with the announcement of lofty precepts, the humorous with the tragic, psalms with jingling rhymes, universal truths with narrow materialistic concepts and the like."

The above material to be excluded would then be counteracted by the inclusion of new materials to be taken from Jewish history and literature.

One of the goals in preparing the Haggadah was to provide a standard form of service to be adopted by all;³⁶

"in the hope that the solidarity already secured in American Israel through the creation of the Union Prayer Book and the Union Hymnal, may be further strengthened."

The Haggadah may also have been warranted by the fact that the Passover Seder was perhaps gradually diminishing in importance in the Reform movement, leading Joseph Krauskopf to comment that the new Haggadah "will once more restore the Seder evening to the distinguished place it once held in the households of Israel."³⁷

The Union Haggadah was printed as a manuscript, and submitted to the C.C.A.R. at its convention in July 1905, after questions concerning it had been circulated among the members. At the convention, Kaufmann Kohler, who stated that he had not had time to read the Haggadah, complained vigorously about certain parts of it³⁸. He particularly opposed the use of Hebrew for *לחם מצות* in the manuscript edition, where Aramaic had been employed in the traditional Haggadah. He was also opposed to the revised form of the Four Questions, and claimed that the Haggadah should be

more modern. The view of I.M. Moses, also a member of the C.C.A.R., was that on the one hand the Haggadah was too modern; while at the same time he complained that the American element had been omitted. He, like Kohler, also opposed changing the Aramaic to Hebrew, and claimed that the Aramaic form had been used because it was the vernacular. Thus, he contended:³⁹ "Why should we translate the old vernacular into a foreign language, so that it should not be understood?" Apparently he did not realize that the "vernacular" (i.e. Aramaic) was no longer understood, and strangely enough in his own Haggadah (1892), Moses inserts neither Aramaic nor Hebrew for *לחן נוסף*, the above disputed passage.

It was opposition of this type that sent the manuscript back to its committee for revision. The following year (1906), it was resubmitted to the C.C.A.R. convention, accepted, and published in 1907. The discussion that follows here will examine the manuscript edition of 1905, comparing it with the ratified version which became the first edition (1907), as well as with the second (also 1907) and third (1908) editions, the latter two of which are almost the same. The revised edition of 1923 will be discussed in another chapter of this study. All references to "later" editions do not necessarily include the revised edition, unless so stated. For questions concerning the latter, refer to the specific chapter on it.

The 1905 manuscript edition opens in the traditional manner (from right to left), whereas all later editions open the opposite way. In its Foreword (found also in the other editions) are enumerated the various aims and purposes quoted

above, which the C.C.A.R. Ritual Committee had suggested in its preparation of the Haggadah. Among these purposes are the need for "carrying on the chain of piety, which links one generation to another"⁴⁰, as well as creating a Haggadah within the spirit of the time.

Variants in previous Ashkenazic and Sephardic Haggadoth are cited in the Foreword as examples of the freedom of adaptation with which texts and customs were accorded in the past. These, in turn, provide justifications "if any be needed"⁴¹ for the liberties taken in preparing the text of this Haggadah. Since, states the Foreword, "much of the old Pesach Haggadah is obsolete and tasteless"⁴², the new Haggadah has been developed "to save the Seder"⁴³. To this, the first edition adds (though not found in later editions): "too long have we been satisfied with the dry husks of medievalism"⁴⁴.

The actual Seder service opens with a listing of the various items found on the Seder table, together with directions for conducting the Seder. The following instructions in the manuscript edition⁴⁵ do not appear in later editions:

- a) "Four cups of wine are drunk by each participant in the service". Instead of this, in later editions we have the statement: "a cup of wine is placed at each plate", although we do find that four cups of wine are listed as being drunk.
- b) "A spare cup of wine, known as the 'cup of Elijah' is put on the table, but is not used during the service."
- c) "As an emblem of the great principle of freedom to which

this feast is consecrated, the table may appropriately be decked with the American flag".

The Kiddush is presented in its entirety in both Hebrew and English, including the "chosen people" passages and the paragraph beginning *לעל פה*, although the presence of the latter is quite unusual in previous Reform versions⁴⁶. The Havdalah, however, omits:

אמת ויפה הוסיף יי אלהים לנו
וקדש את ישראל ואת ארצו.

In later editions, the Kiddush is interspersed with passages in English of a literary nature, such as that found with the Sabbath eve Kiddush of the Union Prayer Book⁴⁷:

"Let us praise God with this symbol of joy ...". The paragraph beginning *לעל פה* is not translated in the later editions; Havdalah is omitted; the phrase used in the manuscript⁴⁸ and first⁴⁹ editions: "Thou hast chosen us O Lord above all peoples", becomes in the second and third editions⁵⁰:

"amongst all peoples".

The *אנחנו* passage is found in Hebrew in the manuscript, as follows:

האנחנו חסד עמי האלהים אבותינו בארץ חסד
כל מי שיהיה יבא ויחיה. כל מי שיהיה יבא ויחיה
ויבסח. יהי נצח עמנו האלהים אבותינו ישראל
כל מי שיהיה אבותינו חסד עמי האלהים אבותינו
ח/ר/י/

We find here that no reference is made to our being in slavery this year, or free men next year in Palestine. In later editions, the above Hebrew is translated into Aramaic,

accompanied by a corresponding English translation, as in the case of the Hebrew.

At this point, the traditional Haggadah would have a child ask the Four Questions, but all editions of the Union Haggadah (except the Revised Edition) precede that section with the story of the Four Sons. The sentence: *בן חכם מהו? בן חסיד מהו? בן ערש מהו? בן ערש מהו?* found in the manuscript edition, is omitted in later editions (including the Revised), and so continues: "The Law speaks of four types of children"⁵¹ In the first edition, this becomes: "the sages speak ..." ⁵². In all editions there is a change

concerning the wise and evil sons. With respect to the former, the mention of the laws of Passover and the Afikomen are omitted, and instead we have: *אחריהם אמר לו עירוב את כל אלה*

In the case of the evil son, the Haggadah omits the words

כבר עזיר, apparently not wanting to offend anyone, and for *הקדוה זמן עינו* ⁵³ employs the milder expression

אמר לו. Furthermore, the phrase *אמר לו* becomes *אמר לו*, except at the beginning of the passage, and continues: *אמר לו ה"א דא ה"א דא*.

The translation thus reads:⁵⁴

"This is a memorial of what the Lord did for me when I went out of Egypt -- for me and not for thee. Hadst thou been there, thou indeed wouldst not have been redeemed."
(underscoring is mine)

All editions except the first one contain a translation, though not exact, of the story of the Four Sons. The first edition lists the four types of sons, and adds:⁵⁵

"To each of these according to his needs, was

a proper explanation of the Passover and its ceremonies given. No less eager should we be to hear the questions of youth, and explain to them the lessons of our festival."

The first sentence of the above paragraph is also included in the second and third editions.

We now come to the Four Questions, which are here really one question:

מה נשתנה הלילה הזה מכל
לילות? (Why is this night distinguished from all other nights, and what is the meaning of this service?)

"Why is this night distinguished from all other nights, and what is the meaning of this service?" The heading: "the answer", indicates that what follows will attempt to answer the question. We soon notice that some of the other questions which traditionally belong to the Four Questions, are found interspersed at later points in the Haggadah.

The answer to the above questions begins in the manuscript edition with

מחוצתו (out of its usual context, and containing the traditional "trop" which is found frequently in this edition), and continues with

ל"ה פ' צ"ח. Later editions (including the Revised)

omit the former passages, and add the section beginning with the words

הנה נראה, normally found after the

discussion of the three symbols. For some reason, however,

they do not complete the latter passage, as does the traditional Haggadah, with:

הנה נראה כי ה' יושב
על העמודים, וה' יושב
על העמודים, וה' יושב
על העמודים.

This is probably because they have already utilized this

verse with regard to the fourth son, and do not want to repeat

it. For ל"ה פ' צ"ח a translation is given in all

editions, but for the passages added (as mentioned above)

there is a poetical type of section that is unrelated to the Hebrew.

The "Dayenu" passages vary in number from edition to edition, which is less than that in the traditional Haggadah. In the manuscript edition, there is mention of God's leading us to Mount Sinai, where he gave us the law. This is omitted in the first edition, but resumed in later ones. Reference is made to the building of the Temple in the second and third editions, but not in previous ones. All editions insert a new item concerning *אנחנו יצאנו*, as the last of the "Dayenu" items.

After the actual "Dayenu" passages, there is a section beginning *אנחנו יצאנו* which summarizes (as in the traditional Haggadah) the items mentioned in those passages. In this latter paragraph, as found in the first edition, Mount Sinai is mentioned, although omitted in the "Dayenu" list. The paragraph concludes (in all editions except the Revised) with the words: *אנחנו יצאנו* as being the purpose of the listing, to which the manuscript edition adds: *אנחנו יצאנו*. This is in contradistinction to the phrase: *אנחנו יצאנו* used in the traditional Haggadah at the end of the passage.

In English, the last phrase is translated literally in the manuscript edition: "that our hearts might be directed unto our Heavenly Father, and that we might be kept free from sin⁵⁶". No mention of this is found in the first edition, but in later editions it becomes: "to bring our hearts nearer to the divine kingdom of righteousness and peace⁵⁷".

