



SHALOM HARTMAN מכון
INSTITUTE שלום הרטמן

Israel - Auschwitz or Sinai?

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The Shalom Hartman Institute is a leading center of Jewish thought and education, serving Israel and North America. Our mission is to strengthen Jewish peoplehood, identity, and pluralism; to enhance the Jewish and democratic character of Israel; and to ensure that Judaism is a compelling force for good in the 21st century.

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1. "Auschwitz or Sinai?", David Hartman

There is a healthy spirit of serious self-evaluation and criticism in the land today. The triumphant ecstasy of the Six Day War no longer dominates the consciousness of many Israelis. In retrospect, the jubilant sense of victory created by the Six Day War was a mixed blessing. Besides the positive effect of awakening the Jewish world to the centrality and importance of Israel, it also gave rise to national self-adulation and hubris. Widespread in Israeli society today are a sober appreciation of political and moral complexities and a serious sense of responsibility for the unintended consequences of our actions. These elements made themselves felt during the recent war and are positive and hopeful signs of a mature orientation to life. The fact that our country tolerates serious and often heated disagreement is a sign of its internal health and strength. There is no doubt that Israeli society contains the vital moral forces needed for regeneration and renewal.

In the Judaic tradition, belief in renewal resulted from respect for mature and intelligent self-criticism. **Heshbon ha-nefesh** (self-examination) is a necessary condition for **teshuva** (repentance and renewal). Honesty to oneself and to others is a precondition for authentic human growth and creativity. Self-praise and adulation are deceptive and lead to moral sloppiness and to reveling in the **status quo**. Breakthroughs in the human spirit are facilitated by the courage to admit to moral failures. The belief in the power of renewal is a central motif in Judaism. Such concepts as psychological determinism, historical inevitability and fatalism are alien to our tradition's understanding of human action. Belief in radical freedom, in an open future, in surprise and novelty is crucial element of Judaism's vitality and perseverance. There is, however, a fundamental difference between the yearning for a new future that reflects wishful romantic dreams and the judicious hope that has been tested by suffering, failure and tragedy.

Although we are a young nation, the intensity of our political reality and our long historical memories provide us with the experience and insights necessary for finding new and mature directions for our society. One of the fundamental issues facing the new spirit of maturity in Israel is: Should Auschwitz or Sinai be the orienting category shaping our understanding of the rebirth of the State of Israel? There are important differences resulting from the relative emphasis we place on these two models. In the 20th century we have again become a traumatized nation. The ugly demonic forces of anti-Semitism have horrified our sensibilities. We can never forget the destruction of millions of Jews in World War II. Many, therefore, justify and interpret the significance of our rebirth in terms of Jewish suffering and persecution. One often hears in speeches in the Knesset and at the UJA fund-raising dinners phrases such as: "Never again will we be vulnerable. Never again will we expose our lives to the ugly political forces in the world. Our powerful army has eliminated the need to beg for pity and compassion from the nations of the world".

While I respect and share in the anguish expressed in these sentiments, I believe it is destructive to make the Holocaust the dominant organizing category of modern Jewish history and of our national renewal and rebirth. It is both politically and

morally dangerous for our nation to perceive itself essentially as the suffering remnant of the Holocaust. It is childish and often vulgar to attempt to demonstrate how the Jewish people's suffering is unique in history.

Our bodies have painfully tasted man's indifference and inhumanity to his fellow man. We have witnessed in our own flesh the moral evil present in human society. But this should not tempt us to become morally arrogant. Our suffering should not lead us to self-righteous postures, but to an increased sensitivity about all human suffering.

Nonetheless, there are individuals obsessed with the trauma of the Holocaust who proclaim that no one can judge the Jewish people. "No nation has the right to call us to moral judgment. We need not take the moral criticism of the world seriously because the uniqueness of our suffering places us above the moral judgment of an immoral world".

Those who make such statements judge others, but refuse to be judged. In so doing, a basic Judaic principle is violated: no one may judge if he refuses to be judged himself. Although it is right to appreciate the dignity that comes with power and statehood, with freedom from the inconsistent and fragile goodwill of the nations of the world, it is a serious mistake to allow the trauma of Jewish suffering to be the exclusive frame of reference for understanding our national renaissance. Israel is not only a response to modern anti-Semitism, but is above all a modern expression of the eternal Sinai covenant that has shaped Jewish consciousness throughout the millennia. It was not Hitler who brought us back to Zion, but rather belief in the eternal validity of the Sinai covenant. One need not visit Yad Vashem in order to understand our love for Jerusalem. It is dangerous to our growth as a healthy people if the memory of Auschwitz becomes a substitute for Sinai.

The model of Sinai awakens the Jewish people to the awesome responsibility of becoming a holy people. At Sinai, we discover the absolute demand of God; we discover who we are by what we do. Sinai calls us to action, to moral awakening, to living constantly with challenges of building a moral and just society which mirrors the kingdom of God in history. Sinai creates humility and openness to the demands of self-transcendence. In this respect, it is the antithesis of the moral narcissism that can result from suffering and from viewing oneself as a victim.

The centrality of **mitzvah** in Judaism shatters egocentricity and demands of the Jew that he judge himself by the way he acts and not by mystical myths regarding the purity or uniqueness of the Jewish soul. **Na'aseh ve-nishma** (we will do and we will understand) was the response of our people at Sinai. We understand ourselves through our doing. Sinai does not tell us about the moral purity of the Jewish nation, but about the significance of aspiring to live by the commandments. Sinai permanently exposes the Jewish people to prophetic aspirations and judgments. Jews were never frightened for the failure to implement covenantal responsibilities. Immediately after the account of the revelation at Sinai, we are reminded of Israel's unfaithfulness to the covenant in the vivid description of the Golden Calf incident.

Sinai teaches us that there is no meaning to election without judgment - there are no privileges without demands. Sinai requires of the Jew that he believe in the possibility of integrating the moral seriousness of the prophet with the realism and political judgment of the statesman. Politics and morality were united when Israel was born as a nation at Sinai. Sinai prohibits the Jewish people from ever abandoning the effort of creating a shared moral language with the nations of the world.

The rebirth of Israel can be viewed as a return to the fullness of the Sinai covenant - to Judaism as a way of life. The moral and spiritual aspirations of the Jewish tradition were not meant to be realized in Sabbath sermons or by messianic dreamers who wait passively on the margins of society for redemption to break miraculously into history. Torah study is not a substitute for actual life, nor are prayer and the synagogue escapes from the ambiguities and complexities of political life. The Jewish world will have to learn that the synagogue is no longer the exclusive defining framework for Jewish communal life. Moral seriousness and political maturity and wisdom must come to our nation if we are to be judged by the way we struggle to integrate the Sinai covenant with the complexities of political realities. The establishment of the modern State of Israel has removed us from the insulated world of the ghetto and has exposed Judaism and the Jewish people to the judgment of the world. We can no longer hide our weaknesses and petty failings. We live in total exposure.

We must therefore define who we are by what we do and not by any obsession with the long and noble history of Jewish suffering. In coming back to our land and rebuilding our nation, we have chosen to give greater moral weight to our actions in the present than to noble dreams of the future or to the memories of our heroic past.

In choosing to act in the 20th century rather than wait for perfect messianic conditions, we permanently run the risk of making serious mistakes in our moral and political judgments. We must, therefore, respond maturely to anyone who is critical of our shortcomings. The time has come for us to free ourselves from the exaggerated rhetoric of moral superiority ("no one can teach us morality") and to face the awesome task implicit in the Sinai covenant. The prophets teach us that the state has only instrumental value for the purpose of embodying the covenantal demands of Judaism. When nationalism becomes an absolute value for Jews and political and military judgments are not related to the larger purpose of our national renaissance, we can no longer claim to represent the Judaic tradition. Rather, we have ironically become assimilated while speaking Hebrew in our own country. In being open and appreciative of criticism, regardless of its source, we demonstrate that we seek to walk humbly and responsibly before the Lord of all creation, who demands that Israel bear witness to the demands of justice within an imperfect world.

It is important to remember that the Jewish people did not go from the suffering conditions of Egypt directly into the land. We first went to Sinai, made a covenant

with God, and pledged absolute allegiance to the commandments. We spent years in the desert casting off the mantle of the suffering slave.

After we overcome the humiliating memory of slavery and persecution and understood that we were called to bear witness to God's kingdom in history, only then did we enter the land. The memory of suffering in Egypt was absorbed by the conventional normative demands of Sinai. We were taught not to focus on suffering outside of its normative and moral implications.

Because of Sinai, Jewish suffering did not create self-pity but moral sensitivity: "And you shall love the stranger because you were strangers in the land of Egypt". Auschwitz, like all Jewish suffering of the past, must be absorbed and understood within the normative framework of Sinai. We will mourn forever because of the memory of Auschwitz. We will build a healthy new society because of the memory of Sinai.

A. Auschwitz

2. Genesis 33:4

4. And Esau ran to meet him, and embraced him, and fell on his neck, and kissed him; and they wept.

ד וַיֵּרָץ עֵשָׂו לִקְרָאתוֹ וַיַּחֲבֹקְהוּ וַיִּפֹּל עַל-צְוֹאָרוֹ וַיִּשָּׁקְהוּ וַיִּבְכּוּ:

3. Rashi Genesis 33:4

[...] And kissed him. There are dots over the word. There is controversy concerning this matter in a Baraita of Sifrei (Beha'alothcha 69). Some interpret the dots to mean that he did not kiss him wholeheartedly. Rabbi Simeon ben Yochai said: It is a well known tradition that Esau hated Jacob, but his compassion was moved at that time, and he kissed him wholeheartedly.

(ד)[...] וישקהו. נקוד עליו, ויש חולקין בדבר הזה בברייתא דספרי (ספרי בהעלותך סט.), יש שדרשו נקודה זו, לומר שלא נשקו בכל לבו (ב"ר עח, ט.). אמר רבי שמעון בן יוחאי, הלכה היא, בידוע שעשו שונא ליעקב, אלא שנכמרו רחמיו באותה שעה, ונשקו בכל לבו (ב"ר שם):

4. Numbers 23:7-10

7. And he took up his discourse, and said, Balak the king of Moab has brought me from Aram, from the mountains of the east, saying, Come, curse Jacob for me, and come, defy Israel.

8. How shall I curse, he whom God has not cursed? or how shall I defy, he whom the Lord has not defied?

9. For from the top of the rocks I see him, and from the hills I behold him; lo, the people shall live alone, and shall not be reckoned among the nations.

10. Who can count the dust of Jacob, and the number of the fourth part of Israel? Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his!

