

HALACHIC AND HASHKAFIC ISSUES IN CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY

SERIES 3: 24 - THE PRAYER FOR THE GOVERNMENT

OU ISRAEL/BEIT KENESSET HANASI - SPRING 2025

- A very familiar aspect of the Shabbat morning service etched into my own mind from my earliest days is the Prayer for the Royal family¹. “He who giveth salvation unto kings and dominion unto princes, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, may He bless our Sovereign Lady Queen Elizabeth, Elizabeth the Queen Mother, Philip Duke of Edinburgh, Charles Prince of Wales, and all the Royal Family”.
- In the following two shiurim we will look first at the origins and application of the requirement to pray for the Government of the land in which the Jews lived². We will then examine the origins of the current prayer for the State of Israel.

A] THE OBLIGATION TO PRAY FOR THE GOVERNMENT

A1] IN TANACH

- In the Torah we see that Ya'akov gives a blessing to Paro (Bereishit 47:7).
- During the First Temple period the Jewish People lived under their own monarchs. We have no specific records of whether and how they prayed for them. In some cases of wicked and disastrous kings it is quite possible that they prayed for their downfall!
- However, following the first exile of Jews to Babylon by Nevuchadnezzar, the prophets of Israel quickly instructed the Jewish people that they must now pray for the welfare of the non-Jews who had conquered them and now ruled them, often oppressively.

1. וְדַרְשׁוּ אֶת־שְׁלוֹם הָעִיר אֲשֶׁר הִגַּלְתִּי אֶתְכֶם לְשָׁמָּה וְהִתְפַּלְלוּ בַעֲדָהּ אֶל־ה' כִּי בְשָׁלוֹמָהּ יִהְיֶה לָכֶם שְׁלוֹם:

ירמיהו כט:ז

Yirmiyahu instructs the people to seek the peace of Bavel³ and pray for it since the peace of the Jews now depended on the peace of their non-Jewish overlords.

2. (ז) כִּי בְשָׁלוֹמָהּ יִהְיֶה לָכֶם שְׁלוֹם - כָּל זְמַן שֶׁחֲמִשָּׁךְ הַגְּלוּת כִּי צָרָה בְּכָל הַיּוֹם לָכֶם יוֹתֵר שְׁלוֹם שִׁיאוֹ מִהַגְּלוּת.

רד"ק שם

The Redak points out that, although life for the Jews in exile improved once the Babylonians had been destroyed (by the Persians), nevertheless they were required to pray for their oppressive overlords as long as they were in power.

A2] SECOND TEMPLE

3. (ג) בְּשָׁנֹת חֲדָה לְכוֹרֶשׁ מֶלֶךְ כּוֹרֶשׁ מֶלֶךְ שֶׁם טָעַם בֵּית־אֱלֹהִים בִּירוּשָׁלַם בֵּיתָא יִתְבָּנָא אֶת־דִּי־בְחִין דְּבָחִין (י) דִּי־לְהִינֵן מִהַקְרִיבִין יִחוּחִין לְאֱלֹהִים שְׁמִינָא וּמִצְלִין לְחַיֵּי מֶלֶךְ וּבְנוּהָ:

עזרא ו:ג

Ezra records that King Cyrus gave permission for the Second Temple to be built on condition that regular offerings were brought in the Temple to pray for the success of the king and his family

1. This was the version in use from 1958 when Charles became the Prince of Wales (before which he was the Duke of Cornwall). In 1981 Lady Diana was added to read 'the Prince and Princess of Wales'; then adjusted in 1992 after their separation to read 'The Prince of Wales, the Princess of Wales' and then eventually removed in 1996 after their divorce. Elizabeth the Queen Mother was removed after her death in 2002 and Prince Philip after his death in 2021. Following the ascension of King Charles III it now reads 'Our Sovereign Lord King Charles, Our Gracious Queen Consort Camilla, the Prince and Princess of Wales, and all the Royal Family.'

2. A number of very helpful sources in this section were included in a shiur 'Prayer for The Government' by Ezra Cohen - <https://www.sefaria.org/sheets/481444.18?lang=bi&with=all&lang2=en>

3. This is the usual explanation of the verse, but R. Reuven Margoliot (HaMikra VebaMesora chap 19, pp 64-66) claims that Midrashei Chazal understood this to refer to the peace of Jerusalem, then effectively under foreign control.

4. והתניא: בעשרים וחמשה בטבת יום הר גריזים הוא, דלא למספד. יום שבקשו כותיים את בית אלהינו מאלכסנדרוס מוקדון להחריבו ונתנו להם. באו והודיעו את שמעון הצדיק. מה עשה? לבש בגדי כהונה, ונתעטף בבגדי כהונה, ומיקרי ישראל עמו, אמר להם: למה באתם? - אמרו: אפשר בית שמתפללים בו עליך ועל מלכותך שלא תחרב יתעוך גויים להחריבו? אמר להם: מי הללו? אמרו לו: כותיים הללו שעומדים לפניך. אמר להם: הרי הם מסורים בידיכם.

יומא סט.

Chazal quote from Megilat Ta'anit in which the story is recounted of how the Samaritans libelled the Jews to Alexander and tried to persuade him to destroy the Temple. Shimon HaTzadik met with Alexander to plead the case for the Jews which was based on the fact that they prayed in the Temple for the welfare of Alexander and his kingdom.

5. [8] Since the Jews had sent some of their council and elders to greet him, to bring him gifts of welcome, and to congratulate him on what had happened, he was all the more eager to visit them as soon as possible. [9] After he had arrived in Jerusalem, he offered sacrifice to the supreme God and made thank-offerings and did what was fitting for the holy place. Then, upon entering the place and being impressed by its excellence and its beauty, [10] he marveled at the good order of the temple, and conceived a desire to enter the holy of holies.

3 Maccabees 1:8-10

Pharaoh Ptolemy IV Philopator of Egypt came to Jerusalem in 217 BCE after the battle of Rafiach in which he defeated the Seleucid Antiochus III. In honor of his visit sacrifices were brought in the Temple.

- The Dead Sea Scrolls include a prayer for the welfare of the Hasmonean king Yannai⁴.

6. So religiously did [Emperor Augustus⁵] respect our interests that, supported by well-nigh his whole household, he adorned our temple through the costliness of his dedications, and ordered that for all time continuous sacrifices of whole burnt offerings should be carried out every day at his own expense as a tribute to the most high God⁶. And these sacrifices are maintained to the present day and will be maintained for ever to tell the story of a character truly imperial.

Philo, On the Embassy to Gaius 23[157]

- Philo⁷ also recounts how, in a meeting with Emperor Gaius Caligula (reigned 36-41 CE) an anti-Jewish man named Isidorus accused the Jewish people of refusing to offer sacrifices on Caligula's behalf.

7. We cried out with one accord, "Lord Gaius, we are slandered; we did sacrifice and sacrifice hecatombs [large sacrifices of multiple bulls] too, and we did not just pour the blood upon the altar and then take the flesh home to feast and regale ourselves with it as some do, but we gave the victims to the sacred fire to be entirely consumed, and we have done this not once but thrice already, the first time at your accession to the sovereignty, the second when you escaped the severe sickness which all the habitable world suffered with you, the third as a prayer of hope for victory in Germany"

Philo, On the Embassy to Gaius 45[356]

8. Petronius then quieted them, and said to them, "Will you then make war against Caesar?" The Jews said, "We offer sacrifices twice every day for Caesar and for the Roman people," but that if he would place the images among them, he must first sacrifice the whole Jewish nation.

