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THE JEWISH PRAYER FOR THE GOVERNMENT

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Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of Requirements for Ordination

Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion
New York, New York

Date: March 22, 1985

Referee: Professor Lawrence A. Hoffman



Dedicated to the memory
of my grandparents:
Benjamin Goldstein
Helen Schwartz

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks are due to:

Professor Lawrence Hoffman, for his continuing attention

Professor Martin Cohen, for his translation assistance
in five languages

Librarian Philip Miller, for his abiding interest and
concern

my teachers at Hebrew Union College

Dersu Uzala

and above all, Debby.

We are festive weepers, etching names on
every stone, touched by hope, hostages of
governments and history, blown by wind
and gathering holy dust.

Yehudah Amichai

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PREFACE

A BLESSING FOR THE CZAR?

Mendel: Rabbi, may I ask you a question?
Rabbi: Certainly, my son.
Mendel: Is there a proper blessing for the Tsar?
Rabbi: A blessing for the Tsar?
Of course.
May God bless and keep the Tsar-
far away from us!

(Fiddler on the Roof)¹

Perhaps for theatrical purposes, the Rabbi from Fiddler on the Roof is more humorous than learned in his reply to Mendel. For surely the Rebbe would have known that there was a real blessing for the Czar of Russia. In fact, the blessing probably appeared in the Rabbi's prayerbook, complete with the names of the royal family. If the Rabbi followed prevailing custom, he recited this prayer every Sabbath morning.

The tradition of reciting a prayer for the government continues to this day. The custom is said to have originated over two millenia ago. The familiar Hebrew text dates back at least four centuries. Curiously, this small part of Jewish liturgy has, by and large, escaped scholarly attention. One is hard pressed to find more than a paragraph or two about it in any commentary to the siddur. The evolution of this remarkable prayer, through time and place, has not been considered in a comprehensive fashion.

Such a study is desirable for a number of reasons. First, by virtue of its history, the prayer has a place in any thorough understanding of Jewish liturgy. Second, the prayer affords us an excellent opportunity to study liturgical creativity. While a standard Hebrew text emerged by the 17th century, it was by no means the sole expression of blessing for the government. Variations on the standard text itself emerged almost immediately. The prayer for the government reflects the response of the Jewish community to changing historical circumstances. Finally, the prayer for the government is a window into the world of Jewish self-perception among the nations. It reveals a theological outlook that is one part of the Jewish world view.

Upon reflection, the Rabbi in Fiddler on the Roof may be wiser than we thought. His few words capture the spirit of the traditional prayer for the government. Yet demonstrating this contention is only part of our task. As modern versions of the prayer for the government indicate, the way we view ourselves today is even more complex. Having left the shtetl Anatevka for America, what would the Rabbi now say?

CHAPTER ONE

FOR THE LIFE OF THE KING:

BIBLICAL AND RABBINIC ANTECEDENTS

No text of a prayer for the government survives from the biblical or rabbinic epochs, if indeed one ever existed. However, numerous sources mention prayer for the foreign monarch who ruled Israel or diaspora communities. The alleged evidence is contained in the following sources, all of which will be examined in turn:

1. Bible
2. Apocrypha
3. Elephantine Papyri
4. Babylonian Talmud
5. Tosefta
6. Josephus
7. Philo
8. New Testament

The analysis will proceed in chronological fashion.

One overly zealous individual¹ would trace prayer for the ruler all the way back to the patriarchs.

The alleged proof text is:

וַיְבَارֶךְ יַעֲקֹב מִצְרַיִם
and Jacob blessed Pharaoh (Gen.47:7,10)

Even if the patriarch blessed the king of Egypt, it is hardly an act of prayer. Furthermore, as the new Jewish Publication Society translation assumes, Jacob may have simply been greeting Pharaoh and then saying farewell.

It is not until the Babylonian period that references become more abundant. The Book of Jeremiah contains a well known passage:

And seek the welfare of the city to which I have
exiled you and pray to the Lord in its behalf;
for in its prosperity you shall prosper.
(Jer.29:7)

While the Book of Baruch was probably written centuries
later, it also contains a passage concerning the
same period. The author relates a message sent from
the exilic community to their brethren in Jerusalem:

and pray for Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon,
and for Belshazzar, that their life on earth
may last as long as the heavens.
(Baruch 1:11)

A similar statement is found in the Book of
Ezra, regarding the Persian king Darius. He orders
a subordinate to supply the Jews:

so that they may offer pleasing sacrifices to
the God of heaven and pray for the life of the
king and his sons.
(Ezra 6:10)

Salo Baron claims that by this time the custom of
praying for the king was widespread. Based on texts
from the colony at Elephantine in Egypt, Baron concludes:

In Palestine, Elephantine, and in all probability,
all over the empire the Jews introduced special
prayers for the "life of the king and his sons".²

The papyri evidence is less than conclusive however.
Letters from the 5th century B.C.E. often begin like
this:

... the health of your lordship may the God of
heaven seek after exceedingly at all times...
and may He grant you long life, and may you be
happy and prosperous at all times....³

Rather than prayers, these expressions seem to be

literary formularies. They serve as a standard form of business address analogous perhaps to: "I pray that this letter finds you in good health".

Concerning prayer in the Greek period, the Talmud recalls the words of Simon the Just before Alexander the Great:

Is it possible that star-worshippers should mislead you, to destroy the House wherein prayers are said for you and your kingdom, that it never be destroyed.

(Yoma 69a)

During the Roman occupation the Talmud twice cites the familiar advise of Rabbi Hanina:

Pray for the welfare of the government, for were it not for the fear thereof, men would swallow each other alive.

(Avot 3:2)

(A.Z. 4a)

Paul's recommendation in the New Testament is similar:

... I urge that petitions, prayers, intercessions and thanksgivings be offered to all men; for sovereigns and all in high office, that we may lead a tranquil and quiet life....

(I Tim.2:2-3)

From Jeremiah to Hanina, it is difficult to determine whether the evidence points to particular prayers or even acts of official worship. Their injunctions could imply prayer in a general sense, private prayer, or nothing more than an attitude of support for authority.

The tribute in the Temple on behalf of the Roman emperor was evidently not always satisfactory. Caligula is said by Philo to have complained:

You sacrifice to another god, and not for my sake; what good did you do me?⁴

The monarch is upset that the Jews sacrifice and pray for the emperor but to God. In one instance the Jews let it be known, according to Josephus, that:

we offer sacrifices twice every day for Ceasar, and for the Roman people, but if he would place the images among them, he must first sacrifice the whole Jewish nation.⁵

There were limits to the form and content of tribute to foreign rulers. Josephus makes it clear that:

Yet hath our legislator nowhere forbidden us to pay honors to worthy men, provided they be of another kind, and inferior to those we pay to God- with which honors we willingly testify our respect to our emperors and to the people of Rome.⁶

The same parameters applied to the liturgy that eventually replaced the Temple tribute.

The sources examined thus far have made no mention of prayer for the Israelite monarch. During periods of national independence, did tribute to the native ruler form part of the cult? Evidence is curiously lacking, except one brief allusion to prayer for the king in the Tosefta. In discussing the observance of the holiday Shemini Atzeret, the Rabbis say simply that:

... they blessed the king.
(T.Sukkah 4:17)

Rashi, admittedly not the most knowledgeable source on antiquity, claims that the blessing was a prayer for the life of the king.⁷ Perhaps the best argument from silence that can be made is that prayer for the Israelite king was not a highly significant part of the liturgy.

If the novel theory of one scholar is correct, one other piece of evidence should be examined from the biblical period. From his study of Philo, Ellis Rivkin maintains that an institutional form of Jewish tribute for the ruler existed in the Hellenistic diaspora. Rivkin contends that the proseuchai of Alexandria described by Philo were houses of prayer for the government:

They seem to have been buildings erected by Jews from the time of the Ptolemies as evidence of Jewish loyalty to the "divine" monarchs. The proseuche was... a substitute for the erection of statues of the emperors and for the refusal to worship them as gods. It was a substitute for the sacrifice that was offered for the emperor in the Temple at Jerusalem. The proseuche was thus a concrete embodiment of Jewish loyalty to the emperors. The proseuche therefore was not a prayer-house in general, but a shrine for prayers to be offered for the reigning family.⁸

Many scholars are unsure just what the function of these structure were.⁹ Philo does not describe what went on inside. If Rivkin is correct, then prayer for the government was more important than we know. The liturgy of the synagogue might have been influenced by these buildings.

As previously stated, it is difficult to determine what people like Jeremiah and Hanina were specifying when they advocated voluntary prayer. It is also difficult to know to what extent Temple tribute was freely offered, or stipulated by the rulers themselves. Moreover, we have no idea what was actually said.

In the case of the prophet it is important to realize the ambivalent nature of his injunction. Jeremiah believed that Nebuchadnezzar was an instrument of Divine will (cf. 28:14). Confident that the sojourn in Babylonia was part of the Lord's plan, he urged the people to put down roots, and offer prayer for the government. This theological accommodation to diaspora living can be seen as the first step in a 'diaspora theology' that will shape subsequent prayer.

The prophet was not, however, an unreserved advocate of diaspora existence. His entire message is based on the firm conviction that Babylonia is a temporary state of affairs. He fully expects a return to Israel in 70 years (cf. 29:10). Jeremiah's call to set down roots is qualified: don't plant so deep that they can't be transported back to the Holy Land. Pray for the king, advises Jeremiah, but be mindful that the King of Kings has a greater design. We might term this message a theology of ambivalent accommodation.

This theology takes hold in the Jewish mind. It helps explain why Rabbi Hanina can call upon his people to pray on behalf of an overtly hostile government. He may see Rome as an agent of the Divine will. At the very least, he recognizes the function it performs in preventing total chaos. But like Jeremiah, Hanina may have harbored a secret expectation that God would soon intervene. He could urge cooperation with Rome because messianic action was imminent. In the words of Jacob Neusner:

Humble acceptance of the harsh rule of gentiles would render Israel worthy of God's sudden intervention, the institution of God's rule through King-Messiah.¹⁰

Jeremiah's conviction that God would come to the exiles' rescue is shared by the Rabbis, but with a messianic twist. This second stage in the development of a diaspora theology, like the first, will shape future liturgical expression.

CHAPTER TWO

GEONICA AND THE GENIZAH:

MEDIEVAL PRAYER FOR THE GOVERNMENT

The earliest siddurim contain no text of a prayer for the government, or even a hint that such a custom existed. This includes Seder Rav Amram (9th c.), Siddur Saadiah Gaon (10th c.), and Machzor Vitry (11th c.). However, this otherwise unambiguous silence is interrupted by three sources that testify to the existence of prayer for the government in the medieval period. These sources are: Targum Sheni, Pincas Germaiza, and documents from the Cairo Genizah.

Targum Sheni is an Aramaic midrash on the Book of Esther. Though variously dated from the 6th-11th century, scholarly consensus tends now to place it in the late 7th or early 8th century.¹ The work was probably known to both Hai Gaon and Rashi. It contains detailed testimony by Haman concerning the Jews' disloyalty to the king. Haman insists that on the high holidays and festivals:

They come to their synagogues and read from their Torah, and translate from their Prophets, and curse the king and the ministers....²

What makes this essentially ahistorical comment interesting is that the place of the curse in the service is precisely the point at which prayer for the government is recited. The author of this work, aware of such a custom, could be referring to it in an inverted manner, switching the blessing to a curse. While Targum Sheni is by no means firm evidence that prayer occurred, it is an early and intriguing source that is often overlooked.

Another enigmatic reference to prayer for the government comes from the Crusader period. In a footnote in his edition of Seder Rav Amram (c.1912), the scholar A.L. Frumkin reports that he came across an early text of a prayer for the ruler:

... I found it in the Pincas Germaiza, and it is written there in the order for the Sabbath.³

Alas, Frumkin does not tell us what the text said or where he found it. Fortunately, however, other scholars somehow learned the contents of Frumkin's find. Perhaps they also gained access to Pincas Germaiza (the community record of Worms, which hosted an important pre-Crusade Jewish community). In 1934 Shemtob Gaguine published a book in Hebrew about Sephardic ritual in which he writes:

For Frumkin has written in Siddur Rav Amram Gaon that he found in Pincas Germaiza, which was written at the time of the Crusades of 4856 (1096) and 4906 (1146), that they recited a blessing for the king, which begins: He who blessed our fathers, etc., bless our lord, the Kaiser, may he be exalted.⁴

Seven years later the full text appears in Hertz' commentary to the Authorized Daily Prayer Book, in which it is identified as an "eleventh century prayer at Worms":

May He who blessed our fathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, bless our exalted Kaiser. May He bless and prosper his undertakings, establish his throne in justice, so that righteousness rule in the land, and grant life and peace to him and his seed after him. And let us say, Amen.⁵

If the prayer was written around the time of the First Crusade then the ruler referred to would be the German emperor Henry IV (1056-1106). Henry was responsible for a number of decisions favorable to the Jews. For example, in 1074 he exempted the Jews of Worms from custom dues and in 1090 granted them a charter which permitted unrestricted travel and trade throughout the empire. During the First Crusade he urged German princes to protect the Jews, but to little avail.

The prayer is written in the familiar form of the mi sheberach. In fact, the choice of such a form is logical. Following the Torah reading in the Sabbath morning service prayers of this type have long been said for the congregation and various individuals. This may be the first example, however, of a mi sheberach for a non-Jew.

A siddur attributed to Rabbi Solomon ben Samson of Worms (11th c.) makes no reference to prayer for the ruler.⁶ But the attitude that made the mi sheberach possible might be reflected in the words of Rabbi Eleazar of Worms, another 11th c. figure:

Keep peace both within the city and without,
for it goes well with all those who are consellers
of peace.⁷

The most recently discovered evidence of medieval prayer for the government comes from the Cairo Genizah. The material has been brought to light by the Israeli scholars S.D. Goitein and Yosef Yanon. The three examples of prayer for the caliph will be considered chronologically:

1. Cambridge T-S NS 110 f26

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1 | בש(מך) רח(מנא) |
| 2 | נשיא בני קדר מולאנא וסידנא האלמא |
| 3 | ומצליין אנן לחיי אדוננו המ(לך) הג(דול) אלאמאם |
| 4 | אלאמר באה(כאם) אללה אמיר אלמו(מנין) ובניו זרע המ(לכזה) |
| 5 | וכל בני המל(וכה) העוזרים למל(ך) מאהבה והעוש(ים) |
| 6 | מלח(מה) לפ(ניו) מא(ויביו) המ(קום) ב(רוך) ה(וא) יעזרם ויעזורנו יכניע |
| 7 | קמיהם וקמינו יתן בלבותם לעשות טובה עמ(נו) |
| 8 | ועם כל עמו בית יש(ראל) ואמ(רו) אמן |

In (Your name, o) Me(rciful).

And we pray for the life of our lord, the g(reat) k(ing), // the prince of the sons of Kedar,¹⁵ our master and lord, the Imām¹⁶ // al-Āmir bī'ah(kām) Allāh, the Commander of the F(aithful) and for his sons, the r(oyal family), and all persons of his e(ntourage), who serve the k(ing) out of love and wa(ge) w(ar) f(or him) against his e(nemies). May G(od) — m(ay He be) p(raised) — help them and help us; may He subdue their foēs and ours; and may He fill their hearts with kindness t(owards us) and towards all His people, the house of Is(rael), and let us s(ay) Amen. 8

The prayer, for the Fatamid caliph al-Amir (d.1131), was written, according to Goitein, between 1127-1131. It was found with a group of prayers for the congregation and certain geonic leaders, to be recited before Kol Nidrei. The custom of reciting a prayer for the government at this time, in addition to the Sabbath morning service, continues to this day in some Sephardic communities.⁹

Two interesting features of this prayer are:

- a. the extensive use of abbreviations, which suggests to Goitein and Yanon that the text was familiar to the reader.
- b. the concluding phrase 'and may He fill their hearts with kindness towards us and towards all His people, the house of Israel', which is the same expression that will appear in considerably later prayer for the government.

2. Mosseri L-62

1	צלואת אללה וברכאחה
2	ונו/אמי וכו/א/חה ואפעל
3	תחיאחה וסלאמה עלי
4	מולאנא וסידנא אלמאמא
5	אלחאפען לדין אללה
	(שוליים) אמיר אלמומנין

(May) the prayer of God and His blessings,³³ His ever-growing benefactions, His greetings and call of Peace (be) upon our lord and master, the Imām al-Hāfiz li-dīn Allāh, the Commander of the Faithful. ¹⁰

According to Goitein this prayer, for the Fatamid caliph al-Hafiz (d.1149), was written about a decade before the ruler's death. From its brevity and stylized form Goitein surmises that it was dictated to a Jewish cantor by a Muslim official.

3. Oxford Heb. f31

וכדאלך אלדעא לסיידנא
ומולאנא ותאג רוצנא סידנא פלאן
אבן אלמקדס אלמרחום לא זאל פי אל
עו אלדאים ואלסעד אלקאים איך אללה
[A41]
אללה דולחה ויצברה לגמיע רעייתה
ויגעל פי קלבה חן וחסד לגמיע קהלות
הקדש אמן

תרגום
וכן אנו מתפללים בעבור אדוננו
ונשיאנו ועטרת ראשנו אדוננו פלוני
בן הקדוש המנוח לא יפסוק
בהוד הנצחי והאשר העולמי יעזור
ה' מדינתו וישמרנו בעבור בני ארצו
וישם בלבנו חן וחסד לכל קהלות
הקדש אמן 11.

And thus we pray for our lord and prince, the crown of our heads: our lord -----son of the holy deceased. May his eternal splendor and everlasting strength never cease. May God aid his country and guard us, his subjects. May He fill his heart with kindness and mercy toward all holy congregations. Amen.

Yanon notes that this prayer, along with a number of piyyutin for the heads of state, are part of a Syrian machzor which may be as late as the 15th century, but which contains earlier material.¹²

Two distinctive features of this prayer are:

- a. the apparently generic nature of the text. Yanon points out that the name of the ruler is fictitious, suggesting that it is to be used as a model.
- b. the inclusion of the phrase about kindness which was observed in an earlier Genizah text.

The abbreviated words of the first text, the stylized form of the second, and the generic nature of the third, suggest that the custom of praying for the ruler was well established. The impetus for such practice may very well have come from the Muslim rulers themselves. Baron claims that:

Prayers for the reigning monarch... had become a major test of political loyalty both in the Byzantine and Muslim empires. It is therefore more than probable that Jews, too, were required by law to include such 'invocations' in their services.¹³

He supports his claim by citing a royal charter from a 12th century caliph to the Nestorian Christians:

Be thou worthy of all these favors... and set up prayers and invocations for the Commander of the Faithful as a token of thy gratitude and a sign of thy allegiance.¹⁴

The involvement of Muslim authorities in minority religious practice is also noted by Yanon, who cites a Genizah text, written by a Jew, to a Muslim jurist. The query concerns the legality of certain liturgical changes made in local synagogues. It reveals the intimate contact between Jews and the authorities in religious matters. This contact included visits by dignitaries to synagogues, and if Goitein is correct, the actual dictation of a prayer for the caliph.

Goitein goes on to suggest a reason why Muslim officials felt compelled to closely supervise Jewish prayer. He attributes such action to a wave of messianism that swept through the Fatamid empire, the Jewish community not excluded. Upon examining the entire corpus of prayers for the community Goitein concludes:

Finally, an intense messianic spirit pervades the entire document. Each of the sections... concludes with Bible quotations proclaiming the good tidings of the ingathering of the people and the re-establishment of the ancient kingdom.

