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Report on the Rabbinic Dissertation Submitted by

Nancy Wiener

in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for Ordination

**The Liturgies of World Union Congregations:
A Key to Commonalities and Differences Among Liberal Jews**

In 1989, I was invited by the World Union for Progressive Judaism to collect and to compare its various liturgies, with an eye toward discovering the underlying commonalities and differences of self-perception that these liturgies encode. Nancy Wiener volunteered to help me in the elementary stages of the research, a task for which she was eminently qualified, both by virtue of her prior graduate work in Jewish history, and because she had mastered both Spanish and Portuguese, two languages which I do not know, but which are necessary for studying member congregations in Central and South America. Her initial assignment was to read through Spanish and Portuguese liturgies looking for certain specific information.

As she immersed herself in the project, however, it soon became clear that the task fascinated her. She began expanding her reading, and eventually requested permission to convert her rapidly growing set of liturgies into a thesis, covering as much of World Union Congregational worship as possible. With the help of Rabbi Clifford Kulwin at the World Union office in New York, the two of us collected liturgies and secondary material connected with those liturgies from around the world. Not all countries responded to letters requesting their worship books and pamphlets; but most did, and the result is this truly herculean thesis.

To be sure, at the end, she was unable to include <u>all</u> congregations and countries, either because the material was not available to her, or because the thesis was already so lengthy that she had to draw an arbitrary line at what was possible and what was not, given the time available to her. Thus we would surely have preferred to see the liturgies of the Liberal and the Reform congregations of Great Britain included here, along with those of Holland and Belgium: these countries did in fact send material to Ms. Wiener, but it arrived late. Similarly, the Israeli material which is treated here, is dealt with only selectively, since its authors chose to mail us only particular items out of what is an enormous archive in and of itself. France was included, but only because a student visiting there managed to bring back some representative material. Finally, South Africa is not represented at all here, since liturgies from South Africa were not available for study. Nonetheless, the countries that are covered (France, Panama,

Thesis Report - Nancy Wiener

Australia, Argentina, Brazil, and Israel) give us a panoramic view of the state of liturgical reform in WUPJ congregations worldwide, and allow us, with ease, to compare liberal identities in those countries with that of Jews in the UAHC congregations in North American, for which considerable information already exits.

The opening chapter defines two alternative strategies adopted by the trailblazers of liturgical Reform: Germany and the United States. Both wished ultimately to have a unified liturgy defining the liberal perspective as opposed to the traditionalistic milieu out of which liberals had moved under the influence of the 19th-century Enlightenment. German congregations were largely unable to attain consensus on a single liturgy; however, some success was attained by the adoption in a few places of the Einheitsgebetbuch, which remained highly traditional, and which provided liturgical options in translated paragraphs. North America's Union Prayer Book, by contrast, adopted a radical vision of Reform based on Einhorn's vision of Judaism, but substantially altered by his son-in-law, Kaufman Kohler. As new congregations emerged elsewhere, these second-generation congregations sought generally to choose one of these two prayer books as their model.

The bulk of the thesis traces the selection of a model in the countries under discussion, and then turns to the second stage of reform there: the adoption of an indigenous set of liturgies more representative of each country's evolving identity (what liturgists call the process of inculturation). There are some surprises: Panama, for example, has yet to emerge with its own liturgies - it still uses the union Prayer Book in translation, even though at the time the selection was made, it could just as easily have opted for the newer North American Gates liturgical series. There are also confirmations of what we would have expected: liturgical development seems to be very dependent on the individual persona of specific rabbis, so that, in general, as new rabbis moved to this country or that, they tended to make over the liturgy of their predecessors. Indeed, the Panamanian retention of the Union Prayer Book, rather than its adoption of an inculturation strategy may be connected to the fact that it had no rabbi. At the other extreme, we find the French liturgy of 1968 so heavily dependent on the views of its rabbi, that it completely ignores any significant treatment of the Shoah, while it leads the way in emphasizing Zionist ideology.

Clearly, the mass of details and many interesting conclusions of this thesis are beyond the capacity of this report to reproduce. But I highly recommend Nancy Wiener's thesis for anyone interested in world liberal Jewish identify in the making.

Respectfully submitted,
Dr. Lawrence A. Hoffman, Referee

April 30, 1990

THE LITURGY OF WORLD UNION CONGREGATIONS: A KEY TO COMMONALITIES AND DIFFERENCE AMONG LIBERAL JEWS

Nancy H. Wiener

Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirement for Ordination

Hebrew Union College-
Jewish Institute of Religion

1990 REFEREE: Dr. Lawrence A. Hoffman

You said I wasn't in this alone...

You were right;
We've made it;
I'm grateful.

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ACKNOWEDGEMENT

I would like to take this opportunity to express my deep gratitude to the many people who contributed to the preparation of this thesis. The willingness of so many to lend their intellectual and spiritual support to this endeavor made the task all the more interesting and enjoyable.

First, I would like to thank Rabbi Clifford Kulwin for serving as a invaluable link between World Union for Progressive Judaism member organizations and myself, so that materials and information could be gathered in an orderly fashion.

Second, I would like to thank the following individuals who sent materials and observations about their communities: Rabbi John Levi of Melbourne, Australia; Rabbi Reuben Nisenbom of Buenos Aires, Argentina; Alejandro Lilienthal of Brazil; Eleanor D.L. Perkins of Panama. I would like to extend my special thanks to Rabbi Henry I. Sobel for sharing his article " Progressive Judaism: A View From Latin America" São Paulo, Nov. 5, 1989. Finally, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Yehoram Mazor of Israel for sending copies of unpublished liturgy from the World Union for Progressive Judaism Center for Liturgical Research Archives, as well as

his unpublished chapter of Israeli creative liturgy.

I would also like to offer my personal thanks to the faculty of HUC-JIR, for their guidance and support as I have developed intellectually and personally; and the staff of the Klau library, New York and Cincinnati, for research advice and assistance in procuring materials.

To my many friends at HUC-JIR New York I offer my thanks and appreciation for their support, encouragement and patience as we went through the process of my thesis preparation together.

Finally, there are no words of thanks that suffice to express my gratitude toward Lawrence A. Hoffman. The colleagueal manner in which we approached this project enabled me to develop and learn as I benefitted from his knowledge, insights and support.

PREFACE

The Study of Liturgy

In the nineteenth century scholars began to study liturgy as part of the Romantic quest for culture. The philologists believed that all documents had one original form from which later related documents were derived. Thus, documents always moved from simiplicity to complexity. For the philologists, then, each prayer had an initial form, the Urtext, from which all other like-prayers were derivatives.

In the twentieth century, the form-critics focused on the institutional situation during which particular prayers and rituals were employed. Context demanded a certain type of response. Yet, they believed, that the actual content of an appropriate response was variable. Neither method was satisfactory. The philological method could not be defended in light of the form critical demonstration of the actual way in which oral culture behaves. The form-critical method did not find enough information about rabbinic institutions to fully substantiate its claims.

Recently a new methodology has been employed in the study of liturgy. Dr. Lawrence A. Hoffman, one of its more prolific

exponents, refers to it as the holistic paradigm.[1] This paradigm claims that the identity of a group can be discerned only through the study of all available evidence: historical, literary, anthropological, and ritual, to name just a few. Members of a group share a common world-view, through which they understand and construct reality. Their place in this world-view defines their identity as individuals and as members of a group.

All religions present their own unique world-view. The adherents of a particular religious sect have a common identity. Their prayers and rituals reinforce their world-view and emphasize their own perception of self. Thus, a sect's prayerbooks reflect changes in a group's world-view, identity and experience. Studied in a broad context, religious practices and liturgical works can be understood as a mirror of the life and mentality of community.

The Purpose of This Thesis

In 1926 the World Union for Progressive Judaism (WUPJ) held its first conference. The conference was the conceptual brain-child of the Hon. Lily H. Montagu[2] She sought to establish a Jewish spiritual community with a modern

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[1]These theories are explained in greater detail in the writings of Dr. Lawrence A. Hoffman. See Bibliography for a list of articles and books.

[2]For full details on the life and work of Lily H. Montagu see Ellen Umansky, Lily Montagu and the Advancement of Liberal Judaism (N.Y., Mellen Press, 1983).

perspective, first, in her native England, and then on a world-wide basis. 139 delegates, from eight countries (the United States, Germany, France, England, India, Sweden, Czechoslovakia and Romania)[3] participated in the first WUPJ conference. Those who attended were, by their own testimony, religiously liberal Jews who sought a forum in which to share ideas. The many delegates shared an affinity for scientific study, a belief in the modified authority of Bible and Talmud, and a desire to reconcile Judaism with modernity, in general, and with its universalistic perspective, in particular.[4]

130 self-identified religiously liberal Jews came together. In addition to the principles stated above, however, did they have a shared group identity? Did they have compatible world-views? Did they adopt rituals and liturgies that reinforced their world-view, or world-views?

The fact is, that from its inception, WUPJ members have recognized "each constituent's absolute independence and unlimited direction of its own affairs."[5] This independence exists in all spheres including: leadership, organization, ideology and liturgy. Despite efforts by some members, the organization has never adopted a standardized ideology, liturgy or ritual practice.

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[3] CCAR Yearbook, Cincinnati, CCAR, vol. 37, p.19.

[4] Datz, Michael, Poor Cousin of Parent Body?, Rabbinic Thesis, Cincinnati, 1987, p.10.

[5] Constitution of the World Union 1926, article II, as it appears in Datz, p.32.

At present, congregations representing 22 different countries constitute the WUPJ. Without a standardized liturgy, without liturgical guidelines, each member congregation, or national umbrella organization, tries to provide its members with a liturgy that speaks a language that it understands and expresses ideas with which it can relate. Consequently, all member congregations have changed their liturgy, at least a few times, during the last century.

Within the constraints of being limited to prayerbooks and prayer pamphlets and life-cycle liturgies themselves, as the primary test of investigation, this thesis is an attempt to apply the holistic paradigm of liturgical study to the liturgical expressions and ritual practices of some member congregations of the WUPJ. Through case studies of the liturgical works of a sampling of WUPJ members, this thesis investigates the development of liturgy and ritual in a variety of contexts. It takes into account changing world events and circumstances that are peculiar to specific locales and eras. Its ultimate goal is to shed light on the identity, or identities, of the liberal Jews who have come together under the auspices of the WUPJ.

Presentation

To provide the reader with a context in which to understand the developments in liberal worship in the twentieth century, the thesis begins with an introductory

chapter explaining the process of liturgical change and outlining the developments and contributions of nineteenth century reform in Germany and the United States. The body of the paper is composed of individual case studies. In each case, a brief history of the liberal Jewish community in a particular area is given, after which the liturgical works of its WUPJ member congregations are analyzed, focusing on changes in form, content and orientation (See methodology for greater details). The concluding chapter considers the patterns of liturgical and ritual development among WUPJ congregations. Seventy-five years ago the attendees at the first WUPJ conference agreed on some guiding principles. Today, do they share more than that? As they have developed their own liturgies, have WUPJ members developed a common world-view?

Methodology

The first step in the process was to gather materials. After utilizing the resources available in this country, letters were sent to leaders of WUPJ affiliates in Argentina, Brazil, Panama, France, England, Australia, South Africa and Israel requesting histories of the community, samples of liturgical works and critical articles about liturgical developments.

The materials amassed were quite varied and extensive, necessitating much more time than this study could allow.

For the purposes of this study a particular method was followed.

First, background information was gathered with regard to political and social trends within the country in which the liberal Jewish community developed and presently resides. Second, liturgical works were analyzed on a variety of levels to determine the identity of the liberal Jewish community over time.

1) Did the liberal Jewish community develop from an indigenous group or was it introduced from outside of the community?

2) What is the source of its liturgy?
   a) Did/does the community create its own liturgy?
   b) Has the community borrowed liturgy or modelled its liturgy after that of another community?
      1) If modeled, what modifications were made?

3) What are the physical attributes of a liturgical work?
   a) Is it bound or mimeographed, more "permament" or "replaceable"?
   b) Does the work have an appearance that is identifiably Jewish?
      1) Does it open right to left, or left to right?
      2) Does the cover or binding bear any Hebrew or Jewish symbols?

4) How Jewishly knowledgeable does the liturgical work assume congregants are?
   a) What is the dominant language of prayer?
   b) Are transliterations provided?
   c) Are there didactic elements?
      1) Are there explanations of the meanings of rituals and symbols?
      2) Are congregants provided with stage directions, instructing them about how prayers are to be recited and rituals performed?

5) How does the service differ from a traditional service?
   a) Has the structure been altered? For example:
      1) Have prayers or entire services be ommitted?

a) Are the Birkat Hashachar and Pesukei dezimrah included in the morning services?
b) Is there a Musaf service?
c) Is there a repetition of the Tefilah?
2) Is the main focus of the service the standing Tefilah or the Shema?
3) Have parts of prayers been omitted, and why?
a) Are the second and third paragraphs of the V'Ahavta recited?
b) Has the Aleinu been reduced?
4) Do Hebrew and vernacular texts express ideas that

6) Has the content been altered?
a) Has the world-view changed?
1) How have prayers been altered to reflect these changes?
b) Is the holiday cycle subject to alteration?
1) Can observances be eliminated or added?
a) If new observances are added, do they constitute a separate and unique ritual and liturgical moment, or are they incorporated into pre-existing forms?
c) Can new interpretations be offered for traditional rituals and observances?
d) Can the content of Hebrew texts be altered ?
1) What are the guiding principles, if any, for these alterations?

7) Are the redactors of the works self-conscious about the process that they are involved in?
a) Do they identify specific internal or external changes to which their new liturgy is responding?
b) Do they own the reinterpretations that their works contain?
c) What are the works' stated goals and purposes, if any?
1) If they exist, do the contents correlate with them?

Finally, the data from all of the congregations will be analyzed as a single unit. Commonalities and differences will be highlighted. Observations about the Jewish identity or identies will be offered. The conclusion will end with a series of questions regarding forthcoming liturgical works prepared by members of the World Union for Progressive Judaism.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION: THE TWO PRIMARY MODELS:
German liberal liturgical reform
North American liturgical reform

> "if the makeup of the community and environment in which it acts remain relatively stable, the community retains its inherited prayerbook without question. If, however, the factors that make for Jewish identity change, Jewish life contained in the prayerbook begins to appear outdated, and the community puts pressure on its leaders to prepare a book which will reflect the new reality of Jewish identity."[1]

Stability is perhaps the last adjective one thinks of when describing the Jewish community and its environment during the past 150 years. Indeed, this period has been one of dramatic changes. Historically, the Jewish community has experienced events of such magnitude that its self-perceptions have been dramatically and permanently altered. The three major historical benchmarks have been the emancipation (experienced differently in each country), the Holocaust and the Establishment of the State of Israel. Socially, emancipated Jews have been influenced by, and often have contributed to, the development of ideological movements which have changed Western society: socialism, universalism, nationalism, feminism and ethnic identification. Demographically, due to emigration and decimation, the old

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[1]Hoffman, Lawrence A., "The Liturgical Message", in Gates of Understanding, ed. Hoffman, CCAR, New York, 1977, p. 134.

established centers of Jewish life in eastern and central Europe have been replaced by new centers in America and Israel. Thus, on all levels, life in the modern world has challenged the identity of modern Jews, both individually and collectively.

The Jews entered modernity with a fairly fixed liturgical corpus. Though Minhag (מנהג) varied from locale to locale, the structure, order and language of prayers for worship were well-established. Indeed, prayers were so clearly established, that weekday, Shabbat and holiday, as well as morning, afternoon and evening prayers were readily distinguishable.

The liturgy used for centuries presented a specific world-view. There is only one God, the creator of the World. The only people who revere this God exclusively are the descendants of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (otherwise known as Israel). After redeeming them from slavery in Egypt, God made an eternal Covenant with the People of Israel. This people was chosen by God and commanded to follow the laws of God's sacred book, the Torah (תורה), which God gave exclusively to them. In Jerusalem, God's people built their Temple, which was destroyed; the Jews pray daily for its restoration. Exiled from their homeland, the Jews pray that God will some day end their exile and allow them to return to their land and rebuild their Temple. The arrival of such a time depends upon the advent of a personal Messiah who will usher in a new

era in which all people revere the one God of Israel. In the Days of the Messiah, the resurrection of the dead, a collective phenomenon, will occur.

God is the God of history; all historical occurrences reflect God's interplay with the human world. While God interacts with all people, God loves Israel. God's love is not always shown via kindness and protection. Sometimes, it is reflected via suffering and punishment. Israel, by her behavior, determines what God's response will be. Israel may not always understand God's motives, but God is always just and faithful to the Covenant.

The rites and rituals that accompanied this liturgy reinforced its world-view, by ordering the world of Jews in a way that was consonant with it.[2] Participation in the religious life of the community proved to be a means of affirming the Jews' adherence to this belief system, as well as his/her identity as a Jew.

> "the worship service [is] a reflection of the religious community's identity: its goals, its values, its judgments, its concerns; so that people leave with a sense of their own value reinforced and their own identity within the amorphous mass of humanity clearly established." [3]

All is well, thus, when the religious identity of the community and its individual members is secure. However, the Emancipation and mass migration catapulted Jews into uncharted

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[2]Hoffman, Lawrence A., The Art of Public Prayer, The Pastoral Press, Washington, D.C., 1988. p. 173.

[3]Ibid., p.57.

waters in which they were left to redefine their own identities as individuals and freely determine if and how they wished to acknowledge and express their Jewish identity. The responses to this critical situation varied. Some disassociated themselves entirely from their Jewish identity. Others, attempted to find a non-religious means of identification. Finally, others sought to claim their Jewish identity in the religious sphere by redefining its world-view and forms of expression.

To reconcile their new life experience and their inherited traditions and historical memory, these religiously-identified Jews had modified, to varying degrees, the pre-existing religious practices and liturgical works. Though they shared some common ground, the early Reformers initiated and implemented changes that were far from identical. Each liberal Jewish group responded to the tension between tradition and modernity in a way that reflected the needs of its members and its particular historical and cultural setting.

During the nineteenth century, liberal Judaism made inroads in Germany, the United States and England, with Germany and the United States becoming its two centers. Attempting to integrate into German society, the early German reformers all introduced changes in two spheres. First, they attempted to refashion the aesthetics of Jewish public prayer to make them consonant with normative practice. Second, they prepared

liturgical works which provided translations into the vernacular, an act which demanded changes in the content of the prayers as well.

However, each Gemeinde, group of liberal German Jews, functioned independently, establishing its own norms and Minhag (מנהג). Dissent among the Liberal leaders, for example, with regard to approach to reform and the place of Hebrew in a liberal prayer service, precluded the establishment of uniform liturgy and ritual practice. In order to present a unified front against orthodox opposition, the liberal German Jews formed the Union of Liberal Rabbis and the Union for Liberal Judaism.

Throughout the nineteenth century, various attempts were made to create a liturgical work that could serve the entire liberal Jewish community, the most notable being that of Rabbi Manuel Joel of Breslau published in 1872. In 1929, the Einheitsgebetbuch, the result of a collaborative effort, became the central prayerbook of liberal German Jewry.[4] Its format was highly traditional, including the additional Musaf service (מוסף), a full standing Tefilah (תפילה) with repetition. The traditional Hebrew texts and variations appeared side by side. The German texts, though, were consonant with the modified Hebrew texts, reflecting a conciliatory attitude toward non-Jews and a more

[4]For a fuller discussion of the impetus behind the compilation of the Einheitsgebetbuch see the preface reprinted in Jakob Petuchowski, Prayerbook Reform in Europe, (New York: WUPJ, 1968).

universalistic orientation than that of the traditional Hebrew texts. For example, references to God's revenge against enemies of the Jews are omitted in the Emet V'emunah (אמת ואמונה), the Al Hanisim (על הנסים) insertion for the Tefilah (תפילה) and in the Aleinu (עלינו). Satan is not mentioned in the Hashkivenu (השכיבנו).

Thus, by the middle of the nineteenth century German reformers had shifted their focus from aesthetics to ideology. Unable to agree upon a single ideological framework, German liberal congregations developed liturgies that were uniform in content or ideology. Even by the late 1920's the liberal German Jewish community could only adopt a prayerbook that presented traditional as well as modified liturgy.

The development of reform in America followed a very different course. The first liberal Jews arrived in America in the mid-nineteenth century with the first major wave of German immigrants. Among the Jewish thinkers and religious leaders who arrived were leaders from every part of the European liberal spectrum: from that of the Conservative Zacharias Frankel to the radical reformers of Samuel Holdheim. Focused on principles, they sought religious reforms that reflected an ideological and doctrinal reorientation. Though the kinds of reforms and the speed with which they might be adopted was a point for debate, the American liberal rabbinate and laity was quite open to change. In an effort to create a unified movement with a single form

of religious expression, an institutional structure including the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (UAHC), the Hebrew Union College (HUC), and the Central Conference of American Rabbis (CCAR) were established between 1873-1889.

The Union Prayerbook, published by the CCAR, became the standard liturgy for all member congregations of the UAHC. English was established as the language of prayer. The service was performed by rabbi/minister and cantor, with minimal participation by the congregation. Hebrew was kept to a minimum and then only parts of some of the major prayers appeared in Hebrew. The entire focus of the service was shifted from the Tefilah (תפילה) to the Shema (שמע).

