אורות OROT







Title page of original 1920 edition of Orot (Jerusalem, 5680)

Rabbi Abraham Isaac Hakohen Kook הרב אברהם יצחק הכהן קוק



The Original 1920 Version

Introduction, Translation and Notes Bezalel Naor

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Orot Rabbi Abraham Isaac Hakohen Kook

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In memory of my dear father Samuel Nyer, a courageous fighter in the United States Army against the Nazis in France in World War II. As an advance scout behind enemy lines, he was offered by his commanding officer a fake "dog-tag" inscribed with "P" (for Protestant) to substitute for the true metal identity plate with the "H" (for Hebrew) and *mezuzah* that he wore around his neck. The thinking was that should he be captured by the Germans, his Jewish identity would surely sentence him to death, whereas feigning Protestant identity, he would survive the war in a Prisoner of War camp. Father's response, offered immediately and unflinchingly, was: "Thank you very much, Sir, for your kind offer. But I was born a Jew and will die a Jew!"

My father, my teacher, Shmuel ben Shaul, went to his eternity on the twentieth of Iyyar, 5771 [2011], with the setting of the sun.

May his soul be bound in the bond of eternal life.

נר זכרון לנשמת אבי מורי

שמואל בן שאול

שהלך לעולמו ביום כ״ף לחודש אייר, שנת היתשע״א. שקעה נפשו עם דמדומי חמה.

תהי נפשו צרורה בצרור החיים.

Bezalel Naor

לזכר נשמת ספרא וסייפא

הרב חיים אורי בן הרב משה ליפשיץ

אדמו״ר מוויעליפאלי-פילדלפיה,
ולמעלה בקודש בן אחר בן עד
הרב אריה ליבוש ליפשיץ
בעל מחבר ספר אריה דבי עילאה,
חתן הגה״ק ר׳ משה טייטלבוים מאוהעל
בעל מחבר ספר ישמח משה,
זכר צדיקים לברכה.

בנעוריו שימש את הרב מטעפליק ר' שמשון אהרן פולונסקי והוסמך להוראה על ידו, ועל ידי הרב איסר זלמן מלצר, הרב יוסף גרשון הורוביץ והרב מיכל דיין, זצ"ל. נולד בעיר הקודש בירושלים, כל ימיו ערגה אליה, ושם מנוחתו כבוד.

נלב״ע א׳ דראש חדש כסלו (ל׳ חשון) ה׳תשס״ג תהי נשמתו צרורה בצרור החיים

הונצח על-ידי צאצאיו

לעילו נשמת האישה החשובה

מרת שרה סטפנסקי ע"ה

אשת הרב אליעזר שליט"א בת הרב חיים אורי זצ"ל למשפחת ליפשיץ נו"נ לבעל האריה דבי עילאי

ולמעלה בקודש שמן תורק שמה רואה בטוב עינה תורה במסירות קיימה שמחת חיים מהותה רוח נשברה החזיקה מקבל את כל אדם לימודה שמרה לפיה כל ימיה דבר אמת בלבבה השתתפה בשמחת ובצרת זולתה

Dedicated by her children Estee & David and grandchildren Ariella, Chaim Uri, Elianna & Lola Stefansky

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Abbreviations

AT 'Arfilei Tohar

IHR Iggerot ha-RAYaH

KG Kol Gadol

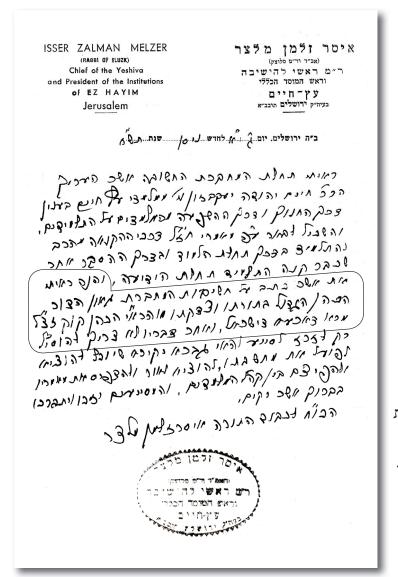
KS Kol Shofar

LNY Li-Netivot Yisrael

MBK Malki ba-Kodesh

OHK Orot ha-Kodesh

SK Shemonah Kevatsim



והנה ראיתי את אשר כתב על חשיבות המחברת גאון הדור, הכהן הגדול בתורתו וצדקתו, מוהרא״י הכהן קוק זצ״ל, מרא דארעא דישראל, ואחר דבריו לא צריך להוסיף

Formal endorsement (*haskamah*) of an educational manual in the hand of Rabbi Isser Zalman Meltzer (1870-1953), Rosh Yeshiva of Slutsk and Etz Ḥayim, Jerusalem. Rabbi Meltzer writes that his endorsement is superfluous as the booklet was already approved by "the genius of the generation, the high priest in his Torah and righteousness, our teacher R[av] A[vraham] Y[itsḥak] Hakohen Kook, of blessed memory, Master of the Land of Israel." The letter is dated "Tuesday, 11 Nissan, 5708 [1948]," thirteen years after Rav Kook's passing.

Orot

New Introduction

Twenty years, an entire generation, have passed since my English translation of Rav Kook's *Orot* appeared in print. Since then, interest in Rav Kook has grown exponentially. I would like to think that my own labors in disseminating Rav Kook's teachings have somehow contributed to this process. But I know that other, more powerful sociological factors were at work here. The laying of Islamist terror at the very doorstep of Western civilization has produced a growing anxiety, a feeling of malaise and foreboding of apocalyptic proportions. Within our own Jewish world, what some perceive as the failure of the traditional *Ḥaredi* lifestyle (in both its Ḥasidic and yeshivah varieties) to function as a viable system, has also contributed to producing an intellectual climate not radically dissimilar from that which prevailed in Rav Kook's time, and that engendered his epoch-making *Orot*.

The book emerged on the heels of World War One, a war that many viewed as the Apocalypse. Especially Jews, who suffered enormous loss of life and the uprooting of entire communities in Eastern Europe, viewed World War One as the "War of Gog and Magog." The air was rife with a sense of Messianic imminence.

