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THE LITURGY OF DEATH AND DYING:  
A HISTORICAL, DEVELOPMENTAL, AND CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS

by

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Thesis  
submitted in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for Ordination  
Hebrew Union College--Jewish Institute of Religion

Cincinnati, Ohio  
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Referee:  
Prof. Jakob Petuchowski

This thesis  
is dedicated to  
my father  
who taught me  
to love and to live

William Nemitoff  
זכר צדיק לברכה

May his righteous memory be for a blessing

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

המדה הראשונה בחכמה היא שתיקה; השנייה--שמיעה;  
השלישית--זכרון; הרביעית--מעשה.

The first virtue of wisdom is silence,  
the second is hearing;  
the third is memory;  
and the fourth is action.

I would like to thank the following individuals  
without whose help and support this work would not have  
been possible:

To my family,

whose love and encouragement have seen me through  
many years of learning. In the difficult times,  
they have sustained me; in the uncertain times,  
they have reassured me. Because of their support  
for me, I pray that these words of Scripture will  
be true for them: "May those that love him be as  
the sun when it goes forth in all of its splendor."  
(Judges 5:31)

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whose insights into the psychological aspects of  
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and patience in helping me produce the "best work"  
possible is greatly appreciated. It is of him that  
Scripture speaks when saying: "He opens his mouth



with wisdom; and the Torah of kindness is on his tongue." (paraphrase of Proverbs 31:26)

To Dr. Jakob Petuchowski,

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To Risa,

whose love nourished and inspired me throughout this endeavor. My debt to her goes beyond any words.

I'll do what I can to show her the way; maybe one day I will free her. Scripture provides the words which I wish to address to her: "Arise, my fair one, and come away. For, lo, the winter is past; the rain is over and gone. The flowers appear on the earth; the time of singing is come. Arise, my love, my fair one, and come away." (Song of Songs 2:10-13)

## DIGEST

This thesis explores the major liturgical rubrics surrounding the death of an individual in Judaism. Although focusing primarily on the traditional Ashkenazi ritual, attention is given to the liturgy of the Sepharadim and of the Reform movement.

Five major prayers and/or services are identified in the liturgy: vidduy, tzidduq hadin (burial service), qaddish, birkath abhelim, and hazkarath neshamoth (memorial service). Within the ritual of this life-cycle event, these prayers serve an important function of articulating certain attitudes towards God, man, life, death, and the hereafter. Precisely because these issues are addressed in the liturgy, the prayers fulfill a second function of helping the dying and the mourners better cope with their losses and bereavement.

Section One of this thesis presents the liturgy as it exists today in the three rituals considered. In each case, this will be followed by a historical analysis, tracing the prayer's development from its earliest identifiable source, through the various Rabbinic codes and prayerbooks, and up to its present formulation.

Section Two deals with certain psychological and sociological aspects of this liturgy. Beginning with a

consideration of some psychological and Jewish perspectives on death, a prayer-by-prayer analysis of psycho-social attitudes being endorsed in the liturgy is then offered. This section also investigates how the psychological states of the dying individual and the mourner may be affected by the liturgy.

Appendix A offers a listing, in schematic form, of all the liturgy for death and dying, according to the traditional Ashkenazi ritual. Appendix B gives the actual liturgy discussed in this thesis, along with all relevant Rabbinic texts.

Since death is an event fraught with enormous emotion, the liturgy plays an important role in publicly confronting such emotions and in helping the group to reconstitute itself following the loss of one of its members. Therefore, it is important to identify both the historical antecedents which brought these prayers into existence, and the psycho-social ramifications of this liturgy.

# KEY TO TRANSLITERATION

א = silent (no representation); except when aleph appears in the middle of a word with a vowel, then a dash is used. Example: שואה = sho-ah.

ב = b  
 ב = bh  
 ג = g  
 ד = d  
 ה = h  
 ו = v  
 ז = z  
 ח = h  
 ט = t  
 י = y  
 כ = k  
 כ = kh  
 ל = l  
 מ = m  
 נ = n  
 ס = s  
 ע = ' Example: עמידה = 'amidah  
 פ = p  
 פ = ph

צ = tz

ק = q

ר = r

ש = sh

ס = s

ת = t

ת = th

ֿ = a

ֿ = a

ֿ = e

ֿ = i

ֿ = e; except when

followed by a yod, then an accent mark is used. Example: ספרי = Siphré

ֿ = o

ֿ = o

ֿ = u

ֿ = u

ֿ = e; when sheva is

vocal.

ֿ =

silent (no representation) when sheva is silent.

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## I N T R O D U C T I O N

Shall I cry out in anger, O God,  
 Because Thy gifts are mine but for a while?  
 Shall I forget the blessing of health  
 The moment it gives away to illness and pain?  
 Shall I be ungrateful for the moments of laughter,  
 The seasons of joy, the days of gladness and festivity?  
 When tears cloud my eyes and darken the world  
 And my heart is heavy within me,  
 Shall I blot from the mind the love  
 I have known and in which I have rejoiced?  
 When a fate beyond my understanding takes from me  
 Friends and kin whom I have cherished, and leaves me  
 Bereft of shining presences that have lit my way  
 Through years of companionship and affection,  
 Shall I grieve for a youth that has gone  
 Once my hair is gray and my shoulders bent,  
 And forget the days of vibrancy and power?  
 Shall I in days of adversity fail to recall  
 The hours of joy and glory Thou once hast granted me?  
 Shall I in turmoil of need and anxiety  
 Cease blessing Thee for the peace of former days?  
 Shall the time of darkness put out forever  
 The glow of the light in which I once walked?  
 Give me the vision, O God, to see and feel  
 That imbedded deep in each of Thy gifts  
 Is a core of eternity, undiminished and bright,  
 An eternity that survives the dread hours of  
 affliction and misery.<sup>1</sup>

-Morris Adler

I am not a stranger to death. In my brief life,  
 I have experienced the deaths of almost a dozen "signifi-  
 cant others." Bereavement and grief are phenomena well-  
 known to me. Ever since the death of my father, when I  
 experienced, firsthand, the ritual and liturgy of death  
 and dying, I have been fascinated with it. At that time,  
 the ritual and liturgy were effective in helping me to  
 cope with my loss and my questions. It seemed apparent  
 that they were designed to do just that.



The subject of this thesis is the same liturgy which proved so helpful to me. It is a subject with which little systematic work has been done. While all types of other research have been done on death and dying within the past decade, the pertinent Jewish liturgy has remained relatively untouched. This thesis is an attempt to begin to fill that void.

This thesis addresses itself to three specific questions: (1) What is the liturgy of death and dying, according to the Ashkenazic, Sepharadic, and Reform rituals? (2) How did this material develop, throughout the ages, into that which exists today in the traditional Ashkenazi ritual? (3) What psychological and sociological issues, specifically relating to mourning and grief reactions, are addressed in this liturgy?

The first two questions are answered in Section One. It identifies the five major liturgies surrounding an individual's death and traces their history and development. The two appendices to the thesis present not only the actual liturgy under discussion, but also the relevant Rabbinic material. Section Two deals with some psycho-social aspects of this liturgy.

The first book I read in my research was Maurice Lamm's The Jewish Way In Death And Mourning. In it, Lamm makes an observation which became my basic assumption in formulating this work. Lamm writes:

Judaism, with its long history of dealing with the soul of man, its intimate knowledge of man's achievements and foibles, his grandeur and his weakness, has wisely developed graduated periods during which the mourner may express his grief, and release with calculated regularity the built-up tensions caused by bereavement. The Jewish religion provides a beautifully structured approach to mourning.

The insight of the Bible, together with the accumulated religious experience of centuries, has taught the Jew how best to manage the grief situation. It was only with the rise of modern psychology, with its scientific tools and controlled experimentation, that the value of this grief structure has been recognized.<sup>2</sup>

The liturgy of this mourning process is essential to it. By defining it, tracing its development, and analyzing it, I hope to provide a better understanding of this liturgy. This will, I hope, allow the liturgy and ritual to be more effective in helping each one of us to better cope with our bereavements and griefs.

S E C T I O N   O N E

A Historical and Developmental Analysis

of the

Liturgy of Death and Dying

I will lift up mine eyes  
 Unto the mountains.  
 From whence shall come  
 My help?  
 My help comes from the Lord, <sup>1</sup>  
 The maker of heaven and earth.

"Prayer is as old as man, answering, as it does, some of his deepest needs. Whenever and wherever man has been in distress, he has evoked the aid of higher powers..."<sup>2</sup> At the time of death, that need is, perhaps, greatest. In response, Judaism has developed an entire system of liturgy for the dying and the mourner. The creation of a liturgy occurred, as opposed to any other mode of reaction, because the traditional Jew saw his life as being directly connected with the will of God. When one was about to die or even after the death had occurred, that intimate relationship was challenged. Prayer provided an opportunity for man to address God during the crisis.

Whereas private, unstructured prayer could have served this function, a formal liturgy developed. Two possible explanations for this may be (a) that a common liturgy was desired so every mourner would share in the same group experience, using identical language; and (b) "the use of formalized prayers...makes it possible to enter into a human relationship protected against the full encounter with the (people)"<sup>3</sup> in the community and the event itself. While these possibilities are only after-the-fact observations, they provide evidence for

why the liturgy was so quickly and firmly established.

Five major liturgies have been identified for discussion. These may be further divided into prayers recited by the dying individual and prayers recited by the mourners. The central prayer for the dying is the vidduy, the confession. The dying person is encouraged to seek atonement from God for his sins, so that he might enter the world to come clean and guiltless. Although they are not discussed later on, mention should be made of the prayer mi sheberakh, which asks God to heal the sick individual, and the ritual for changing one's name. Both of those are recited for any who are sick, and not only for the dying. Both are recited in the hopes of averting death.

However, once a death has occurred, one encounters the full weight of the liturgy. This begins with tzidduq hadin, the burial service; includes qaddish, which will be recited for the next eleven months; birkath abhelim, which is said after se'uddath habhra-ah, the meal of condolence; and concludes with the memorial service, hazkarath neshamoth, recited (in some rituals) four times a year in memory of the departed.

Appendix A presents the order in which the liturgy of death and dying is utilized. It also includes those aspects of the liturgy which are peripheral to this study, and therefore, not discussed.

Presented in this section will be the five liturgies just described. They will be defined according to the normative Ashkenazi ritual. When differences occur in the Sepharadi rite, they will be mentioned. The changes made by the Reform movement will also be noted. In each of the five cases, this will be followed by an analysis of the liturgy as it developed through history.

CHAPTER I: VIDDUY

Death, after all, claims everyone,  
 You find it everywhere.  
 It catches up with even those  
 Who wear their noses in the air.

The whole, wide world is ruled  
 With a certain justice, so  
 That helps perhaps to sweeten  
 The poor man's pain and woe.<sup>1</sup>

-Miroslav Kořak

"Death, after all, claims everyone..." More than one philosopher has made the statement that each of us begins to die at the moment of birth. As such, a peculiar preoccupation with life and its meaning affects almost every human being. Throughout the world, people whether Jews or non-Jews, live their lives cognizant of their eventual death. It is no wonder, then that this concern with one's own death and the quality of one's life serves as the basis for one of the most prominent prayers in the liturgy of death and dying.

In fact, it is at this point that the liturgy of death and dying actually begins. Just as there is a liturgy to begin the life of a person,<sup>2</sup> so, too, is there one at the end of one's life. A person who is about to die is required to make a confession of sins which have been committed.<sup>3</sup> This statement raises some key questions. Why is a confession, of all things, the prayer to be recited as one approaches death? With one's own end in sight, with so many questions unanswered, hopes unful-



filled, and statement unsaid, why should a person be concerned with the misdeeds committed during his lifetime? The answer to these questions may be better understood by first examining the idea of death in Judaism.

In the Bible there are two reasons given for man's death: the first states that God made man from the dust of the earth, and to dust he must return (Genesis 2:7, 3:19, Job 10:9). Genesis 3:22-24 gives a second reason: that of sin. By his expulsion from paradise, man was deprived of access to the tree of life; and thus, eternal life was lost to him.

The first reason given may be termed the naturalistic approach; the second would be a more causative one. Both of these attitudes are apparent in Jewish literature. In Genesis Rabbah 9:5, R. Meir comments on the phrase, "it was very good," from the Creation story, by saying: "It was very good,' that is death."--a natural, positive approach to death. In contrast to this and indicative of causation is the statement in b. Shabbath 55a that "there is no death without sin."

It is this last attitude on which we want to focus. Although one may accept death as a natural event, the reason for such an occurrence lies within the events of the Garden of Eden. From the very beginning, then, there is an inherent connection between sin and death. The latter is a necessary consequence of the former.

So, to go back and answer our question as to why confession is necessary as one approaches death, it is essential, first, to point out this relationship. When man is about to die, he thinks about the reason for his death: the life he has led, his mistakes and his good deeds. He understands that throughout his life, the Jew has offended God whenever he has sinned. Whenever he has committed a het, he has "missed his mark;" he has erred. As he approaches death, he has one final chance to "get right" with God. By confessing such sins, the Jew attempts to transform the causative into the naturalistic. By confessing, he is cleansed. His death is no longer a punishment. It is a positive event, part of the natural order of the world. By removing an aura of taintedness, confession allows the individual to better cope with those issues of life and death with which we permanently struggle during our lifetimes.

Confession in Judaism fulfills this function. Formulated as a relatively fixed liturgy, it is known as vidduy. This prayer has been called the "sublime document of Religion."<sup>5</sup> When accompanied by true kavanah, the vidduy cleanses the individual, psychologically and spiritually, of his sins.

In twentieth century Judaism, this confessional prayer exists in two basic formulations: the Yom Kippur

vidduy and the vidduy shekhibh mera', the deathbed vidduy. Related in both theme and content, the major differences between the two prayers lie in the facts that (a) only the Yom Kippur vidduy enumerates the various ethical sins committed by an individual; and (b) it does not restrict itself to the more immediate issue of impending death, as does vidduy shekhibh mera'. The Yom Kippur vidduy may be more explicit because it is used in the Yom Kippur 'amidah as a general confession. Therefore, it can be less constricted in its language. However, the dying person, who is urged to make confession, has little strength to recite a lengthy prayer. A short, simple statement is more appropriate to both the situation and health of the individual. Thus, the vidduy shekhibh mera', recited immediately prior to one's death,<sup>6</sup> consists of a short, general prayer, encompassing the themes of the longer Yom Kippur vidduy, specifically (a) God's omnipotence; (b) admission of sin; and (c) hope for atonement and forgiveness.

The vidduy shekhibh mera' is unique in the list of prayers surrounding death and dying in three aspects.

- (1) Whereas a variety of prayers are instrumental in the mourning process after death, the vidduy is the only liturgical creation to be recited by the ailing individual.
- (2) The idea of confession is introduced in the Torah. As

a positive, Biblical commandment,<sup>7</sup> vidduy is the only one of all the death-related liturgy to have such a strong, fundamental basis. (3) Finally, the vidduy is unique among the death liturgy since it is continually being reformulated. This is an unusual phenomenon, especially in the area that is so rigidly structured by the halakhah. In modern times,<sup>8</sup> the deathbed confession has come down to us in a variety of forms. Although they are distinctly different, all of the assorted confessions share similar structures, as well as many of the same phrases. Due to the highly personal nature of the prayer, however, a host of different deathbed confessions exists. Therefore, we will limit ourselves to six nusha-oth which represent major, liturgical compendia of the day. Four represent mainstream, Ashkenazi Orthodoxy. One is a creation of the Reform movement. The last variation is that used in the Sepharadi rite. These last two will be discussed at the conclusion of this chapter.

In order to properly compare and analyze the remaining four vidduyim, one will be presented as the "normative" version, against which the other three will be discussed. By using the term, "normative," no judgements are being offered concerning the relative importance of any single vidduy. The "normative" text has been chosen arbitrarily. It is that which appears in Hyman E. Goldin's Hamadrikh.

- (a) My God and God of my fathers, may my prayer come before You.
- (b) Do not hide Yourself from my supplications.
- (c) I beseech You, grant atonement to me for all my sins which I have sinned before You, from the beginning until this day.
- (d) I am ashamed and also contrite because I have foolishly committed evil deeds and sins.
- (e) Accept my suffering and misery for my atonement, and pardon me for my backsliding, because against You alone I have sinned.
- (f) May it be Your will, O Lord my God and God of my fathers, that I will not sin anymore. And that which I have sinned before You, purge them away in Your abundant compassion, but not by means of afflictions and bad diseases.
- (g) And send for me, and for all the sick of Your people Israel, a perfect healing.
- (h) I acknowledge before You, O Lord my God and God of my fathers, that my healing and my death are in Your hands. May it be Your will that You will cure me with a perfect healing.
- (i) But, if I should die from this sickness,
- (j) may my death be an atonement for all sins and iniquities and transgressions, which I have sinned and committed iniquitously and transgressed before You.
- (k) Hide me in the shadow of Your wings;
- (l) and grant me a portion in the Garden of Eden;
- (m) and may I merit resurrection and the world to come,
- (n) which is reserved for the righteous.
- (o) Father of orphans and Judge of widows, protect my dear relatives, whose souls are bound up with my soul.
- (p) Into Your hand I commend my spirit. You have redeemed me, O Lord, God of truth.
- (q) Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is One.
- (r) The Lord, He is God. The Lord, He is God.<sup>9</sup>

Version #2, which appears In Joseph Hertz's  
Authorized Daily Prayer Book, is a shortened version of  
 that found in Hamadrikh.

(h)

But, if death is an irrevocable decision from You, I will accept it,  
 from Your hand, in love.

(j)

Bestow upon me (a part of) the  
 abounding goodness,

(n)

'Make known to me the path of life.  
 In Your presence is unbounded joy;  
 in Your right hand, pleasure forever.'<sup>10</sup>

(o)

(p)

Amen and amen.

The Lord rules, the Lord has ruled, the  
 Lord will rule forever and ever. The  
 Lord rules, the Lord has ruled, the Lord  
 will rule forever and ever. The Lord  
 rules, the Lord has ruled, the Lord will  
 rule forever and ever.

Blessed is the name of His glorious  
 kingdom forever and ever.

Blessed is the name of His glorious  
 kingdom forever and ever.

Blessed is the name of His glorious  
 kingdom forever and ever.

The Lord, He is God. The Lord, He is God.

The Lord, He is God. The Lord, He is God.

The Lord, He is God. The Lord, He is God.

The Lord, He is God.

Hear, O Israel, The Lord our God, the  
 Lord is One.<sup>11</sup>

Version #3, found in S. Baer's Totza-oth Hayyim, is  
 also very similar to the "normative" version, but includes  
 a series of Biblical verses at the end of the vidduy.

(h)

But, if I should die,

(j)

(l)

and cause me to merit the world to come,



(n)

'Make known to me the path of life. In Your presence is unbounded joy; in Your right hand, pleasure forever.<sup>12</sup> Blessed are You, O Lord, who listens to prayer.

(At this point, one recites the first three paragraphs of the Yom Kippur vidduy. See Appendix B, #5 for the text of these paragraphs.)

(p)

(q)

Blessed is the name of His glorious kingdom forever and ever. The Lord rules, the Lord has ruled, the Lord will rule forever and ever.

(r)

The Lord, He is God. There is no other. Truly, He is our King, there is none besides Him, as it is written in His Torah: 'You shall know this day, and reflect in your heart, that it is the Lord who is God in the heavens above and on the earth below, there is none else.<sup>13</sup> It is extraordinary in that 'I will be that which I will be.'<sup>14</sup> He causes death and revives, before Him no god was formed; and after Him, none will be.<sup>15,16</sup>

Version #4 is the most divergent of the examples offered. Found in Henry Vidaver's Sepher Hahayyim, it is presented to indicate the variety of material, which is encompassed under the very specific name, vidduy shekhibh mera'.

I beseech You, O Lord God, God of Israel, living and everlasting, terrible and sublime, and holy, that in Your hand are the souls of all living things and the spirit of all flesh of man. I acknowledge before You that You have created me and have given me my soul. You have raised me and have rescued me from all my troubles. You have given me all my needs, my sustenance and my maintenance, all the days of my life.

(thematically = to (p))

You have been with me and have not forsaken me. Behold, the time and the season have arrived when I must return to You my soul which You gave to me. Accept it from me by means of kisses from Your mouth and not by means of angels of death, but may it not be frightened (and hastened) due to my pain.

(k)

and just as You rewarded me in Your loving-kindness and Your truth from the beginning until this day; so, too, reward in loving-kindness and truth, my body and soul. And send to me Your holy angels to receive my soul,

(thematically = to  
(l)-(n))

to carry it to the Garden of Eden, to the souls of the righteous and pious. And may my body rest in the grave in true rest, in quiet and peace until the time comes when Your word will cause it to live, in the resurrection.

May my repentance and my pain and

(j)

during my existence on earth

(d)

Do not show me the face of Gehinnom

(l)

with the righteous of the world,

(m)

that is forever Shabbath, that my soul may be overly satisfied in it and (a part of) the abounding goodness

(n)

in the 310 worlds, which You have given as an inheritance to all the righteous from amongst Your people, Israel, as it is written:

'I will cause those that love me to inherit substance, and I will fill up their treasures.'<sup>17</sup> May my soul be bound up in the bundle of life with the rest of the righteous and just in the Garden of Eden. Amen. Selah.<sup>18</sup>

All of the versions of the vidduy presented here share four phrases: (h), (j), (n), and (p). Within this common



phraseology, the three themes of the vidduy are expressed. Beyond these central ideas, though, each version brings to the vidduy shekhibh mera' its own particular nuances. Version #2, the shortest one, adds a verse, Psalm 16:11, to the common, skeletal vidduy. Almost as a postscript to the vidduy, it adds adonay melek, barukh shem, adonay huh, and shema' at the end. Version #3 includes the same Biblical verse, and adds two other verses. It also inserts the refrain to the shema'. Version #4 is the most anthropomorphic of all the texts discussed. More than in the other cases, God is portrayed as being intimately involved with all the life and actions of the Jew who is reciting this vidduy. This version is an anomaly, in relation to most other vidduy texts.

Up to this point, we have only discussed one side of the vidduy issue. As has been mentioned, the vidduy exists in two forms: the vidduy shekhibh mera' and the Yom Kippur vidduy. The second vidduy is found in any standard siddur, as part of the 'amidah to be recited during the Day of Atonement.<sup>19</sup> More will be said later about its role in the Yom Kippur liturgy and its relationship to a confession recited by the dying. For the moment, though, it is sufficient merely to note its context.

The prayer begins with an introduction, which states (a) a hope that the prayer will be accepted by God; and

(b) an admission to our sinful state. The confession continues with a single acrostic listing of sins, called ashamnu, or the short vidduy. This is followed by the long vidduy, the 'al het', a double acrostic, more specific enumeration of sins. The prayer concludes with a petition for pardon. Following is a translation of the vidduy, recited on Yom Kippur.

Our God and God of our fathers, may our prayer come before You. Do not hide Yourself from our supplication, for we are not so arrogant and stiffnecked to say before You: O Lord our God and God of our fathers, we are righteous and have not sinned; but we have sinned....

(This is followed by the ashamnu. It is a single acrostic, enumerating general moral sins. The text then continues as below.)

We have turned aside from Your commandments and from your good judgements, and it has not helped us. And You are righteous in all that has come upon us, for You act truthfully, and we have behaved wickedly.

What shall we say before You, who dwells on high? And what shall we recount to You, who abides in the heavens? Do You not know all of the hidden and revealed things?

You know the secrets of eternity and the hidden mysteries of all living. You search all of the innermost recesses and test the emotions and the heart. There is nothing concealed from You and there is nothing hidden from Your eyes.

Therefore, may it be Your will, O Lord our God and God of our fathers, that You will forgive us for all of our sins, pardon us for all of our iniquities, and grant us atonement for all of our transgressions...

(What follows in the standard Yom Kippur vidduy are the following sections: (a) the long vidduy, the 'al het, an enumeration of 44 specific, moral, and ethical sins; (b) a listing of sins for which a specific punishment is stated; (c) sins which can be remedied and those that cannot; and (d) those sins which are known and those that are unknown. The text then continues as below.)

Those which are revealed to us, we have already spoken before You and we have confessed them to You. And those which are not revealed to us, they are revealed and known to You, according to the word, that has been said: 'The hidden things belong to the Lord our God; but the revealed things belong to us and to our children forever, to fulfill all the words of this law.'<sup>20</sup> For You are the Forgiver of Israel and the Pardoner of the tribes of Jeshurun in every generation; and besides You, we have no king, who pardons and forgives, except You.

(The following prayer, which is recited immediately after the vidduy, is included at this time, since the language used has found its way into the vidduy shekhibh mera'.)

O my God, before I was formed, I was worth nothing; and now that I have been formed, I am as though I had not been formed. In life, I am dust; how much the more so in death. May it be Your will, O Lord my God and God of my fathers, that I will not sin anymore. And that which I have sinned before You, purge them away in Your abundant compassion, but not by means of afflictions and bad diseases.<sup>21</sup>

As can be readily observed, this vidduy is similar to the vidduy shekhibh mera'. In fact, those portions of the vidduy of the Day of Atonement which are underlined appear in the text of the deathbed confession found in Hyman Goldin's Hamadrikh.

It should be noted that the vidduy recited during Ne'ilah is different from the vidduy (presented above) which is recited at other times during the Yom Kippur service. As

in Ma'aribh, Shaharith, Musaph, and Minhah, the Ne'ilah vidduy begins with the same four paragraphs (i.e., through: "Do You not know all of the hidden and revealed things?"). At this point, however, the Ne'ilah vidduy departs from the text of the other four services. Instead of the material from "You know the secrets" to "who pardons and forgives, except You," which includes the long vidduy, two paragraphs are recited. The first paragraph speaks of man, as the transgressor, inherently incapable of achieving repentance by himself. The second paragraph builds on this theme and recognizes that it is only God who can help us repent. God, in His mercy, grants atonement to man. This is done because God does not desire the death of man, but his service. Then, as with the vidduy in the other services, it is followed by R. Hamnuna's prayer (i.e., "O my God, before I was formed...")<sup>22</sup>

Now that the modern vidduyim are identified, we turn to the history and development of the confession in Judaism. This will lead not only to a better understanding of each individual vidduy, but it will serve to clarify the relationship between the Yom Kippur confession and the deathbed confession.

The earliest material which refers to a confession is to be found in the Tanakh. Solomon Mandelkern's Biblical concordance lists eleven specific usages of the hitpa'el

verbal form (i.e., "to make confession").<sup>23</sup> The earliest of these, according to the traditional order of the Biblical books, comes from Leviticus. In a section of the Torah dealing with those instances which require a sin-offering to be brought to the Temple, Leviticus 5 begins by describing a set of sins of omission, committed intentionally.<sup>24</sup> The three cases are (a) the witness who fails to give testimony; (b) the one who contracts ritual impurity; and (c) the one who fails to fulfill his oath. In all these cases, not only is a sin-offering required, but "and it shall be, when he shall be guilty in one of these things, he shall confess that wherein he has sinned."<sup>25</sup> Confession is required in order for the sin-offering to fully expiate the sin of the individual.

This concept is expanded later in the Torah to include any sin which a person might commit. Within a section dealing with the general area of human relations and moral rights and wrongs, Numbers 5:6-7 introduces the ensuing discussion with the statement, "When a man or woman shall commit any sin that men commit, to commit a trespass against the Lord, and that soul be guilty; then they shall confess their sin which they have done."<sup>26</sup>

Several conclusions may be drawn from these three verses. First, taken in conjunction with one another, the verses state a positive, Biblical command, a mitzvath 'aseh; oral confession is required of any person for any

and all sins which he or she may commit. Secondly, it does not matter whether the sin is intentional or unintentional, ritual or moral. Thirdly, as will be seen later, these three verses become the raison d'être for a vidduy, whether as part of the Yom Kippur liturgy or of the deathbed ritual.

Other Biblical passages serve to flesh out the skeletal information on man's requirement to recite a confession of sins. The two sections to be quoted below are especially important. One provides Biblical justification for connecting confession with death, a phenomenon which slowly grew over the centuries. The other is reminiscent of the language used in later confessions and seems to be a paradigm which was imitated. In the book of Joshua, the first instance of making confession before one's death is recorded. Achan, a member of the tribe of Judah, stole some of the herem, the forbidden spoil, taken from Jericho. Discovered, he was sentenced to be stoned to death and his body to be burned. Immediately prior to the sentence being executed, though, Joshua said to him,

'My son, give, I pray you, glory to the Lord, the God of Israel, and make confession to Him, and tell me now what you have done; hide nothing from me.' And Achan answered Joshua, and said: 'Of a truth, I have sinned against the Lord, the God of Israel, and such-and-such have I done.'<sup>27</sup>

Considering the circumstances surrounding these verses,



this may be the first vidduy shekhibh mera' ever recorded in Judaism. Although one does not normally associate a condemned individual with a dying person, their situations are comparable. Both are on the verge of death. In fact, this particular passage plays a significant role, in later discussions, in various codes.

The last Biblical passage to be discussed is found in the book of Daniel. In this section, Daniel recounts how he had made confession to God and prayed concerning the desolation of Jerusalem. Preserved in fifteen verses, this is the longest single confession recorded in the Tanakh.<sup>28</sup> The beginning of Daniel's confession, however, is of the most interest. Its language is that which is used in later centuries as part of the liturgical vidduy. Although none of the phrases used is unique to Daniel, he is the first to bring them together for the purpose of making a confession.

And I prayed to the Lord my God, and made confession, and said: 'O Lord, the great and terrible God, who keeps the covenant and lovingkindness with them that love Him and keep His commandments. We have sinned and committed iniquities and behaved wickedly, and we have revolted and have turned aside from Your commandments and from Your judgements.'<sup>29</sup>

Three final observations ought to be noted concerning the Biblical concept of confession. Over and over again, the Bible prescribes the recitation of confession as a means of expiation and atonement.<sup>30</sup> The effects of such

confessions are a remission of sin and a spiritual cleansing of the individual.<sup>31</sup> Finally, although several confessions are recorded in Scripture, no set, formal confessional liturgy is prescribed. It would seem that time and circumstance dictated the individual's thoughts.<sup>32</sup>

The developmental history of the vidduy begins as it is traced from these various Biblical references to its codification in the Mishnah. By approximately the year 200 C.E., when Judah ha-Nasi finished compiling the Mishnah, there already existed two "traditions" concerning the vidduy. One obviously had to do with sin-offerings and the priesthood. The other had to do with the confession of a criminal about to be put to death. Neither comes as a surprise since each is based on Biblical precedent.

M. Sanhedrin, concerning itself with procedures of the law courts, mentions the confession to be recited by a condemned person.

When he was about ten cubits distance from the place of stoning, they should say to him: "Confess (your sins); for this is the way of those who have been condemned to death--to make confession, for every one that makes a confession has a portion in the world to come. For thus we have found with Achan, to whom Joshua said: 'My son, give, I pray you, glory to the Lord, the God of Israel, and make confession to Him, (and tell me now what you have done; hide nothing from me.) And Achan answered Joshua, and said: Of a truth, I have sinned against the Lord, the God of Israel, and such-(and-such have I done.)'<sup>33</sup> And from where do we learn that this confession made atonement for him? It is said, 'And Joshua said: Why have you troubled us.



The Lord shall trouble you this day.'<sup>34</sup> This day you shall be troubled; but in the world to come, you shall not be troubled." And if he does not know (how) to confess, they should say to him: 'Say, May my death be an atonement for all my iniquities.'<sup>35</sup>

Two new elements are introduced by this passage. A totally new phrase is used: "May my death be an atonement for all my iniquities." This sentence is to become an essential statement in all modern deathbed confessions.<sup>36</sup> Secondly, the exegesis of Joshua 7:25 rounds out the concept of confession as expiation for sin. The passage implies that once atonement has been made for the sins committed, even if he is put to death for the transgression, the individual will receive his "reward" in the world to come. Confession assures "salvation." From the point of talking about a condemned man to extrapolating to all who are about to die, very little exegesis is required. It will be shown that this shift in concern did, in fact, take place within a very short period after the appearance of Judah ha-Nasi's Mishnah.

The other tradition, that of confession being associated with sin-offerings and priests, also finds its repercussions in the Mishnah. Once the Temple came into existence, the ritual observance of the various holy days was carefully orchestrated. As such, careful and precise rituals were spelled out for the High Priest and his fellow officiants. This would be especially so concerning the most important holy day of the year, that of Yom Kippur.<sup>36</sup>

On this day, all of Israel was cleansed of its sins, and divine forgiveness was granted to those who had erred in their ways and had repented. Since the theme of Yom Kippur is that of sin and atonement, one would expect to find references made to confession of sin, an integral element needed to complete atonement and expiation, as stated in Leviticus 5:5. M. Yoma, dealing with the different halakhic requirements of Yom Kippur, speaks of the High Priest and his role in making atonement for his own sins and those of his household, the sins of the priests, and the sins of all Israel. The sacrificial cult played a central role in atonement, but oral confession, vidduy, was also necessary.

He came to his bullock and his bullock was standing between the Porch and the Altar, its head to the south and its face to the west; and he set both hands on it and made confession. And thus he used to say: 'I beseech You, O Lord, I have committed iniquity, I have transgressed, I have sinned before You, I and my house. I beseech You, O Lord, grant atonement for the iniquities, transgressions, and sins which I have committed iniquitously, transgressed, and sinned before You, I and my house; as it is written in the Law of Moses, Your servant: For on this day, he shall make atonement for you to cleanse you. From all your sins, you shall be cleansed before the Lord.'<sup>37</sup> And they answered after him: 'Blessed is the name of His glorious kingdom forever and ever.'<sup>38</sup>

The same procedure and liturgy was repeated twice more during the day. M. Yoma 4:2 records this same passage, except that it substitutes the phrase, "I, and my house, and the children of Aaron, Your holy people," for the

phrase in m. Yoma 3:8, "I, and my house." M. Yoma 6:2 is the third occurrence of the ritual, and instead of "I, and my house," the phrase, "Your people, the house of Israel," is used. The logic in this is clear. The High Priest must first cleanse himself before he is able to effect atonement for the priests and the people.

With these passages from the Mishnah, the kernel of a vidduy, planted in the Bible, begins to take hold and blossom. On Yom Kippur, the officiant, for the people, makes an oral confession of their sins, as a means of attaining atonement. This will develop into the vidduy, complete with an enumeration of sins, which is recited on Yom Kippur.

Before leaving the Mishnah and moving on to later works, certain revealing insights can be discovered by turning to the Tosephta. While the Tosephta draws its materials from the same traditions as does the Mishnah,<sup>40</sup> the Tosephta passage corresponding to m. Yoma 3:8 lists a different order in which the various types of misdeeds are confessed. The Mishnah lists the order as: 'avithi, pasha'ti, hatathi; iniquities, transgressions, sins. The Tosephta presents the order in the following discussion:

How does he make confession: I beseech You, O Lord, I have committed iniquity, I have transgressed, I have sinned before You, I and my house... (The passage continues as in the m. Yoma 3:8 passage through:)... 'From all your sins, you shall be cleansed before the Lord.'<sup>41</sup> And it is

said: 'And he shall confess over him all of the iniquities of the children of Israel, and all of their transgressions, and all of their sins.'<sup>42</sup>--these are the words of R. Meir. And the Sages say: 'Iniquities' are deliberate (intentional) sins; 'their transgressions' are rebellious sins; 'their sins' are unintentional sins. Since he confesses the deliberate sins and the rebellious sins, (should) he return and confess unintentional sins? Rather, (it is): How does he make confession: I beseech You, O Lord, I have sinned, I have committed iniquity, I have transgressed before You, etc. And they answer after him: Blessed is the name, etc. For we have found that all who make confession, do so in this manner: David said, 'We have sinned with our fathers, we have done iniquitously, we have behaved wickedly';<sup>43</sup> Solomon said, 'We have sinned and we have committed iniquity and we have transgressed';<sup>44</sup> Daniel said, 'We have sinned, and we have committed iniquity, we have behaved wickedly'.<sup>45</sup> But what (is the meaning) of what Moses said, 'Forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin and granting pardon'.<sup>46</sup> Rather, it was thusly that he confessed: I have sinned and I have committed iniquity and I have transgressed before You.<sup>47</sup>

Thus, the Tosephta establishes a liturgical norm for the vidduy, which will be supported by the Talmud and will find its way into all subsequent confessions.<sup>48</sup> Unintentional sins are first confessed; this is followed by deliberate and rebellious ones. In a matter of speaking, one must "work up" towards the more serious of misdeeds. Hatathi, 'avithi, pasha'ti--this is the order to be followed in confessing one's sins.

Leaving the Mishnaic period with a solid foundation for the liturgical components comprising the two major rubrics of vidduyim, the next piece of Rabbinic material to deal with a vidduy is dated after the compilation of

the Mishnah. Siphre to Numbers, written no sooner than in the early part of the fifth century,<sup>49</sup> includes a midrash to Numbers 5:6. This is the same Biblical passage mentioned earlier, which provided part of the basis for the Yom Kippur ritual of vidduy conducted during the Temple's existence. In parashath Naso of Siphre, it is written: "An inference can be drawn from the Biblical verse, 'And that soul be guilty; then they shall confess.'<sup>50</sup> R. Nathan said, 'A generalization<sup>51</sup> can be drawn that all dying people are required to confess.'<sup>52</sup> Using the verse that all who sin must confess, R. Nathan extends the general commandment to include the case of a dying person, for a dying individual is as anyone else. Both commit sins everyday. And, as it is written in Numbers 5:6, all who sin must confess. Therefore, the dying must also recite a vidduy.

It must be noted that the Siphre passage establishes a connection other than that of a confession being required of a dying person. The Biblical verse utilized to substantiate this position is precisely the same verse which serves as an underpinning for the Yom Kippur vidduy. For the first time, then, the two traditions for confessions come together and are merged. Thus, if R. Nathan did make the above statement, the deathbed vidduy and the Yom Kippur vidduy are inseparably linked by the beginning of the third century,<sup>53</sup> a connection which continues and emerges again in the modern

period.

The next major work to shed light on the vidduy and its development is the Talmud. While the Yom Kippur confession is discussed in b. Yoma, the deathbed vidduy is approached in b. Shabbath. Concerning the dying and their need to make confession, the analogy is again drawn to the individual sentenced to death.

It was taught in a well-known baraita: If a person becomes sick and is approaching death, they should say to him, 'Confess (your sins); for this is the way of all those who have been condemned to death--to make confession.' When a man goes out into the marketplace, let him imagine that he has been placed in charge of an officer. When he has a headache, let him imagine that he has been placed in chains. When he feels ill and goes to bed, let him imagine that he ascended the gallows to be punished. For everyone who ascends the gallows to be punished; if he has great advocates, he is saved; but if not, he is not saved. These are the advocates of man: repentance and good deeds."<sup>54</sup>

This passage, reminiscent of the m. Sanhedrin 6:2 passage, merely reinforces the need to confess one's sins when terminally ill. However, it does offer one novel idea. In creating analogies which rationalize the need to make confession, a relationship is established between dying and approaching the gallows. The passage then offers the salvation: if one has the advocates of repentance and good deeds on his or her side, one may be saved. If this is true for the gallows, surely it would be true for the dying person. This idea, that one might be saved from his



imminent death by confession and repentance, is not really developed. But, it is a theme which is found in the modern vidduy shekhibh mera'.<sup>55</sup>

No other major references to a deathbed confession are to be found in the Talmud except in b. Sanhedrin 43b. This passage, though, is taken verbatim from m. Sanhedrin 6:2.

On the other hand, the Yom Kippur vidduy is treated much more extensively in the Talmud, with greater liturgical definition being given to this prayer. There are two basic passages specifically dealing with the Yom Kippur nusah. The first, found in b. Yoma 36b, is essentially a repetition of the Tosephta passage already discussed. The second passage, b. Yoma 87b, sheds new light on the subject.

What is (the confession) that is said? Rav said: 'You know the secrets of eternity.' Samuel said: 'From the depths of the heart.' Levi said: 'And in Your Torah, it is said.' R. Johanan said: 'Lord of the Universe.' R. Judah said: 'Our iniquities are too many to number and our sins too many to recount.' R. Hamnuna said: 'O, my God, before I was formed, I was worth nothing; and now that I have been formed, I am as though I had not been formed. In life, I am dust; how much the more so in my death. Behold, I am before You like a vessel, filled with shame and reproach. May it be Your will that I will not sin anymore. And that which I have sinned before You, purge them away in Your compassion, but not by means of afflictions.' And that was the confession of Raba for all year, and (used by) R. Hamnuna the Younger on Yom Kippur. Mar Zutra said: 'One need only to say that if one did not say, But we have sinned.' But, if he said, 'But we have sinned,' nothing needs to

be added, because Bar Hamdudi said: 'Once I stood before Samuel and he was sitting. When the reader arose and said, But we have sinned, he rose. Conclude from this that this was the essence of the confession.'<sup>56</sup>

Tha Amoraic discussion in b. Yoma reveals a well-defined liturgy, known to the men involved. There is disagreement as to the proper formula, but the suggestions offered are apparently well-known.<sup>57</sup> Several alternatives are discussed, indicating various liturgical traditions and/or predilections. Two of the prayers mentioned, 'You know the secrets of eternity ' and R. Hamnuna's prayer, have found their way into the modern Yom Kippur vidduy.<sup>58</sup> It should also be noted that R. Hamnuna's prayer, which is also Raba's private prayer during the year, is recorded in a slightly different version in b. Berakhoth 17a.

The Talmud provides essential information on the vidduy. This information, whether liturgical as in b. Yoma or for the purpose of clarification as in b. Shabbath, occurs at a pivotal point in the vidduy's development. The preceeding 1500 years or so mark the "rudimentary confessional development." The 1500 years or so after the redaction of the Talmud shall be seen to mark the "complicated confessional development." After Talmudic times, the Yom Kippur and deathbed vidduyim develop into more complex, organized and codified entities.

An example of this trend can be found in one of the so-called minor tractates of the Talmud. A post-Talmudic



tractate, Semahoth deRabbi Hiyya, discusses various laws surrounding death and dying and their rationale. For the most part, this is material not found in the Talmud, itself. Since we know from b. Shabbath 32a that confession is appropriate for all who are approaching death, it is not surprising the author(s) and/or redactor(s) of Semahoth deRabbi Hiyya should also deal with this topic. While no progress is made in its liturgical development, more rationale and Biblical proof are provided for confession.

Concerning one who is dying, they should say to him: 'Confess (your sins) in order that you should not die. Many have confessed and have not died and many did not confess and yet died. And many have walked through the marketplace and have confessed. Perhaps, due to the merit of your confessing, you will live.' If he is able to confess orally, he should do so orally; but if not, he may confess in his heart. One that confesses orally and one that confesses in his heart: (Both are acceptable) so long as his heart is properly directed and his mind is tranquil.

And they do not say any of these words to him in front of ignorant people, or in front of children, or in front of women, in order that they not cry and frighten his heart....From where (do we learn) that the sick are obligated to make confession? The (Scriptural proof) text reads: 'Crazed because of the way of their transgression and afflicted because of their iniquities, their soul abhorred all food and they drew near towards the gates of death. They cried to the Lord in their trouble; He saved them from their distresses. (He sent His word and healed them and He delivered them from their graves.)<sup>59,60</sup>

A somewhat opaque statement in b. Shabbath 32a suddenly becomes clear, in light of the Semahoth passage. While it

was previously unclear as to the meaning of "...if he has great advocates, he is saved....These are the advocates....repentance..," the idea becomes understandable by applying the Biblical proof-text, Psalm 107:17-20, supplied as "proof" for the obligation of confessing on one's deathbed. Since in Psalm 107, God heard the voice of those near death and saved them, so too in our case, if one is near death and calls (i.e., confesses with proper kavanah) upon God, He will hear and save the person from death. As mentioned earlier, this theme appears in the modern vidduy shekhibh mera'. "Perhaps due to the merit of your confessing, you will live"--confession as a possible means of retarding death becomes an important rubric, liturgically and psychologically. It is a concept only fully developed post-Talmudically. Similar development and growth occurs with the Yom Kippur vidduy. However, to completely understand the changes that take place, one must first explore the ramifications of a most important event in Jewish history, the destruction of the second Temple.

With the advent of the Tannaitic and Amoraic periods, the synagogue became the substitution for the Temple. With the Temple destroyed, the sacrificial cult no longer was possible. Those liturgical rubrics which depended so heavily on a sacrificial system had to find a means of translating the sacrifice's function into an acceptable mode. The confessional system, so elaborately laid out

in the Bible and Mishnah, was one such rubric. The synagogue managed to "substitute the older sacrificial system, but kept alive the earlier ministration of the eternal craving and constant need of the human soul for union and nearness with the Eternal Being."<sup>61</sup> Judaism succeeded in this endeavor by realigning the necessary components for atonement. Instead of sacrifice and confession, it was to be confession alone which would serve to make expiation for sins. Once the transfer was made, the way was left open for the development of an elaborate liturgical vidduy to be recited on Yom Kippur.

Leviticus Rabbah was the first post-Talmudic work, affected by this radical change in philosophy, to deal with a Yom Kippur vidduy. Expounding on a verse from Isaiah, the text in Leviticus Rabbah reflects the vidduy of R. Bibi b. Abaye:

Let the wicked forsake his way, and the man of iniquity his thoughts.'<sup>62</sup> R. Bibi b. Abaye said: How must a man make confession on the eve of Yom Kippur? He must say, 'I acknowledge all the evil that I have done before You. I have stood in the path of evil; and all that which I have done, I will not do any more like it. May it be Your will, O Lord my God, that You will pardon me for all my iniquities, and forgive me for all my transgressions, and grant me atonement for all my sins.' This is what is written, 'Let the wicked forsake his way, and the man of iniquity his thoughts; and let him return to the Lord, and He will have compassion on him, and to our God, for He will abundantly pardon.'<sup>63</sup>

What might be considered an otherwise insignificant

contribution to the liturgy of the vidduy is quite remarkable for one of its statements. R. Bibi b. Abaye lists the misdeeds in the same sequence as does m. Yoma 3:8. However, both the Tosephta and its corresponding Talmudic passage call for a re-sequencing of the order. For some unknown reason, that which had been halakhically determined is ignored in this instance. Other than this one point of interest, though, the Leviticus Rabbah passage does not enter into subsequent vidduy liturgy.