Ideologically, Jews had a mission: to bring ethical monotheism to the world. The Books of Prophets, and what was identified as the prophetic message, became the focus of many prayers. Reform Jews were working and praying for universalistic ends. The troubles of the world were not irremediable; human intellect, reason, would solve all problems. The history of the world was a model of progress. The future was bright and human intelligence and initiative were boundless. Thus, the concept of ultimate redemption which was dependent upon a personal Messiah was replaced by the notion that human efforts for the common good would result in a Messianic Era in which equality, justice and cooperation reigned. Deemed antithetical to reason, and impossible in a system that rejected a personal Messiah, resurrection of the

dead was replaced by a promise of eternal life.

Thus, institutionally and liturgically, the liberal Jews of Germany and America experienced very different patterns of development. Concurrently, religious reforms were introduced by liberal Jews in a wide-variety of countries. While Germany and America served as significant models, liberal Jewry developed in different ways as it became established around the world.

CHAPTER TWO

FRANCE

The history of liberal Judaism in France begins in 1791 with the emancipation which was extended to the Jews as a result of the French Revolution (1789). Emancipation did not guarantee complete autonomy and equality. Therefore, following the Reign of Terror (March 1793-July 1794) the Jews of France, as did the Protestant minority, sought legal rights and protection. Eventually, the government responded by instituting the consistory system, through which the internal affairs of the Jewish community were subject to government approval. The Jewish community's goals were the "secularization and socioeconomic integration of French Jews and a modification of Jewish institutions, along the lines of Christian institutions."[5]

The Jews who advocated religious reform, like their German counterparts, did not seek to devise a new ideology or create a Judaism that was something other than traditional Judaism. Consistent with the early German reformers, they sought to retain the traditional while changing its outward forms. Furthermore, they stressed secular education. Indeed, it eventually became mandatory for young men entering the

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[5] Phyllis Cohen Albert, The Modernization of French Jewry, (Brandeis University Press, New Hampshire, 1977), p. 53.

state-run rabbinical seminary to complete their secondary education at a secular school rather than a yeshiva.[6]

The initial ritual reforms that were instituted were consistent with the normative practices in the Sephardic community. The Ashkenazic community, though, was not familiar with such reforms and initially opposed them. Among the reforms were the following:

> "Sermons were preached in the vernacular...;baby girls were presented in the synagogue soon after birth; circumcision was generally performed in the synagogue; the rabbinic role ...[was] limited to ritual matters; a laxity was allowed in the interpretation of the problem of defining who was a Jew...[they] urged the adoption of the Sephardi pronunciation of Hebrew, and the replacement of the Ashkenazi piyyutim and chants by the Sephardi ones."[7]

Every geographic department with a Jewish population of at least 2000 was to have a synagogue and consistory and a government approved rabbi, known as the 'grand rabbi'. Funds for community upkeep and rabbinic salaries were raised via a special tax on the Jewish population.[8] The consistory leadership, both local and national, was primarily lay.

The rabbinic role was modeled after that of Christian clergy. The rabbi was responsible for:

> "officiating at marriages, visiting prisoners, preaching, accompanying funeral processions into

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[6] Ibid., p. 171.

[7] Ibid., p. 54.

[8] Ibid., pp. 58-59. The imposition of a tax for such purposes was unique. Other religious communities and their clergy received state funding.

> the cemetery, reciting prayers over the graves, and reciting prayers at the bedside of the dying and in the houses of those in mourning."[9]

Over time, the role of rabbi as preacher and official communal representative became more highly developed. The lay leaders of the consistories favored reform, and used two methods to bring about changes: 1) they overrode rabbinical decisions; and 2) they interviewed rabbis seeking to posts and discussed with them their willingness to advocate reform.

By 1829 the Catholic influence was so great, that the Central Consistory decided that the prerequisite for Bar Mitzvah (בר מצוה) should be the mastery of an official catechism, Précis élémentaire d'instruction réligieuse.[10] In an attempt to quell any suspicions about the national allegiance of Jews, the central consistory issued a statement in 1846 that advocated:

> "greater pomp and "dignity" in synagogue ceremonies... [the elimination of] all prayers and piyyutim considered incompatible with the Jews' civil and political position in France ("our only homeland")...The introduction of the organ for all religious and national celebrations in the synagogues of France...improvement of the role of women in the synagogue by adopting a synagogue ceremony to celebrate the birth of a girl...and by allowing women to participate in public prayer in the synagogue..[by changing the definition of a Jew [to include]: any individual born of a Jewish father or mother, and claiming to be a Jew himself.[11]

The community at large, though, was not ready for such

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[9] Ibid., p. 259.

[10] Ibid. p. 294.

[11] Ibid., pp. 298-299.

sweeping reforms and did not adopt any of those that were suggested. The two reforms that were later enacted were the inclusion of an organ and the elimination of the piyyutim.

Throughout the nineteenth century there was limited liberal Jewish activity in France. In the first quarter of the twentieth century there were some Jews who identified themselves as liberal. With the encouragement of the Hon. Lily Montagu two such Jews attended the first World Union conference held in 1926.[12] The community developed very little during the inter-war years. During World War II, as was the case for all Jewish institutions on the continent, organized synagogal activity came to a standstill.

In the post-war years, representatives again began to attend WUPJ conferences and indeed much WUPJ attention was focused on France. Though there was only one small progressive synagogue in Paris in the 1950's, the WUPJ voted to base its European seminary, known as the Paris Institute, in Paris. The first rabbi was ordained at the seminary in 1960 and during the following decade another 15 were ordained. In the early 1970's the seminary was closed, due to fiscal problems and the success of HUC-JIR and the Leo Baeck College in educating liberal rabbis.

There are currently five congregations in France which are members of the WUPJ. The group known as the Union Libérale Israélite de Paris (ULIP) published a Siddur (סדור)

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[12] CCAR Yearbook, volume 37, p. 19.

in 1968, entitled סדור תפלות הר אל Rituel des Prières Journalières La Montagne de Dieu.[13] The book is a fusion of modern and traditional elements. For example, the book opens from right to left, yet all of the writing on the cover and binding is in French, not Hebrew. Like traditional Siddurim (סדורים) it contains not only daily and Shabbat services, with traditional insertions for festivals and seasons, (though it should be noted that the insertions for rain are identified by the seasons and not by the Jewish Holidays),[14] but also prayers and instructions for a variety of life-cycle events. However, it would seem that large parts of the service are conducted in French, since the French translations are often broken into paragraphs, making them easy to read responsively; whereas, the Hebrew is not.

Only two prayers are transliterated in the Siddur (סדור): the Kedushah (קדושה)[15] and the Kaddish (קדיש).[16] Thus, for members who are unfamiliar with Hebrew, the Kedushah (קדושה), not the Barechu (ברכו) or the Shema (שמע), becomes the Hebrew focal point of the service.

There is, though, a concern that worshippers be familiar with the Hebrew names of prayers and ceremonies. To this end,

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[13]This full Hebrew and French title appears on the frontispiece, not the binding or cover.

[14]Rituel des Prières Journalières La Montagne de Dieu הר אל סדור תפלות. (Paris: Union Libérale Israélite, 1968), pp. 25-26.

[15]Ibid., p. 28.

[16]Ibid., p. 44.

the Table of Contents is typed in Roman characters, yet the majority of the sub-headings are the names of the major prayers in transliterated Hebrew.[17] Furthermore, throughout the volume, the rubrics and prayers are identified on the English pages in capitalized transliterations.

In the Introduction, Rabbi Zaoui explains the need for liberal Jews living in the era after the establishment of the State of Israel and after the Holocaust to reexamine older liberal liturgical forms and reinterpret the unchanged biblical text to redefine its own theology and spiritual language.[18]

Indeed, the following aims are identified as typical of liberal Judaism:

> "to shorten the service for greater fervor or kavannah, [notably, omitting the repetitions and the Musaf (מוסף) prayers for the return of sacrifice]...to interpret in a new manner and according to the principles of rabbinic hermeneutics the ancient texts dealing with, for example, angelology,...the messianic era, 'retribution' and 'resurrection'."[19]

The ULIP Siddur (סדור) thus included many of the traditional prayers that were excised in early American and German reform liturgy. In fact, at first glance the volume appears to be very traditional: there are an extended Kabbalat Shabbat (קבלת שבת) and the traditional morning prayers Birkot

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[17]Ibid., Table of Contents.

[18]Ibid., pp.ii-iii. Pirkei Avot פרקי אבות is cited as a prooftext.

[19]Ibid., p. ii.

Hashachar (ברכות השחר) and Pesukei dezimrah (פסוקי דזמרה); the Hebrew retains references to destruction of enemies, though the French does not.[20] Resurrection, the Messiah, the Messianic era and the ingathering are all frequently mentioned. The rationale for this is all clearly stated.

The State of Israel is identified as the major impetus for the format and selection of prayers. First, the establishment of the State of Israel is described as "the great miracle of contemporary Jewish history, the resurrection of the State of Israel and Jerusalem." For this reason, the Siddur (סדור) reintroduces the hope for the return to Zion and of prophetic messianism, refocusing Jewish consciousness on the Biblical promises.[21] Second, increasing worshippers' knowledge of Hebrew is a concern. Hebrew is identified as the language of the Bible, and the language of the State of Israel, and the universal language of Jewish spirituality. Thus, the modern Jew has three important reasons to learn the language of the State of Israel. To this end, a more Hebraized liturgy is included.[22] Finally, the zionistic bent of Rabbi Zaoui, the redactor, is clearly demonstrated by the date offered at the end of the Introduction, which reads:

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[20]Ibid., See Emet V'Emunah אמת ואמונה, pp. 21-22; Hashkivenu השכיבנו, pp. 21-24.

[21]Ibid., p. i.

[22]Ibid., p. ii, iii.

April 1968, Nissan 5728, Year 20 of Israel![23]

The State of Israel is understood as the opportunity for Jews to help bring the Messiah and the Messianic era. Readings for Tisha B'av (תשעה באב) focus on the return to Zion and the rebuilding of the Temple.[24] The Prayer for the State of Israel (which is considerably longer than the prayer for France) refers to the Ingathering of the exiles and the rebuilding of the Temple in Jerusalem as a House of Prayer for all people.[25] The hope that "our dispersion" will soon end is expressed in prayers.[26] Thus, the liberal Jews of France have adopted a modern Siddur (סדור) which, because of its strong identification with the modern State of Israel, reclaims the concepts of the Restoration of the Temple, the Dispersion as Exile, and the Ingathering of the Exiles.

It is noteworthy that though mentioned in the Introduction, the Holocaust is not referred to elsewhere in the prayerbook. France, whose Jews experienced directly the Nazi atrocities have no special readings for Yom Hashoah (יום השואה). Nor do they commemorate through Jewish rituals or liturgy a date of significance, from the Nazi Era, for French Jewry.

The theology of the ULIP Siddur (סדור) is basically quite

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[23]Ibid., p. iii.

[24]Ibid., pp. 193-198.

[25]Ibid., p. 128.

[26]Ibid., p. 102.

traditional. Linguistically, the liturgy is also very traditional. God is referred to in masculine terms and masculine language only.

Holiday readings contained in the Tefilah (תפילה) are traditional and unchanged. The traditional prayers for Haydalah (הבדלה), Chanukah (חנוכה) and Purim (פוריים) appear separately at the end of the volume. No explanations or new interpretations of the holidays are offered. However, two holidays central to liberal Judaism in Israel have special services. A brief service for Tisha B'av (תשעה באב) focuses on the themes of resurrection and rebuilding. A special note appears in the service which explains the origin of the holiday, and biographical notes are written about Judah HaLevi, whose poem "Zion" is included in the service. Yom Ha'atzmaut (יום העצמאות) is celebrated with a series of declarations: God's law is victorious, God is one, Adonai is God, Next Year in Jerusalem rebuilt. The clearly messianic tone of the service is highlighted by the blowing of the Shofar.[27]

The ULIP Siddur (סדור) delivers the message that all stages of life ought to be ritualized in a Jewish manner. First, it provides a section for home celebrations of the Sabbath which include blessings for the meal, prayers for one's children and songs. Second, there are traditional

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[27]Ibid., p. 199.

prayers for daily activities and for travel.[28] Finally, there are liturgies for circumcision and marriage as well as prayers for the sick and dying and prayers for mourning. By and large, these ceremonies and prayers are traditional, contain stage directions which indicate who should recite a particular part of the service or perform a particular function. The liturgies provided for these events offer no prayers or readings beyond those prescribed by tradition.

The traditional liturgy is supplemented by original prayers in French, for two other momentous events in life: Bar/Bat Mitzvah (בנ' מצוה) and Baby Namings. These special prayers indicate a liberalizing attitude toward women which is not present in the rest of the prayerbook. In the baby naming ceremony, for example, mention is made of the Patriarchs and the Matriarchs, as well as Miriam, Abigail and Esther.[29] In addition, as the title of the one special prayer states, by 1968 the liberal community of Paris had instituted ceremonies for Bat Mitzvah (בת מצוה). Finally, original prayers are recited by parents at the service immediately prior to a Bar Mitzvah (בר מצוה) or wedding. Perhaps, the fact that parents would attend the Shabbat service prior to a wedding indicates the continuation of the custom of having an Ufruf; there is nothing, though, in the prayerbook that makes mention of wuch a practice. Thus, while attempting to

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[28]Ibid., pp. 203-4, 221, 222.

[29]Ibid., p. 218.

remain fairly faithful to traditional liturgy, the liberal French community of Paris demonstrates a willingness to expand on the number of Jewish life-cycle ceremonies, to include women and to create prayers that are appropriate for them personally.

In 1985 the Mouvement Juif Libéral de France (MJLF) published a paperback prayerbook for use at Friday night services entitled סדר תפלות קבלת שבת תפלת ערבית לשבת Prières du Vendredi Soir. The book contains neither a preface nor a dedication. Thus, the publication offers no information regarding the goals or orientation of its redactors. In lieu of a formal preface there is a warning:

> This book is reserved for the service of the synagogue of the Liberal Jewish Movement of France. You are requested not to take out except for the purpose of prayers. Thank you.

The book's physical appearance identifies it as a Jewish book. The front cover, which bears its title, has Hebrew above the French, along with the movement's insignia, its initials with a superimposed Star of David, and the date according to both the Jewish calendar and the Roman calendar. The book opens right to left. In addition to the Friday evening service, it contains a collection of Sabbath songs in Hebrew and French, and the Grace After Meals Birkat Hamazon (ברכת המזון). Though many songs appear in translation, only the translation of Shalom Aleichem (שלום עליכם) seems to have been written with an ear to meter. The book is clearly a compilation of prayers xeroxed from a variety of sources, as both Hebrew and

French appear in several different typefaces.

The MJLF prayerbook is remarkably similar to the ULIP prayerbook. It would seem that it may have been published for its light weight and lack of additional prayers.

Nevertheless, there are a few distinctive characteristics of this work that are worth noting. For one thing, it seems that the congregation wishes to promote Jewish knowledge. As in the ULIP prayerbook, Hebrew rubrics are transliterated throughout. Furthermore, many of the translated prayers in the pamphlet are divided into paragraphs, each of which begins with the Hebrew word which begins its corresponding paragraph. For example,

> "ברוך Sois loué, Éternel, qui donnes la paix à ton peuple Israël Amen.[30]

For another thing, an attempt is made to set apart some, though not all, of the negative references to non-Jews. For example, in the V'Ahavta (ואהבת) negative references in the Hebrew are bracketed, and appear in the French accompanied by an explanation that, due to the maledictions contained in the paragraph, it is customarily uttered in a whisper.[31]

Additionally, it appears that the MJLF does not have Bat Mitzvah (בת מצוה) ceremonies. The prayer to be recited on the eve of the ceremony of religious majority, as Bar Mitzvah

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[30] Prières du Vendredi Soir סדר תפלות (France: MJLF, 1985), p. 31.

[31] Ibid., pp. 14-15.

(בר מצוה) is known in French, does not indicate that it may be said for girls. (This is also true for this particular prayer as it appears in the 1968 ULIP publication, but elsewhere in the same volume references are made to Bat Mitzvah (בת מצוה).

Another characteristic of this work, that distinguishes it from its predecessor is its greater emphasis on universalism. In the ULIP prayerbook only the Kaddish (קדיש) translation is altered. It requests that peace will "soon reign over Israel and all humanity"[32]. In the MJLF universalistic aspirations are expressed by alterations in both the French and Hebrew. For example, in the MJLF prayerbook Gaal Yisrael (גאל ישראל) is translated "Redeemer of Israel and all of the oppressed".[33] In the Hashkivenu (השכיבנו) the Hebrew is altered to reflect similar universalistic sentiments.[34]

Finally, both the Ashkenazic and Sephardic rites for Kaddish (קדיש) appear. Thus, Ashkenazim and Sephardim who have found a home in the liberal synagogues may pray for their dead in the way with which they are most familiar. This may be a response to the influx of immigrants from French-speaking Africa during the past 30 years. It should be noted, however,

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[32]Ibid. p. 44.

[33] Ibid., p. 19.

[34] Ibid., p. 20.

that only the Ashkenazi version appears in transliteration.[35] Throughout the rest of the pamphlet, those who do not read Hebrew cannot read along, with the help of transliterations, because the Kaddish (קדיש) is the only fully transliterated prayer.

The MJLF prayerbook is the most recent example of Diaspora liberal Jewish liturgy analyzed in this study. Nonetheless, it is the most traditional work produced by the WUPJ member congregations in the past 20 years. Indeed, there is nothing in the prayerbook that indicates that the community is responding to the issues that have been affecting liberal Jews in the last half century. There is no mention of the Holocaust or the State of Israel; God language is still entirely male; and there is no indication that women have been incorporated into the traditionally male ritual observance. Finally, in terms of orientation and structure, the MJLF prayerbook is reminiscent of the Einheitsgebetbuch.

In contrast, the 1968 ULIP prayerbook, prepared by Rabbi Zaoui, reflects the community's responsiveness to the establishment of the State of Israel. This event was understood as a benchmark which radically altered the world-view of liberal French Jews and informed its modes of liturgical expression.

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[35]Ibid., p. 37. Perhaps this is an indication of the greater level of Hebrew literacy, or familiarity with Hebrew prayers, among Sephardim.

CHAPTER THREE

PANAMA

The origins of the liberal Jewish community of Panama are very different from those of most other World Union Congregations. The community was not begun by German Jewish emigrés or North American emigrés. Instead, it was Sephardic Jews who founded the organizations that would eventually evolve into Panama's World Union Affiliate, Kol Shearith Israel(KSI).

In the middle of the nineteenth century, Jewish businessmen began to settle in Panama. By and large the Jews who arrived came from other Caribbean islands which had long established sephardic Jewish communities. At the time, many of the Caribbean Islands were controlled by the British and Spanish. Therefore, Jews with two very different cultural and linguistic orientations arrived. Those from the English--speaking Caribbean constituted the majority.

As was the case in many immigrant communities, the first communal institution that was founded was a burial society, the Kol Shearith Israel Burial Society. In addition to offering burial the Society also provided travellers' aid. Eventually, its services expanded to include a mutual savings and loan association.

For the first 36 years that Jews were in Panama there was

no House of Worship, no regular Sabbath or Holiday services, no kosher butcher or religious school. Most of the Jews' energy seems to have been focused on economic pursuits and establishing themselves as Panamanians. Furthermore, those who identified as Jews did so in the cultural and social sphere before the religious sphere.

In 1913 the first Panamanian synagogue was established in Colón. In response, Jews in Panama City formed a committee to establish a Sabbath school, and High Holy Day services. In 1918 the KSI burial society contacted the pre-existing YMHA to arrange to rent space for religious services. According to personal recollection, the first prayerbook used by the congregation was the de Sola Poole Sephardic prayerbook.[36] Forty--two years after its establishment the KSI burial society radically altered its focus. As the society's minutes explain "the Society would like to do something for the living after having done so much for the dead."[37] In 1925 the community began a religious school, known as a Sabbath school. The school met on the Jewish Sabbath, a clear sign of the community's non-orthodox orientation.

Prior to inaugurating its own building in 1935, the community dealt with issues of religious observance. There

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[36]This prayerbook serves as the standard Sephardic text, the equivalent of the Singer for Ashkenazim.

[37] Stanley Fidanque B. et. al., <u>One Hundred Years of Jewish Life in Panama, 1876-1976</u>, (Panama: Kol Shearith Israel, 1977), p. 157.

was dissension about the appropriate denominational designation for the group. The members agreed that their primary concern was integration. As the community's historian expresses it, by the mid-1920's the elders of KSI "realized that continued adherence to Orthodox Judaism would endanger the process of integration with the national community...they decided to adopt the norms of Reform Judaism, which seemed to adjust itself to our needs and environment."[38] Yet, in 1932, the president of KSI said "...we were travelling too fast since we had not yet decided what kind of services would be allowed, Orthodox, Reformed, or Semi-Reformed [sic]."[39]

In practice, the community was clearly reform. In 1930 KSI bought an organ for their House of Worship. In 1931 the board voted down a move to institute mixed seating. Yet, the following year, an amendment was passed to permit families and men and women to sit together. Sometime prior to 1932 the community had adopted the Union Prayer Book as its Siddur (סדור). No changes were made in the Union Prayer Book since the community was English speaking. It was the use of the prayerbook, not the mixed seating or the organ, that convinced the rabbi search committee to turn to the Hebrew Union College for a spiritual leader. They contracted their first full-time rabbi, a graduate of Hebrew Union College, in 1932. Under their first rabbi, the congregation honored its first

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[38]Ibid., p. 195.