Within the setting of *Erets Yisrael*, there was a feeling on the part of many—certainly the members of the New Yishuv centered in Jaffa (the precursor of Tel-Aviv), but also some of the most creative elements within the Old Yishuv of Jerusalem—that the traditional rabbinic establishment was morally (besides financially) bankrupt. In this time and place, Rav Kook emerged as a breath of fresh air and as a beacon of light, or perhaps better stated, a harbinger of Messianic light (*'oro shel mashi'aḥ*). His *Orot* offered a new synthesis, at terms with the latest developments and most pressing problems of the modern era, and suggesting the possibility of unprecedented spiritual heights culminating in *nevu'ah*, prophecy, no less!

Understandably, the attention of Israel's youth was grabbed by this small powder-keg of a book, while their elders (or at least some of them) viewed the book with consternation, typecasting its author as a modern-day Pied Piper, leading Israel's youth astray.

As we have said, historical conditions today are remarkably similar to those of the 1920s when *Orot* appeared on the scene. I have no doubt that its reissuing will bring light to many Jewish homes and hearts, now as then.

Since the first printing of my English version, I have had the opportunity to read several documents directly pertaining to the historical backdrop of *Orot*. I have seen a handwritten note that Rav Kook made available to the Rebbe of Gur, in which he expressed his regret if certain passages in his book *Orot*, due to their laconic style and brevity of language, were found objectionable by some.¹

¹Two versions of this note were offered at auction: one in the hand of the Gerrer Rebbe, Abraham Mordechai Alter; the other in Rav Kook's own hand. The facsimiles provided in the auction catalog have been blurred so that several words are illegible. According to the catalog description, the essential difference between the two versions is that in the Gerrer version, Rav Kook actually nullifies the offending passages in

his work ("הנני מבטל דברים ולשונות הללו"); in Rav Kook's version, he merely regrets that he did not make his meaning more comprehensible נ״מצטער אני על קיצור הלשון, while maintaining the veracity and validity of the thoughts expressed there. See Asufah Catalog of December 2009, p. 107, Lot 518. (The sale took place on 3.12.2009 in Jerusalem.)

In the *Asufah* transcript, the Gerrer Rebbe's version reads:

"כאשר שמעתי שנמצאו בחיבורים שלי במקומות שונים אשר הגם שלפי דעתי כוונתי לשם שמים, אולם לפי דברי רבנים גדולים יש במקומות הנ"ל לשונות שיש בהם חוסז וושלוםז חנילולז השנםז ומיעוט כבוד שמים, לזאת למען כבוד שמים שיתרבה, **הנני מבטל דברים ולשונות הללו.**"

Par contre, Rav Kook's version reads:

״כאשר שמעתי שנמצאים בחבורים שלי במקומות שונים אשר הגם שידעתי שהם כולם דברי אמת וצדק לאמתה של תורה, אולם מפני קצור הלשון קמו עליהם מערערים, לומר שיש בהם לשונות שמביאים לידי חנילול! השום! ומיעוט כבוד שמים, לכן אני מודיע בזה למען כבוד שמים שיתרבה, כי מצטער אני על קיצור הלשון באלו המקומות.״

Of interest in this connection, is the New Year greeting in the Gerrer Rebbe's hand to Rabbi Ḥarlap (*Asufah* Catalog, p. 126, Lot 555), which evinces the Rebbe's sincere friendship for Rabbi Ḥarlap; and the letter of Rabbi Ḥanokh Tsevi Hakohen Levin, Rabbi of Bendin (and brother-in-law of the Gerrer Rebbe) to Rabbi Ḥarlap, dated 5681 [1921], requesting that Rabbi Ḥarlap prevail upon Rav Kook to retract (*Asufah* Catalog, p. 131, Lot 565).

A similar thread runs through the letter of Rabbi Menaḥem Mendel Alter of Pabianice (dated "Tsom Gedalyah, 5688," i.e., 1927) to Rabbi Ḥarlap, remonstrating with him to convince his soul-brother Rav Kook to nullify those expressions in his writings that have caused so much consternation to the pious במאבריויז. Rabbi M.M. Alter was the brother of the Gerrer Rebbe. What prompted the Rabbi of Pabianice to write at this time was the humiliation caused his brother the Rebbe of Gur by the zealots of Jerusalem (Sivan 5687/1927) and in the aftermath, the umbrage taken by the Polish rabbinate. In order to defuse the potentially explosive situation and prevent further escalation of hostilities, the Rabbi of Pabianice suggested that Rav Kook issue a retraction of the objectionable passages in Orot, perhaps in the form of a personal letter to a friend in the Diaspora, such as himself. See Eshel Avraham: Memorial Volume for Rabbi Abraham Elkanah Kahana Shapira (Jerusalem 2010), pp. 740-741.

In this case, Rav Kook (once having been shown by Rabbi Ḥarlap the letter addressed to him) responded directly to the Rabbi of Pabianice:

I almost never wrote things for publication. Rather, on occasion I put down in brief some of my *pensees*; afterward, if members of my household or those close to me desired to publish them, I saw no need to stop them. God knows that my entire intention is to benefit the public and to draw hearts close to their Father in Heaven. The thought never occurred to me that someone would bend my words and turn them destructive. Now that that which is improper was perpetrated by the other side, and the innocent have been snared by them in the trap of provocation, I certainly regret that my words did not come as explicit

I have also read a communiqué from the Sephardic Chief Rabbi (*Rishon le-Zion*) Jacob Meir to Rabbi Joseph Hayyim Sonnenfeld, Rabbi of the separatist '*Edah Ḥaredit*, reporting his conversation with his Ashkenazic counterpart, Chief Rabbi Kook, in which Rav Kook explained from where the funds for the release of Rabbis Meir Heller (Semnitzer) and Joseph Hoffman—two *kana'im* (zealots) jailed for their defamation of Rav Kook—could come.²

as they are in the innermost heart, for they are all directed to the service of the Lord and His fear.

I pray that we not err in our language, and that our mouths not utter something counter to its will, but rather that our expression be clear, to sanctify His great name and to enhance and strengthen Torah, as is the wish of all those who fear the Lord...

I think that these words of mine will set at ease his pure mind, as well as the mind of all those who truly, sincerely seek the truth...

Abraham Isaac Hakohen Kook

(Eshel Avraham [Jerusalem 2010], pp. 741-742)

The letter is datelined "Jerusalem, 28 Kislev, 5688," i.e., 1927. What we have, in effect, is a reiteration of Rav Kook's earlier note of 1921 to the Gerrer Rebbe. Neither the position of the Gerrer contingent, nor that of Rav Kook had budged in six years.

