

# The Change in Funerals in the Kibbutzim From the Early 20th Century

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A funeral service in Judaism has undergone many changes over the past hundred years. Changes that were greatly influenced by settlement in kibbutzim in the Land of Israel and secular development in kibbutzim. This article reviews the development of funeral practices in kibbutzim in the 20th century. Customs from different kibbutzim and sources were examined and the influence of the sources on the non-Orthodox funeral customs was presented, despite the disconnection of the first non-Orthodox funeral customs. Thus, the changes in Kaddish and the first burial practices in the kibbutzim were presented and the influence and how they changed and returned to the connection to literature of Judaism despite the clear separation that remained. In other words, the non-Orthodox funeral customs derive from Jewish culture but not from the Jewish religion

*Keywords:* Judaism, Orthodox, Secular, Death, Funerals, Kibbutz

## Introduction

Judaism consists of several rituals that mark important events in our lives, birth ceremonies, holidays, maturity and the end of life. One of these important ceremonies is a funeral service. This ceremony occupies an important place in the life of every Jewish person and especially in the moments when we separate from our dear ones. This ceremony helps us to cope with the passing of a friend or relative, and this confrontation is influenced by the culture and faith of the deceased and the mourners.

In the last two hundred years there has been a great change in the Jewish outlook of the majority of the people, and this is how we see a variety of types of Judaism (Orthodox, Reforms, Conservative, Secular, etc.). Each of the various streams made small and large changes in traditional ceremonies. These changes occurred in a long processes. We can see the changes occur until these days and continue.

The great changes in ceremonies can be seen among the secular, who moved God from the rituals and put man at the center. The secular worldview was fundamentally different from that of traditional Judaism and therefore a change was needed in the ceremonies and in their adaptation to the secular population.

The Kibbutzim that were in the country from the beginning of the 20th century represented secularism. They placed the value of man in the center rather than God values, which changed their perception of life and the rituals of life.

This paper will review the changes that took place in funeral ceremonies in the Kibbutzim in the 20th century. The paper presents the traditional ceremony and a ceremony at Kibbutzim, specifically ceremonies

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held at Kibbutz Maaleh Hahamisha. The paper will also review Kaddish texts in the various Kibbutzim and the development of Kaddish and mourning customs.

The renewal of the paper is by presenting a comparison between the traditional funeral service and the funeral ceremony that took place in the Kibbutz, while examining the texts used for ceremonies and examining the effect of the traditional text on the collective text and the impact on the ceremony and its structure.

### **The Practice of Funeral in Different Cultures**

All cultures have dedicated customs to the subject of death. The custom of this topic included the treatment of the dying person, the treatment of the deceased's corpse, the burial forms and the mourning practices practiced by true families, from the moment of death and weeks later. In each religion, burial customs and treatment of the dead display the belief in the subject of death and the relationship to death (Amir, Moskowitz, & Suad, 2006a).

The three great religions (Judaism, Christianity, Islam) emphasize the finality of man and his expected death. This can be seen in religious literature. In the Old Testament, which is the basis of Jewish and Christian faith is written:

1. "For every time and time for everything under heaven: a time to give birth, and a time to die, a time to plant, and a time to uproot"<sup>1</sup>

2. "Human as the hay of his days"<sup>2</sup> - Human life is short as the grass is green.

In the Qur'an, which is the basis of Islamic belief, human life is presented as follows:

1. "He who created you from the dust, then from the drop of seed, another from the blood of the ma'aba, then the offspring will leave you, then you will reach their age (i.e. you will reach adulthood), then you will grow old ... and thus your time will be filled instantly<sup>3</sup> [...]". When you reach the end of your life you will die.

2. "All that is in the land will end with destruction, and will remain only the face of your Lord, the glory and the honor..."<sup>4</sup>

In all three religions, it is understood that man is composed of body and mind. The body is perceived as the physical and tangible element, the soul that is the spiritual element (soul, human spirit). One can see from the religious literature that we believe that in death the body and soul separate and the soul returns to God:

1. In Judaism - "And the spirit shall return to the God which is given"<sup>5</sup>

2. In Islam - "[...] We are in the hand of God and to Him we have returned"<sup>6</sup>

In all three religions the dead are buried in the ground, in recent years there have been currents in Judaism and Christianity that allow the cremation. It can be seen that burial in the ground was based on the scriptures of the three religions. In Judaism one can find the verse, "For you are dust and you shall return to dust"<sup>7</sup>, God said this to Adam and Eve after he expelled them from heaven. In the Midrash there is a story in which after Kain killed Abel Adam and Eve did not know how to treat the body of Abel, this is what is said: "A crow came and one of his friends died, took it and dug it in the land and saw it before their eyes"<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Ecclesiastes 3: 1-2.

<sup>2</sup> Psalm 23: 15.

<sup>3</sup> Surah the forgiver [40], p. 67.

<sup>4</sup> Surah Al-Rahman [Al-Rahman] - 55, 27-27.

<sup>5</sup> Ecclesiastes 12: 7.

<sup>6</sup> Surah the cow [Al Baqarah] - 2, p. 156.

<sup>7</sup> Genesis 3: 19.

<sup>8</sup> The chapters of Rabbi Eliezer, 21.

In Islam, references can be made to several traditions in the context of a brother who kills his brother:

1. "Then God sent a crow to dig in the earth, to show him how he would cover the carcass of his brother..."<sup>9</sup>

2. "Did he say, after we fade away (i.e., gradually disappear) between the clods of the earth, will he be re-created? [...]"<sup>10</sup>

It can be seen that the issue of death and burial is at the basis of all religions and is of great importance. The basis of the belief in burial and the care of her body remained, but with the change of religious faith and the formation of new streams in religions, the customs of mourning also changed.