When speaking of set, formal liturgy, one normally thinks of such liturgy as being found in a siddur or mahzor. But, it is not until the tenth century and Saadia b. Joseph that one of the first prayerbooks, per se, comes into existence. Since Saadia's prayerbook covers the whole gamut of tefilloth and their applications we can see to what extent the vidduy has become a standard liturgical rubric. No reference is made to a deathbed vidduy. Although various "private" rituals are included in Saadia's prayerbook, a confession is not included as part of man's regimen. A formula for a Yom Kippur vidduy, however, does appear as part of the 'Abhodah service. To a large extent, the nusah used seems to correspond to that which was advocated by Rav in b. Yoma 87b.

You know the secrets of eternity and the hidden mysteries of all the living. You search all of the innermost recesses and You see the emotions and the heart. There is nothing concealed from You and there is nothing hidden from your eyes. May it be Your will, O Lord our God, that You

will pardon us for all of our iniquities and grant us atonement for all of our transgressions...<sup>64</sup> And those which are not revealed to us, to You they are revealed, according to the word, that has been said: 'The hidden things belong to the Lord our God, but the revealed things belong to us and to our children forever, to fulfill all the words of this law.'<sup>65</sup> For You are the Forgiver of Israel from of old and You are the Pardoner of the tribes of Jeshurun in every generation. And Your way is true and certain; and besides You, we have no king, who pardons and forgives.<sup>66</sup>

Comparing this to the modern Yom Kippur vidduy, one finds that Saadia's composition essentially consists of the fifth and sixth paragraphs and the second to the last paragraph in Hertz's edition of the Authorized Daily Prayer Book.<sup>67</sup> In the tenth century, R. Hammuna's prayer is not yet instituted as part of the standard liturgy. It should be noted that this particular passage being quoted is the vidduy recited on the eve of Yom Kippur. Saadia does have a different version for Ne'ilah. This, however, will not be discussed.

To digress in tracing the vidduy's development, we move back a century to Amram b. Sheshna, the Gaon of Sura. We know that Amram had written a prayer-code which predates Saadia's work by 75-100 years. One would expect that the two would be in close agreement as to the nusah used for the Yom Kippur vidduy. It is unfortunate that a definite conclusion cannot be drawn concerning this. Daniel Goldschmidt, in his Seder R. Amram Gaon, provides

a "corrected" edition of Amram's prayer-code. Thus, when looking at the Gaon's treatment of the Yom Kippur vidduy, one finds a fully developed confession, almost identical to what exists today.<sup>68</sup> A fully developed liturgy, such as this, is difficult to understand considering what is known about Saadia's vidduy. Both Amram and Saadia were Geonim of Sura and it is unlikely that Saadia did not know of Amram or his work. But, to further cloud the picture, Ismar Elbogen, in Hatephillah Beyisra-el, asserts that "already with Amram, we find the nusah used to this day; this ceremony is identified in all (subsequent) usages, although here and there, one word or another has been added to it."<sup>69</sup> Unfortunately, Elbogen does not provide a source for that statement. If he has legitimate evidence for this, one has to question why Saadia would ignore almost all of what Amram understands to be the liturgical rubric known as the Yom Kippur vidduy. Saadia is very clear in his opinion as to the format of the confession. He wrote,

And this is what one must do. The Jew should go at the end of the ninth day (after Rosh Hashanah) to the waters of the miqveh and he should immerse in them...Afterwards, he should pray the Minhah service and when he arrives at, 'May He bless His people Israel with peace,' he should make a confession of all his sins, without dealing with specifics.<sup>70</sup>

As we can see from his text, Saadia has some rudi-



mentary elements of today's Yom Kippur vidduy. We do not know about Amram. If Elbogen is correct, then a fascinating liturgical dichotomy exists between Amram's and Saadia's prayerbooks. If Elbogen is wrong, we must assume Amram's vidduy is similar to Saadia's: a tentative formulation of what we now know to be the Yom Kippur confession.

With the above discussion as a possible exception, no more major changes take place in the Yom Kippur vidduy after Saadia's time. By Maimonides' time, Hamnuna's prayer is included after the confession.<sup>71</sup> Thus, the liturgy, as we know it today (i.e., the Yom Kippur vidduy plus R. Hamnuna's prayer), recited as part of the 'amidah on the eve of Yom Kippur and the following day, was established.

After a long interval, we return now to the development of the deathbed confession. Having last seen reference made to the deathbed vidduy in b. Shabbath 32a, it is another 650 years before any comment is made concerning this prayer. Neither Amram, Saadia, nor Simḥah b. Samuel, in his Mahzor Vitry, make any mention of a confession to be recited by those about to die. It is only with the great halakhist, Maimonides (i.e., Rambam), that we are able to pick up the thread of development left hanging in the Talmud.

In his halakhic compendium, the Mishneh Torah, Rambam



deals with the laws of repentance. It is in conjunction with this that he makes his comments on the deathbed vidduy.<sup>72</sup>

All commandments that are in the Torah, whether they are positive or negative; if a man transgresses one of them, whether deliberately or unintentionally, when he makes repentance, and turns from his sin, he is obligated to confess before the Lord, blessed be He, as it is said: 'When a man or woman shall commit any sin that men commit, (to commit a trespass against the Lord, and that soul be guilty; then they shall confess their sin which they have done.)'<sup>73</sup> And they shall confess their sins, that they have committed in an oral confession.<sup>74</sup> This confession is a positive commandment. How does he make confession? He says: 'I beseech You, O Lord, I have sinned, I have transgressed, I have committed iniquity before You, and I have done such-and-such. And behold, I am contrite and ashamed of my deed.'<sup>75</sup> And never will I return to this thing.' And this is the essence of a confession. And (for) all those who expand in their confessing and become lengthy in this matter, behold this is commended. And thus, those who must bring a sin-offering and those who must bring a guilt-offering (for their misdeeds), at the time that they bring sacrifices for them,<sup>76</sup> whether unintentional or deliberate (sins), they are not pardoned for them by their sacrifices until they have made repentance. And he shall confess with an oral confession, as it is said: 'He shall confess that wherein he has sinned.'<sup>77</sup> And thus, all those who are sentenced to capital punishment by the court and those sentenced to lashings, they are not pardoned for them<sup>78</sup> by their deaths or by their lashings until they have made repentance and confessed.<sup>79</sup>

Analyzing the section, we see the beginning of an emerging medieval Rabbinic concern with confession. What began with a simple Biblical precept in Numbers 5 has now evolved into a full liturgical formula. Maimonides'

connection with a deathbed confession is tenuous, however, for he only refers to a confession in association with one who has been sentenced to capital punishment. Nevertheless, one could draw certain logical conclusions, as did R. Nathan in Siphré, which would lend more relevance to the Mishneh Torah passage. If we were to read Maimonides in light of R. Nathan's application of the Binyan Abh hermeneutic principle, then one legitimately extends the Rambam's statements to refer to a dying individual. In either case, though, the reference here is not central, but merely tangential. Its importance lies not in the quantity of the comment but in the fact that it is the first allusion to a deathbed vidduy in over half a millenium.

Maimonides concludes that making confession is a positive commandment. Although this is an obvious fact, earlier authorities do not remark on it. In fact, m. Sanhedrin 6:2 uses the phrase, "sheken derekh hamumathin mithvaddin," implying a custom rather than a law. R. Nathan, who comes closest to Maimonides' position, writes "sheta'anim." This does not carry the same weight, at all, as Rambam's statement that it is a mitzvath 'aseh. As a divine obligation resting on every individual, confession at the time of severe illness or death becomes required, for the dying are as though condemned prisoners. Maimonides offers his nusah for this vidduy. It is suggestive of the

confession of the High Priest on Yom Kippur. The phrase, "I am contrite and ashamed...", coined by Maimonides, enters into a number of later versions of the vidduy. Another Maimonidean consideration also becomes normative. He allows for divergence by encouraging those who so wish to lengthen their confessions. As we have seen, divergence is the key element in discussing the various nusha-oth which now exist for the vidduy shekhibh mera'.

It is left to Nahmanides (i.e., Ramban), however, to complete the vidduy's liturgical development. In Torath Ha-adam, his halakhic codification on illness, death, burial, and mourning, Nahmanides allots an entire chapter to the subject of confession. It is at this point that the term "vidduy shekhibh mera'" is first used. It thus marks a turning point in the history of the vidduy, for it is only in the thirteenth century that full definition is given to this vidduy "tradition."

In Torath Ha-adam, one of the beginning chapters, Sha'ar Hasoph, recapitulates the various Rabbinic responses to the whole question of vidduy. The following passages are quoted verbatim: b. Shabbath 32a; Semahoth deRabbi Hiyya 1:2; Siphre', parashath Naso (Numbers 5:6); m. Sanhedrin 6:2; b. Yoma 36b.<sup>80</sup> The last section of this chapter, however, is not directly related to any single earlier text. After reviewing and restating the different opinions, Nahmanides offers his own version of the confession prayer.

The order of the deathbed confession we have thus received from the pious ones and men of good deeds: I acknowledge before You, O Lord my God and God of my fathers, that my healing is in Your hands and my death is in Your hands. May it be Your will that You will cure me with a perfect healing. But, if I should die, may my death be an atonement for my iniquities and sins and transgressions which I have sinned, committed iniquitously, and transgressed before You. And, grant me a portion in the Garden of Eden and cause me to merit the world to come, which is reserved for the righteous.<sup>81</sup>

Using the statement from m. Sanhedrin 6:2 (i.e., "May my death be an atonement for my iniquities.") as a seed for development, Nahmanides incorporates, in his own words, two themes which have appeared in previous texts, namely admission of sin and hope for atonement. Ramban's original contribution lies in the adding a third theme, that of God's omnipotence. We find that all modern confessions use Ramban's vidduy shekhibh mera' as the basic vidduy,<sup>82</sup> to which other elaborations are added. After 2000 years of development, the formula to gain halakhic acceptance was one newly created in the thirteenth century.

About 250 years later the major, modern codification of Jewish law was written. The Shulhan 'Arukh, determining halakhah for all aspects of life, includes a section on vidduy.<sup>83</sup> Entitled, "The confession of the sick person and what should be said to him," the passage does not include any unexpected statements.

(Concering) one who is dying, they should say

to him: 'Confess (your sins).' And they should say to him: 'Many confessed and did not die and many did not confess and yet died. And as a reward that (if) you confess, you will live. And all those who confess have a portion in the world to come.' And if he is not able to confess orally, he should confess in his heart. (HAGAH: And if he does not know (how) to confess, they should say to him: 'Say, May my death be an atonement for all my iniquities.') And they do not say any of these words to him in front of ignorant people, or in front of women, or in front of children, lest they cry and break his heart.

The order of the deathbed confession is: I acknowledge before You, O Lord my God and God of my fathers, that my healing and my death are in Your hands. May it be Your will that You will cure me with a perfect healing. But, if I should die, may my death be an atonement for all my sins and iniquities and transgressions which I have sinned and committed iniquitously and transgressed before You. And, grant me a portion in the Garden of Eden and cause me to merit the world to come which is reserved for the righteous. (HAGAH: And if he wants to lengthen it, as with the confession for Yom Kippur, he is free to do so.)<sup>84</sup>

The first paragraph is taken from Semahoth deRabbi Hiyya 1:2. The Hagah insert is the same statement found in m. Sanhedrin 6:2. The second paragraph is the vidduy of Nahmanides in Torath Ha-adam. The Hagah insert is a reference to Maimonides' comment in Mishneh Torah, Hilkhoth Teshubhah 1:1. However, the phrase "as with the confession for Yom Kippur" is a new addition. This statement harks back to the passage discussed in Siphre. With the initial connection being made in the third century, Isserles, in his gloss, codifies the relationship between



the Yom Kippur confession and the confession recited on the deathbed. Isserles' comment also serves another function of codification. Originally, elaboration of the vidduy was to be left to personal choice for style and content. With the Shulhan 'Arukh, even this encouraged elaboration of the prayer is regulated.

The Shulhan 'Arukh effectively concludes the developmental history of the vidduy shekhibh mera'. Evolving over a period of time as long as the history of the Jewish people, itself, the vidduy ends its growth at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Nevertheless, the principle of "lengthening" mentioned twice in the codes,<sup>85</sup> has allowed for a great variety of nusha-oth to flourish. If one were to examine a collection of modern prayerbooks, halakhic compendia, and ritual manuals concerning death and dying, one would discover at least a score of distinctly different vidduyim. All are essentially related to Nahmanides' nusah<sup>86</sup>, but differ in terms of their "lengthenings."

Two particularly interesting confessions are those of Reform Judaism and of the Sepharadi rite. By juxtaposing the two, no inferences are intended, in terms of relative importance or influence on contemporary Jewish ritual. In fact, it can be convincingly argued that one cannot speak of the two systems in one breath because they involve completely separate parameters. While the Sepharadi rite stands as a prime example of the principle stated above

(i.e., Despite individual coloring and subtleties, the basis for all modern confessions lies within Nahmanides' nusah), the Reform ritual is the exception which proves the rule. The Reform movement takes as its nucleus not the vidduy of Nahmanides but the Yom Kippur vidduy. The Sepharadi ritual brings its own unique style and content to the established formula; the Reform ritual moves outside the normative system.

The Sepharadi nusah begins with an acknowledgement that the current suffering and illness of the person are the direct result of sin. The prayer continues thematically with acknowledging God's omnipotence, admission of sin, and hope for atonement and forgiveness. The prayer ends with a series of Biblical texts related thematically.

Master of the Universe, Lord of forgiveness and compassion, may it be Your will, O Lord my God and God of my fathers, that my remembrance will ascend before the throne of Your glory, for goodness. See my suffering, for there is no uninjured place in my flesh because of Your anger; there is no peace in my bones because of my sin. And now, O God of forgiveness, incline Your lovingkindness towards me and do not bring judgement to Your servant. And if the time appointed for me to die is near, Your unity shall never depart from my mouth, as it is written in Your Torah: 'Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is One. Blessed is the name of His glorious kingdom forever and ever.'

I acknowledge before You, O Lord my God and God of my fathers, God of the spirits of all flesh, that my healing is in Your hands and my death is in Your hands. May it be Your will that You will cure me with a perfect healing; and may my remembrance and my prayer ascend before you as the



the prayer of Hezekiah in his sickness. But, if the time appointed for me to die is near, may my death be an atonement for all my sins and all my iniquities and all my transgressions, which I have sinned and committed iniquitously and transgressed before You, since the day of my existence. And, grant me a portion in the Garden of Eden and cause me to merit the world to come, which is reserved for the righteous. 'Make known to me the path of life. In Your presence is unbounded joy; in Your right hand, pleasure forever.'<sup>87</sup> Blessed are You, O Lord, who listens to prayer.

We beseech You, with the strength of Your great right hand, loosen (the bonds of) those who are bound up. Accept the cry of Your people; exalt and purify us, You, who are terrible. We beseech You, who are mighty, watch over, at once, those who seek Your unity. Bless them; purify them. Reward them continually with the mercy of Your righteousness. You, who are mighty and holy, guide Your congregation in the abundance of Your goodness. You, who are a glorified unity, turn to Your people, who remember Your holiness. Accept our cry and hear our call, You, who knows hidden things.

'And let the loveliness of the Lord our God be upon us and establish upon us the work of our hands; the work of our hands establish You it.'<sup>88</sup>

'And it came to pass in the thirtieth year, in the fourth month, in the fifth day of the month, as I was among the captives by the river Chebar, that the heavens were opened, and I saw visions of God.'<sup>89</sup> 'In the year that King Uzziah died, I saw the Lord sitting upon a throne high and lifted up and His train filled the temple. Seraphim stood above Him; each had six wings. With two, he covered his face; and with two, he covered his feet; and with two, he was able to fly. And one called to another and said: Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of hosts; the fullness of all the earth is His glory.'<sup>90</sup> Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is One. The Lord, He is God. The Lord rules, the Lord has ruled, the Lord will rule forever and ever. Moses is true and his Torah is truth. 'I wait for Your

salvation, O Lord.'<sup>91</sup> 'Rejoice the soul of  
 Your servant; for to You, O Lord, I lift up  
 my soul.'<sup>92</sup> Into Your hand I commend my  
 spirit. You have redeemed me, O Lord, God  
 of truth.<sup>93,94</sup>

While the second paragraph is familiar,<sup>95</sup> the first, third, fourth, and fifth paragraphs are additions, unique to the Sepharadim. A colorful inclusion is the sentence, "See my suffering for there is no uninjured place in my flesh because of Your anger; there is no peace in my bones because of my sin." It must be remembered that this is vidduy shekhibh mera', recited at the approach of death. In a majority of cases, one would expect the last few minutes and hours of life to be filled with pain. In that respect, the statement comes as no surprise. However, with the exception of Sepher Hahayyim's tangential reference,<sup>96</sup> no other modern vidduy mentions the pain and suffering of the dying person.<sup>97</sup> Not only does the Sepharadi ritual mention suffering, it inextricably links the suffering and impending death to punishment by God for sins. This casual relationship is not expressed within a vidduy text anywhere else throughout the entire history of the confession. Its incorporation into this liturgy is related to the statement in m. Sanhedrin 6:2. While the liturgy developed into a deathbed confession by establishing an analogy between capital punishment and "natural" death, no other place in confession literature

is the idea broached that "natural" death is the result of sin. Since this is a theme discussed elsewhere in Rabbinic literature and one which carries psychological implications, more will be said about it later.

The third paragraph, anna bekoah, shows kabbalistic influence on this liturgy. Found elsewhere as part of the Sabbath service, it is noted that this poetical prayer

consists of six words to the line, seven lines of this poem have rhyme: 1-2,3-4, and 5-6. This poem afforded opportunity for kabbalistic speculations. Its forty-two words are supposed to represent the Forty-two-letter Name of God which is derived from the combination of the initial letters of the words. The poem was ascribed to the Tanaite Nehunya b. Hakkana (Responsa RshBa #220).<sup>98</sup>

The last paragraph of the Sepharadi vidduy is a compilation of various Biblical verses, speaking of visions of God and His heavenly hosts. Perhaps recited in anticipation of what the individual will behold upon his death, these particular verses do not appear elsewhere in vidduy literature. The second half of the paragraph, declaring God's unity and rulership and placing one's soul into God's hand, is found in almost all modern confessions.

The Reform ritual's confession is unlike any other vidduy shekhibh mera'.<sup>99</sup> It is a synthesis of the Yom Kippur vidduy and the confession recited near death. The first two paragraphs of the Reform vidduy consist of the first, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth paragraphs of the Yom Kippur vidduy,<sup>100</sup>

albeit written in the singular, rather than the plural. The third paragraph is thematically that found in the fourth paragraph of the "normative" vidduy shekhibh mera',<sup>101</sup> but its wording is unique to the Reform ritual:

Father of orphans and Judge of widows, have mercy upon my dear relatives. Be for them a shield and a shelter. Deliver them from all trouble and comfort them along the path of uprightness.<sup>102</sup>

It leaves out all references to the idea that the souls of the relatives and the dying individual are metaphysically interrelated. The last paragraph is essentially the same as the last paragraph of the "normative" version. However, it concludes with a different hatimah.

Two observations are in order concerning Reform's use of the Yom Kippur vidduy. Based on a general knowledge of Reform Judaism's philosophy of reward and punishment, an afterlife, and man's control of his own destiny,<sup>103</sup> one can understand why it would be difficult to use the traditional vidduy. In Reform mentality, God has little to do with man's sinning or the expiation for such sins. It would be inappropriate for the Reform Jew to acknowledge that only God has control over the health and well-being of a person. Finally, all anthropomorphic and afterlife references would be expunged, in keeping

with traditional Reform thinking. Thus, all that could be legitimately preserved would be a reference to and prayer for the soon-to-be mourners and the traditional closing statement "Into Your hand I commend my spirit." If a vidduy was to be included in Reform liturgy, something else would have to be substituted.

Either a new liturgy would have to be written or the Yom Kippur vidduy would have to be adopted. Since there already existed a tradition associating the death-bed and Yom Kippur vidduyim, it was this tack which was chosen. Not only could justification for this approach be found in Siphre, Mishneh Torah, and Shulhan 'Arukh, but there existed the tradition for a vidduy leholeh.<sup>104</sup> Recited by those sick, this sickbed confession is almost identical to the Yom Kippur vidduy, including the ashamti, the short enumeration of sins, and the 'al het, the longer enumeration, but in a slightly different format. Perhaps the thinking behind such a vidduy was that once a person becomes deathly ill, with only a short time to live, his strength is not sufficient to recite a confession. Therefore, a confession should also be recited prior to such a critical state, at a time when the individual is stronger and able to confess his sins. This vidduy adopts the Yom Kippur nusah, in keeping with Isserles' ruling in Shulhan 'Arukh. The Reform movement, cognizant of these facts, transformed the more acceptable vidduy leholeh

into a vidduy shekhibh mera', while eliminating its most central portions, the ashamti, and the 'al het. With the Reform movement, then, we see the ultimate merging of the two "traditions" surrounding the vidduy. What began as separate concepts in the Bible, namely confession and the Yom Kippur ritual and confession and the condemned, it now unified, a unification which perhaps returns the vidduy back to its original character.

CHAPTER II: TZIDDUQ HADIN



My heart still beats inside my breast  
 While friends depart for other worlds.  
 Perhaps it's better--who can say?<sup>1</sup>

-Eva Picková

When we take leave of a friend or relative, who we know will not be met again for awhile, subtle feelings of emptiness and loneliness accompany the farewell. When we are deprived of the right to say goodbye, we feel cheated and, at times, angry. How much the more so (qal vahomer) does this phenomenon occur when the departure is forever, when those we love die.

The death of an individual is an event. It marks the end of a series of relationships. It is a rite of passage.

Death, like birth, puberty, and marriage is a most significant event, not only for the individual but also for society. The response and reactions engendered by death have a social as well as a personal immediacy. Like most profound events, death is universally recognized and set off by ritual and ceremony.<sup>2</sup>

The departure of a friend for a distant place is attended by rituals of separation. There are kisses and handshakes. Words of endearment and hopes for prosperity are spoken. Though formalized and expanded, the same essential rites of separation<sup>3</sup> appear in a funeral.

The liturgy of the funeral service, which gives in-

dividual and communal expression to the departure of the deceased, is the subject of this chapter. Some preliminary observations on general and, specifically, Jewish burial rites will be offered. This will be followed by outlining the traditional funeral service, as known in the Ashkenazi and Sepharadi rituals. The historical development of this liturgy may then be traced through the centuries. The chapter will conclude with a comment about modern Reform adaptations in the funeral service.<sup>4</sup>

Two basic orientations exist concerning the function of burial rituals. Franz Borkenau, in "The Concept of Death," provides the anthropologic orientation.

Burial rites in primitive society--and to some extent in higher types of culture too--are directed towards a two-fold goal: to keep the dead alive, and to keep them away. These incompatible aims reflect the basic contradiction in the human attitude towards mortality: the rites intended to put the dead "to rest," to console them, to propitiate them,...pre-supposes that the dead are really alive...<sup>5</sup>

The liturgy and rituals have developed out of an original concern for the "health" and well-being of the deceased. In modern death rituals, the dead must be attended to--physically, verbally, and emotionally. Actions are directed to the dead, not the living.

The second orientation is psycho-social in nature. In this respect, a funeral service serves three basic purposes: (1) to dispose of the body; (2) to aid the bereaved in reorienting themselves from the shock of death;

and (3) to publicly acknowledge and commemorate a death while asserting the viability of the group.<sup>6</sup> Emphasis is placed on those who remain behind. The dead have died; it is left to the living to continue in life.

A synthesis of these two divergent approaches occurs within the Jewish burial service. The Jewish funeral is brief and simple, "designed primarily as yekara deshakhbhe-- for the honor and dignity of the deceased."<sup>7</sup> There is no doubt that, first and foremost, the funeral is intended to honor the departed. The service does not attempt to comfort the mourners, for it has been noted that it would be "sheer mockery to comfort the bereaved while their beloved lies dead before their eyes."<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, the service serves a social function. Maurice Lamm, in The Jewish Way In Death And Mourning, appropriately notes:

(The funeral) enables many friends and relatives to participate in the situation of bereavement and thus, relieve the terrible loneliness of the mourners. In addition, since it not only praises the deceased, but also confronts all who attend with the terrible fact of their own mortality, it impells them to "consider their days," to take stock and live their lives creatively.<sup>9,10</sup>

It is often difficult to distinguish between actions for the dead and actions for the mourner and his community. It is at those points that the two approaches merge into one system. A single example will suffice to illustrate this point.

Halevayath hameth, or attending the dead to the grave, is amongst the commandments of no prescribed limits. It is considered as hesed shel emeth--the highest form of lovingkindness during the burial period, and thus supercedes, according to halakhah, all other religious obligations. The halakhah requires that we interrupt the study of Torah to honor a funeral so that the large crowd at the funeral will make the family feel that they are not alone in their mourning.<sup>11</sup>

Both considerations, honor and consolation, work together during the burial period.

The overriding principle, though, governing the burial service is reality and simplicity.<sup>12</sup> The service consists of a variety of Psalms, relating either to the person's life or to death, in general; a hesped, or eulogy; the prayer el male rahamim; the prayer tzidduq hadin; and the qaddish prayer.<sup>13</sup> Neither an analysis of Psalms nor of the eulogy falls under the purview of this thesis. Qaddish will be considered in the following chapter. Therefore, only el male rahamim and tzidduq hadin will be discussed. Four incidental prayers, associated with the burial and one's presence in a cemetery will be described, but their development, as part of the liturgy, will not be reflected in this thesis.

The el male rahamim is a prayer asking that God grant the deceased perfect rest and protection. It is, unequivocally, a prayer for the dead. In the Ashkenazi rite, its wording is as follows:

O God, full of mercy, who dwells in the high

places, provide perfect repose, under the wings of the shekhinah, in the high spheres of the holy and the pure, who shine as the brightness of the firmament, to the soul of (name of deceased), who has gone to his eternity, because charity has been donated in memory of his soul. May his rest be in Paradise. Thus, may the Master of mercy hide him in the secrecy of His wings forever. May He bind up his soul in the bond of life. The Lord is his inheritance, and may he rest in peace upon his resting place. And let us say: Amen.<sup>14</sup>

There is a disagreement as to when this prayer is recited. Some rituals, namely Minhagé Yeshurun, place the recital of el male rahamim immediately after interment.<sup>15</sup> There are others that recite this prayer prior to the processional to the cemetery, and immediately after a selection of Psalms and/or a eulogy.<sup>16</sup> Finally, there is even the ritual (i.e., the Southwest Ashkenazi rite) where this prayer is not recited at all as part of the burial service.<sup>17</sup> The el male rahamim is recited on other occasions as well: on the anniversary of the person's death, after the reading of the Torah at Minhah;<sup>18</sup> in some rituals, as part of the Yizkor, or memorial, service on Pesah, Shabhu'oth, Shemini 'Atzereth and Yom Kippur;<sup>19</sup> and during a visitation to the grave of the individual.<sup>20</sup>

The burial service (i.e., at the cemetery, before the open grave) is known in Hebrew as tzidduq hadin, justification of the divine decree. The name is borrowed from the name of one of the two major prayers in this service. Tzidduq hadin has three major themes.

(The prayer) accepts the death as a decision of the Almighty, asks for mercy for the survivors, and acceptance of the decree by the mourners. This helps assuage any sense of guilt in the death the survivors may feel, the sense of guilt by survivors for surviving it, and is a preparation for final acceptance of the reality of death.<sup>21</sup>

Recited at graveside either immediately before or after the body is interred (depending on local custom), the prayer mentions the words tzedeq (justice or righteousness) and emeth (truth) a total of fifteen times. The idea that the person's death was a just and true act of God would seem to sweep over the mourner during the prayer's recitation. The prayer is a composite of various Biblical texts.<sup>22</sup> The nusah of tzidduq hadin is as follows:

The Rock, His work is perfect; for all of His ways are right; a God of faithfulness and without iniquity, just and right is He. The Rock, perfect in all His work, who can say to Him: "What do You accomplish?" who rules below and above, who causes death and revives, who takes down to she-ol and lifts up.

The Rock, perfect in all of His deeds, who can say to Him: "What do You do?" who promises and fulfills. Show us lovingkindness and grace; and for the merit of the one who was bound as a lamb, listen and do.

Just in all of His ways, the Rock is perfect, long suffering and full of mercy, we pray, have pity and compassion on fathers and children. Yours, O Lord, are forgiveness and mercy.

Just are You, O Lord, to cause death and to revive, for in Your hand is the charge of all souls. Far be it from You to blot out the memory of us. We pray, may Your eyes be open in mercy towards us, for Yours, O Lord, are mercy and forgiveness.



If a man lives one year or if he lives a thousand years, what advantage is it to him? For he shall be as though he had not been. Praised is the Judge of truth, who causes death and revives.

Praised is He, for His judgement is true. He scans all with His eye, and pays to man his just rewards; and all render acknowledgment to His name.

We know, O Lord, that Your judgement is just. You are righteous in Your words and blameless in Your judging; no one must question the quality of Your judging. Just are You, O Lord, for right is Your judgement.

He is the true Judge, who judges in justice and truth. Praised is the Judge of truth, for all of His judgements are just and true. The soul of every living being is in Your hand; Your right hand is full of justice. Have mercy on the remnant of the flock of Your hand; and say to the angel (of Death): "Stay your hand."

You are great in counsel and mighty in action, whose eyes are open to all the ways of the children of man; to give to each according to his ways and according to the fruit of his deeds; to disclose that the Lord is right. He is my Rock, in whom there is no iniquity.

The Lord gave and the Lord took away. May the name of the Lord be praised. He, the Merciful One, grants atonement for iniquity and does not destroy; often He turns aside His anger; and does not stir up all of His wrath.<sup>23</sup>

Tzidduq hadin is not recited on days that tahanun is not recited. In its stead, Psalm 16 is read.<sup>24</sup> It is not recited on 'erebh Shabbath or 'erebh Yom Tobh after midday.<sup>25</sup> One does not recite the prayer on the 9th of Abh, at night, or at the grave of a child less than 30 days old.<sup>26</sup> Tzidduq hadin is also recited immediately following the death of an individual.<sup>27</sup>



Although the themes of this prayer have already been mentioned, it is necessary to return for a moment, now that the text of the prayer has been given. On the surface, there would seem to be a sentence which does not fit in with the tone of the prayer. Commenting on the sentence in the eighth paragraph, "Have mercy on the remnant of the flock of Your hand; and say to the angel: "Stay your hand," Maurice Lamm writes:

We are saying, in that very prayer that affirms the justice of God, that God can indeed say to death: "Stay your hand," that God has the power to do so, but that He chose not to say it. It was God's choice, and God's choice is just.

The consequence of the mourner's sense that God may be powerless to control death is a diminution of God--His power and His holiness.<sup>28</sup>

The liturgy, as manifested in tzidduq hadin serves to avert this sense. It reaffirms the absolute omnipotence and justness of God and our relationship with Him, as individuals and as a community.

The second major prayer at the graveside is qaddish le-ithhadatha, the burial qaddish.<sup>29</sup> It follows interment, either immediately or after the recitation of el male rahamim, depending on local custom.

To provide a comprehensive picture of the liturgy of death and dying, mention should be made of four more prayers and statements that are a part of the cemetery ritual. When one goes to a cemetery, and has not been there in

thirty days, the following prayer is recited:

Praised are You, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who has formed you in judgement, who has nourished and sustained you in judgement, who caused death for you in judgement, who knows the number of all of you in judgement, and will, in the future, revive you again in judgement. Praised are You, O Lord, who resurrects the dead.

You are mighty forever, O Lord. You resurrect the dead; you are great to save. You sustain the living in lovingkindness; You resurrect the dead in great mercy. You uphold the fallen and heal the sick, free the fettered and keep (Your) faith with those that sleep in the dust. Who is like You, Master of mighty deeds, and who can be compared to You. O King, who causes life and causes death and causes salvation to sprout, You are faithful to resurrect the dead.<sup>30</sup>

At the end of the service, it is traditional for the congregation to form two rows. The mourner passes in between the rows. As he does so, the congregation says: "May the Lord comfort you in the midst of the rest of the mourners of Zion and Jerusalem."<sup>31</sup> As one leaves the cemetery, some grass is plucked from the ground, and is thrown behind oneself. The sentence recited with this action is from Psalm 72:16: "And those from the city will flourish like the grass of the earth." If no grass is present, a handful of dirt is taken and thrown while Psalm 103:14 is said: "He remembers that we are dust."<sup>32</sup> Finally, after one leaves the cemetery, the hands are washed and Isaiah 25:8 is recited: "He swallows up death forever; and the Lord God will wipe away tears from off all

faces. The reproach of His people He will remove from off all the earth, for the Lord has spoken."<sup>33</sup>

Up to this point, only the traditional Ashkenazi ritual has been considered. It is now time to turn to the Sepharadi rite. As would be expected, both rites essentially parallel each other in the themes expressed in the burial service: justice of the divine decree, supplication for the soul of the deceased, praise for God, and the enunciation of man's relationship with God.

The Sepharadi burial service begins with a series of seven haqaphoth (circuits), made around the coffin. As each circuit is made, a different prayer-thought is recited. All of the paragraphs conclude with the same sentence. On days when tahanun is not recited, Psalm 16 replaces the seven paragraphs and the haqaphoth are not performed. In the case of women, only Psalm 16 is recited.

The verses for the haqaphoth are:

- (1) We pray, have mercy on him, O Lord, the living God and eternal King, for with You is the source of life. And may he always walk in the lands of the living, and may his soul rest in the bond of life.
- (2) May the Gracious One, in the abundance of His mercy, grant atonement for his iniquities. May his good deeds be in front of His eyes; and may he be close by Him with all of His faithful. And may he walk before God in the lands of the living. And may he always walk, etc.

- (3) May a good remembrance be for him before his Rock, to cause him to inherit the wealth of his Creator, to cause his light to shine, and to fulfill his vision and the vision of His word: "For my covenant was with him, the life and the peace."<sup>35</sup> May his soul rest in the bond of life. And may he always walk, etc.
- (4) May you find the gates of heaven open; and may you see the city of peace and the dwellings of confidence. May the angels of peace meet you in joy. And may the High Priest stand to receive you. And (as for) you, go to the End, and rest, and then stand. And may he always walk, etc.
- (5) May your soul go to the cave of Makhpelah, and from there to the Cherubim. There may God guide it; and there may it receive a permit to travel along the paths of the Garden of Eden. And there may you see a pillar leading upwards; and there may you ascend the heights, and not stand outside. And (as for) you, go to the End, and rest, and then stand. And may he always walk, etc.
- (6) May Michael open the gates of the temple, and bring your soul as a sacrifice before God. And may the redeeming angel accompany you to the gates of heaven, where Israel resides. May you merit to stand in this lovely place. And (as for) you, go to the End, and rest, and then stand. And may he always walk, etc.
- (7) May your soul be bound up in the bond of life, with the heads of the yeshibhoth and the exilarchs, with Israelites, Priests, and Levites, with the seven classes of the righteous and the pious. And in the Garden of Eden, may you rest and then stand. And (as for) you, go to the End, and rest, and then stand. And may he always walk, etc.<sup>36</sup>

These verses express the fervent hope of the mourners that the soul of the deceased will find rest and reward with God. No part of the Ashkenazi rite compares in the

intensity of this imagery. El male rahamim, also asking for the soul's perfect rest, is merely a skeleton of the thoughts present in the haqaphah ritual.

When the body is lowered into the grave, Psalm 91 is recited.<sup>37</sup> This is followed by the recitation of tzidduq hadin. However, this is not the same prayer as in the Ashkenazi ritual described above. The Sepharadi version of this prayer deals only with the justice of the divine decree. No mention is made of accepting the decree by the mourners nor of mercy for them. It is parallel though, to the Ashkenazi rite in its use in the death ritual. Therefore, it is not only recited at the grave, but also immediately upon the death of a person.<sup>38</sup> Finally, it is read as part of the prayer service in a house of mourning.<sup>39</sup> Its wording is:

Just are You, O Lord, and right are Your judgements. Just is the Lord in all of His ways, and loving in all of His works. Your justice is just forever, and Your Torah is truth. The judgements of the Lord are true; they are righteous altogether. Because the word of the King is power, who can say to Him: "What do You do?" He is one, and who can refute Him? That which His soul desires, will be done. The Rock, His work is perfect; for all of His ways are right; a God of faithfulness and without iniquity, just and right is He. He is the true Judge, who judges in justice and truth. Praised is the Judge of truth, for all of His judgements are just and true.<sup>40</sup>

Once again, we see that the affirmation of God's justice is thrust in the face of the mourner.

It has been found that the dominant reaction to death is to believe in the injustice of God. The halakhah and liturgy recognize this reaction. For this reason, the first statement after burial is tzidduq hadin. Its sole function is to declare that God is just.

The statement (is mandated) because of the principle that "as we are obligated to recite a blessing over good, so we must bless over those events which appear to us to be evil," because we believe that all events originate in God. Nonetheless, to satisfy that obligation, the blessing could have taken another form, such as hatobh vehametibh, saying that "God is good and does good." But, (tzidduq hadin) does not speak of God as compassionate and good, because clearly it responds to the mourner's lament, which questions the justice, not the goodness, of God. It therefore states unequivocally that God is just.<sup>41</sup>

Following tzidduq hadin, the hashkabhah prayer is recited.<sup>42</sup> It is equivalent to the el male rahamim, in the Ashkenazi rite. Since the hashkabhah will be discussed in detail in the following chapter, it is sufficient to note that separate versions exist for men, women, and infants. After hashkabhah, Isaiah 25:8, Isaiah 26:19, and Psalm 78:38 are read.<sup>43</sup> The Sepharadi burial qaddish<sup>44</sup> is then recited, followed by a general hashkabhah for all who are buried in the cemetery.<sup>45</sup> The service concludes with qaddish yathom.

As in the Ashkenazi ritual, there are several tangential prayers and recitations connected to the



Sepharadi burial service at the cemetery. When one enters the cemetery, after an interval of thirty days or more, a prayer, very similar to the Ashkenazi nusah is recited:

Praised are You, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who has formed you in judgement, who has nourished you in judgement, who knows the number of all of you in judgement. In the future, he will resurrect you and establish you in judgement. Praised are You, O Lord, who resurrects the dead.<sup>46</sup>

Although the Sepharadi nusah is much shorter, the same theme of resurrection is present. The only other prayer to be mentioned is one which accompanies the washing of the hands. The verse used is not from Isaiah, but Deuteronomy 21:7: "Our hands have not shed this blood, neither have our eyes seen it."<sup>47</sup> Thematically, the Ashkenazi and Sepharadim treat this final act of departure quite differently. The one is comfort to the mourners. The other is a denial of involvement in the individual's death.

Turning to the history and development of the two major prayers in the burial service, el male rahamim and tzidduq hadin, we find a substantial time differential in their origins. While el male rahamim is a seventeenth century creation, the origins of tzidduq hadin may be traced back to the second century.

There is little to tell of the history of el male rahamim. Yekuti'el Greenwald, in Kol Bo 'Al Abheluth,



explains that the precise date of its composition is not known. However, it is first mentioned in Jewish literature in Ma'abhar Yabboq.<sup>48</sup> This is a book of readings, laws, customs, and ceremonies relating to death and dying. It was written shortly before 1626 by Aaron Berechiah ben Moses of Modena, an Italian kabbalist.<sup>49</sup> The reference to el male rahamim states: "One does not recite el male rahamim during the shibh'ah period, and thus is (the prayer's) usage."<sup>50</sup> The only inference possible from this meagre information is that the prayer was composed prior to 1626 and it had established itself as part of the mourning rituals. What role it played is not revealed.

In addition, this prayer is understood to be a response to the Chmielnicki massacres of 1648-1649. Developing and spreading amongst the Jewish communities of Eastern Europe, the prayer was recited for the martyrs of these pogroms. This would explain the existence of a number of versions of the prayer.

It is probable the el male rahamim gained in popularity and use only after the devastation of the Chmielnicki massacres. However, its composition, inspired by still unknown circumstances, had to occur at least 22 years earlier. One might speculate that the spread of the prayer was a means of coping with massive death and destruction at the hands of the Cossacks. Impotent to stop the killing of fellow Jews and realizing the sorry state

of their existence, the Jews looked to a brighter future, in the world to come. It was hoped that those who perished would be granted perfect rest in heaven. El male rahamim also became a means by which individual communities could memorialize their dead liturgically. One example of community versions of el male rahamim may be found, untranslated, in Appendix B, #28.<sup>51</sup> These nusha-oth are substantially longer than what is used in the modern burial service. As the prayer came to be used for any individual who died, particularistic comments, referring to locations, people, or circumstances, were expunged.

Unfortunately, the history of the other major prayer, tzidduq hadin, is just as sketchy as el male rahamim. Its history is much longer, though, with its roots reaching back to the period of the Hadrianic persecutions.

B. Abhodah Zarah 18a tells of the martyrdom of R. Hanina b. Teradyon, his wife, and his daughter. For refusing to heed the anti-Jewish decrees of Hadrian, he was to be burned at the stake, his wife to be killed, and his daughter sent to a brothel. The following passage from the Talmud tells what happened:

At the time that the three of them went out, they declared the justice of the divine decree (proclaimed against them). He said: "The Rock, His work is perfect, (for all His ways are right.)"<sup>52</sup> His wife said: "A God of faithfulness, and without iniquity, (just

and right is He.)"<sup>53</sup> His daughter said: "You are great in counsel and mighty in action, whose eyes scan all the ways (of the children of man; to give to each according to his ways and according to the fruits of his deeds.)"<sup>54</sup> Said Rabbi: How great were these righteous ones that three Scriptural verses, (expressing) the justice of the divine decree, came to them at the time of (submitting) to that divine decree.<sup>55</sup>

If we were to presume that the events described did, in fact, occur, then the dating of this passage could be placed during 135-136 C.E. On the other hand, if this is just an Amoraic creation, the story could be dated to the late fifth century. In either case, the story provides three important pieces of information: (1) The concept of tzidduq hadin, whatever that might have been, was connected with the individual's death. (2) Certain Biblical verses, which are now part of the modern prayer, tzidduq hadin, were connected to both death and the concept of tzidduq hadin. (3) Both of those connections were made, at the latest, by the end of the Amoraic period.

It would not be too surprising, then, if Amram had some reference to a tzidduq hadin in his prayer-code of the ninth century. Daniel Goldschmidt, in Seder R. Amram Gaon, provides two manuscripts with variant readings for the nusah of tzidduq hadin.<sup>56</sup> Both versions, which are reproduced in Appendix B, #30 and #31, display marked similarities to the modern prayer. Since the manuscripts used in Goldschmidt's edition are "corrected" to reflect the usage of the scribe's time and place, caution must be taken in drawing any

definite conclusions. It would appear, though, that tzidduq hadin, as a complete liturgy to be recited at the grave of an individual, does appear in Amram's prayer-code.<sup>57</sup>

Tzidduq hadin developed during the Geonic period, for by the twelfth century, the prayer had virtually the same verses as are included today. Mahzor Vitry, composed prior to 1105,<sup>58</sup> contains a text of the prayer.<sup>59</sup> Although it is not sequentially identical with the modern texts, it does contain almost all of the pertinent verses. The discrepancies are insignificant. Mahzor Vitry also provides the exact position of the prayer in the funeral service:

When they carry the dead to the cemetery, they place the coffin in the open space, which is in front of the cemetery. They all stand around it and the Hazzan recites tzidduq hadin and the congregation answers after him.<sup>60</sup>

While most prayerbooks call for the mourner and congregation to recite tzidduq hadin together, Mahzor Vitry provides a different arrangement. It calls for a type of responsive reading between the Hazzan and the congregation. After the Hazzan concludes each of the ten paragraphs: the congregation responds with: "The Rock, His work is perfect, for all of His ways are right. A God of faithfulness, and without iniquity, just and right is He," the first line of the prayer. The use of this congregational response seems to

be unique to Mahzor Vitry.

With the exceptions mentioned, tzidduq hadin concluded its development with Mahzor Vitry. It continued to be refined, though, until it attained its present form.

By the twelfth century, the basic funeral service was established. Tzidduq hadin was recited, followed by the hesped. After burial, the qaddish was said.<sup>61</sup> When el male rahamim was developed in the seventeenth century, it was incorporated quickly into the standard burial service of Minhaq Polin and other East European rites, which immigrants from Eastern Europe also brought to Anglo-Saxon and Latin American countries.<sup>62</sup> For all practical purposes, that service has not changed to this day.

This last statement is significant in that it includes the vast majority of Reform Jewish liturgies. Despite many alterations in prayers and prayer services by early and late Reformers, almost no one changed the burial service. The Jewish funeral service is, perhaps one of the last foundations of the liturgical life of the Jew that is (almost) identically shared by all movements within Judaism.

### CHAPTER III: QADDISH

He doesn't know the world at all  
 Who stays in his nest and doesn't go out.  
 He doesn't know what birds know best  
 Nor what I want to sing about,  
 That the world is full of loveliness.

When dew drops sparkle in the grass  
 And earth's aflood with morning light  
 A blackbird sings upon a bush  
 To greet the dawning after night.  
 Then I know how fine it is to live.

Hey, try to open your heart  
 To beauty; go to the woods someday  
 And weave a wreath of memory there.  
 Then if the tears obscure your way  
 You'll know how wonderful it is  
 To be alive.<sup>1</sup>

-Anonymous

When one speaks of the liturgy of death and dying, the prayer which immediately comes to the Jewish mind is the qaddish. The qaddish--the prayer recited for a full year following the death of an immediate relative--is also recited every year on the anniversary of that death. It is an amazing creation. For like the poem presented above, written by a child in the concentration camp at Terézín, the qaddish does not speak about death; it glorifies life and the God who created that life. Properly speaking, the qaddish is an eschatological prayer, dealing with the establishment of God's kingdom. With one exception, no form of the qaddish makes specific reference to the dead.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, it is known as "a prayer for the soul of the



departed" to many individuals.<sup>3</sup>

Why is this prayer so famous, especially in connection with an idea to which it hardly addresses itself? In the popular imagination, the qaddish is related not so much to its common function of marking the end of a liturgical rubric, but to its mystical function of the prayer to be recited by a mourner following the death of a loved one. The implications of such an important role, of providing a liturgical connection between the deceased and the living--a role not altogether unjustified--will be explored in depth later. First, it is necessary to enumerate the various forms in which the qaddish is manifested and their respective functions in the liturgy. This will be followed by a discussion of the basic concepts of the prayer. Finally, the history of the qaddish will be traced, as it specifically relates to the subjects of death and mourning.