²Datelined "Jerusalem, 20 Tishri 5683 [1922]," the letter addressed to Rabbi Joseph Hayyim Sonnenfeld reads:

I approached my counterpart Rav Kook to wipe clean the amount of 420 g[rushim] that R. M[eir] Semnitzer and R. J[oseph] Hoffman yet owe the [British Mandatory] Court. He replied that he does not have on hand money to pay the above amount. However two or three days ago, he sent His Honor [i.e., Rabbi Sonnenfeld] the amount of 4 pounds that came to him in order that His Honor [i.e., Rabbi Sonnenfeld] disburse them as he sees fit. He [i.e., Rav Kook] thinks that from these monies it is possible to take out an amount such that the rabbis mentioned above no longer be detained in prison.

With great respect and holiday blessings for good life and peace,

Jacob Meir

(See the facsimile of the manuscript in the collection of Benzion Fishoff, *Mikhtavim ve-Igrot Kodesh* II, ed. David Abraham Mandelbaum [New York, 5770/2010], p. 114 [transcription on p. 115].)

From an unexpected source we have confirmation of the cordial relations between Rabbi Ḥayyim Sonnenfeld and Rav Kook's Sephardic counterpart in the Chief Rabbinate, the "Rishon le-Zion" Rabbi Jacob Meir. In a tape-recorded interview, Rabbi Amram Blau, founder of the Neturei Karta, revealed that at the funeral of Rabbi Sonnenfeld in 1932, the organizers, the leadership of the separatist 'Edah Ḥaredit,

In my original introduction I made mention of the booklets *Kol Shofar* and *Kol Gadol* released by the *kana'im* or zealots of Jerusalem in the course of their unceasing campaign against Rav Kook. (It is now public knowledge that the earlier *Kol Shofar* was the work of Rabbi Akiva Porush, and the later *Kol Gadol* that of Rabbi Meir Heller [Semnitzer].) Recently, I came across a curiosity, a highly sophisticated diatribe against Rav Kook masquerading as a booklet in praise of the Rav! There appeared in Jerusalem in 1926 a twenty-page booklet by Ḥayyim Hakohen Horowitz entitled *Tosefot Ḥayyim* purporting to be a favorable summation of Rav Kook's philosophy. So insidious is the booklet that Rav Kook's biographer of late, Simḥa Raz, was evidently fooled by the contents, reproducing the title page of the booklet (which is quite laudatory) in his handsome, photographic work *Mal'akhim ki-Bnei Adam* (translated into English as *An Angel Among Men*)!³



Over the past generation I have come to appreciate more the complexity of the controversy that engulfed Jerusalem during Rav Kook's tenure. In some cases, the testimony was presented to me orally by descendants of the rabbis who were involved in the controversy. In other cases, the testimony was written by the participants themselves. On the one hand, I learned that the esteem of Rabbi Pinḥas Epstein (member of the *Beit Din Tsedek* of the *'Edah Ḥaredit*) for Rav Ḥarlap ran so high that even

honored Rabbi Jacob Meir to eulogize the deceased, but he was prevented from doing so by the heckling of a solitary youthful individual (named by Blau). See *Mishnato shel Rabbi Amram*, ed. Krauss (Jerusalem, 2012), p. 130.

³See Ḥayyim Hakohen Horowitz (ed.), *Tosefot Ḥayyim* (alternate title *Viku'aḥ ve-ha-Shalom*) (Jerusalem: Rohald, Tammuz 5686/1926). One may view this parody at www.hebrewbooks.org. Evidently the bibliographer Ḥayyim Dov Friedberg was also unaware of the true contents of the booklet. See Ḥ.D. Friedberg, *Beit 'Eked Sefarim*, no. 498-n, s.v. *Tosefot Ḥayyim*. Rivkah Schatz grasped the parodical nature of *Tosefot Ḥayyim* (aided by the fact that it is mentioned in Rabbi Meir Heller-Semnitzer's manuscript). See Rivkah Shatz, "*Reshit ha-massa' neged ha-rav kuk*" ["The Beginning of the Campaign Against Rav Kook"], *Molad*, Vol. VI (XXX), No. 32 (242), *Tevet* 5734/December 1974, p. 261. See now Rabbi Yosef Leib Zussman, *Mi-Beḥirei Tsaddikaya* (Jerusalem, 5767/2007), p. 196.

after the terrible controversy, Rabbi Epstein would stand close enough to Rav Ḥarlap at the Western Wall (*Kotel ha-Maʿaravi*) that he could utter in the latter's ear: "*Shalom ʿalekha mori ve-rabbi*" ("Peace be unto you, my rabbi and teacher"). ⁴ A revelation concerning Rabbi Ḥayyim Mordechai ("Reb Mottel") of Slonim remains a riddle. The Rebbe of Slonim was one of Rav Kook's most outspoken critics. Yet it is known to the Rebbe's family that after Rav Kook's passing, the Rebbe foreswore eating meat for a period of time. ⁵ On the other hand, I discovered in the published letters of the "*Malʾakh*" (the "Angel") as he was referred to by his followers, i.e., Rabbi Abraham Dov Baer Hakohen Levin, that his opposition to Rav Kook was so intense that he wrote to his Jerusalem correspondent Rabbi Asher Zelig Margoliot that the *Beit Din* (Court) of Rabbi Sonnenfeld should decree upon Rav Kook… ⁶



On April 1, 1925 Jerusalem was the scene of a gala ceremony upon the official opening of Hebrew University on Mount Scopus. In attendance were notables from around the globe, both Jewish and non-Jewish (including the esteemed Lord Balfour, Sir Herbert Samuel and Lord Allenby). Rav Kook spoke at length. The topic of his talk remains a sore point to this day. He concluded his lengthy address with the verse "For from Zion shall go forth Torah and the word of the Lord

⁴Heard from Rabbi Zevulun Charlop shelit"a (grandson of Rav Harlap).

⁵Heard from Rabbi Yosef Leib Hamburger *shelit"a*. Rabbi Hamburger's maternal grandfather, Rabbi David Werner, was the nephew of Rabbi Ḥayyim Mordechai of Slonim. Rabbi David Werner's mother, Dinah nee Kastelanets (wife of Rabbi Simḥa Bunem Werner, a prominent Jerusalem *dayyan*) was the elder sister of Rabbi Ḥayyim Mordechai Kastelanets, Rebbe of Slonim. Rabbi David Werner studied in Merkaz Harav and received rabbinic ordination from both Rabbis Kook and Sonnenfeld. Rabbi Werner went on to serve as Rabbi of Providence, Rhode Island.