Later on, the study will examine traditional mourning practices in Judaism and the changes that have taken place in funeral practices in the secular stream of Judaism.

### **The Custom of Funeral in Judaism**

Judaism has defined certain laws on the subject of death, customs show the concept of death in culture and the concept of man's finality. In death, we see the point at which the soul leaves the body and continues on, and that is also what we see in the funeral customs (Amir, Moskowitz, & Suad, 2006b).

The funeral is the last stop of man before his return to God. The ancient inhabitants of the land of Canaan used to burn the dead, yet long before the Hebrews arrived in Israel they began to bury the dead in the earth (Zalman, 1973). The bodies of the children were placed in jugs and most of the skeletons of adults found from that period were usually placed in natural or royal caves in the hillsides. This custom opens the mourning period to help a person cope with the death of his loved ones.

The purpose of the funeral is to restore the body to the earth, due to the original sin. As soon as man completes his mission and purpose, his body is settled for purification and "reprocessing", and his spirit returns to God to give him account of her actions (Herman, 2005).

The funeral is actually the last way to accompany the dead. In the days of the Second Temple, the Mishnah and the Talmud we played the flute in order to arouse sorrow over the dead. But in the Middle Ages in Ashkenaz they stopped doing so because of the "constitutions of the gentiles" (Herman, 2005). The custom is that the deceased must be brought for burial on that day, except in cases where he wishes to honor the deceased in the presence of many people. In certain places in the past they would cancel work or Talmud Torah to accompany the dead, due to the fact that Levi's death is a great mitzvah (Zalman, 1973).

Even before the death of a person, they used to hold a minyan around him so that while he was dying he could ask for forgiveness for his sins and he called Shema Yisrael. That a person before his death will ask forgiveness from God and other human beings in which he is harmed. Nowadays, there are many cases in which a person dies at a hospital and there is no possibility of performing the confession (Amir, Moskowitz, & Suad, 2006b).

After the death of a person, a memorial candle is placed, which is also mentioned in his days of remembrance, in order to symbolize the eternity of the soul ("the candle of the Lord is the soul of man...").<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Surah Al-Rokh Al-Rukh [Al-Mu'aydah] - 5, p. 31.

<sup>10</sup> The prostration of bowing [Al-Aajdah] - 32, verse 10.

<sup>11</sup> Proverbs 20:27.

### **The Expression of Judaism in the Kibbutzim**

Humanistic secularism is a worldview that views man as an autonomous being, sovereign over his world, his body, his actions and his thoughts (Yitzhaki, 2011). Therefore, the way of life of a secular person does not stem from religious commandments and belong to a religious framework. Unlike religiosity, which attributes itself to absolute truth, this is not so in secularism, and therefore it is possible to see various secular worldviews among the secular. As part of the secular experience, each person has an individual identity that is not connected to religion (Yitzhaki, 2011). This identity is expressed in the ways of life of man and in his moral world view, which recognizes the sovereignty of man over himself, his body and his ways. You can also see that the secular worldview does not require a certain view of the world and of man. Secularism allows for multiple views and perceptions and encourages broad and multifaceted understanding of reality and the existential character of man.

Secular faith refers only to life in this world because secular people believe that only in human beings can meaning be given to life (Malkin, 2003). For the secular, the meaning of life is an active action to benefit the lives and lives of others and also believe that there is no other world in which to reward the deprived and oppressed.

In the kibbutzim, one can see a distinct society that created a secular religion. Scholars believe that the values of Judaism as a culture on the kibbutz are the result of the shaping of Jewish identity in the spirit of the values of the labor movement (Bar-Levav et al., 2013).

In the early stages of the kibbutz, one can see a rejection of religious ceremonies and festivals, especially those of great importance, such as certain ceremonies and certain lifetimes (Bar-Levav and others, 2013). This can be seen in the fact that in the 1920s Hashomer Hatzair kibbutzim did not mention Rosh Hashana and Yom Kippur. The nation of the holidays, which were not celebrated on the kibbutz, celebrated less important holidays such as Passover, Chanukah and Shavuot with great emphasis. These holidays, which were held in the kibbutz, were also celebrated not in their religious form, but in a manner appropriate to the Jewish cultural values of the kibbutz (Bar-Levav and others, 2013), which shows a change between the kibbutzim and the celebration.

It was not only the traditional holidays that were rejected or replaced by a different celebration, but also the rituals of life according to Judaism (circumcision, bar mitzvah, wedding and funeral). These ceremonies, too, were not celebrated or changed according to the kibbutz values. What is true is that the children who were playing at the time were outside the kibbutz (Bar-Levav and others, 2013). At weddings and funerals one could see that at the beginning of the kibbutz they avoided all religious characteristics (Bar-Levav and others, 2013). At the weddings they gave the rabbi to enter the kibbutz (which did not happen in all of the kibbutzim), they married a couple of couples or married couples with children, and at the ceremony they laughed at the rabbi's expense, in order to show the distance from religion. As a change of the religious characteristics, one could see that at the beginning of the funerals in the kibbutz, the silence was a very large part of it, which is different later (Parishitzky, 2014).

These changes of Jewish rituals were not intended to empty the rituals of content, but were intended to provide new values that fit the environment and faith of kibbutz members (Bar-Levav et al., 2013). As an example of this, one can see that the Bible would no longer be considered a holy book, but rather a book from which social values, historical facts, ways of poetry, poetry, and Hebrew stories could be gleaned (Bar-Levav et

al., 2013). The secular Jewish religion underwent many changes, and as a part of the process, religious figures who had been removed from the secular religion were restored and given secular values, this can be seen in the Passover Haggadahs and the customs of mourning (Bar-Levav and others, 2013).