Under these circumstances it is not suprising that the government wished to streamline the communal prayers of the non-Muslim in line with Islamic concepts.¹⁵

The prime purpose of prayer for the government under Islam, then, is the regular expression of political loyalty. It seems to be more a response to external demand than a spontaneous, voluntary inclination. The caliphate presented a strong, centralized authority that granted religious autonomy to minority groups only to a certain point. Political allegiance through liturgical expression constituted one demand on the Jewish community. While certain Muslim officials may have prescribed royalty's blessings, others left the Jews to write the prayers that were later deposited in the Genizah. That their content varied was a function of their purpose:

Since the public prayer for the authorities, whether gentile or Jewish, possessed a practical aspect, namely, demonstration of the communities' allegiance, it had to be adapted to the circumstances and formulated accordingly.¹⁶

CHAPTER THREE

FROM SPAIN TO AMSTERDAM:

EMERGENCE OF A STANDARD TEXT

While prayer for the government under Islamic rule dates from at least the 12th century, as the Cairo Genizah demonstrates, the move toward standardization was slow. By standardization we mean the appearance of one particular text in a designated spot in the service. The standard text in this case may be referred to as Hanoten, after the first Hebrew word in the prayer. The standard text need not be the exclusive form of a prayer, but certainly the predominate one.

The first reference to prayer for the government after the Genizah period is a full two centuries later.¹ Commenting on Spanish-Jewish custom, David Abudraham writes in Sefer Abudraham (1340):

And it is customary to bless the king, and to pray to God that He help him and strengthen him against his enemies.²

Note that Abudraham does not present this prayer as an innovation. Unfortunately no text of the prayer is given, but the custom is included during the weekday Torah reading. If prayer for the king was indeed recited three times each week, a regular form may very well have been employed. It is likewise possible that the form varied from community to community.

In the course of my research I examined at least six siddur manuscripts from pre-expulsion Spain.³ In four

of these manuscripts there was no mention of prayer for the government. In one manuscript I found the words: "And he blesses the king".⁴ Ironically it was in the earliest manuscript that a full text of a prayer was found, albeit far different from the familiar Hanoten.

Sheldon Marder dates this work to 1426 and also concludes that it was written on the Spanish controlled island of Sicily.⁵ After the Torah scroll is returned to the ark, Arabic instructions state: "Then he blesses the ruler". This is followed by the actual prayer:

מ' שגן אברהם ויזכר ויעקב וישראל ואלה ואהרן
 ודוד ושלמה ויהוא יצחק אברהם ואלה
 אלוהים אלהי ישראל יתנו אלהי ישראל
 וימליכו אלהי ישראל יין בליזו לעמך אלה
 עס כל ישראל וכל ישראל בכל המעלה ונאמר אמן

He who blessed Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Aaron, David, and Solomon, may He bless our lord, the king Alfons. God of Israel bless him. God of Israel protect him. God Of Israel incline his heart to do good with all Israel, and may all Israel be included in blessing, and let us say: Amen.⁶

The prayer is in the form of a mi sheberach. It is the second example of prayer for the ruler in such a form. The medieval text found by A.L. Frumkin in the community record of Germaiza was also composed in this style.⁷ At the same time, the prayer incorporates language quite similiar to one Genizah source.⁸ These words: "incline his heart..." will later appear in the standard prayer for the government.

if the catalogue information is erroneous. Selim II presided over what Baron calls the "Golden Age" of the Ottoman Empire.¹² He renewed certain agreements established by his predecessor that were favorable to Christians and Jews, and counted Joseph Nasi as one of his most trusted advisors. He was a strong ruler to whom the Jews had much to be grateful. The extent of his empire makes it impossible to pinpoint which community of Jews blessed him with this prayer. Whichever it was, they felt the need to insert Selim's name in the blank spot usually left in the place where the king's name is announced. The blank spot together with an obviously later insertion probably means that the prayer was already known, and was not written specifically for Selim.

The other source is also a Sephardic siddur in the possession of the National Library at Hebrew University, dated to 1622 from Venice.¹³ While no ruler is specified, the following instructions in Spanish preceded the prayer:

Agora dira el kazan esta bedicio que es por la conseruacion del estado Real.

Now the cantor will recite this blessing, which is for the preservation of the government.

A statement of the prayer's purpose, rather than a simple: Then one blesses the ruler, is unusual. Perhaps the instructions were meant to be read aloud to inform the congregation.

At this time in history Venice is an independent Republic in Italy. It hosts a significant Jewish population, but according to Cecil Roth only one of the eleven synagogues followed the Spanish rite.¹⁴ Most of this siddur is in Spanish and Hebrew and was obviously intended for the community of Sephardic immigrants.

Just 15 years later another source from Venice mentions prayer for the government. At the request of the English ambassador in Venice (for presentation to King James I), the prominent Rabbi and scholar Leon de Modena wrote a study of Jewish customs called Historia de'riti Ebraici (1637). The work was translated into English in 1650 and again in 1707.¹⁵ Modena's remarks are presented here from the latter translation:

And after, a solemn Blessing upon the Prince under whose Government they live, praynig [sic] God to preserve him in Peace and Quiet, and increase his Power and Greatness and make him kind to the Jewish Nation.¹⁶

While Modena does not include the text of the prayer in his work, the description of its content could very well be that of Hanoten.

The English are responsible for three additional sources that note prayer for the government before 1658. They all originate in Amsterdam; the first from remarks delivered by a Rabbi on the visit of Queen Henrietta (wife of Charles I) in 1642:

We no longer look upon Castille and Portugal, but upon Holland as our Fatherland; we no longer wait upon the Spanish or Portuguese king, but upon their Excellencies the States-General and upon your Highness as our masters, by whose blessed arms we are protected, and by whose swords we are defended.

Hence no one need wonder that we say daily prayers for their Excellencies the States-General and your Highness and also for the noble governors of this world renowned city.¹⁷

Daily prayers might be an exaggerated claim elicited by the occasion, but the statement does reveal the intense gratitude felt by the Jewish community.

During the 1650's Menasseh ben Israel, Amsterdam's leading Rabbi, actively lobbied to have the Jews readmitted to England. He wrote two polemical works: The Humble Addresses To His Highness the Lord Protector (1655) and Vindiciae Judaeorum (1656), which both stress the long standing custom of praying for the government.¹⁸ Menasseh recalls how in 1651 another State visit prompted a blessing "not only upon his honour then present, but upon the whole Commonwealth of England..."¹⁹ What is more, Menasseh identifies the prayer for the government as the Hanoten text, and proceeds to translate the entire prayer into English.²⁰ Thus the prayer had already been printed in English three years before its well known appearance in a 1658 Amsterdam prayerbook.

It is possible that the familiar prayer for the government was composed in Spain before the expulsion in 1492. On the basis of our research, it is more likely that the prayer originated in one of the Sephardic communities in the early 16th century, quite possibly in the Ottoman Empire. The only pre-expulsion text in situ differs substantially from Hanoten, and all but one other manuscript contain no reference to blessing the king.

The commercial links forged by Sephardic Jews between Holland, Italy, and the Ottoman Empire could have served as a conduit that made rapid distribution of Hanoten possible. Two further questions are raised by its widespread circulation within a century: Why was a prayer now being printed directly into siddurim, and why did this particular text gain such acceptance? To the former query we may speculate that printing the prayer made it more publicly manifest for all, Jew and non-Jewish official alike, to see. It also enhanced uniformity of practice by giving the printed version an aura of authenticity and officialism. To the latter question we may respond that its acceptance was chance circumstance, i.e. the time and place of its composition were ideally suited for distribution by Sephardic merchants. Alternatively, its author was an esteemed authority in the community whose work was likely to win immediate recognition.

CHAPTER FOURHE WHO GIVES SALVATION:THE PRAYER ITSELF

The prayer for the government that emerged in the 17th century to become the prayer par excellence changed little over the following centuries. Before continuing our search for further evolution, then, it is wise to pause and consider the prayer itself, particularly its theology and place in the liturgy. The text reproduced below is from a contemporary siddur, but remains virtually identical to its earliest printings:

הַנוֹתֵן הַשְׂמִיעָה לַמְּלָכִים וּמַמְשִׁלָה לְנָסִיכִים, מַלְכוּתוֹ
מַלְכוּת כָּל עוֹלָמִים; הַפּוֹצֵה אֶת דָּוִד עַבְדּוֹ מִחֶרֶב רָעָה,
הַנוֹתֵן בָּיִם דָּרָךְ, וּבְמִים עֵזִים נְחִיבָה, הוּא יְבָרֵךְ וַיִּשְׁמֹר וַיַּנְצֹר
וַיַּעֲזֹר יִירוּשָׁם וַיַּגְדֵּל וַיַּנְשֵׂא לְמַעַלָּה

אֶת הַנְּשִׂיא וְאֶת מַשְׁנֵהוּ

וְאֶת כָּל שְׂרֵי הָאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת.

מִלֵּךְ מַלְכֵי הַמְּלָכִים בְּרַחֲמָיו יְחִים וַיִּשְׁמְרֵם, וּמַכֵּל צָרָה
וַיַּגְדֵּל וַיַּנְצֵם וַיַּצִּילֵם. מִלֵּךְ מַלְכֵי הַמְּלָכִים בְּרַחֲמָיו יִתֵּן בְּלָבָם
וּבְלֵב כָּל יוֹעֲצֵיהֶם וְשֹׂרֵיהֶם לַעֲשׂוֹת טוֹבָה עִמָּנוּ וְעִם כָּל
יִשְׂרָאֵל. בִּימֵיהֶם וּבִנְיָמֵינוּ תִּשְׁעַן יְהוּדָה, וַיִּשְׁרָאֵל יִשְׁכֹּן
לְבִטָּחָה, וּבָא לְצִיּוֹן נֹאֵל. וְכֵן יְהִי רָצוֹן, וְנֹאמַר אָמֵן. (שְׁמַח מִנְחָה)

He who granted victory to kings and dominion to princes, his kingdom is a kingdom of all ages; he who delivered his servant David from the evil sword, he who opened a road through the sea, a path amid the mighty waters—may he bless and protect, help and exalt

THE PRESIDENT AND THE VICE-PRESIDENT
AND ALL THE OFFICERS OF THIS COUNTRY.

May the supreme King of kings, in his mercy, sustain them and deliver them from all distress and misfortune. May the supreme King of kings, in his mercy, inspire them and all their counselors and aides to deal kindly with us and with all Israel. In their days and in our days Judah shall be saved, Israel shall dwell in security, and a redeemer shall come to Zion. May this be the will of God; and let us say, Amen.¹

The text omits two lines common to early Sephardic versions of Hanoten:

1. *וְיִגְדִּיךָ כֹכֵב מַעֲרֹכְךָ וְאֶתְּךָ יְהוָה מִלְּאִכָּה*
And exalt the star of his constellation, and lengthen
the days of his rule.
2. *וְיִגְדִּיךָ מִלְּאִכָּה מִלְּאִכָּה מִלְּאִכָּה מִלְּאִכָּה*
Subdue nations under his feet, cause his enemies to
fall before him, and wherever he turns, may he prosper.

The first addition was inserted after the line which named the ruler, while the second followed the word 'misfortune'. The astological reference is absent from almost all Ashkenazic versions of the prayer, but tends to persist in Sephardic circles. The other line appears only sporadically in the prayers of both communities.

Why did these two lines fall from favor with later editors? One may speculate that changing sensibilities provoked their removal. In the first case discomfort with astrology may have been the reason. In the second case the line may have struck some as belligerent. Whatever the reasons, the precedent for amending the text is almost as old as the text itself. The standard text was neither universally accepted nor adopted word for word.

The author of the prayer displays an obvious knowledge of Scripture. The opening sentence incorporates expressions from Psalms 144:10, 145:13, and Isa.43:16 respectively. The concluding line is drawn from Jer.23:6 and Isa.59:20. The second addition noted above

borrowed a phrase from Psalm 18:48. As previously observed, the plea to 'deal kindly' was a feature of earlier prayers for the government. The use of multiple synonyms adds to the liturgically fluent style. The prayer reflects an author both creative and well versed in tradition.

It is our contention that the theology of Hanoten is a direct outgrowth of what we have called diaspora ambivalence. In Chapter One we observed the genesis of this attitude in Jeremiah's call to pray for Babylon even as he awaited national restoration. Haninah also counselled prayer, for Rome, while hoping for messianic intervention. The Jews in Fatamid Egypt praised their caliph and leaders, and in the same breath likewise yearned for messianic redemption.

Hanoten is on behalf of the ruler, but addressed to God. It rests on the conviction that the well-being of the earthly monarch is dependent on Divine providence. Like Nebuchadnezzar, loyalty to the king is theologically justified by recognizing him as an agent of Divine will. Agent or not, however, leaders might not always be so favorably disposed toward the Jews. Given historical realities it is not surprising that the plea 'deal kindly' is retained. In the modern era, when Jews became citizens of democratic societies, this phrase would become the source of considerable debate.

The tone of accomodation is not without ambivalence however. For the prayer concludes on a not so subtle messianic note. The restoration of Zion by the redeemer means the ingathering of the Jews from all the corners of their dispersion. Jacob Katz, in his work Exclusiveness and Tolerance, insightfully articulates this diaspora ambivalence:

For, as distinct from their political loyalty to the country in which they dwelt, Jews harboured deep reservations as to the ultimate significance of secular States which, seen in the perspective of the messianic hope, were but ephemeral. As we have previously noticed, a reversal of the existing order was envisaged in the messianic age, when the dispersed and humiliated Jewish nation was to come into its own. The entertaining of such hopes, and the prayer for their fulfilment, might well be considered as conflicting with a profession of loyalty, and this was indeed inferred by hostile parties in disputes with Jews, as we shall see later.³ Nevertheless, although the contradiction could not be resolved logically, both sentiments (the messianic hope and the wish for the well-being of their temporal Gentile rulers) were genuinely held by Jews. This is only one of the many contradictory features which are characteristic of religious tenets in general and are especially inherent in Jewish religious tradition, reflecting the paradoxical character of ~~the Jewish situation~~.²

The message of messianic hope is more intricately bound up with the text than an initial glance will reveal. Each of the biblical citations in the prayer stems from a redemptive context. Psalm 144 speaks of rescue from foreign enemies. Isa.43 contains a prediction that Babylon will fall. Jer.23 looks foward to the restoration of the Davidic dynasty and the ingathering of all Israel. Isa.59 expects that the redeemer will requite all his adversaries.

It is interesting to observe how certain apologists explained the apparent paradox in the prayer. The late 18th century Talmudist Moses Sofer wrote:

... our hope is to dwell in the presence of God there [in the land of Israell, the place designated for His service and for the observance of His Torah. This does not deprecate the king and minister under whose protection we live.³

A century later, Samson Raphael Hirsch, the exponent of modern orthodoxy, commented:

The universal salvation of all mankind for which we all hope is so closely linked with the yearned for redemption of our Tzion, that when we pray for the welfare of the government of the country in which we now reside, we also add a prayer for the deliverance of Yehudah and Tzion.⁴

An analysis of Hanoten would not be complete without an examination of its place in the Sabbath morning service. The position of the prayer underscores its public significance. The conclusion of the Torah and Haftarah readings is a high point in the service, when attention is focused on the bimah. It is a natural point to introduce special prayers of a public nature. Such prayers for scholars and the community were a feature of the service even before the prayer for the government. The addition of another mi sheberach, for the ruler, or a more original prayer, at this juncture, would be logical.

As with the text of the prayer, some variations on the place of its recitation, arose. In Amsterdam, for example, some congregations blessed the ruler just after opening the doors of the ark. The Sephardic scholar Gaguine contrasts this practice with the London custom:

It is possible to explain the London custom of blessing the king after the Haftarah because one first needs to bless the Holy King of Kings, and afterwards a king of flesh and blood. The reason for the Amsterdam custom is to demonstrate the extent of their love for their king and the royal family....⁵

Ganguine also offers a reason for the appearance of Hanoten in the vernacular of the host country almost as early as its inception:

They did so because from time to time officials of the government would be found in the synagogue, and if they said it in Hebrew or in the Sephardic language they would not understand what was being said.⁶

The vernacular and prominent position of the prayer in the liturgy no doubt impressed the occasional dignitary, but their prime purpose was more internal than external. Prayer for the government was prudent public policy, but also a message to the congregation of worshippers. It served to reinforce and reassure the community that they were subjects or citizens in good standing. It is most interesting that in the democratic societies in which demonstrations of loyalty were most voluntary, prayer for the government is most frequent and effusive.

Originally the prayer was recited by the rabbi or the cantor of the congregation, often with the sefer Torah in his arms. Some contemporary prayerbooks have made the prayer a congregational reading. One version in France was set to full choral accompaniment (see Chapter Seven). Another, in America, was recited while a national hymn played softly in the background.⁷ A visitor to the Jewish museum in Amsterdam encounters a memorable sight. The ark from a small Dutch congregation is bounded on each side with a large hand lettered plaque containing the prayer for the government, one in Hebrew, the other in Dutch.

CHAPTER FIVEMESSIANIC MEDDLING:A SABBATEAN ASIDE

Within a decade of the first appearance of Hanoten in Amsterdam, that city, much of the Sephardic world, and even segments of the Ashkenazic community were swept up in the messianic fervor over the person of Sabbatai Sevi. Sabbatean innovations were introduced into the synagogue service of communities that embraced the false messiah. One example was the daily recitation of Psalm 21.¹ Another involved changing the text of the prayer for the government, and extending its recitation to a daily ritual.

Two Sabbatean variations of Hanoten are included in Gershom Scholem's exhaustive study Sabbatai Sevi: The Mystical Messiah. The first is from Smyrna (in modern day Turkey), birthplace of Sevi and the scene of much of his activity. The prayer below, dated by Scholem to late December, 1665, is his translation of a Dutch copy based on a Hebrew original:

He who ~~gave salvation unto kings and dominion unto~~ princes, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, who delivered his servant David from the destructive sword, who makes a way in the sea and a path in the mighty waters, may he bless, preserve, guard and exalt ever more our Lord and our Messiah, the Anointed of the God of Jacob, the Celestial Lion and Celestial Stag,²¹⁰ the Messiah of Righteousness, the King of kings, the sultan Sabbatai Sevi. May the supreme King of kings [that is, God] preserve him and grant him life. May the supreme King of kings ~~exalt his star and his kingdom, and inspire the hearts of rulers and princes with good will toward him and us and all Israel, and let us say, Amen.~~

The prayer follows the traditional form, but with three obvious differences:

- a. Sevi's name, along with a host of grandiose titles, is inserted in place of the ruler.
- b. The plea for kindness (good will) is made to rulers on behalf of Sevi, the community, and all Israel. Apparently even the Messiah is in need of benevolence from earthly potentates.
- c. The concluding phrase that yearns for the redeemer is omitted, since the faithful believe he has already arrived.

The other prayer is from Amsterdam, and according to Scholem was written in March, 1666, by one of two Rabbis: Oliveria or Aboab.³

He who ~~giveth salvation unto kings and dominion unto princes~~; whose kingdom ~~is an everlasting kingdom~~, who delivereth his servant David from the hurtful sword, who maketh a way in the sea and a path in the mighty waters, the great, mighty, and revered God, who giveth strength in the terrible might of His arm, who doeth great things and whose right hand is glorious in power: Art [thou] not it which hath dried the sea, the waters of the great deep, that hath made the depths of the sea a way for the ransomed to pass over? The king who alone is exalted, the everlasting God, who giveth great salvation to His king and showeth lovingkindness to His anointed, may He bless, preserve, guard, help, assist, prosper, magnify, raise and highly exalt Our Lord the Great King Sabbatai Sevi, the Anointed of the Lord, the Messiah son of David, the Messiah King, the Messiah Redeemer, the Messiah Savior, ~~our Messiah of righteousness, the Anointed of the God of Jacob~~.

May the ~~supreme King of kings~~ in His mercy and with His mighty arm forever exalt his majesty and magnify his kingdom everlastingly in his strength. May his enemies be clothed with shame, but upon him his crown shall flourish. And they that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength, and the redeemed of the Lord shall return and come with singing unto Zion; and everlasting joy shall be upon their head; they shall obtain gladness and joy, and sorrow and mourning shall flee away. And all the kingdoms of the earth shall know that thou alone, O Lord, art king. Thine, O Lord, is the greatness, and the power, and the glory, and the victory, and the majesty. May we be vouchsafed to behold the face of our King, Messiah, and Savior, and may we live to behold our glorious Temple, and may in us be fulfilled that which is written, "For ye shall go out with joy and be led forth with peace; mountains and the hills shall break forth before you into singing, the trees of the field shall clap their hands." And it is further written, "ye shall not go out with haste, nor go by flight; for the Lord will be before you, and the God of Israel will be your reward." ~~the divine will, and let us say: Amen.~~⁴

This prayer employs traditional phrases only as a point of departure for creative flourishes. The mighty acts of God are expanded upon, and an extended description of the joys that the Messiah bring is included. Like the preceding prayer Sevi's name and multiple titles replace the ruler. Unlike the first example, however, this prayer altogether dispenses with the plea for kindness.