⁶See Otsar Igrot Kodesh (Brooklyn, 5749 / 1989), Letter 85 (p. 86).

Rabbi Levin was a Ḥabad Ḥasid who attracted a following of disciples from Yeshiva Torah ve-Da'at in Brooklyn. These American youngsters venerated Rabbi Levin as a Rebbe in his own right. In his extreme views, Rabbi Levin interfaced with Rabbi Asher Zelig Margoliot of Jerusalem, who in turn served as "point man" of Rabbi Ḥayyim El'azar Spira, Rebbe of Munkacs (author Responsa *Minḥat El'azar*).

from Jerusalem." Those determined to calumniate Rav Kook took this concluding remark out of context, as if to say that Rav Kook saw in this secular institution fulfillment of the prophecy of Isaiah. The truth is quite the opposite. The full text of Rav Kook's address has been preserved for posterity and is open to analysis. The gist of Rav Kook's message was that there is danger inherent in secular studies, which is cause for concern, and that alongside this institution of a secular nature there must arise in Jerusalem a world-class yeshivah consecrated to sacred studies. Finally, Rav Kook expressed the hope that the people merit to see the rebuilding of the Holy Temple, and in the latter regard uttered the prophecy "For from Zion shall go forth Torah and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem."

Regarding this event, something has come down to us from Rabbi Jacob Moses Ḥarlap, eminent disciple of Rav Kook and Rosh Yeshivah of Merkaz Harav.⁸ The original plan was that Rav Kook would be flanked at the ceremony by his entire *Beit Din* or ecclesiastical court, including Rabbi Hirsch (Tsevi) Pesaḥ Frank, et al. However as Divine Providence would have it, the automobile conveying Rav Kook's court broke down *en route* to Mount Scopus. And thus it came about that Rav Kook, representing the Orthodox Jews of Jerusalem, was left a lone warrior to battle the winds of secularism, and to be singled out by the *kana'im* (zealots) for calumny.



I conclude on an autobiographical note. As a boy growing up in the small Jewish community of Bangor, Maine, I discovered the book *Massa' Yehudah* by Rabbi Judah Leib (Louis) Seltzer, who had once served as Rabbi of Bangor (but more significantly, later served as Rabbi of Safed, Israel). At the time, I had no idea how prominently this little-known work would one day figure in my work of contextualizing

⁷See Ma'amrei ha-Rayah II (Jerusalem, 1984), pp. 306-308.

⁸This anecdote was told to the present writer by Rabbi Zevulun Charlop as heard from his grandfather Rabbi Jacob Moses Ḥarlap.

historically the *maḥloket* (controversy) surrounding Rav Kook's Jerusalem rabbinate in general, and brought to a head by publication of his book *Orot*, in particular. (Such are the mysterious ways of *hashgaḥa peratit* or divine supervision.)

Printed in Safed in 1914, *Massa' Yehudah* contains valuable correspondence between Rabbi Seltzer, (who assisted Rabbi Jacob Ridbaz, Rabbi of Safed), and Rabbi Kook, then Rabbi of Jaffa. ¹⁰ Rabbi Seltzer defends the intransigence of the rabbinic establishment, while Rabbi Kook is critical thereof and makes the case for spiritual renascence.

The exchange between Rabbis Kook and Seltzer is highly instructive. As opposed to Rabbi Kook, who believed that Orthodoxy would survive its confrontation with modernity only if the inwardness

⁹Concerning Rabbi Seltzer's *Massa' Yehudah* see Rivkah Shatz, "*Reshit ha-massa' neged ha-rav kuk*," pp. 251-252.

¹⁰There is a suspicious discrepancy between the text of Rav Kook's letter (of 25 or 28 Tevet, 5673/1913) as printed in Rabbi Seltzer's *Massa' Yehudah*, and the version transcribed in Rav Kook's collected letters, *Igrot ha-Rayah*. In *Massa' Yehudah* the sentence reads: "Orthodoxy provisions itself with vanities and false illusions that life and reality destroy (*Massa' Yehudah*, p. 45). In *Igrot ha-Rayah* the statement has been modified to read: "Orthodoxy, *in its negative war at present (be-milḥamtah ha-shelilit ka'et)*, provisions itself..." (*Igrot ha-Rayah*, Vol. II, p. 124).

If the words did not occur in the original, then where did they come from? In the second letter of Rav Kook addressed to Rabbi Seltzer (dated 28 Ellul, 5673/1913), we read: "As long as Orthodoxy, in its negative war at present, stubbornly says, 'No, only Talmud and Codes, not Agadah, not Mussar, not Kabbalah, not Philosophy, not worldly knowledge, and not Ḥasidism'..." (Massa Yehudah, p. 55). Strangely enough, these mitigating words are lacking from the version printed in Rav Kook's collected letters: "As long as Orthodoxy stubbornly says, 'No..." (Igrot ha-Rayah, Vol. II, p. 232). How does one account for this discrepancy? Either Rabbi Seltzer deliberately deleted the words in the first letter, "in its negative war at present" ("be-milhamtah ha-shelilit ka'et"), or the opposite scenario—Rav Kook's son, Rav Zevi Yehudah Hakohen Kook, editor of the collection Igrot ha-Rayah, sought to tone down this sentence which Jerusalem's zealots had seized upon to fan the fires of controversy and to denigrate Rav Kook. (See Rivkah Schatz, loc. cit.; Yosef Moshe Sofer and Menaḥem Mendel Gerlitz, Mara de-Ara' Yisrael [biography of Rabbi Joseph Ḥayyim Sonnenfeld] [Jerusalem, 2003], Appendix to Chap. VI, facsimile no. 19, "Kol Kore me-Heikhal.") Assuming that this conjecture is correct, the phrase "in its negative war at present" was cut from the second letter and pasted in the first letter.

of Judaism, namely its spiritual content, its "soul," were unleashed to the masses, Rabbi Seltzer's reading of the situation was that the *status quo ante*, which is to say, the definition of Judaism in terms of its halakhic edifice, should be maintained. Orthodoxy was not lacking in its content but rather in its presentation. What was called for according to Rabbi Seltzer, was a reformatting of the old content in an esthetic manner appealing to the modern palate. (Rabbis Kook and Seltzer shared a common ground in stressing the urgent need to produce Orthodox men of letters, capable of conveying traditional Judaism in works of belletristic note.)