On the second aliyah (1904-1914), young people who immigrated without a particular organization could be seen as one of their characteristics was opposition to religion and the religious establishment due to socialistic ideas, and immigration to Israel led them to distance themselves from religion. This was due to the atmosphere that existed at the time in Eretz Israel, such as cultural activities that reached the kibbutzim, which were lectures and musical performances caused a growing distance from religion (Bar-Levav and others, 2013). The characteristic of the distancing from the religion of the immigrants of the Second Aliya in their country of origin can be seen among the immigrants in the 1920s, and the departure of religion from their arrival in Israel accelerated.

In the first two years of the Fourth Aliyah (1924-1931) there was prosperity, economic development, and social expansion (Bar-Levav and others, 2013). In the years that followed, there was a severe economic depression, one of which was cultural activity. During this period, culture began to rise on the kibbutzim agenda in order to foster spiritual enlightenment, because it was understood that the kibbutzim were not supposed to worry about their members only in economic terms and that there should be no dependence on the party that could cause the kibbutzim to collapse. Instead, they hoped that the social activities would unite kibbutz members ideologically and help the kibbutzim work together, turning them into a cohesive entity. However, this discussion did not arise due to more pressing issues of the kibbutz due to the departure of members, and it returned in the first half of the 1930s due to the rise of members of the pioneer youth movement in the Fifth Aliya (Bar-Levav and others, 2013). During this period there were already those who claimed that the people leaving the kibbutz was due to the low cultural level of the people in the kibbutz. The continuation of the debate on secular culture arose as a result of the Mizrahi movement's pressure to maintain traditional customs in the kibbutzim, which opposed kibbutz values and did not wish to do so.

Only towards the end of the 1920s did kibbutz members begin to argue against the paucity of social activity and against the existence of emptiness and boredom in their spare time. This led to initial explorations on cultural activities. The creation of the culture at first was that of the workers' culture (a culture of workers for workers), which in their opinion was the correct response to the attacks of religious Zionism and an important step in the suppression of religion in its various manifestations. Some of them were kibbutzim who began to operate in an operational manner and to plan various activities such as "Sabbath Eve" parties, artistic activities and activities, but no organized activities (Bar-Levav and others, 2013). Subsequently, bodies were established whose goal was to promote cultural activities. Here we see the buds of Jewish characteristics in the kibbutzim after they were removed from them.

In the two decades following the establishment of the state, the importance of cultural activity increased. The following changes can be seen: the institutionalization of communal activity, opposition to the traditional Jewish religion and the prominent communal dimension of the kibbutz (Bar-Levav and others, 2013). As a result of the crisis in the 1950s, when the status of the kibbutzim in Israel changed and the kibbutzim joined themselves in the kibbutzim, they wanted to show the standard of living and society in the kibbutzim, and therefore the importance of social activity increased.

After years of constant cultural activity in the kibbutzim from the 1950s, they began to become a comprehensive cultural and social activity. At first, the cultural and social activities were planned by a cultural

committee that did so on a volunteer basis and from the 1960s began to give them days to work and left them longer because they claimed that whoever organizes the activities should have experience (Bar-Levav and others, 2013). One can see the processes of determining the rituals, the rituals of the individual, and the community rituals intensified. Every year fewer and fewer changes were made and the ceremonies were fixed when the center in the regular ceremonies was the values of the kibbutz.

Due to the opposition to religion, at the beginning of the kibbutz period in ceremonies there was no connection to religion, and only later were symbols taken from religion for ceremonies, in spite of everything that the kibbutz had Zionists, which meant returning to Zion (Rubin, 2009). It seems that they also returned to religious holidays even if secularized when they replaced the meaning of religious symbols in secular sense. The moderation in the anti-religious approach can also be seen in the fact that for many years the kibbutzim were opposed to marking Yom Kippur, and only in the 1950s did they begin to mention it (Bar-Levav and others, 2013).

One can see the moderation in the acceptance of Jewish rituals even in life cycle ceremonies (Bar-Levav and others, 2013), and the silence that took place at the funeral replaced the obituary that was changed according to the secular values (Rubin, 2009).

In the 1970s and 1980s, the kibbutz underwent a number of processes that once again changed the concept of Judaism on the kibbutz. The kibbutz was undergoing a process of individualization, some of which were the weakening of the collective ethos, and therefore the strengthening and return to the values of traditional Judaism. There was another reason for thinking about Jewish customs because the holidays were around the collective, which was the main idea of the kibbutz, and therefore they took the Jewish events and thereby raise the value of the kibbutz collective again (Bar-Levav and others, 2013).

In the "Shdemot" study group in the kibbutzim, a secular-humanistic Jewish approach developed and their successors were in "Oranim". In this approach, we see man at the center and he who shapes his world. This approach also advocates democracy and liberalism and its attitude towards positive Judaism (Bar Levav et al., 2013).

One can see from all this that the expression of Judaism in the kibbutzim has changed since the establishment of the kibbutz until now. From an anti-religious approach came a compromise approach in which they adopted religious Jewish symbols and gave them a secular, humanistic meaning. This was not the end of the change in Judaism on the kibbutz. The changes continue to adapt themselves to the secular people living in the kibbutz. Secular Judaism is a living and breathing thing that always changes and adapts itself to the environment, whether it is in the kibbutz or in the city, adapting itself to adults and young people. This is one of the important things in it, that everyone can find his place in secular Judaism.