ז וַיֵּשָׂא מִשְׁלוֹ וַיֹּאמֶר מִן-אֶרֶץ יִנְחֲנִי בְלֶק מֶלֶךְ-מוֹאָב מִהַרְרֵי-קִדְּם לָכָה אֶרֶץ-לִי יַעֲקֹב
וּלְכָה זַעֲמָה יִשְׂרָאֵל :
ח מָה אֶקֶב לֹא קִבֵּה אֵל וּמָה אֶזְעַם לֹא זָעַם יְהוָה :
ט כִּי-מֵרֹאשׁ צָרִים אֶרְאֶנּוּ וּמִגִּבְעוֹת אֲשׁוּרֵנּוּ הָיָה-עָם לְבָדָד יִשְׁכֹּן וּבְגוֹיִם לֹא יִתְחַשֵּׁב :
י מִי מָנָה עֶפֶר יַעֲקֹב וּמִסָּפֶר אֶת-רִבֵּעַ יִשְׂרָאֵל תָּמַת נַפְשֵׁי מוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל וַתְּהִי אַחֲרֵיתִי
כְּמֹהוּ :

B. Sinai

5. Exodus 19

1. In the third month, when the people of Israel were gone forth out of the land of Egypt, the same day came they into the wilderness of Sinai.
2. For they had departed from Rephidim, and had come to the desert of Sinai, and had camped in the wilderness; and there Israel camped before the mount.
3. And Moses went up to God, and the Lord called to him from the mountain, saying, Thus shall you say to the house of Jacob, and tell the people of Israel;
4. You have seen what I did to the Egyptians, and how I carried you on eagles' wings, and brought you to myself.
5. Now therefore, if you will obey my voice indeed, and keep my covenant, then you shall be my own treasure among all peoples; for all the earth is mine;
6. And you shall be to me a kingdom of priests, and a holy nation. These are the words which you shall speak to the people of Israel.
7. And Moses came and called for the elders of the people, and laid before their faces all these words which the Lord commanded him.
8. And all the people answered together, and said, All that the Lord has spoken we will do. And Moses returned the words of the people to the Lord.
9. And the Lord said to Moses, Behold, I come to you in a thick cloud, that the people may hear when I speak with you, and believe you forever. And Moses told the words of the people to the Lord.
10. And the Lord said to Moses, Go to the people, and sanctify them today and tomorrow, and let them wash their clothes,
11. And be ready by the third day; for the third day the Lord will come down in the sight of all the people upon Mount Sinai.
12. And you shall set bounds to the people around, saying, Take heed to yourselves, that you go not up into the mount, or touch its border; whoever touches the mount shall be surely put to death.
13. There shall not a hand touch it, but he shall surely be stoned, or shot through; whether it be beast or man, it shall not live; when the trumpet sounds a long blast, they shall come up to the mount.
14. And Moses went down from the mount to the people, and sanctified the people; and they washed their clothes.
15. And he said to the people, Be ready by the third day; do not come near a woman.
16. And it came to pass on the third day in the morning, that there were thunders and lightnings, and a thick cloud upon the mount, and the sound of a shofar exceedingly loud; so that all the people who were in the camp trembled.
17. And Moses brought forth the people out of the camp to meet with God; and they stood at the lower part of the mount.

18. And Mount Sinai was altogether in smoke, because the Lord descended upon it in fire; and its smoke ascended as the smoke of a furnace, and the whole mount trembled greatly.
19. And when the voice of the shofar sounded long, and became louder and louder, Moses spoke, and God answered him by a voice.
20. And the Lord came down upon Mount Sinai, on the top of the mount; and the Lord called Moses up to the top of the mount; and Moses went up.
21. And the Lord said to Moses, Go down, charge the people, lest they break through to the Lord to gaze, and many of them perish.
22. And let the priests also, who come near the Lord, sanctify themselves, lest the Lord break forth upon them.
23. And Moses said to the Lord, The people cannot come up to mount Sinai; for you charged us, saying, Set bounds about the mount, and sanctify it.
24. And the Lord said to him, Go, get you down, and you shall come up, you, and Aaron with you; but let not the priests and the people break through to come up to the Lord, lest he break forth upon them.
25. So Moses went down to the people, and spoke to them.

א בחדש השלישי לצאת בני ישראל מארץ מצרים ביום הזה באו מדבר סיני :
 ב ויסעו מרפידים ויבאו מדבר סיני ויחנו במדבר ויחן-שם ישראל נגד ההר :
 ג ומשה עלה אל-האלהים ויקרא אליו יהוה מן-ההר לאמר כה תאמר לבית יעקב ותגיד לבני ישראל :
 ד אתם ראיתם אשר עשיתי למצרים ואשא אתכם על-כנפי נשרים ואבא אתכם אלי :
 ה ועתה אם-שמוע תשמעו בקלי ושמרתם את-בריתי והייתם לי סגלה מכל-העמים כי-לי כל-הארץ :
 ו ואתם תהיו-לי ממלכת כהנים וגוי קדוש אלה הדברים אשר תדבר אל-בני ישראל : [חמישי]
 ז ויבא משה ויקרא לזקני העם וישם לפניהם את כל-הדברים האלה אשר צוהו יהוה :
 ח ויענו כל-העם יחדו ויאמרו כל אשר-דבר יהוה נעשה וישב משה את-דברי העם אל-יהוה :
 ט ויאמר יהוה אל-משה הנה אנכי בא אליך בעב הענן בעבור ישמע העם בדברי עמך וגם-בך יאמינו לעולם ונגד משה את-דברי העם אל-יהוה :
 י ויאמר יהוה אל-משה לך אל-העם וקדשתם היום ומחר וכבסו שמלתם :
 יא והיו נכנים ליום השלישי כי ביום השלישי ירד יהוה לעיני כל-העם על-הר סיני :
 יב והגבלת את-העם סביב לאמר השמרו לכם עלות בהר ונגע בקצהו כל-הנגע בהר מות יומת :
 יג לא-תגע בו יד כי-סקול וסקל או-ירה יירה אם-בהמה אם-איש לא יחיה במשך היבל המה יעלו בהר :
 יד וירד משה מן-ההר אל-העם ויקדש את-העם וכבסו שמלתם :
 טו ויאמר אל-העם היו נכנים לשלשת ימים אל-תגשו אל-אשה :
 טז ויהי ביום השלישי בהית הבקר ויהי קלת וברקים וענן כבד על-ההר וקל שפר חזק מאד ויחרד כל-העם אשר במחנה :
 יז ויצא משה את-העם לקראת האלהים מן-המחנה ויתיצבו בתחתית ההר :
 יח והר סיני עשן כלו מפני אשר ירד עליו יהוה באש ויעל עשנו כעשן הכבשן ויחרד כל-ההר מאד :
 יט ויהי קול השפר הולך וחזק מאד משה ידבר והאלהים יענו בקול :

כ וַיֵּרֶד יְהוָה עַל-הָר סִינִי אֶל-רֹאשׁ הָהָר וַיִּקְרָא יְהוָה לְמֹשֶׁה אֶל-רֹאשׁ הָהָר וַיַּעַל מֹשֶׁה :
 כא וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל-מֹשֶׁה רֵד הָעֵד בָּעָם פֶּן-יִהְרָסוּ אֶל-יְהוָה לְרָאוֹת וְנִפְל מִמֶּנּוּ רַב :
 כב וְגַם הַכֹּהֲנִים הַנִּגְשִׁים אֶל-יְהוָה יִתְקַדְּשׁוּ פֶן-יִפְרֹץ בָּהֶם יְהוָה :
 כג וַיֹּאמֶר מֹשֶׁה אֶל-יְהוָה לֹא-יִכָּל הָעָם לַעֲלֹת אֶל-הָר סִינִי כִּי-אַתָּה הָעֵדֶתָ בְּנוֹ לֵאמֹר הִגֵּבֵל אֶת-הָהָר וְקִדְּשָׁתוּ :
 כד וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהֵי יְהוָה לְךָ-רֵד וְעָלִיתָ אֲתָה וְאַהֲרֹן עִמָּךְ וְהַכֹּהֲנִים וְהָעָם אֶל-יְהִרָסוּ לַעֲלֹת אֶל-יְהוָה פֶּן-יִפְרֹץ-בָּם :
 כה וַיֵּרֶד מֹשֶׁה אֶל-הָעָם וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵהֶם : ס

6. Deuteronomy 4:1-24

1. Now therefore give heed, O Israel, to the statutes and to the judgments, which I teach you, to do them, that you may live, and go in and possess the land which the Lord God of your fathers gives you.
2. You shall not add to the word which I command you, neither shall you diminish nothing from it, that you may keep the commandments of the Lord your God which I command you.
3. Your eyes have seen what the Lord did because of Baal-Peor, to all the men who followed Baal-Peor; the Lord your God has destroyed them from among you.
4. But you who held fast to the Lord your God are alive every one of you this day.
5. Behold, I have taught you statutes and judgments, as the Lord my God commanded me, that you should do so in the land where you go to take possession of it.
6. Keep therefore and do them; for this is your wisdom and your understanding in the sight of the nations, who, when they shall hear all these statutes, shall say, Surely this great nation is a wise and understanding people.
7. For what nation is there so great, who has God so near to them, as the Lord our God is in all things that we call upon him for?
8. And what nation is there so great, who has statutes and judgments so righteous as all this Torah, which I set before you this day?
9. Only take heed to yourself, and keep your soul diligently, lest you forget the things which your eyes have seen, and lest they depart from your heart all the days of your life; but teach them to your sons, and to your grandsons;
10. The day when you stood before the Lord your God in Horeb, when the Lord said to me, Gather the people together, and I will make them hear my words, that they may learn to fear me all the days that they shall live upon the earth, and that they may teach their children.
11. And you came near and stood under the mountain; and the mountain burned with fire to the heart of heaven, with darkness, clouds, and thick darkness.
12. And the Lord spoke to you out of the midst of the fire; you heard the sound of the words, but saw no form; you only heard a voice.
13. And he declared to you his covenant, which he commanded you to perform, ten commandments; and he wrote them upon two tablets of stone.
14. And the Lord commanded me at that time to teach you statutes and judgments, that you might do them in the land where you go over to possess it.
15. Take therefore good heed to yourselves; for you saw no manner of form on the day when the Lord spoke to you in Horeb out of the midst of the fire;

16. Lest you corrupt yourselves, and make you an engraved image, the form of any figure, the likeness of male or female,
17. The likeness of any beast that is on the earth, the likeness of any winged bird that flies in the air,
18. The likeness of any thing that creeps on the ground, the likeness of any fish that is in the waters beneath the earth;
19. And lest you lift up your eyes to the skies, and when you see the sun, and the moon, and the stars, all the host of the skies, should you be driven to worship them, and serve them, which the Lord your God has allotted to all nations under the whole sky.
20. But the Lord has taken you, and brought you out of the iron furnace, out of Egypt, to be for him a people of inheritance, as you are this day.
21. And the Lord was angry with me for your sakes, and swore that I should not go over the Jordan, and that I should not go into that good land, which the Lord your God gives you for an inheritance;
22. But I must die in this land, I must not go over the Jordan; but you shall go over, and possess that good land.
23. Take heed to yourselves, lest you forget the covenant of the Lord your God, which he made with you, and make you an engraved image, or the likeness of any thing, which the Lord your God has forbidden you.
24. For the Lord your God is a consuming fire, a jealous God.