There are five forms of the qaddish: qaddish shalem, hatzi qaddish, qaddish derabbanan, qaddish le-ithhadatha, qaddish yathom. All five share a common liturgical kernel.<sup>4</sup> Still, each has a unique role in the liturgical life of Judaism.

Qaddish shalem, the full qaddish, is used liturgically to mark the division between major rubrics in a prayer service. It is recited immediately following the 'amidah in the Musaph, Minhah and Ma'aribh services. In the Shaharith service, it is also recited after the 'amidah,

but not immediately, only after the prayer ubha letziyyon.<sup>5</sup>

Its formulation is:

- (a) Exalted and hallowed be His great name in the world which He created according to His will. May He establish His kingdom in your lifetime and in your days, and in the lifetime of the whole household of Israel, speedily and at a near time. And say: Amen.
- (b) May His great name be praised forever and unto all eternity.
- (c) Blessed and praised, glorified and exalted, extolled and honored, magnified and lauded be the name of the Holy One, blessed be He--although He is beyond all blessings and hymns, praises and consolations, which may be uttered in the world. And say: Amen.
- (d) May the prayers and supplications of the whole household of Israel be acceptable before their Father in heaven. And say: Amen.
- (e) May there be abundant peace from heaven and life, for us and for all Israel. And say: Amen.
- (f) May He who makes peace in His high places make peace for us and for all Israel. And say: Amen.<sup>6</sup>

Hatzi qaddish, the half qaddish, is utilized to mark the transitions between minor parts of a service. It is recited during Shaharith at three points: after the introductory Psalms, after the 'amidah, and after the Torah service. In Minhah, it is recited before the 'amidah. In the Ma'aribh service, it occurs between the shema' and the 'amidah.<sup>7</sup> It consists of the first three paragraphs of qaddish shalem:

- (a) Exalted and hallowed...
- (b) May His great name...<sup>8</sup>
- (c) Blessed and praised...

Qaddish derabbanan, the scholar's qaddish, is recited upon completion of studying a section of the Mishnah or the Talmud; after a lecture by a rabbi or maggid;<sup>9</sup> by mourners after communal study; Friday night, after bameh madliqin; and Shabbath morning, after the Rabbinic passages following en kalohénu.<sup>10</sup> Instead of paragraph (d) of qaddish shalem, qaddish derabbanan inserts a prayer for the well-being of Israel's scholars.

(a) Exalted and hallowed...

(b) May His great name...

(c) Blessed and praised...

For Israel and for our rabbis, for their disciples, and for the disciples of their disciples, and for all who engage in the study of the Torah, here and everywhere, for them and for you may there be abundant peace, grace and lovingkindness, mercy and long life, ample sustenance and salvation from their Father, who is in heaven. And say: Amen.

(e) May there be...

(f) May He who...ll

Qaddish le-ithhadatha, the burial qaddish, is recited on two occasions. It is recited upon completing the study of a tractate of Talmud. However, for the purpose of this thesis, it is more important to note its second usage: it is said at the cemetery, following burial.<sup>12</sup> It is omitted on festivals and when tahanun and tzidduq hadin are not recited. In that case, Psalm 16 and qaddish yathom are said. If no mourners are present at the burial, qaddish yathom replaces the burial qaddish. If no minyan is present at the burial, no qaddish may be recited.<sup>13</sup> The form of the

burial qaddish is:

Exalted and hallowed be His great name in the world which will be renewed, resurrecting the dead, and raising them up to eternal life. He will rebuild the city of Jerusalem, and establish His temple in its midst. He will uproot idolatry from the earth, and restore the worship of God to its place. The Holy One, blessed be He, will reign in His sovereignty and in His glory. May this be in your lifetime and in your days, and in the lifetime of the whole household of Israel, speedily and at a near time. And say: Amen.

- (b) May His great name...
- (c) Blessed and praised...
- (e) May there be...
- (f) May He who...<sup>14</sup>

Qaddish yathom, the orphan's or mourner's qaddish, is recited by the mourner everyday following the day of burial, at each prayer service where a minyan is present. He continues this ritual for eleven months, minus one day.<sup>15</sup> It is recited after the 'alenu and after the Psalm of the day.<sup>16</sup> It is also recited by the mourner on the anniversary of the person's death at the points in the service just mentioned.<sup>17</sup> The mourner's qaddish consists of qaddish shalem minus the paragraph, tithqabbel:

- (a) Exalted and hallowed...
- (b) May His great name...
- (c) Blessed and praised...
- (e) May there be...
- (f) May He who...<sup>18</sup>

These five forms present the qaddish as it is known in the normative, Ashkenazi ritual. Although it is this ritual with which we shall primarily deal, it is important to note

how the Sepharadi rite handles this prayer. The two rituals are very similar. The differences lies in four expansions that occur in the Sepharadi rite. In all forms of the qaddish except qaddish le-ithhadatha, which has its own unique opening paragraph, the Sepharadim expand, in paragraph (a), the thought "May He establish His kingdom" by inserting at that point the phrase "and may He make His salvation closer and bring His messiah near" (veyatzmah purqanéh viqarebh meshihéh).<sup>19</sup> Secondly, the Sepharadi rite expands paragraph (e) in the four forms where that paragraph is found. A more complete and impressive list of blessings, which God may bestow upon us, is included. In the Sepharadi qaddish, paragraph (e) reads:

May there be abundant peace from heaven, life and satisfaction, salvation, consolation, deliverance, health, redemption, forgiveness, atonement, relief and rescue for us and for all His people Israel. And say: Amen.<sup>20</sup>

In the final paragraph of the qaddish, an extra word is also added. In paragraph (f), instead of "may He make peace for us," as in the Askenazi rite, the Sepharadi ritual states, "may He, in His mercy, make peace for us..."<sup>21</sup> Finally, while the qaddish le-ithhadatha is very similar in both rituals, the Sepharadi not only adds the expansions mentioned above, but reorders and expands the phrasing in the first paragraph and expands paragraph (c). The complete Sepharadi burial qaddish is presented below.

Underlined words represent phrases not found in the Ashkenazi rite.

Exalted and hallowed be His great name who will renew the world, resurrecting the dead. He will establish His temple, and save the living, and rebuild the city of Jerusalem. He will uproot the worship of false gods from the earth, and restore the glorious worship of God to its beauty, splendour, and glory. May this be in your lifetime and in your days, and in the lifetime of the whole household of Israel, speedily and at a near time. And say: Amen.

(b) May His great name...  
Blessed and praised, glorified and exalted, extolled and honored, magnified and lauded be the name of the Holy One, blessed be He--although He is beyond all blessings, hymns, praises, and consolations, which may be uttered in the world. And say: Amen. May there be an end to the sword, famine, death, and bad afflictions. May He remove them from us, from you, and from all His people Israel. And say: Amen.  
May there be abundant peace from heaven, life and satisfaction, salvation, consolation, deliverance, health, redemption, forgiveness, atonement, relief, and rescue for us and for all His people Israel. And say: Amen.  
May He who makes peace in His high places, in His mercy, make peace for us and for all Israel. And say: Amen.<sup>22</sup>

One further observance should be noted concerning the Sepharadi use of the qaddish prayer. In the Sepharadi rite, after reading tzidduq hadin and the special Sepharadi prayer for the dead, the hashkabhah (which replaces the Ashkenazi el male rahamim), the burial qaddish is pronounced by the mourners. Following a general hashkabhah, said by the leader of the service for all who are buried in the cemetery, the mourners then recite qaddish yathom.<sup>23</sup> The order of the prayers and the use of the burial qaddish



are unique to the Sepharadim.

Up to now, the use of qaddish in Judaism has been dealt with in only a cursory manner. It is utilized to perform two basic functions. Either it serves as an "enclosing prayer," of the genre marking the beginning or end of a series of prayers,<sup>24</sup> or it operates as a special liturgy within the traditional mourning rituals. Examining the prayer in its various forms, the qaddish is understood to be a doxology, "a liturgical formula in praise of God."<sup>25</sup> Composed mainly in Aramaic, the qaddish embodies three ideas: praise of God; God establishing His messianic age; and peace and life for all Israel. Qaddish shalem, qaddish derabbanan, and qaddish le-ithhadatha add other themes corresponding to their own formulations. For the moment, though, only qaddish le-ithhadatha will be considered for it is most closely connected to the subject of this thesis.

With its special introductory paragraph, qaddish le-ithhadatha is the only formulation to speak of death. It affirms that God will create a renewed world, resurrecting the dead to everlasting life. When this time arrives, the Temple will be restored and the true worship of God, by all, will exist. The prayer offers hope to the mourners--hope that their deceased will, in fact, have a future life.



The qaddish is much more than that, though. Besides its literal meaning, there is a mystical element to this prayer. The qaddish is a statement of faith. It inextricably links mourner to deceased; the isolated individual to the whole of Israel. Leo Jung offers this idea as the central meaning of the qaddish:

And there at the open grave...as a Jew, he knew the holiness of the moment, and he framed his resolution in the words holiest to Jewish hearts... (He) made a pledge, a holy promise: Yithgaddal veyithqaddash shemeh rabba, Lord God, I do not murmur against Thy decree, I am a child of Jewry. Lord God, hear my voice at this moment. As my father lived for Thee, as his life was dedicated to Thy glory and Thy name, so do I declare Yithgaddal veyithqaddash, that Thy great name be magnified and sanctified as the promise for my future. So do I undertake to remember his fidelity, and never to forget my own duty.<sup>26</sup>

Both qaddish le-ithhadatha and qaddish yathom may best be understood by applying this description. When recited by the bereaved, the two prayers are intended to "dramatize the theme of 'The Lord has given, and the Lord has taken away; praised by the name of the Lord. "<sup>27</sup> Manifestly, it is an expression of tzidduq hadin, justification of the divine decree. Regardless of his bereavement and suffering--in fact, at the precise moment of his most intense pain, at the open grave--the mourner is transformed into a type of "heroic individual," the "Knight of faith" of Kierkegaard. By proclaiming "Yithgaddal veyithqaddash..."

the mourner dedicates his life to living in faith. He has given over the meaning of life to his God and lives centered on the energies emanating from Him. He accepts that which happens in this world without complaint. He lives life as a duty; he faces death without qualms.<sup>28</sup>

For the mourner, the qaddish is a subtle prescription for coping with the trauma of death. One must live one's life cognizant of, and in accordance with the divine will. The force behind such a thrust should be not only one's religious beliefs, but also the religious ideals of the departed. Thus, a religious triad is created between God, the deceased, and the mourner. Any two serve to support and substantiate the third.

The qaddish implies this if not specifically in language, then in tradition and history. Its development has led the qaddish prayer to be a most significant crutch in the healing and growing process of the mourner. This process, which will be addressed later, is succinctly summarized in this statement:

The recitation of the qaddish...(is) a form of internalization, where the religious ideals of the departed engender this extra measure of religious devotion by the mourner. In addition, the qaddish as an emphasis on life and hope rather than death, calls the mourner back to reality. Its sublime doxology expresses the redemptive hope, and mankind's ultimate healing of its suffering...It is inducing in the mourner a true reaffirmation of life, to continue a<sup>29</sup> sanctified existence in the service of God.

The question naturally arises, though, as to how this prayer developed into a doxology for the mourner. Its corollary as to how the qaddish, in general, evolved is not within the scope of this thesis. For a general history of the qaddish, one may refer to David de Sola Pool's The Kaddish and/or to Ismar Elbogen's Hatephillah Beyisra-el.

The history of the qaddish as a mourner's prayer is shrouded in obscurity. No references are found in the Bible, Mishnah, Tosephta, or Talmud to a qaddish explicitly connected with mourners. The first instance of such a development occurs in Massekhet Sopherim, one of the so-called minor tractates of the Talmud. In discussing when birkath abhelim is recited on the Sabbath, this post-Talmudic work connects the qaddish not only to the mourner, but also to the worship service.

After the Hazzan has finished (reciting) the Musaph service, he goes to the back--to the doors of the house of worship, which are in front of the house of worship--and he takes the mourners and all of their relatives. He recites over them the (Mourners') benediction and afterwards he says qaddish. One does not say, "in the world, which He will renew,"<sup>30</sup> except over a disciple of the preacher.<sup>31</sup>

While this passage uses the name "qaddish" for the first time,<sup>32</sup> it is of limited help, for it fails to enumerate what exactly "qaddish" is. If by post-Talmudic times, its formulation is reminiscent of today's qaddish

(either hatzi or yathom), then the last sentence in the Sopherim passage becomes intelligible. According to this ruling, qaddish le-ithhadatha would only be recited for a talmid hakham, a scholar or a disciple. Implied in this statement is that in all other cases, a plain qaddish would be recited. It must be reiterated that this is an area of conjecture only. There is no way of knowing the precise nature of qaddish, as used in Sopherim. It might be possible to infer, however, from the prayerbooks of Amram and Saadia, the approximate formulation of this prayer. Since their liturgical works are dated from the ninth and tenth centuries, the two prayerbooks serve as the earliest material available on this subject. While several hundred years may separate Amram and Saadia from Massekheth Sopherim, there is evidence to indicate that the qaddish, as codified by these two Geonim, was already known and used centuries earlier.<sup>33</sup> In the ninth century, the qaddish appears to be essentially equivalent to the hatzi qaddish.<sup>34</sup> Thus, in reconstructing the qaddish, as mentioned in Sopherim, the following suppositions are offered. The qaddish recited after the service, for mourners of a deceased other than a "disciple of the preacher," was hatzi qaddish. The qaddish recited for a scholar was some formulation of the first paragraph of qaddish le-ithhadatha and its next two paragraphs. It is suggested that, in fact, a "Mourner's" qaddish is being de-

scribed, but one which is recited by the Hazzan and not by the mourners, themselves.

However, if we consider a variant reading to the Sopherim passage, the issues become more obscured. Mueller, in his critical edition of Sopherim, includes the reading known to Nahmanides (i.e., that presented above). He includes another version, though, which concludes with the phrase, "except over the Talmud and the aggadic discourse (ella 'al hatalmud ve'al haderash)."<sup>35</sup> According to David de Sola Pool, in The Kaddish, this is the original version. It was included as a warning against the prevalent custom of reciting qaddish at a time of mourning.<sup>36</sup> Pool concludes that this occurred due to the "addresses of comfort (which) were delivered in the seven days of deepest mourning, and the qaddish that closed these became dissociated from the address and associated with the mourning."<sup>37</sup>

Pool argues that the first reading cannot be preferred due to the evidence cited from early texts and from Maimonides.<sup>38</sup> In these sources, qaddish lehadatha is utilized solely as a doxology after the discourse. In addition, Sopherim 19:12 states that the reader, and not the mourner, recites qaddish.

It is impossible to say whether or not Pool is correct in his assumptions. While he does trace qaddish back to a doxology for aggadic discourses, there must

remain open the possibility that this did, in fact, become transferred to mourning rituals. Sopherim 19:12 may be a polemic against this use; but it is equally possible that it was already an accepted practice, with different versions recited for people of various standings in the community. A definitive conclusion cannot be drawn about a mourner's qaddish. The issue is left unanswered until the thirteenth century.

However, the confusion in this matter is somewhat dissipated with the appearance of Mahzor Vitry by Simḥah b. Samuel. Since Simḥah b. Samuel is understood to have died before Rashi (1105), we can place Mahzor Vitry's publication late in the eleventh century.<sup>39</sup> In Hilkhoth Abhel, the nusah for the burial qaddish is given:

And one recites qaddish. And one does not recite it except in (the presence of) ten (men). In all things where there is (mention of) sanctification (of God's name), there may not be less than ten (men).

Exalted and hallowed be His great name in the world which will be renewed, resurrecting the dead. He will establish His temple and rebuild the city of Jerusalem. He will uproot idolatry from our earth and restore the worship of God to its place. The Holy One, blessed be He, will reign in His sovereignty and in His glory. May His messiah come and may He make His salvation closer. May this be in your lifetime and in your days, and in the lifetime of the whole household of Israel, this year speedily and at a near time. And say: Amen.



May His great name (be praised forever and unto all eternity).

Blessed and praised, glorified and exalted, extolled and honored, magnified and lauded be the name of the Holy One, blessed be He--although He is beyond all blessings, hymns, praises, and consolations, which may be uttered in this world and that will be uttered in the world to come. And say: Amen.)

May there be abundant peace from heaven (and life, for us and for all Israel. And say: Amen.)

May He who makes peace (in His high places make peace for us and for all Israel. And say: Amen.)<sup>40</sup>

This qaddish is recited immediately after the burial of the deceased.<sup>41</sup> Except for the specific mention of the messiah's advent, the qaddish presented here is virtually identical to qaddish le-ithhadatha.

Although the connection between mourner and qaddish is alluded to in Sopherim and substantiated in Mahzor Vitry, the custom of the mourner reciting qaddish for eleven months following the death of a relative does not arise until the thirteenth century. It first appears in Germany, during the persecutions which accompanied the Crusades. "Isaac Or Zaru'a, in 1220, reports that, in Bohemia and along the Rhine, orphans recite the Kaddish at the conclusion of the service, whereas that custom had not been adopted in France."<sup>42</sup> The custom of reciting qaddish yathom on the anniversary of the person's death is first mentioned in the beginning of the fifteenth century by Jacob Moellin, the Maharil.<sup>43</sup> David de Sola Pool believes the origins of qaddish on a Yahrzeit may

also be found in the "persecutions and massacres aroused by the fanaticism of the Crusaders when thousands of Jews met a martyr's death and whole communities, especially along the Rhine, were wiped out."<sup>44</sup> It is suggested that there developed, in these areas, communal memorial services for the martyred, when special prayers would be read. With this, there would be a natural tendency to move from the communal to the individual grief.<sup>45</sup> Thus, individual observance of Yahrzeit and the recitation of qaddish developed.

Unfortunately, this historical survey fails to answer an important question. While it has been shown when the qaddish evolved into a mourner's and a burial prayer, the same material fails to answer why and how this occurred. For that, another genre of Rabbinic literature must be consulted: the midrashim.

Midrashically, there are two major traditions concerning the issues of qaddish, the dead, the mourner, and the efficacy of prayer. One describes the power of the qaddish, especially the kernel of that prayer (yehe shemeh rabba mebharaoh le'alam ule'almé 'almaya),<sup>46</sup> in its recitation, affecting both God and man. The other deals with the efficacy of communal prayer and study by the mourner in bringing merit to the deceased. By the end of the Middle Ages, these traditions merge to give the qaddish

the flavor of a prayer of and for the dead.

In his classic work on the qaddish, David de Sola Pool presents an overview of the midrashic materials available on the effects that the congregational response of the qaddish has when recited.<sup>47</sup> One particularly striking example from the thirteenth century will serve to illustrate the point. Yalqut Shim'oni, a midrashic anthology attributed to Rabbi Simeon of Frankfurt,<sup>48</sup> reports the ability of the qaddish to redeem the dead from their suffering.

In the future, the Holy One, blessed be He, will be sitting in the Garden of Eden and will deliver a discourse (on the Torah). All the righteous will be sitting before Him and all the household of heaven will stand on their feet. The sun and the planets will be to the right of the Holy One, blessed be He and the moon and the stars to His left. And the Holy One, blessed be He will sit and expound on the new Torah, which He will give through the messiah. And when He concludes the aggadah, Zerubbabel b. She-alti-el will rise and say: Yithgaddal veyithqaddash (etc.). His voice will go from one end of the world to the other and all who are in the world together will answer: Amen. Even the wicked of Israel and the righteous of the idolators that remain in Gehinnom will answer and say: Amen...and the world will be shaken until (their)...voice is heard by the Holy One, blessed be He...Immediately, God's mercy will emerge and He will say: I will do much more for them than that which their evil inclination caused them. At that same time, God will take the key(s) of Gehinnom...and give them to Michael and to Gabriel...saying to them: Go and open the gates of Gehinnom and bring them up. Immediately, they will go with the keys and open the 8,000 gates of Gehinnom...and bring them before the Holy One, blessed be He,...as though they were priestly and honored.<sup>49</sup>

This midrash, taken in conjunction with statements such as

the one in b. Shabbath 119b that whoever recites, "yehe shemeh rabba mebharaoh," the evil decree against him from heaven is annulled, indicates a definite mystical tendency. There is inherent value and power in the words of the qaddish, regardless of their meaning. The response of the speaker serves to safeguard the individual or other people from heavenly punishment. The qaddish can be recited for the betterment of the dead's condition.

This "perversion"<sup>50</sup> of the use of the qaddish is completed by including an example from the other tradition. While there are several instances which show how merit for the deceased father is earned by the son who studies or prays,<sup>51</sup> the story related most often in the midrashim is that of Rabbi Akiba. There are at least a dozen sources for this story,<sup>52</sup> the earliest of which is post-Talmudic.

One of the more complete versions is found in Or Zarua by Isaac b. Moses of Vienna (1180-1250).<sup>53</sup> The midrash tells how R. Akiba teaches a dead man's son the qaddish, in order to effect release for the deceased from his punishment.

It happened once that R. Akiba saw a man...and he was carrying a load on his head as (big as) ten loads...R. Akiba said to him: 'Why are you doing hard work such as this? If you are a slave and your master is making you do this, I will redeem you from him. If you are poor, I will make you rich...What are your actions (for)?' He said that he was dead. (He said,)

'Every day, they send me to cut wood and to burn myself in it.' Said R. Akiba, 'My son, what did you do in the world for this to come upon you?' He said, 'I was among the wicked of the people...' R. Akiba asked, 'Is there a remedy for you?' The man said.., 'If one has a son that will stand in the congregation (i.e., lead the prayer service) and say: Praised be God, who is praised (barekhu). And they will respond with: Praised be God, who is praised forever and ever. Or, let (the son) recite: Exalted (qaddish). And they will respond: May His great name be praised. Immediately, they would release (the father) from his divine punishment.'...

This man left a pregnant wife behind...R. Akiba went to see if she gave birth to a son, so he might teach the child Torah and cause him to stand before the congregation...(She did and eventually) R. Akiba went and taught him Torah, the shema and its benedictions, the 'amidah, and Grace after the meal. He caused him to be brought before the congregation and the son said: Praised be God, who is praised. The congregation answered: Praised be God, who is praised forever and ever. (He said:) Exalted. (They said:) May His great name. At that same moment, the dead man was immediately freed from his divine punishment.<sup>54</sup>

Once more, the recital of the qaddish, regardless of any inherent meaning to the words, carries with it tremendous power. However, this midrash conveys an additional concept. The qaddish and any other prayer has its value only when the child, reciting the prayers, is leading the congregation--when he is the sheliah tzibbor. If this principle is extended to all mourners, then one can see how the mourner, the prayer service, and the qaddish mesh into a unified system. Since not

every Jew is capable of leading a congregation in prayer, in addition to the fact there might be more than one mourner in a community, it can be assumed that the qaddish, recited by the mourners, became incorporated into the service. The mourners, alone, would then recite this prayer.

The issues may be summarized in the following manner.

We see on the one hand the utmost importance attributed to (it), and its recital attended with the most far-reaching results, according to the traditions of the mystics; and on the other hand, we have the idea...of the redeeming power for the parent of the orphan's recital of prayers to which there were congregational responses. These two streams of thought naturally met, resulting in the custom of the orphan saying qaddish. 55

In connection with the mystical aura attached to qaddish, we must mention the belief that one could suffer in Gehinnom for a period lasting a maximum of twelve months. Since qaddish was regarded as a prayer of intercession for the deceased, one would only recite it for eleven months, so as not to cast dispersions on the deceased. 56

All of the above discussion is attested to in a sixteenth century work by Abraham Horowitz, entitled Yesh Nohalin. In his introduction, Horowitz substantiates the process by which the liturgical use of qaddish yathom in



the synagogue developed. In the same instant, he argues against the prevalent custom of attributing tremendous mystical power to the qaddish.

Behold, it appears from here that qaddish and barekhu, said by the living, are beneficial and grant atonement for the dead and his soul will be kept alive for their sakes. Since every individual...is not able to recite all of the statutory prayers and qaddish and barekhu at every time; and since every man does not know the melody used in the congregation, the first sages decreed a precept, which suits everybody. Everyone (i.e., all mourners) should say, at least, the last qaddish, for it is an easy thing and all men know it, even a small youth. But, any individual that wishes...to lead the congregation in prayer...even for a (small amount should be encouraged) for this brings merit for his dead father, much more so than if he only says qaddish. If there remain obligations and mitzvot of the father, which the son fulfills after his father's death, this will make atonement for the soul of his father, even if it's the son, himself (who performs the obligations).

For the qaddish is not a prayer that the son recites for the father before God, so that he will be brought up from She-ol below. Rather, it is the merit and mitzvah (that is being recognized) for the dead, when his son sanctifies the magnified Name in public and the congregation answers after him: 'Amen. May His great name, etc.' How much the more so will this (be recognized) when the son performs one of the mitzvot of God, which was the will (i.e., desire) of his father.<sup>57</sup>

By the sixteenth century, it is firmly established that the "last qaddish" of the service is designately specifically for mourners. This correspondes to qaddish yathom recited after the 'alenu. The rationale for re-

ducing the requirements is simple. Not all are capable. While advocating the practice of saying qaddish, Horowitz cautions against mystical interpretations. The qaddish has no inherent power. Its usefulness lies in being a means by which the orphan may indicate his desire to assume the responsibilities and mitzvoth of his father. Horowitz's argument, while never successfully quieting the mystical tradition, does find expression in Jewish thought. A beautiful example is found in a letter written by Henrietta Szold to Hayyim Peretz. In previous correspondence, Peretz had asked Szold if she would like him to say qaddish for her mother. Ms. Szold's reply, dated 1916 states:

And yet I cannot ask you to say qaddish after my mother. The qaddish means to me that the survivor publicly and markedly manifest his wish and intention to assume the relationship to the Jewish community which his parent had, and that so the chain of tradition remains unbroken from generation to generation, each adding its own link. You can do that for the generations of your family, I must do that for the generations of my family.<sup>58</sup>

Far from being suppressed, the superstitions surrounding the efficacious nature of qaddish remained with the people. Its ultimate expression, though, came with the advent of Reform Judaism. By providing an introduction and adding a paragraph, Reform Judaism saw to it that "the qaddish would express in its actual wording the meaning

which people had read into it all along. (It) made the qaddish into a prayer for the dead."<sup>59</sup> It has been shown that over the course of time, the qaddish was increasingly understood to be a kind of prayer by the living on behalf of the dead. Aided by this folklore, the prayer was viewed as facilitating the soul's salvation. The early reformers took these thoughts and actually put them into the qaddish.<sup>60</sup> The first Reform liturgy to change the qaddish in this manner was the Hamburg Temple Prayerbook of 1819. Its formulation is as follows:

All Israel have a share in the world to come, as it is said, 'And your people shall be all righteous, they shall inherit the land forever.'<sup>61</sup>

Happy is he whose labor was in the Torah, and who has given pleasure to his Creator. He grew up with a good name, and departed the world with a good name. And it is about him that Solomon said in his wisdom, 'A good name is better than precious oil, and the day of death than the day of one's birth.'<sup>62</sup>

Study much Torah, and they will give you much reward; and know that the giving of the reward to the righteous is in the world to come.

Exalted and hallowed be His great name who will renew the world, resurrecting the dead. May He establish His kingdom in your lifetime and in your days, and in the lifetime of the whole household of Israel, speedily and at a near time. And say: Amen.

(b) May His great name...

(c) Blessed and praised...

May there be to Israel, and to the righteous, and to all who have departed from this world by the will of God, abundant peace, and a good portion in the life of the world to come, and lovingkindness and mercy from the Master of heaven and earth. And say: Amen.

- (e) May there be...
- (f) May He who...<sup>63</sup>

Clearly, the qaddish is now a prayer for the dead. The three sources for the additions to the mourner's qaddish are qaddish le-ithhadatha, qaddish derabbanan, and the Sepharadi hashkabhah (to be discussed at the end of this chapter).<sup>64</sup> The prerequisites for the world to come are given: to be a member of the covenantal community, to have a good name, to study Torah, to be righteous. Then, the qaddish includes a supplication for all who have died. May they be granted a portion of 'olam habba.

The Hamburg Temple made important changes in the qaddish yathom, transforming it, in a sense, into a qaddish le-ithhadatha. Still, it retained the other version of qaddish, thus preserving the doxological nature of the prayer. It was only in the United States where Reform dropped the use of qaddish as anything other than a prayer for and of the dead. American Reform adopted the Hamburg insert, "May there be to Israel..," but did not include the other changes.<sup>65</sup> For the most part, European Reform did not adopt versions of this altered qaddish. Concerning this issue, Jakob Petuchowski, in Prayerbook Reform in Europe, states,

At a time when Reform Judaism was beginning to tone down the traditional dogma of the Resurrection,

few Reformers may have felt called upon to introduce specific references to that dogma into the traditional version of the mourner's qaddish which did not contain them. <sup>66</sup>

While this particular aspect of the Hamburg modifications was not accepted, the idea of introductory prayers or meditations did spread and "became the standard procedure in practically all non-Orthodox synagogues in the Old World as well as in the New."<sup>67</sup>

It is interesting that the Reform movement, especially in the United States, did not excise the qaddish from the prayerbook, as they had with several other ceremonies which had superstition attached to them.<sup>68</sup> Instead, they felt it was important enough, in the minds of the people, to keep it and give it a prominent position in the service.

Two unique Reform variations of the qaddish should be mentioned at this time. Within the diversity of Reform liturgy, the treatment of the qaddish by the West London Synagogue, in England, and by Joseph Krauskopf, of Philadelphia, stand out as examples of the Reform principle of freedom and choice. They also provide two interesting formulations of the qaddish.

In 1841, D. W. Marks, the minister of the West London Synagogue, edited their new prayerbook, Forms of Prayer. In the introduction, he wrote,

In order to render the prayers at once more

dignified and more generally intelligible, we have translated the Chaldaic expressions into the sacred Hebrew (the language of the law), a knowledge of which we trust it will be the pride, as it is the bounden duty, of every Israelite to attain. 69

In light of this decision, a transformation takes place in the qaddish. Instead of being found in its traditional Aramaic formulation, a Hebrew qaddish is used. However, its wording is that of the Sepharadi version of the traditional qaddish yathom.<sup>70</sup>

Joseph Krasukopf, rabbi of Philadelphia's Kenesseth Israel, wrote The Service Manual, in 1892. While Marks made relatively minor changes in the traditional liturgy, Krauskopf was a radical Reformer. He dramatically changed the Jewish prayer service, notably eliminating most of the Hebrew. He wrote in his introduction, "The fixed Order of Worship has been departed from in this Manual, but merely in form. The spirit of the traditional service has been sacredly preserved."<sup>71</sup> One of the few recognizable rubrics is Krauskopf's qaddish. It is this formulation which, perhaps, is the ultimate in merging the tradition of the qaddish as a doxology and as a prayer for the dead. Qaddish of The Service Manual is as follows:

Exalted and hallowed be His great name.

Man is of few days and is full of anguish. As a flower, he comes forth, but will be cut down. He flees like a shadow and does not stand. Every living thing comes from dust, and unto dust, all return. There the wicked cease their



anguish and there the weary of strength will rest. Together, the fettered are tranquil and they do not hear the voice of the oppressed. The small and the great are there. The dust will return to the earth when the life and the soul return to God, who gave it. In the way of righteousness is life and (in) the pathway there is no death.

May there be to Israel and to all who have departed from this world, abundant peace, and a good portion in the life of the world to come, and lovingkindness and mercy from the Master of heaven and earth. And say: Amen.

May He who makes peace in His high places make peace for us. And say: Amen.

Only the first four words and the last sentence of the traditional qaddish yathom are preserved. The Hamburg insert, which was adopted by American Reform, is also present. The rest of the prayer is a compilation of ideas gleaned from the Psalms, and unique in composition to Krauskopf. Death is directly addressed. With death comes peace and tranquility, not pain or anguish. Thus, for Krauskopf, the qaddish, which began as a doxology of praise to God, becomes a Reform creed on death.

Before concluding this chapter, there is one other consideration to the issue of prayers for the dead. As has been discussed, folk piety invested the qaddish with the various popular and superstitious beliefs that arose. The qaddish, itself, did not change. Its interpretation did.

The Sepharadi ritual deals with this problem in an entirely different manner. Just as the Ashkenazim did

not feel the need to change the wording of the qaddish, so too, the Sepharadim retained the qaddish in its traditional formulations. But, there remained a need to address the issue of the dead and their well-being in the hereafter liturgically. This need could be answered in the Sepharadi prayer known as hashkabhah. A prayer recited for the repose of the deceased, it is recited on three occasions: as part of the burial service, at a house of mourning, and when one who is commemorating the anniversary of a person's death is called to the Torah.<sup>73</sup>

The prayer is different in the cases of men, women, and infants. The introductory Biblical verses before the hashkabhah also vary according to the person's standing in the community. Below is the version recited for ordinary men. The hashkabhoth for women and infants may be found, untranslated, in Appendix B, #48 and #49.

A good name is better than precious oil; and the day of death is better than the day of one's birth. The conclusion is, after all has been heard: One should fear God and keep His mitzvoth, for this is the whole of man. May the pious rejoice in glory; let them sing upon their couches.

May the perfect repose in the heavenly abode, under the wings of the shekhinah, in the high place of the holy and the pure, that shine and brighten as the brightness of the firmament, (with) restrengthening, atonement for trespasses, removal of transgressions, advancement of salvation, compassion and mercy from God, and also a good portion in the world to come, be the portion, the protection, and the resting place of the soul of the good name (name of deceased)--

may the spirit of the Lord cause him to dwell in the Garden of Eden--who has departed from this world according to the will of God, the Lord of heaven and earth. May the supreme King of kings, in his mercy, have mercy, pity, and compassion on him. May the supreme King of kings, in His mercy, hide him in the shadow of His wings and in the secrecy of His tent; to behold the loveliness of the Lord and to meet in His temple. At the end of days, may He raise him up and cause him to drink from the stream of his pleasure. May He bind his soul up in the bond of life, and may He cause his rest to be glorious. The Lord is his inheritance and may He cause peace to accompany him. May peace be on his resting place, as it is written, 'He shall come in peace; they shall rest in their beds; each one walking in uprightness.'<sup>74</sup> May he, and all who sleep of His people Israel, be included in mercy and forgiveness. And may this be His will. And let us say: Amen.<sup>75</sup>

The hashkabhah asks that the deceased be granted a perfect rest in heaven, protected and favored by God. This supplication is a verbalization, in liturgical form, of the same hopes and fears that would precipitate the repetition of the midrash of R. Akiba, who teaches the son to say qaddish for his father. As those who remain on earth, we want to do all that is possible to ensure a perfect life in 'olam habba for our deceased. For the Sepharadim, this basic human desire, founded on our own fears of death, is actualized in the hashkabhah. The Ashkenazim, on the other hand, never developed a separate liturgy; but rather, sublimated those hopes in and through the existing qaddish. It should be noted, that many Reform prayerbooks did borrow the hashkabhah

from the Sepharadi ritual. It was modified and used as part of the Memorial Service.<sup>76</sup>

CHAPTER IV: BIRKATH ABHELIM

Our good friend, Time  
 Sucked each figure empty like a honeybee  
 Which has lived long enough  
 And drunk enough honey  
 So that now it can dry out in the  
 sun somewhere.<sup>1</sup>

-Anonymous

When a mourner returns to his home following the burial of his dead, he is confronted with an overwhelming sense of loss and emptiness. No longer is the departed a presence in the mourner's life; a life which is centered on and symbolized by the home. This realization comes at a time when the individual begins to be less occupied with things to do. Funeral and family arrangements end with burial. Having less items with which to be concerned, the mourner further withdraws into his own pain and identification with the deceased.<sup>2</sup>

In its infinite wisdom, Jewish tradition seizes this precise moment to pull the mourner out of his isolation and estrangement. Upon returning from the cemetery, the mourner is to participate in a se'uddath habhra-ah, a meal of condolence. On the first day of mourning, the individual is not permitted to eat of his own food at his first meal. It is an obligation resting on the neighbors to send the mourner food for the first meal, the meal of condolence.<sup>3</sup> The se'uddath habhra-ah serves two basic functions. By forcing the individual to eat, at a time



when food and personal well-being seem insignificant, the mourner is reminded that life continues, that his life must go on despite emotions building inside of him to the contrary. Secondly, the mourner is reassured that he has a community to which he can turn for support.<sup>4</sup> By making this first meal a community responsibility, the se'uddath habhra-ah serves

the function not only of relieving the anxiety or misery of individuals, but also of affirming the strength and viability of the community. (The meal of condolence is one of Jewish) society's ways of reconstituting its integrity after the loss of one of its parts.<sup>5</sup>

Resocialization and reformulation of identity for both the individual and the community are the pervasive themes of this important time following burial.

An integral part of the se'uddath habhra-ah, and of every Jewish meal, is birkath hamazon, Grace after the meal. Recited at the end of the meal by those who have partaken of it, birkath hamazon consists of a series of four separate and embellished benedictions. It has been observed that Grace after the meal, although a "private" prayer, shares many common features with fixed, communal liturgy.<sup>6</sup> "The occasion of reciting Grace...was turned into a full-fledged prayer service in miniature, concerned, like all other communal prayers, with the needs of the community and Israel as a whole."<sup>7</sup>

These remarks are no less applicable to the Grace, which is recited at the conclusion of that very important meal of condolence. Birkath hamazon la-abhelim, Grace after the meal for mourners, becomes the vehicle by which the community is able to verbalize the predominate themes surrounding the se'uddath habhra-ah.

Birkath hamazon la-abhelim is identical with the normal birkath hamazon except for three substitutions: there is an adapted introductory statement, a different conclusion to the third benediction, and a different fourth benediction. The formulation of this special Grace is as follows:

- Leader: Gentlemen, let us say the blessing.
- Group: May the Name of the Lord be blessed from now unto eternity.
- Leader: Let us bless Him who comforts the mourners, of whose food we have eaten.
- Group: Blessed be He who comforts the mourners, of whose food we have eaten and through whose goodness we live.
- Leader: Blessed be He who comforts the mourners, of whose food we have eaten and through whose goodness we live.<sup>8</sup>

(The difference in this introductory statement is the insertion of the phrase, "who comforts the mourners." In light of the themes of the meal, the addition of these words may serve to reassure the mourner and the community of God's immanence and involvement with those gathered at the house of mourning.

The first three benedictions are the same as in the normal birkath hamazon. They may be found in any standard siddur.<sup>9</sup> Although they will not be reproduced here, their contents should be noted.

The first benediction is devoted to thanksgiving for food, and is of a universal character. The second adds thanks for the good land which God has given Israel; but...it also mentions the covenant of circumcision, the Exodus, and the giving of the Torah to Israel--all national concerns not directly connected with thanksgiving for food...The third benediction...is a...plea that God sustain and feed us.<sup>10</sup>

The third benediction, which normally concludes with "And rebuild Jerusalem," is altered. Instead of this hatimah, a plea for the comforting of the mourners is inserted. This theme is extended to the new hatimah. The fourth benediction, which normally acknowledges God's kindness towards us, is replaced with a three-pronged benediction: (a) All of God's ways are just; (b) May God reconstitute this community following the death; and (c) May God provide us with all our needs.)

Comfort O Lord our God, the mourners of Jerusalem and the mourners that are mourning in this bereavement. Give them comfort from their mourning and gladness instead of their sorrow, as it is said: 'As one whom his mother comforts, so will I comfort you, and you shall be comforted in Jerusalem.'ll Blessed are You, O Lord, who comforts Zion in the rebuilding of Jerusalem.

Blessed are You, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, the God, our Father, our King, our Creator, our Redeemer, our Holy One, the Holy One of Jacob, the living King, the Good and Beneficent, the God of truth, the Judge of truth, who rules in righteousness; and in justice, He takes men's

souls. And He rules His world, doing in it according to His will, for all His ways are justice. And we, His people and His servants, are obligated to give thanks to Him and to bless Him in all things. May He who repairs the breaches in Israel remove this wound from amongst us, unto life and peace. May He reward us forever with grace and lovingkindness and mercy and all good (things); and may He cause us not to be lacking in anything that is good.<sup>12</sup>

(The Grace concludes with a variety of supplications, followed by a series of Psalm verses.<sup>13</sup>)

There is a definite similarity between this fourth benediction and the prayer, tzidduq hadin, recited at the cemetery. Both acknowledge the ultimate justice and righteousness of God's ways--a theme which is pervasive throughout the Jewish liturgy of death and dying.

These two benedictions form the essential changes which take place in birkath hamazon. Circumstances dictate special benedictions, mourners' benedictions, to be pronounced.

While these special substitutions are well-known and their formulations are readily available, it is a much more difficult task to determine their historical antecedents. The history of the mourners' benedictions is shrouded in obscurity. There appear to be a number of different benedictions carrying an identical name, birkath abhelim. Today, birkath abhelim is identified with the substitutions made in birkath hamazon, in a house of mourning. As we

will see, however, a number of transformations took place in birkath abhelim before it became what we now know it to be.

The earliest references to birkath abhelim appear in the Mishnah. M. Megillah 4:3 states that the Mourners' Benediction cannot be recited with less than a minyan present. M. Mo'ed Qatan 3:7 decrees that "they may not recite birkath abhelim during the Feast." Unfortunately, neither of these statements sheds light on the exact nature of the benediction. We are provided with peripheral information instead. Birkath abhelim falls into that category of prayers that require a minyan to be present in order to be recited. Secondly, birkath abhelim is one of the various public mourning rituals, which are prohibited on a festival. Other than these two observations, no information is offered about the benediction.

Two passages from the Talmud prove to be much more helpful. B. Megillah 23b, in seeking clarification of the term birkath abhelim used in the Mishnah, states: "What is the Mourners' Benediction? (It is) the Benediction of the Open Space." Since the m. Megillah passage uses both the term birkath abhelim and tanhumé abhelim, perhaps the Talmud is attempting to distinguish between the liturgical entities. The answer provided is a clarification of terminology. Birkath abhelim is another name for birkath rehabbah. Whereas this infor-

mation is not particularly helpful, another Talmud sugya does offer a definition of birkath reḥabbah, and therefore, of birkath abhelim.

In the context of a discussion, in b. Ketubboth 8a-b, attempting to determine who is or is not counted as part of a minyan for the purposes of reciting certain special benedictions, the two benedictions are again identified as one and the same. Then, in answering the question as to whether or not birkath reḥabbah is recited for the entire seven days of mourning, an incident is reported that gives a liturgical definition of the benediction.

Is there a Benediction of the Open Space (birkath reḥabbah) for all seven days? You will find it (recited in the presence of) new faces, as that (instance) of R. Hiyya, the son of Abba, who was the Bible teacher of the son of Resh Laqish, and some say (he was) the Mishnah teacher of the son of Resh Laqish. His child died. The first day, (Resh Laqish) did not go to (the child's father). On the next day, he led Judah the son of Naḥmani, his translator. He said to him: Rise. Say a word concerning the child. He began his discourse and said: 'And the Lord saw and spurned, because of the provoking of His sons and His daughters.'<sup>14</sup> In a generation in which the fathers spurn the Holy One, blessed be He, He is angry with their sons and with their daughters and they die when they are children.

And some say (the child who died) was a young man. And that thus he said to him (i.e., to the child's father, R. Hiyya): 'Therefore the Lord shall have no joy in their young men, neither shall He have compassion on their fatherless and widows. For every one is ungodly and an evil-doer, and every mouth speaks wantonness. For all this, His anger is not turned away, but His hand is stretched out still.'<sup>15</sup> What (is the meaning of): 'but His hand is stretched out still?' Said R. Hanan, the



son of Rav: All know why a bride is brought to the huppah, but whoever talks obscenely and brings forth from his mouth an obscenity, even if a decree of His judgement of seventy years of goodness were sealed for him, it is overturned for him (and turned) into evil.

He came to comfort him (in his) pain, (but) he caused him grief. (To explain this,) he thus said to him: You are important enough to be seized for the generation's (troubles).

He said to him: Rise. Say a word concerning the praise of the Holy One, blessed be He. He (i.e., Judah the son of Nahmani) began and said: The God, great in the abundance of His greatness, mighty and strong in the abundance of His terrible deeds, who revives the dead with His word, who does great acts which are unsearchable<sup>16</sup> and terrible deeds without number. Blessed are You, O Lord, who revives the dead.

He said to Him: Rise. Say a word concerning the mourners. He began and said: Our brothers, who are wearied and depressed by this mourning, set your heart<sup>17</sup> to examine this. This is it (that) stands forever. It is a path from the six days of creation. Many have drunk; many will drink. As the drinking of the first ones, thus will be the drinking of the last ones. Our brothers, may the Master of consolation comfort you. Blessed be He, who comforts the mourners. Said Abbaye: Let him say, 'Many have drunk.' He should not have said, 'Many will drink.' Let him say, 'The drinking of the first ones.' He should not have said, 'The drinking of the last ones.' For said R. Yosi: A man should never open his mouth to Satan. Said R. Joseph: What Scriptural verse (explains this)? 'We should have been as Sodom; we should have been like unto Gemorrah.'<sup>18</sup> What did He reply to him? 'Hear the word of the Lord, you rulers of Sodom, etc.'<sup>19</sup>

He said to him: Rise. Say a word concerning those who comfort the mourners. He began and said: Our brothers, doers of acts of lovingkindness, sons of those who performs acts of lovingkindness, who maintain the covenant of Abraham, our father, as it is said (in the Scriptural verse), 'For I have known him, to the end that he may command his children (and his household

after him; that they may keep the way of the Lord, to do righteousness and justice; to the end that the Lord may bring upon Abraham that which He has spoken to of Him.)<sup>20</sup> Our brothers, may the Master of recompense pay you your deserved rewards. Blessed are You, who pays the recompense.

He said to him: Rise. Say a word concerning all of Israel. He began and said: Master of of World, redeem and save, deliver (and) help Your people, Israel, from the pestilence, from the sword, from the plunder, from the blight, from the mildew, and from all kinds of suffering that break forth and come into the world. Before we call, may You answer. Blessed are You, who halts the plague.<sup>21</sup>

According to this passage, birkath rehavhah consists of four, or perhaps five, benedictions. The first "benediction," concerning the child, is not a true berakhah. Not only does it not fit the structure of the other four, but its content seems to be of a very specific nature. It would seem that this section was a special addition and not part of the birkath rehavhah, per se.

