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# Orot

The Original 1920 Version

ENGLISH EDITION

INTRODUCTION, TRANSLATION AND NOTES

Bezalel Naor

Orot

Maggid Books

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# Introduction

## The Historical Backdrop to *Orot*

### RAV KOOK'S DREAM OF A WORLD MOVEMENT: *DEGEL YERUSHALAYIM*

Rav Kook, Rabbi of Jaffa for exactly a decade, weathered the war years 1914-1918 in European exile. After an initial brief internment in Germany, there followed two years of unemployment in St. Gallen, Switzerland, as the guest of an admirer (Mr. Abraham Kimḥi), and finally a stint as Rabbi of the prestigious Maḥzikei Ha-Dat Synagogue of London's East End. Setting sail for Europe in late summer of 1914 in order to attend the scheduled world convention of Agudat Yisrael, he had, in a sense, walked into a divinely preordained "trap," for within days of his arrival, World War broke out, making return to Palestine physically impossible. This was the first of two great traps upon which pivot Rav Kook's biography. The second trap, man-made, with lion's jaws, was the Jerusalem rabbinate – but we are getting ahead of ourselves.

As the bloody war drew to a close, Jewish nationalist – Zionist – ambitions reached a crescendo in the Balfour Declaration of 1917. It seems that divine supervision had maneuvered Rav Kook into London,

so that he could be instrumental in procuring this historic assertion of Jewish rights to a homeland in “Palestine.” However, whereas the secular, political vision of Herzl could presume to be solidly on the road to fulfillment with the creation of the British mandate, wheels of a much larger, spiritual, cosmic vision began to turn within Rav Kook’s head. If it is at all fair to draw comparisons between the affairs of vastly different nations, we could say that Weizmann would be the equivalent to Nehru in the annals of the Indian independence movement, while Rav Kook would be – forgive the comparison – the analog to Gandhi.<sup>1</sup> One man works solely within the political orbit, while his counterpart labors, as well, in the rarefied atmosphere of philosophy and even mysticism. We may extend the analogy further. Just as Gandhi’s philosophy of nonviolence has had global impact (influencing among others, Martin Luther King), it is conceivable that Rav Kook’s cosmic, holistic, messianic vision will one day influence men of different races and nationalities. But again we are jumping ahead.

While Rav Kook may not have been a very organized writer, he proved to be quite the programmatic leader. A well-formulated, if somewhat grandiose, plan of action began to congeal toward the end of the Rav’s English interlude. Zionism was a body that needed a soul breathed into it. Rav Kook, together with his fellow rabbis and the Orthodox masses, would provide such a soul in the form of Jerusalemism, i.e., a worldwide movement to be known as *Degel Yerushalayim*, the Banner of Jerusalem (or alternately, *Histadrut Yerushalayim*, the Jerusalem Organization, to directly parallel the *Histadrut Ziyonit*, the Zionist Organization.) The platform of *Degel Yerushalayim* included plans for a universal *yeshivah* (rabbinical academy) and a supreme religious court (precursor of a Sanhedrin), both to be located in Jerusalem.

### THE JERUSALEM RABBINATE: LIGHTS IN VESSELS

While Rav Kook, with the aid of his son, Rav Zevi Yehudah, began to attract their recent European acquaintances to membership in

*Degel Yerushalayim*, Rav Kook's closest disciple and "soul brother," Rav Ya'akov Moshe Ḥarlap, who had been physically (though not spiritually) separated from his beloved master for the duration of the war, began to set in motion difficult negotiations that would culminate in Rav Kook's return to *Erets Yisrael* as the Rav of Jerusalem.<sup>2</sup> The mystical reunion of the souls of master and disciple would also spell the incarnation of the "lights" of holiness in their proper "vessels," to employ Lurianic parlance. No longer would the lofty ideals of the movement for spiritual renaissance wander naked in European capitals; they would have their rightful base of operations in Jerusalem once Rav Kook had been invested as Rav of Jerusalem. It was truly a plan of messianic proportions. However, there was one possible oversight or miscalculation in Rav Ḥarlap's purview of the situation. Whereas he and several of the other dynamic young luminaries of Jerusalem, such as Rabbis Zevi Pesah Frank, the *dayyan* or halakhic judge; Yeḥiel Mikhel Tuckachinsky (married to the granddaughter of the previous Rav of Jerusalem, Samuel Salant); and Israel Porath,<sup>3</sup> to mention a few, viewed Rav Kook as a true godsend, a veritable saving angel to enhance Jerusalem's prestige with his charismatic, visionary, and unifying gifts, and to lead the city's religious institutions out of financial ruin – the elder rabbis of Jerusalem, Yitshak Yeruḥam Diskin and Yosef Ḥayyim Sonnenfeld, or at least their entourage, came more and more to regard Rav Kook as – excuse the language – Satan incarnate.

