

Dutch Liberal Liturgical History

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PART I Background and Roots

1. Roots in Reforms in Napoleonic times (1806-1813)

The changed social situation for Jews in Napoleon's dominion ignited liturgical creativity, which was developed in the so-called "Vormärz" era, the experimental times before the failed "revolution" in Germany in 1848. The early liturgical debates which lead to Progressive Judaism were triggered by issues within the new Napoleonic culture. To avoid a peoplehood within the people, Napoleon wished to assimilate the Jews in his empire and made them into French citizens. During 1806/07 he therefore had summoned a "Sanhedrin" formed by lay and rabbinic representatives from all areas of his dominion to examine the relationship between Judaism and French law. Soon the Jew's new legal status found liturgical expression, too. In 1810, in the newly established "temple" of a Jewish school in the little town of Seesen in the Harz region within Napoleon's kingdom of Westphalia, the politician and merchant Israel Jacobson (1768-1828) introduced four aesthetic changes in the Jewish service to assimilate its sound and character to its German (= Protestant) environment.

1. Some prayers were said in the vernacular.
2. Melodies of Protestant hymns were introduced, used for newly written texts for decorous congregational singing.
3. The use of an organ was introduced to ensure unified singing of the melodies instead of the traditional individual mumbling.
4. The German sermon became the most important part of the service.

With the exception of the 2nd aspect and diversity on the 3rd, these aesthetic changes mark progressive Judaism worldwide till today. However, just a decade later Spanish-Portuguese congregational tunes from the Amsterdam Portuguese synagogue were introduced instead of the Protestant hymn melodies in the "temple" in Hamburg to fulfil the same purpose. Between 1818 and 1841 Progressive Liturgy adopted a huge amount of Western-Sephardic customs. Western Sephardic Judaism appeared to be modern, assimilated and fitting to European aestical concepts. As will be shown, the Einheitsgebetbuch will later also incorporate Sephardic piyyutim. An important feature for the liberal liturgy will be additional prayers in the vernacular.

2. The development of Reform liturgical principles (1815-1848)

After Napoleon's defeat on Oct 19th 1813, the banker Israel Jacobson fled to tolerant Prussia. In 1815, the upheavals of the liberation wars having calmed down, he instituted a private synagogue in his house in Berlin that followed the principles set up in Seesen.¹ Additionally he introduced the

¹ See the decription in Caesar Seligmann, *Geschichte der jüdischen Reformbewegung von Mendelssohn bis zur Gegenwart*, Frankfurt: Kauffmann, 1922, 73f.

Sephardic pronunciation of Hebrew – it was believed to be older and more original than the Ashkenazi one, an early hint to the historicist attitudes that will become important with the Einheitsgebetbuch. The new services attracted leading Jewish and Christian personalities of the time (e.g. F.D.E. Schleiermacher, A. Ritschl). Jacobson's services led to a sharp controversy with Berlin Orthodoxy, was therefore closed by the Prussian state and the preachers of the Jacobson Privatsynagoge left for Hamburg (E. Kley), Breslau or Leipzig, where they developed services in the new style; in Leipzig these services took place during the regular international fairs, and this helped the idea to spread internationally. The publication of a prayer book for the Hamburg temple in 1818 introduced more than just aesthetic reforms, because "a prayer-book, which aims to be the expression of a religious community that rests on a positive historical foundation, must not only uplift and edify the spirit of the worshipper, as does every prayer book, but it must indicate this positive foundation in its specificity as it appears in doctrine and history."² Thus the Hamburg Temple prayer book rejected ideas about a personal messiah, bodily resurrection, ingathering of the dispersed, and more. A second edition of this prayer book – although more traditional than the first edition - led to a fierce battle with Orthodoxy ("Hamburger Tempelstreit") in 1841-42 (partly grounded, however, in the fact that the Hamburg Temple attracted more visitors than the orthodox synagogues). This is also the first time that scholars and rabbis begin to have an impact on the development of the liturgy so far reformed by lay people. Criticism came not only from the traditional side, but also from the liberal-minded philologist and historian Rabbi Dr Abraham Geiger (1810-1874), who severely attacked the temple's un-academic approach to liturgy and its inconsistencies. – The Einheitsgebetbuch later will not repeat this "mistake" and will be heavily indebted to Abraham Geiger's views. Furthermore Geiger's later liturgical program will provide the basis to make a unification of liberal liturgies at all possible.

Napoleon's 12 questions to the Jews of his regime and the Hamburg liturgical discussions about the temple prayer books led to a series of national Rabbinical conferences laying the cornerstones for future Progressive Jewish liturgy: No Kol Nidre (1st conference Brunswick 1844) – many liberal prayer books will therefore create their very own alternative; prayers for the return to the land of Israel, the restoration of the Jewish state and a personal messiah must be eliminated; reference to sacrifices are only historical reminiscences (2nd conference Frankfurt a.M. 1845). These conferences led to a "plan" for a unified liberal prayer book by Leopold Stein (1810-1882), which he presented at the 3rd conference 1846 in Breslau. Earlier, however, in 1845, Abraham Geiger had already created his very own prayer book for Breslau (later revised by him for Frankfurt and Berlin). And around 1850 some south-western German congregations tried to find a consensus within their own region. That meant that, in the end, Leopold Stein's prayer books were only used in Frankfurt (but they strongly influenced Reform liturgy in the US and the American "Union Prayer Book").

3. Liturgical diversity developing after the failed revolution (1848-1871)

March 1848 marked the end of any attempts of revolutionary free-thinking in Germany and the rise of Chancellor Otto von Bismarck, who formed a hierarchical, government-oriented society and strengthened the kingdom of Prussia so that it finally ruled over all the other German kingdoms, dukedoms and free cities. It led to a massive wave of emigration to the US, where a parallel development of Progressive Jewish Liturgy was taking place, leading to the publication of an American "Union Prayer Book" in 1894/95. But the development of a unified Progressive Jewish

² Preface of the Hamburg Temple prayer book, 1818.

liturgy in Germany during this time came to a halt; on the contrary, each congregation proudly developed its own prayer book³, so that in 1855 one rabbi could quote from Jeremiah: “Your Gods have become as many as your towns, O Judah!” (Jeremiah 11:13). And he continued, “As many prayer books as there are towns! There should be unity among the new Israel, just as there had been in the old. And there should not be different worship services in Frankfurt, in Mayence, in Coblenz, in Aachen, in Breslau, and in Hamburg!”⁴ But in 1868 the rabbinical conference in Kassel had to admit: a unification of the German Jewish liturgy was not possible, the differences were too big. Since 1848 the development of liberal Judaism in Germany had basically stopped, there were no discussions or fights about liturgy. Geiger published guidelines for a new prayerbook in 1870, but these had a serious broader impact only in the 20th century, partly due to the advocacy by Hermann Vogelstein, one of the editors of the *Einheitsgebetbuch*.

4. German Liberal Judaism in the German Reich (1871 till WW I)

The foundation of a unified German Nation under a Prussian Kaiser in 1871 finally stopped all previous regionalism and kindled national enthusiasm. In 1872 the Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin was founded, which will later play an important part in the creation and reception of the *Einheitsgebetbuch*. A rabbinical conference in Breslau in 1887 could surprisingly state, that there is no dissent about any liturgical principles in the whole of Germany as the core prayers are all the same in all places and a strong wish was expressed to have a unified German Jewish prayer book, parallel with the idea of having unified congregations (“Einheitsgemeinden”⁵) encompassing both traditional and liberal fractions (so that the Prussian state had only one Jewish institution in a town to deal with – similarly Prussia tried to unite its Lutheran and Reformed churches). A first attempt to unify the Jewish liturgy was consequently made in 1896 in what was now the Prussian province of Westphalia by Heinemann Vogelstein (1841-1911), father of one of the future *Einheitsgebetbuch* editors. The liturgy was based on the prayer books by A. Geiger in use in Berlin, Breslau and Frankfurt. Two years later Heinemann Vogelstein founded the Union of Liberal Rabbis in Germany, another step on the way towards a unification of Liberal Judaism in Germany.

5. The Einheitsgebetbuch as product of 20th century German liberal Judaism

a) Catalysts

A new phase of German liberal Jewish liturgical development leading to the *Einheitsgebetbuch* was ignited by a lecture given by Rabbi Benno Jacob in 1906 claiming that modern Biblical scholarship must not be left in the hands of Protestants alone. This actually casual statement led to a fierce battle among German Rabbis and moved Rabbi Caesar Seligmann from Frankfurt (1860-1950) – who

³ A list of them can be found in Petuchowski, *Prayer book Reform*, 5ff.

⁴ Rabbi M. Präger, preface to the first edition of *Seder Ha'abhodah*, Israelitisches Gebetbuch für ... die israelitische Gemeinde in Mannheim, quoted from Petuchowski, *The Development and Design ...*, 175.

⁵ As described in Dienemann, *Liberale Judentum*, 39: "The prevailing type of Jewish community in Germany is the Unified Community (“Einheitsgemeinde”), which is an organization set up by state law comprising all Jews of a certain place, thus a community that includes all religious denominations within itself that tries to follow a middle course between the different requirements. Is the community large in numbers, there is the possibility to give any denomination its own synagogue, so that they can organize their worship according to their own needs, in smaller communities, however, even if the average congregant is liberal, a way must be found to accommodate the needs of the conservatives. Even where, thanks to the large number, each denomination can be given their own synagogue, it has emerged that in other regards the principles and needs of orthodoxy must be observed." (Original in German).

later became the general editor of the Einheitsgebetbuch – to become an enthusiastic protagonist for a renewal of liberal Judaism in Germany that would be open to modern biblical scholarship.⁶ The foundation of the Vereinigung fuer das liberale Judentum by C. Seligmann in 1908⁷ and its subsequent monthly “Liberales Judentum” fostered the revival of liberal ideas dormant since 1848. A Union Conference in 1912 accepted Guidelines toward a Program for Liberal Judaism (drafted by Rabbi Caesar Seligmann), consisting of 13 Paragraphs, and thus created an ideological unity among German Liberal rabbis which could serve – besides A. Geiger’s liturgical guidelines - as an ideological basis for a Union Prayer Book.⁸

World War I changed not only politics and society in Germany once again – the Kaiserreich ended and a democracy was built -, but also had an impact on the views within German Liberal Judaism.⁹ It seems, however, that it only refined the renewed Liberal Judaism that had begun its search for a new identity just before the war. The World War I had proven that Jews were not assimilated, as they could not achieve the same military honours as Germans; anti-Semitism became stronger, with Jews being seen as scapegoats for the loss of the war. Rabbi Caesar Seligman now stressed that it was fundamental to preserve Jewish identity, to build a “will to Judaism” (“Wille zum Judentum”) not to adhere to some specific set of religious principles. “Thus German Liberal Judaism emerged from World War I in unresolved tension. At its centre was a small inner core, mostly rabbis, which was moving toward a more traditional theology along with greater appreciation of Jewish peoplehood. On the periphery was the mass of laity, which voted Liberal in community elections and affirmed a vaguely Jewish universalism, but whose personal feelings and commitments were far more German than Jewish.”¹⁰

b) Georg Salzberger’s speech in 1922

A conference of liberal rabbis on January 4 and 5, 1922, in Berlin dealing with the contemporary “crisis” in Liberal Judaism ignited a new liturgical debate.¹¹ Rabbi Dr Georg Salzberger (1882-1975)

⁶ „Die Neubelebung des liberalen Judentums nahm ihren Ausgangspunkt von der stürmischen Berliner Rabbinerversammlung in den Weihnachtsferien Ende 1906. Dort hielt Rabbiner Dr. Benno Jacob einen Vortrag, in welchem er sehr gemäßigt auf die Trostlosigkeit unserer heutigen jüdischen Wissenschaft hinwies. Er kritisierte abfällig die heutigen jüdischen Autoren und ihre Bücher und meinte, so dürfe das nicht weitergehen. „Wir dürfen nicht aus dogmatischer Rücksicht die Bibelforschung den evangelischen Theologen überlassen, wir bedürfen der vorurteilslosen Wissenschaft.“ Diese Worte entfesselten einen Sturm bei den Orthodoxen ... Die Vorgänge der Berliner Rabbinerversammlung habe ich darum so ausführlich geschildert, weil sie für mich der Gipfel der religiösen Verdampfung bedeutete. Mein Kampf für das liberale Judentum nahm damals seinen Anfang.“ Seligmann, *Erinnerungen* (manuscript), 262.264.

⁷ Dienemann, *Liberales Judentum*, 34.

⁸ Richtlinien zu einem Programm für das liberale Judentum nebst den Referaten und Ansprachen auf den Rabbinerversammlungen zu Berlin und Frankfurt am Main und auf der Delegiertenversammlung der Vereinigung für das liberale Judentum zu Posen, Frankfurt: Voigt u. Gleiber, 1912.

⁹ See for example Dienemann, *Liberales Judentum*, 38: “Der Weltkrieg brachte ideengeschichtlich die Epoche des Individualismus zum Abschluss und eröffnete eine Epoche der Gebundenheit, die sich lange schon angebahnt hatte und sich in einem neuen Sinn für Gemeinschaft und Autorität kundtut. ... Die Aufgabe ist jetzt: unter Wahrung des liberalen Grundgedankens der Entwicklung und ihres Rechtes die Bereitschaft zur Gemeinschaft, zur Autorität und zur Einordnung, das neu erwachte Geschichtsbewußtsein, das neue Gefühl eines Auf- und Angerufenwerdens von Gott als Israel fruchtbar zu machen, um eine religiös-liberale jüdische Lebensordnung zu gestalten.“

¹⁰ Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 212.

¹¹ The discussion can be followed in the various issues of the monthly *Liberales Judentum* 14 (1922), which can be accessed online in “Internetarchiv jüdischer Periodica”, realized by the Institut für Germanistische und Allgemeine Literaturwissenschaft RWTH Aachen, <http://www.compactmemory.de>.

gave one of the keynote lectures entitled “Our Service” (“Unser Gottesdienst”). It was published in July 1922 in “*Liberales Judentum*” and several opinions about the *Einheitsgebetbuch* appeared in the subsequent two final issues of this monthly. As Salzberger’s lecture was the starting point for the development towards the *Einheitsgebetbuch*, it will be summarized here in more detail.

Salzberger begins his speech with a review of what was achieved so far. According to Salzberger the contemporary liberal service is defined by three main features:

1. *Aesthetic improvement* (“*Verschönung des Gottesdienstes in ästhetischer Richtung*“): the chaos and disorder of the old ghetto-synagogue scorning the dignity of sacred devotion was abolished. Musically trained singers have been assigned to lead the services, choir and organ have been introduced and new melodies created.
2. *Abridgement* („*Verkürzung des Gottesdienstes*“): Piyyutim and certain medieval inserts were abolished as well as repetitions and a three-year cycle for the torah provided shorter readings.
3. *Explanation* („*Verdeutlichung des Gottesdienstes*“): free German renditions of the Hebrew prayers were printed in the prayer books, modern prayers in the vernacular were added, the torah readings were translated, the prophets read in German only and a sermon in the vernacular was given.

But Salzberger wonders “have we liberals done too little or too much for the renewal of the service. Our synagogues are empty on shabbat, but not so the orthodox shuls. It therefore must be our task, to search for the mistakes we have made in our liturgical reforms.” Salzberger sees the mistakes in the following three liberal attitudes:

1. *Negativism* (“*Negativismus*“): we have abridged and abridged ... but people complain even about 1 ½ hours. We tried to have beautiful music but what should have been just an enhancement now has become the main thing. The lack of religiosity is now covered up by the form of presentation.
2. *Rationalism* (“*Rationalismus*“): We agreed that we should not pray what we do not understand. But is there any prayer that can be rationally understood? The god-idea of the philosopher Kant has pushed God aside. We further eliminated several prayers just not to irritate non-Jews.
3. *Subjectivism* (“*Subjektivismus*“): If there were no books, each individual would have his or her own prayers but now the subjectivism is at least restricted to synagogues. In the past we were proud that a Jew could visit any synagogue all over the world and would feel at home, but nowadays one has problems already within our own “German fatherland” when visiting just another synagogue. Something like “our service” does not exist.

Salzberger then ponders about the principles that a unified liberal service could be built on. First and foremost its Jewish peculiarity should be restored. A Jewish service is like a synagogue “*bes hamidrosch*” a house of learning, “*bes hakkneses*” a house of assembly and “*bes tefillo*” a house of prayer. Thus a service should contain aspects of all of the three: it should contain teaching like torah reading, explanations, and sermons. In the same way a service has to contain aspects of community as communal singing and constant participation of the congregation. The congregation must stop being just listeners and observers. Taking account of individual life cycle situations also strengthens the feeling of community. Education of children and youth should be given more importance. And finally a service is prayer. It was understandable to abolish repetitions, but we lost the time for private silent prayer and times of silence together. The prayer has to be in Hebrew, the language of our ancestors, and if we can’t understand it anymore, we then would need to learn it. And he concludes: “And thus I come with a claim, that is not new, but today more urgent than ever: we

need to create the liberal Einheitsgebetbuch.”¹² In a note Salzberger explains that the impetus for such a prayer book – one he welcomed after an initial hesitation – had come from the Frankfurt lawyer Dr. jur. Eduard Baerwald (1875-1934) in a meeting of the liberal ritual committee (Liberale Kultuskommission) in Frankfurt, following which Salzberger had discussed further details with his congregant, the philosopher and philologist Franz Rosenzweig (1886-1929). Salzberger then makes suggestions as to what this new liberal Einheitsgebetbuch should look like.