The respective themes of the four subsequent benedictions are: (a) God, who revives the dead; (b) mourners, who must realize that all do die; (c) comforters of the mourners, who are performing an important mitzvah; and (d) Israel, whom God will save from all evil in the world. Furthermore, we know from this passage that birkath rehavhah is recited during the entire seven-day period of shiv'ah, as long as there are new visitors in the mourner's home each day.

At this point, two issues must be addressed. First, there is a general liturgical question: Do the liturgical formulae, spoken by Judah the son of Nahmani, represent known berakhoth or spontaneous liturgy? There is nothing inherent in the text to support one position or the other. Judah, the son is Nahmani, is called a meturgeman. Marcus Jastrow defines it as an "interpreter...especially a translator of the Biblical portion read at services."<sup>22</sup> Another, and more relevant meaning of meturgeman for this passage, is the interpreter, who clarifies a given rabbi's lecture to the students. This meager information does not say whether or not the material for the benediction was Judah's spontaneous creation or not. However, there is one source which does understand birkath rehavhah as a fixed liturgy. Samuel Daiches, in his notes to b. Ketubboth 8b in the Soncino translation to the Babylonian Talmud, claims that

"Judah, the son of Nahmani, did not give his own sayings. The homily which he delivered was not his own. The benedictions which he recited had long been fixed...(A) meturgeman was not expected to say original things. He knew by heart the homilies of others and the fixed benedictions..."<sup>23</sup>

No support is offered for his understanding of the meturgeman's role. Secondly, S. Daiches' support for the claim that birkath rehavhah was already fixed at that time comes from post-Talmudic sources. Because of their late dates, they

are unacceptable. Without any substantial data, one can only make conjectures based on textual observations. It would appear that the four themes of the birkath rehavhah were already known. One could surmise that Judah was told, "Here are the four hatimoth; you fill in the rest." The rest of the benedictions were improvised on the spot. Stock phrases and ideas were employed, but with the exception of the hatimoth, it seems the final product was Judah's alone.

Second, what may be concluded about the date of this birkath rehavhah? R. Hiyya, the son of Abba, was a second generation Palestinian Amora, living sometime around 279-320 C.E.<sup>24</sup> Resh Laqish, on the other hand, was a first generation Palestinian Amora, who lived in the approximate period of 219-279 C.E.<sup>25</sup> Therefore, it would seem that the incident mentioned in b. Ketubboth 8b had to occur sometime in the second half of the third century.

Massakheth Semahoth, one of the minor tractates of the Talmud, provides two references which relate to the subject. Semahoth 14:14 states: "One drinks ten cups (of wine) in the mourner's house, two before the meal, and five during the meal, one for birkath abhelim and one for tanhumé abhelim, and one for acts of lovingkindness."<sup>26</sup> This passage is very similar to the b. Ketubboth 8b passage which follows immediately after the section quoted above. That selection lists the ten cups as: three before the meal; three during

the meal; and four after the meal, corresponding to each of the four benedictions in the normal Grace after the meal.<sup>27</sup>

The purposes of the various cups of wine will be discussed later. For the moment, however, it is important to note an apparent connection between birkath abhelim and the four benedictions of birkath hamazon. The two are juxtaposed in these two sources. As will be seen, this incident marks the beginning of a trend which merges the two concepts: birkath abhelim (=to birkath rehavhah) is eventually transformed into birkath hamazon la-abhelim. Massekheh Semahoth hints at the phenomenon, already in post-Talmudic times, of the confusion over the lost identity of the Mourner's Benediction.

The second text from Semahoth further confuses the issue by making a statement in regards to birkath hamazon. Semahoth 14:15 reads:

Whoever recites (Grace after the meal) in the mourner's house does not recite the fourth blessing--these are the words of R. Yosi haGelili. And R. 'Aqiba says, (He recites:) 'the Good and the Beneficient.' And the Sages say, (He recites:) 'Blessed is the Judge of truth (who rules over all His works, judges all generations with righteousness; we are all His people and His servants and in all this we are obligated to thank Him and bless Him.'<sup>28,29</sup>

The halakhah is according to the Sages. The benediction to be substituted for the fourth paragraph of birkath hamazon is essentially the nusah that is found today for the fourth

benediction of birkath hamazon la-abhelim.

From Semahoth, we may conclude that (a) the identity of birkath abhelim is again unclear and (b) the basis for the fourth benediction (i.e., the theme that all of God's ways are just) has already been established by this period.

The next time birkath abhelim is mentioned, in an extant source, and a formula given does not occur until the ninth century. In Amram b. Sheshna's prayer-code, there is a section entitled, "Individual Prayers and Blessings." In it, R. Amram offers the nusah for birkath abhelim.

Blessed are You, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, the Judge of mercy, the faithful Ruler, who governs us (with) His laws of truth, as it is written: 'The Rock, His work is perfect, for all His ways are justice; a God of faithfulness and without iniquity, just and right is He.'<sup>30</sup> Blessed are You who comforts the mourners.<sup>31</sup>

This benediction has almost no similarity to the birkath abhelim presented in b. Ketubboth 8b. Its conclusion, "who comforts the mourners," is the same hatimah as the one for Judah's second benediction. Taking this information in conjunction with what has been said concerning Semahoth, it appears that the original birkath rehavhah (= birkath abhelim), known in the third century, was lost. When this "new" birkath abhelim of R. Amram was to be recited



or its exact purpose are unknown. Perhaps it was to be recited upon returning from the cemetery, thus replacing the birkath rehavah known in the Talmud. It was not to be recited after the meal of condolence, however, for R. Amram gives the special formula for birkath hamazon for mourners:

Let us bless Him, who comforts the mourners, of whose food we have eaten. Blessed are You, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who feeds the entire world in His lovingkindness and does good for all. For His mercy and His lovingkindness have dominion over all and over Israel, first and last, as it is written: 'You open Your hand, and satisfy every living thing with favor.'<sup>32</sup> And He prepared food for all His creatures. Blessed are You, O Lord, who feeds all.

For our land, let us give thanks to You, O Lord our God, because You have given our fathers, as an inheritance, a pleasant land, goodly and broad; a covenant and Torah; life and food; and because You have brought us forth from the land of Egypt. And for all this, O Lord our God, we thank You and bless Your name continually, O God of our salvation. Blessed are You, O Lord, for the land and for the food.

Comfort, O Lord our God, the mourners of Zion and the mourners of Jerusalem and the mourners who are mourning in this bereavement. Give them comfort from their mourning and gladness instead of their sorrow, as it is said: 'As one whom his mother comforts, so will I comfort you, and you shall be comforted in Jerusalem.'<sup>33</sup> Blessed are You, O Lord, who comforts the mourners and rebuilds Jerusalem. Amen.

Blessed are You, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, our Father, our King, our Mighty One, our Holy One, the Holy One of Jacob, the King, the Good and the Beneficent, who every day deals in goodness with us. The God of truth, the Judge of truth, who rules in righteousness and governs his works. And we, His people and His servants, are obligated to give thanks to

Him and to bless Him. He who repairs the breaches of Israel remove this wound from this house, and from amongst us, and from amongst all His people, Israel, unto life and peace. May He reward us forever with grace and lovingkindness and mercy and all good (things).

May the All-Merciful One be praised, etc...<sup>34</sup>

Amram's birkath hamazon la-abhelim is a completely separate entity from birkath hamazon. Although the two prayers share the same themes and many of the same phrases for the first two paragraphs, Amram presents both prayers.<sup>35</sup> Birkath hamazon la-abhelim, and only this nusah, was to be recited at a house of mourning.

The first two paragraphs are revisions of the corresponding passages in the normal Grace. The last two paragraphs are very similar to the substitutions made today in the Grace recited at a house of mourning. Thus, the last two paragraphs of this benediction of R. Amram become the norm throughout the centuries for what is later called both birkath hamazon la-abhelim and birkath abhelim.

Saadia's prayerbook, following in close temporal and spacial proximity to Amram's, reinforces part of Amram's codification for Grace after the meal for mourners. Unlike Amram, R. Saadia incorporates the special benedictions into the normal birkath hamazon, the same system employed today. His nusah for the fourth benediction is slightly different from Amram's :

Blessed are You, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, the God of truth, the Judge of truth, who rules His world, doing in it according to His will. He rules in righteousness; and in justice, He takes men's souls. Everything is His. And we, His people and His servants, are obligated to give thanks to Him and to bless Him. May it be Your will, O Lord our God, that You will destroy this evil from amongst us and from amongst the House of Israel and from the mourners that are in our midst. May He who repairs the breaches in Israel remove this wound, unto life. And let us say, Amen. May He who makes peace in His high places make peace for Israel.<sup>36</sup>

For the first time, the phrase, "He takes men's souls," appears. This phrase is taken from Saadia and used in later versions of this benediction. His sentences "May it be Your will..." and "May He who makes..." are unique to Saadia. They do not appear in subsequent nusha-oth (except in the Sepharadi rite).

Following this benediction, Saadia comments on another possible addition to be recited by those in a House of mourning: "And there are those that recite the Mourner's Benediction (birkath abhel) and they add it in the third benediction."<sup>37</sup> The Mourner's Benediction is:

Comfort, O Lord our God, the mourners of Your people, the House of Israel. Give them comfort from their mourning and gladness instead of their sorrow; and speak to their heart good things and words of consolation, as it is written: 'As one whom his mother comforts, so will I comfort you, and you shall be comforted in Jerusalem.'<sup>38,39</sup>

Except for the words "and speak to...consolation," this passage is a condensed version of the third paragraph of Amram's birkath hamazon la-abhelim. According to Saadia, it is merely an addition, not a substitution. It is interesting to note Saadia's title for this prayer: birkath abhel. Is this the same birkath abhelim mentioned by Amram? They share no similarities in content, but they do in theme. Is it, perhaps, an attempt by Saadia to give definition to a term, which he does not know how to define? Perhaps. In the end, though, there is no way of knowing why Saadia chose the phrase, birkath abhel, or if it is intended to relate back to birkath abhelim mentioned in either the Talmud, Semahoth, or Amram's prayer code.

The confusion between the two terms, birkath abhelim and birkath hamazon la-abhelim, momentarily clarified by R. Amram, returned with R. Saadia. The picture becomes more clouded with Simon Kayyara's Halakhoth Gedoloth. Due to his close historical proximity to Amram and Saadia, one would expect his comments on birkath abhelim to be similar to theirs. One finds that Kayyara followed Amram for the nusah, and Saadia for its place in the liturgy. In the section, "The Laws of the Mourner," he writes:

How does one recite the Mourners' Benediction?  
If there are three, one says: Let us bless Him  
who comforts the mourners. And if there are  
ten and up to one hundred, the one reciting the  
blessing says: Let us bless our God, who comforts  
the mourners...The one reciting then says (the

first paragraph), hazan: (the second paragraph), nodeh lekha; down through: Blessed are You, O Lord our God, for the land and for the food. And then one says (in place of the third paragraph)...<sup>40</sup>...And may You rebuild Your holy city speedily in our days, as it is written: 'The Lord does build up Jerusalem, (He gathers together the dispersed of Israel; who heals the broken in heart and binds up their wounds.)'<sup>41</sup> 'There will I make a horn to shoot up unto David; there have I ordered a lamp for Mine anointed.'<sup>42</sup> And lead us up into its midst and comfort us in it. Blessed are You, O Lord, who comforts the mourners and rebuilds Jerusalem. Amen. Restore the Temple cult in Jerusalem, speedily in our days.

(The fourth paragraph is:) Blessed are You, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, the God of faithfulness, the Judge of truth, who rules in righteousness and governs His work; and in justice, He takes men's souls, and we, His servants and His people, are obligated to give thanks to Him in all things. He who repairs the breaches in Israel remove this wound (from amongst us) unto life, for goodness and for comfort and may He establish for us that which is written in Scripture: 'He will swallow up death forever; and the Lord God will wipe away tears from all faces. And the reproach of His people He will take away from all the earth, for the Lord has spoken.'<sup>43</sup> The living King, the Good and the Beneficent, who every day deals in goodness and He will reward us forever with grace and lovingkindness and mercy and comfort....<sup>44</sup>

No longer is birkath abhelim understood to be a separate structure. It is part and parcel of birkath hamazon. The Mourners' Benediction consists of substitutions made in the third and fourth paragraphs. Thus, by the beginning of the tenth century, the structural formulation of this prayer has already been established. The

nusah was relatively fixed by this time, also. With a few minor revisions, which will be codified in the fifteenth century, Halakhoth Gedoloth's version of birkath abhelim still stands today. All four themes are present at this time: God comforting the mourners, God's ways are just, God healing the community, and God providing for man's needs.<sup>45</sup>

By this period, birkath rehavhah (= birkath abhelim) had been all but forgotten. In the eleventh century, Rashi comments: "And we do not have a birkath rehavhah now."<sup>46</sup> Nahmanides, in the thirteenth century, helps to clear up one of the unanswered questions surrounding this prayer. In Torath Ha-adam, he writes: "And in the responsa literature, we found that we had a custom before the time of the Geonim in our places, that when people returned with the mourner from the grave, they would recite the benediction over the cup (of wine)."<sup>47</sup> Nahmanides follows this comment with the benediction which was recited. It is the same benediction which R. Amram lists under the title, birkath abhelim. For Nahmanides, it is identified as birkath rehavhah. Birkath abhelim, different from that in Talmudic times, but still in use during Amram's, was a benediction recited over a cup of wine upon returning from the grave.

Perhaps this is the missing information needed to draw some conclusions concerning the merging of birkath



abhelim with birkath hamazon. Several facts are clear. (1) se'uddath habhra-ah took place following a funeral. This custom goes back to Talmudic times. (2) Upon returning from the funeral, a benediction was to be recited over a cup of wine. (3) After any meal, Grace was to be recited. It may be hypothesized that the cup of wine, over which birkath abhelim was recited, became part of the se'uddath habhra-ah, due to their temporal proximity. Once this occurred, birkath abhelim was incorporated into birkath hamazon (à la Saadia), specifically as an addition to the third blessing. The text used was not that known to Amram and Nahmanides as birkath abhelim, but the third blessing of Amram's birkath hamazon la-abhelim. The other tradition, substituting a different benediction for the fourth berakhah, was also retained.

From Saadia's time on, all of the parts of what is today's birkath abhelim were known. They were first put together, in rudimentary form, by Kayyara in Halakhoth Gedoloth. Their final codification took place in the sixteenth century with the Shulhan 'Arukh.<sup>48</sup> It is this nusah which exists today.

Before concluding, mention should be made of one other nusah for birkath abhelim. This is the Sepharadi version of birkath hamazon in a house of mourning. In essence, it is identical with the Askenazi version, which

we have been taking as the normative modern nusah. Two differences do exist, though. The Sepharadi version includes the sentence "May He who makes peace in his high places make peace for us and for all Israel." This was introduced originally by Saadia. The second addition is a reference to the re-establishment of the Temple cult. Its wording corresponds to the original statement in Halakhoth Gedoloth.<sup>49</sup> Other than these nuances, the Ashkenazi and Sepharadi rites developed into parallel traditions concerning this liturgy.

B. Megillah 23b asked the question: Mai birkath abhelim? What is the Mourners' Benediction? This is a question with at least three answers. As has been shown, a major developmental change took place in the formulation of birkath abhelim between the third and sixteenth centuries. The Mourners' Benediction of the Talmud was a non-fixed liturgy, comprised of four (or five) benedictions. This exact form of birkath abhelim does not appear again. What develops in its place is a mourner's version of birkath hamazon. Taken as a whole, this prayer incorporates three of the four themes found in the Talmud passage: praise for God; comfort for the mourners; and Israel, whose needs will be provided for. The idea of praise for those who comfort the mourner is excluded from the liturgy.

When looking at the situations and requirements surrounding both the Talmudic birkath abhelim and the modern

birkath abhelim (i.e., the special birkath hamazon), the similarities are obvious. However, as much a temptation as there is to draw exact correlations between the two, it would seem to be an impossible task. Too many radical changes, whose exact natures are still not fully understood, have occurred to mask any possible parallelism.

**CHAPTER V: HAZKARATH NESHAMOTH**

Ah, home, home,  
 Why did they tear me away?  
 Here the weak die easy as a feather <sup>1</sup>  
 And when they die, they die forever.

-Anonymous

When a person dies, all that remain for the living are memories. Those memories may slowly fade away with the passage of time. Yet, they may also be strengthened and enhanced when contemplated periodically. Memories are important. They provide the link between ourselves and those who have gone before us. We are the heritage left by those who have died. To remember them gives us--and them--a purpose, a history.

Judaism has provided a liturgical vehicle by which we can remember. Five times a year,<sup>2</sup> the Jew liturgically remembers a deceased parent. The Yahrzeit, the anniversary of the individual's death, is the first occasion. On that day, a memorial candle is lit and the Jew attends the daily services, reciting qaddish yathom. On the Sabbath before the anniversary, it is also customary to recite el male rahamim in synagogue.<sup>3</sup> In addition to this private, personal observance, four opportunities a year are provided for public remembrance. This is the occasion of the yizkor, or memorial service.

More properly called hazkarath neshamoth (remembrance of souls), the service is held on the three Festivals

(Pesah, Shabhu'oth, Shemini 'Atzereth) and Yom Kippur.

It is recited after the reading of the Torah and Haphtarah, on the last day of each holiday. This applies only to the Polish, ashkenaz, ritual.<sup>4</sup> In general, hazkarath neshamoth expresses the hope that the deceased will enjoy eternal life in God's presence. Specifically, the service consists of three prayers: yizkor, el male rahamim, and abh harahamim. Although one may find a number of other prayers included in the memorial service, they all represent late editions, made under the influence of Reform changes in the yizkor liturgy.<sup>5</sup>

While signs of mourning are not normally allowed on the Sabbath or Festivals in public,<sup>6</sup> hazkarath neshamoth proves to be an exception to the rule. The reasoning offered is circuitous. Even though mourning is prohibited, those who memorialize the dead are permitted to do so on the Festivals and Sabbath because they will really derive pleasure from it. Shedding of tears tends to mitigate grief and this is both desirable and "pleasurable."<sup>7</sup>

The popular name for this service, yizkor, comes from the first word of the first prayer. Yizkor is a prayer recited privately for a deceased parent. Separate versions also exist for a grandparent or other relatives, for a martyr, and for one who has given charitably to the synagogue.<sup>8</sup> The prayer is recited even during the first year following a parent's death.<sup>9</sup> The text of the prayer



is:

May God remember the soul of my father and teacher (name of deceased), who has gone to his eternity. For his sake, I donate charity. In reward of this, may his soul be bound up in the bond of life, with the souls of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Sarah, Rebbecca, Rachel, and Leah, and with the rest of the righteous men and women, who are in the Garden of Eden. And let us say: Amen.<sup>10</sup>

This prayer contains one basic thought: Since I have given charity, the soul of my parent will be rewarded. A cause-and-effect paradigm is established. As an idea, though, it is not unique to Judaism. Similar examples may be found in Canaanite and Egyptian societies. "Within the context of the older cult(s) of the dead, it was the responsibility of descendants (usually the oldest son) to 'call the name' of the ancestors and to provide such offerings...as were necessary for their comfort..."<sup>11</sup>

The second prayer of the memorial service is el male rahamim. It also mentions a donation of charity for the sake of the deceased. However, it excludes the phrase, "biskhar zeh," "in reward of this," thus tempering the cause-and-effect relationship. In addition, el male rahamim expands on the idea of perfect rest and protection for the deceased.<sup>12</sup>

Abh harahamim is the third prayer of the service. It is recited for the martyrs who have died for qiddush hashem, the sanctification of God's name. It emphasizes their merits and asks God to avenge them and to protect their

descendants.

In addition to the Memorial Service, abh harahamim is also found as part of the regular Shabbath liturgy. In the Polish rite, it is said on every Shabbath, prior to returning the Torah to the Ark, except on a Sabbath with joyous overtones, corresponding to occasions when on weekdays, tahanun is not recited. It is also omitted when the new moon is announced, except during the counting of the 'omer (i.e., the months of Iyar and Sivan). In the German rite, abh harahamim is recited only on the Sabbath before Shabhu'oth and the Sabbath before Tish'ah Be-abh<sup>13</sup>

The text to the prayer reads:

May the Father of mercy who dwells on high, in His powerful mercy, recall in mercy, the pious, upright, and blameless ones, the holy congregations, who gave their souls for the sanctification of the divine Name, who were lovely and pleasant in their lives; and in their deaths, they were not divided. They were swifter than eagles and mightier than lions to do the will of their Master and the desire of their Rock. May our God remember them for good, with the rest of the righteous of the world, and avenge the blood of His servants, which has been shed. As it is written in the Torah of Moses, the man of God: "Sing aloud, O nations of His people, for He will avenge the blood of His servants, and render vengeance to His adversaries, and makes expiation for the land of His people."<sup>14</sup> And by the hands of Your servants, the prophets, it is written, saying: "And I will hold them as innocent, (but) their blood (which they have shed), I will not hold as innocent. And the Lord dwells in Zion."<sup>15</sup> And in the Holy Writings, it is said: "Wherefore should the nations say, 'Where is their God?' Let it be known among the nations in our sight (that) there is vengeance

for the blood of Your servants, which has been shed."16 And it is said: "For He that avenges blood remembers them; he does not forget the cry of the humble."17 And it is said: "He will judge among the nations; it is full of dead bodies. He smites the ruler of a wide land. He will drink from the brook in the way. Therefore, will he lift up the head."18,19

With quotations from the Law, the Prophets, and the Writings, complete Biblical support is given to the idea that God will avenge the death of the innocent martyrs who have been murdered.

Sidney Greenberg, writing about hazkarath neshamoth, states that the service

becomes the vehicle for teaching a fundamental attitude toward death--acceptance... (The memorial service) strikes a sobering note. At this season, when we pray for life and for the things we would like to acquire, Yizkor reminds us that life inevitably also entails relinquishing. 20

The mood of the service is somber. Unlike qaddish or tzidduq hadin, praise for God is virtually ignored. Concentration is on those who have died and the hope for their well-being in the hereafter.

It is not by accident that hazkarath neshamoth manifests itself in this manner. The origins of the service recall the same attitudes reflected in these three prayers: death, relinquishing, acceptance, vengeance, eternal peace.

On November 27, 1095, Pope Urban II preached the First Crusade at Clermont-Ferrand.<sup>21</sup> Through the oddities of history, it was to be this event which proved to be the

ultimate catalyst in creating the memorial service for Judaism. The crusaders were to gather in the Rhine valley in order to follow the traditional route to Palestine, via the Rhine and Danube rivers.<sup>22</sup> Their ultimate goal was to rid the Holy Land of the infidels, the Moslems. On their way, however, they would punish the Jews, the "killers of Christ." As a result, destruction and death came upon the Rhenish Jewish communities in the weeks between Pesah and Shabbu'oth, 1096 C.E. The killing continued until Tammuz.<sup>23</sup>

On the heels of this massive insult to their ability to survive, the Jews felt a need to memorialize those who had perished. The death of those Jews was not perceived as ordinary. They had died for qiddush hashem. They were martyrs who had died for the sake and glory of God. Solomon Schwarzfuchs, in writing about this historical phenomenon, states:

The martyrs became a symbol for the whole people, not just for their own communities; more than simply an object of pride, they became a common ideal in which the whole Jewish community, despite all its humiliations, could find inspiration. Their martyrdom was transformed into victory, for they had defied torture, finding in their faith the necessary strength for preferring death to apostasy. They had chosen death rather than conversion, even though the latter need probably have been only temporary. In their martyrdom lay the very justification of the sufferings of the Jewish people. Spiritual power proved the strongest force of all and the martyrs were seen as a

demonstration of the absolute truth of Judaism.<sup>24</sup>

Admittedly, this perspective is much easier to reach when separated by more than 800 years from the event. Nevertheless, it would seem the communities had to rationalize and reinterpret the destruction, in order to maintain their Jewish beliefs and ways of life as viable institutions.

At this point, it would be instructive to diverge for a moment and consider the issue of qiddush hashem and liturgy. We note, first of all, that what has been considered in this chapter is the Ashkenazi ritual. The Sepharadic rite does not contain the same liturgies for commemoration and memorial. To understand the reason for this phenomenon, and to aid in understanding the historical background of the Ashkenazi ritual, we must discuss the differences in messianic postures between Ashkenazim and Sepharadim.

Gerson Cohen, in a lecture on this subject, maintains the position that the differences in Jewish reaction to persecution in the second millenium (C.E.), prior to Sabbethai Zevi, are a result of the difference in belief between Sepharadim and Ashkenazim concerning the coming of the Messiah. The Sepharadim believed that the Messiah had to come in the very near future. Their religious stance was activistic.<sup>25</sup> The Ashkenazim, on the other

hand, adopted a quietist, passive, resigning attitude.<sup>26</sup> They, too, looked forward to the coming of the Messiah. However, they concentrated much more on the soul's "life" until that time.

Due to these two distinct medieval approaches to the Messiah, Cohen asserts that these two groups developed almost diametrically opposed reactions to persecution. As a basis for his statements, Cohen refers specifically to four instances of persecution: in Spain and North Africa, the Almohade persecutions beginning in 1147; the riots of 1391 in Spain; the First Crusade of 1096; and the Chmielnicki massacres of 1648-49.<sup>27</sup>

In each of the two cases involving Ashkenazic Jewry, those of 1096 and 1648 and after, the outstanding feature of the Jewish response was kiddush ha-shem--martyrdom. In both of the persecutions endured by Sephardim, although kiddush ha-shem was by no means lacking, the dominant behavioral pattern; the one that left the greatest impression on witnesses and future generations, was apostasy and marranism.<sup>28</sup>

The Ashkenazi response was to die in the sanctification of God's name. In the First Crusade, this was marked, at times, through mass suicides. Martyrdom was not just kiddush hashem; it became an atonement sacrifice, an 'aqedah.<sup>29</sup>

This is important to bear in mind, for the commemorative chronicles, dirges, and penitential prayers that subsequently emerged from Ashkenaz frequently construed martyrdom as an 'aqedah sacrifice, as the highest act



of worship, the martyr being referred to as ha-Qadosh, the saint.<sup>30</sup>

In the Chmielnicki massacres, the Jews, when in a position to choose their actions, elected to either die fighting or to die passively at their enemies' hands.<sup>31</sup>

Hence, despite the different circumstances surrounding the voluntary death of thousands of Jews in the two great massacres of Ashkenazic Jewry, the ideal of service to God through martyrdom, in whatever form, had become for Ashkenazic Jewry the only legitimate choice in times of persecution. This is not to say that Ashkenazim did not sympathize with those who could not stand up to the ultimate test. What it does mean is that, under such circumstances, death on behalf of God was the only admissible solution in theory. Consequently, every martyr, willing or unwilling, would attain the rank of the saint, of the one who had willingly, indeed gladly, offered up his life as a sacrifice.

Now the obvious feature of voluntary martyrdom is its stance of profound trust, its unflagging certainty of vindication and ultimate triumph. In Jewish literature, the souls of the righteous were described as stored under the Throne of Glory, accepted into the great light vouchsafed for the world to come, and held in readiness for the resurrection and redemption.<sup>32</sup>

Turning now to the Sepharadim, we find that a different set of parameters operated in determining their reactions to the events of the twelfth and fourteenth centuries. The decision for apostasy and marranism can be traced to three factors.

In his famed Treatise on the Sanctification of the Name, Maimonides informs us that some Jews, although they had the opportunity to escape to

latter, with a reinterpretation of voluntary death into kiddush hashem and sacrifice, which would give rise to a liturgy of martyrdom.

Returning now to the development of this liturgy, we come back to the events in 1096. Following the massacres of the Rhine communities by the First Crusade, the custom developed to read the names of the martyrs in the synagogue.<sup>36</sup> These names were kept in a Memorbuch, which was read on the Sabbath before Shabhu'oth.<sup>37</sup> Following the recitation of names, a prayer, composed for these martyrs by an unknown author, was read. This prayer was the abh harahamim.<sup>38</sup>

Why, though, were the memorials held on this particular Sabbath? Looking at the liturgical notes heading the Memor-lists, the dates given for the massacres in the Rhineland area, especially around Mainz, Speyer, Worms, and Cologne, are around Shabhu'oth. A typical example is the introductory remark to the Memor-list of Worms: "Those slain in Worms on Sunday, 23 Iyar (May 18, 1096). And we remember (memorialize) them on the Sabbath before Shabhu'oth."<sup>39</sup> Since Shabhu'oth was temporally connected to the massacres, it would seem logical to use that occasion for a memorial. However, as Solomon Freehof notes, "It was not deemed proper to set the memorial on the holiday itself. To do so would disturb the joy of the holiday...and therefore, they fixed it on the Sabbath

before...This Sabbath was suitable since it was a part of the 'omer' period which was associated with the massacre of the disciples of R. Akiba."<sup>40</sup>

This tradition, then, of reading the list of local martyrs and reciting abh harahamim on the Sabbath before Shabhu'oth, continued for two and a half centuries. When the Black Death persecutions of 1348-49 happened, and tremendous numbers of German Jews were massacred, there was a natural inclination to include them in the Memor-lists. Because of the enormity of the destruction, an appropriate Shabbath was sought on which to memorialize these new victims. While the Crusade massacre happened within a few weeks' time (and therefore a logical date was found), the Black Death pogroms extended over an entire year.

However the largest massacre took place in Mainz and claimed 6,000 victims. This took place in August near to Tish'ah Be-abh. It would seem natural, therefore, to place a second memorial day on the Sabbath before Tish'ah Be-abh, which was always solemn in mood...<sup>41</sup>

This hypothesis is once again supported by the introductory remarks to the Memor-lists of the day. A Memorbuch from 1348 states:

Therefore, all of the house of Israel is obligated to remember (memorialize) them between Pesah and Shabhu'oth, on the Sabbath nearest to Shabhu'oth...and also a second time on the Sabbath that is between the seventeenth of Tammuz and the ninth of Abh, (on the one) nearest to Tish'ah Be-abh, that is called the Black Sabbath.<sup>42</sup>

It is thought that the Memorbuch of the Mainz community, begun in 1296 by Isaac b. Samuel of Meinigen, became the authoritative version and model for all other copies.<sup>43</sup> Since the writing of the list corresponded to the first use of the new Nuremberg synagogue, the list included not only martyrs, but also deceased benefactors, whose money helped to build the synagogue, famous rabbis, and community leaders.<sup>44</sup>

At this point in the memorial's service development, it begins to acquire overtones of individual memorial, in addition to the communal aspects. Freehof explains:

Since now the memorial lists and the memorial prayers were extended beyond the martyrs to include the benefactors who died a normal death, it was natural that the desire should arise for members of every family to memorialize by name their deceased relatives who were neither martyrs nor famous leaders nor great communal benefactors.<sup>45</sup>

What means should be used for this family memorial? The form of prayer used in the Memorbuch became the nusah for a private prayer. The Memorbuch of Nuremberg, 1349, reads as follows:

May God remember the souls of those slain and burned at Nuremberg: (This is followed by a long list of names. After the names, it continues:) who gave their souls for the sake of the sanctification of the divine Name. In reward of this, may their souls be bound up in the bond of life, with the souls of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Sarah, Rebbecca, Rachel, and Leah, in the Garden of Eden. And let us say: Amen.<sup>46</sup>

Along with the abh harahamim, this prayer, the forerunner of yizkor, was quickly transferred to a service not just for martyrs, but for all the dead.

Freehof explains that this new service could not be placed on either of the martyr-Sabbaths, out of respect to the martyrs' memories. A new day had to be found. Yom Kippur was preferred.

The chief reason was perhaps the belief bolstered by a number of midrashic passages that the dead as well as the living need atonement and deliverance...<sup>47</sup> and that perhaps the living can speed the deliverance of the dead by the giving of charity. Thus, in all the early references to this ritual (hazkarath neshamoth), charity by the living is mentioned...<sup>48</sup>

The belief that atonement for the souls can be achieved through giving charity extends back to the days of the Hasmoneans. In II Maccabees, the story is told of how Judas offers a sacrifice for his soldiers, who had died. The purpose of the sacrifice was to ensure that the dead would be released from their sin. By so doing, it would allow the dead to receive the "splendid recompense reserved for those who make a pious end."<sup>49</sup>

The same concept is brought forth in Midrash Tanhuma. In this case, atonement is specifically connected to Yom Kippur:

For thus it says in Leviticus: "Grant atonement for Your people Israel,"<sup>50</sup> these are the living. "That You have redeemed,"<sup>51</sup> these are the dead.

From here, it follows that the living redeem the dead. Therefore, we have the custom to remember (memorialize) the dead on Yom Kippur and set aside charity for them (i.e., in their memory). We may have learned from Leviticus that when they have died, they do not derive benefit from charity. Therefore, the verse says: "that You have redeemed." From here, it follows that when they set aside charity for their sake, (their descendants) take them out (of Gehinnom) and lift them up as an arrow shot from a bow.<sup>52</sup>

On the basis of these passages, it is clear there was a strong tendency to give charity at a time of memorial, as a means of atonement and expiation. This matter had to be encouraged by the leaders of the communities, for it was a real means of filling the synagogue coffers. Working in conjunction, these impulses firmly established Yom Kippur as a time for obligatory personal memorial.

Since today's liturgy includes the three pilgrim festivals as times for hazkarath neshamoth, it must be asked why the service ultimately included the traditional holidays in the Polish Ashkenazi rite. During the Festivals, Deuteronomy 16:17 is read. It says: "Every man shall give as he is able, according to the blessing of the Lord your God, which He has given you." Based on this verse, gifts to the congregation, called matnath yad (i.e., from the words in Deuteronomy 16:17), were offered. If desired, a donor could have the name of a deceased relative read at the same time as his donation was announced.<sup>53</sup>



With this as background, Freehof hypothesizes as to how the merger between Yom Kippur and the Festivals took place:

These donations (on the Festivals) were called matnath yad... The same term was applied to the regular required Yom Kippur memorial service because then, too, gifts were given in memory of the dead. Since, therefore, the last day of the three holidays was called matnath yad, as was the Yom Kippur memorial, and since among the regular gifts to the congregation, gifts could also be made in honor of the dead, it was natural (to extend the required Yizkor service from Yom Kippur to include the three Festivals); even though that created some incongruity between the memorial mood and the joyous spirit of the holiday.<sup>54</sup>

The transfer of the memorial service to the Festivals appears to have its origins in the second half of the sixteenth century. Mordechai Jaffe, Moses Isserles' pupil, seems to be the first to mention the practice as an accepted norm.<sup>55</sup> With the addition of el male rahamim in the early seventeenth century, the memorial service, as it is known today, is established.<sup>56</sup>

It is at this point that the history of the traditional, Ashkenazi memorial service ends. In another respect, it is also the point of a new historical beginning. If one looks at a sampling of prayerbooks, whether Reform, Conservative, or Orthodox, the memorial services found would most likely include a number of prayers in addition to the three discussed above. Whatever else is printed as a part of these

services represents the influence of the Reform movement.<sup>57</sup>

After approximately 200 years of dormancy in its development, Reformers took the memorial service and changed both its contents and its tone. In discussing this change, Kaufmann Kohler wrote:

Reform Judaism remolded the old liturgy, laying special stress on the idea of the immortality of the soul, thereby affording a source of comfort to mourners in their grief. In the new form, the memorial service, which dwells mainly on the awful solemnity of death and the hope of a future life, and which is written to a great extent in the vernacular, has become one of the most prominent and impressive features of the Day of Atonement.<sup>58</sup>

Jakob Petuchowski, who has done the major research in this area, believes that the Hamburg Temple Prayerbook of 1819 is the first to have a separate "Memorial Service" for the Day of Atonement.<sup>59</sup> This prayerbook becomes the paradigm used by many subsequent prayerbooks in creating their "Memorial Services."<sup>60</sup>

The order of the Hamburg Temple memorial services was as follows:

- 1) German hymn.
- 2) Long prayer--more of a "philosophical argument demonstrating immortality."
- 3) Hebrew prayer composed of Ps. 144:3,4/ Ps. 90:6, 3/ Dt. 32:29/ Ps. 49:18/ Ps. 37:37/ Ps. 34:23.
- 4) German adaptation and lengthening of traditional yizkor prayer.
- 5) Abbreviated Hebrew hashkabhah (from Sepharadi rite).
- 6) Introduction to Mourners' qaddish.
- 7) Mourners' qaddish.
- 8) German hymn.<sup>61</sup>

As can be seen from the above outline, "the over-all impression...is that the liturgists producing those prayers...were far less concerned with theological niceties than they were with comforting the mourners, and turning the Memorial Service into a didactic occasion for the contemplation of life, death and immortality."<sup>62</sup>

One hundred and fifty years after the Hamburg Temple Prayerbook, when the Reform movement in the United States published its newest prayerbook, the same impressions may be received concerning its memorial services. Gates of Prayer, with its memorial service for the Festivals,<sup>63</sup> and Gates of Repentance, with the Yom Kippur memorial service,<sup>64</sup> not only follow the basic outline of the Hamburg service, but also maintain the central focus on the eternal problems of life and death. This is a focus shared by most Yom Kippur memorial services which are used today, whether Reform or otherwise.

S E C T I O N   T W O

A Conceptual Analysis

of the

Liturgy of Death and Dying

Do not stand at my grave and weep...  
I am not there. I do not sleep.

I am a thousand winds that blow,  
I am the diamond glints on snow.  
I am the sunlight on ripened grain,  
I am the gentle autumn's rain.  
When you awake in the morning's hush  
I am the swift upflying rush  
Of quiet birds in circling flight.  
I am the soft star-shine at night.

Do not stand at my grave and cry...  
I am not there. I did not die.<sup>1</sup>

-Anonymous

Until now, this thesis has attempted to deal with objective reality. The history and development of the major liturgical rubrics surrounding death and dying have been explored. The major questions discussed have been: What is the current liturgy of death and dying? What constitutes the historical antecedents of this liturgy? How did these antecedents develop into the modern liturgy used today? The answers to these questions were not always clear. However, where answers have been offered, they are based on real or, at least, postulated evidence.

The liturgy has been investigated as isolated units of liturgy, separate prayers not necessarily based upon any unifying principles. While this might constitute the price to be paid for scientific investigation, a disservice

is done not only to the overall understanding of death and dying, but also to the ideology which gave rise to such liturgy. To gain a full understanding of the liturgy of death and dying, it must be placed within perspective.

For better or worse, this moves the investigator beyond the realm of the objective and into the realm of subjectivity. With relative accuracy, it may be ascertained what R. Amram understood to be the vidduy in the ninth century. It is an entirely different matter to determine what human needs were satisfied by the development of the vidduy. In other words, actions can be traced; motivations for those actions may only be conjectured.

More importantly, the psycho-social underpinnings of the entire issue of death are a matter for speculation only.

Terms such as "dying," "dead," and "death" generally are intended by us to refer to phenomena that are outside or beyond our minds...But we never really know what is out there. We never even know (beyond the possibility of plausible counter-argument) that there is an out there out there. We (only) live within and by our own psychological processes. The correspondence between our personal thoughts and feelings and anything else in the universe is a matter for conjecture...<sup>2</sup>

Scientists, doctors, lawyers, and theologians are unable even to agree on a definition of death. How can something be defined when it has never been experienced by one who can tell of it? No "real" knowledge is available concerning



Heaven, Hell, Gehinnom, or She-ol. Beyond the definition of death, which may range from the cessation of the heart-beat, to the cessation of brain activity, to numerous other parameters, that which is understood about death and the dead is based on faith alone. From a psychological perspective, the result of such uncertainty is the development of religion.

Sigmund Freud, the father of psychoanalysis, believed that the birth of religion was man's response to anxieties and dreads as he confronted the impersonal forces and destinies of his world. Freud said that "religious ideas have arisen from the same need as have all other achievements of civilization: from the necessity of defending oneself against the crushingly superior force of nature."<sup>3</sup> Thus, the psychical origin of religious ideas lies within our efforts to live in an unfriendly environment, relatively free of personal obsessional neuroses.<sup>4</sup>

What is the true nature, then, of religion and its tenets?

These (religious ideas), which are given out as teachings, are not precipitates of experience or end-results of thinking: they are illusion, fulfillments of the oldest, strongest, and most urgent wishes of mankind. The secret of their strength lies in the strength of those wishes.<sup>5</sup>

For Freud, religion is seen as an illusion, created to protect our mental existence. He does not argue the reality of the illusion. It may or may not be real. Whether or not there is a Gehinnom, or even a God, is immaterial.

Since man cannot prove the issue scientifically, it is, in either case, an illusion. In summarizing his understanding of these religious illusions, Freud moves beyond a description of religion and back to the focus of this thesis, namely the means by which man deals with death.

And thus a store of ideas is created, born from man's needs to make his helplessness tolerable and built up from the material of memories of the helplessness of his own childhood and the childhood of the human race...(One such idea is:) Over each one of us there watches a benevolent Providence which is only seemingly stern and which will not suffer us to become a plaything of the over-mighty and pitiless forces of nature. Death itself is not extinction, is not a return to inorganic lifelessness, but the beginning of a new kind of existence which lies on the path of development to something higher.<sup>6</sup>

For religion, those ideas, especially concerning death and a post-mundane existence, manifest themselves in ritual. Under the rubric of accepted religious activity, one confronts death through a series of established ceremonies and rites. Two separate components to this process are suggested: words and actions. Both may be considered as jointly constituting a system. This death system allows Judaism to come to terms with death in both its personal and social aspects.<sup>7</sup>

The words of the system have been discussed in the previous chapters. These constitute the formalized prayers which we call liturgy. However, there is the second component, actions, which may also be called liturgy.

While the prayer called birkath abhelim has been explored, the act of reciting that prayer has not. Both must be properly termed "liturgy," and both must be considered to have a full understanding of the Jewish way in death and dying. Prayer words and sacred acts are opposite sides of the same coin. In other words, the content of the liturgy and the act of reciting it, within the context of ritual, are categories which cannot be separated from each other. To borrow Freud's terminology, words of prayer are merely illusions until the sacred act of recitation transforms them into a real liturgy, a body of material upheld by the system (i.e., Judaism) as expressing its beliefs. It is this understanding of liturgy which will guide the following discussion, a conceptual analysis of the liturgy of death and dying.

Before beginning, though, one further comment needs to be made, since it directly relates to ritual and liturgy as holistic concepts. The author does not operate completely within a mitzvah-metzavveh life-system. In addition, the author would surmise that the majority of Jews in the world today also do not operate within that system. This presents a problem. Dr. Melvin Krant, professor of psychiatry and director of Tufts University Medical School, expresses it in the following manner:

I believe it can be argued that individuals who

are not immersed in a total-life ritualistically codified experience cannot find gratification from adhering to a ritual at a particular life crisis. The hypothesis could be explained by taking the position that the attempts to employ ritual at such moments are more in the area of absolution of guilt than they are in creditable belief in what ritual proclaims.<sup>8</sup>

Without the framework around which the liturgy was created, it loses its overall meaning. The words are no longer prayers. The acts are no longer sacred.

An example should serve to illustrate this point properly. Take the hypothetical instance of the Jew, about to die, who is a total secularist, completely ignorant of the theological underpinnings of ritual. Those around him suggest he recite vidduy, a confession. If he recites it, he does not experience the quintessential nature of the prayer or the act. Contrast this with the story that relates "when the hour arrived for Rabbi Simḥah Bunan of Psyshcha to depart from the world, his wife stood by his bedside and wept bitterly. He said to her, 'Be silent--why do you cry? My whole life was only that I might learn how to die...'"<sup>9</sup> When Rabbi Bunan recited vidduy, he brought to it a life regimen where every act, every word, every thought was in direct relationship to God and His will. Now that Rabbi Bunan was to die, it, too, became an act of fulfilling God's will. This approach eased, for him, his passage from this world.

The difference should be clear. The individual who is steeped in the belief and ritual of traditional Judaism, who has freely accepted 'ol hamitzvoh, the yoke of the commandments, will display a much greater consistency with his previous attitudes by participating in the death liturgy than the one who mechanically performs such acts out of social expectations.

The following discussion will operate from the premise of the "true believer." It is only in this manner that the total psycho-social ramifications of the liturgy may be explored. It is hoped that the rest of us, who might fall outside of this system, will appreciate the insight provided by the liturgy of death and dying. Finally, it is hoped this might lead to choosing, on the basis of knowledge, some formulation of the traditional Jewish life regimen in the area of death and dying. The rituals and liturgy of death and dying have value. They can successfully be incorporated into a pattern of modern observance,<sup>10</sup> without losing that value which grew out of a more traditional approach. In this way, we might better cope with the eternal dichotomy of life and death, a dichotomy expressed in Job and incorporated into the liturgy:

ה' נתן וה' לקח, יהי שם ה' מבורך.

"The Lord gave and the Lord has taken away, blessed be the name of the Lord."<sup>11</sup>

CHAPTER VI: SOME PSYCHO-SOCIAL  
ASPECTS OF THE GRIEF LITURGY



Certain, 'tis certain; very sure,  
 very sure: death as the Psalmist  
 saith, is certain to all; all  
 shall die...  
 We owe God a death.<sup>1</sup>

Two approaches must be considered in attempting a conceptual analysis of this kind. The first approach is psychoanalytic in nature. From this standpoint, the questions to be asked are: Why have these rituals at all? What deep-seated needs are addressed by the liturgy? The second approach is sociological. It asks: What do these rituals do for the community or group? Both of these viewpoints contribute to giving an overall picture of the nature of this liturgy.

To facilitate discussion, the subject will be divided into two parts. The first section will deal with the liturgy of the dying, namely the vidduy. This is viewed as essentially different from the liturgy of the bereaved, which will constitute the second part of this analysis. These two sections will attempt to discover not only the social uses of the liturgy, but also how it reflects certain spiritual (read: psychological) attitudes being endorsed by Judaism.

Before dealing with these two categories of liturgy, we will make some psychoanalytic comments concerning rudimentary attitudes towards death. This will be followed with a discussion of the traditional Jewish belief structure which underlies the liturgy and ritual. This

will then lead into discussing the liturgy itself.

## DEATH ATTITUDES

### I. Psychoanalytic Considerations

The primary attitude towards death is fear. "Death is...a fearful, frightening happening, and the fear of death is a universal fear even if we think we have mastered it on many levels."<sup>2</sup> The overall attitude of fear may be born of a variety of specific concerns: fear of pain, fear of decomposition, fear of punishment, or even fear of non-existence.