א ועתה ישראל שמע אל-החקים ואל-המשפטים אשר אנכי מלמד אתכם לעשות למען תחיו ובאתם וירשתם את-הארץ אשר יהוה אלהי אבותיכם נתן לכם :

ב לא תספו על-הדבר אשר אנכי מצוה אתכם ולא תגרעו ממנו לשמר את-מצות יהוה אלהיכם אשר אנכי מצוה אתכם :

ג עיניכם הראות את אשר-עשה יהוה בבעל פעור כי כל-האיש אשר הלך אחרי בעל-פעור השמידו יהוה אלהיך מקרבך :

ד ואתם הדבקים ביהוה אלהיכם חיים כלכם היום :

ה ראה למדתי אתכם חקים ומשפטים כאשר צוני יהוה אלהי לעשות כן בקרב הארץ אשר אתם באים שמה לרשתה :

ו ושמרתם ועשיתם כי הוא חכמתכם ובינתכם לעיני העמים אשר ישמעון את כל-החקים האלה ואמרו רק עם-חכם ונבון הגוי הגדול הזה :

ז כי מי-גוי גדול אשר-לו אלהים קרבים אליו כיהוה אלהינו בכל-קראנו אליו :

ח ומי גוי גדול אשר-לו חקים ומשפטים צדיקים ככל התורה הזאת אשר אנכי נתן לפניכם היום :

ט רק השמר לך ושמר נפשך מאד פן-תשכח את-הדברים אשר-ראו עיניך ופן-יסורו מלבבך כל ימי חייך והודעתם לבניך ולבני בניך :

י יום אשר עמדת לפני יהוה אלהיך בחרב באמר יהוה אלי הקהל לי את-העם ואשמעם את-דברי אשר ילמדון ליראה אתי כל-הימים אשר הם חיים על-האדמה ואת-בניהם ילמדון :

יא ותקרבון ותעמדון תחת ההר וההר בער באש עד-לב השמים חשך ענן וערפל :

יב וידבר יהוה אליכם מתוך האש קול דברים אתם שמעים ותמונה אינכם ראים זולתי קול :

יג ויגד לכם את-בריתו אשר צוה אתכם לעשות עשרת הדברים וכתבתם על-שני לוחות אבנים :

יד ואתי צוה יהוה בעת ההוא ללמד אתכם חקים ומשפטים לעשותכם אתם בארץ אשר אתם עברים שמה לרשתה :

טו וְנִשְׁמַרְתֶּם מְאֹד לְנִפְשֵׁיכֶם כִּי לֹא רְאִיתֶם כָּל-תְּמוּנָה בַּיּוֹם דִּבֶּר יְהוָה אֲלֵיכֶם בְּחָרֵב מִתּוֹךְ הָאֵשׁ :

טז פֶּן-תִּשְׁחַתּוּ וַעֲשִׂיתֶם לָכֶם פֶּסֶל תְּמוּנַת כָּל-סֶמֶל תְּבַנִּית זָכָר אוֹ נְקֵבָה :

יז תְּבַנִּית כָּל-בְּהֵמָה אֲשֶׁר בָּאָרֶץ תְּבַנִּית כָּל-צֶפֶר כֶּנֶף אֲשֶׁר תַּעֲוִי בְּשָׂמִים :

יח תְּבַנִּית כָּל-רֶמֶשׂ בָּאָדָמָה תְּבַנִּית כָּל-דָּגָה אֲשֶׁר-בַּמַּיִם מִתַּחַת לָאָרֶץ :

יט וּפֶן-תִּשָּׂא עֵינֶיךָ הַשְׂמִימָה וְרִאִיתָ אֶת-הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֶת-הַיָּרֵחַ וְאֶת-הַכּוֹכָבִים כֹּל צָבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם וְנִדְחָתָה וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוִיתָ לָהֶם וַעֲבַדְתָּם אֲשֶׁר חָלַק יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֹתָם לְכָל הָעַמִּים תַּחַת כָּל-הַשָּׁמַיִם :

כ וְאַתֶּכֶם לָקַח יְהוָה וַיּוֹצֵא אֶתְכֶם מִכּוּר הַבְּרָזִל מִמִּצְרַיִם לִהְיוֹת לוֹ לְעַם נַחֲלָה בַּיּוֹם הַזֶּה :

כא וַיְהִי הַתְּאֵנָף-בִּי עַל-דִּבְרֵיכֶם וַיִּשְׁבַּע לְבַלְתִּי עֲבָרִי אֶת-הַיָּרְדֵן וּלְבַלְתִּי-בֹא אֶל-הָאָרֶץ הַטּוֹבָה אֲשֶׁר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ נָתַן לָךְ נַחֲלָה :

כב כִּי אֲנֹכִי מֵת בָּאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת אֵינֶנִּי עֹבֵר אֶת-הַיָּרְדֵן וְאַתֶּם עֹבְרִים וִירִשְׁתֶּם אֶת-הָאָרֶץ הַטּוֹבָה הַזֹּאת :

כג הַשְּׁמֵרוּ לָכֶם פֶּן-תִּשְׁכַּחוּ אֶת-בְּרִית יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם אֲשֶׁר כָּרַת עִמָּכֶם וַעֲשִׂיתֶם לָכֶם פֶּסֶל תְּמוּנַת כָּל אֲשֶׁר צִוָּךְ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ :

כד כִּי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֵשׁ אֹכֶלֶת הוּא אֵל קָנָא :

7. Deuteronomy 5:1-5; 5:19-6:3

1. And Moses called all Israel, and said to them, Hear, O Israel, the statutes and judgments which I speak in your ears this day, that you may learn them, and keep, and do them.
2. The Lord our God made a covenant with us in Horeb.
3. The Lord made not this covenant with our fathers, but with us, who are all of us here alive this day.
4. The Lord talked with you face to face in the mount out of the midst of the fire,
5. I stood between the Lord and you at that time, to tell you the word of the Lord; for you were afraid because of the fire, and went not up into the mount, saying,

א וַיִּקְרָא מֹשֶׁה אֶל-כָּל-יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵהֶם שְׁמַע יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת-הַחֻקִּים וְאֶת-הַמִּשְׁפָּטִים אֲשֶׁר אֲנֹכִי דֹבֵר בְּאָזְנֵיכֶם הַיּוֹם וּלְמַדְתֶּם אֹתָם וּשְׁמַרְתֶּם לַעֲשֹׂתָם :

ב יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ כָּרַת עִמָּנוּ בְּרִית בְּחָרֵב :

ג לֹא אֶת-אַבְתָּנוּ כָּרַת יְהוָה אֶת-הַבְּרִית הַזֹּאת כִּי אֲתָנוּ וְאַנְחֵנוּ אֵלֶּה פֶה הַיּוֹם כָּלָנוּ חַיִּים :

ד פָּנִים | בְּפָנִים דִּבֶּר יְהוָה עִמָּכֶם בְּהָר מִתּוֹךְ הָאֵשׁ :

ה אֲנֹכִי עֹמֵד בֵּין-יְהוָה וּבֵינֵיכֶם בְּעֵת הַהוּא לְהַגִּיד לָכֶם אֶת-דִּבְרֵי יְהוָה כִּי יִרְאֶתֶם מִפְּנֵי הָאֵשׁ וְלֹא-עָלִיתֶם בְּהָר לֵאמֹר:

19. These words the Lord spoke to all your assembly in the mount out of the midst of the fire, of the cloud, and of the thick darkness, with a great voice which was not heard again. And he wrote them in two tablets of stone, and delivered them to me.
20. And it came to pass, when you heard the voice out of the midst of the darkness, for the mountain burned with fire, that you came near me, all the heads of your tribes, and your elders;
21. And you said, Behold, the Lord our God has shown us his glory and his greatness, and we have heard his voice out of the midst of the fire; we have seen this day that God talks with man, and he lives.

22. Now therefore why should we die? for this great fire will consume us; if we hear the voice of the Lord our God any more, then we shall die.
23. For who is there of all flesh, who has heard the voice of the living God speaking out of the midst of the fire, as we have, and lived?
24. Go near, and hear all that the Lord our God shall say; and speak to us all that the Lord our God shall speak to you; and we will hear it, and do it.
25. And the Lord heard the voice of your words, when you spoke to me; and the Lord said to me, I have heard the voice of the words of this people, which they have spoken to you; they have well said all that they have spoken.
26. O that there were such a heart in them, that they would fear me, and keep all my commandments always, that it might be well with them, and with their children forever!
27. Go say to them, Return again into your tents.
28. But as for you, stand here by me, and I will speak to you all the commandments, and the statutes, and the judgments, which you shall teach them, that they may do them in the land which I give them to possess.
29. You shall take care to do it therefore as the Lord your God has commanded you; you shall not turn aside to the right hand or to the left.
30. You shall walk in all the ways which the Lord your God has commanded you, that you may live, and that it may be well with you, and that you may prolong your days in the land which you shall possess.

Deuteronomy Chapter 6

1. Now these are the commandments, the statutes, and the judgments, which the Lord your God commanded to teach you, that you might do them in the land to which you are going to possess;
2. That you might fear the Lord your God, to keep all his statutes and his commandments, which I command you, you, and your son, and your grandson, all the days of your life; and that your days may be prolonged.
3. Here therefore, O Israel, and take care to do it; that it may be well with you, and that you may increase mightily, as the Lord God of your fathers has promised you, in the land that flows with milk and honey.

יט אֶת-הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה דִּבֶּר יְהוָה אֶל-כָּל-קְהֵלְכֶם בְּהָר מִתּוֹךְ הָאֵשׁ הַעֲנָן וְהָעֶרְפֶּל קוֹל גָּדוֹל וְלֹא יָסוּף וַיִּכְתְּבֵם עַל-שְׁנֵי לַחַת אֲבָנִים וַיִּתֵּן אֵלַי :

כ וַיְהִי כְשִׁמְעֶכֶם אֶת-הַקּוֹל מִתּוֹךְ הַחֹשֶׁךְ וְהָהָר בָּעָר בָּאֵשׁ וַתִּקְרְבוּן אֵלַי כָּל-רָאשֵׁי שְׁבִטֵיכֶם וְזִקְנֵיכֶם :

כא וַתֹּאמְרוּ הֵן הִרְאָנוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֶת-כְּבֹדוֹ וְאֶת-גְּדֻלּוֹ וְאֶת-קִלּוֹ שָׁמַעְנוּ מִתּוֹךְ הָאֵשׁ הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה רָאִינוּ כִּי-יִדְבֹּר אֱלֹהִים אֶת-הָאָדָם וְחִי :

כב וַעֲתָה לָמָּה נָמוּת כִּי תֹאכְלֵנוּ הָאֵשׁ הַגְּדֹלָה הַזֹּאת אִם-יִסְכְּפִים אֲנַחְנוּ לִשְׁמֹעַ אֶת-קוֹל יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ עוֹד וּמָתָנוּ :

כג כִּי מִי כָל-בָּשָׂר אֲשֶׁר שָׁמַע קוֹל אֱלֹהִים חַיִּים מְדַבֵּר מִתּוֹךְ-הָאֵשׁ כָּמוֹנוּ וַיְחִי :

כד קִרְבַּ אֶתָּה וּשְׁמַע אֶת כָּל-אֲשֶׁר יֹאמַר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְאֶת אֲתִדְבֹּר אֵלֵינוּ אֶת כָּל-אֲשֶׁר יִדְבֹּר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֵלֶיךָ וּשְׁמַעְנוּ וַעֲשִׂינוּ :

כה וַיִּשְׁמַע יְהוָה אֶת-קוֹל דְּבָרֵיכֶם בַּדְּבָרְכֶם אֵלַי וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֵלַי שְׁמַעְתִּי אֶת-קוֹל דְּבָרֵי הָעָם הַזֶּה אֲשֶׁר דִּבְרוּ אֵלַיךָ הִיטִיבוּ כָל-אֲשֶׁר דִּבְרוּ :

כו מי-יתן והיה לבבם זה להם ליראה אתי ולשמר את-כל-מצותי כל-הימים למען
 ייטב להם ולבניהם לעלם :
 כז לך אמר להם שובו לכם לאהליכם :
 כח ואתה פה עמד עמדי ואדברה אליך את כל-המצוה והחקים והמשפטים אשר
 תלמדם ועשו בארץ אשר אנכי נתן להם לרשתה :
 כט ושמרתם לעשות כאשר צוה יהוה אלהיכם אתכם לא תסרו ימין ושמאל :
 ל בכל-הדרך אשר צוה יהוה אלהיכם אתכם תלכו למען תחיו וטוב לכם והארכתם
 ימים בארץ אשר תירשון :

ספר דברים פרק ו

א וזאת המצוה החקים והמשפטים אשר צוה יהוה אלהיכם ללמד אתכם לעשות
 בארץ אשר אתם עברים שמה לרשתה :
 ב למען תירא את-יהוה אלהיך לשמר את-כל-חקותיו ומצותיו אשר אנכי מצוה אתה
 ובנך ובן-בנך כל ימי חייך ולמען יארכו ימיו :
 ג ושמעת ישראל ושמרת לעשות אשר ייטב לך ואשר תרבו מן מאד כאשר דבר יהוה
 אלהי אבותיך לך ארץ זבת חלב ודבש : פ

8. "A Living Covenant," David Hartman, pp. 282-284

The Jewish society that we build in Israel has to validate the claim made in the Jewish tradition regarding how a Torah way of life creates a holy community, "a kingdom of priests and a holy nation" (Exod. 19:6). If the Torah is truly capable of sanctifying every aspect of human reality, if it is capable of giving new moral and spiritual dimensions to politics, if "its ways are ways of pleasantness and all its paths are peace" (Prov. 3:17), if the Torah scholar is a paradigm of the builder of peace, this must be seen and confirmed through the way we live our daily lives and not only proclaimed in our prayers.

