

**Yom HaShoah
(Holocaust Memorial Day)
Liturgies:**

**Incorporating a Yom HaShoah Liturgy
within the Christian liturgical calendar in
Australia**

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For my husband, David, and for my son, Rhys

And for the Six Million

This thesis contains no material which has been submitted for examination in any other course or accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

Reverend Barbara Allen
Canberra
6 June, 2000

Yom HaShoah (Holocaust Memorial Day) Liturgies: Incorporating a Yom HaShoah Liturgy within the Christian liturgical calendar in Australia

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Abstract

In this thesis I propose that the Church should incorporate a Yom HaShoah (Holocaust Memorial Day) Liturgy within its liturgical calendar in Australia.

The thesis analyses the critical issues in developing a liturgy for such a service and proposes a liturgy designed for use in Australia. These critical issues include: the naming of the liturgy (the different names available and in use, each with its particular symbolic power); and the necessity for the commemoration to be incorporated within a Christian place of worship and within the Christian liturgical calendar (including why it should be held at a different time from the Jewish Yom HaShoah, due to different agendas). It examines the reasons for the 27th of Nisan being chosen as the date for commemoration of Yom HaShoah within the Jewish community.

To place the need for the service in context, the thesis reviews the history of Jewish-Christian relations and briefly discusses flawed theology. It analyses the experience of Jews in Australia and the influence this has had on understanding in Australia about the Holocaust. The commemoration of Yom HaShoah in Australia is contrasted with the situation in three other countries – Canada, Great Britain and the USA. The post-Holocaust thinking of several Jewish and Christian theologians is examined in some detail because post-Holocaust theology should influence the planning, writing and conducting of liturgy, especially liturgy for Yom HaShoah.

A discussion of the components of a Yom HaShoah liturgy follows, which includes both suggestions for and the rationale behind the consideration of several key dates and seasons as a possible time for a Yom HaShoah service. There is a reminder of some of the key differences between a Christian and a Jewish Yom HaShoah Service, which is followed by guidelines to consider when planning an interfaith service. The thesis contains a critique of three liturgies, two from the United States, the other from Australia. These critiques are used to develop a liturgy for use in Australian communities which incorporates Australian materials and resources.

The thesis concludes that a Yom HaShoah Service could benefit the Church and the wider community, as well as foster better relations between the Christian and Jewish communities. Individuals would be open to change, and churches to transformation.

Developing a liturgy for a Yom HaShoah service requires incorporating elements from many disciplines. It is only by understanding the biblical, historical, theological and liturgical perspectives on Jewish-Christian relations, as well as the broader social and historical context within Australia, that a relevant and appropriate liturgy can be developed and an appropriate date in the Australian liturgical calendar chosen.

The dilemma, the paradox:

One is sometimes reduced to regretting the good old days when this subject, still in the domain of sacred memory, was considered taboo, reserved for the initiates, who spoke of it only with hesitation and fear, always lowering their eyes, and always trembling with humility, knowing themselves unworthy and recognizing the limits of their language, spoken and unspoken.

Now in the name of objectivity, not to mention historical research, everyone takes up the subject without the slightest embarrassment.¹

. . . silence can lead to forgetting, can lead to ignorance. We need words. We need altars and rituals and worship. We know that the enormity of our loss cannot be placed into human discourse; the tremendum of the shoah is somewhere beyond the boundary of human understanding. But there comes a time, as it came to Job after his long and brooding silence, when one has to stand up and cry out. That cry is prayer. It addresses God, and it addresses humanity.²

¹ Elie Wiesel, *Legends of Our Time* (New York: Avon Books, 1968), p.218

² Elie Wiesel and Albert H. Friedlander, *The Six Days of Destruction* (New York: Paulist Press, 1988), p.8

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Introduction

The Holocaust presents significant challenges for the Christian community. Has the church in Australia, and elsewhere, come to grips with the impact of the Holocaust on theology, criticisms of the church's historical role in relations with Jews, and the increased public awareness of the magnitude and importance of the Holocaust?

Official statements by the church are not enough. An important part of the church's response should be to consider incorporating a Yom HaShoah (Holocaust Memorial Day) Liturgy within its liturgical calendar. While steps have been taken along this road in other countries, there has been little willingness to embark on such a journey in Australia.

This thesis analyses the critical issues in developing a liturgy for such a service and proposes a liturgy designed for use in Australia. These critical issues include: the naming of the liturgy (the different names available and in use, each with its particular symbolic power); and the necessity for the commemoration to be incorporated within a Christian place of worship and within the Christian liturgical calendar (including why it should be held at a different time from the Jewish Yom HaShoah, due to different agendas). It examines the reasons for the 27th of Nisan being chosen as the date for commemoration of Yom HaShoah within the Jewish community.

To place the need for the service in context, the thesis reviews the history of Jewish-Christian relations and briefly discusses flawed theology. It analyses the experience of Jews in Australia, and Christian responses to their presence, and the influence this has had on understanding in Australia about the Holocaust. The commemoration of Yom HaShoah in Australia is contrasted with the situation in three other countries – Canada, Great Britain and the United States.

The post-Holocaust thinking of several Jewish and Christian theologians is examined in some detail because post-Holocaust theology should influence the planning, writing and conducting of liturgy, especially liturgy for Yom HaShoah.

A discussion of the components of a Yom HaShoah liturgy follows, which includes both suggestions for and the rationale behind the consideration of several key dates and seasons as a possible time for a Yom HaShoah service. There is a reminder of some of the key differences between a Christian and a Jewish Yom HaShoah Service, which is followed by guidelines to consider when planning an interfaith service. The thesis contains a critique of three liturgies, two from the United States, the other from Australia. These critiques are used to develop a liturgy for use in Australian communities which incorporates Australian materials and resources.

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Chapter One:

Naming the Service

“Who are you?”

“A number.”

“Your name?”

“Gone. Blown away. Into the sky. Look up there. The sky is black, black with names.”¹

It was the “Selishter Rebbe” who told me one day: “Be careful with words, they’re dangerous. Be wary of them. They beget either demons or angels. It’s up to you to give life to one or to the other. Be careful, I tell you, nothing is as dangerous as giving free rein to words.”²

Before explaining the reasons for the inclusion of a Yom HaShoah liturgy, some time will be spent on the name for the service. Names are important: they can empower or disempower. Within the structure of our liturgies, ‘naming’ is crucial, for to name is to define the world we live in, to define our faith and our doctrine (e.g. *The Nicene Creed*).

When we attempt to ‘name’ the destruction of the Jews, several names surface, each with its particular symbolic power:

1. **Holocaust:** This appears to be the accepted word. The word is derived from the Greek *holokaustos*, which means ‘burnt whole’. In the Septuagint, *holokaustos* was sometimes used for the Hebrew *olah*³ which means ‘what is brought up’.⁴ *Olah* usually referred to a sacrifice ‘often . . . alluding to an “offering made by fire unto the Lord.”’⁵ *Olah* is used in the Akedah (Genesis 22:2: “Take your son, your only son Isaac, whom you love, and go to

¹ Elie Wiesel, ‘Dialogue 1’ in *One Generation After* (New York: Random House, 1965), p.42

² Elie Wiesel, *Legends of Our Time*, p.31

³ John Roth and Michael Berenbaum, *Holocaust: Religious and Philosophical Implications* (New York: Paragon House, 1989), p.43

⁴ *ibid.* (עולה) In Langenscheidt’s *Pocket Hebrew Dictionary to the Old Testament*, 15th edition, p.249, the meanings for *olah* are: ‘burnt-offering, holocaust; ascent, stairs’.

⁵ Roth and Berenbaum, *op.cit.*, p.43

the land of Moriah, and offer him there as a *burnt offering (olah)* . . . ”⁶ *Olah* is used in 1 Samuel 7: 9: ‘So Samuel took a suckling lamb and offered it as a whole *burnt offering (olah)* to the Lord.’⁷ To ‘name’ the event ‘holocaust’ can lend a ‘religious’ significance, the Biblical notion of a burnt offering, to the catastrophe. Because of this, some find the term offensive.

According to David Roskies, the term ‘holocaust’ is not a particularly ‘Jewish’ term: apparently the French used the term *l’holocauste* to speak of the destruction of World War I and used the same term after World War II.⁸ David Rousset and other (non-Jewish) French writers began to speak of *l’holocauste* as soon as the war was over.⁹ This might explain Elie Wiesel’s preference for the term. After the war he spent many years in France. Claude Lanzmann, the director of the epic nine-hour film *Shoah*, spoke with Jan Karski (a Polish spy for the underground during World War II, and a major figure in Lanzmann’s *Shoah*) about this. According to Karski, Lanzmann

insists that the word “Shoah” is the only correct one. “Holocaust”, he said, “involves also some sense of self-sacrifice, volunteerism of some kind. It is a word for Hollywood which Elie Wiesel made famous.”¹⁰

In addition to writers such as Elie Wiesel using the term ‘holocaust’ and thereby making it commonplace, journals such as *Judaism* and *Midstream* used ‘holocaust’ as their preferred term.¹¹ But this has been a fairly recent adoption of the name. In 1949 the word ‘holocaust’ in the English language was not used the way it is today to refer to the destruction of European Jewry during World War II.¹² Instead, writers, using a term coined by Jacob Lestschinsky in 1941, spoke of the ‘permanent pogrom’¹³ or the ‘recent catastrophe’, the ‘recent Jewish catastrophe’, the ‘great catastrophe’, ‘disaster’ or ‘the

⁶ See also Genesis 22:3, 6, 7, 8 and 13. All these verses use *olah* for ‘burnt offering’.

⁷ 1 Samuel 7:9, from the NRSV. This reference is mentioned in *The Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*, Vol. 2 (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1990), p.681.

⁸ David G. Roskies, *Against the Apocalypse: Responses to Catastrophe in Modern Jewish Culture* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1984), p.261

⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁰ Jan Karski in Gay Block and Malka Drucker (eds), *Rescuers: Portraits of Moral Courage in the Holocaust* (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers Inc., 1992), p.174

¹¹ Gerd Korman, ‘The Holocaust in American Historical Writing’ in Roth and Berenbaum, *op.cit.*, p.47

¹² *ibid.*, p.45

¹³ *ibid.*

disaster'.¹⁴ All of these terms were translations of the words *shoah* and *churban*. These terms are *secular* rather than *religious* in their meaning and association.

It is worth noting how the word 'holocaust' has come to be the preferred, or the most popular, term to use in English, when referring to the deaths of over six million Jews during World War II.

In 1953, the State of Israel established Yad Vashem (The Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority). In that same year, Yad Vashem translated 'Shoah' into 'disaster' and saw that as the way to approach the destruction of so many Jews: "The approach of the Disaster, 1920-1933", "The beginnings of the Disaster, 1933-1939" and "The Disaster, 1939-1945".¹⁵ This was the term used by Yad Vashem and the YIVO (the Yiddish Scientific Institute in New York). Then came a change: when catastrophe was combined with disaster, the word 'holocaust' was used to express both dimensions.¹⁶

During the 1950s, the word 'holocaust' was applied to the destruction of the Jews of Europe under the Nazi regime, as well as referring to other groups who were killed during World War II.¹⁷

Between 1957 and 1959, 'holocaust' was used at the Second World Congress of Jewish Studies (which was held in Jerusalem).¹⁸ When Yad Vashem published its third yearbook, one of the articles was "Problems Relating to a Questionnaire on the Holocaust." Afterwards, Yad Vashem changed from its usage of 'disaster' to the term 'holocaust'.¹⁹

By 1968, the Catalogue Division in the Library of Congress had, as a major entry card: 'Holocaust-Jewish, 1939-1945.'²⁰

¹⁴ *ibid.*

¹⁵ *ibid.*, p.46

¹⁶ *ibid.*

¹⁷ *The Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*, op.cit., p.681

¹⁸ Korman, op.cit., p.46

¹⁹ *ibid.* In the Yad Vashem publication *Documents on the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem and Ktav Publishing House, 1981), the subtitle is 'Selected Sources on the Destruction of the Jews of Germany and Austria, Poland, and the Soviet Union.'

²⁰ Korman, op.cit., p.47

Some find the term 'holocaust' offensive. This is because the word 'holocaustos' was brought into the English language from the Greek word in the Septuagint for translating words from the Torah that were concerned with sacrifices consumed by fire, in order to describe the destruction of European Jewry between 1939 and 1945. Walter Laqueur said that 'it was not the intention of the Nazis to make a sacrifice of this kind, and the position of the Jews was not that of a ritual victim.'²¹ Harold Kushner expresses his distaste for the term in this way:

Holocaust is a biblical term for the offering on the altar that is completely consumed by fire and goes up to heaven in smoke. I am not comfortable with the notion of Hitler's victims as a sacrifice offered to God. They were not sacrificed; they were murdered by brutal sadists who cared not at all for the biblical God.²²

The term 'holocaust' has been and is used to speak of other acts of destruction and/or genocide. One example of this is the way some refer to the threat of nuclear war: some speak of this as the impending 'nuclear holocaust'. Has the term lost its uniqueness and its distinctiveness? Do we need another word?²³

2. **Churban (Khurbm)**: This Yiddish/Hebrew²⁴ term was used to describe the destruction of the First and Second Temples in Jerusalem.²⁵ It is similar in meaning to 'catastrophe.' Some refer to the Holocaust as the Third Destruction (*der dritter khurbm*).²⁶ Dating, or

²¹ *ibid.*, p.43

²² Harold Kushner, *To Life! A Celebration of Jewish Being and Thinking* (New York: Warner Books, 1994), p.138

²³ Isobelle Carmody, an Australian young adult fiction writer, refers to the Holocaust in her book *Obernewtyn*: 'In the days following the Holocaust, which came to be known as the Great White, there was death and madness. In part, this was the effect of the lingering radiation rained on the world from the skies.' Isobelle Carmody, *Obernewtyn*, (Ringwood: Puffin/Penguin Books, 1987), p.1

²⁴ *Churban* is a Hebrew word that has passed over into Yiddish (a language with a basis in 12th Century High German, with Hebrew and Slavic words added and written with Hebrew letters). In Abraham J. Edelheit and Hershel Edelheit, *The History of the Holocaust: A Handbook and Dictionary* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994), the entry for *Churb'n* is "'Catastrophe": Yiddish term, with religious overtones' (p.202). At a conference in Israel in October, 1999, one of the speakers, Dr Eric Epstein, mentioned his article 'The Etymology of the Holocaust'. In the article, 'The Etymology of the Holocaust' (Paper presented at the University of Nebraska at Omaha, 1997), he writes (p.1): 'Churban (Yiddish; destruction).' A conference participant debated this issue with Dr Epstein and argued that it is a Hebrew word. In *The Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*, *op. cit.*, p.681, Uriel Tal states that *churban* was the first Hebrew word used to describe the destruction of European Jewry.

²⁵ Albert H. Friedlander, 'The Shoah and Contemporary Religious Thinking,' *SIDIC (Service International de Documentation Judéo-Chrétienne)* XII: 1 & 2 (1989), p.8

²⁶ David Roskies, *op.cit.*, p.41

referring to calamities with reference to the destruction of the Temple(s) in Jerusalem, was a system rabbis used to divorce the event from secular history. It was a way of anchoring it securely to Jewish history.

3. **Tremendum**: A term coined by the late Arthur Cohen (following Rudolf Otto),²⁷ *tremendum* is ‘a word describing that which is in the end beyond our understanding, whether it is the Holy or absolute evil.’²⁸

4. **Extermination**: This word was used in books immediately after the end of the war to refer to the death of so many Jews. But this term was offensive to many because of its obvious link to the ridding of ‘pests.’ In some countries, the ‘exterminator’ is brought in to control (or kill) household pests, such as mice, cockroaches and spiders.²⁹ By using this term, Hitler’s image of the Jews as ‘vermin’ is continued: they are no longer seen as human.

5. **Shoah**: Like *churban*, this Hebrew word speaks of catastrophic destruction, ‘a whirlwind of destruction sweeping through a world of darkness and fear.’³⁰ It has biblical roots. The word is found in Psalm 35:8: ‘Let *destruction* (‘shoah’) come upon him’ (KJV); Psalm 63:9: ‘But those who seek to *destroy* (‘shoah’) my life’ (NRSV); Job 30:3: ‘they gnaw the dry and *desolate* (‘shoah’) ground.’ (NRSV); Job 38:27 ‘to satisfy the waste and *desolate* (‘shoah’) land’ (NRSV); and Ezekiel 38:9: ‘You shall advance, coming on like a *storm* (‘shoah’)’ (NRSV).³¹

Some would argue that it is the correct term to use, adding that it was the term used by Polish Jews as early as 1940, to describe what was happening to them. The word ‘shoah’ appeared for the first time in a booklet entitled *Sho’at Yehudei Polin*.³² The booklet contains eyewitness accounts and articles about the persecution of Jews in Eastern

²⁷ Albert H. Friedlander, ‘The Shoah . . . ’ op.cit., p.8

²⁸ *ibid.* See Arthur A. Cohen, *The Tremendum* (New York: Continuum, 1981, reprinted 1993), pp. 17-21, and my comments concerning Cohen’s theology and use of the term *tremendum* in Chapter Six.

²⁹ Martin Gilbert, *Holocaust Journey* (Great Britain: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1997), p.76

³⁰ *ibid.* (שואה)

³¹ Gerd Korman, in Roth and Berenbaum, op.cit., p.45. In the *Langenscheidt’s Pocket Hebrew Dictionary to the Old Testament*, 15th edition, the various meanings for ‘Shoah’ include: ‘a roaring, crashing, tumult, storm, tempest, destruction, desolation and ruin’ (p.343).

³² Uriel Tal, *The Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*, op.cit., p.681

Europe.³³ It was the term used by the Jewish Agency in 1942 when they declared that a 'shoah' was taking place.³⁴

Yet it was only after writers and Zionist leaders in Palestine began to write about the destruction, that the word 'shoah' became widely used.³⁵ It is the accepted name/term in Israel.

Although it has biblical roots, and therefore religious significance (like 'holocaust'), it has tended to be seen as separate and secular. It has sometimes been used to speak of dangers threatening Israel, as well as used to describe individual trials and persecution.³⁶ In contemporary thought, the term does not necessarily have religious undercurrents. Claude Lanzmann, speaking with Jan Karski, stated that: "'Shoah" implies it was planned by humans, executed to the end against the laws of nature and God.'³⁷ 'Shoah' was used not only to try to convey the enormous devastation and destruction, but also to signal a new point in history, both secular and religious. This new life meant an end to referring to oppression (therefore no further use for a term like *khurbm*).³⁸ It was time to move on, to move forward.

6. In Israel, the memorial day commemorating the victims of the Holocaust refers to *shoah* (catastrophe) and *gevurah* (heroism).³⁹ This is to ensure that both components are remembered.

7. Another term used is 'Judeocide'.⁴⁰

³³ *ibid.*

³⁴ *ibid.*

³⁵ *ibid.* *Shoah* was reintroduced into modern Hebrew by poets and politicians as early as 1940, according to Roskies, *op.cit.*, p.44.

³⁶ Korman, *op.cit.*, p.45

³⁷ Karski, *op.cit.*, p.174

³⁸ *ibid.*

³⁹ Korman, *op.cit.*, p.44

⁴⁰ This raises the question of whether the term 'genocide' (which was first introduced by a Jewish jurist, Raphael Lemkin, in 1933) can be applied to the events of the *shoah*. 'Genocide' (from the Greek *genos*, 'race' and Latin *caedes*, 'killing') refers to the liquidation or murder of a people 'by reason of their belonging to a specific racial, ethnic or religious group, unrelated to any individual crime on the part of such persons . . .' At first reading, it appears that the Holocaust fits this category, yet its *uniqueness* sets it apart:

The experts on the subject all agree that genocide is a component of the Holocaust, but it has been contended that the Nazi crime against the Jewish people was unique and extended far beyond genocide, by virtue of the planning that it entailed, the task forces allocated to it, the killing installations set up for it, and the way the Jews were rounded

There have been other 'names', or, perhaps more accurately, 'non-names' used. Elie Wiesel speaks of both the 'torment' and the 'nightmare': 'Back then, before the torment, it was a little Jewish city, a typical *shtetl* . . .'⁴¹ and 'it was only later, after the nightmare, that I underwent a crisis, painful and anguished, questioning all my beliefs . . .'⁴²

In the same work, Wiesel, critical of Holocaust 'experts', uses Beckett's definition of the Holocaust to convey the difficulty of the subject:

They give the impression of knowing better than the victims or the survivors how to name what Samuel Beckett called the unnameable, and how to communicate the uncommunicable.⁴³

Winston Churchill spoke of it as 'a crime without a name.'⁴⁴ The Nazis called it *die Endlösung* (the Final Solution). They were careful in their writings concerning the murders of European Jews. They used code phrases instead to refer to the exterminations, hence the 'final solution' of the 'Jewish question.' Lucy Dawidowicz termed it 'the war against the Jews'⁴⁵ and Raul Hilberg 'the destruction of the European Jews.'⁴⁶ In Elie A. Cohen's book, *Human Behaviour in the Concentration Camp* (1954), the terms 'holocaust' and 'destruction' are not used. He uses 'liquidation' and those 'that have perished' and 'mass murders' as well as 'German Crimes in Poland' but no 'holocaust', 'calamity' or 'destruction.'⁴⁷ In a revised edition of his book, Elie Cohen insists that the German term

up and brought to extermination sites by force and by stealth; and above all, because of the stigma and charge of collective guilt with which the Jews as a whole were branded – of being a gang of conspirators and pests whose physical destruction must be carried out for the sake of society's rehabilitation and the future of mankind.'

Marian Mushkat, *The Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*, op.cit., pp.553-554

⁴¹ Elie Wiesel, *From the Kingdom of Memory: Reminiscences* (New York: Summit Books, 1990), p.125

⁴² *ibid.*, p.139

⁴³ *ibid.*, p.171

⁴⁴ Roth, op.cit., p.43

⁴⁵ Lucy Dawidowicz, *The War Against The Jews 1933-45* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1975). Although Dawidowicz's book is entitled *The War Against The Jews*, she uses the term 'Holocaust' in her book: 'The Holocaust' is the term that Jews themselves have chosen to describe their fate during the Second World War,' p.19.

⁴⁶ Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jewry* (London: W. H. Allen, 1961). Hilberg does not use the terms 'Holocaust' or 'Shoah.' This may be due to the scope of his writing: 'Lest one be misled by the word "Jews" in the title, let it be pointed out that this is not a book about the Jews. It is a book about the people who destroyed the Jews. Not much will be read here about the victims. The focus is placed on the perpetrators . . .', p.v.

⁴⁷ Elie A. Cohen, *Human Behaviour in the Concentration Camp* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1954), pp.30, 28, 33 and 101.

Endlösung der Judenfrage should be used because the ‘Germans planned and carried out the murder of the Jews, . . . the correspondence and the orders were written in the German language, . . . in every other language they lose their aim and sharpness.’⁴⁸

It is worth noting the term used for the destruction of the Gypsies during the Holocaust. The Roma term is *porraimos* or ‘the devouring’⁴⁹ and is a recent development. It is not a term used by many Gypsies; their response to their tragedy (up to half a million died at the hands of the Nazis)⁵⁰ is to ignore it and to try to forget. Inga Clendinnen quotes from Isabel Fonesca’s work: ‘their peculiar mixture of fatalism and the spirit, or wit, to seize the day’⁵¹ is the way the majority of Gypsies have handled their loss.⁵²

In this paper, both ‘shoah’ and ‘holocaust’ are used. There is the realisation that whichever name is used, it will be inadequate, it will fall short. We need to be aware of the symbolism embedded within the names: wind, destruction, sacrifice, burnt offerings. We also need to remember the religious references and undercurrents in ‘holocaust’ and *churban*. Beyond explanation, beyond description, yet liturgists have to be wary, because the way the catastrophe is named *may affect* responses to it.

The question is asked because it has been asked by many: Dare we speak of it at all? Would it be better if we kept silent? Do we risk trivialising the horror by using words that are inadequate? Do we ‘fall short’ when trying to ‘name’ the destruction? ‘There’s no language in hell to convey what I see, hear, smell or taste’ wrote one survivor.⁵³ There is the acknowledgement, from the outset, that the words used in liturgies for Yom HaShoah, as well as the words written in articles, papers and books, are inadequate. We were not there, in the Kingdom of Night.⁵⁴ We were not even on the edge, as bystanders. We are

⁴⁸ In Inga Clendinnen, *Reading the Holocaust*, (Melbourne: Text Publishing, 1998), p.12. Clendinnen’s footnote refers to Elie A Cohen, *Human Behaviour in the Concentration Camp* (London: Free Association Books, 1988), p.xviii

⁴⁹ Clendinnen, p.11

⁵⁰ *ibid.*

⁵¹ *ibid.*

⁵² This discussion of ‘naming’ extends to other groups which were persecuted during the Holocaust, including homosexuals and Jehovah Witnesses. According to playwright David Atfield, whose play, *Pink Triangles*, deals with the abuse of homosexuals during the Holocaust, the ‘name’ is not an issue: ‘As far as I know the gay community has no name for the Nazi era persecution – the community is probably not sufficiently a community to develop such terms.’ (Personal correspondence with David Atfield, April 10, 2000.)

⁵³ Durlacher, *Stripes in the Sky* (London: Serpent’s Tail, 1991), p.51

⁵⁴ This term is used frequently by Elie Wiesel to refer to the holocaust.

kept at a distance by time and place. The paradox is that we have to use words, yet before we utter them, we know they will not measure up. That is one of the roles of the liturgist: to help the words convey more than their sound or the printed marks on the page.

Several writers have used familiar stories/legends to convey the problem of silence.⁵⁵ The legend of the Gorgon Medusa, which is so hideous that to gaze upon it is to turn one to stone, has been used to highlight the problem of silence versus voice:

What words can help us come to terms with numbers so unimaginable, suffering and horror on so sickening and so immense a scale? The face of absolute evil is a hideously grinning Medusa's head, which always threatens to turn our hearts and our tongues to stone. How then can we even approach the Holocaust, if the very sight is unbearable, and language itself is inadequate to hold the full weight of horror or to give form to our anguished wish that reality not be so?⁵⁶

In juxtaposition, there is Coleridge's *Rime of the Ancient Mariner*: are we to tell the horrors of the Holocaust, at every opportunity, as did the mariner at every wedding?

The task of the liturgist is to strive for the authentic balance: to be able to speak about the Shoah (as indeed we must, otherwise we could be charged with 'forgetfulness') or choose not to learn from its pain and allow history to repeat itself. At the same time, the liturgist must also respect and give permission for silence within the service of worship.⁵⁷ There is a Talmudic legend about a Rabbi Ishmael: he remained silent, and as a result, the world was saved. Elie Wiesel, commenting on this writes: 'All we know is that Rebbe Ishmael kept silent. Is silence the answer? No, silence is the question.'⁵⁸

It is no longer appropriate for the church in Australia to remain silent on the issue of remembering the Holocaust or the part the church played in creating the ground in which the seeds of the Holocaust could be sown. Including a Yom HaShoah liturgy within the

⁵⁵ Clendinnen, op.cit., Preface and p.7, and Barbara Heimannshey and Christoph J. Schmidt (eds), *The Collective Silence: German Identity and the Legacy of Shame* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1993), pp.xv-xvi

⁵⁶ *ibid.*, p.xv

⁵⁷ See Chapter 8 for an analysis of several Yom HaShoah services.

Christian liturgical calendar not only gives the church the opportunity to acknowledge some shameful aspects of church history and flawed theology, it also provides an opportunity for change and renewal. In some instances, a Yom HaShoah service provides the framework for *tikkun olam*: a chance to ‘mend the world’, not only with the Jewish community, but with all of humankind. By remembrance, confession and repentance, the future can be faced together, with hope and promise.

A Yom HaShoah service provides an ethical framework, with positive role models, such as the righteous gentiles. Liturgy shapes both theory and practice: a Yom HaShoah liturgy informs, motivates and inspires. A Yom HaShoah liturgy should challenge, confront and promote change.

⁵⁸ Elie Wiesel, in Richard Libowitz (ed.), *Faith and Freedom: A Tribute to Franklin H. Littell* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1987), p.8

Chapter Two:

Dating of the Jewish Yom HaShoah

If Yom HaShoah is to be observed in the Christian church, much care needs to be taken in deciding an appropriate date. Within the Jewish community there has been a lengthy debate about the choice of date for Yom HaShoah (incidental to the debate about whether to commemorate the Shoah¹). The result of this debate is that Jews observe Yom HaShoah on the 27th day of Nisan.²

Yet the fixing of a date within the Jewish calendar was not without its opponents and dilemmas. Determining a date for any festival or fast day requires careful consideration, especially of the relationship to other celebrations or commemorations in the calendar.³ A day of remembrance can 'acquire parallel meaning when commemorated on the same day' as some other event.⁴ This overlap of the liturgical and secular calendars can, and perhaps should, lead to lives and events in the secular world being influenced by the events commemorated or celebrated in the church, and vice versa. Many experienced this 'parallel meaning' during Easter 1999, due to the horrific events taking place in the Balkans: Good Friday, with its despair and terror, was played out on television screens and newspapers. Easter Sunday, with its message of hope and new life was embraced in a contemporary context as well. In Australia, the day of remembrance is Anzac Day, 25 April. Although the date is not part of the liturgical calendar, it is remembered in prayers, services are held in some churches and some clergy participate in marches, especially in country towns. As the date is part of the Easter season, it can hold 'parallel meaning' for thousands of people.

¹ Many ultra-orthodox Jews do not observe Yom HaShoah, reflecting their belief that the Shoah was punishment from God for religious failings. See Eliezer Berkowitz, *Faith After the Holocaust* (New York: KTAV Publishing House Inc., 1973) and Dan Cohn-Sherbok, *Holocaust Theology* (London: Lamp Press, 1989)

² Unlike Western nations, which follow a solar year, Jews follow a lunar year. In the Jewish calendar, the month is regulated by the phases of the moon. Nisan is the seventh month in the Jewish calendar. The Jewish New Year begins in either September or October, so the month of Nisan falls in either March or April.

³ James E. Young, 'When a Day Remembers: A Performative History of Yom ha-Shoah', *History & Memory* Vol.2, No.2 (Winter 1990), p.55

⁴ *ibid.*

Commemoration can also affect our understanding and our observance of other events or holy days. Yom HaShoah can add another 'layer' to the way the stories of Passover and Hanukkah are approached.⁵ Perhaps the heroes, the ghetto fighters or the individuals who were able (or who tried) to save others, could be juxtaposed with the figures of Moses and Esther. Dare we read the Book of Esther without making the link between Haman's evil plan for a decree for the destruction of the Jews, and Hitler and the Wannsee Conference?⁶

The setting of the date had its roots in the birth of the State of Israel. Many Zionists wished to change the focus of the calendar, so as to focus on 'hope' rather than the destruction of the Temple. It was time for change, for hope; what better anchor point than Independence Day (Yom ha-Atzma'ut is celebrated on 14 May). From now on, this day would be seen as the pivotal day; all other days would be placed around it.⁷

There was a further dilemma for those revising the traditional calendar. The four minor fasts in the Jewish calendar⁸ were not only linked to the destruction of the First and Second Temples, but they were all accorded the same meaning: *mipnei hata einu* ('because of our sins').⁹ The nature of these fasts was, according to Maimonides, to

stir the hearts, to open roads to repentance, and to remind us of our own evil deeds, and of our fathers' deeds which were like ours, as a consequence of which these tragic afflictions came upon them and upon us.¹⁰

⁵ See Emil L. Fackenheim, *The Jewish Bible after the Holocaust* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990) for his stimulating views on reading Scripture post-Holocaust.

⁶ The Wannsee Conference was a Nazi conference held on January 20, 1942, at which plans for the implementation of 'The Final Solution' were finalised.

The real purpose of the conference was actually to gain the support of all elements of the German bureaucracy for SS domination of the murder process . . . Only one substantive decision was made: to begin the extermination with Polish Jewry and move westward from there.

Abraham J. Edelheit and Hershel Edelheit, *The History of the Holocaust: A Handbook and Dictionary* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1990), p.440

⁷ James E. Young, *op.cit.*, p.57

⁸ Tenth day of Tevet – the beginning of the siege

17th day of Tammuz – first break in the walls of the city of Jerusalem

Ninth day of Av – destruction of the Temple

Third day of Tishri – assassination of Gedaliah, governor of Judah.

See *ibid.*, p.73

⁹ *ibid.*, p.59

¹⁰ *ibid.*, quoting from *Yad, Hilkhot Ta'anoit*, 5:1.

For the Shoah to be linked with Jewish sin or 'evil deeds' was repugnant to many Jews. Such reactions led to a moving away from the traditional commemorative dates which dealt with previous disasters and finding a more suitable date for Yom HaShoah. Conflict resulted between the state and the non-religious population on the one hand, and the rabbinate on the other. The rabbis needed to set a date for communal *Kaddish* (mourner's prayer) and the lighting of memorial candles to mourn those whose dates of death in the Holocaust were unknown. In 1948 they adopted the date of one of the minor fast days, the Tenth of Tevet, and called it Yom Kaddish Klali (Day of Communal Kaddish).¹¹ This date resulted in protest from the state and the rest of the non-religious population. Choosing this date linked the Shoah with the fall of Jerusalem, and, by doing so, the implied reason was because of Jewish sin (*mipnei hata einu*).

On 12 April 1951 the Israeli parliament

declare[d] and determine[d] that the 27th day of the month of Nisan every year shall be Holocaust and Ghetto Uprising Day (Yom Ha-Shoah u-Mered Ha-Geta'ot), an eternal day of remembrance for the House of Israel.¹²

¹¹ *ibid.*, p.59

¹² *ibid.*, p.60

Choosing the date was not without problems. One date that had been suggested was 19 April, the 15th day of Nisan, which was the date of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. This was not allowed, because it would coincide with the beginning of Passover, and a set time of mourning is not permitted during the week of Passover.¹³ It would also have been too close to Israel's Independence Day. Yet the month of Nisan seemed an appropriate choice: the period between Passover and *Shavuot* (Feast of Weeks) is a time of mourning in the Jewish calendar.¹⁴ In the end, the committee chose the 27th day of Nisan: five days after the end of Passover. The symbolism and layers of meaning in the choice of this date are striking. It follows Passover, which celebrates the freedom of the Exodus, and the commemoration of the slaughter of many Jews and the heroism of many Jews during the Warsaw Uprising. It also links with the celebration of Israel's struggle for independence that concludes on *Yom ha-Atzma'ut*, Independence Day. Thus the date captures much that is significant about the State of Israel: from freedom, through destruction, to the return from exile, with new freedom. James Young writes:

This period could be seen as commencing with God's deliverance of the Jews and concluding with the Jews' deliverance of themselves in Israel. In this sequence, biblical and modern returns to the land of Israel are recalled; God's deliverance of the Jews from the land of exile is doubled by the Jews' attempted deliverance of themselves in Warsaw; the heroes and martyrs of the *Shoah* are remembered side by side (and implicitly equated) with the fighters who fell in Israel's modern war of liberation; and all lead inexorably to the birth of the State.¹⁵

The question arose: how could such a day be enforced? With the exception of survivors and partisans, there had been little public interest in commemorating Yom HaShoah. Yad Vashem had been given authority to suggest how such a day should be observed. But it was not until 1959, when it became law and not just a resolution, that things began to change. Opponents still argued for different dates for the observance: some, from the very beginning, had pushed for the commemoration to be incorporated into Tishah be-Av (the Ninth day of Av) a day recalling the destruction of the Temple. Menahem Begin had

¹³ *ibid.*, p.61

¹⁴ *ibid.*, p.60. It was also a time when many persecutions and pogroms took place during the centuries because of the connection in timing with Easter. As well, the Nazis would often round up Jewish communities during one of their religious holidays.

¹⁵ *ibid.*, p.61

requested that Yom HaShoah be observed on the Ninth day of Av and Heroism Day (*ha-Gvurah*) on the Memorial Day set aside for Israel's soldiers who had died in battle.¹⁶

In the end, the 27th day of Nisan was chosen. This choice was confirmed by the Knesset on April 7, 1959. The law took this final form:

1. The 27th of Nisan¹⁷ is the Day of Remembrance of the Disaster and Heroism, dedicated every year to remembrance of the catastrophe of the Jewish people caused by Nazis and their aides, and of the acts of Jewish heroism and resistance in that period. Should the 27th of Nisan fall on a Friday, the Day of Remembrance shall be marked on the 26th of Nisan of that year.
2. On the Day of Remembrance there shall be observed Two Minutes' Silence throughout the State of Israel, during which all traffic on the roads shall cease. Memorial services and meetings shall be held in Army camps and in educational institutions; flags on public buildings shall be flown at half mast; radio programmes shall express the special character of the day, and the programmes in places of amusement shall be in keeping with the spirit of the day.
3. The Minister authorised by the government shall draft, in consultation with the Yad Vashem Remembrance Authority, the necessary instructions for the observance of the Day of Remembrance as set forth in this Law.¹⁸

There was a further amendment to the above law in 1961 to close all places of entertainment on the eve of that day.¹⁹

The degree to which Yom HaShoah is a religious service, as opposed to a secular one, varies from from city to city. The commemoration each year at Yad Vashem is more secular than religious, though the Chief Rabbis are present. This reflects the more secular nature of the Israelis who observe this date. An outline of the Day of Remembrance, for the year 2000, illustrates this:

The Eve of Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Day,
Monday, 1 May 2000

¹⁶ *ibid.*, p.63

¹⁷ There are variants in the spelling of 'Nissan': some sources use 'Nisan', others 'Nissan'. I have copied the spelling found in the sources quoted. When not quoting, I have used 'Nisan', which appears to be the more common spelling.