A second attitude, and one that is inextricably connected to the first, is a sense of anger. While fear may dominate those who have yet to die, it is anger that overcomes those who have suffered a loss through death. In this case, anger is directed at the person for dying, at the self for causing the death, at the Fates for not intervening, etc.

These statements, however, do not intend to imply mutual exclusiveness. Either or both emotions may exist at any given point in an individual's life. A few examples will help to clarify the situation. Consider for a moment the attitudes concerning a dead body.

The ancient Hebrews regarded the body of a dead person as something unclean and not to be touched...Many other cultures have rituals to take care of the 'bad' person, and they all originate in this feeling of (fear and) anger which still exists in all of us, though we dislike admitting it. <sup>3</sup>

If a kohen, a priest, touches the body of a dead person, he automatically becomes tame, unclean. The dead are envisioned as defiled and bad entities. Therefore, when a person dies, the "still" water in the house is thrown out. When visiting a cemetery, the hands must be washed after leaving. The basis for those customs and attitudes lies within the perception of death as being fundamentally antagonistic to the human condition. Elisabeth Kubler-Ross, in her pioneering work on death and dying, further clarifies.

...(D)earth is never possible in regard to ourselves. It is inconceivable for our unconscious to imagine an actual ending of our own life here on earth, and if this life of ours has to end, the ending is always attributed to a malicious intervention from the outside by someone else. In simple terms, in our unconscious mind, we can only be killed; it is inconceivable to die of a natural cause or of old age. Therefore death in itself is associated with a bad act, a frightening happening, something that in itself calls for retribution and punishment.<sup>4</sup>

From what has been shown, it can be concluded that the unconscious reaction to death is negative. How, then, do we account for the overwhelming positive attitude that religion (e.g., Rabbi Bunan's statement above) maintains about death and afterlife? The answer may be found back at the primary reaction to death (i.e., fear). Since that which is not understood is feared, we attempt to allay those fears by believing we understand what occurs after death. In this way, we protect our very fragile

egos from the unknown. The belief system of the Judeo-Christian culture is what Freud labels as the "infantile model."<sup>5</sup> According to Freud, the system chose to manifest God as a single person. By so doing, "man's relations to (H)im could recover the intimacy and intensity of the child's relation to his father."<sup>6</sup> One is protected by the loving father. Therefore, the unknown becomes the dwelling place of the omnipotent, omnipresent Father, who takes us under His care.

Thus, when people are asked to describe death, one of two pictures emerges. Either death is portrayed as kind and gentle, the illusion which we want to believe, or it is seen as perverse and cold, the illusion which we fear. Below are examples of these two positions.

(Death is portrayed as) a fairly old man with long white hair and a long beard. A man who would resemble a biblical figure with a long robe which is clean but shabby. He would have very strong features and despite his age would appear to have strength. His eyes would be very penetrating and his hands would be large. Death would be calm, soothing, and comforting. His voice would be of an alluring nature and, although kind, would hold the tone of the mysterious. Therefore, in general, he would be kind and understanding and yet be very firm and sure of his action and attitudes.<sup>7</sup>

In contrast to the relatively benevolent image of death, there is its opposite, death as the malevolent evil.

Death is a very old woman with horribly wrinkled skin and long grey hair. She is a very ugly person with a long, thin nose and thin lips. She is tall and very thin, dressed always in black. Her hands are the most noticeable things about her--being in the shape of claws

with long green fingernails. Death's personality is a very morbid one, yet she is continuously laughing. She rarely speaks, but that horrible laugh can be heard whenever she is near. She doesn't like most people because she resents life itself.<sup>8</sup>

We believe that the illustrations speak for themselves, representing, as it were, two ends of the spectrum. However, personifying death is only one aspect of this dialectical model. All of the descriptions of God, Heaven, kise hakabhod, sha'aré shamayim, Hell, Gehinnom, etc. fit into this same pattern. In personifying death and projecting an other-worldly state of existence, a cause-and-effect relationship is established. The individual or religion that performs such mental operations is, in effect, saying, "When I die, this is what will confront me. This is what I should expect to see and expect to happen to me."

From a psychological standpoint, why are these "mind-games" necessary? Robert Kastenbaum and Ruth Aisenberg, in The Psychology of Death, postulate that the phenomenon represents a key coping mechanism.

We suggest that it is primarily a seeking after symmetry--a psychobiological symmetry with the external world. We think of death. A mass of feelings arise within us. These are intense, complex, shifting feelings, hard to fit into the verbal and conceptual categories that are made readily available by our culture. These feelings may also be difficult to integrate into our front-line personality structure. Now it is intolerable to exist for very long in such a state of imbalance...How can all

that pressure be within us? What is "out there" that might counterbalance our internal state? It is a situation akin to a response in search of its stimulus, or a would-be lover in search of his potential mate...Death, as the absence of life, is a singularly empty stimulus. We know death is around some place precisely because we cannot experience it as such. And the would-be lover knows a yearning that makes little sense were there not at least the possibility that the loved one exists.<sup>9</sup>

"A psychobiological symmetry with the external world" is psychological terminology used to describe religious theology. The conflict which leads to the need for symmetry arises out of the mythical origins of death.

And to Adam He said: "Because you listened to the voice of your wife, and ate from the tree (of knowledge), of which I commanded you saying, You shall not eat from it; cursed is the ground for your sake; in toil you shall eat of it all the days of your life. It shall bring forth thorns and thistles to you; and you shall eat the herb of the field. By the sweat of your face, you shall eat bread, until you return to the ground; for out of it you were taken; for you are dust and to dust shall you return."<sup>10</sup>

From a psychological perspective, the book of Genesis provides the rationale for developing a liturgy of death and dying. This passage contains

the basic insight of psychology for all time: that man is a union of opposites, of self-consciousness and of physical body. Man emerged from the instinctive thoughtless action of the lower animals and came to reflect on his condition. He was given a consciousness of his individuality and his part-divinity in creation...At the same time, he was given the consciousness of the terror of the world and of his own death and decay.



This paradox is the really constant thing about man...<sup>11</sup>

The answer to the paradox is liturgy. It brings peace and harmony to an otherwise disturbed existence.

## II. Traditional Jewish Considerations

The reference to Genesis and the story of creation provides an awkward transition to specifically Jewish attitudes towards death which have, in turn, shaped the liturgy. It is awkward since the discussion moves from a premise which says the system is an illusion to a premise which accepts the system as incontrovertible fact.

So far, the need for a liturgy of death has been explored from a strictly psychological point of view. Religion translates that need into a complete ideology (which may or may not reflect "true" reality--a fact with which even Freud does not disagree). Since both deal with the same raw material, the difference between psychology and religion is religion's use of the Kierkegaardian leap of faith.<sup>12</sup> Accepting the leap of faith, we turn now to how Judaism approaches the issue of death.

In Judaism, and in contrast to psychoanalytic theories,

the awareness of man's mortality does not arise... from the despondent frame of mind of a man whose pessimistic outlook is entirely rooted in this world, but is oriented on the thought of God's eternal being...(I)n view of the transitoriness of life, he seeks and finds permanent support in God...(H)is concern is to experience God himself;

and that experience, to him, means joy in life.<sup>13</sup>

Thus, returning to the creation story in Genesis,<sup>14</sup> life is viewed as a loan and death a return.<sup>15</sup> Adam's punishment was not necessarily bad. It gave humanity the opportunity for a higher plane of existence.

Death, as the Jew conceives of it, does not terminate life. Only the material body returns to dust, but the soul, which is a portion from God, returns to heaven when it rids itself of the body. For the soul, life begins anew, after the body's death, in the world to come. There people receive their reward and punishment in accordance with their merits and deeds during the body's span of life on earth.

Life is therefore a sacred thing, and must not be spent merely in bodily pleasures, but must be devoted chiefly to carrying out the will of the Almighty. Death, according to this conception, is really the ultimate goal of life, when the soul, freed from its material encasement, becomes pure and holy, soaring to its origin in the high heavens. Death is therefore more sacred than life.<sup>16</sup>

This is, most definitely, a radical statement, and a position which reaches to a far end of the spectrum. Besides describing a highly efficient coping mechanism, it serves to illustrate the general nature of Judaism's attitude towards death. Both life and death are good, for one leads to the fulfillment of the other. As Maimonides said, death must be deemed a good because it is the means of "the perpetuity of generation and the permanence of being through succession."<sup>17</sup> By providing for the emergence of one through the withdrawal of the other, death serves

a positive role in the social functioning of the community. In Jewish mourning, "it is not so much the intrinsic loss of the 'I' that is being lamented, nor so much mortality as such, as it is the loss of relationship: relationship to a community called to serve God, and relationship with the (D)ivinity, (H)imself."<sup>18</sup> However, in that same system, the relationship, which is "broken," is renewed by those who remain, by those who mourn and say qaddish.<sup>19</sup>

The secret to comprehending the Jewish attitude towards death lies within this word, "relationship." The liturgy and halakhah attempt to highlight both the disintegration of one set of relationships and the reintegration of the mourner into another set. Abraham Joshua Heschel speaks profoundly about this idea in an essay, "Death as Homecoming."

Death we must seek to understand in relation to life...Death is not understood as the end of being, but rather as the end of doing... (But,) we do not dwell on death. We dwell on the preciousness of every moment. Things of space vanish. Moments of time never pass away. Time is the clue to the meaning of life and death. Time lived with meaning--this is a disclosure of the eternal.<sup>20</sup>

While the physical relationship may be destroyed in death, the times shared with individuals and community transcend the physical demise. The essence of that life is never destroyed. This is the key message of the liturgy. The mourner retains memories of the deceased; the deceased rises to a higher level of existence, returning, as it

were, the loan which was given. In so doing, one is performing the most heroic and the most holy of acts. Heschel describes this act of death:

Our existence carries eternity within itself...Because we can do the eternal at any moment, the will of God, dying too is doing the will of God. Just as being is obedience to the Creator, so dying is returning to the Source.

Death may be a supreme spiritual act, turning oneself over to eternity. The moment of death, a moment of ecstasy. A moment of no return to vanity.

Thus, afterlife is felt to be a reunion and all of life a preparation for it...Death may be the beginning of exaltation, an ultimate celebration, a reunion of the divine image with the divine source of being.<sup>21</sup>

These, then, represent the theological (and psychological) underpinnings for the liturgy of death and dying. Understood in this light, it may be viewed as an attempt to instill and reinforce the values described in both the community and the mourner, at the moment when both are most vulnerable from their loss.

#### LITURGY OF THE DYING

(a) As we have said, the only liturgy that exists for the dying individual is the vidduy. From a medical consideration, this not a surprising fact since the dying usually have little remaining strength.

Unless in a comatose state, the dying individual is at least nominally aware that he is about to reach a major "turning point" in his life. He is cognizant of the fact

that he is about to be "cut off from the dynamic communion with God and community,"<sup>22</sup> at least in terms of a mundane experience. Psychologically and theologically, this leads to a crisis. By use of the term "crisis," however, nothing negative is necessarily being implied. The sense of crisis and the use of liturgy to help manage it is described by Audrey Gordon, in "The Psychological Wisdom of the Law."

As death approaches, a crisis of faith occurs as the life cycle draws to an end. A personal confession is encouraged from the dying as a rite of passage to another phase of existence. This type of confessional occurs throughout the Jewish life cycle whenever one stage has been completed. So we confess on the Day of Atonement as we end one year of life and begin another. So grooms and brides traditionally said the confessional and fasted on their wedding day, for they sensed that it marked the end of one stage in their lives and the beginning of another. The confessional on the deathbed is the recognition of the ending of one cycle and the beginning of another.<sup>23</sup>

The individual is understandably reluctant to leave this world. But, the true believer happily anticipates the world to come. This is reflected in the vidduy: "But, if death is an irrevocable decision from You, I will accept it...in love...Bestow upon me (a part of) the abounding goodness...In Your presence is unbounded joy..."<sup>24</sup>

Although the crisis is muted, and the individual is prepared for the hereafter, a yearning for those relationships known throughout life predominates the vidduy liturgy.

Thus, we read, "I acknowledge before You, O Lord My God... that my healing and my death are in Your hands. May it be Your will that You will cure me..." and "protect my dear relatives, whose souls are bound up with my soul!"<sup>25</sup> God and community, predominate in life, retain their central positions even in death.

(b) Still, the primary function of vidduy is atonement. Prepared to meet his Creator, the dying must first be cleansed in order to enter into that new relationship. It could be argued that this is the only way to discuss the confessional system in Judaism. One should not approach vidduy as a form of self-psychoanalysis for this is not its purpose. While it is true that "religious confession lifts many burdens from the conscious, the process is usually too much on the surface"<sup>26</sup> and too late for change to be effected. "Atonement, rather than character growth, is the aim of the religious confessional..."<sup>27</sup>

(c) These considerations present the basic background for understanding the necessity of a confession at the time of death. The comments are, essentially, social in nature, dealing with relationship formation and disintegration. The vidduy may also be approached from another perspective. While it would be inappropriate to discuss it as actual therapy, the prayer may be viewed as encompassing and verbalizing several key psychological concepts. It is to this idea that we now turn.



Elisabeth Kubler-Ross has identified five, general, psychological states through which the dying individual passes. As with stages of mental development, they are neither absolute nor fixed, but usual stages which the dying experience. The five stages are: (1) denial and isolation; (2) anger; (3) bargaining; (4) depression; and (5) acceptance.<sup>28</sup> Psychologically, the goal is to achieve a sense of acceptance. Kubler-Ross describes that stage:

If a patient has had enough time...and has been given some help in working through the previously described stages, he will reach a stage during which he is neither depressed nor angry about his 'fate.' He will have been able to express his previous feelings, his envy for the living and the healthy, his anger at those who do not have to face their end so soon. He will have mourned the impending loss of so many meaningful people and places and he will contemplate his coming end with a certain degree of quiet expectation.<sup>29</sup>

These five stages of "mourning-detachment" have direct relevance to a vidduy shekhibh mera'. Being a liturgy of the dying, one might expect the vidduy to reflect the ultimate stage of acceptance, where the dying have already worked through, to a positive resolution, their own impending deaths. Instead, one finds that the vidduy contains aspects of all five stages of Kubler-Ross' paradigm. It cannot be claimed that this is Judaism's answer to help the dying achieve psychological equilibrium. However, the vidduy, as with many of the other prayers

surrounding death, does mirror either the psychological state of the individual at the given moment or the emotional/mental condition that Judaism wishes to instill at a specified time during the various death rituals. The vidduy may be viewed as summing up the various conflicting emotions attendant to dying.

To illustrate this point, the vidduy shekhibh mera', from Hyman Goldin's Hamadrikh, is presented below. It is pieced together following Kubler-Ross' five stages. The letters to the left of each sentence indicate its normal position in the vidduy. The right column presents Kubler-Ross' comments concerning each of the five stages.

#### DENIAL

- |      |   |  |
|------|---|--|
| (f)  | May it be Your will, O Lord my God and God of my fathers, that I will not sin any more. | Most reacted to the awareness of terminal illness...with the statement, 'No, not me, it cannot be true.' <sup>30</sup> |
| (g)  | And send for me, and for all the sick of Your people Israel, a perfect healing.         |  |
| (h') | May it be Your will that You will cure me with a perfect healing.                       |  |

#### ANGER<sup>31</sup>

- |      |  |  |
|------|--|--|
| (a)  | My God and God of my fathers, may my prayer come before You.   | The first stage... is replaced by feelings of anger, rage...and resentment. The logical next question becomes: 'Why me?' <sup>32</sup> He will make demands...and ask to be given attention, perhaps as the last.. cry, 'I am alive, don't forget that. You can hear my voice, I am not dead yet!' <sup>33</sup> |
| (b)  | Do not hide Yourself from my supplications.  |  |
| (c)  | I beseech You, grant atonement to me for all my sins which I have sinned before You, from the beginning until this day.                |  |
| (f') | And that which I have sinned before You, purge them away in Your abundant compassion but not by means of afflictions and bad diseases. |  |

BARGAINING

- (e) Accept my suffering and misery for my atonement, and pardon me for my backsliding, because against You alone I have sinned.
- (i) But, if I should die from this sickness,
- (j) may my death be an atonement for all sins and iniquities and transgressions which I have sinned and committed iniquitously and transgressed before You.
- (k) Hide me in the shadow of Your wings;
- (l) and grant me a portion in the Garden of Eden;
- (m) and may I merit resurrection and the world to come,
- (n) which is reserved for the righteous.
- (o) Father of orphans and Judge of widows, protect my dear relatives, whose souls are bound up with my soul.

Maybe we can succeed in entering into some sort of an agreement which may postpone the inevitable happening: 'If God has decided to take us from this earth and He did not respond to my angry pleas, He may be more favorable if I ask nicely.'<sup>34</sup> The bargaining is.. an attempt to postpone; it has to include a prize offered 'for good behavior,' it also sets a self-imposed 'deadline...'<sup>35</sup>

DEPRESSION

- (d) I am ashamed and also contrite because I have foolishly committed evil deeds and sins.

All of us are tremendously sad when we lose one beloved person. The (person) is in the process of losing everything and everybody he loves. If he is allowed to express his sorrow, he will find a final acceptance much easier...<sup>36</sup>

ACCEPTANCE

- (h) I acknowledge before You, O Lord my God and God of my fathers, that my healing and my death are in Your hands.
- (p) Into Your hand I commend my spirit. You have redeemed me, O Lord, God

Those (people) do best who have been encouraged to express their rage, to cry,...and to express their fears and fantasies... (It is a) monumental

- |     |                                |                       |
|-----|--------------------------------|-----------------------|
|     | of truth.                      |                       |
| (q) | Hear, O Israel, the Lord       | task which is re-     |
|     | our God, the Lord is One.      | quired to achieve     |
| (r) | The Lord, He is God. The       | this stage of         |
|     | Lord, He is God. <sup>37</sup> | acceptance, lead-     |
|     |                                | ing towards a         |
|     |                                | gradual separation    |
|     |                                | (decathexis) where    |
|     |                                | there is no longer    |
|     |                                | a two-way communi-    |
|     |                                | cation. <sup>38</sup> |

According to its normal formulation in Hamadrikh, the vidduy shekhibh mera' would change the order of Kubler-Ross' stages. By looking at the sentence groupings under the various stages, we see emerging the following pattern: (1) Anger; (2) Depression; (3) Denial; (4) Bargaining; and (5) Acceptance. However, it should be noted that statements (e), (f'), (h), and (h') do not fit precisely into this progression. Taken as a whole, though, the pattern is definite.

A few supplementary remarks on the material above should be helpful in clarifying the issues at hand. Note, first of all, that every phrase in the vidduy has been categorized within this paradigm, some more successfully than others. Second, it must be admitted that several of the statements could have been placed under another of the stages with little interpretation. What is being presented above is only one suggestion for division.

The groupings under DENIAL and ANGER are the most tenuous. When looking at vidduy shekhibh mera' within the context of the entire liturgy of death and dying, it is

difficult to conclude that denial and anger are visibly present in the confession. The author is only suggesting that these concepts are not completely foreign to the vidduy.

The first example comes from Stage I, Denial: "May it be Your will, O Lord my God and God of my fathers, that I will not sin anymore." As it stands, the statement is relatively neutral, with a standard introduction and a clear supplication. However, if we construe it to be psychological code, it could be translated as: "God, I am not going to die. Therefore, don't let me sin so I won't find myself in this state again (because we know there is no death without sin)." Read this way, the denial of impending death is more obvious. The same type of denial is operating when the dying says: "And send for me...a perfect healing." This person is going to die; yet, he still holds on to the belief that he will survive. Denial continues to be present, albeit in minute form.

Stage II, Anger, has listed two other seemingly neutral remarks: "My God and God of my fathers, may my prayer come before You. Do not hide Yourself from my supplications." Transformed into angry statements, they might read: "God, You had better listen to me--NOW. No, do not hide from me. Listen to what I have to say. Do what I want You to do. You have no right to kill me."

The reader of this may be taken aback somewhat. "All this in two innocent statements?" Yes and no. On a literal level, this interpretation does not prove to be legitimate. The phrase, "Do not hide Yourself from my supplications," is a standard liturgical phrase found originally in Psalm 52:2. As such, it contains no inherent associations with anger. However, in light of Kubler-Ross' paradigm, one could interpret it in this manner. As exegesis, as an attempt to discover an underlying meaning, "do not hide Yourself" can be understood as projecting anger.

The groupings under BARGAINING, DEPRESSION, and ACCEPTANCE are much clearer. These ideas are manifest in the literal meaning of the text, as well as exegetically. In Bargaining, the dying individual is willing to make a trade with God. If he has to give up his life, he wants assurances that both he and his relatives will be taken care of--he, in the world to come; his relatives, in this world. Stage IV expresses depression and regret that the person has to die because of his sins. He is depressed that he has gotten himself into this and is unable to get out.

Finally, Stage V, Acceptance, is reached. The dying accepts the fact of his death, rendering unto God what is His, gracefully and in complete peace. He is no longer angry with God. He accepts death as a good event. The individual affirms this by proclaiming the watchword of



our faith: "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is One."

(d) Thus, we see that the vidduy shekhibh mera', the sole liturgy of the dying, serves three important functions. First, it articulates a moment of crisis, the passing from one state of being to another. Second, it manifestly seeks atonement for the individual as he prepares for this new existence. Finally, it serves to articulate the multi-faceted emotions which necessarily accompany death.

#### LITURGY OF THE BEREAVED

(a) Bereavement and mourning are "complex phenomenon(a). It is a transitional period for the survivors, and they enter it through rites of separation and emerge from it through rites of reintegration."<sup>39</sup> The rites consist of both prayer-words and sacred acts. In an article in Understanding Bereavement and Grief, Peter Marris states that these

mourning customs characteristically mark the stages of re-integration, from withdrawing and assimilating the reality of bereavement, through the painful process of adjustment, to the taking up once more of purposeful relationships. They protect the bereaved from morbid impulses to suppress grief on one hand, or from taking refuge in a perpetual posture of mourning... on the other. In Geoffrey Gorer's phrase, mourning is "time-limited," both guiding and sanctioning the stages of recovery.<sup>40</sup>

Thus, the halakhah provides, at the same time, for the recitation of tzidduq hadin and qaddish which call for steadfastness of belief and trust in God, and for a variety of mourning customs (i.e., the laws of shiv'ah) which emphasize the individual grief situation. With its graduated periods of mourning, moving from the intense mourning of aninuth, through the decreasing (in intensity) periods of shiv'ah and sheloshim, and concluding at the end of eleven months, Judaism protects against a perpetual grief reaction. As time passes, the mourner is forced back into society and life. He becomes increasingly limited in his means for expressing grief. This is Judaism's application of "time-limiting."

(b) An important aspect of most bereavement is guilt. E. Lindemann, in his classic essay, "Symptomatology and Management of Acute Grief," states:

A strong preoccupation is with feelings of guilt. The bereaved searches the time before the death for evidence of failure to do right by the lost one...In addition, there is often disconcerting loss of warmth in relationship to other people...a wish not to be bothered by others...These feelings of hostility (are) surprising (to the mourner). Great efforts are made to handle them, and the result is often a formalized, stiff manner of social interaction.<sup>41</sup>

This sociologically-oriented description of the causes of guilt may be translated into the Jewish bereavement system of abheluth. Joseph Soloveitchik asks, "What is the experiential substance of abheluth, mourning? (It) is

intrinsically an experience of teshubhah, of repentance."<sup>42</sup>  
 We seek repentance, says Soloveitchik, because being an abhel, a mourner, carries guilt with it. There are two reasons for this. (A) Death is a consequence of sin or human imperfection. Therefore, the responsibility of that death rests with the abhel. (B) We only appreciate something once we no longer have it. Therefore,

during...mourning...we ask the questions we should have asked before: Who was he? Whom did we lose? His image fascinates us from afar, and we ask with guilt and regret the questions that are now overdue, the questions to which only our lives can provide the answers. <sup>43</sup>

How is this guilt handled? One way is through the idea and liturgy of tzidduq hadin, justification of the divine decree. "Religion's firm and simple insistence that the tragedy was an act of God's will, that He is the Authority, who shares the responsibility with the bereaved, has the psychological effect of countering the guilty and destructive self-reproaches of the bereaved."<sup>44</sup> Although sin may have caused death (e.g., "There is no death without sin"--b. Shabbath 55a), the ultimate responsibility lies with God. This is specified clearly in tzidduq hadin.

(c) Another way in which Judaism helps the individual deal with his sense of loss is through community. The maxim which expresses this approach is that friendship (and community) doubles one's joy and divides one's grief. Jack Riemer understands this to be a primary principle in

traditional Jewish mourning rituals.

The first Jewish insight is community. In your time of greatest isolation, confusion, and helplessness, the community reaches out and embraces you, and tells you that you are not alone...Ours is not an I-Thou relationship to God but a We-Thou relationship to God, and this is made manifest in a number of different ways during the time of grief.<sup>45</sup>

Precisely because man is a social creature, who is shaped by and reflective of his social environment, the death of that individual becomes a communal concern.

Death does not just end the visible bodily life of the individual; it also destroys the social being grafted upon the physical individual, and to whom the group attributed great dignity and importance. His destruction is tantamount to sacrilege, implying intervention of powers of the same magnitude as the community's but of (a) negative nature. Thus, when a man dies, society loses in him much more than a unit; it is stricken in the very principle of its life, in the faith it has in itself.<sup>46</sup>

Just as the dying individual suffers a crisis prior to death, so, too, does the community after the person dies. The liturgy of death and dying reflects this idea. Whereas many would consider bereavement to be a highly personal experience, Judaism stresses the communal (i.e., the "We-Thou") as well as the individual (i.e., "I-Thou") experience of bereavement.

The importance of community and concern for the community is highlighted even before death. The vidduy, an extremely intimate prayer where the individual attempts to

achieve his personal peace with God, nevertheless concerns itself with the well-being of the group.

And send for me, and for all the sick of Your people Israel, a perfect healing...Father of orphans and Judge of widows, protect my dear relatives, whose souls are bound up with my soul.

Even at the approach of death, it becomes important to articulate a wish for the preservation of the group, both as a whole and especially for one's relatives.

The same considerations are manifested in the liturgy of the bereaved. Consider, first, the qaddish. According to halakhah, it requires a minyan to recite the qaddish. It becomes a public, communal responsibility to praise God. This prayer which is so important in the bereavement liturgy, recited for an entire year, speaks of life.

The Jewish experience has taught that such values as peace and life, and the struggle to bring heaven down to earth, of which the qaddish speaks, can be achieved only in concert with society, and proclaimed amidst friends and neighbors of the same faith. If the qaddish were solely an expression of personal remembrance for the deceased, it would be logical to recite it privately--as the yizkor may be recited. But, as it is an adoration of God, it must be prayed at a public service in the midst of a congregation...<sup>47</sup>

In addition, there is the very practical observation that "by reciting qaddish in a minyan, invariably there will be other mourners, thus the death of one's own dead isn't seen as a strictly personal punishment but as a natural

order of life."<sup>48</sup> It helps to relieve real guilt.

The community serves as support for the individual in his personal grief. But, at the same time, the community must assert its own viability in the wake of its loss. Therefore, tzidduq hadin includes a statement "Have mercy on the remnant of the flock of Your hand; and say to the angel (of Death): Stay your hand." In conjunction with the theme of this prayer, that of God's just and right actions, the statement moves the mourner "from an isolated sense of negativity and chaos to a communal assertion of affirmation."<sup>49</sup>

The strongest statement of community, however, appears in birkath abhelim. Here, all the various elements of community and mourning come together. The prayer links individual to communal mourning. Just as one laments the loss of a beloved, Israel laments the loss of Jerusalem.

Comfort, O Lord our God, the mourners of Jerusalem and the mourners that are mourning in this bereavement. Give them comfort from their mourning and gladness instead of their sorrow...Blessed are You, O Lord, who comforts Zion in the rebuilding of Jerusalem.

The individual Jew is not alone in his grief. All of Israel is with him. The healing of the pain of separation will come as assuredly as the day when Jerusalem will be restored.



Birkath abhelim also reflects the idea that an individual loss is really one to the entire community.

May He who repairs the breaches in Israel remove this wound from amongst us, unto life and peace. May He reward us forever with grace and lovingkindness and mercy and all good (things); and may He cause us not to be lacking in anything that is good.

God is being asked to reconstitute the community following its disintegration through death. It is further desired that the community will remain whole and healthy, untouched by individual or communal mourning.

(d) In summation, we find that the above illustrations of the liturgical use of community point to a general approach to Jewish mourning practices. Both the liturgy and the ritual "make it possible for man in community to verify his faith at the same time that he is acting out his grief. While the grief is real and personal, the communal life is marked by a sustaining joy that is real and social."<sup>50</sup> Thus, community fulfills three necessary functions. First, it serves to support the mourner by making the bereavement a communal event. Second, it requires the mourner to move outside his own concerns, and begin a process of reintegration through a concern for the community. Finally, it provides, in its ritual life, the faith and joy through which the mourner is drawn from his bereavement.

Following these remarks on the totality of the grief liturgy, we turn to some specific sociological and/or

psychological considerations concerning the burial service, qaddish, birkath abhelim and the memorial service.

### Tzidduq Hadin

(a) In the introductory comments to the chapter on tzidduq hadin, we noted that the Jewish burial service fulfilled two functions. It provided for a ritualized means to dispose and take leave of the dead. It also gave the mourner and his community an opportunity to deal with the reality of the individual death. Theological niceties aside, the funeral is for the living. The rites and liturgy are tools which we use to express our loss. At the same time, they help to direct our grief to a positive resolution.

(A)cts of mourning attenuate the leave-taking. They continue the relationship with the dead, but unlike nostalgic daydreams...they do not deny the fact of death. The rituals dramatize death, at once expressing grief and guiding it towards consoling gestures. They enable the bereaved to give the dead person as central a place in their lives as they had before: the rituals honor the dead, secure their memory, prepare them for their future in another world...But even when (these rituals) have become conventional rituals without literal purpose, the make-believe of addressing actions to the dead, of laying them to rest, remembering them, caring for them--still helps to express the impulse to hold on to the past, and perhaps to resolve the guilt and anger which death arouses.<sup>51</sup>

(b) The funeral does not cut off the relationship of the deceased to the mourner. The el male rahamim, for

example, speaks of the mourner donating charity in order to assure a heavenly reward for the deceased. When one close to us dies,

(o)ur first reaction is consternation. We are stunned and distraught. Slowly, our sense of dismay is followed by a sense of mystery. Suddenly, a whole life has veiled itself in secrecy. Our speech stops, our understanding fails. In the presence of death there is only silence, and a sense of awe.<sup>52</sup>

We feel totally helpless and totally responsible. We do not know what to do. El male rahamim fills that vacuum. Answering deep-seated needs, it provides for a positive response on the part of the mourner. This "attenuate(s) the loss and help(s) to incorporate the meaning of the relationship in the continuing stream of life."<sup>53</sup>

(c) Another function of the burial service is to articulate the thoughts and feelings of the bereaved community.

It is important that the bereaved person have (this) safe framework within which he can express all the feelings that are set in motion within him by the loss of the beloved. It is also important that the means of expression meet the needs of the psyche. The ritualized religious expression does this by releasing the emotional responses that grow from group memory and group support, that justify and accept deep feelings of pain without requiring explanations, all at a level below the threshold of consciousness.<sup>54</sup>

Therefore, we find in tzidduq hadin several references which reflect the questioning stance of the mourner. "If a man lives one year or if he lives a thousand years,

what advantage is it to him? For he shall be as though he had not been." With his dead before him, the mourner views life as meaningless. The relationship, which has been broken, is seen as the one thing which gave purpose to his existence. With that destroyed, the mourner despairs. The same idea may be seen in the statement "(W)ho can say to Him: 'What do You do?' who promises and fulfills. Show us lovingkindness and grace; and for the merit of the one who was bound as a lamb..." Although stated positively, this is exactly what a mourner does ask: "God, why are You doing this to me?" The answer is not given, except to reaffirm that God, despite what He may do, is just and right. In addition, it is interesting to note the reference to Isaac and the 'aqedah'. Subconsciously, a parallel is being drawn. Just as Isaac, the innocent lamb, was led to the slaughter, the dead person, innocent of any wrongdoing (in the bereaved psyche of the mourner), has been unnecessarily offered up as a sacrifice. The parallel continues, though, with a note of hope. Isaac was not, in fact, killed. The dead will also live--in the world to come.

The same feelings of pain are mirrored in the peripheral liturgy of the funeral. Psalm 90, which is almost universally included as part of a funeral service states: "In the morning it (i.e., man) flourishes and grows up;

in the evening it is cut down and withers. For we are consumed in Your anger; and by Your wrath are we hurried away."<sup>55</sup> However, as with the tzidduq hadin, these negative sentiments are countered by glory for God and His work. Through the recitation of Psalm 90, the community is enabled to state the fact of human mortality, to "talk-out" these feelings,

without endangering resentment, accusation of injustice on God's part, or even pessimism. Rather, one finds a description of the human situation interspersed with praises of God's eternal being, as if mortality is noteworthy in that it enhances one's awe and appreciation of that which does endure.<sup>56</sup>

(d) Thus, the funeral service allows for socially-approved expressions of grief, guilt and confusion over the beloved's death. It also attempts to support the mourner with an unequivocal affirmation of God's ways. In one sense, the liturgy of the funeral service is the most interesting of all the prayers under consideration because with this liturgy,

religion attempts its most heroic feat...It asserts, on the one hand, that the dead have passed from the painful experiences of this life either into blessed oblivion or into a realm of higher existence, transcendent and infinite. On the other hand, it summons the survivors, educated by tragedy, to accept anew the blessings and the burdens of earthly life.<sup>57</sup>

### Qaddish

(a) In the chapter on qaddish, reference has already been made to the belief that its recitation can be efficacious for the soul of the departed. Recitation of qaddish for eleven months transfers merit to the deceased's soul, thus assuring access to the rewards in the world to come. Beyond this mystical consideration, the "superstition" mentioned serves another very important function. It is one more attempt, on the part of the mourner, to continue his relationship with the deceased. We have already mentioned several other examples of this phenomenon, including the whole burial ritual and the giving of charity as expressed in el male raḥamim.

In this regard, the qaddish is used, specifically by the mourner (i.e., the individual and not the community), as a means of forming and integrating a new relationship. This is expressed beautifully in a meditation on the qaddish found in the new prayerbook of the Reform movement, the Gates of Prayer:

The origins of the Kaddish are mysterious...It possesses wonderful power. Truly, if there is any bond strong enough to chain heaven to earth, it is this prayer. It keeps the living together, and forms a bridge to the mysterious realm of the dead. One might almost say that this prayer is the...guardian of the people by whom alone it is uttered; therein lies the warrant of its continuance. Can a people disappear and be annihilated so long as a child remembers its parents?58



The imagery of a bridge is quite appropriate. The mourner and deceased are separated in some mysterious and unknown way. The qaddish transcends the distance each time it is recited.

One further consideration should be mentioned about the power of the qaddish. In trying to understand why this folk belief developed, one need only look to the idea of guilt, which has already been cited. Whether we turn to Rabbinic tradition (where the abhel should make teshubhah) or to human nature, it cannot be denied that the mourner often feels responsible for the death of the deceased. Helpless, he seeks ways of averting the guilt. All of the actions which seek a re-establishment of relationship may find their bases in the need to dissipate guilt. If the mourner can do something positive for the deceased, such as helping the soul receive its reward, then psychological atonement is made for feelings of responsibility for the death.

(b) The qaddish stands out among the grief liturgy as being the one prayer to be recited continually for eleven months. Perhaps it is its familiarity which accounts for its extreme popularity, in the folk imagination, as a prayer for the dead. Nevertheless, it does have this distinction of being repeated over and over again for almost a year.

With this concept of repetition, we turn now to some psychoanalytic considerations. Freud believed that man was governed by the "pleasure principle." This means that, given several options, a person will choose that which gives the most personal pleasure. However, Freud hypothesized that there was a stronger impulse which overrides the pleasure principle.<sup>59</sup> That impulse does not necessarily choose the most pleasurable path, but the one that does the most to further psychic equilibrium. For example, Freud, maintained that "(t)he compulsion to repeat has the function of mastering earlier traumatic experiences of the individual, to enable him to remain in a state of emotional equilibrium."<sup>60</sup>

This idea can be applied to the qaddish. The first time the individual, as a mourner, recites the qaddish is at graveside. It is a most traumatic event, confronting the stark reality of death, hearing and seeing the ground close over one so important in the mourner's life. It is an event which our psyche does not wish to accept. Using Freud's theory, we see that by repeating the qaddish at every service for a full eleven months, we repeat, subconsciously, the experience of the grave. By repeating and thereby psychically reliving the moment, we eventually are able to master it and accept its finality. In this respect, the qaddish plays an important role in the grief work which a mourner does.

(c) As has been discussed, the qaddish does not refer to death, except at the graveside with qaddish le-ithhadatha. It is a doxology which glorifies God. It is very difficult to ask a person, whether at the grave or at any other stage of mourning, to assert God's greatness when the same God has taken away a cherished possession.

It is one thing for a man to face up to the doubts in his own mind and the changes that (have just) occur(ed) around him. It is quite another thing to expect this man to front the world as though he were perfectly confident in his views--especially if we are asking him to demonstrate (this) in (a) situation that tend(s) to bring out feelings of anguish and impotence in most of us.<sup>61</sup>

But this is exactly what the qaddish asks the mourner to do.

"Blessed and praised, glorified and exalted, extolled and honored, magnified and lauded be the name of the Holy One, blessed be He" does two things. First, it helps to guard against the individual assuming too much guilt for the deceased's death. As with tzidduq hadin, God, who is in ultimate control, is just and great in all His ways. Second, the prayer guards against a morbid grief reaction. It calls the mourner to life, to re-establish himself among the covenant community. There is no question that it becomes a heroic feat for the mourner to recite qaddish. It is no less certain that it is beneficial for the mourner to do so, and therefore, absolutely necessary.

### Birkath Abhelim

(a) Birkath abhelim marks the second stage of mourning for the traditional Jew. Prior to the burial, the mourner is an onen. During this period of aninuth, he is exempted from fulfilling any positive religious obligation.<sup>62</sup> This ruling is

a concrete manifestation of the Judaic view of death; namely that death desacralizes man because it is the end of the dynamic interaction with God which can take place only in life...(T)he law asks the mourner to behave as if he himself were dead...His relationship with God is interrupted. He has no commonality or community with other men. <sup>63</sup>

Following the burial, that view of the mourner is no longer taken.

With the commencement of abheluth (with the Burial qaddish), the halakhah commands the mourner to undertake a heroic task: to start picking up the debris of his own shattered personality and to re-establish himself as man, restoring lost glory, dignity, and uniqueness...Death teaches man to transcend his physical self and to identify with the timeless conventional community. Death, the halakhah warns the mourner, not only does not free man from his commitment but on the contrary enhances his role as a historic being and sensitizes his moral consciousness.<sup>64</sup>

The first liturgy to address those issues is birkath abhelim. In the third and fourth benedictions of birkath hamazon la-abhelim, references are made to "the mourners of Jerusalem and the mourners that are mourning in this bereave-

ment," "Blessed are You...who comforts Zion...", and "May He who repairs the breaches in Israel remove this wound from amongst us..." The mourner is no longer considered to be an isolated individual. Both he and the group are reunited in the sharing of a mourning situation. No longer is he a personal mourner; he joins the ranks of the communal mourner.<sup>65</sup>

The individual must move outside of himself and re-establish those relationships which were cut off by the relative's death. As Emanuel Feldman stated, the mourner acts as though it was he who died. So, what are those relationships which need reforming? Feldman, in *Death as Estrangement*, identifies three such relationships.

For just as death separates man from God, so it also separates man from the fraternity and community of other men, and separates man from his essential self, from his essence as a person.<sup>66</sup>

All three are explicitly addressed in Grace after the meal in a house of mourning. Turning to the original birkath abhelim (= birkath rehavhah) found in b. Ketubboth 8b, each one of the relationships was given in a separate berakhah. The four benedictions recited were (a) concerning the praise of the Holy One, blessed be He (i.e., God); (b) concerning the mourner (i.e., self); and (c)-(d) concerning those who comfort the mourners and all Israel (i.e., community).

The direction in which this liturgy pushes the mourner,

from isolation to integration, is positive and psychologically healthy. This is substantiated in Erich Lindemann's

"Symptomatology and Management of Acute Grief."

The duration of a grief reaction seems to depend upon the success with which a person does the grief work, namely emancipation from the bondage of the deceased, readjustment to the environment in which the deceased is missing, and the formation of new relationships. One of the big obstacles to this work seems to be the fact that many (mourners) try to avoid the intense distress connected with the grief experience and to avoid the expression of emotion necessary for it.<sup>67</sup>

According to Lindemann, the mourner needs to reintegrate himself into his social environment in order to be successful in resolving his grief. To prevent a morbid grief reaction from setting in, the mourner must make a real effort not to remain emotionally at the grave. He should be allowed to mourn, for this is also necessary. But it must be within the context of real progress in re-establishing the mourner's position in the community. In Judaism, therefore, the mourner is not left alone after the funeral. Initially, he does not reassume his normal position in society. By not fixing his own first meal, he is starkly reminded of his loss of relationship. The birkath abhelim accents his loss, but then proceeds to allude to those relationships necessary for a successful working through of the mourner's grief. With the conclusion of se'uddath habhra-ah, the mourner must begin again to live his life.



(b) In tracing the history and development of birkath abhelim in Chapter IV, mention was made of cups of wine over which birkath abhelim was recited. At this time, several observations will be made concerning the purpose of those cups and the use of wine in the mourning ritual.

Both Massekheth Semahoth 14:14 and b. Ketubboth 8b list ten cups of wine to be drunk surrounding and during se'uddath habhra-ah. B. Ketubboth states that four of the cups correspond to the four benedictions in the Grace. Semahoth links at least one of the cups to birkath abhelim. Erwin Goodenough, in Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period, hypothesizes as to the relationship of these two sets of cups and their origins:

We can only guess what the connection was between these ten or more cups (in b. Ketubboth 8b) and the cups which may well have gone with the benediction of the open spaces (birkath rehabbah = birkath abhelim).<sup>68</sup> Possibly there was no connection at all. But we are beginning to see that there was in all probability a Jewish ritual of mourning in the hellenistic and Roman period which involved the drinking of wine, and that the meaning of this ritual the rabbis had already forgotten, if in the passages...they were not deliberately suppressing or distorting it. I strongly suspect that the cup and blessings mentioned in the Talmud are a survival of the funeral meal, and that they were originally an invasion into Judaism from pagan funeral usage, probably an expansion under pagan inspiration of the simple "cup and bread of consolation" of Jeremiah's day.<sup>68</sup>

It is impossible to decide whether or not Goodenough is correct. All that is known for certain is that during

Tannaitic and Amoraic times, there existed a custom to drink ten or more cups of wine upon returning from a funeral.

Just as Goodenough hypothesized about the origin of the wine's use, one may offer other unsubstantiated hypothesis concerning the origins of this custom. For example, there appears to be a reference to wine and mourning in the Bible. "Appear" is used since the connection is merely spacial. One story follows the other. Leviticus 10 tells the story of the death of Aaron's sons, Nadab and Abihu. Moses then tells Aaron and his other two sons: "Let not the hair of your heads go loose, neither rend your clothes, and you will not die...but let your brethren, the whole house of Israel, bewail the burning which the Lord has kindled."<sup>69</sup> Aaron, who must perform his priestly functions, is not allowed to mourn his sons' deaths. Immediately following this statement, we are told: "And the Lord spoke to Aaron saying, Drink no wine nor strong drink, you, nor your sons with you..."<sup>70</sup> If there is an assumption that those who mourn take to drinking wine, then God's statement to Aaron can be understood as reinforcing Moses' original instructions. Since he is not allowed to mourn, he may not indulge in drinking. Through this specific prohibition, implicit sanction is given to the practice of mixing drinking and mourning.

This illustrates the extent to which one may go to

find evidence for this practice.

However, Leviticus 10 has not been traditionally understood in this manner. Since Leviticus 10:9 specifically refers to the times when Aaron and his sons go into the Tent of Meeting to perform their priestly functions (bebho-akhem), it is to this that the prohibition of wine pertains. Aaron is warned against being inebriated while officiating. Why? The Rabbis understood the juxtaposition of Leviticus 10:6-7 and Leviticus 10:8-9 to show that the reason Aaron's sons were killed was because they were drunk while performing their priestly duties. This is why, according to the rabbis, God's prohibition to Aaron occurs in this place.

(c) Finally, in attempting to understand the use of the wine during the meal of condolence, an analogy may be drawn to a modern ritual, the Roman Catholic wake. In Judaism, the meal of condolence is held at the home of the mourner. Others prepare the food. There are prayers said (i.e., birkath hamazon la-abhelim). And, at least according to the Talmud, ten cups of wine, sufficient to get most people inebriated, are drunk. Compare this to a description of a Roman Catholic wake:

As the news spreads, those who have had close social ties with the deceased gather to pay their respects. Cousins, in-laws, and close friends come. They bring supplementary food and refreshments; some of them stay through the night, which is the night of the wake...

Drinking whiskey and beer is part of the ritual idiom but there is no immoderation in drinking...Several times during the night, the whole company...pray(s).<sup>71</sup>

Except for the time of the function, the two "rituals" share identical structures. In these rituals, the wine, far from being central, nevertheless, serves as a catalyst, encouraging the mourner and community to freely express their feelings (a phenomenon of inebriation which the author has observed in a variety of social settings).

(d) David Mandelbaum, in commenting on the wake, summarizes its psychological and social purposes.

The assembled kinsmen and friends are solicitous and helpful, giving psychic support to the bereaved. In their presence the mourners can give necessary vent to their grief but are constrained from intense and incapacitating brooding about their loss. The participants...by their presence, also assure the mourners (and themselves as well) that the bonds of kinship and friendship continue, that the death has not irreparably ruptured the web of social life.<sup>72</sup>

These same observations may be applied here to se'uddath habhra-ah and birkath abhelim.

#### Hazkarath Neshamoth

(a) Having discussed the historical antecedents leading to the development of a memorial service in Judaism,<sup>73</sup> we will remark now on the psychological need of such a ritual and liturgy.