It should first be planned for Shabbat only, as the shabbat services in synagogue are the main issue at stake. The text should be mainly Hebrew, printed in large, readable letters. Passages dealing with sacrifices or that would not belong in a siddur as *Bameh madlikin* or that have become obsolete (like *yekum purkon*¹³) could be omitted. But generally the traditional text had to be restored, even with its Zionist hopes – at least in small print, - as it should be a prayer book for *all* Jews. If Zionist ideas were rejected, Zionists would go to orthodox synagogues. Instead of meaningless traditional Piyyutim there could be meaningful new works by Yehuda Halevy with new translations.¹⁴ Modern German prayers do not belong in a prayerbook; even the prayer for the government could be omitted. But of course we should have German translations of the Hebrew prayers, not too free though – even if they are so “stimmungsvoll” (poetic) as Seligmann’s, - they rather should be humble translations of the original expressing the meaning and sound, the strength and power and the rhythm of the Hebrew. (This reflects the translation concept of Franz Rosenzweig¹⁵.) Finally, given the large number of subscribers in the large congregations (“Grossgemeinden” meaning those “Einheitsgemeinden” maintaining several synagogues in a city), publishing an Einheitsgebetbuch would mean only a small financial risk and it would also be something that would be produced not only for this generation alone but for many generations of religious life in Germany to come.¹⁶

The editor of “Liberales Judentum”, Caesar Seligmann, added after Salzberger’s text: “An important suggestion for the new liberal Einheitsgebetbuch”, and invited anyone who so wished to give an opinion on the following three questions:

1. Should the liberal unified service be in Hebrew throughout and what should be the principles to preserve German?
2. Should the translation be an archaistic-literal one or should it flow from the German feeling for language and be free and poetic?
3. Which Hebrew passages of the service should be omitted or changed (Chosenness, Difference from other people, sacrifices, Davidic kingdom, Kol Nidre, abridgements)?

Under the headline “On the question of the new liberal Einheitsgebetbuch” (“Zur Frage des neuen liberalen Einheitsgebetbuches”) the next two issues of “Liberales Judentum” in August and September 1922 published a long statement by Rabbi Seligmann himself, statements by Dr. Spanier

¹² “Und da komme ich mit einer Forderung, die zwar nicht neu, aber heute dinglicher ist als je: wir muessen das liberale Einheitsgebetbuch schaffen.“ *Liberales Judentum* 14/9, 68.

¹³ I deliberately quote Salzberger’s own transliterations in his Ashkenazi pronunciation.

¹⁴ Note that Franz Rosenzweig was working on translations of Yehuda Halevy Poems, that were published in 1927.

¹⁵ See for example Franz Rosenzweig’s translations of *Birkat haMazon*, *Maoz Tzur*, and of Yehuda HaLevi’s poetry.

¹⁶ „Und sie [die Großgemeinden] hätten zudem das nicht zu häufige Bewußtsein, gemeinsam ein Werk gewirkt zu haben, das nicht für heute und morgen, sondern für Generationen religiöses Leben in der deutschen Judenheit fördern hilft.“ *Liberales Judentum* 14/9, 68.

from Magdeburg, and Joseph Kaufmann, Berlin, as well as an appeal by the “Verein Hauptsynagoge in Frankfurt a.M.” to donate money for this project.

In September 1922 the monthly was discontinued and the hyperinflation in 1923 made publications generally difficult. But Caesar Seligmann himself – not only in his autobiography, but also in his article in the Jewish lexicon and in the preface of the *Einheitsgebetbuch* - would later recall that it was the hyperinflation that had brought the *Einheitsgebetbuch* into being: The difficult economic times after the war had made it impossible to reprint prayer books for synagogue use to replace those which had worn out, so the idea came up of printing one single book with a higher print run to be used by all German synagogues.¹⁷

c) *Caesar Seligmann's memories*

C. Seligmann himself remembers in his autobiography¹⁸: “My last major activity for German Jewry was the publication of a unified prayer book (“*Einheitsgebetbuch*”) on which I worked from 1922 to 1938. Almost every larger Jewish community in Germany had its own prayer book unless it used the old [traditional] Rödelheim or Sachs versions. Although these local prayer books differed only in few insignificant aspects, it led to a splintering which made it impossible to use the Berlin prayer book in Frankfurt, the Breslau prayer book in Mannheim, Nuremberg, Hamburg, Stuttgart or Leipzig etc. All attempts to arrive at a unification of the liberal rite had failed because of liberal conservatism or orthodox opposition or Zionism as in the case of the Baden prayer book. How much happier was America, where the united North American liberal communities, despite their individualism, had created a common prayer book in 1894 which is now in use in hundreds of congregations.” Seligmann then describes in detail the process of creation: the financial situation that made it impossible to reprint books and his own suggestion in 1922 to set up a commission that would formulate the basic principles for a unified prayer book. “But this commission came to no conclusion because of too many ifs and buts (“*Wenn und Aber*”). I did not give in. At the main gathering of liberal rabbis in Cologne in 1925 I lectured about ‘Principles and Guidelines of the Liberal Union Prayer Book’ (*Grundfragen und Grundsätze des liberalen Einheitsgebetbuches*) and suggested that first the three large communities (“*Grossgemeinden*”¹⁹) Berlin, Breslau and Frankfurt, which had introduced Geiger’s prayer book – although with local variations in each of these congregations –

¹⁷ Seligmann, *Erinnerungen* (1975), 169: “Da wurde in Deutschland die Frage des Einheitsgebetbuche akut, als die wirtschaftliche Not der Nachkriegszeit den Gemeinden den Neudruck ihrer vergriffenen Gebetbücher unmöglich machte.“ See also the preface of vol.I of the *Einheitsgebetbuch*, written by C. Seligmann: “In Deutschland kam die Frage des Einheitsgebetbuchs erneut in Fluß, als die wirtschaftlichen Nöte der Nachkriegszeit den Gemeinden den Neudruck ihrer vergriffenen Gebetbücher unmöglich machten“ (p. XIII). And see similar C. Seligmann, „*Einheitsgebetbuch*“ in *Jüdisches Lexikon* II, 310: „Erneut kam in Deutschland die Frage des E.’s in Fluß, als die wirtschaftlichen Nöte der Nachkriegszeit es den Gemeinden unmöglich machten, ihre vergriffenden Gebetbücher neu zu drucken.“ In C. Seligmann’s *Geschichte der jüdischen Reformbewegung*, which appeared in 1922, no indications to any plans about an *Einheitsgebetbuch* are given.

¹⁸ Translated from Seligmann, *Erinnerungen eines Grossvaters* (typewritten manuscript for his grandchildren written between 1934 and 1941), pages 324-326. The printed version (1975) is abridged, on the *Einheitsgebetbuch* see p. 169f. An unpublished English manuscript translation omits by mistake most of the passage about the *Einheitsgebetbuch*, its beginning and end (containing translation mistakes) can be found there on p. 109.

¹⁹ The term “*Grossgemeinde*” meant those unified congregations (“*Einheitsgemeinden*”) that were big enough to afford different places of worship under its roof as Berlin offering 14 tax supported synagogues, Frankfurt 3 synagogues and Breslau 2 synagogues – these cities also had a variety of independant synagogues not part of the unified congregation system. The *Einheitsgebetbuch* thus tried first to unify the congregations in a place itself.

should unite to introduce a common prayer book. Beforehand I had discussions with the leading personalities in these congregations. My suggestion was warmly welcomed by Baeck – Berlin and Vogelstein – Breslau. Consequently Professor Dr. Elbogen, the specialist in the area of liturgy, was asked by the board of the Berlin congregation to write a memorandum (“Denkschrift”) about the envisioned Union Prayer Book. A second memorandum was written by myself. On the basis of these two memoranda the work was to be commenced. ...” A Prussian liberal liturgical committee was then founded (Liberaler Kultusausschuss des Preussischen Landesverbandes), chaired by Caesar Seligmann. The committee entrusted Prof Dr. Ismar Elbogen, (1874-1943), Professor of the history and literature of Judaism at the Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin, as well as Rabbi Herrmann Vogelstein (1870-1942) from Breslau, son of Heinemann Vogelstein who had founded of the Union of Liberal Rabbis, and Rabbi Dr. Caesar Seligmann himself with the work.²⁰ C. Seligmann explains: “I took over the main work: general editorship, creation of the first draft and German translation of the Hebrew prayers. Elbogen curated the Hebrew text and Elbogen and Vogelstein, each individually, proof-read and copy-edited the manuscript pages and print run files. For further review a number of outstanding experts were additionally consulted.” In countless meetings as well as in written correspondence these three discussed the principles of the prayer book.²¹ With both his two co-editors C. Seligmann seemed to have been in warm and friendly personal relationships.²² (At this point it may be worth to note, that C. Seligmann also had a friendly relationship with his younger Frankfurt colleague Georg Salzberger – who originally called for the Einheitsgebetbuch,- whom he suggested some years later for the position of rabbi in his own synagogue in London, see below.)

A fourth person needs mentioning. Seligmann concludes his memories about the Einheitsgebetbuch project: “I would like to mention gratefully at this point the devoted, selfless, empathetic work of my secretary, former enthusiastic student and later loyal friend, Nelly Baer, who typed tirelessly typeset page by typeset page and who never complained at having to type again and again new readings following from the corrections.” - Nelly Baer (d.1977) is nowhere mentioned in any printed edition of the Einheitsgebetbuch. She had lived in Frankfurt, emigrated to London and worked from 1942 till 1970 as secretary for Belsize Square Synagogue.²³ Although I can’t prove it, she might have been

²⁰ For short biographical information about the editors see Petuchowski, *Development and Design*, 175-180. On C. Seligmann see also: For biographical information see: Seligmann, *Erinnerungen eines Grossvaters*; Seligmann, *A Grandfather Remembers* (abridged with some translation mistakes); Seligmann, Caesar Seligmann; E.G. Lowenthal, „Protagonist of Liberal Judaism“, *AJR Information* XXX/9, (September 1975): 6. For Ismar Elbogen see also: Esther Seidel, *Women Pioneers of Jewish Learning* (Berlin: JVB, 2002), 63.-- All three Einheitsgebetbuch editors survived the shoah. C. Seligmann emigrated in 1939 to London, I. Elbogen in 1938 to New York, and H. Vogelstein in 1938 first to England, then to New York.

²¹ *Einheitsgebetbuch* (1931), Vorrede, XIV.

²² In his autobiography, finished in 1941 – which was meant for his grandchildren, not to be published - Seligmann says about H. Vogelstein: “Herrmann Vogelstein war im persönlichen Umgang von bezaubernder Liebenswürdigkeit, voll entzückenden Humors, voll Ritterlichkeit, dabei voll Tatkraft und Zielbewußtsein. Bei allem entschiedenen Liberalismus war er gleich seinem Vater, eine im Grund konservative Natur.“ *Erinnerungen* (1975), 178. - About I. Elbogen: „Seine Freundschaft war eine Bereicherung meines Lebens. Er ist, nicht nur nach meiner Ansicht, der bedeutendste, wissensreichste, jüdische Gelehrte der Gegenwart. Sein wunderbares Gedächtnis, seine souveräne Beherrschung aller Gebiete jüdischen Wissens, sein bedächtiges, tiefgründiges Urteil, seine klare Darstellung, sein ästhetischer Geschmack sind einzigartig. Aber seine Gelehrsamkeit wird noch übertroffen von seinem Charakter. Er ist ein herzenguter, hilfsbereiter, im Denken wie im Handeln rechtlicher, schlichter Mensch, der so gar nichts aus sich macht, dem aller Schein zuwider ist.“ (*Erinnerungen* [1975], 179.

²³ Godfrey, *Three Rabbis in a Vicarage*, 63; Death Announcement in: *AJR Information* 32,4 (April 1977), 10.

more than just a secretary but a scholar in her own rights, but as was common in her time, not recognized as such.²⁴

d) *The Prussian Liberal Liturgical Committee*

The plan to produce a musical companion, the “Einheitsgesangbuch” (Union Hymnal) never came to realization, although the Prussian liberal liturgical committee installed in 1929 a music committee (“Musikkommission”) for this purpose.²⁵ But the change of times and new issues which had to be dealt with meant this project would never become reality. A start was made. Between 1928 and 1930 Dr Hermann Schildberger - who would later become musical director of Temple Beth Israel in Melbourne – organized recordings of the entire Berlin Shabbat and Holidays services “to be used by smaller congregations which were unable financially to provide adequate staff for their services.”²⁶

7. *The usage of the Einheitsgebetbuch till 1938*

In January 1933 Rykestrasse Synagogue in Berlin protested heavily against the introduction of the new Einheitsgebetbuch. Some members and leading among them Rabbi Moritz Freier gathered about 300 people to protest against the replacement of the existing neo-orthodox prayer books in the congregation. On January 25 the issue was vividly debated in a public event where a resolution was accepted, not to introduce the new prayerbook, despite the fact that it would actually not have changed much.²⁷

Similar, maybe less dramatic rejections of a sudden change of prayerbooks certainly took place in

²⁴ She was C. Seligmann’s student and friend and contributed an article to the Festschrift for his 70th birthday in 1930 where otherwise only rabbis or personalities like Claude G. Montefiore, etc., contributed (*Erinnerungen*, 327), she had worked at the Jewish Advice Centre for Economic Aid in London and the work on the Einheitsgebetbuch and her friendship with Seligmann certainly gave her a deep knowledge of Jewish Liturgy and Progressive Judaism.

²⁵ Birnbaum, *Staat und Synagoge*, 208f. He refers to: *Verwaltungsblatt des Preussischen Landesverbandes* (Berlin) 7. Jg., Nr 3, from 1.8.1929, S.3-4 and the *Israelitisches Familienblatt* (Hamburg), Nr 51, from 19.12.1929.

²⁶ Werner Graff, Malcom J. Turnbull, Eliot J. Baskin, *A Time to Keep. The Story of Temple Beth Israel 1930 to 2005*. Melbourne: Hybrid, 2005, 38. The 100 master discs survived in Melbourne and were in 1997 rediscovered and given by Rabbi John Levi to Bet Hatefutzot in Tel Aviv which published them on two CDs.

²⁷ *Israelitisches Familienblatt* (Berlin), 2 February 1933: „Unter dem Vorsitz des Herrn L. Jutkowiak fand am 25. Januar in den Unionsfestsälen in der Greifswalder Straße eine Vortragsveranstaltung statt, die sich mit dem Ritus in der Synagoge Rykestraße beschäftigte. Trotz der starken Kälte war der Saal von Synagogenbesuchern überfüllt. ... Sodann nahm Herr Dr. Erich Alexander, der geschäftsführende Vorstand des Synagogenvorstandes, das Wort. Der Redner legte dar, dass der größte Teil der Synagogenbesucher keineswegs so konservativ eingestellt sei, als dass er gegen die Zurückführung des Ritus auf den Stand von 1925 erhebliche Proteste anbringen könnte. Der Synagogenvorstand wolle auch gar keine Reformen, die Absicht sei lediglich, den Ritus, wie er bis vor etwa fünf Jahren bestanden habe, wiederherzustellen. ... Was zuerst die Einführung einer Orgel in der Synagoge Rykestraße anlange, könne er feststellen, dass niemals eine solche Anregung von maßgebender Seite an den Gemeindevorstand herangebracht worden sei und dass auch dieser selbst sich mit derartigen Plänen nicht beschäftige. Wenn ein Sturm der Entrüstung gegen jede Aenderung des Ritus an der Synagoge entfesselt werde, dann sei es nötig derartige Aktionen auf ihr richtiges Maß zurückzuführen. Die Juden früherer Zeiten haben die Gebetbücher häufig geändert und niemals habe man wegen irgendwelcher Kleinigkeiten Protestaktionen in Szene gesetzt. Solche Proteste werden jetzt auch gegen das Einheitsgebetbuch erhoben, an dem bedeutende Männer mitgearbeitet haben. ... Zum Schlusse sprach Rechtsanwalt Dr. Max Mayer, Mitglied der Repräsentantenversammlung, der feststellt, dass die früheren Gemeinderabbiner Dr. Petuchowski und Dr. Eichelbacher gegen den Ritus der Synagoge Rykestraße, wie er jetzt gelten solle, keine Bedenken hatten. Der Redner schloß mit einer dringenden Mahnung zur Einigkeit. ... Zum Schluß gelangte eine Resolution zur Annahme, in welcher der Gemeindevorstand gebeten wird, in der Synagoge Rykestraße wieder den früheren Ritus einzuführen.“

other German congregations. In addition it has to be pointed out that in those days – different from today – synagogues did not offer the books but each congregant had to buy his or her own ones that could be stored in the synagogue.²⁸ Thus it was also a question which books an individual would buy – and most people certainly did not suddenly buy for themselves new prayerbooks.