At this point in the first and later editions, we have a paragraph about Israel's mission, which states that in spite of her trials and tribulations, God confirmed within Israel the hope that her mission will at least be fulfilled throughout the world, and that her efforts in this respect will not be in vain. This mission is one of "redemption and peace", according to the first edition⁵⁸, but later editions omit these words, and consequently do not specify the nature of the mission.

The section on Pesach, Matzah and Moror is introduced in the first and later editions by a paragraph in English (in the Revised Edition also in Hebrew) referring to Rabban Gamliel's mention of them. The discussion on each of the symbols is begun in all editions by a question (in the manner of the Four Questions) on the nature of the symbol. (The one exception to this is "Pesach" in the third edition, which is otherwise similar to the other editions.) Thus, with reference to Pesach, the question is:⁵⁹

במה שיהיו אלהינו אלקים? אלקים קדוש
 עמו משה. שבתם היום הזה
 ומהלכם היום הזה כאלו בלילה.

Similarly, the questions on Matzah and Moror are as follows:⁶⁰

מזה כל שאנו אלקים? שבתם היום הזה
 אלקים חמור ומתור הזה כאלו בלילה
 מזה כל שאנו אלקים? שבתם היום הזה
 אלקים שאר ירקות. היום הזה כאלו בלילה.

The answer for Pesach is completely different from the traditional one, as well as from that in the later editions:⁶¹

פסח שהיו אבותינו אולכים במדבר שזית המקדש
 היה קיום עם ישראל אבותינו ממעריץ
 חפזו בילולו זרעים שנאמר זכור ואלו אלו
 מתינים מארץ נעליכם ברגליכם ומקדש קדש
 אבותם אלו חפזו באו הוא ה' ואם שמו
 הקדש ברוך הוא אור אבותינו ממעריץ חפזו
 כן יאן עלינו ברוך וקדוש אנו ואלו פסח
 והמלכות.

The first edition and those after it present a version of
 Pesach that is a combination of the traditional version and
 the manuscript version noted above⁶². Thus we have from the

traditional version: פסח שהיו אבותינו אולכים במדבר שזית
 המקדש היה קיום עם ישראל חפזו ברוך הוא אור אבותינו
 אבותינו ממעריץ, שנאמר, זכור ואלו אלו חפזו
 אור פסח אור אבותינו ישראל ממעריץ.

and from the manuscript version: אור פסח -- אור אבותינו

We can therefore see that the symbol Pesach in the
 manuscript edition⁶³ refers to the haste of our ancestors to
 leave Egypt -- "and you shall eat in haste, for this is a
 Passover unto the Lord" (Ex. 12¹¹). In later editions it has
 another meaning -- the Israelites sacrificed the paschal lamb
 on the eve of their departure from Egypt, and since the lamb
 was a sacred animal for the Egyptians, this sacrifice was
 consequently a revolt against Egyptian superstitions, and the
 first step to pass over from bondage to freedom⁶⁴. Except for
 the "Pesach" paragraph, this whole section on the three
 symbols is the same as in the traditional Haggadah, even to

the last two words are omitted in the Union Haggadah. The only change of any import thus seems to be the omission of the reference to miracles performed.

In the manuscript edition, the *פזמון* section is preceded by *שמונה עשרה*, (listing just the verses without the midrash) not found in the later editions.⁶⁷ Here in the manuscript we have some interesting changes. Whereas the traditional Haggadah reads:

*שמונה עשרה פזמון
האומר עשרה עשרה עשרה עשרה
עשרה עשרה עשרה עשרה עשרה עשרה
עשרה עשרה עשרה עשרה עשרה עשרה*

This edition of the Union Haggadah alters the traditional version as follows:⁶⁸

*שמונה עשרה פזמון
האומר עשרה עשרה עשרה עשרה
עשרה עשרה עשרה עשרה עשרה עשרה
עשרה עשרה עשרה עשרה עשרה עשרה*

The former concerns itself with what Laban tried to do to Jacob (and consequently to all of Israel), whereas the latter changes the word "Laban" to "our enemies", and what they devised against us.

In the manuscript edition, Ps.113 and 114 are here included with a corresponding English translation. For Ps.113, the following sentence is omitted in English, but included in Hebrew: *אשר יצאנו ממצרים*. Later editions (except the Revised Edition) omit this verse both in Hebrew and in English, as well as all of Ps.114.

We now come to the prayer of redemption, which is generally altered in the Haggadoth which we have already studied. In those instances, it was carried out by either omitting the objectionable passages in it, or else by not

including this prayer at all. The editions of the Union Haggadah which we are now examining, do otherwise -- they change the latter half of the paragraph, and even add to it. The new version begins as does the traditional one, and then continues:⁶⁹ *וְיִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׁמְרֵנוּ וְיִשְׁמְרֵנוּ*

continues: ⁶⁹ אמחים קיאלעגן אשיוס פלעקעק אנפכע
פראלע בהעלע זלעק על ישרעל משיח. וועלע
ולעם בייק יעקע ענדק בחירק יגקזע מעק
פראכע/ לעיני כעמי. ארעפאל אלע רעזעם שפע
ברוכע. ענדק שפכ אלע. אנזע. עק שיר חזע.
ברוק אלה ה' מעק על כע הארע קדש ישרעל.

The redemption theme is here present, but instead of being for Israel alone, the emphasis is placed on the redemption of mankind through Israel. A universalistic theme is present, as the translation also indicates:⁷⁰

"May Thy name be sanctified in the eyes of all men. May all peoples be moved to worship Thee with one accord, singing new songs of praise unto Thee".

After the meal is eaten, the manuscript edition lists instructions for the wine cup to be filled and the door opened. Instead of *פנח פדע* (which would, if present, appear after the Grace), we have the twenty-third Psalm (in Hebrew and English), which is however, omitted in later editions, as is also *פדע*.

The Grace after Meals is changed as follows:

- (1) It reads: *אם כי הוא נ / מפרש* omitting *אם*.
 (2) It omits: *אשר חסדה נ / אלה ורחוק*
 (3) " " the two words *ה' אלהיו* in *אם שה' נ / אלהיו*
ה' אלהיו / מאכל מן ד' ים
 (4) It concludes the *נ / ו* paragraph as traditionally, and

(8) Most of the *למחנה* passages are included in the manuscript edition, with the omission of several for the customary ideological reasons, viz. Elijah⁷⁵ and Palestine. All except one -- the blessing for parents and the Seder participants -- are excluded in later editions⁷⁶.

(9) The first and later editions here continue with the clause: *למחנה* which is the last line of the *למחנה* paragraph in the traditional Grace. This line is not found in the manuscript edition, which continues with *למחנה* in the traditional manner for Sabbath and Festivals, and adds its own blessing:

למחנה שמע ישראל

This re-emphasizes the doctrine mentioned previously in this version of the Grace, denoting Israel as God's anointed, and eliminating the concept of the personal Messiah. Thus we also have here: *למחנה שמע ישראל* without the Messianic reference, and then omitting the sentence beginning *למחנה*.

(10) The manuscript edition concludes with *למחנה*, but excludes *למחנה*, while later editions here select a few lines from it.

In glancing back over the Grace in these various editions of the Union Haggadah, we see the same tendency to exclude objectionable passages, as we did in previous Reform Haggadoth. Simultaneously, we also find the same desire to exclude certain passages, although not necessarily theologically undesirable, apparently merely for the purpose of shortening the Grace. A new concept is also evident here for the first time. Whereas former Haggadoth interpreted the Messiah

passages as referring to the Messianic Kingdom, here they refer to Israel as God's anointed servant who will spread His message to the world. The hope is expressed that the world may acknowledge God's sovereignty, and so for the first time we see a universalistic desire arising in the Grace.

Selections from the Hallel are now presented.

The verses:

and:

The verses: *אני אלהים ואלהים אני*
and: *אני אלהים ואלהים אני* are found
in all editions of the Union Haggadah (including the Revised)
except the first edition, in both Hebrew and English.

On the other hand:

is found in Hebrew only, in all editions, except the second and third (but including the Revised Edition). The reason for the omission, whether it be in English or Hebrew, should be apparent.

We now come to the reading of "Our Passover Hope", found in the manuscript edition in both Hebrew and English:⁷⁷

[illegible]

With the recitation of the above poem, the manuscript edition concludes the main part of the Seder service, and there is no mention of a fourth cup. It then continues with Passover songs, for which only the English is found here. In contrast, later editions insert a special closing section, which appears to be a very warm and effective ending for the service.

In the song *63/1 'n 3h/c*, #6 and #7 in the manuscript edition follow the traditional version, but the first edition changes #6 to point to the six days of creation, and #7 to refer to the Sabbath, instead of to the seven days of the week, as traditionally. The second and third editions also have #6 as indicating the six days of creation, but change #7 to refer to the seven days of the week. All editions have #8 as signifying the eight days of Chanukah.

As for #9, it refers in the manuscript edition to "the day in Ab when the holy city was twice destroyed, wherefore a fast was observed⁷⁸", in contrast to the nine days of mourning (although actually the same thing) mentioned in other Reform Haggadoth⁷⁹. Later editions of the Union Haggadah change #9 to refer to nine festivals, which they list in a footnote⁸⁰. Strangely enough, though, the Hebrew version of this song in all editions when it appears, adheres strictly to the traditional rendition. The one exception is the Revised Edition, where it is changed to conform to the new English version.