Josephus, The Wars of the Jews 2:10:4

- There is also the famous account in Gittin 56a of where Bar Kamtza slandered the Jews by asking Nero to send an offering to the Temple which he then blemished.

A3] TALMUDIC SOURCES

9. רבי חנינא סגן הכהנים אומר - הוי מתפלל בשלומה של מלכות, שאלמלא מוראה איש את רעהו חיים בלעו [בלעונו]⁸.

משנה מסכת אבות פרק ג משנה ב

4. See Tarbitz 60:3 pp 295-323. אסתר וחנן אשל ועדה ירדני.

5. Augustus reigned 27 BCE to 14 CE.

6. Philo also recounts in On the Embassy to Gaius 40[319] that Augustus' wife, Julia Augusta (also known as Livia - the same as in Robert Graves' 'I Claudius') sent offerings to the Temple.

7. German scholar Ismar Elbogen notes in his *Jewish Liturgy: A Comprehensive History* (Philadelphia, 1993) pp 162, 429 that Philo also references a Jewish prayer for the Roman Emperor.

8. Based on Tehillim 124:3 - אִי חַיִּים בְּלִעְוֵי בְּחַרְוֵי אֲפָם בְּנוֹ. The *girsā* בלעונו appears in a number of Geneiza fragments of the Mishna. One of the implications to this change may be whether the focus is specifically on the danger to the Jewish community or to the whole world - see below.

R. Chanania Segan HaCohanim lived at the end of the Second Temple and served in it⁹. He was also one of the early Sages in Yavne¹⁰ following the Churban and is listed as one of the 10 Martyrs killed by the Romans.¹¹ He rules that the Jews must pray for the success of the non-Jewish government otherwise society will descend into anarchy. This position may have been informed by his approach to the political chaos which defined the end of the Temple period.

10. רבי נחוניא סגן הכהנים אומר הוי מתפלל בשלומה של מלכות שהיא שולטת בנו כל הימים שאלמלא מוראה איש את רעהו חיים בלענו:

מסכתות קטנות מסכת אבות דרבי נתן נוסחא ב פרק לא

The parallel text in Avot deRebbi Natan stresses that the focus is on praying for the non-Jewish government that rules over the Jewish community¹².

11. מאי דכתיב: (חבקוק איד) וַתַּעֲשֶׂה אֱדָם כְּדֹגֵי הַיָּם כְּרֶמֶשׁ לֹא־מֵשָׁל בּוֹ. למה נמשלו בני אדם כדגי הים? (ד.) דבר אחר: מה דגים שבים - כל הגדול מחבירו בולע את חבירו, אף בני אדם - אלמלא מוראה של מלכות כל הגדול מחבירו בולע את חבירו. והיינו דתנן רבי חנינא סגן הכהנים אומר: הוי מתפלל בשלומה של מלכות, שאלמלא מוראה של מלכות, איש את רעהו חיים בלעו.

עבודה ג:

The Gemara emphasizes, based on Chabakuk, that the veneer of civilization is very thin and without a stable government society can quickly break down.

A4] RISHONIM & ACHARONIM

12. כ דין הוצאת התורה ודין הקריאה וברכותיה
(כט) ובשבת שחרית נהגו לומר אחר ההפטרה מי שברך. ויש מקומות שמברכין המלך ואחר כך הקהל והכל לפי המנהג.

כל בו כ"א,כט

The Sefer Kol Bo (13/14th century Ashkenaz) records the custom to pray on Shabbat morning for the welfare of the government.

13. ונהגו להתפלל למלך ולברך לשם שיברכהו ויאמצהו על אויביו, שכן כתוב (ירמיה כ"ט) ודרשו את שלום העיר אשר הגלית אתכם

ר. דוד אבודרהם, דיני קריאת התורה לו: (מהדורת ורשה, תרל"ח)

In Sefardic lands the Abudarham (1340) cites a parallel custom.

14. אחר כך יברך החזן למלך המולך עלינו. ואפי' יהי' מאומות העולם כיון שאנו עומדים תחת רשותו וממשלתו צריכין אנו להתפלל עליו כי בשלומו יהי' לנו שלום. וכן היא מצות עשה מדברי קבלה שכן כתיב בירמיה ודרשו את שלום העיר ...

סדר היום, לכבוד ספר התורה

R. Moshe ben Yehuda ben Mechir (16th century Sfat) understands this to be a mitzva 'midivrei Kabbala' - from Tanach!

- We do not have a specific form of Prayer for the Government from the Biblical or Talmudic period.
- However the community records of Germaiza (Worms¹³) and fragments from the Cairo Geneiza supply examples of such prayers in the Ashkenazi and Sefardic world.
- We also have some specific prayers composed by senior rabbinic figures, including:
 - The prayer of the Node Beyehuda for the Habsburg Queen Maria Theresa of Austria-Hungary (reigned 1740-1780)¹⁴.
 - The prayer of the Maharam Banet¹⁵ for Franz II, the last Holy Roman Emperor (reigned 1792-1806).
 - The prayer composed by Moroccan Jewry for Sultan Hasan I (reigned 1873-1894)¹⁶.

9. He gives testimony of his own Temple service in Mishna Shekalim 6:1, Zevachim 12:4 and discusses the service in Shekalim 4:4, Menachot 10:1, Eduyot 2:1 and other places.

10. He bears the title 'Rebbi' which was introduced only in Yavne. See Mishnat Eretz Yisrael Avot p175 and fn 6.

11. See Shulchan Aruch OC 580 who rules that he was killed on 25 Sivan together with Rabban Shimon ben Gamliel and R. Yishmael and that there was a custom to fast on that date.

12. Note also the change in girsa at the end to בלענו - that they swallow us.

13. The earliest recorded prayer for a monarch can be found in the town records of Worms from the year 1096 and was recited in the style of a Mi Shebeirach. See R. Avraham Steinberg, Prayers for the Welfare of the State and for the Welfare of the State of Israel (Jerusalem, 2012), 25

14. Shu't Node Beyehuda Mehadura Kama 88 s.v. *michtavcha min*.

15. Av Beit Din of Nikolsburg (1753-1829). The prayer can be found in the Toldot Moreinu Rav Mordechai Banet, produced in 1832 by his son.

16. Yosef (George) Harari, Toldot Yehudei Al Magreb, Cholon 1973 p 121.

B] RATIONALES FOR THE PRAYER**B1] TO PREVENT ANARCHY**

15. שכן הוא הצריחה, שהרי כל אדם חומר 'צשצילי נצרח העולם', והוא צלצד ראוי בעולם. ולכן היה צולע את רעבו חיים עד שהוא נשאר צלצד. ולכן אמר 'הוי מתפלל בשלומה של מלכות, שאלמלא מורא מלכות', שהוא מקשר האנשים הפרטים עד שהם מתחברים. ואם לא היה זה כל אחד צולע את רעבו חיים כי כל אחד כל העולם.

מהרל, דרך חיים גביב

The Maharal (16th century, Prague) explains that there is an deep inherent selfishness in each person who regards themselves as the center and purpose of the world. They would in principle be prepared to destroy the whole world to elevate themselves.

16. בשלומה של מלכות. הוא המלך עם שריו ויועציו המנהיגים מלכותו ועושים משפט צאצא ולפיכך לא אמר 'צשלוס המלך' ..