In Germany itself there were only a few synagogues that actually used the Einheitsgebetbuch before the war, like the Hauptsynagoge in Frankfurt, perhaps the Neue Synagoge in Breslau. We know for sure that the Einheitsgebetbuch was used in Prinzregentenstraße (Wilmersdorf), the youngest of the Berlin synagogues built only in 1930 for 2300 people which was the first synagogue in Germany to introduce mixed seating²⁹. This synagogue began its existence with the usage of the Einheitsgebetbuch; a lot of performance remarks in the Einheitsgebetbuch hint at customs practised in this synagogue, which prove that it must have been in use there.

The other place where the Einheitsgebetbuch came into use was **Amsterdam** in the Netherlands.³⁰ Thus here begins the liturgical history of Dutch liberal Judaism. The first two liberal rabbis to come to Amsterdam were trained at the Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin. Rabbi Dr. Hans Hirschberg came in **1933**. He oversaw a compilation of prayer books for the High Holidays, in which the influence of the Berlin Einheitsgebetbuch was very obvious. But “a ‘too Orthodox’ rabbi from Germany, even an average Liberal rabbi from that country, must have disliked the existing Dutch habit of sitting together as families in the shul. ... So he had to go. What he left behind were the prayer books made under his supervision.”³¹ His successor Dr. Ludwig Jacob Mehler, also from Berlin, started in Amsterdam in 1934. “Because of the enormous increase of German Jews in Amsterdam, he introduced the use of the [German] Einheitsgebetbuch alongside the existing liturgy. The Einheitsgebetbuch became dominant in its influence and thus ended the development of a Dutch liturgy for the time being.”³² - that is until 1943.³³ Both rabbis were alumni from the Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin and students of Ismar Elbogen. As will be seen later the Einheitsgebetbuch seems to have played an important role within the Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums, as students coming from here hold it in high esteem.

²⁸ Oral Information in December 2012 by Walter Goddard (London), son of Berlin Liberal Rabbi Georg Goetz, who officiated in the Herrmann Falkenberg synagogues.

²⁹ Michael A. Meyer, “Women in the Thought and Practice of the European Jewish Reform Movement”, pages 139-157 in: Marion A. Kaplan, Deborah Dash Moore (ed.), *Gender and Jewish History*, Bloomington, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2011, 141.

³⁰ Dutch liberal Judaism started late, in 1931 in The Hague, under the influence of the Liberal Jewish Synagogue in London. The very first prayer books thus were much more radical (shorter, less Hebrew) than the versions after the German immigration.

³¹ Chaya Brasz, *In de tenten van Jaäkov. Impressies van 75 jaar Progressief Jodendom in Nederland 1931-2006*, Amsterdam; Jerusalem 2006, 56; English translation quoted from: van Praag, *Between Renewal and Tradition*, 19.

³² Van Praag, *Between Renewal and Tradition*, 21.

³³ During the German occupation (1940 – 1945) the vast majority of the members of the Amsterdam congregation were killed. Rabbi Mehler himself and the members of the board of the congregation refused to go into hiding and helped their congregants and provided comfort at the time of the deportations. “As a result none of them escaped the persecutions and they were all killed. When Mehler was deported, he was completely overworked.” (Van Praag, p. 21, she relies on the information in M. Goudekot, “Lezikaron rabbijn Dr. L. Mehler”, *Levend Joods Geloof* 12 (1966), 11.41.).

II. The editorial principles of the *Einheitsgebetbuch*

To understand Dutch liberal liturgy it is helpful to understand the underlying principles of the prayer book that stood at the beginning of Dutch Progressive Judaism, the so-called "*Einheitsgebetbuch*", which appeared on the market in September 1929³⁴, the year of the 200th anniversary of Moses Mendelssohn³⁵ – a year later than planned³⁶ - after four years of historico-critical liturgical research and editorial discussions.

Firstly, it was just a first move towards a unified liturgy for all liberal congregations; this first step did not include the whole of Germany, but only its three largest congregations: Berlin, Frankfurt and Breslau, - all of them former pulpits of Abraham Geiger, whose prayer book and liturgical principles provided the basis for it.

Secondly, the *Einheitsgebetbuch* was a template. It provided a text that could be used differently in Frankfurt, Berlin or Breslau. It usually offers more text than a congregation would have used. Berlin for example had the freedom not to use the *kabbalat shabbat* psalms, although printed. An insert ("Merkblatt") gave instructions on how to use this book in various Berlin synagogues. Minchah services were printed, but those congregations which started immediately with *Kabbalat Shabbat* could do so. One can therefore not draw conclusions from the text about any actual customs in any specific synagogue.

Thirdly, the *Einheitsgebetbuch* expressed the ideas of a revitalized German liberal Judaism which had emerged since 1908. It is different from 19th century "Classical Reform", which was the basis for today's North American and British Progressive Judaism. As the *Einheitsgebetbuch* was the beginning of Dutch liberal liturgy, it explains the differences between for example Dutch and North American Progressive Judaism. The two have a very different character. The general aim of the "*Einheitsgebetbuch*" can be described as an attempt to combine academic rationalism and romantic emotions and to create services that are able to move and to uplift both the mind and the heart of the modern Jew.³⁷ Tradition is used to build and strengthen modern Jewish identity. Although it was created on the lines of the 19th century classical Reform debates, its theology and principles rather mirror the changed situation in Germany shortly before and after World War I. The

³⁴ See the Announcement of Philo Verlag und Buchhandlung in Berlin in *CV Zeitung Heft 39* (27.9.1929), p. 531. It was sold for 5 Marks.

³⁵ The Jewish congregational newspapers at the time prefer to report on the various Mendelssohn anniversary celebrations. The publication of the *Einheitsgebetbuch* left as far as I could see no trace in the contemporary newspapers. Early in 1922, however, *Liberales Judentum Jg 14* Heft 8 (4. Aug. 1922) and Heft 9 (1. Sept 1922) discussed its principles.

³⁶ See the announcement by C. Seligmann in his article „*Einheitsgebetbuch*“ in *Jüdisches Lexikon* (1928), 311: “Nach Konstituierung des liberalen Kultusausschusses des Preußischen Landesverbandes j. Gemeinden im Okt. 1926 übernahm dieser Kultusausschuß mit Zustimmung der bisherigen Kommissionen und deren Auftraggeber, die weitere Ausführung des liberalen E.'s, das, von C. Seligmann bearbeitet und übersetzt, zunächst in 2 Bänden 1928 erscheint.“

³⁷ Seligmann, *Erinnerungen* (manuscript), 266a: „So ist liberales Judentum ... die von einer total veränderten Zeit geschaffene Synthese zwischen gefühlsmässigem Festhalten an alter Tradition und zwangsläufiger Hingabe an das Neue, zwischen ererbtem Reichtum an religiösen Werten und unentrinnbarer Umklammerung durch die neue Kultur. Aufklärung und Romantik, Rationalismus und Offenbarungsglaube rangen vielleicht nirgendwo stärker nach einer Vermählung als im liberalen Judentum.“ ... Wenn das Judentum wieder zu einer Lebensmacht bei der grossen Mehrheit der deutschen Glaubensgenossen werden ... soll, müssen wir uns fest auf den Boden des liberalen Judentums stellen und dem Judentum neue Werbekraft zuführen durch Verinnerlichung und wissenschaftliche Vertiefung des Judentums. ... insbesondere durch Einrichtung von Gottesdiensten, die Herz und Geist der heutigen Juden zu bewegen und zu erheben vermögen.“ (p. 266b).

Einheitsgebetbuch incorporated the Classical Reform debates, but its liturgy is much more traditional and its structure follows the traditional structure.

1. *Abraham Geiger's guidelines as basis*

Tefillot Lechol Hashanah is based on the principles for a progressive prayer book as set out by Abraham Geiger in his detailed and annotated guidelines, published in 1870.³⁸ Geiger's ideas had actually fallen into oblivion after his death in 1874 but were now rediscovered in the period of revival of liberal Judaism after 1908. One of the main scholars of Geiger's theology at that time was in fact the third editor of the *Einheitsgebetbuch*, Hermann Vogelstein. "The development of Judaism, as taught by Geiger, was his sacred devotion to which he dedicated tirelessly all his scholarly research."³⁹

Geiger understood Judaism as something in constant flow. History for him was seen as a constant development towards the present. As Judaism was constantly developing, Geiger felt authorized to develop the tradition himself and to find suitable expressions in contemporary prayer. His liturgical guidelines summarized the ideas of 19th century German liturgical reforms to create a modern prayerbook and now proved useful as a common basis on which any agreement to create unity could be reached. As a result, Geiger's prayer books from Breslau (1854) and Frankfurt (1870) became the textual starting points for work on the *Einheitsgebetbuch*. According to Geiger, (1) a new prayer book should broadly keep the traditional structure. The service should be mainly in Hebrew. (2) The service should contain new short German prayers and edifying meditations. (3) The services should be kept short. Unnecessary repetitions, passages of less importance or without new content should be skipped, other important passages should be distributed to be used at different times, thus increasing variety in the services and enhancing the *kavannah*. (4) Outdated religious ideas should be removed or new formulations found. (5) Visual descriptions of God, listings of angel categories, and reference to the resurrection of dead bodies were to be removed. [Here the *Einheitsgebetbuch* took a different view, see below.] (6) Any particularism was to be avoided; Israel is part of humanity. (7) Any elevation of Israel, any hope for an ingathering of the exiles, rebuilding of the temple or a restitution of a Jewish state were to be omitted. (8) Any references to the desire to reinstitute animal sacrifices are to be removed.⁴⁰ Geiger's plan, especially its detailed explanations, often provides a clue to changes from the traditional liturgy in the *Einheitsgebetbuch*.

2. *"Historismus" as the principle for abridgements and structure*

Although the *Einheitsgebetbuch* is deeply indebted to Abraham Geiger, it does not share Geiger's hermeneutical approach. For Geiger the link to Jewish history was the Hebrew language and the

³⁸ Geiger, Abraham, *Plan zu einem neuen Gebetbuch nebst Begründungen*. Breslau: Schletter'sche Buchhandlung, 1870. For a general overview of Geiger's liturgical development and thinking see: D. Ellenson, *Gebetbücher*, 203-214.

³⁹ "Die Entwicklung des Judentums, wie sie Geiger gelehrt hatte, war seine heilige Überzeugung. Ihr widmete er unermüdlich seine gelehrte Forschung." Seligmann, *Erinnerungen* (manuscript), 340. See also the description of Abraham Geiger's theology by Hermann Vogelstein, pages 235-242 in: Ludwig Geiger, *Abraham Geiger: Leben und Lebenswerk*. Berlin: Georg Reimer.

⁴⁰ Geiger, *Plan*, 5-7. See also the preface to his 1870 siddur.

traditional structure⁴¹, but Geiger's textual principles were ideological. He omitted unenlightened thoughts and unsubstantial repetitions. He shortened for example the first blessing before the *Shema* to avoid the imagery of angels, on the grounds that in antique times stars were seen as spirits and the morning prayer seemed to be the right place to praise these spirits – this seemed to him a completely outdated “childish poetic” view.⁴² The *Einheitsgebetbuch*, however, follows a different agenda. Historical research in the German Reich had the aim– developed on the basis of G.W. F. Hegel's philosophy of history – of finding the oldest forms of texts, as they were regarded as purer and of higher value (“Historismus”)⁴³. So Ismar Elbogen observed that “the current text of the Creator benediction contains rhymes, an alphabetical acrostic ..., and other signs of relatively late origin.” He then distils its historic kernel and illustrates with his explanation the historico-critical argumentation behind the *Einheitsgebetbuch*: “In accordance with the benediction's function as a morning prayer, it begins with praises based on Is. 45:7, with a slight alteration at the end of the verse to suit it for the service. ... The beginning and the end, twelve words in all, are quoted in B.Ber. 11b and 12a: and of what follows, the words *בראשית בראשית בכל יום מעשה בראשית* occur in B. Hag. 12b... Parallel to the opening of the benediction is the eulogy *יוצר המאורות*, which is prefaced by the verse ‘who made the great lights’ (Ps. 136:7). This verse, too, may still be reckoned as part of the original stock of the prayer, but with these words everything has been said that needed to be said in this place. Indeed, the version of the prayer prescribed by Saadia for individual worship is in this short form, which is also found in several geniza fragments ...”⁴⁴ –this reconstructed pure form is thus the one which is adopted in the *Einheitsgebetbuch*. In its search for pure original textual forms, liberal Judaism shared the approach of contemporary German Protestantism, where historico-critical biblical research aimed to arrive at the pure original messages of the texts.

Whereas Geiger had a theological approach to authorize change on the basis of history, Elbogen is driven by a historic attitude. As Judaism is a constant flow of development, he tries to differentiate its different layers to find the original kernel.

The fact that the *Einheitsgebetbuch* clings to the Hebrew language and adheres to the traditional structure of the liturgy is likewise less rooted in the wish to unite traditional fractions within the congregations with liberal ones – as in the past -, but is a further expression of a historicist approach: it is the language of the ancestors. As long as the structure of a certain part of the liturgy belongs to its ancient kernel, it is kept – even if it is just in a very abridged form as with *Birkhot haShachar*, or with a changed function as with *Mussaf*. Where a part of the service is of more recent provenance – as for example the 16th century kabbalistic *kabbalat shabbat* service or the medieval *kol nidre* – it is seen as secondary and of minor value. Such texts could therefore be treated with more freedom (the 1938 Berlin edition for example could replace *Kol Nidre* by a Psalm).

⁴¹ Ellenson, *Gebetbücher*, 206.

⁴² „Diese Naturbetrachtung ist längst geschwunden, die Wissenschaft hat der kindlich poetischen Auffassung, die sich dann noch in einen trügerisch philosophischen Mantel hüllte, längst ihre Anerkennung entzogen ... und es wäre unglaublich, den Ausdruck der als falsch erkannten Vorstellung im Gebete festzuhalten.“ Geiger, *Plan*, 22. See also *Plan*, 8, § 1 and Geiger's Frankfurt prayer book (2nd ed. 1891), 8f.

⁴³ On the philosophical backdrop of the German Reich see: Herbert Schnädelbach, *Philosophie in Deutschland 1831-1933* (Frankfurt a.M.: Surkamp, 1983). English: *Philosophy in Germany 1831-1933* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

⁴⁴ Quoted from Ismar Elbogen, *Jewish Liturgy. A Comprehensive History*. Translated by Raymond P. Scheindlin based on the 1913 German edition, and the 1972 Hebrew edition edited by Joseph Heinemann, et al. (Philadelphia: JPS; New York: JTS, 1993) p. 17. [Original: *Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, 1st ed. 1913, 13].

The very title of the *Einheitsgebetbuch* itself reveals its historicist programme: תפלות לכל השנה is the title of the very first prayer book ever by Rav Amram Gaon, 9th cent.: סדר תפלות לכל השנה. The *Einheitsgebetbuch* aims to return to the historic roots of the liturgy.

3. Intellectual honesty as the principle for textual changes

“A prayer that does not follow our convictions is a lie”, said Abraham Geiger⁴⁵, expressing a general 19th-century theological view. Also in contemporary German Protestant theology the tendency was to require the expression of honest feelings in religion, and not just to adhere to transmitted dogmata.⁴⁶ – The *Einheitsgebetbuch* therefore took great care to express 20th-century, post-World War I liberal Jewish thinking as it was developed, expressed and discussed by Caesar Seligmann and others in lectures and articles. It did not follow Georg Salzberger’s 1922 appeal to restore the traditional siddur.

Some textual struggles have become typical for progressive Judaism till today: how to deal with the exclusive first three morning blessings, with “problematic” content in some blessings of the Amidah, with the Mussaf-Amidah, whose core content is animal sacrifice, and with Jewish particularism.

No historical mistakes: example Chanukkah

The prayer has to convey a historical truth. The *Al ha-nissim* insertion for Chanukkah has therefore תהן גדול “the high priest”, as already Geiger had noted “neither Mattatias nor his father Yochanan was a high priest, but only his son Jonathan started the High Priesthood. A historical mistake must not be eternalized in the liturgy.”⁴⁷ – From the post-war liturgies based on the *Einheitsgebetbuch*, however, only CIP São Paulo and ARI Rio de Janeiro kept this version⁴⁸, the liturgies of the other synagogues based on the *Einheitsgebetbuch* returned here to the traditional text.

No exclusive language: example Morning Blessings

The 15 morning blessings start traditionally with three exclusive blessings: Blessed are you, Eternal One, our God, King of the universe, who has not made me ... a heathen/... a slave / ... a woman. Most progressive Jewish prayer book would not share these exclusive formulations⁴⁹. The *Einheitsgebetbuch*’s first two editions integrated Abraham Geiger’s short version⁵⁰, keeping only those blessings meaningful today, reorganised according to today’s logical chronological order of awakening: ... who removes sleep from my eyes and slumber from my eyelids. ... who gives strength to the weary. ... who makes firm the steps of man. ... who provides me with all I need. Interestingly,

⁴⁵ Abraham Geiger, *Unser Gottesdienst. Eine Frage, die dringend Lösung verlangt*. Breslau, 1868, 1.

⁴⁶ The leading voice of this direction was F.D.E. Schleiermacher. In Christianity this theology, however, was sharply attacked after World War I as it had fostered the enthusiasm for the war which was later regarded as wrong. Some theologians therefore now stressed counter-natural revelation and focused on textual studies. As will be shown below, WW-I also changed Jewish thinking, enhancing the ideas of Jewish peoplehood and Zionism.