Striking the name of the ruler from the prayer for the government, and replacing it with Sevi's, is no small act. The prayers reflect an intensity of feeling and firmness of belief that enables the community to perform an act of obvious defiance. The tension of diaspora ambivalence, which we have observed from the days of Jeremiah, has simmered and now boiled over. What has previously been an undercurrent of discomfort has broken to the surface in a gush of discontent. The believers need no longer profess national loyalty. The sense of joy in the prayers leaves no room for regret or sorrow concerning one's adopted country. The scales of accommodation have tilted completely to one side. The long awaited redemption has begun; the restoration is imminent.

CHAPTER SIX

CROMWELL-ELIZABETH II:

FOUR CENTURIES IN ENGLAND

The history of the Jewish prayer for the government in England begins even before the Jews were readmitted to the British Isles in the late 17th century. Menasseh ben Israel, the Amsterdam rabbi, led the lobbying effort to gain readmittance. In his petition to Oliver Cromwell, The Humble Addresses- To His Highnesse the Lord Protector (1655), Menasseh appeals to "the fidelity of the Jewes towards their Gouvernours":

The same affection is confirmed by the same custome of all the Jewes wheresoever they live: for every Sabbath or festivall Day, they everywhere are used to pray for the safety of all Kings, Princes and Common-wealths, under whose jurisdiction they live, of what profession-soever: unto which duty they are bound by the Prophets and the Talmudists

From the continuall and never broken Custome of the Jewes wheresoever they are, on the Sabbath-Day, or other solemne Feasts; at which time all the Jewes from all places come together to the Synagogue, after the benediction of the Holy Law, before the Minister of the Synagogue blesseth the people of the Jewes; with a loud voice he blesseth the Prince of the Country under whom they live, that all the Jewes may heare it, and say, Amen.

In Vindiciae Judaeorum (1656), another work devoted to the cause, Menasseh repeats his arguments about the Jews' fidelity, and recalls the blessing bestowed upon the English ambassador in 1651:

The Lord, blessed for ever, by his prophet *Jeremiah* Chap. 29. 7. gives it in command to the captive Israelites that were dispersed among the heathens, that they should continually pray for, and endeavour the peace, welfare and prosperity of the city wherein they dwelt, and the inhabitants thereof. This the Jewes have alwayes done, and continue to this day in all their Synagogues, with a particular blessing of the Prince or Magistrate, under whose protection they live. And this the Right Honourable my Lord *St. John* can testifie; who when he was Embassadour to the Lords the States of the united Provinces, was pleased to honour our Synagogue at *Amsterdam* with his prefence, where our nation entertained him with musick, and all expreffions of joy and gladnesse, and also pronounced a blessing, not onely upon his honour, then present, but upon the whole Common-wealth of *England*, for that they were a people in league and amity a

Both works display an intimate knowledge of the biblical and rabbinic sources on prayer for the state.³ The former contains a full English translation of Hanoten.⁴ The translation accords with the two Sephardic manuscripts that predate it, except that it omits the entreaty that the king subdue his enemies.

Although Menasseh was not immediately successful in his lobbying efforts, a small group of Jewish merchants quietly settled in London. On Simchat Torah of 1663, one Samuel Pepys paid a visit to their synagogue and wrote in his diary:

And in the end they had a prayer for the King, in which they pronounced his name in Portugall[sic-Portuguesel], but the prayer, like the rest, in Hebrew.⁵

Just two years later another translation of Hanoten surfaced under unusual circumstances. Jacob Leon (Templo), scholar, theologian, artist, and craftsman, constructed a model of Solomon's temple that was later presented to Charles II. The dedicatory pamphlet contains these words on the title page:

He that sends deliverance to Kings, and giveth Dominion to Princes, whose Kingdom and Dominion is everlasting: He that delivered David his servant from the Perillous sword, and he who made a way through the Red Sea, and Pathes through the River Jordan: He himself blesse, preserve, assist, make great, and more and more Exalt our Gracious Lord CHARLES the II. King and Protector of England, Scotland, France and Ireland. The King of Kings by his Merciful Benevolence preserve, vivifie, and deliver him from all trouble and danger. The King of Kings increase and highten the Star of his Constellation, to prolong his dayes over his glorious Kingdome. The King of Kings put it into his heart, and into the hearts of his Nobles and Princes to use benigne Clemencie towards Us, and to the Israel of God, our brethren under his dominion. — Amen.⁶

Templo takes the liberty of translating mayim azim as as the Red Sea and River Jordan! Like Menasseh, he omits the line about subduing foes, but even more importantly, drops the concluding phrase about the redeemer. Simeon Singer, who wrote an article about early prayers for the English sovereigns, is convinced the omission is deliberate. He explains that in Cromwell's era messianism was popular, but in Charles' it was on the wane:

But arguments of this sort, if effective in the age of Cromwell, would be likely to defeat their object in the era of Restoration. Charles II was not a man in a hurry for the Messiah. Nothing would have disconcerted him more than his advent. Templo, moreover, probably did not consider the occasion an appropriate one for introducing a special element of Jewish dogmatics....⁷

Singer is arguing that the political climate of the era helped shape the translation of the prayer. At the same time he asserts that the prayer, and the synagogue, are non-partisan institutions:

It would be unfair to bring it as a charge against the Jews that, after having prayed for the Protector and the Commonwealth, they prayed for the King and the Monarchy.

... it must not be forgotten that the Synagogue is not a political organization; that like the Church, it has to recognize accomplished facts, and, enjoying the protection of the law, is bound in honour as well as in duty to pray for the highest representatives of the law.⁸

The proclivity to emend the text, at least in translation, is evident as early as Menasseh ben Israel. A London siddur (1714), complete with a miniature drawing of a king on his throne, drops the astrological reference.⁹ Another version, printed in a tract written to counter nativist tendencies in the mid-18th century, again omits the messianic phrase.¹⁰ On the other hand, a fully traditional form is used to welcome the royal dukes upon their visit to the Great Synagogue in 1809.¹¹ The variety of versions indicates that no single wording was exclusively employed. This helped pave the way for the significant rewritings of the 20th century.

In 1895 the British rabbinate formally altered the traditional prayer for the government. Besides removing some of the rhetorical flourishes of the introductory section, two major changes were made:

- a. the plea for kindness is replaced by an appeal for "a spirit of wisdom and understanding...that they may uphold the peace of the realm, advance the welfare of the nation, and deal kindly and truly with all Israel".
- b. the prayer is concluded: "In her days and in ours, may our Heavenly Father spread the tabernacle of peace over all the dwellers on earth; and may the redeemer come to Zion; and let us say, Amen."¹²

The changes, incidentally, are present in the Hebrew text as well.

Like their French brethren (see Chapter Seven), the British rabbis evidently felt the need, in the

words of Israel Abrahams, "to bring the sentiments expressed more into harmony with the actual constitution of the country".¹³ This included an appeal to wisdom over mercy (rachmanut), and the introduction of a universalistic note at the end of the prayer.

Suprisingly, Joseph Hertz rejects these innovations when, as Chief Rabbi, he edits The Authorized Daily Prayer Book (1941). He notes:

The elimination of the supplication for rachmanut was in some quarters hailed as a great improvement. Nevertheless, the older form was a truer reflection of reality for millions of Jews, even before the Nazi Terror.¹⁴

Hertz does not mention why he also disowns the universalistic ending of the earlier version, which he seems to comment upon in a favorable light.¹⁵

The most dramatic changes in the prayer for the government come, as one might expect, from the Reform and Liberal Jewish communities in England. Forms of Prayer (1931) offers a Hebrew and English version radically different from its traditional predecessor:

אֱלֹהֵינוּ שְׂפָשָׁפִים בָּאנוּ לִפְנֵיךְ לְהִתְפַּלֵּל בְּעַד

Our Sovereign Lady, Queen ELIZABETH,
ELIZABETH the Queen Mother, PHILIP Duke of Edinburgh,
CHARLES Duke of Cornwall, and all the ROYAL FAMILY.

אֲנֵנוּ בְּרַכּוֹת וְשִׁמְרָה: תָּן לְמַלְכֵּנוּ וְלִיּוֹעֲצֵיהָ דָּעַת וּבִינָה
לַעֲשׂוֹת מְלוּכָה בְּרִצְנוֹךְ וְיִהְיֶה חֶפְצָם לְשׁוֹם צְדָקָה וּמִשְׁפָּט
בְּאֶרֶץ: תָּן בְּלִבֵּנוּ לְאַהֲבָה אֶת־אֲרָצֵנוּ וְלִדְרֹשׁ שְׁלוֹמָהּ
בְּכָל־עֵת וּבְכָל־שָׁעָה: הוֹרְנוּ וְנִרְעָ בִּי צְדָקָת כָּל אִישׁ
וְאִישׁ בְּתוֹכֵנוּ הִיא הַכְּמָתָה לַעֲיֵי הָעַמִּים: מִהֵרָ וְהִבִּיֵּא
הַיּוֹם אֲשֶׁר יִקְבְּלוּ כָל־בָּשָׂר עוֹל מַלְכוּתְךָ עֲלֵיהֶם וְשְׁלוֹם
וְאַהֲבָה יִכְוֶנוּ לְנִצָּח בְּעוֹלָם: אָמֵן:

Almighty God, we pray to thee for our Sovereign Lady, Queen Elizabeth, Elizabeth the Queen Mother, Philip Duke of Edinburgh, Charles Duke of Cornwall, and all the Royal Family. We beseech thee to bless and keep them. Grant the Queen and her counsellors wisdom to govern the Empire in accordance with thy holy will, so that it may help to set righteousness and justice in the earth. Strengthen our love for our country, our desire to serve it, our power of self-sacrifice in the things that make for its welfare. Cause us to see ever more clearly that its high place among the nations is in the keeping of all its citizens. Hasten the time, we beseech thee, when thy rule will be accepted by all mankind, and when the reign of peace and love will be established on earth. Amen. 16

The Queen and her family are the recipients of blessing in this prayer, but the focus then turns to the congregant as citizen. The notions of love and devotion to country are modern values missing in the traditional text. This is the prayer of Jews who deem themselves fully Englishmen. The concluding thought is universalistic and messianic, rather than particularistic and Messiah oriented. All these characteristics mark many subsequent prayers for the government.

A revised version of Forms of Prayer (1977) contains a newly written prayer that voices special concern for national unity and international harmony:

אלהינו

Our Sovereign Lady, Queen Elizabeth,
and all the Royal Family, her advisers and her counsellors.

יְתֵן לָנוּ כֹחַ לְמַלֵּא חוֹבֹתֵינוּ בְּאַהֲבָה. כִּי שָׂדֵק וְנִדְיֹת
יִשְׁרְרוּ בְּאַרְצֵנוּ. יְהִי שְׁלוֹם בְּלִבֵּנוּ. אֲנִשֵּׁי-קִהְלוֹת-
הַמַּלְכוּת יִתְדָעוּ בְּהַפְרָה הַדָּדִית. יִהְיוּ מְאַחֲדִים בְּאַהֲבַת-
הַטּוֹב וּמְאַלִּימוֹת וְרִיב יִרְחֲקוּ. עִם כָּל-אַמּוֹת-הָעוֹלָם
יִחַדְדוּ וְשָׂאף לְשָׁלוֹה וּלְצִדְקָה. וּבְשָׁלוֹם נַחֲיָה אָנוּ וּבְנֵינוּ.
אִז תִּזְכֶּה מַלְכוּתֵנוּ לְכָבוֹד אֲמִיתִי וּלְגִדְלָה לְקִרְאָת
הַנֶּאֱלָה וּלְהַקְמַת-מַלְכוּת-הַשָּׁמַיִם עַל-הָאָרֶץ. אָמֵן:

May He whose ~~kingdom is an everlasting kingdom~~ bless

Our Sovereign Lady, Queen Elizabeth,
and all the Royal Family, her advisers and her counsellors.

May He give His wisdom to the government of this country,
to all who lead it and to all who have responsibility for its safety
and its welfare. May He give us all the strength to do our duty, and
the love to do it well, so that justice and kindness may dwell in our
land. May His peace be in our hearts, so that every community of
our nation may meet in understanding and respect, united by love
of goodness, and keeping far from violence and strife. Together may
we work for peace and justice among all nations, and may we and
our children live in peace. So may this kingdom find its honour
and greatness in the work of redemption, and the building of God's
kingdom here ~~on earth. May this be His will. Amen.~~ 17

The editors of Service of the Heart (1967) include
only an English prayer for the government. In keeping
with the variety of alternative services offered for
Sabbath morning, the prayer varies slightly from service
to service. The following example is representative:

Almighty [REDACTED] gn Lady, Queen Elizabeth, and all the Royal Family. We ask You to bless and protect them. To the Queen and all in authority grant wisdom to govern the nation in accordance with Your will, that, together with the nations of the Commonwealth, it may help to foster righteousness, justice and abiding peace on earth. Deepen our love for our country, our desire to serve it, our resolve to uphold its good name by our own right conduct. Hasten the time when Your rule will be accepted by all mankind, and when the reign of peace and love ~~will be firmly established~~ throughout the world. 19.

The prayer is obviously based on the older Forms of Prayer, although "Empire" is replaced by "together with the nations of the Commonwealth". Evident again is the emphasis on love of country and ethical conduct.

The history of the prayer for the government in England highlights the emergence of the Jews into modernity. Acceptance as bona fide citizens of the state prompted the Jews to embrace their country without reserve. The diaspora ambivalence of the traditional prayer seems to be absent from the modern versions. Jews could still look forward to an era of justice and peace without expecting national restoration or redemption by a Messiah. In fact, the work of redemption, with Divine help, is a product of our own hands.

CHAPTER SEVENFIT FOR AN EMPEROR:FRANCE AND EUROPE

Like their brethren across the Channel, the Jews of France were greatly affected by the freedom of modernity. Their sense of national pride and affection is evident in the words of Berr Isaac Berr, a merchant, spoken after the Revolution:

We are now, thanks to the Supreme Being, and to the sovereignty of the nation, not only Men and Citizens, but we are Frenchmen!¹

Patriotic feeling is also apparent in the record of the Parisian Sanhedrin, convoked by Napoleon in 1806:

... and when they came to the prayer which Jews are accustomed to put up for sovereigns, enthusiasm knew no bounds. Cries of "Long live the Emperor and King", in Hebrew and French, proceeded from every mouth.²

Despite the flowery language of Hanoten, it was decided that the traditional prayer was not fit for the emperor. S. Debre, a late 19th century Parisian Rabbi, explains why a new prayer was needed:

Formerly in France, as elsewhere, the old הנוטן תשועה was read in every synagogue during the morning service. The passage which prayed that the head of the State should have the glory of crushing his enemies under his feet, of coming out victorious from all his enterprises, harmonised admirably with the ambitious dreams and bold enterprises of the first Bonaparte. Nevertheless, it was during his reign that הנוטן תשועה was replaced by a new prayer, commonly called אלהים חיים, from the first two words of the prayer. The reason why it had become necessary to compose a new prayer was that, in 1808, the Jewish ritual had just been officially organised. Now the emperor understood that his numerous victories and colossal ambition were celebrated in every house of prayer with the most vehement enthusiasm. The הנוטן תשועה in plain prose did not lend itself to choral accompaniment. It was not a Te Deum sufficiently pompous for the greatness of ~~the emperor~~ for the gratitude and ardent loyalty ~~of the Jews~~. ³

The new prayer was written by Abraham Cologna (1754-1832), a leading French Rabbi, and set to choral music:

אלהינו יהוה ואלהינו יהוה • בידך כח וגבורה • למדל ולחזק לכל • אשר מפיד
מלכים ימלוכו ומידך למו מטה עז שבט מישור לנהל לאמים •
השקיפה ממעון קדשך וברך וצור ושמור אדוננו • • • • • אמן •
ברכות שמים מעל תצו אתו יאריך ימים ושנות חיים על
ממלכתו אמן • כאשר בך עין תנצרהו • עמדת תפארת נצה
תמגנהו אמן • שלח אורך ואמתך המה ינהוהו • חסד ואמת
תמיד יצרוהו אמן • מאד מאד ירום אדוננו ונשא וגבה • עם
כל בני משפחתו הנשגבה אמן • בארצנו רב שלום יפרח •
ויושביה לעד ישכנו לבטח אמן • יהיו לרצון אמרי פינו ותגיון
לבנו • לפניך ה' צוהנו ונאמנו אמן •

Living God and Eternal King, who dwells on high and who gazes upon heaven and earth: By your hand is the strength and might to prosper and sustain everything. By your mouth kings reign and by your power peoples are guided. Look down from your holy habitation and bless, sustain, and guard, our lord ----- Amen.

May the blessing of heaven be upon him; lengthen the days and years of his reign, Amen.

Like the apple of your eye guard him; shield him with a crown of glory and victory, Amen.

Send forth your light and truth; these shall comfort him. May mercy and truth be eternally bound up with him, Amen.

Greatly exalt our lord, raise him up, and strengthen him and his honored family, Amen.

May peace blossom throughout the land, and may its inhabitants always dwell securely, Amen.

May the words of our mouth, and the meditations of our heart, be acceptable unto You, O Lord, our Rock and our Redeemer, Amen.

Debre comments upon a deliberate omission in the new prayer, the entreaty for kindness and rachmanut, which was also a characteristic of the 1895 British revision:

Substantially this prayer, substituted for the old one, was nothing else than a reproduction in a poetic shape of the wishes for glory, dominion and victory contained in the first prayer. One thing, however, is omitted in the work of Cologne, no doubt intentionally, viz., the entreaty to God to incline the heart of the king and his counsellors to have pity on the unhappy fate of the Jews, and to cause the time of deliverance of Zion to draw near. This passage was no longer appropriate in a prayer composed after the emancipation of the Jews. They had already been admitted into the heart of the great French family, and henceforth had a native country of their own. Accordingly, to ask for pity from men had become superfluous in the eyes of the Jews, and to pray for the restoration of Zion might have appeared suspicious to the emperor. ⁵

When Hertz, as Britain's Chief Rabbi, returned to the traditional form, he criticized Debre's remarks:

Alas, he could not see that emancipations, even French emancipations, might be repealed.⁶

The new version, like the old, proved unsatisfactory. According to Debre, Chief Rabbi Isidore (1814-1888) set out "to adapt to the Republic all the prayers which were suitable under the imperial regime" when he assumed office in 1867.⁷ This resulted in a French version, which is based on Cologne's composition, but more responsive to the democratic constitution of the Republic. Like its English counterparts, the prayer stresses love of country, civic devotion, and right conduct:

"Dieu/ Eternel, ~~maître de l'univers~~ ! Du haut de ton trône tu inclines les regards de ta Providence vers les cieux et la terre ; la force et la puissance t'appartiennent ; par toi tout s'agrandit, tout s'affermi ; de ta demeure sainte, ô Seigneur, bénis et protège la République française et le peuple français. Amen.

"Accorde à notre pays bien-aimé la sécurité, et le bonheur et qu'il jouisse toujours d'une paix profonde. Amen.

"Que par le travail, l'instruction et la concorde, la France prospère et conserve toujours son rang glorieux parmi les nations. Amen.

"Que les rayons de ta lumière éclairent et guident ceux qui sont à la tête de l'Etat, que ta miséricorde et ta grâce soient leur bouclier. Amen.

"Accueille favorablement nos vœux, que les paroles de notre bouche et les sentiments de notre cœur trouvent grâce devant toi, ô Eternel, notre créateur et notre libérateur." 2

Eternal God, master of the universe:
From the eminence of your throne you turn the
eyes of your providence toward heaven and earth.
Power and might are yours. Through you
everything is exalted and everything established.
From your holy habitat, O Lord, bless and
protect the French Republic and the French
people. Amen.