In The Plowman From Bohemia, the following statement is made:

Drive the memory of love out of your heart, mind, and spirit, and you will at once be relieved of grief. As soon as you have lost something and cannot get it back, act as though it had never been yours and at once your grief will flee away. If you will not do that, then you will have more sorrow to come.<sup>74</sup>

At face value, this would seem to be sound psychologically. If one chooses to deny the fact that the deceased ever lived, then the individual might forego a grief reaction. However, George H. Pollack, Director of the Chicago Institute for Psychoanalysis, would not necessarily agree with that conclusion.

(b) Psychoanalytic research has indicated an alternative method for the "relief of grief," other than utilizing a denial mechanism. This is the hypercathexis of time.<sup>75</sup> In lay terminology, it is the super-concentration of emotional energy on an object (i.e., time). By focusing on the anniversary of a person's death, one can successfully relieve the grief associated with it. Pollack offers a clinical example:

I have seen a man in psychotherapy who kept a calendar on which he entered "death days" for the entire year. To him these were more important than birthdays. When asked whose "death days" appeared on his calendar, he listed relatives, friends, and significant (to him) cultural, historical, and political figures... (T)his patient... controlled internal tensions through the hypercathexis of "death times."<sup>76</sup>

In Judaism, these "death days" would correspond precisely to a Yahrzeit and, generally, to the memorial services. Recalling the incidents which gave rise to the spread of hazkarath neshamoth and Yahrzeit as public and personal memorials, one could use Pollack's language and say that the growth of these institutions was the result of controlling the internal tensions of group and individual persecution through hypercathexis of "death times."

(c) Another explanation for the development of the memorial service is found within man's struggle against time. The ego wishes to believe that immortality is possible. Time stands still for the individual.<sup>77</sup> This is especially true for the religious man:

(Man) betrays his qualms of doubt in his never-ending labors of worship, by which he hopes to banish fatal time to the outermost regions... He also undertakes to organize the world into an unchangeable timeless pattern, and by continuously remaining in touch with his ancestors he creates a strenuous lifetime schedule that becomes a timepiece in itself. He wants to gather past and future securely in his hand. Obviously he cannot take death and annihilation for granted, and thus he lives in constant argument with the dead of his ancestral world. His rule over the times is aimed at making him the eternal survivor, and indeed, out of his narcissistic creation and manifestation of vitality in ritual arises the sublime image of universal mankind. Though his ritual was only meant to mark a standstill of time, it implicitly guarantees an endless future and the conviction of power to survive and to hold the world together.<sup>78</sup>

By establishing community and personal times of memorial,



the Jew firmly entrenches himself in this life. By remembering all those who have died before him, the Jew controls the past and brings his dead to life through him. By establishing the memorials as halakhah, he assures his remembrance and immortality after he is gone.

(d) Thus, the use of hazkarath neshamoth and Yahrzeit helps the Jew to handle the tensions and grief caused by a death. By hypercathecting "death times," the Jew places his grief and emotions on the anniversary and memorial services and, therefore, works toward alleviating that grief. In the establishing of these dates, the individual becomes the master of time, creating the illusion and satisfaction of immortality.

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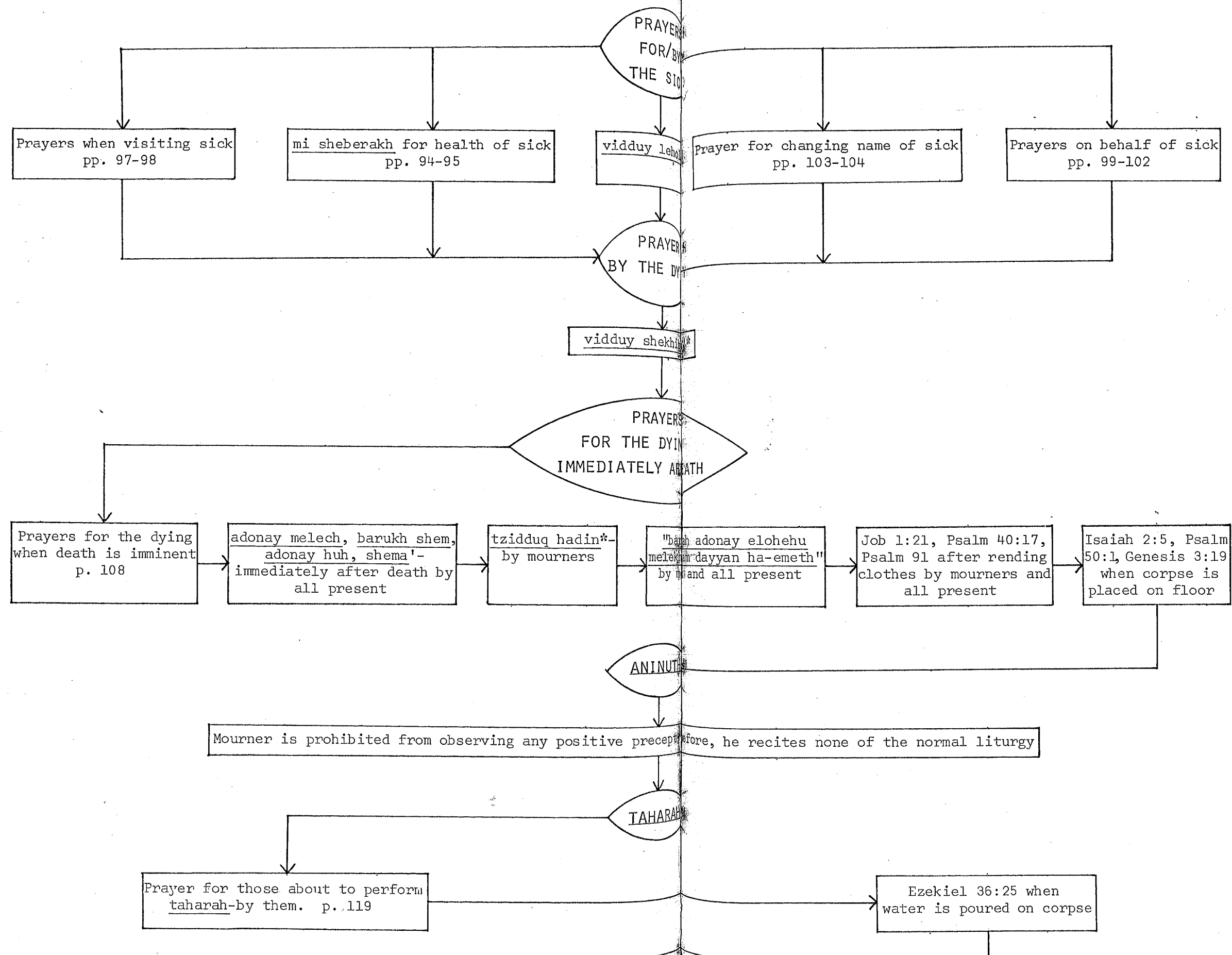
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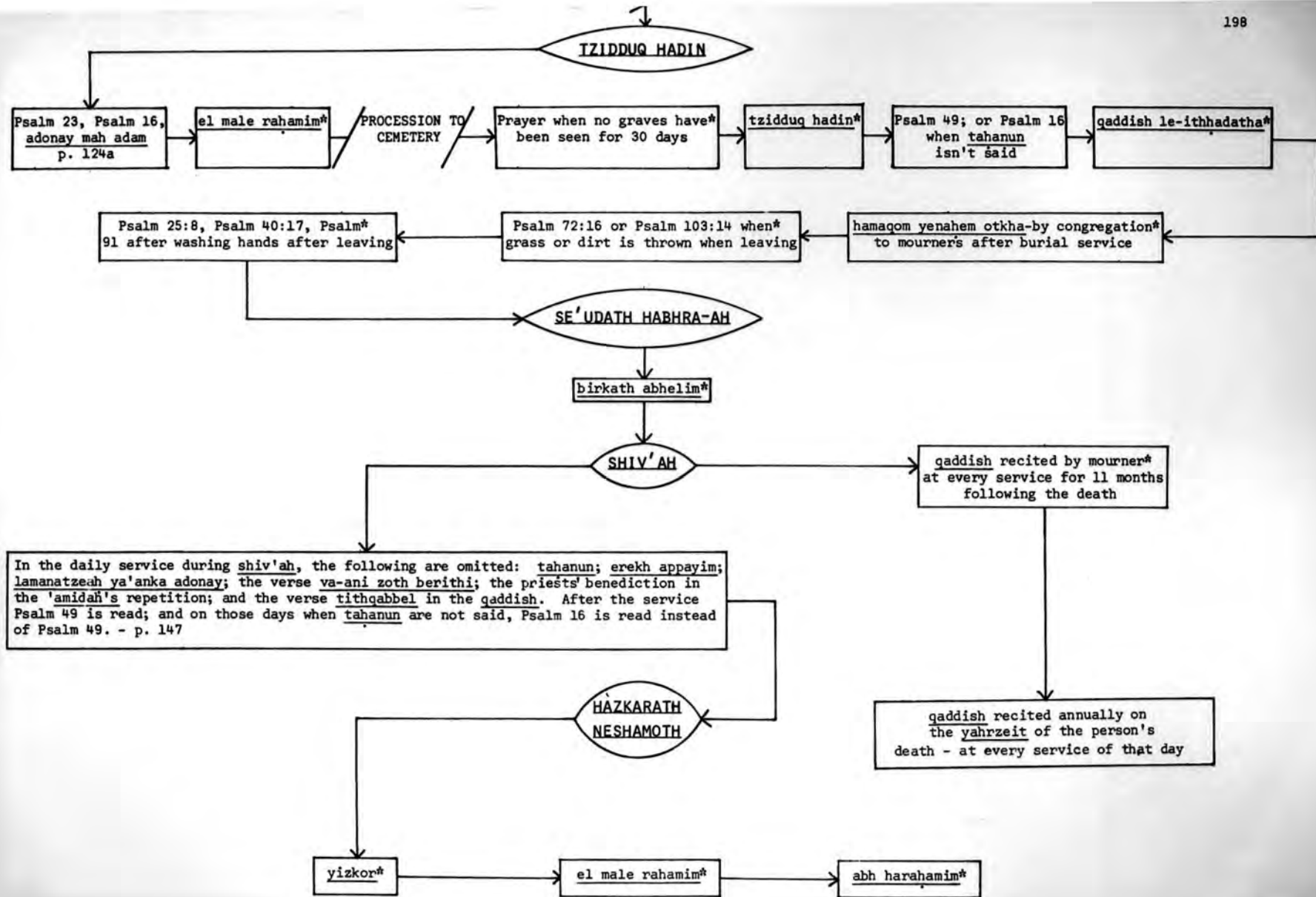
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Liturgy of Death and Dying

The following two pages represent a schematic presentation of the liturgy of death and dying. Included are all the prayers in the normative Ashkenazi ritual pertinent to this life-cycle event. The prayers are arranged in the order in which they are recited.

A prayer which is discussed in the text of this thesis is noted by a star (\*) in the upper right-hand corner of its box. For those prayers not considered, they are either self-explanatory (i.e., Job 1:21) or a page reference is given to Hyman Goldin's Hamadrikh, where the text may be found.





A P P E N D I X    B

Hebrew and Aramaic Texts



## SECTION ONE

## Chapter I: Vidduy

## (1) וידוי שכיב מרע.

(Hamadrikh ed. by Hyman Goldin)

אלהי ואלהי אבותי. הבא לפניך תפילתי ואל תחעלם מתחנוני. אנא, כפר לי על כל חטאתי, שחטאתי לפניך מעודי עד היום הזה. בושתי וגם נכלמתי כי הסכלתי לעשות מעשים רעים וחטאים. ועתה, קח נא עניי ומרודי לכפרתי, ומחל למשובתי, כי לך לבד חטאתי.

יהי רצון מלפניך, יי אלהי ואלהי אבותי, שלא אחטא עוד. ומה שחטאתי לפניך, מרק ברחמיך הרבים, אבל לא על ידי יסורים וחלים רעים. ושלח לי רפואה שלמה עם כל חולי עמך ישראל.

מודה אני לפניך, יי אלהי ואלהי אבותי, שרפואתי ומיחתי בידך. יהי רצון מלפניך, שתרפאני רפואה שלמה. ואם גזרת שאמות מחולי זה, תהי מיחתי כפרה על כל חטאים ועונות ופשעים, שחטאתי ושעויתי ושפשעתי לפניך. ותסתירני בצל כנפיך, ותן חלקי בגן עדן, ואזכה לתחית המתים ולעולם הבא הצפון לצדיקים. אבי יחומים ודין אלמנות, הגן בעד קרובי היקרים אשר נפשי קשורה בנפשם.

בידך אפקיד רוחי, פדיתה אוחי יי, אל אמת.

שמע ישראל, יי אלהינו יי אחד.

יי הוא האלהים. יי הוא האלהים.

## (2) וידוי שכיב מרע.

(Authorized Daily Prayer Book ed. by Joseph Hertz)

מודה אני לפניך יי אלהי ואלהי אבותי שרפואתי ומיחתי בידך: יהי רצון מלפניך שתרפאני רפואה שלמה. ואם המות כלה ונחרץ מעמך אקחנו מידך

באהבה. וְתָהִי מִיתָחִי כִפְרָה עַל כָּל חַטָּאִים וְעוֹנוֹת וּפְשָׁעִים שְׁחַטָּאתִי וּשְׁעוֹרֵי  
וּשְׁפָעֵתִי לִפְנֵיךָ. וְחֲשַׁפֶּיֶע לִי מֶרֶב טוֹב הַצָּפוֹן לְצַדִּיקִים. וְתוֹדִיעֵנִי אֶרֶח חַיִּים

שֶׁבַע שְׂמֻחוֹת אֶת פְּנִיךָ נְעִימֹת בִּימִינְךָ נֹצַח:

אֲבִי יְתוֹמִים וְדִין אֲלֻמְנוֹת. הִגֵּן בְּעַד קְרוֹבֵי הַיִּקְרִים אֲשֶׁר נִפְשֵׁי קְשׁוּרָה

בְּנַפְשָׁם: בִּידֶךָ אֶפְקִיד רוּחִי פְדִיתָה אוֹתִי יְיָ אֵל אֱמֶת. אֲמֵן וְאֲמֵן:

יְיָ מֶלֶךְ. יְיָ מֶלֶךְ. יְיָ יִמְלֹךְ לְעוֹלָם וָעֶד:

יְיָ מֶלֶךְ. יְיָ מֶלֶךְ. יְיָ יִמְלֹךְ לְעוֹלָם וָעֶד:

יְיָ מֶלֶךְ. יְיָ מֶלֶךְ. יְיָ יִמְלֹךְ לְעוֹלָם וָעֶד:

כְּרוֹךְ שֵׁם כְּבוֹד מַלְכוּתוֹ לְעוֹלָם וָעֶד:

כְּרוֹךְ שֵׁם כְּבוֹד מַלְכוּתוֹ לְעוֹלָם וָעֶד:

כְּרוֹךְ שֵׁם כְּבוֹד מַלְכוּתוֹ לְעוֹלָם וָעֶד:

יְיָ הוּא הָאֱלֹהִים:

יְיָ הוּא הָאֱלֹהִים:

יְיָ הוּא הָאֱלֹהִים:

יְיָ הוּא הָאֱלֹהִים:

יְיָ הוּא הָאֱלֹהִים:

יְיָ הוּא הָאֱלֹהִים:

יְיָ הוּא הָאֱלֹהִים:

שִׁמְעֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְיָ אֶחָד:

(3) וִידוּי שְׂכִיב מָרַע.

(Totza-oth Hayyim ed. by S. Baer)

מוֹדָה אֲנִי לִפְנֵיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵי וְאֱלֹהֵי אֲבוֹתֵי שְׂרָפֹאתִי וּמִיתָחִי בִידֶךָ, יְהִי רָצוֹן

מִלִּפְנֵיךָ שְׂחַרְפָּאֲנִי רַפּוּאָה שְׁלֵמָה: וְאִם אֲמוֹת תְּהִי מִיתָחִי כִפְרָה עַל-כָּל-חַטָּאִים וְעוֹנוֹת

וּפְשָׁעִים שְׁחַטָּאתִי וּשְׁעוֹרֵי וּשְׁפָעֵתִי לִפְנֵיךָ, וְחֵן חֲלָקִי בְּגֶן עֵדֶן וּזְכוּנִי לְעוֹלָם

הַבָּא הַצָּפוֹן לְצַדִּיקִים (וְתוֹדִיעֵנִי אֶרֶח חַיִּים, שֶׁבַע שְׂמֻחוֹת אֶת-פְּנִיךָ, נְעִמֹת בִּימִינְךָ

נֹצַח). כְּרוֹךְ אֱתָהּ (יְיָ) שׁוֹמֵעַ תְּפִלָּה:

(ובאן יאמר הוידוי לחולה מן אלהי ואלהי אבוהי, אשמתי, וסרתי ממצותיך

עד ואני הרשעתי. ראה למטה מס' 20)

בדרך אפקיד רוחי פדיתה אותי יי אל אמת: שמע ישראל יי אלהינו יי אחד: ברוך שם כבוד מלכותו לעולם ועד: יי מלך, יי מלך, יי ימלך לעלם ועד: יי מלך, יי מלך, יי ימלך לעלם ועד: יי הוא האלהים, יי הוא האלהים, יי הוא האלהים, אין אחר. אמת מלכנו, אפס זולתו, ככתוב בתורתו, וידעת היום והשבת אל-לבבך כי יי הוא האלהים בשמים ממעל ועל-הארץ מתחת אין עוד: מיחד באהיה אשר אהיה, הוא היה, והוא הוה, והוא יהיה, הוא ממית ומחיה, לפניו לא נוצר אל, ואחריו לא יהיה:

(4) וידוי שכיב מרע.

(Sefer Hahayyim ed. by Henry Vidaver)

אנא יי אלהים אלהי ישראל חי וקים נורא ופרום וקדוש, אתה אשר בידך נפש כל-חי ורוח כל-בשר איש, מודה אני לפניך שבראחני ונחת בי נשמתי, והגדלחני והצלחתי מכל-צרותי, ונחת לי כל-צרכי מזונותי ופרנסתי כל-ימי חיי והיית עמדי ולא עזבתני. הנה הגיעה העת והעונה שאחזיר לך נשמתי אשר נתת בי: קח אותה ממני על-ידי נשיקת פין ולא על-ידי מלאכי מות ואל-יבהלוני לצערני, הסתירני בצל כנפיק, וכאשר גמלת עלי חסדך ואמתך מעודי עד-היום הזה כך גמל-נא עלי חסד ואמת עם-גופי ונשמתי ושלח-לי מלאכך הקדושים לקבל נשמתי להוליכה לבן ערן אל-נשמות הצדיקים והחסידים. וגופי ינוח בקבר במנוחה נכונה בהשקט ושלוש עד עת בוא דברך להחיותו כחחית המתים: ותהי תשובתי וצערי ומיתתי כפרה על-כל-חטאתי שחטאתי ושעויתי ושפשעתי לפניך בהיותי על-אדמתי, כי הסכלתי כי עשיתי והשאור שבעסתי השיאני: ואל-תראני פני גי-הנס, ותן חלקי בגן עדן עם-צדיקי עולם ואזכה לחחית המתים ולעולם הבא שכלו שבת להתענג מדשן נפשי ומרב טוב הצפון לצדיקים בש"י עולמות אשר תנחיל לכל-צדיק וצדיק מעמך ישראל, ככתוב להנחיל אהבי יש ואצרותיהם אמלא ותהי נפשי צרורה בצרור החיים עם שאר צדיקים וצדקניות

בגן עדן, אמן סלה:

(5) וידוי של יום הכיפורים.

(Authorized Daily Prayer Book ed. by Joseph Hertz)

אלהינו ואלהי אבותינו. תבא לפניך תפלתנו. ואל תתעלם מתחנונו.  
 שאין אנחנו עזי פנים וקשי עורף לומר לפניך יי אלהינו ואלהי אבותינו  
 צדיקים אנחנו ולא חטאנו אבל אנחנו חטאנו:  
 אשמונו. בגדנו. גזלנו. דברנו דפי. העוינו. והרשענו. זדנו.  
 חמסנו. טפלנו שקר. יעצנו רע. כזבנו. לצנו. מרדנו. נאצנו. סרנו.  
 עוינו. פשענו. צרנו. קשינו ערף. רשענו. שחתנו. תעבנו. תעינו.  
 תעזובנו:  
 סרנו ממצותיך וממשפטיך הטובים ולא שוה לנו: ואחא צדיק על כל-הבא  
 עלינו. כי אמת עשית ואנחנו הרשענו:  
 מה-נאמר לפניך יושב מרום. ומה-נספר לפניך שוכן שחקים. הלא כל-  
 הנסחרות והנגלות אתה יודע:  
 אתה יודע רזי עולם. ותעלומות סתרי כל-חי: אתה חופש כל חדרי בסן  
 ובוהן כליות ולב: אין דבר נעלם ממך. ואן נסחר מנגד עיניך:  
 ובכך יהי רצון מלפניך יי אלהינו ואלהי אבותינו. שתסלח-לנו על כל  
 חטאינו. ותמחל-לנו על כל עונותינו. ותכפר-לנו על כל פשעינו:  
 על חטא שחטאנו לפניך באנס וברצון: ועל חטא שחטאנו לפניך באמוץ הלב:  
 על חטא שחטאנו לפניך בכלי דעה: ועל חטא שחטאנו לפניך בבטוי שפתים:  
 על חטא שחטאנו לפניך בגלוי עריות: ועל חטא שחטאנו לפניך בגלוי ובסתר:  
 על חטא שחטאנו לפניך בדעה ובמרמה: ועל חטא שחטאנו לפניך בדבור פה:  
 על חטא שחטאנו לפניך בהונאת רע: ועל חטא שחטאנו לפניך בהרהור הלב:  
 על חטא שחטאנו לפניך בועידת זנות: ועל חטא שחטאנו לפניך בודוי פה:  
 על חטא שחטאנו לפניך בזלזול הורים ומורים: ועל חטא שחטאנו לפניך בזדון  
 ובשגגה:

על חטא שחטאנו לפניך בחזק יד: ועל חטא שחטאנו לפניך בחלול השם:  
 על חטא שחטאנו לפניך בטמאת שפתים: ועל חטא שחטאנו לפניך בספשות פה:  
 על חטא שחטאנו לפניך ביצר הרע: ועל חטא שחטאנו לפניך ביודעים ובלא יודעים:  
 ועל כלם אלוה סליחות סלח-לנו. מחל-לנו. כפר-לנו:  
 על חטא שחטאנו לפניך בכחש ובכזב: ועל חטא שחטאנו לפניך בכפת-שחד:  
 על חטא שחטאנו לפניך בלצון: ועל חטא שחטאנו לפניך בלשון הרע:  
 על חטא שחטאנו לפניך במשא ובמתן: ועל חטא שחטאנו לפניך במאכל ובמשתה:  
 על חטא שחטאנו לפניך בנשך ובמרבית: ועל חטא שחטאנו לפניך בנסית גרון:  
 על חטא שחטאנו לפניך בשיח שפתותינו: ועל חטא שחטאנו לפניך בשקור עין:  
 על חטא שחטאנו לפניך בעינים רמות: ועל חטא שחטאנו לפניך בעזות מצח:  
 ועל כלם אלוה סליחות סלח-לנו. מחל-לנו. כפר-לנו:  
 על חטא שחטאנו לפניך בפריקת על: ועל חטא שחטאנו לפניך בפלילות:  
 על חטא שחטאנו לפניך בצדית רע: ועל חטא שחטאנו לפניך בצרות עין:  
 על חטא שחטאנו לפניך בקלות ראש: ועל חטא שחטאנו לפניך בקשיות ערף:  
 על חטא שחטאנו לפניך בריצת רגלים להרע: ועל חטא שחטאנו לפניך ברכילות:  
 על חטא שחטאנו לפניך בשבועת שוא: ועל חטא שחטאנו לפניך בשנאת חנם:  
 על חטא שחטאנו לפניך בחשומת יד: ועל חטא שחטאנו לפניך בחמהון לבב:  
 ועל כלם אלוה סליחות סלח-לנו. מחל-לנו. כפר-לנו:  
 ועל חטאים שאנו חייבים עליהם עולה: ועל חטאים שאנו חייבים עליהם חטאת:  
 ועל חטאים שאנו חייבים עליהם קרבן עולה ויורד: ועל חטאים שאנו חייבים  
 עליהם אשם ודאי וחלוי:  
 ועל חטאים שאנו חייבים עליהם מכת מרדות: ועל חטאים שאנו חייבים עליהם  
 מלקות ארבעים:  
 ועל חטאים שאנו חייבים עליהם מיחה בידי שמים: ועל חטאים שאנו חייבים  
 עליהם כרת וערירות:  
 ועל כלם אלוה סליחות סלח-לנו. מחל-לנו. כפר-לנו:  
 ועל חטאים שאנו חייבים עליהם ארבע מיחות ביה דין. סקילה. שרפה.  
 הרג. וחנק. על מצות עשה. ועל-מצות לא תעשה. בין שיש-בה קום עשה.

ובין שאין בה קום עשה. את-הגלויים לנו ואח- שאינם גלויים לנו: את-הגלויים לנו כבר אמרנום לפניך. והודינו לך עליהם. ואח- שאינם גלויים לנו לפניך הם גלויים וידועים. כדבר שנאמר הנסתר ליי אלהינו והנגלה לנו ולבנינו עד עולם. לעשות את-כל-דברי התורה הזאת: כי אתה סלחן לישראל ומחלן לשבטי ישראל בכל דור ודור. ומבלעדיך אין לנו מלך מוחל וסולח אלא אתה: (התפלה ולקמן מופיעה אחרי הוידוי של יום הכיפורים. מובאה כאן מפני שלשונה מופיעה בוידוי שכיב מרע.)

אלהי. עד שלא נוצרתי איני כדי. ועכשו שנוצרתי כאלו לא נוצרתי. עפר אני בחיי. קל וחמר במיתחי. הרי אני לפניך ככלי מלא בושה וכלימה. יהי רצון מלפניך יי אלהי ואלהי אבותי שלא אחסא עוד. ומה שחטאתי לפניך מרק ברחמיך הרבים. אבל לא על ידי יסורים וחליים רעים:

(6 וידוי של נעילה ליום הכיפורים.  
(Authorized Daily Prayer Book ed. by Joseph Hertz)

אומרים וידוי של יום הכיפורים כרגיל עד - והנגלות אתה יודע. אחר כך אומרים:

אתה נותן יד לפושעים וימינך פשוטה לקבל שבים. וחלמדנו יי אלהינו להחודות לפניך על כל-עוונותינו למען נחדל מעשך ידינו וחקבלנו בחשובה שלמה לפניך כאשים ובניחחים למען דבריך אשר אמרת: אין קץ לאשי חובותינו ואין מספר לניחחי אשמותינו. ואתה יודע שאחריחנו רמה ותולעה לפיכך הרבית סליחתנו: מה אנחנו מה חיינו מה חסדנו מה-צדקנו מה-ישענו מה-כחנו מה-גבורתנו. מה-נאמר לפניך יי אלהינו ואלהי אבותינו. הלא כל-הגבורים כאין לפניך ואנשי השם כלא היו וחכמים כבלי מדע ונכונים כבלי השכל. כי רב מעשיהם חזו וימי חייהם הבל לפניך. ומוחר האדם מן-הבהמה אין כי הכל הבל:

אתה הבדלת אנוש מראש ותכירהו לעמוד לפניך. כי מי יאמר לך מה-תפעל ואם-יצדק מה-יתן-לך: וחתן-לנו יי אלהינו באהבה אח יום [השבת הזה ואת



יום] הכפרים הזה קץ ומחילה וסליחה על כל-עונותינו למען נחדל מעשך ידינו  
ונשוב אליך לעשות חקי רצונך בלבב שלם: ואתה ברחמיך הרבים רחם עלינו  
כי לא תחפוץ בהשחתת עולם. שנאמר. דרשו יי בהמצאו קראהו בהיותו קרוב:  
ונאמר. יעזב רשע דרכו ואיש און מחשבתיו וישב אל-יי וירחמהו ואל-אלהינו  
כי-ירכה לסלוח: ואתה אלוה סליחות חנון ורחום ארך-אפים ורב-חסד ומרבה  
להטיב. ורוצה אתה בתשובת רשעים ואין אהה חפץ במיתתם. שנאמר. אמר  
אליהם חי-אני נאם אדני יהוה אם-אחפץ כמות הרשע כי אם-בשוב רשע מדרכו  
וחיה. שובו טובו מדרכיכם הרעים ולמה תמותו בית ישראל: ונאמר. החפץ  
אחפץ מות רשע נאם אדני יהוה הלוא בשובו מדרכיו וחיה: ונאמר. כי לא  
אחפץ כמות המת נאם אדני יהוה. והשיבו וחיו: כי אתה סלחן לישראל ומחלן  
לשבטי ישראל בכל-דור ודור. ומבלעדיך אין לנו מלך מוחל וסולח:

(7) משנה סנהדרין ו', ב'.

היה רחוק מבית הסקילה כעשר אמות, אומרים לו התודה, שכן דרך המומחין  
מחודין, שכל המתודה יש לו חלק לעולם הבא. שכן מצינו בעכץ שאמר לו יהושע  
בני שים-נא כבוד לה' אלהי ישראל ותן-לו תודה וגו', ויען עכץ את-יהושע  
ויאמר אמנה אנכי חטאתי [לה' אלהי ישראל] וכזאת וגו'. ומנין שכפר לו  
ודויו, שנאמר ויאמר יהושע מה עכרתנו יעכרך ה' ביום הזה, היום הזה אתה  
עכור ואי אתה עכור לעולם הבא. ואם אינו יודע להתודות, אומרים לו אמור  
תהא מיתתי כפירה על כל עונותי.

(8) משנה יומא ג', ח'.

בא לו אצל פרו, ופרו היה עומד בין האולם ולמזבח, ראשו לדרום ופניו  
למערב, והכהן עומד במזרח ופניו למערב, וסומך שתי ידיו עליו ומחודה.  
וכך היה אומר, אנא השם, עוייתי פשעתי חטאתי לפניך אני ובייתי. אנא השם,  
כפר נא לעונות ולפשעים ולחטאים, שעוייתי ושפשעתי ושחטאתי לפניך אני ובייתי,

לעולם לא יוכלו להשיג את המידע הזה, ולכן לא יוכלו להשיג את המידע הזה, ולכן לא יוכלו להשיג את המידע הזה.

11) נקודת ראייה של המידע הזה.

הוא לא יוכל להשיג את המידע הזה, ולכן לא יוכלו להשיג את המידע הזה, ולכן לא יוכלו להשיג את המידע הזה. הוא לא יוכל להשיג את המידע הזה, ולכן לא יוכלו להשיג את המידע הזה, ולכן לא יוכלו להשיג את המידע הזה.

12) נקודת ראייה של המידע הזה.

הוא לא יוכל להשיג את המידע הזה, ולכן לא יוכלו להשיג את המידע הזה, ולכן לא יוכלו להשיג את המידע הזה. הוא לא יוכל להשיג את המידע הזה, ולכן לא יוכלו להשיג את המידע הזה, ולכן לא יוכלו להשיג את המידע הזה. הוא לא יוכל להשיג את המידע הזה, ולכן לא יוכלו להשיג את המידע הזה, ולכן לא יוכלו להשיג את המידע הזה.

6) נקודת ראייה של המידע הזה.

הוא לא יוכל להשיג את המידע הזה, ולכן לא יוכלו להשיג את המידע הזה, ולכן לא יוכלו להשיג את המידע הזה. הוא לא יוכל להשיג את המידע הזה, ולכן לא יוכלו להשיג את המידע הזה, ולכן לא יוכלו להשיג את המידע הזה.

רבו מלמנות וחטאתינו עצמו מספר רב המנונא אמר אלהי עד שלא נוצרתי איני כדאי עכשיו שנוצרתי כאילו לא נוצרתי עפר אני בחיי ק"ו במיתתי הרי אני לפניך ככלי מלא בוש וכלימה יהי רצון מלפניך שלא אחסא ומה שחטאתי מרוק ברחמיך אבל לא ע"י יסוריך והיינו וידויא דרבא כולה שיה ודרב המנונא זוטא ביומא דכפורי אמר מר זוטרא לא אמרן אלא דלא אמר אבל אנחנו חטאנו אבל אמר אבל אנחנו חטאנו תו לא צריך דאמר בר המדודי הוה קאימנא קמיה דשמואל והא יתיב וכי מסא שליחא דצבורא ואמר אבל אנחנו חטאנו קס מיסא אמר שמע מינה עיקר וידוי האי הוא.

(12) מסכת שמחות דר' חיה א', ב'-ד'.

נסה למות, אומרים לו התוודה. עד שלא חמות, הרבה שנתוודו ולא מתו, והרבה שלא התוודו ומתו, והרבה שהיו מהלכין בשוק ומתוודין, שמא כזכות שאתה מתודה אתה חיה. ואם היה יכול להתוודות בפיו מתודה בפיו, ואם לאו מתודה בלבו, אחד המתודה בפיו, ואחד המתודה בלבו, ובלבד שיהא לבו מכוון ודעתו מיושבת.

כל הדברים האלה אין אומרים אותן לא בפני עם הארץ, ולא בפני קטנים, ולא בפני נשים, שלא יבכו ויפחדו את לבו....

מניין שהחולים חייבין להתוודות, תלמוד לומר אוילים מדרך פשעם ומעונותיהם יתענו, כל אוכל תתעב נפשם ויגיעו עד שערי מות, ויזעקו אל ה' בצר להם ממצוקותיהם יושיעם. מניין שהולכי מדבריות.

(13) ויקרא רבה ג', ג'.

יעזב דשע דרכו ואיש און מחשבתי וישב אל ה' וירחמהו ואל אלהינו כי ירבה לסלוח. אמר ר' כבי בר אבינא: כיצד אדם צריך להתוודות ערב יום הכפורים. צריך לומר: מודה אני כל רע שעשיתי לפניך, בדרך רע הייתי עומד, וכל מה שעשיתי עוד לא אעשה כמוהו, יהי רצון מלפניך ה' אלהי שתמחל

לי על כל עונותי וחטאתי לי על כל פשעי, וחכפר לי על כל חטאתי, הדא הוא דכתיב: יעזב רשע דרכו ואיש און מחשבתיו וישב אל ה' וירחמהו ואל אלהינו כי ירבה לסלוח.

(14) וידוי של יום הכיפורים בסידור רב סעדיה גאון.

אחה יודע רזי עולם ותעלומות סתרי כל חי אתה חופש כל חדרי בטן ורואה כליות ולב. אין כל דבר נעלם ממך ואין נסתר מנגד עיניך יהי רצון מלפניך יי אלהינו שהמחול לנו על כל עונותינו וחכפר לנו על כל פשעינו. על חטא שחטאנו לפניך בשגגה. ועל חטא שחטאנו לפניך בזדון. ועל חטא שחטאנו לפניך בסתר. ועל חטא שחטאנו לפניך בגלוי. ועל חטאים שאנו חייבין עליהן עשה. ועל חטאים שאנו חייבין עליהן לא תעשה שנתק לעשה. ועל חטאים שאנו חייבין עליהם מיתה בידי שמים. ועל חטאים שאנו חייבין עליהם כרת. ועל חטאים שאנו חייבין עליהם מלקות ארבעים בביה דין. ועל חטאים שאנו חייבין עליהם הרג וחנק שריפה וסקילה על שגלויין לנו ועל שאינן גלויין לנו את שגלויין לנו ושאינן גלויין לנו כבר לפניך גלויין שנא' הנסחרות ליי אלהינו והנגלות לנו ולבנינו עד עולם לעשות את כל דברי התורה הזאת כי אתה סלחן לישראל מן העולם ומחלן לשבטי ישורון בכל דור ודור ודברך אמת וקיים ומבלעדיך אין לנו מלך מוחל וסולח.

(15) וידוי של יום הכיפורים בסדר רב עמרם גאון.

או"א תבא לפניך חפלהנו ואל תחעלם מתחנתנו. שאנו עזי פנים וקשי עורף. ואיך נאמר לפניך ה' אלהינו ואלהי אבותינו צדיקים אנחנו ולא חטאנו. אבל חטאנו.

אשמו בגדנו גזלנו דברנו דופי. העוינו והרשענו זדנו חמסנו טפלנו שקר. יעצנו רע כזבנו לצנו מרדנו נאצנו סררנו עוינו פשענו צררנו קשינו עורף. רשענו שחחנו תעבנו.

וסרנו מסצוהיך וממשפטיך הטובים ולא שוה לנו. ואתה צדיק על כל  
הבא עלינו כי אמת עשית ואנחנו הרשענו.  
מה נאמר לפניך יושב מרום ומה נספר לפניך שוכן שחקים. הלא הנסחרות  
והנגלות אתה יודע.  
אתה יודע רזי עולם ותעלומות סתרי כל חי. אתה חופש כל חדרי בטן  
רואה כליות ולב. אין דבר נעלם ממך ואין נסתר מנגד עיניך.  
יהי רצון מלפניך ה' או"א שהמחול לנו על כל עוונותינו ותסלח לנו  
על כל פשעינו ותכפר לנו על כל חטאתינו.  
על חטא שחטאנו לפניך באונס. עש"ל בכלי דעת. עש"ל בגלוי.  
עש"ל בדעת ובמרמה. עש"ל בהרהור הלב. עש"ל בודוי פה. עש"ל בזדון.  
עש"ל בחזק יד. עש"ל בטומאת שפתים. עש"ל ביצר הרע. עש"ל כיודעים.  
עש"ל בלא יודעים. עש"ל בכחש ובכזב. עש"ל בלשון הרע. עש"ל במראית העין.  
עש"ל כנשך ובמרכיח. עש"ל כשיח שפתותינו. עש"ל בעינים רמות.  
עש"ל בפתחון פה. עש"ל בצעדי רגלים. עש"ל בקפיצת היד. עש"ל ברצון.  
עש"ל בשגגה. עש"ל בתמהון לב. על חטאים שאנו חייבים עליהם אשם.  
עשש"ע חטאה. עשש"ע קרבן. עשש"ע כרת. עשש"ע מלקות ארבעים.  
עשש"ע מיתה בידי שמים.  
עשש"ע ארבע מיחות כית דין סקילה שריפה הרג וחנק. על מצות עשה  
ועל מצות לא תעשה. בין שיש בה קום עשה בין שאין בה קום עשה. בין שגלויים  
לנו ובין שאין גלויים לנו. אח שגלויים לנו כבר אמרנום לפניך. ואת  
שאינ גלויים לנו הכל גלוי לפניך. כדבר שנאמר. הנסחרות לה' אלהינו  
והנגלות לנו ולבנינו עד עולם לעשות את כל דברי התורה הזאת.  
אלהי עד שלא נוצרתי איני כדי. ועכשיו שנוצרתי כאילו לא נוצרתי.  
עפר אני בחיי. קל וחומר במיתחתי. הריני לפניך ה' אלהי ככלי מלא בושח  
וכלימה. יהי רצון מלפניך ה' אלהי שלא אחטא. ומה שחטאתי מרוק ברחמיך  
הרבים. אבל לא על ידי יסורין. יהיו לרצון אמרי פי והגיון לבי לפניך  
ה' צורי וגואלי.

16) וידוי של הרמב"ם במשנה תורה, הלכות תשובה א', א'.

כל מצות שבחורה בין עשה ובין לא תעשה אם עבר אדם על אחת מהן בין בזדון בין בשגגה כשיעשה תשובה וישוב מחטאו חייב להתודות לפני האל ברוך הוא שנאמר איש או אשה כי יעשו רגו' והתודו את חטאתם אשר עשו זה וידוי דברים. וידוי זה מצות עשה. כיצד מתודין אומר אנא השם חטאתי עויתי פשעתי לפניך ועשיתי כך וכך והרי נחמתי ובושתי במעשי ולעולם איני חוזר לדבר זה. וזהו עיקרו של וידוי. וכל המרבה להתודות ומאריך בענין זה הרי זה משוכח. וכן בעלי חטאות ואשמות בעת שמביאין קרבנותיהן על שגגתן או על זדונן אין מחכפר להן בקרבנם עד שיעשו תשובה. ויתודו וידוי דברים שנאמר והתודה אשר חטא עליה. וכן כל מחוייבי מיתות בית דין ומחוייבי מלקות אין מחכפר להן במיתתן או בלקייתן עד שיעשו תשובה ויתודו.

17) וידוי שכיב מרע בחורת האדם של הרמב"ן, שער הסוף.

וסדר וידוי שכיב מרע כך קבלנו מחסידים ואנשי מעשה. מודה אני לפניך ה' אלהי ואלהי אבותי שרפואתי בידך ומיתתי בידך. יהי רצון מלפניך שתרפאני רפואה שלמה. ואם אמות תהא מיתתי כפרה על כל עונותי וחטאים ופשעים שחטאתי ושעויתי ושפשעתי לפניך. והן חלקי בג"ע. וזכני לעוה"ב הצפון לצדיקים.

18) וידוי שכיב מרע מובאה בשולחן ערוך, יורה דעה של"ח, א'-ב'.

נסה למות אומרים לו התודה ואומרים לו הרבה התודו ולא מתו והרבה שלא התודו ומתו ובשכר שאתה מתודה אתה חי וכל המתודה יש לו חלק לעולם הבא ואם אינו יכול להתודות בפיו יתודה בלבו (הגה: ואם אינו יודע להתודות אומרים לו אמור מיתתי תהא כפרה על כל עונותי) וכל אלו הדברים אין אומרים לו בפני ע"ה ולא בפני נשים ולא בפני קטנים שמא יבכו וישברו לבו: סדר וידוי שכיב מרע מודה אני לפניך ה' אלהי ואלהי אבותי שרפואתי ומיתתי



בִּידֵךְ יְהִי רְצוֹן מִלִּפְנֵיךְ שְׁתַּרְפְּאֵינִי רַפּוּאָה שְׁלִימָה וְאִם אִמּוֹת תְּהֵא מִיַּתְחִי כִּפְרָה  
עַל כָּל חַטָּאִים וְעוֹנוֹת וּפְשָׁעִים שְׁחַטָּאִי וְשַׁעֲוִיתִי וּשְׁפָשַׁעִי לִפְנֵיךְ וְחֵן חֲלָקִי בְּגֵן  
עֵדֶן וְזִכְנִי לַעֲוֹה"ב הַצִּמּוֹן לְצַדִּיקִים. (הִגָּה: וְאִם רּוּצָה לְהֵאֲרִיךְ כּוֹיְדוֹי יו"כ  
הַרְשׁוּת בִּידוֹ):

(19) וִידוֹי שְׁכִיב מִרַּע לְסַפְרֵדִים.  
(The Book of Prayer ed. by Moses Gaster)

רְבוֹן הָעוֹלָמִים. בַּעַל הַסְּלִיחוֹת וְהַרְחִמִים. יְהִי רְצוֹן מִלִּפְנֵיךְ יִי אֱלֹהֵי  
וְאֱלֹהֵי אֲבוֹתֵי. שִׁיעֲלָה זְכוּרֹנִי לִפְנֵי כְּסֵא כְבוֹדְךָ לְטוֹבָה. וְרֵאָה בְּעֵינַי. כִּי אֵין  
מִחוּס בְּבִשְׂרִי מִפְּנֵי זַעֲמָךְ. אֵין שְׁלוֹם בְּעַצְמִי מִפְּנֵי חַטָּאִי: וְעַתָּה אֱלֹהֵי סְלִיחוֹת.  
הִסָּה אֵלַי חֲסִדֶּיךָ. וְאַל תִּכּוֹא בְּמִשְׁפַּט אַח-עֲבֹדְךָ. וְאִם קִרְבָּה עַת פְּקוּדָתִי לְמוֹת.  
אֲחִידוּחְךָ לַעֲדוּקָתִי לֹא תִמוּשׁ. כְּכָתוּב בְּחוֹרְתָךְ. שְׁמַע יִשְׂרָאֵל יִי אֱלֹהֵינוּ יִי אֶחָד:  
בְּרוּךְ שֶׁם כְּבוֹד מַלְכוּתוֹ לְעוֹלָם וָעֶד:  
מוֹדָה אֲנִי לִפְנֵיךְ יִי אֱלֹהֵי וְאֱלֹהֵי אֲבוֹתֵי. אֵל אֱלֹהֵי הָרוּחוֹת לְכָל בִּשְׂרׁ.  
שְׁרַפּוּאִתִּי בִּידְךָ. וּמִיַּתְחִי בִּידְךָ: יְהִי רְצוֹן מִלִּפְנֵיךְ שְׁתַּרְפְּאֵינִי רַפּוּאָה שְׁלֵמָה.  
וִיעֲלָה זְכוּרֹנִי וְתַפְלָתִי לִפְנֵיךְ כְּתַפְלַת חֲזָקִיָּה בְּחִלּוֹתֵי. וְאִם קִרְבָּה עַת פְּקוּדָתִי לְמוֹת.  
תְּהֵא מִיַּתְחִי כִּפְרָה לְכָל-חַטָּאִי וְלְכָל-עוֹנוֹתִי וְלְכָל-פְּשָׁעִי. שְׁחַטָּאִי וְשַׁעֲוִיתִי וּשְׁפָשַׁעִי  
לִפְנֵיךְ מִיּוֹם הַיּוֹחֵי. וְתֵן חֲלָקִי בְּגֵן עֵדֶן. וְזִכְנִי לְעוֹלָם הַכֹּא הַצִּמּוֹן לְצַדִּיקִים.  
וְתוֹדִיעֵנִי אֶרֶץ חַיִּים. שֶׁבַע שְׁמָחוֹת אַתְּ פִּנִּיךְ. נְעִימּוֹת בִּימִינְךָ נִצַּח. בְּרוּךְ אַתָּה  
יִי. שׁוֹמֵעַ תַּפְלָה:

אֲנֵא. כִּכָּח גְּדֻלַּת יְמִינְךָ. תַּחֲרִיר צְרוּרָה: קֶבֶל רִנָּה עִמָּךְ. שְׁגַבְנוּ סְהַרְנוּ  
נִוְרָא. נָא גְבוּר. דּוּרְשִׁי יְחוּדְךָ. כְּבַבְתָּ שְׁמִרָם. בְּרַכְתָּ סְהַרְם. רַחֲמֵי צְדָקָתְךָ.  
חֲמִיד גְּמִלָּם: חֲסִין קְדוּשָׁה. כְּרוּב טוֹכְךָ. נֵהַל עֲדָתְךָ: יַחֲדִיר גֵּאָה. לַעֲמָךְ פְּנָה.  
זוֹכְרִי קְדֻשָּׁתְךָ: שְׁבַעֲתֵינוּ קֶבֶל. וּשְׁמַע צַעֲקָתֵנוּ. יוֹדַע תַּעֲלָמוֹת:  
וְיֵהִי נֶעַם אֲדֹנֵי אֱלֹהֵינוּ עֲלֵינוּ. וּמַעֲשֵׂה יְדֵינוּ כּוֹנְנָה עֲלֵינוּ. וּמַעֲשֵׂה  
יְדֵינוּ כּוֹנְנָהוּ:

וְיֵהִי בְּשָׁלְשִׁים שָׁנָה. כְּרַבִּיעִי בַּחֲמֵשֶׁה לַחֲדָשׁ. וְאֲנִי בְּתוֹךְ הַגּוֹלָה עַל נֵהַר

כבר. נפתחו השמים. ואראה מראות אלהים: בשנת מות המלך עזיהו. ואראה  
 את-אדני ישב על כסא רם ונשא. ושוליו מלאים את-ההיכל: שרפים עמדים  
 ממעל לו. שש כנפים שש כנפים לאחד. בשתים יכסה פניו. ובשתים יכסה  
 רגליו. ובשתים יעופף: וקרא זה אל זה ואמר. קדוש קדוש קדוש יי צבאות.  
 מלא כל-הארץ כבודו: שמע ישראל יי אלהינו יי אחד: יי הוא האלהים.  
 יי הוא האלהים: יי מלך. יי מלך. יי ימלך לעולם ועד: משה אמר. וחורחו  
 אמת: לישועתך קויתי יי: שמח נפש עבדך. כי אליך יי נפשי אשא: בידך  
 אפקיד רוחי. פדיתה אותי יי אל אמת:

(20) וידוי שכיב מרע מחדריך הרבנים של C.C.A.R. -  
 (Rabbi's Manual ed. by C.C.A.R.)