⁴⁷ A. Geiger, *Plan*, p. 32. Cf. *dto.* p. 9. See the alternative text in the *Einheitsgebetbuch* vol I, p. 142, 212, 260.

⁴⁸ *SIDUR. Livro de Rezas para todo o ano Israelita*, p. 81, 183, 228.

⁴⁹ An exception is the British Reform Siddur “*Forms of Prayer*” that kept two of them, but offers a male and female formulation and uses נכרי instead of גוי.

⁵⁰ See Geiger, *Plan*, 7. See in detail: Yoel H. Kahn, *The Three Blessings. Boundaries, Censorship, and Identity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 176, note 51.

however, the 1938 edition of Vol. II gave up this quartet and printed six of the traditional blessings in their traditional order: "... who created me as a Jew (שעשני ישראל), ... who spreads the earth above the waters, ... who provides me with all I need, ... who makes firm the steps of man, ... who gives strength to the weary, ... who removes sleep from my eyes and slumber from my eyelids."⁵¹ This indicates that between 1931 and 1938 the need was felt to add the blessings that God has created us as Jews and that God created the world and that God would make our steps firm.

No outdated wishes: example Weekday Amida

The Einheitsgebetbuch had no issues with the beginning of the Amida and the missing matriarchs; even מחיה המתים was not changed. But "He makes the wind blow and the rain fall" in winter and "he makes the dew fall" in summer caused huge problems, as they don't reflect the German climate (Geiger gave 10 pages analysis and commentary on this insert).⁵² The two were therefore combined into one phrase, said throughout the year משיב הרוח ומוריד הטל והגשם.⁵³ Issues continued with the 10th blessing *Kibbutz g'luot*. The Einheitsgebetbuch replaced the ingathering of the exiles with the universal plea to God he may "gather all who fear you in all four quarters of the earth".⁵⁴ It does not say, *where* those who fear God shall be gathered but expresses a typical 19th-century ecumenical and universal religious viewpoint. In the next blessing, *Birkat Mishpat*, problems continue. The Einheitsgebetbuch follows Geiger: "Restore for us the joy of your help and our justice: from you may it come." (השיבה לנו ששון ישער ומשפטנו מלפניך יצא), thus avoiding a wish for a restoration of a Jewish state. The Einheitsgebetbuch's 12th blessing also follows Geiger's 1870 guidelines⁵⁵ and has "And may all those who err return to you and may all wickedness quickly perish and all arrogance be humbled in our days." (והתועים אליך ישובו וכל הרשעה מהרה תאבד והזדון תכניע בימינו). *Birkat Yerushalayim* was changed into "Towards Jerusalem, Your city, turn your mercy" (ולירושלים עירך) (רחמים תשיב) By just changing two letters in the traditional text (omitting the preposition *bet* and changing *Qal* into *Hif'il*) the theology of the traditional wording is reversed. This idea, expressing a relationship between the Jews in Germany and Jerusalem in the land of Israel is an original idea of the Einheitsgebetbuch editors, Geiger had a general historical reminiscence: וירושלים עירך ברחמים תזכר "remember Jerusalem ...". *Birkat David* is no longer about the Messiah ben David but a wish that "the offshoot of our help may soon flower, and may our pride be raised high by Your salvation" (את צמך ישועה מהרה תצמיח וקרננו תרום בישועתך). In *Avodah* the wish "restore the service to Your most holy house and accept in love and favour the fire offerings of Israel" is just omitted and the Einheitsgebetbuch prays instead for general acceptance of prayer, using a suggestion that Geiger had made (ותפלתם באהבה תקבל ותהי לרצון תמיד עבודת ישראל עמך).

In summary it can be said, that the Einheitsgebetbuch editors paid close attention to Geiger's ideological suggestions and explanations, but deviated from them by retaining the idea of bodily resurrection in Hebrew and German (מחיה המתים, You give life to the dead); – as this is one of the core 13 principles of Judaism, it may have been hard to argue with more traditional congregants in the Einheitsgemeinden against this. Furthermore the Einheitsgebetbuch contains some slightly

⁵¹ *Einheitsgebetbuch* vol. II (1938 edition), 42-45.

⁵² Geiger, *Plan*, 23-32.

⁵³ Consequently the prayers for Tal and Geshem on Pessach and Shemini Atzeret are not part of the Einheitsgebetbuch, although being a traditional important feature on these two festivals.

⁵⁴ תקע בשופר גדול לחרותנו ושא נס לקבץ יראיך בארבע כנפות הארץ. ברוך אתה יי מקבץ עמו ישראל This is different from Geiger, who talked about God saving the "remnant of Israel", Geiger, *Plan*, 9.

⁵⁵ Geiger, *Plan*, 9 (Nr. 2).

Zionist ideas, something new compared to previous liturgical reforms, due to the experiences of the Jews after WW-I.

No animal sacrifices: example Mussaf Prayers

The Mussaf Prayer poses a problem in progressive Judaism, as the core of the prayer is the recitation of the sacrificial laws of the day. The Einheitsgebetbuch (following Geiger) keeps the traditional structure of the service and therefore has mussaf prayers for Shabbat, festivals and High Holidays, but turned them into edifying teachings about the specific spiritual value of the day. Thus the middle section of the shabbat mussaf prayer starts with its traditional words *תקנת שבת* “You instituted the shabbat”, and continues slightly differently, with *רצית קדושיה* “You favoured its holiness” (not the traditional *קרבתיה* offerings) but then revises some of the definite terms of the traditional text and continues: “those who celebrate it in delight become aware of their human dignity (“Menschenwürde”). Those who enjoy it happily rise anew to true life. Those who love its promises choose for themselves something noble. From Sinai you commanded us as it is written in your torah: Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy. Six days you shall labour and do all your work, but the seventh day is a day of rest to the Eternal One, Your God.” Then follows the traditional “*yismechu bemalchutcha*” and the prayer for a peaceful shabbat. The same principles were adopted for the Mussaf prayers for Festivals and Rosh Chodesh. The Rosh HaShana Mussaf was drastically abridged, this time even giving up the traditional structure. It consists just of the beginnings and ends of each section *Malchuyot, Zichronot, Shofarot* without the 10 verses. The Yom Kippur *Avoda* became a narration in German about the historic Yom Kippur, interspersed with the quotes of the High Priest’s confession from Mishna Yoma. This is the only feature that the German Union Prayer Book shares with the American Union Prayer Book. Like the Einheitsgebetbuch the American Union Prayer Book (1st edition) offers a modern vernacular narrative, into which the mishnaic priestly confessions are embedded.⁵⁶ The difference between the German and the American version is that the German clings to the traditional form of having the complete trifold confession and the whole section (from *אומר* וכך היה אומר till the quote from Lev 16:31) in Hebrew, not only the confessions as in the Union Prayer Book.

No particularism: example Aleinu and Amidah

Previous German liberal prayer books had often omitted the Aleinu and replaced it by a final prayer in German by the rabbi or just gave a free German version. The Einheitsgebetbuch keeps this prayer but instead of the traditional exclusive description of Israel’s character “who has not made us like the nations of the lands nor placed us like the families of the earth; who has not made our portion like theirs, nor our destiny like all their multitudes”, the Einheitsgebetbuch offers instead a positive statement about Israel’s specific role: *שמו וקרבתו לעבודתו* „who chose us to unify his name and brought us near to his service.”

Also at other places the Einheitsgebetbuch is conscious not to exclude non-Jews. *Birkat Refu’a* in the Weekday Amidah thus concludes: *ברוך אתה יי רופה חולים* “Blessed are you, Eternal One, healer of the sick” instead of the traditional self-focussed *רופא חולי עמו ישראל* “healer of the sick of his people Israel”.

⁵⁶ *The Union Prayer-Book for Jewish Worship Part II*. Edited and Published by the CCAR, New York: Block, 1914, p. 228-234.

4. New prayers in the vernacular to strengthen Jewish identity

Abraham Geiger had suggested that liturgical reforms should not just consider abridgements and alternative texts, but should also add new content to express the spirituality of the modern Jew. Liberal Prayer books therefore usually contain new prayers in the vernacular. In German liberal synagogues they were said by the rabbi and thus created a new liturgical role for him⁵⁷ at the side of the powerful role of cantors in liberal German synagogues.

The function of the additional prayers in the Einheitsgebetbuch is to give spiritual preparation for the service or for a certain part within it. A typical feature of the Einheitsgebetbuch compared to other liberal prayerbooks is that these new German prayers don't appear within the order of the prayers but separately in an appendix. This follows Georg Salzberger's suggestion in 1922 to not intermingle new prayers with the order of the traditional texts. Also different from previous prayer books is the vast choice of alternatives in the Einheitsgebetbuch appendix that may mirror its intention to be used eventually in many different congregations. The Einheitsgebetbuch offers 120 German hymns in volume I and 26 hymns in volume II, as well as 104 German prayers and meditations in volume I and 33 prayers in volume II. The third edition of 1938, however, abolished the appendix and printed instead chosen prayers within the service at the places where these German prayers should be inserted. (Out of the congregations developing their liturgy on the basis of the Einheitsgebetbuch only BSS London will keep a small appendix, but the majority of its texts are not prayers but study texts for Shabbat and High Holidays, much like those of the British Reform prayer books. CIP São Paulo, ARI Rio de Janeiro and LJG Amsterdam will print the prayers in the vernacular within the order of the service, as did the 1938 edition.)

The places for the new prayers are the following:

- German hymns are printed to be sung as alternatives or in addition to Mah Tovv (p. *3-4). Their texts are inspired by Mah Tovv or express in other words readiness to begin the service.
- One special moment which is to be marked is the beginning of shabbat or a festival.
- A rabbi's prayer is included after Lecha Dodi on Erev Shabbat – unlike congregations that follow the Berlin customs which read it before Lecha Dodi replacing Psalm 29 - or before Barchu on Festival evenings. The prayer introduces the meaning of the day, sets a certain emotional atmosphere or summarizes a moral teaching connected to the specific day. These prayers take up ideas of the *Kedushat haYom* of the Morning Amida (the plea for rest or for blessing of the festival) or they aim at creating a certain general mood.
- The sermon is framed by a song ("Predigtlied"), whose first strophes are sung before, the last ones after the sermon. This was a very common custom in German liberal congregations and the Einheitsgebetbuch just shares it, but, as shown below, this custom was generally discontinued after the war.
- In a morning service the rabbi's prayer is placed within the torah service before the cantor's "Shema". The words of these prayers are inspired by biblical or liturgical texts such as Psalm 19 or lines from the second blessing before the Shema.
- The torah service offered further opportunities for prayers in the vernacular. As the Haftarah could

⁵⁷ The first women rabbi was only ordained in 1935 and the history of women rabbis (and cantors) was interrupted by the shoah and came to a halt till only 1972 with the ordination of a women rabbi in the US. Regina Jonas' herself fell into oblivion till accidentally rediscovered by researcher Katerina von Kellenbach in 1991, see: Aryeh Dayan, "A forgotten myth", *Haaretz*, May 25, 2004, www.haaretz.com/print-edition/business/a-forgotten-myth-1.123526.

be read in German, the Einheitsgebetbuch offers a choice of German texts to replace the Hebrew blessings before and after the prophetic reading. It offers a choice of prayers for the government and a German version of the announcement of the new month. A choice of prayers for special occasions is given (prayers for a mother after giving birth, a bar mitzvah, newlyweds, a couple celebrating their silver or golden wedding anniversary, for those who are ill or in memory of somebody who has died or has *yahrzeit*), all meant to be read within the torah service.

- Three versions of the “Seelenfeier” (*Haskarat neshamaot*) are offered, or, as an alternative, “*Matt’nat Yad*”, a promise to give charity on a festival. The different memorial services, suggested to be inserted at four different possible places during Yom Kippur, mirror the very different customs in the three congregations the editors of the Einheitsgebetbuch: Seelenfeier a” follows the custom in Frankfurt, “Seelenfeier b” follows the Berlin customs and “Seelenfeier c” the Geiger/Joel-Breslau customs.⁵⁸

- Kaddish Yatom is introduced with a short meditation by the rabbi (“Vorspruch”), which draws special congregational attention to the traditionally rather privately mumbled mourner’s kaddish at the end of the service. The special focus on the final Kaddish Yatom is a liberal custom already introduced 1819 in Hamburg.⁵⁹

- For the end of the service the Einheitsgebetbuch offers a choice of concluding prayers (“Schlussgebete”). This has historic reasons. Many previous liberal prayerbooks had replaced the Aleinu because of its exclusive content by a rabbi’s prayer in the vernacular. The Einheitsgebetbuch keeps the traditional structure by printing an Aleinu with an alternative second line, but offers additionally a variety of “Schlussgebete”. They are either words of praise or a final blessing, reminiscent of the conclusion of a Protestant service. Neither Adon Olam nor Yigdal ends the services according to the Einheitsgebetbuch, but a poetic German translation of “*Mah Yokor*”, which is even printed in its place in the service, not in the appendix.

The appendices also gives services for Chanukka and Purim (see below), Tisha beAv and in volume II a lot of additional new material for the Neila service. After Ptach lanu sha’ar in the Neila service Abraham Geiger had inserted a long German meditation about the vanishing daylight and the wish that God may now renew our strength and hope and Jewish identity for the forthcoming return back to normal life. Machzorim inspired by Geiger took up this idea and so did the Einheitsgebetbuch.

5. The translation principles

Translations became an important feature of any Progressive Jewish prayerbook. German Liberal Jewish prayer books before the Einheitsgebetbuch usually did not provide literal translations, but used the vernacular to express progressive Jewish thinking about the given passage or added uplifting inspiration. The German texts have to be regarded as independent – often beautiful - new prayers in their own right and were meant to be read in German, replacing the Hebrew, if a congregation so wished. This also united the different factions in the Einheitsgemeinde: a quite traditional Hebrew text, which was not understood by most of the congregants but could be used by the more traditional factions in the community, could be printed, – but the liberal ideas were

⁵⁸ On the development of the Seelenfeier see A. Boeckler, “Service for the Souls’. The Origin of Modern Memorial Services, 1819 to 1938” in: L.A. Hoffmann (ed.), *Prayers of Awe* vol. IV, Woodstock VT: Jewish Lights, 2013 (forthcoming).

⁵⁹ Petuchowski, *Prayerbook Reform in Europe*, 323ff.

expressed in the new free German renditions accompanying the Hebrew and a more liberal service would use those prayers.

A new academic approach to translation emerged at the turn of the century – especially discussed in respect of Classical Greek and Latin literature. Until then, the language into which a text was translated was given a higher value. At the beginning of the 20th century, however, influenced by the *Historismus* of the time and reviving the philosophy of Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803), higher value was given to the language of the original, leading to the attempt to preserve its grammatical, metrical and even lexical features as much as possible. This modern approach was the one which was followed by the other major liturgical project of German liberal Judaism to be undertaken in the first three decades of the 20th century. Between 1935-37 a new bible translation appeared – initiated by a Bible committee (“Bibelkommission”), within the Berlin Jewish community founded in 1924 by Leo Baeck⁶⁰. Other examples are the various translations by Franz Rosenzweig (1886-1929).⁶¹ Rosenzweig’s translation principles share the premisses of the German philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder and his theory, that the “Geist” of a people is expressed in its folk poetry. Consequently there is a “Geist” of the Jewish people expressed in the Hebrew poetic texts and Rosenzweig tried to reveal this “Geist” in the German by imitating the rhythm, the typical features of the Hebrew language and the poetic structures of the originals in German.⁶² In January 1922 – the month of Salzberger’s speech about the service in which he suggested Rosenzweig’s translation principles for the *Einheitsgebetbuch*, Rosenzweig had become ill with a quickly progressing paralysis, which made him unable to even speak, so that plans for him to be the translator of the *Einheitsgebetbuch* had to be dropped and Cesaer Seligmann would later provide the translations which, however, will differ hugely from the ones in his Frankfurt prayerbooks, as he follows here the different translation principles planned for the *Einheitsgebetbuch*.

Three issues of the monthly *Liberales Judentum* in 1922 published an on-going debate about the translation style of the new *Einheitsgebetbuch*. G. Salzberger had originally suggested that the translations should neither be slavishly literal nor freely poetic – as was common in liberal prayerbook – but should be a humble representation of the original, expressing in meaning and sound, in strength and expression and especially the rhythm of the holy language – which could perhaps be indicated by special printing (as Rosenzweig’s early liturgical translations do) – , so that the congregant would pray Hebrew even if he prays in German.⁶³ The next issue of *Liberales Judentum* published Seligmann’s reaction. He quoted four authorities on translation against the new trend: Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, (1848-1931), a famous German classical philologist and renowned authority on Ancient Greece and its literature, Rabbiner Dr. Joseph Wohlgemuth (1867 – 1942), lecturer at the orthodox Hildesheimer’sche rabbinical seminary who himself later published a torah translation, Meir Wiener’s introduction into “Die Lyrik der Kabbala”, and finally Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729-1781). All argue for the 18th and 19th century translation principles of creating

⁶⁰ The texts were translated by leading rabbis of the time: E. Auerbach, Max Dienemann, Benno Jacob, Max Wiener, Georg Salzberger, and others and edited by the scholar Harry Torczyner (later Naftali Herz Tur-Sinai).