תוספות יום טוב אבות גב

His student, Tosafot Yom, stresses that the prayer is for the government and the rule of law, not specifically for the king.

17. בלעו. היינו שלם צלי הרגשת טעם הליטה, ולא חש שעושה התועבה הזאת לרעבו צעזור הנאה מועטת. אולם רק היראה שיעשהו המלכות עזר זה היא תמנעו מלהרע לך. ולכן לא די שתתפלל שלא יהא מרידה במלכות, ותהיה אימתה מוטלת על הצריות. רק תתפלל ג"כ שיהיה שלום והשקט למנהיג צצריאות גופא וצציותו ועם שכניו וצאצאיו, כדי שיהיה לו מנוחה ופנאי להשגיח על טובת הכלל תמיד.

תפארת ישראל, יבין אבות גב

R. Yisrael Lipschitz explains that the anarchy envisaged by Chazal without the stability of the government is such that people would 'swallow' each other without even 'chewing' - atrocities would become acceptable without any real benefit to others.

18. During the time men live without a common power to keep them all in awe, they are in that condition called war; and such a war, as if of every man, against every man. To this war of every man against every man, this also in consequent; that nothing can be unjust. The notions of right and wrong, justice and injustice have there no place. Where there is no common power, there is no law, where no law, no injustice. Force, and fraud are in war the cardinal virtues. No arts, no letters, no society and, which is worst of all, continual fear and danger of violent death, and the life of man, solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short.

Thomas Hobbes, Leviathan (1651) pt. 1, ch. 13

Thomas Hobbes famously argues for the necessity of a stable government, even if authoritarian¹⁷.

19. פרש"י ז"ל אפילו באומות, ששנינו ישראל נודרים נדרים ונדבות עליהם, ששבעים פרי החג על שבעים אומות הם (סוכה נה). ור' חנינא רצה לומר כי עם חסרונם הגדול שיש בו באדם לולי שבט הנוגש בו תמיד, יתנהג בדין כל דאלים גבר ויפסד המיושב. לפיכך צותה תורה שום תשים עליך מלך (דברים יטו) ודרשו ז"ל שתהא אימתו עליך (סנהדרין פ"ב מ"ה). ולזה אמר שלומה של מלכות ולא אמר שלומו של מלך. שכשהמלכות בשלום אין המלך צריך להחניף משרתיו ויעמידם ביושר. אמרו ז"ל בפ"ק דע"ז (ד) וְתַעֲשֶׂה אֶתְּךָ כְּדָגֵי הַיָּם (חבקים א"ד). מה דגים שבים גדול בולע חבירו אף האנשים אלמלא מוראה של מלכות. ולזה נתיחד עניין מלך שאם לא כן השכל יחלוק למה ימשול איש אחד על עם רב ממנו ואיפשר שיהיה בהם שיהיה לו יתרון עליו.

רבי מתתיהו היצהרי מסכת אבות פרק ג משנה ב

R. Matitya haYizhari¹⁸ explains that the Torah institution of a king (even Jewish) and a government is to ensure that society does not become anarchic and ruled by thuggery. It is NOT about the individual of the king. In principle, we should have been anti-monarchy since there are always far better individuals in the country than the king. Rather, it is about praying for the stability of the government.

17. Hobbes was writing during the English Civil War in the mid 17th century. He was a staunch royalist and supported Charles I, the absolutist monarch who believed in the Divine right of kings.

18. R. Matitya ben R. Moshe haYizhari of Aragon, Spain c. 1400. He participated in the famous disputation of Tortosa in 1413 as a representative of the community of Saragosa.

B2] TO ENHANCE THE COMMON GOOD

20. אולם לא קאמער 'צשלוס המלך'. מדיש מדינות שהמנהיגים רצים, כהזקנים שצרומי צימים הקדמונים, וכמדינת שווייץ צזמנינו. או משום שר' חנינא חי סמוך לזמן החורבן ואז הושיב הקיסר נצח מלך [פילטקעניג] צא"י, והוא השליט צארן. והשם מלכות כולל גם זאת ההנהגה ולכן הזהיר על זה, משום שצשלוס המנהיג תלוי הללחת כל אדם כמו שיעץ ריב"ז צזמן החורבן [כגיטין נו.]. ולא לצד מלכות, אלא גם כל מנהיג צעירו ועדתו נקרא צשם מלך והוא מתפלל צשלוס כדי שיהיה להם מנוח לפקח על טובת הכלל

תפארת ישראל יכין אבות ג אות ז

The Tiferet Yisrael stresses that the prayer is not only for the kings but also all local leaders who support the common good.

B3] TO PRAY FOR PEACE IN THE ENTIRE WORLD

21. בשלומה של מלכות - ... אפי' צאומות העולם שכן מצינו שהיו נודרין נדרים ונדבות צשצילס וכמו שמצינו צשצעים פרים שהיו ישראל מציאים צחג על צשצעים אומות.

רש"י אבות ג:ב

Rashi points out that the 70 bulls sacrificed in the Temple on Succot were for the welfare of the entire non-Jewish world.

22. רבי חנניה סגן הכהנים - זה הענין ר"ל שיש לאדם להתפלל על שלום כל העולם ולהצטער על צער של אחרים. וכן דרכן של לדיקים כמו שאמר דוד ע"ה (תהלים לה:ג) וְאֵנִי צְחֻלּוֹתָם לְצוּשֵׁי שָׁךְ עֲנִיחֵי צָלוֹס נַפְשִׁי - שאין לאדם לעשות תחנוניו וצקשתו ללרכיו לצד. אך להתפלל על כל בני אדם שיעמדו צשלוס וצשלומה של מלכות יש שלום לעולם.

רבינו יונה אבות ג:ב

Rabbeinu Yona stresses that this Mishna teaches us the importance of davening for the peace of the whole world, not just when it affects us directly. David (in Tehillim 35) addresses his enemies who afflict and persecute him, yet when they were sick he prayed for them! We pray for peace and stability for all mankind and for governments who promote that.

B4] BECAUSE THE KING IS APPOINTED BY GOD TO RULE

23. כי לכך היה מרדכי מזכיר אותו אף שהיה מן הסבא שלא יהיה חם עליו כדי שיוציא אסתר מתחת ידו. מכל מקום מפני כי השם יתצרך הוא שומר את העולם ומעמיד המלך לשמור העולם. ולכך אמרו 'הוי מתפלל צשלומה של מלכות שאלמלא מורא מלכות איש את רעהו חיים בלעו'. ומכל שכן שיש להגיד עליו אם אחד רוצה להמית אותו.

מהרל, אור חדש ביבאה

The Maharal explains that the God rules over the whole world and appoints human kings to achieve this. This is the reason why Mordechai intervened to save the life of Achashverosh, even though the king had taken away Esther!

B5] SO THAT OUR RESPECT FOR HUMAN ROYALTY CAN BE APPLIED TO GOD

24. שיותר הוא שימצא טבע באדם שיהיה בו מורא בשר ודם ממורא שמים.

מרכבת המשנה אבות ג:ב

Other mefarshim note that our awe of human royalty is often more than that of God. Thus, we should use our awe and respect for the insitutions of monarchy¹⁹/government and apply that even more so to God.