[39] Ibid., p. 175

confirmation class. In 1935 the Kol Shearith Israel Temple building was inaugurated.

For decades the congregation had difficulties procuring the services of a long-term rabbi. For thirty years lay leaders conducted services. The only exception was when the short-term services of a rabbi could be arranged, usually for the months closest to the High Holy Days. During the war years close ties were established with the Jewish chaplain serving in Panama with the Armed Services.

In the 1950's, the search for a rabbi intensified. The search committee felt that the ideal candidate would be bilingual, in order to communicate with the representatives of the country and thus adequately represent the community. It is interesting that even at this point in time the dominant language of the community was English; the Spanish was necessary for public relations rather than for intra-communal reasons. Indeed, to this day, members of the community identify the English language as a contributing factor to the separation that Jews have maintained from the Catholic ambience of the country.[40]

Throughout the 1960's the community still chose English as its primary language of worship. Yet, as early as 1960 the first Spanish translations of the Ritual for lighting Sabbath candles was prepared. Soon after, translations of the Prayer

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[40] Letter from Eleanor D. L. Perkins to Dr. Lawrence A. Hoffman, dated May 19,1989.

for Peace and the Prayer for the Governmeht of the Country were prepared.

After the 1968 revolution, the prevailing nationalist sentiments led to greater use of Spanish in the prayer services. The switch over to Spanish was very slow and was never entirely completed. A Spanish language version of the UPB I was prepared by members of the congregation and edited by the rabbi. Known as the Seder Tefilot YisraeI Libro de Oraciones, this Spanish version of the UPB I was completed in 1976.

The introduction to the volume speaks of two things: prayer and continuity. On a particularistic level, traditional prayers are identified as a source of stimulation, self-examination and spiritual fraternity. A desire is expressed to pass on to the children renewed and living forms of the permanent norms of Judaism. A commitment to non-orthodox Judaism is expressly made. Judaism is conceived of as a system with permanent norms and variable forms. On a universalistic level, prayer is identified as a necessity for human survival.[41]

The continued dependence of the congregation upon the English language can be seen in two different ways. First, the transliterations contained in the volume are from Hebrew to English, not Hebrew to Spanish! For example, the Spanish

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[41]Libro de Oraciones, (Panama: Kol Shearith Israel, 1975), Introduction.

equivalent of the Hebrew letters 'ב' and 'ח' is a 'j', not 'ch' as it is in English transliteration. Thus, in a Spanish volume one would expect to find the word "ברוך" transliterated "Baruj." In Panama's Spanish language edition, though, "ברוך" is transliterated "Baruch." Second, in the English edition of the prayerbook "Responsive Reading" appeared as a heading and was not accompanied by an explanation. In contrast, in the Spanish edition, the words "Lectura Antifonal" (Spanish for Responsive Reading) is followed by explanatory stage directions which appear in parenthesis.

A few significant changes distinguish this volume from its English counterpart. Theologically, God is referred to as the Eternal One.[42] God is omnipresent rather than Ever-living.[43] Linguistically, the translations often result in an alteration of the original text. For example, the Kiddush (קדוש) is translated: who created the fruit of life. The Sabbath is not the queen of days, rather the king of days. This last translation may be attributable to the influence of hispanic patriarchal society, anything that is exalted and influential must be male! It should also be noted that the translations themselves are inconsistent. For example, a

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[42] There are many examples. Two of the most striking are the translations for the Shema שמע and Mi Kamokha מי כמוך: "Hear oh Israel, the Lord our God, the Eternal is one", and "Who is like you oh Eternal?"

[43] This can be seen in the reading following the Barechu ברכו.

single prayer may be translated in a variety of ways at different points in the same service. The inconsistencies appear to be unconscious, as no pattern of usage is discernible.

In terms of content, the only prayer that this volume contains that the North American UPB I does not is the Sephardic Hashkaba (השכבה) prayer for the dead. The old Sephardic ties were retained in the rituals pertaining to the dead. The Sephardic influence can also be found in much of the community's liturgical music, which relies heavily on Sephardic melodies used throughout the Caribbean.

There are also certain physical changes that were made in the Spanish version of the UPB I. First, on the title page the Hebrew appears in small print above the Spanish title which is significantly larger. Second, the volume opens right to left. Third, special holiday readings are separated from the text of the morning and evening services.

In 1986 the community published its first High Holy Day Prayerbook in Spanish. Though they had received copies of the Gates of Prayer from the CCAR, the committee decided to translate the 1945 edition of the UPB II. The following explanation regarding this decision appears in the preface of Libro de Oraciones para Rosh Hashaná y Yom Kipur,

> "it would be more convenient both for its beauty and because it has been used for many years in the

religious services."[44]

A committee member offered an additional explanation,

> "We decided to translate the UPB II rather than Gates of Repentance because we like its prayers and find it less complicated."[45]

Thus far, the Spanish translation has not been used in its entirety. The English version is used for large segments of the holiday worship and exclusively for the Memorial and Neilah services.[46]

The Spanish translation of the UPB I is used to a greater extent, but not exclusively. Friday evening services alternate: one week is all Spanish and Hebrew, the next week the service begins in Spanish with the Torah service in English. It should be noted that the Torah is read on Friday night, but that this practice was not identified by anyone in the community as a sign of adherence to Reform practice. On Saturday mornings the service is all in Spanish. At all services the sermons are in Spanish.

The appearance of Spanish prayerbooks only after the rise in Panamanian 'nationalism' is understandable. Indeed, the preface to the 1986 High Holy Day Prayerbook has an apologetic tone to it,

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[44] Libro de Oraciones para Rosh Hashaná y Yom Kipur (Panama: Kol Shearith Israel. 1986), Preface.

[45] Letter from Eleanor Perkins, May 19,1989.

[46] Ibid.

> "The majority of us were born in Panama and so were our children and we speak Spanish as our native language. It is just, then, that our descendants profess in this the cult and language inherited from their ancestors, so that these ancient and beautiful Jewish prayers will be more comprehensible for them, identifying them with their faith and traditions."[47]

The congregants do not need to be told this to be reminded of this information. It seems, though, that the Panamanian government and population do need to be told explicitly.

The new prayerbooks do not offer any indigenous liturgy. The Panamanian Spanish version of the UPB I is the North American version with the Hashkaba (השכבה) added. The only other variation introduced into the service was made recently. In 1988, as the political situation worsened, a decision was made to omit the Prayer for the Nation, as it appeared in the UPB I. In March 1988 a new prayer, written by the community's rabbi, Rabbi Granat, was incorporated into the service and followed by a Psalm. The prayer speaks of the critical situation in which the Jews and all Panamanians are living and addresses God as their refuge and their strength in affliction. The suffering of the Panamanian people is described as unjust. God is asked to end violence and oppression and return confidence, peace and security to the people.[48]

The adoption of prayerbooks composed and compiled prior

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[47] Libro de Oraciones para Rosh Hashaná y Yom Kipur, Preface.

[48] Copy of the Prayer for Peace, appearing as an insert in the prayerbook.

to the establishment of the State of Israel, and thus devoid of any references to it, is not mentioned anywhere. Nonetheless, it is significant in a country where one's nationalism needs to appear unreproachable, where any hint of dual allegiance could be understood as subversive. The members of KSI make every effort in their one hundred year anniversary book to underscore their sole political allegiance to Panama. First, the book emphasizes the role of Jews in Panamanian civic life, past and present. Second, it treats Israel and Zionism with a calculated distance. The State of Israel is identified as living proof that 'bravery and ideals can overcome hate and barbarism."[49] The establishment of the state was the salvation for European refugees after W.W.II, but is not the salvation of the Jewish people. In fact, the ties are merely moral, not political.

> "Zionism provoked an ideological conflict in our congregation, that has always felt great affinity towards Panama...our congregation does not feel politically tied to Israel, nor do we accept the determination that the only way for Jewish people is to emigrate to Israel...we continue supporting the Jewish State spiritually, morally and materially."[50]

Indeed, in 1963 the KSI board disassociated itself from the Zionistic sentiments of the Federation of Communities of Central America and Panama.[51]

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[49] One Hundred Years, p. 234.

[50] Ibid., p. 237.

[51] Ibid., p. 237.

Perhaps there is an additional reason for community's reticence to incorporate prayers and readings that recognize the State of Israel. Today, throughout Latin America instead of being identified as "La Comunidad Judia" (literally "the Jewish community"), Jewish communities are known as "La Comunidad Israelita." In order to make certain that fellow-Panamanians do not associate Jews who see themselves as members of a religion and not part of a national group, this "comunidad israelita" may be consciously avoiding prayers that make reference to their connection to the modern State of Israel.

For the past twenty years, the Panamanian government has stressed nationalism. It has allowed little or no room for expression of particularistic sentiments. The liberal Jewish community, like the German liberals of the nineteenth century, originally identified itself as non-Orthodox because of its strong desire to integrate into national life. The need to continue to do so persists.

Nevertheless, its liturgy is not that of the German liberals. Indeed, it has always been that of North American Reform. Before 1932, the Union Prayer Books became the standard liturgy of the congregation. The continued desire to blend in, probably coupled with a real fear of standing out in today's political environment, explain the continued use of the Union Prayerbooks. These liturgical works stress the universalistic aspirations of Jews, make no mention of ties

to Israel, make no reference to the Holocaust and rely heavily upon the vernacular language as the primary language of prayer. Equally important, these liturgical works present Judaism as a religion and Jews as adherents to the religion, not members of a people.

Thus, though the community's origins were Sephardic, it has gravitated toward North American Reform. Its liturgy is mainstream mid-twentieth century North American Reform. The only liturgical creativity demonstrated by the community in this century is in its recently drafted prayer for the country. Couched amid the universalistic and pacific longings is an indictment of the present political situation and government toward whom the traditional hopes for wisdom and compassion are not extended. In the context of prayer, they can express their discontent with the status quo. This single expression demonstrates a willingness on the part of the present rabbi and the community to develop liturgy which expresses their innermost and most urgent concerns.

CHAPTER FOUR

AUSTRALIA

Australian Jewry dates back to the arrival of the first British convicts at the beginning of the nineteenth century, among whom there were a few Jews. The first free Jews arrived in 1816. Four years later Jews were congregating for religious observances. By 1836-37, there was a synagogue in Sydney.[52] Those Jews who chose to remain observant, practiced in a fashion similar to that of English orthodox synagogues. The service was traditional, the rabbi dressed in robes and was referred to as reverend and sermons were in English.

The first attempt to introduce religious reforms were initiated by an Australian businessman from Melbourne. On a visit to the United States in the early 1880's, he was impressed by American Reform Judaism. Upon his return in 1882, he attempted to establish, what he called, the "Jewish Sunday Sabbath Observance Society." His efforts found no support. Three years later, a rabbi from a pre-existing synagogue, attempted to establish a Reform congregation, known as the "Temple of Israel." He also was unable to garner

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[52]Rubinstein, W.D., ed. Jews in the Sixth Continent, Allen and Unwin, Sydney: 1987, p.3.

support.[53] However, some significant reforms were introduced at other Australian synagogues during the same period. Religious reforms met with their greatest success at the Great Synagogue of Sydney under Reverend Davis. Among the reforms that Reverend David introduced during the 1880's were:

> "choral music (by a mixed-voice choir of men and women)...recitation of a few prayers in English and the removal of certain repetitions...read[ing] the Haphtorah in English..."[54]

By the turn of the century, in both Sydney, at the Great Synagogue, and in St. Kilda, confirmation was instituted for both girls and boys.[55] Though these reforms met some opposition from synagogue members and vociferous opposition within more traditional circles, the reforms were continued by Reverend Davis' successor.

Meanwhile, in an attempt to attract more people to Saturday services, a committee at the Adelaide Hebrew Congregation instituted similar reforms as well as a 3 year cycle for Torah reading. These reforms failed to motivate more Jews to attend services and proved to encourage the more traditional members to leave. Here, again, the reforms were

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[53]This early history was gleaned from Eliot Joel Baskin, "Dinkum Liberal: the Development of Progressive Judaism in Australia" (Rabbinic Thesis, HUC-JIR, 1985); W.D. Rubinstein, ed., The Jews in the Sixth Continent, (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1987); and Hilary Rubinstein, Chosen: The Jews in Australia, (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1987).

[54]Hilary Rubinstein, Chosen, p. 98.

[55]Ibid., p.130.

retained.[56]

The response to Reverend A.P. Phillips' attempt to introduce reforms in Brisbane met with even less success. They inspired a breakaway movement of more traditional Jews and, in 1895, when the community hired a new minister all the reforms were abolished.[57] When the new rabbi left three years later, some of the Jewish leaders in Brisbane identified reform as a means of revivifying the community. They contacted HUC Cincinnati to retain a rabbi, but none was available. Thus, instead of American reform setting their standard, they followed the leadership of their newly appointed English rabbi.

In 1930 a group of liberal Jews began to meet in private homes in Melbourne. Primarily native born Australians, they

> "[wanted] a chance to worship in English...an opportunity to sit together in family groups,...a chance to have their non-Jewish spouses converted comparatively swiftly...[and they] denied the immutability of the Torah and rejected Halakhah,"[58]

Aware of the work of Lily Montagu, they wrote to her and requested a rabbi.

From 1931-36 American-trained rabbis served the liberal Jewish community of Melbourne for very short periods. Unable to find acceptable leaders from America, they ultimately requested that a German rabbi with a command of English be

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[56]Ibid.,p.106.

[57]Ibid., p.108.

[58]Ibid.,p.194.

sent to serve their community.

During the 1930's the number of liberal Jews in Australia increased as Jewish refugees from Central Europe began to arrive. Among them was Rabbi Dr. Herman Sanger, who arrived in 1936 and was willing to serve the Melbourne liberal Jewish community and model his services after those he had led in Berlin. In 1937 a second liberal congregation, Temple Enamuel, composed of native-born Jews and Central European refugees, formed in Sydney.[59] These two congregations formed a federation known as the Australian Jewish Religious Union.[60]

As the Jewish community moved to the suburbs in the 1950's they did not form independent congregations. Instead, the liberal Jews of suburban Sydney and Melbourne formed branch congregations of the older established congregations.

During the formative years, the Australian liberal Jewish community was exposed to a variety of liturgical works. The first prayerbooks were those suggested by Lily Montagu: those published by the Union of Liberal and Progressive Synagogues in England. When American reform rabbis arrived in the early 1930's, they introduced American liturgy and mid-western minhag (מנהג), best remembered by Australians for the absence of prayer shawls, Talitot (טליתות). In 1940, following an influx of Central European Jews and the arrival of Rabbi Dr. Herman Sanger and the former musical director of the Prussian

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[59]Ibid., pp.194-195.

[60]Datz, p.55.

Union of Reform Congregations, Dr. Herman Schildberger, the North American Union Prayer Book I (UPB I) was adopted as the standard prayer book. For the High Holy Days a more traditional Machzor (מחזור) was created drawing heavily upon the German liberal tradition.

After W.W.II, the liberal Australian community adopted some new liturgy. The congregation in Sydney took its lead from South Africa and began to use its version of the UPB I. In 1952 the Jewish Religious Union of Australia (JRUA) published a new High Holy Day prayer book, edited by Dr. Sanger. As its American counterpart, the liturgical work was known as The Union Prayer Book II. Thought the two publications are very similar, the Australian reflects the German orientation of its redactor; some of its prayers and perspectives are drawn from the Einheitsgebetbuch. The High Holy Day Tefilah (תפילה) is traditional and appears in its entirety in Hebrew and English. In general, Hebrew is used much more extensively than its American counterpart. For example, in the Australian version the Haftarah blessings appear in both Hebrew and English. Theologically and linguistically the Australian UPB II is identical to the American.

In 1962, the JRUA published a Haggadah based almost entirely on the CCAR publication The Union Haggadah. There are, though, some noteworthy differences. The thematic focus is on making universal the freedom which the Jews achieved

with the Exodus. The JRUA Haggadah does not contain transliterations, musical notations for chants and songs, or readings on the history and meaning of the holiday at the end of the volume. Instead, the didactic element of the volume comes in two forms: step-by-step "Instructions for Preparing the Table"[61] and four pages of "Notes"[62] which explain terminology, specific prayers and foods and the history and meaning of songs.

In 1963, The Australian and New Zealand Union for Progressive Judaism (ANZUPJ) put out its first publication, Our Prayer Book Prayers and Songs for Jewish Youth, edited by Rabbi John S. Levi. Designed for children, each section of the services is introduced by drawings that depict the symbols of the holiday and services are abbreviated. The prayer book contains services and songs for the entire year: Daily, Shabbat, High Holy Day, Chanukah (חנוכה), Purim (פורים), Pesach (פסח) and Shavuot (שבועות). The two omissions from the traditional Jewish calendar are Simchat Torah (שמחת תורה) and the Ninth of Av (תשעה באב). The prayer book also does not mark the significant Jewish events of the twentieth century, Israel Independence Day Yom Ha'atzmaut (יום העצמאות) and Holocaust Remembrance Day, Yom Hashoah (יום השואה) with special services or prayers. Indeed, as part of all services there is no prayer for the State of Israel, only a prayer for

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[61] Haggadah, Freelance Press, Melbourne, Australia, 1962, p.48.

[62] Ibid., pp.49-52.

the Jewish people.

The book begins with special services for younger children. The focus of the service is consistent with North American Reform; the only Hebrew in the service is the Shema (שמע) and the V'Ahavta (ואהבת). These services are very didactic, focusing on the themes of Talking to God, Torah and God's World. All of the readings emphasize the notion that the goal of people is to be good and to do good, for by doing good things people show God that they love God and the world which God created.

The services for older children contain more Hebrew (none of which is transliterated) than those for younger children. Again, the services of North American Reform are the model. The major prayers are those prior to the Tefilah (תפילה). The Tefilah (תפילה) is not traditional; it is very abbreviated, appears only in English and concludes with a silent meditation.

The rallying points of nineteenth century American and German reform, universalism and monotheism, predominate in these services. All of the services emphasize the goal of creating a world that is good for all people. For example, the Sabbath morning service focuses on the Ten Commandments. After stating that their hope is that the Ten Commandments will be universally obeyed, the children rise and the Ten Commandments are recited.[63] On Rosh Hashanah (ראש השנה) the

[63] Our Prayer Book, (Melbourne: ANZUP, 1963), pp. 20-21.

Shofar is identified as a call to remember the less fortunate.[64] Furthermore, at the New Year service, between the Barechu (ברכו) and the Shema (שמע), children are told that "The Greatest gift the Jew has given the world is the idea of one God, the ideal which makes us all brothers."[65]

In Our Prayer Book, holidays underscore specific themes. Passover, Pesach (פסח), focuses on freedom and the obligation to continue the task of ancestors' of bringing freedom, peace and unity.[66] Freedom is a right to be gained, not a privilege to be earned.[67] Sukkot (סוכות) teaches of the one God who created a world of diversity and who has offered strength to people in all circumstances.[68] The sukkah (סוכה) serves as a reminder of the ancient land of Israel in which "prophets taught justice and brotherhood".[69] The linking the prophets of ancient Israel and the sukkah (סוכה) is unique to this liturgical work.

On Chanukah (חנוכה) focuses on the theme of being a light to the nations. In addition to struggling to survive as a people of faith, Jews should be like the Maccabees and rekindle the light of justice, peace and liberty. This theme

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[64]Ibid., p.40.

[65]Ibid., p.41.

[66]Ibid., p.61-62.

[67]Ibid.

[68]Ibid., pp.66-67.

[69]Ibid., p.68.

is extended to the candle lighting, in which the number of candles lit each day serves as a reminder of great Jews who "were lights to the nations". In a pageant which is part of the Chanukah (חנוכה) service children explain

> "We kindle the first light for Abraham, who lit the candle of faith in a world dark with idolatry. A light unto the nations!...We kindle the fifth light for the prophets Amos and Hosea, Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel, who lit the candle of justice in a world dark with violence."[70]

Purim (פורים) is a reminder that we can be like Esther: remembering God is with us when we are afraid, and "working hard to rid the world of evil".[71] Prior to the reading the Book of Esther, the Megillah (מגילה), there is a didactic presentation of all of the characters and their roles.

Until the mid-1970's, the liturgical works used and published by the liberal Jewish communities of Australia and New Zealand espoused the philosophy of classical Reform. There was an emphasis on the prophetic message, social justice and monotheism. Though, in general the liturgical works contained more Hebrew than their North American counterparts, the prayerbooks kept Hebrew to a minimum. There is no evidence of any attempt to incorporate the Holocaust or the Establishment of the State of Israel into prayers or services.

With the arrival of the CCAR Gates of Prayer and the Bronstein Haggadah, the community ceased using the ANZUP

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[70]Ibid., pp. 76-78.

[71]Ibid., p.84.