⁶¹ In 1920 Rosenzweig published a German poetic translation of *Birkat haMason* (“Der Tischdank”, Jüdische Bücherei 22, Berlin: Gurlitt, 1920.). With this Rosenzweig began his translation career, focussing first on liturgical texts („Moais Zur deutsch“, Jüdische Rundschau 99 (12.12.1933), 946, first published in: Vom Sinn des Judentums. Sammelbuch zu Ehren Nathan Birnbaums, Frankfurt a.M.: Hermon, 1925.; „Der Herr der Welt. Der Hymnus Adon Olam deutsch“, Der Morgen 5,3 (1929), 249, later he translated poems by Yehuda Halevy. In 1925 he started the work on a bible translation.

⁶² *Barukh atta adonai* is for example he rhythmically translates with „Lob nun, ja Lob dir o Gott“.

⁶³ G. Salzberger, „Unser Gottesdienst“. Pages 59-68 in *Liberales Judentum* 14/7 (1922), 62.

a stylistically good text in the new language while sacrificing the original. Other opinions printed in *Liberales Judentum* by a certain Dr. Spanier, Magdeburg and Joseph Kauffmann, Berlin, supported this position.

The *Einheitsgebetbuch* will in the end follow a middle way. It will not print free poetic translations in the style C. Seligmann published in his other prayerbooks and his Haggadah, but it will also not follow the contemporary translation principles in the way Franz Rosenzweig did.⁶⁴ The *Einheitsgebetbuch* translations are close to the Hebrew with no independent ideas, but do not imitate the Hebrew grammar or rhythm, creating instead a poetic German. This rather follows Moses Mendelssohn's translation principles⁶⁵ according to which a translation has to be in a stylistically perfect language creating a similar atmosphere to that of the original but using the linguistic tools of the target language.

The song suggested in all services as the final hymn ("Schlussgesang")⁶⁶ in the *Einheitsgebetbuch* may serve as an example for Seligmann's style. The text is from Ps 36:8-10, traditionally said after putting on the tallit but now moved to the end of the service. Seligmann transforms the Hebrew poetic text into a German poem (The English does not imitate the rhyme and rhythm of C. Seligmann's text):⁶⁷

Gott, wie ist deine Liebe so gut,
Daß die Menschen sich bergen können in deiner
Hut!
In dir nur finden wir Glück und Ruh,
Du strömst uns deine Wonnen zu.
Du bist uns des Lebens Quell,
In deinem Lichte wird uns hell.

God, o how good is your love,
That people take refuge in your shelter.
In you alone do we find happiness and peace,
You let your pleasures flow towards us.
You are our source of life,
Your light illuminates us.

Seligmann's prose translations similarly adopt a poetic German liturgical style when translating Hebrew liturgical language or create a fluent German narrative when translating the Esther or Jonah stories.

III. The unique features of the *Einheitsgebetbuch*

The above sketched editorial principles led to four unique features of the *Einheitsgebetbuch* compared with other progressive prayer books from past and present: it created its very own

⁶⁴ Rosenzweig's idea of showing the Hebrew poetic structure in the style of printing is, however, followed in the German *Ma Tovv*, *Einheitsgebetbuch* (1933) p. 479, where the German is printed in obliquely inwards indented lines.

⁶⁵ Mendelssohn himself reflected about them in his work אור לנתיבה, a detailed introduction into his Torah translation, see: *Moses Mendelssohn, Gesammelte Schriften* 15,1, Stuttgart: Frommann-Holzboog, 1990, LIVf. Rosenzweig later sharply attacked Mendelssohn in the preface to his bible translation.

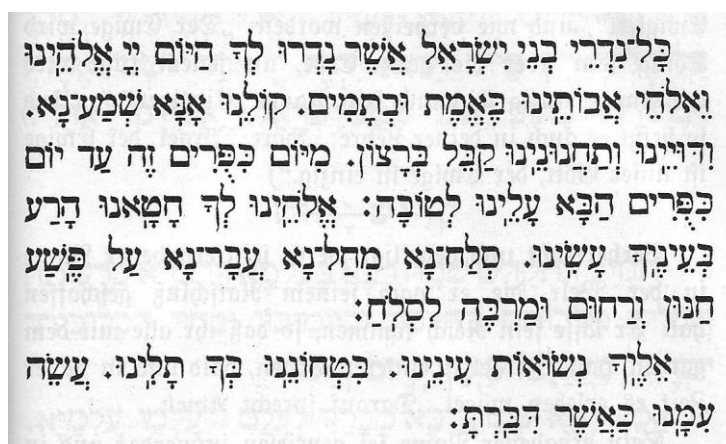
⁶⁶ In the early years of Belsize Square Synagogue, it was sung to a melody by a composer called "Rehfeld" according to a note about one of the synagogue's regular Sunday afternoon concerts from 1942 "Ma Jokor" Godfrey, *Three rabbis in a vicarage*, 64. Later it was used in Holland as popular Bar/Bat Mitzvah Song, in London as part of the Yizkor service.

⁶⁷ Compare this with the contemporary translations: both Tur Sinai and Buber/Rosenzweig both have: „Wie köstlich deine Liebe, Gott! / Die Menschenkinder, die im Schatten deiner Flügel sich geborgen / sie trinken von der Fülle deines Hauses / vom Strome deiner Wonnen tränkst du sie! / Bei dir ist ja des Lebens Quell / in deinem Lichte schaun wir Licht.“ Here the rhythm and style of the Hebrew is preserved, whereas Seligmann created a typical German poem with rhyme and Western-European metrical style.

Hebrew version of Kol Nidre, it created new evening services for Purim and Chanukkah, developed a new liturgical usage for Psalms (and other poetry) and reorganised the torah and haftarah readings.

1. New “Kol Nidre”

Kol Nidre was one of the first issues to be taken up by liturgical reformers, and has since then triggered on-going creativity within Classical Reform Judaism.⁶⁸ The Einheitsgebetbuch created a new Hebrew Kol Nidre, following an idea initiated by Abraham Geiger (Breslau 1854), developed by congregations in Hannover (1870), Munich (1899) and others⁶⁹. The Einheitsgebetbuch Kol Nidre is a new contribution to this debate. It uses liturgical phrases from the traditional Kol Nidre itself and from the *vidui* and creates an initial confession of sins in the style of *tachanun* serving as a headline for and summary of Yom Kippur:



“All the vows of the children of Israel which they have vowed unto Thee this day, O Lord our God and God of our fathers, are made in truth and with sincerity. O hearken unto our voice, and accept with favour our confessions and our supplications, from this Day of Atonement unto the next Day of Atonement, may it come to us for good. O our God, we have sinned before Thee, and we have done what is evil in Thy sight. O forgive us, pardon us, pass over our transgression, O Thou who art gracious and merciful and ever forgiving. Our eyes are lifted up unto Thee, our trust we have placed in Thee. Do with us as Thou hast promised.”⁷⁰

Berlin and Frankfurt had different traditions for Kol Nidre from that of Breslau with its new Hebrew versions - Frankfurt’s rabbi Leopold Stein had created the German hymn “O Tag des Herrn” (“Day of God O, come!”⁷¹) to be sung to a melody for Kol Nidre; Berlin followed a custom started by Lewandowski of singing the German translation of Psalm 130 to the tune of Kol Nidre. - The

⁶⁸ For details see: Annette M. Boeckler, “The Magic of the Moment. Kol Nidre in Progressive Judaism”, in: *All these vows, Kol Nidre*, ed. Lawrence A. Hoffmann (Woodstock VT: Jewish Lights, 2011), 39-66.

⁶⁹ Geiger’s version was first published in *Israelitisches Gebetbuch* (Breslau: Julius Hainauer, 1854), 358. The Hannover prayer was published and spread by *Israelitische Wochenschrift [Breslau]* 2 (1871), 301-302. The Munich version became famous because of L. Lewandowski’s setting in *Todah V’simrah. Vierstimmige Chöre und Soli für den israelitischen Gottesdienst mit und ohne Begleitung der Orgel*, Zweiter Teil: Festgesänge (Berlin 1882, No. 69), 112. For an overview of the development of the Hebrew Kol Nidre version from Geiger till today see Boeckler, “The Magic of the Moment” (see above) 52-58.

⁷⁰ English translation quoted from Petuchowski, *Prayer book Reform in Europe*, 346.

⁷¹ Stein’s song entered into the American Reform tradition, see Boeckler, “The Magic of the Moment” (see above), 47-51.

Einheitsgebetbuch had to offer these two other options for Berlin and Frankfurt, as well (vol II, p. 226f.). In the 3rd edition for Berlin (1938), however, only Psalm 130 is printed.

2. Neila and its Kedusha

Abraham Geiger introduced a meditative Neila service with new German meditative texts reflecting on sunset, the fading day of atonement, the end of life, renewed hope and strength.⁷² The Einheitsgebetbuch offers in the main text a rather traditional version of the Neila service, but in its appendix two alternative meditative possibilities: “Zum Schlußgebet des Versöhnungstages“. Version a (appendix 77f) is based on Abraham Geiger, version b (appendix 79-83) on Caesar Seligmann.

The enlarged German rendition of the Kedusha in the repetition of the Amidah in the Neila service “Aus jeglichem Munde schallt jubelnd der Ruf ...” is one of the most famous compositions by Louis Lewandowski, originally for the Mussaf Services on Festivals and High Holidays. It became the most popular liturgical choir-cantor piece in German immigrant congregations after the war and because of a specific Einheitsgebetbuch feature linked with Neila. This Kedushah is a condensed summary of Liberal Jewish theology: it describes universal praise of God and Israel’s task to be a moral light among the peoples, and it expresses confidence and hope in God in dark times, but especially its music – a typical German Romantic piece – was attractive. In Belsize Square Synagogue London the German version was sung in the Neila services till the 60s. In LIG Amsterdam Rabbi Jacob Soetendorp translated it into singable Hebrew, today known in the Netherlands as the “Amsterdam Kedusha”, in Tempel Beth Israel in Melbourne Rabbi Herman Sanger created a singable English translation. The Einheitsgebetbuch contained an enlarged free interpretative German version of *na’aritzcha* in the Neila service, but not identical with Lewandowski’s text version. Volume I of the Einheitsgebetbuch, however, contains Lewandowski’s text in the appendix.⁷³ Some copies of the Einheitsgebetbuch volume II that were available to me, however, had the Lewandowski-text inserted as loose leaflet. Although the Einheitsgebetbuch itself had tried to offer an alternative German version, with a similar content as Lewandowski’s piece but meant to be read, that failed to succeed against Lewandowski’s powerful choir composition. But it succeeded in creating space for a special enlarged kedusha in the Neila service.

The Einheitsgebetbuch’s Neila Kedusha is as follows:

ובכן לך תעלה קדושה. כי אתה אלהינו מלך

⁷² See for example Abraham Geiger, *Israelitisches Gebetbuch für den öffentlichen Gottesdienst im ganzen Jahre. Zweiter Theil: Neujahr und Versöhnungstag*. Berlin: Louis Gerschel, 1870, p. 404-408 and 414-415.

⁷³ Einheitsgebetbuch vol. I (Berlin edition 1933), appendix p. 124: „Aus jeglichem Munde erschallet der Ruf, Zum Lobe des Ew’gen, der Alles erschuf, Es jauchzet und jubelt der Himmlischen Chor, Es tönt von der Erde zum Himmel empor: ‚Heilig, heilig, heilig ist der Herr der Heerscharen, Voll ist die ganze Erde seiner Herrlichkeit! Die Herrlichkeit Gottes erfüllt das All, Nicht künden sie Worte, nicht kündet sie Schall. Und Israel, das er als Priester gesandt, Es trug sein Panier durch Völker und Land, Und wo es geweiht an jeglichem Ort, Erschallt zum Lobe des Herrn das Wort: ‚Gelobt sei die Herrlichkeit Gottes aller Orten!‘ Ob der Morgen erglüht, ob sich senket die Nacht, Empor zu dem Horte, der immerdar wacht, Entsendet des Glaubens geweihte Schar, Das Wort seines Heiles in Ewigkeit wahr: ‚Höre Israel, der Ewige, unser Gott, ist der Eine Gott.‘ Er war uns ein Hort in finsternen Tagen, Er gab uns die Kraft im Dulden und Tragen, Er wird uns dauernd weiter erhalten, Denn ewig besteht sein heiliges Walten! Ich, der Herr, bin euer Gott! Und mit dem heiligen Psalmworte rufen wir: „Der Ewige regiert immerdar, Dein Gott, Zion, von Geschlecht zu Geschlecht. Halleluja!“

So steige der jubelnde Huldigungschor
Zu dir, unserm König und Vater, empor.
So juble und jauchze in rauschendem Klang,
Wie die Chöre der Engel im Wechselgesang:

קדוש קדוש קדוש יי צבאות מלא כל הארץ כבוד

Laut singen die Lande, hell tönt jeder Stern
Von der Herrlichkeit Gottes, vom Ruhme des Herrn.
Und Israel, das er als Priester bestellt,
Es trug sein Panier durch die Völker der Welt,
Und wo es auf Erden ein Heiligtum schuf,
Erschallet der jubelnde Huldigungsruf:

ברוך כבוד יי ממקומו

Ob der Morgen erstrahlt, ob uns dunkelt die Nacht,
Empor zu dem Vater, der über uns wacht,
Empor zu dem liebenden, einzigen Hort
Tönt laut als Bekenntnis das heilige Wort:

שמע ישראל יי אלהינו יי אחד

Er war uns ein Hort in finsternen Tagen,
Er gab uns die Kraft im Dulden und Tragen,
Er wird uns dauern weiter erhalten,
Denn ewig besteht sein heiliges Walten!

אני יי אלהיכם

Gewaltiger Gott, voll erhabener Macht,
Wie leuchtet dein Name auf Erden voll Pracht!
Treu harren wir in frommem Vertrauen,
Den leuchtenden Morgen der Zukunft zu schauen.

ימלך יי לעולם אלהיך ציון לדר ודר הללויה

[then follows: *Ledor vaDor* and *uvechen* ...]

3. New services for the evenings of Chanukkah and Purim

The Einheitsgebetbuch increased the significance of Chanukkah and Purim, traditionally normal weekdays with some liturgical additions, by creating extended evening services for the first night of Chanukkah and for Erev Purim.⁷⁴ A Chanukkah evening service may have been felt to be important as a counterpart to Christmas night services on Dec 24th, which were and are of great importance in German culture. Purim corresponds to popular German folk traditions (known in Frankfurt) of

⁷⁴ P. 477-540 (1933 edition) "Gottesdienste für die Vorabende von Chanukka und Purim".

carnival in spring. These services – together with Simchat Torah – also served the purpose to introduce children to Judaism. Caesar Seligmann remembers his Frankfurt time:

“Hundreds of children with beaming faces, flags in their hands, paraded through the synagogue and clung in silence to my lips when I told them the Chanukkah-tales, and they learned on Erev Chanukka, as well as on the eve of Purim and Simchat Torah, about the beauty of Judaism, which took possession of their little hearts.”⁷⁵

A part of the Chanukka service was also the public presentation of gifts to all children (as in German Christmas evening services in churches); the money for the presents was taken from an endowment set up for the purpose. The new services otherwise use traditional customs (kindling lights, reading the megillah) but combine them with traditions from the morning service (Hallel, Ps 22 as Psalm for the day) and an opportunity for a sermon. There is no material for a morning service for these two occasions in the book. The new liturgy runs as follows:

Erev First Day of Chanukkah	Erev Purim
Song: <i>Ma Tovuh</i>	
Psalm 113.115.116.117.118 (=Hallel) The two blessings for Chanukkah candles <i>(lehadlik ner shel chanukka; al hanissim)</i> and <i>Shehecheyanu</i> Kindling of Chanukkah light Song: <i>Maoz Tzur</i> (German translation is singable) Sermon	Psalm 22 (= Psalm for Purim) rabbi's prayer

Weekday Ma'ariv service

Two Blessings for Megillat Esther (*al miqra megillah; she'asah nissim*) and
Shehecheyanu
Reading of the Megillah (the German translation is very narrative and sounds like a German story and may have been used instead of the Hebrew); chapter 9 is abridged.
 Blessing after the Megillah
 Song: *Shoshanat Ya'akov*
Sermon (or rabbi's prayer)

Kaddish Yatom

Final Song

This new relevance of Chanukkah and Purim (and also Simchat Torah) – festivals that were rather ignored in classical Progressive Judaism in the 19th century – goes back to Caesar Seligmann. It was his foremost task when he was called to Frankfurt to revitalize youth education; as part of this he started youth services. In his memoirs he remarks that “there was probably no other synagogue in Germany in which the three children's festivals were celebrated so decorously and attractively as in

⁷⁵ Seligmann, *Erinnerungen* (Manuskript), p. 231: „Zu hunderten zogen die Kinder mit strahlenden Gesichtern, Fähnchen in den Händen, durch die Synagoge, und hingen mit lautloser Stille an meinem Munde, wenn ich ihnen Chanucka-Märchen erzählte, und erfuhren am Chanucka-Vorabend wie auch am Vorabend Purim und Simchat Thora die Schönheit des Judentums, die von ihren Herzchen Besitz ergriff.“

the liberal West End Synagogue in Frankfurt.”⁷⁶ The evening services of Chanukka and Purim are till today celebrated as elaborate, special congregational children’s events in some of the Einheitsgebetbuch-heritage synagogues.