The dialogue between Rabbis Seltzer and Kook is an echo of earlier exchanges between Rabbi Ḥayyim of Volozhin (author *Nefesh ha-Ḥayyim*) and Rabbi Shneur Zalman of Liadi (author *Tanya*); and between Rabbi Ḥayyim Soloveitchik (Rosh Yeshivah of Volozhin) and Rabbi Isaac Blaser (disciple of Rabbi Israel Salanter, founder of the Lithuanian Mussar movement). Their conversation would also prefigure the cross-currents of Rabbi Joseph Baer Soloveitchik and Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel, closer to our own day. In a word, it is the riposte of the Man of Halakha to the Man of Agadah, or vice versa. Unfortunately, oftentimes the two faces of Judaism, Halakha and Agadah, make themselves comprehensible to one another only with extreme difficulty.

Bezalel Naor

P.S. In the interim between the first edition of my translation and the present edition, there occurred within the world of Kookian scholarship a momentous event, namely the issuing of Rav Kook's journals from manuscript: *Shemonah Kevatsim* (*Eight Journals*). This revelation allows the student hitherto denied access to the *pensées* of Rav Kook in their original, unexpurgated form.

While there is no denying the contribution of *Shemonah Kevatsim* (*SK*) to our understanding of Rav Kook's writings, nonetheless, from a socio-historic perspective, one must not lose sight of the fact that it was the text of *Orot* and not that of *SK* that was read and judged by the rabbis of *Erets Yisrael*, as well as the Diaspora (thanks to the wide distribution given to the book by Rav Kook's opponents, intent on arousing rabbinic indignation the world over, from Louisville, Kentucky in the West to Baghdad in the East). Not once in the context of the ensuing controversy did Rav Kook breathe a word that the text of *Orot* might have differed from that of the original, which means that whatever editorial changes were made by his son Rav Zevi Yehudah, they did not influence negatively the rabbis' opinion. (On the contrary, as I pointed out in my Preface to the 1993 edition, Rav Zevi Yehudah's "censorship" may actually have softened somewhat the rabbinic judgment.)

In any event, whenever possible, I have indicated in recent notes where the text of *Orot* differs from that of *SK*. As for Rav Zevi Yehudah's method of rearranging words, resituating phrases and substituting one word for another—several learned papers have already been written in this regard. Whatever I might add to the scholars' findings would not alter significantly the conversation.



I wish to express my gratitude to the dedicated staff of Dynagrafik, Monsey, New York, for their excellent work and unstinting devotion.

I would also take this opportunity to thank the talented staff of Koren Jerusalem: Matthew Miller, Rabbi Reuven Ziegler and Tomi Mager.

Orot

תוך כתבי קדש של מרן אבא הרב שליט״א. אשר הוצאתם לאור נתעכבה לרגלי המלחמה, ושעתידים לצאת לאור בקרוב בעזר השם. הוצאתי בזה את ״אורות-התחיה״ האלה, המאירים בדבריהם ערכי הרוח והמעשה של מהלך בנין בית ישראל בתחיתו ושיבתו בארץ קדשו.

יחד עם זה ראיתי לנכון, להקדים לפני הפרקים האלה – שנכתבו בערך שנתים לפני המלחמה – את פרקי "אורות מאופל" אלה בשלשת מחלקותיהם: "ארץ-ישראל" "המלחמה" "ישראל ותחיתו", אשר נכתבו במשך השנתים הראשונות של המלחמה, ששהה מרן אבא הרב שליט"א בשויציה.

צבי יהודה הכהן קוק

Preface

Ut of the holy writings of our teacher, my father, the Rav (may he live long, good years, Amen) whose publication was delayed due to the war, and are due to appear shortly, with the help of God – I have taken these "Lights of Renascence," which illuminate by their words the values of spirit and action of the process of building the House of Israel through its renascence and return to its Holy Land.

At the same time, I have seen fit to precede these chapters – written approximately two years before the war – with the chapters of "Lights from Darkness," subdivided in three: "The Land of Israel," "The War," "Israel and Its Renascence." The latter were written during the first two years of the war, which our teacher, my father, the Rav (may he live long, good years, Amen) spent in Switzerland.

Zevi Yehudah Hakohen Kook

לדגל ״ירושלים״

תחית גוי קדוש על אדמת הקדש

לנו מדברים על דבר נשמת התחיה הלאמית שלנו, על דבר שורש החיים של שאיפת בנין הארץ, ארצנו הקדושה, בידי העם ההולך וחי, שהיא תחית הקדש.

אוצר החיים של הקודש, בכל לב בישראל הוא גנוז, בכללותה של האומה, כח זה הוא הרודה בכל הליכותיה ומהותה, עריגתה למחצבתה, לתחיתה, לארצה, רק בתכונת הקדש המיוחד לאופיה היא קימת; והאופי של התכונה אשר לתחית החול איננו כי-אם פרוזדור של הטרקלין, הצעדים הראשונים שהילד מתחיל ללכת, ואשר הם יביאוהו לרוץ אורח כגבור.

החול עם כל תפארתו המפורסמת לא תמלא הנפש ממנה, ואין הערך שלה נשלם, כי-אם כשיופיע אור הקודש העליון עליה, כל

Degel Yerushalayim (The Banner of "Jerusalem")

RENASCENCE OF A HOLY NATION ON THE HOLY SOIL

We are speaking of the soul of our national renascence, the root-of-life of the aspiration to build the land, our holy land, by the living people – that is, the renascence of the holy.

The treasure-of-life of the holy is stored in every heart of Israel. In the nation as a whole, this is the power that controls all its ways and essence. The nation's longing for its origin, its renascence, its land, exists only in the quality of holiness that is peculiar to its character. The dimension of secular renascence is but a corridor before the banquet hall, the first steps that the child begins to walk, which will eventually bring him to run as a strong man.

The soul cannot be satisfied by the profane despite all its famous glory. Neither is the value of the secular complete until the sublime light of holiness has appeared over it. The vigor of life finds its solid base only through the light of holiness permeating national life and all

העז של החיים ימצא את בסיסו האמיץ, רק על-ידי אור הקודש שיתפלש בחיים הלאמיים וכל מעבדיהם, ולשם כך אנחנו צריכים לעבד את ההגדרה הברורה, מהו תכן הקדש, ומהו תכן החול, זהו אחד מיסודי העבודה הלאומית שלנו, שהזמן גרמה.