B6] TO WIN FAVOR FROM THE KING FOR THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

25. Princess Margaret was astonished. In 1990 she was attending a service marking the 50th anniversary of Maidenhead [Reform] synagogue and was struck by the fact that we read a prayer for the good health and wise counsel of the Queen. When I explained that the prayer was not a one-off but recited every sabbath in every synagogue in Britain, she remarked: "How lovely, they don't do that for us in church; I'll tell my sister."

R. Jonathan Romain writing for The Guardian in 2012

19. In many historical cases the monarch was thoroughly wicked and immoral! The focus is not on the personal qualities of the king but on the institution of the government.

26. The connection between the Crown and our Jewish Community is something special and precious. I say this from a particular and personal perspective because I have grown up being deeply touched by the fact that British synagogues have, for centuries, remembered my Family in your weekly prayers. And as you remember my Family, so we too remember and celebrate you. I am thinking not just of the most prominent members of our Jewish community who, through the ages, have literally transformed this country for the better. I am thinking also, crucially, of those who are not household names, but who are the cornerstones of their own local communities.

King Charles (then Prince of Wales) in tribute to the UK Jewish community Buckingham Palace, 6 December 2019

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

R. Manasseh ben Israel, *The Humble Addresses to his Highnesses, the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, 1655*

R. Manasseh b. Israel used this argument in his (ultimately unsuccessful²⁰) appeal to Oliver Cromwell to officially readmit the Jews to England following their expulsion in 1290.

28. ...תפילת "הנותן תשועה" אינה מצויה בנוסח תימן המקורי כלל וכלל ... כי השלטונות והמוני הערבים כבדו מאד את בתי הכנסת. לא התערבו ולא חקרו במה שנעשה ונאמר בהם ומשום כך לא היו יהודי תימן צריכים להתפלל בניהם לשלום השלטונות ...

כתבים של הרב יוסף קאפח איתבב

Rav Kapach explains that the Yemenite Jews never included the prayer for the government because the Yemenite authorities were always so friendly to and supportive of the Jews!

B] THE PRAYER 'HANOTEN TESHUA'

- From around 400 years ago, one specific form of this prayer has become standard in many communities - Hanoten Teshua Lemelachim²¹:

תפלה לשלום המלכות

The Minister takes the ספר תורה and reads the following Prayer for the Queen and the Royal Family :—

הנותן תשועה למלכים וממשלה לנסיכים.
מלכותו מלכות כל-עולמים. הוא יברך

Our Sovereign Lady, Queen Elizabeth,
Elizabeth the Queen Mother,
Philip Duke of Edinburgh,
Charles Prince of Wales,
and all the Royal Family.

מלך מלכי המלכים ברחמיך יתיה וישמרה
ומכל-צרה ויגון יצילה. ויתן בלבב כל-
יועציה רוח חכמה ובינה להחזיק שלום
המלכות ושלום עמה ולעשות חסד ואמת עם-
כל-ישראל: ברחמיך וברחמיך יברש אבינו
שבשמים סבת שלום על-כל-ישרי תכל. ובא
לציון גואל. ונאמר אמן.

1962 Singer's Siddur (UK)

The שליח ציבור says the following:

הנותן תשועה למלכים וממשלה לנסיכים, מלכותו מלכות כל
עולמים, הפועה את דוד עבדו מחרב רעה, הנותן בים דרך ובמים
עזים נתיבה, הוא יברך וישמר וינצור ויעזר וירומם ויגדל וינשא
למעלה את הנשיא ואת משנהו ואת כל שרי הארץ הזאת. מלך
מלכי המלכים, ברחמיך יתן בלבב כל יועציהם ושריהם
לעשות טובה עמנו ועם כל ישראל. בימיהם ובימינו תושע יהודה,
וישראל ישכן לבטח, ובא לציון גואל. וכן יהי רצון, ונאמר אמן.

2009 Koren²² Siddur (US)

20. The Jews did return to London but not as a direct result of this appeal since Cromwell's Whitehall Conference of 1655, convened to decide the question of readmission, was ultimately suspended without a conclusion since he feared it may rule negatively. Rather, consequent to England's declaration of war on Spain in 1654, Cromwell decreed that all possessions of Spanish citizens in England be forfeited and taken by the government. A number of Spanish Morano Jews were living secretly at that time as traders in London and upon Cromwell's decree they revealed that they were not really Spanish but, on the contrary, indentified openly Jews who were enemies of Spain, and asked to be exempted and allowed to remain in England. Cromwell agreed to this. After the restoration of the monarchy in 1660 the Jewish expected to once again be expelled by Charles II but this did not take place.

21. For more on this see Mitchell First at <https://jewishlink.news/our-prayer-for-the-government-hanoten-teshua/> and also *Hanoten Teshua' The Origin of the Traditional Jewish Prayer for the Government*, Barry Schwartz, Hebrew Union College Annual, 1986, Vol. 57 (1986), pp. 113-120.

22. This is almost identical to the wording used in the US Birnbaum (1949) siddur. For some reason, Koren cut out the words 'יחיים וישמרים ומכל צרה ויגון ונצק יצילים'.

תפלה לשלום המלוכה

The tefilla held while the following prayer is said. All stand.

הנותן תשועה למלכים וממשלה לנסיכים. מלכותו
מלוכות כל-עולמים. הוא יברך

OUR SOVEREIGN LORD, KING CHARLES,
OUR GRACIOUS QUEEN CAMILLA,
THE DUKE AND DUCHESS OF CORNWALL AND
CAMBRIDGE, AND ALL THE ROYAL FAMILY.

מלך מלכי המלכים ברחמי. יחיהו, וישמרהו,
ומקל-צרה ויגון יצילהו. ויברך וישמר את צבא
המלך. ויתן בלבו ובלב כל-יועציו, רוח חכמה ובינה,
להחזיק שלום המלוכה, ושלום עמו, ולעשות
חסד ואמת עם-כל-ישראל. בימיו, ובימינו, יפרש
אבינו שבשמים סכת שלום על-כל-יושבי תבל,
ובא לציון גואל. ונאמר אמן.

(above) 2023 Prayer for the British Royal Family²⁶

The Reader takes the Scroll of the Law, and says the following Prayer for the Government.

הנותן תשועה למלכים וממשלה לנסיכים. מלכותו
מלוכות כל-עולמים. הפוצה את-דוד עבדו מחרב רעה.
הנותן בים דרך ובמים עזים נתיבה. הוא יברך וישמור
וינצור וינצור וירומם ויגדל וינשא למעלה

את כל-שרי המדינות האלו

מלך מלכי המלכים ברחמי ישמרה ויחם ומקל צרה
ונוק יצילם: מלך מלכי המלכים ברחמי ירים ויגביה
פוכב מערכתם ויאריו ימים על ממשלתם: מלך מלכי
המלכים ברחמי יתן בלבם ובלב כל-יועציהם ושריהם
רחמנות לעשות טובה עמו ועם כל ישראל אחינו:
בימיהם ובימינו תושע יהודה וישראל ישכון לבטח ובא
לציון גואל. וכן יהי רצון. ונאמר אמן:

(above) Prayer in 1957 Hertz Siddur

הנותן תשועה למלכים וממשלה לנסיכים. מלכותו

מלוכות כל-עולמים. הפוצה את-דוד עבדו מחרב רעה.
הנותן בים דרך ובמים עזים נתיבה. הוא יברך וישמור
וינצור וינצור וירומם ויגדל וינשא למעלה את-אדוננו מלנו:

ירום הדוד: מלך מלכי המלכים ברחמי יחיהו וישמרהו
ומקל-צרה ויגון יצילהו. ויברך וישמר את צבא
המלך. ויתן בלבו ובלב כל-יועציו, רוח חכמה ובינה,
להחזיק שלום המלוכה, ושלום עמו, ולעשות
חסד ואמת עם-כל-ישראל. בימיו, ובימינו, תושע יהודה
וישראל ישכון לבטח ובא לציון גואל. ונאמר אמן:

(left) Prayer in R. Schonfeld's UK Siddur

- The US and UK versions are clearly taken from the same tefilla but have a number of important differences. Most notably, the US version is far more focused on the success of the Jewish community whereas the UK version focuses far more on the general success of the realm²³.
- Although the UK version is very standard²⁴ there have been a number of different versions in the US²⁵.