4. New liturgical usage of Psalms

To reduce the duration of the service, the psalms of *Psuke deZimra* and *Kabbalat Shabbat* were distributed to different weeks or occasions. As with many features of the Einheitsgebetbuch, this is a modernized form of a traditional custom that had become popular in Ashkenazi Jewry.⁷⁷ The Einheitsgebetbuch, however, changed the purpose of this custom by choosing texts now to attribute a certain spiritual meaning to certain days or festivals. It uses some of the traditional attributions⁷⁸ but in other cases completely ignores the tradition: Psalm 100, which traditionally weekdays, now becomes a regular psalm for festivals. Additionally new psalms were suggested as openings for evening services to create specific Erev Yom Tov services modelled after the Friday evening.

The Einheitsgebetbuch’s new distribution of psalms stems from Caesar Seligmann, who distributed parts of *Psuke deZimra* (not only Psalms) to different weeks in his Frankfurt prayer books⁷⁹ and – being himself a poet - had stressed the usage of Psalms and poetry in general in his own liturgies.⁸⁰

The following overview shows the Einheitsgebetbuch’s new attributions to their occasions:

Ps 1	for Psuke deZimra on Simchat Torah
Ps 6	Tachanun
Ps 8	Psalm for Sunday
Ps 15	Psalm for Monday
Ps 19	opening of erev 1 st day Rosh HaShanah and for Psuke deZimra on Shavuot and Yom Kippur
Ps 22	opening of erev Purim
Ps 23	Psalm for Tuesday and for opening of erev Shavuot
Ps 27	for Psuke deZimra on Sukkot
Ps 29	Psalm for Wednesday
Ps 33	Psuke deZimra on 7 th Pessach and opening of erev 2 nd day Rosh HaShanah
Ps 34	Psuke deZimra 1 st day of Pessach
Ps 42/43	opening of erev 1 st day of Pessach
Ps 46	Psuke deZimra 2 nd day Sukkot
Ps 50	Psuke deZimra 2 nd Shavuot,
Ps 65	opening of erev Shemini Atzeret
Ps 67	opening of service Saturday evening (Motzae shabbat)
Ps 68	opening of service Saturday evening (Motzae shabbat)

⁷⁶ Seligmann, *Erinnerungen* (manuscript), 231.

⁷⁷ The idea to enrich the *shir shel yom* of the temple liturgy by various other psalms goes back to Masekhet Sofrim 18 and was taken on by Tur and the Vilna Gaon, see in detail: יעקב יפה, שיר של יום בנוסח הגר"א, בית יצחק מ"ב (2010 תש"ע), 103-109.

⁷⁸ As Ps 6, 22; Ps 27 would also traditionally be read on Sukkot – but not only then, and some – as 19, 33, 34, 90, 91, 135, 136 - are traditionally part of all Psuke deZimra on all Shabbatot and Festivals, but in the Einheitsgebetbuch are now reduced to one occasion.

⁷⁹ See *Israelitisches Gebetbuch* Erster Teil (2. Aufl. 1928), S. 31-47). Seligmann’s new attributions of Psalms, however, are not identical with the Einheitsgebetbuch. For Seligmann’s own attributions see below after this section.

⁸⁰ The Neue Synagoge also used some Psalms of Psuke deZimra only on certain Festivals (19 Shavuot, 34 Pessach, 90-91 Sukkot, 135 Pessach and Shemini Atzeret, 136 last two days Pessach, 34 last two days Pessach and Shemini Atzeret.) But this system is less refined than Seligmann’s and the Einheitsgebetbuch’s.

Ps 84	Psalm for Thursday; at the end of Yom Kippur Avodah Service
Ps 90	Psuke deZimra Shemini Atzeret and Yom Kippur, and opening of erev 2 nd day Rosh HaShanah
Ps 91	after Amidah on Motzae Shabbat; Psuke deZimra Yom Kippur
Ps 92/93	Shabbat as traditional
Ps 95-99	one of them in each of 5 different weeks of the month in Kabbalat Shabbat Service
Ps 100	Psuke deZimra on all Festivals
Ps 103	Yom Kippur end of Avodah
Ps 104	in Mussaf for Yom Kippur (used as Piyyut in Kedushah)
Ps 113-118	opening of erev Chanukkah
Ps 119	(selection) opening of erev Simchat Torah
Ps 121	opening of erev Sukkot
Ps 128	before Havdalah
Ps 130	instead of Kol Nidre (in some congregations)
Ps 135	Psuke deZimra 2 nd day Pessach
Ps 136	Psuke deZimra 8 th Pessach,
Ps 144	opening of service Saturday evening (Motzae shabbat)
Ps 145	all Psuke deZimra occasions as in the tradition
Ps 146-150	one of them in 5 different weeks of the month in Psuke deZimra on Shabbat
Ps 150	Psalm for Friday

In the 1938 Berlin edition the tendency to highlight poetry is expanded to Piyyutim (taken from both, the Ashkenazi and the Sephardic traditions), and a new distribution of *Kerovot* into the different Amidahs during the High Holidays. The 1938 edition had no reception history after the war.

5. New choices for Torah and Haftarah Readings

Abraham Geiger – following an idea of the Hamburg Temple - had asked for a completely new system of a triennial torah readings to shorten the readings on shabbat to improve people's attention to the text. To be consistent to the ideology of liberal Judaism, however, the editors of the *Einheitsgebetbuch* also examined the torah readings for the festivals and shortened or replaced some of the traditional readings. It followed Geiger's recommendation to choose the Haftarah from Prophets or Writings⁸¹ in only one single case: the Haftarah for the 2nd day of Pessach is taken from the book of Chronicles (=Ketuvim)⁸², otherwise it stayed with the traditional order that prophetic readings have to stem from prophets. The following table gives an overview of these replacements of Torareading (T), Maftirreading (M) and Prophetic Reading/Haftara (H). Many readings are just shortened (given in *italics*), readings in **bold** show replacements for ideological reasons, * marks changes in the 1938 edition for the High Holidays.

	Traditional	Einheitsgebetbuch	reason for difference applying Geiger's principles (1870)
1.day Pessach	T: Exod 12:21-51 M: Num 28:16-25 H: Jos 5:2-6:1	T: <i>Exod 12:29-51</i> M: <i>Num 28:16-18</i> H: Isa 43:1-21	shorter, no blood ritual ⁸³ shorter (without sacrifice part) Jos 5 = problematic content (land, angel appearance, ritual)
2. day Pessach	T: Lev 22:26-23:44 M: Num 28:16-25 H: 2 Kings 23:1-9.21-25	T: <i>Lev 23:1-22</i> M: Num 28:16-18 H: 2 Chron 30:1-9	shorter no sacrifices no rituals or sacrifices

⁸¹ Geiger, *Plan*, 13.

⁸² Anglo-American and Israeli Progressive Judaism had less hesitation to choose for instance from the writings: Ezra 3:1-13 or Neh 8:13-18 for Sukkot and Neh 8:1-12 for Rosh Hashanah.

⁸³ See Petuchowski, *Development and Design*, 183.

Shabbat Chol Moed Pessach	T: Exod 33:12-34:26 M: Num 28:19-25 H: Ez 37:1-14	T: <i>Exod 34:1-26</i> M: Exod 12:25-27 H: Ez 37:1-14	shorter no sacrifices =
7. day Pessach	T: Exod 13:17-15:26 M: Num 28:19-25 H: 2 Sam 22	T: <i>Exod 14:5-15:21</i> M: Exod 13:6-10 H: 2 Sam 22:1-7.17-31	shorter no sacrifices shorter
8. day Pessach	T: Deut 14:22-16:17 M: Num 28:19-25 H: Isa 10:32-12:6	T: <i>Deut 15:12-16:17</i> M: Exod 23:14-17 H: <i>Isa 11:1-10;12:1-6</i>	shorter no sacrifices shorter
1. day Schavuot	T: Exod 19:1-20:23 M: Num 28:26-31 H: Ez 1:1-28	T: Exod 19:1-20:22 M: Deut 16:9-12 ⁸⁴ H: Isa 6:1-13	omits altar ⁸⁵ no sacrifices Geiger, <i>Plan</i> : Mishna forbids Ez 1 ⁸⁶
2. day Schavuot	T: Deut 14:22-16:17 M: Num 28:26-31 H: Hab 2:20-3:19	T: Deut 5:1-6:3 M: Deut 4:12-15 H: Jer 31:29-36	10 commandments 2 nd version no sacrifices no sensual description of God
1. day Sukkot	T: Lev 22:26-23:44 M: Num 29:12-16 H: Zech 14	T: <i>Lev 23:23-44</i> M: Deut 16:13-15 H: Isa 35:1-10	shorter no sacrifices Zech 14 problematic content (gathering of exiles, not universal)
2. day Sukkot	T: Lev 22:26-23:44 M: Num 29:12-16 H: 1 Kings 8:2-21	T: Deut 8:1-18 M: Lev 23:42-44 H: 1Kings 8:2-21	no repetition (= 1st day) no sacrifices =
Shabbat Chol Moed Sukkot	T: Exod 33:12-34:26 M: Num 29:17-31 H: Ez 38:18-39:16	T: <i>Ex 34:1-26</i> M: Deut 16:15-17 H: 1 Kings 8:22-43	shorter no sacrifices no Gog-Magog battle, but universal
Shemini Azeret	T: Deut 14:22-15:17 M: Num 29:35-30:1 H: 1 Kings 8:54-66	T: Deut 10:12-11:21 M: Deut 28:2-6 H: 1 Kings 8:54-66	Deut 14 = about land no sacrifices =
Simchat Tora	T: Deut 33:1-34:12 T: Gen 1:1-2:3 M: Num 29:35-30:1 H: Jos 1:1-18	T: Deut 33:1-34:12 T: Gen 1:1-2:3 M: Deut 4:2-4 H: Jos 1:1-9 ⁸⁷	= = no sacrifices =
1. day Rosh haShana	T: Gen 21:1-34 M: Num 29:1-6 H: 1 Sam 1:1-2:10	T: [Deut 29:9-30:20] ; in many cong.: <i>Gen 21:1-27</i> *In the 1938 edition Deut 29f is not given, only Gen 21. M: Lev 23:23-25 H: 1 Sam 1:1-2:10 ⁸⁸ ; <i>many cong start with chap.2</i> *In the 1938 edition it starts with chap 2.	higher ethical value or shortened no sacrifices = or shorter
2. day Rosh haShana	T: Gen 22:1-24 M: Num 29:1-6 H: Jer 31:2-20	T: <i>Gen 22:1-19</i> M: Lev 23:23-25 H: Jer 31:1-20	shortened no sacrifices =
Yom Kippur morning	T: Lev 16 M: Num 29:7-11 H: Isa 57:14-58:14	T: Exod 33:12-34:10 *In 1938 edition Lev 16 M: Lev 23:26-28 H: Isa 57:14-58:14	Lev 16 = "primitive" ritual no sacrifices =
Yom Kippur mincha	T: Lev 18	T: Lev 19:1-18	Lev 18: = contains unethical aspects

⁸⁴ This is a mistake in the Einheitsgebetbuch that has wrongly Deut 15.

⁸⁵ Petuchowski, *Development and Design*, 22.

⁸⁶ Geiger, *Plan*, 22f „Wir kehren nur zur nüchtern gefundenen Ansicht der Mischnah zurück, wenn wir unsere Gebete von diesem sie durch mystischen Schwulst entstellenden Engelapparate befreien.“. Petuchowski, *Development and Design*, 184, assumes: "many traditionalist rabbis forbade translating it, because, as Rabbi S. Bamberger put it, 'the sublime character of this *Haphtarah* cannot be expressed in a translation.' Of course, even a translation would be rather hard for a modern Jew to understand, and it is easy to see why the editors of the *Einheitsgebetbuch* preferred it to the traditional *Haphtarah*."

⁸⁷ This is a mistake in Einheitsgebetbuch that gives 1-8 in the Hebrew numbering but prints the text till verse 9.

⁸⁸ This is a mistake in Einheitsgebetbuch that gives 1 Sam 1:1 – 2:8 in the Hebrew numbering but prints the text till verse 10.

	H: Jonah. Micah 7:18-20	H: Jonah.Micah 7:18-20 *in 1938 edition: Jona 3-4 and Mi 7:18-20	= shorter
Tisha beAv Shaharit	T: Deut 4:25-40 H: Jer 8:13-9:23	T: Deut 4:25-40 H: <i>Jer 9:9-23</i>	= shorter
Tisha beAv Mincha	T: Exod 32:11-14; 34:1-10 H: Isa 55:6-13; 56:1-8	T Exod 32:11-14; 34:1-10 H: Isa 55:6-13; 56:1-6	= omits ingathering of exiles

PART II

Dutch Liberal Liturgy and its development

The development of the liberal liturgy came to a brutal end just nine years after the process of a unification of the liturgy had begun. The “Einheitsgebetbuch” had its impact in the following years for the most part outside Germany, among others in the Netherlands, where it was the beginning of Dutch liberal liturgy. It had the capacity to unite the liturgical needs of the refugees coming from different places, being used to a variety of prayer books in their various home synagogues. The *Einheitsgebetbuch* – one of two major projects of Liberal Jewry in the early 20th century⁸⁹ – may thus not have replaced existing prayer books in Germany’s pre-war congregations, but served the needs of the various refugees and helped to form Jewish progressive liturgy in the 20th century.

German rabbis, cantors and congregants emigrated during the war to the Netherlands, Sweden and Switzerland, the UK and Ireland, to North- and South America, China, Australia and Africa. Several existing congregations in these countries became heavily influenced by the new immigrants, especially by the refugee rabbis⁹⁰. In the following I will focus only on those German immigrant congregations that started with using the *Einheitsgebetbuch* or a liturgy in the vernacular of the new country deliberately based on it and will describe their subsequent liturgical development. Most of them kept developing their own liturgy and use till today their own prayer books published by their congregations still reflecting their special liturgical history. As will be shown these congregations all had certain personal or local links to the *Einheitsgebetbuch*. It had been used there before the war (Amsterdam) or by some of the congregants (Berlin) or one of the editors or one of his students were founder members of the new congregations (London, New York, São Paulo and Rio). The *Einheitsgebetbuch* was able to create congregations that could affiliate with either or even both at the same time, the conservative/masorti and the Reform or Liberal movement of their new

⁸⁹ The other major project was the new bible translation, on which the leading rabbis of the Berlin community worked, initiated by Leo Baeck, edited by Harry Torczyner (later Tur-Sinai), who collected the translations done by leading rabbis of German liberal Judaism and appeared in Berlin in 1934. It did not have a similar impact as the *Einheitsgebetbuch*. It was revised by Torczyner himself in the 50s, who at that time did not live in a Germany speaking environment but in Jerusalem and is today mostly known in certain Christian circles in Germany, as it was republished in the 90s by an Evangelical publisher as the “Jewish Old Testament”. Its roots in the Berlin congregational history are forgotten, and it is even regarded as the “Tur-Sinai-translation”.

⁹⁰ For first information see Michael A. Meyer, “The Refugee Rabbis: Trials and Transmissions”. Pages 87-103 in: *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book 58* (2012). According to M. Meyer 250 rabbis and cantors fled Germany during the Nazi period plus several rabbinical students who finished their studies in their new countries.

countries. All of them have or had – at least at a certain time in their development - relations to the World Union for Progressive Judaism, especially to Lily Montagu.

I Congregations founded with the *Einheitsgebetbuch* and their liturgical developments till today

Congregations whose liturgy started with the German <i>Einheitsgebetbuch</i>	Location	Start/*Re-start of services after WWII
Congregação Israelita Paulista (CIP)	São Paulo, Brazil	August 1936/1938 ⁹¹
New Liberal Jewish Synagogue (today: Belsize Square Synagogue)	London, United Kingdom	March 24, 1939
Congregation Habonim	New York, USA	November, 1939
Associação Religiosa Israelita (ARI)	Rio de Janeiro, Brazil	January 13, 1942
Liberaal Joodse Gemeente Amsterdam	Amsterdam, Netherlands	*December, 29, 1945 (The German <i>Einheitsgebetbuch</i> was already used 1934-1943.)
Synagogue Pestalozzistrasse (+ later other Synagogues in West and East Berlin)	Berlin, Germany	*September 14, 1947 (services took place in its ruins since 2 nd June, 1945, but the German liberal style only re-started with Cantor E. Nachama) ⁹²

First rescued copies from Germany were used, but in 1953, 1960 and 1968 the German *Einheitsgebetbuch* vol. II (High Holidays) was reprinted in Berlin and Amsterdam by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee using the printing plates of the 2nd edition that had been saved by the philosopher Dr. Felix Kaufmann (1895-1949)⁹³, who owned the Frankfurt/Main M. Lehrberger Publishing company, in which the *Einheitsgebetbuch* had appeared and who had emigrated to New York in 1938. The impact of the rescue of these printing plates may not be underestimated in the history of the post-war success of the 2nd edition of this German liberal prayer book, as they not only served for reprints, but also provided the Hebrew texts of the revised and translated editions, as since the 50s and 60s the *Einheitsgebetbuch* has been adapted to the liturgical developments in the different congregations.