### **The Need for Secular Ceremonies in Kibbutzim**

The need for secular ceremonies in Judaism came in part because despite the anti-religious attitude, the people who immigrated to the kibbutz were still Zionist, and therefore one of the principles was to make it clear that this is the Land of Israel and the Jewish State (Rubin, 2009). As an example, we can see that at the funerals, in any case, they kept some religious ceremonies, even if they were cleaning the body and carrying it to the grave, even if it was not done according to religion, but the spirit was preserved and there were no texts at the beginning of the kibbutz period (Rubin, 2009). There are stories about the first funerals in the kibbutz where there was silence and there were funerals where they danced and rejoiced because the silence did not fit and the

deceased did not want to. The first victims were buried at the beginning of their fall when they were hit by an ambush or some activity and only later in the cemetery (Rubin, 2009). The kibbutz members' need for ceremonies is that although they look like a united society (organized and organized economic partnership), it is not enough, there is a need for customs that are compatible with partnership (Rubin, 1997) and this is the place of Jewish customs.

The Jews who came to the kibbutz felt a need for their detachment from Jewish history. At first when there was silence at the funerals, there was a sense of alienation or distance, so there were stories of people who started to sing, in order to fill the void. They could not use traditional ceremonies because they did not believe in them, but rituals were needed to preserve the connection to the culture and history of the people.

It is possible to see that the development of Judaism in the kibbutzim began on the extreme side (anti-Jewish) and gradually due to the lack of values and social members of the kibbutz adopted rituals according to their values and thus reached a combination of their values with the traditional soft, what is appropriate for the kibbutz members and what will leave as many people on the kibbutz socially and culturally. This was one of the needs for secular ceremonies (which are not necessarily anti-religious) whose values are the values of the kibbutz and will help preserve the community of the kibbutz. There was also an influence on the kibbutz in the personal perception of everyone who changed over the years and when they wanted to return to the perception that all of the communities needed ceremonies to help them do so, and these rituals were adapted to the values of the kibbutz.

You can also see differences between different ceremonies and different emphases in each ceremony according to the kibbutz and its values. The rituals became a community (such as Pesach, which is held in the dining room, and with a kind of performance in some of the kibbutzim), suitable for the population, which can be according to the type of families and people who arrive.

It is possible to see the difficulty of separating from the traditional ceremonies (and therefore returning to them in a certain way) in the event that the first tomb was buried. The death of Shlomo Tzemach was buried by his friends. At the moment they entered the grave and said Kaddish. When they returned home they left the hut and sat in silence (Shua & Ben-Gurion, 1990). From the same silence that existed during or after the burial, then they understood that it was necessary to break it, as can be seen in the words of Yitzhak Tabenkin (in 1962) ... "We have to break the practice of Elam by the open grave. What to say, who feels that his words are true ...". This was the beginning of the breakthrough of silence and the need for a secular funeral ceremony.

### **Characteristics of Non-orthodox Funeral Ceremonies—Description of a Funeral in Kibbutz Ma'ale Hachamisha**

In spite of the rabbinic establishment's control of life cycle ceremonies in Israel, such as weddings and funerals, in recent years non-Orthodox ceremonies held by secular public figures have been seen. More organizations can be seen in the design, preparation and guidance of the community (Parishitzky, 2014). In her article (Parishitzky, 2014), Anna Parishitzky argues that the alternative (non-Orthodox) ritual is highly varied and that its conceptual sources are drawn from at least six different elements mixed together in reality:

1. Liberal Judaism - as expressed in the Reform movement.
2. Back to the "Jewish bookcase" of the secular public - which is also ready for Jewish renewal.
3. The Kibbutz Movement.
4. Regional trend related to the example of holding civil wedding ceremonies.

5. New Age movements - related to the conduct of spiritual and mystical rituals of various kinds.
6. Movement of Homosexuals and Lesbians.

Parishitzky also notes that the roots of the new ritualism lie in the kibbutz movement in Israel and in liberal Judaism in Europe and the United States. When the kibbutz developed funerals only in the second and third generations of the kibbutz, because the first generation in the kibbutz were hardly dead and therefore there was no need for a funeral (Rubin, 2009).

The secular rejected religion as it is perceived by the Orthodox and therefore the rituals are shaped according to this perception. Secularism is not empty, something that was full of faith and suddenly emptied. It is a cultural and spiritual view, which is the opposite of religious coercion (Tsaban, 2006). The secular revolution that began with the humanistic renaissance through the Reformation, the great discoveries of the 17th century and the French Revolution, brought not only political change but also cultural change. The cultural change there as a symbol of humanism, man at the center. He emphasizes the autonomy of man over his life and as a goal that strives to expand his education (Tsaban, 2006).

The conceptual change created the need to create a new Jewish tradition. Hobsbawm and Ranger present the concept of the invention of tradition (Terence & Hobsbawm, 1983), that is, use old rituals or symbols to perpetuate new norms with a connection to past traditions. And so it is connected to the roots of the new ceremonies that Paritzky notes of the return of the secular to the Jewish bookcase and to liberalism. In addition, she also refers to the concept of secular ritual as referring to an ideology with immanent significance, a logic of this world alone, and an efficiency that is subject to empirical scrutiny.

Parishitzky (2014) recalls the post-secular perspective, which undermines the basic assumptions of the theory of secularism and argues that secularization will not replace religion, but that secularism and religion are intertwined and interdependent. Not only that, but there are complex hybridizations between religiosity and secularism rather than replacing one another. She points out that the two companies are interdependent. Parshitzky argues that there is no uniform structure for all the secular rituals and that everyone is different from each other.

Parshitzky emphasizes that the Orthodox funeral services are composed of the following components:

1. Tearing
2. Eulogy
3. Kaddish
4. Walking to the grave and carrying the dead
5. Burial of the dead
6. Justification of judgment
7. God is full of mercy
8. Request for forgiveness

According to her, in non-Orthodox ceremonies, when these parts are used, they are injected with new content.