Prayer for President George Washington 1789²⁷

23. See the comments of R. Joseph Hertz in the Hertz Siddur, p. 504-505. R. Hertz writes that new wording introducing a more universalist and patriotic tone was added to the prayer in 1895. The previous version asked God to 'put compassion [rachmanut] into the Queen's heart and into the hearts of her counsellors and nobles, that they may deal kindly with us and with all Israel'. R. Hertz notes that the 1895 change was considered an improvement at the time, but he felt that more 'rachmanut' would have been far better for the Jews in the 20th century and decries the change.
24. UK Reform and Liberal synagogues say a shortened version of this prayer. See <https://www.jewishnews.co.uk/british-synagogues-offer-prayers-for-charles-iii-on-first-shabbat-since-accession/#:~:text=Britain's%2043%20Reform%20Judaism%20communi ties,the%20government%20of%20this%20country.%E2%80%9D>
25. See *The Prayer for the Welfare of the Government*, Dr Jess Owen - <https://download.yutorah.org/2023/1053/1076603/the-prayer-for-the-welfare-of-the-government.pdf>. Dr Owen references an important article by Jonathan D. Sama, *Jewish Prayers for the United States Government: A Study in the Liturgy of Politics and the Politics of Liturgy, Liturgy in the Life of the Synagogue: Studies in the History of Jewish Prayer*, Ruth Langer and Steven Fine, eds. (Winona Lake, 2005), p207.
26. The most up to date version refers to William and Kate as the Prince and Princess of Wales.
27. This may have been the first prayer composed for the new government of the USA and was written by Congregation Beth Shalom in Richmond, Virginia in 1789. The original copy is on display at the National Museum of American Jewish History, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. In the acrostic portion of the prayer the initial letters of the succeeding lines form the name: Washington! See <https://opensiddur.org/prayers/civic-calendar/us-civil-calendar/washingtons-birthday/prayer-for-george-washington-first-president-of-the-united-states-of-america-by-kahal-kadosh-beit-shalom-1789/for-a-full-translation>. See also http://www.beureihatefila.com/files/Presidential_Prayers.pdf for other related prayers, including a special Hebrew memorial prayer for Abraham Lincoln with his name also spelled out in an acrostic. For more see <http://www.beureihatefila.com/>.

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• However, in recent decades some Hebrew and English siddurim in the US and UK have left out the Prayer for the Government entirely. This is true of the Artscroll siddur and also the Tehillat Hashem Chabad siddur. In the English Artscroll there is a small note on the relevant page that some communities say a prayer for the government at that point.

28A. מי גרם לדם ישראל הנשפך כמים בימי הקדמונים? לא ה' פעל כ"ז חלילה לו מעול! רק מנהיגנו גרמו שלא הרגילו העם להתפלל בשלום ארצם ושלום מלכם. ודברים כאלו רבו כמו רבו והוא שקר גלוי. כי מלבד שמקרא מלא הוא דרשו את שלום העיר וכו' וגם רבותינו שבתלמוד הזהירו להתפלל בשלומה של מלכות ובשלום ארצם. אף גם מעת אשר עם ה' אלה מארצם יצאו לא פסקה אזוהרה זו מפי המורים כהלכה מנהלי עם ה', רועים נאמנים לצאן קדשים שה פזורה ישראל. פ"ב יום א' כ"ו שבט תקע"ט לפ"ק. משה"ק סופר מפפד"מ.

שו"ת חתם סופר חלק ו - ליקוטים סימן צה

The Chatam Sofer understands that that the reason so many Jewish communities suffered so much at the hands of antisemitic murderer was the failure of their leaders to instruct them to pray for the stability of the non-Jewish government!

• The Artscroll RCA siddur includes these prayers and is specifically advertised as including both the Prayer for the Government and also the Prayer for the State of Israel (which we will address in the following shiur).

B1] THE ORIGINS OF 'HANOTEN TESHUA' - R. MENASSEH BEN ISRAEL: 1655

• Rabbi Hertz asserts that the 'Hanoten Teshua' wording was first printed in 1658. However there are certainly earlier references by two well-know rabbinic figures - R. Leon de Modena and Menasseh ben Israel who quote the text before that date.

10

How Faithfull
The Nation of the Iewes are.

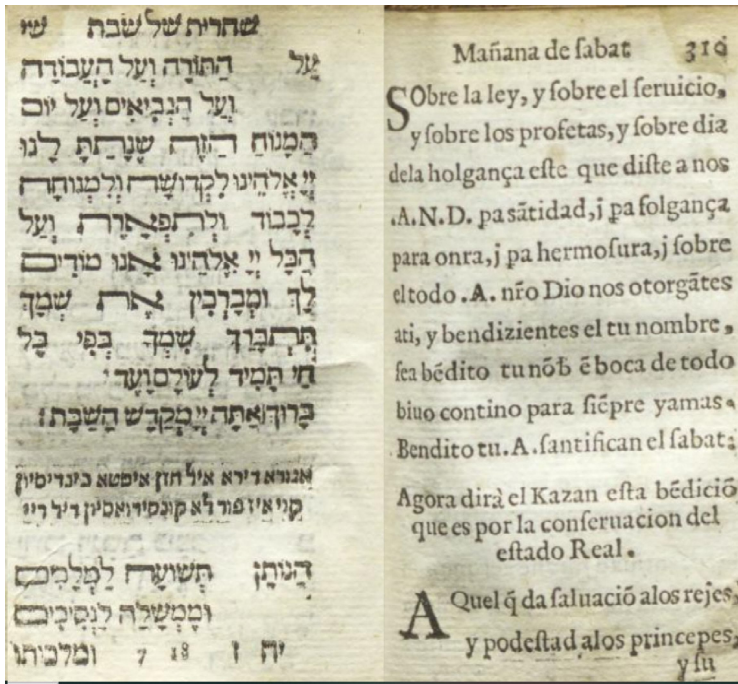
The same affection is confirmed by the inviolable custome of all the Iews wherefoever they live: for on every Sabbath or festi-
B 2 vall
(91)

12
vall Day, they every where are used to pray for the safety of all Kings, Princes and Common-wealths, under whose jurisdiction they live, of what profession-foever: unto which duty they are bound by the Prophets and the Talmudists; from the Law, as by Ieremie chap. 29. verf. 7. *Seek the peace of the City unto which I have made you to wander: and pray for her unto the Lord, for in her Peace you shall enjoy peace.* He speaks of Babylon, where the Iews at that time were captives. From the Talmud ord. 4. tract. 4. Abodazara pereq. 1. *Pray for the peace of the Kingdome, for unlesse there were feare of the Kingdome, men would swallow one the other alive, &c.*