Haggadah and Our Prayer Book. At present, all congregations of the ANZUPJ use the North American versions of the CCAR Gates of Prayer and Gates of Repentance.[72]

[72]According to a letter from Rabbi John S. Levi dated 3 January 1990.

CHAPTER FIVE

ARGENTINA

The Jewish community of Argentina is unlike any other in Latin America. It is larger, has more communal institutions and more modern denominations represented in its midst. Indeed, it is the only Latin American country where congregations which resemble American Conservative congregations have taken hold more successfully among liberal Jews than Reform/Progressive congregations. Today, there is only one functioning Reform/Progressive congregation in suburban Buenos Aires. But this was not always the case.

Argentina is also unique among Latin American countries in other ways. First, more so than most other Latin American countries, Argentina has absorbed immigrants from a variety of European countries, beginning with large waves of immigration in the late 1880's. Second, Argentina had a fairly long history of independence and attempts at democracy, dating from 1810. Third, there is a tradition of maintaining a separation of church and state in which the Argentine population takes great pride. During its democratic years the separation was instituted and during the Perón years (1946-1955, 1973-1976), it was upheld by the unionists who were outspoken against organized religion. This separation coupled with the diversity of immigrants fostered a fierce sense of

nationalism and religious secularism otherwise unknown in Latin America. Thus, while Catholicism is the predominant religion, it is not the state religion and most Argentines are secular rather than religious.[73]

It was to this environment that the first self-identified liberal Jews arrived from Germany. In October 1939, a group of German Jewish emigrés gathered in suburban Buenos Aires "to recreate the spiritual life they had left behind in Germany."[74] To this end they establish the Culto Israelita de Belgrano (CIB). The CIB's ritual practice was clearly German liberal, rather than North American Reform. There was no mixed seating, yet there was a mixed choir. Eventually, an organ was installed. There were never any B'not Mitzvah(בנות מצוה). Men always wore Kipot (כפות) and at morning services Talitot (טליתות). The official language of the synagogue community was German; liturgy, correspondence, bulletins and sermons were in German. Their rabbi was a graduate of the Hochschule.[75]

A second German liberal congregation , Lamroth HaKol was established in the northern suburbs of Buenos AIres in

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[73]More information regarding Argentinean ambience in which Jews settled can be found in Daniel Elazar, Jewish Communities in Frontier Societies, (NY: Holmes and Meier, 1983) and Robert Weisbrot, The Jews of Argentina from the Inquisition to Perón, (Philadelphia:Jewish Publication Society, 1979).

[74]Clifford Kulwin, "The Emergence of Progressive Judaism in South America." (Rabbinic Thesis, HUC-JIR, 1983), p. 20.

[75]Ibid., pp. 20-21.

1944. Because it was the only synagogue in the northern suburbs, its membership was rather diverse. Nevertheless it adhered to the German rite. Over time, some innovations were introduced: mixed seating, B'not Mitzvah (בנות מצוה) with Torah reading, and a mixed choir accompanied by an organ. Unlike the CIB, the members of Lamroth HaKol perceived their synagogue as an Argentine, rather than a transplanted German institution. Though this group feels connected to the World Union, the ties have never been formalized through affiliation.[76]

Thus Argentina's first liberal congregations do not exist today as representatives of the WUPJ in Argentina. Formed by German Jewish emigrés, these congregations' liturgies and style of prayer were strongly influenced by pre-war German liberal practices. The CIB served the needs of the immigrant generation, but never overcame entirely its "transplanted" identity. Finally, when a merger was necessary for continued survival, the members felt more comfortable merging with a more traditional Sephardic congregation than with Lamroth HaKol or the newly formed World Union congregation, Congregation Emanu-El.

A non-German-influenced liberal Jewish presence arrived in Argentina from the United States. In 1958 the Conservative movement initiated a synagogue. Four years later, in 1962, the executive director of the WUPJ, Rabbi William A.

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[76]Ibid., pp. 31ff.

Rosenthall, spent two months in Latin America, "to investigate the possibility of an expanded World Union program" there.[77] In 1963 a recent graduate of Hebrew Union College, Rabbi Haim Asa, went to Buenos Aires as an assistant to the Rabbi of the CIB. Since 1954, the CIB had unsuccessfully been searching for a successor for its rabbi.

Asa worked for the CIB arranging youth programs for approximately one year. In 1964, he went to work for the World Union in Buenos Aires. He began to hold services in his home, drawing on affiliated and non-affiliated, Ashkenazim and Sephardim. Within one year, Congregation Emanu-El had one hundred--fifty member families. In 1965 the congregation rented space and held a dedication ceremony. At the ceremony, the group's commitment to Reform Judaism was articulated in its description of the Jewish faith:

> "[the] essential principles of the Jewish faith are always alive and in spite of all controversy the external forms and manifestations of the religious group adapt themselves to the proper [sic] (particular) circumstances of our era.[78]

Thus, Argentine-born Jews responded to the new form of Jewish expression that the World Union introduced. With no nostalgic ties to Europe, and a desire to establish a non-traditional, non-European-identified Reform/Progressive Jewish presence, the members of Congregation Emanu-El looked to the

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[77]All of the historical information about the World Union affiliates in Argentina is condensed form the rabbinic thesis prepared by Rabbi Clifford M. Kulwin.

[78]Ibid., p. 42.

future. They were ready to commit themselves to the future of Judaism in Argentina and the next generation of Argentine Jews. The introduction of an extensive youth program with confirmation and camp were clear signs that the leaders wanted the youth to become familiar with Judaism, without their being

> "subject to the traditionalism of their fathers or the secularism of the general Jewish and non-Jewish environment in Argentina."[79]

At first the synagogue and liturgical forms of Congregation Emanu-El were not indigenous. In the early years the most influential factor in the development of the Congregation was its leadership. The first three rabbis to serve the congregation were graduates of Hebrew Union College who came to the congregation via the World Union. They brought with them notions of what was appropriate for a synagogue that reflected the dominant patterns of North American reform.

Thus, from the start, the congregation had mixed seating, an organ, equal participation for males and females and the wearing of <u>kipot</u> (כפות) was optional. To the present, the major service of the week, on Friday night, includes a Torah reading and sermon. There are no daily services.

The first liturgy used by the congregation, though, differed radically from what was used in mainstream North American Reform congregations, by virtue of the traditional nature of its Hebrew content. Until 1970, Rabbi Asa prepared

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[79]Ibid., p. 43.

mimeographed booklets for Shabbat and holidays. Subsequent rabbis introduced new materials, some of which was translated from North American published materials, others which were original works.

The first published materials appeared in 1970. As in Brazil, the community's first formalized liturgy was for the High Holy Days. The Machzorim (מחזורים) were prepared by Rabbis Klenicki and Graetz. These works reflect a unique fusion of traditionalism and innovation. The layout of the books is indicative of a desire to stress the Jewish rather than the secular. The books open right to left. The Hebrew book title is larger and bolder and appears above the transliterated Spanish name of the Holy Day for which the book is to be used. The World Union affiliation is noted on the cover. Hebrew titles appear above the Spanish for the different services and they are also used to identify the Shofar sounds.

It would seem that in an attempt to appeal to liberal Jews, whose only prior contact with synagogue-based Judaism was traditional, efforts were made to present the Hebrew prayers in a familiar, traditional form, while presenting an appealing, yet different, message in Spanish. Indeed, these works can be seen as transitional or introductory works. The Hebrew form and content of the services resembles that of the Einheitsgebetbuch; whereas the Spanish is essentially interpretive, in a style more akin to North American Reform.

Yet, the texts are not limited to traditional material; they contain works of contemporary Jewish writers as well. Furthermore the Machzorim (מחזורים) are laid out in such a way as to give the impression that its compilers had an eye to making them accessible to Jews who were not necessarily familiar with prayers. Numerous transliterations are provided. This may be an indication of the community's recognition of Hebrew illiteracy and desire for Hebrew to remain a language of prayer. Thus, by providing transliterations all participants have access to the Hebrew liturgy. The Machzorim (מחזורים) also have clear stage directions which identify which paragraphs are to be read by the congregation or rabbi and whether one is to sit or stand for a prayer.

There are some subtly didactic elements in the Machzorim (מחזורים). The Torah service, the prayer Unetaneh Tokef (ונתנה תוקף) and the Kiddush (קדוש), for example, have long introductions which contain historical and spiritually instructive information. Each of these introductions is to be read by the rabbi who, thus, assumes the role of instructor and explicator.

Rabbis Klenicki and Graetz demonstrate a great willingness to change prayers, both in Hebrew and in Spanish. For example, the traditional response to the Kedushah (קדושה) is changed from:

לעמתם ברוך יאמרו ברוך כבוד יי ממקומו ובדברי קדשך כתוב לאמר

to:

כבודו מלא עולם הוא אלהינו הוא אבינו הוא מלכנו הוא מושיענו.[88]

The majority of changes are in the Spanish where the "translations" can represent a radical departure from the Hebrew. Oftentimes the accompanying Spanish translation is much briefer than the Hebrew text and merely summarizes one of the ideas expressed in the prayer. Furthermore, the Spanish expurgates all references to the destruction of enemies, Resurrection and Messiah.

Many of the translations are altered to convey a universalistic message which the original Hebrew does not contain. For example, Shalom Rav (שלום רב) speaks of "us, all Israel and humanity;" the Kaddish (קדיש) prays for "abundant life and peace for us, Israel and humanity."

Thus, the liturgy presented in these first published liturgical works addressed two very different groups of Jews. First, those familiar with a traditional service could find familiar Hebrew liturgy. Second, less-traditional Jews or those Jews who were less familiar with traditional liturgy could find transliterated Hebrew, instruction about major parts of the service, and prayers in Spanish that were consistent with their modern sensibilities. The modern message had two different strains which reflected the dual identity of Argentine Jews. While the universalistic message

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[88] מחזור השלם לראש השנה, (Buenos Aires: Congregación Emanu-El, 1970), p. 35.

came through loudly, the Jewish particularlistic identity, which they possessed and which brought them to a synagogue in the first place, was affirmed.

The theology presented in these works is very liberal. God chose Israel from all nations to declare God's unity. God showed love for Israel by giving it laws and commandments so that through them Israel could find sense in its existence. God's creativity fills the universe and expresses God's wisdom. To be God-like, humans must be creative. God knows the future, yet humans are responsible for their actions and capable of change, Teshuvah (תשובה). God judges in order to correct. God offers eternal protection to and will not forsake Israel.

God gave the Torah, God's teaching, to the community of Israel. It is an eternal inheritance which contains moral law and promotes justice and human fraternity [sic]. It gives strength and courage to every generation as it inspires study and commitment to God's word. It expresses God's promise of spiritual redemption, not physical redemption, as it renews those who study it.

The community of Israel is connected to the Land of Israel, which is known as the Promised Land. The Land was the cradle of the Jewish Faith. It is a sanctified land that Jews, in all ages and places, remember with love and nostalgia. Outside and inside the Land, the People of Israel has always had a mission to be a light to the nations.

The State of Israel is seen as a symbol. Known exclusively by its Hebrew name Medinat Israel (מדינת ישראל), it is clearly distinguished from the people and the Land that bear the same name. Like the people, it is to be a light to the nations. Her reconstruction is understood as a metaphor for the reestablishment of the prophetic vision of justice, truth and peace. The path of Medinat Israel (מדינת ישראל) is expected to be one of peace and progress.

The Holocaust is also a powerful symbol. References are made to the fact that the Holocaust destroyed the physical world and tested the moral values of the civilized world. Contemporary Jews must not forget the memories of those who died for their belief in God, who are referred to as having committed Kiddush Hashem (קדוש השם). Instead, they must tirelessly strengthen their inheritance. In this way, only, will there be no posthumous victory for Hitler.[81]

To strengthen the inheritance one must demonstrate religious identification and adherence. To be religiously committed, one must be mature, creative and self-aware. In Argentina, particularly Buenos Aires, Freudian psychology and its derivatives have had a strong influence and have become part of everyday conceptualization and vocabulary among the well-educated. Thus, emphasis on self-awareness and the need to look into oneself might be an attempt to express religious

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[81]Though not noted anywhere in the Machzor מחזור, this is taken directly form Emil Fackenheim's writings on the Holocaust.

ideas in a language that is comprehensible to people unfamiliar with traditional religious vocabulary.

These liturgical works address individuals living in a secular society who are choosing to define themselves, albeit in a non-traditional manner, religiously. Their lives, as all people's, can be inspired by God and God's creativity. They can contribute to the world and are responsible to it and for it. Their goals are universal, but the means available to them, by virtue of being Jewish, are unique and defined by their special relationship with God. Adherence to Judaism is voluntary, yet undeniably positive on multiple levels: individual, communal and universal. The future is not separate from them; they contribute to it and shape it.

In 1973, the community published a Siddur (סדור); it was hardbound and therefore a "permanent" edition. The Libro de Oraciones was compiled and edited by Rabbi Klenicki. The prayerbook includes evening and morning services for weekdays and Shabbat, evening services for festivals, a special Yom Ha'atzmaut (יום העצמאות) service and special readings for festivals and remembrance of the Holocaust. It also contains a service for the house of mourning and prayers and readings for the home celebration for Welcoming the Shabbat and a ceremony of Farewell to the Saturday [sic]. The volume concludes with a section of modern meditations and readings and a section of Sabbath songs. This book, with such varied contents, is clearly intended for home and synagogue use.

The Table of Contents is a mixture of Spanish and transliterations. In this way it is possible to see which liturgical events are known primarily by their Hebrew names (Yom Ha'atzmaut (יום העצמאות), Yom Hashoah (יום השואה), and Shabbat (שבת), and which are known in translation (weekday, Festival, House of Mourning). It is noteworthy that a linguistic distinction is made between Sabbath celebration on Fridays and Saturdays. The term Shabbat is used exclusively for those things which pertain to Friday evening, whereas the Spanish word for Saturday is used for those services which are conducted on Saturday. This curious distinction could conceivably lead to a confusion about the duration of Shabbat.

Though the book opens right to left, an arrangement which could be construed as an indication of traditionalism, the cover, frontispiece and index are printed entirely in Spanish. The only distinctly Jewish marking on the cover is a modern menorah embossed above the congregation's name.

Only three years separate the publication of the Machzorim (מחזורים) and the Siddur (סדור), yet they reflect two very different liturgical spheres. The Machzorim (מחזורים) resemble the more traditional German liberal model; whereas as the Siddur (סדור) resembles the North American Reform approach to liturgical change. First, the services are abbreviated: there is no Musaf (מוסף) service and prayers such as the morning prayers, Birkot Hashachar (ברכות השחר) are not included. Second, there is much less Hebrew text, the primary

language of prayer is clearly Spanish.

Finally, the focus, like that of North American Reform, has been shifted. In the Libro de Oraciones the Shema (שמע), Avot (אבות) and Kedushah (קדושה), not the Tefilah (תפילה), are the central prayers. In some services, the Tefilah (תפילה) is reduced to a recitation of the first verses of Ps. 63, the Retzei (רצה), (which is translated as a statement of God's eternal love and a prayer of personal thanks), Shalom Rav (שלום רב), and a personal meditation. The Retzei (רצה) and V'Shamru (ושמרו) are the only two prayers from the traditional Tefilah (תפילה) which appear in Hebrew. Thus, the only Hebrew retained in the Tefilah (תפילה) is sung. Special prayers for Festivals and holidays are inserted immediately prior to the personal meditation. In each service there is a variety of Spanish texts for personal meditation.

As in the Machzorim (מחזורים), transliterations are included in the Libro de Oraciones. However, in this volume more prayers appear with some transliteration. It should be noted that the transliterations are often much briefer than the Hebrew prayer and correlate only with the first lines of a prayer.

Furthermore, the Hebrew prayers themselves have been subject to greater alteration than those in the Machzorim (מחזורים). As is the case in North American liturgy, negative references to non-Jews have been omitted. However, the alterations go well beyond the North American model, which

limits itself to omissions and word changes, but not additions. The newer Argentine liturgy, though, reflects the universalism that existed only in Spanish translations of the 1970 Machzoimr (מחזורים). Thus, the Aleinu (עלינו) and Hashkivenu (השכיבנו) conclude with the words כל יושבי תבל.[82] Shalom Rav (שלום רב) says על ישראל עמך as well as וטוב בעניך לברך את הברית. The festival Kiddush (קדוש) replaces the phrase that underscores chosenness with ליחד שמו בעולם כולו. Hebrew is thus retained as a language of prayer, while the Hebrew prayers are altered to reflect the attitudes and values of the community.

Thus, this collection of prayers reflects a variety of influences and goals. First, it appears that there is a desire to retain Hebrew as a language of prayer. Second, the traditional versions of prayers are not seen as sacrosanct and thus, as with the Spanish, they are subject to alteration. These alterations reflect the universalistic desires and Jewish particularistic identity of those participating in the worship service. Prayer is to be relevant; references are made to the contemporary world and readings from Jewish thinkers of all ages are potential sources of inspiration.

The main service is clearly on Friday night. This is the only service in the book that reads through as a cohesive unit from beginning to end. All others refer to tit for the Aleinu

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[82] Libro de Oraciones, (Buenos Aires: Congregación Emanu-El, 1973), p. 18.

(עלינו) and Kaddish (קדיש). Indeed, services are only held Saturday mornings when there is a Bar/Bat Mitzvah (בר/בת מצוה).[83]

The theology contained in the Libro de Oraciones has shifted significantly. It is much less traditional than that of the Machzorim (מחזורים). The thought of Martin Buber seems to have been very influential. Attending services is an opportunity to encounter God. Individuals and the community 'dialogue' with God. 'Relationship' is the key word used when discussing the Covenant between God and Israel. All of these notions are reinforced by the many meditations throughout the work which are excerpts from Buber's writings.

The perception of Torah is a fusion of Buber and classical Reform. The community of Israel's vocation is defined by the Law which gives meaning to its existence. It is often used synonymously with "ethical teaching."[84] It is life-giving for those who accept its precepts and its ways are wise (not pleasant), according to the translation of Eitz Chayim (עץ חיים).[85] The community of Israel has a mission, to protect religion everywhere and bring justice to the world.[86] Torah is a guide to future peace and justice, toward which God and people work together.

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[83]Kulwin, p. 47.

[84]Libro de Oraciones, p. 40.

[85]Ibid., p. 100.

[86]Ibid., pp. 85-86.

There is, however, a stress on the individual. In addition to the abundance of Buberian reflections on the individual's relationship with God, there are many meditations that focus on themes such as personal growth and life's meaning being found first within oneself. Underscoring the personal seems consistent with the highly individualistic environment for which Argentina has been noted. In Argentina an important concept that informs existence is

> "Personalismo...man in the concrete becomes the center of the universe."[87]

This area seems to be another example of how the liberal liturgy of Argentina has begun to adapt to its unique environment.

The Libro de Oraciones still makes a clear distinction among the Community of Israel, the Land of Israel, and the State of Israel. This distinction is probably due to linguistic usage in South America today.[88] By and large, the Jewish community is known as "La comunidad Israelita", not "La comunidad judia", which would literally translate to "the Jewish community." While the native Jewish population is known as "La comunidad Israelita", it is not "La comunidad de Israel" - "the Community of Israel", whose members dwell around the world. Indeed in various prayers, the Hebrew word Yisrael (ישראל), when it appears alone, is not simply

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[87]Daniel Elazar, Jewish Communities in Frontier Societies, p. 77.

[88]See page 33 for more details on this issue.

translated as Israel, but as the community of Israel.

The community of Israel has existed for millennia in a variety of lands. Its ancestral land was the Land of Israel. Jerusalem is a symbol and prayers for its restoration express a desire to reinstate the teachings of the Prophets. The State of Israel is linked to the ancient Land of Israel and is, therefore, identified as the "cradle of our faith".[89]

Yom Ha'atzmaut (יום העצמאות) is a celebration of redemption and the return of the sovereign nation--Israel. The special readings include both a prayer for Argentina and the State of Israel. The service includes a singing of Hatikvah (התקוה), which appears with a full transliteration and a "translation." The ambivalence of Argentinean Jews toward Israel is expressed in the "translation." The millennial dream of establishing our own country in our own land and to be a free people is not mentioned. Instead, it speaks only of the hope of liberty in Jerusalem. Exactly what this refers to is not clear.

The Holocaust is not recalled in daily or Sabbath Worship. References are made to it only during the special service for the remembrance of the Shoah (שואה). This special service makes reference to both the Warsaw ghetto uprising and Kristallnacht; it is not clear if they are remembered on the same occasion or on separate occasions. The philosophy of Fackenheim is no longer invoked. Instead, the problems of

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[89]Ibid., p. 125.

trying to understand and integrate the Holocaust are addressed. Readings speak of suffering, frustration and hardened hearts, the need not to forget and the possibility of forgiving. God's hiding and remoteness are mentioned and prayers are read to express the hope that the current generation will not respond to the Holocaust by distancing it from the Jewish faith. In a manner reminiscent to classical American Reform, future hope rests on the universalistic redemptive mission of the People of Israel.