Grant unto our beloved country security and
good fortune that it may always enjoy a
profound peace. Amen.

May France, through work, education, and harmony,
prosper and always preserve its glorious place
among the nations. Amen.

May the rays of your light brighten and guide
those who are at the head of the State, and
may your mercy and grace be their shield. Amen.

Receive in favor our petition, that the words
of our mouth and the feelings of our heart may
find favor before You, our Creator and Redeemer.

Italy is also the home of innovative prayers for 18th and 19th century emperors. The northern community of Mantua had long been part of the Hapsburg Austrian-Hungarian empire. Joseph II ruled from 1764-1790; the following prayer for him was written in 1789. The Jewish community had decidedly mixed feelings about Joseph II, with the assimilationists hailing his liberalizing decrees and the traditionalists decriing the difficulties it imposed on their observance. But no hint of these negative feelings emerge in this effusive prayer. It is not part of a Sabbath prayerbook but rather from a special booklet in honor of the monarch. The prayer begins as a mi sheberach, which we have observed is a form that predates Hanoten. However, this composition also incorporates language from the traditional prayer. It is particularly militaristic, containing numerous pleas that the king's enemies be vanquished:

מִי שֶׁבֵּרַךְ אֲבֹרָהִם יִצְחָק וְיִשְׂרָאֵל
 מֹשֶׁה וְאַהֲרֹן דָּוִד וְשְׁלֹמֹה
 הַמְּלָכִים הַגְּדֹלִים וְהַעֲצוּמִים
 מֵעוֹלָם אֲנֹשֵׁי הַשֵּׁם הוּא יְבָרֶךְ וְיִשְׁׁמְרֶנִּי

וְיִנְצֹר וְיַעֲזֹר לַמַּעֲלֵת רוּמְמוֹת אֶת
 הַמֶּלֶךְ וְהַקִּיסָר נְיוֹסֵי נְיוֹסֵי
 יְרוּסֵם הַדּוֹד וְתַנְשֵׂא מַלְכוּתוֹ
 מֶלֶךְ הַמְּלָכִים יִשְׁמְרֵהוּ וּמִכָּפָה
 אֹיְבָיו יַצִּילֵהוּ כְּדֹכְתִּיב יַצִּילֵנִי מֵאֵי
 עֵז וּמִשׁוֹנְאֵי כִי אֲמַצּוּ מִמֶּנִּי
 מֶלֶךְ הַמְּלָכִים יַעֲצִימֵהוּ וְיִאֲחֶזְקֵהוּ
 וְיִרְדּוֹף אֹיְבָיו וְיִשְׁיֵגֵם כְּדֹכְתִּיב אֶת
 אֹיְבָיו וְאֲשִׁיגֵם וְלֹא אֲשׁוּב עַד כָּל
 וְכֹתִיב תִּמְצֵא יָדְךָ לְכָל אֹיְבֶיךָ
 תִּמְצֵא שְׁנֵאִיךָ

מֶלֶךְ הַמְּלָכִים יִסְעֲדֵנִי בַּמִּלָּחָמָה
 וְיִלְמְדֵהוּ כְּדֹכְתִּיב מִלְּמַד יָדִי לַמִּלָּחָמָה
 וְנִחַתְדָּה קֶשֶׁת נְחוּשָׁה וְזַרְעוֹתֵי
 רִגְלִיו כְּאֵילֹת וְעַל בְּמַתִּיו יַעֲמִיד
 מֶלֶךְ הַמְּלָכִים יִפִּיר אֹיְבָיו חֲלָל
 לִפְנֵי בִדְרֶךְ אֶחָד יֵצֵאוּ אֵלָיו וּבִשְׁנֵי
 דְרָכִים יְנוֹסוּ לִפְנָיו

Q uegli che benedisse Abramo, Isaac, Jacob,
 Mosè, Aron, David, e Salomone, e
 tutti i Grandi e Potenti Re, che resersi
 celebri nel mondo, benedica, preservi,

protegga, ed assista l' Eccelsa ~~Maria~~ dell' Impe-
 ratore, e Re nostro Sovrano GIUSEPPE II., la
 di cui gloria, ed Impero vieppiù si esaltino.

Il Re de' Regi il diffenda, e lo salvi dalla
 mano di tutti i suoi nemici, giusta la Divina pa-
 rola: *Eripuit me de inimicis meis fortissimis, & ab*
his qui oderunt me, quoniam confortati sunt super me.

Il Re de' Regi l' invigorisca, ed il renda te-
 muto, sì che raggiunga, ed abbatta i suoi nemi-
 ci, giusta il Verso: *Persequar inimicos meos, & com-*
prehendam illos, & non convertar donec deficiant; ed
 altro Verso: *Inveniat manus tua omnibus inimicis*
tuis, dextra tua inveniat omnes qui te oderunt.

Il Re de' Regi l' assista nelle Battaglie, e l' am-
 maestri nell' arte di guerreggiare, giusta il Verso:
Qui perfecit pedes meos tamquam cervorum, & super
excelsa statuens me. Qui docet manus meas ad præ-
lium, & posuisti ut arcum aureum brachia mea. Il Re
 de' Regi faccia cadere i suoi nemici dinanzi a Lui
 sconfitti, ed allorchè se gli affacciano per una via,
 veggansi costretti darsi per molte strade a precipito-
 sa fuga.

לְךָ יְיָ הַגִּדְלָהּ וְהַגְבוּרָהּ וְהַתְפָּאָה
וְהַנִּצָּח וְהַחֹדֶר כִּי כָל בְּשָׁמַיִם וּבָאָרֶץ
לְךָ יְיָ הַמַּמְלָכָה וְהַמִּתְנַשֵּׂא לְ
לְרֹאשׁ וְהָעוֹשֶׁה וְהַכְּבוֹד מִלְּפָנֶיךָ וְאֵל
מִשָּׁל בְּכָל וְבִידֶךָ כֹּחַ וְגִבּוּרָה וּבְרָכָה
לְגִדּוֹל וּלְחֹזֶק לְכָל:

אֲנִי חֹזֶק וְאֲמִץ לְמַעַלְלֵי רוּמִם
אֲדוֹנֵינוּ הַמֶּלֶךְ וְהַיְקִימָה גִּיּוֹסִי
סִיקוֹנָדוֹ אֲשֶׁר אָנוּ מִתְפַּלְלִים

עָלֶינוּ כְּאֲשֶׁר חֹזֶקת וְאֲמִצָּת אֶת יְהוָה
בְּיוֹם הַלְחָמֵנוּ עִם מַלְכֵי כְנָעַן בְּיוֹם
אֲמָרוֹ לְפָנֶיךָ שֶׁמֶשׁ בִּגְבָעוֹן הָזֶה וְיָרֵחַ
בְּעֶמֶק אֵילֹון גִּדּוֹל כְּבוֹדוֹ בִּישׁוּעָתָהּ
הוֹד וְהַדָּר תִּשְׁוֶה עָלָיו.

וְתִשָּׂא בְּלִבּוֹ וּבִרְלָב כָּל יוֹעֵץ
לַעֲשׂוֹת חֶסֶד עִמָּנוּ וְעִם כָּל יִשְׂרָאֵל
וְנֹאמַר אָמֵן: 9.

Tua è, grande Iddio, la vera grandezza, tuo il potere, la gloria, il valore, la magnificenza, perchè tutto puoi in cielo, ed in terra: tuo è l'assoluto dominio, e tu sei sopra ogni immaginabile dignità sublime; da te derivano le ricchezze, e l'onore, poichè tu d'ogni cosa disponi. Da te solo attender debbesi l'ingrandimento, e la forza, e puoi a chi meglio ti piace impartirli.

Deh! Signore, concedi valore, e grazia all'Augustissimo nostro Imperatore, e Re GIUSEPPE II. a pro di cui umiliamo le nostre preghiere, come hai concesso a Giosuè allorchè combattendo i Re di Canaan, disse, implorando il tuo favore, *sol contra Gabaon ne movearis, & luna contra vallem ajalon*. Ingrandisci di grazia la gloria di Cesare rendendolo ognor vittorioso, e adorno ne vada di sempre maggior splendore.

Piacciati conservare nell'animo di Lui, e de' Regj Ministri i sentimenti di clemenza, e di grazia in verso noi, e generalmente in verso Israello. Amen.

May He who blessed Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Moses, Aaron, David, Solomon, and all the great and mighty kings of eternal renown, bless, guard, sustain, and help our exalted lord, the king and emperor Joseph II. May he be magnified and his kingdom raised up.

King of Kings: guard him from the reach of his enemies; save him, as it is written: save me from my enemies and detractors, for they are strong about me.

King of Kings: strengthen and bolster him that he may pursue and capture his enemies, as it is written: I will pursue and capture my enemies, and not return before their demise. It is also written: Raise your hand against your enemies, your power against your detractors.

King of Kings: help his campaign and instruct him, as it is written: My hands are learned for war, you have prepared a firm quiver, my arm is ready, his legs are like deer, and he girds his loins.

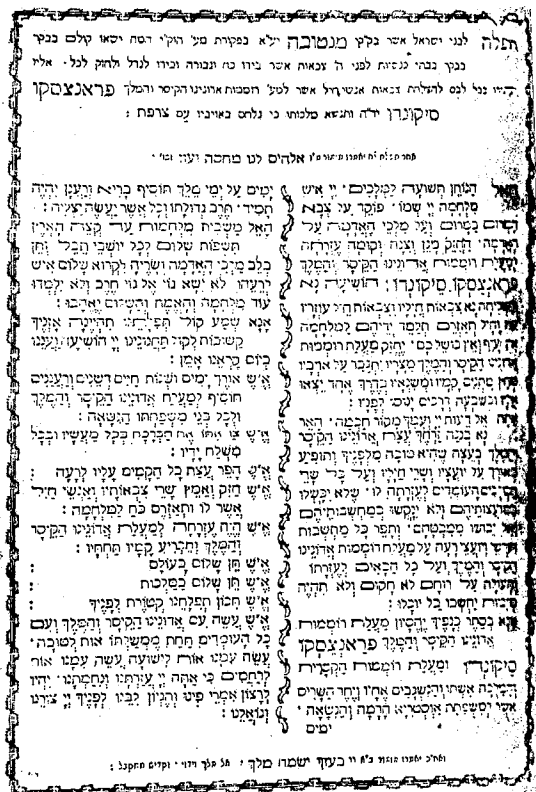
King of Kings: make his enemies drop before him. As one they went out to meet him, in seven ways they flee from him.

Unto you, Lord, is the strength, power, glory, victory, and splendor of all heaven and earth. Unto you, Lord, is the dominion, exaltation, richness, and honor. You rule over everything, are strong and powerful, and through you all is strengthened and sustained.

Sustain and give courage to our exalted lord, the king and emperor, Joseph II, for whom we pray, just as you sustained and gave courage to Joshua on the day of his battle with the kings of Canaan; the day in which he said before you: the sun at Givon and the moon at Ayalon be still. Raise his honor through your salvation and grant him splendor and glory.

Place in his heart and in the heart of all his advisors the inclination to deal kindly with us and all Israel. And let us say: Amen.

Joseph II was succeeded by Francis II, emperor of Austria from 1792-1835. The same community of Mantua published the following prayer, which is similiar to the previous one in its militaristic concern. Whether these specially composed prayers were read during the Sabbath morning service in addition to, or in place of the traditional blessing is unknown.



The God who gives salvation to kings, the Lord who is a 'man of war', who commands the heavenly hosts and the earthly rulers-strengthen, defend, shield, raise, help, extol, and glorify our lord the emperor and king Francis II.

Save and prosper his army and his allies army. Gird them with strength and courage, train their hands for war devoid of fatigue or failure. Protect our exalted lord, the emperor and king, from trouble so he may vanquish his enemies. Increase his stature, so that his detractors, who approached as one, will flee in seven directions.

You are the God of knowledge, the source of wisdom. May your splendor illuminate our lord, the emperor and king, with goodly counsel. May your light appear before his advisors and commanders, and all the ministers who aid him. May their advice not be faulty, their plans not disturbed, and their assurances not broken. Banish and nullify all destructive thoughts and bad advice from our exalted lord, the emperor and king, and from all those who come to help him. Those who would trample their spirit shall not rise up or live again, nor their plans come to be.

In the shelter of your wings protect our exalted lord, the emperor and king Francis II, and the honorable empress and queen his wife, and his honored brothers, and all the ministers of the exalted Austrian government. Add many years of health to the king, and everlasting vitality. Increase his stature and prosper all that he does.

May God who wages war throughout the land, grant peace to all its inhabitants, and inspire earthly kings and ministers to proclaim peace between men. Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war anymore. But they shall love truth and peace.

... Grant peace in the world.
Grant peace in the kingdom

... Give us a sign of your deliverance and mercy, for you are our help and comfort. May the words of our mouth and the meditations of our heart be acceptable unto you, O Lord, our Rock and our Redeemer.

The Mantua prayers, although original, belong to the older genre of prayers for the sovereign rather than the state. This is only logical given the autocratic, rather than democratic, form of government that persisted in many places that Jews lived. One such example is Russia, where pre-revolution siddurim contain the traditional wording for the czar and his family. A prayerbook that could have been the possession of the Rabbi in Fiddler on the Roof names Nicholas II and his entourage.¹¹ Further evolution of the prayer for the government was of course halted by the Holocaust and communist Russia.¹²

CHAPTER EIGHTPRESIDENTS AND PATRIOTS:IN AMERICA

Jewish prayer for the United States of America is as old as the country itself. In fact, Jews were reciting the traditional prayer on American soil before the nation declared independence. What makes the United States so interesting is the almost continuous documentation of prayer for the government in books and archives, as well as the uniquely modern experience of the Jews here.

The nation's oldest congregation, Shearith Israel in New York (the Spanish and Portugese Synagogue) has records that date back to the early colonial period. Something of the Jewish odyssey is reflected in the fact that its first prayers for the government are in Hebrew, but the Dutch rulers are named in Portugese!¹ The congregation still used their native tongue to name King George and his family, but adopted English to bless the President following the Revolution.²

Gershom Seixas, spiritual leader of Shearith Israel from 1768 to the end of the century, was a prolific writer of prayers for the government. More often than not the prayers were penned for a special occasion. This does not preclude the possibility that Hanoten continued to be recited during the Sabbath morning service. Seixas' earliest prayer (in the archives of Shearith Israel) was written for a day of "humiliation, fasting, and prayer" declared by the Continental Congress on May 17, 1776:

O Lord: the God of our Fathers ~~Abraham~~, Isaac and Jacob, may it please thee, to put it in the heart of our Sovereign Lord, George the third, and in the hearts of his Councillors, Princes and Servants, to turn away their fierce Wrath from against North America. And to destroy the wicked devices of our enemies, that it may fall on their own heads. That there may no more blood be shed in these Countries, O Lord our God, we beseech thee to open unto us the gates of mercy on this our solemn Fast And that our prayers and the prayers of all the people that stand before thee this day, may come before thee that the [MS. torn] may no more pass through our Land. And that thou mayest send the Angels of mercy to proclaim Peace to all America and to the inhabitants thereof. That thou mayest once more plant an everlasting peace between Great Brittain and her Colonies as in former times and confirm unto us what is written. And they shall beat their

swords into Plow-shares, and their spears into pruning hooks; Nation shall not lift up sword against Nation, neither shall they learn war any more. Amen. 3

The conflicting loyalties of colonialists on the eve of revolution is painfully evident in Seixas's composition. When the war came, however, there is no doubt where the leader and his congregation stood. Shearith Israel disbanded rather than submit to British rule in New York. Seixas and others relocated in Connecticut and later Philadelphia. Seixas wrote a prayer for the young government in the midst of armed struggle that frankly requests: "May the Lord fight for them". Yet the prayer, which borrows freely from Hanoten, also looks forward to an era of peace and the good tidings of the Redeemer:

O Great, tremendous, mighty, high, & Exalted King of Israel, Lord of Hosts. He who dispenseth Safety unto Kings, and Dominion unto princes, whose Kingdom is an Everlasting Kingdom; He that Redeemeth, delivereth, and multiplieth his mercies for their benefit; He that is near to all those that call upon him, He that answereth those that fear him, when called on in time of their distress. May he bless, guard, preserve, assist, shield, Save, supremely Exalt, and aggrandize to a high degree His Excellency the President, & the Honble Delegates of the United States of America, in Congress Assembled; His Excellency George Washington, Capt. Genl. & Commander in Chief of the Federal Army of these States, His Excellency the President, the Honble the Executive Council, & Members of the General Assembly of this Commonwealth, and all Kings & Potentates, in alliance with North America.

May the supreme King of kings, through his infinite mercies, preserve & grant them Life and deliver them from all manner of Trouble & injury, fixing and Establishing them in their several departments, in peace and tranquility.

May the supreme King of kings through his infinite mercies, save and prosper the Men of these United States, who are gone forth to War; The Lord of Hosts be the shield of those who are Armed for war by Land, and for those who are gone in Ships to war on the Seas, May the Lord fight for them; May they, their Rulers, their Leaders, and all their Allies joining them in battle, equally experience thy goodness; And may thy Angels have them in Charge, and save them from Death, and all manner of distress. May the Supreme King of Kings im-

plant among them, Amity, brotherly Love, peace and Sociableness. Let not their Lips speak Evil, nor their Tongues utter deceit. May their Troops go forth without duplicity when they have taken counsel together, to war against those, that seek their Injury. May the supreme King of Kings thro his infinite mercies, impart his divine wisdom, to the Rulers of these United States, and grant them a Spirit of Just Council and true Valour, so that they may be enabled, to support their determinations with wisdom and Judgment, And may a permanent Peace subsist between them, and the Kings & Potentates, in alliance with them, and Establish to them a Covenant of Peace, until time shall be no more, so that Nation shall not lift up their sword against nation, neither shall they combat or make war any more, Amen. Grant it thus O Lord, for the sake of thy great and ineffable Name; and for the sake of thy People, and thine inheritance, who offereth up their supplications to thee, whose Seat is in heaven; Invoking thee, Hasten, and let thy tender mercies anticipate our prayers, for we are greatly deficient and undeserving, Incline thine Ear and hearken, Open thine Eyes, and see our distresses, and do not despise our unworthiness, nor our Cry unto thee.

We Beeseech thee, O Most gracious and Merciful king, to whom peace Pertaineth, that thou wilt cause us to enjoy a firm Peace & Tranquility, & Spread over us the Tabernacle of peace everlastingly, & speedily permit, that among us may be heard, "the Voice of him who bringeth glad tidings, announcing that, 'The Redeemer Cometh to Zion,'" Amen. So may it be. "

One other prayer by Seixas, written in 1807, merits attention.⁵ Its distinctive feature, like modern examples from England and France, is concern for the nation as a whole. The prayer is not only for the leadership but for the people and their country. An appeal is made to uphold the "principles of the Constitution". The young nation's enterprises: agriculture, commerce, and education, are blessed. Seixas is speaking as a proud citizen, secure in his place:

Let us now unite in prayer, and with awful tremblings render praise & thanksgiving to our God, the God of Israel; to whom all power & mercy pertaineth—join with me in supplication & let us mentally pray for each other—we humbly beseech thee Oh Lord! to look down upon us from thine holy habitation & grant us thy all-powerful protection, shield us under the wings of thy holy Providence, & preserve us from evil; direct us in the pursuits of life, & guard us from the reproaches of Man— Bless & protect the President of the Union, with the administrators of the general Government, in their respective departments—the Governor & Rulers of this State—Judges & Counsellors—and the Magistrates of this City— Impart to them an emanation of thy divine wisdom—that they may know & judge distinctly, between that which would prove beneficial to the United States—and that which might be injurious—let no party schisms in state affairs prevail, so as to destroy the principles of the Constitution, which is for the security of person & property, & sworn to be observed by the administrators of Government.

May the Congress assembled, act in unison with each other to promote the welfare of all—and may they be able to deliberate and decide on all laws proposed for the advantage of their Constituents May agriculture flourish & Commerce be prosperous, may the seminaries of education be continued under the direction of able Teachers & Professors—that the succeeding generations may gain the knowledge of freedom without licentiousness, & the usefulness of power without tyranny.