In her article, Parshitzky describes non-Orthodox rituals and the differences between them and the Orthodox ceremonies according to those sections mentioned earlier. The funeral ceremony that Paritzky describes is held at Kibbutz Ma'aleh Hahamisha, where one of the two secular cemeteries in Israel is located.

The custom of tearing takes place usually before leaving to accompany the deceased to his grave, and then a member of the burial society tears the garment in the upper part and there are those who perform the tearing



as soon as the soul exits the body or when the death is announced. After the human being is torn, the mourner says, "Blessed are You, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, true judge" and draws the rift with his own hands. In her article, Parshitzky points out that Cooper and Rubin argue that this custom has a unique meaning in Judaism and that it distinguishes between Jew and non-Jew. In addition, the tear symbolizes a state of no return. Parshitzky writes that from the views she had at non-Orthodox funeral rites, there was no custom at the scene of the tearing, and in part the tearing was done, and in part it was not.

Rubin (1997) also notes the custom of placing the coffin in a central place (possibly the dining room) so that all members of the kibbutz can be deposited from the dead.

The obituary is intended to paint an ideal portrait of the deceased, to draw lines for his character and tell stories about him. The obituary is a very important part of the Orthodox funeral, and it seems that this is the case at the non-Orthodox funeral, and most of the non-Orthodox funeral takes place. Parshitzky notes that eulogies can be seen as a secular belief in the subject of death. For secular Jews, death is a transition from a life without a life, and secularism is not comfortable with mystical concepts, and these beliefs influence the eulogy for the deceased.

Music and poetry, these things do not exist at the religious funeral, but at secular funerals you can see that the eulogy ends with playing a musical piece (e.g., bird song or a woman of valor). Music can be the music that kills love or expresses its character. Parshitzky also notes that playing at the fresh grave characterizes the non-Orthodox funeral services, such as playing the violin, flute or guitar. Parshitzky notes that the use of music serves to elevate the human spirit and that they also serve as a parallel to the religious blessings. Parshitzky also writes that in the new ceremonies there is a great deal of investment in the aesthetics of the ceremony, which meets the secular needs of Western values. This can be seen in a coffin, not in a shroud, using flowers instead of laying stones, organizing chairs in the cemetery, arranging shading, distributing water, using an amplification system and distributing pages with the order of the ceremony and the picture of the deceased. Rubin (1997) notes that at the gravesite we read chapters of the Bible or a literary passage, in addition to the obituary.

The custom of justifying the law, after closing the grave's grave, is to say the prayer of justification. In her article, Parashitzky interviews secular funeral directors and one of the responses she receives is that the prayer shows God's righteousness and the acceptance of the death of man, but at secular funerals they do not understand why it is fair and just that people die at an early age. In these cases they think that it is unjust to die and therefore prefer to use another sad song such as one human tissue. According to Meir Wilensky, in some cases at the secular funeral instead of reading the prayer of justification, they read Lea Goldberg's poem:

Justification of the Judgment (Leah Goldberg's Last Song)<sup>12</sup>

And that would be the law.  
And so will the law.  
Then on the Day of Judgment  
There will be justification.

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<sup>12</sup> <http://www.cmusic.co.il/Lyrics/Songs/00599-%D7%95%D7%96%D7%94-%D7%99%D7%94%D7%99%D7%94-%D7%94%D7%93%D7%99%D7%9F-%D7%99%D7%94%D7%95%D7%A9%D7%A2-%D7%90%D7%A0%D7%92%D7%9C%D7%9E%D7%9F.html>.

And we will not know  
 And we will not understand  
 And we will stand dumb  
 To the justifications.  
 And that would be the law.

And they died in judgment  
 They testified in court  
 All the dead since then  
 And now they are dead.

They testify lawfully  
 Their testimony is true.  
 Because they and life  
 Because they are justifying the law  
 And that would be the law.

The prayer of El Maleh Rachamim, this prayer presents the belief of the existence of the soul after death. In prayer they turn to God and ask him to accept the soul to heaven. The non-Orthodox ceremony does not have a permanent canon, but Parishitzky saw that in a number of secular funerals the ceremony was held by a minister who said the prayer.

The Kaddish prayer, in this prayer, gives glory to God in the world. In the Orthodox ceremonies, this is an important part that comes to glorify the name of God and to ask him to grow up and raise his glory and glory throughout the world. In the non-Orthodox ceremonies, the ceremony did not revolve around God and therefore the traditional Kaddish was not suitable. At first there was a silent funeral that did not suit, and later secular kaddishim were written. In terms of content, the difference between religious and secular kaddish is God's place in the world versus the place of man.

The construction of non-Orthodox ceremonies is carried out according to the family of the deceased, according to their belief, desire and what they think the deceased would like. One can already see from the characteristics in this chapter that non-Orthodox rituals will not be alike.

You can see the difference between the rituals, the difference is related to the beliefs of the person who was resolved and the faith of the place where he decided to be buried

Table 1

*Comparison Between Traditional and Secular Funeral Service*

Comparison	A funeral service at Kibbutz Ma'ale Hachamisha <sup>13</sup>	The traditional funeral ceremony (Metzger & Langental, 1988)
At the secular funeral there is no arrival at the cemetery on the journey, but rather the funeral begins at the cemetery.	Technical opening: "Please come close, please sit down, please turn off mobile phones". - We start the funeral in the cemetery	A funeral journey leave from the deceased's house or from the hospital to the cemetery
In the secular cemeteries "Hevra Kadisha" are not present and therefore they do not purify the body. Each family can choose what to do with the body		Members of the "Hevra Kadisha" make purity on the body while the mourners and mourners stand at the gate of the cemetery in the place called "Beit Moed Lech Chai", where the deceased is eulogized

<sup>13</sup> Based on a template of a funeral service at Kibbutz Ma'ale Hachamisha, which is being taught by Rabbi Meir Wilensky. The ceremony is a secular funeral ceremony. Meir Wilensky is a secular rabbi.