התחיה השלמה תחדש לנו לעיני כל חי: הארה מלאה הוד והדרת קודש בתפלה, בתורה, בדרכי המוסר, ובהקשבת האמונה, בכל הקפה הרעיוני והמעשי, בחיי היחיד ובחיי הציבור. התחיה תחדור בלבבות שהן נתונות למשא נפש רוחני כולו, לתקוות קדושות שמימיות אשר מתוך מרחקם מהעולם ויושביו אינם מתמוגים עם החיים הרגילים, מפני שהיא מוכרחת להיות תחיה שלמה.

לתחית הקדש אנו שואפים, להשלמתה של תחית החול אנו מצפים, להרשים את אור החיים של תנועת התחיה הלאמית שלנו ברושם המלא שלה, זאת היא מגמתנו.

ולשם זה הננו מעוררים או יותר טוב לומר הננו מגלים את מציאותה של התנועה הירושלמית. והננו קוראים בשם "ירושלים" וירושלמיות את צד הקדש שבתחיתנו הלאמית – כשם שהננו קוראים בשם ציון וציוניות את הצד החול שלה – ועם דגל ירושלים נרים את נס הקדש בתחית האומה, להראות לעין כל מהו הכח הצפון אשר בנשמת הגוי אשר עד כה לא הוכר, להראות את עז ד', את עז הקדש, להחיות את האומה בכל מובנה, להחיות את החול בתחית הקדש, להחיות את הקודש בהתגלות מפעליו בחיים, במעשה, ברגש, וברעיון, בכל ההיקף של החיים הלאומים שלנו.

תחיתנו הלאמית תקום לתחית עם גמורה, באותה המדה שההארה האלהית תתגלה בה, באותו הערך שהאפלה החמרית its deeds. For this reason, we need to work out a clear definition. What is the content of the holy? What is the content of the secular? This is one of the foundations of our national work that the times necessitate.

The whole renascence will unfold before the eyes of all: an illumination full of majesty and holy beauty in prayer, Torah, ethics, and faith – in all its conceptual and practical scope – in the life of the individual and in the life of the community. Renascence will penetrate hearts that are given to spiritual vision, to holy, heavenly hopes that, due to their distance from the world and its inhabitants, do not mix with regular life – because it must be a complete renascence.

We aspire to the renascence of the holy. We look forward to the completion of the renascence of the mundane. Our objective is to produce the full impact of the light-of-life of our national movement of renascence.

Toward this objective, we arouse, or more correctly, reveal the existence of the Jerusalemite movement. By the name "Jerusalem" or "Jerusalemism," we refer to the holy side of our national renascence – just as we call its secular side "Zion" or "Zionism." With the "Banner of Jerusalem," we will raise the banner of holiness contained in the renascence of the people, to show everyone what is the power hidden in the soul of the nation, which until now was not recognized, to demonstrate the strength of the Lord, the strength of the holy, to revive the nation in all respects, to revive the mundane through the renascence of the sacred, to revive the sacred through manifesting its effects on life, action, emotion, thought, on the entire scope of our national life.

Our national renascence will result in total revival of the people to the degree that the divine illumination is revealed therein, to the extent that the materialistic darkness that shrinks life will not control our consciousness. With courageous spirit we will lift our hearts to recognize the great deed that God does with His people – and through

המקטינה את החיים, לא תהיה שולטת על הכרתנו, וברוח אמיץ נשא את לבבנו להכיר את מעשה ד' הגדול אשר הוא עושה עם עמו, ועל ידי עמו, ישובו לתחיתו על אדמת הקדש עם יצוריו כולם. וההכרה הבהירה הזאת וכל סדרי החיים, המעשיים, והרוחניים, היוצאים ממנה, היא יסודה של תחית האומה והמרכז המבסס את בנין הארץ והעם.

ואשים דברי בפיך ובצל ידי כסיתיך לנטע שמים וליסוד ארץ, ולאמר לציון עמי אתה.

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His people coming back to life on the holy soil, with all His creatures. This clear consciousness and all the life-patterns – practical and spiritual – that derive from it, are the foundation of the renascence of the nation, the center that is the basis of the building of the land and the people.

I will put My word in your mouth and with the shadow of My hand I will cover you, to plant heaven and to establish earth, and to say to Zion, You are My people.¹



Orot me-Ofel¹ (Lights from Darkness)

ארץ ישראל

N

רץ ישראל איננה דבר חיצוני, קנין חיצוני לאומה, רק בתור 🔀 אמצעי למטרה של ההתאגדות הכללית והחזקת קיומה החמרי או אפילו הרוחני. ארץ ישראל היא חטיבה עצמותית קשורה בקשר חיים עם האומה, חבוקה בסגולות פנימיות עם מציאותה. ומתוך כך אי-אפשר לעמוד על התוכן של סגולת קדושת ארץ ישראל, ולהוציא לפועל את עומק חבתה, בשום השכלה רציונלית אנושית כי-אם ברוח ד׳ אשר על האומה בכללה, בהטבעה הטבעית הרוחנית אשר בנשמת ישראל, שהיא ששולחת את קויה בצבעים טבעיים בכל הארחות של ההרגשה הבריאה, ומזרחת היא את זריחתה העליונה על-פי אותה המדה של רוח הקדושה העליונה, הממלאת חיים ונעם עליון את לבב קדושי הרעיון ועמוקי המחשבה הישראלית. המחשבה על-דבר ארץ ישראל, שהיא רק ערך חיצוני כדי העמדת אגודת האומה, אפילו כשהיא באה כדי לבצר על-ידה את הרעיון היהדותי בגולה, כדי לשמור את צביונו ולאמץ את האמונה והיראה והחזוק של המצות המעשיות בצורה הגונה, אין לה הפרי הראוי לקיום, כי היסוד הזה הוא רעוע בערך איתן הקודש

Erets Yisrael (THE LAND OF ISRAEL)

1

The Spiritual Dimension of the Land

The Land of Israel is not a means to an end of collective solidarity but rather an end in itself. It defies rationalism; it is a mystical dimension. The hope of the Land of Israel is what gives the Diaspora the strength to continue to exist. The essential difference between the Judaism of the Diaspora and that of the Land of Israel.