It is not our objective here to enter into all the complex political machinations that finally culminated in the worst-case scenario of there being *two* Rabbis of Jerusalem, Avraham Yitshak Hakohen Kook and Yosef Ḥayyim Sonnenfeld, each with his own *beit din* or ecclesiastical court. This is an entire chapter in modern Jewish history that requires protracted scrutiny and whose ramifications are felt even to this day in Israel's religious infrastructure. The primary texts where the inquiry must begin are the Agudah leader, Rabbi Moshe Blau's *Al Ḥomotayikh Yerushalayim* (Tel Aviv, 1946), and the devastating rejoinder by Rav

Kook's faithful adherent,<sup>4</sup> Rabbi Menaḥem Mendel Porush, *Be-Tokh ha-Ḥomot* (Jerusalem, 1948).

Rabbi Porush's exposé is so devastating precisely because it reveals the *dramatis personae* as terribly miscast for the roles they were to play in this most decisive nexus of Jewish history. Rav Kook, far from being the "enlightened rabbi," was distinctly of the old mold: by outer appearance, dressed in traditional garb – fur hat, satin coat, long beard, and *payot* (side curls) – and inwardly, a man with distinctly ascetic and pietistic tendencies, to whom food was a distraction,<sup>5</sup> ablutions in *mikveh* (ritual bath) and visits to the *Kotel* (Western Wall) a daily, or rather, nocturnal ritual,<sup>6</sup> and having severe misgivings concerning women's suffrage<sup>7</sup> and other inroads into the time-honored pattern of Jewish life. Rabbi Yitṣḥak Yeruḥam Diskin, on the other hand, at least in his European, pre-Jerusalem phase, was well groomed by conventional Western standards, a man at home in Russian, French and secular studies,<sup>8</sup> a recipient of correspondence from Dr. Herzl,<sup>9</sup> and married to a woman considered "modern" by Jerusalem standards of the day (she wore a wig and a hat).<sup>10</sup> The irony of ironies is that it was none other than Rav Kook's "point man" in Jerusalem, Rabbi Ya'akov Moshe Ḥarlap (a born and bred *Yerushalmi*, whose father, Rabbi Zevulun, had served as a *dayyan* in the elder Rabbi Yehoshua Leib Diskin's court), who was responsible for ingratiating the newly arrived Rabbi Yitṣḥak Yeruḥam Diskin in circles where he was hitherto rejected as an intruder.<sup>11</sup>

Nonetheless, on one important point I must disagree with some of Rav Kook's staunchest defenders. It is too easy to dismiss the whole affair as either a socioeconomic clash between Jews of Hungarian versus Russian and Polish origins over control of the city coffers (as wrote Rav Zevi Pesah Frank to his in-law Rabbi Ḥayyim Hirschensohn<sup>12</sup>), or to attribute it alternately to the instigation and agitation of hotheads such as the notorious R. Moshe Semnitzer,<sup>13</sup> or the overzealousness of Rebbetzin Yente Diskin in defending her husband's professional honor.<sup>14</sup> (There are chroniclers who attribute

the Vilna Gaon's implacable opposition to the Ḥasidic movement – or at least, his unwillingness to meet with Ḥasidic representatives – to his mother's influence. The place of women in behind-the-scenes shaping of Jewish history should make for a fascinating study.) Between the lines of recorded history lie the spaces of metahistory, that which Jewish thought is made of. The combatants are fighting for high, ideological stakes. Such was the informed and also inspired judgment of an impartial commentator, Rabbi Ḥayyim Hirschensohn (one of the great, if unruly, minds of the generation, who was born in Jerusalem and after a brief sojourn in Constantinople came to the “New World,” where as “Rabbi of Hoboken and West, the Hills of Jersey City, Union Hill and the Vicinity,” he exchanged letters and confidences with the luminaries of his day).<sup>15</sup> This was also Rav Kook's own assessment of the matter after careful, painful reflection.<sup>16</sup> It was the philosophic issues underlying the *maḥloket* (controversy) that were to come to the fore in the battle surrounding a small powder keg entitled *Orot*.