The last portion of the Union Haggadah in all editions contains an appendix consisting of four sections.⁸¹

I - "The Passover in Music and Song" contains various songs

to be sung at the Seder, some of which have already been mentioned above.

II - "The Passover in History and Tradition" discusses the many historical and ceremonial aspects of the Passover festival, even including the blood libels of the Middle Ages. The universal element is here also included with regard to mankind's redemption in which Elijah is to play the major role. He is thus a part of this festival, which:⁸²

"proclaims to the world man's inalienable right to be free, and the final victory of light and justice over darkness and injustice".

At this point, all editions except the manuscript edition include an explanation of Elijah's cup, which reminds the Seder participants that "this year we are slaves, next year we shall be free men"⁸³, as they open the door to welcome Elijah their Redeemer. In the manuscript edition, the story of Elijah's cup is placed in the fourth section of the appendix, along with the other symbols, where it is considered as being "symbolic of the pervading spirit of hospitality and good-will"⁸⁴.

There is also found here in the manuscript edition a separate section which explains the opening of the door for Elijah. As stated here, when he enters, all lift their wine glasses and say: "Blessed be he who cometh"⁸⁵. To this, the note is added:⁸⁶

"For us, the opening of the door retains its original significance, a proclaiming of the message of the feast beyond our portals to all the down-trodden and oppressed of humanity".

Most will no doubt agree that the above theme is certainly different from the one expressed in the traditional Haggadah,

when the door is opened and *PANN p/ae* is uttered.

III - "The Passover in Literature" consists of selections from writings dealing with Passover and related areas.

IV - "Rites and Symbols of the Passover" - Of the four sections in the appendix, it is this one that differs most in the various editions of the Union Haggadah. The manuscript edition maintains one format, while the remainder adhere to another. The following customs and symbols, explained in the manuscript edition, are not found in the appendix of the other editions:

- a) "Searching for Leaven" - although mentioned here in the appendix, this ceremony is not included within the text of the Union Haggadah.
- b) "Washing the Hands" - the same applies as in "a" above.
- c) "Mitzvot" - this is the title given to "the three specially prepared matzah (sic) called Cohen, Levi, Israel"⁸⁷. One wonders why Reform Judaism, which has abolished this type of class distinction, should maintain the above traditional names for the matzoth. Perhaps this is why they were eliminated in other editions; and yet they were resumed in the Revised Edition.
- d) "Reclining" - is not included or mentioned within the text of the Union Haggadah, except in the Revised Edition as the last of the Four Questions.
- e) "Sargenes" - "The 'white robe' formerly worn by the master of the house at the Seder. The festal garment of ancient times, 'white' being the symbol of purity."⁸⁸
- f) "Roasted Shankbone".

g) "Telling the Plagues" - This explains how the finger was dipped into the cup of wine as each plague was mentioned. The ten plagues are not mentioned in the Union Haggadah, but are "named and discussed in the old Haggadah".

There are two symbols which are included in the appendix of all editions of the Union Haggadah, but differ as to their explanation in the various editions:

a) "Celery (or Parsley) and Salt Water" - The manuscript edition⁸⁹ states that it reminds us of the cruel cunning of the Egyptians, as well as representing the hyssop dipped in blood that is mentioned in Ex.12. Later editions, however, tell us that it is "a gratitude to God for the products of the earth"⁹⁰.

b) "Four Cups of Wine" - All editions of the Union Haggadah indicate that the four cups direct our attention to the four principal parts of the Seder service: the sanctification, the story of the redemption, the Grace and the closing sanctification. The editions that succeed the manuscript edition connect this explanation with the four types of deliverance mentioned in Ex.6⁶ (which is also the traditionally accepted explanation), whereas the manuscript edition lists the traditional explanation as a separate meaning for the four cups. The latter also suggests that the four cups are like four toasts:⁹¹

- "1. For liberty and the day of the Exodus.
2. For freedom and the dignity of man (God's servant).
3. For the 'good land' (Deut.8¹⁰).
4. For the salvation of man."

These are also called:⁹²

- "1. To the achievements of the past for liberty.
2. To the brotherhood of man.

- 110.
3. To our country.
 4. To our hope."

The manuscript further informs us that four cups are the usual practice, whereas the Yemenite Haggadah mentions five. The later editions of the Union Haggadah interpret the four cups as representing four toasts, different from those above: ⁹³

- "1. To Abraham, 'Friend of God', and Father of the Faith.
2. To the memory of Moses - Man of God, Emancipator, Law Giver and Prophet.
3. To Israel, the martyred people, preserved through Providence and by consecration.
4. To the future -- a characteristic call to look happily forward: 'Though slaves this year, next year we will be free.' The Messianic time must ever be kept in view, when all that we now yearn for shall become real.

Here end the first several editions of the Union Haggadah, with another edition not being issued until fifteen years after the third edition of 1908.

CHAPTER 7

THE UNION HAGGADAH

(Revised Edition, 1923)

At the 1919 convention of the C.C.A.R., the Committee on Revision of the Haggadah, led by Samuel S. Cohon, brought forward recommendations for changing the Union Haggadah. They saw their task mainly in:⁹⁴ "supplying the Union Haggadah with those traditional elements that lend color to the service, and that are in keeping with the sentiments of Reform". To do this, the committee consequently: "felt justified in going back to the parent source and drawing upon its rich material, in order to retain its symbolism, the devotional spirit and the playfulness of the old Haggadah"⁹⁵.

In its report, the committee recommended the following additions in the new Haggadah to be issued:⁹⁶

- "a. The four questions.
- b. The passage commencing with *מחילתא דמריה* and including *והיה לכם חג שמחה*, the delightful midrash opening with the words *והיה לכם חג שמחה* and ending with the enumeration of the ten plagues.
- c. Psalm CXIV
- d. The Hebrew text and translation of *והיה לכם חג שמחה* and *והיה לכם חג שמחה* forming part of the miscellany.
- e. Additions for responsive reading have been made in *והיה לכם חג שמחה* and in Grace after the meal."

All of these changes, however, were not incorporated in the Revised Edition of the Haggadah, as will be shown.

It is interesting to note the various attitudes among the members of the C.C.A.R. towards the old Union Haggadah, as well as to the traditional Haggadah. In a discussion on

the report of the Committee. Rabbi Cohon and Rabbi Schulman commented as follows:

Rabbi Cohon:⁹⁷ "It was the thought of the Committee that it could get out an Haggadah that would be acceptable to all -- orthodox as well as reform. We are sure that the orthodox would welcome the Haggadah if they found in it all the old landmarks. At present, the book is in a disjointed and disconnected condition, and just when a passage is in the midst of explaining something, it comes to an end."

Rabbi Schulman:⁹⁸ "I personally find the Union Haggadah unsatisfactory, but when you ask the question whether it shall be revised, I feel that you cannot revise the old Haggadah. Many people feel in the old Haggadah the natural growth and development of Jewish life. When we use the new Haggadah we do not feel this. We who know it, love it with all its antiquities, but it will be impossible in my opinion, to communicate this to any revision. We want a family reunion on Pesach -- how can we give it a Jewish touch -- a Jewish atmosphere? Any attempt to revise the book is bound to be a failure, for you are attempting to modify an expression of a peculiar atmosphere that is passing away. Whether or not it will be possible to produce something that will do for the Seder what we have done for the Friday night -- that is produce an American Jewish Haggadah, remains to be seen."

In the pages that follow, the third edition of the Union Haggadah (1908) will be used as the main basis of comparison with the Revised Edition.

We find that a certain amount of material in the appendix of the previous editions is moved to the introduction of the Revised Edition, including the section entitled: "Rites and Symbols of the Seder". Here we observe changes with

regard to the following symbols:

a) Wine - Since this was the prohibition era in the United States, we can understand why "mead, apple cider, any fruit juice, or especially unfermented raisin wine is commonly used at the Seder service"⁹⁹. Only the latter is mentioned in the previous edition (1908) at a time when there was no prohibition.

b) Four Cups - The various interpretations listed in earlier editions now give way to the traditional explanation of the four types of redemption.

c) Cup of Elijah - The short explanation presented in the appendix of the third edition (and not with the list of other symbols at the beginning of the Seder, or within the service) is now expanded to include the consideration of this cup as the fifth cup, representing an additional promise (*וְהָיָה לָנוּ*) by God. Elijah is here called the "forerunner of the Messiah"¹⁰⁰, and the opening of the door for him is described as having helped our fathers in times of persecution "to keep in mind the Messianic era of freedom, justice and good-will"¹⁰¹.

d) Watercress or Parsley - This edition adds an explanation for dipping it in salt water or vinegar; viz., "to make it more palatable"¹⁰².

e) Roasted Shankbone - It is included in the manuscript edition, omitted in the later ones, and here reinserted, although listed in all editions with the items needed for the table.

f) The Egg - This edition, like others, also mentions that it is the symbol of the burnt offering of the feast, but omits

the additional meanings of the symbol that were presented in other editions.