(Table 1 continued)

<p>In the secular ceremony there is an acceptance of the pain of the family and guests, and they turn to them directly. This is the traditional nation of ceremonies who say a general passage in order to arouse emotion in the audience.</p>	<p>A ceremonial opening: "When a person is born, a whole world is created: to live, to rejoice, to work, to love, to hurt. When a person's life is over, an entire world is extinguished. We all gathered here now to accompany ... and say goodbye to him.</p>	<p>The cantor says verses of "justification of the law" whose purpose is to arouse soul-searching among the mourners</p>
<p>At the traditional funeral, unlike the secular funeral, there is no organized place to treat the deceased. This shows the difference between the place of the deceased at the secular funeral and his place at the religious funeral. At the secular funeral, the place of the deceased is at the center and this is different from his place at the religious funeral.</p>	<p>A brief reference to the deceased (three years of sentences I formulate from my conversation with the family members, which exhaust the uniqueness of the deceased)</p>	<p>The cantor recites the Mishna in Pirkei Avot and adds another passage to the funeral</p>
<p>At the traditional funeral, orphan Kaddish is said in Aramaic (a language that is barely understood today) and the family can not choose whether to say it or not. At a secular funeral ceremony, the family can decide which Kaddish she wants to say. It could be something in Hebrew, a Kaddish kibbutz, a song or even the traditional Kaddish, which the family chooses. In the secular ceremony, unlike religious mikveh, kaddish can be said to be women, not just men.</p>	<p>If you are asked, it is time to say "kaddish" (kaddish will always be chosen by the family) and will be read by a relative.</p>	<p>Kaddish - Kaddish is said in Aramaic that in the past the enemies decreed not to say Kaddish and therefore the Sages said to say it in Aramaic in order to mislead the enemies. The purpose of the Kaddish is to show the continuation of God's faith. The Kaddish is from the hymn of praise to Hashem and a request for redemption in the future</p>
<p>The purpose of the traditional ceremony tearing is to arouse emotion, in a secular ceremony the family can choose whether or not it wants to perform this action.</p>	<p>Tearing the garment (if the family or the family wants it) A man will not tear to a woman and vice versa! Use someone from the audience. You should always bring you a small cutter, an old razor, or small numbers</p>	<p>"Tearing off" the garments of mourning and blessing to God - in order to arouse sorrow and sorrow</p>
<p>We put the deceased here in the center, which does not happen at the traditional funeral service, so this part does not have a parallel part there.</p>	<p>201/5000 Words of farewell and eulogies (according to tradition there are many days in which not eulogize - this is the opportunity to say farewell). Reading the resume (processing as a story rather than a dry form). Do not give compliments to the deceased and talk about his character if you did not know him personally.</p>	
<p>In the traditional funeral ceremony there are different chapters for men and women who read and cannot be chosen. It is the nation of the secular funeral ceremony that you can choose whatever you want, whether it's reading, singing or walking quietly. It is also possible to see the development of the ceremony and the acceptance of the differences between the people.</p>	<p>At the end of the farewell, the coffin (or stretcher) is moved to the burial plot. It is possible to hold a silent journey and you can say or sing appropriate passages such as: Woman of valor for women, each person has a name and more.</p>	<p>On the funeral journey they tell the man the psalm of 81 in Tehillim and the women, chapter 31 in my parables</p>

(Table 1 continued)

In both ceremonies burial in the ground is important and therefore it is treated. In the secular burial there is no need for burial to be in shrouds, it can be in a closet for everyone.	Taking down the coffin - "The audience - family and friends are asked to help cover the grave" - it takes time, but there is no hurry. When the pile of sand is more or less orderly, you must stick the sign in place of the head of the deceased.	The tallit is removed from the dead and buried only in these shrouds if he is killed in battle and then buried in a closet with all the clothes he wore at the time of his death
There are prayers that do not connect to secular culture.		Before the seal is sealed, the Psalm "From Mark to David" is followed by a special Kaddish
There are prayers that do not connect to secular culture.		After the stamp is sealed, the "justification of judgment" is said - a prayer that shows man's naughtiness in the face of the greatness of God, in which the mourners accept the judgment derived from heaven
A prayer that entered the culture and therefore some choose to say it also at the secular funeral but this is subject to the family's choice. Unlike the traditional funeral in which a cantor recites the prayer, at the secular funeral the family decides and it can be someone else from the ceremony's editor. In addition to the secular funeral there are those who prefer to sing the prayer.	"God is full of mercy" (traditional or alternative to their choice) - You can invite someone to read, but it is best that you read it and it is even better to sing and sing it (no matter the text). It is very important not to forget to clarify the names of the parents, because they are part of this prayer.	The cantor says the prayer of El Maleh Rahamim
The marking of the grave and the request for forgiveness from the dead takes place in both ceremonies, but each in a style appropriate to him.	Applying for forgiveness: In a secular and appropriate manner by the supervisor. An explanation of the custom of placing a stone on the grave and the custom of placing flowers. Notice of the "shiva meeting" where and when. Delivering condolences and embracing the family by the company or organization that organizes the funeral.	Leaving the grave and placing small stones on it - in the past the purpose of this custom was to mark the location of the grave so that people would not walk on it by accident

It can be seen that the traditional funeral ceremony revolves around three main axes:

1. Respect for the dead is seen in reference to the body, the people around the deceased and the obituary.
2. The connection to God - the prayer of justification, Kaddish and blessings to God.
3. The family's mourning – "ripping" the family's clothes to arouse grief and grief.