### ENTER A BOOK NAMED *OROT*

In 1920, Rav Zevi Yehudah Kook published a compilation of various manuscripts of his father, dating from the period immediately preceding and during the war (actually the brief stay in Switzerland where, it is assumed, the relaxation of communal duties allowed more time for creative writing).<sup>17</sup> This small, attractive booklet he entitled simply but elegantly, *Orot* (*Lights*). What prompted the publication of the book at this time?

Shmuel Hakohen Avidor in his somewhat fanciful biography of Rav Kook, *Ha-Ish Neged ha-Zerem* (*Man Against the Current*)<sup>18</sup> claims that publishing the book at this time was the son's way of lifting Rav Kook's spirits after the tragic death of his youngest daughter, fourteen-year-old Esther Yael, which occurred right after *Sukkot* 5680 (1919).<sup>19</sup> Rav Zevi Yehudah himself is reticent in this regard. In his brief preface to *Orot*, he says only that of certain writings of his father, whose



publication had been postponed due to the war and that should shortly appear in print, he has culled passages – entitled *Orot ha-Teḥiyah* (*Lights of Renascence*) – to shed light on the process of national renascence and return to the Land.

Actually, the answer to our question is self-evident. One has only to scan the title page of *Orot* to learn that the book is a “*Degel Yerushalayim* publication,” and if that is not enough, a line below, one reads: “By the Central Office of the Jerusalem Organization.” Rav Kook’s assumption of the office of Rav of Jerusalem in 1919<sup>20</sup> had not taken the wind out of the sails of *Degel Yerushalayim*. Quite the contrary, the vision he had brought back with him from exile was continuing full speed ahead, if anything, assisted by his high office.<sup>21</sup> Until this time, programs and manifestos of *Degel Yerushalayim* had been circulated.<sup>22</sup> Now, it was time to give the movement ideological moorings in the form of a full-length tract. The pragmatic work of *Degel Yerushalayim*, the preparations for the *Yeshivah* and the Chief Rabbinate, were but the tip of the proverbial iceberg. Now the titanic soul of the movement’s founder would be revealed in all its psychic depth.

When exactly in the Hebrew year 5680 (Fall 1919 – Fall 1920) the book was brought out is difficult to ascertain. We first learn of the projected publication of *Orot me-Ofel* in a letter<sup>23</sup> of Rav Kook to his son Zevi Yehudah, dated “8 Adar, 5680.” (Rav Kook’s younger brother, Shmuel, is mentioned as the one to actually submit the manuscript to the printer.) This date would serve as the *terminus a quo*. The *terminus ad quem* would be the second week of Av. In a filial letter,<sup>24</sup> which though undated, has been pinned down by the editors of the collection in which it appears to the second week in Av, Rav Kook attempts to uplift the spirits of his aged parents, much upset by the detractors of *Orot*. Thus, publication of the book occurred between 8 Adar and the second week of Av, corresponding to spring or summer of 1920.

***Orot me-Ofel***<sup>1</sup>  
**(Lights from Darkness)**

## ***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 solidarity<sup>2</sup> 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 understanding<sup>3</sup> – 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* (commandments) – bears no permanent fruit, for this foundation is shaky compared to the holy might of the Land of Israel.<sup>4</sup> 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;<sup>5</sup> the Judaism of the Land of Israel is salvation itself.<sup>6</sup>

## 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.*

Distance from awareness of the mysteries<sup>7</sup> 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 mighty<sup>8</sup> force is missing from the soul of nation and individual, and *Galut* (Exile) finds favor essentially.<sup>9</sup> 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 salvation<sup>10</sup> is but a side<sup>11</sup> 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 form<sup>12</sup> – 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.