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

are these, as in the printed book of the Iews may be seen: *He that giveth salvation unto Kings, and dominion unto Lords, he that delivered his servant David from the sword of the Enemy, he that made a way in the Sea, and a path in the strange waters, bleffe and keep, preserve and rescue, exalt and magnify, and lift up higher and higher, our Lord.* [And then he names, the Pope, the Emperour, King, Duke, or any other Prince under whom the Iews live, and add's:] *The King of kings defend him in his mercy, making him joyfull, & free him from all dangers and distresse. The King of kings, for his goodnes sake, raise up and exalt his planetary star, & multiply his dayes over his Kingdome. The King of kings for his mercies sake, put into his heart, and into the heart of his Counsellors, & those that attend and administer to him, that he may shew mercy unto us, & unto all the people of Israel. In his dayes and in our dayes, let Iudah be safe, and Israel dwell securely, and let the Redeemer come to Israel, and so may it please God. Amen.* These are the

1655 - R. Menashe ben Israel's *Humble Addresses to his Highnesses, the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland*



• (left) 1620 print of Isaac Cavallero's *Orden de Oracione* showing the prayer *Hanoten Teshua* preceded by the words: *Agora dira el kasan esta bedicio que es por la conservacion del estado Real* - now the cantor will recite this blessing, which is for the preservation of the government.²⁸

• There is even earlier evidence²⁹. A rare siddur manuscript in Hebrew University dated 1565-66 includes the 'Hanoten Teshua' prayer with a blank for the name of the monarch. In this space, in different handwriting, the words *Sultan Selim* were inserted. This is likely to be Selim II of the Ottoman Empire (reigned 1566-74).

• Another siddur in the Hebrew University collection, printed in Venice in 1622, includes instructions for the insertion of prayer for the government. In 1650 in Venice R. Leon de Modena wrote a study of Jewish customs at the request of King James I of England³⁰. He quotes a prayer for the Prince which is worded similarly to 'Hanoten Teshua'³¹.

• It therefore seems that the prayer came originally from the Spanish community either in the 16th century following the expulsion or possibly pre-1492 in Spain.

• Note that on recording his visit to a synagogue on Simchat Torah on Wednesday October 14 1663, Samuel Pepys made two observations. Firstly the decorum was terrible and secondly a special prayer was recited in Hebrew for the King (Charles II).

29. Thence home and after dinner my wife and I, by Mr. Rawlinson's conduct, to the Jewish Synagogue: where the men and boys in their vayles, and the women behind a lattice out of sight; and some things stand up, which I believe is their Law, in a press to which all coming in do bow; and at the putting on their vayles do say something, to which others that hear him do cry Amen, and the party do kiss his vayle. Their service all in a singing way, and in Hebrew. And anon their Laws that they take out of the press are carried by several men, four or five several burthens in all, and they do relieve one another; and whether it is that every one desires to have the carrying of it, I cannot tell, thus they carried it round about the room while such a service is singing.

And in the end they had a prayer for the King, which they pronounced his name in Portugall; but the prayer, like the rest, in Hebrew. But, Lord! to see the disorder, laughing, sporting, and no attention, but confusion in all their service, more like brutes than people knowing the true God, would make a man forswear ever seeing them more and indeed I never did see so much, or could have imagined there had been any religion in the whole world so absurdly performed as this.

Away thence with my mind strongly disturbed with them, by coach and set down my wife in Westminster Hall, and I to White Hall, and there the Tangier Committee met

Samuel Pepys' diary, Wednesday October 14 1663

B2] AMENDED WORDING WITHOUT REFERENCE TO THE COMING OF MASHIACH

• Two 1665 texts of the HaNoten prayer have been found but with the final section - concerning the coming of Mashiach - removed. The reasons for this could, however, have been very different.

• Jacob Leon (Templo) constructed a model of Solomon's Temple which was given to Charles II after the Restoration. It came together with a dedicatory pamphlet which cites the 'Hanoten Teshua' prayer, but with the final section deleted. Simeon Singer (of the Singer's siddur fame)³² was confident that this was done purposefully since the extreme messianism which had typified the times of the evangelical Cromwell had now been replaced by Charles II, who was 'not a man in a hurry for the Messiah'.

28. See

<https://opensiddur.org/prayers/collective-welfare/nations/united-kingdom/the-prayer-for-the-safety-of-kings-princes-and-commonwealths-as-presented-in-english-translation-by-menasseh-ben-israel-to-oliver-cromwell-1655/>

29. See the article by Barry Schwartz ob cit.

30. *The History of the Rites, Customs and Manner of Life of the Present Jews throughout the World*, printed in 1650 by R. Leon Modena

31. "They pray to God that He would preserve him in peace and quietness, and that He would prosper him and make him great and powerful and that He would also make him favorable and kind to their nation."

32. See Simeon Singer, *The Earliest Jewish Prayer for the Sovereign*, Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England (1903) p. 107.

• In the same year the messianic fervor surrounding Shabbatai Sevi was coming to a head. In Smyrna the name of the sultan was deleted from the 'Hanoten Teshua' prayer and replaced by 'Our Lord and our Messiah, the Anointed of the God of Jacob, the Celestial Lion and Celestial Stag, the Messiah of Righteousness, the King of Kings, the sultan Shabbatai Sevi'. Reference to the future coming of the Messiah was deleted since they felt he had already arrived!! A similar change was made in an siddur from Amsterdam in 1666, switching the name of the ruler of Holland for Sevi.³³

B3] DEVELOPMENT OF THE TEXT IN THE 18TH/19TH CENTURIES

- The Board of Deputies of British Jews was established in 1760 when seven Deputies were appointed by the Spanish and Portuguese congregation to form a standing committee in order to pay homage to George III on his accession to the throne.
- The current British Ashkenazi version of the 'Hanoten Teshua' prayer was established in 1801 with the printing of siddurim for the newly arrived German and Polish populations. In 1809, the year of King George III's Golden Jubilee, a ceremony was held at the Great Synagogue in the presence of the Dukes of Cambridge, Cumberland and Sussex, in which the new prayer was read from the siddur. It called for the "blessing, preserving, guarding, assisting, exalting and highly aggrandising of King George the Third, Queen Charlotte and their children".
- In his publication of the 1848 Ashkenazi siddur, American rabbi Isaac Leeser dropped from the prayer the words 'may he [the sovereign] subdue nations under his feet, and make his enemies fall before him, and in whatsoever he undertaketh may he prosper'
- At Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee in 1887, R. Moses Gaster's prayer stated: "Thou has prolonged her life ... saved her from the hands of assassins and Thou hast been her shield so that she might spend her days in pleasantness until she reached this Jubilee Day of her reign."

B4] A HIDDEN AGENDA FOR THE END OF THE NON-JEWISH EXILE?

30. הַנוֹתֵן תְּשׁוּעָה לַמְּלָכִים הַפּוֹצֵה אֶת־דָּוִד עַבְדּוֹ מִחֶרֶב רָעָה: פָּצְנִי וְהַצִּילֵנִי מִיַּד בְּנֵי־זָכָר אֲשֶׁר פִּיהֶם דִּבְר־שׁוֹא וְיָמִינָם יָמִין שָׂקָר:

תהלים קמד"י-יא

The wording 'Hanoten Teshua' is taken from Tehillim 144 in which David prays that God who gives salvation to kings should also save him from non-Jewish enemies who oppress the Jewish people!