May the people be convinced of the fidelity of their representatives, and may no cause of jealousy subsist among the different States of the Union—may the blessing of Peace attend their

Land
Councils; & finally may "the earth be filled with knowledge as waters covereth the Seas—"

So be it thy will & we will say Amen. 6.

Before continuing through the 19th century, another prayer from the Revolutionary War period should not go unnoticed, if only for its fervently original composition. The author, Rabbi Hendla Oettingen, was connected with Shearith Israel during Seixas' absence and wrote this prayer in Hebrew in New York, 1784. The underlined portions identify phrases from the familiar prayer, and the leaders named:

We (turn) towards God and towards God are our eyes.

Blessed be the Lord who has dealt kindly with us, in His mercy and great kindness He has dealt magnanimously with us. By the breath of His mouth He has created heaven and earth and the world and those who dwell thereon. He gives light to the earth and its inhabitants. He has created all created things, and every existing thing He has produced, what exists created from the non-existent.

King eternal, to Him is Kingship, and He causes monarchs to reign. He it is who implanted peace in the heart of kings so that they may return the sword to its sheath. The Lord has said peace to those afar and to those near. We will praise the Lord in congregation for His kindnesses which He has benevolently bestowed upon us. We cried unto the Lord from our straits and from our troubles He brought us forth. And for us, a weak people, inhabiting the land, He in His goodness prospered our warfare. Thou hast restored us our inheritance from the hands of aliens and strangers and given us back the joy of our heart.

And now, King, exalted beyond all height, we have come to pour out our soul before Thee. Hear the prayer of Thy first-born son, Thy peculiar people, who trust in Thy thirteen attributes of mercy, that they return not empty from before Thee, faithful sons of faithful believers in the thirteen principles of Thy Law.

As Thou didst give of Thy glory to David, son of Jesse, and to Solomon his son Thou didst give wisdom greater than that of all men, so mayst Thou grant intelligence, wisdom, and knowledge to our lords, the rulers of these thirteen states, to judge the people, yea also to the commanding general, GOVERNOR CLINTON, together with their counsellors, advisers, (officers and deputies) each ruling in his sphere, each man by his

standard, each upon whose shoulder Thou hast set dominion. May he be upheld and his honor be high. May he be as the fresh olive tree, and blossom as the lily of the valley, as the rose of Sharon, and may he be as the tree planted by springs of water, whose fruit cometh forth in its due season and its leaf withereth not. And in whatsoever he doeth may he prosper.

And as in their great kindness they will deal well with us, and we shall dwell in quietness and peace in their shadow, so mayst Thou reward them according to their desert. Give to them the desires of their heart, so that they may deal well with us unceasingly. Cause us to find favor and grace in their eyes that they may set us a seal upon their heart. O that this may be Thy will and let us say Amen.

As Thou didst give strength to Samson, the son of Manoah that he rent a young lion in his might, so mayst Thou strengthen and support the saving shield of our lord and commanding general GEORGE WASHINGTON, the appointed chief of the war on sea and on land and throughout the country with all his forces infantry and cavalry. In Thine own time Thou wilt subdue the people beneath his feet until they turn their back to him and not their face; may they fall and rise up no more, and may he pursue his enemies, and overtaking them, not return until they are destroyed. O Lord save us now! O Lord prosper us now! O how goodly, how beautiful might it be wouldst Thou confirm the peace that Thou hast planted on the hearts of kings and rulers that they should beat their swords into plowshares, their spears into pruning forks, that nation should not lift up sword against nation nor should they any more learn war; that Thou wouldst establish over us the word that is written: "And I will set peace in the land and you shall dwell with none to make you afraid. Great is the peace to those who love Thy teaching, for them is no stumbling block. May peace be in thy rampart, prosperity in thy palaces." Set mercy in their heart that they may deal kindly with us and with all Israel through the merit of the love of the patriarchs, as it is written: "And I shall remember my covenant with Jacob, also my covenant with Isaac, yea also my covenant with Abraham and the land shall I remember." O that this may be Thy will and let us say Amen.

As Thou hast granted to these thirteen states of America everlasting freedom, so mayst Thou bring us forth once again from bondage into freedom, and mayst Thou sound the great horn for our freedom as it is said: "And it shall be on that day, the great horn shall be blown and the wanderers in the land of Assyria and the dispersed in the land of Egypt shall come and bow down to the Lord on the holy mount in Jerusalem." May they be awakened from the dust to praise God: Hasten our deliverance at the day of retribution for Thou art our Redeemer. Then shall we sing a new song to the Lord, God of Israel, and there we shall serve Him with reverence as in the former days of old. May He show us wonders as in days of old, and may He the Holy One, blessed be He, restore the Presence to Zion and the order of service to Jerusalem. And may we be granted to gaze on the beauty of the Lord and to behold His sanctuary. May He send us the priest of righteousness who will lead us upright to our land. May the beauty of the Lord be upon us, and may the redeemer come speedily to Zion in our days. O that this may be Thy will and let us say Amen. 7

The history of the prayer for the government in the United States during the 19th century is intimately connected to the establishment of Reform Judaism. The movement advocated liturgical change in general and thus would be more willing to emend or rewrite the older text. This is evident already in the Sabbath Service (1824) of the Reformed Society of the Israelites in Charleston, South Carolina, the nation's earliest Reform congregation:

PRAYER FOR GOVERNMENT.

Almighty God! sole ruler and governor of the whole universe! Thou who hast created countless systems for thy glory! Thou, who fillest all space with thy wisdom, truth, order and benevolence, in thy boundless mercy, bless, preserve and enlighten the President of these United States, together with his counsellors, and all the officers of the General and State Governments, executive, legislative and judicial. O, may a portion of thy divine wisdom fill the halls of their assemblies, and direct their hearts and understandings for the honour of thy holy name, and the prosperity of our beloved country. May the spirit of peace be ever in their counsels, and integrity be their leading principle.

We have reason to bless and extol thy goodness, O Lord! that thou hast numbered us with the inhabitants of this thy much favoured land, uniting us all into one great family, where the noble and virtuous mind is the only crown of distinction, and equality of rights the only fountain of power. We bless thy holy name, that thou hast removed the intolerance of bigotry far from out this happy republic, and hast relieved the people from the yoke of political and religious bondage. May thy redeeming spirit visit all the nations of the earth, and may the smiles of thy auspicious goodness be a light to the eyes of rulers, and the fear of thy justice awaken contrition in the heart of the oppressor. Graciously incline thine ear to the supplications of thy servants, assembled here this day. Bless the people of these United States. May sentiments of charity and friendship unite them as citizens of one common country. May the lights of science and civilization, as the flaming sword of Eden, defend them on every side from the subtle hypocrite and open adversary. Spread thy benign influence, great Author of existence! over all mankind. Grant this for the sake of thy supreme excellence and never ending mercies, and let us all say, AMEN. 2.

Before us is a fully 'modern' prayer in the sense that we have defined modernity: directed to the nation as a whole, displaying national pride and devotion, and stressing ethical conduct. Subsequent prayers that we will examine can be considered variations on the same themes. In this example, America's virtues, as the Society saw them, are highly praised: unity, equality, freedom, nobility of purpose, and intolerance of bigotry. Rather unusual, the "lights of science and civilization" are added to the list of virtues. The sense of the prayer, like the period, is that America is a nation of destiny.

Many people saw the Civil War as a great interruption in America's rendezvous with destiny. Memory of the War seems fresh in the mind of David Einhorn, ardent Reformer and abolitionist. His prayerbook Olat Tamid (1872), republished from an earlier German-Hebrew version, contains this prayer:

O bless our country, and all the authorities appointed [sic] to manage its affairs; so that virtue and the fear of God, right and justice, and concord and love between its various tribes and denominations, may become its bulwark against all who might assail it from within or from without.⁹

A later edition of Olat Tamid (1896) offers another prayer for the government by Emil Hirsch, himself a leading exponent of what became known as radical Reform. The prayer is distinctive in its weaving of Sabbath themes with American ideals, and again evinces faith in America's high mission:

Father of all-mankind, we thankfully would acknowledge that from Thee all might and majesty flow. Thy dominion compasseth worlds without number, Thy reign hath no end. We beseech Thee to shower the richness of Thy blessing upon our country, and to look down in Thy favor upon all in authority over us; to inspire with wisdom, those unto whose hands are confided the administration of our nation's affairs and the stewardship of our people's welfare. On this Sabbath, the memorial of the liberty of Thy son, man fashioned in Thy image, we ask Thee to keep our hearts in the singleness of purpose to help maintain our country the bulwark of freedom, the home of virtue, and an altar of true piety, that justice be done and right triumph throughout its borders. This day of rest and self-sanctification remindeth us of the final consummation of Thy providential guidance according to which Thou shapest the destinies of the nations in time. As was the first Sabbath-day the sign and seal of the perfection of Thy creation, so every Sabbath hour is meant to speak unto us with a prophet's voice, announcing the higher perfection, yet to be, of the conditions on earth, when the Sabbath hour of a united and God-blessed humanity will call all Thy children to enjoy the rest of spiritual and moral freedom vouchsafed unto all, in perfect peace of heart and quietness of soul. Give unto us the un-

derstanding to see that Thou hast appointed us, the people of Thy prophetic hope, the first-born nation of liberty, to lead the van of all who would pilgrim on toward this glorious goal. Teach us how to preserve concord at home among the various sections, and to maintain good will among the different races of our great land, and thus to encourage in our strength all other peoples to sheathe the sword of war. The Sabbath, the sign of the everlasting covenant between Thee and Israel, recalleth unto us Israel's assurance that the Messianic Sabbath of peace will indeed at last, crown and complete the toiling ages of humanity's struggles and strivings. Let like the rays of a Sabbath lamp Israel's trust beam out upon the upward path of mankind's pilgrimage! Banish from the midst of us all faint-heartedness! Console them that weep, with the blessed certainty that though man's days be but few and his burdens oft be heavy, Thy counsels will be established and Thy kingdom will come. Confirm the loyal in their hope and rekindle the flames of enthusiasm for our heritage in souls that peradventure have grown cold. Let all rally around Thy banner, and remembering the one rock from which we are hewn, stand together a united band to bring Thy message of freedom and peace to all the world. { 10

Einhorn and Hirsch, like almost all the Reform Rabbis of their day, were immigrants to this country. That America was not their native home did nothing to diminish their pride in her; if anything it only increased their hope and zeal for her future. Such is the case with Joseph Krauskopf, a member of Hebrew Union College's first rabbinical class, and an emigree from Prussia. Krauskopf's "Prayer for the Commonwealth" in his Service Manual (1892) is full of immigrant pride in the energetic and growing nation:

Lord God, Father of All! Humbly we approach Thee this morning with fervent thanks for the peace that abides in our midst, and for the plenty that abounds. We thank Thee that the sound of the anvil rings through the land, that loom and forge and furnace, that plough and ship and locomotive, send forth to millions of people here, and to the nations beyond the seas, the glad tidings of our country's safety, and of our nation's prosperity.

And we approach Thee, O God, this morning, not only with our thanks, but also with our supplications. Despite abundance, want lodges in our midst; and, despite peace, the voice of discontent is not yet hushed in our land. We pray Thee, O God, enable the people's representatives, wherever assembled, to wrestle with this harassing foe, and to conquer him. Fill their minds with a consciousness that in them is centered a nation's trust, that to them the people look for a solution of problems that perplex them, and of difficulties that beset them.

And we pray Thee, O God, dispose the hearts of our people to aid their representatives in the work upon which they are engaged. Unless the people earnestly seek to walk in the way of righteousness, in vain will their representatives legislate, and in vain will be the blessings which fields and mines lavish upon us.

With these our thanks, with these our supplications, humbly we approach Thee. Accept our thanks, and hear and answer our prayer, as seemest best in Thine eyes, for Thy people's sake. Amen. u

Given the importance of prayer for the government to these Reform leaders, it is surprising that other major works contain no such prayer. Isaac Wise's Minhag America (1872), Benjamin Szold's Avodat Yisrael (1873) and the Central Conference of American Rabbis' Union Prayer Book (1892) do not provide instructions or text.¹²

The revised Union Prayer Book (1940), on the other hand, actually has two prayers for the country. The free adaption of sim shalom amounted to one blessing for the nation:

Grant us peace, Thy most precious gift, O Thou eternal source of peace, and enable Israel to be its messenger unto the peoples of the earth. Bless our country that it may ever be a stronghold of peace, and its advocate in the council of nations. May contentment reign within its borders, health and happiness within its homes. Strengthen the bonds of friendship and fellowship among all the inhabitants of our land. Plant virtue in every soul, and may the love of Thy name hallow every home and every heart. Praised be Thou, O Lord, Giver of peace.¹³

The other prayer occurs in the expected place, following the Torah reading. Phrases like "God-fearing people" and "may religion spread its blessings" emphasize the religiosity of the American people:

Fervently we invoke Thy blessing upon our country and our nation. Guard them, O God, from calamity and injury; suffer not their adversaries to triumph over them, but let the glories of a just, righteous and God-fearing people increase from age to age. Enlighten with Thy wisdom and sustain with Thy power those whom the people have set in authority, the President, his counselors, and advisers, the judges, law-givers and executives, and all who are entrusted with our safety and with the guardianship of our rights and our liberties. May peace and good-will obtain among all the inhabitants of our land; may religion spread its blessings among us and exalt our nation in righteousness. Amen.¹⁴

Gates of Prayer (1975), the present standard bearer of the Reform Movement, did not include a prayer for the government in any of its alternative Torah services. Rather a paragraph in "For Our People and Our Nation" is found in a section of special prayers. The authors are Chaim Stern and A. Stanely Dreyfus:¹⁵

Bless our land and all its inhabitants. Prosper us in all our undertakings. Be with those whom we have chosen to lead us, that they may strive to establish justice and opportunity for all, and labor to bring peace to the family of nations.¹⁶

The inclusion of this prayer in a special section of the prayerbook raises a difficulty. From this writer's experience, the prayer is often omitted from Sabbath services. Whether this is due to forgetfulness or reluctance to lengthen the service or apathy is unknown. One wonders whether the general decline in patriotism in the post-Vietnam and post-Watergate era is also a contributing factor.

Gates of Repentance (1978), a companion volume for the High Holidays, restores a fuller prayer to its pages. Based on an English Liberal prayerbook of the same name,¹⁷ it sounds the themes we have come to associate with modern democracy:

We pray for all who hold positions of leadership and responsibility in our national life. Let Your blessing rest upon them, and make them responsive to Your will, so that our nation may be to the world an example of justice and compassion.

Deepen our love for our country and our desire to serve it. Strengthen our power of self-sacrifice for our nation's welfare. Teach us to uphold its good name by our own right conduct.

Cause us to see clearly that the well-being of our nation is in the hands of all its citizens; imbue us with zeal for the cause of liberty in our own land and in all lands; and help us always to keep our homes safe from affliction, strife, and war. Amen. /8

It is not surprising that the Reform Movement sought to rewrite the prayer for the government in line with their changing sensibilities. However, it is less expected to observe the same phenomena in prayerbooks that are considered traditional or orthodox. Many continue to print the familiar Hanoten. Yet there are a number of examples of considerable originality. Presumably this is because prayer for the government is not a question of law (halacha) but custom (minhag).

An excellent example of such innovation is in the Sabbath Service (1908) of Julius Silberfeld, which stresses in the preface: "this prayerbook for the Sabbath is strictly orthodox... the book is absolutely free from the so called reform innovations".¹⁹ But Silberfeld's prayer is certainly novel:

Heavenly Father! Thou watchest over the destinies of nations, Thou dispensest blessing and peace to all the peoples of the earth, and therefore we beseech Thee to bless this, our glorious country, and protect it with Thy sheltering wings. May peace and prosperity reign within our borders and may the clash of arms and the shouts of war never resound in our land. Mayest Thou inspire the President and his counsellors with wisdom and understanding to lead our nation on the pathways of peace and to watch faithfully over the welfare of this glorious republic. May this blessed country continue to be an asylum for the fugitives of religious and political persecution, who seek shelter under its lucid banner. May all its inhabitants live in peace and harmony, follow the path of virtue and uprightness, and unite in the grand work of making our government an ideal one, so as to perpetuate our noble institutions, for the benefit of humanity and for Thy glory, O Lord. Amen. 20.

Like Krauskopf's immigrant paen, Silberfeld praises "this glorious republic" and appreciates it as "an asylum for the fugitives of religious and political persecution". Remember that he was writing during the great wave of Jewish immigration from Eastern Europe.

An even earlier example of innovation within orthodoxy is T'fillat Yisrael (1882), an otherwise traditional siddur. The style of the prayer is lavish; the imagery of Eretz Yisrael is applied to the United States. America is being described, one is tempted to say, as the new Promised Land:

רבוץ כל העולמים. ארון כל המעשים. הנוטה כנהר
שלום וכנהל שומף כבוד גוים. השקיפה ממעון קדשך
the United States of America וברך את הארץ הזאת
אשר אנחנו יושבים עליה. לא ישמע חמם בארצם.
שד ושבר בגבולם וקראת ישועה חומותיה ושעריה
תהילה ונתת גשמים בעתם ונתנה הארץ יכולה
ועץ השדה יתן פריו ושמם שלום טובה וברכה על כל
יושבי הארץ ושכבו ואין מחריר ונדע בגוים ורעם
וצאצאיהם בתוך העמים וכל רואיהם יכירום כי אתה
ברכתם. אמן:

הרק שפעת טובה על The President and the Vice-President
of the United States יהי כנהר שלוםם וצדקתם בגלי
הים. במייהם חסד ואמת יפגשו וצדק ושלום ישקו.
גדול יהיה כבודם בישועתך ובעזך יגילו מאד. אמן:
the Governor and the lieutenant Governor צו ברכותיה גם
of the state, the Mayor and the Common Council of this City
אתה תורם את הדרך המזכה אשר ילכו בה לדון
את כל העם בצדק וכל רגלי במשפט ויראו כלם
ויתענגו מרוב שלום. אמן:

שלח ישעיה גם אל the City of New-York ואל כל

יושביה. פרוש עליהם סבת שלומה והסר מהם כל
מחלה וכל פגע. ששון ושמחה ישגו ונסוגו ונאנחה. אמן:
אבינו הטוב וגם אותנו עמה בית ישראל תענה בעת
רצון ותעזור בכל יום יום. בטובה הגדול תנחננו תמיד
ותשביע בצחצחות נפשינו. והיינו כגן רוח וכמוצא
מים אשר לא יבבו מימיו ונלכה מחיל אל חיל עד
כי יבא לציון גואל. וכן יהי רצון ונאמר אמן: 21.

Lord of all the universe, Master of all creation, who makes peace flow like a river, and bestows honor upon the nations like a running brook: Look down from your holy dwelling and bless this land, the United States of America, upon which we dwell. May violence no longer be heard in the land, nor desolation or destruction within its border. Proclaim salvation within its midst, and praise within its gates. Give rain in its season, and the land shall give forth its yield, and the trees of the field their fruit. Bestow a lasting peace and blessing upon all the inhabitants of the land, and they shall lie down and not be afraid. Their seed shall be known among the nations, and their descendents among the peoples. Everyone who sees them shall know that You have blessed them. Amen.

Extend your goodness upon the President and the Vice-President of the United States. May their peace be like a river, and their righteousness like the waves of the sea. In their day may love and truth meet, justice and peace embrace. May their honor be great and in your salvation and strength may they rejoice. Amen.

Place your blessings also upon the Governor and the lieutenant-Governor of the state, the Mayor and the Common Council of this City. Show them the good path to follow toward justice for all the people and all shall see and rejoice in a great peace. Amen.

Send your grace also upon the City of New York and all its citizens. Spread the tabernacle of your peace upon them and banish all sickness and injury. May they have joy and happiness and not know sadness or mourning. Amen.

Our Good Father, we also, and your people Israel, answer at a propitious moment and help daily. In your great goodness always be gracious to us, and satisfy the longings of our souls. Then we shall be like a beautiful garden, full of water, in which there is no falsehood and we shall go from strength to strength. May the redeemer come to Zion. May this be your will, and let us say
Amen.