¹⁸ 'Day of Memorial for Victims of the European Jewish Disaster and Heroism – 27 Nissan, 5719' *Yad Vashem Bulletin*, No. 4/5 (October 1959), p.27, quoted in Young, *op.cit.*, pp.63-64.

¹⁹ *ibid.*, p.64

20:00 The Official Opening Ceremony of Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Day in the presence of the President and Prime Minister of the State of Israel, Warsaw Ghetto Square

22:00 Symposium in the Yad Vashem Auditorium

Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Day, Tuesday, 2 May 2000

10:00 Siren

10:02 Wreath-laying Ceremony with the Participation of the President, Prime Minister, Speaker of the Knesset, President of the Supreme Court, Chief of Staff, Police Commissioner, Public Figures, Survivors' Organizations, Students and Delegations Countrywide, Warsaw Ghetto Square

10:30 "Unto Every Person There is a Name." Recitation of Names of Holocaust Victims by Members of the Public, Hall of Remembrance
Recitation of Names of Holocaust Victims in the Auspices of the Speaker of the Knesset Avraham Burg, the President, Prime Minister, Ministers, the Chief Rabbis, Members of Knesset, Chairman of the Jewish Agency, and Public Figures, Knesset

13:00 Main Memorial Ceremony, Hall of Remembrance

10:30-15:00 Continuous Screening of Films on the Holocaust, Auditorium

16:00 Memorial Service of the Jewish Underground Veterans' Organization in France, Auditorium

16:30 Memorial Service for Hungarian Jewry, Valley of the Communities

17:30 Ceremony for Youth Movements with the Participation of the Chief of Staff, IDF Education Officer, Deputy Minister of Education Shaul Yahalom, Pupils, Youth Movement Members and Soldiers, Warsaw Ghetto Square.²⁰

Although the main ceremony is held at Yad Vashem, other ceremonies are held throughout Israel. Israeli schools also commemorate Yom HaShoah on the 27th of Nisan.²¹

²⁰ *Yad Vashem Quarterly Magazine*, Vol.18 (Spring 2000), p.16

²¹ James E. Young, *The Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*, op.cit., Vol.3, p.1011

Although Yom HaShoah has been commemorated in Israel on the 27th of Nisan for many years, this date is not universally recognised as the most appropriate day among non-Jewish communities.²² The history of the selection of the date for commemoration of Yom HaShoah in the Jewish calendar makes it clear that the factors that were central to the choice are not all relevant to the choice of dates for a Christian Yom HaShoah service. The debate about whether to use or avoid fast days and the relationship to major festivals such as Passover focuses on key events in Jewish history. The factors relevant to the choice of dates for a Christian Yom HaShoah service are considered in detail in Chapter 7.

²² In addition to greater Christian awareness of the need to commemorate the Holocaust, there is interest in a number of countries (such as the United States and Great Britain) in civic remembrance of the Holocaust (see Chapter 5).

Chapter Three:

Christian-Jewish Relations: Historical and Theological Perspectives

The need for a Christian Yom HaShoah needs to be considered in light of the history of Jewish-Christian relations. This history is characterised, for the most part, by ignorance and fear of the ‘unknown’ or the ‘other.’ Arguably, these misunderstandings began when the sayings and stories of Jesus, along with his discussions with the Pharisees, were written down many years later and compiled into what we know as the Gospels. Some scholars link Jesus’ way of teaching with that of the Pharisees: his arguments are ‘in-house’, not for the general public. Jesus’ use of questions, story and hyperbole were also part of the Pharisaic tradition, one that would have been understood by the people of the time.

Editing history can serve to create misunderstandings. The use of ‘the Jews’ in the Gospel of John, as well as the passion narratives found in the Synoptic Gospels, has through the centuries been used to label Jews with the derogatory name ‘Christ-killer.’ This term ‘justified’ many pogroms held through the ages, a common occurrence at Easter time.¹

The early church was intent on establishing the followers of Jesus the Christ as adherents of a religion in its own right, not as an off-shoot or as a sect of Judaism. It is worth remembering that the church began within the structure of the synagogue, its early leaders were Jews, and many of the debates concerned the holding or giving up of certain Jewish practices. For example, did a follower of Jesus, if he was not Jewish, have to be

¹ On March 7, 1190, ‘Crusaders setting out for the Holy Land attack the Jewish community of Stanforth, England, considering it a good deed to kill the “murderers of our Lord.” The Jewish houses are plundered, some Jews are murdered, and many mistreated.’ Simon Wiesenthal, *Every Day Remembrance Day* (New York: Henry Holt and Company Inc., 1987), p.68. Other references include Elie Wiesel’s novel *The Gates of the Forest* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966) and David Kossoff’s dedication in *The Book of Witnesses* (Glasgow: Fontana books, 1971): ‘This book is for my father, who died long ago. Once, when I was small, about eight, I was with my father, who was a loving man, in a narrow street in the East End. A huge labourer suddenly roared down at us that we had killed Jesus.’

Francis J. Moloney states that ‘The Gospel of John has been accepted as the inspired and infallible Word of God that roundly condemns the Jewish people because of their rejection and eventual slaying of Jesus of Nazareth. For centuries this interpretation of the Fourth Gospel has legitimated some of the most outrageous behavior of European Christian people, including pogroms and the attempted genocide of the Holocaust.’ in *The Gospel of John* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1998), p.9.

circumcised? Did dietary laws and strict food practices have to be observed by non-Jews? The recording of Cornelius' conversion (Acts 10) was not only testifying to Jesus as the Christ, but it was used by the early Christians as a means of distancing themselves from Judaism and gaining favour with Rome (Cornelius was a Roman citizen and soldier). Rome was the heart of the Empire so to be in good standing with the Romans was worth much.

Two important events occurred which affected relations between Jews and Christians and led to what is sometimes termed the 'parting of the ways'. The first was First Jewish War, which began around 66 CE and continued until the fall of Masada in 74 CE. This included the destruction of the Temple in 70 CE and the fall of Jerusalem. Perhaps the most damaging outcome was the way these events were interpreted. For many Jews, it was seen as the chastening hand of God. But some Christians interpreted these events differently: that the Jews were to give up Jerusalem because it was now the rightful place for Christians.²

The second important event was the Bar Kokhba rebellion of 132-135 CE. As with the First Jewish War, the Jewish faith was seen to be at risk but this time the attack was partly theological. Following the destruction of the Temple, a centre for learning at Jamnia³ was established by Rabbi Johanan ben Zakkai. Here, debates over questions crucial to faith such as "What is a Jew?" and "Are followers of Jesus Jews?" highlighted differences between followers of Jesus and Jews. The followers of Jesus understood that the title *messiah*, 'the Christ', belonged to Jesus and to no other. However, the leaders of the Bar Kokhba rebellion took the title of *messiah* for themselves.⁴ The aftermath of the Bar Kokhba rebellion reinforced the divisions between the followers of Jesus and Jews: the latter were barred from Jerusalem, whereas it was still open for gentiles and Christians.⁵

It is worth noting how disastrous the Bar Kokhba rebellion was in terms of the loss of Jewish lives. During the four years of revolt, the Jewish population was decreased by half

² Robert Anderson, 'The Parting of the Ways: What Happened?' in *Jews And Christians* (Melbourne:Victorian Council of Churches, 1987), p.24

³ Some sources transliterate the name *Jabneh* as Jammia.

⁴ Anderson, op.cit. As followers of Jesus, they understood this to be one of his titles, and could not support another 'messiah'.

⁵ *ibid.*, p.25

a million and 'so many Jews were sold into slavery that the price of slaves plummeted throughout the Empire.'⁶

The watershed in Jewish-Christian relations and, indeed, the history of the West was the conversion of Constantine to Christianity in 312 CE. Now Christianity became the official religion of the Empire and was linked with politics (and has remained so up to, and including, our own times). Being free of persecution led also to a different mind set. The prize of martyrdom was displaced by the glory of triumphalism. Christianity, by becoming the official religion of the Empire, was seen to have met with divine approval. God's favour was shining upon Christians and upon the Empire. The Jews, on the other hand, became a 'living symbol of what Jesus was not, of what Jesus stood against, of what Christ came to depose and replace.'⁷

For the first time, Christians had the power to eliminate Jews from much of the Western world.⁸ And yet, although the Jewish people were protected to some degree by previous Roman legislation, the threat was there. It was reinforced by the belief of some Christian bishops that Judaism was heretical and therefore something to be persecuted because it threatened and opposed Christianity. But there were others who considered that it was necessary for Jews to continue to live as Jews. The problem was a theological one: how to interpret Paul's writings about Judaism, especially Romans 11:15 and 28?⁹ Did this

⁶ Marc Saperstein, *Moments of Crisis in Jewish-Christian Relations* (London: SCM Press, 1989), p.5

⁷ Steven T. Katz, *The Holocaust in Historical Context, Volume 1* (New York: Oxford, 1994), p.258

⁸ Saperstein, op.cit., p.8

⁹ The interpretation of Romans 9-11 is crucial in the history of Jewish-Christian relations. In the words of Peter von der Osten-Sacken: 'Romans 9-11 has the same constitutive function for the question about the relationship between Christians and Jews as the words of institution have for the interpretation of the Lord's Supper.' Quoted in Stephen Haynes, *Reluctant Witnesses: Jews and the Christian Imagination* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1995), p.134. Although some theologians assent to a Pauline replacement theory, stating that the church is the 'new Israel', others dispute this, saying that Paul's teaching has been misinterpreted through the ages. In Romans 11: 17-18, Paul uses the metaphor of the olive tree to speak of *engraftment* not of *replacement*.

Too often Paul has been read to exclude the Jewish people. A more careful study of Romans would demonstrate that he intended, rather, to include the Gentile. The root supports the branch. The people of Israel have not been replaced, but the Gentile nations have been grafted into the olive tree. For Paul, through Jesus the door has been opened for the Gentiles to reject idolatry and enter into a relationship with the one true God through faith . . . The theology of replacement does not originate with Paul.

Brad H. Young, *Paul The Jewish Theologian* (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 1997), pp.31, 40. For further discussion, see E.P. Sanders, *Paul* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp.19, 117, 122, 125 and 128; Calvin Roetzzel, *Paul* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1999), p.36 and pp.126-130; and Geoffrey Wigoder, *Jewish-Christian Relations Since the Second World War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), pp 17-23.

require a dependence upon Jews?¹⁰ Did this mean that ‘there would be no resurrection of the dead at the Second Coming and no dawning of the World to Come until the Jews embraced Christianity’?¹¹ For Christians to acknowledge their dependence on Jews and to love their enemies as well created tension. Two schools of thought emerged, one which emphasised the negative, the other combining the positive and the negative views of Paul on the subject of Jews and Judaism.¹²

The church fathers developed what became known as the *Adversus Judaeos* tradition.¹³ This Patristic tradition ‘flourished from the second to the sixth century.’¹⁴ Within this theology, sermons, literature and pamphlets¹⁵ were used to demonstrate how the Jews had rejected Christ, and had thus put an end to any hope of their salvation.

The most well-known exponent of the negative approach was John Chrysostom, a Bishop of Antioch in the fourth century. His language concerning Jews and Judaism was both vitriolic and scathing.¹⁶ In a series of eight sermons which Chrysostom delivered in Antioch, the words used were bitter and coarse. From Homily One:

But do not be surprised that I called the Jews pitiable. They really are pitiable and miserable. When so many blessings from heaven came into their hands, they thrust them aside and were at great pains to reject them . . . From their childhood they read the prophets, but they crucified him whom the prophets had foretold.¹⁷

Not only are the Jewish people charged with deicide, they also come under attack for their stubbornness:

¹⁰ Kenneth R. Stow ‘Hatred of the Jews or Love of the Church: Papal Policy Toward The Jews in the Middle Ages’ in Shmuel Almog (ed.), *Antisemitism Through the Ages* (Jerusalem: The Vidal Sassoon International Centre for the Study of Antisemitism, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, n.d.), p.71.

¹¹ *ibid.*

¹² *ibid.*, p.72

¹³ ‘Tertullian’s *Adversus Judaeos* is the first systematic attempt to refute Judaism.’ Edward Flannery, *The Anguish of The Jews* (Mahwah: Paulist Press, 1985), p.40. According to Flannery, there was also a *Demonstratio Adversus Judaeos* from St Hippolytus in the third century (p.40) and one incorrectly attributed to St Cyprian (p.41).

¹⁴ Dan Cohn-Sherbok, *The Crucified Jew: Twenty Centuries Of Christian Anti-Semitism* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1992), p.25.

¹⁵ *ibid.*

¹⁶ According to Flannery, *op.cit.*, p.50, John Chrysostom ‘stands without peer or parallel in the entire literature *Adversus Judaeos*. The virulence of his attack is surprising even in an age in which rhetorical denunciation was often indulged with complete abandon.’

¹⁷ John Chrysostom (translated by Paul Harkins), *Discourses Against Judaizing Christians* (Washington: Catholic University of America, 1979), p.5, Discourse One, Section 2.

But what is the source of this hardness? It comes from gluttony and drunkenness. Who say so? Moses himself. "Israel ate and was filled and the darling grew fat and frisky." When brute animals feed from a full manger, they grow plump and become more obstinate and hard to hold in check . . . Just so the Jewish people were driven by their drunkenness and plumpness to the ultimate evil; they kicked about, they failed to accept the yoke of Christ, nor did they pull the plow of his teaching...Although such beasts are unfit for work, they are fit for killing. And this is what happened to the Jews: while they were making themselves unfit for work, they grew fit for slaughter.¹⁸

Yet Marc Saperstein cautions against over-reacting, saying that we must always put such language and speeches into context. For example, when Chrysostom preaches to his congregation about the evils of the synagogue:

If [the Jews] are ignorant of the Father, if they crucified the Son, and spurned the aid of the Spirit, cannot one declare with confidence that the synagogue is a dwelling place of demons? God is not worshipped there. Far from it! Rather, the synagogue is a temple of idolatry . . . A synagogue is less honourable than any inn. For it is not simply a gathering place for thieves and hucksters, but also of demons. Indeed, not only the synagogue, but the soul [*sic*] of Jews are also the dwelling places of demons.¹⁹

Saperstein writes of this that it testifies to the attraction of the synagogue. Chrysostom is concerned about the number of Christians attending the synagogue during the holidays of Passover and Yom Kippur, and he is trying to keep his congregation focused on Christianity rather than on Judaism and the attraction of the synagogue ritual.²⁰ This may be so, but it is worth remembering that Chrysostom's words have been used in a destructive way for many years.

There were others who followed similar points of view:²¹ in the ninth century bishops Agobard of Lyons and Raterius of Verona viewed Jews as threats to both the church and

¹⁸ *ibid.*, paragraphs 5 and 6 of Section 2, pp. 5-6

¹⁹ Saperstein, *op.cit.*, p.6

²⁰ *ibid.*, p.7. Flannery, *op.cit.*, mentions that some members of the Jewish community in Antioch were influential, and as a consequence, were attracting Christian visitors to the synagogue and their homes.

²¹ A contemporary of Chrysostom was St Ambrose of Milan. He reprimanded Emperor Theodosius for ordering the rebuilding of a synagogue: 'I hereby declare, that it was I who set fire to the synagogue; indeed, I gave the orders for it to be done so that there should no longer be any place where Christ is denied.' Quoted in Paul E. Grosser and Edwin G. Halperin, *op.cit.*, pp.78-79.

to kingdoms.²² Agobard's outrage at certain Jewish privileges, such as the granting of royal protection,²³ led to a number of anti-Jewish diatribes, which called for a separation of Christians from Jews.²⁴ Others included Abbot Guibert of Nogent (late eleventh century),²⁵ and Bernardino da Feltre in the fifteenth century.²⁶

The main focus for this school of thought was defilement and the possibility of contamination if Christians had contact with Jews. We may look back and say that their ideas were based on fears and insecurities, yet these churchmen influenced others.

The other school of thought concentrated more on both angles of Pauline theology: the chief exponent of this school, and certainly the most influential, was Augustine of Hippo. In the early fifth century Augustine devised a two-sided picture. He stated that the Jews were carnal, preferring the earthly things (as opposed to the Christians, whose journey was a spiritual one, and had achieved peace and salvation through Jesus Christ).²⁷ The Jews were thus considered enemies, and as a result of their rejection of Christ, were to be punished. But the 'positive' aspect of this line of thought was that the Jews were not to be harmed: they were to be seen, and to be learned from, for their crucial role concerned their

²² Kenneth Stow, *op.cit.*, p.72

²³ Katz, *op.cit.*, p.318

²⁴ Cohn-Sherbok, *op.cit.*, p.39

²⁵ Illness was seen as the work of the devil, another way to obstruct God's work. 'Accordingly, medicine was indistinct from theology, on the one hand, and sorcery, on the other, and its practitioners were allies of either God or his adversary', Katz, *op.cit.*, p.291. Guibert of Nogent, reports this incident:

In a certain famous monastery, a monk had been brought up from childhood and had attained some knowledge in letters. Directed by his abbot to live in an outlying cell of the abbey, while he was staying there he fell ill of a disease. Because of this, to his sorrow, he had occasion for talking with a Jew skilled in medicine. Gathering boldness from their intimacy, they began to reveal their secrets to one another. Being curious about the black arts and aware that the Jew understood magic, the monk pressed him hard. The Jew consented and promised to be his mediator with the Devil. They agreed upon the time and place for a meeting. At last he was brought by his intermediary into the presence of the Devil, and through the other he asked to have a share in the teaching. That abominable ruler said that it could by no means be done unless he denied his Christianity and offered sacrifice to him. The man asked what sacrifice. "That which is most desirable in a man." "What is that?" "You shall make a libation of your seed," said he. "When you have poured it out to me, you shall taste it first as a celebrant ought to do." What a crime! What a shameful act! And he of whom this was demanded was a priest! Thy ancient enemy did this, O Lord, to cast the dishonor of sacrilege on Thy priesthood and Thy Blessed Host! "Hold not Thy peace, and restrain not" [*sic*] Thy vengeance, O Lord! What shall I say? How shall I say it? The unhappy man did what was required of him, he whom Thou hadst abandoned, oh, would it had been in time! And so with that horrible libation he declared his renunciation of his faith.

ibid., p.292. This tale was circulated by a well-respected bishop, a man who would be believed.

²⁶ Stow, *op.cit.*, p.72. Bernardino's 'sermons against the "crime" of Jewish lending inevitably ended with a call for expulsion.'

²⁷ *ibid.*, p.73

presence during the Last Days. It was their rejection of Christ which had led to the inclusion of Gentiles. Augustine followed Paul's belief that the Jews would be 'grafted' at the close of the age.

In a strange, roundabout way, the Jews were seen as necessary. On the one hand, they were seen as the opposite of Christians: they were earthly, carnal, unlike the spiritual, saved Christians. Yet, on the other hand, they were indispensable. 'As no thinker after Paul had phrased it so openly, that society was dependent on the Jews for the achievement of its ultimate goal.'²⁸ And what was that goal? To safeguard Christianity at the top of society's hierarchy was in the interest of the church, and increasingly, of the State. Augustine developed what is known as the 'witness-people theory'.²⁹ Augustine's theory of the Jews as a witness-people was a 'theological instrument . . . to account for the worsening of Judaism's status that paralleled the rise of the church in the third and fourth centuries.'³⁰ He wished to account for the three hundred years of Jewish failure to accept Jesus Christ as the Messiah; hence the Jewish people reveal important lessons for Christians. One of the key components in Augustine's theology of the 'witness-people' is that of dispersion (or the 'wandering Jew' doctrine). Although this idea did not originate with Augustine, his reinterpretation of it has had serious ramifications down the ages:

But the Jews who killed him and refused to believe in him . . . suffered a more wretched devastation at the hands of the Romans and were utterly uprooted from their kingdom . . . They were dispersed all over the world – for indeed there is no part of the earth where they are not to be found – and thus by the evidence of their own Scriptures they bear witness for us that we have not fabricated the prophecies about Christ.³¹

It appeared that Jews had assumed a role of importance. Could the perception be that they were more important than Christians? The question became "how to keep Jews 'in their place'?"

Imperial Law seemed to take care of this. Whilst the Jewish people were protected in order to fulfil their role as witnesses, they were constrained from occupying important

²⁸ *ibid.*

²⁹ Flannery, *op.cit.*, p.64, and Stephen R. Haynes, *Reluctant Witnesses: Jews and the Christian Imagination* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1995), p.28

³⁰ Flannery, *op.cit.*, p.64

³¹ Augustine, *City of God*, Book 18:46, tr. Henry Bettenson (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972), p.827

positions such as judges or military officials, lest they pollute or insult the Christian faith through the exercise of power.³² They were to remain both socially and politically subservient to their Christian neighbours. This was the position adopted by papal legislation.³³

The climate for Jews, despite Augustine's ambivalent portrayal of them, was one of relative tolerance. They were accepted because they were needed for full and robust Christian faith, and as a living reminder of what would happen if Christians rejected their own faith.

But things began to sour during the late Middle Ages, beginning at the end of the eleventh century. It is important to note some of these changes to understand the change in mindset for some Christians, and to explain the increase in fear of persecution and expulsion:

1. The Crusades began at the end of the eleventh century. Although the aim was to protect Christian pilgrims in Jerusalem (i.e. to sanctify the Holy Land for Christian purposes) and to seek vengeance on the heathen Turks, this did not, certainly from the point of view of the church hierarchy, involve the Jewish people. Yet some Crusaders, viewing their neighbours in the Rhineland, could not understand why one type of heathen was condemned, whilst another (the Jew) was in their homeland, left in peace:³⁴

We are marching a great distance to seek our sanctuary and to take vengeance on the Muslims. Lo and behold, there live among us Jews whose forefathers slew [Jesus] and crucified him for no cause. Let us revenge ourselves on them first and eliminate them from among the nations, so that the name of Israel no longer be remembered, or else let them be like ourselves and believe in [the Christ].³⁵

The Crusades were often seen as the 'last battle'. Yet many in the church, following the 'preservationist side of witness-people theology',³⁶ intervened to protect Jews from

³² Stow, *op.cit.*, p.74

³³ Sometimes there were positive developments. In 591 Pope Gregory the Great wrote a letter to the bishops of Arles and Marseilles condemning forced baptism. See Saperstein, pp.14-15, and Stow, p.74, for fuller debate.

³⁴ Saperstein, *op.cit.*, p.17

³⁵ Attributed to the Hebrew Chronicles of the First Crusade. Quoted in *ibid.*

³⁶ Haynes, *op.cit.*, p.37

hostilities. During the Second Crusade, Bernard of Clairvaux was summoned by the archbishops of Mainz and Cologne to assist in stopping local riots:

It is good to go against the Ishmaelites. But whosoever touches a Jew to take his life, is like one who harms Jesus himself. My disciple Radulf, who has spoken about annihilating the Jews, has spoken in error, for in the Book of Psalms it is written of them: "Slay them not, lest my people forget."³⁷

But official policy was not always followed. Sometimes it was easy to stir up mob violence and popular superstition. The number of Jews who died in the Rhineland during the First Crusade is estimated to be 5,000, mainly due to their refusal to succumb to forced baptism, or killing themselves before the mob or the Crusaders did.³⁸ Can we understand a little better why the cross is viewed by many Jews with fear and repulsion? The cross, a symbol of Christian love and Christ's love, was carried on flags, worn on tunics, and was thus seen as a bearer of hate rather than as a sign of love.

2. In 1144, in the English town of Norwich, a boy named William was murdered, on Easter Eve. Rumours circulated, the main one being that William had been murdered by Jews in Norwich, crucified in mockery of the passion of Jesus.³⁹ This story circulated for several years, leading to William's body being reburied in the cathedral, as a saint and martyr, the place becoming a shrine.⁴⁰

The problems associated with William's death surfaced with the writing of a book about his life: *De vita et passione sancti Willelmi Martyris Norvicensis* (The Life and Passion of the Martyr St William of Norwich). The book, written by a monk named Thomas of Monmouth, portrays the murder as an reenactment of the crucifixion and is the 'earliest recorded account of Jewish ritual murder'.⁴¹

³⁷ *ibid.*, p.38

³⁸ Saperstein, *op.cit.*, p.18: 'Crusaders under the banner of Count Emicho of Leisingen broke through the ramparts of the bishop's palace in Mainz and overpowered Christians and Jewish defenders alike, sometimes massacring out of control, sometimes giving a choice of baptism or death.'

³⁹ Grossner and Halperin, *op.cit.*, p.106

⁴⁰ Saperstein, *op.cit.*, p.20

⁴¹ *ibid.* and Grossner and Halperin, *op.cit.*, p.106 and, on p.122, 'the assertion that the *matzoh* (bread) for the Passover Seder requires the blood of a Christian. Most ritual murder charges have occurred at Eastertime when religious fervor and indignation over deicide are highest.'

It was laid down by [the Jews] in ancient times that every year they must sacrifice a Christian in some part of the world to the Most High God in scorn and contempt of Christ, that so they might avenge their sufferings on him . . . Wherefore the leaders and Rabbis of the Jews who dwell in Spain assemble together at the Narbonne . . . and they cast lots for all the countries which the Jews inhabit; and whatever country the lot fall upon, its metropolis has to carry out the same method with the other towns and cities, and the place whose lot is drawn has to fulfil the duty imposed by authority.⁴²

The book suggests an international Jewish conspiracy, stirring Christians to fear the Jewish people.⁴³ The Jewish conspiracy, along with the blood libel, leads to this frightening conclusion: 'with one voice that all the Jews ought to be utterly destroyed as constant enemies of the Christian name and the Christian religion.'⁴⁴

Again, like the policies in the Crusades, the majority of church leaders condemned such teaching, but, as before, what was said officially and what was believed by the general population could be two different things. Once the charge of blood libel entered world literature, such as in Chaucer's *The Prioress's Tale*, it was accorded a degree of dignity, and was no longer written off as purely idle superstition.⁴⁵

⁴² Saperstein, op.cit., p.20

⁴³ This could be seen as a precursor to Hitler's views and policies concerning Jewish conspiracy.

⁴⁴ Saperstein, op.cit., p.20

⁴⁵ In *The Prioress's Tale*, one of the tales in *The Canterbury Tales*, Chaucer writes

Oure first foo, the serpent Sathanas,
That hath in Jues herte his waspes nest,
Up swal, and seide, "O Hebrayk peple, allas!
Is this to yow a thyng that is honest,
That swich a boy shal walken as hym lest
In youre despit, and synge of swich sentence
Which is agayn youre lawes reverence?"

Fro thennes forth the Jues han conspired
This Innocent out of this world to chace.
An homycide therto han they hyred,
That in an aleye hadde a privee place;
And as the child gan forby for to pace,
This cursed Jew hym hente, and heeld
Hym faste,
And kitte his throte, and in a pit hym cast.

. . .
O young Hugh of Lyncoln, slayn also
With cursed Jewes . . .

Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, edited by F.N. Robinson, (London: Oxford University Press, no date), pp.195, 197. For further stereotypes, see characters such as Shylock in Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*. See Act 1, Scene 3; Act 2, Scene 8; Act 3, Scene 3; and Act 4 Scene 1.

3. In 1215 CE the Fourth Lateran Council, presided over by Pope Innocent III, passed four decrees concerning Jews. Tithes from property were to be given to the church; Jews were not allowed to appear in public over Easter and were barred from public office; baptised Jews were no longer allowed to follow any customs of Judaism.⁴⁶ There was nothing new in these three decrees, but the fourth decree, the wearing of a distinctive badge, was unique in the West.⁴⁷ The badge made Jews stand out and feel unequal. It also made Jews easy prey during times of violence.

These three events pointed to a change in climate. There was still tolerance, and good will in many communities towards Jewish neighbours, but this tolerance could no longer be taken for granted. The Black Death, or plague, during 1348-1354, when an estimated one third of Europe died, put an end to tolerance.⁴⁸ The Jewish people were accused of poisoning the wells, which led to anti-Jewish riots, with many Jews slaughtered.⁴⁹ Hysteria reigned. The image of the Jew in partnership with the Devil, as the Christ-killer, as evil, made the Jew a credible scapegoat. These stereotypes, combined with the myth that the Jews were part of an international conspiracy, aimed at killing all Christians by poisoning the wells, persists in some circles even today.⁵⁰ Although responsible church leaders attacked this myth, many of the general population believed it.

Owing to the fear and resentment associated with the plague a number of countries saw fit to drive out their Jewish population. By the end of the fifteenth century, Jews had been driven out of virtually all of Western Europe: England in 1290; France in 1306 and then, after recalls, again in 1321 and 1394; and Spain in 1492. In the German lands, lacking a central power to decide for the entire realm, some ninety local urban expulsions took place between 1388 and 1519.⁵¹

⁴⁶ Flannery, op.cit., p.103, Grossner and Halperin, op.cit., p.104

⁴⁷ Flannery, op.cit. p.103, writes that 'The motivation of the prescription was given by the Council itself, namely, the prevention of concubinage and intermarriage between Christians and non-Christians. An Old Testament text was cited as a justification of the ruling.' (The reference is to Numbers 15:37-41.)

⁴⁸ Grossner and Halperin, op.cit., p.126.

⁴⁹ 'Major Jewish settlements in Mainz (numbering approximately three thousand), Frankfurt, Cologne, Speyer, Worms, Dresen, Freiburg, along with other cities throughout Germany and Switzerland, in particular Strasbourg and Brussels, were destroyed in whole or in large part in this convulsive eruption of anti-Jewish passion. In all, over two hundred communities were affected.' Katz, op.cit., p.161.

⁵⁰ 'The experience of the Jews during the plague was a precursor of the modern scapegoat role and the secular *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.' Grossman and Halperin, op.cit., p.132. Some of these myths and stereotypes persist in Neo-Nazi circles.

⁵¹ Saperstein, op.cit., p.25. In 1519 the Bishop of Speyer ordered a quarantine of Jews in his diocese because they were "not humans, but dogs." The period was characterised by violence, false charges, accusations of

The Spanish Inquisition (1366-1500) was, in essence, the continuation of the Crusades on European soil, rather than in the Middle East. It was an attempt to recapture Spain for Christianity. On the religious level, the Inquisition was concerned about preserving the faith, keeping it pure.⁵²

During 1391, riots took place in Aragon and Castile. Many Jews were the victims of this outbreak of violence. Many Jews converted to Christianity (with forced baptism) because the alternative was to be put to death.⁵³ Previously, these forced converts (from the First Crusade) were allowed to return to Judaism, but this was changed during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁵⁴ Being a Christian meant advancement and opportunity in professions, land ownership and privilege. The Spanish nobles began to resent these converts (*conversos*), calling them *marranos* (pigs).⁵⁵ They introduced new laws, excluding those deemed of 'impure' blood from certain positions and privileges. This 'purity of blood' legislation defined Jewishness in a new way: it did not matter if a Jew had converted and therefore been baptised, that Jew was still treated differently.

Some would argue that the converts thought of themselves as Jewish, and tried to maintain their Jewish traditions, in secret; others, that they thought of themselves as Christians. In the end it did not matter, because one of the aims of the Inquisition was to destroy the secrecy.

The Inquisition fostered an atmosphere of distrust and fear; the concept of Jews secretly practising their Jewish religion, while pretending to be Christian, added to the image of Jews as cheats. From this time onward, conversion by Jews to Christianity no longer

an international Jewish conspiracy, book burnings, expulsions and seeing Jews as animals, less than human. This sounds similar to Nazi ideology and Nazi programs, such as the public book burning (*Bucherverbrennung*) on May 10, 1933 in which thousands of books by Jews, communists and other 'enemies' of the Third Reich were destroyed in mass Nazi bonfires under the oversight of Joseph Goebbels, the Nazi propaganda chief, as well as the treatment of Jewish people as vermin, less than human, something to 'quarantine' or to 'exterminate.'

⁵² Grosser and Halperin, op.cit., p.134

⁵³ Saperstein, op.cit., p.27

⁵⁴ *ibid.*

⁵⁵ *ibid.*

meant escaping persecution.⁵⁶ The motives of Jewish converts to Christianity were suspect.

If the aims and objectives of the Inquisition were to keep the Christian faith pure, then it is significant that 'purity of blood' and 'purity of faith' became the measuring rod in Catholic Spain.

The Reformation was perceived by some Jews as a time of hope for the Jewish people. It was seen as a clash of ideals between groups within the Christian church, having nothing to do with Judaism and therefore leaving Jews out of its arguments. But this was not to be the case. Some Jews thought that, because the Reformation centred more on Scripture than on hierarchy, there would evolve a climate of tolerance and acceptance of Judaism. Sadly, this was not to be the case. The Reformation was a time of great change but, as in most eras of upheaval, this created instability both within society and within the church.

The Roman church, in response to the split, fought back with what is known as the Counter-Reformation. It took a hard line, which included the reestablishment of the Inquisition and the formation of a ghetto in Venice.⁵⁷ For the most part, due to the harshness of Catholicism in Europe, Jews fared better in the Protestant regions.⁵⁸

Martin Luther started out with a degree of respect for Judaism because of the position of Jews as keepers of Scripture. But this initial admiration turned sour when Luther realised that the Jewish people were unwilling to convert to Christianity. His impatience and frustration were due in some measure to following Augustinian thought, seeing a mass conversion as a sign of the nearing of the End of the Age. When this did not happen, he expressed his anger in words which have had dreadful consequences throughout Christendom. Luther, who in 1523 had written a tract in which he criticised the church for its treatment of the Jews ("That Jesus Christ was Born a Jew")⁵⁹ could, twenty years later, write what seemed to be the complete opposite in "On the Jews and Their Lies." It is

⁵⁶ 'Jewish efforts to become less conspicuous by conversion, which removed their religious distinctiveness, or assimilation, which removed their cultural or life style distinctiveness, were no longer a guarantee against prejudice and persecution.' Grosser and Halperin, op.cit., p.154

⁵⁷ '1516 A.D: All Jews in Venice were required to move to the Ghe to [*sic*] Nuovo.' *ibid.*, p. 162. See Katz, op.cit., p.383, note 281 for further details. This was the first ghetto created.

⁵⁸ Grosser and Halperin, op.cit., p.171

worth noting some of Luther's words, even if just to grasp his style of expression, which influenced the Nazi propagandists. Jews are the 'vilest whores and rogues under the sun,' 'full of malice, greed, envy, hatred toward one another, pride, usury, conceit and curses against us.' Jews have been 'bloodthirsty bloodhounds and murderers of all Christendom for more than 1400 years in their intentions.'⁶⁰ Luther even advocates the destruction of synagogues, Jewish houses, prayer books and copies of the Talmud. If Christians still fear the Jews, then expulsion is the only solution.⁶¹ Saperstein highlights a passage which could incite others to conduct a pogrom:

We are at fault in not avenging all this innocent blood of our Lord and of the Christians which they shed for three hundred years after the destruction of Jerusalem, and the blood of the children they have shed since then . . . We are at fault in not slaying them. Rather we allow them to live freely in our midst despite all their murdering, cursing, blaspheming, lying, and defaming.⁶²

By the 19th century, there was progress towards equality and full citizenship for Jews. There was tolerance towards Jewry, especially in northern and Protestant Europe.⁶³ Yet this age of progress, with advancements in politics, economics and technological change also created 'the theory of modern or racial anti-Semitism, a theory that makes traditional persecution and hatred of Jews acceptable and respectable to modern and secular man.'⁶⁴ In the past, racial theories had been applied to peoples and nations; now this new science extended the definition to include cultural and religious groups. Ideology and pseudo science allowed such theories to become accepted.⁶⁵

These factors, together with the Dreyfus Affair,⁶⁶ the pogroms in Russia, and more subtle influences, such as literature for children,⁶⁷ continued to portray accepted stereotypes and

⁵⁹ Martin Luther, 'That Jesus Christ was Born a Jew' in *Luther's Works*, Vol.45 (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1962), pp.199-229

⁶⁰ Luther, 'Lies', pp.167, 264, 277, 275 and 261, quoted in Saperstein, op.cit., p.34.

⁶¹ *ibid.*, p.35

⁶² *ibid.*

⁶³ Grossner and Halperin, op.cit., p.231

⁶⁴ *ibid.*, p.232. Another new branch of science was eugenics. Eugenics was based itself on Darwin's theory of the 'survival of the fittest.' It was applied in German society in an unprecedented way.

⁶⁵ *ibid.* 'The logical conclusion . . . meant that conversion or assimilation had no affect.' This was also the mindset of the Inquisition. A Jew could not be a 'true' convert to Christianity.