### 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.*

I 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 subsumed<sup>13</sup> 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,<sup>14</sup> and the source emits impure issues. *The Tabernacle of the Lord he defiled.*<sup>15</sup> 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.*<sup>16</sup> 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 flowing<sup>17</sup> 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.*<sup>18</sup> Creation of distinctive life with all its light and particularity, drenched in the dew

of the universal wealth of the *great man among giants*,<sup>19</sup> the blessing of Abraham, reappears through precisely this return.<sup>20</sup> “*Be a blessing – with you they conclude.*”<sup>21</sup>

## 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 Land<sup>22</sup> 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”<sup>23</sup> that hovers over all who long to see her.<sup>24</sup> *Gladden Jerusalem and rejoice in her all her lovers.*<sup>25</sup>

## 5

### **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 clear<sup>26</sup> 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 prophecy<sup>27</sup> 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,<sup>28</sup> 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.”<sup>29</sup>

## 6

### **The Mission of a Jew from the Land Living Outside**

*The divine inspiration of the Land of Israel follows a Jew into exile. There it acts as a magnet to attract elements of holiness in the Diaspora. The feeling of spiritual alienation outside the Land is a barometer of inner attachment to the Land.*

The effect of the holy spirit absorbed in the Land of Israel works constantly, even if it should happen that a person leave the Land by mistake or necessity. Even prophecy, once it had come to rest in the Land of Israel, did not cease outside the Land. *The word of God was to Ezekiel [son of Buzi, the priest] in the land of the Chaldeans.*<sup>30</sup> “Was, because it was already.”<sup>31</sup> The flow of holiness, which began in the Land of Israel, gathers all the refined (sparks) of holiness found outside the Land in all the depths and attracts them by its magnetism.<sup>32</sup> The more difficult it is to endure the “air” outside the Land, the more one feels the spirit of impurity of an impure land – this is a sign of an inner absorption of the holiness of the Land of Israel; of a supernal (divine) love, which will not abandon one who has merited to find shelter in the pure shade of the Land of Life, even when one wanders far away, even in one’s land of exile. The strangeness that one feels outside the Land binds all the inner spiritual desire to the Land of Israel and its holiness even more. The expectation to see her grows stronger and the mental picture of the holy structure of *a land which the eyes of the Lord are upon always, from the beginning of the year until the end of the year*<sup>33</sup> deepens. When the deep holy desire of love of Zion, of remembrance of the Land to which all delights are attached,<sup>34</sup> grows strong in the soul, even the individual soul, it opens up a fountain-flow for the entire community, for myriad souls attached to her, and the voice of the *shofar* (ram’s horn) of the ingathering of exiles is aroused and great

(divine) mercy prevails, the hope of life for Israel glitters, the sapling of the Lord flourishes, and the light of salvation and redemption breaks and spreads, as dawn spreading on the mountains.

## 7

## Torah Letters and Soul Letters

*The correspondence of the “letters of the Torah” and the “letters of the soul.” The “letters of the soul” thrive in the “air of the Land of Israel.” The justice of Torah is the essence of the soul-letters of all Israel.*

The soul is full of letters that abound with the light of life, knowledge and will, a spirit of vision,<sup>35</sup> and complete existence. From the glow of these living letters, all the other levels of the structure of life – all the avenues of will, intellect, action; of spirit and soul, of all varieties – fill with the splendor of life. When we approach a *mitsvah* (commandment), the *mitsvah* is always full of the splendor of life of all the worlds. Each *mitsvah* is replete with huge, wonderful letters, of the 613 *mitsvot* (commandments) that connect to every *mitsvah*,<sup>36</sup> of all the eternal life that is the secret of faith. The splendorous light of the Living God, the light of the Life-of-Worlds, lives in every *mitsvah*. Right before we commence doing a *mitsvah*, all the letters that live within us expand. We expand and grow stronger<sup>37</sup> in the light of life and supreme existence, rich in the holiness of eternity and in the light of Torah and the splendor of wisdom. The letters of the sources of Torah flow down on us, and the letters of life, full of splendor and the internal light that is within us, ascend to meet them, and a cosmic eruption occurs. The strength of a pleasant joy, holy power, and pleasurable rejoicing occur within our spirit, and throughout existence light and life are renewed. The world is saved on our behalf; at least light and rectitude increase, will and a good, inner satisfaction. In the Land of Israel the letters of our soul expand; there they expose the light,<sup>38</sup> draw nourishment from the splendor of life of *Knesset Yisrael* (Ecclesia Israel), [and] are influenced directly from the secret source of their formation. The “air of the Land of Israel” produces<sup>39</sup> the fresh growth of these living letters,