אלהי ואלהי אבותי. הבא לפניך תפלתי ואל תחעלם מתחנוני. ותכפר לי  
 על-כל-חטאתי שחטאתי לפניך מעודי עד היום הזה: בשחי וגם נכלמתי ממעשי  
 הרעים. הסכלתי כי עשיתי: סרתי ממצותיך וממשפטיך הטובים ולא שוה לי.  
 ואתה צדיק על כל הבא עלי כי אמת עשית ואני הרשעתי:  
 מה אומר לפניך יושב מרום ומה אספר לפניך שוכן שחקים. הלא כל-הנסחרות  
 והנגלות אתה יודע: אתה יודע רזי עולם ותעלומות סתרי כל-חי. אתה חופש  
 כל-חדרי כסן ובוהן כליות ולב. אין דבר נעלם ממך. ואין נסתר מנגד עיניך:  
 ובכן יהי רצון מלפניך יי אלהי ואלהי אבותי שתסלח לי על-כל-חטאתי ותמחל  
 לי על-כל-עוונותי ותכפר לי על-כל-פשעי:  
 אבי יתומים ודין אלמנות רחם על קרובי היקרים. היה להם למגן ולמחסה.  
 חלצם מכל צרה והנחם בדרך ישרה:  
 מודה אני לפניך יי אלהי ואלהי אבותי שעתותי בידך. על כן בידך  
 אפקיד רוחי, פדית אותי יי אל אמת: ברוך אתה יי אדון הרחמים והסליחות:  
 יי מלך יי מלך יי ימלך לעולם ועד:  
 ברוך שם כבוד מלכותו לעולם ועד:  
 יי הוא האלהים:

שמע ישראל יהוה אלהינו יהוה אחד:

(21) וידוי לחולה

(Totza-oth Hayyim ed. by S. Baer)

אלהי ואלהי אבותי חבא לפניך חפתי ואל תחעלם ממחנותי, חכפר-לי על-  
כל-חטאתי שחטאתי לפניך מעודי עד היום הזה הסכלתי כי עשיתי בשתי וגם  
נכלמתי כי השאור שבעסתי הוא השיאני למרדתי: קח נא עניי ומרודי לכפרתי  
ומחל למשובתי כי לך לבדך חטאתי:  
אשמתי בגדתי גזלתי דברתי דפי העויתי והרשעתי זדתי חמסתי טפלתי שקר  
יעצתי רע כזבתי לצחי מרדתי נאצתי סררתי עויתי פשעתי צררתי קשיתי ערף  
רשעתי שחתי תעבתי תעייתי תעתעתי.  
סרתי ממצותיך וממשפטיך הטובים ולא שוה לי: ואחה צדיק על כל-הבא  
עלי כי אמת עשית ואני הרשעתי:

מה אומר לפניך יושב מרום, ומה אספר לפניך שוכן שחקים, הלא כל-הנסתרות  
והנגלות אחה יודע: אחה יודע רזי עולם ותעלומות סתרי כל-חי: אחה חופש  
כל-חדרי בטן, ובוטח כליות ולב: אין דבר נעלם ממך ואין נסתר מנגד עיניך:  
ובכן יהי רצון מלפניך יי אלהי ואלהי אבותי שחטלה-לי על-כל-חטאתי ותמחל-לי  
על-כל-פשעי ותכפר-לי על-כל-עוונותי:

על חטאים שחטאתי לפניך באנס וברצון, והאמוץ הלב, ובבלי דעה, ובבטי  
שפתי: ועל חטאים שחטאתי לפניך בגלוי ובסתר, ובגלוי עריות, ובדבור פה,  
ובדעה ובמרמה: ועל חטאים שחטאתי לפניך בהונאה רע, ובהרהור הלב, ובועידת  
זנות, ובדורי פה: ועל חטאים שחטאתי לפניך בזלזול הורים ומורים, ובזדון  
ובשגגה, ובחזק יד, ובחלול השם: ועל חטאים שחטאתי לפניך בסמאת שפתים,  
ובטפשות פה, וביצר הרע, וביודעים ובלא יודעים:

ועל כלם אלוה סליחות סלח-לי, מחל-לי, כפר-לי:

ועל חטאים שחטאתי לפניך בכחש ובכזב, ובכפת-שחד, ובלצון, ובלשון  
הרע, ובמשא ובמתן, ובמאכל ובמשחה, ובנשך ובמרבית, ובנטיה גרון, ובשיח

שפתי, ובשקור עין, ובעינים רמות, ובעזות מצח, ובפריקת על, ובפלילות  
ובצדיה רע, ובצרות עין, ובקלות ראש, ובקשיות ערף, ובריצת רגלים להרע,  
וברכילות, ובשבועת שוא, ובשנאת חנם, ובחשומת יד, ובתמהון לבב:

ועל כלם אלוה סליחות סלח-לי, מחל-לי, כפר-לי:

ועל חטאים שאני חייב עליהם קרבן עולה וחטאת וקרבן עולה ויורד וקרבן

אשם ודי וחלוי:

ועל חטאים שאני חייב עליהם מלקות ארבעים, ומכת מרדות, וכרת, וערירות,

ומיתה בידי שמים, וארבע מיתות בית דין סקילה שרפה הרב וחנק:

ועל כלם אלוה סליחות סלח-לי, מחל-לי, כפר-לי:

אלהי, עד שלא נוצרתי אני כדי, ועכשו שנוצרתי כאלו לא נוצרתי.

עפר אני בחיי, קל וחמר במיתתי. הרי אני לפניך ככלי מלא כושה וכלמה.

יהי רצון מלפניך יי אלהי ואלהי אבותי שלא אחטא עוד. ומה שחטאתי לפניך

מרק ברחמיך הרבים. אבל לא על ידי יסורים וחלים רעים: יהיו לרצון אמרי-פי

והגיון לבי לפניך יי צורי וגאלי. וכאשר גאלת אותי כל-ימי חיי מצרות

רבות ורעות בחסדך הגדול, כן חבאל, אותי עתה מן-מרעי ואל-חסיר חסדך מאיתי

לעולם ועד ושלח לי רפואה שלמה עם כל-חולי עמך ישראל, ואורך יי לעולם,

אמן ואמן:

## Chapter II: Tzidduq Hadin

(22) אל מלא רחמים.  
(Hamadrikh ed. by Hyman Goldin)

אל מלא רחמים, שוכן בפרומים, המצא מנוחה נכונה תחת כנפי השכינה,  
במעלות קדושים וטהורים כזוהר הרקיע מזהירים, את נשמת (פכ"פ) שהלך לעולמו,  
בעבור שנדבו צדקה בעד הזכרת נשמתו, בגן עדן תהא מנוחחו. לכן בעל הרחמים  
יסתירהו בסתר כנפיו לעולמים, ויצרור בצרור החיים את נשמתו, יי הוא נחלתו,  
וינוח בשלום על מסכבו. ונאמר אמן.

(23) צדוק הדין.  
(Hamadrikh ed. by Hyman Goldin)

הצור חמים פעלו כי כל דרכיו משפט, אל אמונה ואין עול, צדיק וישר  
הוא. הצור חמים בכל פעל, מי יאמר לו מה תפעל, השליט במטה ובמעל, ממי  
ומחיה, מוריד שאל ויעל.  
הצור חמים בכל מעשה, מי יאמר לו מה תעשה, האמר ועשה, חסד חנם לנו  
תעשה, ובזכות הנעקד כשה, הקשיבה ועשה.  
צדיק בכל דרכיו הצור חמים, ארך אפים ומלא רחמים, חמל נא וחוס נא  
על אבות ובנים, כי לך, אדון, הסליחות והרחמים.  
צדיק אתה יי להמית ולהחיות, אשר בידך פקדון כל רוחות, חלילה לך  
זכרוננו למחות, ויהיו נא עיניך כרחמים עלינו פקחות, כי לך, אדון, הרחמים  
והסליחות.  
אדם אם בן שנה יחיה, או אלף שנים יחיה, מה יתרון לו, כלא היה יהיה,  
ברוך דין האמת, ממיט ומחיה.  
ברוך הוא כי אמת דינו, ומשוטט הכל בעינו, ומשלם לאדם חשבונו ודינו,  
והכל לשמו הודיה יחנו.

ידענו יי כי צדק משפטך, תצדק בדברך וחזכה בשפטך, ואין להרהר אחר  
 מדת שפטך, צדיק אתה יי, כי ישר משפטך.  
 דין אתה, שופט צדק ואתה, ברוך דין האמת, שכל משפטיו צדק ואתה, נפש  
 כל חי בידך, צדק מלאה ימינך, רחם על פלסט צאן ידיך, וחאמר למלאך הרף  
 ידך.  
 גדל העצה ורב העליליה, אשר עיניך פקחות על כל דרכי בני אדם, לתת  
 לאיש כדרכיו וכפרי מעלליו. להגיד כי ישר יי, צורי ולא עולתה בו.  
 יי נתן ויי לקח, יהי שם יי מברך. והוא רחום יכפר עון ולא ישחית,  
 והרבה להשיב אפו, ולא יעיר כל חמתו.

(24) ברכה בכניסה לבית הקברות.  
 (Authorized Daily Prayer Book ed. by Joseph Hertz)

ברוך אתה יי אלהינו מלך העולם. אשר-יצר אחכם בדין. וזן וכלכל  
 אחכם בדין. והמית אחכם בדין. ויודע מספר כלכם בדין. ועתיד להחזיר  
 ולהחיותכם בדין. ברוך אתה יי. מחיה המתים:  
 אתה גבור לעולם אדני. מחיה מתים אתה רב להושיע: מכלכל חיים בחדש.  
 מחיה מתים ברחמים רבים. סומך נופלים. ורופא חולים. ומחיר אסורים.  
 ומקים אמונתו לישני עפר. מי כמוך בעל גבורות ומי דומה לך. מלך ממית  
 ומחיה ומצמיח ישועה. ונאמן אתה להחיות מתים:

(25) הקפות למת לספרדים.  
 (The Book of Prayer ed. by Moses Gatser)

(א) רחם נא עליו אל אלהים חיים. ומלך עולם כי עמך מקור חיים. ותמיד  
 יתהלך בארצות החיים. ותנוח נפשו בצרור החיים: ותמיד  
 (ב) חנוך ברוב רחמיו יכפר את עוניו. ומעשיו הטובים יהיו לנגד עיניו.  
 ויהיה לעומתו עם כל נאמניו. ויתהלך לפניו בארצות החיים: ותמיד וכו'



- (ג) זכרון טוב יהיה לו לפני צורו. להנחיל חיל יוצרו להביא אורו.  
לקיים חזיונו וחזיון מאמרו. כי בריתי היתה אתו החיים והשלום. ותנוח  
נפשו בצרור החיים: ותמיד וכו'
- (ד) שערי שמים תמצא נפתחים. ועיר שלום תחזה ומשכנות מבטחים. ומלאכי  
השלום לקראתך שמחים. וכהן הגדול לקבלך יעמוד. ואהה לך לקץ ותנוח ותעמוד:  
ותמיד וכו'
- (ה) נשמחך חלך למערת המכפלה. ומשם לכרובים שם אל ירעה לה. ושם  
פנקס תקבל לגן עדן שבילה. ושם תחזה עמוד משוך מלמעלה. ושם תעלה מרום  
ולא בחוץ תעמוד. ואהה לך לקץ ותנוח ותעמוד: ותמיד וכו'
- (ו) שערי המקדש יפתח מיכאל. ויקריב נשמחך לקרבן לפני אל. ויתחבר  
עמן המלאך הגואל. עד שערי ערבות אשר שם ישראל. בנועם מקום זה תהי זוכה  
לעמוד. ואהה לך לקץ ותנוח ותעמוד: ותמיד וכו'
- (ז) תהי נפשך צרורה בצרור החיים. עם ראשי ישיבות וראשי גליות.  
עם ישראלים וכוהנים ולויים. ועם שבע כחות של צדיקים וחסידים. ובגן  
עדן תנוח ותעמוד. ואהה לך לקץ ותנוח ותעמוד: ותמיד וכו'

## (26) צדוק הדין לספרדים

(The Book of Prayer ed. by Moses Gaster)

צדיק אהה יי. וישר משפטיך: צדיק יי בכל-דרכיו. וחסיד בכל-מעשיו:  
צדקה צדק לעולם. ותורתך אמת: משפטי יי אמת. צדקו יחדו. באשר דבר  
מלך שלטון. ומי יאמר-לו מה-תעשה: והוא באחד ומי ישיבנו. ונפשו אותה  
ויעש: הצור חמים פעלו. כי כל-דרכיו משפט: אל אמונה ואין עול. צדיק  
וישר הוא: דין אמת. שופט צדק ואמת. ברוך דין האמת. כי כל-משפטי  
צדק ואמת:

## (27) ברכה בכניסה לביה קברות לספרדים.

(The Book of Prayer ed. by Moses Gaster)

ברוך אתה יי אלהינו מלך העולם אשר יצר אתכם בדין. והחיה אתכם בדין.  
 וזן אתכם בדין. ויודע מספר כלכם בדין. והוא עתיד להחיותכם ולהקיםכם  
 בדין: ברוך אתה יי מחיה המתים:

(28) אל מלא רחמים על בזרח ח"ח ות"ט  
 ('Amudé Ha'abhodah by L. Landshuth)

אל מלא רחמים שוכן במרומים, המציא מנוחה נכונה, בסתר כנפי השכינה,  
 במעלות קדושים וטהורים, כזוהר הרקיע מזהירים, גבורי כח לשמוע בקול יוצר  
 הרים, בחורתם ובמעשיהם הטובים היו מאירים לארץ ולדרים, שנת חמשת אלפים  
 וארבע מאות ושמונה ליצירה, היחה עת לקבץ נדחי ישראל שה פזורה, מפי סופרים  
 וספרים יודעי רזי החורה, קוינו לשלום ואין קץ ויצאה בנו יד יי ונלקח  
 כל הדרה, פולין קטן, וליטא, ורוסיה ואקריינא, וגליל, ורואלין, ופאדאליא,  
 כולם ישבו שקט ושאננה סלה כל אבירי ומחמדינו, ממרום שלח אש בעצמותינו  
 וירדנה, נהרגו ראשי ישיבות והורים ומורים נשפך דמם כנחלי מים המוגרים,  
 קרבו עצמן הראש והנחחים והפורים, לקרבן אשה ליי יוצר וצר צורים, פרנסים  
 וחזנים ושאר אנשים הגונים, נהרגו על ידי גוי עז פנים. ואבות ואמהות  
 וילדים רכים וקטנים נתפלו בחוצה ונדרכו כעצים ואבנים. בחורים ובחולות  
 וחתנים וכלות המקושרים באהבה כעבדות, נדרכו גופם ונרמסו בגתוח, המסולאים  
 בפז והאמונים עלי חולע חבקו אשפות. מסרו נפשם על קדושת השם האדיר  
 והמיוחד מחיה וממות. מלמדים ותלמידים וסופרים ספרים, דורשי רשומות  
 וגזירות שוות קלים וחמורים, מהם המיתו אכזרים במיחות חמורים מהם קברו  
 חיים בקברים, מהם הסביעו בכורת הצובים ובמים אדירים. מי יוכל לספר  
 הרוגים למאות ולאלפים. חצרור נפשם בצרור החיים וכהיות הקדש ושרפים,  
 לא יוכל לספר אוהן לשוני ושפתי, וחנקוט נקמתם מהרה ככתוב: ונקמתי דמם  
 לא נקתי. מעט זמן ורווחה והשקט שקטנו, עד שנת תס"ז לאלף הששי בפולין  
 גדול כמעט אבדנו, היו עלינו גזרות כהנה וכהנה, נהי בכי קינה ויללה,  
 גדלה בכל פלך וקהילה, ונהרגו גדולי ישראל בחורה וגדולה, ואחזחנו בנו

רעה וחלחלה, כל ראש לחלי וכל לבכות דווים. על הרב הגדול דק"ק וורעשנא חסדת ישראל מהר"ר אפרים, ועל הרב הגדול החסיד אב"ד דק"ק זלאטווי מזרע הלויים, פרשו עליהם מכמורת וסבכו אותם ונשפך דמם כאלים וצבויים, מלאכי שלום מר יבכיון כמרומים, על הרב הגדול מוהר"ר זעליג אב"ד דק"ק לובזענץ שנאלו ראשו בקרומים. קדוש יאמר לו על עקדת יצחק על אחד ההרים, על הרב הגדול דק"ק ראגשני שהמיתו אותו וקידש שם המיוחד אדיר באדירים, על הרובי לונטשיץ ופקיש ולעסלא יקונן המקונן ויספיד הספודים, ועל שאר קהלות ויחידים תמימים וישרים, אספד מר וחבכה נפשי במסתרים, כי היתה אוי ואבוי ושוד על שברים. ועל הקדושים וטהורים הרב הגדול והחסיד וקדוש מוהר"ר אריה יהודא יעקב במוהר"ר יוסף דרשן דק"ק פוזנן אשר אור תורתו היה מאיר לארץ ולדרים. ונספל עם הסהור טהור נכרא קדשה איש ירא אלהים וחמים במעשיו ה"ה הקדוש מוהר"ר אברהם יעקב בהחבר ר' פינחס יצחק שחלן הגדול דק"ק פוזנן שסכלו ענוים קשים ומרים, כיום הקדוש ונורא יום הכפורים וקדשו שם המיוחד אדיר באדירים, תחשב דמם כדם פרים, ויסוריין הממרקין אבריהם כאמורים ופדרים. גם לזאת יחרד לבי ומעי הומים כהומין, על גזירות שאר ארצות אשכנז וצרפת ואספמא. שם היתה תורה וגדולה כיושכי ירושלים. ויר יי היתה בס גזירה אחר גזירה. בכפלי כפלים רבנים גדולים לתורה ולתעודה. באוני ארץ מקהילי קהילת לבתי מדרשות בית וועדה. בעלי פוסקים ובעלי קבלה. מחברי ספרים בלי שיעור ומדה, לא יאומן כי יסופר כחידה, מה נאמר ומה נדבר על בתי כנסיות מעט מקדשות ובתי מדרשות, שם הכל קסנים וגדולים רוחשות ורעשות. ראה יי והביטה כי באו גוים מקדשה וטמאו כל טהרה כטמאת הנדה. הושיעה יי כי באו בנים עד משבר וכח אין ללידה. אם עלבון בניך נשחוק בשתיקה, מה חעשה לתורתך הקדושה והיקרה מפנינים ומדבש מתוקה, כמה ספרי תורה וספרים קרעו כחער השכיר, גווילם נשרפים ואותיות פורחים לאוירים, העל אלה תחאפק ותחשה, עד מתי לא תנקום נקמת עמך ישראל ונקמת תורתך הקדושה. העל אלה תחאפק רם גאה גאה, למה תהיה כאיש נדהם כגבור לא יוכל להושיע. מנחם חשבי מבשר ואומר תשלח לנו בן דוד עני ורוכב על החמור, להשיב לב אבות

על כנים, ולב בנים על אבותם, ולעורר נפשות עמך ישראל מקבורתם. והם יראו  
השמחתינו ואנחנו בשמחתם במהרה בימינו ונאמר אמן.

(29) חלמוד בבלי עבודה זרה י"ח, א'.

בשעה שיצאו שלשתן צדקו עליהם את הדין הוא אמר הצור חמים פעלו [וגו']  
ואשחו אמרה אל אמונה ואין עול בחר אמרה גדול העצה ורב העלילה אשר עיניך  
פקוהות על כל דרכי וגו' אמר רבי [כמה] גדולים צדיקים הללו שנזדמנו להן  
שלוש מקראות של צדק הדין בשעה צדק הדין.

(30) צדק הדין בסדר רב עמרם גאון.  
(Oxford Manuscript: Opp. Add. 4<sup>o</sup>28)

צדק הדין על המת. הצור חמים פעלו כי כל דרכיו משפט. אל אמונה  
ואין עול צדיק וישר הוא. הצור חמים בכל פועל. ופי יאמר לו מה תפעל.  
השליט בתחת ובמעל. ממית ומחיה מוריד שאל ויעל. הצור חמים בכל מעשה.  
ומי יאמר לו מה תעשה. בוזר ועושה. חנם לנו תעשה. ובזכות הנעקד כשה.  
הקשיבה ועשה. צדיק בכל דרכיו הצור חמים. ארך אפים ומלא רחמים. חמל נא  
חוס על אבות ובנים. כי לך אדון סליחות ורחמים. דיין אמת. שופט בצדק  
ואמת. ברוך דיין האמת. כי כל מעשיו צדק ואמת. ראש דבריו אמת המתים  
להחיות והחיים להמית. יתעלה ויתנשא שמו כי הוא האל אלהים אמת. וכל  
דרכיו צדק ומשפט ואורחותיו חסד ואמת. צדק ומשפט כל דרכיו. חסד ואמת  
אורחותיו. משוא פנים אין לפניו. עלינו יהמו רחמיו. כי כלנו מעשה ידיו.  
והוא רחום יכפר עון ולא ישחית והרבה להשיב אפו ולא יעיר כל חמתו. הנה  
מקום הנה מלון. הנה מנוחה והנה נחלה. אשרי כל אשר יאמר לו באסיפתו  
שלום בואו. מלאכי השלום הממונים על שערי שלום. הם יצאו לקראתו ויאמרו  
לו שלום בואו. מלאכי הרחמים הממונים על שערי הרחמים. הם יצאו לקראתו  
ויאמרו לו שלום בואו. יבא שלום ינוחו על משכבו. יבא שלום וינוחו במנוחתו.

יבא שלום וינוחו בבית עולמו.

(31) צדוק הדין בסדר רב עמרם גאון.

(Oxford Manuscript: Genizah Fragment Heb. C20)

צדוק הדין שאומרים על המת. הצור חמים פעלו... הצור חמים בכל פועל  
... הצור חמים בכל מעשה. צדיק ויוצר כל מעשה. וחסיד בכל אשר תעשה.  
שליש חפצו עושה. ומי יאמר לו מה תעשה: דין אמת... כי כל משפטיו חסד  
ואמת: אדם אם יחיה אלף שנים. ושלטון משלו לצד ופנים. מבלי עשרו ירד  
באשמים. ובדין יעמד לפני אל אשר לא ישא פנים: צדק ומשפט בכל דרכיו.  
חסד ואמת אורחותיו. משוא פנים אין לפניו. [כי] כלנו מעשי ידיו: מלאכי  
שלום צאו לקראתו. ושערי גן עדן פתחו לו. [ותאמרו לו שלום] בואו. יבא  
שלום וינוח על משכבו. יבא שלום וינוח על קבורתו. [יבא שלום וינוח על]  
מנוחתו. יבא שלום וינוח על משכבו.

(32) צדוק הדין במחזור ויטרי רע"ז.

כשנושאים את המת לבית הקברות מניחין אותו ברחבה שלפני בית הקברות  
ועומדין סביב לו ואומ' החזן צדוק הדין והן עונין אחריו:  
הצור חמים פעלו כי כל דרכיו משפט. אל אמונה ואין עול צדיק וישר  
הוא: [והן] עונין אחריו [כמו] כן: וחוזר ומצדיק הדין והן עונין אחרי  
כל דיבור ודיבור הצור: הצור חמים פעלו. מי יאמר לו מה תפעל. צדיק במטה  
ובמפל. מוריד שאל ויעל: הצור: הצור חמים בכל מעשה. מי יאמר לו מה  
תעשה. חסד חנם עמנו עשה ובזכות הנעקד כשה: י"י הקשיבה ועשה. הצור:  
הצור חמים. מלא רחמים. חבש נא ממרומים. וחושיע מעוסי עמים. כי לך  
י"י הצדקה והרחמים: הצור: צדיק [אתה] להמית ולהחיות. אשר בידך פקדון  
כל רוחות. חלילה לך זכרוננו למחות. ויהיו נא ברחמים עיניך עלינו פקוחות.  
כי לך הרחמים והסליחות: הצור: ידענו כי צדק משפטיך. חצוק בדובריך  
תזכה בשופטיך. אין להרהר אחר מדת שפטיך. צדיק אתה וישר משפטיך: הצור:





### Chapter III: Qaddish

#### (33) קדיש שלם.

יחגדל ויתקדש שמה רבא בעלמא די ברא כרעותה; וימליך מלכותה בחייכון  
וביומיו, ובחיי דכל בית ישראל, בעגלא ובזמן קריב, ואמרו אמן.  
יהא שמה רבא מברך לעלם ולעלמי עלמא.  
יתברך וישתבח, ויתפאר ויתרומם, ויתנשא ויתהדר, ויתעלה ויתהלל שמה  
דקדשא, בריך הוא, לעלא (לעלא) מן כל ברכתא ושירתא, תשבחתא ונחמתא, דאמירן  
בעלמא, ואמרו אמן.  
תתקבל צלותהון ובעותהון דכל בית ישראל קדם אבוהון די בשמיא, ואמרו  
אמן.

יהא שלמא רבא מן שמיא, וחיים, עלינו ועל כל ישראל, ואמרו אמן.  
עשה שלום במרומיו, הוא יעשה שלום עלינו ועל כל ישראל, ואמרו אמן.

#### (34) חצי קדיש.

יחגדל ויתקדש שמה רבא בעלמא די ברא כרעותה; וימליך מלכותה בחייכון  
וביומיו, ובחיי דכל בית ישראל, בעגלא ובזמן קריב, ואמרו אמן.  
יהא שמה רבא מברך לעלם ולעלמי עלמא.  
יתברך וישתבח, ויתפאר ויתרומם, ויתנשא ויתהדר, ויתעלה ויתהלל שמה  
דקדשא, בריך הוא, לעלא (לעלא) מן כל ברכתא ושירתא, תשבחתא ונחמתא, דאמירן  
בעלמא, ואמרו אמן.

#### (35) קדיש דרבנן.

יחגדל ויתקדש שמה רבא בעלמא די ברא כרעותה; וימליך מלכותה בחייכון

וביום־יכון, ובחיי דכל בית ישראל, בעגלא ובזמן קריב, ואמרו אמן.

יהא שמה רבא מברך לעלם ולעלמי עלמא.

יתברך וישתבח, ויתפאר ויתרוםס, ויתנשא ויתהדר, ויתעלה ויתהלל שמה  
דקדשא, בריך הוא, לעלא (לעלא) מן כל ברכתא ושירתא, חשבחתא ונחמחא, דאמירן  
בעלמא, ואמרו אמן.

על ישראל ועל רבנן, ועל תלמידיהון ועל כל תלמידי תלמידיהון, ועל  
כל מן דעסקין באוריתא, די באחרא הון ודי בכל אתר ואחר, יהא להון ולכון  
שלמא רבא, חנא וחסדא ורחמין, וחיין אריכין, ומזוני רויחי, ופרקנא מן  
קדם אבוהון דבשמיא וארעא, ואמרו אמן.

יהא שלמא רבא מן שמיא, וחיים טובים, עלינו ועל כל ישראל, ואמרו

אמן.

עשה שלום במרומיו, הוא יעשה שלום עלינו ועל כל ישראל, ואמרו אמן.

(36) קדיש לאתחדחא.

יתגדל ויתקדש שמה רבא, בעלמא דהוא עתיד לאתחדחא, ולאחיא מתיא,  
ולאסקא לחיי עלמא ולמבני קרחא דירושלם, ולשכלל היכלה בגוה ולמעקר פולחנא  
נוכראה מארעא, ולאחבא פולחנא דשמיא לאתרה, וימליך קודשא בריך הוא במלכותה  
ויקרה, בחייכון וביום־יכון, ובחיי דכל בית ישראל בעגלא ובזמן קריב, ואמרו  
אמן.

יהא שמה רבא מברך, לעלם ולעלמי עלמא.

יתברך וישתבח, ויתפאר ויתרוםס ויתנשא ויתהדר ויתעלה ויתהלל, שמה  
דקדשא, בריך הוא, לעילא מן כל ברכתא ושירתא, חשבחתא ונחמחא דאמירן בעלמא,  
ואמרו אמן.

יהא שלמא רבא מן שמיא וחיים, עלינו ועל כל ישראל, ואמרו אמן.

עשה שלום במרומיו, הוא יעשה שלום עלינו ועל כל ישראל, ואמרו

אמן.

## (37) קדיש יחוס.

יחגדל ויתקדש שמה רבא בעלמא די ברא כרעותה; וימליך מלכותה בחייכון  
וביומיוון, ובחיי דכל בית ישראל, בעגלא ובזמן קריב, ואמרו אמן.  
יהא שמה רבא מברך לעלם ולעלמי עלמיה.  
יחברך וישתבח, ויתפאר ויתרום, ויתנשא ויתהדר, ויתעלה ויתהלל שמה  
דקדשא, בריך הוא, לעלא (לעלא) מן כל ברכתא ושירתא, חשבחתא ונחמתא, דאמירן  
בעלמא, ואמרו אמן.  
יהא שלמא רבא מן שמיא, וחיים, עלינו ועל כל ישראל, ואמרו אמן.  
עשה שלום במרומיו, הוא יעשה שלום עלינו ועל כל ישראל, ואמרו אמן.

## (38) קדיש לחדתא לספרדים.

(The Book of Prayer ed. by Moses Gaster)

יחגדל ויתקדש שמיא רבא (אמן): דהוא עתיד לחדתא עלמא. ולאחאה מתיא.  
ולשכללא היכלא. ולמפרק חייא. ולמכני קרתא דירושלם. ולמערק פולחנא  
דאליליא מארעא. ולאחבא פולחנא יקרא דשמיא להדריה וזיויה ויקריה (אמן):  
בחייכון וביומיוון ובחיי דכל בית ישראל בעגלא ובזמן קריב ואמרו אמן:  
יהא שמיא רבא מברך לעלם ולעלמי עלמיה.  
יחברך וישתבח ויתפאר ויתרום ויתנשא ויתהדר. ויתעלה. ויתהלל.  
שמיא דקדשא בריך הוא. לעילא מכל ברכתא. שירתא. חושבחתא. ונחמתא.  
דאמירן בעלמא ואמרו אמן: תחכלי חרבא. וכפנא. ומוחנא. ומרעין כישין.  
יעדי מננא ומנכון ומעל עמיה ישראל ואמרו אמן:  
יהא שלמא רבא מן שמיא (חיים). חיים. ושבע. וישועה. ונחמא.  
ושיזבא. ורפואה. וגאולה. וסליחה וכפרה. ורוח והצלה. לנו ולכל עמו  
ישראל ואמרו אמן:  
עושה שלום במרומיו הוא ברחמיו. יעשה שלום עלינו. ועל כל ישראל  
ואמרו אמן:

(39) מסכת סופרים י"ט, י"ב.

לאחר שיגמור החזן את תפלת המוסף הולך לו בבית הכנסת (תפלה של מוסף הולך לו אחורי דלתות של ביהכ"נ בו בפני הכנסת) ומוצא שם האכלים וכל קרובים (קרוביו) ואומר עליהם ברכה ואח"כ אומר קדיש ואין אומרים בעלמא דעתיד לחתא אלא על חלמיד הדרשן (החלמוד ועל הדרש).

(40) קדיש לאתחדאתא במחזור ויטרי רע"ס.

ואמר קדיש: ואינו אומרו אלא בעשרה. דכל דבר שבקדושה אינו בפחות מעשרה: יתגדל ויתקדש שמיא רבה בעלמא דהוא עתיד לאיחדאתא ולאחאה מחייה ולשכללא היכלא ולמיבני קרתא דירושלם ולמעיך פולחנא נוכראה מארענא. ולאחבא פולחן קודשא דשמיא לאחריה. וימליך קודשא בריך הוא מלכותיה ויקריה. (ויבע) [ויבא] משיחיה. ויצמח פורקניה. בחייכון וביומיכון ובחיי דכל בית ישראל. השתא בעגלא ובזמן קריב ואמרו אמן: יהא שמיא כו': יתברך וישחבה ויתפאר ויתרומם ויתנשא ויתהדר ויתעלה ויתהלל שמיא דקידשא בריך לעילא מן כל ברכתא שורתא תושבחתא ונחמתא דאמירן בעלמא הדין ודאיתאמרן בעלמא דאתי ואמרו אמן: יהא שלמא רבא מן שמיא כו'. עושה שלום כו':

(41) ילקוט שמעוני, ויקרא תכ"ט.

אל תקרי שומר אמונים אלא שאומרים אמן שבשביל אמן אחר שעונים רשעים מתוך גיהנם ניצולין מתוכו, כיצד עתיד הקב"ה להיות יושב בגן עדן ודורש וכל הצדיקים יושבים לפניו וכל פמליא של מעלה עומדים על רגליהם וחמה ומזלות מימינו של הקב"ה ולבנה וכוכבים משמאלו והקב"ה יושב ודורש תורה חדשה שעתיד ליתן ע"י משיח, וכיון שפסיים ההגדה עומד זרובכל בן שאלתיאל על רגליו ואמר יתגדל ויתקדש וקולו הולך מסוף העולם ועד סופו וכל באי עולם כלם עונים אמן, ואף רשעי ישראל וצדיקי עובדי אלילים שנשתיירו בגיהנם עונים ואומרים אמן מתוך גיהנם ומתרעש העולם עד שנשמע קול צעקתם לפני הקב"ה

והוא שואל מה קול הרעש הגדול אשר שמעתי ומשיבים מלאכי השרת ואומרים  
לפניו רבש"ע אלו רשעי ישראל וצדיקי עובדי אלילים שנשתיירו בגיהנם שעונים  
אמן ומצדיקים עליהם את הדין, מיד מתגלגלים רחמיו של הקב"ה עליהם ביותר  
ואומר מה אעשה להם יותר על דין זה כבר יצר הרע גרם להם, באותה שעה נוטל  
הקב"ה מפתח של גיהנם בידו ונותן להם למיכאל ולגבריאל בפני כל הצדיקים  
ואומר להם לכו ופתחו שערי גיהנם והעלו אותם, מיד הולכים עם המפתחות  
ופותחים שמונה אלף שערי גיהנם וכל גיהנם וגיהנם שלש מאות [פרסה] ארכו ושלש  
מאות רחבו ועוביו אלף פרסה ועמקו מאה פרסה וכל רשע ורשע שנופל לתוכו שוב  
אינו יכול לעלות, מה עושין מיכאל וגבריאל באותה שעה חופסין ביד כל אחד  
ואחד מהם ומעלים אותם כאדם שהוא מקים את חבירו ומעלהו בחבל מתוך הבור,  
שנאמר ויעלני מבור שאון, ועומדים עליהם באותה שעה ורוחצין וסבין אותם  
ומרפאין אותם ממכות של גיהנם ומלבישים אותם בגדים נאים ומביאים אותם  
לפני הקב"ה ולפני כל הצדיקים כשהם מכוהנים ומכובדים.

(42) אור זרוע, הלכות שבת נ'.

מעשה בר' עקיבה שראה אדם אחד שהיה ערום ושחור כפחם והיה טוען על  
ראשו כסען עשרה סעונים והיה רץ במרוצת הסוס גזר עליו ר' עקיבה והעמידו  
ואמר לאותו האיש למה אתה עושה עבודה קשה כזאת אם עבד אתה ואדונך עושה  
לך כך אני אפדה אותך מידו ואם עני אתה אני מעשיר אותך א"ל בבקשה ממך  
(א"ל) [אל] תעכבני שמא ירגזו עלי אותם הממונים עלי א"ל מה זה ומה מעשיך  
אמר לו אותו האיש מת הוא ובכל יום ויום שולחים אותי לחסוב עצים ושורפין  
אותי בדם וא"ל בני מי הייתה מלאכתך בעולם שכאח ממנו א"ל גבאי המס הייתי  
והייתי מראשי העם ונושא פנים לעשירים והורג עניים א"ל כלום שמעת מן הממונים  
עליך אם יש לך תקנה א"ל בבקשה ממך אל תעכבני שמא ירגזו עלי בעלי פורענות  
שאותו האיש אין לו תקנה אלא שמעתי מהם דבר שאינו יכול להיות שאילמלי היה  
לו לזה העני בן שהוא עומד בקהל ואומר ברכו את ה' המבורך ועונין אחריו  
ברוך ה' המבורך לעולם ועד או יאמר יתגדל ועונין אחריו יש"ר מברך מיד

מתירין אותו האיש מן הפורענות ואותו האיש לא הניח בן בעולם ועזב אשתו מעוברת וא"י אם תלד זכר מי מלמדו שאין לאותו האיש אהוב בעולם באותה שעה קיבל עליו ר"ע לילך ולחפש אם הוליד בן כדי שילמדו תורה ויעמידו לפני הצבור א"ל מה שמך א"ל עקיבה ושום אנחתך א"ל שושניבא ושום קרתך א"ל לודקיא מיד נצטער ר"ע צער גדול והלך ושאל עליו כיון שבא לאותו מקום שאל עליו א"ל ישתחקו עצמותיו של אותו הרשע שאל על אשתו א"ל ימחה זכרה מן העולם שאל על הבן אמרו הרי ערל הוא אפ"י מצות מילה לא עסקנו מיד נטלו ר"ע ומלו והושיכו לפניו ולא היה מקבל תורה עד שישב עליו מ' יום בחעניית יצחה בח קול ואמרה לו ר' עקיבה לך ולמד לו הלך ולמדו תורה וק"ש וי"ח ברכות וברכת המזון והעמידו לפני הקהל ואמר ברכו את ה' המבורך וענו הקהל ברוך ה' המבורך לעולם ועד יתגדל יהא שמיא רבא באותה שעה מיד התירו המה מן הפרעניות מיד בא לר"ע כחלוס ואמר יהר"מ ה' שתנוח דעתך בגן עדן שהצלת אותי מדינה של גיהנם מיד פתח ר"ע ואמר יהי שמך ה' לעולם ה' זכרך לדור ודור וכן מצא מורי ה"ר אלעזר פוררמסא דתנא דבי אליהו רבא דקטן האומר יתגדל מציל אביו מן הפורענות:

(43) יש נוחלין, מכוא.

הרי נראה מכאן שקדיש וכרכו שיאמר החי. יועיל ויכפר על המת. והיתה נפשו בגללו. ולפי שאין כל האנשים נכונים ומזמנים לומר כל התפלה וקדיש וברכו בכל עת. ולא כל אדם יודע נגן בחור קהל ועדה. הקנו חכמים הראשונים דבר שיהיה לכל שיאמרו לפחות זה הקדיש כחרא שהוא דבר קל. וכל אדם יודע אפילו נער קטן. אבל וראי כל איש אשר נשאו לכו בחכמה אפילו ממקצח. יתפלל על הרוב מנחה וערבית ושחרית שכל עוד אשר יוסיף להתפלל ולהרבות באמירת הקדיש. נוחא ספי לנפשות המתים. ואפילו אין לו קול ערב. מ"מ יעמוד בצבור ויתפלל בפני העמוד ולא יבוש. ואשר אין בו כח או דעת להתפלל כל התפלה. יתפלל לכל הפחות למנצח וכא לציון וכו'. כי בזה מזכה אביו המת. ביחר עז וביחר שאת. משיאמר קדיש גרידא. וה"ה.



שאר זכיות ומצוות שעושה הבן אחר מיתת אביו. היא כפרה לנפש האב. אעפ"י דמנפשיה קעביד. כי הקדיש הזה אינו תפילה שיתפלל בן על האב לפני ה' שיעלהו משאול מטה. אלא זכות ומצוה היא למח בשכנו מקדש הש"ת ברבים. והקהל יענו אחריו אמן יש"ר וכו'. ק"ו כשיעשה הבן אחת ממצות ה' מצד צוואת אביו כי גדול המעשה.

(44) קדיש יחום כקהל בית חדש אשר בהמבורג.  
(Hamburg Temple Prayerbook ed. by S. Fränkel, M. Bresselau)

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

יתגדל ויתקדש שמה רבא. דהוא עתיד וחדתא עלמא. ולאחאה מתיא. וימליך מלכותיה בחייכון וביומיכון ובחיי דכל בית ישראל בעגלא ובזמן קריב ואמרו אמן.

והא שמה רבא מברך לעלם ולעלמי עלמא.  
יתברך וישתבח ויתפאר ויתרום ויתנשא ויתחדר ויעלה ויתהלל שמה דקודשא בריך הוא לעלא מן כל ברכתא ושירתא חשבחתא ונחמתא דאמירן בעלמא ואמרו אמן:

על ישראל. ועל צדיקא. ועל כל מן דאחפטר מן עלמא הדין ברעותיה דאלהא. יהא להון שלמא רבא. וחולקא טבא לחיי עלמא דאתי. וחסדא ורחמי. מן קדם מאריה שמיא וארעא. ואמרו אמן.  
יהא שלמה רבא מן שמיא. וחיים טובים. עלינו ועל כל ישראל. ואמרו אמן.

עשה שלום במרומיו. הוא ברחמיו יעשה שלום עלינו. ועל כל ישראל.  
ואמרו אמן:

(45) קדיש בק"ק שער ציון, לונדון.  
(Forms of Prayer ed. by D. W. Marks)

יתגדל ויתקדש שם הגדול: בעולם אשר ברא כרצונו. וימליך מלכותו.  
ויצמיח ישועתו. ויקרב משיחו. כחייכם ובימיכם והחיי כל בית ישראל במהרה  
ובזמן קרוב ואמרו אמן:  
יהי שם הגדול מבורך. לעולם ולעולמי עולמים:  
יתברך. וישתבח. ויתפאר. ויתרומם. ויתנשא. ויתהדר. ויתעלה. ויתהלל.  
שם הקדוש ברוך הוא: למעלה מן כל ברכות. שירות ותשבחות הנאמרים בעולם.  
ואמרו אמן:  
יהי שלום רב מן השמים. חיים. ושבע. וישועה. ונחמה. ורפואה.  
וגאולה. וסליחה. וכפרה. ורוח. והצלה. לנו. ולכל ישראל. ואמרו  
אמן:  
עשה שלום במרומיו. הוא יעשה שלום. עלינו ועל כל ישראל. ואמרו  
אמן:

(46) קדיש יחום של יוסף קרויסקופף.  
(The Service Manual ed. by Joseph Krauskopf)

יתגדל ויתקדש שמה רבא:  
אדם קצר ימים ושבע רגז כציץ יצא וימל ויברח כצל ולא יעמוד: הכל היה  
מן העפר והכל שב אל העפר: שם רשעים חדלו רגז ושם ינוחו יגיעי כח: יחד  
אסירים שאננו לא שמעו קול נגש קטן וגדל שם הוא: וישב העפר אל הארץ כשהיה  
והרוח תשוב אל האלהים אשר נחנה: בארץ צדקה חיים ודרך נתיבה אל-מות:  
על ישראל ועל כל מן דאחפטר מן עלמא הדין יהא להון שלמא רבא וחולקא  
טבא לחיי עלמא דאחי. וחטאא ורחמי מן קדם מרא שמיא וארעא. ואמרו אמן:  
עשה שלום במרומיו הוא יעשה שלום עלינו ואמרו אמן:

## (47) השכבה לאיש לספרדים.

(The Book of Prayer ed. by Moses Gaster)

טוב שם משמך טוב. ויום המות מיום הולדו: סוף דבר הכל נשמע.  
את האלהים ירא. ואת מצותיו שמור. כי זה כל האדם: יעלזו חסידים בכבוד.  
ירננו על משכבותם:

מנוחה נכונה. בישיבה עליונה. תחת כנפי השכינה. במעלת קדושים  
וטהורים. כזהר הרקיע מאירים ומזהירים. וחלוץ עצמים. וכפרת אשמים.  
והרחפת פשע. והקרבת ישע. וחמלה וחנינה. מלפני שוכן מעונה. וחלקא  
טבא. לחיי העולם הבא. שם תהא מנת ומחיצת וישיבת נפש השם הטוב (פלוגי) רוח יי  
חניחנו בגן עדן. דאחפטר מן עלמא הדן. כרעות אלהא מרה שמיא וארעא.  
מלך מלכי המלכים ברחמיו. ירחם עליו. ויחוס ויחמול עליו: מלך מלכי  
המלכים ברחמיו. יסתירהו בצל כנפיו ובסתר אהלו. לחזות בנעם יי ולבקר  
בהיכלו. לקץ הימין יעמידהו. ומנחל עדניו ישקהו. ויצרור בצרור החיים  
נשמתו. וישם כבוד מנוחתו. יי הוא נחלתו. וילוה אליו השלוש. ועל  
משכבו יהיה שלום. כדכתיב. יבוא שלום ינוחו על משכבותם. הולך נכוחו:  
הוא וכל שכבי עמו ישראל בכלל הרחמים והסליחות. וכן יהי רצון ונאמר אמן:

## (48) השכבה לאשה לספרדים.

(The Book of Prayer ed. by Moses Gaster)

אשת חיל מי ימצא. ורחוק מפנינים מברה:

(לבחולה מתחילין מכאן)

רבות בנוח עשו חיל ואת עליה על כלנה: שקר החן והבל היופי אשה  
יראת יי היא תהלהלל: חנו לה מפרי ידיה. ויהללוה כשערים מעשיה:  
רחמנא דרחמנותא דלה היא. ובמימרה אחבראו עלמיה. עלמא הדין ועלמא  
דאחי. וגנז ביה צדקניות וחסדניות דעבדן רעותה. ובמימרה וביקרה ובחקפה יאמר  
למיעל קדמוהי דכרן האשה הכבודה והצנועה והנכבדת מרת (פלוגית) רוח יי  
חניחנה בגן עדן. דאחפסרת מן עלמא הדין. כרעות אלהא מרה שמיא וארעא:

המלך ברחמיו יחוס ויחמול עליה. וילווה אליה השלום. ועל משכבה יהיה שלום.  
 כדכתיב. יבא שלום. ינוחו על משכבותם. הולך נכוחו: היא וכל בנוח  
 ישראל השוככות עמה. בכלל הרחמים והסליחות. וכן יהי רצון ונאמר אמן:

(49) השכבה לילד לספרדים.