The Land of Israel is not something external, not an external national asset, a means to an end of collective solidarity² and the strengthening of the nation's existence, physical or even spiritual. The Land of Israel is an essential unit bound by the bond-of-life with the Nation, united by inner characteristics with its existence. Therefore, it is impossible to appreciate the content of the sanctity of the Land of Israel and to actualize the depth of love for her by some rational human understanding³ – only by the spirit of the Lord that is in the soul of Israel. This spirit radiates natural hues in all avenues of healthy feeling and shines according to the measure of supernal holy spirit, which fills with life and pleasantness the heart of the holy of thought and deep Jewish thinkers. The thought of the Land of Israel as only an external value serving as a cohesive force – even when it comes only to reinforce the Jewish idea in the Diaspora, to preserve its identity and to strengthen faith, awe (of the Lord) and observance of *mitsvot*

של ארץ ישראל. האמוץ האמתי של רעיון היהדות בגולה בא יבא רק מצד עמק שקועו בארץ ישראל, ומתקות ארץ ישראל יקבל תמיד את כל תכונותיו העצמיות. צפית ישועה היא כח המעמיד של היהדות הגלותית, והיהדות של ארץ ישראל היא הישועה עצמה.

לל-ידי התרחקות מהכרת הרזים באה ההכרה של קדושת ארץ ישראל בצורה מטושטשת. על-ידי ההתנכרות אל סוד ד׳ נעשות הסגולות העליונות של עמק החיים האלהיים לדברים טפלים שאינם נכנסים בעמק הנשמה, וממילא יחסר הכח היותר אדיר בנשמת האומה והיחיד, והגלות מוצאת היא חן מצד עצמותה, כי למשיג רק את השטח הגלוי לא יחסר שום דבר יסודי בחסרון הארץ והממלכה וכל תכני האומה בבנינה. יסוד צפית הישועה הוא אצלו כמו ענף צדדי שאיננו יכול להתקשר עם עומק הכרת היהדות, וזה בעצמו הוא הדבר המעיד על חסרון ההבנה שיש בשיטה מעטת הלשד כזאת. לא שוללים אנחנו כל מין ציור והבנה המיוסד על ישרות ורגשי דעה ויראת שמים באיזו צורה שהיא, רק את אותו הצד ששיטה כזאת תחפוץ לשלול את הרזים ואת השפעתם הגדולה על רוח האומה, כי זהו אסון שאנו חיבים ללחום אתו, בעצה ובתבונה, בקדושה ובגבורה.

(commandments) – bears no permanent fruit, for this foundation is shaky compared to the holy might of the Land of Israel.⁴ The true strengthening of the Jewish idea in exile will come about only through the depth of its immersion in the Land of Israel, and from the hope of the Land of Israel it will receive always its essential characteristics. The expectation of salvation is the force that preserves exilic Judaism;⁵ the Judaism of the Land of Israel is salvation itself.⁶

2

The Truth Concerning the Land Revealed in Kabbalah

Jewish Mysticism (Kabbalah) militates for life in the Land of Israel. Rationalist approaches to Judaism place no special value on the Land of Israel.

 $\mathcal I$ istance from awareness of the mysteries 7 produces a distorted awareness of the sanctity of the Land of Israel. Due to alienation from the "secret of the Lord," the higher qualities of godly life are reduced to trivia that do not penetrate the depth of the soul. When this happens, the most mighty⁸ force is missing from the soul of nation and individual, and Galut (Exile) finds favor essentially.9 To one who grasps only the outer surface, nothing fundamental is lost with the loss of land, sovereignty, and all the ingredients of an intact nation. For such a person, the expectation of salvation¹⁰ is but a side¹¹ branch that never connects to the depth of Jewish awareness. This itself attests to the lack of understanding in such a lifeless approach. We do not negate any conception based on rectitude and awe of heaven, of any form¹² only the aspect of such an approach that desires to negate the mysteries and their great influence on the spirit of the nation. This is a tragedy that we must combat with counsel and understanding, with holiness and courage.

לצירה עצמית ישראלית, במחשבה ובתקף החיים והמפעל, אי-אפשר לישראל אלא בארץ ישראל. לעומת זה, כל הנעשה מישראל בארץ ישראל מתבטלת הצורה הכללית שבו לגבי הצורה העצמית המיוחדה של ישראל, וזהו אושר גדול לישראל ולעולם. החטאים שגורמים גלות הם הם שמדלחים את המעין העצמי, והמקור מזיל הזלות טמאות, "את משכן ד' טמא". וכשהמקור העצמי המיוחד נשחת, מתעלה המקוריות היסודית לאותו החלק העליון התמציתי שיש לישראל בסגולת האדם, וזה נשאב דוקא בגלות, והארץ מתחרבת ומשתוממת וחרבנה מכפר עליה. המעין פוסק מלהזיל והוא מסתנן קמעא קמעא, וההופעות של החיים והמחשבה יוצאות דרך הצנור הכללי, שהוא פזור בכל העולם כלו, "כארבע רוחות השמים פרשתי אתכם", עד אשר ההזלות הטמאות הפרטיות מתפסקות וחוזר כח המקור לטהרתו. ואז נמאסת הגלות לגמרי והרי היא מיותרת, והאורה הכללית חוזרת היא להיות נובעת מהמעין העצמי הפרטי בכל חילו, ואורו של משיח המקבץ נדחים מתחיל להופיע, וקול בכי תמרורים של רחל המבכה על בניה מתמתק על-ידי שפעת תנחומים, של ״מנעי קולך מבכי ועינך מדמעה, כי יש שכר לפעולתך, נאם ד׳, ושבו מארץ אויב, ויש תקוה לאחריתך, נאם ד׳, ושבו בנים לגבולם״. ויצירת החיים המיוחדים, בכל מאורם והטיביותם המיוחדה, רוויה בטל העושר הכללי של האדם הגדול בענקים, ברכת אברהם, חוזרת היא דוקא על-ידי שיבה זו להתגלות. "והיה ברכה - בך חותמים". 3

Particularism and Universalism; Land and Exile

The two aspects of Jewish existence: particularism and universalism. In exile, the universalist side gains prominence; in Erets Yisrael the universalism is expressed through the medium of particularism. Exile is a cleansing of the particularist phenomenon. Jewish history, which began on a universalist note, comes full circle.