In the directions for setting the Seder table, one of the items previously mentioned was the three matzoth covered with a napkin. To this the Revised Edition adds that two of the matzoth represent the *דין פאפ*, and the third the *ישראל פאפ*. It further explains that they are also taken to represent the three religious divisions of Israel -- Cohen, Levi and Israel¹⁰³. Provision is also made here for a large goblet of wine in the center of the table, for Elijah; however, this is omitted in the directions of the previous edition, as well as in the actual service there. A note is also added here that the meal served at the Seder is similar to the form of a banquet of ancient times; consequently we have the custom of leaning on the left side, which is aided in some families by the provision of a large cushioned armchair for the leader of the Seder.¹⁰⁴ The Haggadah now provides us with the agenda (similar to the traditional one) for conducting the service, omitting only the two instances of washing the hands. This list is rarely found in earlier Reform Haggadoth¹⁰⁵. In this Haggadah, the items on the agenda are also listed throughout the text of the Haggadah, when they apply. This is so, also in the manuscript edition, but not in the later editions.

Commencing the actual service in the Revised Edition is the lighting of the festival candles (not included in previous editions) which, together with the Kiddush, falls under the heading of *עצרת*. As for the Kiddush in Hebrew,

it is almost the same as the traditional one, but omits
|J"n)E because it is included in the blessings over the
candles, and places |D'p 'nD /r) /p at the end of the Kiddush,
instead of the middle, as traditionally. In these two
respects, it also differs from the Kiddush in the previous
editions of the Union Haggadah, where it is exactly the same
as the traditional Kiddush. The paraphrases and translations
(in all editions) that correspond to the Kiddush all gloss
over the theological problems which certain Hebrew passages
might present. By comparing the various editions, we thus
see a progression in translating:

כי בנא בארז לא/תנן קדשת מכה העמים

- a) Manuscript and first editions: "Thou hast chosen us and hallowed us above all peoples."
- b) Second and third editions: "Thou hast chosen us and hallowed us amongst all peoples."
- c) Revised Edition: "Thou hast chosen us for Thy service."

For *פר' בן יצחק*, however, the translation in all editions reads: "Who hast chosen us from all peoples", which seems to be inconsistent with the above attempt to evade the issue.

The *1CN 16C* passage is the same as in the previous edition, i.e., an Aramaic translation of the Hebrew version found in the manuscript edition, and eliminating any mention of slavery or the land of Israel. Coming to the Four Questions, we find that they follow the traditional format in the Hebrew, as differed from the arrangement in previous editions.

The translation of the questions is literal, except for the

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fourth question, which asks:¹⁰⁶

"On all other nights we eat without special festivities. Why, on this night, do we hold this Seder service".

Although not stated explicitly, this question would therefore imply the custom of "leaning", as well as others. Continuing on, we find that both /י"ד פ' זכר and the story of the Four Sons¹⁰⁷ are here included without any change from other editions. Consequently, we notice that they do not differ too much from the traditional version.¹⁰⁸

One of the recommendations to the C.C.A.R. in 1919, as already mentioned, was the inclusion of the passage beginning וְזֶה סֵדֶר הַפִּסְחָא as well as וְהָיָה לְכָל עַמִּי, the midrash after זֶה הוּא הַסֵּדֶר and the listing of the ten plagues, all of which are omitted in the previous editions. Of these suggestions, only וְזֶה סֵדֶר הַפִּסְחָא was adopted in the Revised Edition, the first omission being וְהָיָה לְכָל עַמִּי וְזֶה הוּא הַסֵּדֶר normally found at this point in the traditional Haggadah. The Haggadah thus continues with וְזֶה סֵדֶר הַפִּסְחָא according to the traditional rendering, accompanied by a paraphrase for several of the following passages. The references to Laban are then omitted at the beginning of what would normally be זֶה הוּא הַסֵּדֶר, and so the section continues with the words וְהָיָה לְכָל עַמִּי¹⁰⁹, and the other key verses, but without the traditional midrash.

What follows is a short history of the Israelites in Egypt composed of the key verses in the midrash, combined with verses from Exodus, plus newly-created sentences. All of this is in the Hebrew, accompanied by a translation.

(Since the section is more or less original, the editors apparently have no fear in presenting a translation.) This is followed by a reading in unison of ¹¹⁰ *וְכָל הָעָם יֹאמְרוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ*, one of the few passages whose Hebrew is familiar to most Reform Jews from the Union Prayer Book, and not from the traditional Haggadah, where this verse does not occur.

As already stated, the ten plagues are not included, as recommended to the C.C.A.R.; on the other hand, *וְכָל הָעָם* is increased in size over previous editions, but still does not include the same number of items as enumerated in the traditional Haggadah. It does, however, list the crossing of the Red Sea, the giving of the Torah on Mt. Sinai, and the building of the Temple. To the mention of *וְכָל הָעָם* inserted in previous editions of the Union Haggadah, the Revised Edition adds *עֲלֵינוּ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ יְהוָה*; thus this section concludes: "Had he sent us prophets of truth and not made us a holy people - Dayenu¹¹¹". Following this is a summary of some of the *וְכָל הָעָם* items, via *וְכָל הָעָם* in the manner of the traditional Haggadah, and concluding with:¹¹²

וְכָל הָעָם יֹאמְרוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ
וְכָל הָעָם יֹאמְרוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ which is not included in the traditional Haggadah.

The discussion of the three Passover symbols is introduced by the passage about Rabban Gamliel's mention of them, which is not included in the previous editions. The first symbol, Pesach¹¹³ is found in the same Hebrew format as in the third edition,¹¹⁴ and differs from the traditional version, by omitting: *וְכָל הָעָם יֹאמְרוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ*

וְכָל הָעָם יֹאמְרוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ For this it substitutes instead a

the same theme is reiterated, but in different words, the main change being that it now ends in the traditional manner:¹¹⁸

הוא יאמר instead of: *הוא יאמר*
הוא יאמר. For *הוא יאמר*, another incorporation of traditional material is included here¹¹⁹, via the passage beginning *הוא יאמר* in Hebrew and English, thereby explaining for us why the sandwich is made. This is lacking in many Reform Haggadoth.

The Grace after Meals¹²⁰ opens with the following variation of the traditional opening:

The *הוא יאמר*, *הוא יאמר*, and half of the *הוא יאמר* paragraph are omitted, and so the Grace continues with *הוא יאמר* as in previous editions. This method saves more space, rather than chopping up *הוא יאמר* through many omissions as in earlier editions.

Whereas *הוא יאמר* (with changes) for the Sabbath is found in previous editions, the Revised Edition does not include it at all, nor any other blessing for the Sabbath. This seems to be a step backward in the supposed move to more tradition, but perhaps this too is carried out in order to economize in time and space¹²¹.

הוא יאמר is here in the same revised form as in other editions, accompanied by a paraphrase in English. It however omits the additions of the previous editions after the words: *הוא יאמר* and thereby is closer to the traditional paragraph. This edition contains more

הוא יאמר passages than the previous one, but still omits the references to Elijah, the return to Palestine, and the

"breaking of the yoke". It also contains more of פתח, yet still not the complete passage. The Haggadah, then continues with a more complete form of פתח than the previous edition, also omitting the passage פתח which might embarrass any righteous poor who may be present.

It now states that the door is opened for Elijah¹²².
(omitted in the text of previous editions), followed by the
recitation of the Hallel. The verse: *עַל כֵּן יִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׁבַּח וְיִתְּמָר וְיִתְּפָאֵר*
וְיִתְּבָאֵר וְיִתְּשַׁבַּח וְיִתְּמַלֵּךְ וְיִתְּפָאֵר וְיִתְּבָאֵר is here included¹²³, although it
does not appear in the previous edition. There is also no
translation for this passage, as in the manuscript edition.

Paragraphs of summary are now presented¹²⁵, as the fourth cup of wine is drunk and the Seder completed. In the singing of *Yigdal*, the changes are the same as in the third edition, (i.e. in #6, #7, #8, and #9). Here, however, the Hebrew¹²⁶ corresponds to the new English version, instead of following the traditional version, as in the previous edition.

Difficult as it is for one man to formulate a Haggadah, it is even more of a task for a committee to perform the same function, particularly when it has to in turn be ratified by an even larger body, as the C.C.A.R.. Such was the problem that confronted the editors of the Union Haggadah, in the creation of its various editions, and the imprints of this are evident in the products that resulted, which may therefore often contain inconsistencies. Consequently, we can not always understand why a certain phrase or passage is included in one edition, omitted in the next, and then reinserted a few years later; or for that matter, aside

from theological reasons, why a certain item should be omitted at all, unless to conserve space.

The several editions of the Union Haggadah throughout the years show a conscious effort to arrive at a work that would both be modern, appealing to the Reform Jew of the day (without being too radical, as some of the German Haggadoth); and yet at the same time maintain the link with tradition by the inclusion of the well known and beloved passages from the traditional Haggadah. This would consequently satisfy the Jew who still maintained a close association with tradition (either in spirit or in practice), as well as being meaningful to the person raised in a Reform environment.

To fulfill both of these aims was not an easy task for the editors of the Union Haggadah; but through trial and error they tried. Particularly interesting, therefore, is the cycle in which the Union Haggadah seems to have moved. Of course, there are certain elements which, for ideological reasons were omitted from all editions, such as the mention of Jerusalem and Zion; or even items which were included in one edition and omitted in the later ones, such as Havdalah.¹²⁷ Most noticeable, however, is the presence of certain traditional qualities in the manuscript edition, which were never formally adopted by the C.C.A.R. and so did not find their way into the editions for public use. Nonetheless, years later, after the passing by of three editions which were less traditional than the manuscript, we find the reoccurrence of the same traditional note in the Revised

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Edition, the need for which is constantly repeated in the minutes of the C.C.A.R.. For example, only in the manuscript edition¹²⁸ and in the Revised Edition¹²⁹ do we find the three matzoth which are placed on the Seder table called by their traditional class names of Cohen, Levi, and Israel; and the Revised Edition even goes further by telling us that they represent the *NEW* and *OLD*.¹³⁰ We also find somewhat of a similarity between the lists of symbols and customs which each of these two editions presents in the appendix¹³¹ or introduction¹³². Each is not afraid to mention a custom which may not even be observed, e.g. reclining¹³³, and the manuscript edition proceeds beyond this point by mentioning the wearing of a white robe¹³⁴ and the washing of the hands,¹³⁵ customs which are generally not followed in a Reform Seder. In its fine appendix, the Revised Edition informs us about removing leaven¹³⁶ and kashering utensils¹³⁷, knowledge which the average Reform Jew will probably not utilize, but which will at least give him a better understanding of the festival and the customs associated with it.