It can be seen that the secular funeral ceremony revolves around three main axes:

1. The family's choice of how the ceremony will take place.
2. Remembering the life of man and from now on.
3. A meaningful ceremony for family and guests.

In the comparison presented in this chapter, one can clearly see the differences between the traditional funeral ceremony and the ceremony held in the kibbutzim. We see that in the secular funeral ceremony there is a lot of choice for the family how they want to honor the deceased and what will be a meaningful ceremony for them, which does not exist in the traditional ceremony.

Despite the initial retreat in the kibbutzim from religion, and then there was an empty space, Moshe Savorai said in 1960:

... perhaps it is not worthwhile for the funeral of the dead funeral to go away from the previous tradition, just as the kibbutz members found for the holidays very beautiful ceremonies and are close to the tradition ...

Therefore, we have no choice but to say, "Let the glory and the sanctity of my name be greater ..."

The same applies to the traditional words of consolation – "The place will console you among the other mourners of Zion and Jerusalem..."

(Shua & Ben-Gurion, 1990)

This quote explains the reason for similar characteristics between the funeral at the kibbutz and the traditional funeral and the need and desire that it be so. In the next chapter there is an overview of the kaddish that is cited in the quote and how the kibbutz kaddish is similar to the traditional Kaddish.

### **A Comparison of Kaddish From Several Periods and Kibbutzim**

The Kaddish prayer is deeply engraved in the Israeli-Jewish consciousness. This prayer is mostly given in an Aramaic language that is not understood by the majority of the public. The changes that took place in the kibbutz life ceremonies did not skip Kaddish, and Kaddish appears in various literary works, each time expressing something else, such as adolescence, initiation, identity definition, etc. (Werta & David, 2009).

Secular identity did not completely separate from traditional identity and is based mainly on ceremonies, so you can see that the secular ceremony contains parts of the traditional ceremony. This is also true of the texts that are used, and especially the text of Kaddish, which has a significant place in culture. Later in this chapter you can see the influence of the traditional kaddish on Kaddish in kibbutzim.

Kaddish began with the saying that it is not in the ceremonies of remembrance, but rather for every prayer or for the end of the Torah reading (Albogen, 1988). The core of the traditional Kaddish is the blessing and the praise of God. The beginning of Kaddish in Ashkenaz was seen in 1096, the first connection to the death of the Kaddish was in the Book of Authors in the Eighth Century (Marx, 2014), during which the Kaddish was the cantor and not the mourner. The Kaddish saying by the son grieving for his father was not mentioned for the first time in the thirteenth century. It may therefore be seen that the Kaddish, written for the first time in Germany in the Middle Ages, is used in modern Israel for a completely different purpose than what was written for it (Marx, 2014). Despite the difference between the various streams of Judaism at the time of death, most of them turn to the traditional kaddish even if they do not believe in it, since religious life in Israel is organized according to the Chief Rabbinate (Marx, 2014). The kibbutzim decided to make a change in the funeral ceremony his son was said to have devoted because it is not significant for them. Kibbutzim began this in silence and can be seen in Shapira poem (Marx, 2014):

A person that dies ... / S. Shapira<sup>14</sup>  
 Adam that he die in the Jezreel Valley  
 Put up the ropes  
 Kadesh Kodshim is the Jezreel Valley  
 And there is no crying in the Holy of Holies.

And at nightfall to the valley of Jezreel  
 Stars will be shocked;  
 Soul candles are in the Jezreel Valley  
 For those who do not have Kaddish.

<sup>14</sup> <http://bezalel.secured.co.il/8/bargal18.htm> [accessed 20DC2017].

In this poem we can see the importance of death and the difficulty in it. You can also see the self-discipline required of the mourner and that he must not cry and that the stars and the earth are the reminder to the person who died (Marx, 2014). You can also see the silence that was for those who do not have Kaddish, the song leaves the feeling that one must pass the mourning like another day and not dwell on it.

Nechama Zitzer relates that in the case of the death of a young man from Hashomer Hatzair, his friends began to dance a parent, because they said that the dead man did not want him to cry, but he wanted him to celebrate his life and growth (Parsitzky, 2014). Nevertheless, many of the funerals at the beginning were accompanied by silence.

The prayer is said not only at funerals but also in memorial ceremonies such as Holocaust Day and Memorial Day for IDF Fallen Soldiers. It is possible to see that in the various kibbutzim there was a different Kaddish, according to which the Kaddish could be seen in the kibbutzim (Shittim Institute, no date):

“Kaddish” from Yagor / Zvi Shear<sup>15</sup>

The person who preserves his expectancy from the dawn of his life until his last day will be magnified and sanctified. [Mentions the first line of traditional Kaddish and yet shows the importance of human worth].

Which his heart did not remove from his actions,

And Magua did not despair.

Who in his heart suffered the world and his joy

Which he recognized by his discovery and contradiction.

You will not have hope with him,

And through righteousness you will not lose.

Blessed is the precious of man forever.

The Hebrew man will grow up on his land [showing the love of the kibbutz and the Zionists coming to Zion]

And the living will be sanctified in the memory of life that was lost [Shows that what matters is what happens in this world and that there is no life in the World to Come]

A sealed life ended in the land of Yagur,

At the heart of its members

May you remember the blessing within us. [The memory is preserved by the kibbutzniks and not by God]

This discussion of the Kaddish that Zvi Shar wrote to Kibbutz Yagur has developed into a discussion, since the use of symbols and religious expressions is used (Shua & Ben-Gurion, 1990). Meir Ailey of Kibbutz Yifat criticized the Kaddish for taking religious concepts and trampling on them by using them in collective ceremonies and in taking this person and placing him in the place of God found in the traditional Kaddish. Yoram Tahar-Lev, who was also a member of Kibbutz Yagur, thinks that a Kaddish should be composed in a different spirit than the religious kaddish, because it is said about people who lived their lives in a different faith than what the religious kaddish presents. This shows the debate that existed and has been updated by integrating traditional customs with secular practices. Therefore, as presented in the previous chapter, everyone can choose the Kaddish and the form of ceremony as it suits him, because in the end the family is the one who needs to connect to the text and ceremony.