⁶⁶ In 1894, a letter sent by a French officer, to an employee of the German embassy in Paris was intercepted by the French Intelligence. Alfred Dreyfus was accused of treason. The trial was a sham. See Cohn-Sherbok, op.cit., p.170.

myths of the Jewish people. These conditions helped the Nazis in their dissemination of ideology and actions in the 1930s and 1940s which culminated in the horror of the Holocaust.

As this short overview of Jewish-Christian history makes clear, anti-Jewish actions and policies did not originate with the Nazis in 1933. Raul Hilberg argues that there were two basic anti-Jewish measures up to the Nazi era:

1. You have no right to live among us as Jews (therefore convert);
2. You have no right to live among us (therefore expulsion/exclusion became the anti-Jewish policy for secular rulers)

The Nazis were able to carry this further by ruling

3. You have no right to live.⁶⁸

The German defeat during World War I, as well as the high rate of inflation in the post-war Weimar Republic (from which it was said that the Jews had profiteered),⁶⁹ were blamed on the Jews. They were the scapegoats in Germany's declining fortune and glory. There was no place for Jewry in the rise of German nationalism. In the early days of his rise to power, Hitler assured Christian leaders that he was doing God's work: 'The task which Christ began but did not finish, I will complete.'⁷⁰ These sentiments echo the words in *Mein Kampf*: 'I believe that I am today acting in accordance with the will of the Almighty Creator: by defending myself against the Jew I am fighting for the work of the Lord.'⁷¹ Later, Christianity was pushed aside, as a hindrance to Nazism and its ideology, yet Nazi propaganda continued to draw on myths that portrayed the Jew as the devil and as an opponent of the German *Volk*. As the embodiment of evil, Jews had to be destroyed.

It is important to bear in mind not only what the church and Christian society *did*, but also what it *did not do*. Even though Jews faced different forms of persecution through the ages, the church did not seek to exterminate the Jewish people. 'Genocide did not occur

⁶⁷ 'The Jew Among Thorns' in *Grimm's Complete Fairy Tales*, (New York: Barnes & Noble Books, 1993), pp. 39-43. See Haydn Middleton, *Grimm's Last Fairytale* (London: Abacus, 1999) for an historical novel about the Grimm brothers and the Germanic myths and politics of that era.

⁶⁸ Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jewry* (London: W.H.Allen, 1961), pp.1-4

⁶⁹ Flannery, op.cit., p.206

⁷⁰ Robert S. Wistrich, *Antisemitism: The Longest Hatred* (London: Thames Mandarin, 1992), p.67. Spoken to an audience in Munich in 1926.

⁷¹ Flannery, op.cit., p.210

until the mid-twentieth century.⁷² The theory of Jews as ‘witness-people’ protected them from extermination, until the rise of Nazism. Then, what was once a Christian society followed a different ideology which believed the Aryan to be a super race. In order for this blood to be kept pure, those classed as impure, defective or less than human were to be destroyed. German society was no longer a Christian civilisation; the cult of the *Volk*, with the Führer as their god, reigned supreme.

This examination of the history of Jewish-Christian relations shows that there has been conflict virtually from the beginning and that in various forms it has continued through the centuries. Underlying this conflict has been a flawed Christian theology. This flawed theology has been manifest in the church’s flawed liturgy. The potential still remains today for flawed liturgy, and for church leaders and others to fail to understand and explain how flawed liturgy played its part in the tragedy of the Shoah.

To avoid perpetuating the errors of the past, the lectionary readings need to be examined, especially the readings set for Holy Week. In the New Testament:

One sees the church expressing both its theological commitment to proclaim Jesus “Lord” and its sociological or organisational need to define itself vis-a-vis the Jews. Eventually the combination of these two factors led to strong language of condemnation of the Jews and the creation of the *Adversus Judaeos* tradition.⁷³

This can be seen in the Gospel of John where some scholars state that the author holds to a replacement theory.⁷⁴ An awareness of these issues is necessary, for they influence the way the Word is proclaimed, and the way in which the Service of the Word is conducted.

⁷² Katz, op.cit., p.317

⁷³ William Seth Adams, ‘Christian Liturgy, Scripture, and the Jews: A Problematic in Jewish-Christian Relations’, *Journal of Ecumenical Studies*, Vol.25, No.1 (1988), p.44. On p.45 Adams describes the *Adversus Judaeos* tradition as ‘. . . literature . . . named after a treatise by that name, written by Tertullian . . . literature . . . comprised of dialogues between Christians and Jews, . . . lists of proof texts . . . to illustrate the rejection of the Jews [and] homiletical sources.’

⁷⁴ John 8:44 and 47, and 15:21 are three examples of what may be called ‘denigration of the Jews.’ This can also be seen in John’s account of the crucifixion. See C.K. Barrett, *The Gospel of John & Judaism* (London: SPCK, 1975), pp.70-72 and pp.75-76 for his account of John’s anti-Jewish attitude. Supersessionist tendencies are evident in Nils Alstrup Dahl’s ‘The Johannine Church and History’ in John Ashton, *The Interpretation of John* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark Ltd., 1997): ‘The Jews, according to the Fourth Gospel, take the law and Moses, the Scriptures and the fathers, even God Himself, as a religious possession of their own. Thinking that they do already have life and freedom, they use their religious possessions as means of self-defense when they are confronted with the true God, revealed in Christ.’ p.157 and ‘they [the Jews] end up representing the world even in pitting Caesar at the place of God, whereas they deny the fundamentals of

When the Word is read, and the sermon/homily given, care must be taken to avoid any suggestion of supersessionist teaching. Supersessionism is a term used when a Christian holds the view that whatever happened in the Hebrew Scriptures, whatever took place before Jesus, has been superseded.⁷⁵ “Supersessionist” is appended to any theology which implies that the Mosaic covenant was abrogated with the coming of Christ.’⁷⁶

Franklin Littell sounds the warning that if this theory is taken to its logical conclusion, then there are sinister implications:

The cornerstone of Christian Antisemitism is the superseding or displacement myth, which already rings with the genocidal note. This is the myth that the mission of the Jewish people was finished with the coming of Jesus Christ, that “the old Israel” was written off with the appearance of “the new Israel.” To teach that a person’s mission in God’s providence is finished, that they have been relegated to the limbo of history, has murderous implications . . .⁷⁷

As the celebration of Holy Week, a product of the fourth-century pilgrim church in Jerusalem,⁷⁸ spread throughout the church, two additions were made to the Holy Week liturgy which are of interest:

1. Solemn Prayers, or Collects,⁷⁹ and
2. The Reproaches.⁸⁰

their own faith and forfeit the history of Israel What matters in the history of Israel is the existence of witnesses to Christ before the coming of Christ’, p.158.

For a different, and non-supersessionist use of replacement, see W.D. Davies, *Christian Engagements With Judaism* (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1999), pp.204-205.

Whatever explanation a biblical scholar may give of the association of Jews with the devil in John 8:44...., a post-Holocaust theology is mindful that such a text was used in church history to torment Jews and create an image of them as children of the devil, an image that found expression in art and in the minds of Christians. Jews were dehumanized with the help of such a text, placed outside the universe of moral obligation of Christians; Christians found their mistreatment of Jews justified, and went on record to say so.

Clark M. Williamson, *A Guest in the House of Israel* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993), p.139.

⁷⁵ ‘Supersessionism comes from two Latin words: *super* (on or upon) and *sedere* (to sit), as when one person sits on the chair of another, displacing the latter. Supersessionist theology is also called displacement theology for its claim that Christians replace Jews in the covenant with God.’ *ibid.*, p.268.

⁷⁶ Haynes, *op.cit.*, p.17

⁷⁷ Franklin H. Littell, *The Crucifixion of the Jews* (Macon: Rose Reprint, Mercer University Press, 1986), p.2

⁷⁸ William Seth Adams, *op.cit.*, p.46

⁷⁹ *ibid.*, p.47

The Solemn Prayers date from as early as the fifth century,⁸¹ and are a series of intercessory prayers. These follow on from the Gospel reading for Good Friday, which is from John 18-19.⁸² The General Intercessions cover the church, the Pope, clergy and laity, catechumens, the unity of Christians, Jews, those who do not believe in Christ, those who do not believe in God, those in public office and those in special need.⁸³ In some rites, the Jews were called *perfidis* (faithless),⁸⁴ ‘and were often not considered worth silent prayer.’⁸⁵

The Reproaches occur later, during the veneration of the cross.⁸⁶ They are ‘cast as rebukes of the people of Israel by the crucified Christ.’⁸⁷ Together with the supersessionism and deicide charges found in most Passion Plays, the liturgical references to faithless Jews and Christ’s reproaches interpreted as directed at the Jews have helped to foster antisemitism. This flawed ritual is critical, for this is what fashions the Christian: ‘what is *expressed* in the ritual is *impressed* upon the participant.’⁸⁸ In this sense then the church has failed to transform its people. What the church did or did not do during the Shoah cannot be divorced from what was happening within the church buildings; what was, or was not, taking place in its own liturgy and rituals:

. . . the church was tested and found wanting. The church was not a leaven in the world speaking and acting on behalf of the human dignity of all persons-and most especially the Jews. The church did not witness to the truth of the sanctity of the life of all persons created in the image of God. The church did not strive to transform the world but, rather, became obediently conformed to the Nazi world.⁸⁹

Neither in its celebration nor its practice has the church lived up to its calling. It is time to acknowledge this. Then, and only then, can there be movement forward.

⁸⁰ *ibid.*

⁸¹ *ibid.*

⁸² *ibid.*

⁸³ *The Roman Missal*, revised by Decree of the Second Vatican Council and published by the Authority of Pope Paul VI, (E.J. Dwyer, Hong Kong: Liturgical Books, 1974), p.174

⁸⁴ William Seth Adams, *op.cit.*, p.48. This is not the case in *The Roman Missal*. However, it could be argued that the last section of the intercession for the Jews – ‘Listen to your Church as we pray that the people you first made your own may arrive at the fullness of redemption’ (*The Roman Missal*, p. 170) – could be interpreted this way.

⁸⁵ *ibid.* In *The Roman Missal* the rite incorporates silent prayer.

⁸⁶ *ibid.*

⁸⁷ *ibid.*

⁸⁸ *ibid.*, p.46

A Christian Yom HaShoah Service can allow the opportunity to acknowledge a dark history, and turn towards the light. All too often the church and its flawed theology has helped fan the fire of antisemitism.

⁸⁹ Darrell J. Fasching, 'Faith and Ethics After The Holocaust: What Christians Can Learn From The Jewish Narrative Tradition of Hutzpah', *Journal of Ecumenical Studies*, Vol.27, No.3 (1990), p.463

Chapter Four:

Christian-Jewish Relations: Australian Perspectives

In order to gain acceptance of and support for incorporating a Yom HaShoah service in the Australian liturgical calendar, it is necessary to understand and, where appropriate, reflect the historical experience of Jews in Australia, Australians' response to and understanding of the Holocaust and the relationship between Christians and Jews in Australia. These should also influence the development of a liturgy suitable for use in Australian churches.

Avram, a Holocaust survivor, said of Australia:

It was a country about which I knew very little. We learned in school about the continent called Australia which is part of the British Empire . . . After the war the most relevant thing for us was that it was the farthest point we could find from Europe. My hopes were to get away from Europe, to get away from living under the shadow of the Holocaust.¹

The response of Australians and Australian churches to the Holocaust has been different in a number of key respects from those of other western countries. These differences are reflected in the history, geography and the population ratio. In Australia Jews have never numbered more than 0.5% of the population.² In 1991, 0.4% of the population (nearly 75,000 people out of a population approaching 17 million), identified themselves as Jews.³ Australia's distance from Europe, which is approximately 19,000 kilometres, meant that there was no mass migration of Jews, nor did the residents of whole villages settle here, as happened in other countries, including the United States.⁴

¹ Naomi Rosh White, *From Darkness To Light* (Melbourne: Collins Dove, 1988), p.167. A fictional account, writing of the same desire for distance from Europe:

Within the shadows of their recent bereavement they had sought asylum in a New World. 'Why did you choose Australia?' we asked. 'I looked at a map of the world and chose a place as far as possible from Sibir,' one of them had replied.

Arnold Zable, *Jewels and Ashes* (North Caulfield, Vic: Fine-Lit, 1986), p.22

² Gael Hammer (compiler), *Pomegranates: A Century of Jewish Australian Writing* (Newtown: Millennium, 1988), p.16

³ The Australian Bureau of Statistics, from 1991 Census figures. Note that the responses to the question of religious affiliation are voluntary, so the actual percentage may be higher.

⁴ Nancy Keesing (compiler), *Shalom* (Ringwood: Penguin, 1978), p.11

Yet Australia's Jewish community extends back to the time of the First Fleet. Since the time Australia was settled by convicts sent from Britain, there has been a Jewish community. Between 1788 and 1852 approximately 145,000 convicts were transported to Australia. Historians estimate that at least 1,000 were Jewish.⁵

Australia's Jewish population grew slowly but steadily. Free settlers arrived in small numbers until the 1830s. After 1851, Australia's population expanded more rapidly as the gold rushes attracted immigrants. Among those immigrants were Jews, mainly from England and Western Europe.⁶ Up until 1933, the Jewish community was predominantly of British origin, like the rest of the population, although a smaller but sizeable number came from Germany.⁷ Australia was not a favoured destination for Jewish emigrants from central and eastern Europe, even though conditions there in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries made emigration attractive.

From the early days of white settlement, the Jewish community, though small, made its mark on Australian society. Unlike in some countries, where restrictions or prohibitions were placed upon the Jewish community (such as on owning land, admission into various professions, and allowing children to attend non-Jewish schools), in Australia being Jewish was not a barrier to success.⁸

This reflects the absence of antisemitism as a significant factor in Australian history.⁹ One reason is that Australia has a strong Calvinist religious tradition which, in the words of one writer, 'has shown considerable philo-Semitism and admiration for the Jews.'¹⁰ Yet, in the

⁵ Helen Bersten, 'Jewish Convicts in the First Fleet', *The Sydney Jewish Museum Newsletter*, Vol.1, No.2 (1993) p.5. According to Bersten, sixteen of the convicts in the First Fleet were Jewish. Yet the numbers vary according to different sources. Another source (Keesing, op.cit., p.9) records that there were nine Jews in the First Fleet. Although the numbers vary, there is agreement that there were some Jews on the First Fleet.

⁶ Keesing, op.cit., p.10

⁷ W.D. Rubinstein (ed), *Jews In The Sixth Continent* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1986) p.4

⁸ Two examples in the early 20th century were Sir John Monash (engineer and lawyer, Commander-in-Chief of the Australian army and one of the senior allied commanders on the Western Front during World War I) and Sir Isaac Isaacs (legal scholar and High Court judge, and the first Australian-born Governor-General).

⁹ Paul R. Bartrop, *Australia And The Holocaust* (Kew: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 1994), p.xi

¹⁰ Serge Liberman, 'Gentile champions of Jews in Australia', in W.D. Rubinstein, op.cit., p.177. It is interesting to note that the town of Le Chambon, in France, saved many Jews during the Holocaust. Many say that it was their Protestant, Calvinist theology which was one of the primary motivating factors. For further information about the story of this remarkable town and its pastors, read Philip Hallie, *Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed* (New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1980).

aftermath of World War 1 there was an increase in xenophobic sentiment. Australia sought to recover its pre-war spirit, its sense of peace, tranquillity, its place in the British Empire. The nation, which had become independent only in 1901, had ‘grown up’ as a result of the war but, along the way, feelings of insecurity and a need for self-preservation surfaced.¹¹ As Australians tried to recapture this lost spirit, the nostalgic longing for the past, there developed a mistrust of the foreign, the different.¹² During this inter-war period, Australian society was more hostile to eastern and southern Europeans and non-Europeans than to immigrants from the United Kingdom and Ireland,¹³ and restricted entry, at the very time Jews were beginning to emigrate to Australia to escape the oppression in central Europe. Restrictions were imposed by the Australian government as early as 1924, due to a fear of an influx of Jewish refugees, mainly from Eastern Europe.¹⁴ The first restrictions on European migrants (i.e. non-British) involved them having either forty pounds or a written guarantee from a sponsor.¹⁵ These restrictions, combined with the compulsory dictation test, were ways to discourage non-British immigrants.¹⁶ It is worth noting that the Australian Jewish community, in the main, supported these restrictions:

The danger was imminent that the progress of a century might suddenly be undone and Australian Jews swamped by a sudden eruption unable to speak English . . . Fortunately this danger is guarded against through restricting visas for passports to Australia for persons of alien nationality.¹⁷

They were concerned that their success and high standing in the general community would be under threat. It is important to remember that the majority of Jewish settlement up to this time was from Britain. Being heavily oriented to British and Anglo-Australian culture, they were keen to diminish or render invisible any distinguishing cultural traits.¹⁸ It took the rise of Nazism and its effects to change this dominant mind-set within the Jewish community. To a lesser extent, it also led to a less Anglo-centric view in the general population. The 1930s were years of challenge. Once Hitler became leader, and the

¹¹ Bartrop, op.cit., p.2

¹² ibid.

¹³ Rubinstein, op.cit., p.13

¹⁴ Suzanne D. Rutland, *Edge of the Diaspora* (Sydney: Collins, 1988), p.168

¹⁵ ibid., p.169

¹⁶ The U.S.A. had a quota system as well.

¹⁷ *Hebrew Standard of Australasia*, 19 October, 1928, quoted in Rutland, op.cit., p.169

¹⁸ Rubinstein, op.cit., p.5

persecution of Germany's Jews became more widespread (as a result of the Nuremberg Laws), pressure was placed on the Australian government to ease its quotas.

In July 1938 the American President, F.D. Roosevelt, convened an international conference, now known as the Evian Conference. This conference was intended to seek responses to the growing refugee crisis. It was not to 'solve' the crisis, rather it was to ease pressure on governments. In Roosevelt's invitation it was stated that 'no country was expected to accept a greater number of refugees than was permitted by its existing legislation.'¹⁹ Once Britain had decided to attend, Australia followed suit. The man chosen to lead the Australian delegation was Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Walter White, the Federal Minister for Trade and Customs, who was already overseas on other business.²⁰ As Bartrop notes, White was more than adequate to represent Australia.²¹ On the second day of the Conference, White made his speech. It certainly did not encourage the Jewish leaders assembled at Evian:

Under the circumstances, Australia cannot do more, for it will be appreciated that in a young country manpower from the source from which most of its citizens have come is preferred, while undue privileges cannot be given to one particular class of non-British subject without injustice to others. It will no doubt be appreciated also that, as we have no real racial problems, we are not desirous of importing one by encouraging any scheme of large-scale foreign migration.²²

There was to be no special consideration for Jewish refugees: they were seen as general non-British immigrants. There were mixed responses in Australia. The press was divided, as was the general public. But the message was clear, and Australia's response differed little from that of the rest of the world. The Australian government's pro-British stance,

¹⁹ Rutland, *op.cit.*, p.178. 'His motives in calling the Conference appear to have emanated from his desire to deflect some sectors of American public opinion which were beginning to lean towards a liberalisation of immigration regulations.' Bartrop, *op.cit.*, p.61

²⁰ Bartrop, *op.cit.*, p.67

²¹ Bartrop, *op.cit.*, pp.67-68

His qualifications as a civic and military leader in interwar Australia were without match. He had served in the Great War . . . with the Australian Flying Corps . . . awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross . . . captured by the Turks . . . escaped by way of Russia in August 1918 . . . President of the Melbourne Legacy Club . . . commanded the 6th Battalion . . . between 1926 and 1931 . . . His wife . . . was a daughter of Australia's second Prime Minister, Alfred Deakin. White was . . . senior enough in the Cabinet to have been expected to perform with authority in putting forth the government's line.

²² Quoted in Bartrop, *op.cit.*, p.71

along with its conservatism and fear of anything 'foreign', meant it was unable to look ahead to the benefits of refugees and what they could offer to this country.

A more generous quota was introduced in 1938-39. This was, however, not only due to a more humanitarian outlook, as further information emerged about the plight of Jewish refugees and the events taking place in Europe, but also to an easing of economic pressures within Australia. The economy was gradually recovering from the effects of the Great Depression. Indeed, this may have been a significant factor behind the initial introduction of quotas: concern for the number of Australians out of work, and the fear that an increase in the number of migrants would add to this burden. In November 1938, the Australian High Commissioner in London, Stanley Melbourne Bruce, suggested that Australia admit 30,000 refugees over a three year period.²³ Cabinet decided that Bruce's figure was too high, and the Minister for the Interior, John McEwen, announced a different figure on December 1. 15,000 refugees were to be allowed to be admitted to Australia over a three-year period, an increase from the previous 1,800 per year.²⁴

In theory this appeared to be an improvement. However, in practice, it was a slow and tedious procedure. Because all applications had to be approved in Canberra, it took at least five months for permits to be granted. Refugees could not book their passage until their landing permit had been received. Not only was there a time factor, but the refugees 'needed proof of currency holdings, a certificate from the Nazi president of police and a place of employment in Australia.'²⁵ Even with all this red tape and delay, and despite the restrictive quotas, almost 8,000 German, Austrian and Czechoslovak Jewish refugees were allowed to settle here between 1933 and the closing of the sea lanes in 1940-41.²⁶

However, the quota of 15,000 over three years could not be filled.

Post-war Jewish migration is another story. A radically new migration policy was put forward by the Australian Labor government, under its Minister of Immigration, Arthur Calwell, but this was soon changed to discriminatory measures which limited the number of Jewish refugees (or displaced persons) allowed to settle in Australia.²⁷ Although

²³ Rutland, *op.cit.*, p.180

²⁴ *ibid.*, p.181

²⁵ *ibid.*, p.182

²⁶ Rubinstein, *op.cit.*, p.4

²⁷ Rutland, *op.cit.*, p.225

leading Australian intellectuals and trade unionists and some churchmen advocated support, the majority of the Australian public seemed to be against post-war Jewish migration. People were still concerned about jobs, opportunities and housing shortages, and the majority were not willing to risk the loss of job and home for non-British refugees. 'In a 1948 opinion poll, only 17 per cent of the population approved of Jewish migration to Australia.'²⁸ Quotas were re-introduced in mid-1946, and this kept Jewish refugees to a minimum.

But, as time went on, opinions changed. In the second half of the 1950s government policy eased towards Jewish migration.²⁹ This change could be seen in an opinion poll conducted in 1964. 68 per cent of interviewees saw Jews as desirable migrants, a significant increase over the 1948 poll figure of 17 per cent.³⁰ What brought about this change in attitude? Australian society had matured during the postwar years, having experienced the benefits of migrants and had greater exposure to things foreign. Consequently, the general public was much more accepting. In addition, the situation of Israel had influenced the more positive feeling. During the 1940s, the media had been pro-British and anti-Zionist in much of its reporting; now it was more pro-Israeli in its reporting of events in Israel.³¹ Another factor was that Jewish immigrants were no longer seen as refugees. Their place had been taken by others, and nothing seems to aid a previous group of refugees as much as the hostility and animosity shown towards the newest group of arrivals.

As well as this brief history we have rehearsed so far, other factors which could influence an Australian Yom HaShaoh liturgy include Australia's treatment of Jewish refugees compared with its attitude towards Nazi collaborators and war criminals. Jews and Nazis were often living in the same displaced persons (DP) camps on arrival in Australia.³² This also raises the question as to why Jewish refugees were excluded from the IRO (International Refugee Organisation) Government Sponsored Migration Programme.

²⁸ *ibid.*, p.231

²⁹ *ibid.*, p.243

³⁰ *ibid.*

³¹ *ibid.*

³² *ibid.*, pp.244 and 249

Under this scheme, aided by an inadequate screening process, Nazi collaborators and war criminals were able to arrive in Australia, yet Jews were not.³³

In retrospect, we can ask why more was not done. Indeed, this question could be asked of most countries. Paul Bartrop reminds us that:

Australia took more Jews in per capita terms than any country save Palestine. In numerical terms, sadly, the approximately ten thousand who made it into the country by 1945 were nowhere near enough to make an impression on the massive number who actually sought entry or who would have been happy to do so.³⁴

The experiences of the newly-arrived immigrants and refugees varied. For some, Australia was a relief:

An old, rusted, mottled liner waited, chartered to transport them over vast waters to a distant, safer, quieter unmolested haven that was Australia. That had been in 1950. If the new country did not appear instantly hospitable, it permitted the newcomers at least to draw deep unhurried breaths as, tentatively, they sank fresh roots into mercifully unresisting soil.³⁵

At the same time, the pressures for conformity remained:

When
you
arrived

you
imagined

you'd
be
treated

like
kings

welcomed
with

³³ *ibid.*, pp.248 and 251

³⁴ Bartrop, *op.cit.*, p.xiv His figures differ from Rubinstein. See Rubinstein, W.D., *op.cit.*, p.4.

³⁵ Serge Liberman, *A Universe of Clowns* (Brisbane: Phoenix Publications, 1983), p.93

open
arms

looked
at
lovingly

revered
really

what
greeted
you

were
anxious
faces

they
said

we
know
you've
been

through
a lot

but
it's
best

not
to
disturb
yourself

with
those
thoughts

it
took
you

forty
years

to
try

to
talk

about
it.³⁶

Australia's history in dealing with Jewish refugees is not faultless. In retrospect, more could have been done. Within Christian Yom HaShoah liturgies, it is appropriate for Australian Christians remember Australia's history, to ask for forgiveness and to examine within their own hearts whether they are protecting and caring for the latest refugee arrivals.

Another factor to influence an Australian Yom HaShoah liturgy is the relationship between the church in Australia and Jewry. There is little evidence of widespread sympathy for or interest in Jewish issues in the church in Australia. However, from the time of European settlement there were church leaders and individuals who admired Judaism and were sympathetic to Jewish causes. One early example was The Reverend Adam Cairns, author and Presbyterian minister, who, in 1854, when the Jewish community was raising funds to aid the Jews in Palestine who were suffering as a result of both the Crimean War and famine, helped gain public support for the cause.³⁷

Sympathy sometimes extended to recognition of the church's antisemitism. In 1944, Benjamin Burgoyne Chapman, a former Methodist missionary in China, wrote in his book *The Murder of a People*:

I feel complete identification with those so attacked, and shame as a member of the Church partly responsible for the attack both because of its past intolerance and usual present apathy.³⁸

There have other examples of clergy and laity, both in the past and in the present, who have worked hard to foster good relations between Christians and Jews. In Australia, during the time of the Nazi persecution of the Jews, many Christian denominations

³⁶ Lily Brett, 'Arriving in Australia', *The Auschwitz Poems* (Brunswick: Scribe Publishers, 1986), p.107

³⁷ Serge Liberman, 'Gentile champions of Jews in Australia', in W.D. Rubinstein, op.cit., p.78

³⁸ *ibid.*, p.91

protested. In Sydney, Bishop Charles Venn Pilcher, an Anglican, campaigned hard to alleviate the suffering of newly arrived refugees, and pressured the Government to review the status of refugees.³⁹ According to Rutland, the Catholic Church was not as accepting of the situation of the refugees until much later. Once some knowledge of the danger Jews were subjected to in Germany was aired, the Catholic Church became less ambiguous: '... in 1938 the Catholic Truth Association published a pamphlet which set out to prove the injustice of racial persecution.'⁴⁰

Robert Anderson, a Uniting Church minister and scholar, has argued that:

... the Church must recognise that it has contributed significantly to the rise and development of anti-Semitism ... there must be acknowledgement on the part of the Church that ... so far as the Holocaust is concerned, the Church may not simply excuse itself from complicity and culpability ... there should be a recognition by the Church, without equivocation, of Judaism, the faith of the Jewish people, as a living vibrant religion in its own right ... a determined effort must be made within the Church to understand and appreciate Judaism in its own terms and not in terms more applicable to Christianity ... the polemical as well as the apologetic context of much of the New Testament must be taken into consideration especially when this material is used as the basis for Christian preaching and teaching ...⁴¹

In Australia, as elsewhere, interest in the Holocaust grew during the 1980s and 1990s. A Holocaust museum was established in Melbourne and a Jewish Museum in Sydney. Thomas Keneally's book *Schindler's Ark*, and the film based on it, *Schindler's List*, found a wide audience. An Australian film, *Father* (released in 1989), tackled the theme of war crimes and individual responsibility for the Holocaust. The film dealt with issues that Australians and the Australian Government grappled with in the 1980s and 1990s.

The subject of war criminals residing in Australia persists to the present day. In 1987 a Special Investigation Unit (SIU) was formed to investigate alleged European war criminals who had emigrated to Australia. The existence of the Unit and its attempted prosecutions brought war crimes to the public's attention. Public attention was also drawn to the

³⁹ Rutland, op.cit., p.194

⁴⁰ Rutland, op.cit., p.196

⁴¹ Robert Anderson, 'The Church and Anti-Semitism: The Beginning of a Tragedy' in *Anti-Semitism and Human Rights*, Proceedings of a seminar held on June 10-11, 1984 (Melbourne: The Australian Institute of Jewish Affairs and the Department of History, University of Melbourne, 1985), pp.99-100

Holocaust by the strong opposition, led by the Jewish community, to a proposed visit in May 1993 by Holocaust-revisionist David Irving. Consequently, he was banned from entering Australia, on the basis that his planned speaking tour could create disturbances in the community. Another item of controversy was the novel written by Helen Darville, *The Hand that Signed the Paper*.⁴²

Perhaps one of the most important reasons for the inclusion of a Yom HaShoah liturgy within the Christian liturgical calendar in Australia is the presence of the Holocaust survivors living here:

Percentage-wise, Australian Jewry has the highest number of survivors in the world. They still find themselves exposed to denials of the Holocaust, attempted relativising of the event and impatience with Jewish sensitivity.⁴³

Since 1991, an annual Shoah service for Christians has been held in Sydney.⁴⁴ This service, an initiative of the NSW Council for Christians and Jews, is a service of remembrance for Christians, though some participants and attendees are Jewish. A similar service is held in Melbourne.⁴⁵ These Christian (as distinguished from interfaith) services are dependent on the ecumenical initiatives of committed Christians. Until Yom HaShoah is included within the Christian liturgical calendar, and endorsed by the official church hierarchy, Yom HaShoah services will continue to remain in the domain of the interested.⁴⁶

The totality of the Australian experience informs church life and the corporate and individual prayers of Christians. The implications of this for a Yom HaShoah liturgy for use in Australia are considered in Chapter Nine.

⁴² See Robert Manne, *The Culture of Forgetting* (Melbourne: Text Publishing Company, 1996) and John Jost, Gianna Totaro and Christine Tyshing, *The Demidenko File* (Ringwood: Penguin, 1996).

⁴³ Australian Catholic Bishops Conference, *Guidelines for Catholic-Jewish Relations* (n.p.: Bishops' Committee for Ecumenical and Interfaith Relations, November 1992), p.3

⁴⁴ The first service was held at the Jewish Martyrs' Memorial in Sydney's Rookwood cemetery. See Verna Holyhead, 'New Foundations and Conversations: A reflection on two Christian-Jewish gatherings', *Liturgy News*, Vol. 22, No.4, December 1992, p.11. From 1992 the service has been held in St Mary's Cathedral crypt.

⁴⁵ In Melbourne the service has, at least during the last few years, been the initiative of the Sub-Committee for Catholic-Jewish Relations of the Melbourne Catholic Archdiocesan Ecumenical and Interfaith Commission. It is held in St Patrick's Cathedral, and is advertised as an 'ecumenical memorial service for Christians.'

⁴⁶ Personal correspondence from Lutheran, Catholic and Uniting Church bodies involved in liturgy confirm this statement.

Chapter Five:

Yom HaShoah Commemorations in Other Countries

It is worth noting, in brief, how Yom HaShoah is commemorated in Great Britain, Canada and the United States.

In Great Britain, Christian memorial services have been infrequent, although some groups, such as the local Councils of Christians and Jews, have held prayer services.¹ But the situation is improving:

The Fiftieth Anniversary of the 'Kristallnacht' was widely remembered and consciousness of the appropriateness of Christians commemorating the Holocaust in prayer has been awakened.²

There is also interest in a civic remembrance of the Holocaust. A current British Government White Paper proposes that January 27 be adopted as an annual day of remembrance of the Shoah.³ The date suggested is the date of the liberation of Auschwitz.⁴

¹ Mary Kelly *et al*, 'The Shoah in Education and Commemorating the Shoah in Public Prayer', in *SIDIC*, XXII, Nos 1 & 2 (1989), p.28

² *ibid.* 'Kristallnacht' ('night of crystal') occurred on the night of 9-10 November, 1938. There were anti-Jewish riots in Germany and Austria. Over 30,000 Jews were arrested, 191 synagogues destroyed, and 7,500 shops looted. See *Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad VaShem, no date).

³ *The Australian Jewish News*, Friday November 12, 1999, p.10

⁴ There are problems associated with choosing the date of the liberation of one camp. If a date of liberation is chosen, why confine it to the date of Auschwitz's liberation? Why not, for example, choose July 24, the date when Majdanek became the first camp to be liberated? A difficulty with choosing a date associated with a specific camp is that survivors of other camps may feel that their experiences were not as important. Although one could argue that Auschwitz is the most well-known of the death camps, this can convey a comparison of suffering and of experiences. Although many associate the name 'Auschwitz' with the Shoah, they are not synonymous, so one needs to be careful about using any terms such as 'post-Auschwitz.' Arthur A. Cohen cautions against this in *The Tremendum* (New York: Continuum, 1981), p.11.

Another difficulty with using a date associated with Auschwitz is that, for some, it is a record of Polish, rather than Jewish history:

Auschwitz . . . is *not*, for Poles, a symbol of Jewish suffering. Rather, it is a general symbol of "man's inhumanity to man" and a symbol of the Polish tragedy at the hands of the Nazis. It is a powerful reminder of the evil of *racism*, and not a singular reminder of the deadliness of anti-Semitism. In the most literal sense of memories evoked on site, it is an "Auschwitz without Jews."

In Canada, the situation varies according to the region or province: 'On the west coast, prairies and in the maritimes no Christian or interfaith memorial services appear to be held.'⁵ In the city of Montreal, an annual event is held, organised by both Christians and Jews.⁶ Toronto has held ecumenical inter-faith services since 1981, and these have been televised nation wide in recent years.⁷

Local planning committees plan the service within their own communities, and determine the format of the service. Some are held in the synagogue, some in the church, and some in public buildings. Some have more of a religious tone to them, and others are more secular.⁸

In the United States, ceremonies occur in a variety of contexts, both religious and secular. During the early 1970s, Yom HaShoah was not widely observed, the number of congregations observing such a date has been estimated to be as low as several dozen.⁹ It was during the presidency of Jimmy Carter that services were promoted, and that Yom HaShoah became a fixed day on the calendar. On November 1, 1978, President Jimmy Carter appointed a Commission on the Holocaust.¹⁰ This Commission, which was comprised of survivors of the Holocaust, historians, Senators and Congressmen, was to bring a report to the President:

with respect to the establishment and maintenance of an appropriate memorial to those who perished in the Holocaust . . . and to recommend

Canadian sociologist Iwona Irwin-Zarecka, quoted in Deborah Dwork and Robert Jan van Pelt, 'Reclaiming Auschwitz' in Geoffrey H. Hartman (ed.), *Holocaust Remembrance: The Shapes Of Memory* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 1994), p.241

⁵ *ibid*, p.34. But according to Jim Leland, services are held in the Maritime provinces: 'In my home province of New Brunswick annual public Services take place (again inter-faith by nature), but follow a different format from that of the Christian service. I must also add that these services take place only in larger centers (cities), as far as New Brunswick goes. This I suspect, is because the Jewish communities are located only in the cities. The rest of the Province is rural. (Small towns, villages etc.)' Personal correspondence from Jim Leland, May, 1993.

⁶ Kelly, *op.cit.*, p.34

⁷ *ibid*. The most recent liturgy I have been able to obtain from the Council of Christians and Jews in Toronto is for a service in 1988. I have obtained several liturgies used by individual parishes throughout Canada; these seem to be initiatives of interested individuals within a town or parish, rather than a directive from church authority.

⁸ Personal correspondence from Jim Leland, Canada, May 19, 1993.

⁹ Marcia Sachs Littell and Sharon Weissman Gutman, *Liturgies on the Holocaust* (Valley Forge: Trinity Press, 1996), p.1. It is unclear whether these congregations were Jewish, Christian or participants of an interfaith service.

¹⁰ Jeshajahu Weinberg and Rina Elieli, *The Holocaust Museum in Washington* (New York: Rizzoli, 1995), p.20. There is a discrepancy of dates here. According to Littell and Gutman, the date was May 1, 1978, not November 1, 1978.

appropriate ways for the nation to commemorate April 28 and 29, 1979, which the Congress has resolved shall be 'Days of Remembrance of Victims of the Holocaust.'¹¹

After the submission of the report, Congress, on October 7, 1980, decided to establish the United States Holocaust Memorial Council. One of its tasks was to

provide for appropriate ways for the Nation to commemorate the Days of Remembrance, as an annual, national, civic commemoration of the Holocaust, and . . . encourage and sponsor appropriate observance of such Days of Remembrance throughout the United States.¹²

The 96th Congress, by establishing the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, had, by way of Public Law 96-388, made Yom HaShoah a public event. It is worth noting that every American President since Jimmy Carter has supported this Day of Remembrance.¹³ Government approval, and the President's personal observance of this day, obviously have a significant influence on the planning of Yom HaShoah services and the numbers attending.