Looking at the Haggadah from the theological angle, we see the emphasis on the redemption of all mankind through Israel in the earlier editions¹³⁸, but this thought is diminished (although still present) in the Revised Edition¹³⁹. The early editions tell us that Elijah is to play a great role in man's redemption¹⁴⁰ (even though he is omitted from the Grace)¹⁴¹; while the Revised Edition places the emphasis on Elijah as the forerunner of the Messiah¹⁴². Earlier editions make little mention of Messiah or the Messianic Kingdom.

All in all, the Revised Edition seems to have come much closer than the other editions (although the manuscript edition was quite close) in presenting a Haggadah that is both interesting and theologically appealing. The appendix spares no detail in explaining all the various facets of the festival at different stages of history. Perhaps all we need now, is that it open in the opposite direction, and that the paraphrases and translations either follow directly after the corresponding Hebrew, or else alongside it. This would replace the present combination of both, which is really very confusing to the reader of the Haggadah, particularly if he knows Hebrew.

In concluding this chapter on the Revised Union Haggadah, it should be pointed out that there are congregations which have preferred to use their own creative Haggadah. An example of this is the one issued by the South Shore Temple of Chicago, in 1944, which was compiled by its rabbi, G. George Fox.

CHAPTER 8

CURIOSITIESA) EASTER EVE - THE NEW HAGODAH SHEL PESACH

(by Rabbi Herman H. Bien, Cincinnati 1886)

This Haggadah in quasi-dramatic form is an attempt by the editor to present something more appropriate than the traditional Haggadah, which he felt had become obsolete and unintelligible, particularly for the younger generation. The dramatis personae consist of six males and five females, plus neighbors and friends. This, together with the general arrangement of the Haggadah, in scenes and parts spoken by the participants, makes the Haggadah adaptable to presentation on a stage.

Spread throughout the Haggadah are a number of Hebrew paragraphs, not necessarily in their traditional order, interspersed with comments by the players concerning the various aspects of the Passover festival. Thus, we have in Hebrew the first paragraph of the traditional Kiddush (omitting 'על פני), the first part of *לחמא ענין*, the first two of the Four Questions, and some of the comments about the Four Sons. One set of symbols that is explained is *עצרת נחמ, אפי' ק' in addition to *ג' חמץ / א' חמץ, חמץ* which are discussed at various intervals.*

One of the main characters is Elijah the prophet, for whom the Hebrew concerning him (taken from the Grace) is here included. After the singing of songs, Elijah makes his exit with:
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"Beloved people, list (sic) to what I now proclaim,
 Ere I shall leave unto the place from whence I came:
 My mind was troubled, for I was afraid
 Our people no more minded what the 'Pesach'said,
 But since I witnessed how you celebrated
 With so much pious earnestness and real vim
 The 'Seder Eve' as true progressive 'Yehudim'
 I feel indeed in heart and soul elated."

B)

THE HAGGADAH OF ABRAHAM B. HYMAN

(New York, 1888).

At the front of the copy of this Haggadah which I have before me, there is pasted a leaflet advertising the Haggadah for sale, and containing the statement:

"While my Haggadah furnishes to the Orthodox in a condensed manner the eventful occurrence of the Pass-Over 'Eve', it contains for the moderately reformed Jews, a Programme for Sacred Parlor Exercise."

I have not been successful in discovering who this Abraham B. Hyman is, but on examining the Haggadah we find that it combines a mixture of traditional and Reform traits, with the latter being more numerous. The former includes a few Hebrew sections, although most of the Haggadah is in English. Among these are the Kiddush (without the 'ee) p/i section), and the listing of the ten plagues, the latter of which is unusual in a Reform Haggadah.

Except for following more or less the traditional order of the Haggadah, this one is non-traditional, with many of the English passages being almost exactly the same as those in the English translation of Einhorn's Prayer Book.¹⁴⁴ Compare for example, the two questions (instead of the traditional four) as found here¹⁴⁵ and in Einhorn¹⁴⁶, or the paragraph beginning: "And Haman schemed the annihilation. . ."¹⁴⁷

There are of course, other sections added, which are not found in Einhorn, while others from Einhorn are omitted, e.g. *לענף* *לענף*.

In Hebrew we do have some of the blessings; on the other hand, much of the traditional Haggadah is absent, viz. the Four Sons and Deut. 26⁵⁻⁸. Hyman's purpose in presenting this combination of elements is to make the Seder somewhat more impressive, as well as entertaining and instructive¹⁴⁸, for he felt that:¹⁴⁹

"the Haggadah now in use on the Seder night, is not calculated to appeal to the heart and mind of our American Jewish youths."

THE HAGGADAH OF WILLIAM ROSEAU

(New York 1905-1932)

This Haggadah is inserted here as the last of the American Haggadoth studied (although not chronologically so) for it is the closest to the traditional Haggadah. Its position as the concluding chapter of this section, will therefore help emphasize how far the Reform Haggadah has moved towards tradition.

Lest one should be surprised or even misled by the contents of this Haggadah, a word of comment and caution about it and its editor should first be made. The Haggadah, in the Hebrew which it contains, is 99.9% traditional. Its compiler and editor, a graduate of Hebrew Union College is 100% Reform; and this fact of his devotion to Reform Judaism must be borne in mind, if one is to examine and understand this Haggadah in its true light. The Haggadah must have been quite well received, for it passed through thirteen editions (all basically the same) from 1905 to 1932.

Whereas others, in introducing reforms into a Haggadah, adopted such methods as changing the Hebrew, changing the English, or even omitting complete sections which they thought offensive to their beliefs; Rosenau employs a new technique. As already stated, the Hebrew follows the traditional Haggadah in almost every respect; but it is in the English that the changes are made. In fact, they are carried out so carefully, and even perhaps cunningly, that one must indeed look closely to see them for what they really are -- renditions corresponding not to the Hebrew on the opposite page, but rather

to the particular philosophy which Rosenau wishes to insert.

It is not too difficult to see why these changes could escape the eye of the Seder participant who uses this Haggadah. Since it is basically an Orthodox Haggadah, the Seder service from the Haggadah would probably be completely in Hebrew, and so there would not be an opportunity to detect any difference between the rendering in Hebrew and that in English. If, on the other hand, someone participating in the traditional service who did not know Hebrew, should glance over to the English, he would not be aware of any changes. The same might even be said for a service conducted in both Hebrew and English, although the chances of discovering the alterations would in this case be greater. Yet, even in this instance, the changes, as has already been indicated, are so carefully incorporated, that one might almost need an expert in camouflage to help detect them.

Rosenau's motives must be clearly understood. It is true of course, that he wrote a book: Jewish Ceremonial Institutions and Customs¹⁵⁰ in which he presented the traditional view; however, this was based on lectures which he gave at the Oriental Seminary of Johns Hopkins University, and so we can understand his objective approach. His real view on the matter of changes can be seen in his lecture The Value of Ceremonials¹⁵¹ which he delivered before the International Conference of Liberal Jews at London in 1926. In this talk he states:¹⁵²

"The moment that a ceremony is discovered speaking a dead or an incomprehensible language, it is devoid of appeal, and falls into desuetude of its own accord."

He however does go on to say:¹⁵³

"... be the modification and substitution what they may, Liberal Judaism, through its spokesman, will always insist that the modification and substitution run not counter to Jewish tradition -- or to put it in a slightly different form, that they defeat not the Jewish Tendenz."

Having looked at the background of this Haggadah, we can now examine the object itself. Rosenau's English version will be given together with an English translation (and/or occasionally the Hebrew) of the Hebrew as found in the traditional Haggadah (The Passover Haggadah, edited by Nahum N. Glatzer, Schocken, 1953). The letter "T" indicates the traditional version, and the letter "R" refers to Rosenau's version.

1) In *[cnnf] 16 D*:¹⁵⁴

T: "This year we are here; next year may we be in the Land of Israel. This year we are slaves; next year may we be free men."

R: "Those among us who are still oppressed and are still justified in saying, as did our fathers in the days of their suffering: 'This year we observe the feast here. Next year may we be permitted to observe it in the land of Israel. This year we are still but little better situated than slaves. Next year may we be altogether free.'"

2) The translation of the third question among the Four Questions is changed a little in Rosenau.¹⁵⁵

3) Re the answer given to the Wise Son:¹⁵⁶

T: "And you instruct him in the precepts of the Passover, to wit: 'One may not conclude after the Paschal meal (by saying), "Now to the entertainment"'. "

R: "Should such a child be among us tonight, and put this question, let us unfold to him all the laws regulating the Seder service."