The *Einheitsgebetbuch* even had an impact beyond the specific German immigrant congregations, as

⁹¹ Religious activities started in 1936 with the arrival of F. Pinkuss, the “sociedade Israelita Paulista” was officially transformed into a “congregation” on Rosh haShana 1938.

⁹² E. Slevogt, *Die Synagoge Pestalozzistrasse*, p. 65. The typical Pestalozzistrasse service as started by Estrongo Nachama with mixed choir and organ started only 1947 with the rededication of the renovated building, E. Slevogt, p. 74.

⁹³ Felix Kaufmann owned the M. Lehrberger printing company, in which all editions of the *Einheitsgebetbuch* had appeared. See *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums*, 26th January 1912: "Frankfurt am Main, 19. Januar (1912). Es dürfte Ihre Leser interessieren, zu erfahren, dass die Firma S. Lehrberger & Co., Buchdruckerei und Verlagsanstalt in Frankfurt am Main - Rödelheim, nach dem Ableben des seitherigen Besitzers mit dem 1. Januar dieses Jahres auf Herrn Dr. phil. Felix Kauffmann in Frankfurt am Main übergegangen ist und von ihm mit der ihm bereits gehörenden Firma M. Lehrberger & Co. vereinigt wurde. Damit sind die beiden, insbesondere auf dem Gebiete des hebräischen Gebetbuchdruckes ob der Korrektheit der durch sie herausgegebenen Gebetbücher weltbekannten Lehrbergerschen Offizinen, nachdem sie über zwei Dezennien zwei verschiedenen Zweigen der bekannten Buchdruckfamilie gehört hatten, wiederum in einer Hand vereinigt. Wie bekannt, ist das Lehrbergersche Unternehmen aus der Buchdruckerei hervorgegangen, die Wolf Heidenheim, der als Gelehrter wie als Verlagsbuchhändler gleich angesehen war, im Jahre 1796 in Rödelheim gegründet hatte." [http://www.alemannia-judaica.de/images/Images%20331/Roedelheim%20AZJ%2026011912.jpg]

for example the Berlin-born Rabbi John D. Rayner, who adored the Einheitsgebetbuch⁹⁴, became one of the editors of the prayer books of Liberal Judaism in Britain and German refugee rabbis had a major impact on British Reform Judaism and the development of its liturgy⁹⁵.

The German immigrant congregations that started with the Einheitsgebetbuch developed their liturgies in different ways. In the course of their liturgical history some focussed more on outer aspects of the German liberal service, its specific music, decorum and style⁹⁶, others aimed at keeping either the text itself or the editorial principles of the Einheitsgebetbuch. The following descriptions of the liturgical developments follow the chronological order of the foundations of the congregations. Among several others I'd like to especially express gratitude to the two prayer books editors Rabbijn David Lilienthal and Rabino Uri Lam for an extraordinary support, especially for sending source materials and providing information about Dutch and Brazilian Progressive Judaism, without which this research would not have been possible.

Amsterdam, Liberaal Joodse Gemeente

Liberaal Joodse Gemeente Amsterdam was re-started in May 1945.⁹⁷ It is today the largest and the leading liberal congregation in the Netherlands and a mother congregation of several smaller Dutch congregations throughout the country, an active part of the European Union for Progressive Judaism. The congregation consisted originally mainly of German refugees⁹⁸ and the Einheitsgebetbuch was used until the 50s. In 1960 a photo-offset of the High Holiday Einheitsgebetbuch was reprinted in Amsterdam. The German Einheitsgebetbuch was in fact on the shelves in the synagogue till the 70s.⁹⁹

1. Sidoer and Machzor Seder Tov Lehodot

The transition to the Dutch language took place in 1964, with the publication of *Sidoer and Machzor Seder Tov Lehodot* by Rabbis Jacob Soetendorp – the first Dutch rabbi in the congregation - and the learned chairman of the Hague congregation R.A. Levisson, who luckily owned a printing company. “According to its editors... the siddur rests on two pillars. The first is the liturgy composed before the war by Rabbi Dr. J. Norden (of Elberfeld, Wuppertal) [the first rabbi in The Hague], Rabbi Dr. H. Hirschberg [from Berlin, rabbi in Amsterdam 1933-1934] ... The second pillar is the German Einheitsgebetbuch of 1929. ...”¹⁰⁰ *Machzor Tov Lehodot* is largely a photo-offset print of the Hebrew

⁹⁴ He repeatedly expressed this to me in oral communication.

⁹⁵ As Rabbi Werner van der Zyl (North Western Reform Synagogogue Alyth Gardens and Leo Baeck College), former rabbi in Berlin; Rabbi Bruno Italiener (West London Synagoge), former rabbi at the Hamburg Temple; Rabbi Dr. Ignaz Maybaum (Edgware and District Reform Synagoge), former rabbi in Berlin.

⁹⁶ The preservation and adaptation of the German liberal liturgy performance based on Lewandowski, Sulzer and others and its slight but noticable adaptations to the cultures of the new countries in the different German heritage synagogues would be a separat, musicologist research, not restricted on the Einheitsgebetbuch congregations, as for example German congregations in Australia, South Africa and Canada kept the Lewandowski service but used the Union Prayer Book or other liberal prayerbooks of the given countries.

⁹⁷ For the history of liberal Judaism in Holland since 1931 and the liturgical customs of the Amsterdam congregation between 1934 and 1943 see M. L. van Praag, *Between Renewal and Tradition*.

⁹⁸ Van Praag, 25-26.

⁹⁹ Lilienthal, “Vijfendertig jaar...”, 262, note 15.

¹⁰⁰ Van Praag, 36.

texts from the Einheitsgebetbuch, the Dutch translations¹⁰¹, however, are placed under the Hebrew not on the opposite pages as in the German edition. Thus texts could more easily be changed or added. Some changes try to make the book more user-friendly and the text was adapted to Amsterdam customs. The second paragraph of Aleinu for example is now printed in Dutch only except the last phrase *vene'emar ...*¹⁰², some Piyutim are left out, there are no Mincha services before the High Holiday evening services and no silent Mussaf Amida, and other Minhag Amsterdam adaptations. A move to a slightly more traditional service can be recognized in the addition of *chatzi kaddish* and piyyutim (*hakol yoducha* in *yotzer*, *ein keloheinu* after mussaf, etc.). But *Tov Lehodot* kept the Einheitsgebetbuch's version of Aleinu, Geiger's four shortened and rearranged morning blessings, some of the specific usages of the Psalms (Ps 104 in Musaf Yom Kip (383f), Ps 103 in Avoda), and it avoided repetitive wording. It reprints the short version of the Rosh haShana Mussaf, and the Yom Kippur Avoda just abridged the German narrative slightly.

The most striking changes are the following:

a) Zionism

As Dutch liberal Judaism was Zionist from its very beginnings, *Tov lehodot* deliberately re-inserted prayers for Israel and wishes for a return to the land.¹⁰³ A prayer of the restoration of Jewish independence on the Jewish people's own soil and a prayer for the state of Israel were newly created.

b) Kol Nidre

Mahzor Tov lehodot has a Hebrew Kol Nidre, but not that of the Einheitsgebetbuch. But it is identical with the version in Swedish liberal mahzor¹⁰⁴. The Dutch (and Swedish) Liberal Kol Nidre is a kind of *ya'aleh veyavoh* prayer. It may have entered for musical reasons, as this version - originally used in Munich - an alternative Hebrew version for which Lewandowski had published music using the traditional Kol Nidre tune.¹⁰⁵ The Dutch Kol Nidre is the following:

כל נדרי בני ישראל אשר המה נודרים לך אבינו בנשוא עיניהם אליך היושבי בשמים לשוב אליך בכל לבבם
ובבל נפשם מיום כפורים זה עד יום כיפורים הבא עלינו לטובה כולם יעלו ויבואו ויגיעו ויראו לפניך לרחמים
וחדש רוח נכום בקירבם למען יסורו מדרכם הרעה ואל ישובו לכסלם:

“All the vows of the children of Israel which they vow to You, our Father, lifting up their eyes to You, who dwells in the heavens, to return to You with all their heart and with all their soul, from this Day of Atonement to the next Day of Atonement, may it come to us for good, may all of them ascend and come and be accepted before You to mercy. And renew a steadfast spirit in them that they may depart from their evil way, and not return to their folly.”¹⁰⁶

¹⁰¹ The Piyutim in the machzor are the translations by R.J. Spitz (oral information by Rabbi D. Lilienthal).

¹⁰² P. 32f, 208f.

¹⁰³ *Vetechesena enenu* (27), or *chadash al tzion tair* is re-introduced (61), *vehavienu leshalom mearba kanfot ha'aretz* (61) *av harachaman* are re-introduced in the torah service (87).

¹⁰⁴ תפלת ישראל *Bönbok för den offentliga gudstjänsten. Nyårsfesten och Försoningsdagen. II Försoningsdagen.* Stockholm, Stockholms Mosaiska Församling, 1931, p. 4.

¹⁰⁵ L. Lewandowski, *Todah W'simrah. Vierstimmige Chöre und Soli für den israelitischen Gottesdienst*, Zweiter Teil: Festgesänge, 11. Aufl. 1954 (reprint of Berlin, 1876-1882), Nr. 69 „für die israelitische Gemeinde in München nach der Melodie von ‚Kol Nidre‘ bearbeitet.“ It is based on a version created in Hanover in 1870.

¹⁰⁶ Dutch: „Mogen alle geloften van de kinderen van Israel die zij vandaag U beloven onze vader, nu zij hun ogen tot U opslaan, tot U die in de hemel troont, mogen die tot U opstijgen en voor U komen in liefde. Alle beloften, waarin zij zeggen tot U terug te keren met heel hun hart en al hun verlangen, dit gehele jaar van deze dag der verzoening tot de dag der verzoening in 't folgend jaar, ach mogen die voor U verschijnen in liefde.“

c) “Amsterdam Kedushah”

Jacob Soetendorp translated the “Deutsche Kedescha” into a Hebrew text, which in Holland is now known as the “Amsterdam Kedushah”, used in the Neila service¹⁰⁷.

נעריצך ונקדישך
כסוד שיח שרפי מעלה
יעלה רינונינו בערב יום
לאבינו מלכינו נורא ואיום:
נעריצך ונקדישך
לאבינו מלכינו יושב תהלה:

השמים מספרים כבוד אל
גדלו וטובו מלא תבל:

קדוש קדוש קדוש " צבאות מלא כל הארץ כבודו:

ועם סגולתו ממלכת כוהנים
מקדש את שמו בתוך כל הגוים
ובכל מסעותיו של גלות ארוכה
מהלל שם עליום אל נורא עלילה
ברוך כבוד " ממקומו:

בזוהר היום ובלילה אפל
מקדשים ומיחדים יחודך אל
עליך הורגנו כל הימים
ושמך לא שכחנו מלך עולים:

שמע ישראל " אלהינו " אחד:

מחסה ומעוז
בכל צרותינו
נתן לנו עוז
האיר את דרכינו
הוא יפדה את נפשינו לעולמי עד
כי " ימלוך לעולם ועד
אני " אלוהיכם
ימלוך " לעולם אלהיך ציון לדור ודור הללויה:

2. The development of a Dutch Liberal Liturgy

A Dutch booklet containing *Birkat hamazon* and *Shabbat Semirof* (het “bensj-boekje”), edited by Rabbi David Lilienthal and published in 1976, marks the beginning of a 24-year process of reworking of Dutch liturgy.¹⁰⁸ (As the work on the Festival and High Holiday Machzor is still in progress, one actually can’t yet mark an end of this process, yet.) A revision was felt to be necessary because of the outdated language of the Dutch Einheitsgebetbuch translations. In 1989 there was an attempt to

Vernieuw in hen de geest om stand te houden, opdat zij de kwade weg verlaten en niet terugkeren tot ijdele zelfoverschatting.” (סדר טוב להודות) p. 163).

¹⁰⁷ Mahzor *Tov lehodot*, 537f.

¹⁰⁸ For the history of the present Dutch siddur see Lilienthal, “Vijfendertig jaar ...”, 262-264 and the “Inleiding” in Seder *Tov Lehodot*, esp. pages xxiv-xxxii..

publish a Dutch version of the American conservative Siddur Sim Shalom that had just appeared, but this did not match the feelings of the congregation. In 1991 an experimental phase started with creating an own Dutch siddur, first for Friday evening (April 91), and Shabbat morning (Dec 91). New Dutch translations by Manja Bakker (Ressler) and Andreas Dessaur were produced, closer to the Hebrew than the one in the 1964 siddur and aiming to be gender-neutral. The translators worked together with the rabbis and debated the meaning of each phrase and word in regular committee meetings. Draft versions appeared in 1995 and 1996, - computers were just coming into use and that made things easier – and were tested in all Dutch congregations. The final version appeared in 2000: *Seder Tov Lehodot. Teksten, gebeden en diensten voor weekdagen, Sjabbat en andere gelegenheden*, and is today the common prayer book of all Dutch liberal congregations.

a) Editorial Principles of today's Dutch liturgy

The major new features are the following:

1. The 2000 Siddur is it is a new creation, not just a revision of the Einheitsgebetbuch, developed by all Dutch rabbis in office at the time¹⁰⁹, chaired by Rabbi David Lilienthal, Amsterdam, and agreed upon in all Dutch liberal congregations.¹¹⁰ It based on the 1964 Dutch version of the Einheitsgebetbuch but also was inspired by other modern Siddurim, which try – as did the Einheitsgebetbuch – to combine tradition and modernity: *Sim Shalom* [US conservative, 1989], *Ha'avodah shebalev* [Israel Progressive Movement, 1982], *Forms of Prayer* [British Reform, 1977], *Siddur Kol Haneshamah* [Reconstructionist, 1998], *Siddur Lev Chadash* [British Liberal, 1995], *Gates of Prayer* [US Reform, 1994], *On the Doorposts of Your House* [US Reform], *Siddur 'Va'ani Tefilati'* [Israel Masorti, 1998].

2. The Shoah was given an important place in the new Dutch liberal liturgy. Currently it seems that the Dutch Siddur and the Israeli progressive *Ha'avodah shebalev* are the only siddurim in which the Shoah has found liturgical expression throughout.

For example the section *עזרת אבותינו* in the blessing after the Shema in Shacharit starts in the traditional way but instead of the passage starting with הרגתם כל בכוריהם "all their firstborn you killed" it continues (and actually the chazzan starts here) (p. 68; 274):

○ בדורותינו האחרונים הנחיתו אויביך מכה קשה
 בעמך, כפי שלא נראתה מעולם. אך, בתוך אפלת שנות
 השואה, שרר עמך ישראל, בידי מתי מעט, שארית
 הפליטה, עניים וכואבים נתת עוז, ויבנו חיים חדשים.
 אתה החייתנו וקימתנו לראות את הנס בזמן הזה,
 את פזורינו מבין הגוים קרבת, ונפוצותינו מירכתי ארץ
 כנסת, ושבנו בנים לגבולם. על זאת שבחו אהובים
 ורוממו אל, ונתנו ידדים תהלות לאל עליון, ברוך הוא
 ומבורך.

¹⁰⁹ General editor and project manager: Rabbi David Lilienthal. Editorial committee: Rabbi Awraham Soetendorp (he created the largest part of the new texts in the life cycle section), Rabbi Menno ten Brink, and Rabbi Ruben Bar Ephraim, Rabbi Sonny Herman and Rabbi Edward van Voolen who took part in parts of the project and proofread the Hebrew (information according to p. 724).

¹¹⁰ In 2005 Rabbi Lilienthal produced a prayer book for the English speaking liberal congregation in Brussels, Belgium (the "International Jewish Centre") and with minor changes copied the Shabbat services and Festival additions from the Dutch siddur, but with English translations instead of Dutch ones.

„In our generation Your people have suffered more than ever before at the hands of the oppressor. But, in spite of the deep dark years of the Shoah, Your people has remained alive. The few who survived You gave strength, to rebuild their lives and their communities, in spite of all their wounds (after Deut. 28:62, Isaiah 37:31, Psalm 69:30). In our generation we have been privileged to witness the wonder of Your dispersed people returning and rebuilding our ancestral land, that children are ingathered within their own borders (after Jeremiah 31:7[8], 31:16[17]). For all this, Your beloved sing hymns of acclamation to the great and awesome Source of all blessing, who is forever blessed. Like Moses and Miriam and the children of Israel, we sing with great joy this song to You ...”. [the traditional text follows.]¹¹¹ This text is a new creation using the same principles of creating liturgical texts that were used for traditional piyyutim with biblical and liturgical phraseology expressing modern content.

Further, the life cycle section contains a prayer for returning into the Jewish community for somebody who rediscovers his/her Jewishness after s/he was alienated from Judaism because of the Shoah (p. 600). There are services for Yom HaShoah and for the special Dutch Memorial Day May 4th. The new Dutch Siddur thus mirrors the experiences of the Dutch liberal congregations and found liturgical expressions for them.