. . . what we value most and what we fear greatest we encode with temporal specialness. What is not so reserved for community memories to ponder is relegated by our worshipers to relative insignificance in our scheme of things.¹⁴

Throughout the United States, ceremonies are conducted by the President as well as

the governors of all fifty states, the mayors of all major American cities, all major branches of the military, government and community groups, smaller towns and communities, universities and schools both public and private, and of course in the synagogues and churches.¹⁵

The US Holocaust Memorial Council distributes materials for memorial services throughout the country. All chaplains of the forces were sent Marcia Sachs Littell's book, *Liturgies on the Holocaust* (1986 edition), and are expected to lead services of

¹¹ *ibid.*

¹² *ibid.*

¹³ Littell and Gutman, *op.cit.*, p.1

¹⁴ Lawrence A. Hoffmann, 'Response: Holocaust as Holocaust, Holocaust as Symbol', *Worship* 58 (1984), p.339

¹⁵ *ibid.*

remembrance on Yom HaShoah.¹⁶ Within the church, some denominations, such as the Presbyterians and the American Baptists, have placed Yom HaShoah on their liturgical calendars.¹⁷ The National Conference of Catholic Bishops has encouraged memorial services.¹⁸ Other churches, including the United Methodist Church, use an interfaith service:

The Committee that prepared *The United Methodist Book of Worship*, adopted in 1992 by our international General Conference, looked at a number of Holocaust Memorial Day services that had taken place and decided that, rather than prepare such a service on our own it would be better that such a service be interfaith, prepared by an interfaith committee.¹⁹

While applauding the efforts and educational focus of the United States, such practice still leaves several questions unanswered. What is the difference between ceremonies and services? Does making something 'official' or 'law' mean true observance, or does it become something akin to a token gesture? If there is this emphasis on Days of Remembrance, why do many Americans still believe that the Holocaust didn't happen and why is revisionist history popular in many parts of the United States?

These issues are not unique to the USA. A decision by churches in Australia to incorporate a Yom HaShoah service in the liturgical calendar would be a step towards greater awareness, both within the church and the broader community, of the Holocaust and help to reduce prejudice and antisemitism.

¹⁶Franklin Littell, *The Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*, op.cit., Vol. 1, p.298-299

¹⁷ Mary Kelly, op.cit., p.35. On the Sunday closest to Yom HaShoah, Catholics are encouraged to pray for the victims of the Holocaust and the survivors. Examples of some of the petitions for the general intercessions at Mass include:

* For the victims of the Holocaust, their families, and all our Jewish brothers and sisters, that the violence and hatred they experienced may never again be repeated, we pray to the Lord.

* For the Church, that the Holocaust may be a reminder to us that we can never be indifferent to the sufferings of others, we pray to the Lord.

* For our Jewish brothers and sisters, that their confidence in the face of long-suffering may spur us to a greater faith and trust in God, we pray to the Lord.

From the 1988 statement of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops' Committee on the Liturgy, 'God's Mercy Endures Forever: Guidelines on the Presentation of Jews and Judaism in Catholic Preaching', quoted in personal correspondence from Dr. Eugene J. Fisher, July, 1993.

¹⁸ Editors, 'The Shoah and Contemporary Religious Thinking,' *SIDIC*, XXII, Nos 1 & 2 (1989), p.3

¹⁹ Personal correspondence from Hoyt L. Hickman, Director, Resource Development, Section on Worship, the United Methodist Church, Nashville, April 1993

Chapter Six:

Post-Holocaust Theology

In order to develop an appropriate Yom HaShoah liturgy, it is necessary to examine the impact of the Holocaust on theology, both Christian and Jewish. Liturgical expression is response to God and to others; therefore theology plays a vital role in liturgical planning. This discussion of post-Holocaust theology is limited to three Jewish theologians: Eliezer Berkovits, Arthur Cohen and Emil Fackenheim; and four Christian theologians: John Pawlikowski, Johann Baptist Metz, and Roy and Alice Eckardt.¹ They were chosen because of the importance of their theological contributions and, in some cases, because of their work on Yom HaShoah liturgies.

Jewish Theologians

(a) Eliezer Berkovits

Eliezer Berkovits has considered the religious dimensions of the evil of the death camps. He has witnessed the crisis of faith for many within the Jewish community:

There are two principal approaches to the holocaust of European Jewry: the attitude of pious submission to it as a manifestation of the divine will, and the more frequently met attitude of questioning and doubt, a position that may ultimately lead to outright rebellion against the very idea of a beneficent providence.²

His theology is linked with 'keeping the faith.' Berkovits is firm in his conviction that belief in God is still possible after the horror of the Holocaust. He places the Holocaust within Jewish history, as *one* tragedy that has engulfed and challenged Jews and their faith.

¹ Theologians whose work is not discussed here include Bernard Maza, Ignaz Maybaum, Richard Rubenstein, Elie Wiesel, Marc Ellis and Irving Greenberg, on the Jewish side and Franklin Littell, Harry J. Cargas, Paul M. van Buren, David Tracy, Clemens Thoma and Gregory Baum on the Christian side. For information about pioneers in Christian-Jewish Dialogue, some interesting articles can be found in *SIDIC*, Vol.XXX No.2, 1997

² Eliezer Berkovits, *op.cit.*, p.3

It belongs alongside the destruction of the First and Second Temples, the Crusades and the Chmelnicki massacre. The Holocaust was unique only in its magnitude.³ As Berkovits puts it: 'Auschwitz does not contain the entire history of Israel; it is not the all-comprehensive Jewish experience.'⁴

Berkovits is quick to point out that Jewish history did not start and end with the Holocaust. Berkovits sees that two types of history are coexisting: the history of the nations, and the history of Israel.⁵ The history of the nations is a naturalistic history, whereas Israel's history has a 'supra-natural dimension.'⁶ Both histories occur at the same time, both make up the history of humanity.

Owing to the nature of Israel's unique spiritual history, questions of God's involvement (or lack thereof) during the Holocaust (and, by implication, during other periods of history) and of the role of the Jewish people in God's plan are matters for theological consideration.

Eliezer Berkovits has attempted to answer the question "Where was God during the Holocaust?" His theology draws on both biblical and rabbinical notions of God. He speaks of the 'hiddenness' of God: God was there, in the camps with His people. God was there as *El Mistater*, the hiding God.⁷ This is the hidden God of Isaiah 45:15. God's hiddenness is necessary because human beings were given free will. God's withdrawal is not due to indifference, but is a way to allow human beings to act as moral agents.

[God] created evil by creating the possibility for evil; He made peace by creating the possibility for it. He had to create the possibility for evil, if He was to create the possibility for its opposite, peace, goodness, love . . . God cannot as a rule intervene whenever man's use of freedom displeases him. It is true, if he did so the perpetration of evil would be rendered impossible, but so would the possibility for good also disappear.⁸

Berkovits uses the term *Hester Panim*, 'Hiding of the Face' to speak of what God does when people suffer due to the evil of others, not when it is because of divine judgment.

³ Dan Cohn-Sherbok, *Holocaust Theology*, op.cit., p.58

⁴ Berkovits, op.cit., p.134

⁵ *ibid.*, p.111

⁶ *ibid.*

⁷ *ibid.*, p.65

⁸ *ibid.*, pp.104-105

Berkovits insists that this 'hiddenness', this self-hiding of God, is an attribute of the divine nature;⁹ we may not understand it, but we can speak of it.

Berkovits, using the example of Job, speaks of wrestling, or reasoning, with God. This is the heart of faith: 'Faith cannot pass by such horror in silence. Faith, because it is trust in God, demands justice of God.'¹⁰ He quotes the examples of Job and Abraham to reinforce his claim about questioning God.

Berkovits concludes with a reminder that God is able to perform miracles; the miracle of the state of Israel speaks of God's presence, even within his hiddenness.¹¹ Berkovits makes mention of the other miracles which happened after other disasters: after the first destruction of the Temple, the synagogue was formed,¹² after the second destruction, the Judaism of the Talmud was created.¹³ After the third destruction, the Holocaust, there was the destruction, or the ending of being in Exile, for the State of Israel was formed.¹⁴

Yet, in conclusion, Berkovits points out that God is partly to blame for the Holocaust: 'Yet all this does not exonerate God for all the suffering of the innocent in history. God is responsible for having created a world in which man is free to make history.'¹⁵

Berkovits's theology poses a number of problems: his view of two different types of history occurring concurrently (which implies that God is not involved in secular history); and being unable to resolve the dilemma of faith for those who were in the camps and whose faith was shaken by the absence of God (the hiddenness of God does not appear to be of much comfort here). Yet it needs to be said, not only on behalf of Berkovits but for all who dare to speak of God and faith during and after the Holocaust, that these issues are raised with both courage and risk.

⁹ *ibid.*, p.101

¹⁰ *ibid.*, p.68

¹¹ *ibid.*, p.134

¹² *ibid.*, p.157

¹³ *ibid.*

¹⁴ *ibid.*

¹⁵ *ibid.*, p.136

(b) Arthur A. Cohen

Arthur Cohen coined the term *tremendum* when speaking of the Holocaust. He had borrowed this term from the theologian Rudolf Otto. Otto wrote of the *mysterium tremendum*, the utter mystery.¹⁶ Otto devised the phrase to speak of the mystery of God's presence.¹⁷ Cohen uses the phrase in a different way, arguing that language was debased during the *tremendum* by the Nazis:

. . . a kind of cauterization of conscience by the use of metaphor and euphemism; to understand that in official Nazi language the extermination of Jews was precisely that – the disinfectant of lice, the burning of garbage, the incineration of trash, and hence language never had to say exactly what acts its words commanded . . . Language created its own rhetoric of dissimulation, and conscience was no longer required to hear accurately.¹⁸

Hence our task is to find other ways of understanding and speaking about God.¹⁹ Cohen says that the word *tremendum* carries with it not only the idea of mystery, but also the 'resonance of terror.'²⁰ Using the word *tremendum* to speak of the Holocaust is also a means of pointing out the opposite: it is counter to the *mysterium tremendum*, it is a 'meaningless inversion of life.'²¹

Cohen thus proposes an alternative conception of God. According to Cohen, after the *tremendum* it is no longer possible to speak of God as omnipotent and all-good. Cohen's God is 'detached.'²² This is a God who does not interfere in the events of the world:

If we can begin to see God less as the interferer whose insertion is welcome (when it accords with our needs) and more as the immensity whose reality is our prefiguration . . . we shall have won a sense of God whom we may love and honor, but whom we no longer fear and from whom we no longer demand.²³

¹⁶ Arthur A. Cohen, *The Tremendum* (New York, New York: Continuum Publishing Company, 1981. Reprinted 1993), p.17

¹⁷ Cohn-Sherbok, op.cit., p.69

¹⁸ Cohen, op.cit., pp.7-8

¹⁹ *ibid.*, p.5

²⁰ *ibid.*, p.17

ibid., p.19

²² Cohn-Sherbok, op.cit., p.77

²³ Cohen, op.cit., p.97

Such a concept of deity runs counter to traditional Jewish and Christian theology. Such a God, removed from history, would not be the all-powerful, yet ever-loving God.

Traditional theology speaks of God's involvement in history, not as intrusion, but as providence, love and salvation.

Arthur Cohen has raised an issue which could be viewed as prophetic: the use of the term Auschwitz when speaking about the Holocaust. Many, when referring to the Holocaust, speak of Auschwitz. This can be seen in a number of ways; one date mentioned for a Yom HaShoah service was January 27, the date Auschwitz was liberated.²⁴ One Christian theologian refers to himself as a 'post-Auschwitz Catholic.'²⁵ Cohen warns against the perils of using Auschwitz as a term to encompass the horror of the *tremendum*. It was one of the camps, but not the only one. More importantly, in terms of remembrance, 'Auschwitz is the German name for a Polish name. It is a name which belongs to *them*. It is not a name which commemorates.'²⁶

Cohen sets an example, among the few, of being willing to tackle the difficult topic of the Holocaust, and to encourage others to do the same. Arthur Cohen's theology has influenced both Jewish and Christian theologians, among them the Catholic theologian David Tracy.²⁷ Tracy asks 'Why do so many Christian theologians still refuse to face the *tremendum* which the Holocaust discloses?'²⁸ He closes with a warning: 'Only when Christian theologians join their Jewish theological colleagues to think of God post-*tremendum* will a genuine dialogue really begin.'²⁹

(c) Emil L. Fackenheim

Emil Fackenheim deals with the issue of Jewish survival after the Holocaust. For Fackenheim, the Holocaust was unique. Jews were murdered, not because of their religious beliefs, but because their *grandparents* had observed the Jewish covenant with

²⁴ Proposal in a current British Government White Paper, *The Australian Jewish News*, Friday, November 12, 1999, p.10, as discussed previously in Chapter Five.

²⁵ Cargas, Harry James, 'The Uniqueness of the Holocaust for Christians', *Proceedings (At the Edge of the 21st Century: Second Scholars' Conference on the teaching of the Holocaust, October 6-7, 1991, held at Seton Hill College, Pennsylvania)*, p.13

²⁶ Cohen, op.cit., p.11

²⁷ Tracy wrote the Foreword for Cohen's book

²⁸ Cohen, op.cit., p.xii

²⁹ *ibid.*, p.xiii

God.³⁰ Their own faith was irrelevant. Unlike other periods of Jewish persecution, when Jews would die as they bore witness to their faith (or sometimes lived if they changed their faith by baptism), during the Holocaust this was not the case:

At Auschwitz Jews were murdered, not because they had disobeyed the God of history, but rather because their great-grandparents had obeyed Him . . .³¹

Fackenheim sees that the Holocaust affects all Jews, religious and secular. It raises questions concerning belief and God's involvement in the world, yet it also raises the question of how to survive as Jews today. When the question "Who is a Jew?" is asked, Fackenheim answers: 'A Jew today is one who, except for an historical accident – Hitler's loss of the war – would have either been murdered or never been born.'³² Fackenheim shocks with his rebuttal of the religious dimension which some have placed on the surviving Jews: 'We are not a holy remnant. We are an accidental remnant.'³³

Fackenheim does not dwell on the negative, he does not despair; rather, he finds hope within the horror, the core of this hope being the survival of the Jewish community. The Holocaust is defined as a 'root experience.'³⁴ Root experiences (such as God's saving presence at the Red Sea, and the giving of the Torah at Mount Sinai)³⁵ change the life and experience of the Jewish community. From these other 'root experiences', certain commands were given by God; Fackenheim has issued another command, which he calls the 614th commandment.³⁶ Whilst acknowledging that Hitler did have a victory – the destruction of six million Jews – Fackenheim states that the Commanding Voice of Auschwitz forbids Hitler any more triumphs. He posits the 614th commandment: 'the authentic Jew of today is forbidden to hand Hitler yet another, posthumous victory.'³⁷ To live as authentic Jews, post-Holocaust, is to live out this commandment:

³⁰ Cohn-Sherbok, op.cit., p.44, and Emil L. Fackenheim, *The Jewish Return Into History* (New York: Schocken Books, 1978), p.47

³¹ Quoted in Cohn-Sherbok, op.cit., p.44. (One of the annoying features of Cohn-Sherbok's books, is the absence of footnotes.)

³² Emil L. Fackenheim, 'Jewish Existence After The Holocaust', in Roger S. Gottlieb (ed.), *Thinking The Unthinkable*, (New York/Mahwah: Paulist Press, 1990), p.224.

³³ *ibid.*, p.236

³⁴ Cohn-Sherbok, op.cit., p.45

³⁵ *ibid.*

³⁶ There are 613 commandments in the Torah.

³⁷ Emil L. Fackenheim, 'The 614th Commandment' in Gottlieb, op.cit., p.22

Jews are commanded to survive as Jews, lest their people perish. They are commanded to remember the victims of Auschwitz, lest their memory perish. They are forbidden to despair of God, lest Judaism perish. They are forbidden to despair of the world as the domain of God, lest the world be handed over to the forces of Auschwitz. For a Jew to break this commandment would be to do the unthinkable – to respond to Hitler by doing his work.³⁸

Fackenheim states that there is no option about this. If the 614th commandment is not obeyed, then the culprit is sinning:

A Jew may not respond to Hitler's attempt to destroy Judaism by himself cooperating in its destruction. In ancient times, the unthinkable Jewish sin was idolatry. Today, it is to respond to Hitler by doing his work.³⁹

He sees the State of Israel as central to survival, as well as being a key component in *tikkun* ('mending' or 'repairing').

Fackenheim takes up the issue of Jewish-Christian relations. He asks whether Jewish-Gentile relations can ever be mended. Trust had been shattered through the centuries, the most extreme example being during the Holocaust:

. . . the Christian needs to hear the truth from the Jews. And the truth is that the organized Christian forces will find it easiest to drop the ancient charge of deicide, harder to recognize roots of Christian antisemitism in the New Testament, and hardest of all to admit that both Jews and Judaism are alive.⁴⁰

He is blunt enough to state that if the mending of relations does not happen, then that constitutes another posthumous victory to Hitler.⁴¹

Fackenheim is prepared to consider the work that needs to be done by both Jews and Christians. In his book *The Jewish Bible after the Holocaust*⁴² he considers the example of Dietrich Bonhoeffer, among others.

³⁸ Emil L Fackenheim, *Quest for Past and Future* (Bloomington & London: Indiana University Press, 1968), p.20

³⁹ Fackenheim, *The Jewish Return Into History*, op.cit., p.32

⁴⁰ Fackenheim, *Quest for Past and Future*, op.cit., p.23

⁴¹ Fackenheim, in Gottlieb, op.cit., p.234

⁴² Emil L Fackenheim, *The Jewish Bible after the Holocaust*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990)

Fackenheim's theological position concerning the Holocaust is a positive one. He sees the survival of the Jewish people upheld by the miracle of Israel and the fulfilling of the 614th commandment. Fackenheim takes heart from the attempts at *tikkun* carried out in Jewish-Christian circles. But he warns Jews and Christians of the danger of waiting for the 'right time' to enter into thinking theologically about the Holocaust:

. . . for theology cannot wait but must speak whenever the time is ripe, even at the price of fragmentariness. In tranquil times perhaps even theologians can wait. But to the present generation of Jewish theologians apply Hillel's words – "if not now, when?"⁴³

Christian Theologians

(a) John T. Pawlikowski O.S.M.

John Pawlikowski is a Catholic priest, and professor of Social Ethics at the Catholic Theological Union in Chicago. His work in Jewish-Christian relations has included being an advisor to the American Bishops' Secretariat for Catholic-Jewish Relations, as well as being appointed to the United States Holocaust Memorial Council in 1980.

He readily acknowledges the influence of Jewish theologians on his theological thinking, especially the writings of Arthur Cohen, Emil Fackenheim, Elie Wiesel and Irving Greenberg:⁴⁴ ' . . . Irving Greenberg speaks of the Shoah as an "orienting event" for all future generations. I would basically align myself with this position . . . '⁴⁵

Pawlikowski considers that the Holocaust, as an "orienting" event, can only be seen as such if Christianity is included in its focus. As an event unique in history, it affects all, both Jews and Christians.

⁴³ Fackenheim, *Quest for Past and Future*, op.cit., p.ix

⁴⁴ John T. Pawlikowski, 'Christian Theological Concerns After the Holocaust' in Eugene J. Fisher (ed.), *Visions of the Other* (Mahwah, New Jersey: Stimulus Books, Paulist Press, 1994), pp. 28, 36, 38

⁴⁵ *ibid.*, p.28

Although Pawlikowski does not shy away from the long and brutal history of Christian antisemitism, acknowledging that this helped the Nazis in their work,⁴⁶ he suggests that the crisis that faces western civilisation as a consequence of the Holocaust is that of morality. One of the goals of the Nazis was to create the ‘super human’, a ‘new person.’⁴⁷ In order to do this, it was necessary for Nazi ideology to do away with traditional religious concepts of God:

It aimed at a total transformation of human values at the heart of which was the loosing of the ‘shackles’ of the historic God-idea with its attendant notions of moral responsibility, redemption, sin and revelation.⁴⁸

Pawlikowski states that we need to acknowledge this new way of viewing humanity, that we both recognise and celebrate this new freedom, being on guard to use this freedom wisely. The question is: how do we live as responsible human beings with this extension of freedom and power? According to Pawlikowski, humanity can only live properly and responsibly with this new freedom if it acknowledges its need of God:

The post-Holocaust theological vision must be one that recognises both the new creative possibilities inherent in the human condition as well as the utter necessity that this creative potential be influenced by a genuine encounter with the living and judging God.⁴⁹

For Pawlikowski, atheism is not the proper response to this new freedom. Even though Christians may protest against ‘God’s non-intervention during the Holocaust, we still cannot let God go away permanently . . .’,⁵⁰ and a sense of relationship with the Creator God is the key component in the social ethics associated with this new human freedom. But whilst Christians celebrate their work as co-creators, they must not overlook the fact that we humans are judged by God. This freedom comes at a price, and with responsibilities:

⁴⁶ John T. Pawlikowski, ‘The Holocaust and Contemporary Christology’ in Elizabeth Schüssler Fiorenza and David Tracy (eds), *Concilium: The Holocaust As Interruption* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1984), p.44

⁴⁷ *ibid.*

⁴⁸ *ibid.*, p.45. (Pawlikowski acknowledges the influence of Israeli historian Uriel Tal concerning this ‘break.’)

⁴⁹ Pawlikowski, ‘Christian Theological Concerns After the Holocaust’, *op.cit.*, p.37

⁵⁰ *ibid.*, p.38

With a proper understanding of the meaning of the Christ Event men and women can be healed, they can finally overcome the primal sin of pride, the desire to supplant the Creator in power and status that was at the heart of the Holocaust.⁵¹

Pawlikowski, on the one hand, speaks of 'God's non-intervention' during the Shoah, whilst on the other speaks of humanity, rather than God, as being the problem. Are we able to hold our heads up high, or do we state that it is all God's fault?

Why blame God for the nightmare? To do so is to indulge in a blatant form of escapism. The real challenge of the Holocaust is whether we can say anything positive and constructive about the dignity of man after the exposure of the evil forces within humanity during this period of history.⁵²

Pawlikowski is quick to point out that the evil is due to human freedom. He disagrees with theologians who say that the Holocaust was due to the work of the devil.⁵³ Humanity gets off lightly, if one holds such a view. For Pawlikowski, to remove the blame from the human sphere which, by its nature, ignores our relationship with God and our role as co-creators, leaves little hope:

A devil-origins theory makes it almost impossible to sustain any hope of preventing another outbreak of such an event. However, by understanding this evil as rooted in the centuries-long struggle of the human community to define its proper relationship to the Creator, one is at least provided with some possibility of accomplishing this goal.⁵⁴

A further concern of Pawlikowski's is the role of the church post-Holocaust. Writing as a Catholic, Pawlikowski lays down a challenge to the church. He says that the church needs to rethink its ecclesiology, taking note of the Holocaust. The church is anchored within history, and theologians must make sure the church recognises this, as well as owning up to its less than satisfactory role in history:⁵⁵

⁵¹ Pawlikowski, 'The Holocaust and Contemporary Christology', op.cit., p.48

⁵² John T. Pawlikowski, 'The Challenge Of The Holocaust For Christian Theology' in Roger S. Gottlieb (ed.), *Thinking The Unthinkable*, op.cit., p.247

⁵³ John T. Pawlikowski, *Christ in the Light of the Christian-Jewish Dialogue* (New York: Stimulus Books, Paulist Books, 1982), p.145. Pawlikowski is commenting on the work of A. Roy Eckardt.

⁵⁴ *ibid.*, p.146.

⁵⁵ Even though Pawlikowski is writing from the viewpoint of a Catholic, and speaking specifically about the Catholic Church, what he says also applies to Protestant churches.

The Holocaust has eliminated any possibility of retaining an ecclesiology which depicts the church as a wholly complete and perfect institution, existing essentially apart from this world though in contact with it.⁵⁶

Within this revised role of the church, proper exegesis and authentic teaching and preaching are to be tools to correct some of the church's past mistakes. Along with this educational role, the devotional disciplines of liturgy and prayer are paramount.⁵⁷

In conclusion, Pawlikowski has stern words not only for the church, but for other theologians. He admonishes Liberation theologians, and some liberals, who tend to dismiss the Holocaust as irrelevant for their theology, because it happened in the past. If one does not tackle the issues of human destructiveness and rebellion against God, how can these phenomena be examined in today's context?⁵⁸ For Pawlikowski, the tragedy of the Holocaust should be viewed as an 'orienting' event for Christians. To acknowledge this means to initiate change within church practice and traditional theology.

(b) Johann Baptist Metz.

Professor Dr Johann Baptist Metz was full time professor of Fundamental Theology at the University of Munster from 1963 to 1993. Since 1993 he has been Visiting Professor of Philosophy of Religion at the University of Vienna in Austria. He was one of the first German Catholic theologians to think critically about the Holocaust and to face its tough questions.

Metz's warnings are sharp:

Never again . . . do theology is such a way that construction remains unaffected, or could remain unaffected, by Auschwitz . . . Ask yourself if the theology you are learning is such that it could remain unchanged before and after Auschwitz. If this is the case, be on your guard.⁵⁹

Metz is convinced that theology has to be revised in a number of ways. First of all, Christian theology has to take into account its Jewish roots. There cannot be Christian

⁵⁶ Pawlikowski, 'The Challenge Of The Holocaust For Christian Theology', op.cit., p.255

⁵⁷ Pawlikowski, 'Christian Theological Concerns after the Holocaust', op.cit., p.39

⁵⁸ Pawlikowski, 'The Challenge of the Holocaust for Christian Theology', op.cit., p.244

theology which does not take into account the Jewish heritage evident within Christianity.⁶⁰ This is of utmost importance in order for Christians to face the Holocaust.

Secondly, Metz suggests that another revision that has to be made is to view theology as a discipline founded on subject, 'I', rather than on an objective level:⁶¹ ' . . . the time of situationless and subjectless systems – as privileged locations of theological truths – is no longer with us, at least not since the catastrophe of Auschwitz . . . '⁶² He suggests that we use the term 'the Jews' rather than 'Judaism', in order to incorporate the subjective element. Metz suggests this change so as to challenge the idea that 'Judaism is an outdated precursor of the history of Christianity.'⁶³ Metz argues that the subject of the Holocaust requires a rethinking of Christian theology, but believes that such revision has yet to penetrate the core of Christian theological thought.⁶⁴

Thirdly, Metz suggests that Christians need to come to terms with what he calls an 'anamnestic culture', one that shuts out the pain of history (in this case, memory of the Holocaust), by forgetting.⁶⁵ Metz states that it is important to become an 'anamnetic' culture, one that resists the contemporary triumph of amnesia.⁶⁶ Metz is quick to give credit to Judaism for this way of viewing history. Both religions are based on remembrance and narrative; to lose sight of this can lead down the path of amnesia.⁶⁷

Metz links the crises of today's world to the Holocaust. In a vein similar to Pawlikowski, Metz writes that humanity is at fault and on trial. Not only do we ask "Where was God at Auschwitz?", we must also ask "Where was humankind at Auschwitz?"⁶⁸

⁵⁹ Johann-Baptist Metz, *The Emergent Church: The Future of Christianity in a Post-Bourgeois World* (New York: Crossroad, 1981), p.22

⁶⁰ Johann-Baptist Metz, 'Facing the Jews: Christian Theology after Auschwitz', in Elizabeth Schussler Fiorenza and David Tracy (eds), *Concilium: The Holocaust As Interruption* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1984), pp. 26, 30

⁶¹ *ibid.*, p.27.

⁶² *ibid.*

⁶³ *ibid.*, p.26

⁶⁴ Ekkehard Schuster and Reinhold Boschert-Kimmig, *Hope Against Hope: Johann-Baptist Metz and Elie Wiesel Speak Out on the Holocaust* (Mahwah, New Jersey: Stimulus Books, Paulist Press, 1999), p.16

⁶⁵ *ibid.*, p.15

⁶⁶ Johann Baptist Metz, 'Between Remembering and Forgetting: The Shoah in the Era of Cultural Amnesia', in *SIDIC*, Vol. XXXI, No. 2, 1998, p.4

⁶⁷ Metz, *Hope Against Hope*, op.cit., pp. 15, 38

⁶⁸ Metz, 'Between Remembering And Forgetting', op.cit., p.4

Only a few connect the current crisis of humanity with the Shoah, for example with the so-called crisis of values, the increasing deafness to demands for “greatness”, the crisis of solidarity, etc. Isn’t this all a vote of non-confidence against human beings and their morals?⁶⁹

Metz’s antidote to this loss of values, which can include a loss of belief in God, is remembrance. Metz points out that, as Christians, we celebrate anamnesis in the Eucharist; therefore we should be able to carry remembrance into our everyday life.⁷⁰

Remembrance of the Holocaust should safeguard Christians from allowing something similar to happen again. Metz warns against those who use Auschwitz as a symbol of anything and everything threatening. To do so belittles both the tragedy and the uniqueness of the Holocaust:

Just as the Church once upon a time thought, by means of a dangerous substitution theory, that it could inherit or ignore the historical fate of Israel (‘The church as the real Israel’), so we find today profane substitution theories for Auschwitz which run the danger of making the catastrophe of Auschwitz appear unimportant by simply transferring it to other situations of suffering.⁷¹

When Christian theology is revised, Metz commands it to be kept firmly grounded within the historical. Systematic theology should not be separated from historical theology.

In conclusion, Metz has suggested that remembrance of the Holocaust is of paramount importance for both humanity and Christian theology. Christian theology must remember and celebrate its Jewish origins and, in so doing, work towards improving Jewish-Christian relations.⁷²

There is no truth for me which I could defend with my back turned toward Auschwitz. There is no sense for me which I could save with my back turned toward Auschwitz. And for me there is no God to whom I could pray with my back turned toward Auschwitz.⁷³

⁶⁹ *ibid.*

⁷⁰ Metz, *Hope Against Hope*, *op.cit.*, p.38

⁷¹ Metz, ‘Facing the Jews: Christian Theology after Auschwitz’, *op.cit.*, p.30

⁷² *ibid.*, p.33. Metz uses the example of Karl Barth: ‘Karl Barth could remind us that there really exists only one great ecumenical task – our Christian relationship with the Jews.’ It is worth noting that Emil L. Fackenheim, in *To Mend The World* (New York: Schocken Books, 1982), p.284, argued that Karl Barth is ‘the last great Christian supersessionist thinker.’

⁷³ *ibid.*, p.28

Harvey Cox has said that all theology today starts after the Holocaust.⁷⁴ For Johann-Baptist Metz, it has been very much an “orienting” event, in both his life and theological thought.

(c) Alice L. Eckardt and A. Roy Eckardt

These two scholars, especially Roy Eckardt, were pioneers. They were among the first to consider the implications of the Holocaust on Christian theology. Dr Roy Eckardt was a Methodist minister and professor at Lehigh University in Pennsylvania.⁷⁵ Together, the couple wrote a famous book, *Long Night's Journey Into Day*,⁷⁶ which has influenced many Christians. It is worth examining some of the issues raised in this controversial and provocative work.

One of the most remarkable aspects is their frankness, even to the point of being ‘shocking.’ The first two statements, contained within the first paragraph of Chapter One, illustrate this bluntness:

Had the Jew Jesus of Nazareth lived in the “right” time and “right” place, he would have been dispatched to a gas chamber. Many of the Nazi executions of Jews were carried out by believing Christians.⁷⁷

The Eckardts have anchored their theology within the historical. They speak of the task of remembering and the perils that await those who do not face the history of the Holocaust. The Eckardts throw out a moral challenge by asking several questions:

What are you doing with that one space which you now fill? How are you expending your one life? What choices are you making? What decisions are you reaching and following out?⁷⁸

⁷⁴ Quoted in Marcus Braybrooke, *Time to Meet: Towards a Deeper Relationship between Jews and Christians* (London: SCM Press Ltd, 1990), p.114

⁷⁵ Roy Eckardt died in May, 1998. I think his wife is still alive.

⁷⁶ Alice L. Eckardt and A. Roy Eckardt, *Long Night's Journey Into Day*, (Detroit: Wayne State University Press 1982, revised edition, 1988)

⁷⁷ *ibid.*, p.21

⁷⁸ *ibid.*, p.40

The Eckardts are intent on making the issues relevant to the lives of their readers. Theology and ethics cannot remain purely abstract disciplines.

When dealing with the question of the uniqueness of the Holocaust, they are both controversial and forward-thinking in at least two areas: salvation history and dating procedures.

1. The Eckardts reason that the Holocaust could either be the end of salvation history, or placed within the general framework of key events in salvation history, such as the Exodus and/or the Crucifixion and the Resurrection. These events are not viewed in the same way as other historical happenings; they are outside our ordinary frame of reference, therefore the Holocaust, being “incomparable”, could be placed alongside them.⁷⁹ If these other events are seen as transcending events, does the Holocaust fit that category?

2. The Eckardts demand a new way of dating history: ‘Fresh dating procedures serve the function of recognizing and symbolizing watersheds of human history.’⁸⁰ They note the use of ‘BC’ and ‘AD’ and the more recent usage of ‘BCE’ and ‘CE’. The Eckardts propose the introduction of ‘B.F.S.’ (Before the Final Solution) and ‘F.S.’ (in the year of the Final Solution).⁸¹ 1941 is identified as being suitable for the commencement,⁸² so the year 2000 would be written as 60 F.S. The Eckardts emphasise that looking at new ways to date time is only appreciated if one considers that the Holocaust has heralded in a new era, that it ‘has meant an ontological redirecting of the course and fate of human history.’⁸³ This may be so, but there could be serious disadvantages if we dated our history this way, if we ignored the original, divine direction of history present in both ‘AD’ and ‘CE’.

The Eckardts discuss the unpopular topic of the devil: a subject not usually spoken about when considering Christian theology after the Holocaust. But the Eckardts state that such

⁷⁹ *ibid.*, p.54. Within the text, the Eckardts refer to Elie Wiesel’s book, *A Beggar in Jerusalem*, where he states that the Torah was taken back from the Jewish people during the flames of the Holocaust.

⁸⁰ *ibid.*

⁸¹ *ibid.*

⁸² *ibid.* In addition, footnote no.14 on p.198 deals with the choice of name in more depth. The Eckardts acknowledge that there could be problems in determining the beginning of the Holocaust. Another date for year 1 could be 1939, the year World War 2 began. Another suggestion is ‘B.A’ and ‘A.A’: ‘Before Auschwitz’ and ‘After Auschwitz’. The Eckardts have reservations about using the name of any one death camp to speak of the Holocaust. The suggestion of fresh dating made an impression on Marcus Braybrooke in *Time to Meet: Towards a Deeper Relationship between Jews and Christians*, op.cit., p.101.

⁸³ Eckardt and Eckardt, op.cit., p.54

discussion is of merit, for we debate God's presence, or absence, during the Holocaust: 'If the abiding and omnipresent persecution of Jews raises fateful questions concerning the reality of God, certainly it ought to pose the question of the devil.'⁸⁴ Their arguments concerning the nature of the devil are fairly unconvincing. They define the "totally unique evil" in the world as antisemitism.⁸⁵ The imagery they use goes back to the Middle Ages, when Jews were seen as evil and of the devil, because they rejected Christ. The Eckardts do not mention this per se, yet their words draw on these images:

The "devil" and "antisemitism" are correlative symbols: antisemitism is born of the devil, and the devil receives his sustenance from antisemitism . . . He is the god of antisemitism.⁸⁶

The ideas become even more fantastic:

Membership in the religion of antisemitism is ever open to all. It is the only universal faith. The language of antisemitism is the devil's native tongue; it quickly becomes the second language of the devil's disciples, and after a while it takes command of their original language.'⁸⁷

The writer of John 8:42-47 is said to be a 'hidden source', no less than 'the devil himself.'⁸⁸

It is disappointing when fine scholars appear to neglect current biblical scholarship, and become somewhat blinkered. Another consequence of bringing the devil into the arena of the Holocaust is that it diminishes the role humanity played. Although this is not the intent, it could be the unfortunate conclusion drawn from this line of argument.

Even if one finds fault with certain aspects of their theology,⁸⁹ however, one has to admire their courage and passion. The Eckardts have influenced many during the years; Alice L. Eckardt has assisted with the observance of Christian Yom HaShoah services by providing

⁸⁴ *ibid.*, p.59

⁸⁵ *ibid.*, p.61

⁸⁶ *ibid.*

⁸⁷ *ibid.*, p.62

⁸⁸ *ibid.*

⁸⁹ Their ideas on the Resurrection are unorthodox. I would also question their statement concerning the nature of suffering: 'We submit...that there is a moral and existential difference between human suffering as such and the suffering of children...' p.135. A detailed analysis of their theology goes beyond the scope of this thesis.

a comprehensive list of guidelines for the conducting of such a service within a Christian community.⁹⁰ For them, the Holocaust is ‘an event that twists our journey through space-time by 180 degrees.’⁹¹ For the Eckardts, the Holocaust is an “orienting” event.