4) Re the Wicked Son:¹⁵⁷

T: "Since he removes himself from the group and so denies God; you in return must set his teeth on edge ...For me, not for him. Had he been there, he would not have been redeemed."

R: "Because he excludes himself from compliance with the Seder, he must be considered as rejecting one of the essential institutions of Judaism. ... We may in truth speak thus, for had this wicked child lived at the time of the exode, he would not have been thought worthy of being redeemed."

5) T: "Laban sought to uproot all."¹⁵⁸

R: "Laban wanted to destroy Jacob's entire family."¹⁵⁹

6) In the redemption blessing:¹⁶⁰

T: "So, O Lord our God and God of our fathers, bring us to other festivals and holy days that come toward us in peace, happy in the building of thy city and joyous in thy service. And there may we eat of the sacrifices and paschal offerings, whose blood will come unto the walls of thy altar for acceptance. Then shall we give thanks to thee with a new song, for our redemption and the liberation of our soul."

R: "Mayest Thou, Eternal, our God, and God of our ancestors, help us to enjoy, in peace, holidays and festivals in time to come; and through the growth of the spirit, of which Jerusalem is emblematic, mayest Thou aid us more especially to rise to the lofty heights of the Passover message; so that we may ever feel impelled to thank Thee in new song for our deliverance and redemption."

7) In the *שְׁמַח מִצְוָה* prayer for Sabbath, found in the Grace:¹⁶¹

T: "... and let us see, O Lord our God, the consolation of Zion, thy city, and the building of Jerusalem, thy sacred city."

R: "... and permit us to witness the growing glory of Israel, of which the prophet's dream of a rebuilt Jerusalem is emblematic."

8) In the *שְׁמַח מִצְוָה* prayer:¹⁶²

T: "Our God and God of our fathers, may there rise and come unto, be seen, accepted, heard, recollected and remembered, the

remembrance of us and the recollection of us, and the remembrance of our fathers, and the remembrance of the Messiah, son of David, thy servant, and the remembrance of Jerusalem, thy holy city, and the remembrance of all thy people, the house of Israel."

R: "As thou didst once favor our ancestors, the Davidian dynasty, and the holy city of Jerusalem, so favor us, together with the whole house of Israel."

Note above, the omission of the reference to the Messiah.

9) T: "And build Jerusalem the sacred city, speedily in our days. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who builds in his compassion Jerusalem. Amen." 163

R: "Establish the greater glory of Israel speedily in our time. Praised art Thou, Eternal, Who in mercy establishest Israel's glory." 164

10) T: "The Compassionate One -- may he break the yoke from off our neck, and may he lead us upright to our land." 165

R: "May Thou, O Merciful One, remove the yoke from our oppressed brethren, and lead them safely to a hospitable land." 166

11) T: "The Compassionate One -- may he send Elijah the prophet (may he be remembered for good) to us, that he may bring us good tidings of salvations and consolations." 167

R: "Mayest Thou, O Merciful One, raise up a redeemer, announcing good tidings of deliverance and comfort to our go-religionists, suffering from oppression." 168

12) T: "The Compassionate One -- may he find us worthy of the days of the Messiah and of the life of the world to come." 169

R: "Mayest Thou, O Merciful One, make us deserving of the bliss of the Messianic times and of immortal life." 170

13) The only Hebrew part of the entire Haggadah that is omitted, is the sentence at the end of the Grace, beginning with the words: 'ה'ן ה'ן. Of course the English for this is also absent.

14) For the translation of פֶּאֱנִי 7/28 we have in Rosenau:¹⁷¹

"O God, defeat the nations who do not know Thee, and the kingdoms who act contrary to Thy will. Let them not annihilate Jacob and ruin Israel's habitations, when they devise our destruction by persecution! Meet their plans with indignation! Prevent the fulfillment of their purposes by Thine intervention! Let them not go unpunished, but let Thy never-failing justice prevail! Not in a spirit of vindictiveness do we ask this, but because we would live to be witnesses of Thy holy truth."

The tones in the above rendition (not translation) are certainly different from those found in the Hebrew.

15) For the translation of פֶּאֱנִי 7/28 we have in Rosenau:¹⁷²

"Grant, O God, that a year hence Israel's glory may be more resplendent than it is today!"

In a footnote,¹⁷³ the 1932 edition of Rosenau's Haggadah gives the literal translation of this phrase.

16) In the blessing¹⁷⁴ פֶּאֱנִי 7/28 we have:

a) T: "Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, king of the universe, for the vine and for the fruit of the vine, for the yield of the field, and for the land, pleasant, goodly and broad which thou favored and gave as an inheritance to our fathers, to eat of its fruit and to be sated with its goodness."

R: "Praised art Thou, Eternal, our God, King of the universe, for the vine and its fruit, the produce of the field, and for this desirable, rich and large country.. Thou didst grant, as inheritance, to our forefathers holy Palestine, the fruit of which they ate in plenty."

b) T: "And build Jerusalem, the city of holiness, speedily and in our days, and bring us up into its midst, and cause us to rejoice in its rebuilding; let us eat its fruit and be sated with its goodness, and bless thee for it in holiness and purity."

R: "Cause the spirit, of which Jerusalem is expressive,

the spirit of Israel's faith, to grow speedily in our time. Lead us to a proper appreciation and cultivation of this spirit, so that we may rejoice over it and enjoy the rich harvest of goodness which it must needs produce; and so that, on account of all this, we may also praise Thee with the purest and holiest motives."

c) T: "Blessed art thou, O Lord, for the land and for the fruit of the vine."

R: "Praised art Thou, O Eternal, for the land given unto our ancestors, the country in which we live, and the fruit of the vine."

From the examples cited, it should be clearly evident what Rosenau's intention is, which is best seen when his translation is placed alongside the true translation of the Hebrew. The disguise is so well applied, that it is often difficult to penetrate it; however, Rosenau's intention can also be detected in his "Preface" comments:

"It is my fervent hope that this little book will be helpful in dignifying the service which should be conducted in every Jewish home on Passover eve. I have retained the matter of the old Hagadah, known to most of us, and have not subjected it to revision, for the reason, that the charm of the Hagadah is intimately linked to its old form. The translation of the component parts of the Hagadah is not always literal. In many instances I have given not only free renderings, but treated passages figuratively."

Undoubtedly, we have here the case of a Reform rabbi, who prefers the format of the traditional Haggadah over any Reform rendition (at least in the Hebrew). In the final analysis, what we do find, in the English only, is the same ideology that we might expect from any Reform rabbi of Rosenau's time; viz., such as that concerning Zion and Jerusalem, except that it is couched in veiled phraseology.

Notwithstanding the above comments, we must admit that there is another aspect to Rosenau's rendition; for if one reads several paragraphs of the English, he will find a continuity and a cohesiveness that binds the various parts of the Haggadah into a more comprehensible and meaningful whole.

CONCLUSION

If we look back over the Reform Haggadoth that were used and are used in Germany, England and America, we find that they all have something in common. This "something" is the quality that distinguishes them from the Orthodox Haggadah, and which consists of changes and omissions in both the Hebrew and its translation. The variations might be for ideological or theological motives, or even for the purpose of shortening the Seder, with almost any passage being chosen for exclusion.

Let us now examine the Haggadah, and see what changes were made in general by the Reform Haggadoth which we have studied. Two of them¹⁷⁵ contain a completely traditional service, as well as a Reform version in German at the opposite end. The remainder are variations on the traditional theme.

With the exception of the traditional section of the above two Haggadoth (which will henceforth not be considered, except with reference to their Reform sections), none of our Haggadoth include a provision for making an Eruv or searching for Chametz. For the Kiddush, most exclude the *'ee) r/1* paragraph, while retaining the remainder; although some make alterations with respect to the "chosen people" passages in the Kiddush and Havdalah, if the latter is included (which is not too often).

The washing of the hands is rarely done¹⁷⁶, whereas *027.0* is almost always performed, and *7n'* is found on a somewhat smaller scale, for many Haggadoth make

no mention of the Afikomen.

Invariably, one can tell whether a Haggadah is Reform or not, by turning to the rendition of *(KNNf K)*. Most Haggadoth omit it, because it contains too much that is objectionable; for example, who wishes to admit that this year he is a slave? Thus, when the *(KNNf K)* section is included in a Haggadah, the reference to slaves might be omitted, along with the hope for being in Palestine the following year. Furthermore, where it is found, its language is always Aramaic, as in the traditional Haggadah; the sole exception being the manuscript edition of the Union Haggadah, which has it in Hebrew.

The Four Questions vary in the Reform Haggadoth, and so may really be anything from one to five questions. Sometimes, the only distinguishing factor is the mention of the words *וְאַרְבָּעִים* in Hebrew or in translation; and the most frequent change that we find is with respect to the third and fourth questions. The answer to the questions, which begins in the traditional Haggadah with the words

וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁאָלְכֶם, generally consists of some recalling of the details of the exodus, and may include the traditional Hebrew. Both this passage and the rabbinical stories that follow are favorites for omission, merely for the sake of saving space.

With regard to the Four Sons, they are usually found in some form or another, with various changes being made in the format of their answers. Sometimes, only the statements of each are given, without the replies to be given back.

The material beginning *וְהָיָה בְּעֵת הַזֶּה* is almost always omitted in the Hebrew, while the translation might be incorporated into a passage containing historical material.