A similar prayer is found in Siddur Avodat Yisrael (1940). The theme of America as the new Promised Land, or at least as a land full of promise, is revealed by these excerpts:

This nation, the United States, you have also founded. In sorrow it began but in your great love it shall flourish like a cedar in Lebanon. From generation to generation it shall increase in strength, might, and power.

May your dove, your precious inheritance, find rest in this land, a nest to sit upon, a secure dwelling. In its shade her chicks shall lie safely and nest.

Now, Lord God, bless this land and her inhabitants with the fullness of your blessing: with the dew of heaven and the bounty of the land....

May violence no longer be heard in the land, nor desolation or destruction within its borders. Proclaim deliverance within it, and praise before its gates.²²

A final example of change within tradition is the Traditional Prayerbook (1960), issued by the Orthodox Movement's Rabbinical Council of America. The "spirit of wisdom and understanding" is a phrase borrowed from the 1895 British version:

אֱלֹהֵינוּ שְׂבִשְׁמִים. עֲזֹר וּבְרַךְ אֶת־אֶרֶצְנוּ אֲרָצוֹת הַבְּרִית
בְּאַמְרֵי קָדָשׁ: שִׁים אֶהְבָּה וְאַחֲדָה בֵּין כָּל־תּוֹשְׁבֵי אֶרֶצְנוּ: בְּרַךְ
אֶת־כָּל־מְנַהֲיֵי הַמְּדִינוֹת הָאֵלֶּה. וְתֵן בְּלִבָּם רוּחַ חֻקָּמָה וּבִינָה
לְקִים שְׁלוֹם הָאָרֶץ וְחֵרוּתָהּ:

Heavenly Father, uphold and bless this our country, the United States of America. Implant brotherly love among all who dwell therein. Bless Thou the constituted officers of government in this land. Set in their hearts the spirit of wisdom and understanding to uphold peace and freedom.

Our survey of America would not be complete without also examining the prayerbooks of the Conservative and Reconstructionist branches of American Judaism. If a readiness to compose new works is characteristic of Orthodoxy, then one would expect creativity from the so called middle approaches as well. This is the case with the two most popular Conservative prayerbooks. According to Jules Harlow, the prayer that appears in the Sabbath and Festival Prayerbook (1946), also known as the Silverman siddur, was written by Louis Ginzberg, the late professor of Talmud at Jewish Theological Seminary, in 1927:24

אלהינו ואלהי אבותינו

קבל נא ברחמים את־תפלתנו בעד ארצנו וממשלתה.
הרק את־ברכתך על הארץ הזאת על נשיאה שופטיה
שוטריה ופקידיה העוסקים בצרכי צבור באמונה.
הורם מחקי תורתך. הבינם משפטי צדקך למען לא
יסורו מארצנו שלום ושלום אשר וחפש כל־הימים.
אנא יי אלהי הרוחות לכל־בשר. שלח רוחך על כל־
תושבי ארצנו. וטע בין בני האמות והאמונות השונות
השוכנים בה אהבה ואחדה שלום ורעות. ועקר מלבם
כל שנאה ואיבה קנאה ותחרות. למלאת משא נפש
בגיה המתמרים בכבודה. והמשתוקקים לראותה אור
לכל־הגוים.

וכן יהי רצון מלפניך שתהא ארצנו ברכה לכל־
יושבי תבל. ומשרה ביניהם רעות וחירות וקיום במהרה
חזון נביאיך. לא־ישא גוי אל־גוי חרב ולא־ילמדו עוד
מלחמה. ונאמר כי כולם ידעו אותי למקטנם ועד־
גדולם. אמן:

Our God and God of our fathers, we invoke Thy blessing upon our country, on the government of this Republic, the President of these United States and all who exercise just and rightful authority. Do Thou instruct them out of Thy Law, that they may administer all affairs of state in justice and equity, that peace and security, happiness and prosperity, right and freedom, may forever abide among us.

Unite all the inhabitants of our country, whatever their origin and creed, into a bond of true brotherhood to banish hatred and bigotry and to safeguard the ideals and free institutions which are our country's glory.

May this land under Thy Providence be an influence for good throughout the world, uniting men in peace and freedom and helping to fulfill the vision of thy Prophets: "Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall men learn war any more." "For all men, both great and small shall know the Lord." Amen. ²⁵

By now the themes of these modern day prayers are quite familiar to us. The Prayer Book (1957), also known as the Bokser siddur, is the other example, which is certainly original, but similar to some of the preceeding texts we have observed:

אָבִינוּ שְׁבַשְׁמוֹם, בָּרַךְ אֶת נְשִׂיא מְמִשְׁלַת אֶרְצֵנוּ, וְאֶת כָּל
מְנַהֲיָיָהּ. הִגְן עֲלֵיהֶם בְּחִסְדְּךָ וְתִקְנָם בְּעֶצֶה טוֹבָה מִלְּפָנֶיךָ.
חֲזַק אֶת יְדֵיהֶם לְכוּנוֹן אֶת מְמִשְׁלַת אֶרְצֵנוּ בְּאַמֶּת וּבְאַמְתָּה.
תֵּן בְּלִבָּבָם לְדַרֵּשׁ אֶת שְׁלוֹם כָּל בְּנֵי אֶרְצֵנוּ. הוֹרֵם מִדְּבַר־
תּוֹרָתְךָ לְמַעַן יִדְעוּ, כִּי צִדְקָה תְרוּמָם גּוֹי, וְחֶסֶד לְאַמִּים
חֲטָאת.

אֵל אֱלֹהֵי הָרוּחוֹת לְכָל בָּשָׂר, הַשְׁרֵשׁ בְּלֵב כָּל יוֹשְׁבֵי
אֶרְצֵנוּ אֶהְבֵּת מִשְׁפָּט וְצִדְקָה, חֲרוּת וְשְׁלוֹם. כּוֹנֵן נָא עֲלֵינוּ
אֶת כָּל מַעֲשֵׂי יְדֵינוּ לְטוֹבָה לְמַעַן נִהְיָה בְּרָכָה לְכָל בְּרִיּוֹתֶיךָ.
אָמֵן.

Heavenly Father, we invoke Thy blessings upon the President of the United States of America, and upon all the leaders of our country. Protect them with Thy mercy and sustain them with Thy good counsel. Inspire them to govern the nation in faithfulness and in truth, and direct them ever to seek the welfare of all the inhabitants of our land. Grant them to know that a nation is exalted by righteousness, but that the perversion of righteousness is a reproach to any people.

Thou who art the Lord of all mankind, implant within our hearts a respect for law, and a resoluteness of purpose in advancing the cause of freedom, justice and peace. Prosper our country in all her worthy endeavors, and help her to be a force for good among all the nations of the world. Amen. 26

Although the Reconstructionist Sabbath Prayer Book (1945) prints the same prayer as the Silverman siddur,²⁷ a word should be said about a unique feature of that book. Part of the liturgy is devoted to special days that we usually term "national holidays", like Memorial Day, Independence Day, Labor Day, and Thanksgiving. The liturgy includes prayer for the nation: its land, people, and government. Part of the Reconstructionist philosophy is to include aspects of American civilization, "civil religion" not excepted, with Jewish civilization.

The experience of the Jews in America has been uniquely "modern" from the beginning. Specifically, we mean that the Jews enjoyed full citizenship and rights under the law, which they themselves, in a democratic society, helped promulgate and preserve. The varied and creative prayers for the government reflect how America's Jews responded not only to their

new found freedom, but to their sense of belonging to a great nation. Judging from the liturgy, America seems to hold a special place in the heart of her Jews as a safe haven, but more, like their ancestral home, as an especially blessed land with a mission and destiny.

The thread of diaspora ambivalence, which we have observed woven into the prayers of Jewish communities throughout the centuries, seems to have unraveled here. Jews pray for America unreservedly; the plea for redeemer and restoration is all but absent. Their brand of modern messianism anticipates the day when the ideals and virtues of American society will be fully realized.

CHAPTER NINE

THE FLOWERING OF OUR REDEMPTION:

MODERN ISRAEL

In The Jewish Return Into History, the noted philosopher Emil Fackenheim begins an essay with these words:

Our Father in Heaven, the Rock of Israel and her Redeemer, bless Thou the state of Israel, the beginning of the dawn of our redemption...

This prayer by the Israeli Chief Rabbinate does not hesitate to describe the state of Israel as "the beginning of the dawn of the redemption" of the Jewish people. That the official rabbinate of Israel should formulate such a prayer is in itself surprising: what is positively astonishing, however, is its wide acceptance by Jews everywhere.¹

The prayer for the state of Israel, although no older than the modern State itself, is indeed widely known. Its theological implications are bold, some might even say, radical. The circumstances of its composition are still a matter of rumor and dispute. As the final chapter in the long history of Jewish prayer for the government, the text and its genesis are of particular interest.

Before the founding of the State siddurim from Palestine contained the traditional prayer for the government, or none at all.² During the celebration of Israel's first Independence Day (1949), Tel Aviv's Great Synagogue recited the traditional formulae, naming Chaim Weitzmann and David Ben Gurion, as well as the newly published prayer for the State.³ They adopted the British practice of changing the supplication for mercy and kindness to wisdom and understanding.⁴ The following year two prayers were again recited in the

Great Synagogue.⁵ But an Independence Day order of service issued by the Ministry of Religion the same year omits the traditional blessing.⁶ Thereafter it seems to disappear entirely, while the new prayer for the State is widely circulated.

Although numerous minor variations exist, this is the Prayer for the State of Israel that is heard in synagogues all over the world:

אֱבִינוּ שְׁשָׁמִים, צֹר יִשְׂרָאֵל וְנוֹאֲלוּ, בָּרַךְ אֶת מְדִינַת
יִשְׂרָאֵל, רֹאשִׁית צְמִיחַת גְּאֻלָּתָנוּ. הִגֵּן עָלֶיהָ בְּאַבְרַת חֲסִדָּה,
וּפְרוֹס עָלֶיהָ סֶכֶת שְׁלוֹמָה; וְשַׁלַּח אוֹרָה וְאַמְתָּה לְרֹאשִׁיהָ,
שְׁרִיהָ וְיוֹעֲצִיהָ, וְתַקְנָם בְּעֶצֶה טוֹבָה מִלְּפָנֶיהָ.

חֲזַק אֶת יְדֵי מִגְּנֵי אֶרֶץ קְדִשְׁנוּ, וְהִנְחִילֵם אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְשׁוּעָה,
וְעִטְרַת נִצְחֹן תַּעֲטֶרם; וְנַתַּת שְׁלוֹם בְּאֶרֶץ, וְשִׁמְחַת עוֹלָם
לְיוֹשְׁבֶיהָ.

וְאֵת אֲחֵינוּ, כָּל בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל, פְּקַדְנָא בְּכָל אֲרָצוֹת
פְּזוּרֵיהֶם, וְתוֹלִיכֶם מִהֲרָה קוֹמָמִיּוֹת לְצִיּוֹן עִירָה, וְלִירוּשָׁלַיִם
מִשְׁכַּן שְׁמָהּ, בְּפֶתוֹב בְּתוֹרַת מֹשֶׁה עֲבָדָה: אִם יִהְיֶה נִדְחָה
בְּקֶצֶה הַשָּׁמַיִם, מִשָּׁם יִקְבְּצֶה יי אֱלֹהֵיהָ וּמִשָּׁם יִקְחֶהָ. וְהִבִּיאֶהָ
יי אֱלֹהֵיהָ אֶל הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר יְרָשׁוּ אֲבוֹתֶיהָ, וִירְשֶׁתָּהּ.

וְיִחַד לְבָבֵנוּ לְאַהֲבָה וּלְיִרְאָה אֶת שְׁמָהּ, וְלִשְׁמֹר אֶת כָּל
דְּבָרֵי תוֹרָתָהּ. הוֹפֵעַ בְּהַדָּר גָּאוֹן עֲזָה עַל כָּל יוֹשְׁבֵי תֵּבֶל
אֶרֶץ, וַיֹּאמֶר כָּל אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁמָה בְּאִפּוֹ: יי אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל מְלֶכֶה,
וּמְלָכוּתוֹ בְּכָל מְשָׁלָה. אָמֵן סֵלָה.

Our Father who art in heaven, Protector and Redeemer of Israel, bless thou the State of Israel which marks the dawn of our deliverance. Shield it beneath the wings of thy love; spread over it thy canopy of peace; send thy light and thy truth to its leaders, officers and counselors, and direct them with thy good counsel.

O God, strengthen the defenders of our Holy Land; grant them salvation and crown them with victory. Establish peace in the land, and everlasting joy for its inhabitants.

Remember our brethren, the whole house of Israel, in all the lands of their dispersion. Speedily let them walk upright to Zion thy city, to Jerusalem thy dwelling-place, as it is written in the Torah of thy servant Moses: "Even if you are dispersed in the uttermost parts of the world, from there the Lord your God will gather and fetch you. The Lord your God will bring you into the land which your fathers possessed, and you shall possess it."¹

Unite our heart to love and revere thy name, and to observe all the precepts of thy Torah. Shine forth in thy glorious majesty over all the inhabitants of thy world. Let everything that breathes proclaim: "The Lord God of Israel is King; his majesty rules over all." Amen. ⁷

The Prayer for Israel is officially attributed to the Chief Rabbinate of Israel, i.e. Rabbis Herzog and Uzziel at the State's founding. Its first appearance is actually in the Hebrew daily HaAretz (Sept. 21, 1948), where it is printed with the following instructions:

The Chief Rabbis of Israel, Herzog and Uzziel, have composed this prayer to be said in every synagogue here and in the diaspora by the rabbi or prayer leader on Sabbaths and festivals following the Torah reading.⁸

The newspaper goes on to add:

Sources tell us that according to Chief Rabbi Herzog the writer Agnon contributed to this version of the prayer.⁹

Ever since then it has been rumored that it was none other

than Agnon himself who penned the prayer, while Herzog only edited the writer's text. A recent article by David Tamar in another Hebrew daily, Maariv, sought to uncover the facts.¹⁰ Tamar discovered a copy of the prayer in Agnon's own hand in the writer's archive. But he was also given a 1975 letter by Herzog's personal secretary that alleged Herzog's authorship and Agnon's role only as a minor editor. Tamar disputes the accuracy of the letter, and concludes on the basis of language, style, and the existence of a hand written manuscript, that Agnon is the true author.

The Agnon manuscript, which varies in a number of places from the text already given in these pages, does not include the line: "Unite our hearts to love and revere your name, and to observe all the precepts of your Torah". Neither text includes another line which is found in other versions. This addition marks a return to the concept of a messiah figure:

And send us speedily the son of David, messiah of your righteousness, to eternally redeem us through your salvation.¹¹

Agnon did coin the striking phrase in the opening line of the Prayer for Israel (which we translate as): "the first flowering of our redemption". However the locution is almost certainly borrowed from Rabbi Abraham Isaac Kook, who used the term: "like the first flowering of our people's redemption on holy land...."¹²

The unique messianism implied in calling Israel
 "the first flowering of our redemption" is well
 articulated by Fackenheim:

Messianic expectations by religious Jews are not new or unusual: neither is the association of these with the ingathering of the exiles in a restored Jewish commonwealth. More than merely unusual, however, if not altogether without precedent, is the linking of these, even by fervent believers, with a historical event already clearly and unequivocally present.

Hence a prayer which links this present state with the messianic future reflects a boldness that the ancient sages of the Gentiles might well have considered tantamount to hubris, or tempting the gods.¹³

The Prayer for Israel fuses nationalism and religious conviction together. The State is also the Holy Land. Its leaders are also defenders, of God's promise. Truth and good counsel should guide them, but likewise victory and salvation. Zion, the earthly city, is God's holy abode. Israel is much more than a political entity. It is the fulfillment of biblical prophecy and a milestone on the road to God's redemption.

The diaspora, on the other hand, is not looked upon favorably. The Prayer for Israel reflects what is termed a classically Zionist view of the Jewish world. While concern is expressed for the entire House of Israel, the unambiguous hope is that diaspora Jewry will forsake their exile and come to the Holy Land.

The Prayer for Israel is thus a form of resolution to the diaspora ambivalence that characterized the centuries old Hanoten text. The resolution is just the opposite of that expressed in the modern American prayers, which whole-heartedly embraced life in the diaspora. In effect the Prayer negates the diaspora by calling for the return of all Jews to the Land, and by seeing in the State the path toward redemption. Jeremiah, it will be recalled, advocated prayer for Babylon, until the imminent restoration. The ingathering would not come for two and a half millenia, but to the faithful the return, uprooting as it might be, could not be ignored.

The story of prayer for Israel would be complete if it were not for the fact that alternative prayers are not altogether missing. In Israel itself our research uncovered two, or possibly three, such alternatives. They come from unlikely bedfellows: the ancient Karaite community and the modern Reform, or Liberal, community. In the diaspora, alternative prayers for Israel abound. A few representative examples will suffice.

The Karaite prayer is from a siddur published by the Karaite community of Israel in 1962. While the text begins with the familiar lines of Hanoten, it then diverges in an unfamiliar way:

יהוה אלהי האלהים ואדני האדנים הנותן תשובה למלכים ורוֹנִים
הפוצה את דוד עבדו מחרב רעה ומיד מוֹנִים, אָנָּה יהוה הוֹשִׁיעָה-
נָא וְהַשְׁקִיפָה מִמַּעֲוֹנִים. אָנָּה יהוה הַצִּלְתָּהּ-נָא בַּחֲסִדֶּיהָ הַצִּפּוֹנִים
את מעלת גדלת אדננו האדון הרחמן נשיא המדינה מר יצחק בן-
צבי יחי לעד אָמֵן.