The special Spanish readings for holidays reflect the concerns and orientation of the community. The primary concern of these sections is educational. The readings are highly didactic, providing historical and ritual explanations and clearly are aimed at inspiring people to carry on the traditions about which they have been instructed. To this end, the readings appeal to the modern orientation of the members of the community by reinterpreting the holidays. Following are brief summaries of the current meanings for holidays with which liberal Argentine Jews are familiar.

Pesach (פסח) is a celebration of the Exodus which represents the beginning of our community, "the community of Israel." Those who celebrate Pesach (פסח) are attempting to relive the spiritual redemption of the ancestors. They can achieve this by developing knowledge of their heritage and by constructing faith based on creed. Thus, the holiday has a dual purpose: it is to produce memories and to inspire future

religious expression. Contemporary Jews are to constructing and creating.[90]

Shavuot (שבועות) is the occasion to remember the Covenant, the beginning of the Jewish mission to be God's testimony. Á la Buber, the experience at Sinai was an "encounter." Each generation is to reaffirm its devotion to God and Torah, by showing loyalty to commandments and by teaching its children to love and revere God.[91]

Sukkot (סוכות) is the time to work for peace and freedom from all kinds of oppression. It is also, the time, to offer ourselves as first fruits to God.

Simchat Torah (שמחת תורה) is the time to rejoice in the Torah, as liberal Jews understand it. Jews in every generation are obliged to make the Torah their own, through study, knowledge and reinterpretation. Reinterpretation is the key to Torah retaining its meaning.

Chanukah (חנוכה) is a reminder that our inheritance is a tradition of faith and liberty. The Maccabees are thus transformed into individuals who proclaimed liberty of conscience and worship in a world that did not know the basics of human respect. A new translation of the Shehechianu (שהחיינו) appears with the candle blessings. It reads: "You keep us strong of spirit." At a time when a military government controlled Argentina, this message, no doubt, had

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[90]Ibid., p. 106.

[91]Ibid., p. 107.

a special meaning.

Purim (פורים) is a time to remember God's saving power in the past and God's saving power today. By recalling the oppression of ancestors, Jews feel a solidarity with oppressed people around the world and work for their betterment.

Liberty of conscience and worship, working to end oppression, reinterpreting the Torah so that it is meaningful, reaffirming ties with one's Jewish heritage and committing oneself to its continuance in the future are all part of the liberal Argentine Jewish agenda of the early 1970's. The inclusion of these readings and the reinterpretation of holidays that they represent is indicative of a willingness to depart from traditional explanations, and meanings of prayers, in order to convey messages that are deemed vital and relevant.

In the 1980's the community got a new rabbi, Reuben Nisenboim, and began to use some creative lituryg. In 1981 a new Haggadah (הגדה) appeared. The holiday is a time to focus on the themes of destruction, liberation and redemption. Pesach (פסח) is a reminder of the Holocaust; in every generation someone has arisen to plan our Holocaust. We must remember those who died, the Jews and righteous gentiles. In ancient Israel, the Jews' liberation was due to their own efforts; they liberated themselves. Freedom is still not complete until we care for others as well as ourselves. Therefore, we must pray for peace and for the Jews of silence.

A Fifth Cup of Wine, the cup of future redemption, is included in the seder. The prayer recited over the Fifth Cup of Wine states: וצונו לחדש תקות תגאולה, which says that God commanded us to renew the hope of redemption. However, the "translation" does not include an image of a "commanding God". Instead, "God permits us to renew our hope in redemption." This represents an important departure from the prayers that appeared in 1970 and 1973.

In 1985 a special High Holy Day Service was compiled for children. This work contains Hebrew, transliterations and Spanish. It is an abbreviated service and stresses universalistic aspirations. The traditional Book of Life, for example, is transformed into the Book of Life, Health, Love, Understanding and Peace. The Shofar is the reminder of the peaceful world that is desired.

These last two works underscore the community's commitment to create liturgy. This commitment is not restricted to synagogue worship and Shabbat observance. In fact, it seems that in lieu of a formal Rabbi's Manual, liturgy has been created for life cycle events.

At present, there are separate pamphlets for each life cycle event which bear transliterated Hebrew titles for the events. The abundance of materials indicates a desire to convey the message that Judaism is an integral part of life. The services draw on Jewish and non-Jewish sources and stress a variety of themes. All of these religious acts are

understood as affirmations of the Covenant and represent the desire of the participants to be "co-participants" with God in the creative process which will ultimately achieve universalistic ends.

Brit Milah (ברית מילה) is thus the time when a male child is physically admitted into the Covenant. The parents perform the circumcision, a physical sign, with the hope that it will later become imprinted on the heart as well. The parents acknowledge their participation in the miracle and mystery of creation and give thanks for the gift of life. The parents' goal is to help the child grow, mature and transform himself physically and spiritually during a long and creative life. The child thus may consecrate his life to recreating God's world--loving, helping and responding to other human beings. Thus he will fulfill the Covenant of Abraham which is intended to achieve a better world through justice, love, creativity and peace.

Prayers are recited by both parents in Hebrew (no transliterations are provided). The traditional exchange between father and Mohel (מוהל) is replaced by a statement by both parents of their continued commitment to the Covenant. Thus, the ceremony serves as admission for the child into the Covenant and a public affirmation of faith for the parents.

The community has instituted a new ceremony known as Brit Kiddush Hachayim (ברית קדוש החיים). This ceremony is the first clear indication of the community's struggle with exclusionary

language and practice. One ceremony is used for male and female children to admit them into the Covenant and give them Hebrew names. This ceremony is primarily a replication of the Brit Milah (ברית מילה) ceremony, minus the circumcision for females. Thus, through this ceremony boys and girls are admitted into the Brit Kiddush Hachayim (ברית קדוש חיים), but only boys are admitted into the Covenant of Abraham.

This ceremony and its liturgy represent a major shift in liturgical creativity. First, as noted above, a new gender-equal ceremony has been created. Second, new liturgy has been created as well. The first liturgical innovation is the inclusion of the Matriarchs, albeit only for a prayer recited for female offspring. It should also be noted that this prayer, recited by the Rabbi, is not translated and therefore it is unlikely that its novelty is appreciated by the lay participants.

The second liturgical innovation is the creation of new prayers in Hebrew and Spanish.

> ברוך אתה יי אלהי ישראל מן העולם ועד העולם
> ויאמר כל העם אמן והלל ליי.
>
> Blessed is the Lord [sic] who has made miracles in his [his] world and blessed [his] glorious Name and his [sic] Power which fills this Universe. Amen.
>
> אני יי ואתנך לברית עם לאור גויים כי נר מצוה ותורה אור. ברוך אתה יי המאיר לעולם כלו בכבודו.
>
> The Lord [sic] has made a Covenant with us with the goal that we as a people will be a light to the nations. In Your Light we see Light, and the Light of Your face, we encounter Your Presence.
> Blessed are You, oh God, that You illumine all of the Universe with the Energy of Your love.

The conversion ceremony includes Milah (מילה) and Tevilah (טבילה). The immersion is understood as a symbol of the beginning of one's submersion into the religion of the people of Israel. A document is read that is later signed which explains the process that the convert has gone through and will continue to follow after the ceremony. In the document, the convert renounces his/her former faith and affirms his/her singular commitment to Judaism and the people of Israel. He/She recognizes the ceremony as the culmination of a process that began with the study of beliefs, values and observances and included acceptance of the Torah. The document affirms that the convert is admitted as a full member of the Jewish community. It contains three promises that the convert makes: 1) to establish a Jewish home, which is defined as one that is in accordance with the moral and spiritual values of the Jewish people; 2) to participate actively in the life of the synagogue and the Jewish community; and 3) to raise children as Jews. Thus, not only is the individual pledging him/herself to Judaism, but he/she is pledging that his/her descendants will be Jews as well.

Liturgically, the service for conversion has a few components. The convert recites the Shema (שמע), which is provided in transliteration. The rabbi recites a Mi Sheberach (מי שברך) and Kiddush (קדוש), prior to giving the individual a Hebrew name. Finally, the convert recites an abbreviated version of Edmond Fleg's "Why I am a Jew," followed by the

blessings recited prior to the reading of Torah.

Confirmation is marked by a special service known as Kabbalat Hatorah (קבלת התורה). During this ceremony teenagers affirm that as adults they accept the Torah and that they intent to continue to uphold it. This is not in lieu of a Bar/Bat Mitzvah (בר\בת מצוה). Indeed, as in North America, it seems to imply that a child of 13 is, just that--a child, and thus adult acceptance of the Torah must be marked by a different ceremony.

Apparently there is a wish to mark both engagement and marriage with religious ceremonies. It is interesting that engagement has retained or reclaimed its traditional role as a religiously ritualized ceremony. However, the ceremonies that currently exist are almost identical. They contain a wide variety of modern readings related to relationships and partnerships. They stress the couple's need to strive to function as a unit comprised of two distinct individuals.

The Shevah Berakhot (שבע ברכות) are recited in their entirety at the marriage ceremony and 5 of the 7 are recited at the engagement ceremony. The traditional Hebrew is retained in most of them, but the Spanish is altered. For example, the first benediction ends with the words "עושה מעשה בראשית", which are translated "the mystery of creation." The benediction that ends with the words "יוצר האדם" is translated with inclusive language, "human being, center of this creative mystery." Buberian thought

surfaces in the translation of the phrase "את האדם בצלמו" which is rendered "human being, man and woman in your image and likeness and implanted in them eternality and that which is divine in encounters." Finally, "שככה לו בעולמו" is translated "for having created marvelous creatures like these two in the world." Thus the Shevah Berakhot (שבע ברכות) have been transformed to be more inclusive, to speak of creativity, mystery and encounter, and to mention the nature of the bride and groom.

During the ceremony, rings are exchanged following the recitation of the traditional Hebrew phrases. The words recited by the man appear only in Hebrew, whereas those recited by the woman appear in transliteration. Also, the liturgy for these ceremonies offers a definition for a "sacred moment". A "sacred moment" is one which makes an individual or community "co-participants" with God.

The ceremony for divorce speaks of the home of happiness that the couple had wished to establish when they entered under the chupah (חופה), and acknowledges that it never was. According to this ceremony, their pain and anguish signify the end of their Covenant of Marriage.

This ceremony indicates a departure from traditional liturgy, and, more significantly, it demonstrates a willingness to create new rituals. The divorce ceremony focuses on a piece of paper which explains that the former spouses are free to enter a new phase of life. The rabbi

splits the paper and gives each former spouse a half. The rabbi then expresses the wish that each of the ex-spouses will love again, a sign that divinity is within them.

The variety of services that have been written and published by Congregación Emanu-El attest to its desire to have liturgy and rituals that speak to its members, that express its own orientation and are appropriate for all occasions that might have a Jewish orientation or component. The most recent liturgy reflects a willingness to change the Hebrew language and accompanying translations.

The liturgy expresses the concerns and issues of liberal Jewish living in a society that stresses individualism. It offers interpretations and reformulations of Jewish ideas that can have meaning for contemporary Argentine Jews. As individuals and as a community the Argentine liberal Jews define themselves by their relationship with God, their active co-participation in the creative process that will lead to justice and liberty for all of the inhabitants of the earth.

Over the years, liberal Argentinean liturgy has experienced three distinct phases. The first was clearly transplanted German liberal. The second, resembled North American reform in its radical departure from the focus and content of a service. The intersection of these two different influences was most apparent in the High Holy Day liturgy used during the second phase, which was considerably more traditional than the daily liturgy.

Finally, Argentinean liberal Jews have entered a phase that is no longer clearly derivative, either liturgically or ritually. New forms of expression and new rituals are being developed. Their prayer language reflects the world-view and contemporary concepts that are prevalent among contemporary Argentinean liberal Jews.

CHAPTER SIX

BRAZIL

The liberal Jewish community of Brazil was began during the 1930's by German Jews who sought refuge from the Nazi regime. During the pre-war and war years, two major communities developed in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. The Jews of Rio de Janeiro formed the Associação Religiosa Israelita (ARI) and those of San Paulo established the Congregação Israelita Paulista (CIP). Though separated geographically and led independently, the two groups identified as sister congregations and experienced similar developmental patterns.[92]

The German Jewish refugees arrived with their own liturgy, the Einheitsgebetbuch edited by Seligman, Elbogen and Volgelstein, published in Germany in 1929. They retained this liturgy and used German as their vernacular language of prayer until 1949.

During its first two decades, the Brazilian Jewish community experienced two major changes which motivated its leaders to compile new liturgy. First, by the end of the war, German was no longer the primary language of large segments

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[92] For a fuller discussion of the history of these communities see Clifford M. Kulwin, "The Emergence of Progressive Judaism in South America" (Rabbinic Thesis: HUC-JIR, 1983), chapter 3.

of the Jewish community. Among the Germans, although the leaders remained German born and bred, the second or Brazilian-born generation and the younger members of the immigrant generation were comfortable with Portuguese. Furthermore, the post-war influx of Italian Jewish refugees forced the community to integrate a significant number of Jews who were not familiar with the German language or culture.[93] These two segments of the population were not well-served by a Hebrew--German prayerbook.

Second, the trauma of the Holocaust had a significant impact on the German Jewish leadership of the Brazilian Jewish community. The devastation of the Holocaust forced those members of the Jewish community, who had not done so already, to give up any vestige of hope of returning to Germany. Now they made a full committment to Brazil as their 'Patria'--Homeland. They and their children announced through their prayers that Brazil had become the land to which their physical and religious futures were bound.

> "In the ruins of our sacred European communities we have tried to save the eternal moral and spiritual treasures and transplant them in Brazilian soil, as a testimony to our physical and religious survival."[94]

Thus, the changing demography and linguistic base of the

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[93] Ibid. p. 7. The linguistic diversity is apparent in the explanation for the system of transliteration which indicates a letter or group of letters and then explains the similar pronunciations in German, Portuguese, Spanish and English!

[94] Machsor: Livro de Rezas para os Dias Sagrados de Rosh Hashanah - Yom Kippur (Sao Paulo - Rio de Janeiro, 1949).

Brazilian community, as well as the impact of the Holocaust and the birth of Medinat Yisrael (מדינת ישראל) form the twin axes around which liturgical reform developed.

In the post-war period, the Rabbis of the two groups, Rabbi Heinrich (Henrique) Lemle and Rabbi Fritz Pinkuss prepared the community's first indigenous prayerbooks: Machsor: Livro de Rezas para os Dias Sagrados de Rosh Hashanah--Yom Kipur (São Paulo--Rio de Janeiro, 1949) and Sidur: Livro de Rezas para todo o Ano Israelita (São Paulo--Rio de Janeiro, 1953).

The new prayerbooks were the result of a collaborative effort.[95] Faced with a community that was heterogeneous with regard to religious knowledge, practice and adherence,[96] Rabbis Lemle and Pinkuss were intent upon producing prayerbooks that could be used by all sectors of the community. This goal was reminiscent of that which produced the Einheitsgebetbuch and the prayerbooks of 1872 prepared by Rabbi Manuel Joel of Breslau. Indeed, the new Brazilian Jewish prayerbooks were derivatives of these earlier works. The publication of the prayerbooks was privately funded.[97]

The books were planned and compiled by Rabbis Lemle and

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[95] The two rabbis "would prepare sections individually and then send them to the other for critique." Kulwin, p. 143, footnote 8.

[96] For a fuller discussion of the development of European liturgies, particularly the Einheitsgebetbuch and the Joel prayerbooks see Petuchowski, Prayerbook.

[97] The Klabin family is thanked on p. 6 of the סדור.

Pinkuss to achieve common goals:

> "to introduce in our Country the religious liturgy for the entire year in the original Hebrew text with a Portuguese translation. The theological and editorial principles that guided us, are indicated in the two books...we recognize our old aspiration of introducing into our homes a special composite of prayers for the hours and the celebrations which stand out in domestic and family life...in our part may we have contributed to maintaining access in our communities, our homes, and most of all in the hearts of our youth, the sacred call of the faith of Israel."[98]

The religious heterogeneity of Brazilian Jewry is clearly reflected in its first generation of indigenous prayerbooks. Certain liturgical and physical aspects of these works made them accessible only to traditional twentieth--century Jews, whereas other aspects address Jews who were essentially unfamiliar with the basics of that very tradition. A few examples should clarify this interesting dichotomy.

In form and content, the Machsor (מחזור) and Sidur (סדור) are similar to the Einheitsgebetbuch, with Portuguese rather than German translations. Yet, the Table of Contents, with its Portuguese titles and Hebrew transliterations in parenthesis (i.e. Noites [Ma'ariv]) reflects an assumption that there is a lack of familiarity with the service and its Hebrew terminology.

Structurally, too, the books give a message of traditionalism. For example, they open right to left and the only words on the bindings are Hebrew. In the Machsor (מחזור)

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[98] Siddur, Preface to first edition, 1953.

Hebrew and Portuguese are on alternate pages, with the Portuguese seemingly lined up parallel to the section of Hebrew which is translated. In the Sidur (סדור), in an attempt to compensate for the variations in religious practice and liturgical preferences of the communities, different Hebrew versions for many prayers appear side by side. This format is consistent with the precedent set in the Einheitsgebetbuch. Nevertheless, in both works the translations are often not literal, some prayers are barely translated and others elaborate themes that are not central to the Hebrew prayers themselves.

Furthermore, typically, traditional prayers appear in their entirety in Hebrew without transliterations as do the Torah and Haftarah readings for the holidays. In counterdistinction, "stage directions" and explanations appear in Portuguese and are often lengthy.[99]

Finally, while prayers are included for all "traditional" rituals and ritual objects: hand washing, tefillin, talit etc., the prayerbooks assume no knowledge of them on the part of the Jews using the books. Rather, they contain directions related to how and when prayers should be recited as well as explanations about the history and 'meaning' of specific

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[99] This is true in both the Hebrew and Portuguese texts in the Siddur סדור; whereas in the Machzor מחזור the Portuguese stage directions appear only on the Portuguese text pages and they are much more abundant and detailed than the occasional Hebrew "stage direction" contained within the Hebrew text.

prayers[100].

Furthermore, it is apparent from Portuguese explanations that the prayerbooks assume no knowledge of ritual objects and symbols. The most striking example of this is the lengthy introduction in Portuguese to the Shofar service. First, the rabbi prays that the "sacred act of blowing the Shofar" will affect people's hearts and firm up their convictions. Then, in parenthesis there is an explanation of the historical use of the Shofar, the use of the Shofar in the State of Israel to signal the start of Shabbat, and the use of the Shofar on New Year's Day to "awaken the conscience and to call for the return of all of the community of Israel." [101]

Thus, the books clearly reflect a careful balancing act which attempts to present the 'traditional' while not setting it up as inaccessible to those who were unfamiliar with Jewish rituals and practices. Yet, by and large, the recitation of prayers in Hebrew was possible only for those who were schooled in Hebrew, as no transliterations for entire phrases or prayers appeared for any of the synagogue-based liturgy.

The Sidur (סדור) is as comprehensive as the title indicates. It includes readings and prayers for daily, Shabbat and holiday services as well as life-cycle events. It also contains prayers for non-religious special occasions, such as retirement and graduation. Thus, its contents

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[100] Siddur, See Tachanun תחנון, p. 87.

[101] Machsor p. 175ff.

emcompass a prayerbook and a rabbi's manual. This is consistent with the traditional style which did not designate life-cycle ceremonies as moments which necessitated a rabbinic presence. This could be a reflection of the traditional bent of some members of the communities and/or geographic and demographic realities: there was a finite number of rabbis available to serve the Jews throughout the country.

The life-cycle liturgy contained in the Sidur (סדור) is almost entirely in Hebrew, with no Portuguese translations. Contrary to the rest of the work, these ceremonies contain transliterations of key phrases and statements. The ritualization of life as a Jew was to be accompanied by doing Jewish things. The rest of the book would indicate that the average congregant would not understand the meaning of the Hebrew prayers without translation. Yet here, one can deduce that the recitation of the appropriate Hebrew phrases, even if in transliteration, rather than in translation, made the moments of Chanukat Habayit (חנוכת הבית), Kiddushin (קדושין), Brit (ברית) truly Jewish.

The special Portuguese readings for the holidays emphasize some of the major concerns of the community. On Pesach (פסח), the connection to generations past is underscored:

> "You remembered the promise to the Patriarchs,...Like our parents we observe the festival of liberation, the ceremony of SEDER and

sing hymns." [102]

On Shavuot (שבועות), the community's unique blend of particularism and universalism can be seen. Only the Jews were at Sinai to experience the Revelation; nevertheless, the 10 commandments are the inheritance of all civilized humanity.[103]

Sukkot (סוכות) is the time to remember God's protection and help in reaching the Promised, fertile land. It is also the time to recall and participate in the pilgrimage of the ancestors to the Temple. In lieu of a Temple and an altar upon which to place their fruits, Jews today can go to synagogue on Shavuot (שבועות) to ask for future blessing and to express their appreciation for the fruits of their labor.[104]

The most striking holiday insertion in the 1966 republished Sidur (סדור) is the inclusion of readings for Yom Ha'atzmaut (יום העצמאות). The readings express the dual commitment of Brazilian Jews: their spiritual unity with Israel, Zion restored, the birthplace of Israel and the prophetic universalist vision of peace and fraternity; alongside their allegiance to Brazil and other free

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[102] Siddur סדור, p. 320.