Kaddish of Kibbutz Negba and other kibbutzim / Shalom Samid<sup>16</sup>

The name of the person will grow [shows that man is in the center and not God]

May his life be blessed and blessed in our memory [strengthens the value of the work they believed in the kibbutz]

On the bundle of his exploits in the days of his rust

<sup>15</sup> Shitim Institute - <http://www.chagim.org.il/oldsite/avloot1.html> [accessed 20DC2017].

<sup>16</sup> Shitim Institute- <http://www.chagim.org.il/oldsite/avloot1.html> [accessed 20DC2017].

And the act that he did not complete.  
 The dreams that have been outlined - and fade away [show that the conception of one's life is final (Malkin, 2003)]  
 And on precious virtue and even human weakness  
 Which had vanished through the misty patch of time.  
 Will warn the memory of man and the echoes of his life as the radiance of heaven in our hearts  
 And his name was before the sun of Yinon  
 That man is allowed to memory beyond the time partitions.  
 Not in darkness his name will be covered.  
 The order of the rest of life will give vent to our sunken pain. [Continuing life and presenting and showing that the mourning period in the kibbutz was generally shorter than the traditional Jewish medicine]  
 The time during which he will have mercy.  
 And we will preserve the fruit of his life for many days.  
 "Grow up and be blessed.  
 Let his name be in the world, before the sun of Yinon his name" (Tehillim 2:17) [there is still a connection to the Jewish tradition]

A Kind of Kaddish "The Songs of Ein Shemer" / Ali Alon<sup>17</sup>

Blessed is he who follows the long day-long line [shows the value of work in the kibbutz]  
 To the very end,  
 Blessed is the faithful who is tirelessly crowned [the word "happy" that appears, also appears in the sources in prayers]  
 The heavy burden,  
 Blessed are the beaver, the planter, the deep root [shows the importance of the love of the land that was on the kibbutz]  
 The trunk of the race, which is also its heart, milked and solidified  
 Blossom the soil. [Shows the importance of working the land]  
 Blessed are the trays of his youthful dreams  
 His walk is heavy - but his heart  
 Like a bird among the branches.  
 Blessed are the power of his eyes and around him the law of children  
 The bustle of animals and the wing, the craft and the factory  
 And the rustle of trees he planted.  
 The air of the homeland will sweeten him,  
 From the edge of her water and poverty of war.  
 And that he be gathered unto the earth,  
 Ofra will be pleased with him  
 And the land which he had been grazing and the wind,  
 Give love back to his lap.

Kaddish Yagur is known as the Kaddish of the kibbutz movement as soon as they cease the silence. You can see that in most dedications there is a certain repetition on the opening line of the traditional Kaddish with only the difference of instead of praising God then praising the person. One can see in all the dedications of the kibbutz the emphasis on man and thus distance God from the funeral (Marx, 2014).

You can see that there are a variety of secular kaddishim, each one different and suitable for the spirit of the kibbutz and the spirit of people who say it and wrote it. Nevertheless, despite the difference between them, one can see that in most kaddish there are verses from the sources or a repetition of some of the Kaddish. This is to the nation of the parts that present the importance and centrality of man in the world, more than the importance of God.

<sup>17</sup> Shitim Institute- <http://www.chagim.org.il/oldsite/avloot1.html>.

## Summary

This article reviewed the changes that were in the funeral ceremony and the reasons for this. It can be seen that the kibbutzim began to completely crush the religion out of them and took several decades to begin adapting the funerals to their faith. The funeral had to be adapted to the custom of the kibbutzim and adapted to the faith of the families of the deceased.

It seems that the custom of the secular rituals, and especially the funerals, began with a total push to the side of everything related to tradition until the moment when silence and lack of speech felt disconnected, alienated, and unsuitable. Began to prepare secular ceremonies based on the traditional ceremonies, in accordance with the custom of the kibbutz and the custom of the family.

You can see discussions of whether to combine traditional texts or secular rituals, whether to combine symbols or not. The secular rituals allow everyone to choose what they want. One can see that the only change he wants is to sing the wife of a soldier and not to read the wife of a soldier or the same thing with Adon Olam, to sing instead of reading.

One can see changes in funeral ceremonies as an example of a general change that has taken place in the last century in Israeli Jewish society. Man moved God's place from the center, the work of the land and productive labor replaced the unending learning and people became more autonomous and decide for themselves. Seeing people's desire to decide for themselves mainly at the end of life has become a hot topic today, increasingly discussing how people want to end their lives and celebrate their lives.

In 1996, the Law on the Right to Alternative Civilian Burial was enacted in Israel. The law allows people to decide whether they want to be buried in a traditional burial according to the religion of Moses and Israel when the Chevra Kadisha takes care of her body or is buried by a private company that will perform the alternate ceremony. In order to comply with the law, alternative places of burial were allocated in 21 places throughout the country.

In the 20th century began the change in the perception of traditional rituals, rituals have changed during this century from end to end, anti-religious ceremonies that incorporate religious characteristics. The change has not yet ended and it seems to be deepening more and more. Identify a change that comes from people's demand for something that will connect to it more and will fit the period and what appears to be the work of the secular funeral ceremony is only one of the areas in which the change takes place.

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