with splendid beauty, with pleasant amicability, and with thunderous power full of a holy flow. *All who are written for life in Jerusalem.*<sup>40</sup> The expectation to see the beauty of the land of delight, the inner longing for the Land of Israel expands the letters of holiness, the essential Israelite letters of life that are within us. “One who is born there and one who expects to see her.”<sup>41</sup> *But of Zion it will be said, “This and that man were born there,” and the Most High Himself will establish her. The Lord will number when he writes down nations, “This one was born there.” Selah.*<sup>42</sup> Justice – the middle column<sup>43</sup> on which the entire palace rests (“comparable to a noblewoman who walks, the folds of her dress here and there – justice is the middle of the Torah”),<sup>44</sup> is the essence of life, *the judgment of the Children of Israel,*<sup>45</sup> the essence of the soul-desire drenched with the soul of Messiah, *the breath of our nostrils,*<sup>46</sup> who will be called *the-Lord-is-our-Righteousness,*<sup>47</sup> who will reveal the light of divine justice in the land with supreme strength, which negates all war and bloodshed. *The judgment of the Children of Israel on the heart of Aaron.*<sup>48</sup> The essence of the soul-letters of all Israel shines in the *Urim and Tummim*, “protrude or cojoin.”<sup>49</sup>

## 8

## Land of Israel: Vessel to Jewish Lights

*The lights within the Israelite soul seek the vessels for their full expression: the Land of Israel where all the commandments of the Torah may be fulfilled. This yearning fills even the emptiest of Jewish spirits.*

Within the heart, in the chambers of its purity and holiness, grows stronger the Israelite flame, which seeks impassionedly the constant integral connection of life to all of God’s *mitsvot* (commandments), to pour the spirit of God, the full universal spirit of Israel that fills all the chambers of the soul, into all the many vessels that were designed for it, to give full expression – practical and ideal – to the Israelite conception. The flames glow in the heart of the righteous, a holy flame ascends, and in the heart of the entire nation it burns constantly – *An eternal flame shall burn on the altar, it shall not be extinguished*<sup>50</sup> –

and in the hearts of all the empty of Israel and the sinners of Israel it burns deep within, and in the nation at large, all desire of freedom and longing of life (the life of the individual and the community), all hope of redemption flows only from this spring of life, in order to live full Israelite life without contradiction and constriction. And this is the desire for the Land of Israel, the holy soil, the Land of the Lord, in which all the *mitsvot* (commandments) are actualized. This desire for the actualization of the spirit of the Lord, for uplifting the head in the greatness of the spirit of the Lord, works on all the hearts and all want to unite with it, to taste the pleasantness of its life. *Therefore I loved Your commandments more than gold.*<sup>51</sup> The fortitude in the heart that shows the entire world the strength of the nation in maintaining its character, name, values, faith, and vision, is included in the desire of the life of truth and the life of all the *mitsvot*, that the light of Torah in all its fullness and goodness should glow on it [i.e., the nation]. If someone who stands afar should be amazed: “How is it possible that within all of the spirits which are seemingly removed from faith, there should pound the spirit of life with its inner strength, not only for abstract closeness to God, but for true Israelite life, for the expression of *mitsvot* in theory, poetry and practice?!” – this does not amaze one who is connected in the depths of his spirit to the depths of *Knesset Yisrael* (Ecclesia Israel) and knows her wonderful gifts.<sup>52</sup> This is the secret of strength, the height of life that will never end. *And you shall observe my laws and judgments, which if a man do them, he shall live thereby, I am the Lord.*<sup>53</sup> *To walk before the Lord in the land of life.*<sup>54</sup> “This is the Land of Israel.”<sup>55</sup>