3. The state of Israel is taken into account throughout. The Dutch liberal siddur is therefore probably the most Zionist progressive siddur in use at the moment.

For example it contains a special *Misheberach* for those making Aliyah to Israel (p. 318): בעבור שעלה לתורה ובעבור שבקרוב יקים מצות עליה לארץ ישראל. as well as a special service for a communal meal for someone about to make aliyah, taking up a custom from the Former Soviet Union. This farewell service is modelled after the Pessach seder and each of the four cups of vine is accompanied by words from Parashat Lech Lecha (Gen 12:1) and ends with the exclamation לשנה הזאת בירושלים “This year in Jerusalem!” (p. 602-604).

Yom haAtzmaut is given the same liturgical status as Chanukka and Purim (a special *al-hanissim* prayer is inserted into Amida and Birkat haMazon). This was inspired by the Israeli progressive Siddur Haavodah shebalev.

The 17th bracha in the Amida (p. 82) contains ושכון בציון ויעבדיך עבדיך בירושלים “And dwell in Tzion and your servants shall serve you in Jerusalem”. The traditional temple sacrificial service was just changed into some other kind of service in Zion. In the chatimah ועמו was added: המחזיר שכינתו “who returns his presences and his people to Zion”¹¹².

The beginning of the torah service about the rebuilding of Jerusalem is set into past tense: אב הרחמים, היטבת ברצונך את ציון, בנית חומות ירושלים, *av harachamim, hetavta birtzon'cha et tzion, banita chomot yerushalayim* (p. 300). This change originated in a spontaneous change of the wording by rabbi Jacob Soetendorp in the service on the first Shabbat after the Six Day War in 1967, just after the reunification of the city. In the services this wording was then used ever since, in spite of what

¹¹¹ English translation quoted from the Belgium liberal Siddur, edited by D. Lienthal, where this part was taken over. - The original Dutch in Sidoer Tov Lehodot, p. 275, is: “In onze dagen is Uw volk door Uw vijanden zwaarder getroffen dan ooit. Ondanks de diepe duisternis van de jaren van den Sjoa is Uw volk blijven voortbestaan. De weinigen die ontkwamen, heeft U de kracht gegeven ondanks de wonden het leven weer op te bouwen. In onze dagen hebben wij het wonder beleefd dat verstrooiden van Uw volk weer worden verzameld en het land herbouwen, en dat kinderen kunnen terugkeren binnen hun eigen grenzen. Zij die Uw liefde ervaren danken en prijzen U. Uw dierbaren zingen lofliederen tot de Allerhoogste, Hij zij geprezen.” In ¹¹² This took up a wording from *Siddur Avodah Shebalev*. The idea was first introduced by Rabbi André Zaoui in the siddur of congregation Har El in Jerusalem. (I thank Rabbi David Lienthal for this information.)

was printed. In the 2000 siddur this change was now for the first time fixed in print.¹¹³

In Birkat haMazon, instead of the wish ירושלים ובנה ירושלים *ub'ne yerushalim* the Dutch Siddur now has: ירושלים ובהשלם בנין ירושלים *vehashlem binyan yerushalayim* ... “and complete the building of Jerusalem” (p. 514) and it acknowledges that the land was not only given to our ancestors, but also to us: "נודה לך ... node lecha adonai eloheinu al shehinchalta la'avoteinu velanu ..."

4. Despite its explicit Zionism and stress of particular Jewish experiences, Seder tov lehodot also reintroduces universalism – more than the original Einheitsgebetbuch did, but in the vein of German liberal Judaism (similar universalistic tendencies can be found in many German Jewish Liberal prayer books of the 19th century.)

For example in the 11th blessing of the weekday Amidah after “and rule over us” ומלוך עלינו is now added: ועל כל תבל ארצך “and over the whole world”. The 14th blessing asks now that Jerusalem may be a place of worship for all nations: וביתך שיקרא בית תפלה לכל העמים מהרה לתוכה תכין (taking up an idea of the British “Forms of Prayer”).

5. The language of the siddur echoes partly the egalitarian status of women in today's Dutch liberal congregations. This is not done consistently¹¹⁴, since there was still resistance among some members to these changes and secondly the Dutch language does not lend itself easily to be neutral, so changes were done where it was possible without too many strange grammatical constructions. A special feature of the Dutch siddur is that *Shirat haYam* in the *Psuke deZimra* section also contains the verse that Miriam took the timbrel and sang, too (p. 56).

6. Unlike from the Einheitsgebetbuch Seder Tov lehodot also includes private home spirituality. The Einheitsgebetbuch was a book to be used in public synagogue services. The whole second part of the book (p. 374-623) deals with home services, Life Cycle, various prayers and brachot for different situations (before an operation, for somebody ill or dying, etc.), study texts and finally a psalm anthology (p. 624-709). It contains an elaborate Weekday Morning services with a variety of 13 different personal study sections with torah, mishnah and talmud passages (Leergedeeelte A-M, p. 8-25). Similarly the very first prayer in this Siddur is a morning prayer for children when getting up (p. 2). Unwittingly it follows here something that was very important to Caesar Seligmann, the Einheitsgebetbuch general editor: to fascinate children and youth for Judaism.

Further there are some interesting developments of Einheitsgebetbuch features:

The Chanukka evening service is enlarged and now contains a variety of study sections and songs so that each night of Chanukka can be celebrated – at home – in a meaningful way (p. 400-415). Similar extensive evening services can be created for Yom haShoah and May 4th, Yom HaAtzmaut and Tisha beAv with the help of the extensive study anthology for these days.

Texts in Birkot haShachar are given as alternatives (I or II) to shorten the service along the lines of the editorial principles of the Einheitsgebetbuch. For their abridged Psuke deZimra Section Seder Tov Lehodot Siddur Tov lehodot takes up the idea of variation, but follows the British Liberal custom – reviving an ancient praxis described in mTa'anit 4:2f¹¹⁵ – of reciting each day a section from the

¹¹³ Information from Rabbi David Lilienthal in an email from Nov 6th, 2011.

¹¹⁴ Thus besides the traditional first passage of the Amidah an alternative is given below including the imahot so that one can choose to be egalitarian or not (This follows the British “Forms of Prayer” 7th ed.).

¹¹⁵ *Siddur Lev Chadash* (1995), 30-35, and note 30 on p. 665 which shows that the editors of *Lev Chadash* were conscious of the link to the temple praxis.

creation story Gen 1,1-31. (The traditional daily Psalms are also given in the Psalm anthology in the appendix.)

The principle of avoiding repetition is more consistently followed than in the Einheitsgebetbuch itself. This is possible as historicist considerations about returning to an ancient core as proven by sources had become obsolete in the 21st century, and had been replaced by ideological considerations as to what can honestly be said today. This classical principle of Geiger is the only basis for the text, and led to the following developments:

The beginning of Ge'ulah is now even more abridged (p. 68). Ashre after the torah service now only contains the beginning and the end (p. 338). There are Dutch congregations that do not have a mussaf service and for those the Mussaf kedusha is now included as an alternative second version for the shaharit amida (p. 284). A Mussaf service is nevertheless printed, so that both kinds of services – with and without mussaf - are possible.

On the other hand some texts are now enlarged. Yotzer is still abridged but longer than in the Einheitsgebetbuch and does now contain the piyyutim (p. 60. 266). The Dutch siddur offers now 9 of the 15 morning blessings: the first four about distinguishing – missing in the Einheitsgebetbuch – now given with positive and inclusive formulations as in the US conservative siddur Sim Shalom, followed by the 5 blessings: ... who provides me with all I need, ... who girds Israel with strength, ... who crown Israel with glory, ... who gives strength to the weary, ... who removes sleep from my eyes and slumber from my eyelids. These are based on Geiger's four, but they leave out the masculine one (הכין מצעדי גבר) and add instead the ones related to Israel. Unwittingly this mirrors a similar process mirrored in the 1938 edition, where these blessing also were reformulated and reordered (see above).

In several cases the 2000 Sidoer is closer to the traditional liturgy than the Einheitsgebetbuch was. For example for Kabbalat Shabbat the full texts are printed for the psalms and for Lecha Dodi, with the note that not all psalms are said and four verses of Lecha Dodi are sung (p. 202f). *Me'en sheva* is printed in the book below a line as an option (p. 240). The Dutch weekday Amidah is much closer to the traditional one than is the Einheitsgebetbuch's, the 10th, 11th, 12th, 14th, 15th bracha include only very slight variations¹¹⁶ from the traditional wording. Two alternatives are given for Aleinu: the traditional particularist one (version I) and an alternative version II with the second line from the Einheitsgebetbuch.

b) Torah- and Haftarahreadings

The Dutch tradition deviated from the Einheitsgebetbuch Torah- and Haftarah Readings, with today's practise (Tanakh 2007)¹¹⁷ deviating even more. Only one text is a return to the traditional reading (Torah 1st Pessach), the other changes are based on liberal Jewish considerations. The Dutch liberals even decided to choose their texts not only from the traditional prophetic books, but also from the Ketuvim: Neh 8 was chosen as Haftarah for 1st day Rosh Hashanah. In the following overview the deviations are marked in bold. Note that some Dutch liberal congregations also have a three year cycle for the Haftarot, below is the Amsterdam custom.

¹¹⁶ For example: in the 11th blessing after "and rule over us" ומלוך עלינו is now added: ועל כל תבל ארצך "and over the whole world", expressing the liberal idea of Universalism. The 12th blessing has וכל איבה מהרה תכרת "and all animosity may be uprooted" instead of "enemies". The 14th blessing asks that Jerusalem may be a place of worship for all nations: וביתך שיקרא בית תפלה לכל העמים מהרה לתוכה תכין.

The 15th blessing has וקרנו תרום עמך תרום instead of וקרנו תרום, p. 82.

¹¹⁷ Tanach. Amsterdam: Stichting Sja'ar; Heerenveen: Uitgeverij NBG, 2007.

	Einheitsgebetbuch	Holland (1964)	Holland (2007)
1. day Pessach	T: Exod 12:29-51 M: Num 28:16-18 H: Isa 43:1-21	T: Exod 12:29-51 -- H: 2 Kings 1-9,21-23	T: Exod 12:21-51 M: Lev 23:4-8 (shabb: 23:1-8) H: Isa 43:9-15
2. day Pessach	T: Exod 23:1-22 M: Num 28:16-18 H: II Chron 30:1-9	-- -- --	-- -- --
Shabbat Chol Moed Pessach	T: Exod 34:1-26 M: Ex 12,25-27 H: Ez 37,1-14	T: Exod 34:1-26 -- H: Ez 37:1-14	T: Exod 34:1-26 M: Deut 10:12-19 H: Ez 37:1-14
7. day Pessach	T: Exod 14,5-15,21 M: Exod 13:6-10 H: 2 Sam 22:1-7.17-31	T: Ex 14:5-31 -- H: Isa 11:1-10, 12:1-6	T: Exod 14:5-15:21 M: Deut 4:32-37 H: Isa 11:1-10,12:1-6
8. day Pessach	T: Deut 15:12-16:17 M: Exod 23:14-17 H: Isa 11,1-10; 12,1-6	-- -- --	-- -- --
1. day Schavuot	T: Exod 19,1-20.22 M: Deut 16:9-12 H: Isa 6,1-13	T: Deut 5:1-28 -- H: Jer 31:29-36	T: Exod 19:1-20:23 Maftir: Deut 16:9-12 H: Jer 31:29-36
2. day Schavuot	T: Deut 5,1-6,3 M: Deut 4:12-15 H: Jer 31:29-36	-- -- --	-- -- --
1. day Sukkot	T: Lev 23:23-44 M: Deut 16:13-15 H: Isa 35:1-10	T: Lev 23:23-44 -- H: Jes 35:1-10	T: Lev 23:1-44 M: Deut 28:1-6 H: 1 Kings 8:2-21
2. day Sukkot	T: Deut 8:1-18 M: Lev 23:42-44 H: 1 Kings 8:2-19	-- -- --	-- -- --
Shabbat Chol Moed Sukkot	T: Exod 34:1-26 M: Deut 16:15-17 H: 1 Kings 8:22-43	T: Deut 8:1-18 -- H: 1 Kings 8:22-43	T: Deut 8:1-9:5 M: Deut 16:13-17 H: 1 Kings 8:22-43
Shemini Azeret	T: Deut 10:12-11,21 M: Deut 28:2-6 H: 1 Kings 8:44-66	= simchat torah	= simchat torah
Simchat Tora	T: Deut 33:1-34:12 Gen 1:1-2:3 M: Deut 4:2-4 H: Jos 1:1-9	T: Deut 33:1-34:12 Gen 1:1-2:3 -- H: Jos 1:1-9	T: Deut 33:1-34:12 Gen 1:1-2:3 M: Lev 23:33-38 H: Jos 1:1-9
1. day Rosh haShana	T: Deut 29:9-30:20 [in many congregations: Gen 21:1-27] M: Lev 23:23-25 H: I Sam 1:1-2:8 [many congregations start in chap 2]	T: Gen 21:1-27 or Deut 29:9-30:20 M: Lev 23:23-25 H: I Sam 1:1-2:8 or Neh 8: 1-12	T: Gen 21:1-27 or Deut 29:9-30:20 M: Lev 23:23-25 H: I Sam 1:1-2:8 or Neh 8: 1-12
2. day Rosh haShana	T: Gen 22:1-19 M: Lev 23:23-25 H: Jer 31:1-20	T: Gen 22:1-19 M: Lev 23:23-25 H: Jer 31:1-20	T: Gen 22:1-19 M: Lev 23:23-25 H: Jer 31:1-19(20)
Yom Kippur morning	T: Lev 16:1-34 [in many congregations: Exod 33:12-34:10] M: Lev 23:26-28 H: Isa 57:14-58:14	T: Lev 16:1-34 or Exod 33:12-34:10 M: Lev 23:26-32 H: Isa 57:14-58:12	T: Lev 16:1-34 or Exod 33:12-34:10 M: Lev 23:26-32 H: Isa 57:14-58:12
Yom Kippur mincha	T: Lev 19:1-18 H: Jona and Micha 7:18-20	T: Lev 19:1-18 H: Jona and Micha 7:18-20	T: Lev 19:1-18 H: Jona and Micha 7:18-20

3.3. Conclusion

As the new title “*Tov lehodot*” indicates, Amsterdam did not cling to a nostalgic past but made conscious and deliberate changes to the Einheitsgebetbuch texts and its order of service, similar as the developments in CIP. But the development took place throughout till today with deep awareness

of the principles of German liberal Judaism as they were mirrored in the Einheitsgebetbuch and are now taken forward into the 21st century. It seems, as if the development that had started in 1929 was consciously taken onwards in the Netherlands and if the line in Germany had not been cut off, it is likely that a similar process of continuous liturgical development and adaptation to changed times would have taken place, as the changes between the 1933 and the 1938 editions already indicate.

The core liturgical principles that survived in the Dutch liturgy are:

- (1) the tradition is adapted to modern times, with respect towards the tradition and towards the past of liberal Judaism and with respect of the liturgical history of the congregation;
- (2) prayers honestly express the theology and the experiences of Dutch congregations;
- (3) repetitions were avoided to abridge the service and to foster kavvanah.
- (4) *Seder Tov Lehodot* was edited by a team of rabbis and became the common prayer book of all ten congregations¹¹⁸ belonging to the “Verbond voor Liberaal-Religieuze Joden in Nederland”, since 2006 called “Nederlands Verbond voor Progressief Jodendom (NVPJ)”. In the Netherlands the Einheitsgebetbuch achieved its original goal to unify liberal liturgy.

In regard of the music of their services, too, the Dutch liberal Jewish congregations are very aware of their unique heritage and consciously try to preserve and develop the Western European nusach, which has become rare after the shoah, with only a few specifically Dutch characteristics.¹¹⁹ All present Shlichei Tzibbur got a training in the Western tradition and were made aware of their special heritage.

All Dutch liberal congregations are egalitarian congregations. LIG Amsterdam had egalitarian tendencies [mixed seating] already in pre-war times and slow changes towards a fully egalitarian congregation took place in the course of the 70s. In 1970 one individual woman began wearing a tallit, during the 80s several other women followed. The first Bat Mitzvah took place in 1971. Discussions rose again in Amsterdam in the 90s because of a personal issue against one woman. Today the congregation is fully egalitarian without any debates about the issue any more.¹²⁰

Afterword: Belgium

In 2005 Rabbi David Lilienthal, who served as the first rabbi of a new English speaking liberal congregation in Brussels (“International Jewish Centre”), produced an English prayer book for Belgium and with minor changes copied the Shabbat services and Festival additions from the Dutch siddur, but with English translations instead of Dutch ones, so that the Dutch liturgy also started to have an impact in Belgium.

¹¹⁸ These congregations are in Amsterdam, The Hague, Rotterdam, Utrecht, Arnhem (“LIG Gelderland”), Tilburg (“LIG Brabant”), Enschede (“LIG Twente”), Heerenveen and Zuidlaren (“LIG Noord-Nederland”) and Almere (“LIG Flevoland”).

¹¹⁹ See the congregation’s “Muziekbibliotheek”:
<http://www.levisson.nl/nl/opleidingen/muziekbibliotheek.html>.

¹²⁰ On the development see: Lilienthal, *Vijfendertig jaar*, 252-257.