Independent Israelite creation, in thought and in life and action, is possible only in the Land of Israel. In everything produced by Israel in the Land, the universal form is subsumed¹³ under the unique form of Israel, and this is a boon for Israel and the world. The sins that cause exile are the very ones that muddy the essential spring, 14 and the source emits impure issues. The Tabernacle of the Lord he defiled.¹⁵ When the independent, particularist source is destroyed, originality rises to the supernal portion that Israel has in mankind. This is drawn upon in exile, and the Land is laid waste and desolate, and her destruction atones for her. The spring stops flowing and is filtered; manifestations of life and thought are emitted through the general conduit, which is spread throughout the globe. As the four winds of heaven I have scattered you. 16 Until the impure particularist issues stop and the source is restored to its purity. Then exile is detested and superfluous, and the universal light reverts to flowing¹⁷ from the independent, particularist fount with full force. The Light of Messiah who ingathers exiles begins to appear, and the sound of the bitter crying of Rachel mourning her children is softened by this consolation: Stop your voice from crying and your eyes from tears, for there is reward for your effort, says the Lord, and they shall return from an enemy land. There is hope toward your end, says the Lord, the children will return to their borders. 18 Creation of distinctive life with all its light and particularity, drenched in the dew of the universal wealth of the great man among giants, 19 the blessing of Abraham, reappears through precisely this return.²⁰ "Be a blessing with you they conclude."21

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ונאמן למחשבותיו, הגיונותיו, רעיונותיו ודמיונותיו, בחוץ לארץ, כתכונת הנאמנות הגיונותיו, רעיונותיו ודמיונותיו, בחוץ לארץ, כתכונת הנאמנות הזאת בארץ ישראל. הופעות הקדש, באיזו מדרגה שהן, נקיות הן בארץ ישראל לפי הערך, ובחוץ לארץ מעורבות הן בסיגים וקלפות מרובים. אמנם לפי גודל התשוקה והקשור של האדם לארץ ישראל, הרי רעיונותיו מזדככים מיסוד אוירא דארץ ישראל החופף על כל מי שמצפה לראותה. ״שמחו את ירושלם וגילו בה כל אוהביה״.

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דמיון של ארץ ישראל הוא צלול וברור, נקי וטהור ומסוגל להופעת האמת האלהית, להלבשת החפץ הרומם והנשגב של המגמה האידיאלית אשר בעליונות הקדש, מוכן להסברת נבואה ואורותיה, להבהקת רוח הקדש וזהריו. והדמיון אשר בארץ העמים עכור הוא, מעורב במחשכים, בצללי טומאה וזיהום, לא יוכל להתנשא למרומי קודש ולא יוכל להיות בסים לשפעת האורה האלהית המתעלה מכל שפלות העולמים ומצריהם. מתוך שהשכל והדמיון אחוזים זה בזה ופועלים ונפעלים זה על זה וזה מזה, לכן לא יוכל גם השכל שבחוץ לארץ להיות מאיר באורו שבארץ ישראל. "אוירא דארץ ישראל מחכים".

4

Authentic and Distorted Jewish Vision

Exile distorts Judaic vision. The thoughts of a Jew regain authenticity to the degree that they are attached to the Land of Israel.

It is impossible for a Jew to be faithful to his thoughts and visions outside of the Land²² in the same way that he is faithful in the Land of Israel. Manifestations of holiness, of whatever level, tend to be pure in the Land, and outside the Land, mixed with dross. However, in relation to the longing and the attachment of a person to the Land of Israel, his thoughts become purified by virtue of the "air of the Land of Israel" that hovers over all who long to see her. ²⁴ Gladden Jerusalem and rejoice in her all her lovers. ²⁵

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Land of Prophecy

Prophecy is a function of the imaginative faculty. Inasmuch as the imagination is warped in exile, prophecy is dependent on the Land of Israel. Intellect is also affected, as the two, imagination and intellect, are intertwined.

The imagination of the Land of Israel is pure and clear²⁶ and suited for the appearance of the divine truth, for garbing the lofty, exalted will of the ideal direction that is at the height of holiness; ready for the explication of prophecy²⁷ and its lights, for the shining of divine inspiration and its brightness. The imagination that is in the Lands of the Nations is murky, mixed with darkness, with shadows of impurity and pollution. It cannot ascend to the heights of holiness and cannot be the basis for the influx of divine light that transcends the lowness of the worlds and their straits. Since intellect and imagination are intertwined and interact,²⁸ even the intellect outside the Land cannot shine with the same light as in the Land. "The air of the Land of Israel makes wise."²⁹

עולת רוח הקדושה הנקלטת בארץ ישראל פועלת היא תדיר, גם אם נודמן הדבר ויצא האדם חוצה לארץ, על-ידי טעות או על-ידי איזו סבה מוכרחת. הרי גם הנבואה כשחלה כבר בארץ ישראל אינה פוסקת גם בחוץ לארץ. "היה היה דבר ד' אל יחזקאל בארץ כשדים - היה, מפני שהיה כבר״. שפעת הקדש, שהותחלה בארץ ישראל, מלקטת היא את כל ברורי הקדש הנמצאים בחוץ לארץ בכל המעמקים, ומקרבתם בכחה המושך אליה. כל מה שקשה יותר לסבול את אויר חוץ לארץ, כל מה שמרגישים יותר את רוח הטומאה של אדמה טמאה, זהו סמן לקליטה יותר פנימית של קדושת ארץ ישראל, לחסד עליון, אשר לא יעוב ממנו מי שוכה להסתופף בצלצח של ארץ חיים, גם בהתרחקו ונודו, גם בגלותו וארץ נדידתו. הזרות שמרגישים בחוץ לארץ הרי היא מקשרת יותר את כל חשק הרוח הפנימי לארץ ישראל וקדושתה, הצפיה לראותה מתגברת וציור חקיקת תבנית הקדש של ארץ אשר עיני ד׳ בה תמיד, מראשית השנה ועד אחרית שנה, מתעמקת יותר ויותר, ועומק תשוקת הקדש של חבת ציון, של זכירת הארץ, שכל חמודות בה קשורות, כשהיא מתגברת בנשמה, אפילו יחידית, הרי היא עושה פעולת נביעה מעינית לכל הכלל, לרבבות נשמות הקשורות עמה, וקול שופר של קבוץ נדחים מתעורר ורחמים רבים מתגברים, ותקות חיים לישראל מתנוצצת, וצמח ד' הולך ופורח, ואור ישועה וגאולה מתפצל ומתפשט, כשחר פרוש על ההרים.