[103] "On this day we were at the foot of Mount Sinai attending the Revelation of the 10 commandments, receiving holy instructions...Descendants we keep our heritage celebrating Shavuot reading again the 10 commandments -which are known by all civilized humanity." Ibid., p. 320-321.

[104] Ibid., p. 321.

countries.[105]

Thus, through holiday celebrations, a Brazilian liberal Jew is reminded of the major Jewish themes of life. A Jew is responsible for continuing the age-old religion. A Jew has a special relationship with God. The synagogue is the central institution for ritualized communication with God, as was the Temple in Ancient Israel. Finally, a Jew feels dual allegiances to the Patria and to the State of Israel. The physical bond is to the Patria and a spiritual bond to the prophetic universalist vision is expressed toward the State of Israel.

The Portuguese sections of the Sidur (סדור) and Machsor (מחזור) emphasize a number of major themes which have a poignancy and urgency for Jews with strong ties to Europe immediately following the Holocaust. Above all, God is the source of eternal blessing, the source of justice, good and truth. Despite recent events, the people Israel is charged to remember that God chose Israel from all peoples and gave the House of Israel Torah in order for them to understand the Law of justice. The Torah was given to Israel to enable it to survive when strong nations wish to enslave or destroy them; it had just proven itself capable of doing this for them and Jews around the world. The Torah teaches Israel not to trust in violence and aggression, rather in justice, truth, goodness and compassion. The Torah teaches Israel to long for

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[105] Ibid., pp. 306-308.

and work as collaborators with God working for the establishment of the Reign of Heaven, Malchut Shemayim (מלכות שמים),[106] a world of love in which people live in peace and mutual understanding, trust and fraternity. Times of tragedy do not lead to despair because the Torah, the proof of God's love, endures. God has promised and will deliver salvation.[107] Humans cannot know what the future holds, only God can. Therefore, humans must ask God to help them through the trials of life and to inspire them to promote fraternity [fraternity] and peace. Jews can perpetuate the "Jewish Life Style," and use it to govern their lives as did generations past.[108]

Humans were created to be "productive organisms;"[109] they have a mission. Humans are to work to make the world better each day in order to bring the True Divine Reign, the Messianic Era: a time when all beings will be united by God's teaching of peace, justice and mutual understanding.[110]

In these prayerbooks there is great stress on intelligence and wisdom. Torah brings wisdom to the primitive

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[106] Ibid. p. 15. This appears in capitalized transliteration in the Portuguese text.

[107] Siddur סדור and Machsor מחזור Barchu through Amidah.

[108] Siddur סדור, p. 165.

[109] Kiddush קדוש translation for אשר ברא אלהים לעשות.

[110] Ibid. See translations for the עלינו and קדיש pp. 37-39.

being.[111] Torah is truth and all intelligent people seek the truth. God's prophets are "proclaimers of truth and justice".

This theological message answers the concerns of a community composed of Jews whose physical worlds and world perceptions had been radically and irreparably shaken by the Holocaust. Thus, the eternality of their special relationship as Jews with God is underscored. Their own lives were proof that the Torah and Israel could survive. Furthermore, their messianic aspirations, for a better world here on earth, were not lost, despite the most recent horror. To the contrary, it was still attainable through pacific and cooperative means. At a time when much of their lives, physically and spiritually, was in ruin, they proclaimed their message of hope against despair.

The worthiness of those who identify as Jews and act as "good Jews" should is highlighted in the "translation" for the Mi Sheberach (מי שברך). Traditionally said for the one who read from Torah, the Portuguese "translation" is said for all those who attend services or do that which is deemed praiseworthy: who came to synagogue to pray, who in sincerity dedicate themselves to Torah study, who dedicate themselves to the vital matters of the community and to the reconstruction of Israel and do beneficent acts.[112] The prayer wishes for these people that they may live to see a world made

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[111] Ibid. p. 149.

[112] Ibid., p. 159.

peaceful through the acceptance of justice and truth and Zion restored.

The Messiah and restoration of Zion are still invoked in the prayers, both Hebrew and Portuguese. These longings are connected to the world of justice and truth, not to the new State of Israel. This is made clear through the the prayer for the State which expresses the hope that Israel's leaders will be guided by God's love and counsel [113]. The land is the Promised Land, but the State is a state, not the messianic dream fulfilled.

Israel and The House of Israel are used as appellations for the Jewish people; whereas the State is always identified as The State of Israel. Separate prayers are said for the people and the State. Both the prayer for the People of Israel and the State of Israel follow the prayer for Brazil, in the Portuguese version. Whereas in the Hebrew version Israel and the People of Israel come first!

These first indigenous liturgical works highlight the two poles of hope which guided the post-war Brazilian Jewish liberal community. First, through its reiteration of segments of liberal pre World War II theology, its dependence on universalism is made clear. Brazil, a democratic nation, is identified as the new homeland, the Patria. It is as Brazilians that they will work for the universal goals of justice and truth. Second, the new focus on the Jewish

[113] Ibid. pp. 172-173.

component of their existence and their hopes and commitment to continue their life as Jews and Jewish life in general, emphasizes the particularistic vision of this post-war community.

Though these two elements, the universal and the particularistic are not always in harmony, they were two ways to express their singular commitment to the future. In different ways, they expressed their unending hope for the Jewish people and humanity, despite the tragedies and existential questions that resulted from the Holocaust.

Hope and commitment to the future were the two main factors in the composition of a separate children's prayerbook Vamos Rezar שער התפילה (Rio de Janeiro, 1959). In the preface, Rabbi Lemle identifies the children as the future generation and acknowledges the lack of Jewish content in the homes in which many of the children are being raised. The prayerbook is intended to introduce the children, as well as the family, to Jewish prayers and rituals so that they may carry on the tradition.

The book's layout underscores the fact that Jewish prayers are said at all times of the day, on all days: holidays and non- holidays, at home and in the synagogue. A Jew's life is to be ritualized in specifically Jewish ways. Indeed, prayers for special events of a totally secular nature, i.e. a prayer before a test, a prayer for mother on Mother's Day, can be ritualized in a "Jewish" way, as

presented in a Jewish prayerbook.

Many of the prayers are accompanied by pictures of the ritual objects and the people that would be involved. Each section is preceded by a page with pictures of the objects associated with the particular Jewish celebration and their Hebrew names.

By and large, the book does not assume that the children can read Hebrew. The inclusion of transliterations for the major prayers which are written in oversized Hebrew, would indicate a desire to ritualize Jewish life in the Jewish language--Hebrew.

The innovations introduced in this book go far beyond its physical layout. Contrary to the prayerbook for adults published only a few years prior, the liturgical prototype is no longer the Einheitsgebetbuch, but the North American UPB. The Tefilah (תפילה) is not the central prayer. Instead, the Shema (שמע) and V'Ahavta (ואהבת) become the locus of prayer. In the children's prayerbook the Shema (שמע) appears in oversized, bold print, in both Hebrew and Portuguese, thus setting it apart visually from all other prayers.

The younger generation is also exposed to and raised with new interpretations of holidays which were not included in the adults' Sidur (סדור). The most striking novelty of this prayerbook is its strong emphasis and focus on the State of Israel and Zionism. For example, Chanukah (חנוכה) is both a time to recall an ancient historical event and a time to

reflect on the achievement of the newly established Jewish state.[114] Indeed, a brand new interpretation is offered for the lighting of the Chanukah Menorah (חנוכיה): the candles lit on odd days are said to remind us of past triumphs and those of the even days to remind us of today's test to conquer the land, their home.[115]

This focus on the State of Israel is reinforced by the inclusion of a complete section of Songs of Israel, following the prayer services. This section contains songs of the Chalutzim (חלוצים). It is preceded by a page of illustrations showing ships and oil wells, as well as kibbutzniks harvesting. The title underneath the pictures says, in Hebrew and Portuguese, "May we be able to see the return of God to Zion". Despite all of this, the book does not include special prayers or a service for Yom Ha'atzmaut (יום העצמאות).

Thus, the first generation of Jews raised on Brazilian Jewish liturgy would share certain concepts and beliefs about God and Judaism with their parents, yet perceive of the Jewish world in a different and novel way. They would speak of God as Creator and Protector of all. Being Jewish would be presented as part of daily life--whether at home or in synagogue. Whereas the adults' prayerbook stressed participation in things Jewish as a means of affirming a connectedness with past and future generations, such

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[114] Vamos Rezar, pp. 78-79.

[115] Ibid. p.79,

participation was, in the Children's prayerbook, a way to feel a connectedness to family, friends and the community.

The most striking difference in orientation for the children was predicated on the existence of a Jewish State in Israel. The pictures of Israel's symbols and songs were presented in the same way as ritual objects and special songs for Shabbat and holidays. Furthermore, children were taught to associate holidays with the conquest and establishment of the modern State of Israel. The State of Israel, was clearly meant to be central to the younger generations' identity as Jews.

Between 1976 and 1981 three new prayerbooks were introduced in the Sao Paulo community: O Nosso Shabat: Na Sinagoga, No Lar E No Movimento Juvenil (Sao Paulo, 1976); As Nossas Festas: As Rezas de Pessach, Shavuot, Sucot Shemini Atzeret e Simchat-Tora (Sao Paulo, 1979); and A Nossa Semana: Rezas e Textos para todos os dias, assim como para "Rosh-Chodesh, "Iom-Ha'atzmaut", "Tish'a B'av", "Chanuca", "Purim" e Datas Familiares, (Sao Paulo, 1981). These works were prepared by the rabbis of the Sao Paulo community and communal leaders.[116]

The prefaces of these prayerbooks state clearly that the three are considered a set with common goals. The books were meant to provide an alternate liturgy to that presented in the

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[116] The new prayerbooks were compiled and edited by Rabbi Fritz Pinkuss, Rabbi Henry I. Sobel, Werner Glaser, Ari Plonski, Professor Zelig Nachim and Dr. Wlater Rehfeld.

community's pre-existing Sidur (סדור).[117] It was hoped that the "freer" translations would make the liturgy more accessible via notes that would explain rituals and prayers. The new presentation was also intended to encourage further study and creativity. Prior to this time, no Brazilian liturgy works mention creativity. Even here, the only section of the prayerbook that is expressly designated "creative" contains excerpts from twentieth--century Jewish thinkers and appears as an addendum to the Shabbat prayerbook.[118]

The new prayerbooks did contain truly creative parts, they were just not identified as such. Imbedded in the translations were new, truly cretaive interpretations. Yet they are merely identified as "free translations", rather than creative expressions.

The prefaces also point to an underlying concern: for Jewish practices and rituals to be seen as part of everyday life, not as something for special occasions alone. The explanations stress that Jewish prayers and their message, as well as the Jewish ways of marking time, are eternal and therefore meaningful in the lives of contemporary Jews. Eternality and continuation of tradition and heritage are recurring themes throughout the works.

The preface of the first volume indicates the desire that

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[117] No new Machzor מחזור was introduced during this five year period, nor has one been introduced since then.

[118] The readings are from Mordechai Kaplan, Lillian Smith, Morris Adler, and A.J. Heschel. O Nosso Shabat, pp. 186-194.

these new liturgical works could be used in a variety of settings and by diverse groups: congregations, families and youth groups. The index of this first volume, but not the following two, is thus divided into three sections: Sabbath in the Synagogue, Sabbath in the Home, Sabbath in the Youth Movement.

Sabbath in the Synagogue provides the full liturgy for Kabbalat Shabbat (קבלת שבת), Ma'ariv (מעריב), Shacharit (שחרית), and Musaf (מוסף). Sabbath in the Home consists of songs, Psalm 31, blessings of children, and Kiddush (קדוש) for Friday night and Saturday, Grace after Meals, Birkat Hamazon (ברכת המזון). The youth movement, alone, is expected to be involved in Se'udah Shelishit (סעודה שלישית) and Havdalah (הבדלה) rituals. Perhaps by making these ceremonies part of the youth group, the hope is that the participants will carry these rituals into their adult life; whereas introducing, or reintroducing them, into the life of adult members was not see as possible.

Despite the statement in the preface that these books were not intended to replace the older prayerbooks, the comprehensive nature of these new prayerbooks as well as the obvious investment of time, energy and money to produce them would leave little reason to believe that they were not seen as viable replacements for the older prayerbooks. Despite the disclaimers of the prefaces, that the new prayerbooks were not replacements, O Nosso Shabat had already been reprinted by

1986 and was also being used by the smaller and newer community of Porto Alegre.[119]

Physically, the new prayerbooks differed from their predecessors. First, the front covers and bindings of the 3 works are in Portuguese only, as opposed to only Hebrew on the original Lemle/Pinkuss Sidur (סדור) and Machsor (מחזור). Second, the layout of the book leaves no doubt as to its didactic orientation. All services and and their major sections, all ceremonies and holidays as well as major prayers and well-known hymns are introduced by titles and detailed explanatory notes.

The notes are designed to offer information about the history and development of prayers or sections of the service over time, authorship (when known) as well as the "intent" of certain prayers, hymns and rituals. History, liturgical theory and rabbinic literature are often cited in the explanations. The explanations freely recognize the diversity of sources for contemporary customs and do not dismiss any because of their origin and development by certain groups.[120] Still, some of the explanatory information seems quite original. For example, in addition to history of the morning

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[119] Letter from Rabbi Alejandro Lilienthal dated August 26,1989.

[120] The explanation of Se'udah Shelishit states that it gained great significance among Kabbalists and Hasidim. And that following the Hasidic custom, of sitting and listening to the rebbe and singing, the prayerbook contains songs to be sung during the Se'udah. O Nosso Shabat, p.180.

prayers (ברכות השחר) the following explanation is offered:

> "We are not accustomed to expressing gratitude for the miracle of waking, due to prejudice or vain self-sufficiency. Prayers help a Jew become conscious of the privilege of waking and enable him (sic) to give thanks for the ability to obey the commandments of physical hygiene (hand washing) and spiritual hygiene (tefilin, talit).[121]

Explanations, therefore, provide historical and cultural context while emphasizizing the importance of historical memory and a sense of connectedness to ancestors.

These liturgical works represent a major reorientation in the focus of the adult services. Following the lead of the Children's prayerbook, the focus of prayer is no longer on the Tefilah (תפילה). Instead, the Portuguese translations of the Shema (שמע), Barechu (ברכו) and Kedushah (קדושה) appear in oversized bold print.

The life cycle liturgy and the descriptions of holiday and Shabbat celebrations emphasize the home as a center of Jewish spirituality and study. In fact, the lastest Brazilian prayerbook includes new liturgy for Chanukat Habayit (חנוכת הבית) that is not found in the 1953 Sidur (סדור). First, the children are active participants in the new ceremony and the Shehechianu (שהחיינו) is translated to mention the joy of having special people with whom to celebrate. Furthermore, the German tradition of including time for Jewish study in ceremonies, known as a lernen, is included as part

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[121] A Nossa Semana, p. 63.

of the ritual.[122]

The themes of Covenant and continuity predominate the life-cycle liturgy. In the marriage ceremony, the Shevah Berakhot (שבע ברכות) include an interpolation which states

> "In the likeness and image of His [sic] being, giving him [sic] (via marriage) a possiblity to perpetuate himself forever."[123]

Circumcision is described as a

> "symbol in the flesh of the pact between God and His [sic] people Israel, with all its religious, moral and national responsibilities."[124]

Some major themes are repeated throughout the liturgy as a whole. Emphasis on the universalistic nature of God appears more explicitly in these prayerbooks than in the earlier works. For example, God is the "author of order", and God is "the God of all humanity", "the one who establishes peace." Also, the Kaddish (קדיש) translation ends with "over us, over all Israel and over all humanity"; while the Hebrew remains unchanged.

Yet, God is still the particular God of Israel. God appears in history, for example, as the savior of Israel. God, the source of divine love, is manifest in the Law. The Law teaches, above all else, justice and proper human conduct.

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[122] It is interesting to note that just as Hebrew words transliterated appear in quotations and are followed by a Portuguese translation so is lernen in this context. Oddly enough, someone who was literate in neither German nor Hebrew might think, because of the use of the convention, that lernen is a Hebrew word!

[123] A Nossa Semana, p.199.

[124] Ibid., p. 200.

God is beyond human reach; yet humans can come close to God by trusting in God and God's protection and by being involved in Jewish institutions.

God chose Israel to make a moral pact. The Covenant, Brit (ברית) is based on moral fundamentals, which are succinctly stated in the Decalogue. The Pact is eternal and therefore Jews in every age are obliged to make a contribution, through intentions and deeds, to alleviate human suffering,by helping the sick and afflicted, by getting rid of ignorance and error, and by strengthening human good will.[125] They are to remember the less fortunate even as they give thanks for their own blessings. The introduction to Grace after Meals, Birkat Hamazon (ברכת המזון), for example, offers the following explanation for saying the blessing, " In a world with millions of people who are undernourished there is no better time to thank God."[126] Study and prayer are also acts of reverance. Therefore Israel was given the Sabbath as a day of rest for the Jew to become familiar with ethical and religious teachings.

It seems noteworthy that the prayerbooks published during the years of the Brazilian dictatorship depicted the Jewish cult as "democratic". While this notion is taken from Zunz,[127]

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[125] O Nosso Shabat, p. 129.

[126] O Nosso Shabat, p. 158.

[127] Leopold Zunz (1784-1886) is quoted extensively as a historian of Israel and as a source of information regarding the development of Jewish institutional and spiritual life.

it seems that it would have served as a mild polemic, if indeed, the synagogue wished to attract Jews by disassociating itself from the political regime and to set itself up as a representative of an alternate, more inclusive, world view. As Rabbi Henry I. Sobel of São Paulo observed:

> "....we are reaching out to our young people with progressive, demo ratic and liberal values."[128]

Israel the State is presented very differently in these prayerbooks than it was in the original Machsor (מחזור) and Sidur (סדור). The State of Israel is now viewed through a Messianic lens. In the daily prayers the expression "Build it soon in our days, in a definitive form and establish in it David's throne" is included. Furthermore, prayers related to the ingathering are retained and translated literally.

The Yom Ha'atzmaut יום העצמאות liturgy is also highly messianic.[129] It speaks of the end of exile, the beginning of redemption and signs of the Eternal's grace. The Shofar is blown at the end of the service and is followed by the reformulation: לשנה הבאה בירושלים הבנויה
is translated as "Next Year in the Rebuilt Jerusalem". An original prayer is read near the conclusion of the service which states

> May it be Your will, o ETERNAL ONE, our God and God of our ancestors, that in the same way that we are considered worthy of being present at the

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[128] Henry I. Sobel "Progressive Judaism: A View From Latin America" São Paulo, November 5,1989.

[129] A Nossa Semana, pp.176-185.

> beginning of the redemption, may we be privileged also in hearing the sound of the sound of the Shofar, at the coming of the Messiah, soon and in our days.

The Kiddush (קדוש) on Yom Ha'atzmaut (יום העצמאות) is recited over a cup identified a Kos Yeshuot (כוס ישועות).

The allegiance of Brazilian Jews is treated with care. Brazil is home and the place where they hope a wise government will be in power and where they hope fraternity [sic] and cooperation will exist. Yet, the existence of the State of Israel represents the beginning of Redemption for all Jews. Thus, the State of Israel, Medinat Yisrael (מדינת ישראל) is central to their identity as Jews. The establishment of Medinat Yisrael (מדינת ישראל) is understood to be a sign of the beginning of the Messianic Era, and is mentioned directly and indirectly in numerous holiday celebrations.

Women still have no place in this prayerbook, or in these prayer services. Mention is made in the notes for Simchat Torah (שמחת תורה) that though women usually do not interact with the Torah, on this one occasion, during the Hakafot (הקפות), it is permissable.[130] There are no additions of the Matriarchs in the prayers. Indeed, Miriam in not even mentioned in reference to the Song of the Sea.

The liberal Jewish community of Brazil has been engaged actively in producing its own liturgical works for the past 40 years. At the moment, it uses two very distinct liturgical

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[130] As Nossas Festas, p. 160.

works, one for High Holy Day worship and another for worship the rest of the year. At the High Holy Days the Machsor (מחזור), the community's first indigenous liturgical work, is still used. Thus, those Jews who attend the liberal Jewish services only on the High Holy Days are exposed to a service whose tone and orientation are more traditional, parallel to those of the Einheitsgebetbuch.

In contrast, the Jews who participate in Jewish rituals and attend services at other times during the year are exposed to and become familiar with a much more liberal service, more reflective of American Reform Judaism, but modified for the Brazilian milieu. The major difference between these books and those used in North America is the abundance of didactic material. This material appears alongside the prayer texts in an attempt to expand the limited knowledge of the average Jew in the community. One must wonder whether this didactic material in the middle of a liturgical work acts as an enhancement to or a distraction from the individual's ability to pray more fully.

With the current liturgical works, the liberal Jews of Brazil are learning new ways to incorporate Judaism into their everyday lives as well as new ways to interpret older, more familiar rituals and holiday celebrations. They are being exposed to a Judaism which still strongly emphasizes the universalistic aspirations of the early reform movement, yet seeks to reclaim its particularistic elements.