In conclusion, it is worth summarising some of the contributions, both positive and negative, of these seven theologians.

Berkovits makes a positive contribution. He stresses the importance of trusting God as one of the key elements of faith, especially post-Holocaust, yet his theology does not resolve the dilemma of the absence of God in the camps. Cohen’s use of *tremendum*, to address both mystery and terror, is creative, yet he depicts a detached God, a God who is not involved in history. Fackenheim writes that survival of the Jewish community post-Holocaust, involves carrying out the 614th commandment; yet no-one else has written of this commandment, or heard God speak this commandment. It is a human-based commandment, rather than a God-given commandment and hence cannot be given the same credence. The Eckardts, along with Franklin Littell, were the first to see the implications of the Holocaust on Christian theology. Their work is marred by neglect of biblical scholarship in developing ideas about the devil. Pawlikowski, influenced by the works of Cohen and Fackenheim, views the Holocaust as an ‘orienting event’ if Christianity is involved in its focus.

Christianity needs to acknowledge the Holocaust in this way or it will remain an orienting event only for the Jewish community. This is an important reason for the church to incorporate a Yom HaShoah service in its liturgical calendar. But such acknowledgment is risky, because this will involve change within the church. Metz is adamant that Christian theology must take account of its Jewish roots. Further biblical and theological scholarship needs to be devoted to this area and the results distributed to parishes and preachers. The inclusion of a Yom HaShoah service in the church’s liturgical calendar can be an important contribution to this.

⁹⁰ A copy is included in the above book, as *Appendix 2*, pp.180-187, as well as in Marcia Sachs Littell and Sharon Weissman Gutman (eds), *Liturgies on the Holocaust* (Valley Forge: Trinity Press International, 1996), pp.6-12

⁹¹ *ibid.*, p.54

All seven theologians present challenges to traditional theology. Their courage has paved the way for radical rethinking of post-Holocaust issues such as the notion of God's omnipotence, theodicy and the relationship between Christian and Jew. These theologians, out of necessity, forged what is now known as *post-Holocaust* theology.

Post-Holocaust theology influences Yom HaShoah services in a number of ways. Theological reflection on the Holocaust has enabled bolder language to be used when addressing God, an openness in prayer and, on occasion, a questioning of God's justice. It encourages the use of the lament, which is a common prayer form in Yom HaShoah services. The choice of hymns has also been influenced by a recognition and understanding of post-Holocaust theology. Hymns of church triumphalism and victory are discarded for modern songs of social action and concern.

Chapter Seven:

Components of Yom HaShoah Liturgies

‘No heart is as whole as a broken heart.’¹

For Yom HaShoah

Come, take this giant leap with me
Into the other world...the other place
Where language fails and imagery defies,
Denies man’s consciousness . . . and dies
Upon the altar of insanity.

Come, take this giant leap with me
Into the other world...the other place
And trace the eclipse of humanity . . .
Where children burned while mankind stood by,
And the universe has yet to learn why.²

There is a need for a Yom HaShoah service to be incorporated within the Christian community and the Christian liturgical calendar. Many Jewish communities observe Yom HaShoah each year, and a number of committed Christians attend these services, but a Christian service held in a church is needed. This is not to say that Christians should no longer mourn alongside the Jewish community, or that participants should dispense with interfaith services (both of these issues will be discussed later), but the reasons behind the services are different. For Jews, such services commemorate their dead. This is not the case for Christians, although there were some Christians who died as part of the Holocaust or were otherwise involved, including as rescuers. For the most part, however, the church was either on the side of the executioner, or took the passive role of onlooker or spectator.

¹ Reb Nahman , quoted in Alan L. Berger, ‘Holocaust And History: A Theological Reflection’, *Journal of Ecumenical Studies*, Vol.25, No.2 (1988), p.209

² Sonia Weitz, as part of an *Interfaith Yom HaShoah Service*, Cape Cod Synagogue, Chavura Bet Or, Eastham United Methodist Church, Orleans Federated Church, Wellfleet Congregational Church, April 14, 1988

Christians need to acknowledge their past, their culpability, within their own places of worship. Rabbi Albert Friedlander wrote:

. . . the thought that fills me constantly is that Christians must pray in their own churches, within their own liturgies, in their response to the holocaust which changed the world . . . There is no theology without Auschwitz. And there should be no liturgy without Auschwitz. The question of guilt, of compassion, of repentance and of reconciliation, belong to the prayers of Christianity . . .³

Given Christian history and flawed theology in the church's relationship with Judaism, what elements should be included within a memorial service of this nature? A liturgy for Yom HaShoah should allow for:

(1) **Remembrance:** The act of remembrance is powerful. By remembering evil, persons may be empowered to resist evil. To forget is to say, with silence, that the lives of the victims were of no value. If Christians forget their sins, they risk repeating them. Elie Wiesel said 'The danger lies in forgetting. Forgetting, however, will not affect only the dead. Should it triumph, the ashes of yesterday will cover our hopes for tomorrow.'⁴ It is also a time to remember the Christians who died during the Holocaust. Part of the complexity of a Yom HaShoah service is to recognise that Christians were, for the most part, either executioners or bystanders, yet some were murdered for their willingness to hide Jews, and/or for their beliefs.⁵

(2) **Confession and repentance:** Remembering should lead to confession, and from confession should follow repentance. Christians confess their sins before God, asking God's forgiveness. Repentance does not mean impotence! People can begin anew, they are no longer the same, they have changed.

³ Albert H. Friedlander, 'The Shoah and Contemporary Religious Thinking,' *SIDIC*, XXII, Nos 1&2 (1989), p.8

⁴ Quoted by Marika Weinberger in *The Australian Jewish News*, Sydney Edition, July 30, 1999, p.8

⁵ Many Polish priests were murdered because of their opposition to the Nazi regime. But it is important to remember that the majority of the victims of the Holocaust were Jews. Emil L. Fackenheim, *To Mend The World* (New York: Schocken Books, 1989), states that 'Eliezer Berkovitz has rightly remarked that according to some Jewish writers "righteous Gentiles" were so numerous during the Holocaust that he must wonder how it could happen that most of his relatives were murdered. It is true that these righteous ones were few, that their number is depressing; the quality of these few, however, is an abiding wonder.' p.307.

(3) *Forgiveness*: To be forgiven should lead to healing, reconciliation and renewal: renewal of Christian lives, evident in Christian values and deeds; and reconciliation with God, within the church, with the Jewish community and within the wider community in which Christians live and work. Personal lives should reflect the transformation that comes about as a result of this healing.

Most Yom HaShoah liturgies incorporate a valuable component within the service, an element which is absent in many Christian liturgies: lament. There is a need to recover the role of lament within the liturgies. Within the structure of the liturgy, lament permits one to voice pain, disappointment, suffering, anger and tears. Within a Yom HaShoah service, this is both appropriate and necessary; to allow for the expression of personal pain at the suffering which has taken place can be both a source of healing and a way of liberation. There is a need to hold in tension what Gordon Lathrop calls the hermeneutics of recollection (the images, in the context of remembrance) and the hermeneutics of suspicion (the lament).⁶

The Shoah demands changed behaviour; the liturgy allows the chance for this transformation, within the context of the worship of God. If Christians want the Shoah to appear as a symbol in worship, incorporating a liturgy within the church calendar helps serve this purpose: ‘Surely, as liturgists, we know that worshipping communities impose their symbolic universe of reality first and foremost on their structuring of time.’⁷

If there is agreement on the need to incorporate a Yom HaShoah liturgy within the Christian liturgical calendar, then we should address the important question: “What is an appropriate date?” If it is agreed that Christians need a different liturgy and service from the Jewish community, this need also extends to the date for such a memorial service.

Some have recommended a time during Lent, when Christians are involved in the process of self-examination. It is their ‘dark time’, a time when Christians stay in the darkness, moving slowly towards the light. During Lent Christians are reminded of their need for

⁶ Gordon W. Lathrop, ‘A Rebirth of Images: On The Use of the Bible in Liturgy’, *Worship* 58 (1984), p.304

⁷ Lawrence A. Hoffmann, ‘Response: Holocaust as Holocaust, Holocaust as Symbol’, *Worship* 58 (1984), p.338

repentance and how much they need God's help. Lent precedes Easter and Easter was a particular time when the term 'deicide' was levelled against the Jews and pogroms resulted because of such a charge, making it a fitting time for a memorial service. Bishop Krister Stendahl pointed out that

We must uproot every possible plant of anti-Semitism from our celebration of Holy Week . . . the suffering that Christians . . . have piled up on the Jews – our celebration of Holy Week must be one of repentance.⁸

For Dr Richard Harries, Passion Sunday would be a suitable day for the regular observance of the Shoah in the Christian liturgy.⁹

[Passion Sunday] brings the Christian community to the contemplation of the way ahead, when the Christian tries to act upon the insights gained during the period of self-examination. The task of remembering the Holocaust and Christian responsibility, of healing wounds and striving for reconciliation, can give new meaning to Passion Sunday.¹⁰

In the United States, all United Methodist churches are reminded of the Holocaust on Good Friday. Included in the Good Friday Liturgy are rewritten "Reproaches: Christ's Lament against His Faithless Church" that include the following:

Leader:

I grafted you into the tree of my chosen people Israel,
But you turned on them with persecution and mass murder.
I made you joint heirs with them of my covenants,
But you made them scapegoats for your own guilt.

People:

Holy God, holy and mighty, holy and immortal One,
Have mercy upon us.¹¹

In September, 1988, in the United States, the Bishop's Committee on the Liturgy of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops issued a document *called God's Mercy Endures*

⁸ Elic Wiesel and Albert H. Friedlander, *The Six Days of Destruction* (New York: Paulist Press, 1988), p.71

⁹ *ibid.*, p.72

¹⁰ *ibid.*

¹¹ Personal correspondence from Hoyt L. Hickman, Director, Resource Development Section on Worship, April 1993. "The Reproaches" are from *The United Methodist Book of Worship* (U.M. Publishing House, 1992), p.364.

*Forever: Guidelines on the Presentation of Jews and Judaism in Catholic Preaching.*¹²

Within this document, Catholics are encouraged to pray for the victims of the Holocaust and their survivors, on the Sunday closest to the Jewish observance of Yom HaShoah.¹³ If a Yom HaShoah liturgy is used, the service would take place 'after the lenten time of repentance and within the festive Eastertime. At such a moment, it is a drastic reminder of how vast is the need for God's saving help.'¹⁴

Douglas K. Huneke suggests the season of Advent as a possibility. In the *Call to Worship*, Huneke's liturgy evokes the light penetrating the darkness.

Leader: Scripture promises that God's enduring light will forever penetrate the darkness of history and human life.

Unison: We light this Advent candle against the darkness of Nazi evil and remember the light cast by the righteous Christians whose compassion and courage kept alive the spark of human decency.¹⁵

Huneke suggests Pentecost as a suitable date as well. The use of Pentecost is a reminder that the Creator's life-giving Spirit guides our ethical choices.

Unison: Where our lives or the life of the human family have become a dried and lifeless desert, let our acts of compassion and our work for justice be an oasis of hope. Let there be a rebirth of trust for those who suffer and are oppressed. Let our faith be a beacon of confidence for those who have lost confidence in you or in your church.¹⁶

Another appropriate date is that of the Holy Innocents, December 28. Following so closely after Christmas Day, it is worth pausing to remember that the birth of Jesus did not mean a peaceful world. Fear of another king (as in the case of Herod), fear of that which is different (the way some Christians have viewed Jews with suspicion throughout the ages), or even fear that the newcomer will mean hardship for the residents (as in the Australian attitude towards Jewish refugees in the 1930s) are all factors to ponder and have been and

¹² Eugene J. Fisher and Leon Klenicki, *From Desolation to Hope: Liturgical Reflections on the Holocaust* (New York: Stimulus Foundation, revised edition, 1990), p.2.

¹³ *ibid.*, p.3.

¹⁴ *ibid.*

¹⁵ Douglas K. Huneke, *The Stones Will Cry Out: Pastoral Reflections on the Shoah* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1995), p.142

¹⁶ *ibid.*, p.147

in some cases still are obstacles in the path of forgiveness and reconciliation. Holy Innocents, being in the Christmas season, and near the feast of the Epiphany, may well make Christians ask what this symbolises for them. With the birth of Jesus there is both joy and pain, the song of the angels and the weeping of mothers.¹⁷

Within Australia, the Uniting Church mentions the victims of the Holocaust in the section of *Uniting in Worship: Leader's Book* 'Readings for Other Occasions and Themes.'¹⁸ An appropriate date is listed, November 9, which links in with Kristallnacht. This date, coming so soon after All Saints' Day, takes on symbolic dimensions: it would certainly be timely to mention people within the church and other 'righteous gentiles' who were killed, or risked their lives, to save Jews; people who lived out their Christian call, whatever the cost. The lectionary readings assigned to this theme, seem to have been chosen with care and sensitivity, with the exception of Hebrews 4:1-13.¹⁹ The suggested readings are:

¹⁷ Karl Plank addresses the Christmas paradox in his poem *Birkenau Nativity and Ave*

If Bethlehem had been Birkenau
the Jewish mother would have
wrapped her package in cheesecloth
and laid it in the pan of cold water
Submerged.

Let no one judge her mercy.

If Bethlehem had been Birkenau
the manger bed would have
burst into flames
and blazed in the silent night
Consuming.

Hail Mary,
full of grief.
May peace be with you.

Blessed are you and the
women who knew children.
And blessed are their lives,
lost, unrestored.

Holy Miryam,
Merciful Mother.
Pray for us who failed your children
In the hour of their death.

Karl Plank, *Mother of the Wire Fence: Inside and Outside the Holocaust* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1994), p.153. This poem is suitable for inclusion in a Yom HaShoah liturgy or service.

¹⁸ *Uniting in Worship: Leader's Book* (Melbourne: Uniting Church Press, 1988), p.365

¹⁹ *ibid.*

1. Esther 3:7-4:3: The story of Haman persuading the king to approve a campaign against the Jews. The Edict, sent throughout the empire, declares that on the thirteenth day of the month of Adar, all Jews, including women and children, are to be wiped out and their possessions plundered.

2. Psalm 74:1-8, 17-18: This communal Psalm is one of lament, weeping over the destruction of the sanctuary.

3. Matthew 2:13-18: The story of the massacre/slaughter of the innocents.

4. Hebrews 4:1-13: While verses 12 and 13 are appropriate, the earlier verses invoke the history of disagreement between Christianity and Judaism.²⁰

In 1993, the Council of Christians and Jews in NSW circulated a prayer to the churches in NSW, asking that it be incorporated into a service around 9 November. The prayer is also suitable for use within an interfaith service:

Prayer for the Night of Broken Glass

God in heaven
 We remember
 We remember the Night of Broken Glass,
 We remember the burning of the synagogues,
 We remember the looting of the schools.
 We remember the destruction of the orphanages,
 We remember the arrests, the deportations, the deaths.
 God in heaven,
 We pray.
 We pray with the breaking of the glass, our hearts may be broken into
 love and reconciliation.
 We pray that with the burning of the synagogues that we too might burn
 with the commitment to ensure that this never happens again.
 We pray that with the looting of the schools, we too are pillaged of false
 pride and nameless fear, so that we might stand up for our neighbour.
 We pray that with the destruction of the orphanages, that hatred and
 oppression are forever destroyed, that the innocent might be protected.
 We pray that those who suffered might teach us the penalty of silence in
 the face of injustice.

²⁰ While applauding the listing of the Shoah as a possible theme, I do not know whether such a service has taken place within the Uniting Church.

God in Heaven, hear us we pray.
And say we AMEN.²¹

Churches and individuals were also encouraged to leave a light on throughout the night in remembrance of the Night of Broken Glass. Since then, a small service has been held in Sydney on this date.

Whatever day is chosen, it should be fixed and used universally. The reasons for this are that:

1. it helps ensure that Yom HaShoah services become an annual event, fixed within the liturgical calendar;
2. it prevents a Yom HaShoah service being a liturgical, 'one-off' experiment;
2. it helps foster inter-denominational participation, as well as the sharing of resources;
3. it allows for planning ahead;
4. educational resources/kits can be utilised, classes on Jewish-Christian relations and/or the Holocaust can be taught in the parishes during the year;
5. it means that the victims of the Holocaust will never be forgotten;
6. it places the responsibility for the fixing of the date in the hands of the various denominations rather than, as is the case in Australia, leaving Yom HaShoah services within the domain of the state Councils of Christians and Jews. While applauding the creative and all important work of the Council of Christians and Jews, churches have been able to forgo responsibility, and, as a result, have not ensured that there is a Yom HaShoah service.

A concern within some church circles is that, while there are many important occasions and themes to remember, Christians could be in danger of forgetting the central reason they attend church, and thereby forfeit the Gospel:

Nevertheless, we must be careful about multiplying the occasions on which special causes or themes are remembered. Many people meet for good purposes, including purposes Christians heartily support, but if the Church ceases to tell the story of Christ, to declare its allegiance to him

²¹ Prayer composed by Dr William Leadbetter and Rabbi Selwyn Franklin, members of the executive of the Council of Christians and Jews, NSW, in Marianne Dacy (ed.), *Pathways to Understanding: A Handbook on Christian-Jewish Relations* (Melbourne: Victorian Council of Churches, 1994), p.120

as Lord, and to offer worship to the Father, through the Son, in the Holy Spirit, we have missed our distinctive calling.²²

It is a sound warning, and is another reason why a Yom HaShoah liturgy has to be incorporated into a Christian service, as part of the lectionary, rather than as a possible addition. The church has not always lived up to its 'distinctive calling' as the Shoah has shown us. But a service of commemoration permits space and gives permission to repent, to be healed and transformed so that the body of Christ may truly live out its 'distinctive calling'. Christ's light needs to illumine the places of darkness so that the church can, with integrity and faithfulness, live out its true calling in the world:

We will pray alongside of you. We cannot tell you what to say, or how to say it—we will only pray that you can pray at all. We pray with you because we are concerned. We do not pray out of hatred, or in vengeance. We pray because you are also our concern, and because we care for you. We pray because we know that we have a common task. We need to remember together. We need to mourn together. We need to live together in the past so that there may be a future. From days of destruction, we would move forward together to days of creation.

We know that the world is good.²³

However, if the service is to be either an interfaith service, or a Christian service with one or more representatives from the Jewish community, careful and sensitive planning is required. The planning group, or the worship committee, should include the local rabbi (if there is one), and/or several members of the Jewish community.²⁴ Even if the Yom HaShoah liturgy is within a Christian setting or context, the local Jewish community should be informed about the service; they may wish to attend, send a representative, or suggest a speaker. It would be of benefit to have at least one study session on the Shoah

²² Robert Gribben, *A Guide To Uniting in Worship* (Melbourne: Uniting Church Press, 1990), p.86

²³ Wiesel and Friedlander, *op.cit.*, p.56.

²⁴ 'One religious service did take place in Fredericton, N.B. several years ago. However, the local Rabbi, who is Orthodox, was unable to attend or participate because it was held in the church, and had Christian overtones. The Jewish community itself did attend the Service however. A change of format and location took place the following year, so that the Rabbi could both attend and participate.' Personal correspondence from Jim Leland, May 1993.

before a Yom HaShoah service is held,²⁵ and it would be advantageous if the Jewish community were approached to see if they were able to assist with this education.

Matters for careful and prayerful consideration include:

1. The recognition that interfaith services are ‘joint’ services, intended for the worship of God. They are a physical recognition, by way of the gathering of the people, of unity of purpose. In regards to a Yom HaShoah service, both Christians and Jews gather to acknowledge the evil of the Holocaust, to mourn the dead and the painful lives of the survivors and their siblings, to commit their lives to working against injustice and prejudice. As this takes place within the context of worship, there is also an over-riding sense of God, of the sacred (though this does not exclude elements of doubt and questions, sometimes expressed within the service, corporately or individually). These interfaith services can also serve as a blessing, a healing. When the brokenness and division between Christian and Jewish communities is overcome via such a service, then it is a blessing. ‘Joint worship is the uniting . . . for a sacred and over-riding purpose . . . of those who are otherwise divided.’²⁶

2. An interfaith service must serve both religions: Jews and Christians share a common bond of Scripture, Jews and Christians worship the same God and both groups form part of the local community or city. These are important factors to remember and to abide by. If there are prayers or hymns which cannot be uttered or sung because of religious or theological differences, then these must not be included within such a service. It is corporate worship, and if one religious group is unable to participate, then it is neither corporate worship, nor interfaith.

3. Prayers should be carefully chosen or written. Prayers should be addressed to God, and not in the name of Jesus, or of the Trinity. Use of the Lord’s Prayer is ‘inadvisable . . . not

²⁵ Douglas K Huneke’s book *The Stones Will Cry Out: Pastoral Reflections on the Shoah*, op.cit., pp.169-173, provides extensive guidelines and suggestions concerning Shoah education before an interfaith service, or within a solely Christian congregation.

²⁶ ‘Jews and Christians in Joint Worship: Principles and Guidelines’ (n.p.: Office on Christian Jewish Relations, NCCC and the Department of Interreligious Affairs, Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1979), p.1

because of the text itself, but because of its strong historical identification with the Church alone.²⁷ As well as being non-Christological, the language of worship should be inclusive.

4. When prayers, hymns or poetry are said or sung in Hebrew or Yiddish, translations of the text should appear in the order of service. Explanations of certain prayers and pieces of music, such as the *Kaddish*, *El Maleh Rachamin* and *Ani Ma'amin*, could be included to inform the Christian participants.

While applauding such interfaith services which allow Jews and Christians to gather, to remember and to mourn, there are several key differences between the issues concerning the Holocaust within the two communities.²⁸ These elements heighten the need for each community to have Yom HaShoah services within its own faith tradition.

1. 'Not all victims were Jews, but all Jews were victims.' (Elie Wiesel)

It is right and proper to remember that Christians, gypsies, Jehovah Witnesses, homosexuals, intellectuals, the mentally handicapped, and others, were among the victims of the Nazi regime.²⁹ It is important to remember the 'righteous gentiles', those individuals and families who risked their lives to save Jews, for no monetary reward, but solely because they judged it to be the correct response. Recognition of these people should be included within a Yom HaShoah service, either within the prayers (after an explanation), in the homily, or by a guest speaker. Society needs role models: the majority of people today were not involved in the Holocaust, so do not know what their response would have been if someone had knocked at their door, seeking shelter, although they may articulate what they hoped their response would have been. What of the clergy, journalists, teachers and

²⁷ *ibid.*, p.3

²⁸ 'Some Jewish communities are very sensitive about "interfaith" services, both because of their objections to prayer in common and because of fears that the Shoah will lose its rightful Jewish particularity.' Personal correspondence from John T. Pawlikowski, August, 1993.

²⁹ In David Atfield's play, *Pink Triangles* (unpublished, 2000), the final monologue (p.40) is:

I did not survive I do not have a name. I do not have a face. How many I am no-one will ever know. 5,000? 50,000? 100,000? More? I have no children to tell my story. My family do not mourn my passing. The history books include me only as a footnote, if at all. Writing about gay men, an Australian journalist recently said: "compassion is hard to come by when you indulge in behaviour that many people find abhorrent." If this is true then I cannot ask for your sympathy. All I ask you for, then, is recognition. All I ask is that, when you are casting the extras in your own mental movie about the Holocaust, you consider casting one more. Me. The man with the pink triangle.'

lawyers? How many Christians would have had the courage to speak out, knowing that they risked imprisonment and/or death? How authentic is Christian faith?

2. The arrogance of universality.³⁰

When the Holocaust is viewed as a 'human' event, something that happened to humanity, rather than named as a crime against Jews, then there is a real risk of distance. Instead of acknowledging that the crimes happened first and foremost to Jews, we are left with an anonymous victim: humanity. While remembering the non-Jews who died during the Holocaust, often for noble reasons, we must not forget that the Nazis had planned to exterminate the whole of European Jewry. There is danger when the word 'Holocaust' is appropriated for use in order to name other disasters. There has only been one Holocaust; other disasters and tragedies have their own naming.

3. Rock-face questions for Christians.

The paradoxical nature of the universality versus individuality (i.e. Jewish tragedy) model is that while we remember that the Holocaust is primarily a Jewish tragedy, Christians are confronted with tough questions. If Christians acknowledge that it is important to remember the Holocaust, to study its bitter lessons, they confront part of their heritage which is both painful and difficult to understand. It does not take long before the discovery is made that Christians murdered Jews during the Holocaust. In many instances the church either pretended it did not affect the church and its people, or church leaders and preachers refused to take a stand. It is a 'burden of individual and collective self-examination.'³¹

This does not mean Christians should carry the weight of collective guilt on their shoulders; rather, the Christian involvement in the Holocaust is mentioned as a way forward. If Christians do not acknowledge their history and the blood on the church's hands, they are unable to go forward: their hands will be so stained that they will be unable

³⁰ Roger S. Gottlieb, 'Jews and Christians Remembering the Holocaust: Sameness and Difference', *Proceedings* (First Scholars' Conference on the Teaching of the Holocaust, April 6th, 1989, from the National Catholic Center for Holocaust Education, Seton Hill College, Pennsylvania), p.35

³¹ *ibid.*, p.34

to stretch them out to their Jewish neighbours in order to start the healing, redemptive work of mending the world:

It was a defeat for mankind. But many people thought that Auschwitz and Buchenwald marked the end of Judaism. They were wrong; they marked the end of Christianity.³²

Christian theology and the way it has been used needs to be assessed. Congregations and the general public need to be exposed to critical theological discussions of supersessionism, triumphalism and replacement theories.³³ For some, this examination of their faith and the church's living out of such faith, will be too painful to face. Lawrence Langer speaks not only of those who killed six million Jews, but also of the six hundred million who claimed they knew nothing about the Holocaust.³⁴ Rabbi Irving Greenberg's warning, his "working principle," should prevent theological premises and codes of ethics from remaining purely academic: 'No statement, theological or otherwise, should be made that would not be credible in the presence of burning children.'³⁵

³² Elie Wiesel, quoted by Harry James Cargas, 'The Uniqueness of the Holocaust for Christians', *Proceedings* (At the Edge of the 21st Century: Second Scholars' Conference on the teaching of the Holocaust, October 6-7, 1991, held at Seton Hill College, Pennsylvania), p.13. Cargas adds that he would change the word 'end' (of Christianity) to 'death' (of Christianity) and he asks if a resurrection can take place through Christians and their way of thinking.

³³ As discussed in Chapter 6, facing up to the Holocaust demands an openness to challenge of accepted beliefs and practices. The notion of God being all powerful and all knowing, has been challenged by some post-Holocaust Jewish and Christian theologians such as Elie Wiesel and the Eckardts.

³⁴ Cargas, *op.cit.*, p.13. Nowadays, some people deny that the Holocaust ever happened. They are supported by revisionist historians and Holocaust deniers such as David Irving.

³⁵ Douglas K. Huneke, *op.cit.*, p.21. Irving Greenberg formulated his "working principle" in 1974.

Chapter Eight:

Existing Yom HaShoah Liturgies from the United States and Australia

Having considered the differences between Jewish and Christian liturgies, it is worth analysing three different Yom HaShoah liturgies:

1. *From Death To Hope*¹ (United States, 1983 – see Appendix 1) designed for use as an interfaith service.
2. *Shoah Memorial Service*² (Sydney, 1999 – see Appendix 2) designed primarily as a service for Christians.
3. *Yom HaShoah: Holocaust Remembrance Day*³ (Santa Monica, no date given – see Appendix 3) designed for use as an interfaith service.

After outlining the structure of each liturgy, comments will be made concerning some of their features, their strengths and weakness, plus some elements in common.

Liturgy 1: *From Death To Hope* (United States, 1983)

Procession

- in silence, and in darkness.
- gathering of the people of God.

¹ Eugene J. Fisher and Leon Klenicki, *From Death To Hope: Liturgical Reflections On The Holocaust* (New York: Stimulus Foundation, 1983), pp.2-15

² NSW Council of Christians and Jews, 'Shoah Memorial Service' (Sydney: 1999), pp.1-24. This service is based on one originally designed by Sister Verna Holyhead.

³ From the First United Methodist Church, Santa Monica, printed in Littell and Gutman, op.cit., pp.73-84. The service was co-sponsored by the Santa Monica Bay Area Chapter of the National Conference of Christians and Jews and the Westside Ecumenical Conference. No date is given.

Call to Worship

– includes a call to remember.

Introduction to Silence

– setting the tone of the service.

– preparation for prayer.

Silence

Prayer of Adoration/Praise

– there is proclamation by the Reader, which evokes response from the congregation.

Service of the Word

Scripture: First Reading: Genesis 1:1-5, 26-31, 2:1-3, with three voices – Narrator, Reader and the Congregation.

Introduction to the Shoah

– Reader and Narrator: some history, a poem and a prayer.

The Lighting of the Memorial Candles

– explanation given.

Scripture: Second Reading: Psalm 22: Congregation and Reader.

Testimonies:

1. Narrator and Reader: From the Diary of Moshe Flinker.

– affirmation of the Jewish people (Narrator and Congregation alternate)

– Hymn – all stand and sing the first part of the *Shema*.

– soloist.

2. Narrator – introduces the congregation to the deeds of the ‘righteous gentiles’ (selection of stories).

3. (a) Introduction to the *Song of the Vilna Partisans*.

(b) Song

Kaddish

- Introduction
- Recited by someone familiar with Hebrew.

Prayers of Adoration and Intercession

Recitation of words of faith and strength

- Narrator and Congregation.

Silence

The Peace

- as a sign of reconciliation.

Liturgy 2: Shoah Memorial Service (Sydney, 1999)

1. *Gathering of the People of God*

- in silence
- narrators set the tone of the service by their readings.

2. *Proclamation of the Word of God*

- Scripture: First Reading: Genesis 1:26-28
- Response by the congregation.
- Second Reading: Genesis 1:29-31
- Response by the congregation.
- Third Reading: Genesis 2:1-3
- Response by the congregation.

Silence

3. *The Lighting of the Memorial Candles*

- (a) Introduction by the two narrators.
- (b) Six people come forward to light the memorial candles.

- (c) Recitation of the *Shema* by the narrators and congregation.
- (d) Introduction before the lighting of the seventh and eight candles for the non-Jews who perished, and for the “righteous gentiles” who helped their Jewish brothers and sisters.
- (e) Lighting of the seventh and eighth candles.
- (f) Scripture: Second Reading: Psalm 51 (led by two narrators, read alternately). This is read as a prayer of confession.

Music

4. The Witness of The Voices

- (a) Introduction by the narrators.
- (b) Silence.
- (c) Voice 1: from *The Diary of Anne Frank*.
- (d) Silent Reflection.
- (e) Sung Response to The Voices: *Kyrie Eleison* (Taizé melody, sung thrice)

- (a) Introduction to Voice 2 by Narrator 2.
- (b) Voice 2: poem *I Saw A Mountain* (Moses Schulstein)
- (c) Silent Reflection.
- (d) Sung Response to the Voices: *Kyrie Eleison* (sung twice)

- (a) Introduction to Voice 3 by Narrator 1
- (b) Voice 3: selection from Elie Wiesel’s *The Town Beyond the Wall*.
- (c) Silent Reflection
- (d) Sung Response to the Voices: *Kyrie Eleison* (sung twice)

- (a) Introduction to Voice 4 by Narrator 2.
- (b) Voice 4: poem *Tableau*.
- (c) Music of *Kol Nidre*.
- (d) Silent Reflection.

- (a) Introduction to Voice 5 by Narrator 1.
- (b) Voice 5: poem *The Sun of Auschwitz* (Tadeusz Borowski)

5. *Speaker*

6. *Recitation of the Kaddish*

(All stand)

- Narrators and Congregation (responsively)
- Names of some of the concentration camps, death camps and other places of persecution are read aloud during the recitation of the *Kaddish*.

7. *Prayers*

- (a) Intercessory prayers, led by Narrator 1, with responses from the congregation.
- (b) Lord's Prayer (together)

8. *The Concluding Rite*

- (a) Recitation of words of faith and strength by Narrator 2 and the congregation.
- (b) The ninth candle is brought forward to represent the hope that “Never Again” will any nation or people be carried away in such a way as the Shoah.
- (c) Vow and Commitment.
 - Bearer: “Never Again.”
 - All respond: “Never Again.”
- (d) Commitment to Reconciliation.
 - 1. Prayer and Benediction, by Narrators 1 and 2.
 - 2. *The Peace* – as a sign of reconciliation.
 - The Passing of the Peace, as well as the utterance of the words “shalom”, “peace.”

Liturgy 3: *Yom HaShoah: Holocaust Remembrance Day* (Santa Monica).

1. *Introduction: Never Shall I Forget That Night*

- excerpt from Elie Wiesel's *Night*.

2. *Processional of the Six Million and the Five Million*

- sung (or ? spoken): *Ani Ma'amin*.
- Introduction to the Service by a Reader.
- response by the congregation.
- lighting of the candles.

3. *A Litany for God's People*

- Reader and congregation responses within the prayer
- affirmation of faith

Scripture: Deuteronomy 6: 4-9 (the *Shema*).

4. *Poem: Ashrei Hagafurur (Hannah Senesh)*

- sung by the Cantor.
- another poem (by Eva Pickova), is read aloud by the Reader

5. *Prayer*

- intercessory prayer, said aloud by the congregation
- Scriptural reference here, freedom from slavery in Egypt: maybe this is a Passover prayer?

6. *Prayer of Protest*

- prayer of confession, unclear whether read by a leader or reader, or by the whole congregation.
- prayer of thanksgiving, said by the congregation.

Conclude with congregation's response and a time of silent prayer, or with the music?
(printing error in the liturgy)

7. *Speakers*

8. *Poem: From Tomorrow On (by Motele)*

- read by Reader.

9. *Song*

Zog Nit Keinmol (Hymn of the Partisans)

10. *Adoration*

- Reader/congregation respond with prayer.
- prayer of hope.

– within the prayer there is a command to remember the victims of the Holocaust, and to commit themselves to work within the world to conquer evil and to establish God’s realm.

11. *Recitation of the Kaddish*

– time of remembering the dead, and dedicating themselves to God before saying the *Kaddish*.

– the *Kaddish*.

12. *Closing Song*

– “*Eili, Eili*”

13. *Benediction*

– note of caution extended to the congregation before the final prayer, which is a prayer for strength, to do good rather than to do evil.

In the first liturgy, the title *From Death to Hope* resounded throughout the liturgy, from the Proclamation of God’s Name, to the Passing of the Peace before the Dismissal.

The symbolism of silence and wind is extremely effective in this service of commemoration. The silence and wind of creation affirming and echoing the goodness of God’s creation is juxtaposed with another type of silence and wind. People died because of the silence of many, so the Shoah was not life-giving; rather, its breath was a life-taking wind, a whirlwind of destruction.

The use of testimonies is powerful. To have access to a portion of Moshe Flinker’s diary is to give credence to the words of Elie Wiesel: ‘Let us tell tales so as not to allow the executioner to have the last word. The last word belongs to the victims.’⁴ Stories or testimonies are part of the structure of liturgy; we are used to hearing stories. Liturgy is narrative in structure.⁵

⁴ Elie Wiesel, quoted in Eva Fleischner, *Auschwitz: Beginning of a New Era? Reflections on the Holocaust* (New York: KTAV, 1974), p.403

⁵ James Empereur, *Worship: Exploring The Sacred* (Washington DC: The Pastoral Press, 1987), p.235

Within the liturgy there is the opportunity to respond to someone's story on a different level. This can reinforce feelings such as those evoked by Moshe's story. To offer a choice of stories concerning 'righteous gentiles' or Christian witness is powerful: we are able to claim, to some extent, these stories: "What would I do?" "They deal with people in their moments of decision . . . Human stories speak of . . . making choices.'⁶

Some other strengths are the portion of the *Shema* ('Hear, O Israel'), the recitation of the *Kaddish* (which is an affirmation of God's existence and love, being another example of the theme of 'hope' in this liturgy), and the participation by the congregation (we cannot assume the congregation is one which meets weekly; it may be an ecumenical or interfaith gathering, perhaps of unfamiliar faces).

One of the weaknesses could be the inclusion of the *Song of the Vilna Partisans*. If this liturgy is to be used within a Christian service, the song should perhaps cease after the reading of the English translation. Singing it in Yiddish might be successful if it is an interfaith service (the recitation of the *Kaddish* could allow one to assume this to be the case, or that there are some representatives from the Jewish community). Yet if it is to be a Yom HaShoah service within the context of a Christian worship service, this could be a clumsy and off-putting addition. Worship may not flow if the inclusion of this song becomes an obstacle.

All three liturgies use candles, but in different ways. In *From Death to Hope* six candles, in memory of the six million, are lit while the congregation prays Psalm 22. The narrator names their commitment, and they, in turn, are to pray 'for the strength to fulfil this vocation.'

In the second liturgy, nine candles are used. Six are to represent the six million Jews who perished, one is for the non-Jews who died, another is to honour the 'righteous gentiles', who were lights during that dark time. During the *Concluding Rite*, a ninth candle is brought forward, to represent the hope that this will never happen again. This is the time

⁶ *ibid.*

when the congregation/community makes its vows, and the passing of the peace follows this commitment.