The *וְהָיָה בְּעֵת הַזֶּה* is only occasionally included, the major example being the Union Haggadah. For *וְהָיָה בְּעֵת הַזֶּה*, the only part that is included (when this passage is found in a Reform Haggadah) is that containing the Scriptural verses. Almost always is the midrash absent, and to a lesser extent the first part of the passage before the actual verse (i.e. the references to Laban).

The ten plagues are rarely included¹⁷⁷, and when they are, it is even more rarely with the accompanying midrash. For the "Dayenu" passages, the number varies in each Haggadah, and some, notably the Union Haggadah and the Liberal Haggadah (1962) even incorporate new verses. In several instances, a Haggadah that omits references to Palestine and the Temple, will have no hesitation in including similar references, as found in "Dayenu" (e.g. the Union Haggadah).

With regard to the three main Passover symbols, they are always discussed in some way or another, often with the biblical texts being omitted. The Hallel, both before and after the Grace, is an old standby in Reform Haggadoth, even if almost nothing else is present; and changes, if any, are limited to one or two omissions.

It is in the redemption blessing before the meal, that we find many passages that might alienate reformers, with the consequent change or omission of these. As for the

וְהָיָה בְּעֵת הַזֶּה section, it is usually found in most Reform

Haggadoth, although some will include only one of these blessings, usually the latter. The section entitled *פזמונים* is often found, but it is only performed without the saying of the passage found at this point in the traditional Haggadah.

In the Grace after Meals are many of the passages which a reformer might find objectionable, including references to Zion, Jerusalem, the Messiah, and the "breaking of the yoke". These are all altered or omitted in Graces that vary in length from Haggadah to Haggadah.

Never do we come upon the *פזמון פזמונים* section as it is found in the traditional Haggadah, although we do have renditions of it, which in no way resemble the original.¹⁷⁸ The reason for this should be obvious; this passage bears all signs of exactly that which Reform Jews, no matter where they were, tried to steer away from. Consequently, some even include passages¹⁷⁹ to show how much the Jews love their neighbors.

The passages beginning with Ps. 136, *שמע ישראל*, and several that follow are usually omitted to shorten the service. The blessing *ברוך אתה יהוה אלהינו יהוה אחד* is also usually omitted, not for the same reason, but rather because of its references to the Restoration. Anti-Zionistic motives similarly lead to the omission of *אשר לא ידענו את אלהינו עד כאן*. Almost all of the Haggadoth contain some Passover songs, with all changes being made in the counting song *אשר לא ידענו את אלהינו עד כאן*.

Looking now at the symbols used, some list them at the beginning of the Haggadah, and so it is easy to determine which ones are used. Most have four cups of wine, and include

a goblet for Elijah, which merely stands on the table with no appropriate comments concerning it, unless they be words of explanation. The door, however, is rarely opened, and thus no comment is made concerning his means of entry. Three matzoth are generally used, although sometimes the number is not definite. Occasionally they are given their "class" names. The custom of "leaning" is only rarely mentioned, as witnessed by the quite frequent omission of the Fourth Question.

The theological implications of the Haggadoth have already been indicated quite often. Among the references which are omitted are those concerning Zion, Jerusalem, the Temple, sacrifices, and the Messiah, the last one being reinterpreted into the concept of the Messianic Age. Mention of the "land" for which we are thankful is often given the meaning of the land in which we are located, such as Germany¹⁸⁰ or America¹⁸¹. There are also new meanings inserted into a number of Reform Haggadoth, such as universalism,¹⁸² the "mission of Israel"¹⁸³, nationalism¹⁸⁴, and even immortality.¹⁸⁵ We might add that the same tendencies generally prevail in the Haggadoth of all countries discussed, and this is one of the main distinctions of the Reform Haggadoth in contrast to its Orthodox counterpart.

Both geographically as well as in time, the Reform Haggadoth have come a long way. Ideologically and theologically speaking, they are for the most part the same as they were one hundred years ago; yet at the same time they contain many more of the elements found in the traditional Haggadah.

Apparently this seems to be the answer to a more meaningful Haggadah and a more enjoyable Seder, without becoming too bogged down in trivia. Perhaps we can learn something from Rosenau, who realized that the traditional Haggadah is a totality that should not be disturbed. The Revised Union Haggadah and the 1962 Liberal Haggadah are certainly steps on the way to fulfilling this goal. May we only continue travelling in this direction.

NOTES

PART I

1. Ex.12⁴².
2. Mishnah Pesachim 10⁴.
3. ibid.
4. ד'א/38/11 ד'א/17/12, נוס' פ' ד'א, ג'נ'פ'38/12.3
p.30 פ'ע'א, פ'ד'פ'17, פ'ד'פ'12 38/12
5. See uses by I.S. Moses.
6. In the Foreword to his Haggadah.
7. e.g. followed by I.S. Moses.
8. See the discussion of this presented further on, and also above, in the comments of the first edition.
9. cf. I.S. Moses, Seder Haggadah, manuscript edition, Chicago, 1892.
10. Ex.19⁶.
11. See reference to Ex.19⁶ on p.14, above.
12. cf. H. Falkenberg, Hagadah für die Sederabende, Berlin, 1929, pp.19-20.
13. Joel 13¹.
14. S. Maybaum, נוס' פ' ד'א ד'א, Berlin, 1893, p.19.
15. e.g. L. Stein, נוס' פ' ד'א ד'א, Frankfurt am Main, 1841.
16. cf. Deut.6²⁰⁻²⁴, Ex.12^{26ff.}, Ex.13¹⁴, and Ex.13⁸.
17. Ex.13⁸.
18. C. Seligmann, Hagada, Frankfurt am Main, 1914. p.28.
19. e.g. Stein, op.cit., and Maybaum, op.cit.
20. Numb.9¹¹.
21. ^{cf.} S. Guggenheim, Offenbacher Hagadah, Offenbach am Main, 1927 and 1960, p.85.

22. *ibid.*, second edition, p.8.
23. *ibid.*, p.108. References to the notes point to the second edition.
24. *ibid.*
25. *ibid.*, p.109.
26. Mishnah Pesachim.10⁴.
27. Guggenheim, *op. cit.*, first edition, p.30.
28. See Gen.15³.
29. J.H. Hertz, Daily Prayer Book, New York, 1955, p.18.
30. Guggenheim, *op.cit.*, second edition, p.122.
31. Hertz, *op. cit.*, p.848.
32. In its entirety, p.126ff.
33. See above, p.32.
34. cf. Seligmann, *op. cit.*
35. cf. preface to Guggenheim, *op. cit.*
36. Falkenberg, *op. cit.*, p.4.
37. cf. omission in Grace after Meals, of the reference to "breaking the yoke".
38. Falkenberg, *op. cit.*, p.11.
39. Seligmann, *op. cit.*, p.15.
40. Falkenberg, *op. cit.*, p.17.
41. cf. $\int (N H G) K$ and $\int (S N D) A D D P$.
42. e.g. Stein, *op. cit.*; Maybaum, *op. cit.*; Seligmann, *op. cit.*; cf. Union Haggadah (first edition) which omits mention of the Temple, whereas other editions include it.
43. All editions of the Union Haggadah, except the first edition also mention this.
44. cf. Seligmann, *op. cit.*, p.20.
45. Isa. 56⁷.
46. Falkenberg, *op. cit.*, p.23.
47. Deut.6²³.

48. See Stein, op. cit., midrash on Deut.26⁹.
49. In "Dayenu", Deut.6²³, and *וְיִשְׁמְרֵנוּ*.
50. e.g. with regard to Kiddush and the blessing over wine throughout the Haggadah.

PART II

1. 1842 edition, p.1.
2. *ibid.*, p.2.
3. *ibid.*
4. 1921 edition, p.9.
5. 1842 edition, p.2.
6. *ibid.*, p.4.
7. *ibid.*
8. 1921 edition, p.11.
9. 1842 edition, p.4.
10. *ibid.*
11. *ibid.*, p.6.
12. Mishnah Pesachim 10⁵.
13. Jakob J. Petuchowski, "Karaites Tendencies in an Early Reform Haggadah" (Hebrew Union College Annual XXXI). Cincinnati, 1960, pp.225-226.
14. 1921 edition, p.13.
15. 1842 edition, p.6 f.
16. *ibid.*, p.6.
17. Petuchowski, op. cit., p.249.
18. *ibid.*, note #82.
19. Harold F. Reinhart, Haggadah, appearing as a supplement in the Synagogue Review, April 1941, p.3.
20. *ibid.*
21. *ibid.*, p.6.

22. *ibid.*, p.5.
23. *ibid.*
24. *ibid.*, p.7.
25. *cf.* ע"פ חזו"ן, נדב"ד ד' תרע"ח, ע"ב
26. D., p. x.
27. *ibid.*
28. *ibid.*, p. xi.
29. *ibid.*, p. v.
30. *ibid.*, p.1.
31. Numb.6²⁴⁻²⁶.
32. D., p.3.
33. *ibid.*, p.4.
34. *ibid.*
35. C., p.4.
36. D., p.46ff.
37. *ibid.*, p.6.
38. A., p.36; C., p.6.
39. *cf.* the similar question in Mishnah Pesachim 10⁴.
40. D., note on p.47.
41. A., p.37; C., p.7.
42. D., p.48.
43. *ibid.*, p.9.
44. *ibid.*, p.41.
45. *ibid.*, p.10.
46. *ibid.*
47. Babylonian Talmud, Sanhedrin 39b and Megillah 10b.
48. D., p.10.
49. *ibid.*, p.13.
50. *ibid.*, p.16.