A community that defines itself by learning and prayer is liable to be deceived by the richness of its powers of linguistic expression when evaluating its own moral and religious integrity. The existence of the state of Israel prevents Judaism from being defined exclusively as a culture of learning and prayer. Here Judaism must draw its pathos also from the exigencies of the concrete needs of life. "Not the learning is essential but the doing" then becomes constitutive of Torah study. Learning that excuses one from responsibility for the physical well-being of a nation, that provides a conceptual framework with its own inner coherence but whose correspondence to what actually takes place in reality is never tested, may have compelling logical vigor and be intellectually fascinating, but it has lost the sanctity of Torah, since it has become irrelevant to life itself.

If the desert is an instrument, a preparation, but never a substitute for what living is all about, then the land of Israel represents the intrusion of the normal into the desert covenantal consciousness. When the nation enters the land of Israel, the manna ceases to be the source of their economic sustenance.¹⁰ In the land of Israel, the community must face the challenge of planting trees and harvesting crops, of exposure to economic hardships, of building a national political reality in a world that does not necessarily share or appreciate God's "dream" that Israel become a holy nation. The Torah was not given at Sinai for a messianic society; it was meant to be implemented and developed within an unredeemed world." The dangers and seductions of pagan culture did not disappear when the Israelites entered the land of Israel. The concrete concern with military security did not stop with the conquests of Joshua. The need to build institutional frameworks of power and yet retain the covenantal ideal of a holy nation accompanied the community throughout the building of the first Jewish commonwealth. The same unredeemed world was the context for the renewal of the covenant by Ezra and Nehemiah in the second commonwealth and must be faced with courage by Jews as we build the third commonwealth under similar nonmessianic historical conditions."

The normalization of Jewish consciousness that comes from living in the land of Israel is therefore not antithetical to covenantal consciousness, but is a necessary condition for its full realization. The land of Israel is holy from the covenantal perspective because it invites greater responsibility and initiative on the part of the community. It is the framework in which ways must be found to make the Torah a viable way of life for a community.

A radically different view of the centrality of the land of Israel for Judaism is taken by Nachmanides, commenting on Leviticus 18:25ff. For Nachmanides the land of Israel is holy because of its unique ontological relationship to God.

But the Land of Israel, which is in the middle of the inhabited earth, is the inheritance of the Lord, designated to His Name. He has placed none of the angels as chief, observer, or ruler over it, since He gave it as a heritage to His people who declare the unity of His Name.

The land of Israel vomits out its sinful inhabitants (Lev. 18:28), continued Nachmanides, because only in this land does one live under God's direct providence. Since there is this unique ontological relationship between God and the land, Jews in the diaspora live as if they have no direct relationship to God and perform mitzvot only in preparation for their return to the land of Israel. L 3

In contrast to Nachmanides and in the spirit of Maimonides, I regard the land of Israel as central to the mitzvot because it invites greater initiative and gives the community a wider range to express its normative consciousness. 14 The land of Israel represents the freeing of Jews from the direct and total dependence on grace experienced in the desert and signifies the movement toward human initiative and responsibility as the defining feature of the covenantal community. Whereas Nachmanides believed that greater self-reliance undermines the full flowering of the covenant, my claim is that God is present in the land of Israel because there Jews are not frightened to be independent and responsible for a total society.

I view the Zionist revolution as a rejection of the view of Rabbi Simeon ben Yohai regarding the utopian conditions required for Israel to fulfill its covenantal destiny in history. I understand Zionism as a rejection of the theological claim that a unique providential relationship to Israel frees the Jews from having to be concerned with the ways in which nations seek to ensure their survival. In its profoundest sense, Zionism is the total demythologization of that Jewish historical covenantal consciousness which is represented by the spirit of Nachmanides.¹⁵ As my covenantal anthropology has sought to demonstrate, we can build a new Jewish society within the framework of a tradition that places mitzvah at the center of its perception of the meaning of Jewish existence. By infusing Torah with the original Zionist passion for Jewish responsibility, we can renew the Sinai covenant once again in the conditions of modern Israel.

Although one can understand the Zionist quest for normalcy within covenantal categories, it is nevertheless true that the major trend of secular Zionism sought to replace the covenantal identity of the Jew with a secular political national identity. Though distinctive elements of Zionism indicate its continuity with traditional Judaism, such as the centrality of peoplehood, identification with biblical history, and, most important, the significance of the land of Israel for the political rebirth of the Jewish people, nevertheless Zionism is generally regarded as a departure from the covenantal tradition. Not only did its adherents repudiate the traditional posture of waiting for the messianic redemption and of avoiding active intervention in the political arena of history, but Zionists often viewed traditional Judaism as an obstacle in the path of Jewish national political rebirth.

For many centuries before Zionism, Judaic religious consciousness had been characterized by the sense that the everyday world was a preparation for a future messianic reality. It was felt that the temporal world does not reflect the full power of God as Creator and Lord of History, nor can it contain the reward promised to the community for allegiance to the covenant. Jewish teachings about the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the dead and Jewish utopian messianism reflected this deep Judaic belief in a future world that would be in harmony with our most cherished aspirations.

For traditional religious Jews, the instruments for affecting history were prayer, observance of the mitzvot, and Torah study. The covenantal community was not to sully its hands with the uncertainties and political and moral ambiguities of modern nationalism. Judaism was secure if it was able to build healthy families, if it could have vibrant schools and synagogues. The Jewish covenantal community could leave responsibility for a total social and political order to the nations of the world, while it lived in anticipation of the ultimate triumph of Judaism in the messianic reality.

Scholem was correct in a certain sense in his observation that there is a conservative instinct within the halakhic temperament. Halakhic Jews were afraid to expose their dreams of history to the test of reality. The fate of the first and second commonwealths, Bar Kochba's abortive revolt against Rome, and the tragic failures of all messianic movements in Jewish history created in religious Jews a prudent, conservative instinct not to hope for too much in terms of their national political existence. The central significance attached to the land of Israel, Jerusalem, and the ingathering of the exiles was expressed with passion daily in the life of prayer, but was to be realized only in a messianic kingdom. History had taught the Jews not to attempt to translate those prayers into a program of action.

9. Ruth Calderon's Inaugural Speech to the Knesset

Mr. Chairman, honorable Knesset, the book I am holding changed my life, and to a large extent it is the reason that I have reached this day with the opportunity to speak to the Knesset of Israel as a new member. The copy in my hands belonged to David Giladi – a writer, journalist, editor, man of culture, and the grandfather of the head of our faction. He was mentioned here yesterday, too. I had the great honor of receiving it from his daughter, writer Shulamit Lapid. I did not inherit a set of Talmud from my grandfather. I was born and raised in a quaint neighborhood in Tel Aviv. My father, Moshe Calderon, was born in Bulgaria and immigrated to this land as a young man. After the difficult war years, he began studying agriculture at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, and was immediately conscripted to defend Gush Etzion during the War of Independence.

Eventually he specialized in entomology, the study of insects, and became a global expert in grain storage. My German-born mother, who had the combined misfortune (at that time) of being Jewish, left-handed, and red-haired, made aliyah as a teenager, and met my father courtesy of the British siege of Jerusalem. By the time the siege ended and they went to meet the families as a match that had already been made, the Bulgarian neighbors could not say anything but, “She’s really nice, Moshiko, but are there no Jewish girls left? You have to marry an Ashkenazi girl”? I am recounting all of this in order to say that I grew up in a very Jewish, very Zionist, secular-traditional-religious home that combined Ashkenaz and Sepharad, [Revisionist] Betar and [Socialist] Hashomer Hatzair, in the Israeli mainstream of the 60s and 70s. I was educated like everyone else my age – public education in the spirit of “from Tanach to Palmach”. I was not acquainted with the Mishna, the Talmud, Kabbala or Hasidism. By the time I was a teenager, I already sensed that something was missing. Something about the new, liberated Israeli identity of [Moshe Shamir’s] Elik who was “born of the sea”, of Naomi Shemer’s poems, was good and beautiful, but lacking. I missed depth; I lacked words for my vocabulary; a past, epics, heroes, places, drama, stories – were missing. The new Hebrew, created by educators from the country’s founding generation, realized their dream and became a courageous, practical, and suntanned soldier. But for me, this contained – I contained – a void. I did not know how to fill that void, but when I first encountered the Talmud and became completely enamored with it, its language, its humor, its profound thinking, its modes of discussion, and the practicality, humanity, and maturity that emerge from its lines, I sensed that I had found the love of my life, what I had been lacking. Since then I have studied academically in batei midrash [Jewish study halls] and in the university, where I earned a doctorate in Talmudic Literature at the Hebrew University, and I have studied lishma, for the sake of the study itself. For many years I have studied daf yomi, the daily page of Talmud, and with a chavruta [study partner]; it has shaped who I am.

Motivated by my own needs, and together with others, I founded Alma – Home for Hebrew Culture in Tel Aviv, and Elul, Israel’s first joint beit midrash for men, women, religious, and secular. Since then, over the course of several decades, there a Jewish

renaissance movement has begun to flourish, in which tens and hundreds of thousands of Israelis study within frameworks that do not dictate to them the proper way to be a Jew or the manner in which their Torah is to become a living Torah. I am convinced that studying the great works of Hebrew and Jewish culture are crucial to construct a new Hebrew culture for Israel. It is impossible to stride toward the future without knowing where we came from and who we are, without knowing, intimately and in every particular, the sublime as well as the outrageous and the ridiculous. The Torah is not the property of one movement or another. It is a gift that every one of us received, and we have all been granted the opportunity to meditate upon it as we create the realities of our lives. Nobody took the Talmud and rabbinic literature from us. We gave it away, with our own hands, when it seemed that another task was more important and urgent: building a state, raising an army, developing agriculture and industry, etc. The time has come to reappropriate what is ours, to delight in the cultural riches that wait for us, for our eyes, our imaginations, our creativity.

Instead of telling you about this book's beauty, I wish to tell you a story from Talmud, one small story, the story of Rabbi Rechumei, which appears in Ketubot 62b, and through it to say some words about this moment and about the tasks I will set for myself in the Knesset.

I have brought the text. Anyone who wants, we can pass it out – but only to those who want it. Page 62b – I will read it once in Aramaic, for the music, and then in Hebrew, so we can read it. Rabbi Rechumei was constantly before Rava in Mechoza. He would habitually come home every Yom Kippur eve. One day the topic drew him in. His wife anticipated him: “Here he comes. Here he comes.” He didn’t come. She became upset. She shed a tear from her eye. He was sitting on a roof. The roof collapsed under him, and he died.

Rabbi Rechumei – a rabbi, a rav, a whole lot of man [“rav” can mean “rabbi” or “much”]. “Rechumei” in Aramaic means “love”. Rechumei is derived from the word “rechem”, womb, someone who knows how to include, how to completely accept, just as a woman’s womb contains the baby. This choice of word for “love” is quite beautiful. We know that the Greek word for “womb” gives us the word “hysteria”. The Aramaic choice to take the womb and turn it into love is a feminist gesture by the Sages. He was constantly, he could be found before Rava, the head of the yeshiva at Mechoza...

Chairman Yitzhak Vaknin (Shas): Rechem also [has a numerologically significant value of] 248.

Calderon: Thank you. Yasher koach.

Calderon: Thank you for participating. I am happy...

Vaknin: I think the idea she is saying is wonderful...