CHAPTER SEVEN

ISRAEL

Today, Israel is the headquarters of the World Union for Progressive Judaism. The Movement for Progressive Judaism in Israel boasts numerous congregations and chugim (חוגים), an active youth group, two kibbutzim and the Leo Baeck school. Israeli Progressive Judaism now has its own identity and liturgy. Reaching this point, though, took many years. In fact, the development of liberal Judaism in Israel has gone through discrete stages: early years of outspoken classic Reform ideology, the Holocaust era, the early years of Statehood and the post-1967 era. The impact of these latter events on Israeli Jews and liberal Jews around the world produced the liberal Judaism that is currently practiced in Israel.

For many years, the leaders of liberal Judaism around the world struggled to define an appropriate attitude for the movement toward Palestine/Israel. Early Reform Judaism renounced the notions of Diaspora and dispersion and celebrated Jewish life in all countries. With the rise of political Zionism, Reform Judaism retained this focus, adopting an anti-Zionist stance. When the WUPJ was founded in 1926, its discussions and activities focused on liberal Jewish communities outside of Palestine. Liberal Jewish

leaders took an interest in Jewish religious life in Palestine only when Christian missionary efforts were perceived as a threat.[131]

In the early 1930's, with the rise of Nazism, there was a large migration of liberal German Jews. As the World Union attempted to establish ties with the newly arrived German Jews, it stressed the exclusively religious character of its efforts. Three German rabbis who arrived in the 1930's served German liberal Jews in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv and Haifa; in the former two, congregations were established, whereas in the latter, the Hillel School (now the Leo Baeck School) was begun.

These German liberal congregations served only the German-speaking population, never attracting members from the larger population. The WUPJ reached out to these rabbis, in that WUPJ funds supported all three rabbis. However, they did not all feel identified with the organization. Indeed, in 1950, the World Union suggested that the rabbis form an Israeli Union which could be a member of the WUPJ. The response was split, with some rabbis refusing to join because of the anti-zionist reputation of some WUPJ leaders.[132]

Despite this inauspicious beginning, the 1950's were a

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[131]Datz, p. 68, In 1928, two years after the inception of the WUPJ, CCAR President Hyman Enelow suggested that work be initiated in Palestine in order to counteract the efforts of Christian missionaries.

[132]Ibid., p.134.

decade of great change in the WUPJ attitude and activity in Israel. In 1952, the WUPJ formed its Israel Committee for Liberal Judaism. The following year, one quarter of the WUPJ budget was earmarked for Israel, surpassing the amount made available to all other small and new communities. Though much discussion at World Union conferences had focused on the need to offer support to indigenous liberal groups around the world, a different approach was used in Israel. In 1955 the WUPJ, UAHC, CCAR and HUC-JIR raised $60,000 to send an American rabbi to initiate a progressive presence in Israel. To this point, the Leo Baeck School had been its only connection in Israel. The WUPJ hoped that this infusion of money and leadership could lay the groundwork for its future in Israel.[133]

During the 1960's the WUPJ investment in Israel, in both finances and personnel, increased dramatically. Small prayer groups coalesced and grew, becoming synagogues. Indeed, by 1969, there were 7 Progressive synagogues and 5 rabbis supported by and connected to the WUPJ. As these groups arose, they strove to express themselves liturgically.

In the early 1960's the Israeli movement took its first steps toward establishing itself as a separate entity. Liturgically, it found its own expression in its first published works: an Israeli Siddur (סדור) (1962), and a Machzor (מחזור) (1964). In terms of leadership, the first

[133]See Datz, chapter 3.

Israeli-born rabbi was ordained at HUC-JIR in 1964. Upon his return to Israel, he wrote a guide to religious practice and a consideration of halakhic (הלכי) issues entitled Moreh Derech li N'Vuchei haDat מורה דרך לנבוכי הדת, as an attempt to introduce Israelis to Progressive Judaism, and a Haggadah (הגדה) both of which were published by the WUPJ. Thus, the Israeli movement had fixed liturgy for its worship and began its efforts to make inroads into the Jewish community-at-large.

Subsequently, the Israeli movement has published additional Siddurim (סדורים): סדור התפילה לשבת ושלש רגלים,[134] סדר תפילות(1978), העבודה שבלב (1978), and a new Machzor (מחזור) כוונת חלב (1989). The publication of these works and the variations among them reflect the movements desire to provide liturgical works that reflect the changing needs and expressions of the Israeli Progressive community.

The earliest work סידור תפילה contains services that are simultaneously traditional, by American Reform standards, and innovative. This work provides an extended traditional Kabbalat Shabbat (קבלת שבת),[135] a three paragraph V'Ahavta (ואהבת),[136] a fairly traditional Tefilah תפילה[137] with

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[134]The copy that was available bore no date.

[135]סידור התפילה לשבת ושלש רגלים, (Jerusalem: הוצאת זמנית), p. 1-12.

[136]Ibid., pp.13-14.

[137]Ibid., pp. 16-19.

abbreviated repetition, and the full Aleinu עלינו.[138] Yet, the language of these prayers has been altered in a manner consistent with American Reform ideology. References to Satan,[139] avenging our enemies and the ultimate return to Temple worship have been expurgated.[140] Resurrection of the dead has been replaced by eternal life and the giving of life to all.[141] There is still hope for the future and ultimate redemption, but they are not predicated on the advent of the Messiah._ Jews have a mission, to unify God's name; they are not made in a manner that is different from all others.[142]

Structurally, for the most part, services resemble those of North American Reform. They contain reflections and readings, including modern Israeli poetry and prose, prior to Kabbalat Shabbat (קבלת שבת) and as an introduction to the Kaddish קדיש. A Hebrew translation of the Kaddish (קדיש)[143] is provided and the service ends with a hymn. However, an important divergence from North American custom is the omission of a Torah reading on Friday night.

Conceptually, there are certain changes which reflect the unique identity of Israeli Jews. God not only returns the

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[138]Ibid., p.20.

[139]Ibid., p. 15. See Hashkivenu השכיבנו.

[140]Ibid., p.18. See Al Hanisim על הניסים.

[141]Ibid., pp. 16-17.

[142]Ibid., p.20. See Aleinu עלינו.

[143]Ibid., p.22.

Shechinah (שכינה) to Zion, but also His [sic] people (עמו).[144] The prayer for Israel contains phrases that run counter to Reform ideology but which reflect an Israeli perspective. The State of Israel is identified as the "beginning of the flowering of our redemption" "ראשית צמיחת גאולתנו." Jews living outside of Israel are referred to as "our brothers, the House of Israel in all the lands of their dispersion" " ישראל בכל ארצות פזוריהם אחינו בית".[145] Thus, though the selection and presentation of prayers is more traditional than that of North American Reform services, the services contained in this volume have been structurally, linguistically and conceptually modified.

The סדר תפילות (1978) promotes the same ideology as its predecessor. It does, however, contain certain notable differences. In many respects, its structure is more traditional: it contains a full repetition of the Tefilah (תפילה),[146] no excerpts from modern Israeli literature, as well as no pre-kaddish reading or final hymn. The notable exception to this rule is the inclusion of an abbreviated V'Ahavta (ואהבת).[147]

Conceptually, this volume is innovative. It emphasizes

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[144]Ibid., p.17. See Techezeinah תחזינה.

[145]Ibid., p.46.

[146]סדר תפילות, (Jerusalem: Hebrew Union College, 1978), pp. 17-21.

[147]Ibid., pp.15-16.

the eternality of God's relationship with Israel. For example, in the Hashkivenu (השכיבנו) the word forever לעד is added to the end of the text.[148] Furthermore, the attitude toward Jews outside of Israel is expressed in a new manner. Instead of referring to the dispersion, the Prayer for Israel says "Please protect our brothers the House of Israel in all the lands of their dwelling" " ואת אחינו בית ישראל פקד נא בכל ארצות מושבם."[149]

Thus, the first two Siddurim (סדורים) (1960 and 1978) reflect a willingness to modify the content, structure and ideology of traditional services. They reflect, through small linguistic changes, an Israeli perspective with regard to the land and traditional references to Israel. Yet, the two editions are very traditional with respect to God language, the exclusion of the matriarchs and the lack of universalistic additions to the text, that would diminish the specialness of God's relationship to Israel by extending God's love, peace and protection to all people. However, the trend from 1960 to 1978 has been toward greater traditionalism, away from classical reform theology and away, also, from conceptions of the Diaspora as Galut (גלות).[150]

At the end of the 1980's the two latest liturgical works

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[148]Ibid., p. 17.

[149]Ibid., p.40.

[150]This represents a departure from the classical statist zionism of the Ben Gurion Era.

<u>העבודה שבלב</u> and <u>כוונת הלב</u> were printed. Unlike their predecessors, the physical layout of these volumes is highly didactic. They have Tables of Contents, Introductions and the vast majority of texts are identified (when possible) by author, source, title and date. Also, each section of a service and its constituent prayers are titled and described in brief. Consistent with the earlier works, they contain non-traditional readings and offer a Hebrew translation of the <u>Kaddish</u> (קדיש).

The Introductions to these works are veritable précises of the Reform/Progressive perspective. They explain that liturgy is changed in order to touch the heart of the contemporary worshiper, and so that they express contemporary beliefs and perspectives. While the style of the service is preserved, the content is altered in order to reflect the realities of life. Readings from modern as well as classical literature are included. The unique Israeli variety of Progressive Judaism also is pointed out. In Israel there is a sense that "On the base of historical memory we build layers of values and a tradition of the present and the future."[151]

As described in the Introductions, these new liturgical works go further in incorporating contemporary concerns and perspectives than their predecessors did. Linguistically, there is a sensitivity to gender issues. Hebrew cannot be

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[151] <u>כוונת הלב</u>, (Jerusalem: התנועה ליהדות מתקדמת בישראל, 1989), Introduction.

degenderized, but the matriarchs are added to prayers, and alongside the prayer Avinu Malkeinu (אבינו מלכנו), which employs male imagery, is a parallel prayer entitled Shechinah Makor Chayenu (שכינה מקור חיינו), which employs female imagery. For the worshiper who wishes to address a God of relatively unspecified gender there is a third option entitled Eloheinu Shebashamayim (אלהינו שבשמים).[152] Conceptually, the changes made in the two earlier works are retained and God, not the Messiah, is clearly identified as the Redeemer.

The Israeli perspective is most clearly reflected in the holiday insertions listed for the Birkat Hamazon (ברכת המזון), which include Yom Ha'atzmaut (יום העצמאות).[153] In this insertion reference is made to the longing of our ancestors to return to the land and dwell in it, the desire of other nations to destroy it and God's protection of the Israeli Defense Force. Thanks are also offered for the opportunity to see the beginning of Israel's redemption and hope expressed to see the full redemption of Israel.

The most striking characteristic of Israeli Progressive liturgy from the mid-1960's to the present is the proliferation of non-published creative liturgy.[154] Though the

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[152] בוונת הלב, p. 160-161.

[153] תפילות שבת ורגלים מתוך "העבודה שבלב", (Jerusalem: התנועה ליהדות מתקדמת בישראל), pp. 114,115,117.

[154] The creative liturgical works referred to throughout this chapter can be found in the archives of the Center for the Study of Progressive Jewish Liturgy, המרכז לחקר התפילה היהדות המתקדמת.

Siddurim (סדורים) contain services for Kabbalat Shabbat (קבלת שבת) and other specific celebrations, the youth movement, congregations and chugim (חוגים) have composed their own services. Each group's works were apparently composed without editorial cooperation with the other groups. Thus, in lieu of standardization, each group's services reflect its own specific orientation.

Liturgical creativity has not been limited, though, to traditional "mainstream" liberal Jewish celebrations. Each congregation, chug (חוג), and youth group has prepared its own liturgy for a variety of occasions. Tisha B'av (תשעה באב), once expurgated from Reform practice, has been incorporated into the Israeli Progressive Jewish calendar and entirely reinterpreted. Tisha B'av (תשעה באב), traditionally a day of mourning has been transformed into a time of recollection and celebration. At present, the majority of services have two segments. The first focuses on historical memory, emphasizing the need to remember the tragedies of the past, by studying about them. Worshipers are reminded that the intense pain of past tragedies and separation from the Land motivated the luminaries of modern Zionism. But, where there was once only mourning, there is now cause for celebration and hope. The mood of the service, therefore, dramatically shifts. The second part of the service focuses on the rebirth of the nation and the State. Inspired by painful memories and ancient ties to the Land, Tisha B'av (תשעה באב) becomes a

zionistic holiday of return.

Faced with new holidays of which the traditional Jewish calendar had no knowledge and for which there was no established form of celebration, Progressive Jews in Israel were left to decide whether the celebration of such holidays would remain solely in the secular sphere or be incorporated into the religious holiday calendar. Opting for inclusion, they developed uniquely Jewish responses, in the form of creative liturgy and ritual, to these major events in the contemporary State of Israel. Indeed, the hallmark of Israel's contribution to creative liturgy is its incorporation of the holidays of the State of Israel. Thus, in addition to holiday insertions within the Siddur (סדור), each community has its own pamphlets containing rituals and liturgies for Yom Hazikaron (יום הזכרון), Yom Ha'atzmaut (יום העצמאות) and Yom Yerushalayim (יום ירושלים).

Originally just a collections of pertinent readings, the texts for these celebrations include detailed rituals and traditional prayer services. For example, in the late 1960's Yom Ha'atzmaut (יום העצמאות) celebrations varied from community to community. In some communities readings were incorporated into an evening service. At others, it was celebrated by special songs and readings in the morning. Finally, one congregation centered its holiday celebration on a hike to a part of Israel mentioned in the Bible. Today, these celebrations still vary, but most focus on the dawning

of a new day--literally and figuratively, and include a religious service.

In sharp contrast, Yom Hashoah (יום השואה) is relegated to a place far removed from the State of Israel. No special words or prayers have been added to the daily or Sabbath liturgy to be recited on Yom Hashoah (יום השואה). Special reference is made to the six million during the festival Yizkor (יזכר) services, but no special communal rituals or liturgies have been developed around this modern Jewish day of commemoration.

Celebrating "Israeli" holidays via communal liturgical gatherings is not limited to modern national holidays. Interestingly, customs established by the sixteenth century Kabbalists (מקובלים) of Safed (who many Zionist revisionist historians identify as forerunners of modern Zionism) have been incorporated into the religious calendar of the Israelis' Progressive movement: the seventh night of Shavuot (שבועות), the seventh night of Pesach (פסח), Hoshanah Rabbah (הושנה רבה) and Tu Bishvat (ט"ו בשבט). These days are marked by evening gatherings at which texts from a variety of Jewish sources are read to intensify the moment. The written texts that are used are called Tikunim (תקונים) and are based on similar collections by the Kabbalists (מקובלים). they have no fixed form.

From the Kabbalistic tradition, also, Progressive Jews in Israel and elsewhere, now celebrate Tu Bishvat (ט"ו בשבט)

seders. Participants eat from all the fruits of Israel and drink red and white wine to signify the change of seasons, as did the Kabbalists centuries ago. The seventh night of Pesach (פסח) is also celebrated with a seder, at which a revised set of 4 questions is asked, 4 cups of wine are drunk and the story of the Crossing of the Sea is recounted, with Midrash and poetry. A new perspective is added; the Crossing of the Sea is understood as the symbol of an independent, free existence which is fully realized when the Israelites enter the Land.

Thus, the range of holidays celebrated in a religious context by Israeli Progressive Jews is far more extensive than that of Progressive Jews in other parts of the world. The decision to incorporate new and old celebrations, not observed by all Jews, has created a need for meaningful and innovative rituals and liturgies. The abundance of Tikunim (תקונים) testifies to the dedication of Israel's Progressive movement to create a form of religious expression that "speaks to the heart of the worshiper".[155]

Finally, liturgical and ritual creativity has not been limited to holiday celebrations. There is a growing archive of materials for life cycle events, particularly for marriage and welcoming infants into the community. Of these, the latter represents the greatest shift in attitude and, thus, has evoked the greatest creative outpouring. In addition to

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[155] כוונת הלב, Introduction.

the traditional ceremony for admitting male children into the Covenant, Brit Milah (ברית מילה), there are now a variety of ceremonies created for female children. Thus far, there is no single name for this type of ceremony; existing materials are entitled: שם + ברוכה הבאה, סדר ברית לבת, זבד חבת, זבת חבת, שמחת חבת and ברית בת. These ceremonies have no set form. Each is a selection of readings, from a variety of sources. Most often, following readings and/or songs the baby is given a name and admitted into the Covenant, after which a Shehechianu (שהחיינו) and the Priestly Benediction are recited. Some include special prayers for the parents, others do not. The Covenant is always described as the Covenant of Israel; sometimes, it is also defined as the Covenant of Israel, the Covenant of Faith, the Covenant of Torah.[156]

In the past 25 years the Israeli Progressive movement has experienced an explosion of creative liturgical expression. Confronted with a life experience that radically differed from all other Progressive Jews, Israeli Progressive Jews seem to have struggled to find their own unique voice: a voice that speaks to the realities of modern Israeli life, responds to ancient voices that were forgotten or discarded, and demands equal expression for the sexes. The movement and its leaders, including Yehoram Mazor, Tuvia ben Horin, Mordekhai Rotem and Moshe Zemer, have demonstrated an openness to a variety of ritual and liturgical forms for old and new celebrations.

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[156]. סדר זבד חבלת לתצר שפרה בת מיכל חדוד, קהילה רמת השרון

This attests to their acknowledgement of being engaged in a process of liturgical development. In exchange for established and fixed liturgical and ritual parameters, the Israeli Progressive movement is encouraging a more personal and immediate form of religious expression.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSIONS

In 1926 the members of the World Union for Progressive Judaism recognized their common commitment to establish a Jewish spiritual community with a modern perspective. They shared an affinity for scientific study, a belief in the modified authority of the Bible and Talmud, and a desire to reconcile Judaism with modernity. These things are all still true of WUPJ members. However, their individual experiences and their understanding of the events that have shaped life on this planet in the last 50 years differ. These differences are reflected in the types of liturgies chosen by the member organizations.

Beyond the guiding principles of the WUPJ founders, today's member congregations also seem to share some other basic beliefs about the world. First, all WUPJ members believe that a Jew in the modern world need not make a choice between modernity and Judaism. They believe that a Jew's identity as a Jew and connection with Judaism and the Jewish community need not be relinquished in order to fully function in the modern world.

Individual modern Jews are perceived as bearers of an ancient tradition. This tradition is predicated on the existence of a single God who created the world and

established a special relationship, in ancient times, with the Jews. This special relationship is known as the Covenant. Belief in the Covenant and a commitment to perpetuate it are the hallmarks of contemporary liberal Jews. Indeed, for liberal Jews participation in Jewish celebrations and rituals is the way in which their participation in the Covenant is reaffirmed. The Covenant underscores their special relationship with God, their partnership with God to make the world a better place. This is their mission as Jews.

The members of the WUPJ identify with and claim as their own the universalistic elements of the Judaism. They accept a common sacred myth with regard to the origins of the world and the proto-history of the Jewish people. Furthermore, they claim a Jewish collective memory which retains the experiences of Jews throughout the centuries and serves as the basis for a bond among all Jews. Yet, the details of how they understand their connection with God and the Jewish people is highly individualistic. Also, their modes of expression and degree of ritual adherence are determined by the individual. But this is not a cause of dissension. Rather, it is a sign of the diversity of expression which a living tradition engenders.

Like their predecessors, today's WUPJ members are committed to diversity. From its inception, the WUPJ has not prepared just one liturgical work to serve all of its members. Unlike the tack adopted by the leaders of North American

reform, standardization of liturgy was never a goal of the WUPJ. Though, at some point in their histories, many congregations utilized a liturgy that resembled either the Einheitsgebetbuch or the UPB, neither one became the liturgy for all congregations.

The desire of WUPJ members to maintain a sense of unity, yet respect and promote diversity is akin to that of the German liberal Jews of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century who eventually adopted the Einheitsgebetbuch. That book, too, offered a variety of forms of individual prayers so that liberal Jews, who wished to pray in different manners, could come together for worship. For example, many sections of the Tefilah (תפילה) in Hebrew offer parallel texts that are worded differently; one is traditional, the other a modernized version. Many WUPJ affiliates have adopted different means to achieve this end today. In some countries separate liturgies are created for a single occasion; while in others a variety of different services for a single occasion are offered under one cover. WUPJ members thus demonstrate their conviction that the content of services can be flexible and the sentiments Jews express may vary not only over long periods of time, but also on a daily basis.

Today's WUPJ members and their predecessors also share a belief that Jewish liturgy and ritual can and must change. Even the Jews of Panama, who continue to use the UPB in Spanish translation and some of the liberal Jews of Brazil who

continue to use a Portuguese form of the Einheitsgebetbuch, fully accept this notion implicitly. Otherwise, they could not explain their use of these non-traditional prayerbooks.

As all Jews, they have inherited a rich tradition. As liberal Jews, only some of this tradition speaks directly to them. Their task as liberal Jews is to determine an appropriate manner in which to deal with those aspects of tradition which do not resonate with modern sensibilities. All member congregations accept these two ideas: 1) traditional prayers need not be retained in either Hebrew or the vernacular, 2) the content and focus of services are subject to change, and the language of prayer is variable.