In the third liturgy eleven candles are used. It is unclear when they are lit. It could be assumed that one candle was lit either during or after each statement, that is, after the Reader, after the congregation and after the response from both Reader and Congregation. But there are ten affirmations/calls and responses, and eleven candles. The eleven candles represent the six million Jews who died during the Shoah, the other five candles represent five million non-Jews who died as well. One of its strengths is the symbolism of light: the light of God, the light of humanity. Several Scriptural references are incorporated here: Deuteronomy 6:4 and Isaiah 42: 6 (in the response by *All*).

Some of the strengths of the second liturgy are present in the other two liturgies: the symbol and power of silence, the ability to praise God whilst speaking of horror, the use of stories, testimonies and poems, the high level of participation by the congregation. There appears to be more emphasis on confession in this liturgy; its penitential nature comes across in the praying of Psalm 51, in the *Kyrie Eleison* (sung at the conclusion of Voices 1-3), and within the prayers of intercession. The structure of the individual elements in *The Witness of The Voices* appear to be carefully planned. The liturgist has allowed space for the individual, as well as the corporate body, to move through various experiences and emotions (with the narrator, story/poem, then a period of silent reflection) to the penitential 'have mercy on us'.

The explanation in the preface to the liturgy, explaining the symbolism behind the dressing of the altar, the Star of David and the candles could benefit the congregation. Explanations can be signs, they point beyond themselves. Explanations may also help people to enter into the mood of the service before it commences. This is extremely important for a Yom HaShoah service. We cannot assume that the same people attend each year. It is a service which provokes a sense of 'unease' by issuing a number of challenges (to the church, society and for individuals). Yom HaShoah services also serve, or at least begin, the task of education. Having individual copies of the service available, which individuals can read before the service commences, and are able to take home at the conclusion of the service to read over and reflect on, is of paramount importance.

The third liturgy, *Yom HaShoah: Holocaust Remembrance Day* (Santa Monica), is an innovative, challenging liturgy. It is a liturgy with powerful structure and content because it incorporates some of the traditional elements of a Yom HaShoah liturgy, such as the recitation of the *Kaddish*, the *Hymn of the Partisans* and some of the well known, and perhaps expected readings, including an excerpt from Wiesel's *Night*, two poems from children at Terezin (*From Tomorrow On* and *Fear . . . Today the ghetto knows a different fear . . .*) and the words of faith and hope, found in Cologne: *I believe in the sun . . .*

The *Introduction*, or the *Call to Worship*, is taken from Elie Wiesel's book *Night*. The use of such a well known description of the loss of innocence, of childhood and of faith, is fitting for setting the mood of remembrance and repentance. Marcia Littell reminds us that there are certain texts which have 'become liturgy, as their repeated use has rendered them ritual, symbolic recognition.'⁷ Within this liturgy, the inscription '*I believe in the sun . . .*' also serves this purpose.

The Processional, with the inclusion of the five million non-Jews who died, is an effective way to begin the candle-lighting service. By processing to the singing or recitation of the *Ani Ma'amin*, the *Call to Worship* is complete: God is being worshipped. The explanation of the importance of the *Ani Ma'amin* is a useful inclusion.

The candle-lighting, as noted earlier, is particularly moving. Reference to both the celebrations of Passover (assuming this service was held on the 27th Nisan, five days after Passover) and Easter, link both faith communities to this service of remembrance. This Yom HaShoah service is for both communities, each having different emphases, yet joining as one for this service. This is seen clearly within the *Litany for God's People*: not only are the biblical ancestors Christians and Jews have in common mentioned, but also people of faith in the New Testament (such as John the Baptist, Paul and Priscilla), during the Holocaust and into our own time (Anne Frank, Pope John [*sic*] and Martin Luther King). There are several entries which were questionable: Martin Luther (concerning his views of Jews and how his writings were used to flame antisemitic feeling), Jesus (in an interfaith service) and Pope John [*sic*]. If this is an interfaith service (as it appears to be), people need to feel at ease within the tradition of the other. These possible sparks could

⁷ Littell and Gutman, op.cit, p.xiii

have been extinguished before placing them in the service. Apart from this criticism, the rest of the litany is comprehensive, serving to bring both religions closer to each other as they each praise and serve God. This litany is very much a *Prayer of Thanksgiving* and a *Prayer for Ourselves*. There is a high level of participation from the congregation.

A possible theological concern is the congregation's response on p.76: 'The Universe is unfinished: humankind must strive toward its perfection. We must realize that only by our own hand can we achieve victory.' This could be interpreted as excluding God's redemptive qualities from the world. The congregation is worshipping as a people of faith, not as non-believers. They are co-creators, partners with God.

A creative, challenging adaptation of Scripture follows the *Shema*. The reading is based on Exodus 28:9-12. Using Scripture in this manner, as symbol of the Holocaust, can be shocking in its starkness, yet it serves as a reminder of the loss of the 6 million Jews. In the next paragraph, using the yellow star as a sign serves a similar purpose. This centring within Scripture, yet moving outwards, as part of the *Service of the Word*, anchors the Shoah within the community of Israel.

The poem: *Ashrei Hagafur (Blessed be the Match)* could be of more use if prefaced with an explanation. This would add to this component of the service, especially as Hannah Senesh is a hero and role model in Israel today.⁸

The next poem, as well as the poem on page 80 would benefit from an explanation of its sources (written by children in Terezin). Even if not read aloud, it would serve as an educational tool for some.

At the conclusion of the prayer following the poem on page 78, there are several verses of Scripture from Exodus 15:11, 18. Again, the source should be listed.

⁸ Hannah Senesh was Hungarian, living in Palestine as a result of her Zionist beliefs. During World War II she trained as a parachutist, and, along with a small group of other parachutists, jumped into the Nazi-occupied Balkans in order to help the Jews. Marie Syrkin, *Blessed Is The Match: The Story of Jewish Resistance* (n.p.: Jewish Publication Society of America: 1st edition, 1947), p.13

Due to a printing error, it is difficult to know whether the *Prayer of Protest* follows a time of *Silent Prayer*, or whether it continues after the verses of Scripture, concluding with an Affirmation of Faith (this important Affirmation of Faith is missing if the prayer follows the time of *Silent Prayer*). The *Prayer of Protest* is a prayer, not against God but against the failure of humanity. It is a prayer of hope, for the prayer is a protest against letting evil have the final say. The concluding stanza is based on the prayer of St Francis. Again, the source should be mentioned.

At the conclusion of the *Prayer of Adoration*, and before the *Kaddish*, there is a time of commitment, of remembering and the making of vows. The command to remember is spoken by the congregation, concluding with an affirmation of God. This leads beautifully into the recitation of the *Kaddish*, either in Hebrew or in English (though it is unclear whether the translation in the Order of Service is for that unifying and inclusive purpose).

The Benediction is a thought-provoking one: how would we have acted? Are we doing all that we can in our own communities and in the wider world to conquer the forces of evil? This challenge, the examination of our own hearts, also becomes *The Dismissal*; the congregation's being 'sent out' to continue God's life-giving work.

Overall, this liturgy is challenging, thought-provoking, yet very much centred within the context and communities of faith. The lack of acknowledgement of Scriptural sources, as well as the absence of introductory notes concerning the poems used within the service, are its obvious flaws.

All three of these liturgies achieve their purpose of commemorating the Holocaust and are valuable resources for liturgists and others seeking to remember the Shoah. However, changes and improvements are possible, especially for an interfaith commemoration. As well, those designed for use in a North American context obviously fail to make use of Australian resources which would make the liturgy more relevant to Australian participants.

Chapter Nine:

An Australian Yom HaShoah Liturgy for Christian Communities¹

Introduction

(Instructions for planning committees, congregations, participants.)

Length of the Service

An appropriate length of time for the service is between one hour and one and a quarter hours.² This will depend on the number of readings from Scripture, the use of the testimonies, the length of the sermon/homily, as well as the duration of the periods of silence.

Dressing the altar

Dressing the altar. (By members of the organising committee, guests, the minister, children etc. This would need to be planned before the service.)

The altar is draped in black; perhaps with a yellow star in the centre.³

¹ When I began planning this Service, I intended to use Australian material wherever possible, hence the choice of Australian hymns/songs and readings. I thought I would incorporate several Aboriginal myths and symbols, but as the liturgy came together, this idea seemed at odds with the subject material and a misappropriation of another culture's customs and beliefs.

This liturgy is very much a guide to how to incorporate Australian material within a Yom HaShoah Service. Its elements are flexible, not fixed. The nature of the liturgy will depend on the focus of the Service: is it remembrance of the six million Jews (the focus in this Liturgy), or of the six million plus the five million gentiles who died? What about the righteous gentile? Is the State of Israel to be included as a symbol of hope? The number of candles used, as well as the place within the service when they are lit, will be determined to some degree by the focus of the liturgy.

² In the words of Eugene J. Fisher and Leon Klenicki, 'The entire service is to be done without haste.' Fisher and Klenicki, *From Desolation To Hope: Liturgical Reflections on the Holocaust* (New York: Stimulus Foundation, revised edition, 1990) p.5.

³ A black banner with a Star of David in its centre is used during the Yom HaShoah Service at St. Mary's Cathedral, Sydney.

Gum leaves, gum nuts and seed pods are used as visual aids on and below the altar, to signify the regeneration of nature after a bush fire. This Service is an aid to regeneration: as Christians remember and reflect on some of the horrors of the Shoah, they acknowledge that the world is different, it is post-Auschwitz. The ashes are still present, but they look deeply for signs of hope and renewal.⁴

Candles

Six or eight candles are placed, then lit. Determine beforehand whether you wish it to be six candles, representing the six million Jews who died during the Holocaust, or eight candles: the seventh candle to represent non-Jews who died during that time, the eighth in honour of the Righteous Gentiles.

Another suggestion is to have eleven candles, and to extinguish six of them to represent the proportion of European Jewry which was murdered.⁵ It would need to be determined whether all candles were to be lit before the Service, to extinguish six candles before/or at the commencement of the Service, or whether to extinguish the six candles, one at a time, at appropriate times during the Service.

Another possibility is to include a seventh candle to represent the State of Israel: 'As a symbol of the new hope and new existence . . . of the Jewish people . . .'⁶

There are different ways to place the candles; either individually placed along the altar, or in a candlestick holder fashioned from twisted iron or barbed wire. There are 'tea light' stands available, conveniently designed to hold six tea light candles.⁷

⁴ Although I have reservations about the use of 'post-Auschwitz', it is becoming a widely used term. Perhaps a footnote, or a note of explanation, could be placed at the end of the Order of Service, explaining that it is with some reservation that this phrase has been used, pointing out that this upsets some because Auschwitz was not the only death camp in the Holocaust.

⁵ Alice L. Eckardt, in Alice L. Eckardt and A. Roy Eckardt, *Long Night's Journey Into Day: A Revised Retrospective On The Holocaust* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1988), p.187

⁶ *ibid.*

⁷ Tea light candles are a type of floating candle: the tea light holder resembles a small muffin tray. Perfume can be added to the water, or scented candles used.

The colour of the candles can be symbolic: white as a traditional symbol of purity/innocence; purple as a penitential colour; red for passion; green for creation; and black could be used to represent the closing of the door, loss of hope, the killings and ash. If different colours are used for symbolic effect, then a note of explanation should be added in the Order of Service.

Readings

Choose how you wish the poems and readings to be used within the Service. You may wish them to be read silently by the congregation, be read aloud by all or to be read aloud by individuals. Once this has been decided, write instructions next to the various readings.

Music

If music is to be played before the Service, the choice of music must be chosen carefully. If a recording is to be used, the soundtrack from the movie *Schindler's List* is appropriate.⁸ If the music is to be performed, the pieces chosen should be listed in the Order of Service.⁹

An Order of Service for Yom HaShoah

Silence

Call to Worship

We gather tonight to remember, to reflect and to pray.

We remember our Jewish brothers and sisters, murdered during the Holocaust; six million individuals, six million fathers, mothers, sons, daughters, grandmothers, grandfathers, lovers, friends, babies . . . gone . . .

⁸ *Schindler's List: Original Motion Picture Soundtrack*, MCA, 1993.

⁹ These may include lullabies, or traditional Yiddish pieces which symbolise the way of life wiped out by the Holocaust. Although I have tried to utilise as many Australian sources as possible in this liturgy, I acknowledge that non-Australian material can be used in creative and meaningful ways. Within this liturgy, Australian material has been suggested in order to highlight the richness and variety of Australian resources, many of which are the efforts of the survivors living here. The elements in this liturgy are not meant to be exclusive.

We remember the righteous, the ones who were prepared to risk their lives and the lives of their families, to stretch out their hands in friendship – the hands of hope, the hands of life. We reflect on the years 1933-1945, and wonder what would have been our response. Would we, within the church, have spoken up in support of our Jewish neighbours? Or would we have turned away, indifferent, or fearful? Would we have believed the propaganda? When we turned to our priests and ministers for guidance, would we have been encouraged to protect God's people, or been fed a centuries-old diet of flawed theology and superstition? Would we have made the connection that Jesus of Nazareth was Jewish? To remember . . . to reflect . . . and to pray – For God knows, we need to. Tonight ask this question of your very being: What is your call? What are you called to do?

Affirmation (including the *Shema*)¹⁰

*Hear, O Israel: The Lord is our God,
The Lord alone.*

*You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart and with
all your soul and with all your might.*

Keep these words that I am commanding you today in your heart. Recite them to your children and talk about them when you are at home and when you are away, when you lie down and when you rise. Bind them as a sign on your hand, fix them as an emblem on your forehead, and write them on the doorposts of your house and on your gates.

(Deuteronomy 6:4-9 NRSV)

Processional

*During the procession of participants within the Service, names of some of the
concentration camps, ghettos and other places of murder and persecution are read out:*

¹⁰ The *Shema* derives its name from the first word in the prayer which is 'hear' (*sh'ma* in Hebrew). This affirmation of faith is recited in morning and evening prayers.

Auschwitz, Belzec, Kovno Ghetto, Stutthof, Terezin, the Warsaw Ghetto, Chelmno, Lodz Ghetto, Dachau, Buchenwald, Vilna, Riga, Birkenau, Treblinka, Sobibor, Gross-Rosen . . .

Hymn: The screams of police-car sirens.

1. The screams of police-car sirens

combine with cries of fright,
as looming forms of violence
are strobed in flashing light;
yet, shrieks are insulated
and silhouettes are hazed,
our ears are isolated,
our eyes are turned away.

2. We hide ourselves in striving,

seclude ourselves with greed,
we huddle with the thriving,
and flee from crying need;
we slip away, like mourners,
to staunchly draw the shade,
recoiling in our corners
alone, aloof, afraid.

3. O Lord, our world is broken

in isolated shards;
our charities are tokens
we toss in neighbours' yards.
When will we halt our harshness,
to make your peace our vow?
When will we face the darkness,
to ask who's hurting now?

(Music: L.F. Bartlett; Words: J.A. Dalles)¹¹

Prayer of Thanksgiving and Confession

Leader: Lord God, we remember tonight the victims; six million men, women and children, created in your image: with names, laughter and dreams.

Tailors, shopkeepers, scholars, lawyers, teachers, rabbis, writers . . . all with names . . . and families. Devoted wives and mothers, career women, students . . . excellent cooks, fussy housekeepers, preparing for the Sabbath with freshly baked bread, the milk-white newly laundered tablecloth, the candles . . . all for you, Lord, all for you.

As their prayers ascended to heaven, ringing out in thanksgiving, we too give you thanks – for their lives.

All: We give you thanks.

Leader: And yet, the earth is still warm from their blood, the air still reeks of the smell of their burned bodies. Your chosen people, chosen by others to be the recipients of vile and evil deeds.

Many turned away. Others looked on, indifferent, silent.

All: We do not understand, we do not understand.

Leader: Yet, our church history contains the fighting of the crusades, the torture of the Inquisition, the triumphalism of the church at the expense of others, even at the expense of Jesus the Jew. Our church history, together with unsound theology, played a part in sowing the seeds of the Holocaust.

All: Help us to see, help us to see.

¹¹ J.A. Dalles, *Together In Song* (Melbourne: HarperCollins, 1999), Hymn 694

Leader: Many survivors came to Australia, to rebuild their lives, in a new and strange land. Sadly, acceptance by the local community was hard won for many of these immigrants: one had to prove him or herself, had to 'fit in' – wear the right clothes, eat 'Australian' food and speak English 'properly'.

The hell the survivors had left followed them in their nightmares, but in this land they were confronted with polite, refined silence, told not to talk about it, because it was too 'upsetting'.

All: Forgive us our fear of the unknown, of the foreign, of the different. Forgive us when we don't know what to say. Forgive us when we do not pray to you for guidance.

Leader: O Lord, King of the Universe, allow the dreadful events of the Holocaust to answer the question "Who is my neighbour?" with "Everyone is my neighbour . . . everyone." When we wonder "What would I have done?" let us ask ourselves "What am I doing about injustice and persecution today?"

All: Forgive us our indifference, forgive us our cynicism, forgive us our apathy.

Declaration of Forgiveness

Leader: Take heart, my brothers and sisters; God is love.

You have opened your hearts to God in confession;

may they remain open

to receive God's forgiveness and peace,

as I declare to you

that you are released from all your sins,

in the name of the Father,

and of the Son,

and of the Holy Spirit,

to whom be glory for ever and ever,¹²

All: Amen.

Silence of God

Whose silence is this?

When the searching spirit

Begs and pleads

For a sign

That its cries have been heard?

More awful than my own silence

Is this.

The silence of God.

When the Divine

Does not need to speak

Or rend the heavens

And the earth.

As if the Spirit

Retreats

And refuses

Even the most anguished

Love-filled cry,

The deepest longing

For that appearing

That alone surely would satisfy

The traveller.

As if God

Has evaporated,

Leaving not a trace.

A ghostly,

Ghastly,

¹² *Uniting In Worship: Leader's Book* (Melbourne: Joint Board of Christian Education, 1988), p.594

Absence.

And faith is stretched
In ways thought impossible.

Not like the testing
Of the burning heat
And icy cold
Of the wilderness,
Where the test
At least
Is proof
Of the Other,

This silence
Signifies
Nothing,
No-one.

A darkness
Severe,
Lifting only
When the faithing
Has found new depths
Of horror
And of beauty.
(Ross Kingham)¹³

Service of the Word

(Choose from the following:)

- 1 Kings 19:11-13b: Elijah and the silence.
- 1 Kings 17:1-6: Elijah is provided for.
- Psalm 34:14: 'Depart from evil and do good;
Seek peace, and pursue it.'
- Lamentations 2: 11-12, 16, 19, 5:1-5, 9, 12-16a.
- 2 Maccabees 7: the martyrdom of seven brothers and their mother.
- Sirach 44:9.¹⁴
- Matthew 25:34-45.
- James 1:22-25, 2:14-17: hearing and doing the Word (faith and works)
- Revelation 6:8: the fourth horse, the horse of death

Lighting the Candles

(If not lit at the beginning of the Service, the candles are now lit. Again, the number chosen alters the nature of the Service; explain the number lit and the reasons why.)

Memories of Auschwitz

Yesterday
at twilight
a train of children arrived,
the youngest
only two years old
the oldest barely five.

Methodically
they lined them up

¹³ Ross Kingham, *Whispers* (Melbourne: Joint Board of Christian Education, 1994), pp.138-139

¹⁴ This would be an appropriate passage of Scripture to have on the front cover of the Order of Service:
'But of others there is no memory;
they have perished as though they
had never existed;
they have become as though
they had never been born,

to take their final bath;
Soon you'll meet
your mums and dads
wash, be clean, look smart.

Now the chimney
smokes and smokes,
a black and towering blot
where little children
can rejoice
in their loving God.

(Jacob G. Rosenberg)¹⁵

Hymn: Lord, hear my praying

1. Lord, hear my praying, listen to me;
you know there's evil in what I see.
I know I'm part of all that is wrong:
still, won't you hear my sorrowing song?

2. Children are crying, hungry for food,
sick from diseases – God, are you good?
People are homeless, lost and alone:
God, are you hiding? Where have you gone?

3. Why do the rich ones steal from the poor?
Why do they build their weapons of war?
How can you stand the torture and pain,
hope disappearing, freedom in chains?

(Words and music: Robin Mann)¹⁶

they and their children after them.' Sirach 44:9

¹⁵ Jacob G. Rosenberg, *My Father's Silence* (Focus: Melbourne, 1997), p.6

Prayer

We remember the victims of the Holocaust by reciting the *Kaddish*, the traditional Jewish prayer for the dead.

'Let us say Kaddish
Not only for the dead, but also for the
living who have forgotten the dead.
And let the prayer be more than prayer,
more than lament; let it be an outcry,
protest, and defiance.
And above all, let it be an act of
remembrance. For that is what the
victims wanted: to be remembered, at
least to be remembered.
For just as the killer was determined to
erase Jewish memory, so were the dying
heroes and fighting martyrs bent on
maintaining it alive.
They are now being defamed; or forgotten –
which is like killing them a second time.
Let us say Kaddish together –
And not allow others to betray them
Posthumously.'
(Elie Wiesel)¹⁷

¹⁶ Robin Mann, Hymn 689, *Together in Song*, op.cit.

¹⁷ Elie Wiesel, in 'Yom Ha-Shoa: 5748-1988'. This Service was an Interfaith Service, planned by the Cape Cod Synagogue, the Chavura Bet Or, the Eastham United Methodist Church, the Orleans Federated Church and the Wellfleet Congregational Church. I found this liturgy in the Yad VaShem library. It has no page numbers, but from my count, Elie Wiesel's quote is on page 17.

*The Kaddish*¹⁸ (said together, standing)

Let the glory of God be extolled, let God's great name be hallowed in the world whose creation God willed.

May God's kingdom soon prevail, in our own day, our own lives, and the life of all Israel, and let us say: Amen.

Let God's great name be blessed forever and ever.

Let the name of the Holy One, blessed is God, be glorified, exalted, and honoured, though God is beyond all the praises, songs, and adorations that we can utter, and let us say: Amen.

For us and for all Israel, may the blessing of peace and the promise of life come true, and let us say: Amen.

May the One Who causes peace to reign in the high heavens, let peace descend on us, on all Israel, and all the world, and let us say: Amen.

May the Source of peace send peace to all who mourn, and comfort to all who are bereaved, Amen.

(Be seated)

Sermon

(Preacher: maybe a survivor, or someone whose work deals with the Holocaust.)

Testimonies

My mother never throws away a piece of bread. She tells me she likes the end, the 'heel' of the loaf. She particularly likes challah with honey or rye bread with caraway seeds. She cuts a chunky slice and spreads a thick layer of butter on it. In the playground I sometimes see children throw their lunches in the rubbish bin. I don't always want to finish my

¹⁸ I used the translation from 'Yom HaShoah: Holocaust Remembrance Day', First United Methodist Church, Santa Monica, in Marcia Sachs Littell and Sharon Weismann Gutman (eds), *Liturgies on the Holocaust* (Valley Forge: Trinity Press International, 1996), p.83

The *Kaddish* ('sanctification') is the traditional Jewish prayer for the dead. It is an interesting prayer, because it does not mention death, but life. *Kaddish* is Aramaic for 'holy' or 'sanctification': 'It was composed in Aramaic so that ordinary people, who knew no Hebrew, could say it.' Alan Unterman, *Dictionary of Jewish Lore & Legend* (London: Thames and Hudson Ltd, 1991), p.111

sandwiches, but I have been told to bring them home. It's a sin to throw bread away. I believe that I am being watched, and if I ever dared to put my lunch in the bin my mother would know. I dutifully carry my squashed half-sandwich home, and wait for the sorrow to cloud my mother's eyes when she unpacks my bag.

(Anna Rosner Blay)¹⁹

The seder plate, filled with all the traditional offerings, glows like a jewel against the white tablecloth. The usual items are there, the shank bone, the roasted egg promising life, bitter horse-radish and sprigs of celery leaf and parsley for hope. But tonight there is one more item. This potato peel, it has been suggested, should be placed on the seder plate to represent our memory of the six million Jews murdered in the Holocaust. In those years of horror a piece of potato peel could mean the difference between life and starvation. It was worth more than gold. To steal a potato peel could mean instant death.

(Anna Rosner Blay)²⁰

After The War

After the war
it made your ears ache
your skin creep
your head swim

to see
your possessions
belonging to them

to sit
with Mrs Polski
who used to be
the caretaker

¹⁹ Anna Rosner Blay, *Sister, Sister* (Alexandria, NSW: Hale & Iremonger, 1998), pp. 181-182

²⁰ *ibid.*, p.195

while her gangly callow son
wallowed
in your father's suit

she served you cake
on china plates
that were part of your mother's dowry

and the grand piano
standing polished and proud
was your brother's most prized possession

and you could see
mother
that Mrs Polski
was surprised
to find you still alive.
(Lily Brett)²¹

Call To Remember (Please stand)

Leader: Zakor.

All: Remember.

Leader: Tonight we have met to remember the six million Jews, murdered because they were Jewish.

To remember is to stand together, it is an act of resistance, it is to push back the darkness of forgetfulness, the sin of indifference, the sin of apathy.

All: We will remember.

²¹ Lily Brett, *Poland and Other Poems* (Brunswick: Scribe, 1987), p.67

Leader: For Christians, Judaism is our spiritual root. Without it, we are weak, malnourished. Jesus was a Jew. Jews and Christians share a heritage of faith. When we harm our Jewish brothers and sisters, we hurt ourselves, we hurt God.

All: We will remember.

Leader: The red of this earth reminds us of the blood of the six million.

The ash after a bush fire echoes the ash and destructive wind of the Shoah.

Expanses of white sand, edged by rocks or long strips of darkened seaweed, bring to mind the prayer shawls, the *tallit*²² of the praying men.

The yellow of the wheat, the colour of the flame glowing from the Sabbath candles, the content of the braided, golden *challah*.²³

All of these visual symbols we will remember.

All: We will remember.

Leader: We are to bear witness to the light in the darkness, to affirm life, not death, to risk for others. We are to take hold of the courage and compassion of the righteous gentiles – and be imitators of them.

All: We will remember.

Leader: We are to work, wherever we are, whenever we are able, to ensure that never again shall the attempt be made to wipe a people from the face of this earth, never again shall people seek asylum and be turned away, never again shall people be persecuted for their religious beliefs, or for their political beliefs, never again shall others assume that among humankind there is a hierarchy – reducing some to the level of vermin.

Never again shall people be downtrodden, made to feel worthless, less than human, not made in God's image.

²² *Tallit* is a four-cornered prayer shawl, with fringes at each corner, worn by Jewish men during the morning prayers. It is made from white wool, cotton or silk, with black or purple stripes on the margins.

All: Never again.

Leader: Friends, for this to happen, the Holocaust needs to be taught. Within its darkness there are lessons for us.

Be brave. Face its darkness, take up the challenge . . . for the six million, for the survivors.

All: We will, with God's help.

(Be seated)

Heavy Burden

It's a heavy burden
To carry through life
The many loved faces
That peopled my past.
Sporadic laughter
Each delicate touch
Glint in the eye
A loving caress . . .

Yet every time
Twisted bodies
Tossed in a heap
Flash before me
In a dream and
Bathed in sweat
I wake up screaming
I know, that to forget
Is to deny that they were living.

²³ *Challah* are braided loaves of bread eaten on the Sabbath and festivals.

(Janka Abrami)²⁴

*The Lord's Prayer*²⁵

Australia

Avram, a survivor, said this about Australia:

It was a country about which I knew very little. We learned in school about the continent called Australia which is part of the British Empire . . . After the war the most relevant thing for us was that it was the farthest point we could find from Europe. My hopes were to get away from Europe, to get away from living under the shadow of the Holocaust.²⁶

'We voz at a picnic', my father relates. A picnic for orphans, soon after he arrived in Australia.

An Australian asks: 'So where were you during the war?'

²⁴ Janka Abrami, *Stars Without Heaven* (East Melbourne: Safar Publishing, 1992), p.20

²⁵ If appropriate. Although this is a liturgy for Christians, if there are Jewish guests, be sensitive and omit this prayer, to allow this to be as inclusive a service as possible.

A challenging version of the Lord's Prayer was written by survivor Alexander Donat who 'fought a raging typhus fever in the Warsaw ghetto in January 1943. His subconscious mind produced strange dreams and visions. In one of them a Jew who had converted to Christianity offered a prayer-indictment composed of portions of the "Our Father" prayer Jesus had taught his disciples, Jesus' last words on the cross, and the Jewish peoples' own crucifixion experiences:

Our Father in whom I do not believe
Hallowed by Thy name;
Thy Kingdom come,
Thy will be done, in earth as it is in heaven.
Give us this day our daily life,
Have mercy on the souls of the murderers,
And forgive them their trespasses,
For we cannot.
Forgive them for they know not what they do,
And we can neither forgive nor forget.
We do not ask for mercy, Lord, for ourselves,
Who were burned at the stake at Belzec
And gassed in the chambers of Treblinka,
Who died in the cauldrons of the ghettos,
Who perished of typhus and hunger,
For Thou has not granted us Thy mercy,
And Thou knowest not what Thou hast done.'

(Donat, *The Holocaust Kingdom* Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc, 1963, p.119, quoted in Eckardt and Eckardt, *Long Night's Journey Into Day*, op.cit., p.80)

This could be used creatively in a service, but would need careful explanation..

²⁶ Naomi White Rosh, *From Darkness To Light* (Melbourne: Collins Dove, 1988), p.167

'Buchenwald', my father answers.

'Where's that? In the mountains? How was the air?

(Mark Baker)²⁷

Song: Never Again/Remember

(Either play the recording, or have a group of musicians/singers perform this song.)

I have been to hell today, I saw the Devil's naked face

I felt the poison freeze my heart, in that evil, evil place

I heard the ghosts cry out in warning, their voices ringing through the years

I stood beneath the barbed wire fence, and wept, and wept, bitter tears.

Never, never again.

I stood alone that winter's day, on that barren killing ground

Inside my head the voices grew, till my brain

was bursting with the sound

They cried "Comrade, do not forget us" and I replied "I never will",

And as my soul in anguish wept, one by one, the voices stilled

Never, never, again.

Europe, sixty years ago – Remember?

Depression, millions on the dole – Remember?

In those dark, despairing times

Of unemployment and bread-lines

A cancer grew, fat and malign – Remember?

Its banner was a crooked cross – Remember?

Its destiny a holocaust – Remember?

Its creed was racial purity

It fed on fear and bigotry

Its touch was death and slavery – Remember?

It's happening again, it's happening again
Can't you see it's happening again.

Treblinka, Auschwitz and Dachau – Remember?
David's Star – a people's shroud – Remember?
No refuge and no hiding place
For non-members of the Master Race
Whole nations enslaved and debased – Remember?

Blood and toil and sweat and tears – Remember?
The nightmare lasted six long years – Remember?
The world drowned in a bloody tide
Of war and death and genocide
Fifty-seven million died – Remember?

I've lived in freedom all my life, never
thinking much about the cost
Of those who suffered and who died so that
freedom's flame would not be lost
I saw the flame in Sachsenhausen, in spite
of all its burning yet
To all the ghosts who guard the flame,
I promise you I won't forget
Never. Never again.
Never. Never again.

(Eric Bogle, *Never Again/Remember*, Larrikin Music, 1993)²⁸

Blessing and Processional

Leader: Master of the universe, help us to bear in mind always our potential for evil.

²⁷ Mark Raphael Baker, *The Fiftieth Gate* (Sydney, NSW, Australia; New York:Flamingo, 1997), p.298

²⁸ Eric Bogle, *Never Again/Remember*, (Larrikin Music, 1993.)

Strengthen us, our God, so that we may fulfill our potential for good instead.²⁹

Go in peace.

Be peacemakers.

Be healers.

Be listeners.

Be dreamers, visionaries.

Be courageous.

Be hopeful

Be compassionate.

Be God-filled.

All: Amen and Shalom.

(You may wish to extend the hand of peace and blessing amongst the congregation by passing the peace, saying "Peace be with you" or "Shalom".)

*

Additional Resources

Another hymn could be *Seek, O seek the Lord* (vss 1 and 3)

*Seek, O seek the Lord, while he is near;
trust him, speak to him in prayer,
and he will hear.*

1. God be with us in our lives,
direct us in our calling;
break the snares the world contrives,

²⁹ Cargas, Harry James, 'A Holocaust Commemoration for Days of Remembrance' in Marcia Sachs Littell and Sharon Weissman Gutman, *Liturgies on the Holocaust* (Valley Forge: Trinity Press, 1996), p.58

keep us from falling.

Seek, O seek the Lord...

3. Strengthen in our hearts the love
we owe to one another;
how can we love God above
and not each other?

Seek, O seek the Lord...

(Words: James Phillip McAuley)³⁰

Song: Shelter.

1. I'm drowning in the sunshine
As it pours down from the skies
There's something stirring in my heart
Bright colours fill my eyes
As from here to the far horizon
Your beauty does unfold
And oh, you look so lovely
Dressed in green and gold.

3. To the homeless and the hungry
May you always open door
May the restless and the weary
Find safe harbour on your shores
May you always be my dreamtime place
My spirit's glad release
May you always be our shelter

May we always live in peace.

(Eric Bogle: Larrikin, 1986)³¹

³⁰ James McAuley, Hymn 464, *Together In Song*, op.cit.

³¹ Eric Bogle, *Shelter* (Larrikin Music, 1986)

Conclusion

Interest in and awareness of the Holocaust has increased during recent decades.

Accompanying the growth in popular interest has been recognition in some parts of the church of the need to commemorate the Holocaust. However, Yom HaShoah services are still rare in Australia, and few liturgies have been developed that commemorate Yom HaShoah from an Australian perspective.

Yet the arguments for commemorating Yom HaShoah, and for developing Australian liturgies are important. The choice of name is paramount because of its symbolism. Similarly, the choice of date and season, especially for a Christian service (compared with an inter-faith or Jewish service). Consideration of the differences between a Christian service and a Jewish or inter-faith service have to be kept in mind when beginning to plan a Yom HaShoah service. Being sensitive to the proposed audience is a non-negotiable component of careful planning.

The history of Jewish-Christian relations has been painful; the church has not always listened to its Jewish brothers and sisters, especially during the events of the Holocaust. Supersessionist tendencies, along with triumphalism, still remain in some churches. Liturgy, along with church history and theology, needs to be examined in this post-Holocaust era. During the Holocaust, liturgy, combined with a flawed theology, did not transform the body of the church as it should. Arguably, more Christians would have helped their Jewish neighbours if the church had stood with them, serving as a role model.

But the church is also about repentance, change, new beginnings. If the church is willing to take its role seriously as both liberator and healer, then the church could seize the opportunity to mend relations with the Jewish community and to examine its church history honestly in order to make amends. This includes being willing to confront its theology, even when one risks having to ask tough questions. The church has to grapple with its identity post-Holocaust. When the church is seen by secular society as being

willing to acknowledge wrongs committed in the past, combined with a passion to change, then the church may be taken seriously again as a role model for society and its people.

Christians in other countries are working towards developing Yom HaShoah liturgies; three of these liturgies have been considered within the body of this thesis. Australian churches need to acknowledge both the importance of such a service, and to demonstrate its importance by fixing a date within their own liturgical calendar. Recognition of Jewish history within Australia, as well as an awareness of the number of survivors of the Holocaust living in Australia, can combine to create a Yom HaShoah liturgy which speaks to the Australian soul. Using material from Holocaust survivors or second-generation (the children of survivors) who reside in Australia, grounds the liturgy firmly within the Australian context. It makes 'accessible' that which is not: the horror of the Holocaust. For many years, Australians and Australian churches have been able to keep their distance from the Holocaust by looking at it as a faraway event. But now, with a growing awareness of the horrors of the Holocaust, along with the recognition of the survivors residing here, they no longer have that luxury, or the excuse of apathy. A Yom HaShoah liturgy helps the important work of *tikkun*, healing the pain of the past and enabling Christians and Jews to face the future together with hope.

But it is insufficient for individual Christians to recognise the importance and need for a Yom HaShoah service. There needs to be official church recognition, which will only happen when a Yom HaShoah service is included within the Christian liturgical calendar. Only after the service has been accorded official church status will it be observed annually. Rightly or wrongly, the inclusion of a Yom HaShoah service in the liturgical calendar means that it assumes the importance it warrants. It will be safeguarded from being an occasional experiment, or someone's hobbyhorse. Australian churches need to listen to, and follow, the lead of other countries. Educational and liturgical resources can be shared across denominations and countries, making a Yom HaShoah service a truly ecumenical, and at times interfaith, venture.

Afterword

I conclude with two prayers, one from Pope John XXIII, the other from Pope John Paul II. Within each prayer there is an acknowledgment of the wrongs of the past, a plea for forgiveness and hope for a fresh beginning:

Pope John XXIII composed this prayer, called *Act of Reparation*, to be read in all Catholic churches. He died before it could be introduced into the liturgy.¹

We are conscious today that many centuries of blindness have cloaked our eyes so that we can no longer see the beauty of Thy chosen people, nor recognize in their faces the features of our privileged brethren. We realize that the mark of Cain stands on our foreheads. Across the centuries our Brother Abel has lain in blood which we drew or shed tears we caused forgetting Thy love. Forgive us for the curse we falsely attached to their name as Jews. Forgive us for crucifying Thee a second time in their flesh. For we knew not what we did...²

The following prayer was inserted into the Western Wall, Jerusalem, on March 26, 2000 by Pope John Paul II. His trip to Jerusalem, which included a visit to Yad Vashem, was viewed by many as acknowledging a change in attitude within the Catholic Church towards the Jewish people.