51. *ibid.*, p.50.
52. *ibid.*, p.14ff.
53. e.g., *ibid.*, p.16.
54. Song of Songs 2¹¹⁻¹³.
55. D., 16.
56. *ibid.*, p.17.
57. Deut.6²³.
58. D., p.17.
59. *ibid.*
60. Ps.118⁹.
61. A., p.45; C., p.19.
62. D., p.20.
63. *ibid.*
64. *ibid.*
65. cf. C., pp.19, 22, and 27.
66. D., p.21.
67. *ibid.*
68. D., p.52.
69. C., p.20.
70. D., p.25.
71. C., p.23.
72. C., p.2.
73. *ibid.*
74. D., p.3.
75. *ibid.*, p.26.
76. *ibid.*, p.53.
77. *ibid.*
78. *ibid.*
79. C., p.27.

80. D., p.35.
81. *ibid.*, p.42.
82. *ibid.*, p.13.
83. *ibid.*, p. v.
84. *ibid.*, p.51, note #20.
85. *ibid.*, p.49.

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1. D. Einhorn, Book of Prayers for Israelitisch Congregations, New York, 1872, p.382.
2. ibid., p.385.
3. ibid., p.387.
4. ibid., p.327.
5. D. Einhorn, ibid., translated by E.G. Hirsch, Chicago, 1896, p. v.
6. pp.49-53 ,/c"en, f'el/h, תתגבס חתם וצו' ארז'ק'ן קה'ל צד'קה
7. B.Szold, Israelitisches Gebetbuch für die Häusliche Andacht, Baltimore, 1867, p.55.
8. ibid.
9. ibid., p.56.
10. ibid., p.57.
11. ibid., p.58.
12. re the rabbis at B'nei B'rak and re Elazar ben Azarya.
13. Szold, op. cit., p.64.
14. ibid., p.66.
15. ibid., p.68.
16. ibid., p.72.
17. Moses, op. cit., 1892, p.2.
18. ibid.

19. *ibid.*, p.5.
20. *ibid.*, p.17.
21. *ibid.*, p.18.
22. *ibid.*, p.21.
23. *ibid.*, second edition, p.19.
24. J.L. Levy, Home Service for the Passover, Phila., 1896,
p.35ff.
25. *ibid.*, p.5.
26. *ibid.*, p.8.
27. *ibid.*, p.10.
28. *ibid.*, p.12.
29. *ibid.*, p.17.
30. C.C.A.R. Yearbook, Vol. IV, p.8.
31. *ibid.*
32. *ibid.*, Vol.XII, p.35.
33. *ibid.*, Vol.XIII, p.64.
34. *ibid.*, Vol.XIV, p.84.
35. *ibid.*
36. *ibid.*, p.83.
37. *ibid.*, Vol.XV, p.198.
38. *ibid.*, pp.79-80.
39. *ibid.*, p.81.
40. Union Haggadah (hereafter listed as U.H.), manuscript
edition , 1905, p.8.
41. *ibid.*
42. *ibid.*, p.9.
43. *ibid.*
44. U.H., first ed., p.50.
45. U.H., manuscript ed., p.10.

46. e.g. Stein and Maybaum have it in the traditional section of their Haggadoth.
47. Union Prayer Book, Newly Revised, Vol.I, p.93.
48. U.H., manuscript ed., p.12.
49. U.H., first ed., p.13.
50. U.H., second and third editions, p.13.
51. U.H., manuscript ed., p.16.
52. U.H., first ed., p.17.
53. Literally, "sets his teeth on edge", and used figuratively in the sense of causing someone grief or defeat; cf. Jerem.31²⁹ and Ezek.18².
54. U.H., manuscript ed., p.16.
55. U.H., first ed., p.17.
56. U.H., manuscript ed., p.20.
57. U.H., second ed., p.21.
58. U.H., first ed., p.21.
59. U.H., manuscript ed., p.23.
60. *ibid.*, p.25.
61. *ibid.*, p.23.
62. U.H., first ed., p.22.
63. U.H., manuscript ed., p.22.
64. U.H., first ed., p.23.
65. e.g. Maybaum's Haggadah, *op. cit.*
66. U.H., manuscript ed., p.27.
67. although the Union Haggadah, Revised Edition, (R.E.) has a form of it, p.25.
68. U.H., manuscript ed., p.27.
69. *ibid.*, p.31.
70. *ibid.*, p.30.
71. In later editions, the *לענין אדם* is paraphrased, omitting this.

72. Hertz, op. cit., p.852.
73. ibid., p.854.
74. ibid., p.806.
75. but Elijah is openly discussed in the appendix.
76. The R.E. adds several more, p.59.
77. U.H., manuscript ed., pp.44-45.
78. ibid., p.50.
79. Seligmann, op. cit., p.40; Guggenheim, op. cit., p.85.
80. not listed in the first ed., but is p.55 in the second ed.
81. This does not apply to the R.E., which will be discussed separately in a later section.
82. U.H., manuscript ed., p.59.
83. U.H., second ed., p.83.
84. U.H., manuscript ed., p.74.
85. ibid., p.75.
86. ibid.
87. ibid.
88. ibid., p.76.
89. ibid., p.73.
90. U.H., first ed., p.100.
91. U.H., manuscript ed., p.74.
92. ibid., p.75.
93. U.H., second ed., p.104.
94. C.C.A.R. Yearbook, Vol.XXIX, p.55.
95. ibid., p.56.
96. ibid.
97. ibid., p.57.
98. ibid., p.58.
99. R.E., p. xv.

100. *ibid.*, p. xii.
101. *ibid.*
102. *ibid.*, p. xiii.
103. See comment on this , as found in man.ed. appendix, p.75.
104. R.E., p. xv.
105. except Stein, *op. cit.*, in his traditional section.
106. R.E., p.18.
107. *ibid.*, p.21.
108. See above with respect to the view of other editions on this.
109. R.E., p.25.
110. *ibid.*, p.27.
111. *ibid.*, p.31.
112. *ibid.*, p.33.
113. *ibid.*, p.35.
114. but it differs in other editions.
115. R.E., p.35.
116. R.E., p.34.
117. U.H., third ed., p.20.
118. R.E., p.49.
119. *ibid.*, p.51.
120. *ibid.*, p.57.
121. cf. the various Reform Haggadoth of England.
122. R.E., p.63.
123. *ibid.*, p.75.
124. but it is found in the U.H., manuscript ed.
125. R.E., p.78.
126. *ibid.*, pp.87-92.
127. U.H., manuscript ed., p.15.
128. *ibid.*, p.75.
129. R.E., p. xiv.

130. *ibid.*
131. U.H., manuscript ed., pp.72-76.
132. R.E., pp. xi-xiv.
133. U.H., manuscript ed., p.75; R.E., p. xv.
134. U.H., manuscript ed., p.76.
135. *ibid.*, p.72.
136. R.E., p.141.
137. *ibid.*, p.142.
138. e.g. U.H., manuscript ed., p.31; first ed., p.21.
139. R.E., p.35.
140. U.H., manuscript ed., p.59.
141. *ibid.*, p.37.
142. R.E., p. xii.
143. H.M. Bien, Easter Eve, Cincinnati, 1886, p.28.
144. 1872.
145. A.B. Hyman, Hagada, New York, 1888, p.10.
146. Einhorn, *op. cit.*, 1872 edition, p.380.
147. Hyman, *op. cit.*, p.15; Einhorn, *op. cit.*, p.384.
148. Hyman, *op. cit.*, "preface".
149. *ibid.*
150. New York, 1905.
151. W. Rosenau, The Value of Ceremonials, A Paper Read at the International Conference of Liberal Jews, London, 1926.
152. *ibid.*
153. *ibid.*
154. N. Glatzer, The Passover Haggadah, Schocken, 1953, p.21.
155. W. Rosenau, Seder Hagadah, 1905, p.11.
156. Glatzer, *op. cit.*, p.27; Rosenau, *op. cit.*, p.17.
157. *ibid.*

158. Glatzer, op. cit., p.31.
159. Rosenau, op. cit., p.21.
160. Glatzer, op. cit., p.53; Rosenau, op. cit., p.51.
161. *ibid.*, p.61. *ibid.*, p.63.
162. *ibid.*, p.63. *ibid.*
163. *ibid.*
164. Rosenau, op. cit., p.65.
165. Glatzer, op.cit., p.65.
166. Rosenau, op. cit., p.67.
167. Glatzer, loc. cit.
168. Rosenau, loc. cit.
169. Glatzer, loc. cit.
170. Rosenau, op. cit., p.69.
171. *ibid.*, p.71.
172. *ibid.*, p.115.
173. *ibid.*, 1932 ed., p.123.
174. Glatzer, op. cit., p.83; Rosenau, op. cit., p115f.
175. Stein and Maybaum, op.cit.
176. except e.g., Guggenheim, op.cit.
177. except e.g., Falkenberg, op.cit.
178. e.g., Stein.
179. *ibid.*
180. *ibid.*
181. e.g., Moses, op. cit.
182. e.g., Levy and Falkenberg, op. cit.
183. e.g., U.H. and Krauskopf, op. cit.
184. e.g. Moses, Krauskopf, and Levy, op. cit.
185. Guggenheim and Levy, op. cit.

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