Calderon: I am happy about this participation in words of Torah.

He could be found, that is, he studied, he was accepted for study, in the great yeshiva, one of the four yeshivot, the Ivy League, of Babylonia: Nehardea, Mechoza, Pumbedita, and Sura. He studied at Mechoza; he studied in the presence of Mechoza’s rosh yeshiva, who was so well known that he was called Rava. In Aramaic,

an aleph at the end of a word denoted the definite article. Rava was “the Rav”, “the Rabbi.”

He would habitually – I suggest that the Sages do not like people who do things out of habit; in general, when someone in the Talmud does something regularly, someone dies within a few lines. He would habitually come home – in Aramaic, “home” also means “wife”. It is both wife and home. That is, a man who has no wife is homeless. A woman who has no man is not, but a man without a wife – no home. He would habitually come home every Yom Kippur eve. Notice that the Gemara says “he would habitually come home every Yom Kippur eve.” There is a certain rabbinic irony here. What does “every” mean? Once a year. Not very often.

You are probably thinking: what kind of date is that to choose to come home? Yom Kippur eve? It is not exactly a day of intimacy. It is generally a day of prayer, and not even at home.

One day, one time, one year, the topic drew him in. The study in the beit midrash so fascinated him that he forgot. He did not leave in time. He could not abandon his studies and he did not go home. His wife anticipated him: “Here he comes. Here he comes.” One can hear the aspirant tone of her words in Aramaic: “Hhhashta ate; hhhere he comes.” This expectation, that every text message, every phone call, every footfall, every knock at the door, you are certain is him. Here he comes. Here he comes. He didn’t come. At some point, she realizes that he is not coming this year. Perhaps the shofar blast announcing the onset of Yom Kippur was sounded, after which nobody would arrive, due to the sanctity of the holiday. She becomes upset. This woman, who waited all year, who for many years has waited all year for one day, cannot stand it anymore. She becomes upset. She is disappointed; she is sorrowful; she loses control. She sheds a tear from her eye – this is an active verb, not a passive one. She allows one tear to leak out of her eye onto her cheek, after years of not crying.

Now we must imagine a split screen: on one side is a close-up of a female character, a woman with one tear running down her cheek. On the other side, sitting on a rooftop in Mechoza, is Rabbi Rechumei, dressed entirely in white and feeling holy. You know, after several hours without food we feel very exalted. He studies Torah on the roof, under the stars, and feels so close to the heavens. He sat on the roof, and as the tear falls from the woman’s eye, the roof caves in under him and he falls to the ground and dies.

What can I learn about this place and my work here from Rabbi Rechumei and his wife? First, I learn that one who forgets that he is sitting on another’s shoulders – will fall. I agree with what you said earlier, MK Bennett. I learn that righteousness is not adherence to the Torah at the expense of sensitivity to human beings. I learn that often, in a dispute, both sides are right, and until I understand that both my disputant and I, both the woman and Rabbi Rechumei, feel that they are doing the right thing and are responsible for the home. Sometimes we feel like the woman, waiting, serving in the army, doing all the work while others sit on the roof and study Torah; sometimes those others feel that they bear the entire weight of tradition, Torah, and our culture while we go to the beach and have a blast. Both I and my

disputant feel solely responsible for the home. Until I understand this, I will not perceive the problem properly and will not be able to find a solution. I invite all of us to years of action rooted in thought and dispute rooted in mutual respect and understanding.

I aspire to bring about a situation in which Torah study is the heritage of all Israel, in which the Torah is accessible to all who wish to study it, in which all young citizens of Israel take part in Torah study as well as military and civil service. Together we will build this home and avoid disappointment.

I long for the day when the state's resources are distributed fairly and equally to every Torah scholar, man or woman, based on the quality of their study, not their communal affiliation, when secular and pluralistic yeshivot, batei midrash, and organizations win fair and equal support in comparison to Orthodox and Haredi batei midrash. Through scholarly envy and healthy competition, the Torah will be magnified and glorified.

I want to mention my mentor, Rabbi David Hartman, who passed away this week, who opened up the doors of his beit midrash for me, and who built the language of a courageous and inclusive Judaism. May his memory be a blessing.

I want to conclude with a prayer composed by my colleague Chaim Hames, the prayer for entering the Knesset: May it be Your will, Lord our God, God of our fathers and mothers, that I leave this house as is entered it – at peace with myself and with others. May my actions benefit all residents of the State of Israel. May I work to improve the society that sent me to this chamber and cause a just peace to dwell among us and with our neighbors. May I always remember that I am a messenger of the public and that I must take care to keep my integrity and innocence intact. May I, and we, succeed in all our endeavors.

I add a small prayer for my faction, Yesh Atid, that we maintain our unique culture of cooperation and brotherhood, that we remain united, that we remain in the plenum, and that we realize our dream to make things better. Thank you.

C. Neither

10. Exodus 20:15-18

15. And all the people saw the thunderings, and the lightnings, and the sound of the shofar, and the mountain smoking; and when the people saw it, they were shaken, and stood far away.

16. And they said to Moses, Speak with us, and we will hear; but let not God speak with us, lest we die.

17. And Moses said to the people, Fear not; for God has come to test you, and that his fear may be before your faces, that you sin not.

18. And the people stood far away, and Moses drew near to the thick darkness where God was.

טו וְכָל-הָעָם רֹאִים אֶת-הַקּוֹלֹת וְאֶת-הַלְפִידִם וְאֵת קוֹל הַשָּׁפָר וְאֶת-הַהָר עָשָׂן וַיֵּרָא
הָעָם וַיִּנְעוּ וַיַּעֲמֵדוּ מֵרָחֵק :
טז וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֶל-מֹשֶׁה דַּבֵּר-אַתָּה עִמָּנוּ וְנִשְׁמָעָה וְאַל-יְדַבֵּר עִמָּנוּ אֱלֹהִים פֶּן-נָמוּת :
יז וַיֹּאמֶר מֹשֶׁה אֶל-הָעָם אֵל-תִּירָאוּ כִּי לִבְעֹבוֹר נִסּוֹת אֶתְכֶם בָּא הָאֱלֹהִים וּבְעֹבוֹר
תִּהְיֶה יִרְאַתוֹ עַל-פְּנֵיכֶם לְבַלְתִּי תִחָטְאוּ :
יח וַיַּעֲמֵד הָעָם מֵרָחֵק וּמֹשֶׁה נָגַשׁ אֶל-הָעֶרְפֶּל אֲשֶׁר-שָׂם הָאֱלֹהִים :

11. Exodus 32:1-14

1. And when the people saw that Moses delayed to come down from the mount, the people gathered themselves together to Aaron, and said to him, Arise, make us gods, which shall go before us; and as for this Moses, the man who brought us out of the land of Egypt, we do not know what became of him.
2. And Aaron said to them, Take off the golden ear rings, which are in the ears of your wives, of your sons, and of your daughters, and bring them to me.
3. And all the people took off the golden ear rings which were in their ears, and brought them to Aaron.
4. And he received them from their hand, and fashioned with a graving tool a molten calf; and they said, These are your gods, O Israel, which brought you up out of the land of Egypt.
5. And when Aaron saw it, he built an altar before it; and Aaron made a proclamation, and said, Tomorrow is a feast to the Lord.
6. And they rose up early on the next day, and offered burnt offerings, and brought peace offerings; and the people sat down to eat and to drink, and rose up to play.
7. And the Lord said to Moses, Go down; for your people, whom you brought out of the land of Egypt, have corrupted themselves;
8. They have turned aside quickly from the way which I commanded them; they have made them a molten calf, and have worshipped it, and have sacrificed to it, and said, These are your gods, O Israel, which have brought you out of the land of Egypt.
9. And the Lord said to Moses, I have seen this people, and, behold, it is a stiff-necked people;
10. Now therefore let me alone, that my anger may burn hot against them, and that I may consume them; and I will make of you a great nation.
11. And Moses pleaded with the Lord his God, and said, Lord, why does your anger burn hot against your people, whom you have brought out of the land of Egypt with great power, and with a mighty hand?
12. Therefore should the Egyptians speak, and say, For an evil intent did he brought them out, to slay them in the mountains, and to consume them from the face of the earth? Turn from your fierce anger, and repent of this evil against your people.
13. Remember Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, your servants, to whom you swore by your own self, and said to them, I will multiply your seed as the stars of heaven, and all this land that I have spoken of will I give to your seed, and they shall inherit it forever.
14. And the Lord repented of the evil which he thought to do to his people.

13. Exodus 34:27-35

27. And the Lord said to Moses, Write these words; for according to these words I have made a covenant with you and with Israel.

28. And he was there with the Lord forty days and forty nights; he did neither eat bread, nor drink water. And he wrote upon the tablets the words of the covenant, the ten commandments.

29. And it came to pass, when Moses came down from Mount Sinai with the two tablets of Testimony in Moses' hand, when he came down from the mount, that Moses knew not that the skin of his face shone while he talked with him.

30. And when Aaron and all the people of Israel saw Moses, behold, the skin of his face shone; and they were afraid to come closer to him.

31. And Moses called to them; and Aaron and all the rulers of the congregation returned to him; and Moses talked with them.

32. And afterward all the people of Israel came near; and he gave them in commandment all that the Lord had spoken with him in Mount Sinai.

33. And when Moses had finished speaking with them, he put a veil on his face.

34. But when Moses went in before the Lord to speak with him, he took the veil off, until he came out. And he came out, and spoke to the people of Israel that which he was commanded.

35. And the people of Israel saw the face of Moses, that the skin of Moses' face shone; and Moses put the veil upon his face again, until he went in to speak with him.

כז וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל-מֹשֶׁה כְּתֹב-לְךָ אֶת-הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה כִּי עַל-פִּי הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה
כָּרַתִּי אִתְּךָ בְּרִית וְאֶת-יִשְׂרָאֵל:
כח וַיְהִי-שָׁם עִם-יְהוָה אַרְבָּעִים יוֹם וְאַרְבָּעִים לַיְלָה לֶחֶם לֹא אָכַל וּמִים לֹא שָׁתָה
וַיִּכְתֹּב עַל-הַלְחָת אֶת דְּבָרֵי הַבְּרִית עֲשֹׂת הַדְּבָרִים:
כט וַיְהִי בִּרְדַּת מֹשֶׁה מִהָר סִינַי וּשְׁנֵי לַחַת הָעֵדֻת בְּיַד-מֹשֶׁה בִּרְדָּתוֹ מִן-הָהָר וּמֹשֶׁה לֹא-
יָדַע כִּי קָרַן עוֹר פָּנָיו בְּדַבְּרוֹ אֹתוֹ:
ל וַיֵּרָא אַהֲרֹן וְכָל-בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת-מֹשֶׁה וְהִנֵּה קָרַן עוֹר פָּנָיו וַיִּירָאוּ מִגֹּשֶׁת אֱלֹהֵי:
לֹא וַיִּקְרָא אֲלֵהֶם מֹשֶׁה וַיָּשׁוּבוּ אֵלָיו אַהֲרֹן וְכָל-הַנְּשָׂאִים בַּעֲדָה וַיְדַבֵּר מֹשֶׁה אֲלֵהֶם:
לב וְאַחֲרֵי-כֵן נִגְשׂוּ כָל-בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיִּצְווּ אֶת כָּל-אִשָּׁר דִּבֶּר יְהוָה אֹתוֹ בְּהָר סִינַי:
לג וַיְכַל מֹשֶׁה מְדַבֵּר אֲתָם וַיָּתֵן עַל-פָּנָיו מַסְוָה:
לד וַיָּבֵא מֹשֶׁה לִפְנֵי יְהוָה לְדַבֵּר אֹתוֹ יָסִיר אֶת-הַמַּסְוָה עַד-צֵאתוֹ וַיְצַא וַדַּבֵּר אֶל-בְּנֵי
יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת אֲשֶׁר יִצְוָה:
לה וַרְאוּ בְנֵי-יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת-פָּנֵי מֹשֶׁה כִּי קָרַן עוֹר פָּנָיו מֹשֶׁה וְהָשִׁיב מֹשֶׁה אֶת-הַמַּסְוָה עַל-
פָּנָיו עַד-בֹּאוֹ לְדַבֵּר אֹתוֹ:

14. Deuteronomy 9; 10:1-11

1. Hear, O Israel; You are to pass over the Jordan this day, to go in to possess nations greater and mightier than yourself, cities great and fortified up to heaven,
2. A people great and tall, the sons of the Anakim, whom you know, and of whom you have heard say, Who can stand before the sons of Anak!
3. Understand therefore this day, that the Lord your God is he who goes over before you; as a consuming fire he shall destroy them, and he shall bring them down before your face; so shall you drive them out, and destroy them quickly, as the Lord has said to you.
4. Do not say in your heart, after the Lord your God has cast them out before you, For my righteousness the Lord has brought me in to possess this land; but for the wickedness of these nations the Lord has driven them out from before you.
5. Not for your righteousness, or for the uprightness of your heart, do you go to possess their land; but for the wickedness of these nations the Lord your God drives them out from before you, and that he may confirm the word which the Lord swore to your fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.
6. Understand therefore, that the Lord your God gives you not this good land to possess it for your righteousness; for you are a stiffnecked people.
7. Remember, and forget not, how you provoked the Lord your God to anger in the wilderness; from the day when you departed out of the land of Egypt, until you came to this place, you have been rebellious against the Lord.
8. Also in Horeb you provoked the Lord to wrath, so that the Lord was so angry with you that he was ready to destroy you.
9. When I was gone up into the mount to receive the tablets of stone, the tablets of the covenant which the Lord made with you, then I stayed in the mount forty days and forty nights, I did not eat bread nor drink water;
10. And the Lord delivered to me two tablets of stone written with the finger of God; and on them was written according to all the words, which the Lord spoke with you in the mount out of the midst of the fire in the day of the assembly.
11. And it came to pass at the end of forty days and forty nights, that the Lord gave me the two tablets of stone, the tablets of the covenant.
12. And the Lord said to me, Arise, get down quickly from here; for your people, which you have brought out of Egypt, have corrupted themselves; they are quickly turned aside from the way which I commanded them; they have made themselves a molten image.
13. Furthermore the Lord spoke to me, saying, I have seen this people, and, behold, it is a stiffnecked people;
14. Let me alone, that I may destroy them, and blot out their name from under heaven; and I will make of you a nation mightier and greater than they.
15. So I turned and came down from the mount, and the mount burned with fire; and the two tablets of the covenant were in my two hands.
16. And I looked, and, behold, you had sinned against the Lord your God, and had made yourselves a molten calf; you had turned aside quickly from the way which the Lord had commanded you.
17. And I took the two tablets, and threw them out of my two hands, and broke them before your eyes.

18. And I fell down before the Lord, as at the first, forty days and forty nights; I did not eat bread, nor drink water, because of all your sins which you sinned, in doing wickedly in the sight of the Lord, to provoke him to anger.

19. For I was afraid of the anger and hot displeasure, with which the Lord was angry against you to destroy you. But the Lord listened to me at that time also.

20. And the Lord was so very angry with Aaron that he was ready to destroy him; and I prayed for Aaron also the same time.

21. And I took your sin, the calf which you had made, and burned it with fire, and crushed it, and ground it very small, until it was as small as dust; and I threw its dust into the brook that descended from the mount.

22. And at Taberah, and at Massah, and at Kibroth-Hattaavah, you provoked the Lord to anger.

23. Likewise when the Lord sent you from Kadesh-Barnea, saying, Go up and possess the land which I have given you; then you rebelled against the commandment of the Lord your God, and you believed him not, nor listened to his voice.

24. You have been rebellious against the Lord from the day that I knew you.

25. Thus I fell down before the Lord forty days and forty nights, as I fell down at the first; because the Lord had said he would destroy you.

26. I prayed therefore to the Lord, and said, O Lord God, destroy not your people and your inheritance, whom you have redeemed through your greatness, whom you have brought out of Egypt with a mighty hand.

27. Remember your servants, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; look not to the stubbornness of this people, nor to their wickedness, nor to their sin;

28. Lest the land from which you brought us out say, Because the Lord was not able to bring them into the land which he promised them, and because he hated them, he has brought them out to slay them in the wilderness.

29. Yet they are your people and your inheritance, which you brought out by your mighty power and by your stretched out arm.

Deuteronomy Chapter 10

1. At that time the Lord said to me, Cut two tablets of stone like the first, and come up to me into the mount, and make an ark of wood.

2. And I will write on the tablets the words that were in the first tablets which you broke, and you shall put them in the ark.

3. And I made an ark of shittim wood, and cut two tablets of stone like the first, and went up to the mount, having the two tablets in my hand.

4. And he wrote on the tablets, according to the first writing, the ten commandments, which the Lord spoke to you in the mount out of the midst of the fire in the day of the assembly; and the Lord gave them to me.

5. And I turned myself and came down from the mount, and put the tablets in the ark which I had made; and there they are, as the Lord commanded me.

6. And the people of Israel took their journey from Beeroth Bnei-Jaakan to Mosera; there Aaron died, and there he was buried; and Eleazar his son ministered in the priest's office in his place.
7. From there they journeyed to Gudgodah; and from Gudgodah to Jotbathah, a land of streaming brooks.
8. At that time the Lord set apart the tribe of Levi, to carry the ark of the covenant of the Lord, to stand before the Lord to minister to him, and to bless in his name, to this day.
9. Therefore Levi has no part nor inheritance with his brothers; the Lord is his inheritance, according to what the Lord your God promised him.
10. And I stayed in the mount, according to the first time, forty days and forty nights; and the Lord listened to me at that time also, and the Lord would not destroy you.
11. And the Lord said to me, Arise, go on your journey before the people, that they may go in and possess the land, which I swore to their fathers to give to them.

א שָׁמַע יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת־הַיּוֹם עֲבַר אֶת־הַיַּרְדֵּן לְבֹא לָרֶשֶׁת גּוֹיִם גְּדֻלִּים וְעַצְמִים מִמֶּנּוּ עָרִים גְּדֻלֹת וּבְצֻרֹת בְּשָׂמִים :

ב עַם־גְּדוֹל וְרַם בְּנֵי עֲנָקִים אֲשֶׁר אֶתֶּה יָדַעְתָּ וְאֶתֶּה שָׁמַעְתָּ מִי יִתְיַצֵּב לִפְנֵי בְנֵי־עֲנָק :

ג וַיִּדְעַת הַיּוֹם כִּי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ הוּא־הַעֹבֵר לִפְנֶיךָ אֲשֶׁר אָכְלָה הוּא יִשְׁמִידֻם וְהוּא יִכְנִיעֵם לִפְנֶיךָ וְהוֹרֶשֶׁתֶם וְהֶאֱבַדְתֶּם מֵהָר כְּאֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר יְהוָה לָךְ :

ד אַל־תֹּאמַר בְּלִבְבְּךָ בְּהִדּוֹף יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ אַתֶּם מִלִּפְנֶיךָ לֵאמֹר בְּצַדִּיקִי הֵבִיאֵנִי יְהוָה לָרֶשֶׁת אֶת־הָאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת וּבְרִשְׁעַת הַגּוֹיִם הָאֵלֶּה יְהוָה מוֹרִישָׁם מִפְּנֶיךָ :

ה לֹא בְצַדִּיקֶיךָ וּבִישׁוֹר לִבְבְּךָ אֶתֶּה בָּא לָרֶשֶׁת אֶת־אֶרֶץ כִּי בְרִשְׁעַת הַגּוֹיִם הָאֵלֶּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ מוֹרִישָׁם מִפְּנֶיךָ וּלְמַעַן הַקִּים אֶת־הַדְּבָר אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁבַּע יְהוָה לְאַבְרָהָם לְיִצְחָק וּלְיַעֲקֹב :

ו וַיִּדְעַתָּ כִּי לֹא בְצַדִּיקֶיךָ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ נָתַן לָךְ אֶת־הָאָרֶץ הַטּוֹבָה הַזֹּאת לָרֶשֶׁתָּהּ כִּי עַם־קָשָׁה־עֹרֵף אֶתֶּה :

ז זָכֹר אַל־תִּשְׁכַּח אֶת אֲשֶׁר־הִקְצַפְתָּ אֶת־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ בַּמִּדְבָּר לְמֹן־הַיּוֹם אֲשֶׁר־יֵצְאָתָּ מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם עַד־בְּאֶמְכֶם עַד־הַמָּקוֹם הַזֶּה מִמֶּרִים הָיִיתֶם עִם־יְהוָה :

ח וּבַחֲרֹב הִקְצַפְתֶּם אֶת־יְהוָה וַיִּתְאַנֵּף יְהוָה בְּכֶם לְהַשְׁמִיד אֶתְכֶם :

ט בַּעֲלַתִּי הִהָרָה לְקַחַת לִוְחַת הָאֲבָנִים לִוְחַת הַבְּרִית אֲשֶׁר־כָּרַת יְהוָה עִמָּכֶם וְאַשְׁבֵּב בְּהָר אַרְבָּעִים יוֹם וְאַרְבָּעִים לַיְלָה לֶחֶם לֹא אָכַלְתִּי וּמַיִם לֹא שָׁתִיתִי :

י וַיִּתֵּן יְהוָה אֵלַי אֶת־שְׁנֵי לִוְחַת הָאֲבָנִים כְּתוּבִים בְּאֶצְבַּע אֱלֹהִים וַעֲלִיהֶם כָּכָל־הַדְּבָרִים אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר יְהוָה עִמָּכֶם בְּהָר מִתּוֹךְ הָאֵשׁ בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא :

יא וַיְהִי מִקֵּץ אַרְבָּעִים יוֹם וְאַרְבָּעִים לַיְלָה נָתַן יְהוָה אֵלַי אֶת־שְׁנֵי לִוְחַת הָאֲבָנִים לְחֹת הַבְּרִית :

יב וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֵלַי קוּם רִד מֵהָר מִזֶּה כִּי שַׁחַת עָמַדְתָּ אֲשֶׁר הוֹצֵאתָ מִמִּצְרַיִם סָרוּ מֵהָר מִן־הַדֶּרֶךְ אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתֶם עֲשׂוּ לָהֶם מַסָּכָה :

יג וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֵלַי לֵאמֹר רְאִיתִי אֶת־הָעַם הַזֶּה וְהִנֵּה עִם־קָשָׁה־עֹרֵף הוּא :

יד הֲרֹף מִמֶּנִּי וְאַשְׁמִידֻם וְאַמְחָה אֶת־שְׁמָם מִתַּחַת הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאַעֲשֶׂה אוֹתָךְ לְגוֹי־עַצוֹם וְרַב מִמֶּנּוּ :

טו וְאַפֵּן וְאַרְדּ מִן־הַהָר וְהָהָר בָּעָר בָּאֵשׁ וּשְׁנֵי לִוְחַת הַבְּרִית עַל שְׁתֵּי יָדַי :

טז וְאַרְא וְהִנֵּה חֲטָאתֶם לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם עֲשִׂיתֶם לָכֶם עֵגֶל מַסָּכָה סָרְתֶּם מִן־הַדֶּרֶךְ אֲשֶׁר־צִוָּה יְהוָה אֶתְכֶם :

יז וְאַתָּפֹשׁ בְּשְׁנֵי הַלָּחַת וְאַשְׁלַכְם מֵעַל שְׁתֵּי יָדַי וְאַשְׁבֵּרֶם לְעֵינֵיכֶם :