God of our fathers,
you chose Abraham and his descendants
to bring your Name to the Nations:
we are deeply saddened
by the behaviour of those
who in the course of history
have caused these children of yours to suffer,
and asking your forgiveness
we wish to commit ourselves
to genuine brotherhood
with the people of the Covenant.³

¹ John Cogley in *The Sunday Times*, June 13, 1965, quoted in Eliezer Berkovits, *Faith After The Holocaust* (New York: KTAV Publishing House Inc., 1973), p.26.

² *ibid.* Berkovits states that 'the prayer itself lies buried in the archives of the Vatican. On the day on which it will be unearthed and its contents integrated into the Christian conscience, there will be hope for the Spirit of God in Christendom.'

³ Printed in *Yad Vashem Quarterly Magazine*, Vol.18, Spring 2000, p.20

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Lutheran Seminary, North Adelaide: 27th April, 1993

Uniting Church Assembly Commission on Liturgy: 20th April, 1993

Sr. Verna Holyhead, Santa Maria Centre, Melbourne: 21st July, 1993

Hoyt L. Hickman, Director, Resource Development Section on Worship, The United Methodist Church, Nashville, Tennessee: 30th April, 1993

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**Incorporating a Yom HaShoah Liturgy
within the Christian liturgical calendar in
Australia**

Appendices

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B.D., B.A., Dip.Ed., S.R.N.

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Appendix 1

From Death to Hope

Publications sponsored by Stimulus Foundation:

Stepping Stones to Further Jewish-Christian Relations: An Unabridged Collection of Christian Documents, compiled by Helga Croner (A Stimulus Book, 1977).

Helga Croner and Leon Klenicki, editors, *Issues in the Jewish-Christian Dialogue: Jewish Perspectives on Covenant, Mission and Witness* (A Stimulus Book, Paulist Press, 1979).

Clemens Thoma, *A Christian Theology of Judaism* (A Stimulus Book, Paulist Press, 1980).

Lawrence Boadt, C.S.P., Helga Croner, Leon Klenicki, editors, *Biblical Studies: Meeting Ground of Jews and Christians* (A Stimulus Book, Paulist Press, 1980).

John T. Pawlikowski, O.S.M., *Christ in the Light of the Christian-Jewish Dialogue* (A Stimulus Book, Paulist Press, 1982).

Martin A. Cohen, Helga Croner, editors, *Christian Mission - Jewish Mission* (A Stimulus Book, Paulist Press, 1982).

Leon Klenicki, Gabe Huck, editors, *Spirituality and Prayer: Jewish and Christian Understandings* (A Stimulus Book, Paulist Press, 1983).

Leon Klenicki, Geoffrey Wigoder, editors, *A Dictionary of the Jewish-Christian Dialogue* (A Stimulus Book, Paulist Press, 1984).

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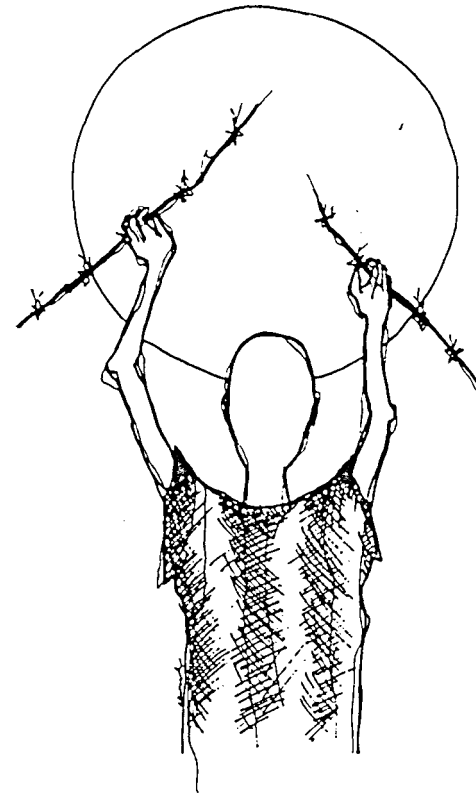
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Eugene J. Fisher and Leon Klenicki

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(The service begins in silence and in darkness as the narrators, readers and choir enter in procession. Slowly the lights are turned on.

The narrator stands on one side, a podium for readers on the other. The readers are seated near this podium. Readers can be chosen to light the candles, or others from the community can go up to light the candles at the appropriate time.)

NARRATOR

We begin our service in remembrance of the Holocaust in silence. Let us surround our worship, our community in prayer, with silence, silence in preparation for the Presence of God.

SILENT MEDITATION

Silence does not just bring to a standstill words and noise. Silence is more than the temporary renunciation of speech. It is a door opening before prayer, toward the very realms of the spirit and the heart. Silence is the beginning of a reckoning of the soul, the prelude to an account of the past and the consideration of the present. May our shared silence lead us to awareness of a time of total evil that degraded our most precious values, the very meaning of religious existence, and life itself. Our silence is to be a committed accounting for other silences, that accepted persecutions and were indifferent to debasement and crime.

NARRATOR

And after silence let us stand and give expression personally and communally, to the proclamation of God's Name to the world:
(*Congregation stands*)

READER

Praise and proclaim God's Name, to whom all praise is due!

CONGREGATION

Praised and proclaimed be the Name of God, to whom all praise is due, now and forever!
(*Congregation be seated*)

NARRATOR

Out of silence, and darkness, the creative Word of God was spoken. It first took the form of wind, of *ruach*, God's spirit hovering over the waters of chaos to control them, to hold them back and to make possible the goodness of creation itself.

READER

(Genesis 1:1-5, 26-31; 2:1-3)

When God began to create the heaven and the earth – the earth being unformed and void, with darkness over the surface of the deep and a wind from God sweeping over the water – God said, "Let

there be light;" and there was light. God saw how good the light was, and God separated the light from the darkness. God called the light Day, and the darkness He called Night. And there was evening and there was morning, a first day.

READER

And God said, "I will make man in My image, after My likeness. They shall rule the fish of the sea, the birds of the sky, the cattle, the whole earth, and all the creeping things that creep on earth." And God created man in His image, in the image of God He created him; male and female He created them. God blessed them and God said to them, "Be fertile and increase, fill the earth and master it; and rule the fish of the sea, the birds of the sky, and all the living things that creep on earth."

READER

God said, "See, I give you every seed-bearing plant that is upon all the earth, and every tree that has seed-bearing fruit; they shall be yours for food. And to all the animals on land, to all the birds of the sky, and to everything that creeps on earth, in which there is the breath of life, [I give] all the green plants for food." And it was so. And God saw all that He had made, and found it very good. And there was evening and there was morning, the sixth day.

CONGREGATION

The heaven and the earth were finished, and all their array. And on the seventh day God finished the work which He had been doing, and He ceased on the seventh day from all the work which He had done. And God blessed the seventh day and declared it holy, because on it God ceased from all the work of creation which He had done.

NARRATOR

But there can be another type of silence, and another kind of wind. At a time of horror in the middle of the 20th Century, the silence of the world made possible the monstrous crime of genocide, the attempted murder of a whole people for no other reason than that they were a particular type of people, a people called by God "the Chosen People": the Jews.

READER

In the heart of civilized Europe, aided by the silent acquiescence of so many of the nations and peoples of the world, a wind of abomination and racial hostility, a wind of evil whipped a continent into a frenzy of senseless killing. In Hebrew, this destructive event, the Nazi murder of two thirds of European Jewry, is likened to the

Shoah of the biblical text, a devastating, diabolic wind that scours the earth of all life, leaving only chaos and death in its wake.

READER

Six million Jewish men and women, one million children among them, were taken by other human beings to die in gas and fire, their very ashes spewed from the chimneys of Auschwitz to mingle with the soft breezes of the air and fall, nameless and graveless, spread over a continent that had itself become a graveyard.

NARRATOR

Not only did Jews die, caught in the eddies and swirls of the Holocaust, millions of Poles and Gypsies, Russians and other Europeans also ended their lives as victims of Nazism's diabolically efficient technology of death. But to be Jewish in Nazi Europe of itself meant alienation and death.

READER

Martin Niemoeller, a pastor in the German Confessing Church, spent seven years in a concentration camp. He wrote:

First they came for the Jews
and I did not speak out —
because I was not a Jew.

Then they came for the socialists
and I did not speak out —
because I was not a socialist.

Then they came for the trade unionists
and I did not speak out —
because I was not a trade unionist.

Then they came for me —
and there was no one left
to speak out for me.

READER

Pope John Paul II, a Pole who knew well the heel of Nazi inhumanity, prayed during his pilgrimage to Auschwitz in 1979:

I kneel before all the inscriptions that come one after another bearing the memory of the victims of Oswiecim . . . In particular I pause with you, dear participants in this encounter, before the inscription in Hebrew. This inscription awakens the memory of the people whose sons and daughters were intended for total extermination. This people draws its origin from Abraham, our father in faith as was expressed by Paul of Tarsus. The very people who received from God the com-

mandment "thou shalt not kill," itself experiences in a special measure what is meant by killing. It is not permissible for anyone to pass by this inscription with indifference.

The Lighting of the Memorial Candles

NARRATOR

We now light six candles in memory of the six million. As we light these candles, we commit ourselves to responsibility for one another, to build on this earth a world that has no room for hatred, no place for violence. Together, we pray for the strength to fulfill this vocation.

(Congregation stands)

(Representatives of the community light the candles. While they are being lit, the community joins in praying Psalm 22.)

Psalm 22

CONGREGATION

My God, my God,
why have you abandoned me;
why so far from delivering me
and from my anguished roaring?

READER

My God,
I cry by day — You answer not;
by night, and have no respite.

CONGREGATION

But You are the Holy One,
enthroned, the Praise of Israel.
In You our fathers trusted;
they trusted and You rescued them.
To You they cried out
and they escaped;
in You they trusted
and were not disappointed.

(Congregation be seated)

Testimonies

NARRATOR

Jewish voices were heard in reciting prayers and biblical texts, on the trains to the concentration camps, at the doors of the gas chambers, in hiding, in fighting the enemy, manifesting grief, hope, despair, trust in God, faith.

One of those voices, Moshe Flinker, an adolescent hiding in Belgium, expressed his religious fervor and commitment in verse and prayer. One afternoon he wrote in his diary.

READER

"I am sitting at the window and readying myself for the Minha prayer, I look out, and I see that all is red, that the whole horizon is red. The sky is covered with bloody clouds, and I am frightened when I see it. I say to myself: 'Where do these clouds come from? Bleeding clouds, where are you from?' Suddenly everything is clear to me, everything is simple and easily understood. Don't you know? They come from the seas of blood. These seas have been brought about by the millions of Jews who have been captured and who knows where they are? 'We are the bleeding clouds, and from the seas of blood have we come. We have come to you from the place where your brothers are, to bring greetings from your people. We are witnesses; we were sent by your people to show you their troubles. We have come from the seas of blood: we were brought into being by an inferno of suffering, and we are a sign of peace to you.' . . ."

Young Moshe who died in Auschwitz was able to find hope in his faith in God, and in the continuity of Jewish peoplehood:

NARRATOR

A Jew in thought
A Jew in trouble
A Jew in speech
A Jew in arising
A Jew in God
A Jew in life
A Jew you were born

CONGREGATION

A Jew in deeds
A Jew in joy
A Jew in silence
A Jew in sitting
A Jew in people
A Jew in death
A Jew you will die.

(Congregation stands)

HEAR, O ISRAEL

Gregory Horbet, O.S.B.

Hear, O Is-ra-el, the Lord, our God, the Lord is one.

Hear, O Is-ra-el, the Lord, our God, the Lord is one.

Hear, O Is-ra-el, the Lord, our God, the Lord is one.

(Congregation be seated)

Soloist:

Two thou-sand years have we been in ex-ile. Two thou-sand
 years have we been suf-fer-ing. Two thou-sand years have we been
 hop-ing for our long - de-layed sal - va - tion. Two thou-sand
 years have we been wan-der-ing, two thou-sand years have we been
 mov-ing. Two thou-sand years have we been yearn-ing for our
 long - de-layed sal-va-tion, and now we are stand-ing
 here.

Verses: Em Am B7

1. Stand - ing here we yearn for your help. O Lord, shall you
 help us? Yes, our Lord shall help us
 2. Yes, our re - deem - er, you shall re - deem. You have for-
 got - ten, shall re - mem - ber. You have ne-
 glect - ted and you shall re - turn.

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 Weston Priory, Weston, Vermont 05161
 This song is dedicated to the memory of Abbot Leo Rudloff, O.S.B.
 of Weston Priory

NARRATOR

Christian witness, in this time of degradation, was barely heard. While many were silent, some spoke with their deeds. Let us listen now to a few of their stories.

(One or more of the following selections may be chosen.)

From Germany

Bernard Lichtenberg was a priest at the St. Hedwig Cathedral Church in Berlin. In August, 1941, he declared in a sermon that he would include Jews in his daily prayers because "synagogues have been set afire and Jewish businesses have been destroyed."

One evening Monsignor Lichtenberg did not appear at his church. A brief announcement in the newspapers informed his followers that he had been arrested for "subversive activities." He was sent to prison and, after serving his term, sent to a concentration camp for "re-education." A poor student, so far as the Nazis were concerned, the ailing old priest asked to be deported to the Jewish ghetto of Lodz. His plea was ignored. He died November 3, 1943, on the way to Dachau.

From Poland

Abraham H. Foxman was born in Poland in 1940, a few months after the Germans had occupied the country. His parents fled to Vilna in an effort to keep ahead of the Nazis. But in less than a year, the German armies occupied Vilna and rounded up all Jews in a ghetto, the first step toward shipping them to concentration camps. A maid, Bronislawa Kurpi, offered to hide the baby, and within a few months he had a new name and baptismal certificate. His mother and father were together in the Vilna ghetto for one year when his mother escaped, managed to get false papers, and moved in with the maid as her sister and the baby's aunt. His father, liberated in 1945, made his way back to Vilna and his family. The whole family was smuggled out of Poland to a displaced persons' camp in the American zone of Austria. They reached the United States in 1950 when Abe was ten years old.

From Denmark

Dr. Aage Bertelsen was a pedagogue. Principal of Aarhus Cathedral College and an outstanding biblical scholar, he had shunned politics before the outbreak of the war. With his wife Gerda and several friends, Bertelsen formed a rescue organization that eventually numbered sixty people. Known as the Lyngby Group, after the town in which it operated, these modern Vikings who struck only at night smuggled 1,200 Jews past a flotilla of German warships, depositing them safely on Swedish shores. Eventually the Germans learned of Bertelsen's operations and surrounded his home. But Bertelsen successfully eluded the Gestapo noose, slipped out of town, and continued to direct the rescue operations from hiding places. Finally he was forced to escape to Sweden. The Germans arrested his wife Gerda, but she refused to divulge any of the

group's secrets. In reply to the bludgeoning Gestapo official who pressed her to confess that she had participated in the smuggling of Jews to Sweden, the gallant woman asserted: "All decent people do!"

From Belgium

In May, 1943, Mme. Marthe De Smet of Dillbeek, in the countryside near Brussels, received a telephone call from Sr. Claire, a nun at the Couvent des Soeurs du Très St. Sauveur in the city. Was she willing to hide another Jewish child, the caller asked.

The situation was desperate. The nuns had hidden fifteen little Jewish girls until their hiding place was betrayed to the Gestapo. Just hours before the Gestapo's truck arrived to take the children to their death, the nuns had somehow gotten word to the underground. The children had been hastily moved under cover of darkness and then placed in safe but temporary homes. Now, it was essential to find a permanent hiding place for each of them.

Sr. Claire knew that the De Smets — Georges, his wife, Marthe, and their children, Marie-Paule, André, Eliane and Francis — were already hiding a Jewish child, three-year-old Regine Monk. Nonetheless, she was confident that Mme. De Smet would not turn her down. She was right. A few days later, three-year-old Yvette Lerner came into the De Smet household, to be safely sheltered there until the liberation of Brussels in September, 1944. Shortly after her arrival, the De Smets took a third child, then an infant, Liliane Klein.

At the risk of their own lives and those of their children, the De Smets embarked on a course of active opposition to the Nazis' plan for the extermination of all Jews. In this, they were motivated by deep religious conviction and by a strong love of children.

After the war, the De Smets refused all remuneration and asked only for the continued friendship of the families to whom they had given so much.

From France

Important rescue work was carried on by a Catholic missionary organization, the Fathers of Our Lady of Zion . . . At the head of this group was the Reverend Father Superior Charles Devaux, who is credited with saving 443 Jewish children and 500 adults. At the end of 1942, Father Devaux organized a temporary shelter for his wards on Rue Notre Dame de Champs. From here he sent the children to many parts of the country, where they found temporary homes with workmen's families, among peasants, in convents and monasteries. The expenses were provided for by the group. When the relief work grew beyond their modest means, they solicited and received money from individuals, Jews and non-Jews alike, and from

various organizations. The Gestapo were irked by the clergyman's ceaseless activities on behalf of the Jews. They summoned Father Devaux and cited a long list of his offenses. Theodore Dannecker, an SS officer noted as a hangman of French Jews, personally dealt with Devaux. He slapped the priest's face as an initial warning, and cautioned him to cease helping Jews or accept the consequences. Father Devaux returned to his rescue work. In 1945, the brave priest was interviewed by a Jewish journalist who asked him whether he had not been aware of the great danger involved in his rescue activities. Father Devaux's answer was simple: "Of course I knew it, but this knowledge could not stop me from doing what I considered to be my duty as a Christian and a human being."

From Italy

The City of Assisi, home of St. Francis, turned itself into a place of clandestine refuge for Jews. Organized by a priest of peasant stock, Padre Rufino Niccacci, hundreds of Jews were hidden in the town's ancient monasteries and convents and provided with fake identity papers. The Germans raided the religious houses searching for the Jewish refugees, who were dressed in religious habits, given rosaries, and temporarily transformed into monks and nuns piously saying their prayers. A small printing press in the town's pharmacy at night cranked out false documents which were then smuggled to Jewish survivors throughout Italy. In all, some 32,000 Italian Jews, representing 80% of Italian Jewry, and thousands of foreign Jews were hidden successfully by Christians, many in religious houses.

From Holland

After the Nazi invasion of Holland, a farm which trained Jewish youths in agriculture prior to sending them to Palestine, formed a youth underground to smuggle Jewish children across the Pyrenées to Spain and from there to Palestine. But the Jews needed help and appealed to the Dutch Socialist underground. Among those who offered their assistance was a man named Joop Westerville, a principal in a Lundsrecht high school. Son of a pastor, Westerville was a noted educator, the father of three children, a fourth on the way — he was eager for his first journey across the many borders bristling with Nazi bayonets.

Early in 1943, Shushu Simon, the leader of the Jewish underground was captured by the Gestapo. Joop Westerville was thrust into the position of leadership. It was now his job to lead the Jewish children across the Low Countries and mountainous peaks

of France and Spain. This became part of his everyday existence, and he dedicated himself to it fully. At the foot of the Pyrenées where he usually took leave of the young Zionist pioneers, Westerville enjoined them not to forget their non-Jewish comrades, and reminded them that they were bound to all humanity.

NARRATOR

A popular Yiddish song expressed the Jewish people's determination to stand up in the struggle against the oppressor, and to affirm and reaffirm Judaism's covenant with God. *Zog nit keyn mol*, is an example of human affirmation that can inspire us today. Let us read together the English translation.

NARRATOR AND CONGREGATION

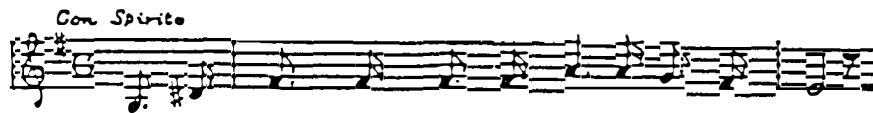
So never say you now go on your last way,
Though darkened skies may now conceal the blue of day,
Because the hour for which we've hungered is so near,
Beneath our feet the earth shall thunder, "We are here!"

CONGREGATION SINGS

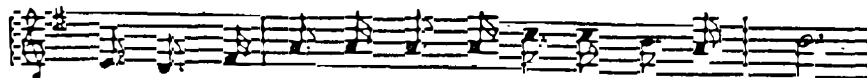
Zog nit keyn mol as du geyst dem letstn veg
Khotsh himlen blayene farshteln bloye teg.
Kumen vet nokh undzer oysgebenkte sho,
S'vet a poyk ton undzer trot — MIR ZAINEN DO!

זאָג ניט קיין מאל אָ דו גייסט דעם לעצטן וועג.
כאַטש הימלען בליינען פאַרשטעלן בלויז טעג.
קימען וועט נאָך אונדזער אייסגעבענקטע שעה.
עס וועט אַ פּויק טאָן אונדזער טראַט — מיר זינען דאָ!

ZOG, NIT KEYN MOLI



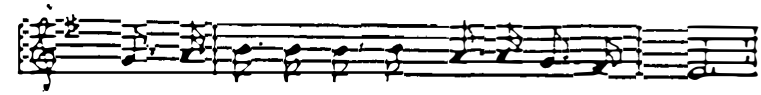
Zog nit keyn mol az du geyst dem lets-tn veg,



Khotsh him-len blay-e - ne far-shte-in bloye teg;



Ku - men vet nokh un - dzer oyzgebenk - te sho,



S'vet a poyk ton un-dzer trot:mir zaynen do!

(Hymn of the Vilna Partisans)

NARRATOR

We remember the six million by reciting the *Kaddish*, the traditional Jewish prayer for the dead.

This prayer is not a funeral hymn but an affirmation of God's everlasting Presence and dominion, praising God's existence and creative love. It is in this spirit that we pray the *Kaddish* remembering the victims of the Holocaust. We also pray for the survivors, whose faith in life enabled them to rebuild in other countries their shattered lives, their destroyed worlds. Joining together they brought about new life, they raised new families in new lands, in defiance of absolute terror and despair, an invincible hope. Exalted by that spirit of lifegiving and faith we pray today.

(The narrator or a reader familiar with Hebrew says or chants the *Kaddish*).

(Congregation stands)

יְתַדַּל וַיְתַקַּדֵּשׁ שְׁמֵהּ רַבָּא בְּעַלְמָא דִּירְבָּרָא כְּרַעוּתָהּ,

Yit-ga-dal ve-yit-ka-dash she-mel ra-ba be-al-ma di-ve-ra chi-re-u-tel,

וַיִּמְלִיד מַלְכוּתָהּ בְּחַיִּיכוֹן וּבְיוֹמֵיכוֹן וּבְכָל־בֵּית

ve-yam-llich mal-chu-tel be-cha-yel-chon u-ve-yo-mel-chon u-ve-cha-yel de-chol beit

יִשְׂרָאֵל, בְּעֵזְלָא וּבְזִמְן קָרִיב, וְאָמְרוּ: אָמֵן.

Yis-ra-ell, ba-a-ga-la u-vi-ze-man ka-riv, ve-i-me-ru: a-mein.

יְהֵא שְׁמֵהּ רַבָּא מְבָרַךְ לְעַלְמֵי וְלְעַלְמֵי עָלְמַיָּא.

Ye-hel she-mel ra-ba me-va-rach le-a-lam u-le-al-mel al-ma-ya.

יְתַבָּרַךְ וַיִּשְׁתַּבַּח, וַיְתַפָּאֵר וַיְתַרְוַם וַיְתַנְשָׂא, וַיְתַהַדֵּר

Yit-ba-rach ve-yish-ta-bach, ve-yit-pa-ar ve-yit-ro-mam ve-yit-na-sel, ve-yit-ha-dar

וַיִּתְעַלֶּה וַיִּתְהַלַּל שְׁמֵהּ דְּקוּדְשָׁא, בְּרִיךְ הוּא, לְעֵלָא מְרַכָּל-

ve-yit-a-leh ve-yit-ha-lal she-mel de-ku-de-sha, be-rich hu, le-el-la min kol

בְּרַכְתָּא וְשִׁירָתָא, תְּשַׁבְּחָתָא וְנַחֲמָתָא דְאַמִּירָן בְּעֵלְמָא,

bl-re-cha-ta ve-shi-ra-ta, tush-be-cha-ta ve-ne-che-ma-ta, da-a-mi-ran be-al-ma,

וְאַמְרוּ: אָמֵן.

ve-i-me-ru: a-mein.

יְהֵא שְׁלָמָא רַבָּא מְרַשְׁמֵיָא וְחַיִּים עֲלֵינוּ וְעַל-כָּל-יִשְׂרָאֵל,

Ye-hel she-la-ma ra-ba min she-ma-ya ve-cha-ylm a-lel-nu ve-al kol Yis-ra-ell,

וְאַמְרוּ: אָמֵן.

ve-i-me-ru: a-mein.

עֲשֵׂה שְׁלוֹם בְּמְרוֹמָיו, הוּא יַעֲשֵׂה שְׁלוֹם עֲלֵינוּ וְעַל-כָּל-

O-seh sha-lom bl-me-ro-mav, hu ya-a-seh sha-lom a-lel-nu ve-al kol

יִשְׂרָאֵל, וְאַמְרוּ: אָמֵן.

Yis-ra-ell, ve-i-me-ru: a-mein.

READER

Hallowed and enhanced may God be throughout the world. May God's sovereignty soon be accepted, during our life and the life of all Israel. And let us say: Amen.

CONGREGATION

May God be praised throughout all time.

READER

Glorified and celebrated, lauded and praised, acclaimed and honored, extolled and exalted may the Holy One be, far beyond all song and psalm, beyond all tributes which humanity can utter. And let us say: Amen.

CONGREGATION

Let there be abundant peace from Heaven, with life's goodness for us and for all the people Israel. And let us say: Amen.

READER

God who brings peace to the universe will bring peace to us, to humanity, and to Israel. And let us say: Amen.

CONGREGATION

Exalted, compassionate God, grant perfect peace in your sheltering Presence, among the holy and the pure, to the soul of all the men, women and children of the house of Israel, to the Righteous Gentiles, to the millions who died defending the right to be different, at a time of madness and terror.

May their memory endure, may it inspire truth and loyalty in our lives, in our religious commitment and tasks. May their memory be a blessing and sign of peace for all humanity. And let us say all together: Amen.

(Congregation be seated)

NARRATOR

We end our worship by reciting together the words found on the walls of a cellar in Cologne, Germany, where Jews hid from the Nazis:

NARRATOR AND CONGREGATION

I believe,
I believe in the sun
even when it is not shining.
I believe in love
even when feeling it not.
I believe in God
even when God is silent.

(A short period of silence)

NARRATOR

We have proclaimed together our faith in the One God, Ground and Nurturer of us all. Before we go our separate ways again, let us extend to one another a sign of reconciliation expressing our hope for peace.

(Congregation stands)

Please turn to those around you, share the blessing of peace, wholeness, and life, and wish them Shalom!

CONGREGATION

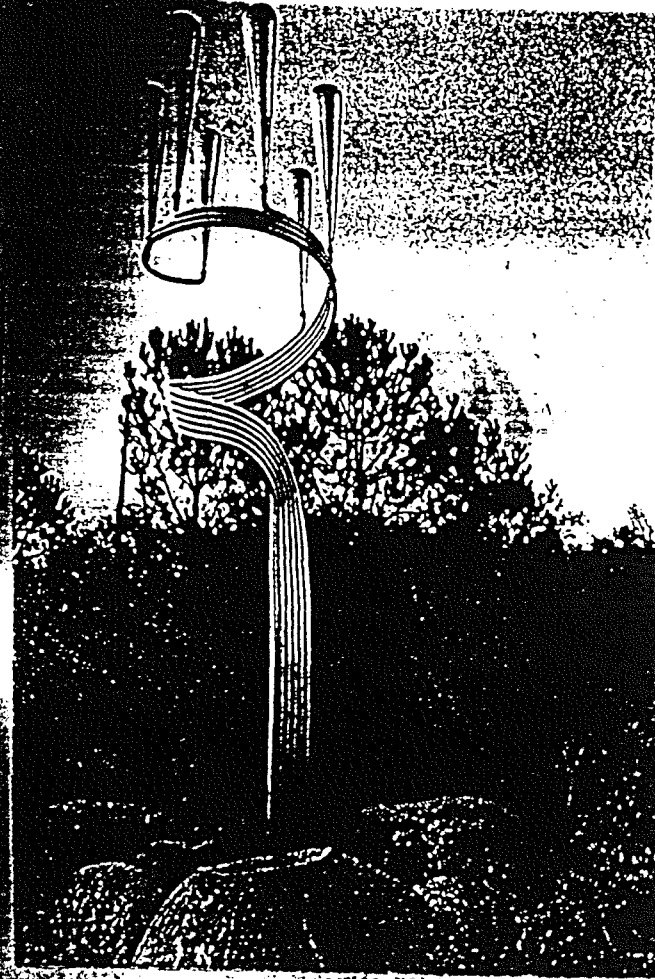
Shalom!

Appendix 2

Shoah Memorial Service

*There is a divine dream which the prophets
and rabbis have cherished and which fills our
prayers, and permeates the acts of true
piety. It is the dream of a world, rid of evil by
the grace of God as well as by human effort,
by dedication to the task of establishing the
kingship of God in the world... God is waiting
constantly and keenly for our effort and
devotion.*

(Abraham Joshua Heschel)



SHOAH MEMORIAL SERVICE

**For Christians and all people of compassion
who remember the years
1933 - 1945
even if they were not yet born**

This Memorial Service
is an initiative of

THE COUNCIL OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS
(New South Wales)



The Altar is dressed in black and white for the Shoah, the catastrophic tempest which blew six million Jews to their death during the years of the Nazi regime from 1939-1945, white for the Jewish liturgical colour of holiness and atonement and as a reminder of the white shroud of burial. The star of David, which shows against the black drape was, at the command of Hitler, to be worn by Europe's Jews in its various styles and colours, on their outer garments.

Eight candles stand on the table; six will burn for the six million Jews who died; one will burn for the non-Jews who lost their lives in those years; and the eighth candle will honour the righteous Gentiles who, in those dark days, risked their lives for the sake of their Jewish brothers and sisters.

Held in
ST. MARY'S CATHEDRAL CRYPT

☆ THE GATHERING IN SILENCE ☆

All sit

NARRATOR 1

We gather here tonight in silence,
surrounded by a holy presence,
a cloud of witnesses...
We gather here before each other,
and our one Father:
to remember;
to ask pardon;
to commit ourselves to peace;
to rekindle hope
in our one humanity -
the hope which flickered in the dark catastrophe,
the Shoah of the years of 1933-1945,
when European Jewry was consumed in fire,
and shouted to the world in silent pain.

NARRATOR 2

"God is not silent; God is Silence,"
said a holy rabbi
There is creative silence,
and there is murderous silence.
Out of the silence and darkness,
the creative word of God was spoken,
and God's spirit brooded over watery chaos
to make possible the goodness of creation.

☆ PROCLAMATION OF THE WORD OF GOD ☆

LECTOR 1 : Gen 1:26-28

Then God said, "Let us make humankind in our image, in the likeness of ourself: and let them rule over the fish of the sea, and the birds in the sky, and the cattle, and over all the animals of the earth, and over all creeping things that creep on the earth." And God created humankind in his image, in the image of God he created them, male and female he created them. And God blessed them, and God said to them, "Be fruitful and increase, and fill the earth and subdue it, and rule the fish of the sea and the birds in the sky and over every living creature that creeps upon the earth."

ALL: Blessed and praised be God, to whom all praise is due.

LECTOR 2: Gen 1: 29-31.

And God said, "See, I have given you every seed-bearing plant on all the earth and every tree with seed-bearing fruit; this shall be your food. And to all animals of the earth, and to every bird in the sky, and to everything that creep on the earth, in which there is living breath, I give every green plant for food. And so it was. God saw all that he had made and found it very good. And there was evening and there was morning, the sixth day.

ALL: Blessed and praised to God, to whom all praise is due.

LECTOR 3: Gen 2: 1-3.

The heavens and the earth were finished with all their array. And on the seventh day God finished the work which he had been doing, and he rested on the seventh day from all the work which he had done. And God blessed the seventh day and pronounced it holy, because on it God rested from all the work he had done in creation.

ALL: Blessed and praised be God, to whom all praise is due.

Pause for silent reflection

NARRATOR 1

But there can be another kind of silence,
and another kind of wind:
the silence of
our world and century,
when the catastrophic whirlwind,
the Shoah,
ripped six million branches
from the olive tree of Israel.
Reduced to ashes,
this holocaust
edded, swirled and fell
over the graveyard of a continent.

NARRATOR 2

In memory of these six million Jews,
among them one million children,
let us light six candles:
one candle,
one million burning lives...
As we watch these six consuming flames,
let us commit ourselves
to responsibility for one another,
Jew and Gentile,
that together we may build a world
that has no room for the hatred
which has found too large a place
within the hearts of Christians.

One by one, six members of the assembly come forward to light the memorial candles.

The words which are based on the great profession of faith which was on the lips of the so many Jews as they went to their death, are now echoed by the assembly.

NARRATOR 1's SIDE:

Have mercy on me, God,
in your steadfast love;
in your great tenderness,
blot out my faults.

Wash me thoroughly from my guilt
and purify me from my sin

NARRATOR 2's SIDE

For I recognise my faults,
And am ever conscious of my sin:
I have sinned against you alone,
And have done evil in your eyes
so that your sentence is justified
and your judgement righteous.

Indeed, I was born guilty,
And in sin did my mother conceive me.

1.

Indeed your long for truth in the inward being
teach me wisdom about secret things.
Purify me with hyssop till I am pure;
wash me till I am whiter than snow.

Let me hear joy and gladness,
let the bones you have crushed exult.
Hide your face from my sins
and blot out all my guilt.

2.

O God, create in me a pure heart,
And a right spirit renew within me.
Do not cast me out of your presence,
And do not take your holy spirit from me.
Give back to me the joy of your salvation
And encourage in me a willing spirit.

ALL: Hear, O Israel:
The Lord our God, is Lord of all.
Therefore you shall love the Lord your God
with all your heart,
with all your soul,
with all your mind,
with all your strength
You shall love your neighbour as yourself.
The Lord our God, is Lord of all.

All sit

NARRATOR 1

The hot breath of the Shoah
was also felt by the "righteous Gentiles"
who helped their Jewish brothers and sisters
in their hour of darkness,
and by those other millions,
of so many nations
who died for being different
in a time of madness and of terror,
for them we also light the candles.
Together let their memory burn.

*Two members of the assembly come forward
and light the seventh and eighth candles.*

NARRATOR 2

Acknowledging in ourselves
the power of sin that made possible
the horror of the Holocaust
let us now pray Psalm 51 :

1.
I will teach transgressors your ways,
and sinners will return to you.
Deliver me from bloodshed, O God
O God, my deliverer,
And my tongue will sing forth your righteousness.

2.
Lord, open my lips,
And my mouth will declare your praise.
You do not want me to bring sacrifices;
You do not desire burnt offerings;
True sacrifice to God is a broken spirit;
O God, a broken and contrite heart
you will not despise.

1.
Show your favour graciously to Zion;
rebuild the walls of Jerusalem.
Then you will delight in righteous sacrifices,
burnt and whole offerings;
then bulls will be offered on your altar.

Music

NARRATOR 1

The whirlwind could not be taught;
it could only be experienced.
The Holocaust could not be explained;
it could only be offered.
And we, who are
neither experienced nor offered,
can only try to touch
and feel and taste
the dark and burning nights
as we listen to the witnesses...

NARRATOR 2

Darkness...
Fire...
Exodus...
Return...

Jews have lived these experiences
from generation to generation.
Let us listen to the witness of the voices...

NARRATOR 2

Voices speak out of the Holocaust to bear witness...
the children's voices, the voices of the hope of Israel
whose lives were sacrificed and dreams shattered

[A pause for silence]

☆ THE WITNESS OF THE VOICES ☆

VOICE 1

From The Diary of Anne Frank

Its really a wonder that I haven't dropped all my ideals, because they seem so absurd and impossible to carry out. Yet I keep them because in spite of everything, I still believe that people are really good at heart. I simply can't build my hopes on a foundation of confusion, misery and death. I see the world gradually being turned into a wilderness. I hear the approaching thunder, I can feel the suffering of millions, and yet, if I look up into the heavens, I think that it will all come right one of these days, that this cruelty will end, and that peace and tranquillity will return again. In the meantime, I must hold onto my ideals, for perhaps the day will come when I shall be able to carry them out.

Pause for silent reflection

RESPONSE TO THE VOICES

(The Taize melody is sung thrice by the assembly)

*Kyrie, Kyrie, Kyrie
Kyrie Eleison.*

NARRATOR 2

Voices speak out of the Shoah
to bear witness...