Until the rebirth of the Hebrew language, Hebrew was merely a language of prayer and study. For many worshippers, the prayers, as they were, comprised a sacrosanct and often unintelligible unit. As Hebrew has once again become a spoken language, more and more Jews are familiar with some Hebrew basics and there are a greater curiosity about what the words actually mean and a greater desire to know that the Hebrew and vernacular language express similar ideas. Outside of Israel this has resulted primarily in a universalizing of language. Within Israel, where all are native Hebrew-speakers liturgical variety is greatest. This fact probably reflects the desire of liberal Israeli Jews, like their counterparts around the world, to pray in a language that utilizes concepts and imagery that are meaningful for them. Traditional forumulae

have their place; nevertheless the liturgical content of a ritual moment must be expressive of their own personal feelings. In the past 25 years, in all of the countries studied, except for Panama, there has been a move toward "traditionalsim." Hebrew has been reclaimed as an important language of prayer. The Tefilah (תפילה) is more extended and has a more prominent place in the service. Kabbalat Shabbat and Pesukei dezimrah, albeit in abbreviated forms, have been reintroduced or extended.

The move toward "traditionalsim" can also be seen in another way. Part of the radical reform introduced by early North American reformers was to confine Judaism to religious rituals associated with the synagogue. Liturgy and rituals were prepared exclusively for synagogue use; they had no place in the home or in daily life.

The newer litrugies and rituals coming out of the WUPJ recognize liberal Judaism as an entity that informs all of life. While the synagogue is important, it is not the only context in which religious Jews express and affirm their identity. Thus, the new prayerbooks and life-cycle pamphlets provide prayers for a wide variety of moments and contexts in which the individual's life can be sanctified with specifically Jewish rituals.

These works also indicate a common set of ideals and realities. A membership that chooses to express its Jewish identity in a wide variety of contexts is the ideal. The

reality is that the average liberal Jew is Jewishly illiterate and engages in few specifically Jewish practices. The prayerbooks are, therefore, not merely collections of prayers or readings which are assumed to be familiar and meaningful to the worshippers. Instead, they serve a dual function of prayerbook and textbook. Worshippers are told when to sit or stand and who is to read or sing. In addition to some traditional prayers, they contain readings on a variety of themes and from a variety of sources. The importance of the themes within a Jewish context are explained and the sources for the readings are provided whenever possible.

The didactic quality of these prayerbooks underscores the fact that in and of themselves, many forms and symbols of generations past have little or no meaning for the intended worshippers. In order to change this situation these prayerbooks contain extended readings and explanations about the history and meaning of symbols, rituals and prayers.

Lawrence A. Hoffman, in Art of Public Prayer, explains that for a thing to be a true symbol

> 1) It must evoke its response automatically...
> 2) Verbal description of a symbol's significance is by definition both superfluous and inadequate...
> 3) In a ritual that deals with group experience, the symbol's significance must be shared by the members of the group..."[157]

From this perspective, these prayerbooks are for a group whose members do not share symbols, but wish to. They are

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[157]Lawrence A. Hoffman, The Art of Public Prayer, (Washington, D.C.: The Pastoral Press, 1988), p. 20.

striving to create a group identity predicated on shared history, symbols, rituals and prayers. Ironically, if the didactic liturgies under discussion are successful, they would be redundant to the next generation, as all of the prayers and their accompanying symbols and rituals would then be meaningful and thus need no explanation. Another internal factor is related to leadership. The creation of and adoption of new liturgy and ritual forms is dependent upon the initiative and creativity of religious leaders. Time and again, as the liturgy of different countries was analyzed, it became apparent that a change in rabbinic leadership was accompanied by a change of liturgy. The reforms introduced could be small or radical. But, nevertheless, the leaders could be, and most often were, responsible for change. For example, in 1968, under the direction of Rabbi André Zaoui, an ardent Zionist the entire orientation of the ULIP prayerbook, of France, was changed. Underscoring the same phenomenon in the opposite extreme, is the case of Panama. In a country that lacked rabbinic leadership for many years, liturgical changes were not made; only recently, under a new rabbi, have some creative, indigenous prayers been introduced.

In addition to the internal factors to which the liturgy responds, there are external factors. On the global level, all late twentieth century Jews are dealing with the impact of the Holocaust, the establishment of the State of Israel and the rise of the women's movement. On a regional level, all

liberal Jewish communities have experienced varying degrees of religious and political freedom, and acceptance into the greater society. These latter factors have determined, to a large extent, the degree to which their liturgy responds to global changes.

The most striking case in point is Panama. Panamaniam Jews, too live in a world that has experienced the Holocaust and in which the State of Israel is a political reality. Nonetheless, they have chosen to exclude references to these two events from their liturgy. This decision is reflective of the political and social exigencies of living in contemporary Panama. It should also be noted that decisions such as these, though they set Panamanian liturgy apart from that of most other WUPJ members, do not exclude Panama from the WUPJ.

With the exception of Panama and the MJLF of France, and Israel, all WUPJ members have responded ritually and liturgically to the Holocaust. Special services and readings have been added to the liturgy and Yom Hashoah (יום השואה) has been incorporated into the official Jewish calendar. The content of the readings and ceremonies vary. Some focus on mourning, others on confusion; some stress resistance, others survival.

With the exception of Panama and the MJLF of France, all WUPJ members also have responded ritually and liturgically to the establishment of the State of Israel. Prayers and

readings have been altered, special readings and services have been created for Yom Ha'atzmaut (יום העצמאות). The most noteworthy point of dissension with regard to the State of Israel, is the theological question of whether its establishment should be linked with the Messianic era. How a community responds to this question determines the content and rituals that comprise its celebration.

Indeed, the State of Israel has begun to assume a new and different role for liberal Jews around the world. In the spirit of Ahad Ha'am, Israel's liberal Jews, rather than America's, seem to be determining the course of liberal Judaism. They have introduced a new and expanded festival calendar and have adopted celebrations that liberal Jews in North America and other parts of the world are beginning to adopt. For example, the Tu Bishvat (ט"ו בשבט) Seder an important celebration of the Israeli liberal movement is now become part of liberal Jewish practice in other parts of the world, where 25 years ago it was unknown. Another example is the reclamation by liberal Jews of Tisha B'av (תשעה באב). Whether or not all communities will accept the liberal Israeli radical reinterpretation of the holiday is remains to be seen. Moreover, the liturgies and interpretations of other liberal Israeli celebrations such as the Seventh Night of Passover and Sukkot are extremely Israel-centric. Whether or not they lend themselves, without tremendous reworking, to adoption by liberal Jews outside of Israel is uncertain at this point.

The State of Israel and the People of Israel are clearly distinguished in the newer indigenous liturgical works. The People of Israel is mythically linked to the ancient People of Israel. They carry on the ancient Covenant with God. The identity of the modern liberal Jew is predicated on the on-going Covenant between God and the People of Israel. As these prayerbooks and liturgies explicitly state, life-cycle events, synagogue attendance and home celebrations are all means of reaffirming the Covenant.

Finally, some WUPJ members have responded to the feminist movement. Many countries, though not all, have begun to degenderize the language of prayer and employ imagery that is not sex-based. Bat Mitzvah (בת מצוה) is common practice in many communities and some communities are experimenting with ceremonies of welcome for girls.

As in 1926, WUPJ members still demonstrate a great diversity in ritual practice and liturgical expression. While all have responded to life in the twentieth century, each has experienced life as a Jew in a unique manner. As liberal Jews, they share a belief that Jewish experience and identity can be expressed through liturgy and ritual. Thus, their liturgical expressions are as varied as their life experiences. Due to the devastation of the Holocaust, Germany is no longer a center of liberal Judaism. North America, on the other hand, has grown as the major center for liberal Judaism outside of Israel. Prior to the rise of an

Israeli progressive movement with its own identity and agenda, North America was the community which exerted the greatest single influence over the orientation and liturgical directions for WUPJ members. Now that there is a growing Israeli progressive movement, which is actively altering the traditional Jewish calendar,as well as developing new liturgy and rituals perhaps that balance is in the process of shifting. The years ahead will no doubt be filled with changes unforseen by the founders of liberal Judaism. Perhaps one of those changes will be one that as liberal Jews seek to express themselves in the 21st century, they will turn to the Israeli progressive movement as a source of orientation and direction.

APPENDIX

הנושא: תוספות לתפילה, תיקון - סדר ט"ו בשבט

מס	שם הפרסום	המוציא לאור (שם, קהילה ומקום)		שנה
.1	תוספת לט"ו בשבט	טוביה בן חורין	אמת וענוה ר"ג	תשכ"ו
.2	תפילת ערבית לט"ו בשבט	טוביה בן חורין	אמת וענוה ר"ג	תשכ"ח
.3	סדר ט"ו בשבט	יהורם מזור	תלם נוער י-ם	תשל"ו
.4	סדר ט"ו בשבט	יהורם מזור	תלם נוער י-ם	תשל"ז
.5	לקט מקורות הלכה "האילן"	גיל נתיב	תלם נוער י-ם	תשל"ז
.6	תיקון ט"ו בשבט	יהורם מזור	תלם נוער י-ם	תשל"ז
.7	סדר ליל ט"ו בשבט	יהורם מזור	תלם נוער י-ם	תשל"ז
.8	תיקון ט"ו בשבט	יהורם מזור	תל"ם י-ם	תשמ"ד
.9	אגדה של פירות לט"ו בשבט	יהורם מזור	תל"ם י-ם	תשמ"ו
.10	שתי הצעות לסדר ט"ו בשבט	יהורם מזור ושרה שוב מיכללת בית ברל		תשמ"ח
.11	תיקון ט"ו בשבט (עברית אנגלית)	נ.פ.ט.י	י-ם	תשל"ט, תשמ"ו (מהד' 2)
.12	סדר ט"ו בשבט	מאיה ליבוביץ	בית שמואל י-ם	תשמ"ט

הנושא: תוספות לתפילה לימים נוראים ומסכות חג

מס׳	שם הפרסום	המוציא לאור (שם, קהילה ומקום)			שנה
.1	תוספת לתפילות ראש השנה	מאיר עידית	הר-אל	י-ם	תשכ"ו
.2	תוספות לימים נוראים	ראובן סמואלס	אור חדש	חיפה	תשכ"ו
.3	תוספת למחזור של ראש השנה	מאיר עידית	הר-אל	י-ם	תשכ"ז
.4	סדר תפילות ליום כפור (תוספת)	מאיר עידית	הר-אל	י-ם	תשכ"ז
.5	תוספות לתפילות ראה"ש ויוה"כ	חנוך יעקבזון	אור חדש	חיפה	תש"ל
.6	סליחות למוצאי שבת	טוביה בן חורין	אמת וענוה ר"ג		תשל"ב
.7	סדר לראש השנה (מסכת)		יהל		תש"ם
.8	סדר ליל ראש השנה (עברית אנגלית)	נ.פ.ט.י	ירושלים		תש"ם
.9	מסכת ראש השנה		יהל		תשמ"א
.10	הגיונות תפילות חדשות וישנות לימים נוראים	יהורם מזור	כפר סבא		תשמ"א
.11	כוונת הלב תפילות ישנות וחדשות לימים נוראים	יהורם מזור	כפר סבא		תשמ"ה
.12	סליחות מהד׳ א׳	יהורם מזור	כפר סבא		תש"ם
.13	סליחות מהד׳ ב׳	יהורם מזור	כפר סבא		תשמ"ז
.14	סליחות מהד׳ ג׳	יהורם מזור	כפר סבא		תשמ"ט
.15	שחרית לראש השנה לנוער	אדגר פוצנה	הר-אל	י-ם	תשמ"ח
.16	מסכת ראש השנה	קרן קידר	בית שמואל	י-ם	תשמ"ט

הנושא: תוספות לתפילה לחג הסוכות - שמחת תורה

מס'	שם הפרסום	המוציא לאור (שם, קהילה, ומקום)		שנה
1.	תוספת לשמיני עצרת ולשמחת תורה	טוביה בן חורין	אמת וענוה ר"ג	תש"ל
2.	תוספת לחג הסוכות	טוביה בן חורין	אמת וענוה ר"ג	תשל"ג
3.	תוספת לחג הסוכות ולשמיני עצרת שמחת תורה	יהורם מזור	אמת וענוה ר"ג	תשמ"ב
4.	תיקון ליל הושענא רבה	מרקו בנדה	יחד	חולון תשמ"ג

הנושא: תפילות יום הזכרון לחללי צה"ל ויום העצמאות - יום ירושלים

מס'	שם הפרסום	המוציא לאור (שם, קהילה ומקום)		שנה
.1	תפילת הודיה שחרית ליום העצמאות	טוביה בן חורין	אמת וענוה ר"ג	תשכ"ט
.2	תפילת השחר - יום העצמאות	גיל נתיב וחוג הנוער אור חדש	ר"ג	תש"ל
.3	תפילת נוער ליום העצמאות	טוביה בן חורין	אמת וענוה ר"ג	תשל"א
.4	תפילת השחר - יום העצמאות	גיל נתיב וחוג הנוער אור חדש	חיפה	תשל"ב
.5	תפילת שחרית ליום העצמאות	טוביה בן חורין	אמת וענוה ר"ג	תשל"ב
.6	תפילת שחר - יום העצמאות	חנוך יעקבזון	אור חדש חיפה	תשל"ג
.7	סדר תפילה והודיה סיום יום הזכרון ליל יום העצמאות	משה זמר	קדם	ת"א תשל"ג ?
.8	תפילה והודיה ליום הזכרון וליל יום העצמאות	לוי שוברט	רמת אביב	תשל"ה ?
.9	יום הזכרון לחללי מלחמות ישראל	זאב הררי יהורם מזור	אמת ושלום	נהריה תשל"ה
.10	תפילת הודיה ערב יום העצמאות	זאב הררי יהורם מזור	אמת ושלום	נהריה תשל"ה
.11	סדר תפילת ערב יום העצמאות	זאב הררי	אמת ושלום	נהריה תשל"ו
.12	תפילת השחר ליום העצמאות	מרדכי רותם	אור חדש	חיפה תשמ"א
.13	סדר תפילת סיום יום הזכרון לחללי צהל	זאב הררי	אמת ושלום	נהריה תשמ"א
.14	מעמד ליום העצמאות	מרקו בנדה	יחד	חולון תשמ"ד
.15	תפילת השחר ליום העצמאות	זאב הררי	אמת ושלום	נהריה תשמ"ה
.16	קבלת שבת ליום ירושלים	יהורם מזור	דרכי נועם	רמה"ש תשמ"ז
.17	מעמד לשבת תקומה	יהורם מזור	דרכי נועם	רמה"ש תשמ"ח
.18	מעמד איילת השחר ליום העצמאות	מרדכי רותם וחנוך יעקבזון	אור חדש	חיפה תשמ"ט
.19	תפילת מנחה וקבלת שבת ליום ירושלים	יהורם מזור	דרכי נועם	רמה"ש תשמ"ט

הנושא: טכסי ותיקוני ט׳ באב

מס׳	שם הפרסום	המוציא לאור (שם, קהילה ומקום)	שנה
1.	תיקון לליל תשעה באב	ד"ר חנוך יעקבזון אור חדש חיפה	תשכ"ט
2.	תיקון לליל תשעה באב	מרכדכי רותם אור חדש חיפה	תשל"ו
3.	תיקון לליל תשעה באב	יהורם מזור אמת ועבודה ר"ג	תשל"ה
4.	תיקון לליל תשעה באב	הרב משה זמר קדם ת"א	תשל"ה
5.	תיקון לליל תשעה באב	יהורם מזור אמת ועבודה ר"ג	תשל"ו
6.	תיקון לליל תשעה באב	יהורם מזור אמת ועבודה ר"ג	תשל"ז
7.	תיקון לליל תשעה באב	יהורם מזור אמת ועבודה ר"ג	תשל"ח
8.	חורבן ונחמה תיקון לתשעה באב	יהורם מזור תלם נוער י"ס	תשל"ט
9.	שירי חורבן ותלות וגעגועים לציון	תל"י אונב׳ תל-אביב	תשמ"ט
10.	איכה וקינות לט׳ באב	יהורם מזור דרכי נועם רמה"ש	תשמ"ו
11.	ערב תשעה באב	איל צפניה צופי תל"ם י-ם	תשמ"ט

המרכז לחקר התפילה
ביהדות המתקדמת
הארכיון

הנושא: טכסים משפחתיים

מס'	שם הפרסום	המוציא לאור (שם, קהילה ומקום)	שנה
.1	זבת הבת	יהל (שירה ספרבר)	?
.2	זבת הבת	יהל (יעל)	?
.3	זבד הבת	יהל (רותם בת אבי ועידית)	?
.4	זבד הבת	יהל (נופר בת ענת ונדב)	?
.5	זבד הבת	יהל (מעין בת רוזלי ואריה)	?
.6	זבת הבת	יהל (טל בת עמי ומרינה)	?
.7	זבד הבת	יהורם מזור כפר סבא	תשמ"א
.8	סדר ברית לבת	כנרת שריון רמת אביב	תשמ"ג
.9	זבד הבת	יהורם מזור, דרכי נעם רמה"ש	תשמ"ד
.10	ברוכה הבאה אילת	איציק וענת כהן חיפה	תשמ"ד
.11	זבד הבת	לוטן (תאירה בת שרי ומיק)	תשמ"ה
.12	ברוכה הבאה טליה חגית	בארי שוורץ לאו-באק חיפה	תשמ"ו
.13	ברית בת	? (שולמית ברכה)	תשמ"ו
.14	זבד הבת	אורי רגב ה.י.ק י-ם	תשמ"ו
.15	שמחת הבת	מאיר אזרי ה.י.ק. י-ם	תשמ"ט
.16	ברית ברכה	ארני גלאק ליאו-באק חיפה	תשמ"ט
.17	ברוכה הבאה רפאלה טובה	לוי קלמן כל-הנשמה י-ם	תשמ"ט
.18	זבד הבת	קרן קידר הר-אל י-ם	תשמ"ט
.19	שמחת הבת	נעמה קלמן + אילן האזרחי י-ם	תשמ"ט
.20	הזמנה לזבד הבן	קהילת דרכי נעם רמה"ש	תשמ"ח
.21	תורה ובן בקהילה	יהורם מזור דרכי נעם רמה"ש	תשמ"ח
.22	זבדנו אלוהים זבד טוב	יהורם מזור דרכי נעם רמה"ש	תשמ"ח
.23	טכס קבלה לקהילה למתן	יהורם מזור דרכי נעם רמה"ש	תשמ"ו
.24	פדיון הבן לליאור יעקב	יהורם מזור דרכי נעם רמה"ש	תשמ"ה
.25	סדר פדיון הבן	יהורם מזור דרכי נעם רמה"ש	תשמ"ט

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מס'	שם הפרסום	המוציא לאור (שם, קהילה ומקום)	שנה
.26	טכס נשואין	קרן והאוי יהל	תש"ס
.27	מעמד חתונה	דני ויהודית לוטן	תשמ"ט
.28	הגענו לגיל מצוות	יהורם מזור חט"ב ד. בן גוריון הרצליה	תשמ"ז

הנושא: שביעי של פסח, תיקונים ותוספות לתפילה

מס'	שם הפרסום	המוציא לאור (שם, קהילה ומקום)			שנה
.1	הוספה לפסח	היברו יוניון קולג'		י-ם	תש"ל
.2	תוספת לחג הפסח	טוביה בן חורין	אמת וענוה	ר"ג	תש"ל
.3	תוספת לשביעי של פסח	טוביה בן חורין	אמת וענוה	ר"ג	תש"ל
.4	תיקון ליל שביעי של פסח	טוביה בן חורין	אמת וענוה	ר"ג	תשכ"ו (1)
.5	תיקון ליל שביעי של פסח	טוביה בן חורין	אמת וענוה	ר"ג	תשכ"ז (2)
.6	סדר תיקון ליל שביעי של פסח	טוביה בן חורין	אמת וענוה	ר"ג	תשכ"ח (3)
.7	תיקון ליל שביעי של פסח	משה זמר	קדם	ת"א	תשכ"ח (1)
.8	תיקון ליל שביעי של פסח	משה זמר	קדם	ת"א	תשל"ד (2)
.9	תיקון ליל שביעי של פסח	משה זמר	קדם	ת"א	? (3)
.10	תיקון ליל שביעי של פסח	משה זמר	קדם	ת"א	? (4)
.11	תיקון ליל שביעי של פסח	יהורם מזור	רמת אביב		תשל"ו (1)
.12	סדר תיקון ליל שביעי של פסח	יהורם מזור	רמת אביב		תש"ם (2)
.13	תיקון שביעי של פסח	יהורם מזור מרדכי רותם			תשמ"ט (3)
.14	סדר תיקון ליל שביעי של פסח	עדי עשבי	נתן-יה	נתיה	תשל"ח
.15	תיקון ליל שביעי של פסח	תל"ם נוער		י-ם	תשל"ב
.16	תיקון ליל שביעי של פסח	מרקו בנדה	יחד	חולון	תשמ"ג
.17	תיקון ליל שביעי של פסח	טוביה בן חורין מאיה ליבוביץ בית שמואל			י-ם תשל"ח
.18	תיקון ליל שביעי של פסח	ארני גלאק ג'ודי של ליאו-באק		חיפה	תשמ"ט

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