יח וְאַתָּנַפֵּל לִפְנֵי יְהוָה כְּרֹאשְׁנָה אַרְבָּעִים יוֹם וְאַרְבָּעִים לַיְלָה לֶחֶם לֹא אָכַלְתִּי וּמַיִם לֹא שָׁתִיתִי עַל כָּל־חַטָּאתְכֶם אֲשֶׁר חֲטָאתֶם לַעֲשׂוֹת הָרַע בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה לְהַכְעִיסוֹ :

יט כי יגרתני מפני האף והחמה אשר קצף יהוה עליכם להשמיד אתכם וישמע יהוה אלי גם בפעם ההוא :

כ ובאהרן התאנף יהוה מאד להשמידו ואתפלל גם-בעד אהרן בעת ההוא :

כא ואת-חטאתכם אשר-עשיתם את-העגל לקחתני ואשרף אתו | באש ואפת אתו טחון היטב עד אשר-דק לעפר ואשלף את-עפרו אל-הנחל הירד מן-ההר :

כב ובתבערה ובמסה ובקברת התאוה מקצפים הייתם את-יהוה :

כג ובשלח יהוה אתכם מקדש ברנע לאמר עלו ורשו את-הארץ אשר נתתי לכם ותמרו את-פי יהוה אלהיכם ולא האמנתם לו ולא שמעתם בקלו :

כד ממרים הייתם עם-יהוה מיום דעתי אתכם :

כה ואתנפל לפני יהוה את-ארבעים היום ואת-ארבעים הלילה אשר התנפלתי כי-אמר יהוה להשמיד אתכם :

כו ואתפלל אל-יהוה ואמר אדני יהוה אל-תשחת עמך ונחלתך אשר פדית בגדלך אשר-הוצאת ממצרים ביד חזקה :

כז וזכר לעבדיך לאברהם ליצחק וליעקב אל-תפן אל-קשי העם הזה ואל-רשעו ואל-חטאתו :

כח פן-לאמרו הארץ אשר הוצאתנו משם מבלי זלזול יהוה להביאם אל-הארץ אשר-דבר להם ומשנאתו אותם הוציאם להמתם במדבר :

כט והם עמך ונחלתך אשר הוצאת בלחך הגדל ובזרעך הנטויה :

ספר דברים פרק י

א בעת ההוא אמר יהוה אלי פסל-לך שני-לוחות אבנים כראשנים ועלה אלי ההרה ועשית לך ארון עץ :

ב ואכתב על-הלחת את-הדברים אשר היו על-הלחת הראשנים אשר שברת ושמתם בארון :

ג ואעש ארון עצי שטים ואפסל שני-לחת אבנים כראשנים ואעל ההרה ושני הלחת בידים :

ד ויכתב על-הלחת כמכתב הראשון את עשרת הדברים אשר דבר יהוה אליכם בהר מתוך האש ביום הקהל ויתנם יהוה אלי :

ה ואפן וארד מן-ההר ואשם את-הלחת בארון אשר עשיתי ויהיו שם כאשר צוני יהוה :

ו ובני ישראל נסעו מבארות בני-יעקן מוסרה שם מת אהרן ויקבר שם ויכהו אלעזר בנו תחתיו :

ז משם נסעו הגדגדה ומן-הגדגדה יטבתה ארץ נחלי מים :

ח בעת ההוא הבדיל יהוה את-שבט הלוי לשאת את-ארון ברית-יהוה לעמוד לפני יהוה לשירתו ולבָרָךְ בשמו עד היום הזה :

ט על-כן לא-היה ללוי חלק ונחלה עם-אחיו יהוה הוא נחלתו כאשר דבר יהוה אלהיך לו :

י ואנכי עמדתני בהר כימים הראשנים ארבעים יום וארבעים לילה וישמע יהוה אלי גם בפעם ההוא לא-אבה יהוה השחיתך :

יא ויאמר יהוה אלי קום לך למסע לפני העם ויבאו ויירשו את-הארץ אשר-נשבעתי לאבתם לתת להם :

15. Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Moed Katan, 27b

And furthermore, Rab Judah said, as citing Rab, Whoever indulges in grief to excess over his dead will weep for another.

There was a certain woman that lived in the neighbourhood of R. Huna; she had seven sons one of whom died [and] she wept for him rather excessively.

R. Huna sent [word] to her: 'Act not thus'.

She heeded him not [and] he sent to her: If you need my word it is well; but if not, are you anxious to make provision for yet another? He [the next son] died and they all died. In the end he said to her, Are you fumbling with provision for yourself? And she died.

ואמר רב יהודה אמר רב : כל המתקשה על מתו יותר מדאי - על מת אחר הוא בוכה.

ההיא איתתא דהות בשיבבותיה דרב הונא, הוּוּ לה שבעה בני. מת חד מינייהו, הוות קא בכיא ביתירתא עליה.

שלח לה רב הונא : לא תעבדי הכן לא אשגחה ביה.

שלח לה : אי צייתת - מוטב, ואי לא - צבית זוודתא לאידך מית. ומיתו כולהו. לסוף אמר לה : תימוש זוודתא לנפשיך, ומיתא.

16. Hilkhot Avel (Laws of the Mourner) 13:10-13, Maimonides

Halacha 10

One should not cry over the deceased for more than three days and one should not eulogize him for more than seven.

When does the above apply? To people at large. With regard to Torah scholars, by contrast, everything depends on their wisdom. In any case, we do not cry over them for more than 30 days, for we have no one greater than Moses our teacher and concerning him, Deuteronomy 34:8 states: "The children of Israel cried over Moses... for 30 days and the days of crying in mourning for Moses concluded."

Halacha 11

We do not eulogize for more than twelve months, for we have no one of greater wisdom than our holy teacher, and he was eulogized for only twelve months.

Similarly, if a report of a wise man's death reaches us after twelve months, we do not eulogize him.

Halacha 12

A person should not become excessively broken hearted because of a person's death, as [Jeremiah 22:10](#) states: "Do not weep for a dead man and do not shake your head because of him." That means not to weep excessively. For death is the pattern of the world. And a person who causes himself grief because of the pattern of the world is a fool.

What should one do? Weep for three days, eulogize for seven, and observe the restrictions on cutting one's hair and the other five matters for 30 days.

Halacha 13

Whoever does not mourn over his dead in the manner which our Sages commanded is cruel. Instead, one should be fearful, worry, examine his deeds and repent.

If one member of a group dies, the entire group should worry. For the first three days, one should see himself as if a sword is drawn over his neck. From the third day until the seventh, he should consider it as if it is in the corner. From that time onward, as if it passing before him in the market place. All of this is so that a person should prepare himself and repent and awake from his sleep. Behold it is written [Jeremiah 5:3](#): "You have stricken them, but they have not trembled." Implied is that one should awake and tremble.

י אין בוכין על המת יתר משלושה ימים, ואין מספידין יתר על שבעה. במה דברים אמורים, בשאר העם. אבל תלמידי חכמים, הכול לפי רוב חכמתן; ואין בוכין עליהם יותר משלושים יום--שאין לנו גדול ממושה רבנו, וכתוב "וייתמו, ימי בכי אבל משה" ([דברים לד,ח](#)).

יא וכן אין מספידין יתר על שנים עשר חודש--אין לנו בחכמים גדול מרבנו הקדוש, ושנים עשר חודש בלבד נספד. וכן חכם שבאה שמועתו לאחר שנים עשר חודש, אין סופדין אותו.

יב [יא] אל יתקשה אדם על מתו יתר מדי--שנאמר "אל תבכו למת, ואל תנודו לו" ([ירמיהו כב,ג](#)), כלומר יתר מדי: שזה הוא מנהגו של עולם; והמצער עצמו על מנהג העולם, הרי זה טיפש. אלא כיצד יעשה--שלושה לבכי, שבעה להספד, שלושים יום לתספורת ולשאר החמישה.

יג] יב] כל מי שלא מתאבל כמו שציוו חכמים, הרי זה אכזרי; אלא יפחד וידאג ויפשפש במעשיו, ויחזור בתשובה. ואחד מבני חבורה שמת, תדאג כל החבורה כולה. כל שלושה ימים הראשונים, יראה את עצמו כאילו חרב מונחת לו על כתפו; משלושה ועד שבעה, מונחת בקרן זוית; מכאן ואילך, עוברת כנגדו בשוק. כל זה כדי להכין עצמו לחזור, וייעור משינתו, והרי הוא אומר "הכית אותם ולא חלוי" (ירמיהו ה,ג), מכלל שצריך להקיץ ולחול.

D. Both

17. Babylonian Talmud, Bava Batra 60b

IF A MAN BUYS A COURTYARD IN WHICH ARE SPARS AND BEAMS PROJECTING, HE HAS A PRESCRIPTIVE RIGHT TO KEEP THEM. R. Huna said: If the wall falls down he may build it [as it was before]. An objection was raised [against this from the following]: 'It is not proper to stucco or decorate or paint [our houses at the present time]. If a man buys a house which is stuccoed or decorated or painted, he is entitled to keep it so. If it falls down, he should not rebuild it [so]? — Where the prohibition is based on religious grounds, the case is different.

Our Rabbis taught: A man should not stucco the front of his house with cement, but if he mixes sand or straw with it he may. R. Judah Says: A mixture of sand makes the cement stony, and therefore its use is forbidden, but straw is permitted.

Our Rabbis taught: When the Temple was destroyed for the second time, large numbers in Israel became ascetics, binding themselves neither to eat meat nor to drink wine. R. Joshua got into conversation with them and said to them: My sons, why do you not eat meat nor drink wine? They replied: Shall we eat flesh which used to be brought as an offering on the altar, now that this altar is in abeyance? Shall we drink wine which used to be poured as a libation on the altar, but now no longer? He said to them: If that is so, we should not eat bread either, because the meal offerings have ceased. They said: [That is so, and] we can manage with fruit. We should not eat fruit either, [he said,] because there is no longer an offering of firstfruits. Then we can manage with other fruits [they said]. But, [he said,] we should not drink water, because there is no longer any ceremony of the pouring of water. To this they could find no answer, so he said to them: My sons, come and listen to me. Not to mourn at all is impossible, because the blow has fallen. To mourn overmuch is also impossible, because we do not impose on the community a hardship which the majority cannot endure, as it is written, Ye are cursed with a curse, yet ye rob me [of the tithe], even this whole nation. The Sages therefore have ordained thus. A man may stucco his house, but he should leave a little bare. (How much should this be? R. Joseph says, A cubit square; to which R. Hisda adds that it must be by the door.) A man can prepare a full-course banquet, but he should leave out an item or two. (What should this be? R. Papa says: The hors d'oeuvre of salted fish.) A woman can put on all her ornaments, but leave off one or two. (What should this be? Rab said: [Not to remove] the hair on the temple.) For so it says, If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth if I remember

thee not, if I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy. What is meant by 'my chief joy'? R. Isaac said: This is symbolised by the burnt ashes which we place on the head of a bridegroom. R. Papa asked Abaye: Where should they be placed? [He replied]: Just where the phylactery is worn, as it says, To appoint unto them that mourn in Zion, to give them a garland [pe'er] for ashes [epher]. Whoever mourns for Zion will be privileged to behold her joy, as it says, Rejoice ye with Jerusalem etc. It has been taught: R. Ishmael ben Elisha said: Since the day of the destruction of the Temple we should by rights bind ourselves not to eat meat nor drink wine, only we do not lay a hardship on the community unless the majority can endure it. And from the day that a Government has come into power which issues cruel decrees against us and forbids to us the observance of the Torah and the precepts and does not allow us to enter into the 'week of the son (according to another version, 'the salvation of the son'), we ought by rights to bind ourselves not to marry and beget children, and the seed of Abraham our father would come to an end of itself. However, let Israel go their way: it is better that they should err in ignorance than presumptuously.