The voices of Jews - sacrificed -
fire, smoke and ashes, grey dust -
a mountain made of shoes...

VOICE 2

I SAW A MOUNTAIN

Adapted from the poem by Moses Schulstein

I saw a mountain...
Not in a dream. It was real.
On this world this mountain stood.
Such a mountain I saw - of Jewish shoes
in Majdanek.
Such a mountain - such a mountain I saw.
And suddenly, a strange thing happened.
The mountain moved...
And the thousands of shoes arranged themselves
By size - by pairs - and in rows - and moved.

Hear! Hear the march.
Hear the shuffle of shoes left behind -
that which remained
From small, from large, from each and every one.
Make way for the rows - for the pairs,
For the generations - for the years.
The shoe army - it moves and moves.

“We are the shoes, we are the last witnesses.
We are the shoes from grandchildren and grandfathers.
From Prague, Paris and Amsterdam.
And because we are only made of stuff and leather
And not of flesh and blood, each one of us avoided the hellfire.
We shoes - that used to go strolling in the market
Or with the bride and groom under the wedding canopy,
We shoes from simple Jews, from butchers and carpenters,
From crocheted booties of babies just beginning to walk and go
On happy occasions, weddings and even until the time
Of giving birth, to a dance, to exciting places to life
Or quietly - to a funeral.
Unceasingly we go. We tramp.
The hangman never had the chance to snatch us into his
Sack of loot - now we go to him.
Let everyone hear the steps, which flow as tears,
The steps that measure out the judgement.”

I saw a mountain.
I wish I had not seen.

Pause for silent reflection

RESPONSE TO THE VOICES

ALL SING: *Kyrie, Kyrie, Kyrie Eleison.*(2)

NARRATOR 1

Voices speak out of the Shoah
to bear witness...

The voices of those who remember the spectators
who averted their eyes and closed their mouths
and did nothing before the suffering...

VOICE 3

From *The Town Beyond the Wall*, by Elie Wiesel

I can still see him, that Saturday. Jews were filling the courtyard. On their backs they carried what they had saved of a lifetime of work. Knapsacks into which the old had stuffed their past, the children their future, the rabbis their faith, the sick their exhaustion. The wandering Jew was about to set out again, the exile's staff in his hand. The wandering Jew was headed towards the physical liquidation of his difficulties: towards the "final solution". At last the world was to be relieved of the great problem that had haunted it for two thousand years! Now at last it would be able to breathe!...

My parents and I stood close to the fence: on the other side was life and liberty, or what people call life and liberty. A few passers-by; they averted their faces; the more sensitive bowed their heads.

It was then I saw him. A face at the window across the way. The curtains hid the rest of him; only his head was visible. It was like a balloon. Bald, flat nose, wide empty eyes. I watched it for a long time. It was gazing out, reflecting no pity, no pleasure, no shock, not even anger or interest. Impassive, cold, impersonal. The face was indifferent to the spectacle. What? People are going to die? That's not my fault, is it now? I didn't make the decision. The face is neither Jewish nor anti-Jewish, a simple spectator, that's what it is.

For seven days the great courtyard of the synagogue filled and emptied. He, standing behind the curtains, watched. The police beat women and children; he did not stir. It was no concern of his. He was neither victim nor executioner; a spectator, that's what he was. He wanted to live in peace and quiet... The only face that my memory has retained intact is his...

The spectator is entirely beyond us. He sees without being seen. He is there but unnoticed. The footlights hide him; He never applauds nor hisses; his presence is evasive, and commits him less than his absence might. He says neither yes nor no, and not even maybe. He says nothing. He is there, but acts as if he were not. Worse: he acts as if the rest of us were not.

Pause for silent reflection

RESPONSE TO THE VOICES

ALL SING: *Kyrie, Kyrie, Kyrie Eleison.*(2)

NARRATOR 2

Voices speak out of the Holocaust,
voices of those who for years
could not speak
because their lips were sealed
with memory and silence...

VOICE 4

Tablean

It is winter: the woman's coat thin check,
the dress black cotton. Her head and her daughter's heads
are covered by scarves. The boy wears a cap.
Hand-held, the smallest child walks between
her mother and sister. She is well coated
against the chill; she moves willingly like one
wanting to learn. What have they told the child?

Her sister sees that gladness is no longer a gift,
It's not fever that frets the mother's mind
but something most frightful, something too pained
to weep. The boy has lagged behind. His will
would wisely take him elsewhere, but the snout
that shunts him forward is greater than God's love.
He must go to where no child would go.

Ice creaks under their walk. The air is as sharp
as gas. Its cold incinerates. No one
can take the scorched smell of smoke from their minds.
With a meekness not given them by Moses, they move
into the shadow of a psalm's black valley.
Ten miles away, Jesus the Jew is worshipped.

Pause. Music of Kol Nidre. Silent reflection.

NARRATOR 1

Voices speak out of the Holocaust - too few,
so softly, voices that echo in the mist
and cry with eloquence to the skies.
Remembering a lost love...

VOICE 5

THE SUN OF AUSCHWITZ

You remember the sun of Auschwitz
and the green of the distant meadows, lightly
lifted to the clouds by birds,
no longer green in the clouds,
but seagreen white. Together
we stood looking into the distance and felt
the far away green of the meadows and the clouds'
seagreen white within us,
as if the colour of the distant meadows
were our blood or the pulse
beating within us, as if the world
existed only through us and nothing changed
as long as we were there. I remember
your smile as elusive
as a shade of the colour of the wing,
a leaf trembling on the edge
of sun and shadow, fleeting
yet always there.

So you are
for me today, in the seagreen
sky, the greener and
the leaf-rustling wind. I feel
you in every shadow, every movement,
and you put the world around me
like your arms. I feel the world
as your body, you look into my eyes
and call me with the whole world.

Tadeusz Borowski
(Translated by Tadeusz Pioro)
"Holocaust Poetry."
Compiled by Hilda Schiff, p 119.)

All sit - *at this point a speaker will address the assembly.*

All stand

☆ **RECITATION OF MOURNERS' KADDISH** ☆

*This is the traditional Jewish prayer for the dead.
It is not a funeral hymn, but rather an affirmation
of God's everlasting presence and dominion,
and a praise of his creative love. In this spirit,
we pray it for the victims of the Holocaust.*

*We also pray for the survivors whose
faith in life enabled them to rebuild their
shattered lives in Australia and in other
lands.*

*[During the prayer the names of some of the death camps and
ghettos will be proclaimed]*

NARRATOR 2

And now, I pray you, let the power of the Lord be
great, according as you have spoken.
Remember, O Lord, your tender mercies
and your loving kindness;
For they have ever been of old.

TREBLINKA
BERGEN
BELSEN
MAJDANEK

**ALL: Magnified and sanctified be his great name
in the world he has created
according to his will.**

NARRATOR 2

May he establish his kingdom during your life
and during your days,
and during the life of all the house of Israel,
and say you, Amen.

SOBIBOR
CHELMO
BELZEC

**ALL: Let the Lord's great name be blessed for ever
and for all eternity.**

NARRATOR 2

Blessed, praised and glorified,
exalted, extolled and honoured,
magnified and lauded, be the name of the
Holy One,
blessed be he;
though he be high above all the blessings and
hymns,
praises and consolations
which are uttered in the world;
and say you, Amen.

DACHAU
SACHSENHAUSEN
RAVENSBRÜCK
MAUTHAUSEN
FLOSSENBERG

ALL: Let the name of the Lord be blessed
from this time forth and for ever more.

NARRATOR 2

May there be abundant peace from heaven,
and life for us all and for all Israel;
and say you, Amen.

ALL: My help is from the Lord
who made heaven and earth.

NARRATOR 2

He who makes peace in his high places,
may he make peace for us and for all Israel;
and say you, Amen.

NARRATOR 1

Let us pray to God, the Father Almighty, the God of Abraham,
Isaac, Jacob, and Jesus Christ.

1. Most High and Holy God, you delivered the three young men from
the blazing furnace. In these our times, deliver all people from the
fires of persecution and violence. Lord, hear our prayer...

AUSCHWITZ

BUCHENWALD

LODZ

WARSAW
BAB'YAR
BIRKENAU

R. Lord hear our prayer.

2. Creator and Sustainer of life, as Christians we have been
buried with your Son in baptism, to rise with him to new life.
May we also bury our lack of understanding of your Jewish
people, from whom Jesus sprang, and our prejudices towards
them...
3. God of steadfast love and kindness, help your people, Israel,
to trust in the love of their Christian brothers and sisters, and
make all Christians faithful to that love. Lord, hear us. R.
4. Saviour and Redeemer, humbly acknowledging among us
here present the power of sin that made possible the horror of
the Holocaust, we ask you pardon for the past and your grace
for the future.

NARRATOR 1

Let us now pray
in the words that Jesus taught us:

*Our Father in heaven,
hallowed be Your name.
Your kingdom come.
Your will be done, on earth
as in heaven
Give us to day our daily bread,
and forgive us our sins as we forgive these*

*who sin against us.
Save us from the time of trial
And deliver us from evil.*

*For the kingdom, the power, and the glory are yours, now
and forever. Amen.*

All sit



THE CONCLUDING RITE



NARRATOR 2

As we come near to the end of our service let us recite together, as an act of faith the words found on the walls of a cellar in Cologne where Jews hid from Nazis:

ALL I believe,
 I believe in the sun, even when it is not shining.
 I believe in love, even when feeling it not.
 I believe in God, even when God is silent.

NARRATOR 2

In the face of this faith,
let us bring forward the candle of hope:
hope that "NEVER AGAIN"
will any nation or people be carried away
in such a catastrophic whirlwind as the *Shoah*

A ninth candle is now brought forward through the assembly to represent the hope that NEVER AGAIN will any nation or people be carried away in such a catastrophic tempest as the Shoah.

In front of and facing the assembly, the bearer holds up the candle high and proclaims:

"NEVER AGAIN"!

ALL: "NEVER AGAIN"

NARRATOR 1

Lord our God,
as our prayer ends,
grant that our commitment to reconciliation
may continue.
Keep us from feeling too good
about what we say and do tonight,
for words are not enough,
and it is far too easy to recall
gigantic evil done by others,
yet miss the link to seeds of future horror
in our own lives:
seeds planted in apathy,
in the careless racial slur,
in blindness to our neighbour's wounds
and deafness to their cries.

And yet,
let us take some pride and hope
in what we do tonight,
for sometimes word can pave the way,
songs and prayers
can bear witness to the good within us still,
can give dreams a voice,
can proclaim what might be,
must be heard.

NARRATOR 2

So, from the Shoah we learn that
when we deny humanity in others,
we destroy humanity within ourselves;
when we reject the human, and the holy,
in any neighbour's soul,
then we unleash the beast, and the barbaric,
in our own heart.

And since the shoah, we pray that
if the time has not yet dawned
when we can all proclaim our faith in God,
then let us all admit, at least,
that we are not all powerful in ourselves.
If we cannot yet see the face of God in others,
then let us see, at least,
a face as human as our own.
Down the generations,
the holy scriptures teach that life might be
a blessing or a curse:
the choice is in our hands.

*(Based on a benediction delivered in 1987 by US Navy Chaplain Arnold E. Resnicoff, at
the National Civic Commemoration for the Days of Remembrance in the US Capitol
Rotunda)*

NARRATOR 1

In the presence of these candles,
and before we go our separate ways,
let us offer to each other a choice for life
and a sign of reconciliation.
Turn to those around you,
reach out a hand of friendship,
and wish to one another,
"Shalom," "Peace."

With these words, all present offer to one another a sign of peace.

ASSEMBLY

"Shalom", "Peace."

*After the service, light refreshments will be served in the foyer of the
Cathedral.*

This Memorial Service was originally designed by
Sr Verna Holyhead, a sister of the Good
Samaritan congregation, and long time worker
for Jewish-Christian relations and former
member of the Executive of the NSW Council of
Christians and Jews

The NSW Council of Christians and Jews wishes to
thank all who attended this memorial service, as well
as Dean Doherty and the St Mary's Cathedral
authorities who welcomed our use of the Cathedral
Crypt.

Appendix 3

Yom HaShoah: Holocaust Remembrance Day

Yom HaShoah: Holocaust Remembrance Day

FIRST UNITED METHODIST CHURCH, SANTA MONICA

Never Shall I Forget That Night

(As Elie Wiesel, then age fourteen, remembers his first night in Auschwitz:)

Never shall I forget that night, the first night in camp, which has turned my life into one long night, seven times cursed and seven times sealed. Never shall I forget that smoke. Never shall I forget the little faces of the children, whose bodies I saw turned to wreaths of smoke beneath a silent blue sky.

Never shall I forget those flames which consumed my faith forever.

Never shall I forget the nocturnal silence which deprived me, for all eternity, of the desire to live. Never shall I forget these things, even if I am condemned to live as long as God Himself. Never.

—Elie Wiesel, *Night*

Processional of the Six Million and the Five Million

ANI MA'AMIN

A-ni ma-a-min be-e-mu-na she-lei-ma
be-vi-at ha-ma-shi-ach
Ve-af al pi she-yit-ma-he-mei-a,
im kol zeh a-ni ma-a-min,
im kol zeh a-cha-keh lo
be-chol yom she-ya-vo

I BELIEVE

אני מאמין באמונה שלמה
בביאת המשיח.
ואף על פי שיחזקתה
עם כל זה אני מאמין.
עם כל זה אחכה לו
בכל יום שיבוא.

I believe with perfect faith in the coming of the messiah. And even though the messiah tarry, still will I believe.

It was this song that the Jews sang as they marched together to their deaths.

A service of remembrance at First United Methodist Church in Santa Monica, California. Co-sponsored by the Santa Monica Bay Area Chapter of the National Conference of Christians and Jews and the Westside Ecumenical Conference.

Reader: Count by ones to six million, a number each second, you will be here until August . . . not even naming names, each person a number.

“Do not despise justice . . . take care not to pervert it, for by doing so, you shall shake the world.” (Deuteronomy Rabbah 5:1)

THE WORLD WAS SHAKEN. Six million Jews and five million other children of God — the handicapped, the unwanted, other “minorities,” and those few who dared to speak out against the madness — were led to the gas chambers and the crematoria. We are here today to remember them.

Congregation: Yet, in spite of the emptiness and horror we experience every time we recall the Holocaust and the deaths of the Six Million and the Five Million, we are here today to affirm LIFE. /

Reader: During this season the Passover and Paschal Candles burn as reminders that freedom and death are not in vain. Today we also light eleven candles in memory of those who died in the death camps. By our dedication to righteousness and justice, may our freedom, and their deaths not be in vain.

Reader: Light is the symbol of the divine.

Congregation: *The Lord is my light and my salvation.*

Reader: Light is the symbol of the divine in men and women.

Congregation: *The Spirit of humanity is the light of the Lord.*

Reader: Light is the symbol of divine law.

Congregation: *For the commandment is a lamp and the law is a light.*

Reader: Light is the symbol of our mission. I the Lord have set thee for a covenant people, for a light unto the nations.

Congregation: *Not to curse the darkness, but to light the flame, and to light it as an act of faith this day of all days.*

All: *Hear, O Israel: the Lord our God the Lord is one. Praised be His name whose glorious kingdom is forever and forever.*

Reader: At this sacred hour we pause to remember a time when night was obscured by darkness, when the faces of evil were arrayed against our brothers and sisters.

Their memory must remain forever etched in the conscience of humanity.

Thus do we kindle these lamps to penetrate the moral blackness and chaos of the Holocaust.

A Litany for God's People

All: Almighty God, we gather here as your children in this community to affirm our love for you and for each other.

Reader: Lord God of Abraham and Sarah, call us to move into a fuller relationship with our neighbors and with you.

Congregation: Show us how to be faithful, and obedient to Your will.

Reader: God of Moses and Aaron and Miriam, lead us, your people, on our journey to full freedom.

Congregation: Keep us aware of your presence with us, by night and by day.

Reader: O God of the judges, of Deborah and Gideon, judge us and call us back when we wander from your way.

Congregation: Give us of your strength, that we may stand firm against oppression and evil.

Reader: God of the prophets, of Isaiah and Jeremiah and Amos, speak your word to us, that we may hear your message for this day.

Congregation: Keep us ever ready to speak the truth, to call for justice, and to serve you.

Reader: We pray to you, God of Judas Maccabeus and of Judith, and of all brave souls who dare, in the name of the Lord.

Congregation: Make us brave, and able to strengthen others in faithfulness to you.

Reader: Hear our prayers, God of John in the wilderness, calling the way and of Jesus, and of Mary and Martha.

Congregation: May we come to know You in our hearts, and thereby draw closer to You and to each other.

Reader: O God of Paul and Priscilla and Aquila, put your love into our hearts, that we may grow in your image.

Congregation: Give us faith and hope and love, a gift from you too share with our brothers and sisters, all Your children.

Reader: God of Albert Schweitzer and Anne Frank and Martin Buber, give us insight and willingness to learn.

Congregation: May we never forget the sacredness of every human life.

Reader: God of Martin Luther and Sister Kenny, of Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Pope John, and Martin Luther King, give us vision, that we may seek the truth and dare to dream in your name.

Congregation: Expand our limited view and lift us to new levels of understanding.

All: For we are Your sons and daughters, brought together in this community of faith. Jew, Protestant, Catholic, we worship You, O great God, for we are all Your children. Amen.

Inscription on the walls of a cellar in Cologne, where Jews hid from Nazis:

Reader: I believe in the sun even when it is not shining; I believe in love when feeling it not; I believe in God even when God is silent.

And now, we rise as we praise You, O God:

Borchu et Adonai ha-m'vorach.

Praise the Lord, to whom our praise is due!

Baruch Adonai ha-m'vorach l'olam va-ed.

Praised be the Lord, to whom our praise is due, now and forever!

Congregation: The Universe is unfinished: humankind must strive toward its perfection. We must realize that only by our own hand can we achieve victory. The good suffer and the best suffer most, because it is the just and the true and the righteous that take upon themselves the task of bringing justice and truth into the world. When we have achieved our task, only then will a new heaven and a new earth appear together, and only then God shall be One and God's name shall be One.

Reader: Together we say the watchword of the Jewish faith:

Sh'ma yisrael Adonai eloheinu Adonai echad.

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

Baruch sheim K'vod malchuto l'olam va-ed.

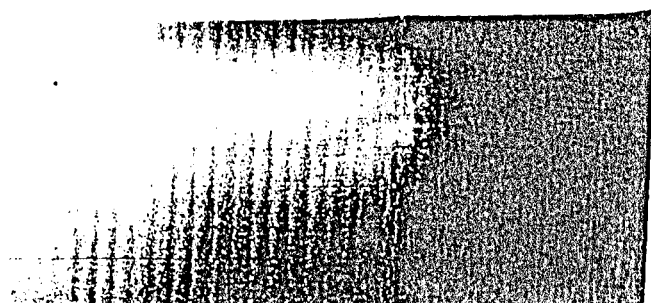
Praised be God's name whose glorious kingdom is forever and ever.

שמע ישראל יהוה אלהינו יהוה אחד:

ברוך שם כבוד מלכותו לעולם ועד.

וְאֵהָבְתָּ אֶת יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ בְּכָל-לֵבְבְךָ וּבְכָל-נַפְשְׁךָ וּבְכָל-מְאֹדֶךָ: וְהָיָה ה' אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֶחָד: וְשָׁמַרְתָּ לְבְרֵי ה' וּדְבַרְתָּ בָּם בְּשִׁבְחָתְךָ בְּבֵיתְךָ וּבְלִקְחָתְךָ בְּדֶרֶךְ וּבְשִׂבְבְּךָ וּבְקוּמָתְךָ: וְקָשַׁרְתָּם לְאוֹת עַל-יָדֶיךָ וְהָיָה לְטָסְפַת בֵּין עֵינֶיךָ: וְכַתַּבְתָּם עַל-מְזוּזוֹת בֵּיתְךָ וּבְשַׁעְרֶיךָ:

Congregation is seated.



Congregation: You shall love the Lord your God with all your mind, with all your strength, with all your being.

Set these words, which I command you this day, upon your heart. Teach them faithfully to your children: speak of them in your home and on your way, when you lie down and when you rise up.

Bind them as a sign upon your hand: let them be a symbol before your eyes: inscribe them on the doorposts of your house, and on your gates.

Reader: And you shall take two onyx stones, and grave on them the names of the children of Israel: six of their names on one stone and the names of the six that remain on the other stone. And you shall put the two stones upon the shoulderpieces of the ephod, to be stones of memorial for the children of Israel; and Aaron shall bear their names before the Lord upon his two shoulders for a memorial. And these are the names of the twelve tribes that crossed the desert with Moses: the tribe of Poland, the tribe of Russia, the tribe of Lithuania, the tribe of Rumania, the tribe of Czechoslovakia, the tribe of Latvia, the tribe of Yugoslavia, the tribe of Hungary, the tribe of Germany, the tribe of France, the tribe of Holland, and the tribe of Greece.

And the Lord spoke to Moses, saying: Speak to the children of Israel, and tell them to make a yellow star upon their garments throughout their generations, one star over their heart and one on their back, of equal size and proportion: and it shall be for you a sign, that you may look upon it, and remember all the commandments of the Lord, and do them.

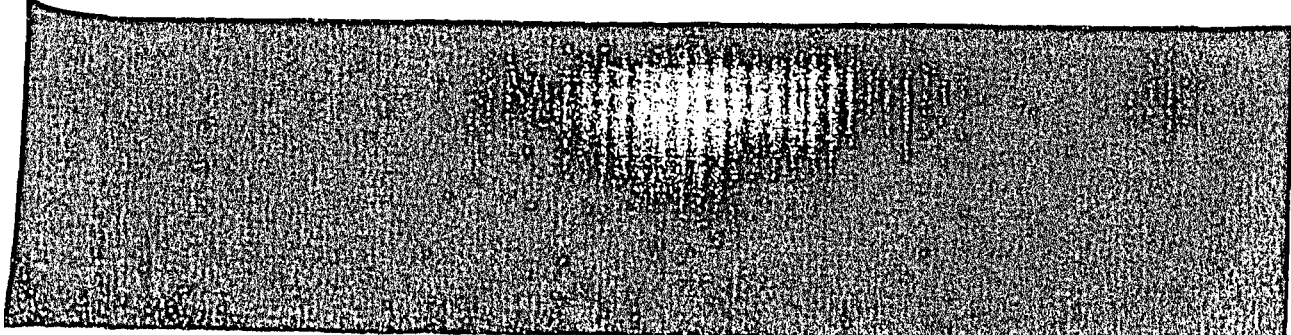
Congregation: Do not follow your own heart and your own eyes, by which you are seduced: but remember and do all my commandments and be holy to your God. I am the Lord your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt, to be your God.

Ani Adonai eloheichem, asher hotseti etchem m'eretz
Mitsrayim, l'hiyot lachem P'elohim, Ani Adonai eloheichem.

Ashrei Hagafrur (Poem by Hannah Senesh)

Cantor: Blessed is the match consumed in kindling flame.
Blessed is the flame that burns in the heart's secret places.
Blessed is the heart with strength to stop its beating for honor's sake.
Blessed is the match consumed in kindling flame.

Reader: Today the ghetto knows a different fear,
Close in its grip, Death wields an icy scythe.
An evil sickness spreads a terror in its wake.
The victims of its shadow weep and writhe,
Today a father's heartbeat tells his fright
And mothers bend their heads into their hands,
Now children choke and die with typhus here,



A bitter tax is taken from their bands.
 My heart still beats inside my breast
 While friends depart for other worlds.
 Perhaps it's better — who can say? —
 Than watching this, to die today?

No, no, my God, we want to live!
 Not watch our numbers melt away.
 We want to have a better world,
 We want to work — we must not die!

—Eva Pickova, twelve years old

Congregation: God our Creator, teach us to love freedom as we love life. Make us understand that only when all are free can we be free. Let none be masters and none be slaves. Then shall we sing as our people did when they were freed from Pharaoh's grip:

Mi cha-mo-cha ba-ei-lim, A-do-nai?
 Mi ka-mo-cha, ne-dar ba-ko-desh.
 no-ra te-hi-lot, o-sei fe-leh?

Mal-chu-te-cha ra-u va-ne-cha,
 bo-kei-a yam li-fe-nei Mo-sheh;
 "Zeh Ei-li a-nu ve-a-me-ru.
 "A-do-nai yim-loch le-o-lam va-ed."

Who is like You. Eternal One, among the gods that are worshiped?
 Who is like You, majestic in holiness, awesome in splendor, doing wonders?
 In their escape from the sea, Your children saw Your sovereign might displayed.
 "This is my God!" they cried. "The Eternal will reign for ever and ever!"

All rise.

A Protest — A Prayer

Dear God, so much innocent bloodshed!
 We are supposed to be created in your image
 but, oh, how we have distorted it.

Must cruelty always be?
 Must inhumanity ever be the signature of man?
 No! No! We refuse to accept that!
 We refuse to give hatred the last word
 Because we know the power of love.

We refuse to believe that cruelty will prevail
 because we have felt the strength of kindness.
 We refuse to award the ultimate victory to evil
 because we believe in You too much.

So help us God to live by our faith.
Where there is hatred, may we bring love.
Where there is pain, may we bring healing.
Where there is darkness, may we bring light.
Where there is despair, may we bring hope.
Where there is discord, may we bring peace.
Make this a better world and begin with us.

Amen.

Congregation: Blessed are You, O God, God of our ancestors, Who, in spite of all our suffering, has confirmed Your faithfulness to those who sleep in the dust by the lives that have come after them and remember them. You are holy, Your name is holy. We have taken time this day — time to pause and take account of what we still must do to perfect the world. May we ever be worthy of Your gifts — our life, our land, our love. O God, we give thanks to You forever.

Congregation is seated.

Silent Prayer

Dear God, so much innocent bloodshed!
We are supposed to be created in your image
but, oh, how we have distorted it.

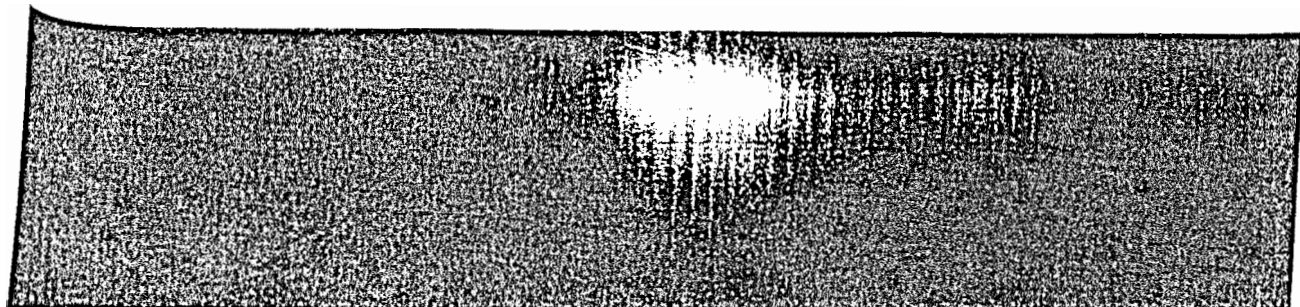
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Where there is despair, may we bring hope.
Where there is discord, may we bring peace.
Make this a better world and begin with us.

Amen.



Music

*May the words of my mouth, and the meditations of my heart, be acceptable to You, O lord,
my Rock and my Redeemer.*

Speakers JOSEPH FREEMAN
IRENE OP DYKE

From Tomorrow On (by Motele)

Reader: From tomorrow on, I shall be sad —
From tomorrow on!
Today I will be gay.
What is the use of sadness — tell me that?
Because these evil winds begin to blow?
Why should I grieve for tomorrow — today?
Tomorrow may be so good, so sunny.
Tomorrow the sun may shine for us again;
We shall no longer need to be sad —
From tomorrow on!
Not today; no! Today I will be glad.
And every day, no matter how bitter it be,
I will say:
From tomorrow on, I shall be sad,
Not today!

Zog Nit Keinmol (Hymn of the Partisans)

*Zog nit keinmol az du geist dem letztn veg.
Ven himlen blaiene farshtaln bloie teg.
Kumen vet noch unzer oisgebenkte sho,
S'vet apoik ton unzer trot mir zainen do.*

Never say that you are walking your last miles,
When blackened skies conceal the heaven's bluer smiles,
The hour will come because we've paid a price so dear,
When hearts will beat and marching feet will roar we're here.

From verdant palm tree lands to lands of bitter snow,
We're marching onward with our heartbreak and our woe,
And where our drops of blood have fallen to the ground,
There our strength and courage fearlessly will sound.

Today our load is lightened by tomorrow's sun,
The past will vanish when our foe's been overcome,
And if our sun's delayed as dawn withholds its wife,
This hymn will trumpet land to land its song of life.

This song was written down in blood and not with lead,
It's not a song proclaiming summer birds have fled,
A people trapped within collapsing, bombed out lands,
We sang this song of hope with rifles in our hands.

So never say that you are walking your last miles,
When blackened skies conceal the heaven's bluer smiles,
The hour will come because we've paid a price so dear,
Our hearts will beat and marching feet will roar we're here.

—English adaptation by Leslie Aisenman

Please rise.

Adoration

Let us adore the ever-living God, and render praise unto God
Who spread out the heavens and established the earth.
Whose glory is revealed in the heavens above,
And Whose greatness is manifest throughout the world.
You are our God; there is none else.

Va-a-nach-nu ko-re-im
u-mish-ta-cha-vim u-mo-dim
li-fe-nei me-lech ma-le-chei ha-me-la-chim,
ha-ka-dosh ba-ruch Hu.

We therefore bow in awe and thanksgiving before the One Who is Sovereign over all, the Holy One, blessed be God.

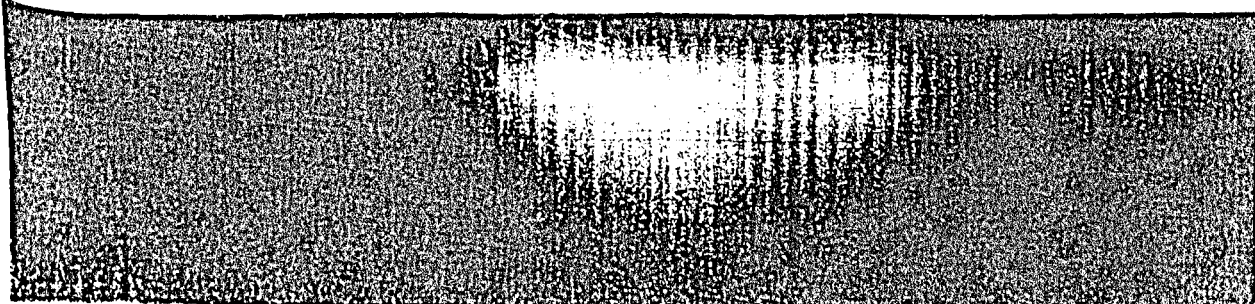
Please be seated.

Reader: There are times when God's presence in history is eclipsed — but only eclipsed. For somehow we know, from the unexplainable events in our people's history, from the unexplainable turns in our lives, the mystery was, the mystery is, the mystery will be.

Congregation: Thus we are commanded by all that was to survive, lest we all perish: to remember the victims of the Holocaust, lest their memory perish. We are commanded never to despair of God lest we perish.

Reader: Holding fast to our history and destiny, our challenge and hope is to journey toward the Divine, as we struggle to conquer evil and establish God's kingdom on earth.

Congregation: On that day God shall be One and God's name shall be One.
Bayom hahu y'hyeh Adonai echad u'shmo echad.



Kaddish

In gratitude for all the blessings our loved ones, friends, teachers, and the martyrs of our people have brought to us, to our people, and to humanity we dedicate ourselves anew to the sacred faith for which they have lived and died, and to the tasks they have bequeathed to us. O God, let them be remembered for blessing, together with the righteous of all peoples, and let us say: Amen.

Yahrzeit — for the victims of the Holocaust

We remember those who died at

Auschwitz, Buchenwald, Belzec, Bergen-Belsen, Bojunavo, Chelmno, Dachau, Dora, Flossenbergr, Gross-Rosen, Janow, Lida, Lichtenberg, Lvov, Mauthausen, Maidanek, Natzweiler, Neuengamme, Oranienberg, Ponar, Pustkow, Potulice, Ravensbruck, Sobibor, Skarzhyzsko, Sachsenhausen, Stargard, Treblinka, Travniki, Theresienstadt, Vilna, Warsaw, Wolzhek ...

We rise as one congregation to praise God's name:

קדיש יתום

יִתְגַּדַּל וַיִּתְקַדַּשׁ שְׁמֵהּ רַבָּא בְּעַלְמָא דִּי־בְרָא כְרַעוּתָהּ,

Yit-ga-dal ve-yit-ka-dash she-mei ra-ba be-al-ma di-ve-ra chl-re-u-tei,

וַיְמַלִּיךְ מַלְכוּתָהּ בְּחַיֵּיכוֹן וּבְיוֹמֵיכוֹן וּבְכָל־בֵּית

ve-yam-lich mal-chu-tei be-cha-yei-chon u-ve-yo-mei-chon u-ve-cha-yei de-chol beit

יִשְׂרָאֵל, בְּעִגְלָא וּבְזִמְן קָרִיב, וְאָמְרוּ: אָמֵן.

Yis-ra-eil, ba-a-ga-la u-vi-ze-man ka-riv, ve-i-me-ru: a-mein.

יְהֵא שְׁמֵהּ רַבָּא מְבָרַךְ לְעַלְמֵי וּלְעַלְמֵי עַלְמַיָּא.

Ye-hoi she-mei ra-ba me-va-rach le-a-lam u-le-al-moi al-ma-ya.

יִתְבָּרַךְ וַיִּשְׁתַּבַּח, וַיִּתְפָּאֵר וַיִּתְרוֹמֵם וַיִּתְנַשֵּׂא, וַיִּתְהַדָּר

Yit-ba-rach ve-yish-ta-bach, ve-yit-pa-ar ve-yit-ro-mam ve-yit-na-sei, ve-yit-ha-dar

וַיִּתְעַלֶּה וַיִּתְהַלַּל שְׁמֵהּ דְקוּדְשָׁא, בְּרִיךְ הוּא, לְעַלְא מְרַכְל-

ve-yit-a-leh ve-yit-ha-lal she-mei de-ku-de-sha, be-rich hu, le-ei-la min kol

בְּרַכְתָּא וְשִׁירְתָּא, תְּשַׁבַּחְתָּא וְנַחְמְתָּא דְאִמְרָן בְּעַלְמָא,

bi-ro-cha-ta ve-shi-ra-ta, tush-be-cha-ta ve-ne-che-ma-ta, da-a-mi-ran be-al-ma,

וְאָמְרוּ: אָמֵן.

ve-i-me-ru: a-mein.

יְהֵא שְׁלָמָא רַבָּא מְשַׁמְיָא וְחַיִּים עֲלֵינוּ וְעַל־כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל,

Ye-hei sho-la-ma ra-ba min she-ma-ya ve-cha-yim a-lel-nu ve-al kol Yis-ra-eil,

וְאָמְרוּ: אָמֵן.

vo-l-me-ru: a-mein.

עֲשֵׂה שְׁלוֹם בְּמִרוֹמָיו, הוּא יַעֲשֶׂה שְׁלוֹם עָלֵינוּ וְעַל-כָּל-

O-seh sha-lom bi-me-ro-mav, hu ya-a-seh sha-lom a-lei-nu ve-al kol

יִשְׂרָאֵל, וְאָמְרוּ: אָמֵן.

Yis-ra-eil, ve-i-me-ru: a-mein.

Let the glory of God be extolled, let God's great name be hallowed in the world whose creation God willed.

May God's kingdom soon prevail, in our own day, our own lives, and the life of all Israel, and let us say: Amen.

Let God's great name be blessed forever and ever.

Let the name of the Holy One, blessed is God, be glorified, exalted, and honored, though God is beyond all the praises, songs, and adorations that we can utter, and let us say: Amen.

For us and for all Israel, may the blessing of peace and the promise of life come true, and let us say: Amen.

May the One Who causes peace to reign in the high heavens, let peace descend on us, on all Israel, and all the world, and let us say: Amen.

May the Source of peace send peace to all who mourn, and comfort to all who are bereaved, Amen.

Closing Song: "Eili, Eili"

Poem: Hannah Senesh

Music: David Zahavi

O Lord, my God,	Eili, Eili
I pray that these things never end:	she-lo yi-ga-meir le-ol-am
The sand and the sea.	ha-chol ve-ha-yam,
The rush of the waters,	rish-rush shel ha-ma-yim,
The crash of the heavens,	be-rak ha-sha-ma-yim,
The prayer of the heart.	te-fi-lat ha-a-dam.

Benediction

Reader: And who among us can be certain that if we were in the wrong place at the wrong time, we would not cooperate with the forces of evil? Are we not, in some way, doing exactly that by our subtle racism, our lack of interest in war-torn nations around the world, our deliberate ignorance of genocide through starvation that some people are experiencing as we sit here, this very moment?

Master of the universe, help us to bear in mind always our potential for evil. And strengthen us, our God, so that we may fulfill our potential for good instead.