31. כֹּה אָמַר ה' הַנוֹתֵן בָּיִם דָּרָךְ וּבְמִים עֲצִים וְתִיבָה:

ישעיהו מג:טז

So too, the verse in the prayer which speaks about God splitting the seas

32. (יד) כֹּה־אָמַר ה' גֹּאֲלֵכֶם קְדוֹשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל לְמַעַן־לָכֶם שְׁלַחְתִּי בְבִלְהָ וְהוֹרֵדְתִּי בְּרִיחִים בָּלֶם וְכַשְׂדִּים בְּאַנְיֹת רִתָּם: הַמוֹצִיא רֶכְב־זָסוּס תֵּיל וְעֲזָז יַחַדוֹ יִשְׁפְּבוּ בַל־יִקְוֹמוּ דַעְכוּ בַפִּשְׁתָּה כָּבוֹ:

ישעיהו מג:יד,יז

..... is just after a verse concerning the redemption of the Jewish people and the downfall of Babylon (representing the non-Jewish oppressor) and it comes before a verse hoping for the elimination of all enemies of the Jews.

- Note that the Singer's Siddur version of 'Hanoten' deletes these references to King David and to the splitting of the Red Sea, which are still present in the other versions. Could it have been sensitivity to this issue?³⁴

C] PRAYING FOR OPPRESSIVE GOVERNMENTS

- Over the centuries, Jews have also prayed for governments that they disliked, even those which were outright oppressive and discriminatory against them.

33. Both texts are translated in full by Gershom Scholem in *Sabbatai Sevi - The Mystical Messiah* (Princeton, 1973) pp. 424-25, 533-34.

34. Note also that the expression at the end of the prayer - 'and the Redeemer will come to Zion' is taken from Yeshayahu 59:20. The verses immediately before this invoke the fury of God on the His enemies and the revisiting on them of the evils that they did to the Jewish nation. Many Jews who quoted the verses in Hanoten Teshua would have been aware of their context and the invocation of God's punishment falling upon the non-Jewish nations.

33. 9 After that Nebuchadnezer king of Babylon had carried away Jechonia, and the princes, and the captives, and the mighty men, and the people of the land from Jerusalem, and brought them to Babylon.
 10 And they said, Behold, we have sent you money to buy burnt offerings, and sin offerings, and incense, and prepare manna, and offer upon the altar of the Lord our God;
 11 And pray for the life of Nebuchadnezer king of Babylon, and for the life of Belshazzar his son, that their days may be upon earth as the days of heaven.
 12 And the Lord will give us strength, and lighten our eyes, and we shall live under the shadow of Nebuchadnezer king of Babylon, and under the shadow of Belshazzar his son, and we shall be slaves to them many days, and find favour in their sight.

Apocryphal book of Baruch Chapter 1

34.

תפלת שחרית לראש השנה

תפלה בעד שלום הקיסר יר"ב עם שלום משפחתו הרמה .
 אָנחנוּ עם ישרָאֵל נִאֶסְפְּנוּ הַיּוֹם . יוֹם שְׁמִחוֹת לְהַתְּפִלָּה לְפָנֶיךָ הַנּוֹתֵן תְּשׁוּעָה לְמַלְכִּים וּמִשְׁפָּלָה
 לְנִסְיָכִים מַלְכוּתָהּ מַלְכוּת כָּל עוֹלָמִים . עֲבוֹר שְׁלוֹם אֲדוֹנֵינוּ הַקִּיסָר הָאֲדִיר , הַעֲדִיק , וְהַיָּשָׁר ,
 אֲשֶׁר פָּתַח בְּנִפְי תוֹמָתוֹ וְיִשְׁכַּתוֹ נִחְסָה .
אַלְעִקְסַאנְדֶּר מִיקָאֵלֵאֵי־עוֹוִיטְשׁ
 יְרוֹם הוֹדוֹ וְהַנְּשָׂא מַלְכוּתוֹ . עִם הַקְּסָרִית הַנְּצִבָּה לִימֵינוּ בִּיקְרַת הַפְּאֻדָּה .
מַאֲרִיא אַלְעִקְסַאנְדֶּר־אֹוֹנָא .
 עִם בְּנֵם יוֹרֵשׁ עֶצֶר .
אַלְעִקְסַאנְדֶּר אַלְעִקְסַאנְדֶּר־אֹוִיטְשׁ .
 עִם אִשְׁתּוֹ הַנְּכֻנָּה לְהִיּוֹת קְסָרִית
מַאֲרִיא טַעֲדֶר־אֹוֹנָא .
 עִם בְּנֵם הַנְּרִאֲסִי־שֵׁט מִיקָאֵלֵיא אַלְעִקְסַאנְדֶּר־אֹוִיטְשׁ .
 וְיוֹרֵר בְּנוֹ הַמִּיסָר יר"ה , גְּרֵאֲסִי־שֵׁטֶן וְוִלָּדֹו־מִירוֹ . אַלְעִקְסִי . סַעֲרֶנְעִי .

Prayer from an 1870 Machzor for the welfare Tsar Aleksandr Nikolayevich (Aleksandr II); his wife, Tsaritsa Maria Aleksandrovna; their son and heir to the throne, Aleksandr Aleksandrovich (Aleksandr III); his wife, Maria Fyodorovna and various other members of the royal family.

35.

חפלה בעד שלום אדונינו הקיסר יר"ב

הַנּוֹתֵן תְּשׁוּעָה לְמַלְכִּים וּמִשְׁפָּלָה לְנִסְיָכִים מַלְכוּתוֹ מַלְכוּת כָּל־עוֹלָמִים הַפּוֹצֵה
 אֶת־דָּוִד עַבְדּוֹ מִכָּרֵב רָעָה הַנּוֹתֵן בָּנִים הַרְבֵּה וּבָמִים עֲזִים וְנִתְיָבָה . הוּא
 יִתֵּן וְיִשְׁמֹר וְיַנְצֹר וְיַעֲזֹר וְיִרְוֹם וְיַגְדֵּל וְיַנְשֵׂא לְמַעַן אֶת־אֲדוֹנֵינוּ הַקִּיסָר
 נִיקָלִי אַלְכְּסַנְדֶּר־אֹוִיטְשׁ יְרוֹם הוֹדוֹ . עִם אִשְׁתּוֹ הַקְּסָרִית הַנְּכֻנָּה
 אַלְכְּסַנְדֶּר־פֶּעֶאֲדֶר־אֹוֹנָא עִם אִמּוֹ הַקְּסָרִית הַנְּכֻנָּה **מַאֲרִיא**
פֶּעֶאֲדֶר־אֹוֹנָא וּבְנוֹ יוֹרֵשׁ הָעֶצֶר אַלְכְּסִי נִיקָאֵלֵאֵי־עוֹוִיטְשׁ
 וְאֶת־כָּל־בֵּית מַלְכּוֹ הָרֹם יְרוֹם הוֹדוֹ מַלְכֵי־הַמְּלָכִים בְּרַחֲמֵי יְחִידוֹ וְיִשְׁמְרֵהוּ
 וּמִכָּל־צָרָה וְנֹגֶן וְנִצְלֵהוּ וְיַדְבֵּר עִמּוֹ פִּתְחֵי־רַחֲמָיו וְיַפִּיל שׁוֹנְאָיו לְפָנָיו וְיַבְבֵּל
 אִשְׁרֵי יִפְגֹּחַ יִצְרִית־כָּל־מַלְכֵי הַמְּלָכִים בְּרַחֲמֵי יְחִידוֹ וְיַבְבֵּל כָּל־יֹעֲצָיו וְשָׂרָיו
 וְהַקְּנֹוֹת לַעֲשׂוֹת מַעֲבֹוֹת עִמָּנוּ וְעִם כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל . בְּיָמָיו וּבְיָמֵינוּ תַּעֲשֶׂה יְהוָה
 וְיִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׁכּוֹן לְבִטָּח וְכָא לְצִוּן וְכָא יְהִי רָצוֹן . וְנֶאֱמַר אָמֵן :