(The Book of Prayer ed. by Moses Gaster)

רחמנא דרחם על אבהחנא קדישי ארעא ועל צדיקא וחסידיא דעבדין רעוהיה  
 דקודשא בריך הוא: הוא ברחמוהי ירחם על נפש עולימא הדין (פלוגי בן פלוגי).  
 רוח יי תניחהו בגן עדן. ויעיל יתיה לאשתעשעא בהדי צדיקא וחסידיא.  
 ויהי כקרבן דמחקבל ברעוא קדם מארי עלמא. ויהי קודשא בריך הוא סעיד  
 וסמין לאבוי ולאמיה. ויכבוש מנהון רוגזא וחמחא. ויחן להון בנין ובגן  
 דיחון. ויהון עסקין באוריתא. ויסיר מהם יגון ואנחה. וכן יהי רצון.  
 ונאמר. אמן:

# Chapter IV: Birkath Abhelim

(50) ברכת המזון לאכלים.

(Authorized Daily Prayer Book ed. by Joseph Hertz)

נברך מנחם אכלים שאכלנו משלו.

ועונין: ברוך מנחם אכלים שאכלנו משלו ובסובו חיינו:

ואומר ברכת המזון כרגיל, אבל במקום החלק מ-ובנה ירושלים עד-אל

יחסרני אומר:

נחם יי אלהינו את אכלי ירושלים ואת האכלים המתאבלים באכל הזה.

נחמם מאכלם ושמחם מיגונם. כאמור, כאיש אשר אמו תנחמנו כן אנכי אנחמכם

ובירושלים תנחמו. ברוך אתה יי. מנחם ציון בבנין ירושלים:

ברוך אתה יי אלהינו מלך העולם. האל אבינו מלכנו. בראנו גאלנו

קדושנו קדוש יעקב. המלך החי הטוב והמטיב. אל אמת. דין אמת. שופט

צדק ולקח נפשות במשפט. ושליט בעולמו לעשות בו כרצונו. כי כל דרכיו

משפט. ואנחנו עמו ועבדיו. ועל הכל אנחנו חייבים להודות לו ולברכו.

גודר פרצות בישראל הוא יגדור את הפרצה הזאת מעלינו לחיים ולשלום. הוא

יגמלנו לעד חן וחסד ורחמים וכל טוב. ומכל טוב אל יחסרנו:

(51) חלמוד בבלי כתובות ח' ב'.

ברכת רחבה כל שבעה מי איכא משכחת לה בפנים חדשות כי הא דרב חייא

בר אבא מקרי בניה דריש לקיש הוא ואמרי לה מתני בריה דריש לקיש הוא שכיב

ליה ינוקא יומא קמא לא אזל לגביה למחר דבריה ליהודה בר נחמני מתורגמניה

אמר ליה קום אימא מלחא כל קביל ינוקא פתח ואמר וירא ה' וינאץ מכעס בניו

ובנותיו דור שאבות מנאצים להקב"ה כועס על בניהם ועל בנותיהם ומחיס כשהם

קטנים ואיכא דאמרי בחור הוא והכי קאמר ליה על כן על בחוריו לא ישמח

ה' ואת יתומיו ואת אלמנותיו לא ירחם כי כולו חנף ומרע וכל פה דובר נבלה

בכל זאת לא שב אפו ועוד ידו נסויה מאי ועוד ידו נסויה אמר רב חנן בר רב  
הכל יודעין כלה למה נכנסה לחופה אלא כל המנבל פיו ומוציא דבר נבלה מפיו  
אפילו נחתם לו גזר דינו של שבעים שנה לסובה נהפך עליו לרעה אחא לנחומי  
צעורי קמצער ליה הכי קאמר ליה חשיב את לאתפוסי אדרא אמר ליה קום אימא  
מלתא כנגד שבחו של הקב"ה פתח ואמר האל הגדול ברוב גדלו אדיר וחזק ברוב  
נוראות מחיה מתים כמאמרו עושה גדולות עד אין חקר ונפלאות עד אין מספר  
בא"י מחיה המתים. א"ל קום אימא מלתא כנגד אבלים. פתח ואמר: אחינו  
המיוגעים המדוכאים באכל הזה חנו לבבכם לחקור את זאת. זאת היא עומדת  
לעד נתיב הוא מששת ימי בראשית רבים שתו רבים ישחו כמשתה ראשונים כך  
משתה אחרונים אחינו בעל נחמות ינחם אתכם ברוך מנחם אבלים אמר אביי רבים  
שחו לימא רבים ישחו לא לימא משתה ראשונים לימא משתה אחרונים לא לימא.  
דאר"ש בן לקיש וכן חנא משמיה דר' יוסי: לעולם אל יפתח אדם פיו לשטן  
אמר רב יוסף מאי קרא כסדום היינו לעמורה דמינו מאי אהדר ליה שמעו דבר  
ה' קציני סדום וגו' א"ל קום אימא מלתא כנגד מנחמי אבלים. פתח ואמר  
אחינו גומלי חסדים בני גומלי חסדים המחזיקים בבריתו של אברהם אבינו  
(שנאמר כי ידעתי למען אשר יצוה את בניו וגו') אחינו בעל הגמול ישלם  
לכם גמולים ברוך אתה משלם הגמול. א"ל קום אימא מלתא כנגד כל ישראל פתח  
ואמר רבון העולמים פדה והצל מלש הושע עמך ישראל מן הדבר ומן החרב ומן  
הביזה ומן השדפון ומן הירקון ומכל מיני פורעניות המחרגשות ובאות לעולם  
טרם נקרא ואחא תענה ברוך אתה עוצר המגפה.

(52) מסכת שמחות דר' חיה י"ד, י"ד-ט"ו.

עשרה כוסות שותין בבית האכל. שנים לפני המזון, וחמשה בחוץ המזון,  
ושלשה לאחר המזון, אחד לברכת אבלים, ואחד לחנחומי אבלים, ואחד לגמילות  
חסדים. חזרו והוסיפו עוד שלשה, אחד לראש הכנסת, ואחד לחזן הכנסת, ואחד  
לרבן גמליאל. וכשראו חכמים ובית דין שמשחקין ויוצאין, גזרו עליהם  
והחזירו למקומם.



המברך בבית האכל אינו מברך רביעית דברי רבי יוסי הגלילי, ורבי עקיבא אומר הטוב והמטיב, וחכמים אומרים ברוך דיין האמת. (שליש במעשיו שופט בכל הדורות בצדק שכולנו עמו ועבדיו ובכל זאת אנו חייבין להודות לו ולברכו.)

(53) ברכת אבלים בסדר רב עמרם הגאון.

ברוך אתה ה' אפ"ה דיין הרחמים שופט אמונות שדננו בדיני אמתו. ככתוב. הצור חמים פעלו כי כל דרכיו משפט אל אמונה ואין עול צדק וישר הוא. בא"י מנחם אבלים.

(54) ברכת המזון לאבלים בסדר רב עמרם גאון.

נברך מנחם אבלים שאכלנו משלו. ברוך אתה ה' אפ"ה הזן את העולם כלו בחסדו ומטיב לכל. כי על הכל גברו רחמיו וחטדיו ועל ישראל תחלה וסוף. ככתוב. פותח את ידך ומשביע לכל חי רצון. והכין מזון לכל בריוחיו. בא"י הזן את הכל. על ארצנו גודה לך ה' אלהינו שהנחלת את אבותינו ארץ חמדה טובה ורחבה בריח ותורה חיים ומזון. ועל שהוצאתנו מארץ מצרים. על הכל יי אלהינו אנו מודים לך ומברכין את שמך חמיד אלהי ישענו. בא"י על הארץ ועל המזון. נחם ה' אלהינו את אבלי ציון ואת אבלי ירושלם ואת האבלים המתאבלים באבל הזה. נחם מאבלם ושמחם מיגונם. כאמור. כאיש אשר אמו תנחמנו. כן אנכי אנחמכם וביירושלם חנוחמו. בא"י מנחם אבלים ובונה ירושלם. אמן. בא"י אפ"ה אבינו מלכנו אדירנו קדושנו קרוש יעקב המלך הטוב והמטיב שבכל יום הוא מטיב עמנו. אל אמת דיין אמת שופט בצדק שליט במעשיו. שאנחנו עמו ועבדיו. וחייבים אנו בכל להודות לו ולברכו. גודר פרצות בישראל הוא יגדור את הפרצה הזאת מביח זה ומעלינו ומעל כל עמו ישראל לחיים ולשלום. והוא יגמלנו לעד חן וחסד ורחמים וכל טוב. הרחמן ישתבח וכו'.

(55) הברכה הרביעית בברכת המזון לאכלים מסידור רב סעדיה גאון.

ברוך אתה יי אלהינו מלך העולם אל אמת דיין אמת שליט בעולמו לעשות  
בו כרצונו שופט בצדק לוקח נפשות במשפט הכל שלו ואנחנו עמו ועבדיו חייבין  
אנחנו להודות לו ולברכו בכל יהי רצון מלפניך יי אלהינו שתכלה הרעה הזאת  
ממנו ומכל בית ישראל ומן האכלים שבחוננו גודר פרצות בישראל.

(56) ברכת אבל בסידור רב סעדיה גאון.

נחם יי אלהינו את אכלי אמך בית ישראל נחמם מאבלם ושם' מיגונם ודבר  
על לבם דברים טובים דברים נוחמים ככת' כאיש אשר אמו תנחמנו כן אנכי  
אנחמכם ובירושלם תנוחמו.

(57) ברכת אבלים בהלכות גדולות.

כיצד מברכין ברכת אבלים אם הן הלוא אומ' נברך למנחם אבלים ואם הם  
עשרה עד מאה המברך אומ' נברך אלהינו מנחם אבלים ועונין אחריו ברוך אלהינו  
מנחם אבלים דתנן כענין שהוא מברך כך עונין אחריו. ואומ' המברך הזן  
ונודה לך בר' אתה ה' על הארץ ועל המזון ואומ' נחם ה' אלהינו את אכילי  
ציון ואת אכילי ירושלם ואת האכלים המתאכלים האכל הזה נחמם מאבלם ושמחם  
מיגונם ככת' והפכתי אבלם לששון ונחמתיים ושמחתיים מיגונם וכת' כאיש אשר  
אמו תנחמנו כן אנכי אנחמכם ובירושלם תנוחמו ובנה עיר קדשך במהרה בימינו  
ככת' בונה ירושלם ה' שם אצמיח קרן לדוד ערכתי נר למשיחי והעלינו בתוכה  
ונחמינו בה בא"י מנחם אבלים ובונה ירושלם אמן תכון עבודה בירושלם במהרה  
בימינו.

בא"י אלהינו מלך העולם אל אמונה דיין אמת שופט צדק ושליט במעשיו  
ולוקח נפשות במשפט ואנו עבדיו ועמו וחייבין אנו להודות לו בכל גודר  
פרצות בישראל הוא יגדור את הפרצה הזאת לחיים וטובה ולנחמה ויקים עלינו

09) ՀԼԵԱ ԱԳՈՒՆ ՀԱՇՀԵՑ ՀՕԵԼԼԵՑ՝

לְיָיִךְ אֵלֶּיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְלֹא לְאִישׁ מִלְּבָבֵינוּ:

ԱՄՆ ՊԵՆՏԱԳՆՆԻ ԼՊԵՆ ՔԵՆ ԻՆ ՀԱՆՈՒ ԼՀԾՀԼՈ)։

[illegible]

85)  $u, v$  וואס  $u \leq v$  און  $v \leq u$  און  $u \neq v$ .

ԵՐ. ՁԱՆԱՆԱՍԻ ԵՆԵՐԻ ԵՆԵՐԻ ՄԱԳԻՍՏԱՆՍԻ ԹԵՍ ԴՅԱՆԻ ՄԱԳԻՍ ԴԹԱՍ ՄԱԳԻՍ  
 ԵՆԻՆԱՆԱՍԻ ԹՄԱՐԵՐ ԵՆԻՆԱՆԱՍԻ ԵՆԵՐԻ ԵՆԵՐԻ ԵՆԵՐԻ ԵՆԵՐԻ ԵՆԵՐԻ ԵՆԵՐԻ  
 ԹՄԱՐ ԹՄԱՐ ԵՆԵՐ ԵՆԵՐԻ ԴՅԱՆԱՆԱՍԻ ԵՆԵՐԻ ԵՆԵՐԻ ԵՆԵՐԻ ԵՆԵՐԻ ԵՆԵՐԻ  
 ԵՆԵՐ ԹՄԱՐ ԵՆԵՐ ԵՆԵՐԻ ԵՆԵՐԻ ԵՆԵՐԻ ԵՆԵՐԻ ԵՆԵՐԻ ԵՆԵՐԻ ԵՆԵՐԻ ԵՆԵՐԻ  
 ԵՆԵՐ ԹՄԱՐ ԵՆԵՐ ԵՆԵՐԻ ԵՆԵՐԻ ԵՆԵՐԻ ԵՆԵՐԻ ԵՆԵՐԻ ԵՆԵՐԻ ԵՆԵՐԻ ԵՆԵՐԻ ԵՆԵՐԻ

נברך מנחם אבליים:

ועונין: ברוך מנחם אבליים שאכלנו משלו ובטובו חיינו:

ואומר ברכת המזון כרגיל, אבל במקום החלק מ-ובנה ירושלים עד-אל

יחסרנו אומר:

נחם יי אלהינו את אבלי ציון. ואח אבלי ירושלם. ואח האבליים המתאבליים

כאכל הזה. נחמם מאבלם. ושמחם מיגונם. כאמור. כאיש אשר אמו תנחמנו.

כן אנכי אנחמכם. ובירושלם תנחמו. ברוך אתה יי. מנחם אבליים. ובונה

ירושלם במהרה בימינו אמן: בחיינו תבנה עיר ציון. וחכון העבודה בירושלם:

ברוך אתה יי. אלהינו מלך העולם. האל אבינו. מלכנו. אדירנו.

גאלנו. קדושנו קדוש יעקב. המלך החי. הטוב. והמטיב. אל אמת. שופט בצדק.

לוקח נפשות שליט בעולמו. לעשות כרצונו. ואנחנו עמו ועבדיו: ועל הכל

אנו חייבים להודות לו. ולברכו. גודר פרצות הוא יגדור את הפרצה הזאת

מעלינו. ומעל עמו ישראל. ברחמים. עשה שלום במרומיו. הוא ברחמיו.

יעשה שלום עלינו. ועל כל ישראל. אמן:

Chapter V: Hazkarath Neshamoth

(61) יזכור בעד האב.

(Hamadrikh ed. by Hyman Goldin)

יזכור אלהים נשמה אבא מורי (פב"פ) שהלך לעולמו, בעבור שאני נודר  
צדקה בעדו. בשכר זה תהא נפשו צרורה בצרור החיים, עם נשמה אברהם, יצחק  
ויעקב, שרה, רבקה, רחל ולאה, ועם שאר צדיקי וצדקניות שבגן עדן, ונאמר  
אמן.

(62) יזכור בעד אלה שנהרגו על קידוש השם.

(Hamadrikh ed. by Hyman Goldin)

יזכור אלהים אח נשמה (פב"פ) ונשמות כל קרובי וקרובותי, הן מצד אבי  
הן מצד אמי, שהומחו, הן שנהרגו, הן שנשחטו ושנשרפו ושנטבעו ושנחנקו על  
קדוש השם, בעבור שאחן צדקה בעד הזכרת נשמותיהם. בשכר זה תהיינה נפשותיהם  
צרורות בצרור החיים, עם נשמותיהם של אברהם, יצחק ויעקב, שרה, רבקה,  
רחל ולאה, ועם שאר צדיקים וצדקניות שבגן עדן, ונאמר אמן.

(63) יזכור בעד המנדב לצדקה.

(Hamadrikh ed. by Hyman Goldin)

מי שברך אבותינו, אברהם, יצחק ויעקב, משה ואהרן, דוד ושלמה, הוא  
יברך את רבי (פב"פ), בעבור שנדר צדקה בעד הנשמות שהזכיר היום, לכבוד  
המקום ולכבוד התורה ולכבוד הרגל (ביום כסור: ולכבוד יום הדין). בשכר  
זה הקדוש ברוך הוא ישמרהו, ויצליהו מכל צרה וצוקה ומכל נגע ומחלה,  
(ביום כפור: ויכתבהו ויחתמהו לחיים טובים בזה יום הדין), וישלח ברכה

והצלחה בכל מעשה ידיו, עם כל ישראל אחיו, ונאמר אמן.

(64) אב הרחמים.

('Abhodath Yisra-el ed. by S. Baer)

אב הרחמים שוכן מרומים. ברחמיו העצומים הוא יפקוד ברחמים החסידים  
והישרים והתמימים קהלות הקדש שמסרו נפשם על קדשת השם. הנאהבים והנעימים  
בחייהם ובמותם לא נפרדו. מנשרים קלו מאריות גברו. לעשות רצון קונם  
וחפץ צורם: יזכרם אלהינו לטובה עם שאר צדיקי עולם. וינקום נקמת דם  
עבדיו השפוף: ככתוב בתורת משה איש האלהים. הרנינו גוים עמו כי דם עבדיו  
יקום. ונקם ישיב לצריו וכפר אדמחו עמו: ועל ידי עבדיך הנביאים כחוב  
לאמר. ונקיתי דמם לא נקיתי. ויי שכן בציון: ובכתבי הקדש נאמר. למה  
יאמרו הגוים איה אלהיהם. יודע בגוים לעינינו נקמת דם עבדיך השפוף: ואומר  
כי דרש דמים אותם זכר לא שכח צעקת ענוים: ואומר ידין בגוים מלא גויות  
מחץ ראש על ארץ רבה מנחל בדרך ישחה על כן ירים ראש:



ENDNOTES

## I N T R O D U C T I O N

1. Morris Adler, "Shall I Cry Out In Anger," in New Prayers for the High Holy Days, Revised Edition, ed. by Jack Riemer and Harold Kushner. Bridgeport, Media Judaica, Inc., 1973, p. 37.
2. Maurice Lamm, The Jewish Way in Death and Mourning. New York, Jonathan David Publishers, 1977, p. 77.

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1. Psalm 121:1-2.
2. <sup>Joseph</sup>~~Isaac~~ Heinemann with Jakob Petuchowski, Literature of the Synagogue. New York, Behrman House, 1975, p. 1.
3. M. Bowers, E. Jackson, J. Knight, and L. LeShan, Counseling the Dying. New York, Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1964, p. 67.

## C H A P T E R   I

1. I Never Saw Another Butterfly, ed. by Hana Volavková. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1962, p. 17.
2. Berith milah ceremony for boys; naming ceremony for girls.
3. Shulhan 'Arukh, Yoreh De'ah 338.
4. Editorial Staff, "Death," Encyclopedia Judaica, Volume 5. Jerusalem, Keter Publishing Company, 1972, p. 1419.

5. Authorized Daily Prayer Book, ed. by Joseph Hertz. New York, Block Publishing Company, 1975, p. 1065.
6. Qitzur Shulhan 'Arukh 193:13. Solomon Ganzfried, Code of Jewish Law, Annotated Revised Edition, Volume 4. Translated by Hyman Goldin. New York, Hebrew Publishing Company, 1961, p. 89. Found in this and other compilations of halakhah dealing with death. All refer to the statement in b. Shabbath 32a: "If one falls sick and his life is in danger, he is told, Make confession..."
7. Numbers 5:6-7.
8. Post-nineteenth century.
9. Hamadrikh, ed. by Hyman Goldin. New York, Hebrew Publishing Company, 1956, pp. 105-106. See Appendix B, #1 for Hebrew text.
10. Psalm 16:11.
11. Hertz, op. cit., p. 1065. See Appendix B, #2 for Hebrew Text.
12. Psalm 16:11.
13. Deuteronomy 4:39.
14. Exodus 3:14.
15. Adapted from Isaiah 43:10.
16. Totza-oth Hayyim, ed. by S. Baer. Rödelheim S. Lehrberger and Company, 1900, pp. 54-54. See Appendix B, #3 for Hebrew text.
17. Proverb 8:12.
18. Sepher Hapayyim, ed. by Henry Vidaver. Brooklyn, Hebrew Publishing Company, 1901, pp. 62-64. See Appendix B, #4 for Hebrew text.
19. Hertz, op cit., pp. 895-923.
20. Deuteronomy 29:28.
21. Hertz, op. cit., 906-921. See Appendix B, #5 for Hebrew text.

22. Ibid., pp. 930-934. See Appendix B, #6 for Hebrew text.
23. Concordance For The Bible, ed. by Solomon Mandelkern, Volume 1. Jerusalem, Schocken Publishing House, Ltd., 1977, p. 458.
24. Hanan Brichto in lecture. Bible 8, Cincinnati, Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, 3/4/80.
25. Leviticus 5:5.
26. Numbers 5:6-7.
27. Joshua 7:19-20.
28. Daniel 9:4-19.
29. Daniel 9:4-5. Underlined words are found in the Yom Kippur vidduy.
30. S. Mendelsohn, "Confession of Sin," Jewish Encyclopedia, Volume 4. New York, Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1903, p. 217.
31. Ibid., p. 217.
32. Ibid., p. 218.
33. Joshua 7:19-20.
34. Joshua 7:25.
35. M. Sanhedrin 6:2. See Appendix B, #7 for Hebrew text.
36. With the exception of the Reform ritual. See below.
37. Michael Weinberg, Theological Motifs in the Rabbinic Transformation of the Biblical Day of Atonement. Cincinnati, Unpublished, HUC-JIR, Rabbinic Thesis, 1980, pp. 7, 20, 59.
38. Leviticus 16:30.
39. M. Yoma 3:8. See Appendix B, #8 for Hebrew text.
40. Moses Mielziner, Introduction to the Talmud. New York, Bloch Publishing Company, 1968, p. 17.

41. Leviticus 16:30.
42. Leviticus 16:21.
43. Psalm 106:6.
44. I Kings 8:47. Misquoted verse, but essential aspect is correct: hatathi is listed before 'avithi.
45. Daniel 9:5.
46. Exodus 34:7.
47. Yoma 2:1. Tosephta, Volume 2, ed. by Moses Lieberman. New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1955, pp. 229-230. To explain the meaning of the last segment, "But what (is the meaning)...before You," Lieberman states in Tosephta Kiphshutah (Part IV, Seder Mo'ed. New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1965, p. 756): "Here, abbreviated language is used. One must read it as, 'But, what is...and sin and granting pardon.' Rather, since he confessed deliberate sins and rebellious sins, they were treated as unintentional sins before Him." See Appendix B, #9 for Hewbrew text.
48. An exception is to be noted in Leviticus Rabbah 3:3. This passage will be discussed below.
49. Moshe David Herr, "Siphre," Encyclopedia Judaica, Volume 14, p. 1519.
50. Numbers 5:6.
51. Binyan abh. In describing the principle of binyan abh, Moses Mielziner, in Introduction to the Talmud, states that "when the law is special, but its reason general, the law is to be understood generally." (p. 156) He continues by saying, "It is not even necessary to investigate whether the reason of a certain law is general or not, but any special law found in the Mosaic legislation is assumed to be applicable to all similar or analogous cases." (p. 157)

52. Siphre, parashath naso, paragraph 3. Siphre Debé Rabb, ed. by H. Horovitz. Leipzig, Gustav Fock, 1917, p. 6.
53. Mielziner, op. cit., p. 36. R. Nathan is dated approximately between 165-200 C.E. Cf. A. S. Waldstein, "Nathan," Jewish Encyclopedia, Volume 9, p. 176; and Hermann Strack, Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash. New York, Atheneum, 1976, p. 117.
54. B. Shabbath 32a. See Appendix B, #10 for Hebrew text.
55. An example of this can be found in the vidduy offered in Goldin, op. cit., p. 105; "May it be Your will...that I will not sin anymore. And that which I have sinned before You, purge them away in Your abundant compassion...And send for me...a perfect healing."
56. B. Yoma 87b. See Appendix B, #11 for Hebrew text.
57. Kaufmann Kohler, "Confession of Sin," Jewish Encyclopedia, Volume 4, p. 220.
58. See Hertz, op. cit., pp. 906-921.
59. Psalm 107:17-20.
60. Semaḥoth deRabbi Hiyya 1:2-4. Massekheth Semaḥoth ed. by Michael Higger. Jerusalem, Maqor, 1969, pp. 211-213. See Appendix B, #12 for Hebrew text.
61. Arthur Marmorstein, "The Confession of Sins for the Day of Atonement." in Essays in Honor of the Very Rev. Dr. J. H. Hertz, ed. by I. Epstein, E. Levine, and C. Roth. London, Edward Goldston, 1942, pp. 293-305.
62. Isaiah 55:7.
63. Leviticus Rabbah 3:3. Midrash Rabbah, Volume 1. Jerusalem, Lewin-Epstein Brothers and Company, Ltd., 1954, p. 5b.
64. A listing of specific sins follows.
65. Deuteronomy 29:28.



66. Siddur R. Saadia Gaon, ed. by I. Davidson, S. Assaf, and B. I. Joel. Jerusalem, Miqitzé Nirdamim, 1941, pp. 259-260. See Appendix B, #14 for Hebrew text.
67. Hertz, op. cit., p. 906-023.
68. Seder R. Amram Gaon, ed. by Daniel Goldschmidt. Jerusalem, Institute of Rav Kook, 1971, p. 160. See Appendix B, #15 for Hebrew text.
69. Ismar Elbogen, Hatephillah Beyisra-el. Tel Aviv, Dvir Company, Ltd., 1972, p. 113.
70. Davidson, Assaf, and Joel, op. cit., p. 259.
71. "Seder Hatephillah Shel Harambam," in Mehakré Tephillah Upiut, ed. by Daniel Goldschmidt. Jerusalem, Magnes Press, 1978, pp. 214-215.
72. See Appendix B, #16 for Hebrew text.
73. Numbers 5:6-7
74. Ze vidduy devarim -- literally: this is a confession of words.
75. Underlined words appear in vidduy shekhibh mera'. See text in Goldin, op. cit., p. 105.
76. As expiation for the sins.
77. Leviticus 5:5.
78. Their sins.
79. Mishneh Torah, Hilkhoth Teshubhah 1:1.
80. Moses Nahmanides, Torath Ha-adam. Warsaw, Lewin-Epstein Brothers, 1876, pp. 19-20.
81. Ibid., p. 20. See Appendix B, #17 for Hebrew text.
82. With the notable exception of the Reform ritual. See below.
83. Shulhan 'Arukh, Yoreh De'ah 338:1-2.
84. Ibid. See Appendix B, #18 for Hebrew text.
85. Rambam's Mishneh Torah and Karo's Shulhan 'Arukh.

86. Except for the Reform ritual.
87. Psalm 16:11.
88. Psalm 90:17.
89. Ezekiel 1:1.
90. Isaiah 6:1-3.
91. Genesis 49:18.
92. Psalm 86:4.
93. Psalm 31:6.
94. The Book of Prayer and Order of Service according to the Custom of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews, Volume 1, ed. by Moses Gaster. London, Oxford University Press, 1901, pp. 196-197. See Appendix B, #19 for Hebrew text.
95. Cf. Goldin, op. cit., p. 105; Hertz, op. cit., p. 1065, Baer, op. cit., p. 53; and Vidaver, op. cit., p. 62.
96. Vidaver, op. cit., p. 62: "...may (my soul) not be frightened (and hastened) due to my pain."
97. Hamadrikh makes use of the phrase, "Accept my suffering and misery for my atonement..." but there is no indication that the suffering and misery is a result of sin or that such misery is intimately connected with that which is causing the person's death.
98. A. Z. Idelsohn, Jewish Liturgy and Its Development. New York, Schocken Books, 1960, p. 51.
99. Rabbi's Manual, ed. by Central Conference of American Rabbis. New York, CCAR, p. 61. See Appendix B, #20 for Hebrew text.
100. See Hertz, op. cit., pp. 906-921.
101. See Goldin, op. cit., pp. 105-106.
102. Rabbi's Manual, op. cit., p. 61.

103. Levi Olan, Judaism and Immortality. New York, Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1971, pp. 95,104. Cf. Pittsburgh Platform of 1885.
104. S. Baer, op. cit., pp. 24-28. See Appendix B, #21 for Hebrew text.

## CHAPTER II

1. I Never Saw Another Butterfly, ed. by Hana Volavková. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1962, p. 45.
2. Death and Identity, ed. by Robert Fulton. New York, John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1965, p. 333.
3. Arnold van Gennep, The Rites of Passage. Translated by M. Vizedom and G. Caffee. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1960, p. 11.
4. Before continuing, a clarification of language is necessary. The terms, "funeral service," "funeral rites," "burial service," and "burial rites," are being used interchangeably. They all refer to that liturgy which is utilized during the ceremony or ceremonies associated with the actual process of burying the dead. Whereas in Europe, the entire ceremony might be conducted at the open grave, in America, there is a tendency to have a funeral service followed by a graveside ceremony. Both of these variations are being subsumed under the general name "funeral service," etc.
5. Franz Borkenau, "The Concept of Death," in Death and Identity, ed. by Robert Fulton, p. 43.
6. David Mandelbaum, "Social Uses of Funeral Rites," in Death and Identity, ed. by Robert Fulton, p. 388.
7. Maurice Lamm, The Jewish Way in Death and Mourning. New York, Jonathan David Publishers, 1977, p. 45.
8. Ibid., p. 36.

9. Ibid., p. 45.
10. The psycho-social aspects of this issue will be discussed more fully, later in this thesis.
11. Menachem Brayer in Understanding Bereavement and Grief, ed. by Norman Linzer. New York, Yeshiva University Press, 1977, p. 64.
12. Audrey Gordon, "The Psychological Widsom of The Law," in Jewish Reflections on Death, ed. by Jack Riemer. New York, Schocken Books, 1974, p. 97.
13. To examine the funeral service in toto, cf. Hamadrikh, ed. by Hyman Goldin. New York, Hebrew Publishing Company, 1956, pp. 125-133.
14. Ibid., pp. 128-129. See Appendix B, #22 for Hebrew text.
15. Ibid., pp. 128-129.
16. Michel Tucazinsky, Gesher Haḥayyim. Jerusalem, Solomon Publishing, 1960, p. 151; Authorized Daily Prayer Book, ed. by Joseph Hertz. New York, Bloch Publishing Company, 1975, p. 1072; Goldin, op. cit., p. 124b.
17. Totza-oth Hayyim, ed. by S. Baer. Rödelheim, S. Lehrberger and Company, 1900, pp. 108-118; The Standard Prayer Book, ed. by S. Singer. New York, Bloch Publishing Company, 1926, pp. 459-462.
18. Aaron Felder, Yesodei Smochos. New York, 1978, p. 138.
19. Bathja Bayer, "El Male Raḥamim," Encyclopedia Judaica, Volume 6. Jerusalem, Keter Publishing Company, 1972, p. 662.
20. Ibid., p. 662.
21. Brayer, op. cit., p. 65.
22. For a complete analysis of the text, cf. 'Abhodath Yisra-el, ed. by S. Baer. Rödelheim, 1868, pp. 586-587.
23. Goldin, op. cit., pp. 126-128. See Appendix B, #23 for Hebrew text.

24. Baer, Totza-oth Hayyim, p. 110.
25. Ibid., p. 110.
26. Felder, op. cit., p. 51.
27. Goldin, op. cit., p. 109.
28. Maurice Lamm in Understanding Bereavement and Grief, ed. by Norman Linzer, pp. 85-86.
29. The qaddish will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.
30. Hertz, op. cit., p. 1082. See Appendix B, #24 for Hebrew text.
31. Baer, Totza-oth Hayyim, p. 124.
32. Ibid., p. 124
33. Ibid., p. 124.
34. The Book of Prayer and Order of Service according to the Custom of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews, Volume 1, ed. by Moses Gaster. London, Oxford University Press, 1901, pp. 197-198.
35. Malachi 2:5.
36. Gaster, op. cit., pp. 197-198. See Appendix B, #25 for Hebrew text.
37. Ibid., p. 199.
38. Ibid., p. 197.
39. Ibid., p. 207.
40. Ibid., p. 200. See Appendix B, #26 for Hebrew text.
41. Maurice Lamm in Understanding Bereavement and Grief, ed. by Norman Linzer, p. 82.
42. Gaster, op. cit., p. 200.
43. Ibid., p. 201.
44. The Sepharadi use of qaddish will be discussed in the following chapter.
45. Gaster, op. cit., p. 202.

46. Ibid., p. 199. See Appendix B, #27 for Hebrew Text.
47. Ibid., p. 200.
48. Yehuda Greenwald, Kol Bo 'Al Abheluth. New York, Philip Feldheim, Inc., 1973, p. 23.
49. Shmuel Ashkenazi, "Aaron Berechiah Ben Moses Of Modena," in Encyclopedia Judaica, Volume 2, p. 18.
50. Greenwald, op. cit., p. 24.
51. L. Landshuth, 'Amudé Ha'abhodah. New York, Hermon Press, 1972, pp. x-xi.
52. Deuteronomy 32:4.
53. Deuteronomy 32:4.
54. Jeremiah 32:19.
55. B. Abhodah Zarah 18a. See Appendix B, #29 for Hebrew text.
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57. At least according to Goldschmidt's rendering of Oxford Manuscript -- OPP. ADD. 4028 and Oxford Manuscript -- Genizah Fragment Heb. C20.
58. Daniel Goldschmidt, "Mahzor Vitry," Encyclopedia Judaica, Volume 11, p. 736.
59. Mahzor Vitry, ed. by S. Hurwitz. Berlin, 1889, p. 246. See Appendix B, #32 for Hebrew text.
60. Ibid., p. 246.
61. Ibid., pp. 246-247.
62. The fact that S. Baer, in 'Abhodath Yisra-el, does not have el male rahamim shows that it never became a part of the funeral service of the "pure" (i.e., Southwest German) Ashkenazi rite. In addition, the prayer does not appear in the 1964 Basel reprint of the Siddur Saphah Berurah, where the funeral service is printed on pp. 308-310.



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4. Baruch Graubard, "The Kaddish Prayer," in The Lord's Prayer in Jewish Liturgy, ed. by Jakob Petuchowski and Michael Brocke. New York, Seabury Press, 1978, p. 63. Cf. Ismar Elbogen, Hatephillah Beyisra-el. Tel Aviv, Dvir Company, Ltd., 1972, p. 72.
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6. Method of division and translation based on that presented in The Lord's Prayer in Jewish Liturgy, ed. by Petuchowski and Brocke, p. 37-39. For in situ examination, cf. Authorized Daily Prayer Book, ed. by Joseph Hertz. New York, Bloch Publishing Company, 1975, p. 206. See Appendix B, #33 for Hebrew text.
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16. Editorial Staff, "Kaddish," Encyclopedia Judaica, Volume 10, p. 660.
17. Greenwald, op. cit., pp. 377-378.
18. Hamadrikh, ed. by Hyman Goldin. New York, Hebrew Publishing Company, 1956, pp. 162-163. See Appendix B, #37 for Hebrew text.
19. The Book of Prayer and Order of Service according to the Custom of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews, Volume I, ed. by Moses Gaster. London, Oxford University Press, 1901, p. 55.
20. Ibid., p. 55.
21. Ibid., p. 55.
22. Ibid., pp. 201-202. See Appendix B, #38 for Hebrew text.
23. Ibid., cf. pp. 200-202.
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30. This phrase is found in the burial qaddish.
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33. Ibid., cf. pp. 8-10, 107-109.
34. Cf. Seder R. Amram Gaon, ed. by Daniel Goldschmidt. Jerusalem, Institute of Rav Kook, 1971, p. 11; and Siddur R. Saadia Gaon, ed. by I. Davidson, S. Assaf, and B. I. Joel. Jerusalem, Miqitzé Nirdamim, 1941, p. 35.
35. Mueller, op. cit., p. 28. Cf. p. 279, note 72.
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37. Ibid., p. 116.
38. Ibid., p. 117. Cf. p. 80
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45. Ibid., p. 106.
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56. Ibid., p. 105.
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62. Ecclesiastes 7:1.
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71. The Service Manual, ed. by Joseph Krauskopf. Philadelphia, Oscar Klonower, 1892, p. 1.
72. Ibid., p. 13. See Appendix B, #46 for Hebrew text.
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74. Isaiah 57:2.
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7. Ibid., p. 90.
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9. Ibid., pp. 966-973.
10. Heinemann with Petuchowski, op. cit., pp. 89-90.
11. Isaiah 66:13.
12. Hertz, op. cit., p. 982. See Appendix B, #50 for Hebrew text.
13. See Hertz, op. cit., pp. 974-978.
14. Deuteronomy 32:19.
15. Isaiah 9:16.
16. Psalm 145:3.
17. II Chronicles 22:19.
18. Isaiah 1:9.
19. Isaiah 1:10.
20. Genesis 18:19.
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22. Sepher Milim: Dictionary of the Targumim, Talmud Babli, Yerusalemi, and Midrashic Literature, ed. by Marcus Jastrow. New York, Judaica Press, 1975, p. 860b.
23. The Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Ketubboth, ed. and translated by S. Draiches. London, The Soncino Press, 1948, p. 42, note 5.
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25. Ibid., p. 41.



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27. B. Ketubboth 8b.
28. This is an addition that is included in some variant texts.
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30. Deuteronomy 32:4.
31. Seder R. Amram Gaon, ed. by Daniel Goldschmidt. Jerusalem, Institute of Rav Kook, p. 187. See Appendix B, #53 for Hebrew text.
32. Psalm 145:16.
33. Isaiah 66:13.
34. Seder R. Amram Gaon, ed. by Daniel Goldschmidt, pp. 187-188. See Appendix B, #54 for Hebrew text.
35. For a comparison with R. Amram's birkath hamazon, see his text in Seder R. Amram Gaon, ed. by Daniel Goldschmidt, pp. 45-46.
36. Siddur R. Saadia Gaon, ed. by I. Davidson, S. Assaf, and B. I. Joel. Jerusalem, Miqitzé Nirdamim, 1941, pp. 104-105. See Appendix B, #55 for Hebrew text.
37. Ibid., p. 105.
38. Isaiah 66:13.
39. Siddur R. Saadia Gaon, ed. by Davidson, et. al., p. 105. See Appendix B, #56 for Hebrew text.
40. This paragraph is identical to R. Amram's third paragraph, except Kayyara inserts the Scriptural verse, Jeremiah 31:13, immediately prior to the verse from Isaiah 66:13.
41. Psalm 147:2-3.
42. Psalm 132:17.
43. Isaiah 25:8.

44. Sepher Halakhoth Gedoloth, ed. by Ezriel Hildesheimer. Jerusalem, Miqitzé Nirdamim, 1971, pp. 446-448. See Appendix B, #57 for Hebrew text.
45. It is necessary to point out the following. In Hildesheimer's remarks to this section, p. 446, note 61, he surmises that this whole section may be an addition to the text from a later hand. If this is so, then the above remarks can only be applied to that later date and person.  
  
There is at least one other variant reading for this material. Hildesheimer presents it on pp. 447-448. This variant would seem to indicate that special insertions for mourners are included in the fourth blessing of birkath hamazon, but the full text is not present. The relationship between this variant and what precedes it is unclear. Therefore, it has been omitted from this discussion.
46. Siddur Rashi, ed. by S. Buber and J. Freimann. Berlin, 1911, p. 281.
47. Moses Nahmanides, Torath Ha-adam. Warsaw, Lewin-Epstein Brothers, 1876, p. 74. See Appendix B, #58 for Hebrew text.
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4. Lewis Dembitz, "Hazkarat Neshamot," Jewish Encyclopedia, Volume 6. New York, Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1903, p. 283.
5. Jakob Petuchowski, Prayerbook Reform in Europe. New York, The World Union for Progressive Judaism, Ltd., p. 330.
6. Shulhan 'Arukh, Yoreh De'ah 399:1, 400:1.
7. Shulhan 'Arukh, Oreh Hayyim 228:1, gloss.
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9. Greenwald, op. cit., p. 404.
10. Goldin, op. cit., p. 180. See Appendix B, #61 for Hebrew text.
11. Lloyd Bailey, Biblical Perspectives on Death. Philadelphia, Fortress Press, 1979, p. 49.
12. This prayer is discussed in Chapter 2, entitled Tzidduq Hadin. Therefore, it will not be dealt with in this chapter.
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14. Deuteronomy 32:43.
15. Joel 4:21.
16. Psalm 79:10.
17. Psalm 9:13.
18. Psalm 110:6-7.
19. Authorized Daily Prayer Book, ed. by Joseph Hertz. New York, Bloch Publishing Company, 1975, pp. 510-514. See Appendix B, #64 for Hebrew text.
20. Sidney Greenberg in Understanding Bereavement and Grief, ed. by Norman Linzer. New York, Yeshiva University Press, 1977, p. 101.

21. Solomon Schwarzfuchs, "Crusades," Encyclopedia Judaica, Volume 5. Jerusalem, Keter Publishing Company, 1972, p. 1135.
22. Ibid., p. 1135.
23. Ibid., p. 1137.
24. Ibid., p. 1142-1143.
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26. Ibid., p. 36.
27. Ibid., p. 34.
28. Ibid., p. 35.
29. Ibid., p. 35.
30. Ibid., p. 36.
31. Ibid., p. 35.
32. Ibid., p. 36.
33. Ibid., p. 39.
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36. Solomon B. Freehof, "Hazkarath Neshamoth" (Hebrew Union College Annual, XXXVI). Cincinnati, 1965, p. 183; Schwarzfuch, op. cit., p. 1142; Editorial Staff, "Memorbuch," Encyclopedia Judaica, Volume 11, p. 1299.
37. Das Martyrologium Des Nürnberger Memorbuches, ed. by Siegmund Salfeld. Berlin, Leonhard Simion, 1898, pp. 5,8,10.
38. Ibid., p. 77, note 11.
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40. Freehof, op. cit., p. 183.
41. Ibid., p. 183-184.

42. Salfeld, op. cit., p. 81.
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44. Freehof, op. cit., p. 184.
45. Ibid., p. 185.
46. Salfeld, op. cit., p. 61.
47. B. Horayoth 6a; p. Sanhedrin 10:4, 29c; Siphre to Deuteronomy #210; Tanhuma Berakhah 1.
48. Freehof, op. cit., p. 185.
49. II Maccabees 12:39-45.
50. Deuteronomy 21:8.
51. Deuteronomy 21:8.
52. Tanhuma Ha-azinu 1
53. Freehof, op. cit., p. 188.
54. Ibid., pp. 188-189.
55. Ibid., p. 186.
56. Some rituals do not include el male rahamim in the memorial service. Cf. Authorized Daily Prayer Book, ed. by Joseph Hertz, pp. 1106-1108.
57. Petuchowski, op. cit., pp. 329-330.
58. Kaufmann Kohler, "Memorial Service," Jewish Encyclopedia, Volume 8, p. 463.
59. Petuchowski, op. cit., p. 330.
60. Ibid., p. 330.
61. Ibid., pp. 330-332.
62. Ibid., p. 332.
63. Gates of Prayer, ed. by Chaim Stern. New York, Central Conference of American Rabbis, 1975, pp. 546-553.

64. Gates of Repentance, ed. by Chaim Stern. New York, Central Conference of American Rabbis, 1978, pp. 477-494.

## SECTION TWO

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6. Ibid., p. 27.
7. Robert Kastenbaum and Ruth Aisenberg, The Psychology of Death. New York, Springer Publishing Company, 1972, p. 157.
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11. Ernest Becker, The Denial of Death. New York, The Free Press, 1973, pp. 68-69.
12. Søren Kierkegaard, "Fear and Trembling," in A Kierkegaard Anthology, ed. by Robert Bretall. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1946, p. 121.
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21. Ibid., p. 64.
22. Emanuel Feldman, "Death as Estrangement," in Jewish Reflections on Death, ed. by Jack Riemer, p. 91.
23. Audrey Gordon, "The Psychological Wisdom of Law," in Jewish Reflections on Death, ed. by Jack Riemer, p. 96.
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27. Ibid., p. 30.
28. Kubler-Ross, op. cit., pp. 1ff.
29. Ibid., p. 112.
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31. Additionally, it should be noted that Stage II-Anger is manifested in the vidduy more as respectful demands and supplications.
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33. Ibid., p. 52.

34. Ibid., p. 82.
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49. Bailey, op. cit., p. 60.
50. Edgar Jackson, in Understanding Bereavement and Grief, ed. by Norman Linzer, p. 79.
51. Marris, op. cit., p. 28.

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55. Psalm 90:6-7.
56. Bailey, op. cit., p. 60.
57. Liebman, op. cit., p. 106.
58. Leopold Kompert in A Book of Jewish Thoughts, ed. by J. H. Hertz. London, Oxford University Press, 1926, pp. 199-200.
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63. Feldman, op. cit., p. 87-88.
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