נשָׂא עֵינֵינוּ לְמָרוֹם וּבִפְנֵי פְרוּשׁוֹת הַשָּׁמַיִם בְּתַפְלָה וּתְחִנּוּנִים: בְּעַד
הַצִּלָּתָה כִּסֵּא נְשִׂאוֹתָ, וּנְכַרְכְּהוּ בְּכִרְכַּת כְּהֻנִּים: בִּרְכֵהּ יְהוָה וְיִשְׁמְרֵהּ
יֵאֵר יְהוָה פָּנָיו אֵלֶיהָ וְיַחְנֶנָּה יֵשָׂא יְהוָה פָּנָיו אֵלֶיהָ וְיִשֶּׁם לָהּ עֲלוֹם:
וַיִּבְרָא עָלֶיהָ מִקְרָא שְׁכָנוּב יְתֵן יְהוָה אֶת אוֹיְבֶיהָ הַקָּמִים עָלֶיהָ נִגְפִים
לְפָנֶיהָ בְּדֶרֶךְ אֶחָד יֵצְאוּ אֵלֶיהָ וּבִשְׂבָעָה דְרָכִים יְנוֹסוּ מִלְּפָנֶיהָ: תֵּרֵם
דָּךְ עַל צָרֶיהָ וְכָל אוֹיְבֶיהָ יִכְרְתוּ וַיִּכְחָשׁוּ אוֹיְבֶיהָ לָךְ וְאַתָּה עַל
בְּמוֹתֵימָהּ תִּדְרֹךְ: יְחִי אֲדוֹנֵנוּ הַנָּשִׂיא לְעוֹלָם עִם כָּל מַשְׁפַּחְתּוֹ
הַרְמָה וְכָל שָׂרֵיו וְחִבְרֵי מִשְׁלַחַתּוֹ: יֵרָאֶה זֶרַע וַיִּצְרִיךְ יָמִים וְחִפְץ יְהוָה
בְּיָדוֹ יִצְלִיחַ: יְהִי שְׁמוֹ לְעוֹלָם לְפָנֵי שָׁמַשׁ יְנוֹן שְׁמוֹ וַיִּתְבָּרְכוּ בּוֹ כָּל
גּוֹיִם יִשְׂרָאֵל:

וּבְרוּכִים יִהְיוּ כָּל שְׂרָיו וְחֻבְרֵי מַמְשָׁלָתוֹ הַשּׁוֹמְרִים מִשְׁמֶרֶת עֲבוֹדָתוֹ
לַעֲשׂוֹת צִדְקָה וּמִשְׁפָּט לְכָל עַם מִרְעִיתוֹ הַיּוֹשֵׁב עַל אֲדָמָתוֹ בְּלִי
הַבְּדֹל דָּת גִּזְע וְמִין: יִישֹׁר כַּחֵם וְתָרֵם קֶרֶן לְדוֹר דּוֹרִים בִּיקָר
תַּפְאֶרֶת וּגְדֻלָּה אָמֵן סְלָה:

יְעֹזֶר יְהוָה בְּיוֹם צָרָה יִשְׁגָּבָה שֵׁם אֱלֹהֵי יִעֲקֹב: יִשְׁלַח-עֲזָרָה מִקְדָּשׁ
וּמִצִּיּוֹן יִסְעֲדָה: יִזְכֹּר כָּל-מִנְחָתֶיהָ וְעֹלֹתֶיהָ יְדֻשְׁנָה סְלָה: יִתֵּן-לָהּ
כִּלְכֵּבָהּ וְכָל-עֲצָתָהּ יִמְלֵא: גִּרְנָהּ בִּישׁוּעָתָהּ וּבְשֵׁם-אֱלֹהֵינוּ נִדְגַל יִמְלֵא
יְהוָה כָּל-מִשְׁאֲלוֹתֶיהָ: עֲתָה יְדַעְתִּי כִי הוֹשִׁיעַ יְהוָה מִשִּׁיחוֹ יְעֹנֶהוּ
מִשְׁמֵי קִדְשׁוֹ בְּגִבּוֹרוֹת יִשַׁע יְמִינוֹ: אֵלֶּה בְּרָכָב וְאֵלֶּה בְּסוּסִים וְאֲנַחְנוּ
בְּשֵׁם-יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ נִזְכִּיר: הִמָּה בָּרְעוּ וְנִפְּלוּ וְאֲנַחְנוּ קָמְנוּ וְנִתְעוֹדָד:
יְהוָה הוֹשִׁיעָה הַמֶּלֶךְ יְעֹנֶנּוּ בְּיוֹם-קִרְאָנוּ: בָּרוּךְ יְהוָה לְעוֹלָם אָמֵן וְאָמֵן
יְהוָה בָּעֶזֶר יִשְׁמַח-מֶלֶךְ וּבִישׁוּעָתָהּ מַה-יִּגִּיל מְאֹד: //

Yhwh-God of gods, Lord of lords, who gives salvation to kings and potentates, who delivers David His servant from the hurtful sword, and from the hand of heretics(?)- Please God: save us and watch over us from on high. Please God: prosper in your great love our exalted and benevolent president Yitzhak ben Zvi, may he live on, Amen.

We lift our eyes on high and spread our hands to heaven in prayer and supplication for the well being of his presidency. We bless him with the priestly blessing: May God bless and keep you, May God's radiance shine upon you and be gracious to you, May God show you kindness and grant you peace. May it be, as written: God will afflict the enemies that clamor around you. On one path they came against you, and on seven paths they flee from before you. Put forth your hands against your enemies and they shall be cut down and finished; their altars you shall trample. May our lord, the president, and all his exalted family, ministers, and members of government, live on. Give him children, lengthen his days, delight in him and prosper him. His name shall endure and be known and in him the nations shall be blessed and rejoice.

Blessed shall be all his ministers and members of government, who discharge their duty, to dispense right and justice to his entire flock dwelling in his midst, without regard to religion, race, or sex. May their strength be steady, their radiance bright and glorious forever, Amen.

Answer, God, in time of trouble, and the name of Jacob's God shall be great. Send your help from Kodesh and your support from Zion. Remember all your offerings and accept them. Give whole heartedly and your

advice shall be reckoned. We will rejoice in your deliverance, and in the name of our God will be magnified. For now I know that God saves His anointed, and answers him with His holy name, in His saving might. Some by chariots, some by horses, but we, in the name of God, shall prevail. They bend and fall, but we rise and persevere. God saves; the King answers when we call. Blessed be God forever, Amen. The ruled shall rejoice in your strength, and greatly exult in your salvation.

Like prayers for the Queen of England, the blessing is primarily for the president, the titular head of state, but by extension, for the entire government. The style is lavish, the biblical citations abundant. How odd, then, to see such a modern notion: "without regard to religion, race, or sex"! Perhaps it is a response by the Karaites to perceived discrimination.

The same year the Movement for Progressive Judaism in Israel issued Siddur Tfillot Har-El (1962), which was used for more than a decade at the Har-El congregation in Jerusalem. It is entirely different from the standard Prayer for Israel and the Karaite version:

חן: צור ישראל, קבל נא ברחמים את תפילותינו למען
הארץ וממשלתה. שלח נא את ברכתך אל מדינת ישראל,
אל נשיאה, שריה, שופטיה ועובדיה, והבנים משפטי צידקה,
למען ידעו לנהל את עיני המדינה ברוח האמת והצדק,
החופש והיושר. אגא, יה אלוהי הרוחות לכול בשר, האצל
מרוחה על כול יושבי ארצנו, וסע בליבם אהבה ורעות,
אחיהם ושלוה, ועקור מליבם שינאה ואיבה, קנאה ורישעות.
שלח נא את ברכתך לבני עמנו היושבים בתפוצות וסע
בליבם ריגוש אהבה ואהדה לארצנו, ליושביה ולכופעיהם.
יהי רצון מלפניך שמהא ארצנו ברכה לכול יושבי תבל
ותשרה ביניהם ריעות וחירות. וקים במהרה חזן נביאך:
לא ישא גוי אל גוי חרב, ולא ילמדו עוד מלחמה, ונאמר:
חן ורחל: אמן.

Rock of Israel: Receive our prayer for the Land and its government in mercy. Send your blessing to the State of Israel, to its president, ministers, judges, and workers. Guide them in your laws of justice, that they shall know how to guide the country in a spirit of truth, right, freedom, and honesty. Lord our God, the spirit of all flesh, spread your spirit upon all the inhabitants of our country, and plant in their heart love, friendship, sympathy, and peace. Remove from their hearts hate, strife, jealousy, and evil.

Send your blessing to our brethren in the diaspora, and place in their hearts feelings of love and unity toward our country and its settlers and workers. May it be your will that our country be a blessing to the whole world, and inspire friendship and freedom. Speedily fulfill the vision of your prophet: Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war anymore.

Written in the style of modern Reform prayer for the government in the diaspora, the emphasis of this Israeli example is also on right conduct. The importance of ethical behavior is repeatedly stressed. The unique messianism and the classical Zionism of the Chief Rabbinate-Agnon prayer is missing here. Israel's destiny depends on God to be sure, but to a great extent on the people themselves.

The prayer for Israel in the new Reform prayerbook HaAvodah Sh'belev (1982) is a curious combination of the two. It retains the crucial phrase "first flowering of our redemption" and much of the language of the standard version. At the same time it incorporates thoughts and phrases from the Har-El text. Like the Movement itself, the unique hybrid- traditionalism and Reform on indigenous soil:

צור ישראל וגואלו. ברוך לא את מדינות ישראל, ראשית
צמיחת גאלתנו. הגן עליה ברב חסדך, ופרש עליה סכת
שלומו. שלח אורך ואמתך לראשיה, לשופטיה ולנבחריה,
ותקנם בעצה טובה מלפניה, למען ילכו בדרך הצדק, החפש
והישר. חזק ידי מגני ארץ קדשנו, והנחילים ישועה וחיים.
ונתת שלום בארץ, ושמחת עולם ליושביה. פקד לא לברכה
את אחינו בית ישראל בכל-ארצות פזוריהם. טע בלבם
אהבת ציון ומי בהם מכל עמנו יהי אלהיו עמו ויעל
לירושלים עירך, אשר נקרא שמך עליה. האצל מרוחך על
כל יושבי ארצנו. הסר מקרבנו שנאה ואיבה, קנאה ורשעות.
וטע בלבנו אהבה ואחווה, שלום ורעות. וקנים במהרה חזון
נביאך: "לא ישא גוי אל גוי חרב, ולא ילמדו עוד מלחמה":
ונאמר: אמן: 6

Rock and Redeemer of Israel: Bless the State of
Israel, the first flowering of our redemption.
Protect it in your great love, and spread over it
the tabernacle of your peace. Send your light and
truth to its leaders, judges, and ministers, and
direct them with good counsel, that they walk in
justice, freedom, and honesty. Strengthen the
defenders of our holy land, and guide them with
salvation and life. You shall bestow peace upon the
land and eternal joy upon its inhabitants.

Remember in blessing our brethren the House of Israel
wherever they are dispersed. Plant in their hearts
the love of Zion, and may some among them, with
their God, go up to Jerusalem your city, upon which
your voice is called. Spread your spirit upon all
the inhabitants of our country. Banish from amongst
us hate, strife, jealousy, and evil. Plant in our
hearts love, sympathy, peace, and friendship.
Speedily fulfill the vision of your prophet: Nation
shall not lift up sword against nation, neither
shall they learn war anymore.

Six examples of prayer for Israel in the diaspora will demonstrate the diversity of language and attitude toward the State held by the "House of Israel":

1. Chief Rabbinate, London (1949)

מִי שֶׁבֵּרַךְ אֲבוֹתֵינוּ אֲבָרְהָם יִצְחָק וְיַעֲקֹב, הוּא יְבָרֶךְ אֶת־
מְדִינַת יִשְׂרָאֵל, וְיַגִּילָה כְבוֹד מַלְכוּתוֹ עַל־הָאֲדָמָה אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁבַּע
לְאֲבוֹתֵינוּ לְתַת־לָנוּ.

אֵלֵינוּ יְיָ, יְהִי תְסַדֵּךְ עִם רֹאשֵׁי וְיוֹעֲצֵיָהּ, לְהַכִּין אוֹתָהּ
וּלְסַעֲדָהּ בְּמִשְׁפָּט וּבְצִדְקָה, מִעַתָּה וְעַד עוֹלָם. תֵּן בְּלִבָּם
אֲהֲבָתְךָ וְיִרְאַתְךָ לְעִבְדְּךָ בְּאֵמֶת וּבְתַמִּים. וְיָקִים בְּיָמֵינוּ דְבָרֵי
עֲבָדֶיךָ הַנִּבְיָאִים, כִּי מִצִּיּוֹן תֵּצֵא תוֹרָה וְדָבָר יְיָ מִירוּשָׁלַיִם.

אֲבִינוּ שְׂבִשְׁמִימִים, שִׁים שְׁלוֹם בְּאֶרֶץ וְשִׁמְחַת עוֹלָם עַל־כָּל־
יֹשְׁבֵיהָ, וְשֶׁב יַעֲקֹב וְשָׁקֵט וְשָׁאֲנוּ וְאִין מִחֲרִיד. וּפְרוֹשׁ סִכַּח
שְׁלוֹמָהּ עַל־כָּל־יֹשְׁבֵי תֵּבֵל אֶרֶצָהּ, וְכֵן יְהִי רְצוֹן, וְנֹאמַר
אָמֵן

May he who blessed our fathers, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, bless the State of Israel, and manifest the glory of his reign upon the land which he has solemnly promised our fathers to give to us.

Please, O Lord, be kindly disposed to its leaders and counsellors, to help them to establish it firmly, and to sustain it in justice and righteousness from now and evermore.

Inspire them with the love and fear of thee to serve thee loyally and faultlessly, and may the message of thy servants the Prophets be fulfilled in our days, For out of Zion shall go forth the Torah and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.¹

Heavenly Father, grant peace in thy Holy Land, and everlasting happiness to all its inhabitants, so that Jacob shall again be in quietude and at ease, and none shall make him afraid. Spread the tabernacle of thy peace over all the dwellers on earth. May this be thy will, and let us say, Amen. /7

2. Forms of Prayer (1957)

אלהינו ואלהי אבותינו, שלח נא את ברכתך על מדינת
ישראל ועל יושביה.

יהי רצון מלפניך, שתדריך מנהיגי האמה ויועציה
בעצה טובה, ותהפכים ותאמצם בשפעת עזרתך.
תנה נא לעם השכן בציון להכריז ולהודיע תורת צדק
ושלום לכל בריותיך; למען יפירו וידעו כלם,
כי מציון תצא תורה ודבר ה' מירושלים. אמן.

O God and God of our fathers we ask thy blessing upon
the land of Israel.

May her leaders and counsellors be guided by thy wisdom
and strengthened by thy help.

May the people of Israel proclaim the message of
righteousness and peace to all mankind so that out of Zion
may go forth the law and thy word from Jerusalem.
Amen. /9

3. Forms of Prayer (1977)

אלהינו ואלהי אבותינו שלח-נא ברכתך על-מדינת-
ישראל ועל-כל-יושביה. שלח-נא אורך ואמתתך
למנהיגי-העם והדריכם בחכמה ובתבונה כדי שישור
שלום בגבולותיה ושלום בביתה. רום-אחנה והבנה תדרי
תרפא כל-פצע וחבורה. תקנת-עמה ועבודת-בניה
תגשמה את-חזון-הנביאים: כי מציון תצא תורה ודבר-
יהוה מירושלים. אמן:

Our God and God of our fathers, we ask Your blessing upon the
State of Israel and all who dwell in it. Send Your light and Your
truth to the leaders of the people, and guide them with wisdom and
understanding, so that peace may reign on its borders and tran-
quillity in its homes. May the spirit of friendship and understanding
remove all fears and heal all wounds. There, may mercy and truth
come together for the good of all mankind, so that Your promise is
fulfilled: 'for Torah shall come out of Zion and the word of the
Lord from Jerusalem.' Amen

4. The Traditional Prayerbook (1960)

בָּרַךְ אֶת־מְדִינַת יִשְׂרָאֵל. רֵאשִׁית צְמִיחַת נְאֻלָּתֵנוּ. וְקִים בָּהּ
מִקְרָא שְׂכָתוֹב. כִּי מִצִּיּוֹן תֵּצֵא תוֹרָה. וְדִבְרֵי מִירוּשָׁלַם:
וּפְרוּשׁ סֵפֶת שְׁלוֹם עַל־כָּל־הָעוֹלָם. וְכָל־יְיֹשְׁבֵי תֵבֶל יִשְׁכְּנוּ
לְבֶטֶחַ. וְכֵן יְהִי רָצוֹן. וְנֹאמַר אָמֵן:

Bless Thou, O Lord, the State of Israel the first flower of the promised redemption of Thy people. May the words of Thy prophet there be fulfilled, that "from Zion shall go forth Thy Torah and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem."

Spread, O Lord, the sheltering tabernacle of peace over all the earth, with all mankind dwelling in brotherhood and tranquility. May this be Thy will, and let us say, Amen.

5. Gates of Prayer (1975)

Bless the household of Israel wherever they dwell. Be with us here, where we worship You in freedom. And may those who live under oppressive rule find release and liberty speedily, in our own day.

May Your favor rest upon Israel, her land, her people. Protect her against hatred and war. Grant that the promise of her beginning may ripen into fulfillment, bringing comfort to those who seek refuge, light to those who dwell in darkness, new hope to all humanity. And let us say: Amen.

6. Gates of Repentance (1978)

We pray for the land of Israel and its people. May its borders know peace, its inhabitants tranquility. And may the bonds of faith and fate which unite the Jews of all lands be a source of strength to Israel and to us all. God of all lands and ages, answer our constant prayer with a Zion once more aglow with light for us and for all the world, and let us say: Amen.

The original instructions issued with the Prayer for Israel advised that it should "be said in every synagogue here and in the diaspora".²³ Yet it is obvious that many prayerbooks and congregations have opted to recite alternative prayers. Considering the theological and Zionistic message of the Israeli prayer it is not difficult to understand how some Jews might be uncomfortable with its content. But another factor may also be present. Notice that some of the prayers are directed to the land of Israel and the people of Israel, as opposed to the State. Some Jews, who consider themselves loyal citizens of their country, may also be uncomfortable or reluctant to pray for another sovereign government. They may prefer to direct their prayer to Israel as a non-political entity.

This question of a possible nationalistic conflict of interest has arisen with regard to the propriety of placing an Israeli flag in a synagogue sanctuary. Interestingly, the two Reform responsa on the subject, which reach opposite conclusions, both prominently mention the long standing custom of prayer for the government. Israel Bettan opines:

In every country the Jew thus affirms [through prayer] his faith from week to week that loyalty to the institutions of the particular country of which he is a citizen is a solemn religious obligation.

The presence of the American flag... may well serve to strengthen in us the spirit of worship.

The American flag has no proper place in the synagogues of Israel, even as the Israeli flag is quite out of place in an American synagogue.²⁴

In contrast, Walter Jacob reasons:

The flags of the United States and Israel on a pulpit might be said to symbolize the prayers which have always been said in the synagogue. For this reason, there is no religious objection to placing an American flag on the pulpit, nor to placing an Israeli flag alongside it.²⁵

Virtually every diaspora prayerbook that contains a prayer for the native government also includes a prayer for Israel. Diaspora Jewry continues to reserve the right, however, to offer the prayer of its own choosing, and to avoid the appearance of dual liturgical loyalty.

CONCLUSION

PRAYER AND SELF-PERCEPTION

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People write prayers in their own image. Like all prayer, then, the Jewish prayer for the government is a glimpse into the changing kaleidoscope of a community's self-perception. The unique function and forms of this prayer make it a particularly revealing example. For the prayer for the government was able to undergo an evolutionary development as profound as the Jewish people itself. This growth was possible for two reasons. First, prayer for the government was not bound to any fixed expression by biblical decree, rabbinic injunction, or unchanging custom. It was not a matter of halacha but of minhag hamakom, the prerogative of each community. Second, prayer for the state was forced to address a continually changing form of government, from monarchy to democracy. Thus the new circumstances of every place and age were free to affect the language and content of the prayer.

The journey of the prayer for the government, like the people who are its authors, covers many centuries and many continents. We traced the birth of the custom, but more importantly, the birth of a theology, back to the ancient Israelites' first experiences under foreign subjugation, and eventually in exile. Whether under Babylonians, Persians, Greeks, or Romans, prayer for the government was wise public policy, if it was not already required along with sacrifice as mandatory tribute. But the Israelites did not consider themselves

a nation like every other. They believed that loss of sovereignty, never mind exile, could not be part of God's ultimate design. Jeremiah and Hanina, whose advice on prayer for the government is so well known, helped fashion what we called a theology of ambivalence. The tension between temporary acceptance of the status quo and the belief in inevitable Divine intervention would infuse Jews and their prayers for the state through the centuries.

It is impossible to determine when prayer for the government became a regular feature of the Sabbath service, although scattered evidence from Targum Sheni, Pincas Germaiza, and the Cairo Genizah indicates that in some communities at least, the custom dates well before Abudraham's 14th century record of it. Still, most pre-expulsion Spanish siddurim make no mention of it, with one notable exception from 1426. Our research uncovered the earliest known printing of Hanoten, the prayer that went on to become the standard prayer for the government, in a 1565 siddur that names the Ottoman sultan Selim II. The prayer evidently traveled the Sephardic trade routes, for a century later it was well known in Italy, Holland, Asia Minor, and England.

The tension of diaspora ambivalence, captured in the concluding plea of Hanoten for redeemer and restoration, broke through the text, as it did into people's lives, during the Sabbatean hysteria. In Smyrna and Amsterdam the name of the ruler was struck, and Sevi's inserted. Political allegiance was cast aside in the frenzy to join the Redeemer. As Jacob Katz so keenly perceived: "as distinct from their political loyalty... Jews harboured deep reservations as to the ultimate significance of secular states...."¹ Now the distinction had been leveled, the reservations openly expressed. The temporal and the secular were abandoned on very short notice.