(*) כדור כן נדפס כתב מסגולת אל יושבי ירושלים לסתכל על חיי בטחולתך מלך ככל ונלמדנו בו כי ירמיהו
 ימים רבים נשמים על הארץ (ספר כדור ב' פרשם א' י"ד , סתתקת פלפסני) ; וברש בקש מישראל די לסון
 סתתקתן ויתחנן לאלה שמים ומלכין לחיי מלכא ובטוהי (טורא א') .
 (סג"ח) ד' 45 — 13

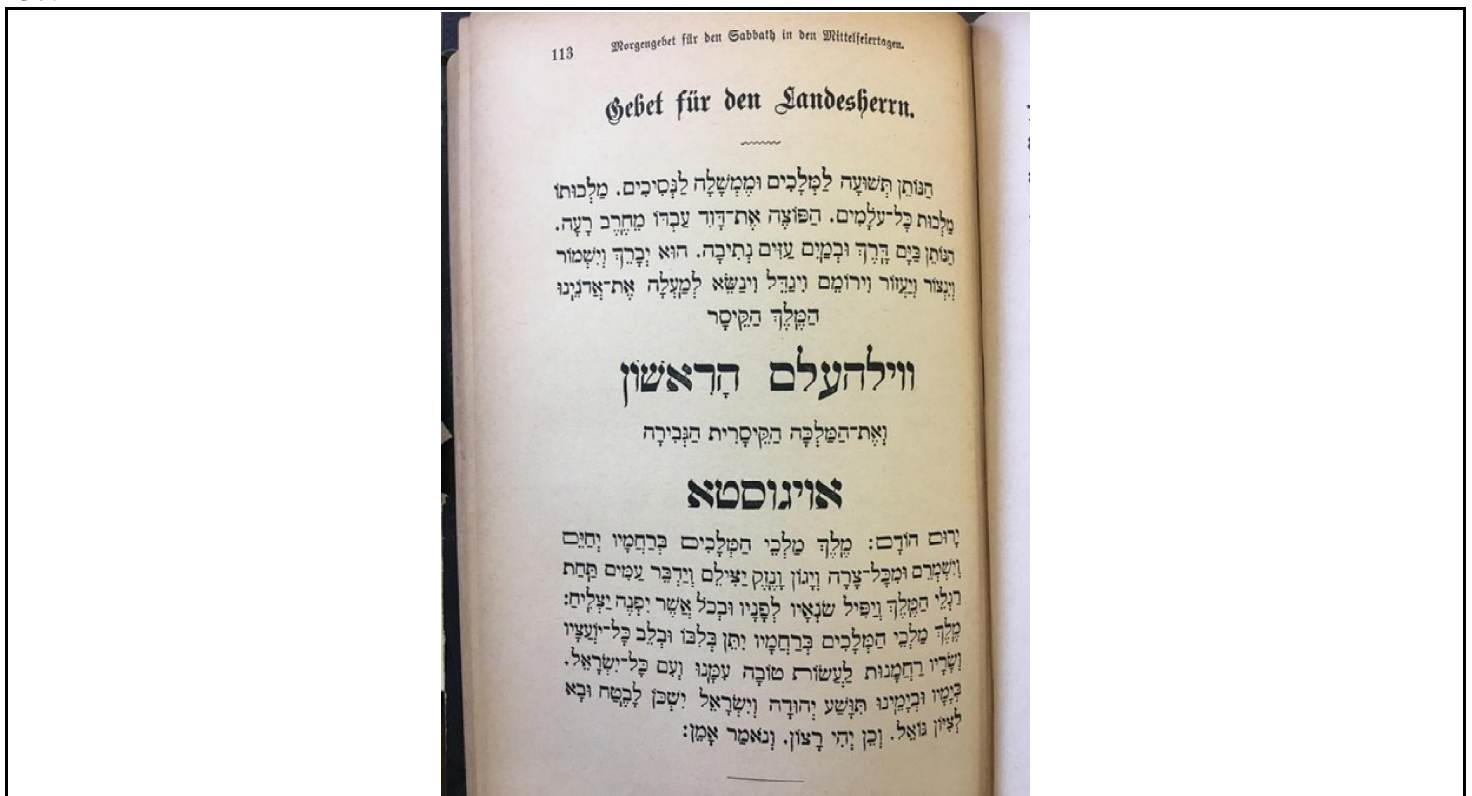
A prayer for the welfare of Tsar Nicholas and his family, with a tiny footnote referencing Baruch who asked the Jews even to daven for Nevuchadnezzar!

36.



1956 Moscow Soviet Siddur with a Prayer for the CCCP (סססר)

37.



'HaNoten Teshua' prayer for Kaiser Wilhelm and Augusta

How long did the saying of the prayer last in Germany? We have no unequivocal information, but it can be assumed that after "Kristallnacht" (9/10.11.38) the recitation of the various prayers for the peace of the country that were still in use in some communities stopped.

And what about the practice in other countries where the Nazis ruled? In many communities in Austria after World War I, it was no longer customary to pray for the peace of the country. But similar to the situation in Germany, in the communities where this type of prayer was still said, it continued to be said until "Kristallnacht". This is the case in the small Jewish community in the city of Innsbruck in the Tyrol province, where the saying of the prayer stopped immediately after the "Anschluss" (Germany's invasion of Austria on March 13, 1939). The liberals in Vienna, on the other hand, continued throughout the Nazi period to pray (in German) for the peace of the homeland...

In the large Orthodox community in Antwerp, the "Machzikei Hadat" community, the prayer for the King's peace continues even after the surrender of Belgium. The prayer was said until the burning of the synagogues in April 1941 and this despite the fact that King Leopold collaborated with the Nazi regime. Even in Brussels, the recitation of the prayer continued until the closing of the synagogues in the city. We have no evidence regarding the practice in other cities.

'A Prisoner's Groan': Prayer in Occupied Europe under Nazi Rule. Judith Tydor Baumel-Schwartz³⁵

35. See also Jonathan D. Sarna, *Praying for Governments We Dislike*, <https://thelehrhaus.com/scholarship/praying-for-governments-we-dislike/>, This article was written in response to Rabbi Jonathan Muskat's proposal to revise the text of the prayer for the US President in the wake of Barak Obama's political action against (and perceived betrayal of) Israel at the end of his term in December 2016. Rabbi Muskat's new proposed text invokes Divine blessings upon the country and its citizens, rather than upon its leaders and removes the language of praise ("bless, protect, help, and exalt") that the standard prayer applied to the President, Vice-President and other officers of the country.