לקח חצר ובה זיזין וגזוזטראות - הרי היא בחזקתה. אמר רב הונא: נפלה - חוזר ובונה אותה. מיתיבי: אין מסיידין ואין מכיירין ואין מפויחין בזמן הזה לקח חצר מסוידת, מכוירת, מפויחת - הרי זו בחזקתה נפלה - אינו חוזר ובונה אותה איסורא שאני. ת"ר: לא יסוד אדם את ביתו בסיד, ואם עירב בו חול או תבן - מותר ר"י אומר: עירב בו חול - הרי זה טרכסיד ואסור, תבן - מותר. ת"ר: כשחרב הבית בשניה, רבו פרושין בישראל שלא לאכול בשר ושלא לשתות יין. נטפל להן ר' יהושע, אמר להן: בני, מפני מה אי אתם אוכלין בשר ואין אתם שותין יין? אמרו לו: נאכל בשר שממנו מקריבין על גבי מזבח, ועכשיו בטל? נשתה יין שמנסכין על גבי המזבח, ועכשיו בטל? אמר להם: א"כ, לחם לא נאכל, שכבר בטלו מנחות אפשר בפירות. פירות לא נאכל, שכבר בטלו בכורים אפשר בפירות אחרים. מים לא נשתה, שכבר בטל ניסוך המים שתקו. אמר להן: בני, בואו ואומר לכם: שלא להתאבל כל עיקר אי אפשר - שכבר נגזרה גזרה, ולהתאבל יותר מדאי אי אפשר - שאין גוזרין גזירה על הצבור אלא רוב צבור יכולין לעמוד בה, דכתיב: (מלאכי י') במארה אתם נארים ואותי אתם קובעים הגוי כולו, אלא כך אמרו חכמים: סד אדם את ביתו בסיד, ומשייר בו דבר מועט. וכמה? אמר רב יוסף: אמה על אמה. אמר רב חסדא: כנגד הפתח. עושה אדם כל צרכי סעודה, ומשייר דבר מועט. מאי היא? אמר רב פפא: כסא דהרסנא. עושה אשה כל תכשיטיה, ומשיירת דבר מועט. מאי היא? אמר רב: בת צדעא, שנאמר: (תהלים קלז) אם אשכחך ירושלים תשכח ימיני תדבק לשוני לחכי וגו'. מאי על ראש שמחתי? אמר רב יצחק: זה אפר מקלה שבראש חתנים. א"ל רב פפא לאביי: היכא מנח לה? במקום תפילין, שנאמר: (ישעיהו ס"א) לשום לאבלי ציון לתת להם פאר תחת אפר. וכל המתאבל על ירושלים - זוכה ורואה בשמחתה, שנאמר: (ישעיהו סו) שמחו את ירושלים וגו'. תניא, אמר ר' ישמעאל בן אלישע: מיום שחרב בית המקדש, דין הוא שנגזור על עצמנו שלא לאכול בשר ולא לשתות יין, אלא אין גוזרין גזרה על הצבור אלא רוב צבור יכולין לעמוד בה ומיום שפשטה מלכות הרשעה, שגזרת עלינו גזירות רעות וקשות, ומבטלת ממנו תורה ומצות, ואין מנחת אותנו ליכנס לשבוע הבן, ואמרי לה: לישוע הבן, דין הוא שנגזור על עצמנו שלא לישא אשה ולהוליד בנים, ונמצא זרעו של אברהם אבינו כלה מאליו, אלא הנח להם לישראל, מוטב שיהיו שוגגין ואל יהיו מזידין. הדרן עלך חזקת הבתים.

18. Mishnah Ta'anit 4:6

6. Five misfortunes befell our fathers on the seventeenth of Tammuz and five on the ninth of Ab. On the seventeenth of Tammuz the tables [of the law] were shattered, the daily offering was discontinued, a breach was made in the city and Apostomos burned the scroll of the law and place an idol in the Temple. On the ninth of Ab it was decreed that our fathers should not enter the [promised] land, the Temple was destroyed the first and second time, Bethar was captured and the city [Jerusalem] was ploughed up. With the Beginning of Ab rejoicings are curtailed.

(ו) חמשה דברים ארעו את אבותינו בשבעה עשר בתמוז וחמשה בתשעה באב. בשבעה עשר בתמוז נשתברו הלוחות, ובטל התמיד, והבקעה העיר, ושרף אפסטמוס את התורה, והעמיד צלם בהיכל. בתשעה באב נגזר על אבותינו שלא יכנסו לארץ, וחרב הבית בראשונה ובשניה, ונלכדה ביתר, ונחרשה העיר. משנכנס אב, ממעטין בשמחה :

19. Deuteronomy 6:20-25

20. And when your son asks you in time to come, saying, What do the testimonies, and the statutes, and the judgments, mean, which the Lord our God has commanded you?

21. Then you shall say to your son, We were Pharaoh's slaves in Egypt; and the Lord brought us out of Egypt with a mighty hand;

22. And the Lord showed signs and wonders, great and grievous, upon Egypt, upon Pharaoh, and upon all his household, before our eyes;

23. And he brought us out from there, that he might bring us in, to give us the land which he swore to our fathers.

24. And the Lord commanded us to do all these statutes, to fear the Lord our God, for our good always, that he might preserve us alive, as it is at this day.

25. And it shall be accounted virtue in us, if we take care to do all these commandments before the Lord our God, as he has commanded us.

כ כי-ישאלך בנך מחר לאמר מה העדות והחקים והמשפטים אשר צוה יהוה אלהינו אתכם :

כא ואמרתי לבנך עבדים היינו לפרעה במצרים ויציאנו יהוה ממצרים ביד חזקה :

כב ויתן יהוה אותות ומפתים גדלים ורעים במצרים בפרעה ובכל ביתו לעינינו :

כג ואותנו הוציא משם למען הביא אתנו לתת לנו את-הארץ אשר נשבע לאבותינו :

כד ויצונו יהוה לעשות את-כל-החקים האלה ליראה את-יהוה אלהינו לטוב לנו כל-הימים לחיתנו כהיום הזה :

כה וצדקה תהיה לנו כי-נשמר לעשות את-כל-המצוה הזאת לפני יהוה אלהינו

כאשר צונו :

20. Deuteronomy 26:1-12

1. And it shall be, when you come in to the land which the Lord your God gives you for an inheritance, and possess it, and live in it;

2. That you shall take of the first of all the fruit of the earth, which you shall bring of your land that the Lord your God gives you, and shall put it in a basket, and shall go to the place which the Lord your God shall choose to place his name there.
3. And you shall go to the priest who shall be in those days, and say to him, I declare this day to the Lord your God, that I have come to the country which the Lord swore to our fathers to give us.
4. And the priest shall take the basket from your hand, and set it down before the altar of the Lord your God.
5. And you shall speak and say before the Lord your God, A wandering Aramean was my father, and he went down into Egypt, and sojourned there with a few, and became there a nation, great, mighty, and populous;
6. And the Egyptians dealt ill with us, and afflicted us, and laid upon us hard slavery;
7. And when we cried to the Lord God of our fathers, the Lord heard our voice, and looked on our affliction, and our labor, and our oppression;
8. And the Lord brought us out of Egypt with a mighty hand, and with an outstretched arm, and with great awesomeness, and with signs, and with wonders;
9. And he has brought us to this place, and has given us this land, a land that flows with milk and honey.
10. And now, behold, I have brought the first fruits of the land, which you, O Lord, have given me. And you shall set it before the Lord your God, and worship before the Lord your God;
11. And you shall rejoice in every good thing which the Lord your God has given to you, and to your house, you, and the Levite, and the stranger who is among you.
12. When you have finished tithing all the tithes of your produce the third year, which is the year of tithing, and have given it to the Levite, the stranger, the orphan, and the widow, that they may eat inside your gates, and be filled;

א והיה כי-תבוא אל-הארץ אשר יהיה אליהך נתן לך נחלה וירשתה וישבת בה :
 ב ולקחת מראשית כל-פרי האדמה אשר תביא מארצך אשר יהיה אליהך נתן לך ושמית בטנא והלכת אל-המקום אשר יבחר יהיה אליהך לשכון שמו שם :
 ג ובאת אל-הכהן אשר יהיה בימים ההם ואמרת אליו הגדתי היום ליהיה אליהך כי-באתי אל-הארץ אשר נשבע יהיה לאבותינו לתת לנו :
 ד ולקח הכהן הטנא מידך והניחו לפני מזבח יהיה אליהך :
 ה וענית ואמרת לפני יהיה אליהך ארמי אבד אבי וירד מצרימה ויגר שם במתי מעט ויהי-שם לגוי גדול עצום ורב :
 ו וירעו אתנו המצרים ויענונו ויתנו עלינו עבדה קשה :
 ז ונצצק אל-יהיה אלהי אבותינו וישמע יהיה את-קלנו וירא את-ענינו ואת-עמלנו ואת-לחצנו :
 ח ויוצאנו יהיה ממצרים ביד חזקה ובזרע נטויה ובמרא גדל ובאותות ובמפתים :
 ט ויבאנו אל-המקום הזה ויתן לנו את-הארץ הזאת ארץ זבת חלב ודבש :
 י ועתה הנה הבאתי את-ראשית פרי האדמה אשר-נתתה לי יהיה והנחתו לפני יהיה אליהך והשתחוית לפני יהיה אליהך :
 יא ושמחת בכל-הטוב אשר נתן לך יהיה אליהך ולביתך אתה והלוי והגר אשר בקרבך :

יב כי תכלה לעשר את-כל-מעשר תבואתך בשנה השלישית שנת המעשר ונתתה ללוי לגר ליתום ולאלמנה ואכלו בשעריך ושבעו:

21. Leviticus 19:33-34

33. And if a stranger sojourns with you in your land, you shall not wrong him.

34. But the stranger who dwells with you shall be to you as one born among you, and you shall love him as yourself; for you were strangers in the land of Egypt; I am the Lord your God.

לג וכי-גור אתך גר בארצכם לא תונו אתו :
לד באזרח מכם יהיה לכם הגר | הגר אתכם ואהבת לו כמוך כי-גרים הייתם בארץ
מצרים אני יהוה אלהיכם:

22. Amos Oz, In the Land of Israel

This is the place to make my first shocking confession - others will follow. I think that the nation-state is a tool, an instrument, that is necessary for a return to Zion, but I am not enamored of this instrument. The idea of the nation-state is, in my eyes, "goyim naches" - a gentiles' delight. I would be more than happy to live in a world composed of dozens of civilizations, each developing in accordance with its own internal rhythm, all cross-pollinating one another, without any one emerging as a nation-state: no flag, no emblem, no passport, no anthem. No nothing. Only spiritual civilizations tied somehow to their lands, without the tools of statehood and without the instruments of war.

But the Jewish people has already staged a long running one-man show of that sort. The international audience sometimes applauded, sometimes threw stones, and occasionally slaughtered the actor. No one joined us; no one copied the model the Jews were forced to sustain for two thousand years, the model of a civilization without the "tools of statehood." For me this drama ended with the murder of Europe's Jews by Hitler. And I am forced to take it upon myself to play the "game of nations," with all the tools of statehood, even though it causes me to feel (as George Steiner put it) like an old man in a kindergarten. To play the game with an emblem, and a flag and a passport and an army, and even war, provided that such war is an absolute existential necessity. I accept those rules of the game because existence without the tools of statehood is a matter of moral danger, but I accept them only up to this point. To take pride in these tools of statehood? To worship these toys? To crow about them? Not I. If we must maintain these tools, including the instruments of death, it must be not only with glee but with wisdom as well. I would say with no glee at all, only with wisdom - and with caution. Nationalism itself is, in my eyes, the curse of mankind.