The brief Sabbatean eruption did not dissipate the tension of ambivalence. The precedent of emending the text in response to it continued. In England we observed 17th and 18th century examples of prayers that omitted the messianic conclusion of Hanoten altogether. These examples presaged the advent of modernity for the Jews, when democracy and freedom radically changed Jewish self-perception. Many sought to lay their historic ambivalence to rest as they fully embraced citizenship and nationalism in Europe and America. Consequently, these modern Jews found the traditional text unacceptable. Their new prayers speak as 'we' rather than 'us and them'. Pride, even love of country, is felt in their writing. Many no longer ask

for benevolence, but for justice, ethics, and peace upon the nation at large. Messianic expectation, if it can be called that, is not for redeemer and restoration, but for a time when the ideals of the nation will be fully realized within and without.

Still, among the scores of creative prayers that expressed the sentiments conveyed above, were other examples that barely changed the traditional form, or consciously retained phrases and thoughts from Hanoten. On both sides of the ocean some prayers continued to anticipate messianic intervention. Likewise, they retained the plea for kindness. The popular Hertz siddur is one example. Modernity had not changed, in some people's view, the precarious status of a minority subject to the whims of powerful rulers and day to day anti-semitism.

Unlike the writers of patriotic paens, these individuals saw themselves, like their diaspora forebearers, as politically impotent. The tension of ambivalence welled up again in the form of Zionism. The creation of a Jewish state called forth an entirely new prayer for the government. Like the ancient Israelites, modern Israelis knew their state was like no other. Their prayer makes that abundantly clear. Prayer and self-perception join again. Emil Fackenheim writes that the Israelis recite their prayer "as it were, not with their lips but with their lives".²

The evolution of the prayer for the government reveals two forces at work. One may be termed the force of preservation and the other the force of re-creation. The former is responsible for the structural fixing of the prayer for the government in the liturgy, as well as the emergence of one text that became dominant from the 17th century. The latter is responsible for the spontaneity and creativity that enabled the traditional text to be often emended and for entirely new ones to be written as the times demanded. These dual forces, working side by side, result in the rich variety of "species" we observed.

While prayer for the government was not limited to the synagogue service, when it did occur in the Sabbath liturgy it inevitably was recited following the reading of the Torah. Although standardization of a particular text evolved after the custom was centuries old, Hanoten gained widespread acceptance in a relatively short span. Another constant was the overall theological orientation of prayer for the government. As varied as the forms might be, they were always addressed to God as the supreme ruler. Prayer for the state was possible because of the belief that a greater power lay beyond it.

The creative force led to revisions that were in effect wholly new prayers for the government. The only resemblance they bore to predecessors was their appeal to the Divine and the naming of heads of state. In some cases Hebrew was abandoned in favor of the vernacular. In other situations the prayer ceased to be an independent entity, and was relegated to a paragraph in a larger blessing.

Writers of future prayer for the government would do well to ponder the effect of preservation with recreation. The former brings with it the grandeur of tradition, of blessing the government "in the hallowed words that our ancestors have used for centuries". The latter emphasizes relevance; the benefit of saying precisely what is meant. Whatever the liturgical result will be, it will stand as another piece of testimony to a remarkable Jewish practice. In its own way it is a "light unto the nations".

NOTES

All translations are the work of the author, with the following exceptions:

1. Quotations from the Hebrew Bible are from the Jewish Publication Society translation:
The Torah (1962)
The Prophets (1978)
The Writings (1982)
2. Quotations from the Apocrypha and New Testament are from The New English Bible, New York: Oxford University Press, 1976
3. Quotations from the Talmud are from The Babylonian Talmud London: The Soncino Press, 1952
4. Quotations that are noted as the translations of other individuals.

Preface

1. Joseph Stein, Fiddler on the Roof, New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1964, p.4.

Chapter One

1. Shemtob Gaguine, in Keter Shem Tov, London:1934, p.418.
The J.P.S. translations reads: ... and Jacob greeted Pharaoh. (p.88)
2. Salo Baron, A Social and Religious History of the Jews Volume I, Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1957, p.130.
3. A. Cowley, Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C., Germany: Otto Zeller, 1967 (1923), p.113, no.30,38.
4. Legatio ad Gaium, London:Smallwood,ed., 1961, p.142.
5. Wars 2:10, New York: Bigelow, Brown and Co.
6. Against Apion 2:6, N.Y.:Bigelow, Brown and Co.
7. Rashi on Yoma 3a referring to T.Sukkah 4:17.
8. Ellis Rivkin, Ben Sira and the Non-Existence of the Synagogue, Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1969 p.38.
9. see the discussion, for example, in Joseph Gutman, Ancient Synagogues, California: Scholars Press, 1981.
10. Jacob Neusner, "Messianic Themes in Formative Judaism", Journal of the American Academy of Religion (LII:2), 1984, p.374

Chapter Two

1. Encyclopedia Judaica, Volume 15, Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House, 1972, p.813.
2. Targum Sheni (A.Handelslatz, ed.), Tel Aviv: Yalcut, 1938
3. Seder Rav Amram (A.L. Frumkin, ed.), Jerusalem: 1912, p.310ff.
4. Shemtob Gaguine, Keter Shem Tov, London: 1934, p.418.
5. Authorized Daily Prayer Book (Joseph Hertz, ed.), New York: Bloch Publishing Co., 1948, p.505.
6. Siddur of R. Solomon ben Samson of Germaise (Moshe Hershler, ed.) Jerusalem: Hemed, 1971.
7. prayer in the public domain, source unknown
8. S.D. Goitein, "Prayers from the Geniza for the Fatamid Caliphs..." in Studies in Judaica, Karaitica and Islamica, Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1982, pp.52,54.
9. see, for example, T'fillat L'iyom Kippur, New York: Union of Sephardic Congregations, 1939, p.27.
10. Goitein, op. cit., p.57.
11. Yosef Yanon, " מסכת מניחין " in Mimizrach Umema'arav, Volume 14, Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1983, p.14.
12. Ibid., p.12.
13. Salo Baron, A Social and Religious History of the Jews, Volume V, Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1957, pp.6,293.
14. Ibid., p.293.
15. Goitein, op. cit., p.57.
16. Goitein, op. cit., p.48

Chapter Three

1. There is no mention in Maimonides' Hilkhot Tfillah (12c.) or Abraham HaYarchi's Sefer HaManhig (12c.).
2. Sefer Abudraham HaShalem, Jerusalem: D'fus Nishon, 1963, p.136.
3. see listings between 1426-1490 in the index of prayerbooks.
4. J.T.S. Heb.425 #272 (1490)
The Kol-Bo (c.1490), Venice edition, 1567, p.11a also contains a brief reference.
5. J.T.S. #4531. Marder concludes that King Alfons is Alfonso V of Aragon and Sicily. His careful reasoning as to time and place of composition can be found in his unpublished rabbinic thesis:
A Contribution to the Study of Pre-Expulsion Sephardic Liturgy, New York: Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, 1978
6. J.T.S. #4531 pp.5a-5b
in Marder, op. cit., pp.35-36.
7. see p.11 of this thesis.
8. see pp.13-15 of this thesis.
9. see listings between 1500-1503 in the index of prayerbooks.
10. Authorized Daily Prayer Book (Joseph Hertz, ed.), New York: Bloch Publishing Co., 1948, p.505.
11. H.U. (Hebrew University) #R75A563.
12. Salo Baron, A Social and Religious History of the Jews Volume XVIII, Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, p.46.
13. H.U. #R075A586
14. Cecil Roth, The History of the Jews of Italy, Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1946, p.334.
15. in 1650 translated by Edmund Chilmead and in 1707 by Simon Ockly. A copy of the latter may be found in the collection of H.U.C.-J.I.R. in New York.
16. Simon Ockly, The History of the Present Jews Throughout the World, Ludgate, England: Edm. Powell, Black, Fryors, 1707

Chapter Three (cont.)

17. Memorbook (Mozes Ganz, ed.), Baarn, Netherlands:
Bosch and Keuning, 1971, p.47.
18. see Chapter Six (pp.39-40) of this thesis.
19. Vindicia Judaeorum, p.5.
20. see p.40 of this work with accompanying notes.

Chapter Four

1. Daily Prayer Book (Philip Birnbaum, ed.), New York: Hebrew Publishing Co., 1949, pp.379-80.
2. Jacob Katz, Exclusiveness and Tolerance, London: Oxford University Press, 1961, p.51.
3. Paul Mendes-Flohr and Jehudah Reinharz (ed.), The Jew in the Modern World, New York: Oxford University Press, 1980, p.155.
4. Samson Raphael Hirsch, The Hirsch Siddur, New York: Feldheim Publishers, 1969, p.348.
5. Shemtob Gaguine, Keter Shem Tov, London, 1934, p.419.
6. Ibid., p.420.
7. The "Grant us Peace" prayer (see Chapter Eight) at Temple Israel of New Rochelle, N.Y. A number of musical settings to this text have been composed.

Chapter Five

1. Gershom Scholem, Sabbatai Sevi-The Mystical Messiah, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1973, p.424.
2. Ibid., pp.424-25.
3. Ibid., p.534ff.
4. Ibid., pp.533-34.

Chapter Six

1. Paul Radin, Pamphlets Relating to the Jews of England During the 17th and 18th Centuries, San Francisco: California State Library, 1939, p.14.
2. Lucien Wolf, Menasseh Ben Israel's Mission to Oliver Cromwell, London: Macmillan and Co., 1901, p.111.
3. see, for example, Addresses, p.14 and Vindiciae, pp.21-23.
4. Addresses, p.14-15 (the same pagination is retained in Radin, op. cit.)
5. Simeon Singer, "The Earliest Jewish Prayers for the Sovereign", in Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, London: Macmillan and Co., 1903, p.105.
6. Ibid., p.107.
7. Ibid., p.108.
8. Ibid., p.109.
9. British Museum Manuscript #5703 fol.19
see Encyclopedia Judaica (Volume Seven), Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House, 1972, p.834.
10. "The Jews Advocate" (1753) in Radin, op. cit., pp.139-40.
11. Cecil Roth, History of the Great Synagogue, London: Edward Goldstein and Son, Ltd., 1950, p.216.
12. Service of the Synagogue (Herman Adler, ed.), London: George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., 1904, for example.
13. Israel Abrahams, A Companion to the Authorized Daily Prayer Book, New York: Hermon Press, 1966, p.160.
14. Authorized Daily Prayer Book (Joseph Hertz, ed.), New York: Bloch Publishing Co., 1948, p.506.
15. Ibid., p.507.
16. Forms of Prayer, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1931, pp.27-28.
17. Forms of Prayer, London: Assembly of Rabbis of the Reform Synagogues of Great Britain, 1977, pp.158-59.
18. Service of the Heart, London: Union of Liberal and Progressive Synagogues, 1967, p.137.

Chapter Seven

1. Paul Mendes Flohr and Mehudah Reinharz, The Jew in the Modern World, New York: Oxford University Press, 1980, p.107.
2. M. Tama, Transactions of the Parisian Sanhedrin (F.D. Kirwan, trans.), London, 1807.
3. S. Debre, "The Jews of France", in Jewish Quarterly Review (Vol. Three) 1891, republished by Ktav Publishers, New York: 1966, p.422.
4. Ibid., pp.423-24.
5. Ibid., p.423
6. Authorized Daily Prayer Book (Joseph Hertz, ed.), New York: Bloch Publishing Co., 1948, p.505.
7. Debre, op. cit., p.423.
8. Ibid., p.424.
9. Pamphlet from Mantua, 1789, pp.5-9 in the collection of Hebrew Union College, N.Y.
10. Encyclopedia Judaica (Volume Seven), Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House, 1972, p. 836.
11. Siddur Otzar Hatfillot, Vilna: 1914, pp.706-07.
12. Professor Michael Chernick of Hebrew Union College, N.Y. believes that responsa on whether one should offer prayer on behalf of the Nazi government may exist. However, I have not been able to locate any information on this.

Chapter Eight

1. David de Sola Pool, An Old Faith in the New World, New York: Columbia University Press, 1955, p.87.
2. Ibid., p.87.
3. Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society (Number 27), Millwood, N.Y.: Krau Reprint Co., 1978, pp.31-32.
4. Ibid., pp.126-27.
5. Ibid., pp.134, 139-40, etc, for other examples.
6. Ibid., p.139
7. Ibid., pp.35-37.
8. The Sabbath Service, republished by Bloch Publishing Co., New York: 1916, pp.25-26.
9. Olat Tamid republished by Deutsch and Golderman, Baltimore: 1896, p.38.
10. Ibid., p.40.
11. The Service Manual, Philadelphia: Edward Stern and Co., 1892, p.32.
12. Minhag America (The Daily Prayers), Cincinnati: Bloch and Co., 1872.
Avodat Yisrael (A Prayer Book), Philadelphia: 1873.
Union Prayer Book, Chicago: C.C.A.R., 1892.
13. Union Prayer Book, New York: Central Conference of American Rabbis, 1940 (1961), p.140.
14. Ibid., p.148.
15. Gates of Understanding (Vol.I), Lawrence Hoffman, ed., New York: C.C.A.R., 1977, p.236.
16. Gates of Prayer, New York: C.C.A.R., 1975, p.452.
17. Gates of Understanding (Vol.II), Lawrence Hoffman, ed., New York: C.C.A.R., 1984, p.191.
18. Gates of Repentance, New York: C.C.A.R., 1978, p.152.
19. The Sabbath Service, New York: Bloch Publishing Co., 1908, in preface.

Chapter Eight (cont.)

20. Ibid., p.187.
21. T'fillat Yisrael, New York: Sakolski, 1882, pp.198-99.
22. Siddur Avodat Yisrael, New York: Hebrew Publishing Co., 1940, pp.289-90.
23. The Traditional Prayerbook, New York: Rabbinical Council of America and Behrman House, Inc., 1960, pp.259-60.
24. based on a telephone conversation with Rabbi Harlow, director of publications for the Rabbinical Assembly. The prayer was written for inclusion in a United Synagogue of America prayerbook which predates the Silverman siddur.
25. Sabbath and Festival Prayerbook (M. Silverman, ed.), New York: Rabbinical Assembly, 1946, p.130.
26. The Prayer Book (B. Bokser, ed.), New York: Hebrew Publishing Co., 1957, p.166.
27. Sabbath Prayer Book, New York: Jewish Reconstructionist Foundation, 1945, pp.164-67.

Chapter Nine

1. Emil Fackenheim, "The Holocaust and the State of Israel: Their Relation", in The Jewish Return Into History, New York: Schocken Books, 1978, p.273.
2. Siddur Sha'ar HaShamayim, Jerusalem: Zuckerman, 1903, names the sultans Algazi and Alhamid. Others do not designate the ruler's name, or employ the generic term 'ploni'.
3. זכרון הגבורה המלחמה הנצחית
המלחמה הנצחית
היה כנסת המלחמה הנצחית - 1949
4. The wording was as follows:
May God place in their hearts and in the heart of all their advisors, wisdom, understanding, and knowledge to guard the welfare of the State of Israel and its inhabitants.
5. זכרון הגבורה המלחמה הנצחית
היה כנסת המלחמה הנצחית - 1950
6. זכרון הגבורה וההנהגה הנצחית
המלחמה
היה כנסת המלחמה הנצחית - 1950
7. Daily Prayer Book (Philip Birnbaum, ed.), New York: Hebrew Publishing Co., 1949, pp.789-90.
8. According to David Tamar:
"האם חזר ע' עמנו את הגבורה"
"שלוש המדינות"
May 4, 1984 - המלחמה
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. See, for example, Siddur Tfilah, Jerusalem: Koren Publishers, 1982, p.188.
12. Tamar, op. cit.
13. Fackenheim, op. cit., p.274.
14. זכרון הגבורה המלחמה הנצחית
Israel: 1962, p.404.
15. זכרון הגבורה המלחמה הנצחית
Jerusalem: Movement for Progressive Judaism in Israel, 1962, p.64.

Chapter Nine (cont.)

16. הנהגות אברהם
הנהגות אברהם
129.8, 1982, p.1017
17. הנהגות אברהם
London: Office of the Chief Rabbi, 1949.
18. Forms of Prayer, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957.
19. Forms of Prayer, London: Assembly of Rabbis of the Reform Synagogues of Great Britain, 1977, p.78.
20. The Traditional Prayerbook, New York: Rabbinical Council of America and Behrman House, 1960, pp.259-60.
21. Gates of Prayer, New York: Central Conference of American Rabbis, 1975, p.452.
22. Gates of Repentance, New York: C.C.A.R., 1978, p.153.
23. see p.86 of this thesis.
24. American Reform Responsa (Walter Jacob, ed.), New York: C.C.A.R., 1983, p.65.
25. Ibid., p.67.

Conclusion

1. Jacob Katz, Exclusiveness and Tolerance, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961, p.51.
2. Emil Fackenheim, "The Holocaust and the State of Israel: Their Relation", in The Jewish Return Into History, New York: Schocken Books, 1978, p.273.

LIST OF PRAYERBOOKS CONSULTED (IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER) 122.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>DATE-LOCATION</u>	<u>PUBLISHED EDITION</u>
פרק 77 אהרן	9th c. Babylonia	Frumkin-Jerusalem 1912
פרק 78 אהרן	10th Babylonia	Jerusalem 1941
פרק 79 אהרן	11th Rhineland	Berlin 1889
פרק 80 אהרן	12th? Syria	(genizah)
פרק 81 אהרן	? Rhineland	Herschler-Jerus. 1971
פרק 82 אהרן	1340 Spain	Jerusalem 1959
פרק 83 אהרן	1426 Sicily	(microfilm)
פרק 84 אהרן	1480 Spain	"
פרק 85 אהרן	1485 "	"
פרק 86 אהרן	1490 "	"
פרק 87 אהרן	1490 "	"
פרק 88 אהרן	1490 "	"
פרק 89 אהרן	1490 "	"
פרק 90 אהרן	1500 ?	"
פרק 91 אהרן	1500 ?	"
פרק 92 אהרן	1503 ?	"
פרק 93 אהרן	1565 Italy	(original copy)
פרק 94 אהרן	1567 Italy	"
פרק 95 אהרן	1622 Italy	"
פרק 96 אהרן	1714 England	"
פרק 97 אהרן	1750 Amsterdam	"
פרק 98 אהרן	1793 Poland	"
פרק 99 אהרן	1796 Poland	"
פרק 100 אהרן	1819 Germany	"
The Sabbath Service	1824 America	New York 1916
פרק 101 אהרן	1830 Amsterdam	(original copy)
פרק 102 אהרן	1839 Austria	"
פרק 103 אהרן	1840 Germany	"
פרק 104 אהרן	1843 Germany	"
פרק 105 אהרן	1845 Germany	"
פרק 106 אהרן	184? Germany	"
פרק 107 אהרן	1866 "	"
פרק 108 אהרן	1868 "	"
פרק 109 אהרן	1872 America	"
פרק 110 אהרן	1872 "	"
פרק 111 אהרן	1873 "	"

LIST OF PRAYERBOOKS- CONTINUED

123.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>DATE-LOCATION</u>	<u>PUBLISHED EDITION</u>
גבול ישראל	1882 America	(original copy)
פ"ק חת"ס 130	1882 Russia	"
Union Prayer Book	1892 America	"
The Service Manual	1892 America	"
גבול 130	1892 France	"
ע"ה 130	18-- Germany	Feldheim, N.Y. 1969
פ"ק 180 הש"ס	1903 Palestine	(original copy)
גבול 130	1914 Russia	"
The Standard Prayer Book	1920 America	↓
Forms of Prayer	1931 England	
כ"ה פ"ק	1934 England	
גבול פ"ק	1939 America	
פ"ק 130	1940 America	
Sabbath Prayer Book	1945 America	
גבול 130	1946 Palestine	
Sabbath + Festival P.B.	1946 America	
Daily Prayer Book	1948 England	
גבול 130	1949 Israel	
High Holiday Prayer Book	1951 America	
The Prayer Book	1957 "	
גבול 130	1960 "	
פ"ק 130	1962 Israel	
גבול 130	1962 Israel	
Service of the Heart	1967 England	
Daily Prayer Book	1969 America	
Gates of Prayer	1975 America	
פ"ק 130	1976 Israel	
Forms of Prayer	1977 England	
Gates of Repentance	1978 America	
גבול 130	1982 Israel	
פ"ק 130	1982 Israel	

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Tama, M. Diogene. Transactions of the Parisian Sanhedrin. (F.D. Kirwan, trans.) London: 1807.

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